

**CONCLUSION OF DAY SIX OF HEARING  
DR. SWAN (WITNESS)**

1  
2 CHAIRWOMAN: Good afternoon everyone. I think I have lost my image of  
3 Dr. Quito Swan.

4 Good afternoon, Dr. Swan. You are still on your affirmation. I have been saying you are  
5 still on your oath, but you did not take an oath. You affirmed and certainly that means the same  
6 thing. You have affirmed to tell the truth, so you are still on your affirmation.

7 And now I will call on Commissioner Mrs. Binns, Maxine Binns, to do her cross-  
8 examination. Go ahead please, Mrs. Binns.

9 MRS BINNS: Good afternoon.

10 WITNESS: Good afternoon.

11 MRS. BINNS: Good afternoon, Dr. Swan. I am going to refer to the slide  
12 SD18A and you highlighted a section in the agreement of 17<sup>th</sup> of March, 1941 – the U.K./U.S.A.  
13 Agreement.

14 WITNESS: Okay.

15 MRS. BINNS: Did you... okay, did the use of the base lands and, in your  
16 opinion, with the termination of that Agreement as worded, is there a possibility that, should be  
17 U.S. be at war in the future they could return to Bermuda and in particular St. David's Island?  
18 You have it highlighted and, if you can scroll down for the rest of the...

19 WITNESS: I just want to... I am going to pull up – you said SD...?

20 MRS. BINNS: SD18A.

21 WITNESS: 18A?

22 MRS. BINNS: Article 2. Yes. You're reading that?

23 WITNESS: And your question was the possibility of return?  
24  
25

1 MRS. BINNS: Yes, absolutely. On the reading of that, do you understand  
2 that it has been left open that, should the U.S. be at war at any time, that they could return to  
3 Bermuda and, in particular, to St. David's Island?

4 WITNESS: That's an interesting question. I thought it was in the  
5 context of the 99 years. I'll be curious as to see what was the – was there any arrangements  
6 made when the base was actually closed. In the context of this initial agreement, I'm not sure.  
7 Oh, I see, on page 21, the highlighted section. Is that what you are referring to?

8 MRS. BINNS: Yes. Because it says it's subject to Clause 4 and it says:  
9 *And whereas it is desired that this agreement shall be fulfilled in a spirit of good*  
10 *neighbourliness between the Government of the U.K. and the Government of the*  
11 *United States and that details of its practical application shall be arranged by*  
12 *friendly cooperation”.*

13 So, Article 2 actually says:

14 *“When the United States is engaged in war or in time of other emergency, the*  
15 *Government of the United Kingdom agree that the United States may exercise in*  
16 *the territories and surrounding waters or air spaces of all such rights, power and*  
17 *authority as may be necessary for conducting any military operations deemed*  
18 *desirable by the United States but those rights will be exercised with all possible*  
19 *regard to the spirit of the 4<sup>th</sup> clause of the preamble.”*

20 So, does that look like it's an open-ended, I guess, use of the base lands if they need it in  
21 the future?

22 WITNESS: That's an intriguing question. I don't want to dismiss it at  
23 all. I would probably read it as within the context of the ownership or the, I guess, the life of the  
24 base but I would agree that the language in question does sound open-ended. Once again, I'll be  
25 curious as to, was that followed up on? Or were there any arrangements made when the base

1 was eventually closed about clauses of that nature. But that particular language does seem, you  
2 know, pretty curious as to the use of this space.

3 MRS. BINNS: Yes, that is something that can be further researched?

4 WITNESS: Indeed.

5 MRS. BINNS: I am also curious as alluded to by Counsel's questioning  
6 and other submissions made by the Commissioners, in your expert opinion as a historian: Would  
7 both Tucker's Town and St. David's Island appropriations be prime examples of what constitutes  
8 a social construct in the context of critical race theory?

9 WITNESS: Yes. I would say so.

10 MRS. BINNS: Can you just elaborate on that a bit?

11 WITNESS: Well, from my perspective I think that it creates a context  
12 where at least engaging Tucker's Town and St. David's both required us to look at race theory  
13 critically. In other words, there are intersections that involve economics, culture, history, gender,  
14 class, ethnicity, that allow us to have a better fuller picture of this experience, as opposed to  
15 simply relegating the discussion to dollar amounts, land compensation and economics. I think  
16 we have to address those other intersections that would involve culture, class and gender and the  
17 like, in doing so.

18 MRS. BINNS: Okay. Thank you. Certain members of the public are  
19 asking: Why the need for this Commission? And how could 100-year-old evidence be proven?  
20 As a Bermudian and a historian, what is the significance of this Commission of Inquiry at this  
21 time?

22 WITNESS: I think that's tremendously, tremendously important,  
23 tremendously important. And I have to give, you know, I have to give much, much credit to the  
24 current Government for suggesting this Commission. I want to give appreciation to the  
25 Commission for seeking a council of scholars like myself and Dr. Francis, other Bermudian

1 voices. Chief Justice mentioned, I believe last week, that the community has wanted public  
2 dialogue. I won't go as far as to say it's the first of its kind, but certainly in my experience as a  
3 historian, I'm enrolled by prospects that this is a very important discussion that shouldn't just  
4 end with the Commission.

5 As we discussed for both Tucker's Town and St. David's, more research is needed in a  
6 number of other areas, particularly when we talked about even the framing of a particular  
7 research project it was clear that Tucker's Town and St. David's are part of a broader fabric of  
8 questions of land, questions of race, inequity that need to be had. We are in a vibrant moment  
9 and it is unfortunate because the moment is triggered by the lives of black people but in the era  
10 of Black Lives Matter a number of these questions that have lingered below the surface of  
11 contemporary societies are now being addressed and it is my hope and I am excited that this  
12 Commission is at least on par with the broader connections.

13 The questions that, you know, or the comments that raise doubt about the validity of a  
14 commission of this nature seem like questions from a day that we should be beyond. You know,  
15 we can't talk about equity in contemporary society without addressing some of these  
16 longstanding issues. There was a reference made about... understand, there have been two  
17 Bermudas... I think there's a lot of legitimacy to that and I think it is exceptional.

18 Now as a historian is it the only work that needs to be done? No, but I think certainly for  
19 Bermuda and the people of Bermuda to be able to look into, you know, these critical issues that  
20 have affected the majority of (? 09:43 indecipherable) for several decades, it is commendable. It  
21 is commendable.

22 I know Walton Brown asked for a longer process of two years. We could debate about  
23 the power of the Commission, the duration, the themes – but I think, generally speaking – I think  
24 this has been a critical service to the island of Bermuda and I am thrilled to be a part of it as a  
25 Bermuda historian; to have been a part of this, what I think is an historic moment for the island.

1 MRS. BINNS: Thank you, Dr. Swan. We are happy that you are able to  
2 participate in this process.

3 WITNESS: Thank you. And the Commission members, you all must  
4 be thanked and congratulated for your work and your patience over several months. So thank  
5 you as well for your questions and your energy. It is much appreciated.

6 MRS. BINNS: Thank you, Dr. Swan.

7 CHAIRWOMAN: Thank you, Mrs. Binns. And now we'll have Counsel  
8 Mulligan do a readdress.

9 SR. COUNSEL: Thank you. I don't have much arising from those  
10 questions that were well put by the Commission members but I did want to follow up on  
11 something, first that Mrs. Forth and Mrs. Milligan-Whyte both raised, and that was the idea that  
12 home is castle or being put into temporary lodgings; what impact that would have. We have  
13 another witness coming this afternoon, Mrs. Lister, who has prepared a report 'Memories Lost in  
14 the Triangle – An Exploration of Bermuda's Social Conditioning Through Racial Amnesia'.  
15 And, in that report, I want to just quote from what she has said and ask for your comments on it –  
16 whether you agree or disagree – along the lines of the importance of home, of having a home.  
17 And she has said at page 28 of her report, based on her anthropological review that:

18 *Housing, its location and quality have a significant impact on a person's life*  
19 *trajectory. Therefore, to be confined to an impoverished, racially segregated*  
20 *neighbourhood, is likely to increase a person's chances to have adverse*  
21 *interactions with the criminal justice system based on diminished educational*  
22 *opportunities and limited employment prospects.*

23 So, I would ask you to comment on that statement, particularly as it relates to St. David's  
24 and the future educational opportunities, employment prospect, the life trajectory of the people  
25 that were relocated.

1           WITNESS:                           That's a great point. I would agree, generally speaking, as  
2 well. I think we haven't, as a community, haven't talked enough about the disruption of the case  
3 of St. David's. Once again, you know, this research project for someone like myself who is a  
4 scholar of Bermudian history, there were several things that I learned in this research project that  
5 should now be public knowledge. We have been hesitant – well, not simply hesitant – to discuss  
6 these issues but the, you know, Bermuda's white power structure invested in these narratives is  
7 not being told because the significant divesture. So, the Commission's work is part of a response  
8 to this divesture. St. David's Islanders, as I'm sure, would speak about. They are moved from  
9 their communities, but they still are part of the social fabric of a Bermuda which continues to be  
10 discriminatory.

11                           And we should, in thinking of that, we should be also engaging the fact that, once  
12 again, Bermuda is a non-motor vehicle society and to now see large trucks, maybe tanks, ships,  
13 planes, now practically come down on this community, affecting the ecology, the environment –  
14 this must have been dramatic. You know, Tommy Fox's nephew – I believe "War Baby" was  
15 his nephew – speaks about how he never recovers. He refused to even... in a way this is  
16 somewhat colloquial... but even look towards the area. He never returned to land that was taken  
17 from him. He dies the next year and there's this tension around what happens next. It's clear the  
18 financial investment in the base lands, it's clear.

19                           But to a point that was raised by the Commission: Some of these lands aren't even used.  
20 While I was doing research for my book on Black Power in Bermuda there was some discussion  
21 around the elections in the 1960s where the base lands were an issue the PLP Government was  
22 raising and it was decided to minimise the fact that the U.S. military was only using some 10%  
23 of the land that had been taken during this moment but they felt that it was important to  
24 downplay this issue because of the upcoming election and the PLP actually paid a visit to the  
25

1 base lands. They were taken to, you know, they were only given a cursory examination of the  
2 base land – so the point is there has been some investiture in denying merits of this nature.

3 But what I do want to also stress is that in these discussions we must also draw attention  
4 to the tremendous resilience shown by St. David islanders and residents of Tucker’s Town that  
5 had to endure this trauma, there must be some... for me that’s even when I, even as a scholar of  
6 racism... it is always important for us to talk about how these communities found ways to push  
7 through these moments.

8 So, my hope would be – I know the Commission has asked community members to come  
9 forth and testify and speak about their experiences – but we need more of that. This discussion  
10 needs to be part of the daily communal fabric of the island. There has been a lot of resurgence of  
11 St. David’s Islanders particularly with the Pequot nation members and other indigenous members  
12 from the United States coming to St. David’s and rebuilding those relationships. This needs to  
13 be more of the discourse of the island because it is critical. It is insurmountably critical if we are  
14 trying to find new ways forwards. In a short end – or maybe that would be the long-stated way  
15 of saying that I do agree with... I just couldn’t express, my apologies.

16 SR. COUNSEL: Thank you. I wonder if, just in response to questions asked  
17 by Mr. Stovell about the values, the actual awards that were paid out if we could have SD120  
18 up? I don’t think we have looked at this together yet... and, if you could go forward in that  
19 document there will be a list of values – a little too far, go back, yeah, okay.

20 You asked about the values and the evaluation of the properties. This is actually the list  
21 of what the approximate acreage was, the appraised value, the asking price, the U.S. offer and  
22 the final award. Correct?

23 DR: SWAN: Yes.

1 SR. COUNSEL: Okay. And in relation to this, we see – you’ve mentioned  
2 Long Bird Island – just so that we are all aware of where this is, where this information is. It is  
3 in this document and we see a William Smith and a William Grieve and then it says:

4 *Bermuda, Colonial Governor of...*

5 Is that just Crown Land? Is that how it was referred to?

6 DR: SWAN: Yes. Yes. I believe so.

7 SR. COUNSEL: Okay. So, that would be just *Crown Land* but, the other  
8 two... you said one of them... and I’m not sure if you know the answer to this off the top of your  
9 head but, one of them you said was an American citizen on Long Bird. Do you know which one  
10 it was?

11 WITNESS: Grieve.

12 SR. COUNSEL: Grieve? So, if we shrink that down a bit.

13 WITNESS: L2.

14 SR. COUNSEL: Okay. So, L2, Mr. Grieve, being an American citizen; he  
15 was asking for... it was appraised at 301, was the value. He was asking for 370. The U.S. offer,  
16 quite exceptionally, was higher than the appraised value at 333 - or 53, I can’t tell – but certainly  
17 higher than the appraised value and he received a final award consistent with that, not what he  
18 was asking, but certainly higher than the appraised value. Do you know whether Mr. Grieve was  
19 living, in fact, on Long Bird Island?

20 WITNESS: I believe so. I am not totally certain but that is in the  
21 documentation. So that is something that I could – if the Commission so desires – I could follow  
22 up on.

23 SR. COUNSEL: That’s okay. But he was an American citizen, either living  
24 or not on that property, and he received that award.

25 The person above him – L1, William Smith – was that a Bermudian? Do you know?

1 WITNESS: I believe so, yes.

2 SR. COUNSEL: So, the Bermudian appraised value of the property was  
3 32,000. He was asking 101,000. The U.S. offer was 36 and his final award appears to be  
4 30,000?

5 WITNESS: 50,000. It was 50.

6 SR. COUNSEL: 50,000, okay. So, do we know anything about that  
7 individual aside from the fact that they are Bermudian? Do we know anything about them?

8 WITNESS: No but, once again, his material is inside the document that  
9 I have, so that's another individual that could be followed up on.

10 SR. COUNSEL: So, it's an individual who received more. So, those are the  
11 two Long Bird awards. Now if we shrink it down and go down below, we see in the next one *St.*  
12 *David's Island Properties* and these are the properties largely from – you will see first D1 to 35 –  
13 those are the properties that were settled most quickly and those are the properties that contained  
14 – or that were owned – predominantly by white Bermudians, not exclusively but predominantly I  
15 think the paper said it was white Bermudians in that first 35.

16 And so, if one wanted to, the material is there to go through and see what kinds of awards  
17 were given for those first 35 versus, on the next page, page 4. Can you shrink it a bit so that we  
18 can see the numbers? Yeah. They are personal numbers. So, we go down the line and we see a  
19 number of people there and then down to 35, down below you see the average awards.

20 So, one could do a comparison based on acreage but would you agree that the different  
21 valuations, the different pay-outs seemed to be based on someone's assessment of the value of  
22 the buildings and any crops that may have existed? It wasn't so much on the acreage itself.  
23 There seemed to be a standard rate for per acre...

24 WITNESS: Well there is a standard rate for per acre but then, yes, there  
25 are other factors: Is it on the waterfront, the buildings, as you mentioned – crops, yes.

1 SR. COUNSEL: Okay. Alright, so that appears, what's in that document -  
2 SD120 – appears to be a complete listing of at least one of the appraised values because most of  
3 them have more than one and the U.S. offer and the final pay-out?

4 WITNESS: Yes.

5 SR. COUNSEL: Okay. Thank you. I think those are all the questions I  
6 have. Thank you very much.

7 WITNESS: Thank *you* Counsel.

8 CHAIRWOMAN: Thank you, Ms. Mulligan. And thank you, Dr. Quito Swan.  
9 I am sure that the Commissioners are thankful to you for answering the questions, you know,  
10 promptly and frankly and the Bermuda public I am sure is happy to have heard your perspective  
11 on the matter. We may need you again, but we will give you some forewarning just in the  
12 event any of the other individuals who appear before us need to ask some questions.

13 But now we are going to adjourn, and we will take a 15-minutes break so that our  
14 next witness can have time to put herself together. And thank you again,

15 WITNESS: Thank you, Chief Justice. It's really been a pleasure.  
16 Thank you.

17 CHAIRWOMAN: So, we will take a 15-minutes break now, please.

18 **(BREAK X 15 MINUTES)**

19 CHAIRWOMAN: Good afternoon everyone. Our next witness is Ms. Lister,  
20 and Counsel, go ahead, please.

21 SR COUNSEL: Thank you.

22 CHAIRWOMAN: She has to be sworn.

23 SR COUNSEL: If you could be sworn, please.

24 **(WITNESS, MS. LISTER, IS SWORN BY MRS DYER-TUCKER)**

1 SR COUNSELOR: Good afternoon, Mrs. Lister.

2 WITNESS: Good afternoon, Ms. Mulligan.

3 SR COUNSELOR: I want to start by asking you what your current employment  
4 is.

5 WITNESS: I am currently employed as a consultant to the Bermuda  
6 Government as the Project Officer to the Commission's Inquiry in Historic Land Loss.

7 SR COUNSELOR: All right. For *this* Commission, then?

8 WITNESS: Yes.

9 SR COUNSELOR: And you have been in that role assisting with the  
10 Commission of Inquiry since when?

11 WITNESS: Since May of this year.

12 SR COUNSELOR: Now, fortunately for us, you also have done some research  
13 in areas that touch upon the Commission's work, is that correct?

14 WITNESS: Yes. That's correct.

15 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. Well, let's talk about your academic history. First of  
16 all, Bermuda High School graduate?

17 WITNESS: Yes. I completed the International Baccalaureate Program  
18 from the Bermuda High School in 2013.

19 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. And you went from there to university in the  
20 Netherlands, is that right?

21 WITNESS: Yes. I then attended Leiden University Honours College in  
22 the Hague where I did my Bachelor of Science in global challenges and international  
23 development.

24 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. And how long a program was that?

25

1 WITNESS: That was a two-year program, as opposed to going to the  
2 Canada/U.K. It would have been four years. It was an accelerated honours program.

3 SR COUNSELOR: And subsequent to that, you went to Goldsmiths, University  
4 of London, is that correct?

5 WITNESS: Yes. I did my Masters' Degree there in anthropology and  
6 cultural politics.

7 SR COUNSELOR: Mm-hmm, and you did a dissertation in relation to that. So,  
8 was there a coursework as well?

9 WITNESS: Yes. For each of the courses that I took, namely  
10 anthropological theory, anthropology in politics, economic and political anthropology and  
11 learning from social movements. Each course required me to do coursework and extensive  
12 academic writing.

13 SR COUNSELOR: Mm-hmm, and you did a dissertation, scholarly research  
14 and paper which you had to defend it, is that right?

15 WITNESS: Yes. That's correct. My dissertation was entitled,  
16 'Memories Lost in the Triangle: An Exploration of Bermuda's Social Conditioning through  
17 Racial Amnesia'.

18 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. And when did you receive your Masters' Degree?

19 WITNESS: I received my Masters' Degree in December of 2018.

20 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. In addition to your... well let me stop you there and  
21 say just for the sake of clarity: Can you give us a sort of a definition of what anthropology is?  
22 What is anthropology as an area of study?

23 WITNESS: Sure. I often get asked that in the local context. But  
24 anthropology is the study of a person's culture, as well as their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours,  
25

1 and can also be extended to media and arts that inform the way that we conduct ourselves in  
2 daily lives.

3 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. And in addition to your studies, I see here from your  
4 curriculum vitae that you actually have been very involved with your community in Bermuda.

5 WITNESS: Yes, that's correct.

6 SR COUNSELOR: So in addition to academic studies, you've also been  
7 involved with the Future Leaders of Bermuda?

8 WITNESS: Yes. I'm the Operations Manager currently.

9 SR COUNSELOR: Mm-hmm, and you have been an Agent with Discover  
10 Bermuda Destination Management?

11 WITNESS: Yes. As a hospitality representative.

12 SR COUNSELOR: And a Manager and Tour guide with Hidden Gems of  
13 Bermuda?

14 WITNESS: Yes. I also own my own tour company.

15 SR COUNSELOR: You have done prior work for the cabinet office?

16 WITNESS: Yes, I interned in the Sustainable Development Department  
17 one summer.

18 SR COUNSELOR: And did all of these experiences also help inform your  
19 dissertation – inform your perspective?

20 WITNESS: Yes. Most definitely. Even more so when I was presented  
21 with the opportunity in 2019 to be a panellist at the University of Oxford on the racialization and  
22 publicness in the Africa and African Diaspora Conference where I specifically presented on my  
23 dissertation and the racialization in post-Colonial Bermuda, past and present.

24 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. With those qualifications in mind, I will ask that  
25 Mrs. Lister be qualified as an expert in anthropology and cultural politics.

1 CHAIRWOMAN: Counsel's application. I make the Order that, Ms. H.  
2 Alicia Lister is qualified to be an expert in anthropology.

3 SR COUNSELOR: Thank you. Now, Mrs. Lister, in relation to your evidence  
4 here, you have prepared a report – well, in relation to your dissertation – but the report is relevant  
5 to our inquiry at the Commission, Memories Lost in the Triangle and Exploration of Bermuda's  
6 Social Conditioning through Racial Amnesia. Is that correct?

7 WITNESS: Yes. That's correct.

8 SR COUNSELOR: And you will, in due course, be providing a summary and  
9 answering questions here about your findings and conclusions.

10 WITNESS: Yes ma'am.

11 SR COUNSELOR: So, I wonder if that report then, that I've referred to, if that  
12 can be made an **Exhibit** in these proceedings?

13 WITNESS: I believe I've marked it as **AL00**.

14 SR COUNSELOR: In addition, you have provided along with your report,  
15 several Exhibits and they are marked AL01 to...

16 WITNESS: AL62.

17 SR COUNSELOR: AL62. And these are your source documents, primarily the  
18 source documents that you had referenced to that underlie your report and your conclusions, is  
19 that right?

20 WITNESS: Yes, ma'am. As an anthropologist, the majority of my  
21 sources are those of other scholars.

22 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. So, I wonder if those then could be marked as  
23 **Exhibits from AL...** sorry, **AL01**, is it?

24 WITNESS: Yes. AL01 and the final **number is listed as AL62**.  
25

1 SR COUNSELOR: And in addition to those Exhibits, you have prepared a  
2 photo collection, a slideshow of relevant photos, and that is marked as **AL64**.

3 WITNESS: Yes.

4 SR COUNSELOR: And if that could be made an **Exhibit** in these proceedings  
5 as well. All right. So having taken care of those preliminary matters, I wonder if you could – I  
6 think in relation to your dissertation, if you can summarize the first several pages as they  
7 generally... speak generally to the issues – and then go into more detail in relation to the  
8 chapters that deal specifically with Bermuda's experience.

9 WITNESS: Yes ma'am.

10 SR COUNSELOR: Thank you.

11 WITNESS: So, to start off:

12 *My dissertation project sought to explore the ways that racial amnesia helps*  
13 *sustain elements of structural racism throughout Bermuda since the emancipation*  
14 *of slavery in 1834. The aim of this research was to begin to understand how state*  
15 *and self-imposed racial false consciousness has debilitated Bermuda's population*  
16 *socioeconomically. It's an exploration into those societal frameworks which rely*  
17 *on the control of public discourse, and the formation of identity to sustain social*  
18 *cohesion.*

19 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. And I'm just going to ask you to stop for a minute so  
20 I can point out to the commissioners that this, what you're reading from, is at page two of your  
21 dissertation at the moment?

22 WITNESS: Yes. Correct. That's the beginning of the abstract.

23 SR COUNSELOR: All right, go ahead.

24 WITNESS: Now I want it to be clear that:  
25

1           *My dissertation does not seek to be a claim on Bermuda's race relations, but*  
2           *rather is a distillation and analysis of the formal and informal institutions, which*  
3           *facilitated multi-generational miseducation and unconsciousness in support of*  
4           *structural racism to benefit the island's white elite.*

5           On chapter one, the introduction, deals with the dynamics of the construction of  
6 significant race throughout Bermuda's 400 history-year. The chapter two is the methodology of  
7 my quantitative research, and chapter three, the literature review defines the concepts of  
8 structural and racial amnesia.

9           If we move on a little bit further, excuse me, I'm just flipping through here. I'd  
10          like to begin with a quote that I think is quite informing. It starts out as  
11          *History is the nation, as memory is the individual. An individual deprived of*  
12          *memory becomes disorientated and lost, not knowing where he has been or where*  
13          *he is going, so a nation so denied of a conception of its past will be disabled in*  
14          *dealing with its present and future.*

15          Now, I have referred to my diagnosis of Bermuda's society as 'racial amnesia':  
16          *Whereby elements of racial trauma and distress have been forgotten by the*  
17          *population. The peoples have been forced to forget their roots, culture and*  
18          *connection to the land through suppression or replacement of memories with*  
19          *differential ideals, which are displaced from the original context.*

20          *The ramifications of the marginalized Bermuda that we've learned about from*  
21          *historians through the Commission, are still being felt today, due to the*  
22          *juxtaposing living memories of black Bermudians and legitimized official memory*  
23          *of the public rhetoric.*

24          *The narratives that dictate public memory are significant as memory functions as*  
25          *a paradigm for understanding the effects of the past on present social phenomena.*

1 Now in 2014, the Royal Gazette conducted a poll, and their findings was that:  
2 *Racism has overtaken crime as one of the biggest issues facing Bermuda.*  
3 Moving down further into the chapter one of my dissertation:  
4 *The phenomenon of racial amnesia is not new or solely present within Bermuda.*  
5 *Throughout history, there are numerous societies whose injustices have been*  
6 *strategically and purposely forgotten by its people. In 1950s, we have Canada*  
7 *and the taking of its Inuit peoples and the first nation children, where they*  
8 *distanced them tremendously from their families and stripped them of their*  
9 *language and traditional skills.*  
10 *This is evident in Canada's will of its white elite to create future generations of*  
11 *non-white citizens, who had forgotten and were unaware of traditions, and their*  
12 *culture rooted in cultural distinction. Now, while less physically manipulative, we*  
13 *see this also in the American Government as they facilitated racial amnesia*  
14 *through propaganda and misinformation regarding the ingenuity and the positive*  
15 *involvement of African-Americans during World War I and its industrial era.*  
16 *And these racial injustices are often used to reshape the oppressed populations.*  
17 *It's well known that Bermudians do not enjoy equal access to wealth and resource*  
18 *distribution, or economic prosperity, even when they possess the same non-racial*  
19 *qualities. Today, the impact of Bermuda's racial disparities can be seen in*  
20 *employment, wealth distribution, access to education, criminal justice, where*  
21 *black people are marginalized and left disenfranchised.*  
22 *Bermuda prides itself on being a democratic country. Its population struggles*  
23 *with combining the ethos of racial tolerance, with the pain of the stigmatizations*  
24 *and discriminations of the past.*

1           *Now, many efforts to reconcile Bermuda's racial past with a reinvented national*  
2           *identity. There has also been a great emphasis on sustainment of a collective*  
3           *national narrative, which has largely been imparted through mechanisms of*  
4           *racial amnesia.*

5           If we move down to my literature review which happens in chapter three.

6           Let me give a little bit about contextual background as it relates to the anthropological  
7 theory, namely, starting off with structural and institutionalized racism:

8           *Structural racism is considered normative and is sometimes legislated but is*  
9           *evident in material conditions in power relations.*

10          Ms. Mulligan, if you're following me, I'm on page number 12 here.

11          SR COUNSELOR:           Thank you.

12          WITNESS:                 Just a moment:

13           *Structural racism cannot be substantively availed through economic stimulation*  
14           *or elapsed time, rather process, attitudes and values and behaviours, which*  
15           *created the disparity must first be addressed. From the inset of the racialization*  
16           *in Bermuda, this process of past dependency is defined to society according to the*  
17           *confines of its racial-making processes, which often remain purposely*  
18           *uninterrupted for generations.*

19           *Inevitably, the most pervasive racial social constructs are translated into formal,*  
20           *political, economy and culture. A benchmark of structural racism is its ability to*  
21           *maintain the status quo through ensuring marginalized people have less access to*  
22           *their resources which would enable them to change or enhance their current*  
23           *realities.*

24           *The consequence of supporting such systems of institutionalized racism is that it*  
25           *reinforces the misconceived norm of a non-white inferiority complex, whilst*

1 further legitimising racist attitudes are the rule of law. The acceptance of  
2 structural racism in turn is the acceptance of societal mechanisms, which are laid  
3 in with prejudicial preferences and codified into policy and protocols that dictate  
4 social interactions.

5 Speaking to racial amnesia, this study informs the inquiry of past events on  
6 current phenomenon. The recognition of memories can be interpreted as a way of  
7 gaining knowledge and skills, which, over time, becomes automatic and is  
8 transcribed as a social norm. Now, I, through my research, put a focus on  
9 episodic and semantic memory, which are recollections of the past, which  
10 represent common knowledge rather than the individual experience.

11 It's often argued that memory should be understood as a social object because it  
12 is located in institutions rather than individual minds. And it forms the rules,  
13 laws, standard procedures and records, and is sometimes located collectively  
14 created monuments and markers like books, holidays, statues, and souvenirs.  
15 However, the main problem with a selective collective memory, is that it can  
16 never be fully encompassing. Racial amnesia, as I mentioned before, refers to the  
17 diagnosis of a collective societal condition, whereby elements of racial trauma  
18 and distress have been forgotten. This supports the hegemonic structure of  
19 whiteness and serves as a decisive mental repression, which supersedes collective  
20 memories that connect linkages of race to imperialism.

21 The question of racial amnesia is, in essence, a question of false consciousness.  
22 Now racial amnesia is manifest in two ways. We often see it in denial or disguise.  
23 These articulations of racial amnesia are transhistorical and psychological  
24 phenomenon usually manifest in the process of sublimation, transference, or  
25 oppression, and is therefore considered itself of oppression.

1           *The most obvious way to trace historical amnesia throughout Bermuda is in the*  
2           *role of literature, language, and authority within racialized states, as well as*  
3           *elements of our society that are shaped by the ruling elites that illustrate their*  
4           *attitudes and behaviours that were used to control the marginalized population.*  
5           *Secondly, the pervasiveness and internalization of racial amnesia are best*  
6           *understood through the examination and construction of identities, which adhere*  
7           *to the norms and the law. Whilst racial amnesia sustained through institutional*  
8           *design, there was a cost of forgetting. As culture of misinformation is passed*  
9           *across generations and maintains this identity by passing on the reconstructed*  
10          *knowledge, values, and traditions over years, decades, and epochs.*

11          I will now begin to read further into the chapter in just a moment. As I mentioned, the  
12          role of literature, language, and authority are important in racial amnesia because the creation of  
13          these narratives, the storyteller automatically ascertains the power by creating the version of  
14          himself by setting the parameters of the other.

15          *The media also provides a platform in which the populations can negotiate*  
16          *identities, relationships, and values based on racial constructs. Frantz Fanon in*  
17          *1967 claims to explain the oppressionality of black people in that quote,*  
18          *“Every people in whose soul and inferiority complex has been created by the*  
19          *death and burial of its local originality, finds itself face-to-face with the language*  
20          *of the civilizing nation that is with the culture of its mother country”.*

21          *Now these conceptualizations of literature and language understand them to be*  
22          *both an expression and dispersion of knowledge, which shape individual attitudes*  
23          *and behaviours. Now by eliminating the sources, which challenged the values of*  
24          *the states, racialized oligarchies begin a process of social engineering through*  
25          *racial amnesia.*

1           *As histories are trapped within living memory and are excluded from the public*  
2           *form. For younger generations who did not experience these events, the state*  
3           *wishes to forget they are raised in the era of oblivion within a state that has de-*  
4           *legitimized their own wrongdoings through moving them from public record as if*  
5           *they did not exist.*

6           *Now one of the greatest challenges to whiteness is the acknowledgement of social*  
7           *violence, enacted in the name of maintaining white superiority. And as a means*  
8           *of coping, governments often created cultural competency discourses to facilitate*  
9           *the belief in a fair and tolerant society.*

10          *Understanding this, cultural competency discourse serves as a means of cultural*  
11          *conditioning and a post racist political strategy, which calls for the population to*  
12          *embrace and live within a mental habitus of pre-racial consciousness.*

13          *Through the creation of post racism narratives, white elites can successfully*  
14          *minimize the realities of racism. It comes to no surprise then that it is the racist*  
15          *that creates the inferior as asserted by Frantz Fanon in 1967. From that, an*  
16          *institutional shift would create new opportunities for self-empowerment and*  
17          *positive and more accurate identity constructions.*

18          *The long-lasting impacts of historical and racial amnesia is that the creation of*  
19          *new generations, which struggle with an identity that is constantly under*  
20          *construction and constantly at odds with itself. W.E.B. Du Bois in 1905,*  
21          *recognized this as:*

22          *“A double consciousness; this sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes*  
23          *of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on amused in*  
24          *contempt and pity”.*

1           *However, this lifelong, self-reflective image, fuels the plight of black self-*  
2           *actualization, and in turn stimulates a will to attain true self-consciousness whilst*  
3           *merging his double self into a truer and better self.*

4           Ms. Mulligan, if you're following me now, I'm now on to page 18, chapter four, 'Missing  
5 in Memory'.

6           SR COUNSELOR:           Thank you.

7           WITNESS:                   *The first slaves were introduced into Bermuda*  
8           *during the 1620s, shortly after the island was colonized by the British in 1612.*  
9           *The process of slave ownership was made widely accessible to the whites and,*  
10          *although slave prices were based on demand, a slave could be ascertained*  
11          *through sale, auction, legal seizure, or gift.*

12          *During the 17th century due to the abundance, ease of access and low valuation*  
13          *of black people, black slaves on the island and black children could be purchased*  
14          *for £8; black women between £10 and £20, and black men at £26. Despite the*  
15          *acceptance of slavery amongst most of the white oligarchy, blacks maintained a*  
16          *manifest resistance against the systematic oppression.*

17          *Although confined to an island of only 22 square miles, many slaves rebelled, and*  
18          *attempted to escape their masters and found refuge in Bermuda's coastal caves.*

19          *Over time, black slaves collectively masterminded rebellion and escape tactics,*  
20          *which evolved into conspiracies to murder their masters.*

21          *Slavery and indentured labour continued on the island up until 1834, when the*  
22          *emancipation of slavery took effect under the British Empire. Despite the influx*  
23          *of African, Native American, Irish, Scottish, and Latin American peoples,*  
24          *Bermuda's demographic remained predominantly white up until the 18th century.*

1           *With the inset of the emancipation of slavery sweeping across the West Indian*  
2           *nations, many freed slaves migrated to Bermuda. However, once reaching the*  
3           *island, the formerly freed slaves were forced into indentured labour for seven*  
4           *years as a means of repayment for the administration and transportation from the*  
5           *Spanish territories.*

6           *This influx of many black immigrants to Bermuda caused upset and fear amongst*  
7           *the white population. Hence, they severely increased the seven-year term of*  
8           *indentured labour to 99 years in hope of discouraging larger numbers of black*  
9           *migrants as this would essentially revert them to slaves for life.*

10          *Despite the emancipation of slavery, the white oligarchy was keen on maintaining*  
11          *power over the majority black population through structural racism that would*  
12          *inhibit them economically and politically.*

13          *Post-emancipation, white slave holders were offered compensation for their lost*  
14          *income for returning the slaves to freedom, whilst the black slaves were not*  
15          *compensated for the years, they had been economically raped.*

16          *Another example of this institutionalized racism is that pre-1834, the only*  
17          *qualification to vote was to own property valued at £40 or more. Following The*  
18          *Emancipation Act, this amount was raised to £100 to deter the blacks with low*  
19          *financial standing. This property voting system allowed white property owners to*  
20          *vote in every parish that they owned property, whereby giving them voters*  
21          *advantage over the disparate black counterparts.*

22          *The 1834 Voting Act has been regarded as one of the most crippling methods*  
23          *employed by whites to maintain political control over the island well into the 20th*  
24          *century. 130 years following the emancipation of slavery, the property-based*

1           *voting system was dissolved and reformed into The Parliamentary Election Act of*  
2           *1963.*

3           *However, this new legislation further glorified the white wealth, enhanced the*  
4           *white political power as the voting age was changed from 21 to 25, allowed*  
5           *property owners an extra vote and permitted Commonwealth citizens a vote after*  
6           *three-year residency.*

7           *By the late 1919, black Bermudians had manoeuvred their way through the*  
8           *disadvantage economic conditions and began creating their own sources of*  
9           *revenue through agriculture, shipbuilding and privateering.*

10          *In the early 1920s, tourism superseded all the sectors and became the main*  
11          *contributor to the local economy. At this point, the interest of the American*  
12          *tourists and the United States Government were valued much higher than that of*  
13          *black Bermudians. During this time, the island was segregated. Blacks could not*  
14          *rent or own property in white designated areas. They were excluded from movie*  
15          *theatres, golf courses, clubs, or functions, which whites patronized.*

16          *Blacks were also limited from service jobs to limit their interracial interaction.*  
17          *For example, black people were prohibited from working in the post office, as*  
18          *whites would be offended at the sight of blacks licking their postage stamps. With*  
19          *the influx of the white American tourist, blacks were also not allowed to work in*  
20          *the main street known as Front Street, as the tourism industry was developed on*  
21          *the predicate that wealthy white North Americans would not come to Bermuda if*  
22          *Bermuda was not segregated.*

23          *During this era, the Bermuda Government undertook a re-gentrification project*  
24          *of the Tucker's Town area, in which they forcibly removed approximately 400*  
25          *black Bermudians out of their community in order to develop an inclusive wealthy*

1           enclave for white tourists to enjoy. With the displacement and relocation of black  
2           Bermudians, the white oligarchy systematically created geographies of poverty.  
3           The 1919 Registrar General report stated that the infantile death rate of children  
4           under 12 months old was at 20.5% for blacks and 6.1% for whites. This statistic  
5           was interpreted by a foreign consultant as a result of unhygienic surroundings.  
6           Bermuda was systematically putting its future labour force underground in the  
7           report by the Medical and Sanitary Matters in Bermuda.

8           During the 1920s, several young blacks had to live among the packing crates  
9           along the docks on Front Street. They survived off the scraps that they could beg  
10          from people coming off ships and entertained, arriving and departing visitors by  
11          diving into the water to recover the coins that were thrown at them.

12          The relocation of blacks into the parish of Pembroke made it the most densely  
13          populated area with 39% of the demographic, equalling 4,833 people inhabiting  
14          the six-square-kilometre space. The obvious issues surrounding high population  
15          density were further exacerbated by the surrounding Pembroke Marsh, which  
16          expanded 94 acres and hosted swarms of mosquitoes, which spread throughout  
17          the infectious wells, that received tainted water from the dumping of the city  
18          sewage waste system.

19          Understandably, these poor living conditions birthed many illnesses and diseases,  
20          but even the black community-based health facilities were infested with roaches  
21          and rats. Through the fear of black spread illness, the Government created the  
22          1920 Public Act, which decreed that:

23          “Infected people cannot enter any public place”.

1           *Which further restricted movements of blacks into the main city and the tourist*  
2           *hub. Additionally, it was mandated that those that were sick should report to the*  
3           *local newspapers, The Royal Gazette and The Daily Colonist.*

4           *The Government's legitimization of the displacement of black Bermudians paved*  
5           *the way for the success of the white tourist market, of the 20th century, and also*  
6           *gave justification for the 1930 Hotelkeepers Protection Act, which gave*  
7           *establishments the right to refuse any black or Jewish guest.*

8           *Segregation remained a key element in Bermuda's social structure. In 1953 the*  
9           *Select Committee on Race Relations declared it as an economic and social*  
10          *necessity.*

11          *Since its inception as a British colony, arguably up until 1964, Bermuda was*  
12          *controlled by the white elite oligarchy known as the Forty Thieves.*

13          *Those members were mainly merchants who controlled Bermuda's central*  
14          *business district, the Front Street. However, they also had political power and:*  
15          *“Maintained a system of social and economic control, and segregation in schools,*  
16          *churches, and businesses. Blacks who dared to push for change, risked losing*  
17          *their jobs or having their mortgages called in.*

18          *The fruition of the black social movement began in Bermuda in 1959 during*  
19          *theatre boycott, which occurred during a major dock workers' strike and resulted*  
20          *in the desegregation of Bermuda's hotels and restaurants. The Theatre Boycott*  
21          *was a notable point of social change in Bermuda's theatre, as it was a microcosm*  
22          *of Bermudian society where seat assignment was according to race.*

23          *Civil unrest and political reform came to heed in Bermuda throughout the 1960s,*  
24          *which was marked by the creation of the two-party political system upon the*

1           *inception of the black backed race, the PLP, the Progressive Labour Party in*  
2           *1963.*

3           *The opposition, the UBP, the United Bermuda Party by origin, became the nature*  
4           *and political organ of the Forty Thieves. In 1964, the United Bermuda Party was*  
5           *founded and proceeded to win every election for the next 34 years. During the*  
6           *early works of the UBP, their policies focused on the desegregation of the school*  
7           *system and increasing educational prospects.*

8           *However, this did not remedy the race-based social turmoil. During 1965 and*  
9           *1968, there were numerous riots, and between a span of 10 months in 1972, the*  
10          *Police Commissioner, the Governor, his Aide-de-Camp, and a supermarket owner*  
11          *and his bookkeeper were shot dead. And in 1977, there were riots in response to*  
12          *the execution of the martyred murders, all as acts of revolt against our racist*  
13          *colonial system.*

14          *As an attempt to further dispel the social upset, the Government invited a foreign*  
15          *commission to investigate the root cause of the island's surmounting social issues,*  
16          *which was inevitably determined to be racial inequality.*

17          *In Bermuda, there seems to be a natural affinity between race dynamics and the*  
18          *voting system as the PLP is mainly supported by black Bermudians, whilst the*  
19          *UBP has a white majority makeup.*

20          *In 2009, the Bermuda Democratic Alliance was formed as a breakaway party*  
21          *from the UBP, which could leverage more voters from the opposition party.*

22          *However, it was soon realized the separation of the party provided the opposition*  
23          *with a better chance at winning an election, due to vote-splitting.*

24          *Hence the UBP and BDA entered into a merger agreement two years later,*  
25          *forming the new One Bermuda Alliance. Under the newly named institution, the*

1           party slogan was 'Putting Bermuda First', and its policies focused on balancing  
2           and minimizing the fiscal budget, strengthening security forces, stimulating small  
3           businesses, improving education, and enhancing immigration policies.

4           Following the social unrest of the 1960s and '70s, Bermuda's Government was  
5           keen to re-establish a state of non-direct violence and a calm public rhetoric by  
6           which they implemented an intense program of social engineering between the  
7           1970s and '80s. The scope of counterintelligence employed by the Bermudian and  
8           British-American Governments created a 'vacuum in historical consciousness' as  
9           called by Dr. Quito Swan.

10          In regards to this mistreatment of blacks and the social uprisings 1970s, so much  
11          so that many of younger generations today are unaware of the fact that Bermuda  
12          even had its own social unrest and black power movement.

13          Chapter five; 'The Conceptualization of Bermuda Memory'. In order to grasp a  
14          clear underpinning and understanding of Bermuda's contemporary racial  
15          frameworks, the country's unique institutional and cultural substantives must first  
16          be explored to highlight which social, political, and economic unequivocal  
17          elements are formulated and exacerbated due to the racial undertones.

18          Now, the study of Bermuda's contemporary social economic race-based issues,  
19          and the extent of which racial amnesia is further complicated by its distinctive  
20          composition as the oldest British colony and international business hub, a world-  
21          class tourist destination, and a multicultural society, which combines American,  
22          Caribbean, and Eastern European influences.

23          Whilst Bermuda has seemingly evolved from the blatant racist acts of the 17th  
24          century, it is important to acknowledge the writings of Stuart Hall who proposed  
25          that:

1           *"Racism is not always overtly observable but is often inferential".*

2           *In 2013, the Media Council of Bermuda stated that:*

3           *The extent of knowledge of Bermuda's racial history varies tremendously amongst*  
4           *members of the media. It is difficult even for experienced Bermudian journalists*  
5           *to have anything approaching a complete knowledge of factual history. Even the*  
6           *best educated experienced and most understanding journalist will be challenged*  
7           *by the long legacy of historical events, which include modern, social, and*  
8           *political problems and widespread fears and suspicions, myths, and*  
9           *misconceptions".*

10          *Although much racial discourse in Bermuda is not present in formal*  
11          *transcription, it is prevalent amongst the living memory of the older generations,*  
12          *and is a successfully means of:*

13          *Replacing the dominant narrative that fail to describe the experience of those that*  
14          *it disempowers. The reshaping of racial narratives was a strong aim of the PLP*  
15          *Government during their inaugural running in 1963.*

16          Excuse me, I've just lost my page. There we go, ... in 1963.

17          *However, this aim was greatly undermined by past efforts of knowledge and*  
18          *narrative manipulation. Since the early 1900s, the island's white elite saw the*  
19          *importance of controlling the public knowledge and discourse through literature*  
20          *and media and began to legalize the prohibition of particular race-based text.*  
21          *The British Governor began by banning A Negro World, an African-American*  
22          *newspaper in the 1920s, a publication of the Universal Negro Improvement*  
23          *Association, and the African Communities League.*

24          *Forty years later in 1960, Mohammed Speaks a newspaper speaking from the*  
25          *nation of Islam was banned. In addition, Frantz Fanon's 1961 "A Wretched*

1       *Earth," which spoke about the dehumanizing effects of colonization. By*  
2       *prohibiting literature and certain discourses throughout the island, the white*  
3       *oligarchy and Bermuda Government were able to systematically control the*  
4       *education of blacks and inhibit them from consuming information that challenged*  
5       *their colonialist goals.*

6       *By monitoring public knowledge, the elitist rule was able to ensure tha*  
7       *intellectual resistance could be limited and a cross-generational spread of*  
8       *conflictual narratives controlled.*

9       *Bermuda's daily newspaper, The Royal Gazette has historically been used as a*  
10      *political weapon against black Bermudians, as articles often included:*

11      *"Tirades boarding fanatical paranoia, displaying the white population grossly*  
12      *ignorant of black people, Bermuda and Africa's history yet profoundly arrogant*  
13      *enough to believe that they actually knew what was best for the island".*

14      That was also quoted from Dr. Swan.

15      *The oppressive rhetoric and exclusion of positive black journalism from the*  
16      *mainstream media allowed the success of black Bermudians to go unnoticed and*  
17      *justice of whites to be ignored and further supported the race-based class*  
18      *structure through its diminutive language. However, in the wake of political*  
19      *unrest, the media and Government changed tactics of mental oppression, and*  
20      *sought to diffuse racial tension by downplaying the racial elements.*

21      *"The creation of an integrationist narrative of black progress intended to convey*  
22      *the notion that history of the blacks in Bermuda had been relatively devoid of*  
23      *political struggle because race relations on the island had always been good".*

24      This method of racial amnesia promoted, as quoted from Dr. Swan.

1           *“The idea that slavery in Bermuda was benign and that blacks were treated*  
2           *relatively well by whites as opposed to blacks and the wider African diaspora.*  
3           *Likewise, the colonialism and paternalism were responsible for the relative*  
4           *material affluence of black Bermuda, as opposed to the black struggle against*  
5           *oppression. Furthermore, after desegregation in 1960s, blacks no longer had to*  
6           *struggle as integration had brought blacks into the ‘promised’ land of social*  
7           *equality of the whites. The races continued to work together to craft Bermuda*  
8           *into a tranquil paradise acceptable for tourism and international business*  
9           *industries”.*

10           *Post emancipation language and narratives were tactfully manipulated in order*  
11           *to control the dissemination of post-colonialist knowledge and emotion.*

12           *Convinced the blacks of the population of their own inferiority and minimize the*  
13           *acknowledgement and accountability of white attitudes and behaviours.*

14           *The racial amnesia project sought to socially engineer a middle-class black*  
15           *population, which would serve as a grassroots link from the white elites.*

16           ***IDENTITY:*** *It was clear through the formal institutions implemented by the*  
17           *Bermuda Government during the 1960s and '70s, that it was understood that:*

18           *“The official disillusion of the formerly imposed segregation had deep*  
19           *implications for the maintenance of social identity and the creation of a new sense*  
20           *of community”.*

21           *However, the Government's attempts to maintain social cohesion during this*  
22           *period were heavily challenged by the black power movement. It should be noted*  
23           *that the key aim of the black power movement was to achieve political*  
24           *independence from the United Kingdom in order to reconstruct the class-based*  
25           *socioeconomic and political structures.*

1           *Although black power is often interpreted simply to be anti-white, it encompasses*  
2           *ethos of black self-determination. In response to this movement, the white*  
3           *oligarchy sought to employ racial amnesia through successful dislocating the*  
4           *Bermudian population from other Pan-African movements to dilute the angst*  
5           *against the colonial structure.*

6           *Although black protest in Bermuda can now be traced back to the era of*  
7           *enslavement as an initial revolt against the colonial institution. Unlike their Pan-*  
8           *African brothers and sisters, Bermuda had accepted colonialism as a necessity,*  
9           *whilst those notable comrades in England's Black Power Party had proclaimed*  
10          *the black power movement to be:*

11          *“Anti-exploitation, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist”.*

12          *During this time, the Government sought to shape a collective black identity,*  
13          *which valued the notion that foreign blacks would stir up trouble amongst the*  
14          *good- and mild-tempered negros of Bermuda; which dubiously suggested that*  
15          *blacks in Bermuda had either no reason to resist the white hegemony or were not*  
16          *aware of their oppression”.*

17          *However, within a decade, the British troops have been deployed to the island five*  
18          *times, 1986, 1969, and twice in 1970 and 1977, in response to social movements.*

19          *As Bermuda's black power movement was perceived as:*

20          *“A collective and direct challenge to colonialism, which was an unnatural*  
21          *anarchism in any country, much less a wealthy island, such as Bermuda”.*

22          *As argued by Foucault in 1979:*

23          *“White governmentality relies on technology of the body which aim to control and*  
24          *discipline conduct through populous racist ascriptions and moral panics, which*

1 *inform the limitations placed on racial others spatial mobility, economic status,*  
2 *political participation, and social visibility”.*

3 *Despite the Government's aim to limit the mobility of black power movement*  
4 *through military force, they had failed to degenerate its ability to empower and*  
5 *educate the black community, henceforth, creating a population who are*  
6 *constantly aware of the force and excessive surveillance used to control them and*  
7 *are unfaithful to the justice system to protect them.*

8 *It has become evident that black Bermudians are:*

9 *“Without any illusion of return to the past and they're a product of their new*  
10 *situation as much as that of any ‘original’ location”.*

11 *There is often much contention in local dialogue in what constitutes a true*  
12 *Bermudian although the island was found uninhabited and ancestral roots have*  
13 *many linkages to parts of the globe:*

14 *“It became more fashionable to pretend to an indigenous identity than a settler*  
15 *slave status, pushing the identity of a colonial slave to the margins of allowable*  
16 *acceptance”.*

17 *In this way, the black Bermudian population also created their own imposed*  
18 *catalyst for racial amnesia as a coping mechanism for the displacement and*  
19 *disempowerment forced onto them by the colonialist elite.*

20 *Although this means of self-segregation and alienation of the past was an attempt*  
21 *to protect the black Bermudian community from its new oppressive narratives, it*  
22 *further reinforced and legitimized the sense of otherness originally created by the*  
23 *white man.*

24 *Frank Manning in 1981 argues that black Bermudians adopt a perversion of*  
25 *cultural events that emphasize their economic standing, which reflects their*

1           *rejection of a stance of social inferiority in favour of a positive and assertive*  
2           *sense of self-awareness.*

3           *This rejection of forced identity works to forget racial disparities and it also*  
4           *allows for the disadvantage to live in a euphoric state in which their racial realm*  
5           *and criteria for social status is self-constructed, and a conflated means of self-*  
6           *preservation.*

7           *In this sense, black Bermudians, not only face challenges of adhering to the social*  
8           *norms of the white man but must now also work to meet the status quo of his own*  
9           *race. The mechanisms of structural racism on a societal level and a racial*  
10          *amnesia on an individual level, work simultaneously to shape the black*  
11          *Bermudian identity, which remains flexible within varying racial context.*

12          *The dichotomy between the appreciation of black excellence and white*  
13          *appropriate behaviour often plays on the integral struggle in which it was quoted*  
14          *in Frank Manning's 1981 text from a Bermudian saying:*

15          *“We black Bermudians, an old man cautioned, can easily fool you. We're*  
16          *laughing on the outside but crying on the inside”.*

17          *Proving true to Fanon's 1967, claim that, after having been enslaved to the white*  
18          *man, he enslaves himself. Today however, there is a strong push with a younger*  
19          *generational black Bermudians to redefine their social narrative and reclaim a*  
20          *higher place within society, as they:*

21          *“Refuse to be fixed or defined by an official version of identity, and deeply accept*  
22          *an idea that self-narration achieves self-empowerment”.*

23          *Unintentionally, the efforts asserted by the white oligarchy created future*  
24          *generations constructed through:*

25          *“The resulting hybrid nature of the identities and consciousness of the diaspora”.*

1           *Now, despite being contained to a small landmass of 21 square miles, the British*  
2           *oligarchy successfully employed geographies of occlusion as a means of*  
3           *impression, and early phase of racial amnesia speaking specifically to the*  
4           *families displaced from Tucker's Town and the St. David's Island.*

5           *This policy that supported the dislocation of these families supports the theory of:*  
6           *“Imaginaries linking the social and the psychic, placing race at the centre of the*  
7           *city scape and reproducing the centrality of the couplet of ‘race’ and the nation,*  
8           *which allows racism to operate as a disciplinary mode in which the fact of being*  
9           *seen provides the optimum conditions for surveillance identification as an alien*  
10           *and threatening presence”.*

11           *The displacement and relocation of black Bermudians to areas known as Devil's*  
12           *Hole and ‘back of town’, not only created a site of manifestation for poverty and*  
13           *crime, but also created the notion that black Bermudians were naturally devoid of*  
14           *high-value property ownership. As recognized in Gooden (2014):*

15           *“Racial disparities are not randomly assigned but are embedded within and*  
16           *across societal structures”.*

17           *As quoted and mentioned by Ms. Mulligan earlier, I said that:*

18           *“Housing, its location and quality have a significant impact on a person's life*  
19           *trajectory. Therefore, to be confined to an impoverished racially segregated*  
20           *neighbourhood is likely to increase a person's chance to have adverse*  
21           *interactions with the criminal justice system based on diminished educational*  
22           *opportunities and limited employment prospects”.*

23           *As noted by W. Du Bois in 1905:*

24           *“To be a poor man is hard, but to be a poor race in a land of dollars is the bottom*  
25           *of hardships”.*

1           *The control of the black Bermudian population through displacement, relocation*  
2           *and monitored movements allowed the white oligarchy to successfully build the*  
3           *foundation for cumulative disadvantage of disparity, leaving the black*  
4           *Bermudians disenfranchised and systematically polarized within a society that*  
5           *deemed them to be less insignificant.*

6           **Cultural Competency:** *It can be argued that the aims of the UBP during their 34-*  
7           *year tenure were attempts to remedy racial tensions throughout the island*  
8           *through:*

9           *“Means of imaginative construction of histories and memories that may not be*  
10           *strictly truthful but will forge a reality that is bearable to all the members of the*  
11           *divergent community”.*

12           *Now, according to Frank Manning in 1981:*

13           *“The UBP’s trump card was the promise of a thoroughgoing partnership - The*  
14           *term used in campaign slogans between blacks and whites in the running*  
15           *Bermuda”.*

16           *Similar to the converging influences of Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X, it*  
17           *is argued that it:*

18           *“Took the threat of the political violence to force the UBP to make even the most*  
19           *basic changes to its socioeconomic policies against the blacks”.*

20           *Much of the acceptance of the UBP amongst Bermuda's black population was due*  
21           *to their political strategy, which involved recruiting black candidates and putting*  
22           *black Bermudians in highly visible positions throughout the party.*

23           *The UBP employed many tactics throughout the 1960s and '70s, to prove that*  
24           *their level of cultural competency, including the introduction of black party and*  
25           *senate members; the naming of a black premier, Sir Edward Richards, who was*

1           *in from 1971 to 1975; the appeasement of the majority of the black parliamentary*  
2           *reformist group and the gradual acceptance of the demands made by the internal*  
3           *black caucus.*

4           *As a means of social control, the UBP presented the partnership between white*  
5           *and black Bermudians as a partnership, which served as:*

6           *“A guarantee of social security, as well as an opportunity for gain.*

7           *Only through the visible demonstration of racial integration it was claimed, can*  
8           *Bermuda continue to attract tourists and international companies, the sources of*  
9           *prosperity”.*

10          *The only issue with the invitation of this fallacy was that it greatly ignored the*  
11          *present and future agency of Bermuda's black population.*

12          *Additionally, it can be argued that this type of social engineering can be*  
13          *interpreted as a new form of racism disguised as cultural competency whilst*  
14          *exacerbating the racial amnesia. Whilst the OBA have presented platforms which*  
15          *have been said to be, acknowledge and alleviate the plights of the black*  
16          *Bermudian community, their methods:*

17          *“Resemble new racism by otherizing non-whites and by deploying modernist and*  
18          *absolutist views of culture whilst using non-racist language”.*

19          *Through creating such platforms emphasize superficial unity of the Governments,*  
20          *it created an ontology of forgetting our racial histories which:*

21          *“Perpetuates the view of Bermuda as a fair and tolerant society, despite the*  
22          *reality of pervasive racism”.*

23          *Although many feel comfortable with the notion that Bermuda is in a post-racist*  
24          *state, this fallacy:*

1           *“Disavows history, overlaying it with an upbeat discourse about how things are*  
2           *never really that bad, are not so bad now, and are only getting better”.*

3           *Whilst efforts to stimulate racial amnesia are not overt in modern times, it is*  
4           *argued that the concept has been sustained by:*

5           *“Flying under the flag of ‘colour-blindness’, ‘multi-culturalism’, or ‘racial*  
6           *tolerance’, contemporary rhetoric (whether international or otherwise), to mask*  
7           *or cloak the reality of racism today, diminishing or downplaying its significance,*  
8           *even as quotidian instances of racism”.*

9           To conclude, and quoting Du Bois once again:

10          *“The nation has not yet found peace from its sins; the freed man has not yet found*  
11          *freedom in his promised land”.*

12          *Painfully, this quote hones true to the current racist noose that constrains*  
13          *Bermuda. But it begs the question of whether or not peace and freedom must be*  
14          *achieved simultaneously. If not, which concept has been deemed sanctimonious*  
15          *enough to come first?*

16          *Why, then, has Bermuda forgotten? Significantly, the majority of the cases have*  
17          *little to do with the education system, but rather the nature of Bermudian culture*  
18          *and the kind of civilization that Bermuda has evolved to today. Wide level of*  
19          *societal acceptance of disparity and deviating realism of black Bermudians are*  
20          *heavily linked to organizational practices, institutional framework and public*  
21          *sentiment.*

22          *As Schneider and Ingram in 1993 noted:*

23          *“The relationship between social construction (positive or negative) and power*  
24          *(high or low) is related to whether groups either benefit or are burdened by policy*  
25          *decision”.*

1           *Acknowledging that structural racism is practically impossible to dissolve, its:*  
2           *“Outcomes in health, education, employment, environmental risk, occupational*  
3           *status and crime are not randomly assigned. They're embedded in a historical*  
4           *structure where racial minorities chronologically experienced pervasive negative*  
5           *differences. These differences compound exponentially to generate a cycle of*  
6           *racial saturation that continues generation after generation”.*

7           *Whilst a true reflection of black Bermudian memory is hard to ascertain, as it has*  
8           *been actively suppressed and white-washed by historical accounts of the colonial*  
9           *powers.*

10          *As the oldest British overseas territory, it is no surprise that historically there has*  
11          *been:*

12          *“A persistent hegemonic preoccupation with the governing and racialized other.*  
13          *The nationalist imaginary increasingly evokes the regulatory structure of*  
14          *whiteness in appropriating the political and cultural experiences”.*

15          *Acknowledging the efforts by both Governmental and non-Governmental entities*  
16          *to re-imagine social narratives and to create a new identity, many have*  
17          *recognized that these efforts cannot pretend to solve existent political oppression,*  
18          *although it does set up a viable alternates to one-sided nature of officially*  
19          *endorsed accounts of history”.*

20          *These organizations have both emphasized their appreciation for:*

21          *“The realization that discrimination deprives both the perpetrator and the victim*  
22          *of their humanity”.*

23          *However, it calls into question at what point, if at any, does the value for*  
24          *humanity supersede the value for political economic power? Additionally, it*  
25          *attempts to contrive a new national identity that can be interpreted as a neo-*

1 *colonialist substitution for one oppressive ideology than the other ignoring past*  
2 *atrocities and creating a new black Bermuda ignorant of past communal*  
3 *sufferings.*

4 *Arguments supporting past Governmental efforts of cultural competency can be*  
5 *analysed as a reify of race through modernist and colonialist lenses as an*  
6 *ontology for forgetting Bermuda's history of white supremacy that thrived on*  
7 *imperial projects that proved central to the state's formation and ascendancy”.*

8 *Although Bermuda still remains as the oldest colony, the black Bermudian*  
9 *population is still a fugitive of colonial oppression as its members of society are*  
10 *still bound by the racist and colonial institutions that entrapped their slave*  
11 *ancestors over 400 years ago.*

12 *Despite the success of the racial and historical amnesia as a means of stimulating*  
13 *and sustaining social cohesion, its implementation:*

14 *“Greatly ignored the consequences of the multifaceted genealogy of the country's*  
15 *current population”.*

16 *It is clear, from the British and Bermuda Governments' repertoire, that there was*  
17 *a blatant understanding of the importance in sustaining a shared national*  
18 *narrative.*

19 *However, it is important that all members of Bermudian society are privy to the*  
20 *notion that pure social cohesion can only be achieved through creating social*  
21 *orders that are aimed towards remembering, acknowledging and transforming its*  
22 *racial memory rather than denying and forgetting.*

23 *The island's race politics do not pre-exist its rhetorical performance and do not*  
24 *hold a sacrosanct value. Rather, it should be understood that they're made to be*

1 *pervasive and have been neutralized across socioeconomic environments, making*  
2 *them amenable to change, critique, and rearticulation.*

3 *It's argued by Phay-Vakalis in 2006 that:*

4 *“Amnesia can be transcended by digging into the past and unfreezing the*  
5 *sedimentary strata of the pain and mutism. It is a question of traversing the*  
6 *discontinuities and ruptures of memory and understanding their meaning. The*  
7 *work of an-amnesia helps to rebuild a unified identity”.*

8 *“One must face written histories that erase and deny and reinvent the past to*  
9 *make the present vision of racial harmony and pluralism more plausible. To bear*  
10 *the burden of memory, one must willingly journey to places long uninhabited,*  
11 *searching the debris of history for traces of the unforgettable, and acknowledge of*  
12 *all that have been repressed”.*

13 *Today, there seems to be great resistance to Bermuda's racial amnesia and a*  
14 *thirst for self-empowerment through self-narration. Black Bermudians of younger*  
15 *generations:*

16 *“Refuse to be fixed or defined by official versions of their identity”.*

17 *Unlike their ancestors, they have rejected the acquiescence of forgetting and have*  
18 *rather embraced a duty to remember.*

19 *Whilst acknowledging and correcting racial amnesia attempts to understand and*  
20 *alleviate social conditions, it once again traps the black body within the pain of*  
21 *its ancestors. And as Frantz Fanon said in 1967:*

22 *“The Negro, however sincere, is always a slave of his past”.*

23 Thank you.

1 SR COUNSELOR: You've given us a lot of information. You've given us a lot  
2 of information and I'd like to try to bring that information more closely into focus of the  
3 Commission's work...

4 WITNESS: Yes, ma'am.

5 SR COUNSELOR: ...of the Inquiry. And one of the things that you've talked  
6 about is the concept or the notion of racial amnesia in Bermuda in relation to Tucker's Town and  
7 in relation to St. David's. We have at least heard from Dr. Swan, and Dr. Francis, about the lack  
8 of any official record...

9 WITNESS: Yes.

10 SR COUNSELOR: ...that seemed to reflect what was happening at the time, as  
11 far as from the perspective of the St. David's Islanders and the people who lived in Tucker's  
12 Town.

13 WITNESS: Yes.

14 SR COUNSELOR: Were you – in your anthropological review – were you able  
15 to find anything more than they were able to find about the actual voices of the people who were  
16 experiencing these dispossession of their lands?

17 WITNESS: Actually, I would say that I found less than the historians,  
18 that being Dr. Francis and Dr. Swan, because much to their advantage, they had access to the  
19 U.S. and British Archives. Much of my research was based on scholarly articles that would be  
20 available online, as I conducted it while I was in the U.K.

21 But you often hear, throughout the Bermudian community, that these archives are  
22 missing or there was a fire, and they've been misplaced, or they're underneath someone's bed.  
23 So, this is well-known amongst the Bermudian community. But I think it often is apparent  
24 through normal dialect and colloquialisms.

1 For example, you often hear people say: Oh. Well, who's your momma? What part of  
2 the island are you from? But the average person wouldn't link that back to the expropriations  
3 and families being split up around the island. So, you have the generational gap where you don't  
4 know if, for example, the Smith family lives in St. David's or Somerset. And now you're trying  
5 to put your family back together.

6 So, you see the gaps in information being passed down through generations in different  
7 ways.

8 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. You talk also, at length, about... I think you call it  
9 'structural racism' but, would that be the same as what we've heard, the term 'institutionalized  
10 racism'?

11 WITNESS: Yes.

12 SR COUNSELOR: 'Systemic racism'?

13 WITNESS: Yes.

14 SR COUNSELOR: All right. So understanding that term as you do, and having  
15 explained to us the role it's played in Bermuda, I want to take it back to the laws that were passed  
16 in Bermuda that allowed for these lands to be expropriated.

17 WITNES: Yes.

18 SR COUNSELOR: The laws were passed, we've been told by a - well, by  
19 Members of Parliament – but they were also members of the white oligarchy – the white  
20 merchants, the bankers, the...

21 WITNESS: Correct.

22 SR COUNSELOR: That controlled much of the island's economic life.

23 WITNESS: Yes. They're well-known throughout the Bermuda  
24 community as the '40 Thieves'.

1 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. So, when you talk about ‘structural institutionalized  
2 racism’, the fact that it was impossible at that time for any black Bermudian to be a Member of  
3 Parliament...

4 WITNESS: Yes.

5 SR COUNSELOR: Would that be an example of the ‘institutionalized’, or  
6 ‘structural racism’ that you're talking about?

7 WITNESS: Most definitely. Especially being that the people that are in  
8 Parliament are seen to be representatives of their constituencies, so if there's no representation of  
9 the House of black people, then their voices could not have been heard during that time.

10 SR COUNSELOR: And where are institutions – which is Government  
11 institutions, Parliament – are set up structurally to perpetuate racism, such as in the case where  
12 only the white elite have entry into Parliament; right?

13 WITNESS: Yes.

14 SR COUNSELOR: Where they're set up to perpetuate racism, do we often...  
15 do we see things like the laws appropriating lands being passed without consultation with the  
16 black community?

17 WITNESS: You often do see that. The laws, I'm sure, were first  
18 created as a function of the state, but they were then manipulated toward the white oligarchy  
19 benefit.

20 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. You talk about... I like to use the term ‘rewriting  
21 history’. You talk about this amnesia, racial amnesia; is it that... I don't want to use the word  
22 ‘benign’, but is it just forgotten? Or was there, in your anthropological review, any evidence that  
23 in fact the white power structure had tried to erase the history?

24 WITNESS: Yes. I would say that there were intentional acts. As I  
25 mentioned, the banning of literature and books that firstly limits the education that you have on

1 topics that would have related to black empowerment, as well as the laws that would have  
2 limited black movement and other economic involvement at that time.

3 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. We heard from Dr. Swan about newspaper articles  
4 that locally said: Well, you know, the people of St. David's were quite generous and happy to  
5 support the Empire.

6 WITNESS: Yes.

7 SR COUNSELOR: But internationally, these same meetings were described as  
8 being: People jumping to their feet and being quite upset.

9 WITNESS: Exactly.

10 SR COUNSELOR: So, when our future generations look back at what *is*  
11 available locally, as far as newspaper reports and accounts of these events, does that exacerbate  
12 the racial amnesia?

13 WITNESS: Most definitely. If you are given the perspective that  
14 everything was benign, fine and happy, then you have no interest of self-reflection to deter that  
15 narrative. I, myself, as we went through earlier, attended the Bermuda High School, and when I  
16 asked where our black Bermuda history was, I was told 'it's irrelevant'.

17 SR COUNSELOR: When you talk about, in your dissertation... I'm going to  
18 take you to Page 19 of your dissertation. And I want to talk about/just build up the context to  
19 1920s and 1940s when these incidents that we're looking at occurred.

20 At Page 19, you talk about first, the first – and I'm going to talk about just post-  
21 Emancipation, not before that - but post-Emancipation: When black slaves were freed, they  
22 weren't compensated.

23 WITNESS: Correct.

24 SR COUNSELOR: Slaveholders were compensated for their loss.

25 WITNESS: Yes. That's correct.

1 SR COUNSELOR: Further, in addition to being economically disadvantaged  
2 by being freed, for want of a better term, the voting – property that a person had to own to vote –  
3 was raised; is that right?

4 WITNESS: Yes. It was.

5 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. And in this case, a male had to own to vote, I should  
6 say. It wasn't females at all by this time. It was just males.

7 WITNESS: They... yes. Males. They increased the voting age; is that  
8 what you're referring to on Page 19?

9 SR COUNSELOR: Increased the - from £40 to £100 initially, right?

10 WITNESS: Yes, ma'am.

11 SR COUNSELOR: So now we have a population that was economically  
12 disadvantaged and unable to vote for the most part, at that time; is that correct?

13 WITNESS: Yes. And those that would have been displaced, if they  
14 were losing their agricultural lands, they also lost their livelihoods.

15 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. So we're coming up now to the 1920s where you  
16 say, in your dissertation, that by the late 19th century, black Bermudians had maneuvered their  
17 way through the disadvantaged economic conditions and began creating their own sources of  
18 revenue through agriculture, shipbuilding and privateering. And I might also add, from what  
19 we've heard, certainly fishing?

20 WITNESS: Yes. And I believe, going off the back of Dr. Swan's  
21 research that he presented, in the early 19th century, there were laws that were introduced that  
22 were more restrictive on the black economic movement.

23 SR COUNSELOR: Yes. But by the time we get to the 1920s to the 1940s,  
24 we've heard, certainly in the case just recently of St. David's, that these ways of  
25

1 life...agricultural, fishing, shipbuilding, whaling...all of those economic sustainability, the  
2 economic sustainability of St. David's, for instance, was based on those activities.

3 WITNESS: That's correct. Yes.

4 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. So when you say they maneuvered their way  
5 through disadvantaged economic conditions: Based on your review, were there limited other  
6 opportunities to engage in business, merchandising, that sort of thing, in the 1920s to '40s in  
7 Bermuda for black Bermudians?

8 WITNESS: I don't believe so. As I mentioned, their involvement was  
9 also limited in the civil service and it was promoted that segregation of blacks throughout  
10 Bermuda was the only way to ensure the tourism product going forward. And at that time, being  
11 as that was the main economic thrust on the island, we would have been further disenfranchised  
12 to keep that motive moving forward.

13 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. So, when the lands were taken in Tucker's Town  
14 and in St. David's and we saw from the records...

15 WITNESS: Yes.

16 SR COUNSELOR: ... that residents were saying: I've lost...I can't fish. I  
17 can't... my crops. It took me 12 years to do this. When the residents were seeing that, this long  
18 history of building up a sustainable economic community...

19 WITNESS: Yes.

20 SR COUNSELOR: ... seems to have been shattered.

21 WITNESS: Absolutely. They would have gone back to absolutely  
22 nothing where you had those that were slaveowners before being compensated at the same time.

23 SR COUNSELOR: Okay.

24 WITNESS: So just adding onto that point.

25 SR COUNSELOR: Mm-hmm.

1 WITNESS: As we have seen through the evidence of Dr. Francis and  
2 Dr. Swan, those that were displaced, some of them received compensation, which was much  
3 lower than what they had appraised the land at. You had the British Empire at that time still  
4 playing slave owners.

5 SR COUNSELOR: And we also heard that many of them said – many of the  
6 residents said – they could not be compensated. They didn't want to sell their homes. They  
7 could not be compensated, and indeed, the records seem to suggest that they, for the large part,  
8 weren't.

9 WITNESS: Yes.

10 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. So, if we go onto the next portion of your  
11 dissertation, just to clear up a few points. You say: During this time, and now we're talking  
12 about the 1920s, where you've indicated tourism superseded all other sectors – became the main  
13 contributors to the local economy. At this point, the interest of American tourists and the United  
14 States Government were valued much higher than that of a black Bermudian. During this time,  
15 the island was segregated. Blacks could not rent or own property in white-designated area, were  
16 excluded from movie theatres, golf courses, clubs or functions in which whites patronized,  
17 correct?

18 WITNESS: Yes, ma'am.

19 SR COUNSELOR: Given that, from a political culture perspective, when we  
20 heard in the evidence, in the documents, for instance, in St. David's that theatres – black theatres,  
21 black clubs, black institutions at St. David's were – well, were seized.

22 WITNESS: Yes.

23 SR COUNSELOR: Expropriated. What effects would that have, in your  
24 opinion, on those individuals, on that community?  
25

1 WITNESS: It would have had a great affect. As I mentioned before,  
2 these sites would have been places of identity formation, where you would go in and discuss  
3 your day and social norms. So, without having someplace to go and, as Mr. – I think Dr. Swan  
4 referenced yesterday – was the barber shop. You remove the barber shop, the grocery store, the  
5 church.

6 These are elements that we see in our society today as key points that I'm sure all of us  
7 look forward to sharing with our community. So, if you remove those, you lose much of the  
8 community sense.

9 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. So that's the cultural and economic impact. You  
10 also go on to discuss the impact of dislocation and relocation of black Bermudians in 1920 from  
11 the Tucker's Town area. You talk about the health impact.

12 WITNESS: Yeah.

13 SR COUNSELOR: The life impact...

14 WITNESS: Yes.

15 SR COUNSELOR: ... on people. And you've indicated that your research  
16 suggests that what was created were geographies of poverty, pockets of poverty where really,  
17 almost exclusively, black Bermudians were made to live.

18 WITNESS: Correct.

19 SR COUNSELOR: Unable to participate in the white economy...

20 WITNESS: Yes.

21 SR COUNSELOR: ... and having lost their own.

22 WITNESS: Yes, ma'am.

23 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. And what you've shown us is that... evidence from  
24 the archives that, in fact, the black population, the death rate of children was much higher, illness  
25 rates, infections, were much higher; and diseases in these areas.

1 WITNESS: Yes. As we've learned in this COVID period, high density  
2 causes things to spread faster.

3 SR COUNSELOR: Yes.

4 WITNESS: And that would have most definitely been the case back  
5 then.

6 SR COUNSELOR: And even the black community-based health facilities that  
7 were made available were not hygienic.

8 WITNESS: That's correct. Allegedly, there were mosquitos and rats  
9 rampant.

10 SR COUNSELOR: And having, you said, having isolated black Bermudians in  
11 these conditions that were removed from Tucker's Town, the Government then became afraid of  
12 the spread of illness.

13 WITNESS: Yes. And they used the introduction of The 1920 Public  
14 Act in whereby they further marginalized and stigmatized the black community because, if you  
15 were found to be sick, you had to tell the newspaper which means that the whole island knew  
16 that you were sick and you were also contained within the area.

17 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. Now, you're younger than most of us and you have  
18 a better memory; was any of that taught to you in high school?

19 WITNESS: No. And I couldn't tell you one children's book I read it in  
20 or any Bermuda movies that have circulated in the wide public discourse either.

21 SR COUNSELOR: And you – it appears to me from your CV – you were an  
22 active young person in your community and involved in community events and charities?

23 WITNESS: Yes, ma'am. It seems to be a great silence in the younger  
24 generations that are not aware of recent historic events so far as the '80s and '70s. They don't  
25 know that we had boycotts. They don't even know that we had slavery and it's quite upsetting.

1 SR COUNSELOR: When did you – how did you – first sort of raise your own  
2 social consciousness in relation to these issues?

3 WITNESS: They say that an anthropologist, all his work is  
4 autobiographical by nature. So, as I undertook my Masters' thesis, they challenged us to have an  
5 introspection look at ourselves and choose a topic that we could relate to. And during that time,  
6 it was just following the 2017 election, so I was very curious in the different sentiments and  
7 couldn't understand why the PLP and black Bermudians were so upset and what was going on.

8 So, I decided at that point... I was writing my dissertation on the political history  
9 specifically... but then once I read the literature, I noticed that there was a gap. And the gap  
10 spoke more of what I could not find than what was present.

11 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. So, one of the recommendations that have been  
12 made by other experts to the Commission is that this whole gap in education, particularly black  
13 Bermudian history...

14 WITNESS: Yes.

15 SR COUNSELOR: ... and the history of incidents such as Tucker's Town or -  
16 incidents, I shouldn't call them that – but the history of the land being taken at Tucker's Town  
17 and at St. David's, for instance. The history of oppression and black Bermudians being all  
18 moved to Pembroke and suffering...

19 WITNESS: Yes.

20 SR COUNSELOR: ...this existence. The recommendation is that that  
21 collective amnesia...

22 WITNESS: Mm-hmm.

23 SR COUNSELOR: ... that the memory be revived.

24 WITNESS: Yes. I would like to see more public discussions like we  
25 had today, extending onto the appeal that Dr. Swan had earlier. More public conversation needs

1 to be had, there needs to be a revision, a public discourse that reverts to our history that's one-  
2 sided on the most part, and I would most definitely like it to be further and heavily implemented  
3 into our Bermuda Government education system, as well as the private schools.

4 SR COUNSELOR: In your research, you have noted: Research and studies  
5 done by others in other communities that face a similar type of – no two communities have the  
6 same experience – but the same type of racial amnesia, racial oppression in other communities.  
7 right?

8 WITNESS: Yes. I referenced Canada in 1950s and the Inuit people and  
9 the United States with the World War I and industrial era.

10 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. And, of course, there are many others.

11 WITNESS: Yes. Most definitely.

12 SR COUNSELOR: And in some of these places, we have seen reconciliation,  
13 reparations, all kinds of different responses as the community lifts that veil of amnesia.

14 WITNESS: Yes.

15 SR COUNSELOR: Do you have – based on your review – do you think any of  
16 those kinds of responses would be helpful, or useful, productive, in Bermuda?

17 WITNESS: Most definitely. I think that it would be an excellent  
18 exercise to have any anecdotal evidence recorded and transcribed as real Bermuda history,  
19 because we find that a lot of our history has been trapped in these secret pockets where you have  
20 persons who are afraid or unconfident to come and tell their stories.

21 So, creating a safe space in which it does not put them at space for persecution is  
22 definitely something that's needed to move Bermuda forward.

23 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. And when you say you have people who are afraid  
24 to come forward and tell their stories, you have indicated in your work that there were structural

1 reasons for that and that people might lose their homes, lose their jobs, otherwise be  
2 marginalized further?

3 WITNESS: Yes. You see that across the Empire that those that revolt  
4 against the colonial system are often targeted for harassment in means of their social lives.

5 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. So, when you say a safe space, a space where there  
6 would be no repercussions for coming forward.

7 WITNESS: Yes, ma'am. That would be correct. And that would be  
8 both formal and informal institutions. So just to say that there's a law that you're not going to be  
9 corrected for this. You should still be able to come forward – some sort of amnesty in a way.

10 SR COUNSELOR: Okay. Just about done, if I can just have a moment?

11 WITNESS: And Ms. Mulligan, just to add onto that, any reconciliation  
12 or open public discourse should not be targeted just to the black Bermudian community. It needs  
13 to be open to all ethnicities that felt disenfranchised or marginalized.

14 SR COUNSELOR: Your one quote at the – near the end of your paper –  
15 interested me because you said... the quote was that... I'm trying to find it here. But that it is  
16 almost impossible, there it is, on Page 31: Acknowledging that structural racism is practically  
17 impossible to dissolve. Its outcomes in health, education, employment, environmental risk,  
18 occupational status, and crime are not randomly assigned.

19 Practically impossible to dissolve. That seems very pessimistic.

20 WITNESS: You will find that some of these structural racism and  
21 frameworks have been heavily encoded within our legislation system, even so far as the revision  
22 of our constitution will only be allowed. If we go independent, those are things that will be  
23 practically impossible, depending on who your audience is you're talking to. So will require  
24 significant revision of certain legislatures.

1 SR COUNSELOR: And the legislation – much of our legislation, came from a  
2 period of – a period of time of segregation?

3 WITNESS: Yes.

4 SR COUNSELOR: And this white oligarchy being in control?

5 WITNESS: Yes. That's correct.

6 SR COUNSELOR: Do you have anything else? All right. Thank you. Those  
7 are my questions.

8 WITNESS: Thank you, Counsel.

9 CHAIRWOMAN: Thank you, Ms. Mulligan, and Ms. Lister, Commissioners  
10 would like to ask a few questions.

11 WITNESS: Yes, Justice.

12 CHAIRWOMAN: And we'll start with Honourable Perinchief.

13 MR. PERINCHIEF: Good afternoon.

14 WITNESS: Good afternoon, Mr. Perinchief.

15 MR. PERINCHIEF: Ms. Lister. I am appreciative of your age and that's a  
16 complimentary statement.

17 WITNESS: Thank you.

18 MR. PERINCHIEF: But, as a result of your advance in technology, I was  
19 deprived of hard copy. At my age, I'm much happier with a piece of paper in front of me than an  
20 electrical device.

21 Nevertheless, from your dissertation this afternoon, I've gleaned some things: The  
22 terminology 'amnesia', would you describe that more...

23 WITNESS: Sure.

24 MR. PERINCHIEF: ... clearly for me?

25 WITNESS: Sure. I'm going to give the...

1 MR. PERINCHIEF: Is it avoidance of the subject? Is it a forgetfulness of the  
2 subject? What do you perceive that to be, in lay terms, and how do I understand that  
3 terminology?

4 WITNESS: Sure. Let me just...I want to get the exact quote here for  
5 you. Give me just one moment. So as quoted from my dissertation... I'll break it down for you  
6 in just a moment.

7 MR. PERINCHIEF: Yes.

8 WITNESS: By the term of 'racial amnesia': I refer to the diagnosis of a  
9 collective societal condition whereby elements of racial trauma and distress have been forgotten  
10 by a population. In this sense, the peoples have been forced to forget their roots, culture and  
11 connection to the land due to suppression or replacement of these memories with differential  
12 ideals which are displaced from its original context.

13 So with racial amnesia, it specifically interests me in the way that our history has been  
14 transcribed over time and internalized by our people with elements that are missing that give  
15 light to true histories that speak to, whether that it be your physical geographical location, or  
16 your ethnological traditions and values.

17 MR. PERINCHIEF: Tell me. Would that be a correlation or correlative to the  
18 terminology that – and the expression that people will tell you – when you want to raise the issue  
19 of race: 'Get over it'?

20 WITNESS: Yes.

21 MR. PERINCHIEF: Is that a phenomenon of what you describe?

22 WITNESS: Yes. I believe so.

23 MR. PERINCHIEF: Getting over the pain, getting over... in other words,  
24 slipping into a state of denial of your history... And what would you feel that would achieve?

1 Especially with a younger group of people, or a group of people who are now emerging and  
2 wanting to... there's this gap.

3 As I said, I think somebody described as a historical silence. There's a big gap in our  
4 black people's history.

5 WITNESS: Yes, sir. From my perspective: Earlier on, this gap of  
6 history, and not knowing caused our black population to stay silent.

7 But what I'm seeing amongst my peers now, as we've been open to a multitude of  
8 resources, whether that be social media or news outlets or archives that were not made available  
9 before, we are definitely much more introspective and inquisitive about our histories and our past  
10 and I'm quite proud to say that I am aware of a few young black Bermudians that have made it  
11 their task to re-narrate our history and look at in the more critical light than what has been  
12 displayed in the past.

13 MR. PERINCHIEF: Mm-hmm. And...

14 WITNESS: So hopefully with that, we see a more genuine reflection of  
15 Bermuda history coming to light in the next years.

16 MR. PERINCHIEF: And then I'll ask the next question: How many people are  
17 in your field?

18 WITNESS: In *my* field?

19 MR. PERINCHIEF: How many peers do you have?

20 WITNESS: In Bermuda, anthropologists, I don't know of any other. As  
21 I came back home, I found it quite difficult to find employment with my field because not many  
22 knew what the work, or importance of anthropology of cultural politics. But I have some  
23 adversaries that have studied law of philosophy and we combined have interdisciplinary  
24 discussion in that way.

1 MR. PERINCHIEF: Yes. Thank you. More specific question of the era of the  
2 '60s black power movement. You say social engineering took place in the '70s and '80s. That  
3 social engineering: By whom was it done and what was the objective of that social engineering,  
4 in your opinion?

5 WITNESS: It is my perspective that throughout that time, the UBP  
6 created legislation that was used to promote the guise of cultural competency and that things  
7 were fairer and more equal in the legislation presented to aid the black community. But the  
8 plights of our people were still the same.

9 So, the legislation on the surface did help to some degree but did not aid us to the root of  
10 the grievances.

11 MR. PERINCHIEF: Are you saying that it was a farse? Was it real? Was it  
12 positive? Was it objective? What... could you explain that?

13 WITNESS: The actions indeed were real, but the effects would have  
14 been felt differently by different members of the community.

15 MR. PERINCHIEF: All right. Thank you.

16 WITNESS: Thank you.

17 MR. PERINCHIEF: Thank you very much.

18 CHAIRWOMAN: Thank you Mr. Perinchief and Ms. Lister. Madame Forth,  
19 yes?

20 MS. FORTH: Good afternoon, Ms. Lister.

21 WITNESS: Good afternoon, Ms. Forth.

22 MS. FORTH: Thank you for your very extensive report.

23 WITNESS: Thank you.

24 MS. FORTH: I heard the word 'stigmatization' used quite a bit in your  
25 report.

1 WITNESS: Yes.

2 MS. FORTH: And that was a question I raised with Dr. Swan this  
3 morning regarding the people of St. David's. You're a very young person...

4 WITNESS: Yes.

5 MS. FORTH: ... and I was wondering: Do you think that still exists in  
6 2020?

7 WITNESS: Most definitely.

8 MS. FORTH: ... regarding the people of St. David's?

9 WITNESS: I think so. You often hear Bermudians referencing the  
10 dislocation of St. David's, whether it's the distance that it takes to get there or the centipedes.

11 These are translated into negative stigmas that are transferred to the population that have been  
12 passed on from generations at points of ignorance.

13 MS. FORTH: Thank you.

14 CHAIRWOMAN: Thank *you*. Mrs. Milligan-Whyte next?

15 MRS. MILLIGAN-WHYTE: Yes. Ms. Lister?

16 WITNESS: Yes, Ms. Milligan.

17 MRS. MILLIGAN-WHYTE: What an exciting concept you have developed here, racial  
18 amnesia.

19 WITNESS: Thank you.

20 MRS. MILLIGAN-WHYTE: As a former teacher and a mother of one and a grandmother  
21 of three, I recognize the importance of the cultural elements in Bermuda, especially for young  
22 black people.

23 And to what extent – my question is: To what extent should we look at the educational  
24 system to address that, not solely, but primarily? Because it has to be addressed.

25

1           WITNESS:                    Yes, Ms. Milligan-Whyte. I would definitely agree with  
2 you. The education system is a great place to start.

3           I think it's important that our younger generations, speaking more specifically to the  
4 youth that are coming up, they see representation in their education system, whether it be  
5 something so small as their schoolbooks have kids that are black and white in them, but also  
6 teaching them about Bermudian history.

7           Because, as I mentioned in my dissertation, if you don't know where you came from you  
8 don't know where you're going. So if you've been told that you've always come from a place that  
9 has no economic benefit, you have no agriculture, you do not have a sense of self-reflection that  
10 gives you the empowerment to go to the next step.

11           So, I think it's important that the black community knows that we were not brought to  
12 Bermuda and destitute from our own nature.

13           There was a realm that was placed upon us and that there is a level of self-determination  
14 and self-empowerment that will be required to take us to the next level. Thank you.

15           MRS. MILLIGAN-WHYTE: Thank you. Madame?

16           CHAIRWOMAN:                Thank you, Mrs. Milligan-Whyte. And now I'll call on Mr.  
17 Starling.

18           MR. STARLING:                    Good afternoon.

19           WITNESS:                        Good afternoon.

20           MR. STARLING:                    I enjoyed listening to your summary. I will look forward to  
21 reviewing your report in more detail. One thing that came to my mind when I was listening to  
22 you was a quote by Frantz Fanon. I don't think you mentioned – you mentioned Fanon – but I  
23 don't think you mentioned this quote.

24           If I'm remembering it properly, it goes:  
25

1           *“For a colonized people, most essential value, because the most complete is, first*  
2           *and foremost, the land, the land which will bring them bread and, above all,*  
3           *dignity”.*

4           From that, I was thinking – I was reflecting on your concept of racial amnesia and the  
5 land itself – and I was wondering if I could get your expert opinion, as our anthropologist: How  
6 important is land for historical memory in terms of sense of place and connecting to one's own  
7 history?

8           And also: Can existing spatial realities fix capital, to use an economic term, of Bermuda  
9 be said to reflect patterns of power in past eras?

10          WITNESS:                        Yes. I think both those questions are linked, and the  
11 answer that you see quite evident in Bermudian society today through generational wealth gaps.

12          So those families that were afforded their resources and were not disenfranchised – this is  
13 back in the 1920s – those are the names that we very well recognize today, would be then the  
14 Goslings, the Butterfields, the Spurlings, and you hear of the black names in a less positive light.

15          So, to that end, you see the legacies that played out back then a hundred year later still  
16 affording those families the same benefits that they had in that time.

17          MR. STARLING:                 Cool. Thank you. That's all my questions.

18          WITNESS:                        Thank you.

19          MR. STARLING:                 Cheers.

20          CHAIRWOMAN:                 Thank you. And now Mr. Stovell?

21          MR. STOVELL:                  Good afternoon, Ms. Lister.

22          WITNESS:                        Good afternoon, Mr. Stovell.

23          MR. STOVELL:                  I was very intrigued – well, not intrigued – but hopefully  
24 you can assist in some continuity with reference to the context. Context is king or, in your case,

1 maybe queen. Would it be fair to say that, in many ways, people are who they are in association  
2 with where they live and how they live on the land?

3 WITNESS: Yes, sir.

4 MR. STOVELL: In saying that, you touched on – and within the broader  
5 context of Bermuda's historical population control and all the facets that that entails – in the  
6 1920s, I believe, you mentioned that Pembroke's population was 39% of the island.

7 WITNESS: Yes.

8 MR. STOVELL: Yes? So, with my quick bit of math, that leaves 61 percent  
9 for the remainder, remaining eight parishes...

10 WITNESS: Yes, sir.

11 MR. STOVELL: ... which amounts to approximately 7.5% population  
12 coverage per parish.

13 WITNESS: Yes.

14 MR. STOVELL: ... which is probably more or less, depending if you're in  
15 Southampton or Smith's Parish. In saying that, what was the highest concentration of population  
16 in Pembroke subsequent to the '20s?

17 WITNESS: Unfortunately, Mr. Stovell, I cannot answer that question  
18 for you. I specifically looked at the report during that time that spoke to the health conditions, so  
19 it was limited to that timeframe.

20 MR. STOVELL: If you're able, can you verify – I think, in my limited  
21 knowledge, I believe the population percentage may have rose to, or approached 60 percent in  
22 the '50s and '60s – if you could verify that at some future time? Then that would, to me, would  
23 sort of further bring relief to that whole aspect of, you know, the population and the  
24 concentration and those, you know, those aspects.

1 WITNESS: Yes. I can certainly provide you with that information at a  
2 later date. I know both Dr. Francis and Dr. Swan provided us with bluebook statistics that would  
3 have those figures in there.

4 MR. STOVELL: Okay. Thank you.

5 WITNESS: But naturally, Mr. Stovell, you would think that the  
6 population would continue to rise with birth rates.

7 MR. STOVELL: Right. Thank you very much.

8 WITNESS: Thank you.

9 CHAIRWOMAN: Thank you, Mr. Stovell, and now Mrs. Binns?

10 MRS. BINNS: Hi, Ms. Lister. Thank you for that informative view on  
11 your studies. I just wanted to ask: Are you familiar with the critical race theory?

12 WITNESS: Sorry?

13 MRS. BINNS: ... critical race theory?

14 WITNESS: Yes, ma'am.

15 MRS. BINNS: Are you familiar with it? For the benefit for those who are  
16 not: According to critical race theory, racial equality emerges from the social, economic and  
17 legal differences that white people create between the races to maintain elite by transfers in  
18 labour markets and politics, giving rise to poverty and criminality in many minority  
19 communities.

20 WITNESS: Yes, ma'am.

21 MRS. BINNS: What would be some of your recommendations to reverse  
22 that, in terms of educating people? What would you suggest could be implemented?

23 WITNESS: Based on my academic studies as well as my tenure with  
24 the Commission, I think the first step is to continue the public discourse...

25 MRS. BINNS: Mm-hmm.

1 WITNESS: ... so that all of Bermuda society can get comfortable =  
2 well, I don't think we'd ever get comfortable with this conversation – but can be more amenable  
3 to this conversation than we would have been in the past 100 years.

4 The first step is to get us talking about it. We then have to have a serious revision of the  
5 history that denies things that did occur and has many things that are not... there's a difference  
6 between equality and equitable.

7 So, we have to place all members of society on the same scale to continue moving  
8 forward and make an active step to ensure that these practices and systems are dismantled so  
9 they can't continue.

10 There's no use in putting things in to remedy them on the forefront if you don't dismantle  
11 them at the base.

12 MRS. BINNS: Thank you very much.

13 CHAIRWOMAN: Thank you, Mrs. Binns; any re-dress, Mrs....

14 SR COUNSELOR: No. I don't have anything further. Thank you.

15 CHAIRWOMAN: No further questions. Thank you, Mrs. Lister, for your  
16 helpful contribution, and we will adjourn now until 10:00 o'clock in the morning.

17 Thank you, everyone. Thanks.

18 WITNESS: Thank you.

19 **This is to certify that this transcription has been transcribed by our overseas associates and**  
20 **proofed by a member of our local Professional Recording & Transcribing, Smith's Parish,**  
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22 *P. Belvin*

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