Police Power, Plantation Principles :

Reiterating Slave Society Order
in Jamaica and Trinidad, 1838-1990

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Abstract

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Policing Resistance and Reiterating Slave Society Order in Jamaica and Trinidad, 1838-1990

While policing is often characterized as a domestic phenomenon, the history of policing racialized and colonized peoples reveals the institution's critical role in developing and maintaining the modern racial capitalist international order. This study reads policing through an international frame to produce a genealogy of post-slavery policing in Jamaica and Trinidad from emancipation in the British Empire in 1838 through the 1990 attempted coup by Trinidad and Tobago's Jamaat al Muslimeen. Drawing on archives of Jamaican and Trinbagonian anti-imperial resistance, British and US imperialism and Trinbagonian and Jamaican independent state policy, this study assesses policing's role in maintaining slavery's social and economic order predicated on subordinating Black bodies to global forces of imperial extraction. Building on the work of postcolonial thinkers including Aimé Césaire, Sylvia Wynter and Achille Mbembe, the study conceptualizes police violence as reiterative violence, arguing that police power reiterates in modern post-colonial Caribbean states the slavery-era racial capitalist hierarchies which sustained slavery. The study approaches Black Caribbean antislavery and anti-imperial resistance as traditions which disrupt the exploitable and inferior social slot that slave societies reserved for enslaved people and their descendants. By tracing police violence from emancipation through 1990, the study illuminates how slave society norms survived abolition and continue to shape policing and international securitization norms in the post-slavery Anglophone Caribbean.

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Introduction

On 22 July 2021, Nzinga King, a nineteen-year-old nursing student and Rastafarian of the Nyabinghi Order from Lionel Town, was arrested after a routine traffic stop in May Pen devolved into a physical altercation between Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) members and passengers in a shared taxi. Ms. King, along with a breastfeeding mother, were sharing the taxi with a young man who was not wearing a face mask at the height of the Covid-19 Pandemic in violation of the Jamaican government's pandemic response policies. A JCF officer attempting to arrest the unmasked man reportedly snatched the passenger by his shirt collar, shouting "Yuh nah come out? Mi ago gi yuh something fi come out,"[1] before discharging pepper spray into the vehicle, prompting protest from Ms. King. Ms. King and the breastfeeding mother descended from the vehicle as capsaicin burned their eyes and choked their breath. Despite being choked, the Jamaica Public Defense Office reported that "Ms. King continued her loud protest."[2] She was shoved into a police truck, and taken to the May Pen Police Station.

Ms. King was later transferred to the Four Paths lock up, where she said JCF officer Constable Angel Mitchell-Lewis led her into a bathroom and used scissors to shear Ms. King's locs from her scalp. Ms. King recounted gathering up each one of her thick locs from the station floor and carrying them back to the cell she shared with the other female inmates of Four Paths. For five nights, Ms. King slept on a concrete floor and carefully preserved her locs, guarding them in hopes of showing them to her mother upon release. When Ms. King's mother, Mrs. Shirley McIntosh, arrived to pick her up, having paid the fines required to secure her release, Mrs. McIntosh could hardly recognize her daughter without the locs she had cultivated since her childhood.[3] Her hair had formed part of her identity as a Rastafarian, many of whom externalize their faith through long, natty locs.

On 22 February 2022, following a five-month investigation by Jamaica's Independent Commission of Investigations, INDECOM, the Jamaica Director of Public Prosecutions recommended that no charges be laid against Corporal Angel Mitchell Lewis.[4] Ms. King's ordeal was chronicled in Jamaican newspapers reigniting questions about Jamaica's colonial legacy,

[1] "You won't come out? I'll give you a reason to come out."
[2] Jamaica Office of the Public Defender, *The Nzinga King Report, April 5, 2022*, p. 8.
[3] *The Nzinga King Report*, p. 11.
[4] "INDECOM awaits ruling from ODPP into the complaint of Nzinga King," *INDECOM*, December 8, 2021, https://www.indecom.gov.jm/press_release/indecom-awaits-ruling-from-odpp-into-the-complaint-of-nzinga-king. ; "DPP rules no criminal charges in locks-cutting case of Nzinga King," *Jamaica Gleaner*, February 9, 2022.

and the retention of British colonial "laws and principles…inimical to the (post-colonial) Jamaican society from the very beginning," in the words of the Jamaican Public Defenders Office.[5] As The Office of the Public Defender notes, the ordeal suffered by Ms. King is a reflection of how the Jamaican state, both under colonial domination and independent rule, relates to persons of Black[6] African heritage. The report detailing the incident reminds readers that "[n]ot long ago, and not in the distant past, it was an established practice that Rastafari admitted into prison had to be shaved."[7] While the OPD refers to the colonial legacy of shaving Rastafarians, this "established practice" has deeper roots in the slave society order.

The land on which Nzinga King's hair was forcibly shorn from her scalp is the same land on which, under British colonial administration, enslaved Africans were legally considered chattel for centuries. Elsa Goveia emphasizes how within slave societies violence against Black bodies was naturalized as a mechanism of guarding against subversion and maintaining colonial rule. [8] The marks of this naturalized violence on this land, and others across the former slave societies of North and South America, Central America and the Caribbean, are evident through the modern-day treatment of individuals like Ms. King. Caribbean states like Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago consistently rank amongst the top ten globally for police killings per capita.[9] Most of these killings take place in impoverished rural and ghettoized Black communities, at the hands of police forces trained by United States and British authorities.[10] This trend suggests that slave

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[5] *The Nzinga King Report*, p. 1. Brackets added.
[6] I capitalize "Black" in keeping with current orthographical standards to refer to Black (Afro-descendant/African) identity, but maintain the lowercase "black" in the archival quotations where this spelling appears to avoid imposing contemporary convention on past orthographical practices.
[7] *The Nzinga King Report*, p. 2.
[8] Elsa Goveia, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century*, (Yale University Press, 1965).
[9] "Police Killings by Country", World Population Review, https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/police-killings-by-country effective 2 February 2026 ; "Jamaica probes police killings of four people in 24 hours, including a teenage boy," *AP news*, January 11, 2024 https://apnews.com/article/jamaica-police-killed-four-investigating-6eeeb2c63e4d969fd90135cf3db9dfce ; "Police killings in Trinidad up by 86%," *Starbroek News*, June 30, 2024 *https://www.stabroeknews.com/2020/06/30/news/regional/trinidad/police-killings-in-trinidad-up-by-86/* .
[10] "US commits to helping police force" *Jamaica Gleaner*, February 26, 2017 https://jamaica-gleaner.com/article/lead-stories/20170228/us-commits-helping-police-force#google_vignette (accessed December 11, 2024); "T&T, US signs partnership to tackle crime" *Daily Express*, November 15, 2024, https://trinidadexpress.com/news/local/t-t-us-signs-partnership-to-tackle-crime/article_5ab64064-a2f2-11ef-9219-a3fbc63cd6f7.html; "Royal Navy Team Train Police in the Caribbean," *Royal Navy News*, May 25, 2016, https://www.royalnavy.mod.uk/news/2016/may/25/160525-royal-navy-team-train-police-in-the-caribbean. For information on Anglo-American collaboration on Caribbean police trainings see: Jason Parker, *Brother's Keeper: The United States, Race, and Empire in the British Caribbean, 1937-1962*, (Oxford University Press, 2008).

society norms sanctioning the abuse and death of Black dispossessed peoples by police did not end with abolition or decolonization.[11]

As Amani Morrison and Andrea Benton Rushing have shown, hair may be understood as a marker of resistance, a locus of joy, as well as an indicator of whom it is acceptable to oppress and denigrate.[12] By balding Ms. King the officer who separated her from her hair (herself a Black woman subjected to Euro-Western standards of acceptability) was reproducing the violence of the slave society.[13] Black peoples were routinely shaved of their hair as a preparation for the months-long Middle Passage across the Atlantic. This was done, in part, for sanitary purposes as people chained beneath the belly of a cargo ship were precluded from carrying out their normal hygiene and grooming rituals. However, shaving also had the disciplining effect of removing the individual's identity and preparing them for the "New (white-dominated) World".[14] Cutting the hair of the enslaved told them that, not only were their kinks and curls not welcome, but their bodies could be easily modified, rendered spectacle, exploited and killed by agents of white power. It is this violence of altering the body of a Black woman against her will, a practice normalized within slave society order, which JCF Constable Angel Mitchell Lewis reproduced.

Of course, Ms. King is not an enslaved person, nor does she live under the slave society order which governed Jamaica from 1655-1838. However, as I will detail below, she was living within a post-slavery order which retains many of the same logics which sustained the slave society. Although people may no longer be considered legal property, the epidermalization of notions of *who* it is acceptable to violently subordinate persists into the present day. Put simply, the international order has not shed itself of slavery's dictum that one's skin largely determines one's treatment. What happened to Ms. King is but one manifestation of the racialized violations which pattern the post-slavery Atlantic world. This becomes clear when examining the uses of police power in spaces marked by slavery's order—the subject of this dissertation.

I argue that legal emancipation alone was insufficient to uproot the normalized racial *logics* of the slave society and that police power, and its corresponding modes of enforcing law and order,

[11] "86 per cent rise in police killings," *Trinidad Guardian*, June 29, 2020; "Jamaica probes police killings of four people in 24 hours, including a teenage boy," *AP*, January 11, 2024.
[12] Andrea Benton Rushing, "Hair Raising," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 2 (1988); Amani Morrison, "Black Hair Haptics: Touch and Transgressing the Black Female Body," *Meridians* 17, no. 1 (2018).
[13] Amani Morrison, "Black Hair Haptics".
[14] Shane White and Graham White "Slave Hair and African American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *The Journal of Southern History* 61, no.1, (1995).

were designed to perpetuate within post-slave societies habituation to the white supremacist imperial order which sustained chattel slavery. By logics, I mean the ideas and epistemologies developed across four centuries of transatlantic racial slavery to justify the dehumanizing commodification of African peoples for purposes of plantation enrichment, which continue to organize social, political, and economic life in post-slavery spaces. Building on conceptualizations advanced by Frantz Fanon, Aníbal Quijano, Walter Mignolo and Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o identifying colonial logic the organizing matrix of modern epistemic, political and economic power, I understand slave society racial capitalist logic as the foundational ideology organizing life in spaces terraformed for plantation exploitation through racialized chattelization.[15] In explicitly centering chattel slavery, I ground my analysis in arguments made by Sylvia Wynter and Maziki Thame explaining how slavery's ideological and legal reduction of African bodies to the status of non-human permeates social knowledge, and political and economic relations in post-slavery Caribbean states.[16]

Here, I focus on how post-slavery policing operationalizes slave society logics prescribing discipline and disposal for commodified and racialized bodies, reinforcing plantation knowledges of expendability. I likewise discuss how slavery's racialized disciplinary measures were subsequently applied to indentured Indians who, despite not being legally classified as chattel, were similarly rendered expendable as racialized laborers subject to patterns of colonial civilizational denial as a function of their plantation exploitation. I center the ways in which civilizational tropes professing Black non-human deviance are reiterated across time and shifts in political order to justify Black discipline and disposal via incarceration and death at the hands of police as state agents. In taking the logics of colonial epistemic knowledge seriously, I position Black modalities of resisting the subhuman categorization that stems from ancestral chattelization, including agitation against material oppression and ideological decentering of Western civilizational supremacy, as counters to slavery-era logics. I analyze the ways in which

[15] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. (Grove/Atlantic, Inc., 2007) and *Black Skin, White Masks* (Grove Press, 2008). Aníbal Quijano "Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America." *International Sociology* 15, no. 2 (2000): 215–32; Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. (East African Publishers, 1992); Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Duke University Press, 2011) and "Delinking: The Rhetoric of Modernity, the Logic of Coloniality and the Grammar of de-Coloniality1." *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2–3, (2007): 449–514.

[16] Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation—An Argument," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003): 257-337; Maziki Thame, "Reading Violence and Postcolonial Decolonization through Fanon: The Case of Jamaica" *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 4, no.7 (November 2011).

resistance is policed across time and shifting political relations to protect the racial capitalist hierarchical structure which sustained chattel slavery.

I argue that policing bodies were developed and reformed to enforce an international imperial order grounded in structures of racial and class hegemony by exacting in post-slave societies similar modes of violence used to discipline enslaved people and mark them as deviant. I examine how police power was developed in the context of British emancipation to reproduce within post-slave societies, the white supremacist racial hegemony which ordered the slave society. I foreground how cultural resistance affirming Black African-derived modes of being, and Indian lifeways following the 1845 advent of the indenture system, have been met with reiterative violence by police to both reiterate the subordinate subject positions of racialized peoples in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, and reinforce the state's adherence to the slave society order. Achille Mbembe contends that it is through reiterative violence that post-colonial societies naturalize the population's obedience to the previously imposed oppressive imperial order.[17] In Caribbean contexts, I argue that reiterative violence by police officers draws on the norms of racialized corporal punishment used in Caribbean slave societies to reinforce the subordination of the enslaved.

This research builds towards a genealogy of post-slavery policing which argues that police power in post-slavery and post-colonial contexts reproduces slave society logics of racialized expendability. Here, I approach genealogy in the Foucauldian sense, as a tool of historical interpretive investigation into the power relations undergirding the production of social and political logics, agents and structures.[18] Examining the retention of slavery-era norms and logics is significant for understanding how the chattelization of African peoples and Enlightenment-era notions of European civilizational superiority, articulated as Black expendability and white supremacy, impacted the foundations of modern world order, understandings of labor exploitation and racialization, and patterns of postcolonial social, political, and economic development. This is particularly salient as Charles Mills demonstrates that the "racial contract", which developed contemporaneously with the system of transatlantic chattel slavery, formed the logical basis for imperialism and the modern international order.[19]

[17] Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony.* (University of California Press, 2001).
[18] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews,* edited by Donald F. Bouchard (Cornell University Press, 1977).
[19] Charles Mills, *The Racial Contract* (Cornell University Press, 1997).

Questions surrounding the retention of colonial norms have long preoccupied postcolonial theorists. Frantz Fanon's assertion of the necessity for planned rupture from the colonial antecedent has proven its salience for modern understandings of post-colonial reproduction of empire's systems of racialized subordination and discipline.[20] Achille Mbembe is likewise attuned to mechanisms of colonial continuity, and conceptualizes punishment by law enforcement authorities as reiterative violence aimed at the reproduction of colonial subjugation through intimate interactions, often involving corporeal harm and potential death as consequences for deviance or resistance.[21] Indeed, British West Indian slave societies engineered their political systems, laws, social rankings, and culture to maintain chattel slavery along racial lines. Colonial administrators and the British and Scottish capitalist class promoted myths of the civilizational deficiencies of African people and the supposed ameliorative qualities of slave labor to justify white minority dominance over the more than 3 million African people trafficked by the British Empire between 1660 and 1807.[22] Within this paradigm, civilization and human subjecthood came to be associated with European progeny, while the African represented incivility and cultural deviance. Holding up the supposed civilizational deficiencies and cultural pathologies of Black Africans imagined an understanding of their suitability for subordination to a rightful colonial master and justified the literal marking of their bodies as fit for physical discipline, imprisonment, and extermination.

Integral to this mission of maintaining white-supremacist capitalist imperial hegemony was the integration of structures of physical discipline and surveillance to preclude the enslaved majority from upending the order which oppressed them. In particular, punitive violence imposed on the bodies of enslaved people for deviance was an everyday occurrence designed to reiterate white capitalist power and, to borrow Orlando Patterson's terminology, Black social death.[23] The whip, cat-o-nine tails, and cow skin, were routinely deployed to discipline Black bodies into submission to white capitalist power, as Mary Prince, an woman who escaped British slavery, describes:

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[20] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Grove/Atlantic, Inc Press, 2007).
[21] Mbembe, *On the Postcolony.*
[22] "Slavery and the British transatlantic slave trade," The National Archives, United Kingdom, https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/british-transatlantic-slave-trade-records/ (accessed November 18, 2021).
[23] Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death : A Comparative Study*. Cambridge, (Harvard University Press, 1982).

> Mr. D—has often stripped me naked, hung me up by the wrists, and beat me with the cow-skin, with his own hand, till my body was raw with gashes. Yet there was *nothing very remarkable in this*; for it might serve as a sample of the common usage of the slaves on that horrible island.[24]

This corporal punishment during slavery literally marked the bodies of Black people as deviant subjects suited for subjugation to white capital. The vestiges of this marking of dark skin and equating it with fitness for subjugation are evident in the ways in which suspects are described by police. Enslaved people, and later South Asian indentured laborers, were sequestered to plantations, distinguished from the white capitalist ruling class via phenotype, culture, and religion, and routinely and publicly subjected to physical violence and torture—naturalizing the physical abuse of Black and brown bodies in the colonial terrain. This early commodification and physical discipline of Afro- and Indo-Caribbean peoples set the stage for their further dehumanization through the reiterative violence of police beatings and shootings in the post-slavery society.[25]

While international relations scholarship has tended to focus on police power as it pertains to the policing of transnational crimes, scholars are beginning to examine policing as a mechanism of enforcing international imperial order.[26] With this in mind, I position police power as it manifests in the use of violent force and surveillance against racialized non-white laborers as a practice of reiterating imperial order and reproducing slave society norms of racial hierarchy in post-emancipation Jamaica and Trinidad. I take a critical historical approach to examine police surveillance and use of force in response to resistance in the Jamaican and Trinidadian post-slave societies to examine colonial and neocolonial endeavors to neutralize racialized peoples' opposition to the naturalization of the Euro-dominant order.

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[24] Mary Prince, *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself* (Westley and AH Davis, 1831) 62-63.
[25] CO 295/427, Testimony of Sahib Singh 3 June 1904.
[26] Colleen Bell and Kendra Schreiner, "The International Relations of Police Power in Settler Colonialism: The 'civilizing' mission of Canada's Mounties," *International Journal* 73, no.1 (2018):111-128.

Literature Review

Postcolonial scholarship of international relations has long identified the relationship between racial violence and the retention of imperial norms in global politics.[27] Several scholars have demonstrated the persistence of imperial hierarchies enabled by forms of social, economic and political domination in the global order.[28] In particular, scholars identify racial violence as constitutive of imperial order, and call for detailed analysis of how colonial violence set the stage for other forms of structural violence in the post-independence era.[29] With this in mind, scholars have described the need for capacious accounts of the ways in which the persistence of imperial order and colonial norms shape the international system authored by racialized persons subject to imperial violence. This approach is understood as a path towards 'decolonizing' international relations, by foregrounding the racialized violence which produced the international system.[30] This recuperative labor is intended to counter what Robert Vitalis has called the "norm against noticing" in international relations scholarship.[31] Building from Toni Morisson's critique of the erasure of Black authors from the Western literary canon, Vitalis argues that an established norm against noticing racialized violence and hierarchies within the international has long served Western interests in obscuring the role of race and empire in structuring international relations.[32]

To inform dominant perspectives of the international conditioned by the obscuring of imperial violence, Meera Sabaratnam has called for methodological approaches which center accounts of

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[27] Locksley Edmondson. "Trans-Atlantic Slavery and the Internationalization of Race." *Caribbean Quarterly* 22, no.2-3 (1976): 5—25; Robbie Shilliam. "The Atlantic as a vector of uneven and combined development." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22, no.1 (2009): 69-88; Errol Henderson, "Hidden in plain sight: racism in international relations theory," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, no.1 (2013): 71-92; Mills, *The Racial Contract*; Alexander Anievas and Nişancıoğlu, Kerem. *How the West Came to Rule: The Geopolitical Origins of Capitalism* (Pluto Press, 2015).

[28] Sheila Nair and Geeta Chowdhry eds. "Introduction: Power in a postcolonial world: race, gender, and class in international relations," in *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading race, gender and class.* (Routledge, 2002).

[29] Randolph Persaud and Narendran Kumarakulasingam eds. *Violence and the Third World in International Relations* (Routledge, 2020).

[30] Robbie Shilliam. "Race and research agendas," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26 (2013): 1152–58; Tarak Barkawi. "Decolonising war" *European Journal of International Security* 1, no. 2 (2016): 199–214; Anievas and Nişancıoğlu, *How the West Came to Rule*; Olivia Rutazibwa "On babies and bathwater: decolonizing international development studies," in *Decolonization and Feminisms in Global Teaching and Learning* eds. Sarah de Jong, Rosalba Icaza, Olivia Rutazibwa (Routledge, 2018); Olivia Rutazibwa "Hidden in plain sight: coloniality, capitalism and race/ism as far as the eye can see," *Millennium* 48, no. 2 (2020): 221–41; Sandra Harding *Sciences from below: Feminisms, Postcolonialities, and Modernities*. (Duke University Press, 2008).

[31] Robert Vitalis. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. (Cornell University Press, 2015). p. 25.

[32] Vitalis. *White World Order, Black Power Politics.*

hierarchized international order and efforts to resist imperial rule authored by those subjected to imperial dominance. Sabaratnam emphasizes the necessity of examining "the political lives of colonized non-elites" to highlight "dynamics, relations and actors often overlooked by dominant theories."[33] Accounts of international order voiced by those possessing intimate, though subjugated, knowledge of colonial rule reveal the full scope of the linkages between imperialism, violence, and the reproduction of racially subordinate subject positionings. Recognizing these forms of violence is required for a thorough understanding of the logics undergirding contemporary forms of securitization, policing, and carcerality and how they relate to global ordering. Here, I seek to add to capacious existing scholarship on the role of race and violence in sustaining international imperial relations by addressing both the distinctive racial violence which emanates from chattel slavery, as well as racialized police violence as a mechanism upholding global racial hierarchy.

This study also attends to recent critical security studies scholarship addressing the role of racism in shaping securitization measures and global perceptions of threat. Critical security studies scholarship has highlighted the limitations of Western, Eurocentric, and white supremacist perspectives of securitization for postcolonial settings, pinpointing a normalized discounting of historical factors which have produced insecurity in formerly colonized spaces.[34] Nivi Manchanda has described this routine silence on racism and histories of imperialism as the "banal" normative whiteness of security studies and argues for the need to imagine an anti-racist alternative.[35] Indeed scholars across disciplines have pointed out how globalized white supremacy has shaped global normative understandings of civilizational legitimacy, governance and safety within states, and the appropriateness of violent intervention across the world.[36] This

[33] Meera Sabaratnam. "Bring up the bodies: international order, empire, and re-thinking the Great War (1914-1918) from below." *European Journal of International Relations* 00, no. 0 (2023): 3.
[34] Jana Honke and Markus-Michael. "Governing (in)security in a postcolonial world: Transnational entanglements and the worldliness of 'local'practice." *Security Dialogue* 43, no.5 (2012): 383—401; Randolph B. Persaud. "Security studies, postcolonialism and the Third World" in *Race, Gender, and Culture in International Relations: Postcolonial Perspectives*, edited by Randolph B Persaud and Alina Sajed. Taylor & Francis Group.2018.
[35] Nivi Manchanda. "The banalization of race in international security studies: From absolution to abolition." *Security Dialogue* 52, no. 1 (2021): 49-59.
[36] Cheryl I. Harris. "Whiteness as Property." Harvard Law Review 106, no.8 (1993): 1707; Stuart Hall. "The Whites of Their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and the Media." In The Media Reader, edited by Alvarado Manuel, and John Thompson, 18–22. 1990. London: British Film Institute; Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. "Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation." *American Sociological Review* 62, no.3 (1997): 465-480.; Alison Howell and Melanie Richter-Montpetit. "Racism in Foucauldian security studies: Biopolitics, liberal war, and the whitewashing of colonial and racial violence." *International Political Sociology* 13, no. 1 (2019): 2-19; Catherine Baker. "The contingencies of whiteness: Gendered/racialized global dynamics of security narratives." *Security dialogue* 52, no.

issue is of particular salience when considering the role of resistance against the deleterious impacts of hierarchies within the global order. As Mark Laffey and Tarak Barkawi point out, dominant security logics rest on racist perceptions of the "weak" and the "powerful" which render illegitimate the resistance pursued by groups disempowered through imperial order, further naturalizing violence directed against them.[37] Indeed, as Barkawi, argues, attention to colonial violence provides comprehensive understanding of the relationship between historical processes, political power, and force.[38]

As Randolph Persaud writes, "conquest, colonialism, expansionist imperialism, imperialist competition, and other forms of intervention have been the principal drivers regarding security matters with the Third World."[39] Building from this postcolonial civilizationist perspective, Melanie Richter-Montpetit and Allison Howell reference canonical Black Studies theory to highlight the distinct forms of anti-Blackness prevalent in mainstream security studies scholarship which builds on a foundation of presumed African deviance to prescribe interventionist violence as normative civilizational remedy.[40] Lara Montesinos Coleman similarly pinpoints how civilizationist racism pervades the discursive and logical environments surrounding security studies and operations, leading to deadly consequences for colonially disempowered communities around the world.[41] Montesinos-Coleman and Lou Pingeot demonstrate how racist security logics are part and parcel of broad security landscapes, involving military and peacekeeping operations, as well as policing at both transnational and domestic levels.[42] Indeed, as Pingeot points out, policing systems are often imbricated in sustaining

1_suppl (2021): 124-132; Steve Martinot. 2003. *The Rule of Racialization: Class, Identity, Governance.* (Temple University Press, 2003); Steve Martinot, Steve. "The Cultural Roots of Interventionism in the U.S." *Social Justice* 30, no. 1 (91) (2003): 112–37; Joshua Inwood and Anne Bonds. "Confronting White Supremacy and a Militaristic Pedagogy in the U.S. Settler Colonial State." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 106 (3) (2016): 521–529.

[37] Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey. "The postcolonial moment in security studies." *Review of International Studies* 32 no. 2 (2006) :329—352.

[38] Tarak Barkawi. "Decolonizing war." *European Journal of International Security* 1, no.2 (2016): 199—214.

[39] Randolph B. Persaud. "Security studies, postcolonialism and the Third World" in *Race, Gender, and Culture in International Relations: Postcolonial Perspectives,* eds. Randolph B Persaud and Alina Sajed. (Taylor & Francis Group, 2018.) .p 159.

[40] Alison Howell and Melanie Richter-Montpetit. "Biopolitics, Liberal War and the Whitewashing of Colonial and Racial Violence." *International Political Sociology* 13 no. 1 (2019): 2—19.

[41] Lara Coleman Montesinos. "Racism! What do you mean? From Howell and Richter-Montpetit's underestimation of the problem, towards situating security through struggle." *Security Dialogue* 52, no.1 (2021): 69-77; "State of Exception, Law and Economy: A socio-legal approach to the economic of exception in an era of crisis." Oñati Socio-legal Series 8, no. 6 (2018): 874-900.

[42] Lou Pingeot. *Police Peacekeeping: the UN, Haiti, and the production of global social order.* (Oxford University Press, 2023).

international hierarchies through the exclusion and criminalization of populations marginalized during colonial rule, and by promoting carceral systems which exacerbate the social and economic ills they purport to regulate. The rise in these intersecting policing and militarized securitization missions, and the links between these operations and systems of imperial hierarchy and exploitation, suggests that there is room for additional scholarship centering the history of domestic and transnational policing in upholding imperial ordering mechanisms such as racial hierarchy.

International relations literature on policing is limited and tends to focus on transnational crime and counterinsurgency. Peter Andreas and Ethan Nadelmann historicize the expansion of international policing and intervention, suggesting that the globalization of American standards of illicitness conditions Western conceptualizations of what constitutes a global threat.[43] Their analysis centers the historic role of policing in safeguarding international order against perceived threats, however Andreas and Nadelmann do not explicitly refer to the relationship between policing structures and slave society and colonial logics. Jana Hönke and Markus-Michael Müller examine the role of security in the postcolonial world, and center the Global South as actors creating policing and security norms, however the authors do not contend with how postcolonial states themselves have absorbed and may reproduce imperial views of law and order.[44] Some further insights may be drawn from literature on police force formation as a mechanism sustaining capitalist international order. Mark Neocleous evidences the intimacies between state power and police power, conceptualizing the police as an arm of state power fabricating social order by physically regulating social strata.[45] Neocleous articulates that police constitute the primary force through which the state regulates civil society, disturbing dominant liberal understandings of the security provided by a police state. Examining policing of citizens provokes further questions surrounding the role of policing groups positioned outside of civil society by virtue of their othering under racist, xenophobic regimes shaped through imperial power. As Eduardo Bonilla Silva and Amanda E. Lewis articulate, studies seeking to unearth the distinct contributions of specific institutions in maintaining structural racism render legible the

[43] Peter Andreas and Ethan Nadelmann, *Policing the Globe: Criminalization and Crime Control in International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 2006).
[44] Jana Hönke, and Markus M. Müller, (eds.) "Governing (in)security in a postcolonial world: Transnational entanglements and the worldliness of 'local' practice," *Security Dialogue* 43(5) in *The Global Making of Policing: Postcolonial Perspectives* (Routledge, 2016).
[45] Mark Neocleous. *A Critical Theory of Police Power: The Fabrication of the Social Order.* (Verso Books, 2020).

mechanics of racial hierarchy globally, informing imaginings towards alternatives to racial capitalist dominance.[46]

Insights into the imperial logics undergirding policing may be drawn from critical scholarship on policing in metropolitan centers and the relationship to dominance in colonial peripheries. Colleen Bell and Kendra Schreiner examine the function of Canada's Mounted Police in cementing imperial civilizational logics across Canadian territories through racialized discipline of indigenous peoples.[47] Similarly, Bell and Lou Pingeot provide a postcolonial international framework to foreground the global imperial nature of domestic policing.[48] They examine colonial and metropolitan policing through a single analytic frame and position policing as an outgrowth of colonial, though not slavery-era, civilizational logics and praxes. Sociologist Julian Go examines policing through the valence of Aimé Césaire's conceptualization of the "imperial boomerang", contending that policing in metropolitan and colonial spaces have always operated through racialized logics.[49]

Nivi Manchanda and Chris Rossdale advance a race-centered analysis through contributions by Black American abolitionist activists and scholars positioning police power as a mechanism of domestic warfare.[50] They analyze police power drawing insights from the Black Panther Party and position policing as domestic staging ground for imperial war. In a similar pattern of witnessing distinctly racialized security outcomes, Kwaku Danso and Kwesi Aning critique international relations and security studies scholarship for "methodological whiteness", positioning whiteness as the identifier of the universal securitized subject, yielding racialized security practices which leave African populations less secure and subject to greater abuse.[51] Analyses centering the imperial logics which shaped policing in metropolitan centers and

[46] Eduardo Bonilla-Silva and Amanda E. Lewis. "Mechanisms and mechanics of racial hierarchy: focusing on the "How" of racism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 49, no. 2 (2026): 359–369.
[47] Bell and Schreiner, "The International Relations of Police".
[48] Lou Pingeot and Colleen Bell, "Recentering the coloniality of global policing," *Third World Quarterly* 43, no. 10 (2022): 2488-2508.
[49] Julian Go. *Policing Empires: Militarization, Race, and the Imperial Boomerang in Britain and the US.* (Oxford University Press, 2023).
[50] Nivi Manchanda and Chris Rossdale. 2021."Resisting Racial Militarism: War, Policing and the Black Panther Party." *Security Dialogue* 52, no.6 (2021): 473–92. See, for example activists' arguments detailed in Deva Woodley *Reckoning: Black Lives Matter and the Democratic Necessity of Social Movements* (Oxford University Press, 2022); Mariame Kaba and Andrea J. Ritchie, *No More Police: A Case for Abolition* (The New Press, 2022)*;* Angela Davis "Political Prisoners, prisons and black liberation," in *If They Come in the Morning…Voices of Resistance,* (Verso, 2016).
[51] Kwaku Danso and Kwesi Aning. "African experiences and alternativity in International Relations theorizing about security." *International Affairs* 98, no. 1 (2022): 67–83.

colonial peripheries offer innovative approaches to examining the international transmission of European civilizational ideals. However, these studies nevertheless leave room to assess how chattel slavery's birth of logics of racial hierarchy, and specifically the chattelization of racialized Black bodies, informed policing's genesis as a vector of enforcing racial capitalist hierarchy and reiterating expendable subjectivities following emancipation and decolonization.

Recent critical scholarship on policing has heralded the links between imperial ordering and policing, and the institution's role in maintaining global racial capitalism.[52] Adam Elliot Cooper centers the role of Black anti-carceral resistance in challenging racial capitalism in Britain, demonstrating the intimacies between racialized policing and state conceptualizations of deviance as ordering mechanisms.[53] Works by Angela Davis and Ruth Wilson Gilmore emphasize the centrality of slave society racial logics for the formation of both global racial capitalism and the US racialized policing and carcerality they critique.[54] Building on the same vein of Black expendability in the US, Ben Brucato traces the emergence of policing as a US institution to slave patrols, and argues that the capacity to kill and police Black bodies was a key social marker of whiteness in the slave societies which eventually became US states.[55] As Stuart Schrader finds, hegemonic states operationalize hierarchical racial logics through racialized policing and security regimes both domestically and in regions subject to imperial influence.[56]

For states constructed on a foundation of indigenous genocide, the transatlantic slave trade and chattel slavery, such as those across the Caribbean, and North, Central and South America, these elements are distinctly pronounced. As Robbie Shilliam notes, Atlantic slave societies are frequently conceptualized as spaces "made blank" by supplanting indigenous forms of life with those of the European empire through the foundational violence of slavery and genocide.[57] Retaining white dominance during chattel slavery required specific forms of power to maintain

[52] Betty L. Wilson. "Under the Brutal Watch: A Historical Examination of Slave Patrols in the United States and Brazil During the 18th and 19th Centuries." *Journal of Black Studies*, 53, no. 1 (2022): 3-18; Larry H. Spruill. "Slave Patrols, 'Packs of Negro Dogs' and and Policing Black Communities." *Phylon (1960-)* 53, no. 1 (2016): 42–66.
[53] Adam Elliott-Cooper. *Black Resistance to British Policing.* (Manchester University Press, 2021)
[54] Ruth Wilson Gilmore. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis and Opposition in Globalizing California.* (University of California Press, 2019); Angela Y. Davis. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* (Seven Stories Press, 2003).
[55] Ben Brucato. *Race and Police: The Origin of Our Peculiar Institutions.* (Rutgers University Press, 2023).
[56] Stuart Schrader. *Badges Without Borders: How Global Counterinsurgency Transformed American Policing.* (University of California Press, 2019).
[57] Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*; Robbie Shilliam, "Race and Revolution at Bwa Kayiman," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 45, no.3 (2017): 269-292.

the systems of racialized dehumanization erected for plantation profits, and critical scholars across a range of disciplines have argued that these dynamics persist in policing structures across a range of geographies. Scholars illustrating the Brazilian case have drawn attention to a rate of police killings that Afro-Brazilian activists have long characterized as "genocidal".[58] Jaime Alves has documented a "politics of extermination" operationalized by state police, business leaders and members of "death squads" in Brazilian favelas and urban spaces where Afro-descendant life predominates.[59] These forms of racialized police violence starkly mirror contemporary policing norms in Caribbean states. Yonique Campbell and Deborah Thomas have illustrated how chattel slavery's racial logics continue to result in the debasement of poor Black Jamaican life articulated through state discourse and security regimes which categorically deny citizenship to the majority through police killings, arbitrary arrests, cordoning and other communal abuses.[60] Similarly, Leniqueca Welcome articulates how policing in Trinidad defines who is considered Black, and by consequence lacking citizenship, through state missions which activate a racialized politics of legitimated death.[61]

Published studies on Caribbean policing are few and tend to provide brief details about the historical development of the institution, while foregrounding a criminological analysis or policy orientation. Criminological studies by Benjamin Bowling and Wendell Wallace foreground the development of transnational policing and contemporary technological innovations on security in the region.[62] Anthony Harriott approaches policing from a governance perspective, illuminating

[58] Teresa P.R. Caldeira. "The paradox of police violence in Brazil." *Ethnography* 3, no. 3 (2002): 235-263; Denise Ferreira da Silva. "No-bodies: Law, raciality and violence." *Griffith Law Review* 18, no. 2 (2009): 212-236; Christen A. Smith. "Battling Anti-Black Genocide in Brazil." *NACLA Report of the Americas* 49, no.1 (2017)

[59] Jaime A. Alves. *The Anti-Black City: Police Terror and Black Urban Life in Brazil.* (University of Minnesota Press, 2018).

[60] Yonique Campbell. "Colonial Continuities in Citizenship and the Role of Civil Society Organisations." In *Routledge Handbook of Caribbean Studies* (Routledge, 2025) p. 148-159.; Yonique Campbell and Anthony Harriott. "The resort to emergency policing to control gang violence in Jamaica: Making the exception the rule." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 56, no. 1 (2024): 115-13; Deborah A. Thomas "What the Caribbean teaches us: the afterlives and new lives of coloniality" *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, 27, no.3 (2022): 235-254; *Exceptional Violence: Embodied Citizenship in Transnational Jamaica* (Duke University Press, 2011).; *Political Life in the Wake of the Plantation: Sovereignty, Witnessing, Repair.* (Duke University Press, 2019).

[61] Leniqueca A.Welcome. "To Be Black Is to... The Production of Blackness in and beyond Trinidad." *Small Axe* 26 (2) (2022): 108-118.

[62] Wendell C. Wallace and Leonard Johnny "Contemporary Caribbean" in *Policing the Global South: Colonial Legacies, Pluralities, Partnerships and Reform* edited by Danielle Watson (Routledge, 2022); Benjamin Bowling. *Policing the Caribbean: Transnational security cooperation in practice*. (Oxford University Press, 2010).

the institution's role in declining confidence in state authorities.[63] Harriott's detailed critique of policing missions and legislation highlights a chronic failure to secure communities. He references Jamaica's colonial past as the antecedent to recent police initiatives. Such study recognizes that police violence was constructed as part of the legitimating architecture of colonial rule. This leaves room for studies positioning the specific violences of chattel slavery in relation to the logics undergirding current systems of crime control and notions of deviance in Jamaica and the post-slavery Caribbean more broadly. As Thomas demonstrates, slavery's afterlife has shaped access to citizenship, and indeed life, in post-slavery states. These outcomes are decidedly linked to profane security discourses and strategies, both domestic and transnational, which are stridently referential to Wynter's conceptualization of the non-human. Witnessing these relations requires a clear understanding of the weight of chattel slavery's diffusion of racial logic into the modern global system.

There is a body of scholarship which acknowledges centuries of Atlantic chattel slavery in the making of modern racial categories, and their intersections with capital, which structure global politics and the world economic system. In 1976, Locksley Edmondson credited chattel slavery and the transatlantic slave trade with globalizing "the formalization of economic exploitation, dependence, and underdevelopment along racial lines".[64] Building on Eric Williams' thesis in *Capitalism and Slavery* that "slavery was not born of racism: rather racism was the consequence of slavery," Edmondson emphasizes that the Black and white racial poles conceptualized to organize the chattel system "lay the groundwork for the heightening patterns of racial cleavage", enabling "the internationalization of patterns of white dominance and the internationalization of non-white challenges."[65]

Underscoring the internationalization of racial logics, Robbie Shilliam and Errol Henderson have built on Charles Mills' racial contract theory to argue that the foundations of the modern global order lie in an exclusionary social contract and racialized civilizational understandings conceived to justify chattel slavery.[66] Shilliam, Henderson and Mills provide salient theoretical frameworks for understanding the centrality of racial slavery and its concomitant white supremacy for the

[63] Anthony Harriott. *Police and crime control in Jamaica: Problems of reforming ex-colonial constabularies*. (University of the West Indies Press, 2000).
[64] Locksley Edmondson. "Trans-Atlantic Slavery and the Internationalization of Race." *Caribbean Quarterly* 22, no. 2-3 (1976): p.17.
[65] Locksley Edmondson. "Trans-Atlantic Slavery and the Internationalization of Race." *Caribbean Quarterly* 22, no. 2-3 (1976): p. 7; Eric Williams *Capitalism and Slavery.* (University of North Carolina Press, 1944) p. 29.

global order, leaving room to explore the mechanisms through which norms of the racialized world order are continually embedded. Similarly, Hilbourne Watson, identified "African slavery and sugar" as the loci where "race became part of the process in which the social relations of production developed", positioning the Caribbean a "pivotal starting point in the making, of the capitalist world system" because of its slave society foundations.[67] Watson's argument coheres with central claims by scholars traditionally associated with the Black radical tradition such as Cedric Robinson, Ruth Wilson Gilmore and Walter Rodney. Indeed Rodney famously called the West Indian slave system a "veritable laboratory of racialism".[68] As Rodney and Robinson articulate, slave societies were "laboratories" of the modern racial capitalist world system conditioning modes of power and exploitation through racialized dehumanization and patterns of underdevelopment.[69]

There is a growing body of literature linking the global economic structure with the patterns of exploitation which emerged from the legally sanctioned and operationalized racialized expendability which characterized chattel slavery. As Alexander Anievas and Kerem Nişancıoğlu explain, capitalism emerged through global geopolitical processes, including forms of diplomatic discourse organizing the European slave trade and the organization of slavery and genocide in the construction of New World colonies in the Americas.[70] Gurminder Bhambra has noted that imperial processes of (dis)appropriation and the conceptualization of private property, including "by making others into property through the institution of slavery", constituted the "first stage of capitalism".[71] Anthony Bogues similarly points to chattel slavery's rendering of Black bodies as merchandise and the banking systems which insured and regulated the trade in

[66] Robbie Shilliam. "Civilization and the poetics of slavery," *Thesis Eleven* 108, no. 1 (2012): 99-117. "What the Haitian Revolution Might Tell Us about Development, Security, and the Politics of Race" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, no. 3 (2008): 778-808; "The Atlantic as a vector of uneven and combined development." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22, no. 1 (2009): 69-88; Errol Henderson, "Hidden in plain sight: racism in international relations theory," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, no.1 (2013): 71-92; Mills, *The Racial Contract*.

[67] Hilbourne Watson. "Theorizing the Racialization of Global Politics and the Caribbean Experience." *Alternatives* 26 (4) (2001): 449-483.

[68] Walter Rodney. *The Groundings with My Brothers* edited by Asha T. Rodney and Jesse J. Benjamin. (Verso Books, 2019). p. 64.

[69] Rodney. *The Groundings with My Brothers*; *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. (Bogle L'Ouverture Press, 1974); Cedric Robinson. *Black Marxism*. (University of North Carolina Press, 2021).

[70] Alexander Anievas and Kerem Nişancıoğlu. *How the West Came to Rule: The Geopolitical Origins of Capitalism.* (Pluto Press, 2015).

[71] Gurminder Bhambra. "Colonial global economy: towards a theoretical reorientation of political economy." *Review of International Political Economy* 28, no.2 (2021): 311.

enslaved persons as foundational to the development of the networks of commodification, debt, and credit which structure the capitalist world economy.[72] Amy Niang has built on interventions by Paul Gilroy, Anibal Quijano, and Achille Mbembe to underscore that colonial power fueled the "nascent capitalist machine" through the atomization of enslaved African subjectivity and philosophies of justified extraction from Black bodies which continue to shape patterns of differential exclusion and exploitation.[73]

Within the literature on race, imperial rule, securitization and policing, less attention has been paid to the roles of chattel slavery, as a distinct form of colonial rule, and policing in the global naturalization of racial capitalist ordering. In examining policing, I seek to add a detailed account of a mechanism (re)enforcing slave society racial logics to existing readings of slavery's afterlife and the enduring effects of imperial order. In centering the specific logics of racialization emanating from Atlantic slave societies, I seek to inform existing literature on racial power to illuminate the forms of violence which accompanied, and indeed structured, the formation of white supremacist racial logic at its very root. At the same time, I seek to elucidate the ways in which white supremacy as structured in opposition to Blackness, as a constructed category of deviance, normalizes distinct forms of violence which reiterate slave society logics of Black expendability with contemporary implications for life today.

If chattel slavery and its enabling racial logics constitute key components of the founding violence of modernity, it is necessary to understand how the forms of police power which operationalized this violence have been transfigured to buttress racial capitalist order today. This requires a deeper historical understanding of the role of police in coordinating violence to cement European colonial, and subsequently post-colonial, order in non-European spaces. Here, in highlighting the long durée of police power and the persistence of slave society security logics as Jamaica and Trinidad transitioned from slave societies to post-emancipation colonies, to post-colonies, I contend that policing and security logics have been racialized for centuries. As I will argue, this naturalization of policing and security as racialized technologies cannot be delinked from the development of police power as a structure buttressing the social and economic order of early Atlantic colonial societies legislated and terraformed to maintain chattel slavery.

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[72] Anthony Bogues. "How much is your African slave worth?" *Differences* 31, no. 3 (2020): 156-168.
[73] Amy Niang. "The slave, the migrant and the topographies of the international." *International Relations* 34, no. 3 (2020): 333-353.

Methods

This research builds towards a genealogy of policing in post-slavery societies, namely Jamaica and Trinidad, which highlights the links between the perpetuation of slave society logics of racialized expendability and the institutional development of policing as an ordering structure. A genealogy is a method of historical interpretive investigation which acknowledges that perceptions of truth and normalness are produced through knowledge and power.[74] Genealogical analysis permits interrogation of institutions, systems, and relations that are understood to be natural or logical. I pursue Foucauldian genealogical analysis to elucidate how slave society logics and norms are imbricated with the historical development of racialized police power with implications for the maintenance of a globalized racial order.[75] This research is also grounded in Black epistemic and experiential knowledge of policing and racial ordering under slavery, apprenticeship, colonial rule and post-slavery state discipline and extermination. Here, I employ Foucauldian genealogical inquiry to read archival sources through an epistemic frame traditionally associated with Black feminist thinking known as "the afterlife of slavery," following Saidiya Hartman's intervention in her landmark book, *Lose Your Mother*.[76] The framework recognizes the epistemological emergence of modern racial categories during transatlantic chattel slavery and calls scholars to witness the contemporary implications of the persistence of slave society racial logics. Centering the history of chattel slavery and its afterlife renders blatant the obscured historical constructions of power and knowledge, as well as the uneven enabling of plunder and deprivation, which yielded global understandings of racialized subjectivities and their intersections with capital.

To understand how slave society *logics* of racialized expendability and order have contorted and persisted across time despite the abolition of the *system* of chattel slavery, I rely on archival research centering the historical realities of police violence and the methods employed by enslaved persons and their descendants to resist racialized subordination. Importantly, I have elected to use archival methods primarily because of their capacity to allow peoples who

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[74] Michel Foucault. "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews* edited by D. F. Bouchard. (Cornell University Press, 1977); Kimberly Hutchings. "Foucault and International Relations Theory," *The Impact of Michel Foucault on the Social Sciences and Humanities,* edited by Moya Lloyd and Andrew Thacker (London: Macmillan Press, 1997).

[75] Foucault. "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History".

[76] Saidiya Hartman. *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Across the Atlantic Slave Route* (Farar, Straus and Giroux, 2007).

survived enslavement, apprenticeship, deceptive indenture, imperial order, and neocolonial police violence to express for themselves their experiences with the reiterative violence of policing and post-slavery social order. As I will elucidate in Chapter 1, chattel slavery and the production of Atlantic slave societies were distinct forms of colonial rule which yielded plantocratic economic power through the production of a racialized white group empowered through the legal dehumanization and commodification of enslaved Africans collectively racialized as Black.[77] Racial classifications of this type have outlasted slavery, leaving a lasting impact on globalized racial hierarchy. With this in mind, the afterlife of slavery frame insists on a vantage point which recognizes the evolution of the mechanisms through which racial logics are articulated, while maintaining a baseline knowledge that the logics structuring notions of racial supremacy and dehumanization have remained intact in a manner that is intelligible to, and routinely denounced by, racialized persons across timespace. A genealogical reading which takes this history seriously is therefore necessary to understand how policing mediates a global order which relies upon the construction and reinforcement of the racialized subjectivities produced during chattel slavery wherein some are artificially positioned as superordinate at the expense of others rendered deviant, subordinate, and expendable. In exploring the racial logics underpinning contemporary quotidian police violence to those used to justify the emergence of policing mechanisms to order enslaved and apprenticed persons, I seek to denaturalize racialized policing as a tool of social, political, and economic ordering.

Several scholars of international relations have already employed Foucauldian genealogy as a critical interpretivist method to illuminate previously occluded factors shaping the international system. James Der Derian offers an example of the application of genealogical analysis in the study of the international.[78] Kimberly Hutchings has argued that Foucauldian genealogy has critical implications for challenging dominant truth claims about international politics by demonstrating their "perpetual entanglement" with systems of power and knowledge production.[79] Stefan Borg has described genealogical approaches as both a method of conducting

[77] Cedric Robinson. *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition.* (University of North Carolina Press, 2005). Theordore W. Allen. *The Invention of the White Race, Vol. 1 & 2* (Verso Books, 2012); David Brion Davis. *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture.* (Cornell University Press, 1966); Adelle Blackett. "Racial Capitalism and the Contemporary International Law on Slavery: (Re)membering *Hacienda Brasil Verde." Journal of International Economic Law* 25 (2022): 334-347.
[78] James Der Derian. *On Diplomacy : a Genealogy of Western estrangement.* (Blackwell, 1987).
[79] Kimberly Hutchings. "Foucault and International Relations Theory," *The Impact of Michel Foucault on the Social Sciences and Humanities,* edited by Moya Lloyd and Andrew Thacker (London: Macmillan Press, 1997), p. 104.

historical investigation of concepts naturalized in international relations, and a "generalized critical disposition to global politics."[80] Similarly Jan Selby points out that genealogical analysis encourages capacious understanding of the international as a site of complex social relations shaped in large part by structures of political and economic power.[81] Importantly, James Keeley emphasizes that genealogical analysis acknowledges the ways in which "those holding subjugated knowledges" understand and challenge hegemonic discourses and regimes of power, and seek to "transforms the order, to disentangle themselves, and to create autonomous networks of relations."[82]

These insights into the utility of genealogical analysis for revealing power relations, especially as they are known to subordinated peoples, may be applied to studies centering the logics and related power structures integral to the production and maintenance of global racial hierarchies.[83] Srjdan Vucetic has shown that genealogical recovery of the knowledges produced in the making of hierarchized racial categories can reveal their utility as global ordering structures.[84] As international relations scholars of the postcolonial tradition have elucidated, the construction and operationalization of knowledge of racial hierarchy in slavery, empire, and genocide have resulted in a world system which privileges white Global north concepts, theories and methods as arbiters of modern progress, while occluding the violence which has yielded this normative global perception.[85]

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[80] Stefan Borg. "Genealogy as critique in International Relations: Beyond the hermeneutics of baseless suspicion," *Journal of International Political Theory* 14 no. 1, (2018): 42.

[81] Jan Selby. "Engaging Foucault: Discourse, Liberal Governance and the Limits of Foucauldian IR." *International Relations* 21, no. 3, (2017): 324-245.

[82] James Keeley. "Towards a Foucauldian Analysis of International Regimes." *International Organization* 44 (1) (1990): 99.

[83] Ladelle McWhorter. "Where do white people come from? A Foucaultian critique of Whiteness Studies." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 31, no. 5—6 (2005): 533-556.

[84] Srdjan Vucetic. *The Anglosphere: A Genealogy of a Racialized Identity in International Relations.* (Stanford University Press, 2011).

[85] James Busumtwi-Sam and Rina Kashyap. "Racialised Representations and the Global South: Insights from Critical Race Studies." *India Quarterly* 81, no. 2 (2025): 169; Meera Sabaratnam. "Is IR Theory White? Racialised Subject-Positioning in Three Canonical Texts." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 49, no. 1 (2020): 3-31.; Siba Grovogui. "Come to Africa: A Hermeneutics of Race in International Theory." *Alternatives* 26 no.4 (2001): 425 – 448; Adelle Blackett. "Racial Capitalism and the Contemporary International Law on Slavery." *Journal of International Economic Law* 25, no. 2 (2022): 334-347; Sankaran Krishna. "Race, Amnesia, and the Education of International Relations." *Alternatives* 26, no. 4 (2001): 401-424; Errol Henderson. "Hidden in Plain Sight: Racism in International Relations Theory." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26 no. 1 (2013): 71-92. Vitalis. *White World Order, Black Power Politics.*

Building on this tradition of critical analysis, I approach Foucauldian genealogical analysis through the afterlives of slavery framework to elucidate two important features of order keeping within the international system: (1) the historic role of transatlantic chattel slavery in creating enduring modern concepts of racial classification and the hierarchization of these categories, and (2) the perpetuation of slavery's racial logics through the development and perpetuation of racialized police violence. While scholars have cautioned against genealogical analysis which reads violence into the foundation of all human interactions, it is important to acknowledge when and why violence is legitimated and through which mechanisms it is mediated to develop a clear understanding of its relationship to global constructs of power.[86] Through my examination of policing as a structure designed to secure an economic system based on racialized dehumanization, I aim to reveal the ways in which racial violence is logically legitimated, rather than inherent to the human condition. Indeed, examining policing with attention to the logics which underpinned its emergence in Atlantic slave societies reveals that racial hierarchy is not naturally occurring, but rather planned and defended through centuries-long processes. In the case of this dissertation, this means centering the deliberate construction and realization of the racialized social logics through which (police) violence is mediated. This requires an epistemological and conceptual approach which positions chattel slavery as both a historical phenomenon which produced race as an institutional logic of human difference, as well as the analytic starting point from which contemporary racial logics and social relations may be read.[87]

Genealogical analysis of policing in the afterlife of slavery is likewise integral to giving due credit to suppressed knowledges held by racially oppressed groups and countering what Siba Grovogui calls, "the whitening of history" through the production of narratives which "naturalize racial inequality".[88] Such analyses emphasize recovery of the perspectives and voices of people typically erased from accounts of international history by virtue of their historical subjectivities as non-human commodities and, subsequently, colonial subjects.[89] Centering this knowledge provides a contrapuntal reading of the power relations underlying the construction of modern racial categorization and related forms of dominance, and their persistence across time. Black

[86] Stefan Borg. "Genealogy as critique in International Relations: Beyond the hermeneutics of baseless suspicion," *Journal of International Political Theory* 14 (1) (2017) : 41-59.
[87] Joshua Myers. *Of Black Study* (Pluto Press, 2023) ; Vincent Brown. "Social Death and Political Life in the Study of Slavery," *The American Historical Review,* 114, no. 5 (2009): 1231-1249.
[88] Grovogui. "Come to Africa". p. 439
[89] Sabaratnam. "Bring up the bodies".

studies scholars have emphasized the importance of narrating Black life during slavery and in its afterlife to illustrate the ways in which the enslaved and their descendants have negotiated their political and social realities, including relationships to the state and the international, and reject the dehumanization normalized by chattelization.[90] While the archive is a seat of power which often reproduces the silencing of historically marginalized voices, I nevertheless read across archives to foreground the viewpoints of peoples subjected to slavery, coercive indenture and colonial domination. This is important for understanding how these groups understood their experiences with policing, and the continuities and discontinuities in their subject positioning across time. I seek out these perspectives through archival research.

As Hartman writes, engaging the afterlife of slavery prompts scholars to "seek the commoners, the unwilling and coerced migrants who created a new culture in the hostile world of the Americas and who fashioned themselves again, making possibility out of dispossession."[91] Scholars of international relations have also emphasized the importance of studying the international system from the perspective of peoples subjected to colonial violence, and narrating the ways they have plotted and practiced to remake world order from spaces understood to be peripheral within dominant narratives.[92] Thus I read archival evidence of slave society ordering and post-slavery policing through the afterlife of slavery frame to center the experiences, responses, and resistance of enslaved Africans and the connected realities and rationalizations of dispossessed racialized persons subjected to contemporary post-slavery policing. This reading is intended to illuminate the rebellious sciences of what Katherine McKittrick calls "Black livingness" and their relationships to constructed knowledge of racialized deviance.[93] For McKittrick, the weight of contemporary systems forged through chattel slavery and colonialism, and the path to liberation from them, may be understood by accounting for "corporeal and affective labor (flesh and brains and blood and bones, hearts, souls)" and "noticing the physiological work of black liberation."[94] Attending to the customs and cosmologies developed by enslaved persons and their descendants as sites of intervention against their expendable

[90] Saidiya Hartman, "A Note on Method," in *Wayward lives, beautiful experiments* (Serpent's Tail, 2019); Katherine McKittrick, *Dear Science and other Stories* (Duke University Press, 2021).
[91] Hartman. *Lose Your Mother,* p. 6.
[92] Sabaratnam. "Bring up the bodies".; Adom Getachew. *Worldmaking After Empire.* (Princeton University Press, 2019).
[93] McKittrick,. *Dear Science.* p. 3.
[94] McKittrick. *Dear Science*. p. 3.

positioning resists erasure of their agency and intellectual life under systems of chattelization and colonial subordination, while revealing the aspects of Black life identified as markers of deviance and subject to policing under plantocratic rule.

I read across a range of archives, including community-based archives and archives curated to reify state power. In doing so, I seek evidence of manifestations of police power alongside the voices and actions of people subjected to chattelization, apprenticeship, indenture, colonial rule and contemporary police power to recover a holistic understanding of the formation of the logics underpinning racialized policing. In reading punishment reports by police, planters, and judicial officials during chattel slavery, I find evidence of life and a range of resistance efforts by enslaved and apprenticed people spanning work slow-downs and direct insubordination to the conjuring of spiritual maladies and creative plans for open revolt. These sources detail specific behaviors considered criminal offences, sharpening understanding of the threat perceptions involved in the ontological emergence of racialized deviance, particularly as it relates to Black bodies. Historically-informed reading of this source material sheds much needed light on the lifeworlds of people communing, laboring, creating, existing, and negotiating power under chattel slavery and colonial rule, casting them as agents operating within the systems which dehumanized them, as opposed to mute matter. This practice enables witnessing of any similar or derivative customs carried out by the generations which followed slavery, and if and how those behaviors have been rhetorically or legislatively constructed as deviant across time to warrant police intervention. This reading simultaneously permits recognition of any linkages between enslaved people's responses to police power and racialized peoples' contemporary articulations of their own subjectivities through their known relationship to police power. Indeed, as historian Vincent Brown has shown, attention to this suppressed knowledge can reveal a "politics of history, which connects the politics of the enslaved to the politics of their descendants."[95]

To center the material realities of post-slavery policing and resistance, I examined a wide range of source material spanning the National Archives of Jamaica, National Library of Jamaica, the National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago, the Alma Jordan Library at the University of the West Indies in St. Augustine, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, The University of London Senate House Library Special Collections, the Weston Library in Oxford, the British

[95] Brown. "Social Death and Political Life in the Study of Slavery." p.1233.

Library, the Elsa Goveia Reading Room at the University of the West Indies Mona, the University of Florida Digital Library of the Caribbean, the National Archives of the United States, the CIA Freedom of Information Act Digital Reading Room, and the New York University Special Collections.

As Robbie Shilliam and Anthony Bogues have shown, normative change is possible through discursive dissent and radical praxis, including heretical cultural practice.[96] This study is motivated by the desire to understand how peoples subordinated by colonial and neocolonial domination have challenged these orders, and how policing practices have adapted in response to innovations in resistance against global hierarchies. This requires an analysis that references archives of resistance, as well as those of imperial power. I have pursued this study with the understanding of the archive as a site of power with the ability to recall as well as silence.[97] While the archives of the powerful reveal much about the colonial logics which are principal features of this study, I have consulted important community archives, such as those of the George Padmore Institute, as sites of resistance. These community-generated collections allow marginalized voices to repudiate the violences memorialized within the archives of state power. Some voices remain muffled, namely those of enslaved people obscured by power structures which presumed them devoid of thought or unworthy of remembering. Where I have found these silences, I address them directly in the text and provide context of the conditions which produce these omissions in the archive. [98]

Despite the paucity of records which detail the thoughts and emotions of enslaved and indentured persons, it is nonetheless imperative to document their perspectives as agents who shaped colonial society. While I was unable to find narratives by enslaved people from each of the case countries, I consulted narratives which illuminate, albeit dimly, the social lives of persons enslaved by the British Empire and their relationships to discipline. These include *The Narrative of Mary Prince,*[99] in which Mary Prince documents her life in Bermuda, Antigua and Turks and

[96] Neta Crawford, "Colonial Arguments" and "Decolonizing bodies: ending slavery and denormalizing forced labor" in *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention* (Cambridge University Press, 2002)"; Anthony Bogues, *Black Heretics and Black Prophets: Radical Black Intellectuals* (Routledge, 2003); Robbie Shilliam, "Black redemption, not (white) abolition," in *Claiming the International*, edited by Arlene Tickner, David L. Bailey (Routledge 2013).
[97] Achille Mbembe "The Power of Archive and its Limits," in *Refiguring the Archive* edited by Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid, Razia Saleh (Springer, 2022).
[98] Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts" *Small Axe* 12, no.1 (2008): 1-14.
[99] Mary Prince, *The Narrative of Mary Prince* (F. Westley and A.H. Davis, 1831).

Caicos, and the *Narrative of Events since the First August, 1834*[100] by James Williams, a Jamaican subjected to slavery and the apprenticeship system. I also consulted slave laws and narratives by nineteenth century anti-slavery activists for descriptions of punishments for enslaved peoples and portrayals of resistive praxis. I likewise examined the English-language testimonies of indentured laborers collected by the colonial administration for their views on their introduction to Trinidad and their perceptions of punishment and social order on the island.

I examined records of police use of force and disciplinary violence from 1838-1990, and analyzed the discourse and legislation surrounding the development of police forces in Jamaica and Trinidad. Because institutionalized police forces were not established in the British West Indies until after abolition, policing of post-emancipation colonial societies were compared against slavery-era disciplinary and social regulatory mechanisms which performed policing functions, chiefly violence by overseers and militias. To understand the logics governing decisions by colonial administrators and officials of the independent states to authorize police violence, I analyzed correspondence between government officials, official reports on large disturbances, dispatches by UK and US imperial power describing the general state of the colonies, letters between administrators and military and policing officials, letters between colonial administrators and elites, and letters between state and colonial administrators and anti-imperial and anti-racist activists. I examined archived newspapers for evidence of public discourse and elite and administrators' reactions surrounding disturbances, police responses, and social order for further contextual evidence of public attitudes surrounding imperial order and order maintenance in the colonies. To examine elite attitudes, I consulted letters between slaveholders, business owners and government officials, judicial testimonies, and newspapers including the *Jamaica Gleaner, Jamaica Gazette, Port of Spain Gazette, San Fernando Gazette*. Because the readership of Jamaican and Trinidadian national newspapers such as the *Jamaica Gleaner* and *Port of Spain Gazette* largely consisted of the English-literate upper classes, I also consulted working class organizations and racial justice advocacy group newspapers, journals, and pamphlets authored by community action and student groups across the twentieth century for the political voices of members of subordinated racial groups. These include Jamaica's *Abeng* journal, Trinidad and Tobago's *Moko* and *Tapia* journals, pamphlets of the Jamaica Workers' League and Trinidad's Oilfield Workers Trade Union, and Jamaica's *Public Opinion* periodical.

[100] James Williams, *A Narrative of Events Since the First of August, 1834,* (J. M. Rider, 1837).

While imperialism positions the culture of the mother country as dominant, British culture in the British West Indies was not totalizing, as evinced by the lively African- and Indian-derived cultural elements persisting in the Anglophone Caribbean today. Given that many of these cultural elements shaped the lifeworlds and resistive logic and praxis of enslaved and indentured peoples and their descendants, it was necessary to understand how these elements came to characterize resistance in the Anglophone Caribbean and were thus policed by the colonial and independent governments. Videos, images, testimonies of cultural practitioners, and my lived knowledge were used to understand the social and political dynamics of African- and Indian-derived cultural practices and logics which intersected contentious action.

Cases

While British imperial order was imposed across all Anglophone Caribbean states, Jamaica and Trinidad have been selected for examination for their representative ethno-racial makeups and post-slavery trajectories, including their experiences with postcolonial national planning. British colonization of the Caribbean began with the creation of slave societies, which oversaw the forced migration of millions of people from West and Central Africa between the 1660s and 1807. At various points during the slavery-era, Africans and their descendants outnumbered white European settlers in the British-ruled Caribbean. Randy Browne notes that often Caribbean "estates of 100 or more [enslaved people]…might have only one resident white."[101] These demographic imbalances resulted in the strict regulation of the Black population to quell white fears of being outnumbered by the subjugated class. After emancipation in 1838, the British government commenced an indentured labor scheme to fill the labor shortage caused by emancipation. An estimated 500,000 people left India through the indenture scheme, thousands of whom landed in Guyana, Trinidad, and Jamaica. [102] Most Anglophone Caribbean societies are predominated by the descendants of enslaved Africans or indentured Asians, or a mixture of the two groups. While the dynamics of chattel slavery are typically characterized as uniquely relating to people of African descent – and with good reason—it is important to understand if and how slavery-era social ordering tools, including methods of physical discipline and racial group association with laboring status, impacted other racialized non-Europeans who are not of African descent. This is important to understand the dynamics of Indo-Caribbean racialization as well as to recognize that slavery-era norms of white supremacist hierarchy and imperial othering transcended Black-white race relations to subjugate any non-white racialized groups introduced to the post-slave society, albeit differently from Black people.

The case of Jamaica, historically numerically predominated by persons of African descent, provides an opportunity to examine the use of police violence as a tool of social order in a British West Indian post-slave society ordered along a largely Black-white racialized continuum. In Trinidad, 147,596 Indians disembarked as indentured laborers between 1845-1917 and suffered stigmatization and policing along with Afro-Trinidadians, thus analysis of Trinidad permits

[101] Randy Browne, *Surviving Slavery in the British Caribbean*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).
[102] Lomarsh Roopnarine, "Indian migration during indentured servitude in British Guiana and Trinidad, 1850-1920" *Labor History*, 52, no. 2 (2011):173-191.

analysis of how slavery-era norms of racialization and discipline were employed beyond the Black-white dichotomy. For Trinidad's case, it is necessary to note that while Trinidad and Tobago were formally united 1888 the governance of the two islands during and after British slavery differed significantly, impacting the social order and ethnic makeups of each island. Given these factors, and due to constraints of space and time, Tobago was not formally examined for the present study.

Periodization

This analysis spans the period of 1838-1990, with 1838 marking the point of full emancipation from slavery and 1990, the year of the Jamaat al Muslimeen Coup Attempt in Port of Spain, providing an opportunity to examine a critical juncture in Caribbean security-making. In July 1990, members of the Jamaat Al Muslimeen religious sect, founded by former police officer turned Imam Yasin Abu Bakr, attempted to overthrow the government of A.N.R. Robinson in response to economic austerity measures which exacerbated unemployment and generated a cost-of-living crisis which adversely impacted Trinidad's already economically depressed working class. The coup attempt was met with widespread calls from Anglophone Caribbean leaders for renewed securitization strategies amid allegations that the Trinidad and Tobago police were aware of the coup plot before it happened. I have selected this long period, spanning changes within the political orders of the case countries, to examine the ways in which the violent discipline and subordination which ordered the slave society have persisted into the postcolonial age. While I analyze the development and functioning of slave society order in the first chapter, the purpose of this study is to examine the retention of slave society order, premised on imperial racial capitalist hierarchy, through the vector of police power. Although the Abolition Bill was passed in 1833, it was immediately followed by the apprenticeship system wherein previously enslaved people remained forcibly tied to their plantations and masters.[103] Despite the *legal* re-classification of enslaved persons as "apprentices", they effectively remained relegated to the social position of slavery until 1838, still serving as the main source of (forced) labor power in West Indian societies. From emancipation, I take the analysis through the development of the post-slavery imperial society (1838-1962) through to the early post-colonial period (1962-1990).

The dissertation is organized chronologically to illuminate how the logics of slave society order, dictating the necessity of disciplining and rendering disposable racialized bodies, manifest across different temporalities, even amidst changes in the international order and the domestic political and economic orders of the two case countries. I emphasize critical junctures in the development of the political order, including the late 1930s West Indian labor rebellions which gave rise to

[103] Izhak Gross, "Parliament and the abolition of negro apprenticeship 1835-1838," *English Historical Review* 96, no.380 (1985): 560-576.

demands for independence; the development in the late 1950s and early 1960s of Creole nationalism (and its corresponding Afrophobic aphasia) in the context of federated decolonization; and the rise of Black Power and US interventionism in the late 1960s-early 1970s. I have selected the 1990 coup attempt by Jama'at Al Muslimeen as an end point to scrutinize how the logics of racial capitalist hierarchy which sustained the slave society impact the officers who exact police power, both as racialized and classed individuals within post-slavery societies, and as arbiters of a system of law and order which oppresses them. Through examination of police power from 1838-1990, I argue that slavery's logics of racial capitalist hegemony have created what Mbembe calls "an interlocking of presents, pasts, and futures that retain their depths of other presents, pasts, and futures."[104] By studying these "interlockings" of past and present, the ancestral and the contemporary, I center the need to reject the continued repetition of these logics, and the violence which results from them, to contribute toward building a future free from slavery's technologies of subjugation.

Chapter Overview

Given the lengthy time period covered in this dissertation, I organize the analysis into 8 chronological chapters to account for changes in the political orders of the case countries. In Chapter 1, I provide an overview of the dynamics of racial capitalist hierarchy constituting slave society order and the plantation technologies of domination and discipline sustaining this order. Chapter 2 examines the transfer of disciplinary power from plantation owners to the colonial government amidst approaching emancipation, and considers early uses of disciplinary power in the Morant Bay Rebellion and the beginning of Indian indenture. Chapter 3 examines the use of imperial police power in the context of the 1930 labor rebellions which launched the political movements for independence. Chapter 4 examines the expansion of police powers of surveillance in the wake of the labor rebellions and the 1940s climate of insecurity fostered during the Second World War. Here, I use Simone Browne's conceptualization of racialized surveillance as a form of discipline to highlight the development and use of police surveillance strategies to counter political advancement by African and Indian subjects.

[104] Mbembe, *Postcolony*, p. 16.

Chapter 5 examines logics undergirding independence and the ways in which the colonial elite, known as Afro-Saxons, maintained the intertwining hierarchies of race and class by foregrounding national and regional identities premised on the notion of "creole nationalism" and inherited Britishness. I describe the racialized class distinctions between the constructed Anglophilic citizen ideal and the sufferers, the Afro- and Indo-Caribbean working class and impoverished masses against whom police power is disproportionately directed. I argue that Afro-Saxon led governments, guided by their understanding of police power as a positive British inheritance, reiterated the subordination of racialized peoples who do not culturally adhere to assimilated Britishness. I carry these themes of post-colonial anti-Blackness into Chapter 6, where I examine deployment of police power by the Jamaican, Trinbagonian, United States, and United Kingdom governments in response to the Black Power movements in the Caribbean. I regard this international coordination of police power as legacy of the slave society logic normalizing violent responses to Black anti-imperial insurgency, in this case mandating counterinsurgency to destabilize an internationalist movement recognizing the failure of decolonial movements to "unsettle the coloniality of being."[105]

Chapters 7 and 8 are individual case studies of the uses of police power in relation to two destabilizing moments in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. In Chapter 7, I examine how Jamaican clientelist political violence and CIA policing of US hegemony in the context of Michael Manley's democratic socialist government reiterates the slavery-era logic dictating the expendability of Black life through political violence and carcerality. Here, I examine how US and Jamaican logics of racialized criminality shape policing and carceral practices by identifying poor Black youths for death and disposal into Manley's Gun Court. The final chapter, Chapter 8, focuses on the 1990 Jamaat Al Muslimeen coup attempt, led by Trinidadian Imam and former police officer Yasin Abu Bakr, and its connections to the sufferers' enduring frustrations with post-slavery racial and economic oppression. I examine how police officers of working-class backgrounds, who make up most forces in the Anglophone Caribbean, do not benefit from the post-slavery racial capitalist order they are tasked with upholding. I conclude by emphasizing how contemporary uses of police power in the Anglophone Caribbean sustains slave society logics of racialized criminality and expendability today.

[105] Term borrowed from Sylvia Wynter "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being".

Chapter 1: Slavery's Order: Racializing Humanity and the Reiterative Violence of the Slave Society

This section lays out the theoretical grounding of the dissertation. I begin by elaborating the logic of Black expendability as a product of slave society ordering. I build on theories advanced by Black studies scholarship which articulates Black racialized subjectivity as a product of slave society logics demarcating a commodifiable, and therefore expendable, non-human status, or in Sylvia Wynter's words, "the ultimate referent of the 'racially inferior' Human Other."[106] I articulate how chattelization, the codified processes of commodification and dehumanization which rendered Black racialized persons merchandise and inheritable capital, was legitimated through myths attributing civilizational deviance and eradicable danger to Blackness. I argue that this normative positioning of Blackness as a site of expendability and deviance influenced the formation of slavery-era policing measures used to maintain the social, political and economic orders of colonial slave societies and their plantation economies. I contend that policing in the post-slavery era has been instrumental in reiterating chattel slavery's racialized ordering logics of criminal deviance and expendability as a means of securing the racial capitalist global order which was itself established through chattel slavery and colonial rule.

Chattel slavery yielded a structural logic in which Black bodies were rhetorically and legally understood as both dangerous deviants and valuated capital, in the sense that the law treated them as semi-sentient objects holding finite monetary value which could be accumulated, spent, traded, inherited, reproduced and insured against loss or suicide.[107] Colonial punishments and carceral procedures normatively meted out against Black bodies exclusively, including mutilation and death, could temper or extinguish the capitalist value held in enslaved bodies in the event that enslaved persons failed or proved unwilling to maintain productivity. Across the slaveholding Atlantic, colonial legislatures established slave codes to organize the subordination of all Black persons, both free and enslaved, by delineating the ordering power of policing institutions and identifying punishments reserved for Black people as security measures descried as "absolutely needful for the publique safety."[108] Such punitive measures were designed to

[106] Sylvia Wynter. "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation—An Argument," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3 (3) (2003): p. 266.
[107] Anthony Bogues. "How much is your African slave worth?" *Differences* 31, no. 3 (2020): 156-168. ; Jennifer L. Morgan. *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); "Partus Sequitur Ventrem: Law, Race and Reproduction in Colonial Society." *Small Axe* 22, no.1 (2018): 1-17.
[108] Barbados Assembly, *Act for the better ordering and governing of Negroes,* 1661, Clause 1.

counter numerous forms of rebellion against slavery, which featured heavily in slave societies across the Atlantic and shaped not only perceptions of Black deviance, but also the policing structures designed to maintain their status as non-human property.

I emphasize that this non-human commodifiable status was physically enforced and legally codified across centuries of chattel slavery by numerous imperial regimes in the making of modernity, resulting in what Charisse Burden Stelly has called the "structural location of Blackness".[109] In this sense, Blackness, as a constructed marker of racialized deviance, serves as a category of surplus value extraction to justify the hierarchized spectrum of racial stratification through situation as the oppositional pole to the supremacist position of constructed whiteness.[110] With this understanding of Blackness as a structure enabling racial capitalist hierarchy in mind, I then discuss my conceptualization of reiterative violence, which I argue is the principal means through which post-slavery policing rearticulates the slave society logic of Black racialized expendability by means of continuous gratuitous violence and legitimated death, despite changes in the political landscape. Here, I draw on Achille Mbembe's depiction of police violence's reiterative function in the post-colony as an ordering mechanism reproducing the subordinate subjectivities which structured colonial societies. I apply Mbembe's conceptualization of colonial violence to post-slavery societies to examine the power of police to reiterate the expendable and deviant status of Blackness conceived through the racialized quotidian violence and scheduled death which characterized chattel slavery as a means of securing racial capitalist order.

Before proceeding, it is important to note two reasons for my identification of specifically *slave society* logics, as a distinct pattern of colonial logic, as the central point of departure in discussing the reproduction of racialized subjectivities via policing. The first, is that the racial classifications which ordered Atlantic slave societies provided the basis for the racial logics of white supremacy and anti-Blackness which serve as foundational poles upholding global racial hierarchy. The second, is that it is the distinct forms of anti-Blackness which emanate from chattel slavery continue to condition Black life, and the policing of it, in the present day with global implications for racialized notions of security and threat. I will first elaborate on the first

[109] Charisse Burden Stelly. *Black Scare/Red Scare: Theorizing Capitalist Racism in the United States. (*University of Chicago Press, 2023).
[110] Charisse Burden Stelly. *Black Scare/Red Scare: Theorizing Capitalist Racism in the United States. (*University of Chicago Press, 2023).; Allen.*The Invention of the White Race*.

point of chattel slavery as foundational to the imperial science of racial classification before moving on to discuss the reiteration of slave society logics beyond the point of chattel slavery's abolition. I will then turn to detailed discussion of racialized policing within the British slave society to elucidate its utility in securing order.

Chattel Slavery: Africans as Commodities and Structuring Black Expendability

This study is primarily concerned with post-emancipation policing (1838-1990) as reiterative violence reproducing norms of dominance and subordination conceived during chattel slavery to sustain the racial capitalist hierarchies emanating from the system. As a range of scholars have articulated, the transatlantic trade in African people, and the racial logics emanating therefrom, are integral to the white supremacist, capitalist modern world system.[111] As Eric Williams articulated in his seminal work *Capitalism and Slavery:*

> The commercial capitalism of the eighteenth century developed the wealth of Europe by means of slavery and monopoly.[112]

The path to the present racial capitalist order was funded and conceptualized through four centuries of consuming Black bodies. From the 1440 Portuguese raids along the Wolof shores of the Senegambian coast to the fall of the final domino of chattel slavery's abolition in 1888 Brazil, racial slavery was a social and economic force with global implications. Further work is needed to estimate the full economic impact of chattel slavery, however the historical record is clear that the British, Danish, Dutch, French, Portuguese and Spanish empires manufactured financial incentives from slave trading and enslavement. Even prior to Columbus' 1492 voyage into the Caribbean, the Portuguese and Spanish crowns had already established an economic system reliant upon the trading and enslavement of Africans on Iberian lands. Following expeditions into West Africa in the 1460s, Portuguese traders imported an estimated 1,000-2,000

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[111] Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*; Wynter, "Unsettling Coloniality of Being"; Cedric J. Robinson "Oliver Cromwell Cox and the historiography of the West." *Cultural Critique* 17 (1990): 5-19 and *Black Marxism, revised and updated third edition: The making of the black radical tradition*. (UNC Press Books, 2020); WEB Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: Toward a history of the part which black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America, 1860-1880*. (Routledge, 2017); Stuart Hall. "Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance [1980]" in *Essential Essays, Volume 1: Foundations of Cultural Studies* edited by David Morley, 172-221. (Duke University Press, 2018); Burden-Stelly, " *Black Scare/Red Scare* .; Ruth Wilson Gilmore "Geographies of Racial Capitalism" *Antipode*, 2020.

[112] Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 168

enslaved people annually into Lisbon, many of whom were sold into Spanish markets.[113] By 1513 Spain, having established its own footing in the trade in enslaved Africans, established the *asientos,* a system of trading contracts and taxation on enslaved African persons trafficked as merchandise to their colonies in Cuba, Puerto Rico and Jamaica. This not only enriched the Spanish Crown and the Portuguese traders voyaging into Africa's so-called "Guinea Coast", but also Italian *asientistas* shipping people from Sao Tome and Cape Verde to Hispaniola, German merchants, and colonists profiting from the gold Africans extracted from Caribbean mines.[114] Perpetuating this system required European imperial agents to maintain diplomatic relations with West and Central African kingdoms and adhere to their sovereign principles and trade norms.[115] As a system around which economic and political relations were organized between polities spanning three continents, chattel slavery was integral to the development not only of slave societies themselves, but the emergence of the global capitalist system and its concomitant patterns of racialized enrichment and subordination.

Alongside transatlantic slavery's economic impact, the system also crucially marked the global social order by internationalizing concepts of racial hierarchy and deviance. As British historian Kenneth Morgan has elaborated, chattel slavery was a novel form of subordination which introduced racialized classifications of humanity, distinguishing between a Black subhuman, and therefore expendable, enslavable status and a white exemplar of human civility. Morgan emphasizes that "the forms of slavery in existence before the European discovery of America were radically different from the type of slavery that developed rapidly and on such a large scale on the western shores of the Atlantic" precisely because "the latter was a racialized version of slavery."[116] He states:

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[113] Walter Rodney, "African Slavery and other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave-Trade," *Journal of African History,* viii, no. 3, (1966): 431-443; Jane Landers. "Slavery in the Spanish Caribbean and the Failure of Abolition." *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 31, no. 3 (2008): 343–71.

[114] Arthur Newton. *The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493-1688,* (London: A&C Black 1933); Landers. "Slavery in the Spanish Caribbean and the Failure of Abolition."; Antonio de Almeida Mendes. "The Foundations of the System: A Reassessment of the Slave Trade to the Spanish Americas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transastlantic Slave Trade Database* edited by D. Eltis & D. Richardson. (Yale University Press, 2008): 63-94.

[115] Herman Bennett. *African Kings and Black Slaves: Sovereignty and Dispossession in the Early Modern Atlantic.* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

[116]Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery and British Empire: From Africa to America,*(Oxford University Press, 2008) p.2.

> European venturers overseas did not conceive of fellow Europeans as being fit to enslave. European countries, of course, included many people whose working lives were not totally free in the early modern period. There were thousands of servants, with or without contracts, and agricultural workers employed and housed on the basis of their social and economic ties to landowners. But these workers did not experience permanent bondage. Nor was it thought appropriate that they should do so. Enslaving Africans was a different matter.[117]

It is because of the distinctive nature of Atlantic chattel slavery that Guyanese historian Elsa Goveia distinguished between a society *with slaves* and *the slave society*. Goveia conceptualized slave societies as social systems organized around the preservation of chattel slavery, employing constructed racial formations as the principal element structuring relations within the "whole community, including masters and freedmen as well as slaves."[118] Thus transatlantic racial slavery was qualitatively different from earlier forms of bondage in its totalizing rule that Black African bodies –not simply their labor—*could* and *should* be bought and consumed as expendable commodities.

Within this paradigm, the enslaved could be expended as tokens in exchange for other goods or services, as well as disposed of through legally sanctioned discipline permitting their death. The 1696 Jamaica slave law defines the trade of capital for African bodies as "instrumental to the cultivation of our colonies" and indicates provision of bargaining space for the sale and exchange of "a sufficient number of negroes, at reasonable rates".[119] While "encouraging and stimulating" the "cultivation by British capital" of West Indian plantations, Parliament empowered masters to discipline enslaved people as property without fear of suffering the legal ramifications usually applied to harm of a human person. Indeed the same 1696 Jamaica law states that "noe person shall be accountable to any law" for killing an enslaved person in the course of punishment for "misdemeanours".[120]

Slave societies in European-controlled territories across the Americas relied on a legally cemented racial order organized through legislation called slave codes. These codes were

[117] Ibid.
[118] Elsa Goveia, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century,* (Yale University Press,1965).
[119] National Library of Jamaica (henceforth NLJ) Slave Law of Jamaica 1696, p. vi.
[120] Ibid.

codified by Spanish, Portuguese (and subsequently Brazilian), British, Dutch, Danish, French, and US legislatures on the American continent resulting in an Atlantic consensus on the normative demarcation between racialized Black, enslavable and deviant *commodities*, and racialized white *humans*. Sylvia Wynter asserts that white Western European civilization has been institutionalized as the imperial standard of humanity, mythos she articulates as the "over-representation of Man".[121] Under slavery, Black people inherited their constructed status as deviant commodities from their mothers, as historian Jennifer L. Morgan demonstrates.[122] Thus belonging within the group racialized as sub-human was a biological, and largely inescapable[123] condition tied to the maternal relationship to a feminine body also read as fungible. In slave society logics, particularly in the aftermath of Darwininan natural selection, the enslaveable body was conceptualized as a biological anomaly positioned as the polar opposite to the imperial markers of humanity or, in Wynter's words, "dysselected by Evolution until proven otherwise."[124] This "dysselection" from Western European standards of humanity was marked permanently by an abundance of melanin in the flesh. Black African phenotype and identity, as understood through the lens of enslavers and imperial benefactors, were naturalized as evidence of natural deviance from the European Christian ideal. This helped position plantation toil as ameliorative labor towards an unachievable human status, while permitting planters to profit from the employment of commodified Black bodies.

It is important to note here that Blackness is both a racial classification which often serves as a source of community, as is evidenced by numerous pan-Africanist movements, as well as a structural location of deviance and expendability. As Wynter states, "the enslaved peoples of Black Africa (i.e. Negroes)…were made into the physical referent of the idea of the irrational/subrational Human Other…the descriptive statement that would be foundational to modernity."[125] It is due to this imperial and internationalized sequestration to the "savage slot", to borrow a term from Michel Rolph Trouillot, of commodifiable and racialized other that

[121] Wynter, *Unsettling Coloniality of Being*.
[122] Jennifer L. Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery* (Duke University Press, 2021); "Introduction: Reproductive Racial Capitalism" *History of the Present,* 14. no. 1, (2024): 1-19.
[123] Provisions were made for individuals to purchase their freedom, or have someone purchase it on their behalf, further institutionalizing the naturalization of Black bodies as exchangeable capital. For more on manumission in the Caribbean see: Linda M. Rupert. "Marronage, Manumission and Maritime Trade in the Early Modern Caribbean." *Slavery & Abolition* 30, 3 (2009): 361–82.
[124] Wynter, *Unsettling Coloniality of Being,* p.267.
[125] Ibid. p.266.

Blackness remains perceptually relegated to a global class positioning of easily expendable subordinates, suitable for consumption and toil.[126] In short, persons normatively rendered deviant *objects* to be consumed as well as controlled and confined as security threats, are not subjected to the same standards of protection or autonomy as those globally conceived as humans. In the next section, I argue that this globalized understanding of racialized threat and expendability merits reading of Blackness as a structural location anchoring a globalized hierarchy variably impacting all peoples positioned against whiteness.

The Structural Location of Blackness and Globalizing Racial Hierarchy

Charisse Burden Stelley identifies the *structural location of Blackness* as one which "exceeds the category of race, is not reducible to class, and does not fit the specifications of caste," positioning Blackness as an identifier of surplus value.[127] This notion of Blackness as a conceptual force underlying global racial hierarchy has similarly been articulated by scholars of international relations. As Errol Henderson has articulated, structural white supremacy and anti-Black racism constitutes a hierarchical "axis" of domination, wherein Blackness is constructed as the polar opposite to white power.[128] As Henderson points out, this polar understanding of racial hierarchy "does not render invisible or irrelevant those between the poles," neither does it erase the distinct forms of discrimination they face. Rather, these forces of discrimination are operationalized within a structural hierarchy birthed through historic imperial relations which positioned whiteness as the embodiment of dominance.

It is important to recognize that white supremacy and anti-Blackness are structuring pillars through which the contemporary global color line is mediated, largely because the modern conceptualizations of race and racial hierarchy were iterated across four centuries of chattel slavery organized through unprecedented logics of racial power and dehumanization. Anna Agathangelou foregrounds the importance of Atlantic slavery in determining global understandings of threat and value, suggesting that racialized dehumanization as a "modality of

[126] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "Anthropology and the Savage Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness" in *Trouillot Remixed: The Michel-Rolph Trouillot Reader* edited by Yarimar Bonilla, Greg Beckett and Mayanthi L. Fernando, 53-84 (Duke University Press, 2021).
[127] Burden Stelly. *Black Scare, Red Scare,*
[128] Errol Henderson. "The Banality of White Supremacy in World Politics," *International Studies Review* 26, no. 3 (2024): 3.

slave terror" yielded "economies of Blackness" from which global notions of fungibility and strategies to combat racialized deviance derive legitimacy.[129] Alexander Anievas and Kerem Nişancıoğlu also cite chattel slavery's influence over international race relations, stating that the "eventual long term effects of the relations between European and African societies would prove constitutive of a colonial relation and white supremacy."[130] In short, racial power, as it exists within the conceptualization of race which orders relations today, was first iterated in the slave society.

Positioning Blackness as a structural location acknowledges that racial categorization was created as a basis of the global social and economic systems. If exploitation on the basis of constructed racial categories proved lucrative for planters in slave societies, what was to stop it from being useful elsewhere? As Locksley Edmondson points out, racial classifications along the black-white poles which ordered slave societies were modified across various colonial sites, providing the basis of rationalizations identifying the "superior" traits of enslavers and colonizers against which physical and cultural traits of the racially subjugated could be measured as "inferior". Similarly, Sankaran Krishna points out, W.E.B. DuBois' conceptualization of "the color line" "reifies distinctions that are far more malleable, problematic and internally racist and casteist than we might otherwise suppose."[131] Drawing attention to the global economic relations which relied on chattel slavery, Edmondson states that:

> once slavery was linked to the ongoing predominating transitions in the international economic system, was sustained by major actors in the emerging modern international political system, and was rationalized in terms of inherent racial attributes, the stage was set for the internationalization of the linkages of race, economics, and politics.[132]

As Edmondson indicates, the centuries-long slave society encounter produced whiteness as an ontology of power positioned against the exclusive rendering of Africans as nonhuman capital, eliciting a novel structural logic identifying who fell into the bottom of the racial hierarchy to

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[129] Anna Agathangelou. "*Neoliberal Geopolitical Order and Value: Queerness as a Speculative Economy and Anti-Blackness as Terror.", International Journal of Feminist Politics.* 15, no. 4 (2013)*: 453.*

[130] Anievas and Nişancıoğlu. *How the West Came to Rule: The Geopolitical Origins of Capitalism* (Pluto Press, 2015).

[131] Sankaran Krishna. "A Postcolonial Racial/Spatial Order: Gandhi, Ambedkar, and the construction of the international," *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the global colour line.* (Routledge, 2015) p. 139.

[132] Edmondson. "Trans-Atlantic Slavery and the Internationalization of Race."p.18.

justify the artificial empowerment of those at the top. Indeed dehumanizing logics were bred into the structure of white supremacy as imperial science. In recognition of empire's transmission of anti-Black racial logic and its continued intelligibility in the present day, Amy Niang suggests that the international should be read through chattel slavery's legitimization of racialized dehumanization as this logic has shaped understandings of human difference beyond the plantations of early modernity.[133] As John Narayan has noted, drawing on theorization on class and race by DuBois and Black Panther Party chairman Huey Newton, the "wages of whiteness provided the ideological and material ballast for Western imperial expansion."[134]

These linkages between chattel slavery's racialized justifications for economic and social exploitation and the internationalization of racial classification have been documented by scholars across a range of disciplines. Tayyab Mahmud emphasizes how colonists of India, perceiving a "variety of complexions lying between the extremes of the scale of physical types defined by race science," filtered "the master discourse" of white supremacy through a "double binary of fair/dark and civilized/savage" and read racial hierarchy into categories of "caste, tribe, nation and communal/religious groups."[135] Krishna emphasizes that transportation of white supremacist racial logics into India elicited an internalized understanding of racial hierarchy amongst elites in India and South Africa, shaping perceptions of persons inhabiting darker skins and lower castes, including Dalits, indentured workers, and Black Africans.[136] Internalization of white supremacist colonial logics also shaped Caribbean elites' expressions of nationalism, resulting in the political, social, and economic disempowerment of the racialized working classes, as I introduce in Chapters 5 and expand on in Chapters 6-8. Similarly, Sandra Manickam Khor and Sony Coráñez Bolton elucidate how structural white supremacy and Black dehumanization shaped coloniality and conceptualizations of the human in the Philippines. Spanish and US imperial forces, having both engendered racialized conceptualizations of the human through their individual practices of chattel slavery, organized colonization of the Philippines islands through proclamations of civilizational deficiency due to the presence of the

[133] Niang, Amy. 2020. "The slave, the migrant and the topographies of the international.".
[134] John Narayan. "The wages of whiteness in the absence of wages: racial capitalism, reactionary intercommunalism and the rise of Trumpism." *Third World Quarterly* 38, no.11 (2017): p.2484.
[135] Tayyab Mahmud. "Colonialism and Modern Constructions of Race: A Preliminary Inquiry," *U. Miami Law Review* 1219 (1999): 1228.
[136] Krishna, Sankaran. 2015. "A Postcolonial Racial/Spatial Order: Gandhi, Ambedkar, and the construction of the international".

"phenotypically Black" indigenous Itas.[137] According to Coráñez Bolton, the Itas presented "evidence of a Blackness that was transformed into a marker indexing the retrogression of the Orient".[138] Scholarship recognizing the endurance and malleability of white supremacy and anti-Blackness as structuring tools of the global racial order presents a clearer picture of the spectral functioning of racism beyond a dichotomized view of whites vs. non-whites by illustrating the ways in which hierarchical racial logics came to inform and intersect colonial racial violence and shape global relations.

As Siba Grovogui and Susan Buck Morss have highlighted, notions of racial hierarchy were taken as given for modern philosophers, shaping the production of international norms and knowledge in the present day.[139] Lending further credence to the internationalization of slavery's logics of Black commodification and expendability, Jemima Pierre has likewise problematized the notion that the racialization of African bodies as chattel applies uniquely to Black people descended from enslaved persons, as opposed to others whose ancestors evaded Atlantic chattelization. Analysing the processes of racialization on the African continent, Pierre finds that "racialization during the slave trade meant that 'race' came to determine—as it did in places like the Americas—who was enslavable", and that the circulation of colonial practices of dominance crafted "a global view of race, one that impacted *all* who are racialized as Black."[140] While Black Caribbean experiences have shifted from that of dehumanized chattel slave, to thingified colonial subject, to postcolonial sufferer, I argue that these amendments have not upended structural positioning of Black bodies as expendable and deviant around the world.

Indeed, international institutions have recognized the persistent globality of anti-Blackness. Following decades of coordinated activism by African, Caribbean, South American, US and European actors recognizing the global nature of anti-Blackness, the United Nations General Assembly recognized the Permanent Forum for Persons of African Descent in August 2021. In

[137] Sandra Manickam Khor. "Africans in Asia: The Discourse of 'Negritos' in Early Nineteenth-century Southeast Asia," in *Responding to the West: Essays on Colonial Domination and Asian Agency* edited by Hans Hägerdal (Amsterdam University Press, 2009), p. 69-86; Sony Coráñez Bolton. "Nuestros salvajes filipinos" : Settler Encounters and Black Indigeneities in Mexico and the Philippines, *Periphērica: A Journal of Social, Cultural, and Literary History* 2, no. 2 (2023): 129.
[138] Coráñez Bolton, "Nuestros salvajes filipinos" p. 129.
[139] Siba Grovogui "Postcolonial Criticism" *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class* edited by Geeta Chowdhry and Sheila Nair (Routledge, 2004); Susan Buck Morss *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009).
[140] Jemima Pierre, "Slavery, Anthropological Knowledge, and the Racialization of Africans," *Current Anthropology* 61, no. 22 (2020): 229.

reference to the connection between anti-Black racism and Atlantic chattel slavery, Forum Chair and former Vice President of Costa Rica, Epsy Alejandra Campbell-Barr emphasized that "we are treated as Black people all over the world," a collective struggle she attributes to "the enslavement of our ancestors."[141] Similarly, in 2002, the Durban Declaration recognized that "people of African descent have for centuries been victims of racism, racial discrimination and enslavement, and of the denial by history of many of their rights."[142] These patterns of policing and carcerality targeting Black persons are reflective of a broader systemic understanding of which bodies naturally threaten order, and therefore require state control via police violence.

While non-Black racialized bodies are also subject to policing in many post-slavery states, scholars emphasize that this form of discipline is exacted due to a dereliction of social and political norms within the state, rather than as a product of a globally recognized racially subordinated status. With specific reference to post-slavery states, as João H. Vargas has noted, police violence suffered by non-Black people "is a consequence of the protest and therefore contingent; for black people, on the other hand, experiencing violence does not depend on a protest of some explicitly antagonistic attitude: for [us], violence is normalized, predictable in its unpredictability."[143] Understanding these distinct forms of policing is integral to understanding the varied reasons undergirding its utility in upholding order both within states and transnationally. Indeed, policing citizens recognized as full humans, in the event that they seek to protest the state, serves to coerce civil society back to a normalized state of affairs. However, part of this normalized state of affairs in post-slavery societies is the premature death, surveillance, disproportionate imprisonment and spatial segregation visited upon Black racialized communities.

As I will elaborate throughout the thesis, policing communities of people whose deviant characterization and expendable status are tied to the racial categorization attributed to persons of their phenotype and cultural background since early modernity is often positioned as a mechanism of upholding order and maintaining safety for those constructed as normative

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[141] "We must confront the legacy of slavery, tackle systemic racism," United Nations: Africa Renewal, effective 13 March 2026, https://africarenewal.un.org/en/magazine/we-must-confront-legacy-slavery-tackle-systemic-racism.
[142] United Nations, *World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, Declaration and Plan of Action* (United Nations, 2001) https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Durban_text_en.pdf. p. 21.
[143] João H. Vargas. "Desindentificação: A Lógica de Exclusão Antinegra no Brasil," in *Antinegritude: O Impossível Sujeito Negro na Formação Social Brasileira* edited by Osmundo Pinho and João H. Vargas (Fino Traço, 2016).

citizens. As Denise Ferreira da Silva articulates, police violence is directed indiscriminately towards poor and ghettoized Black people such that "the naming of the enemy…becomes unnecessary."[144] Racialized deviance is already well understood and folded into the hierarchical social, political and economic fabric, justifying the state's right to kill. In da Silva's words, Black racialized persons are, "no-bodies", whose deviant existence is broadcast to the normative citizenry, or the "territory the architectures and procedures of law enforcement are designed to protect."[145] This normative exemplification of criminality continues to position racialized being in opposition to normative citizenry, calling attention to Wynter's conceptualization of racialization through the slave society encounters which constructed Blackness as the marker representing "the ostensible missing link between rational humans and irrational animals."[146] I argue that policing in post-slavery contexts fulfills the function of reiterating chattel slavery's structural racial positioning of Black bodies as deviant expendables long after abolition. Through attention to the livingness of chattel slavery's racial logics, I conceptualize racialized police violence as reiterative violence, which I explain below.

Reiterative Violence: Racialized Policing and Reproducing a Structural Position

I have articulated above that chattel slavery resulted in a hierarchized racial logic which structurally positioned constructed whiteness against a Black, non-human and commodifiable positionality. These racialized structural positionings were reinforced during chattel slavery through legal codes defining Black people as non-human commodities, as well as violent punishments reserved exclusively for racialized Black persons. The identification of specific forms of violence, including flogging, mutilation, imprisonment, banishment, and death, as normative disciplinary measures designed specifically for Black bodies, in the absence of similar punishments for white bodies, materialized the slave society's power to naturalize Blackness as a site of deviance and expendability. I assert that policing, as it emanates from the slave society racial order, reproduces this structural positioning of Black bodies as expendable deviants through targeted physical discipline and death. In the absence of slavery as a legal institution upholding hierarchical racial norms and logics, policing exacts reiterative violence to reinforce slavery's normative objectification of Black bodies, withstanding changes to governance

[144] Ferreira da Silva. "No-Bodies" p. 231-232.
[145] Ferreira da Silva. "No-Bodies" p. 231.
[146] Wynter "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being" p. 266.

structures from, first, upholding plantation rule, to subsequently maintaining post-slavery colonial power and state order. Here, I borrow from Achille Mbembe's charting of the specific reiterative power of police in post-colonial settings.[147]

Achille Mbembe puts forward three types of violence involved in the making of colonial order: (1) founding violence, (2) violence of legitimation, and (3) violence of the "reiterating function".[148] Mbembe classifies these sequential forms of violence in the making of African subordination to European colonial rule on the African continent, rather than in American plantation contexts, however here I extend them to the violences which produced power and social meaning within Atlantic slave societies. Mbembe recognizes race as a vector of violence delineating whose bodies could be normatively susceptible to carceral control and harm. Here, I foreground meaning making and ordering of the slave society through racial categorization. In this way, race is understood as a structuring logic inherent to the integrity of chattel slavery's exploitative relations which configured the repetitious and remembered practices of police power designed to reinforce racial hierarchy as a means of securing public order.

Founding violence constituted the violence which "underpinned not only the right of conquest, but all the prerogatives flowing from that right."[149] For the Caribbean slave society, founding violence is identified as invasion, genocide and land dispossession targeting the Taino, Arawak, Carib, and Kalinago indigenous peoples carried out in the making of European settlements in the islands.[150] This violence instituted European rule by dominance and the adoption of modified Spanish, Portuguese, British, French, Dutch, and Danish legal codes to legitimate and regulate governance through exploitation. These legal codes and the racial categorizations authored within them formed a structural component of the legitimating violence, the second form of violation in Mbembe's sequence. Another component of legitimating violence, in this sense, is the trafficking of Africans for enslavement and the prescription of regulated violence along racial lines, pronouncing the normativity of gratuitous violence against Black bodies. The power to traffic and render certain bodies commodities, alongside the power to define them as deviant while determining the circumstances of their death and prescribing violent punishments as

[147] Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*.p. 25.
[148] Ibid. p. 25.
[149] Ibid. p. 25.
[150] Hilary Beckles. "Kalinago (Carib) resistance to European colonisation of the Caribbean." *Caribbean Quarterly* 38, no. 2-3 (1992): 1-124; Melanie J. Newton. ""The Race Leapt at Sauteurs" genocide, narrative, and indigenous exile from the Caribbean Archipelago." *Caribbean Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2014): 5-28.

ostensible correctors of this criminal identity, became the legitimating force of white plantocratic power. This normative practice colored the slave society imaginary, positioning Europeanness, and subsequently whiteness, as the logical source of authority.

As Mbembe writes, legitimating violence involves meaning-making and the display of an "imaginary capacity converting founding violence into authorizing authority."[151] However, power stolen and legitimated required maintenance, particularly against the threat of insurrection and other forms of retaliatory violence by the people racialized as expendable capital. In the slave society then, reiterative violence, Mbembe's third form, reemphasized legitimated relations of power and expendability through mundane violence intimately known to Black people. This third form of violence ensured "the maintenance, spread, and permanence" of legitimated authority and "played so important a role in everyday life that it ended up constituting the cultural imaginary that the state shared with society."[152] In the slave society, violence designed to force the perpetual expendability of the enslaved was carried out through whips wielded by overseers, drivers and constables, and early carceral systems including work houses and gaols.[153] Violence by whippings was so ubiquitous that the whip itself came to constitute a symbol of plantocratic coercive power. As the Port of Spain Gazette reported in 1827, it was "usual to give the morning signal for work by the sound of the driver's whip."[154] For the enslaved person, the sounding of the whip would have signaled compulsion to labor upon threat of violence with that very instrument. The use of the whip as a call to begin the day's toil recited slavery's paradigm of violent control over the commodified body on a quotidian basis.

I extend the notion of reiterative violence to the post-slavery era to emphasize the role of policing in reiterating logics of racialized deviance and expendability to structure normative perceptions of threat and the security protocols crafted to enable racialized exploitation. Of particular concern here is policing's function in reiterating the specific structural location of Blackness as an expendable and deviant positionality required for the maintenance of the white supremacist hierarchy which emerged from centuries of chattel slavery. I likewise articulate police power in post-slavery contexts as reinvigoration of the legacy of chattel slavery in the

[151] Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*.p. 25.
[152] Ibid. p. 25..
[153] Diana Paton. *No Bond But the Law: Punishment, Race, and Gender in Jamaican State Formation*. (Duke University Press, 2004).
[154] Port of Spain Gazette (henceforth POSG) 1 September1827.

consciousness of Black racialized peoples' through persistent and intimate knowing of state violence. This knowingness may be felt in welts and open wounds from police batons, rubber bullets and live rounds, the memory of mundane arrest procedures, the witnessing of violence from afar with the experiential understanding that its unreservedness is licensed only for specific communities. Analysis of police discipline may be read through Foucauldian analyses of police discipline. However, Foucault's framework of biopower cannot respond to the racialized nature of accepted death for those dehumanized through the persistence of Atlantic slavery's racial logics. As Allison Howell and Melanie Richter-Montpetit emphasize, Foucault's reading is "sanitized of colonial domination and violence".[155]

Similar arguments have been made by Black theorists arguing for an outlook on racialized policing which references the distinct history of chattel slavery. Referencing Wynter's analysis of the colonial construction of man, Denise Fereira da Silva points out that Foucault relies on a particular white, non-colonized body in his depiction of human subordination which cannot account for how and why bodies subjected to chattelization and colonial thingification are subjected to forms of racialized policing which reiterate a constructed expendable nonhuman positionality.[156] Marxist analyses of policing emphasize the institution's role in protecting capital and regulating workers maintaining the agency to sell their labor such that it may be consumed by capital. However, such analyses often do not account for the ways in which enslavement devalued Black bodies – not simply their labor—as capital itself through racial logics asserting the biological deviance of Africans and their descendants in the New World. As George Padmore states, "the socio-economic relation of the Negro under capitalism" manifests in "two distinct forms: on the one hand they are oppressed as a class, and on the other as a nation."[157]

Mbembe explains how police power, through quotidian reiterative violence, provides a persistent interpersonal reminder of the social order—and one's place within it. In the colonies, policing was an important arm of transmitting imperial social values to colonized subjects. Frantz Fanon provides that "in the colonies it is the policeman and the soldier who are the official, instituted

[155] Allison Howell and Melanie Richter-Montpetit. "Racism in Foucauldian security studies: Biopolitics, liberal war, and the whitewashing of colonial and racial violence." *International Political Sociology* 13, no. 1 (2019): 2-19.
[156] Wynter, *Unsettling Coloniality of Being;* Denise Ferreira da Silva "Before Man: Sylvia Wynter's Rewriting of the Modern Episteme" In *Sylvia Wynter: On Being Human as Praxis* edited by Katherine McKittrick (Duke University Press, 2015):90-105;
[157] George Padmore *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers,* (California: Sundance Press, 1971) p.5.

go-betweens, the spokesperson of the settler and his rule of oppression."[158] Indeed, policing plays a role in reproducing slavery's "rule of oppression" manifested in the commodification and naturalized expendability of Black people, however I argue that this reiterative role has outlasted the formal rule of the settler, or enslaver. Following the formal end of colonial rule national leaders, trained in colonial modes of respectability and discipline, have reiterated racialized forms of subordination to shore up the state's hierarchical order by exacting police discipline against Black bodies continually rendered expendable. In the post-colonial Anglophone Caribbean, it is through this persistent, naturalized violence that communities remain habituated to racial hierarchy and the related colonial norms positioned as evidence of proximity to a constructed white civilizationist ideal globally understood to be dominant.

Reiterative violence in the wake of chattel slavery is therefore a process of reproducing a structural position of expendability, effectively reinforcing Blackness as the exemplar of human deviance —that by which all standards of normal propriety may be measured. As Nathalia Oliveira and Eduardo Ribeiro, coordinators of Brazil's Black Initiative for a New Drugs Policy, emphasize, "the survival of slavery through mechanisms that originated in that model but have been constantly updated since the time of abolition produce a black positionality that is unique and incommunicable within contemporary society: a positionality whose main characteristic is gratuitous and structural violence."[159] Across the proceeding chapters, I will trace the role of policing in reiterating this naturalized structural positioning of Black bodies as expendable and deviant.

Resistance, Defining Black Deviance and Securing the Slave Society

Importantly, notions of Black deviance were forged both through racialized commodification and demonstrated rebellion. Historically, behavioral and cultural elements hardened perceptions of African incivility and a desire to discipline the Black body. For evidence of this, I turn to Edward Long's famous 1774 tract *History of Jamaica.* Long spent twelve years in Jamaica, earning him repute in British metropolitan pro-slavery circles as an expert on the conditions of enslavement in the West Indies. Naturally, as a slaveholder himself and owner of the Lucky Valley plantation

[158] Fanon, *Wretched*, p.12.
[159] Nathália Oliveira and Eduardo Ribeiro, "The Massacre of Black Brazilians in the War on Drugs", *SUR* 28 last edited 2018, accessed December 4, 2025, https://sur.conectas.org/en/the-massacre-of-black-brazilians-in-the-war-on-drugs/.

in Jamaica's Clarendon parish, he promoted the virtues of slavery by emphasizing its capacity to civilize and pacify Black Africans regarded as savage deviants, and valueless outside of their productive capacity. Long focuses on the ameliorative potential of white disciplinary authority:

> [the master's] authority over them is like that of an antient [sic] patriarch…claiming respect by the justice and propriety of its decisions and discipline…while it awes the worthless into reformation. Amongst three or four hundred Blacks, there must be some who are not to be reclaimed from a savage, intractable humour, and acts of violence, without the coercion of punishment.[160]

Here Long uses "Blacks" as a collective signifier of the enslaved, evoking their deviant racialized location, while emphasizing the requirement of paternalistic punishment to reform enslaved bodies from worthlessness and violent savagery. An enslaved body not engaged in labor for white imperial capital was understood as completely devoid of value. Their conceptualization within the slave society as savage chattel precluded recognition of their inherent value as autonomous flesh-and-blood humans. It is for this reason that Long stated that his fellow "planters do not want to be told, that their Negroes are human creatures" as such knowledge would mean "they cannot regard them…as no better than dogs or horses."[161]

Long's views were doubtlessly influenced by his vantage point as a planter possessing both historical knowledge of the seventeenth century battles between Jamaican Maroons and British forces, and lived experience of the later Maroon wars beginning as early as 1720.[162] Long devotes an entire section of his tract to British efforts to pacify the Maroons, and quotes Major-general Robert Sedgewick, who participated in the British conquest of Jamaica, at length:

> Major-general Sedgewick prophesied in his letter to Thurloe (1656), that these Blacks would prove thorns in our sides… they gave no quarter to his men, but destroyed them whenever they found opportunity, scarce a week passing without their slaying one or two… 'having no *moral sense*' continues he, 'nor understanding what the laws and customs of civil nations mean, we neither know how to capitulate or discourse with, nor

[160] Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica or, General Survey of the Ancient and Modern State of that Island: with Reflections on its Situation, Settlements, Inhabitants, Climate, Products, Commerce, Laws and Government*,(T. Lowndes, 1774) p.271.
[161] Long, *History of Jamaica*, p. 270.
[162] Long, "Sect. IV. Maroons[I]", in *History of Jamaica*.

> how to take any of them. But, be assured, they must either be destroyed, or brought in upon some terms or other; or else they will prove a great discouragement to the settling of people here."[163]

Sedgewick and Long agree on the necessity of quelling the Maroons and acquainting them with the norms of "civil nations" in order to condition the Jamaica colony for white capital accumulation and British settlement – conceptualized as "the settling of people" to oppose established groups of objectified "Blacks". Indeed, Maroon adherence to African and indigenous –rather than British—"laws and customs" contributed to their social construction as deviants, but nevertheless enabled their evasion of white domination into the eighteenth century. Long emphasized that Maroon knowledge and the direction of militants and spiritual healers Cudjoe and Queen Nanny "did infinite mischief to the Whites, without much exposing their own persons to danger" through their use of guerilla tactics and herbalist science.[164] Africans failing, or perhaps refusing, to recognize European "moral sense", as articulated by Sedgewick, were under no obligation to respect white imperial authority or related conceptions of value. For years, the Maroons carried out plantation raids, conscripting enslaved persons into their ranks of the liberated. In doing so, they attacked the very sites which articulated their constructed value as commodified, subhuman labor. Long details the imperial economic implications of this Black self-emancipation:

> They plundered all around them, and caused several plantations to be thrown up and abandoned, and prevented many valuable tracts of land from being cultivated, to the great prejudice and diminution of his majesty's revenue, as well as of the trade, navigation, and consumption, of British manufactures.[165]

In destroying plantations, Black people destroyed both the locus of their dehumanization and a key engine of British metropolitan development, as Long and Eric Williams affirm.[166] Long and his contemporaries would have been horrified at the sight of free Black Africans establishing Ashanti-style polities and retaining the African languages and lifeways which made them

[163] Long, *History of Jamaica,* p 338. emphasis in original.
[164] Long, *History of Jamaica,* p. 342.; Kofi Boukman Barima, "Cutting across space and time: Obeah's service to Jamaica's freedom struggle in slavery and emancipation." *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies* 9, no. 4 (2016): 16-31.
[165] Long, *History of Jamaica,* p. 342.
[166] Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery.*

formidable opponents against the British forces accustomed to European battlefields. This was especially unacceptable in a space terraformed and socialized to engender Black physical and psychological subordination to white capital.[167] Combating the slave society regime was a means of re-humanization, allowing free Black fighters to exist as authoritative adversaries and reject their prescribed social construction as deviant plantation objects. For enslaved Africans, witnessing autonomous groups using African and indigenous Arawak/Taino martial, spiritual, and herbalist knowledge to evade white domination, and indeed succeeding in killing armed white bodies, destabilized the ubiquity of European power.[168] Their desire for freedom, coupled with the example of liberated Black humanity embodied by the Maroons would naturally threaten the structural integrity of the slave society. The demonstrated power to resist white authority, including through violent means, served as the wellspring of the British desire to "civilize" those they intended to keep captive commodities – the Black "thorns" in their sides.

I present the case of Maroons, and the colonial antipathy towards them, in detail to illustrate the role of resistance in the slave society both in terms of its importance to the enslaved, and its threat to colonial capitalist development hinging on white supremacist civilizational narratives. When the Maroons proved indefatigable, warfare against them culminated in peace treaties establishing their sovereign rights. In exchange, the treaty mandated Maroons to cease their attacks on plantations and turn away runaways seeking refuge in their communities as a means of ending the plunder of capital resulting from freeing Black people from the realm of plantation commodities.

Crucially, the experience of Maroon warfare helped condition the white power structure to fear Black resistance. As Long notes, "we may learn hence what extensive mischief may be perpetrated by the most despicable and cowardly enemy."[169] From this lesson, Long asserted the need for increased forces to protect propertied colonial settlers:

> The men of property in this island pay an ample contribution, in order that it may be protected, not so much from French or Spaniards, as against the machinations of the

[167] Norman Girvan, "Economics and the environment in the Caribbean: An overview". In: *Caribbean Ecology and Economics*. St. Michael, Barbados: Caribbean Conservation Association in collaboration with the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Mona, University of the West Indies (1991): xi–xxiv; Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "The Production of Spatial Configurations: A Caribbean Case." *New West Indian Guide* 57, no. 3–4 (1983): 215–229.
[168] Orlando Patterson, "Slavery And Slave Revolts: A Socio-Historical Analysis of The First Maroon War Jamaica, 1655 – 1740." *Social and Economic Studies* 19, no. 3 (1970): 289–325.
[169] Long, *History of Jamaica*, p.342.

> many thousand slaves, which, in proportion as the settlements advance further and further into the heart of the country, grow the more formidable from their multitude. I speak chiefly of imported Africans, who are to be the most feared…To answer therefore every one of these purposes, we may suppose the following establishment of a corps for this service, to consist of:
>
> Twenty companies, of fifty privates each
> Two field-officers,
> Twenty captains,
> Twenty lieutenants,
> Thirty surgeons mates,
> Two surgeons in chief,
> Forty serjeants [sic]
> Twenty corporals[170]

While the Jamaican Maroons provide a powerful example of resistance by Black Africans in the slave society, their militant efforts were far from the sole manifestations of defiance. Black resistance manifested in countless slave revolts, religious rituals and rites, plantation flights, release of newborns into the realm of the ancestors, refusal to work, and innumerable quarts of poison, saliva, and urine released into the food and drink of their enslavers.[171] Their resistance, incalculable in measure, was a constant threat to white supremacist rule, thus British slave laws codified means of Black discipline and subordination to sustain order.

Resistance of this kind yielded a distinct form of racialized colonial fear of Black empowerment, which Hilbourne Watson has called "The Logic of White Terrified Consciousness". [172]As Long articulated, and as Vincent Brown and Julius Scott have shown in their examinations of Tacky's Revolt (1760) and Black inter-imperial resistive discourse in the aftermath of the Haitian Revolution, respectively, white horror over Black anti-slavery uprisings was hardly confined to

[170] Long, *History of Jamaica*, p. 317.
[171] Vincent Brown. *The reaper's garden: Death and power in the world of Atlantic slavery*. (Harvard University Press, 2008); Angi Porter. "POISON! An Africana Legal Studies Investigation into Enslaved Africans and Their Deadly Roots." *Minnesota Journal of Law & Inequality* 43.1 (2025): 1.
[172]Hilbourne Watson. "Theorizing the Racialization of Global Politics and the Caribbean Experience." *Alternatives* 26, no.4 (2001): 449—483.

the individual colonies that were the sites of resistance.[173] The laws governing the purchase of Black bodies also permitted masters to kill those constructed as laboring commodities, a norm which codified into slave laws across the Americas. I will discuss later on how these logics lived beyond slavery itself.

In slave societies across the Americas, colonial elites devised slave codes which attributed to Africans a permanently commodifiable and deviant status, and systematized racialized physical and carceral punishment to reinforce this status as a means of securing order. Slave codes codified the system of chattelization, a novel form of bondage which equated a constructed (Black) racial identification with the subhuman identifier of "chattel", indicating status as a proprietary instrument of industrial farming.[174] Rather than a human laborer whose labor power is controlled by an owner of the means of production, enslaved people were constructed as commodities, or integral parts of the means of production within a plantation system.[175] Under these laws, enslaved Africans were consumed as property in the sense that they were normatively branded with the initials or family crest of their enslavers, purchased, traded, ensured against accident or loss, inherited as parts of estates, and counted alongside livestock in plantation registers.[176] Enslaved African women were advertised in markets for their sexually reproductive capacity, and their babies inherited their status as bonded commodities.[177] Due to the legal status of enslaved Africans, as a capital investment, slave codes regulated property relations while also policing the entire social system of the slave society through racialized logics of criminal deviance.

One of the earliest slave codes, the 1661 *Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes* established in British colonial Barbados defined Africans as "an heathenish, brutish, and an uncertaine dangerous kind of people." [178] However, naturally and biologically enslaved Africans

[173] Julius Scott, III. 2018. *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution.* (Verso Books, 2018).; Vincent Brown. *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War.* (Harvard University Press, 2020).
[174] David Brion Davis. *Slavery and Human Progress.* (Oxford University Press, 1984). Wynter "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being"; Williams "Capitalism and Slavery".
[175] Sidney Mintz. "Was the Plantation Slave a Proletarian?" *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 2, no. 1 (1978): 81-98.
[176] Bogues, Anthony, "How Much is Your African Slave Worth?"
[177] Halle-Mackenzie Ashby and Jessica Marie Johnson "Injury and Value: Black Mothering in Slavery and Its Afterlife." *History of the Present* 14, no. 1 (2024): 138–155.
[178] *Barbados Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes,* 1661.

were human beings possessing agency, reasoning capacity and a desire for freedom.[179] In the view of colonial authorities, some degree of force was required to compel them to remain subordinate to the system which commodified them. Slave codes therefore prescribed the normative methods of regulating their behavior through nascent forms of carceral punishment, bodily mutilation, expulsion from the colony, and death.[180] For example, within British slave codes enslaved people who enacted physical violence against a white person, regardless of class positioning, were, in the first instance, to "bee severely whipped by the constable" by order of local justices. Justices were to order enslaved people to "bee severely whipped, his nose slit and bee burned in the face", for a second offence, "and for his third offense he shall receive by order of the Governor and Councill such greater corporeal punishments as they shall think to inflict".[181] The law also prescribed monetary penalties to slaveowners who failed to mete out the prescribed punishments.

I narrate these punishments, not to reproduce the dehumanization of enslaved persons through the re-telling of their scenes of subjection, but to call attention to the dehumanizing brutality involved in the making and securitization of the slave society.[182] Slave codes across contexts were replete with dehumanizing violence reserved exclusively for enslaved Africans reinforcing civilizational narratives of their (sub)human deviance with every exercise of punishment. Such jurisprudence relegating enslaved people to non-human status, and the punitive bodies enabled by such legal logic, were the principal forces developed to preserve the slave society producing normative security logics reliant upon the devaluation of Black racialized bodies to secure white supremacist and capitalist rule. Tellingly, the authors of the Barbados code directly reference the security and ordering power of slave codes, writing that the 1661 Act was "absolutely needful for the publique safety and may prove in the future behovefull to the peace and utility."[183] Thus achieving security and productivity in the slave societies hinged on legally-sanctioned dehumanizing violence meted out by designated agents.

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[179] Mary Prince, *The Narrative of Mary Prince*; James Williams, *A Narrative of Events Since the First of August, 1834;* Library of Congress of the United States of America, "Educated and Enslaved: The Journey of Omar Ibn Said" accessed 13 March 2026. https://www.loc.gov/ghe/cascade/index.html?appid=33ea589e72d048c0ae6a62ffaf565d33

[180] See for example: Barbados Assembly, *Act for the better ordering and governing of Negroes,* 1661; Jamaica Assembly, *Jamaica Act for the better ordering & Governing of Negro Slaves,* 1664; South Carolina, *An Act for the better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and other Slaves in this Province,* 1740.

[181] Barbados Assembly, *Act for the better ordering and governing of Negroes,* 1661, Clause 2.

[182] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection.*

[183] Barbados Assembly, *Act for the better ordering and governing of Negroes,* 1661

Here, I emphasise that while securitization and policing are linked, slave codes outlined the racialized security logics which constructed enslaved Africans as non-human threats requiring control for the defense of the slave society. Racialized policing becomes the actions through which defense is achieved. Elsa Goveia explains that West Indian slave law enacted under the British, Danish, Dutch, French, and Spanish empires constituted *police* laws which sustained the entire structures of early colonies, wherein "slavery came to provide the economic and social framework of a whole society."[184] Across the West Indies it was "particularly clear that police regulations lay at the very heart of the slave system and that, without them, the system itself would become impossible to maintain."[185] Slave laws in Barbados and Jamaica contain numerous provisions which explicitly endow "constables" with police power to surveil, punish, capture and imprison runaway or derelict enslaved people.[186] Similarly, several US slave codes outline police powers for law enforcement agents called "patrollers" or "paddy rollers".[187] Policing provisions similarly structured France's *Code Noir*, established in 1685. As Goveia emhasises, "police laws were the very heart of the slave code, they were not neglected because the continuance of slavery dependent upon them, and was *understood* to depend upon them."[188]

Indeed, racialized jurisprudence and security logics pervaded slave laws across the slaveholding world. The Code Noir (1685) ordered relations between enslaved people and enslavers across the French owned slave societies in the Caribbean and Louisiana, with enslaved people conceptualized as both property and agential sources of subversion.[189] The same logics pervaded the Barbados 1661 Act, and other Acts made from its blueprint and codified in Jamaica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, South Carolina, and Virginia. Thus, the logics undermining Black human subjectivity and civilization provided the rationale for a consensus across the slaveholding world on the need to enact disciplinary measures meant to transform African people into bodies fit for New World toil. This Atlantic consensus on Black dehumanization regulated various

[184] Goveia, *The West Indian Slave Laws of the 18th Century*, p. 11
[185] Goveia, *The West Indian Slave Laws of the 18th Century*, p. 20.
[186] Barbados Assembly, *Act for the better ordering and governing of Negroes*, 1661; Goveia, *The West Indian Slave Laws of the 18th Century.*
[187] Laurence Ralph. "The logic of the slave patrol: the fantasy of black predatory violence and the use of force by the police." *Palgrave Communications* 5, no. 1 (2019); Asante "Introduction: African Americans: Official and Unofficial Violence in America" *Journal of Black Studies* 0, no. 0.; Kristin D. Viar " 'Don't let de paddle rollers catch you': punishment, control and resistance in the slave South." (Masters thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1997).
[188] Goveia, *The West Indian Slave Laws of the 18th Century* p. 48.
[189] Vernon V. Palmer. "The Origins and Authors of the Code Noir," *Louisiana Law Review*, 56 , no.2 (1996): 363-408.

punishments uniquely applied to the enslaved, with many carried out through instruments otherwise associated with man's dominion over domesticated animals, including branding, whips, and chains.

Colonial newspapers throughout the slave society were rife with reports of floggings with whips and cat-o-nine tails to punish enslaved people. A man named Hope, described in the Port of Spain Gazette as "the property of Mr. Barrow," reported that he had been "flogged" with a "horsewhip" for allowing Mr. Barrow's son to play with one the master's possessions.[190] Public floggings by drivers and overseers employed as disciplinary agents by planters further demonstrated this demarcation between those understood to be human subjects within the slave society and the enslaved, constructed as deviant commodities to whom human tasks could be outsourced, but lacking the civilizational faculties to safely wield freedom.

Slave codes also regulated provisions for floggings as punishments. Floggings demarcated the enslaved person's role in the imperial order both through their performance and in the physical traces they left behind. First, floggings were spectacularized as routine and highly public affairs. James Williams describes his own public flogging after failing to obey a planter's orders due to illness from a previous flogging:

> I told him the old flogging is not well yet, but he would not listen to me; They take me into the market-place, and tie me up to a tree, and give me the twenty-five lashes.[191]

The public spectacle of flogging gave audience to the abuse of the Black body, reiterating the racial order which understood enslaved people as savage elements requiring physical control. The exposition of floggings provided regular warnings to others of the consequences of failure to comply with the established order, while also sensitizing the masses to overt displays of violence against bodies of a particular hue. As noted by Mary Prince earlier, there was "nothing very remarkable" in her flogging because it was a regular and legitimated occurrence. Mary and the many millions like her were victims of a logic which viewed their bodies as deviant, and deemed their abuse to be necessary, thereby rendering it commonplace. Second, floggings left discernible scars which often marked the body for life.[192] Only enslaved Black bodies bore the scars of the whip, providing a regular visual illustration of their stripped subjectivity and expendable status.

[190] POSG, 28 July 1827.
[191] Williams, *A Narrative of Events*, 17.
[192] See for example, Gordon, Library of Congress.

The everyday sight (and in the case of enslaved people, experience) of both floggings and scars from the whip naturalized an understanding of the Black body as one to be violently disciplined for productive means. Brutal punishments reserved for enslaved people are indicative of more than just planter class desire to physically and psychologically abuse enslaved people. The chosen methods and tools of discipline served a structural purpose in maintaining imperial order in British West Indian slave societies by physically marking bodies as subordinate as a legitimate means for stabilizing racialized order against the rebellious machinations of the enslaved.

Revolt and resistance threatened not only economic interests through loss or reduction of the labor force, but also a threat to slaveholders' bodies, as revolts tended to feature physical violence and property destruction.[193] By the imperial logic of the slave society, violence *should* be directed towards Black people who threatened the established order by refusing to accept their subordinate status, or by rebelling against white authority. The 1816 Slave Law of Jamaica mandated that " the slaves in this island should be kept in due obedience to their owners, and in due subordination to the white people in general."[194] The law evokes the nineteenth century preoccupation with resistance and revolt by enslaved peoples, prescribing the punishment of death for enslaved people who "enter into or be concerned in any rebellion or rebellious conspiracy."[195] The legal endorsement of capital punishment for these actions is indicative of the severity of the crimes in the eyes of colonial administrators. The prescription of the same punishment for rebellion and failure to recognize white authority suggests that the imperial imperative to maintain white dominance was so pervasive that any dereliction of subordinate status was considered tantamount to full-scale rebellion. Similar logics are present in the punishments prescribed for plantation flight: hard labor or exile for an absence exceeding six months, and flogging or exile for an absence of less than six months. Flight from the plantation constituted failure to labor and thus an abdication of constructed duty, which makes the crime deserving of violent punishment – flogging – or removal from the colony for potential to influence other enslaved people to follow suit.

[193] Richard Hart, *Slaves who Abolished Slavery*, (University of West Indies Press, 2000); Anthony Phillips, "Doubly Condemned": Adjustments to the Crime and Punishment Regime in the Late Slavery Period in the British Caribbean Colonies, *Cardozo Law Review* 18, no. 2 (1996): 699-716.
[194] Jamaica Legislature, *Slave Law of Jamaica*, 1816.
[195] Ibid.

Trinidad's slave laws, initially based on the Spanish *Siete Partidas* laws governing treatment and discipline under Spanish slavery, included provisions allowing for the floggings and whippings up to 25 lashes, compared to the limit of 39 lashes prescribed in other British holdings. It is important to note that Spanish slavery, characterized by relatively smaller populations of Trinidadian-born enslaved people, differed from British slavery's large-scale industrial plantation structure.[196] When the British assumed rule from the Spanish and increased the slave population, punishments became more frequent, and runaways were more commonly reported. Reports of runaway settlements, known as "Maroon settlements," were described by Trinidad's Attorney General as "highly injurious to the interest of the Slave proprietor, and calculated to endanger the internal peace of the Colony." He further suggested "severe and exemplary punishments" be inflicted upon the people found in the settlements.[197] It was understood that an increase to the enslaved population relative to the comparably small white population would require more stringent supervision and discipline of the enslaved population in order to sustain the existing hierarchy.

Although the law limited floggings to 25 lashes, one of the people apprehended in the Maroon settlement reportedly received "60 stripes" for his crimes.[198] Enslaved people who fled their sites of bondage sent a message to other enslaved people that the slave system which rested on their labor could be undermined. Runaways were punished severely as an example, lest the inclination to abscond spread to other enslaved people. There is little evidence that this system of punishing runaways was in any way effective in reducing the frequency of plantation flight, as newspapers featured nearly weekly reports of runaway slaves and Maroon communities in Jamaica and Trinidad persisted until abolition, with Jamaica's Maroons achieving sovereign status.[199]

Importantly, these punitive forms of policing were developed for specific application to Black bodies to reinforce their unique status within the slave society as non-human chattel. In contrast to impoverished whites transported from England and other bonded laborers including white indentured servants, the condition of the enslaved was permanent, resulting from their racial status. Enslaved persons could be manumitted, however this purchased freedom did not

[196] Claudius Fergus "Coercion during the Amelioration Experiment in Trinidad, 1823-34," *Caribbean Studies* 36, no. 1 (2008): 75-99.
[197] POSG 28 September 1825.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Richard Hart "Jamaica and Self-Determination, 1660-1970," *Race & Class* 13, no.2, (1972): 271-297.

immediately result in the capacity for upward mobility within the slave society.[200] Manumission was more routinely given to the mixed-race children born to enslaved Black women and white fathers who could afford it. David Ryden underscores that opportunities for economic mobility were limited, and white people generally viewed liberated Black people with intense suspicion because their freedom disrupted the naturalized order and plantation aesthetics associating Blackness with commodity status and incompetence to embody freedom.[201] However, poor whites and white bondsmen whose masters consumed their labor were able to shed their subordinate status after the termination of their contracted hard labor. My point here is not to suggest that European indenture was not a pernicious and abusive system. Rather, I seek to highlight the racial power of whiteness in providing an escape from the complete dehumanization of chattelization, and to transcend a subordinate status in the slave society. As abolitionist W.J. Garner notes of the poor and indentured whites, "not a few of these gradually worked themselves up to positions in the colony."[202] The potential for upward mobility was not available to the enslaved or their descendants, as Thomas Holt has shown.[203] Racialized punishment remained a feature of British imperial norms which was well understood in both the West Indies and in the British metropole. W.J. Gardner described the perpetuation of the logics justifying plantation discipline of the Black body in his own *History of Jamaica*, quoting collector, Hans Sloane.

> If any one looks for some expression of compassion from the founder of the British Museum, it will be in vain. [Sloane] adds: 'These punishments are sometimes merited by the blacks, who are a very perverse generation of people;[204]

It is perhaps unsurprising that Sloane, a Royal Africa Company investor and himself a descendant of British settlers in Ireland, would desire disciplinary mechanisms to secure colonial authority against the will of oppressed people. However, his articulation of the same slave society tropes expressed by Long in the colonies suggest the transmission of their influence from the plantation to the metropole. These logics extended well beyond the nineteenth century. As Holt finds, a desire to perpetuate naturalized notions of Black fungibility and subordination

[200] David Beck Ryden "Manumission in Late Eighteenth-Century Jamaica", *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 92, no.3-4 (2018): 211-244.
[201] Ibid.
[202] W.J. Gardner, *History of Jamaica*, (Paternoster Row, E.C.,1873) p. 95
[203] Thomas Holt, *The Problem of Freedom,* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).
[204] Gardner, *History of Jamaica*, p. 98

shaped the liberal project of British emancipation, and birthed new approaches to the "problem of freedom." Holt emphasizes that British policymakers upheld the coercive and racialized elements of colonial labor exploitation after codified emancipation, effectively producing a system "consistent with liberal democratic principles, while maintaining ultimate control over Black political expression." [205] This colonial reformulation later assumed global dimensions through the nineteenth century expansion of white supremacist imperialism. Hilbourne Watson and Locksley Edmonson identify the structural relations established during slavery as critical forces animating global social relations. Edmondson emphasizes that the enslavement of Africans and the logics undergirding the system were materially indispensable, not only to Western European (and later North American) capital accumulation, but also the "white-world search for global influence and power."[206] Notably, Edmonson highlights the global implications of slavery's logics persisting beyond slave societies:

> Though the system of modern slavery was formally abolished by the end of the nineteenth century, the burdens of colour arising therefrom on political, socio-economic and psychological fronts thereafter continued to afflict public policy and private behaviour… the historical entrenchment of white supremacist doctrines and systems, were to have profound repercussions, extending beyond the specific frontiers of slavery or colonialism, on more generalized patterns of political, economic and racial relationships between the white and non-white worlds, and within the international system.[207]

This violent positioning of Africans as commodities continued throughout the slave society, despite attempts to regulate physical discipline. In 1824, British officials passed Amelioration laws following increasingly frequent revolts by enslaved people and agitation by abolitionists. Amelioration laws were first implemented in Trinidad with the purported aim of regulating abuse of enslaved people, despite maintaining instruments of force, such as the whip "applied to the brute nerves of the negro as an incitement to labour," and safeguarding the master's ability to inflict corporal punishment at will.[208] Though acknowledging that the "degrading use" of the

[205] Holt, *The Problem of Freedom*, p.217.
[206] Edmonson "Trans-Atlantic Slavery and the Internationalization of Race.
[207] Ibid, p.18.
[208] HC Deb, Amelioration of the Condition of the Slave Population in the West Indies 16 December, 1824 Vol. 10 cc1091-198.

whip "places the Negro slave on a footing with the cattle of the field", Amelioration laws prescribed the instrument's continued use for disciplinary purposes.[209] The logic professing the was entrenched to the point that legislators professed their assumption that the enslaved themselves understood whippings to be a normal consequence for resistance. Foreign Secretary George Canning, known for supporting abolition during his time leading the House of Commons, declared that "the reasoning faculties of the slave can appreciate the justice," lending credence to Thomas Holt's argument that British abolition was contrived through a liberal framework which would see Black people exit the category of slave, without entering the realm of free person with complete bodily and political autonomy.[210]

Even the abolition of slavery was characterized by efforts to maintain punitive compulsion to work. In 1833, the Slavery Abolition Act was passed, with emancipation to go into effect on 1st August 1834. However, the Act mandated an additional period of forced servitude, known as apprenticeship, through which the enslaved class remained bound to the plantations which held them during slavery until 1838. During apprenticeship, discipline and punishment as provocation to labor sharply resembled methods of compelling labor under slavery, as will be discussed below. Thus, despite their change in legal status, those who endured slavery were still subject to reiterative violence to enforce their subordination to white authority.

Colonists expressed their intentions to maintain slave society disciplinary measures after abolition. An 1838 speech by Jamaican governor Lionel Smith at the end of apprenticeship warned that "idle people who will not take employment, but go wandering about the country, will be taken up as vagrants and punished."[211] Smith clearly signals the continuation of racialized social stratification post-apprenticeship. Though slavery and apprenticeship were no longer legally sanctioned after 1838, Black people remained subordinate to the social and economic supremacy of the white planter class upon threat of physical violence. While chattel slavery was abolished, slave society social taxonomies and law enforcement mechanisms were naturalized for post-emancipation use. As explained by prominent anti-racist advocate and founder of the League of Coloured Peoples, Dr. Harold Moody, the legal abolition of slavery was not accompanied by an intentional dismantling of the racist logics normalized during the slave

[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid; Holt, *Problem of Freedom.*
[211] Lionel Smith, "A Proclamation by His Excellency Sir Lionel Smith, Knight &c," 9 July1838.

society. Rather, economic measures were taken to perpetuate white planter class dominance, as articulated by Moody in 1938:

> Dealing with a onetime slave society, which has not been removed from its environment. The struggle against the abolition of Slavery has been reflected down the past 100 years. Population not indigenous, but a foreign society upon whom English culture including its snobbery has been forced... The ex-slaves were grossly neglected at the time of emancipation…Money given to owners but none to slaves.[212]

As Dr. Moody suggests, the 1833 Abolition Bill authorized financial reparations for the white slaveholding population. Leading up to abolition, the articulation of the wrongdoings of slavery foregrounded the perceived economic injustices done to the *planters* by depriving them of a source of forced labor, as reported in the Port of Spain Gazette:

> Greatly as we deprecated the barbarous and unchristian practice of slavery, greatly as we desired the removal of the foul stain from every portion of the British empire, we never disputed the right of the planter to compensation, and upon this ground – the people of this country had, by their representatives, not only sanctioned the slave trade and slavery in the beginning, but they had actually encouraged by legislative bounties the importation of slaves into the West India Islands. It was therefore, only equitable that the nation which has created that sort of property of man in man – foul and abominable as it was – should pay for the loss of it;[213]

Emancipation was cast as evidence of British, Christian benevolence – a price to be paid for the spiritual salvation of the Empire. However, imperial logics dictated that Africans' supposed civilizational deficiencies precluded their membership in the European social contract, rendering them an inadmissible party to the imperial plot for redemption.[214] Apart from their liberation and reported "*graduation.*…towards the stature of a free man,"[215] there would be no further concessions made for the enslaved class and their descendants – save the contrivance of further methods to compel them to labor (as inexpensively as possible) for imperial profit. Thus, the abolition scheme did nothing to denaturalize the fungible status of Black people or dispel the

[212] CO 318/435/2, Dr. Moody to MacDonald, 2 July 1938.
[213] POSG, 31 July 1835.
[214] Mills, *Racial Contract*.
[215] Emphasis in original. POSG, 31 July1835.

logic associating non-whiteness with fitness for subordination and toil. Failure to contend this logic, alongside refusal of any slaveholding empire to date to atone for the crimes of slavery, has enabled the continued subjugation of persons of African descent. Further privileging of the planter class through reparations payments tacitly endorsed perpetuation of white supremacist rule, allowing former slaveholders to use their social and financial capital to influence the disciplinary measures governing post-emancipation society. This privileging continued a long tradition of diminishing the subjectivities of racialized non-white laboring bodies.

British slave societies, like other imperial slaveholding societies, adapted European political structures to Caribbean spaces to ensure European dominance in societies numerically predominated by Africans and their descendants. Myths of the civilizational deficiencies of African people and the ameliorative qualities of slave labor were promoted to justify white minority dominance over the more than 3 million African people trafficked by the British Empire between 1660 and 1807.[216] Within this paradigm, civilization and human subjecthood came to be associated with European progeny, while the African represented incivility and cultural deviance. Holding up the supposed civilizational deficiencies and cultural pathologies of Africans imagined an understanding of their suitability for subordination to a rightful colonial master.

Each instance of punitive physical violence against enslaved people reiterated the master/slave relationship of dominance and subordination. The slave society worldview founded a social and legal understanding that labor and property could inhabit the same (Black) body, as enslaved Africans were classed as commodities serving the imperial social and economic structure. While a Marxist illustration of labor exploitation suggests that all laborers suffer alienation and subordination at the expense of capitalist production, Aimé Césaire asserts that this conceptualization captures only one component of the unique disenfranchisement of enslaved people.[217] Césaire famously argued that enslavement and colonization of Black bodies, and the imperial disparagement of Black/African cultures, results in the colonial "thingification" of people of African descent – the transformation through the imperial gaze into objects devoid of history, cultural legacy, and humanity. The chattelization which characterized racial slavery and

[216] The National Archives, United Kingdom, "Slavery and the British transatlantic slave trade," accessed 13 March 2025 https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/british-transatlantic-slave-trade-records/

[217] Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (Monthly Review Press, 2000).

post-emancipation colonial rule permitted the treatment of African people as subhuman, setting the stage for further dehumanization through violent post-emancipation policing.

Regular and legal deployment of violence against Black bodies during slavery naturalized the brutalization of Black bodies, laying the foundation for the persistence of plantation disciplinary norms in post-emancipation society. White elites, accustomed to racialized violence, failed to adopt new attitudes towards Black people at abolition. As noted in a Jamaican administrator's testimony:

> with respect to masters and managers…their benevolent feelings towards the negro are not on the increase. Some of them indeed seem to dislike him the more, now he is escaping from their power.[218]

As previously mentioned, African peoples in slave societies were subjected to chattelization. To this end, Black people were recast as uncivilized, dangerous objects requiring acculturation through the disciplinary power of labor. This was first enforced during slavery by the master and the overseer's whip, and later by the police officer and his truncheon. Today, these officers of the state sport US-manufactured AK-47s and handguns.

While racialization categorically diminished all individual identities to universalize the notion of white supremacy across British colonies, there were of course nuances in the racial myths attached to peoples of different geographic origins. After slavery's abolition in the British West Indies, persons of African and Indian descent were collectively referred to as "coloured labour," signifying their naturalization as the non-white, and therefore subhuman, deviant underclass. While both groups were subjected to imperial thingification as a result of their relationship to the plantation, they were nevertheless differentially pathologized as Empire assigned specific defects to Black and Indian laborers.[219]

Post-abolition, the maintenance of white power required the rhetorical and physical repetition of "the original, violent act of transforming a free man into a slave."[220] While the majority of Black people in both Jamaica and Trinidad were enslaved, the two islands were also home to communities of free Black people who either escaped plantations as Maroons, or secured

[218] CO 137/200, Sligo to Glenelg, reports on police 31 July 1838.
[219] CO295/546, Wilson to Duke of Devonshire, 8 January 1923.
[220] Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 3

freedom through manumission or the will of a white father. Despite their freedom, this population was subject to association with labor and subordination by virtue of their racialized identity. Early Trinidadian colonists characterized free Black people as:

> not very easily applied to the want of a West India Community, unless they have been previously trained to a system of regular and disciplined exertion. The Free People of Colour in the island are by no means an useful race (sic).[221]

This reading of Black autonomy indicates that slavery's logic correlating Blackness with commodified labor was not limited to the status of the slave. Race was the determinant of subordination or empowerment in the British West Indies. Regardless of freedom, Black bodies were read as instruments of labor, a hermeneutic which persisted in the post-slave society. A 1903 report by Trinidad's Governor Clifford, evinces the resonance of slave society racial logics 70 years beyond the 1833 Abolition Bill:

> The civilisation of the negro is too recent, his moral sense too blunted, his animosities are too violent, and his lack of generosity, honesty and foresight is too apparent for it to be in the least safe to place him in any position in which he would be able to exercise power upon a large scale.[222]

Clifford's comments demonstrate how the post-abolition retention of slavery-era racial logics perpetuated the association of free Black people with the characterizations affixed to their enslaved ancestors. Retaining slavey-era racialization as an ordering practice also left the door open for its operationalization to subjugate new classes of laborers. Colonists followed the pattern of racialization carried out during slavery to write myths of incivility onto indentured Indian laborers brought to the British West Indies. In Indian peoples, the planter class sought a steady source of laborers who could be compelled to remain on sugar estates and plantations and were accustomed to agricultural labor, allowing for inexpensive and effective exploitation. An 1842 petition by the West India Association of Planters demanded an influx of "laborers fitted for toil in a tropical climate," and by 1845, an indenture scheme was implemented to bring Indian people to Trinidad, Guyana, and Jamaica to fill the post-emancipation labor shortage.[223]

[221] CO295/37, Nihell to Woodford, 1815.
[222] CO295/435, Clifford to Lyttleton, 20/5/1905.
[223] Alma Jordan Library (henceforth AJL) West Indies Committee Records, Memorial of the West India Association of Planters, 1825.

Between 1845-1917, 143,939 Indian people are estimated to have migrated to the West Indies on labor contracts.[224]

Because Indian laborers were introduced into West Indian post-slave societies just seven years after abolition, they were easily slated into the racial stratification which ordered colonial society. Prevailing slave society attitudes about racial difference professing the barbarity and incivility of non-European peoples were invoked to subjugate Indian laborers within the West Indian racial taxonomy.[225] Classed as "heathens" due to their adherence to Hinduism and Islam, Indians were subject to much of the same slavery-era rhetoric professing their need for the civilizational salvation through labor and proximity to European Christianity. In 1850, the San Fernando Gazette extolled the ameliorative capacity of indenture, noting that through migration:

> The moral education of the immigrant labourer might be so carried on that at the end of a given time he might be elevated to the condition a European laborer…in that time, he would become accustomed to require decent clothing and the comforts of civilized life: he would acquire the language of the country, and his sphere of ideas would be enlarged: he would certainly no longer continue in the savage state.[226]

However, the system of indenture through which Indians came to the Caribbean differed from slavery in two distinct ways. First, indentured laborers were not considered chattel, thus the status of Indian people as legally recognized humans was not called into question. Second, indentured immigrants were initially brought to the West Indies as short-term contract laborers expected to fulfill five-year work contracts before repatriation.[227] Though fewer than one quarter of all indentured laborers returned to India, their introduction to the colonies with the understanding that they would eventually return to India supported their characterization as foreigners sojourning within colonial society but truly belonging to India.[228] Indo-Caribbean racial identity was thus initially conceptualized through an orientalist gaze reading Indians as culturally alien, estranging them from colonial society at large. Further, sequestration of Indian laborers on plantations, which they could not leave at will, facilitated control of their labor by

[224] Sherry-Ann Singh, "Hinduism and the State in Trinidad," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 6, no. 3 (2005): 353-365.
[225] Kusha Haraksingh, "Control and Resistance among Indian Workers: A Study of Labour on the Sugar Plantations of Trinidad," in *India in the Caribbean*, edited by Dabydeen, David and Samaroo, Brinsley, (Strategic Policy Unit, 1987).
[226] San Fernando Gazette, 20 March 1850.
[227] CO 295/322/20, 13 August 1889.
[228] CO 318/155, West India Association of Merchants in the City of Glasgow, 22 February 1842.

plantation staff and police through physical discipline. Thus, reiterative violence through policing and discipline as a mechanism of labor control was applied to people of Indian descent, reinforcing slavery's association of non-white identity with labor and fitness for physical domination short of chattelization. In the next section, I discuss slave laws and the utility of performing discipline to inculcate non-white subjects into prescribed subordinate roles.

Conclusion

As discussed above, slave society hermeneutics reading Black bodies as commodifiable deviants devoid of human subjectivity provided the logical basis structuring discipline in the slave society. Analyzing the discursive power of slave society discipline and civilizational rhetoric sheds light on their capacity to preserve the racialized order through which such rhetoric emerged. In post-slave societies, the founding and restructuring of police forces in the years surrounding abolition were directly linked to efforts to reinforce the subordinate place of racialized laboring groups for colonial production and profit. Colonial officials and former slave masters alike were emphatic in their need for police forces to protect the order of the colonies in the face of the potential dangers posed by the liberation of the majority Black population, who had been long characterized as deviant and uncivilized.[229] In the next chapter, I turn to post-emancipation policing and examine how slavery-era logics of discipline and authority informed the development of organized police forces in the face of widespread agitation for increased political and economic autonomy from the survivors of slavery and their descendants.

[229] CO 137/190, An Act to Colonize the Interior Lands of this island, and form a permanent police force; CO 137/190 Wall to Egre 5 July 1833; Edmondson, "Trans-Atlantic Slavery and the Internationalization of Race."

Chapter 2: Policing the post-slave society: Enforcing Slavery's Order Without Slavery

Sustaining slavery-era power relations in post-emancipation contexts required reiteration of violent subordination through a mechanism empowered to control the Black peasantry, but stopped short of directly replicating the master-slave relations prohibited by the 1833 Abolition Act. Because masters could no longer *legally* own and discipline Black labor, coercive power and control was transferred from the planters to the colonial state, which designed and wielded post-emancipation police forces as mechanisms to reiterate the subordination of the slave society. As Charles Jeffries notes, the police forces founded amidst plans for abolition were "formed due to a well-justified fear on the part of the governing classes that the existence of this mass of unstable, excitable, ignorant and discontented people offered a serious threat to law and order."[230] While Jeffries, writing in 1951, clearly internalized the racist characterizations inscribed onto enslaved people, his comments point to the historic development of the police as a byproduct of nineteenth century anxieties about the subversion of 'law and order' via violent disturbances by the Black peasantry. Parliamentary debates surrounding abolition expose disquiet about the repercussions of a liberated Black populace, as shown by the Duke of Buckingham in an 1833 address:

> As to the murder of the whites—what was to hinder that taking place now, if the hatred of the blacks was so strong? Nothing but military force. Let, then, such force be still further strengthened by a preventative police… until the change from slavery to freedom should be complete.[231]

Here, the Duke expresses the palpable fear of retribution by the enslaved class which characterized planter elite and colonial administrators' opposition to immediate emancipation without some mechanism of control over the resistive Black population. When the Abolition Act came to pass, it further endorsed white rule over Black subjects through apprenticeship and monetary reparations to the planters. Because the Abolition Act did little to erode notions of the legitimacy of white supremacist rule, the police were conceived as a means of protecting the

[230] Charles Jeffries, *The Colonial Police,* (Max Parrish: 1952), p. 60.
[231] HC Deb 31 May 1833, vol 18 cc204-36.

naturalized imperial racial order in the face of increasing agitation from colonial subjects for recognition of their political and economic autonomy.

Jamaica's force was formed as a response to two major uprisings on the island by subjugated Black people, the Baptist War and Morant Bay Rebellion, demonstrating the role of racialized resistance as a determinant of police design and use of force. The year prior to abolition enslaved Baptist preacher Sam Sharpe initiated non-violent anti-slavery campaign culminating in a work-stoppage by thousands of enslaved people which turned violent after the intervention of an un-organized militia. The following year, as the colony transitioned towards a post-slave society, colonial elites established the island's first institutionalized policing structure in a system of loosely organized constables. Decades later, following Black peasant coordination to upend Jamaica's white power structure in the massive Morant Bay Rebellion, colonists established the Jamaica Constabulary Force, Jamaica's existing paramilitary force.

Trinidad's force was arranged to maintain white authority over the Black majority in the transition to emancipation. Trinidad's force followed the precedent of Governor Thomas Picton whose propensity for torture of non-white colonial subjects set the stage for police brutalization of Black and Indian laborers. Trinidad's force reproduced imperial racial order within its ranks by systematizing white authority over non-white officers, and seeking to build a police contingent to respond to the mythologized criminal predilections of differently racialized people following the arrival of Indian laborers.

The facts surrounding the formation of both forces indicate their principal purposes in colonial society: the retention of white imperial hegemony over a contentious, non-white majority. Below, I examine the formation and early reforms of colonial policing in Jamaica and Trinidad in the decades following the abolition of slavery alongside the historical consolidation of imperial logics of racial difference and the perceived dangers posed by peoples racialized as non-white others.

The Baptist War and Calls for Militia

Jamaica's organized police force was a direct response to the persistent threat of large-scale insurrection by enslaved Africans and runaways. Of particular note is the Baptist War of 1831, which resulted in the island's first imperial militia, setting the precedent for policing bodies to mirror the culturally accepted brutalization of Black bodies evinced by overseers and in plantation contexts. The rebellion, led by

enslaved Baptist Preacher Samuel "Daddy" Sharpe, raised questions about how to better guard against Black resistance. Sharpe was an emblematic figure, described by Methodist Missionary Henry Bleby as a community leader who "asserted the natural equality of man with regard to freedom; and…denied that the white man had any more right to hold the blacks in bondage than the blacks had to enslave the whites."[232] Sharpe's position on the equality of differentially racialized people was itself subversive of imperial white supremacist logic, rendering him a threat to colonial structure. Bleby notes that Sharpe, a 31-year old literate enslaved man possessing "intellectual and oratorical powers above the common order", presented an even greater danger in showing enslaved people "a great deal of what he had read both in the English and colonial newspapers," and explaining to them that their only obstacles to freedom "were the obstinacy and selfishness of the planters."[233] On Christmas Day 1831, Sharpe's rhetoric and popularity amongst the enslaved community allowed him to rouse more than 30,000 enslaved people to participate in a work-stoppage demanding freedom. Enslaved rebels described Sharpe's insistence on non-violent resistance:

> He said we must all agree to sit down after Xmas…he said we must set down, we must not trouble any Body, and raise no Rebellion. We must set peaceable…after Xmas I did set down- We did not swear to burn any where or to fight, I set down all Wednesday + all Thursday after Xmas.[234]

While the rebels initially pursued a non-violent path, their resistance was met with brutal force by a white militia bent on physically compelling the rebels to return to labor. Rebel James Stirling said the group took up arms after finding out that "the white people were coming to murder,"[235] turning the work-stoppage into a violent confrontation lasting over two months. Though the lives of the free population would not have been endangered by such a work stoppage in its initial days, the slave society social order sanctioned violent responses for Black resistance to white authority. By refusing their positions of toil, despite Sharpe's insistence to "fight only in the case the buckras[236] used force to compel them to turn out and work as slaves," enslaved people manifested their capacity to grind the plantation economy to a halt and assert their autonomy as the Black majority. Imperial heuristics reading Black bodies as dangerous, particularly when assuming a resistive stance, therefore legitimated the deployment of violent militias in response to a work strike perceived as "the evil designs of the enemies of our Crown."[237] As the imperial

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[232] Henry Bleby, *Death Struggle of Slavery: Being a Narrative of Facts and Incidents, which Occurred in a British Colony, During the Two Years Immediately Preceding Negro Emancipation*, (W. Nichols, 1868), p. 111.
[233] Bleby, *Death Struggle of Slavery* p.111, 113.
[234] CO 137/182, James Stirling, 19 April 1832.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Old Afro-Jamaican colloquial term for white people and slave owners.
[237] CO 137/181, King's Proclamation, by W.G. Stewart, 30 December 1831.

"Crown" itself was conflated with white supremacist order and the continued functioning of the slave society, any threat against it, whether armed or unarmed, was understood to merit "exemplary punishment."[238] A militia of slave-owners and volunteers was deployed to fight the rebels, and were praised for having "convinced the great mass of the slave population that all further resistance is unavailing."[239] The militia's success in crushing the rebellion was held up as evidence of the merits of establishing a permanent militia to "meet any possible extension of a spirit of disobedience."[240]

Importantly, the rebellion was one of the last major slave uprisings in the British Empire, and is believed to be a catalyst of emancipation. In the wake of successive revolts in Barbados and Demerara, increasing relevance of the British anti-slavery movement, and the example of Haiti's revolution which cost France "a revenue of 6,000,000 a-year," it was clear in 1831 that emancipation was due to arrive to prevent the British West Indies being lost to uprisings by enslaved populations.[241] What remained unclear, was how the social system to which colonists had grown accustomed would survive amidst the presence of a large and highly contentious Black population in the absence of slavery as the dominating system. The rebels evinced the extent of the power of the enslaved class to upend the slave society order through coordinated resistance, prompting calls from colonists and members of British Parliament for a coordinated force to prevent "all motives to rebellion or revenge."[242]

Fearing further rebellion, the "Act to Colonise the Interior lands of this island and form a permanent police" was passed to establish an organized police force.[243] The potential for Jamaica to be "endangered by large numbers of runaways assembling in the interior of the island" was cited in the official dispatch describing the Act as evidence of the "absolute necessity of establishing a police."[244] The Act established a system of police officers and constables to control "relations between white and black" members of the colonial population.[245] The Abolition Bill was passed in 1833 nullifying legal slavery and introducing a new category of bondage: apprenticeship. It was within this system of apprenticeship that the police and constables organized in response to Sam Sharpe's Baptist War would cut their teeth in retaining slavery-style racial hegemony, as I will explain below.

[238] Ibid.
[239] Ibid.
[240] CO 137/181, W. Bullock to Major Generals, 22 December 1831
[241] Henry Tancred, HC Deb 31 May 1833, vol. 18 cc204-36.
[242] Duke of Buckingham, HC Deb 31 May1833.
[243] W.Ind. r.9, Crosbie-Smith, C.A., *The Jamaica Constabulary Force, 1867 to 1938*, n.d.
[244] CO 137/190, Jamaica Act for colonizing the interior of this island, 1833.
[245] CO 137/193/7 Philips to Colonial Secretary, 29/9/1834.

Jamaican Apprenticeship: Police as Precondition

Police forces were understood to be a "necessary" precondition for following through with emancipation.[246] By the 1834 transition to the apprenticeship system, the Jamaica legislature had already effectuated a policing system which included police officers and petty constables assigned the parishes across the island.[247] Their employ was widely understood by colonial elites as the primary means of safeguarding white authority over the Black apprenticed class, as told by years of testimony by judicial and military officials and the planters. One such planter extolled the virtues of the police in safeguarding the white population:

> No community can be living in more perfect security that the white population of this part of the Island, an immense boon, I should think. Generally, I may add, the negroes are becoming to understand their exact position.[248]

The role of constables and police officers was to ensure the "security" of the white population to carry out the discipline of the apprenticed class by ensuring their docility and labor. Whereas previously, masters themselves, working through overseers, would have ensured the physical discipline of enslaved people, this mantle was passed to the constable under apprenticeship. Indeed, judicial officials described "the substitution of the constable's wand for the driver's whip."[249] It is however important to note that despite the transfer of disciplinary powers from individual planters to colonial state officials, the planters retained overwhelming control over the apprenticed population due to their unchanged social standing, and a select few persisted in directly physically disciplining apprentices. One planter even shot an apprentice for insubordination.[250] Planters maintained a "disposition to have corporal punishment inflicted,"[251] and physical abuse of apprenticed people during apprenticeship largely mirrored disciplinary mechanisms during slavery. James Williams described a flogging he received from a constable at the behest of his master for the crime of "insolence" in 1834:

> I was only a half-grown boy that time…he sentence me to get 39 lashes; eight policemen was present, but magistrate make constable flog at first; them flog the old driver first, and

[246] HC Deb 24 July 1833 vol.19 cc1184-219.
[247] MSS. W.Ind. r.9, Crosbie-Smith,, *The Jamaica Constabulary Force.*
[248] CO 137/200, Special Justice Patrick Dunne, 30/6/1835
[249]Ibid.
[250] CO 137/193 Earl of Mulgrave 1 November 1834.
[251] Ibid.

> me next; my back all cut up and cover with blood—could not put on my shirt – but massa say, constable not flogging half hard enough, that my back not cut at all; — Then the magistrate make one of the police take the Cat[252] to flog the other three men, and him flog most unmerciful. It was Henry James, Thomas Brown, and Adam Brown that the police flog.[253]

Like the plantation overseer, constables were hired to mark the bodies of apprentices. The floggings which "cut up and cover with blood" the backs of James Williams, Henry James, Thomas Brown, and Adam Brown during apprenticeship would have had the same maiming effects, and caused as much pain, as the overseer's whip during slavery. The floggings reiterated to the apprenticed class that although they could no longer be legally classified as slaves, their freedom would be conditioned by the vice of white imperial authority. It was therefore understood that they occupied a demoralizing space between bondage and freedom which continued to deny them bodily autonomy and prolonged their social death through further unconsented coupling to the planter as master. The planter retained his paternalistic position. Though police and constables were responsible for the punishment of apprentices to ensure they remained an inexpensive and reliable source of labor for planters, planters could push the hands of the constable to inflict physical punishment onto apprentices for resisting their subjugated status or for failure to be sufficiently productive.

Despite the absence of slave legislation codifying the master's physical dominance over Black laborers, the prevailing social structure permitted the will of the master and the hands of the constable to work in tandem to physically compel apprentices to work. In this way, the planters were empowered to extract the labor of racialized nonhumans, while the laboring class suffered the same physical abuse and expressions of domination they endured during slavery—though at different hands. The role previously occupied by the overseer as the whip-bearing, private intermediary between master and slave, transferred to the police as an agent of the state. Thus, the discipline of the Black population was an issue of public concern, to be handled by publicly funded officers. The centrality of the police in maintaining public order under apprenticeship was not lost on the colonists. As stated by one policing official:

[252]Refers to the "Cat-o-nine tails".
[253] Williams. *A Narrative of the Events since the First of August, 1834*.

> I consider the police establishment most material for the safety and well-being of the island, and so intimately connected with the working of the new system under the Abolition Act, that one cannot go on without the support of the other.[254]

These comments point to the indispensability of the police in normalizing the slavery-era social economy for the post-slave society. Colonists maintained the monopoly on authority and capital, while continuing to subordinate Black bodies to provide the labor power required to sustain the plantation economy. Collaborative policing between planters, constables, and officers hardened white imperial authority and provided the white population a sense of security in the maintenance of slavery-era roles post-emancipation. It is through the power of the police that the white population felt empowered to reiterate their dominant position, and the apprentices would come to understand the social order would continue to deny their subjectivity, driving them to further resistance. As during slavery, the Black underclass resisted colonial social order and racialized policing well after apprenticeship ended in 1838. Nearly three decades after full emancipation, and 34 years after Sam Sharpe's War, simmering Black discontent with the prevailing white power structure culminated in another devastating insurgency, the Morant Bay Rebellion. This rebellion resulted in the reformulation of the police to control a contentious Black populace who could no longer be subdued by the direct authority of a master. Below, I will examine the circumstances behind the Rebellion and how fears of anti-imperial resistance gave rise to the existing Jamaica Constabulary Force.

Skin for Skin: The Morant Bay Rebellion and Creating the Constabulary

In many ways, the Morant Bay Rebellion was a consequence of the post-emancipation reiteration of slave society social order. The abolition scheme, having only provided reparations to the planters, left the Black peasantry landless, impoverished, and beholden to a white population accustomed to unquestioned authority over Black laborers. Those employed on plantations were paid starvation wages, while those unable or unwilling to find plantation work lacked the land to engage in subsistence farming.[255] Further, as noted by Baptist Missionary Edward Underhill, the majority of the Black population was politically disenfranchised, with "not more than 1,457 out of a population of 436,807" meeting the land ownership requirements for franchise.[256] White

[254] CO 137/200, Arthur Welch, 7 July 1835.
[255] National Archives of Jamaica (henceforth NAJ) *Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission* (henceforth JRC) in 1866, p.95.
[256] Ibid, p. 3.

claims to social and economic supremacy in the West Indies, predicated on imperial reasonings of Black civility and unsuitability for governance, extended their authority through the policing of the Black peasantry. Underhill described the repercussions of continued empowerment of the white minority:

> A small oligarchy of some 2,000 persons possesses themselves of the reigns of administration... The barbarities of a slave code were attempted to be perpetuated among a free people, and excessive penalties were inflicted on the slightest breach of intolerance.[257]

Police, constables and the judicial system targeted poor Black people, alternatingly characterized by Jamaican press as "sufferers" and "seditious rebels," for arrest and discipline through floggings, primarily for the crimes of insolence and praedial larceny—or theft of agricultural goods.[258] Following one particular incident in which police arrested and flogged a young man for insolence, residents of Morant Bay made their grievances known on October 10 in a letter to Jamaica's Governor, John Eyre:

> An outrageous assault was committed upon us by the policemen of this parish…which occasion an outbreaking for which warrants have been issued against innocent persons, of which we were compelled to resist…we have been imposed on for a period of 27 years with due obeisance to the laws of our Queen and country, and we can no longer endure the same."[259]

Unbeknownst to the colonial administration, the letter would be followed by an uprising led by Native Baptist deacon, Paul Bogle. The evening of October 10, Bogle addressed his soon-to-be accomplices in rebellion in an oath-swearing ritual:

> Skin for skin, the iron bars is now broken in this parish…Blow your shells, roal your drums, house to house take every man, march them down to Stony Gut, any that you find in the way takes them down, with there (sic) arms; war is at us, my black skin war is at

[257] Edward Underhill, *The Tragedy of Morant Bay: A Narrative of the Disturbances in the Island of Jamaica* (Alexander & Shepheard, 1895), p.7
[258] See for example, CO 137/388/46, Act to authorize the infliction of corporal punishment in certain cases of larceny and other crimes, 22 March 1865; and Jamaica Gleaner 17 November 1865; Jamaica Gleaner, 3 November 1865; Jamaica Gleaner, 21 November 1865.
[259] JRC, 1866, 427.

> hand from to-day to to-morrow. Every black man must turn at once, for the oppression is too great, the white people are now cleaning up they guns for us, which we must prepare to meet them too.[260]

On October 11, 1865, the rebels of Morant Bay marched to the St. Thomas police station to take officers' swords and firearms before marching to the parish courthouse. Throughout the march, rebels chanted "colour for colour" and "cleave to the black"[261] citing their collective racialized disenfranchisement, and inviting fellow members of the Black peasantry to join them. Black survivors of the rebellion later testified that rebels "said that we must join the blacks, skin for skin."[262] The logic for the march was, at least in part, based in racial solidarity against the imperial power structure which had changed little since abolition. Emancipation had been known for little less than three decades, and those who participated in the rebellion would have had a visceral memory of the inhumanity of slavery and apprenticeship, and the discipline and subordination which characterized both systems. To make matters worse, a rumor had been circulating amongst the Black Jamaican population of an imminent return to slavery, and that the continuation of exploitative relations between the largely white and mixed-race elites and the Black laboring class was evidence of machinations towards the eventual rescinding of the freedom desired by them and their forebearers for centuries.[263] Their rebellion was at once contestation of the post-emancipation order which reiterated the slavery-era racial hierarchy, and a stance against a return to bondage. To "cleave to the black" was a solidaristic demonstration of the Black masses' rejection of white racial dominance, and a call for retribution for their collective subordination.

As their numbers swelled along the march to the courthouse, the rebels overpowered the police. They were met at the courthouse with a volunteer militia which opened fire on the rebels, prompting skirmishes between the rebels and militia members. Governor Eyre called in British troops to support the militia and declared martial law over every part of the island, except the capital in Kingston. Though the rebellion was quelled within a matter of days, the rebels being poorly armed and having no ammunition for the weapons taken from the police station, British

[260] CO 884/2, Proclamation of 17 October signed by Paul Bogle and his associates, 17 October 1865.
[261] JRC, 1866, p.13
[262] Ibid, 94.
[263] Ibid, 98.

troops and militia members began a months-long campaign of reprisals indiscriminately targeting the Black population. Officers described abuses in detail:

> we shot two prisoners and catted five or six…In a raid the next day with thirty of his band, three negro homesteads were burnt; several black men were flogged without court martial; nine others were tried, one received a hundred lashes on the spot, and the rest were shot or hung…the inhabitants have to dread it.[264]

With slavery twenty-seven years gone, the logics and reiterative violence of slave discipline persisted through "lashes on the spot." The empowerment of state authorities to indiscriminately maim and kill the Black population, even without determination of participation in the rebellion, was an outgrowth of slavery's collectivized assumption of Black guilt and an imperative to discipline Black bodies to perpetuate imperial rule. The rebellion had been long suppressed, but the impetus to punish the Black populace for daring to assert their collective autonomy was born of a desire to reiterate the colonial government's fortitude after having been tested by Black resistance.

The reprisals were largely condoned by members of the planter class as a necessary evil to curtail the supposed natural violence of Jamaica's "ignorant and excitable" Black population.[265] The West India Committee, in its letter to Secretary Caldwell, described "profound sorrow" at the "atrocities of the negroes as well as the severe punishment which it was deemed necessary to inflict upon them."[266] The planters understanding of the necessity of the reprisals was grounded in a fear of the loss of the Jamaica colony to Black rule. In addresses to Parliament, Governor Eyre maintained:

> That all this hanging, shooting, and flogging that went on for more than a month was necessary, because otherwise the negroes would have shaken off the Queen's authority, and driven the white inhabitants into the sea.[267]

Fears of further insurrection by the Black populace later drove Governor Eyre to express to Colonial Secretary Edward Cardwell that despite the "measures calculated to strike terror into

[264] Ibid, 50.
[265] CO 137/396, West India Committee to Secretary Caldwell, 8 December 1865.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Mr. Buxton, HC Deb, 31 July 1866, vol. 184, cc1763-840.

the disaffected population,"[268] "the unsatisfactory state of feeling which pervades the lower classes…renders the very existence of Jamaica as a colony precarious."[269] The following year, Law No. 8, A Law to Organize a Constabulary Force was passed, establishing Jamaica's extant police force.[270] The force's constitution in the aftermath of rebellion suggests the aims of the force: to suppress further resistance by the newly-emancipated class. Though abolition had already taken effect, the logics of the slave society which expected a forceful response to resistance by racialized laborers and members of the lower classes prevailed. The desire of the white minority elite to maintain the slave society order necessitated the construction of an apparatus to discipline the lower classes and crush their resistance to imperial hegemony. Safeguarding of European hegemony likewise influenced the making of Trinidad's police force.

Trinidadian Policing: Amelioration and Apprenticeship

While Jamaica's Constabulary Force may be understood as having been formed as a response to the post-emancipation tremors of disturbances to order and the changing legal status of the greater populace, Trinidad's police force was formed during slavery and adapted to the contours of colonial society as it transitioned towards abolition. When the British seized Trinidad from Spain in 1797, Governor Thomas Picton initiated the transformation of the Spanish police force into a body suitable for the regulation of British slaveholding. As a first point of order, Governor Picton issued a May 1797 decree tasking police with regulating the movement of enslaved people including the apprehension of "slaves abroad without passes after nine o'clock"[271] and the capture and return of runaways.[272] Picton routinely compelled officers to carry out acts of torture on enslaved people, fellow free persons of colour, and soldiers.

Picton's torture mandate was characterized by the investigators of an 1803 commission to be "grueling and difficult work" necessary for "the public good."[273] Picton condemned to death "Mulattoes, Free Negroes, & Negroes (sic) Slaves accused of sorcery divination," including in several instances where no evidence of "divination" was presented.[274] In one high profile case,

[268] Ibid.
[269] CO 137/394, Eyre to Caldwell, 24 October 1865.
[270] Jamaica Law No. 8 of 1867, A Law to Organize a Constabulary Force, 19 March 1867.
[271] Ottley, Carlton, *A Historical account of the Trinidad and Tobago police from the earliest times,* (Ottley, 1964).
[272] CO 318/69 Trinidad Report of 18 June 1827.
[273] Translated from French. PC 6/16, Commission of Enquiry on General Picton's activities as governor of Trinidad, 1797-1803.
[274] PC 6/16, Trinidad Court proceedings, 11 March 1806

Picton ordered the torture of Louisa Calderon, a thirteen-year-old girl of mixed African and European parentage, to extract a confession for the alleged theft of money from her white employer.[275] Picton's reputation as a despotic governor and management of the police led to the force being not only feared, but "hated and despised by all sections of the community."[276] Thus from the early days of policing in Trinidad, the force was characterized by the normalization of draconian use of force against racialized peoples on the island. Although Picton was censured for his abusive practices leading to his 1803 resignation, willingness to terrorize Trinidadian subjects in the early days of the police influenced Trinidadian policing into the nineteenth century, particularly in terms of attention to race in the makeup of the force and the use of force against non-white Trinidadians during apprenticeship and in the post-emancipation order.[277]

As in Jamaica, apprenticeship saw disciplinary power transferred from the master and his intermediaries to imperial authority vested in the police. The police were a tool of maintaining the planters' grip on social supremacy over Black laborers, reiterating the logics of racial sub- and superordination which ordered slavery in the post-emancipation terrain. The role of white planter power over Black subjects was not to be extinguished despite the legal abolition of the system of slavery.[278] The introduction of an 1868 Ordinance cemented the role of police power in controlling plantation labor in Trinidad, by allowing private constables to monitor individual sugar estates. Under this Ordinance, plantation overseers were recruited as constables and endowed with police powers to "keep the order" on plantation estates.[279] Under Section 28 of the Ordinance, the Justice of the Peace was authorized to appoint "special constables for the preservation of the public peace" where any "tumult, riot or felony has taken place."[280] The appointment of the overseers as police constables was a logical choice for the preservation of the naturalized slave society order. Being already accustomed to wielding the whip as an instrument of discipline and compulsion to labor during slavery, overseers-turned-constables could easily carry out their slavery-era function in post-emancipation contexts. Thus, the reiteration of slavery-era mechanisms of discipline was effectuated through both the retention of the logics

[275] HV 8599.T7 P5 trials, Governor Picton's Trial, 1806.
[276] Ottley, *A Historical account,* 17.
[277] HV 8599.T7 P5 trials, Governor Picton's Trial, 1806.
[278] CO 295/288, 10/12/1880; David Anderson and David Killingray, *Policing the empire: Government, Authority, and Control, 1830-1940,* (Manchester University Press, 1991) pgs. 77-87.
[279] Trinidad Ordinance no.7, *An Ordinance for the better Organisation and Discipline of the Police Force*. 1868
[280] Ibid.

underpinning discipline, as well as the instruments and agents used to effectuate it. This post-emancipation policing mechanism reflected the racial order in the colony. The force was empowered to physically harm Black bodies and the ranks were segregated along racial lines. Below, I examine the reproduction of racialized relations of sub-and superordination in the ranks and influences of the Trinidadian police.

"The moral effect" of European influence

As in Jamaica, fear of insurrection by the Black peasantry shaped police reforms, but in Trinidad, policing officials specifically sought European influence for the force. This is evident from late-nineteenth century reforms of the police force composition and training. For much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Trinidad's governors, police and military officials advocated for the retention of white troops to work alongside police officers to quell disturbances as well as provide an improved "moral effect" on the Black and mixed-race officers relegated to the lower ranks of the force.[281]

The insistence on the presence of white troops to reinforce riot policing was consistent both with the nineteenth-century racial feeling across the British Caribbean, and the general enlistment practices of British colonial policing across the Empire. Charles Jeffries notes that "in many cases all of the superior ranks were filled by European officers and non-commissioned officers, only the rank and file (and sometimes not even these) being recruited from the local populations."[282] In West Indian colonies, the exercise of white authority over a largely Afro-descended laboring population was considered the natural course of action in a social order emerging from the slave society order predicated on racialized subordination. Filling the upper ranks of the police force with white men reproduced imperial racialized dominance within the police force itself, and was a practice which lasted long into the colonial period. In 1921, the Jamaican and Trinidadian Governors contemplated the merits of promoting a "native" sergeant-major to the rank of police commissioner, with Governor Chancellor of Trinidad eventually deciding that the elevation of a "negro" officer to the position would adversely affect the "discipline of such a force," arguing that "coloured races…prefer to receive orders from a white man."[283] The naturalization of the subordination of Black subjects to white authority was

[281] CO 295/291, Freeling to Major Gamble, 24 October 1881; CO 295/233, Lugard to Bart, 20 October 1865.
[282] Jeffries. *The Colonial Police,* p.33.
[283] CO 295/537/83, Chancellor to Probyn 29 September 1921.

therefore reproduced within the police force: the force itself having been constructed as a body to ensure the vitality of the existing racialized imperial order within the broader society outside of the force, while also reproducing racial hierarchy within the ranks of the force itself. White police captains were empowered to determine when and against whom Black—and later Indian — rank-and-file officers deployed their firearms and truncheons, and could also discipline racialized officers of color for miscarriage of duty or insubordination. Further, the presence of armed, white police and military officials provided a visual reminder to the resistive laboring classes of European imperial prowess, while at the same time acting as a trained, reserve force in the event of resistance. A 1904 dispatch by Acting Governor Hugh Clifford requesting the "permanent presence" of white British troops explains that the troops had a perceived "restraining influence" over "certain sections of the community [who] are almost certain from time to time to be betrayed into acts of violence."[284] A subsequent report from that same year emphasizing the need to restructure the police force also describes public desire for the permanent retention of white troops for the "preservation of internal order."[285] Explicit calls for the presence of white troops to aid in the preservation of "the peace and tranquility" of the colonies would persist long into the colonial era, as Governors continued to extol the benefits of their presence and request their deployment to Trinidad well into the 1930s.[286]

The connections between Trinidadian policing and armed officers of the British Empire were not limited to the presence of white troops and the exclusive hiring of whites for high-ranking police posts. The 1867 reorganization of the police saw the Trinidad Police Force take on a decidedly more para-militaristic quality, taking cues from the Royal Irish Constabulary force (RIC). The RIC itself was conceived by Robert Peel, the architect of the British Metropolitan Police, in 1822 during his time as Chief Secretary of Ireland to "police a foreign land to ensure security of the imperial elements and the colonial interests."[287] The RIC model provided an adaptable template for imperial policing across Britain's West Indian, African, and Asian colonies, with each force organized to respond to local conditions and the perceived characteristics of the "native" population.[288] As Colonial Secretary Jeffries notes, "the really effective influence upon the Colonial police forces during the nineteenth century was not that of the police of Great Britain,

[284] CO 295/427, Clifford to Alfred Lyttleton, 14 June 1904.
[285] Ibid.
[286] CO 295/427/58, Clifford to Lyttleton,14 June 1904
[287] Dilip Das and Arvind Verma "The armed police in the British colonial tradition: The Indian perspective," *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies &Management* 21, no.2 (1998): 354.

but that of the Royal Irish Constabulary."[289] From the RIC template, Trinidad's police force adopted an armed, paramilitary orientation, and recruited officers from the RIC itself to serve as non-commissioned officers and as upper-ranking officers within the Trinidadian force.[290] By the 1880s, Trinidad's Police Captain A.W. Baker began explicitly recruiting officers with RIC training, to bring the Trinidad force into a "high state of efficiency."[291] In 1904, 66 years after abolition, efforts to restructure the Trinidadian police force resulted in Acting Governor Hugh Clifford lamenting that "the military training of the Police Force has apparently been neglected" and suggested that the new force should have "officers, discipline, and training similar to those of the Royal Irish Constabulary."[292] Officers of the Trinidadian police force, and other officers of the West Indian colonies, were subsequently approved for training, including firearms trainings, at RIC headquarters in Dublin.[293] However while insights from the RIC proved useful for the implementation and maintenance of a militarized force, the Trinidad force was not a carbon copy of the RIC. Imperial racialized understandings of criminality shaped Trinidadian police reforms to produce a force capable of controlling a growing non-white population, particularly following the introduction of a new plantation labor force: Indian indentured immigrants.

"Disturbed State of Feeling Amongst the Coolies": Policing Indenture

The beginning of the 1845 Indian indenture scheme further complicated colonial policing logics in a racially heterogenous colony. As was the case for Black members of the laboring population, imperial myths of racial pathologies governed police instructions and responses to resistance by Indian people. Rising cases of resistance by the Indian indentured community in the 1880s, including individual acts such as refusing to work as well as large-scale riots, led to an increased concern about the capacity of police to efficiently use firearms during riot control procedures.

Trinidad's Black population had already openly and frequently displayed its capacity for contentious action and resistance to colonial order during the centuries of Spanish and British slavery which governed the island until 1838. However, the more recently arrived Indian

[288] Richard Hawkins, "The 'Irish model' and the empire: A case for reassessment," in *Policing the empire: Government, Authority, and Control, 1830-1940,* edited by David M. Anderson and David Killingray, (Manchester University Press, 1991).
[289] Jeffries, *The colonial police*, 30.
[290] CO295/3330 Robinson to Knutsford 2 December1890.
[291] CO295/301
[292] CO295/427, Clifford to Lyttleton, 10 June 1904.
[293] CO111/595, allowance to police officers training at Dublin, 15 July 1914.

indentured laborers elicited suspicion from colonial administrators, policing officials, and the broader population who feared their potential to threaten the stability of imperial law and order in the colony. Indentured immigrants staged frequent labor strikes and assaulted plantation overseers perceived to be abusive or overbearing.[294] Estate strikes were routinely met with police force. Officers frequently opened fire on groups of plantation laborers to compel them to return to work. Much as the constables used physical force and the threat of the whip to force slaves and apprentices to work to the satisfaction of the planters, the police responding to plantation labor disputes in the 1880s and 1890s used force to compel a new racialized class to fulfill their laboring duties. Resistance by Indian laborers, and the perceived need to control their fictive predisposition towards crime, prompted not only repressive responses by the police, but were used as justifications for modifications to the size and makeup of Trinidad's force.

In 1882 police responding to a riot by indentured laborers on the Cedar Hill Estate beat and arrested the laborers to compel their return to work. Governor Freeling's report on the riot says that following police beatings and arrests, "less cases than usual" had been reported to the district justice of "riotous or insubordinate conduct on the part of the indentured immigrants since the prosecutions in question."[295] The protector of immigrants notes that due to the arrests and police handling of the riot in a "decisive manner" the "demeanour and general behavior of the immigrant labouring population has undergone a considerable change for the better."[296] Though the riot was quickly quelled, it inspired suspicion amongst Trinidad's legislature and Governor of the rebellious aspirations of the growing Indian population. In response, the Commandant of the police recommended an augmentation of the police force by 50 officers based on concerns over the "disturbed state of feeling amongst the coolies." [297]

Alongside increasing policing personnel, Trinidadian Governor William Robinson recommended in 1889 that Indian constables, trained by the colonial Royal Irish Constabulary, be introduced to the colony.[298] The Governor expressed a desire for officers from the Indian Constabulary "acquainted with criminal habits of coolies," claiming that indentured Indians "commit crimes

[294] CO295/301/9 Reports on Indian behaviour, 27/2/1884. See also, Kusha Haraksingh "Control and Resistance among Overseas Indian Workers: A Study of Labour on the Sugar Plantations of Trinidad, 1875-1917," *The Journal of Caribbean History* 14 (1981): 1-17.
[295] CO 295/301/9.
[296] Ibid.
[297] CO295/2951 Commandant to Robinson, 7 November 1882.
[298] CO295/322, Robinson to Knutsford, 13 April 1889.

according to methods peculiar to themselves."[299] Reiterating slavery-era logics linking criminal deviance with racially subordinate status, the Governor suggests that Trinidad required officers external to the colony to police behaviors perceived to be pernicious for their deviance from a white colonial norm. Policing under these conditions would reinforce the collectivization of indentured laborers as foreign entities requiring racialized disciplinary responses, like enslaved Africans, but specifically tailored to the unique colonial othering painted onto Indian bodies in the Caribbean. Viranjini Munasinghe and Patricia Mohamed argue that this othering was engendered through a British orientalist regard which was likewise applied to India but also required an added veneer of primitiveness to conform to the Caribbean capitalist instrumentalization of racial logics for plantation profiteering.[300] As Munasinghe notes, "the conversion of the 'savage' to 'ideal coolie' rested in part upon a semantic transformation" permitting one's identity to be simultaneously "completely flattened to that of laborer" and enduringly "rooted in an alien culture".[301] Indeed, Governor Robinson indicates that the "ordinary native policeman" struggled to detect crimes which could be "traced to the machinations of Coolies." Hence the need for a new imported police force specifically suited to discipline the *"coolie"* class inhabiting Caribbean post-slavery territories trained to operationalize racialized laborers as obedient commodities seasoned in suppressing any behaviors which might indicate civilizational difference from the white (British) ideal.[302]

Inspector Commandant Fortescue, later reported to Governor Robinson that "unless Sikhs can be obtained as in the case of Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements, no further steps need to be taken on the matter."[303] Captain Fortescue's remarks allude not only to the colonial logic which first mythologized and then naturalized a link between criminality and racialized persons, but also reveals the complicated nature of the intersection between racialization and imperial law enforcement. Part of British nineteenth-century racial logic was the separation of colonial peoples into "warlike" and "peaceful" races. Those who were perceived to be "warlike" were understood to be "biologically and culturally predisposed to the arts of war," which was then

[299] Ibid.
[300] Viranjini Munasinghe, "Culture Creators and Culture Bearers: The Interface Between Race ad Ethnicity in Trinidad," *Transforming Anthropology* 6, no. 1-2 (1997): 72-86; Patricia Mohammed; "The Asian *Other* in the Caribbean" *Small Axe* 13, no.2 (2009): 57–71.
[301] Viranjini Munasinghe," Culture Creators and Culture Bearers", p. 76, 79.
[302] Ibid.
[303] CO295/328 Fortescue to Robinson, 24 May 1890.

used to justify their perceived fitness for military or police service.[304] Amongst these so-called "martial races" were Sikh and Nepali Gurkha soldiers, who were routinely deployed to British military outposts in East Africa and Asia, as well as the police barracks of colonies where Indian indentured laborers disembarked, including Mauritius, Fiji, Malaya and Trinidad.[305]

British judgment of the supposedly inherent martial qualities of the Sikh people, which was in large part attributable to fierce pugilism on the part of the Sikhs during the 1845 and 1848 Anglo-Sikh wars, naturalized perception of Sikhs as a "race" with the soldierly qualities necessary for policing rebellious colonial subjects. In Trinidad, the orientalization of Indian indentured laborers rendered them a new force of resistance which colonial administrators and policing officials were eager to pacify. Within colonial logics, there was no better way to counter the rebellious "machinations" of indentured laborers than to fill police ranks with those officers most familiar with the supposed criminal proclivities of Indian people: other Indians, specifically Sikhs. The proposed need to employ Sikhs, as well as the suggestion that Indian laborers committed crimes "peculiar to themselves" evinces the colonial understanding of indentured Indians as a devious and alien class with specific policing needs. While the authority of white troops and police officers of superior rank were believed to have an ameliorative effect on rank-and-file Black and mixed-race officers, the desire for officers with specific experience policing Indian communities was born of an ambition to develop strategies against specifically *Indian* criminality. The patterns of staffing the colonial police force not only display the reproduction of racial order within colonial administrative bodies, but also indicate an ingrained will to differentially police and discipline Black and brown racialized bodies.

Explicit targeting and differential policing of Afro- and Indo-Caribbean people is likewise evident in the suppression of their ethno-religious practices. Imperial thingifcation of enslaved people sought to cleave their bodies from their subjectivities and points of origin, first through geographic distancing via the Middle Passage and the crossing of the kala pani,[306] and subsequently through assimilation to imperial cultural norms. During slavery, Africans and their

[304] Heather Streets. *Martial races: the military, race and masculinity in British imperial culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester University Press, 2017), 1.
[305] Pradeep Barua. "Inventing Race: The British and India's Martial Races," *The Historian* 58, no. 1, (1995): 107-116.
[306] Kala Pani, refers to the "black waters" travelled by Indian indentured labourers in the journey from India to the Caribbean, Mauritius, and Fiji. Judith Misrahi-Barak, "Indentureship, caste and the crossing of the Kala Pani," *Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences* 14, no.2 (2017): 18-36.

descendants found communal agency in the New World reproduction of familiar cosmologies and modes of expression, opening spiritual pathways to the continent of their birth.[307] Likewise, the migration and forced insularity of indenture facilitated the geographic separation of the Indian community from broader West Indian society and their Indian homeland. Though the indenture scheme permitted the practice of Islam and Hinduism, their cultural expression in Trinidad was not without violent intervention by colonial police. In both cases, the visible representation of non-Christian, non-European ethno-religious elements obstructed the naturalization of European Christian civilizational norms in Jamaica and Trinidad. In the next chapter, I explore twentieth-century thingification of racialized laboring bodies and police violence as a mechanism for reproducing slavery-era racial hierarchy and labor relations in the twentieth century.

[307] Dianne Stewart, "The evolution of African-derived religions in Jamaica: Towards a Caribbean theology of collective memory," (PhD. Diss. Union Theological Seminary, 1997).

Chapter 3: Policing Plantation Class Toilers: Race and Labor Riots, 1910s-1938

One significant throughline in the history of policing during slavery and in post-slavery contexts is the desire to maintain control over the source of labor. As previously discussed, British slave societies maintained a racialized system of forced labor to maximize planter class profit. Reiterative ordering violence through policing of anti-imperial resistance by the Afro- and Indo-descendant majority cemented the social chasm between "white capital and coloured labour"[308] by disciplining non-white bodies into retaining their designated, subordinate roles. Punitive authority over racialized labor was embedded within post-slavery police power, allowing the colonial government to exercise mastery over the labor force, occupying the role held by the planter class during slavery. By the 1910s, the organized, paramilitary police designed to order post-emancipation Jamaica and Trinidad were well-practiced in labor coercion and physical discipline. At the end of the decade, Empire-wide standardization of police use of force as riot response institutionalized reiterative violence as an imperial ordering mechanism. With this renewed legitimation of police violence by the colonial secretary's office, Jamaican and Trinidadian police were emboldened, and indeed encouraged, to deploy violence as an immediate response to disturbances to imperial order, and its norms of white supremacy and dehumanizing labor. Consequently, reiterative police violence was particularly acute amidst rampant and coordinated race- and class-conscious labor and political uprisings in the 1920s and 1930s. Amidst early-twentieth century dehumanizing labor practices, characterized by rampant physical abuse and starvation, Afro- and Indo-descended laborers resisted their treatment as racialized instruments of toil, understanding their collective subordination to be a product of slavery's legacy. As pronounced by a Jamaican poet and activist Stennett Kerr-Coombs in 1938, the "brutal system under which the workers suffer was not adopted for the purposes of ameliorating the conditions of the slave."[309]

This chapter examines the reaffirmation of slavery-derived racialized labor relations through naturalized police violence against contentious Afro- and Indo-Caribbean subjects in the interwar period. In focusing on police use of force, I underscore the importance of reiterative violence in

[308] CO 295/600/6, Fletcher to Ormsby-Gore, 24 October 1937.
[309] *Jamaica Labour Weekly*, 13 August 1938.

reproducing the slavery-era order in post-emancipation contexts through continued efforts to neutralize threats to white supremacist rule and the suppression of non-white autonomy. I will first examine the British Empire's 1919 standardization of police use of force as it relates to policing in Jamaica and Trinidad. I then examine the extent of the normalization of police violence through the colonial administration's response to Trinidad's Colonel May's failure to violently suppress strike action by Trinidad's dockworkers. Finally, I investigate the role of the police in safeguarding imperial logics of white supremacy through examination of police responses to 1930s labor strikes and demands for social and political autonomy by non-white racialized laborers.

Minister Long's Enquiry: Standardizing Police Violence as Imperial Safeguard

Though British colonial policing generally operated through a paradigm of violent suppression to disturbances to order, the Empire had yet to develop formal, Empire-wide standards governing police use of force.[310] Decisions on whether to use police force or other repressive measures were at the discretion of policing officials of individual colonies, which not only led to occasions where colonial policing officials decided against using physical force to quell protests and riots, but also prompted greater questions about the parameters of when the use of force was considered a necessary step in suppressing disturbances. These questions came to a head in 1915, when intercommunal clashes in Ceylon between members of the Sinhalese Buddhist majority and Indian Muslim migrants resulted in the declaration of martial law and the deaths of approximately 40 Indian migrants and nearly 9,000 arrests. Facing scrutiny from colonial officials across the Empire that the riot response was insufficient, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Minister Walter Long, initiated an Empire-wide inquiry into police riot response standards.

Minister Long was particularly interested in standardizing police use of force to ensure legal backing for policing officials to deploy force early on in their responses to civil unrest. Long issued a November 1918 circular directing colonial governors to report local protocols for police use of force and received an array of definitions of what constituted a riot, types of force used by police, and the stage of a disturbance force when was generally employed.[311] Many British West

[310] Martin Thomas, *Violence and Colonial Order: Police, Workers and Protest in the European Colonial Empires, 1918-1940*, (Cambridge University Press, 2012).
[311] CO 323/771B Secret Circular, Walter Long, 11 November 1918.

Indian governors advocated the use of "buckshot ammunition" and "free firings" early on in response to disturbances.[312] With slavery-era disciplinary systems as its antecedents, West Indian policing naturalized corporal violence, including through the use of firearms, as a mechanism for controlling and dehumanizing laborers to physically compel submission to white supremacist rule. West Indian norms notwithstanding, Secretary Long's dispatch denounced "the use of buckshot ammunition by the police for the suppression of riots among the Black population of the West Indies," as excessive by the standards of Britain's Colonial Defence Committee. The enclosure states:

> In most of the riots which have occurred in the West Indies, however, a disregard of established principles is traceable. For example, it is laid down that armed forces 'are not on any account to fire except by word of command of their officer, who, if it becomes necessary to order firing, is to exercise a humane discretion in deciding both the number of rounds and the *object* to be aimed at.' In Dominica in 1893, in Jamaica in 1902, and in the last Trinidad riot, a good deal of firing without orders was reported, and the accounts in other cases show that there was indiscriminate other firing.[313]

The enclosure indicates that police use of force in the British West Indies was not only a frequent occurrence but carried out indiscriminately and in excess of the conditions deemed reasonable by the colonial administrative office. West Indian policing's reliance on indiscriminate violence early on during a disturbance hearkens back to slavery-era disciplinary systems reiterating imperial order. The embedded slave society logic reading non-white bodies as inherently deviant and dangerous to imperial Euro-dominant order legitimized continued reiteration of the subordinate position of non-whites through state violence via the police. Police firing was indiscriminate because, within the collectivizing racial logic of societies founded on slavery, the entire Black and non-white population constituted a potential "object to be aimed at."

That the West Indies as the location of British chattelization was the only part of the Empire singled out in the dispatch is also telling of the draconian nature of the region's policing and the extent to which slavery normalized violence across the islands. While the colonial office was

[312]CO 323/771B Jamaica Report of Committee and instructions for police and officers in command of troops; Trinidad Instructions for Officers in command of troops; British Guiana Report of Committee and Instructions, 11 November 1918.
[313] Emphasis mine. CO 323/771B, Enclosure II. West Indies, Use of Buckshot Ammunition, 11 November 1918.

clearly institutionalizing deadly police measures across the Empire, centuries of slave society ordering and thingification treating the laboring majority as manageable objects, rather than human subjects, naturalized in the West Indies disregard for the humanity and lives of the laboring non-white populace. Whippings and floggings as tools of discipline during slavery and indenture laid the groundwork for West Indian reasoning interpreting Afro- and Indo-descendants as tools to be quickly regulated for capital accumulation and white supremacist order retention. This inclination towards swift and severe regulation is apparent in Jamaica's and Trinidad's responses to Minister Long's dispatch detaining their respective responses to disturbances.

In the event of a riot, the Jamaican regulations instruct officers to read the Riot Act, wait for one hour for the crowd to disperse, and then "use such force as is reasonably necessary to protect premises and to prevent serious crime or riot."[314] However, while the regulations require an hour wait time before using force, they also state with reference to the riot act that "the fact that an hour has not expired since its reading does not incapacitate the Police and Military from acting when outrage has to be prevented."[315] Trinidad's regulations showcase a similar approach to those of Jamaica, both encouraging the reading of the Riot Act, while also providing caveats to allow police to act with force beyond Riot Act proclamation conditions. Section 4 of the Trinidad policing regulations state:

> It must be understood that to justify the exercise of military force in the prevention of serious outrage to persons or property it is *not* necessary to wait for the Proclamation to be read, much less to wait till one hour has expired after it has been read.[316]

These Riot Act exceptions are a byproduct of the West Indian tendency to favor severe responses to resistance as an outgrowth of the region's foundations in chattel slavery. Slavery's logics dictated that exercise of authority was to be absolute and the human value of the colonial subjects questionable, therefore adhering to wait times in the face of resistance by a population read as dangerous was naturally considered optional. Importantly, within all the responses to Long's inquiry, only the former West Indian slave societies of the Bahamas, British Guiana,

[314] CO 323/771B, Jamaica Orders for Officers in Command of Troops, 11 November 1918.
[315] Ibid.
[316] CO 323/771B, Trinidad Information for Officers.

Grenada, Jamaica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Trinidad include these Riot Act caveats. [317] Non-West Indian reports generally advocate shows of force, prior to open firings, as effective crowd dispersal measures. The Nigeria report states that following the reading of the Riot Act, the visual threat of police marching with, not firing, bayonets "is enough to disperse a Lagos mob."[318]

Minister Long's enquiry culminated in the colonial office's promotion of "forbearance," encouraging colonial policing officials to exercise caution and attempt non-violent control measures prior to authorizing the police and military to use force.[319] However while forbearance was promoted on paper, in practice the old paradigms governing the use of force prevailed after the 1918-1919 enquiry. Strict adherence to the forbearance policy was subject to scrutiny from the colonial administration. One example of such scrutiny came shortly after Minister Long's 1918 circular with the investigation of Trinidad's Colonel May.

Forgoing Force: The Investigation of Colonel May

In November 1919, amidst postwar economic turmoil and increasing racial tensions stemming from racist attacks against Black World War I veterans in Britain, Port-of-Spain dockworkers initiated a three-week long wage strike. The strike came to a head on 1st December when dockworkers, joined by Indian wholesalers and female coal carriers, marched through Port-of-Spain, forcing business closures and drawing "outrage" from much of Trinidad's white upper class.[320] Defying convention, Trinidad's chief policing official, Colonel May, did not order the mostly Black rank-and-file police to use their firearms or truncheons.[321] Rather than resort to force, Colonel May organized a meeting between the strikers and the shipping companies. The strike ended on 3rd December, after an arbitration committee ordered the shipping companies to increase the dockworkers wages by 25%.[322]

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[317] CO 771B, Bahamas Rules for guidance of police; British Guiana Report of Committee; Grenada Legal Information + Instructions with respect to Riots; Jamaica Report of Committee; St. Lucia Memorandum of Committee + Instructions; St. Vincent Report of Committee and Instructions; Trinidad Information for Officers, 11/11/1918.
[318] CO 771B, Nigeria Memorandum for the Guidance of the police and other officers in civil disturbances, 11 November 1918.
[319] CO 323/771B, Secret circular.
[320] POSG, 3 December 1919.
[321] CO 295/536, Colonel May Statement, 15 May 1921.
[322] POSG, 4 December 1919.

While the strike concluded without loss of life or reported injuries, Colonel May's rejection of violent force was roundly criticized in local press, by Trinidad's white elites, and by the British colonial office. Secretary of the Trinidad Chamber of Commerce, Edgar Tripp wrote that the "hooligans of Trinidad whose mission appears to be to take Trinidad back to the condition of Haiti, should know that Trinidad was conquered by the British."[323] Tripp's statement is indicative of white elite logic understanding the police to be the reiterative arm of colonial racialized governance. Police were to compel submission from the "hooligan" lower classes to white, British authority lest the island go the way of Haiti, whose 1791-1804 Revolution ousted white capitalist rule sustained through French slavery. The normative police response to protest by non-white racialized laborers was corporeal violence to prevent Haitian-style subversion. The Port-of-Spain Gazette similarly expressed outrage that police were not called to use force, writing of the non-violent strike response, "that this should be possible, in the face of a strong force of Constabulary… is beyond comprehension."[324] Characterization of May's decision as "beyond comprehension" is indicative of its abnormality. Violence was the naturalized response to agitation by racialized non-white laborers, thus a response which privileged dialogue appealed to their human reasoning capacities and was thus a violation of the imperial norms of violence and dehumanizing the labor force.

The colonial office likewise perceived May's failure to show force as a violation of imperial order, and opened a 1921 enquiry into May's fitness for duty. Trinidad's Governor John Chancellor wrote that May "has not sufficient force of character, initiative, or administrative ability to enable him to fill the post."[325] Chancellor recommended Colonel May's formal censure for "his delay in preparing the Riot scheme and for his failure to shew (sic) greater initiative in overcoming the difficulties in the way of organizing the men of the Merchant's contingent." The Merchant's Contingent was a group of white, middle- and upper-class war veterans reserved as volunteer police. Chancellor believed May missed an opportunity to quell the riot without demanding concessions from the shipping companies by failing to call on the Merchant's Contingent. Minister Long in London was similarly dissatisfied with May's decisions, stating that "this policy of forbearance was carried too far, and…that warehouses and stores should have

[323] Quoted in Singh, *Race and Class Struggles*, p.29.
[324] POSG, 3 December 1919.
[325] CO 295/536, J. Chancellor, 15 May 1921.

been defended by timely and reasonable employment of moderate force, such as the use of police batons."[326]

The fact that May's eschewal of violent force was sufficient cause for reprimand, despite the recent emphasis on forbearance, demonstrates the degree to which reiterative police violence was the normative response to resistance. While ultimately May was not formally censured, following a lengthy explanation by May of his actions and Governor Chancellor withdrawing his comments on May's fitness, his investigation points to the irregularity of his actions. The norms surrounding the use of force being long established, May was *expected* to order the colonial police force to use force to compel an end to the strike. The use of discursive tactics, through organizing a meeting between the strikers and the shipping companies, defied colonial policing norms established during slavery to embed the norms of imperial rule. The ability of Afro- and Indo-descendant colonial subjects to successfully achieve their aims through protest demonstrated the power of the masses to demand an improvement to their economic and social standing—potentially opening the floodgates for further demands for social and economic change. For the colonial administration, this was particularly dangerous given the post-war economic and racial climate in the metropole and in the colonies.

After World War I, Black veterans of the British West India Regiment returned to their respective islands likely shell-shocked and resentful of the discrimination they endured in Europe. Poor economic conditions in the colonies left them destitute.[327] Further, reports in class- and race-conscious newspapers like *Argos* and *The Negro Worker* detailing racial attacks against Black soldiers in London, Liverpool, and Cardiff resonated with Afro-Trinidadians. Testimonials from returning soldiers in *The Negro World*, the official newspaper of Black nationalist activist Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association, provide insights into the grievances of returning soldiers and the broader Afro-West Indian community:

> From the shell ploughed battlefields of France and Belgium we are given for "ration allowance" (1/)25 cents per diem as against(2/6) 60 cents for the other troops on being demobilized home. Is it possible that 24 cents per day can board a man at this present high cost of living?...I ask you West Indians and Jamaicans, consider this thoroughly and

[326] CO 295/536, Winston Churchill, 15 May 1921.
[327] CO 295/516, The Nation's Financial Problem and A Suggestion for its Solution, Erie M. Legge, notes that the Trinidad colony "is faced with bankruptcy."

> see if these are not real grievances?... Instead of having our wrongs righted, what do we see? We see that the government was afraid of the returned soldiers... We also see the appointment of private constables all over the island, as they fear that our grievances would outburst in an uprising...[328]

Governors of the West Indian colonies were aware of the resentments of Black soldiers, and the spillover of their negative racial feelings into the broader majority-Black populations of the island colonies. Indeed, Colonel May cited an unwillingness to further intensify the poor "colour feeling" stemming from "racial riots which had occurred in London, Liverpool and Cardiff" by calling in the majority white Merchant's Contingent.[329]

Colonel May was likely correct in his estimation of the effects of deploying the Merchant's Contingent to enact a forceful response to the demonstrations. For Afro-Trinidadian populace, the brutality exacted against Black soldiers in the Metropole was, at its core, the very same brutality they faced in the colonies. Such was the *international* power of imperial racialization that when Black and brown bodies traveled outside of their places of origin – whether the Caribbean, Africa, or Asia – the second-class subjecthood assigned to them by virtue of their pigmentation traveled alongside them. Deploying the Merchant's Contingent, a largely white, armed militarized force, against unarmed Afro- and Indo-Trinidadian demonstrators would have reproduced in Trinidad the racialized violence evinced in the metropole. It would have very likely exacerbated racial antagonism at home, where agitators were already questioning how long they would "groan under the pressure of our oppressors, without any relief."[330] Colonel May's avoidance of further antagonism notwithstanding, colonial authorities in London saw the suppression of the strike as a necessary component of subduing agitation challenging white supremacist imperial order. By permitting the strike to proceed without a show of violent force, Colonel May was himself disturbing the naturalized order by failing to order the use of imperial violence to discipline laborers to return to their sites of toil and subdue the threat of their anger. Colonel May's response to the 1919 strike remained an outlier, as early twentieth-century policing responses to disturbances were characterized by repression, including mass arrests and

[328] *Negro World*, 1 November1919; CO 318/352/23 Report of Negro Atrocities, 13 October 1919.
[329] CO 295/536, May to Chancellor, 24 February 1921.
[330] "West Indians—What of the Future" *Negro World*, 28 August 1919.

the use of weapons, to physically enforce the logics of racialized hierarchical order in Trinidad and Jamaica.

Into the 1920s, use of force by colonial police continued to reiterate slavery-derived labor and race relations. In the absence of legally sanctioned slavery, the police served as a mechanism for the post-abolition reiteration of Black and brown subjugation to white imperial authority and systematic labor exploitation. The British Empire's standardization of police use of force demonstrated a normative commitment to police violence as principal mechanism for suppressing disturbances to imperial order. Minister Long's inquiry reveals that police use of force was never to be called into question. The question was simply *when* and *how much* force would be used. Standardizing the use of force provided answers to these dilemmas on paper, however in practice policing in the British West Indies continued largely as it had prior to Minister Long's inquiry: by quickly reposing to unrest with violence aimed at disciplining racialized non-white laborers. In Jamaica and Trinidad, police use of force was understood to be a necessary component of reinforcing racialized social stratification. Undergirded by the slavery-era logics of the racial inferiority and incivility of non-European peoples, the imperial policing hinged on taming racialized subjects to toil. Defying policing norms with respect to agitation by racialized non-white subjects was not only rare, but also considered worthy of formal admonishment in many circles, as evinced by the inquiry into Colonel May's non-forceful approach to Trinidad's 1919 race- and class-conscious demonstrations. May nearly faced formal censure for eschewing normalized reiterative violence to enforce a notion of civilized order predicated on white racial hegemony. These norms governing police violence carried into 1930s, as labor movements sparked a referendum against white supremacist imperial order across the West Indies.

Policing Demands for Autonomy: 1930s Labor Movements and Reiterative Violence

In 1938, St. Lucian economist Sir. Arthur Lewis opined that "we have here a problem which can only be solved by destroying its root – the deliberate maintenance of white supremacy."[331] Sir Lewis wrote these words amidst fiery agitation by Afro-and Indo-descendants demanding an end to what they characterized as "wage slavery." With the Great Depression in full swing, white elites retained the monopoly on economic and social agency in Jamaica and Trinidad, while the

[331] Arthur Lewis, *Labour in the West Indies,* (New Beacon Books, 1977). p. 13.

majority Afro- and Indo-descendant laboring populations faced starvation and persistent police abuse. Recognizing their subordination to white supremacist rule as an inheritance of the dehumanizing practices of slavery and the orientalizing experience of indenture, the working class majority contested the conditions of their subordination though massive labor organizing and strike action, buttressed by anti-imperial rhetoric denouncing their collective classing as "the new types of slaves."[332] Their "systematic battles for the right to live" proclaimed their human subjectivities, opposing their colonial categorization as "persons of the labouring type."[333] Abdicating their proscribed positions of toil, they demanded an end to white supremacist imperial order.

Because the post-emancipation order rested on maintaining the breach between "white capital and coloured labour," as it had during slavery, the colonial administration took a hard line against this class- and race-conscious agitation. Coordinated public expression of the rights and humanity of the subjugated masses had the potential to denaturalize the racialized logic which divided the thingified non-white laborer from the white master since slavery. Policing responses –governed by the naturalized tendency to physically discipline the non-white laboring body— reiterated the norm of white supremacist rule in the colony. Elites argued that laboring subjects, still understood to be uncivilized and dangerous, would need to be tamed in order to "safeguard the minority whose ancestors won [the] islands so proudly for the Empire."[334] With slavery-era norms shaping social life in the colonies, it is perhaps unsurprising that the white elites successfully pressured colonial administrators to pursue violent responses for the sake of "law and order."[335] In this section, I examine police responses as reiterative violence repressing racialized laborers' insurgence against the "deliberate maintenance of white supremacy." I focus on the violent manifestation of slavery-era disciplinary norms in response to contention in Trinidad's oilfields and Jamaica's sugar plantations.

[332] *Jamaica Labour Weekly*, 13 August 1938.
[333] CO137/835/2 F.A. Norman to Hibbert 19 July 1939.
[334] Helen Shortt to MacDonald, 15 June 1938.
[335] CO 295/600/6, Trinidad Petroleum Association to Fletcher, 24 October 1937; Fletcher to Ormsby-Gore 5 December 1937.

1937, Trinidad Oilfields Strike

In 1937, the future of imperial rule in Trinidad preoccupied Governor Fletcher of Trinidad. Writing to Colonial Secretary Ormsby-Gore, Fletcher warned that the "present attitude of the Negro is truculent and the safeguarding of the colony is paramount."[336] Activists like trade unionist Uriah Butler and lawyer Adrian Cola Rienzi (nee Krishna Deonarine) and the Trinidad Federated Workers' Trade Union led laborers in the movement to cripple "the ruling hand of unending authority."[337] Laborers sought freedom from dehumanizing racial abuse, squalid working conditions, and starvation wages which characterized the sugar and cocoa plantations and oilfield which employed the majority of the populace.[338] Work-related racial abuse was particularly acute in Trinidad's oilfields, where workers paid an hourly wage of 7 cents an hour were beholden to the authority a largely white British, American, and South African managerial staff who brought with them the racism which structured their native lands. In particular, the attitudes of South African line managers concerning "Negro swine" was reported to be "strongly entrenched in the Oilfield."[339] This rhetorical pairing of racialized Black labor with a domesticated beast reveals the persistence of slavery's understandings of Black labor as a subhuman collective. Governor Fletcher's concern that Black laborers' "undefined resentment" would "cause serious repercussions in Trinidad," prompted his advocation for a permanent police garrison to suppress potential unrest on the oilfields.[340] Both the situation of race relations in Trinidad's oilfields and the proposed safeguard against Black workers' imminent anti-racist contention are indicative of the imperial commitment to overseeing white hegemony over racialized non-white laborers. Governor Fletcher's solution to encircle a racist labor space with police to ensure adherence to established roles of sub- and superordination is another instance of police power in service of the reiteration of white supremacist order.

Police intervention notwithstanding, laborers' continued to denounce abusive working conditions through direct appeals to their human rights. Labour leader, Uriah "Buzz" Butler asserted that workers deserved "respect & consideration based on the broad principles of Truth and Justice,

[336] CO 295/600/6, Fletcher to Ormsby-Gore 18 October 1937.
[337] Trinidad Federated Workers Trade Union, *On Social, Economic +Political Conditions of Labour*, 16 January 1939.
[338] Ibid, 2.
[339] Jeffrey to T.I.K. Lloyd, Royal West India Commission Secretary, 1938.
[340] CO 295/600/6, Fletcher to Ormsby-Gore, 31 October 1937.

Equality and the Rights of Man."[341] Butler and his British Empire Workers and Citizens Home Rule Party appealed to oilfield managers and colonial officials alike, asserting that Black workers were subject to the whims of "So-called "whites" who are members of a class of economic groups in our Trinidad Community whose control of Society extends over a period of reaching back to "slave days""[342] Having been routinely rebuffed in their written appeals for improved treatment and pay, Butler and union members reasoned that they had been "challenged to prove [their] right to life and happiness," and decided on a sit-down strike.[343]

On 19 June 1937 the sit-down strike commenced on the Trinidad Consolidated Oilfields and Trinidad Leaseholds oilfields in Fyzabad. Workers reportedly "were quite orderly…insisting they were not quitting their jobs but simply demanding more pay."[344] Police arrived and attempted to compel work resumption and arrested Butler, prompting skirmishes with the crowd resulting in the death of an officer. Newspapers reported that it was "understood, but not officially confirmed, that police [had] received instructions to fire on the mob and defend themselves," even though "the Riot Act [had] not been read yet."[345] Police inspectors called in reinforcements from nearby San Fernando before opening fire on the crowd, killing thirteen people and wounding an additional forty-four.[346]

Despite the casualties of the oilfields strike, laborers continued to demonstrate in its wake. To reassure the ruling class of the capacity of the colonial government to maintain order and "keep the peace," the police were prolific in their shows of force in the aftermath of the oilfields strike. Routine police violence was an effort to re-legitimize imperial authority and discipline laborers into reoccupying their designated social positions. Police shootings were the default response to continued resistance, often with multiple police firings taking place in each week. For example, on 21 June 1937, police shot and killed laborers Randolph Phillip and Lloyd Phillip during a demonstration in San Fernando. The following day, police opened fire on a group of laborers on strike in Rio Claro, killing five and wounding twenty others.[347] That November, six hundred

[341] Ibid.
[342] Uriah Butler to Manager Apex Oilfields Ltd, 26 January 1936.
[343] Uriah Butler "Workers of Trinidad: Attention Please!" 10 June 1937
[344] The People, 26 June 1937.
[345] *Trinidad Guardian*, 20 June 1937.
[346] *Trinidad Guardian*, 23 June 1937.
[347] CO 295/600/7, Fletcher to Ormsby-Gore, 30 November 1937.

factory workers encountered police during a strike, despite "no disorder" being reported.[348] Workers were aware of the fate that awaited them. A letter by the Trinidad Workers Union requesting an impartial inquiry into continued police killings stated that while "the Heads of the Government are all dependent upon the use of Rifles and Bayonets…the workers are now fully resolved that some must die that others live."[349] The precedence for colonial responses to labor agitation having been set, the workers came to expect that they would face "Rifles and Bayonets," and nevertheless proceeded with their strikes. Having shown their resilience and willingness to confront police, the colonial administration decided to both increase the personnel and arms of the force and call in military troops from other colonies.

Colonial officials remained preoccupied with the security of the white population, who increasingly saw their social primacy threatened by recurrent strikes by non-white racialized laborers. The frequent work stoppages, flights from plantations and oil fields, and heavily attended marches demonstrated the resistive capacity of the racialized laboring masses, while constituting a visual representation of the impending subversion of the established order. If the white upper-classes could not uphold normalized social and economic supremacy over "coloured labour" as they had since the colony's formation as a slave society, then the social order in the colony risked total dissolution. Sugar and oil tycoons who met with Governor Fletcher in the aftermath of the oilfields strike expressed their fear of continued strikes and a breakdown of the society they had grown accustomed to. One plantation/oilfield owner present at the meeting complained:

> It is racial violence. It is extermination, not only against labourers but against white women and children. Let us face the facts, and we have to prepare to meet this. As remedy, I say, is that we should have a Force…Law and order for me is a necessity, and as old as I am, I am prepared to fight for law and order. If Your Excellency wishes to prevent bloodshed, … I urge with all your might to have the Colonial Office supply a Force here which will make these people understand that while you are prepared to see justice done to them you are prepared to enforce law and order.[350]

[348] CO 295/600/6, Fletcher to Ormsby-Gore, the Colonies, 8 December 1937.
[349] Trinidad Workers' Union to Wallace Johnson, IASB, 8 December 1937.
[350] CO 296/600/6, Report of Meeting between Fletcher and representatives of the Sugar Manufacturer's Association, the Petroleum Association and the Chamber of Commerce, 7 October 1937.

Governor Fletcher's response to the demands of the businessmen was to increase the police force, request the presence of military troops from Jamaica and the import of tear gas, and additional riot guns, short range shells, and truncheons.[351] The presence of troops was intended to inspire confidence in the white ruling class, particularly the oil and sugar barons who predominated the colonial economy. The Governor's response had the desired effect of placating elites. A December 1937 telegram from Governor Fletcher notes that the "Arrival of troops has effected this improvement on the morale of Europeans."[352] Fletcher's comments are indicative of the ruling class capacity to influence the deployment of state violence against laborers to compel them to retain their role as workers. Workers were likewise aware of white elite capacity to influence police responses, as an observer noted "Trinidad employers boasted in the hearing of the Black workers of being able to get the Police to do their bidding in the case of a strike taking place."[353]

As during the slave society, white elites wielded their influence to reposition racialized laboring bodies as eternal drudgeons: their rightful place in the colonial order in the minds of the plantocrats and oil barons. Nevertheless, the laboring class continued to assert their political agency. Despite facing efforts to neutralize the threat their agitation posed to the embedded norms of racial hierarchy, they demanded "that the voices of Labour be heard and not replied to by the show of Guns and Bayonets." The same demands for political autonomy and respect for humanity were voiced by Jamaican laborers in 1938.

1938, Jamaica Frome Strike

Jamaica's labor troubles came to a head in 1938 following months of workers' agitation for safer working conditions and wage increases. On 29 April, sugar workers on the Frome Estate rallied to demand an explanation for lower than usual pay. Office workers responsible for handing out paychecks fired into the air, dispersing the crowd. The following day, hundreds of workers went on strike still demanding an explanation for the seemingly arbitrary pay cuts and the establishment of a minimum daily wage of one dollar. By 2 May, more than 3,000 cane-cutters, construction workers and day laborers from the Frome Estate joined the strike and marched to the estate's main offices and sugarcane factory, vandalized company vehicles, and stole company personnel files. Demonstrators pelted police responding to the scene with rocks, prompting Police Captain O'Donoghue to order officers to ready their rifles and

[351] CO 295/600/6, Fletcher to Ormsby-Gore, 30 October 1937.
[352] CO 295/600/6, Fletcher to Ormsby-Gore, 5 December 1937.
[353] Bridgeman to Trinidad Commission of Inquiry, 16 August 1937.

bayonets for firing. The Riot Act was read, and O'Donoghue ordered sixty police officers to fire at the crowd. Four workers were killed and 14 more were injured.[354] At least one hundred people were arrested at the scene and in the days following the riot, with many reported bystanders perceived by police to belong to the group of strikers and arrested.[355] The dispersing workers responded to police fire with fires of their own, setting ablaze a reported 80 acres of sugarcane as they retreated.[356]

The Jamaica Gleaner reported of the event that the strikers "came off as was to be *expected*, second best in their clash with 'law and order.'"[357] A Commission of inquiry established shortly after the riot to try the arrested strikers and bystanders and examine the underlying causes of the riot found that the police were justified in opening fire on the crowd. Jamaica's Governor, Edward Denham, agreed with the report findings, noting that the firing was justifiable and, "the only criticism is that they might have fired before."[358] That the laborers came off "second best in their clash" was no accident as Jamaica's police force was designed during the lead up to emancipation to carry out the forceful, and deadly, response evinced on the Frome Estate. Police officers acted with the deadly force naturalized to protect the dichotomized social order relegating non-white laborers to thingified positions of toil and subordination to white dominance. Those who stepped out of line exposed themselves to death. Per the instructions issued after Walter Long's 1918 inquiry, police were expected to shoot to kill to inspire terror in those inspired to uproot the norm of white supremacy in the colonies. The institutionalization of this calculation of racialized lives as expendable may be gleaned from testimony provided by an unnamed police officer questioned about the orders his detachment received to fire on the Frome strikers:

> The only order you heard was 'fire?'—Fire.
>
> As a constable you understood from that you should fire at the mob to kill? – Yes.[359]

The officer's remarks speak to the routine nature of police shootings and their intended consequences. To order police to fire was to order them to kill, rather than wound or break up a disorderly crowd. Further the mass arrests carried out by police, including of persons who neither participated in the strike nor worked on the Frome Estate, are a product of the collectivized view of laborers cemented during slavery. George Mitchell, a bystander arrested alongside strikers, testified that he did not participate in the riot, but watched it unfold from beneath the shade of a mango tree:

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[354] *Jamaica Gleaner*, 5 May 1938
[355] Ibid
[356] Ibid.
[357]Emphasis my own. Ibid.
[358] CO 137/826/9 Report of Disturbances which occurred in Jamaica between 23rd May and the 8th June, 1938.
[359] *Jamaica Gleaner*, 16 May1938.

> I heard the labourers saying lots of bluefoot men[360] come there. I was afraid of getting licked. If mango tree could talk it would tell you it see big black boy come and stand beside it…I stood at the gate till I heard the people say move, them going to shoot.[361]

Mr. Mitchell's case, like those of many others who did not participate in the strike but were nevertheless presumed guilty of riotous action, was a result of police, and public, perception of the rioters as deviant by nature. In its post-strike coverage of the police response to the Frome strike, the *Jamaica Gleaner* implies that the police were to be lauded for their protection of property and life from the criminal elements amongst the "labourers."[362] The "labourers" as a category were to be feared due to their supposed destructive potential. Any one of them could have participated in the strike, and thus it was natural that someone like Mr. Mitchell –Black and recognized as a member of the laboring class – would be arrested by state forces. As told by the *Gleaner*:

> Sad is it to say that one or two of the injured were not mixed up in the riot…Yet the police can hardly be blamed. They were faced with a situation that at one stage called for little discrimination, so violent was the crowd.[363]

Much as racialized class structures created the conditions which economically disempowered Jamaica's Black underclass, so did the racist logics of the slave society influence perceptions of Black personality traits. In policing situations facing members of the laboring classes, characterized as violently unpredictable since the days of the slave society, there was little room for "discrimination" between contentious actors and bystanders, thus justifying the attacks against their bodies. Jamaica's labor leaders noticed the intended effects of this collectivizing police abuse, noting that "Many of the poor people being brutalized are not even strikers…it would appear as if this wave of terrorism is calculated to scare workers into accepting what is tantamount to, and even worse than the old conditions."[364] Laborers and movement leaders recognized that administrators' anxieties about the potential for Black resistance to uproot white supremacist rule was the source of the police violence directed against them. A May 1938 letter from Governor Denham to colonial secretary Malcolm MacDonald reveals that fear of the Black collective was sufficient justification for state violence:

> The Frome outbreak might have happened on any Sugar Estate where a new Company had come in with little knowledge of the psychology of the people. It was very unfortunate that the Police should have been obliged to fire but had they not done so a lot more firing and trouble would

[360] Jamaican colloquial term for police constables.
[361] Jamaica Gleaner, 20 May 1938.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Jamaica Gleaner, 3 May 1938.
[364] Jamaica Labour Weekly, 25 June 1938.

> have been caused later for a Negro mob can be very dangerous. They completely lose their heads.[365]

Governor Denham indicates that the police shooting of strikers, while "very unfortunate," was necessary due to the supposedly inherent treachery of the "Negro mob," understood to be a threat to white hegemony since slavery. Just as police violence was authorized -- and in many cases demanded by white elites -- as a normative response to the self-emancipatory actions of enslaved peoples, laborers of the 1930s were expected to be met with violent force should they disturb the established order in a colonial society coding Afro-descended people as inherently deviant.

As was the case in Trinidad, policing responses to labor unrest in the 1930s were engineered to protect the minority white population from Black masses perceived to be dangerous and deviant. Colonial secretary Charles Wooley reported that police oversight of a particular estate well-known for its labor abuses was only temporarily necessary because "there was no real interference with white people."[366] Woolley complained of the pressure placed on him by the "upper class Jamaicans…pelting [him] with alarmist reports for some weeks past, alleging that Government did not appreciate the seriousness of the situation."[367] Colonial records indicate that elites may have fabricated some of the "alarmist reports."[368] In the aftermath of the Frome strike, a rumor circulated amongst member of the white elite class of a white woman having been "seized by a crowd of negroes."[369] The rumor was later proven false, and the Governor reported that there was "no serious threat to any European woman during the recent disturbances."[370] Lies notwithstanding, upper class appeals proved effective in influencing the colonial government to adopt more draconian police measures in response to labor unrest.

Police firings were frequent in the months following the Frome incident, and the Governor called in the military and specially appointed emergency constables to quell disturbances. A report on eight labor disturbances which occurred between the Frome incident on 2 May, 1938 and 7 June 1938, indicated that police fire had killed and wounded 119 demonstrators.[371] The Governor reported that of these 119, 77 were wounded in just three days, with the firings being justified "by the refusal of the mob to disperse."[372] Police floggings were also frequent. In May 1938, Colonial Secretary MacDonald reported that "200

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[365] CO 137/826/9, Denham to MacDonald, 21 May 1938.
[366] "Palaver" refers to a conversation in Patois. CO 137/820/13, Denham to Beckett, 20 December 1937.
[367] CO 137/820/13, C.C. Wooley to Henry Moore, 12August 1938.
[368] Ibid.
[369] Ibid.
[370] Ibid.
[371] CO 137/826/9, Casualties in Jamaica disturbances, as reported by the Governor and Acting Governor up to 14 June 1938.
[372] CO 137/826/9, Denham to MacDonald, 25 May 1938.

cases [of] chiefly bruises caused by police" were treated at hospitals that month.[373] In June 1938, reports of agitation by banana workers and "definite signs of racial animosity" prompted Governor Denham to request the deployment of a warship, the H.M.S. Ajax, to Montego Bay, and two platoons of marines to Kingston. In August 1938, the centennial celebration of the abolition of slavery, white elites and colonial officials fearing "seizure of land" by the Black population took "every precaution of course and the Police, Military and some 2,000 Special Constables took up 'battle positions,'"[374] The Mayor of Kingston reported that "the Country sides of every parish were filled with numerous lorries of special police; volunteer and regular soldiers, all armed to the teeth with fixed bayonets," measures which he considered a "provocation by Government."[375] Kingston's mayor was not alone in his perception of the policing measures as provocative. Laborers and trade unionists used police abuses as rallying points for anti-colonial resistance.

Labor unionists and activists in Jamaica condemned policing responses to strikes as excessive and began articulating their commitment to upset imperial order, demanding a "second emancipation" from British rule.[376] An editorial in leftist Jamaican newspaper, *Jamaica Labour Weekly,* encouraged workers to continue the fight:

> Our forefathers came through hell during slavery and onwards, and we are not all dead yet, we are certainly multiplying. No police nor soldier is going to frighten us. If this thing is going to be carried on in the spirit of vindictiveness and revenge, workers and peasants are not going to take it lying down, we are going to fight back.[377]

The irony of the descendants of enslaved peoples enduring racist hierarchical rule and police discipline to compel them to labor in the same plantation contexts as their ancestors, one century after full emancipation, was not lost on Black Jamaicans and labor activists. They recognized the collective struggle of the West Indian worker of 1938 as an inheritance of the slave system upon which the Jamaica colony was founded. A post-Frome edition of *Jamaica Labour Weekly* describes the reproduction of white racial hegemony through maintenance of Jamaica's plantation economy:

> The negro workers, like many other workers of the world, were torn from their homes in Africa and made slaves in many parts of the world. There are other races who were once in slavery but on its abandonment the people, by overthrowing their slave masters' *traditions,* have survived. Until this, the centenary of our Emancipation (physically) we still remain almost where we were

[373] CO 137/826/9 Telegram, MacDonald to Denham, 25 May 1938.
[374] CO137/820/13, Letter from C.C. Wooley to Henry Moore, 3 August 1938.
[375] CO318/435/2, Letter Oswald E. Anderson to Dr. Harold Moody, 16 August 1938.
[376] *Jamaica Labour Weekly*, 30 July 1938.
[377] *Jamaica Labour Weekly*, 25 June 1938.

> over a hundred years ago… The brutal system under which the workers suffer was not adopted for the purposes of ameliorating the conditions of the slaves. The slave masters knew beforehand that the present economic system would push the workers further in the background than their predecessors whereby they (the slave masters) would be free of all encumbrances on the part of the slaves and at the same time live more luxurious at the expense of the new type slaves [the Wage Workers].[378]

Laborers articulated their experience as a new form of bondage in recognition of the fact that the subjugation of their enslaved ancestors reverberated across a century to produce their disposable status in 1930s colonial society. While emancipation was couched in a liberal vocabulary of liberation from the legal binds of slavery, the failure to collapse the "traditions" undergirding racial capitalism, including myths of Black nonhuman incivility and white supremacy, had sewn the seeds for a new form of coerced labor and produced a "new type of slaves." The laboring classes thus understood that the society would continue to reproduce the normalized violence and racial dominance configured to support the slave society, including dehumanizing labor practices and physical discipline, as long as white economic and social control remained the principal ordering feature of the colony. If they could not survive under the existing order, they reasoned that it was time to change the order.

[378] Brackets in original. *Jamaica Labour Weekly*, 13 August 1938.

Chapter 4: Watching a "Two-Eyed People": Police Power in the Wake of Uprising, Surveilling and the Legacy of the Overseer

> We are no longer a blind community ruled by one-eyed imperialists. But we are today a two-eyed people. Our economic progress lies in political warfare. If we cannot politically dominate our own affairs to suit ourselves England will dominate it to suit her Imperialists.[379]
>
> - *Worker and Peasant*, 1940

Though police power had successfully forced a return to order following the 1930s labor uprisings, it had failed to temper the inflamed political and racial consciousness expressed during the rebellions. Police across the West Indies had deployed physical force to reiterate the subordinate position of Afro-Trinidadian and Indo-Trinidadian workers and tow them back to toil, only to be met with increased resistance engendered by the workers' frustrations with the realities of hierarchical imperial rule. The workers' treatment at the hands of the police, in combination with continued unbridled economic exploitation and British failure to oppose the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, demonstrated the Empire's true attitudes towards its racialized laboring classes.[380] In explicit terms, the workers railed against their racialized subordination to imperial rule. In April 1940, *Worker and Peasant*, a Jamaican labor periodical, described the workers' drive to protest stating that "the Black man on the street is demanding that the interests of the race, present and future, should be safeguarded."[381] Striking a defiant tone, the paper stated that "[t]his may sound disquieting, but it is a fact.[382]

Police violence in response to the 1937 and 1938 risings forced workers to abandon their placards and clear the streets, but the workers were far from defeated. Through the uprisings, racialized workers had given birth to a movement advancing demands for self-rule. Arthur Lewis foregrounded the determination evidenced in the movement, describing the labor strikes as a resurgence of a Caribbean tradition of rebellion birthed during chattel slavery:

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[379] NLJ, Richard Hart Papers (RHP), *Worker and Peasant*, April 1940
[380] Selwyn Ryan, *c in Trinidad and Tobago: A Study of. Decolonization in A Multiracial Society*, (University of Toronto Press, 1972); Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Baner of Ethiopia*, (Verso, 1999).
[381] RHP, *Worker and Peasant*, April 1940.
[382] Ibid.

> Before Emancipation the slaves rebelled frequently, and throughout the last hundred years there have been isolated strikes, riots, political organizations and even trade unions. But not until recent years has there been anything that could be called a movement.[383]

Indeed, Selwyn Ryan argues that the labor strikes irrevocably prevented the colonial administration from regaining legitimacy.[384] The suffering of the masses was palpable and there would be no turning back. Amidst fervent organization, economic conditions in the British West Indies continued to falter resulting in further neglect and impoverishment of the Afro-Trinidadian and Indo-Trinidadian masses. The West Indies Royal Commission Report, commonly known as "the Moyne Report", was issued in 1939 and paints a bleak picture of the living conditions endured by agricultural and oilfield workers. Describing the wretched state of the working masses, the Moyne Report states that the "labouring population have never had more than the slightest opportunity to save or establish themselves as economically independent," admitting that this economic and social position of the working class was due to colonial policies.[385] Even the Report concedes that workers were "in no way safeguarded by the existing industrial and social legislation".[386]

Mirroring patterns of anti-imperial agitation in other zones subjected to colonial rule, Caribbean nationalist demands escalated in the context of World War II, a fact that fundamentally shaped the nature of policing and surveillance in the colonies. This would also impact burgeoning Caribbean independence movements themselves. As Hitler assumed command of Germany, policing in the colonies rose to the fore as the principal line of defense against workers' resistance and potential Communist infiltration. The colonial office emphasized the watchful eye of the police as an integral instrument safeguarding Jamaican and Trinidadian colonial governments against destabilization. Police gaze was primarily directly against political activists, including members of the People's National Party (PNP), trade unionists like Uriah Butler, and Black radical figures such as Rastafarian preacher Leonard Howell. Howell was regarded as a disruptor of order because of his Rastafarian teachings which called on impoverished Black Jamaicans to separate themselves from colonial rule and "repatriate" to their ancestral home in

[383] Arthur Lewis, "The 1930s Social Revolution," in *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and Society from Emancipation to the Present,* edited by Verene Shepherd and Hilary Beckles (James Currey, 1996).
[384] Ryan, "Race and Nationalism."
[385] West India Royal Commission Report, 1945.
[386] Ibid.

Africa. The Marxist-Leninist arm of the PNP, known as the "Four H's", drew police suspicion for their activities promoting the empowerment of the Black masses. Colonial police used investigative reports to build a case for their arrest, with the rationale that the four acted "in a manner prejudicial to public safety and defence."[387] In Trinidad, Uriah Butler was similarly targeted, and shuttled in and out of prison primarily because of his insistence on the human rights of expendable racialized British imperial subjects and Afro-Trinidadian and Indo-Trinidadian working-class unity through his British Empire Workers and Citizens Home Rule Party (BEWCHRP).

Scholars have addressed the role of police surveillance in securitizing postcolonial states. Kamal Sadiq and Gerasimos Tsourapas have emphasized how post-colonial states reproduce the colonial norms of surveillance to manage migration and flows of segmented communities of laboring peoples.[388] Alfred W. McCoy and Markus-Michael Muller likewise focus on the role of police surveillance in state formation and postcolonial governance.[389] McCoy explicitly examines the development of police surveillance technologies as a mechanism of Empire building and links these technologies to practices of modern postcolonial governance. Sociologist David Lyon foregrounds how surveillance technologies are developed with the purpose of categorizing and classifying populations "to enhance the life chances of some and to retard those of others."[390] Here, I seek to contribute to the understanding of the role of colonial police surveillance in post-slavery contexts by positioning it as a function of police power structured around reiterating the expendable subject position of racialized laborers thingified via their association with plantation labor. In this case, I examine police surveillance throughout the late 1930s through the 1950s in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica to assess how post-slavery surveillance drew from slavery's norms of racialized discipline and repression carried out through the channel of the plantation overseer. I employ Simone Browne's framework of racialized surveillance as a mechanism of sovereign power and examine the logics and uses of increased police surveillance in the context of widespread labor rebellion and the growth of the Jamaican and Trinbagonian movements for

[387] CO 968/68/8, TK Lloyd 8 March 1943.
[388] Kamal Sadiq and Gerasimos Tsourapas, "The postcolonial migration state," *European Journal of International Relations* 27, no. 3, (2021): 884-912.
[389] Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Markus Michael Muller, *Public Security in the Negotiates State: Policing in Latin America and Beyond* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
[390] David Lyons, *Surveillance Society: Monitoring Everyday Life* (Open University Press, 2001), p. 4

self-governance, in the lead up to the second World War.[391] Browne contends that "plantation rules laid out for overseers the prescribed measures for regulating plantation life and 'social death."[392] I extend this analysis and argue that the police inherited "plantation rules" that were previously the preserve of the overseer as defender of imperial order through a disciplinary gaze directed towards thingified labor reiterating the social death inscribed onto those instrumentalized for plantation labor.

Below, I examine how wartime securitization practices facilitated police surveillance targeting Black radical and leftist movements, including Uriah Butler's BEWCHRP, the PNP's Four H's, and Rastafarian preacher Leonard Howell, with a view towards reiterating hierarchical racial order. I read the practices of surveillance as an outgrowth of norms naturalized during slavery mandating oversight of racialized laborers and infiltration of their private spaces of defiance. I position the police as inheritors of the mantle held by overseers and plantation managers during slavery as disciplinarians of plantation order and keepers of the imperial gaze fixed on racialized workers as potential disruptors. I argue that policing in the West Indies reproduced plantation dynamics, placing the police in the role once held by estate overseers and managers as the watchers and disciplinarians of thingified laboring subjects, with the specific directive of protecting the racialized hegemony inherited from the slave system.

The Imperial Gaze: Police Surveillance and the Legacy of the Overseer

On February 8, 1940, 800 temporary laborers in Tilson Pen, Jamaica encircled one of their fellow workers.[393] The individual at the center of the circle was accused of being a police informant, incensing hundreds of men at the work site reported to be members of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union, led by the labor organizer who would subsequently serve as Jamaica's first Prime Minister, Alexander Bustamante. While the workers' palpable anger over the presence of a potential informer developed into a physical altercation, "armed uniformed police" arrived, fired on the crowd, and sought out the worker who called attention to the informer.

> The suspected 'informer' afterwards pointed out one of the workers as the man who had shouted the insult at him. The man was sent for by [work foreman] McLeod, but the entire gang decided that if he went, they would all go with him. The men formed a ring

[391] Simone Browne, *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness*, (Duke University Press, 2015).
[392] Browne, *Dark Matters*, p. 42.
[393] RHP, The Worker, 8 February 1940.

> around the Pen, refusing to allow any one to enter or leave, but a detective stationed at the place—who was outside the precincts, broke the cordon of men and attempted to force his way in.*(sic)*[394]

Alongside the familiar spectacle of force shown by the officer firing into the crowd of workers, this scene is evocative of the climate for police surveillance that pervaded the West Indies after the 1930s uprisings. The penetration of police informers and officers into work sites, trade union meetings and political parties became a major component of imperial discipline – one which the Tilson Pen workers likely knew all too well. The unionized workers' suspicion of an infiltrator within their ranks was engendered by real life fears of their private behaviors and political stances being exposed to police and imperial authorities. This deprivation of private space for the racialized workers of Tilson Pen had a long history linked to plantation efforts to render Black labor a public spectacle to prevent any hidden spaces from serving as dens to plot against plantocratic rule.

Police had begun collaborating with members of the working class to act as informers of workers' unionization strategies and political affiliations, as part of a renewed effort to secure the West Indian colonies against further disturbances to imperial order. The workers' response in Tilson Pen, to encircle the informer and physically preclude outsiders from penetrating their private affairs and desired modes of punishing the informer, was their collective attempt to castigate someone within their community who had violated the union imperative of workers' solidarity against imperial domination. The worker who hurled the "insult" of informer sought to mark the potential infiltrator among them as an outsider to subdue his capacity to inform police of the workers' activities and contribute to their further domination by white imperialist power. These 800 workers trained their gaze onto an agent of Empire whose loyalties, based on class background, should have remained with the workers.

This report of workers enclosing their workplace to scrutinize a potential informer was not an isolated incident of workplace antagonism against a loose-lipped colleague. The Tilson Pen informant was one element within a larger network of police surveillance. Police departments increased reliance on investigative departments known as Special Departments or Criminal Investigation Departments (CID) to systematize intelligence gathering as a mechanism of

[394] Brackets added. *Jamaica Gleaner*, February 8, 1940.

securing the colonies against resistance. Special Department and CID police officers and informants were deployed to collect evidence in the Empire's case against outspoken trade unionists and political agitators to thwart their collective resistance efforts and reiterate sovereign power over them. Police power used informants to watch over the workers in their spaces of both toil and resistance to both collect information on their activities and political orientations. While informants constituted an important part of police intelligence and security duties, they were only one component of police surveillance in the aftermath of the 1930s risings. Colonial and metropolitan police established information sharing networks to reveal the extent of cross-Atlantic trade union and political activities advocated, to varying degrees, changes to imperial order and eventual self-determination for the West Indies. Police officers in the West Indies submitted regular reports to police commissioners and colonial administrators on political and labor union meetings as well as the movements, speeches and personal connections of political leaders and trade unionists championing self-governance. The reports themselves not only define which behaviors were deemed undesirable, or "seditious," but also reiterated the position of West Indians as subjects of empire racially marked as exploitable and fit for toil.

Police surveillance in the aftermath of the 1930s labor uprisings builds on the normative logics of slavery which naturalized sovereign gaze over thingified, laborers racialized as expendable instruments of capital. In the Trinbagonian and Jamaican post-slave societies, the precedent for training an authoritarian gaze on thingified laborers may be found in imperial efforts to define enslaved people as laboring commodities and thwart their efforts to rebel. As historian Whitney Nell Stewart emphasizes, plantations, as work sites and homes of enslaved Black people, were organized for public view, denying the enslaved the realm of privacy typically associated with enclosed personal space.[395] Slave society logics understood Black congregation and communal activities not linked to collective labor, such as drumming, to engender resistance when outside of public view. To this effect, the *Jamaican Act for the Better Order and Government of Slaves* prohibited communal gatherings by enslaved people after dark, when they could be obscured from the overseer's view.[396] Plantation owners likewise employed overseers and estate managers to watch over the labor of enslaved persons and keep order on plantations.[397] They lived amongst

[395] Whitney Nell Stewart, *This is Our Home: Slavery and Struggle on Southern Plantations*. (University of North Carolina Press, 2023).
[396] An Act for the Better Order and Government of Slaves, Jamaica, 1696.
[397] See, for example: Trevor Burnard, "The Sexual Life of an Eighteenth-Century Jamaican Slave Overseer" in *Sex and Sexuality in Early America* edited by Merril D. Smith, 163-189. (New York University Press, 1998).

the enslaved populations, permitting them to unceasingly inspect and discipline enslaved people and indentured laborers to maintain sufficient productivity and encourage placid docility amongst them. The function of the overseer was primarily a securitization apparatus protecting the slavery-era order from resistance by enslaved people while reiterating their status as enslaveable subjects via watching and the whip.

Henry De La Beche notes the disciplinary power given to the overseer in 1824, describing the role of the overseer as arbiter of physical punishment and principal record keeper of abuse on his family's Halse Hall estate in Clarendon, Jamaica:

> The comforts of the negroes depend…greatly on the overseers, for these persons constantly reside among them, and have it in their power to exercise a petty tyranny over them…Punishment can only be inflicted by the order of the overseer, on the report of the book-keepers or drivers…The overseer keeps a punishment book, a copy of which is to be regularly forwarded to me, in which the offences and punishments are entered…No doubt much may, and does depend upon the management of the negroes.[398]

Overseers were thus the "instituted go-betweens"[399] of the slave order – employees of plantation owners training their gaze over the enslaved population to ensure their orderliness and reiterating their subject position. When in view, their presence, as an agent of the planter's authority reminded the enslaved of their subordination to the white capitalist class, defining them as subjects worthy of oversight and discipline. The overseer's capacity to surveil enslaved people was buttressed by powers to dole out physical discipline. Tyson, Fleischman and Oldroyd emphasize the role of overseers and plantation managers in ensuring productivity and discipline of enslaved persons through close oversight, in addition to corporal punishment.

> Close supervision, where it was available, combined with the threat or actual use of physical punishment, may also have enabled planters to minimize shirking, maintain the desired level of work quality, and stem worker resistance before it developed into an organized movement.[400]

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[398] Henry De La Beche, *Notes on the Present Condition of the Negroes in Jamaica.* (Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand, 1825) p. 17, 38.

[399] Fanon, *Wretched*, p. 12.

[400] Thomas Tyson, Richard Fleischman, and David Oldroyd, "Theoretical perspectives on accounting for labor on slave plantations of the USA and British West Indies," *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*,17, no. 5 (2004): 765. Note on terminology: Cowton and O'Shaughnessy note that "overseer" was the term used for those

This power to exert physical discipline alongside surveillance was also given to overseers managing the system of Indian indentured labor. In 1911, 6 years before the end of the indenture system, the House of Commons reported on the "shooting in Trinidad of two indentured laborers by an overseer named Sanderson."[401] While the House described the incident as "most regrettable," it nevertheless remarked that it did "not seem to have any bearing on the general question of the system of indentured labour."[402] The post-abolition transfer of oversight of racialized labor from overseers to the police, acting as agents of the state, reiterates plantation dynamics in the post-slavery imperial order.

The workers of the late 1930s and early 1940s were not considered chattel, and the indenture scheme had concluded in 1917, more than a decade prior to the labour uprisings of the 1930s which catalyzed this renewed emphasis on police surveillance. More than one century after the abolition of chattel slavery, racialized labor was able to make collective demands based on their status as "free" workers, despite remaining subjugated by colonial order. The Empire responded to their collective efforts by reiterating the limitations of their precarious agency. Thus, racialized workers' post-slavery liberties and increased bargaining power required a reconfiguration of the techniques designed to defend imperial order outside of the contexts of slavery and indenture to maintain effective subordination to white capital. To reiterate slavery-era racial hierarchy, police officers and their informant interlocutors were deputized as physical manifestations of imperial state power through their oversight of the workers, much in the same fashion as overseers were used as agents of surveillance and discipline during slavery. In West Indian racial capitalist contexts, the gaze of the police or overseer helps define the thingified laborer or enslaved person as an object requiring discipline to ensure white capitalist production is generated smoothly. This meant ensuring that racialized bodies remained in their collective demeaned position as a reserve of placid nonhuman labor. Indeed, plantation overseers were often tasked with determining which slaves exhibited, or at least feigned, the docility necessary to be understood as possessing the "good character" required to testify in court, as was noted in the House of Commons in 1826:

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tasked with plantation supervision and discipline in the eighteenth century, while "manager" was more commonly used in the pre-abolition nineteenth century. Given that the two were used for largely the same function, both terms are employed here. Christopher J. Cowton, and Andrew O'Shaughnessy, "Absentee Control of Sugar Plantations in the British West Indies." *Accounting and Business Research* 22, no.85 (1991): 33–45.

[401] Hansard, Trinidad, Volume 21, debated on Wednesday 15 February 1911.

[402] Ibid.

> In order that the slave's evidence might be admitted, he must have good character from his master, or from his overseer; so that the person whom he considered to be his enemy, from the ill-treatment received from him, was the very person who was selected to give him that good character.[403]

Thus, to be understood as a subject of good standing within the colony, enslaved people had to first be observed and defined as "good" by the overseers as arbiters of order on the plantations. To be understood as not of "good character," or rebellious, was to be disposable for the sake of maintaining order. With this understanding of the specificities of racialized expendability in mind, Simone Browne addresses gaps in Foucauldian analysis of surveillance by positioning plantation-based racialized surveillance as the exercise of sovereign power over the (enslaved) labouring body:

> Plantation surveillance was an exercise of both sovereign power and racialized disciplinary power, working simultaneously, discretionarily and in a prescribed fashion, as both were put to use in plantation societies to render slave life expendable.[404]

Browne's analysis here is useful for understanding how surveillance was used to discipline bodies defined as fit for racialized subordination as an outgrowth of the system of chattel slavery which relied upon commodifying Black bodies as expendable labor. Importantly, by centering the slave society and plantation discipline as a manifestation of sovereign power, Browne permits analysis of the ways in which the subordination of specifically racialized thingified laborers was imperative to sustaining imperial order. By the 1930s workers' lives were not commodifiable in the same way as the enslaved or indentured, however they were nevertheless understood as subjects suitable for labor and correction. Here, I extend Browne's analysis to the post-slavery order and to laborers not subjected to chattelization and coercive indenture. In the absence of the system of slavery as an organizing force of social order, the police assumed the mantle of watching over laborers racially marked by plantation precedents for subordination and acceptable death. The role of the overseer as the naturalized disciplinary agent maintaining the subordination of racialized, thingified workers then served as a precursor to police surveillance in the years following the 1930s uprisings, precisely because they determined which racialized bodies could be deprived of life and privacy in defending a specifically racial capitalist colonial

[403] Hansard, "State of Slavery in the Colonies," volume 15, 19 May 1826.
[404] Browne, *Dark Matters,* p. 52.

order. As West Indian workers sought to challenge the colonial rule amidst the second World War, the empire molded police power to the shape of the overseer to reiterate their expendability —not simply their capacity to be disciplined—by advocating the removal of those advocating the uplift of the racialized masses.

The imperative to secure order was particularly important in the West Indies, where British and United States authorities had established numerous naval bases in line with the Anglo-American strategy to establish an inter-American defense strategy in line with the Act of Havana.[405] Further, Jamaica's bauxite reserves and Trinidad's oilfields were of critical importance to the war effort. The British War Cabinet noted that the "Committee of Imperial Defence placed Trinidad first in importance over Rangoon and Bahrein as sources of oil supply."[406] In addition to economic concerns in the islands, suspicions that resurgent anti-imperial resistance and labor rebellions were Communist in nature mediated imperial security strategies. To uncover potential Communists in their midst, criminal investigation and intelligence departments within the Jamaican and Trinidadian police championed the use of informers and plainclothes officers as intelligence gatherers, partially to root out the threat of "communist infiltration" across the Empire both prior to and following World War II.[407]

Concerns surrounding the spectre of global Communism quickly dovetailed with local concerns about the potential for trade unions and political parties, along with the increased racial awareness of the colonial working class, to upset naturalized plantation hierarchies. Though the colonial office was clear that war in Europe was imminent, white West Indian elites expressed greater concern that trade union activities would culminate in racial warfare in the colonies. Speaking on behalf of the Trinidad Chamber of Commerce, Chair George Huggins implored Secretary of State for the Colonies William Ormsby-Gore to increase security measures to appease the whites:

> The causes of the strikes were not disaffection about wages, but unchecked colour feeling. The policy of the Trinidad Government should be actively to prevent misstatements at meetings…the industrial interests of the Island must be adequately

[405] Fitzroy Andre Baptiste, *War, Cooperation, and Conflict: The European Possessions in the Caribbean: The European Possessions in the Caribbean, 1939-1945*,(Greenwood Press 1988), pgs. 35-47.
[406] FCO 141/17965, War Cabinet Memorandum, Oversea Defence Committee the Defence of Trinidad, 1939.
[407] CO 537/2784, Report on Colonial police and security forces in relation to Communist infiltration; CO 537/4404 Review of Police and Security Forces in Relation to Communist Activities, Circular Dispatch, 5 August 1948.

> protected and the authorities at home must recognise that there were only a few thousand Europeans in the Island as compared with 425,000 coloured and [Indo-Trinidadian] people. Without protection it was impossible for the small European community to carry on.[408]

The desire for sovereign power to regulate the resistance of thingified laborers, as expressed by Huggins, is itself an outgrowth of slavery-era logics depicting dark-skinned laborers as dangerous for their potential to upset white supremacist order and capitalist accumulation. The overseer, as the arbiter of slavery's norms of racialized discipline, was the natural officer of colonial law to protect the "small European community" which dominated British West Indian slave societies. As De La Beche noted in 1824, local magistrates had a tendency towards "leaning to the side of the overseer, from the idea of 'supporting the white people on the estate.'"[409] Huggins and De La Beche, both members of the white West Indian elite, were aware that their whiteness entailed protection by officers of sovereign power; in De La Beche's case, this meant the overseer and in Huggins case, this meant the colonial security forces.

Although white West Indian elites demanded an increase in security through traditional military means, viewing their foreign enemy in rebellious Black and brown laborers, this would not be possible. Secretary of State for the Colonies agreed that greater efforts were necessary to secure the colony, however enlisting the military to this end was out of the question as the war effort placed greater demands on the Army and Navy. This left the colonial police to handle combatting enemies of order at home in the West Indian colonies. The Secretary of State for the Colonies confirmed the renewed importance of the police in maintaining order in the colonies:

> It was not likely, with Europe as it now was, that the Army Council would agree to locking up a battalion in Trinidad. That being so, the first line of defence in future would be the police, the second line the local volunteer forces.[410]

To coordinate police surveillance and information gathering, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago both installed investigative bodies within their police forces to institutionalize vigilance over the activities of labor leaders and political figures on the two islands. As a first step, Trinidad and

[408]CO 295/599/13, Huggins, Meeting between Secretary of State for the Colonies and Deputation of West India Committee, 3 July 1937.
[409] DeLa Beche, *Notes on the Present Condition,* p. 38.
[410] CO 295/599/13, SOS for colonies, 1937.

Tobago invited imperial police investigator Major R. H. Onraet to assess the island's readiness for future uprisings in 1942. Onraet's report recommended swift reorganization of the Trinbagonian force to prioritize investigative bodies known as the Special Branch and Detective Branch.[411] Jamaica similarly established a Special Branch for police investigations, upon which the Jamaican colonial government was "almost entirely reliant…for political information."[412] The Special Branches were tasked with overseeing all "security and intelligence" matters, and submitted regular reports of statements and activities regarded disorderly, or "seditious", by the crown.[413] Governor John Huggins remarked that in Jamaica:

> Weekly intelligence reports, prepared by the Special Branch, are submitted by the Commissioner of Police…These reports cover such matters as political meetings, which particularly in the case of those at which it appears likely that the speeches may be of an inflammatory or seditious character, are attended by Special Branch police and shorthand writers.[414]

Huggins' comments are indicative of the discriminatory nature of police surveillance. Perceptions of which political meetings might have featured speeches of "seditious" character were defined in Jamaican and Trinidadian contexts as those in which activists and union leaders spoke directly to the racial and economic inequalities of the islands. Police were given augmented surveillance powers and installed in spaces of resistance to quell fears that the rage of racialized workers which culminated in the 1930s uprisings did not again resurface with the potential to unseat white power. Onraet's report extols the virtues of the Special Branch for precisely this reason. Emphasizing the department's preventative capacity, Onraet stated that "if this police had established an established Special Branch, it is very probable that the full extent of the labor outbursts in 1937 would not have come as such a surprise as it did." Rather, he claimed, "the police would have been able to give a strong and authoritative warning," having the benefit of surveillance notes "kept day by day."[415] Special Branch surveillance was also envisioned to have lasting impact beyond simply "when the trouble was on", as surveillance records could identify individuals labelled subversive for future investigations as resistance

[411] CO 295/627/5, Onraet Report, 1942.
[412] CO 137/149, Huggins to Creech Jones, 15 November 1948.
[413] Ibid.
[414] Ibid.
[415] CO 295/627/5, Onraet Report, 1942.

movements shifted and expanded, and new organizations emerged. As Ornaet states, "after the trouble had died down, the trend of repercussions would have been kept noted…if ever the trend were to become an unruly movement, the government would have first-hand reliable information on which to base any necessary policy."[416]

Workers' uprisings had sparked a serious crisis of imperial order by galvanizing the racialized laboring masses to assert their humanity, collective rights, and capacity for self-determination. To shore up colonial order against further destabilization by thingified workers, police surveillance was primarily directed towards those who spoke publicly against the imperial order. Meeting minutes of a discussion between the Secretary of State and Trinidadian industrial stakeholders state that the Secretary:

> Emphasized the importance of the criminal investigation duties of the police, which not only enhanced, but were an essential part of their protective duties. Their knowledge of and check on a dangerous agitator like Uriah Butler was of the first importance.[417]

Police and their interlocutors were to fix their gaze upon those who were known to speak against the imperial order– those who, like Butler, the empire perceived to be "dangerous" for speaking openly of racialized colonial exploitation. Police themselves were stationed at meetings of political parties and trade unions. However, they were also heavily reliant upon informers on work sites and within organizations to capture the private sentiments of the working populace.[418] The use of informants was integral to filling gaps in police capacity to infiltrate the communal spaces of party and union meetings. Officials describe an inability to collect sufficient indemnifying information without the assistance of community members turned police informant. As Onraet notes:

> In the manner of investigation, the general public all over the world seems to imagine that scientific investigation as introduced by the French Surete or Scotland Yard possess highly developed properties which enable crime to be unraveled with great ease. In actual fact the means used by both these authorities for making arrests depend on informers, while the scientific process is often only found useful and successful in bringing home the guilt once the criminal is arrested; Very seldom is it of use in discovering the

[416] Ibid.
[417] CO 295/599/13, Ormsby-Gore, 1937.
[418] CO 295/627/5, Onraet Report, 1942.

> criminal. And so, it is a fact that most offenders are first discovered or informed against by the outside agent.[419]

Informants were selected for their ability to speak to the sentiments of their community members. Indo-Trinidadian laborers were sought out as informants for their understandings of Indian languages and cultures- still largely considered foreign and out of place in colonial Trinidad. This recruitment pattern mirrored previous complaints by colonial officials that early arriving indentured laborers carried out crimes "peculiar" to their communities, complicating police efforts to maintain racialized order within plantation societies. Nearly a century after the beginning of the indenture scheme, failure to integrate Indian laborers, in part as a function of their plantation sequestration, continued to curtail efforts to police them. Indeed, Onraet's report complains of a lack of institutionalized mechanisms for police to engage with the indentured Indian community, but nevertheless stresses their othered subject positioning in the broader Trinidadian colonial landscape:

> There is little opportunity or means at present of obtaining direct information... At present, European officers have to employ British West Indians to make contact … or they have to consult private individuals—this of course they should always do…The East Indian must not be considered as a class, but as apart from the West Indies. One day trouble may break out due to social or political reasons or inherent racial tendencies. It will then be too late to start to learn about these people. I think a methodical and sustained effort must be made to establish and to maintain by means of policemen or detectives of the same race a thorough knowledge of the historical, social and economic developments past and present of East Indians.[420]

In this way, police surveillance reified the differential racialization of Indo-Trinidadians as "apart from the West Indies" due to their estrangement from the dominant European-influenced creole culture. Their targeting as individuals "apart" from the broader Trinidadian society defines them as subjects who were not only dominatable, but alien, because of their racial classification. Despite a consistent presence of persons of Indian descent in Trinidad since 1845, they

[419] Ibid.
[420] Ibid.

nevertheless were perceived by police and colonial authorities as entities out of place in the Trinidadian landscape.

There is evidence that the workers were aware of the presence of police in their midst, and complained of betrayal by their comrades. One police report of a 1939 meeting of the All Trinidad Sugar Estates and Factories Workers' Trade Union quotes one worker's complaint that "whenever they have their meetings they are always sending Policemen around in plain clothes to take notes, and also there are many traitors in their midst who will carry back all that is said to their bosses".[421] The same officer stated in his report that he "engaged the services of… a Cane Cutter on the Picton Estate, to supply [him] with some information about the said meetings."[422] In addition to workers themselves Police Departments also enlisted industrial managers and wardens of plantation estates in surveilling laborers at work sites—a manifestation of the entrenched collusion between West Indian police power and the white capitalist class. In doing so, police power collaborated with work supervisors, as fellow naturalized overseers of labor, to surveil the workers. Police issued "secret and personal instructions" to each warden and industrial manager to submit monthly reports under the following headings:

(a) Labour agitation.
(b) Communal or racial feeling and activities.
(c) Communist or other subversive activities.
(d) Increase or decrease in popularity of the main political figures.
(e) New political parties or policies.
(f) Pro- or anti-government feeling.
(g) Opinions on current topics of popular interest.[423]

The headings under which workplace overseers were instructed to submit reports expose the aims behind the increased emphasis on police surveillance. The primary topics of concern being those concerning laborers' attitudes towards the racial and economic order of the West Indian colonies indicate the colonial administration's dread over the potential for organized, racialized laborers to challenge the imperial order and shirk their status as thingified subjects. Police prioritized meetings of organizations like the United Negro Improvement Organization (UNIA),

[421] CO 295/616/4, Report by N.C.O. Det. Office, San Fernando, 17 March 1939.
[422] Ibid.
[423] CO 537/2784, JVW Shaw to Creech Jones, 8 October 1948.

BEWCHRP, PNP and BITU, including the general "feeling" of meeting participants, notable attendees, and detailed notes of all speeches given by keynote speakers. A police report detailing the proceedings of a UNIA meeting at Liberty Hall, includes the names of all individuals present and notes that "[t]he enclosure was filled to its upmost capacity, including all available standing room."[424]

The imperative to send police to oversee meetings of the UNIA, and similarly racially conscious organizations, was grounded in slavery-era norms of suspicion of collective organization by racialized labor as a threat to white supremacist imperial order. In the absence of slavery as an ordering institution, racialized laborers nevertheless were understood to be expendable instruments, meriting discipline if they attempted disorder. Building on slave society logics rendering Black bodies suspicious, and laws prohibiting Black congregation, post-slavery British rule relied upon police to determine when to pursue arrests and deadly actions, such as raids. It is through their surveillance duties and their obligation to penetrate spaces of resistance by racialized workers that police reiterated the empire's power to determine a subject's access to privacy and capacity to exist outside of the confines of a prison cell. While the function of police surveillance of racialized laborers took on the characteristic role of slavery-era overseers, the action of surveilling workers may also be understood as an outgrowth of the normative power of imperial agents to invade the private spaces of those subjugated by empire. Police attending meetings, either in plain clothes or in uniform, appeared uninvited and unwanted with the power to inspect intimate spaces of communal defiance organized by racially subordinated workers.

By infiltrating spaces of resistance with the expressed purpose of destabilizing them, police surveillance had significant consequences for the activities of leftist and Black radical activists and spiritual leaders in the West Indies. Surveillance of labor and anti-imperial activists was used to build cases for the arrest of activists which the colonial officer in London as well as the government officials in Kingston and Port-of-Spain considered dangerous or "seditious."[425] Arrests in these cases were made along strategic lines, where those found guilty of arousing the "racial feeling" amongst the sufferers against white hegemony were most ardently targeted for surveillance, harassment and internment. In this next section, I turn to the ways in which wartime police power was weaponized against leftist political activists and movement leaders striving to

[424] CO 137/, H. Beckett, 11 September 1942.
[425] CO 137/854/16, Fleming notes 8 March 1943.

raise the political consciousness of the impoverished Afro-Trinidadian and Indo-Trinidadian masses. I examine expressions of police power through selective surveillance, arrest and internment as mechanisms of hierarchical order maintenance. I focus on the detention and surveillance of Trinidad's preeminent labor leader Uriah Butler; Marxist-Leninists, Frank and Ken Hill, Richart Hart and Arthur Henry; and Leonard Percival Howell, one of "the First Rastafarians."[426]

Butlerites and Labor Solidarity: Targeting Uriah Butler and the BEWCHRP

On May 3, 1949, the Trinidad Guardian described the above scene of gaiety, as an estimated 10,000 racialized workers, supporters of Uriah Butler known as "Butlerites" flocked the streets of Port of Spain. As demonstrators passed the seat of colonial power in the Government House, "boos rent the air", and "a carnival spirit" leavened the spirit of multitudes moving their "tired, aching feet".[427] Amidst a wash of banners bearing anti-imperial slogans and "black-green-and-red" pan African flags animated by Butler's signature fight song, the *Guardian* notes that "the police, under supervision of Col. E. Beadon, Commissioner of Police, watched the proceedings."[428] The 1930s and 1940s Trinidadian political landscape was dominated by trade unionists and racial and professional interest groups, including the emblematic Uriah Butler for whom the 10,000 rallied. Butler was a charismatic Grenadian-born migrant worker who rose to popularity as an agitator and labor organizer amongst oilfield workers in southern Trinidad under the leadership of Corsican-Trinidadian Captain Arthur Andrew Cipriani. Butler grew to establish a name for himself as "the Chosen Leader of the People" by denouncing the racial capitalist hierarchy in Trinidad and agitation through his British Empire Workers and Citizen Home Rule Party (BEWCHRP).[429]

In Butler's estimation, "thousands of pounds worth of raw [oil] exported every year for the benefit of the white man" was linked to poor labor relations between workers and employers, who were permitted to abuse and disregard the welfare of the workers.[430] Oilfield workers subject to persistent racial abuses, particularly by white South African line managers, denounced racist treatment by their employers and the meagre wages they earned despite economic gains made in

[426] Term borrowed from Helene Lee, *The First Rasta*, (Chicago Review Press, 2004).
[427] *Trinidad Guardian*, 3 May 1949.
[428] Ibid.
[429] CO 537/4903, Appendix to W.I.S. for week ending 1st May 1949.
[430] CO 537/4902 JVW Shaw to Colonial Secretary 20 December 1948.

the oil sector.[431] In 1936, Trinidad's two major oil companies reported profit increases of 35 and 25 percent, while paying wages of 7 cents per hour.[432] Similarly, sugar plantation workers reeled from wages so low that many workers struggled to afford food, clothing, and rent on a consistent basis, prompting Butler's declaration that it was "obviously the policy of His Majesty's Government today, as in the past under Conservative and Liberal and Coalition "Hands" to keep the Blacks under the Union Jack in political and other "Slave Chains" for gain".[433]The Colonial Office had long identified Butler as a "leading agitator" and interned him after the 1938 uprising.[434] Upon his release, the Trinidad Commissioner of Police ordered the Police Superintendent for Trinidad's Southern Division to keep a watchful eye on Butler and his adherents, demanding that all "public meetings held by him should be attended openly by the Police".[435] Officers were instructed to report on "what public reaction there has been to Butler's speeches or activities and the general feeling of different classes towards him".[436] Police used information culled from informants to build a case for Uriah Butler's arrest in the months following the BEWCHRP uprising in May 1937. Officers reported that Butler addressed party members during a meeting the day before the May 1937 oilfields demonstration saying:

> I want to show you what we are preaching. You are not fool-heads. Your conditions are like slavery, and we are prepared to fight and fight like hell. Let the Police write. We stand on guard. We are going to fight like hell…We have been so far as to open ourselves to arrest to prove it. We are in a British country, and its British Constitution. We are prepared to preach even in the ears of the King.[437]

Butler's reference to conditions reminiscent of slavery's racialized dehumanization merits attention. Butler's statement drew police attention for legitimizing the workers' experiences of racialized subjugation, underscoring the need for collective struggle. Police reports state that Butler's meetings "had been going on for some time and were being watched" due to fears that his open denunciations of imperial racism could reignite the workers' rebellions.[438] Whether the

[431] Selwyn Ryan, *Race and Nationalism*,p. 48-50; Butler to Manager, Apex Oilfields, 26 January 1936.
[432] Bridget Brereton *A history of modern Trinidad 1783-1962* (Heinemann, 1981)
[433] CO 537/4902, BEWCHRP, Resolution No. 3 1949
[434] CO 537/4902, Commissioner of Police Weekly Intelligence Summary for Week Ending 13 March 1949.
[435] Ibid.
[436] Ibid.
[437] CO 295/608/5, The King v. Uriah Butler, Indictment by the Attorney General, 1949.
[438] CO 295/608/5, Gilroy Price testimony, 1949.

police accurately reported Butler's words or not—the testimonies of several police officers who reported on the meeting are consistent – their decision to report on Butler's speech is indicative of the perceived significance of his rhetoric for maintenance of the racial order which Butler positions as the inheritance of slavery. Police officers testifying against Butler explicitly state that they were instructed to only take note of elements of BEWCHRP meetings which they interpreted to be seditious, thus the decision to report the commentary on slavery is telling. During a cross examination, one officer assured the presiding judge that "I took only the parts of speech I considered essential or necessary—for my report to my superior officer and what I considered seditious."[439] One officer felt it necessary to remark on the racial composition of the party's adherents:

> There are negro workers in oilfields, & Indians & I believe both classes belong to Butler's party. I have attended Butler's meetings before. Have seen members of both races present at Butler's meetings. Have attended about eight or nine of Butler's meetings —At those meetings I took long hand notes…I was instructed to attend meeting of 9 May. At the 8 or 9 meetings I attended I took notes and reported to my superior officers – I did not take down word for word everything that was said—I took the parts that appeared to me to be most essential—I pursued this practice upon instructions.[440]

Fears of Butler's acclaim amongst workers belonging to Trinidad's two racially subordinated groups, "negros" and "Indians", and his ability to organize their outrage into action animated both the decision to have Butler tailed by police, and his eventual arrest on the heels of the 1937 uprising. Butler was sentenced to two years in prison. Trinidad's Attorney General E.J. Davies said in his indictment of Butler that his reported remarks were characterized by "seditious intent" for the potential to "promote feelings of ill will and hostility between different classes and races".[441] Davies' suggestion that Butler's intention was to establish "hostility" between "different classes and races" is suggestive of which "races" the administration was hoping to protect. Butler in fact encouraged unity amongst racialized workers of African and Indian descent, rather than fomenting "ill will" between them. He, and many others in the BEWCHRP saw interracial working-class solidarity as a powerful force against the white power structures of

[439] CO 295/608/5, The King v. Uriah Butler, Officer testimony.
[440] Ibid.
[441] CO 295/08/5, The King v. Uriah Butler, Indictment By the Attorney General.

Trinidad, and racial hierarchy in the British Empire more broadly. A police report detailing the BEWCHRP 1949 May Day rally noted that Pope McLean, an Afro-Trinidadian member of the Party, stated that "it was always Butler's doctrine to the Indians and Negroes of the Colony that they should unite, because they form the might of industry, being the machinery of labour, this being so he emphasized that this is the time to unite in concerted efforts to obtain the God-given rights and privileges allotted to every human being."[442] Chanca Maharaj, a fellow party spokesperson, echoed McLean's remarks stating that there were "only two sets of Labourites in the Colony—they are the Indians and Negroes."[443] Maharaj, himself an Indo-Trinidadian, was also reported to have said that he would "see to it that the Indians stand side by side with the Negroes."[444] The same report included a detailed list of slogans inscribed on placards carried by demonstrators in the May Day rally, many of which signaled a degree of unity between Afro- and Indo-Trinidadian workers and their collective fatigue with racial discrimination in the colony. These include "Butler Policy Indian African Unity", "Long Live African Indian Unity", and "Hail Butler the Emancipator."[445]

It is precisely this kind of inter-racial solidarity stoked by Butler and BEWCHRP members that upset the rigid and hierarchical racial groupings which sustained the imperial order. The BEWCHRP, though initially primarily Afro-Trinidadian in membership, recognized the importance of the Indo-Trinidadian working community to labor organization on the island. The sugarcane cultivators' uprising of 1934 by 15,000 Indo-Trinidadian estate workers was the first of Trinidad's major labor rebellions of the 1930s,[446] thus the community's struggles could not be ignored by the working-class party. Adding to this solidaristic imperative was the fact that prominent Indo-Trinidadians came to be associated with the party. Butler worked closely with Indo-Trinidadian leader Adrian Cola Rienzi (nee Krishna Deonarine) who, although outspoken in his concerns for the wellbeing of Indo-Trinidadian laborers, advocated on behalf of the working classes as a whole. According to Kelvin Singh, "Deonarine had no difficulty in establishing rapport with the largely Negro working-class members of the San Fernando branch"

[442] Police report enclosure in Shaw to Jones, 4 May 1949, p. 3.
[443] CO 537/4903, Appendix to W.I.S. for week ending 1st May 1949.
[444] Ibid.
[445] Ibid.
[446] Sahadeo Basdeo. "Indo-Trinidadian Participation in Labour Politics in Trinidad," *Caribbean Quarterly* 32, no. 3-4 (1986): 55.

of the Trinidad Workingmen's Association, where he began his career as labor campaigner.[447] Rienzi carried this same spirit of promoting working class unity amongst differentially racialized laborers into his activism with the BEWCHRP. Rienzi was described as "Butler's accredited emissary[448]" and possessing "a big enough brain to see that no one race will be all-powerful in Trinidad."[449]

As Trevor Burnard and Hilary Beckles have illuminated, the role of the overseer was developed to maintain the functioning of the plantation economy.[450] During both enslavement and indenture, the overseer was tasked with observing the behavior and collective meetings of racialized labor forces to determine whether they were of "good character."[451] Where the overseer was tasked with reporting on conspiracies between dehumanized and thingified people collectively "mustering in the night," the police were given the power to report on inter-racial solidarity between racialized workers capable of "rebellious conspiracy."[452] Though BEWCHRP leadership emphasized the value in labor activism uniting Africans and Indians as "the great races,"[453] their collective organization inspired suspicion and outright hostility by elites concerned about the rise in political power of Trinidad's two racially subordinated groups. Trinidad's particular brand of racial hierarchy rested, in part, on the social separation of the Afro-Trinidadian and Indo-Trinidadian labor force. As African people had been trafficked to Trinidad as enslaved people, and Indian people arrived under the auspices of deceptive indenture, the two were both introduced to Trinidad through the contrivance of racial logics which inscribed an expendable status onto them to sustain plantation exploits. When slavery and the indenture scheme came to an end, the racial logics undergirding both systems had long since taken root and elites as well as the colonial administration feared a takeover by the Afro-Trinidadian and Indo-Trinidadian majority. [454]

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[447] Kelvin Singh, "Adrian Cola Rienzi and the Labour Movement in Trinidad," *The Journal of Caribbean History* 16 (1982): 12

[448] Sir. A Gridley, Hansard Orders of the Day, Volume 332: debated on Monday 28 February 1938.

[449] Quoted in Basdeo "Indian Participation in Labour Politics in Trinidad" p.59.

[450] Trevor Burnard, *Master, Tyranny & Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World,* (University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Hilary M. Beckles, *White servitude and black slavery in Barbados, 1627-1715,* (University of Tennessee Press, 1989).

[451] Hansard, State of Slavery in the Colonies, volume 15, Friday, 19 May 1826.

[452] Hansard, Jamaica Slaves' Trials, volume 14, Wednesday, 1 March 1826.

[453] *The People,* 15 January 1938.

[454] Hansard, Orders of the Day, Volume 332: debated on Monday 28 February 1938; Basedo, "Indian Participation in Labour Politics," p. 51.

Linguistic and spatial separation between the predominately urban-based, English-speaking Afro-Trinidadians and the mostly rural dwelling, non-English speaking Indo-Trinidadians were encouraged by white Trinidadian elites, permitting the workers to forget that their common enemy was the white supremacist imperial power structure. Figures like Butler and Rienzi reminded workers of their shared struggle undermining the rigid racial-social structure of the island both by challenging the conventional social separation of differently racialized workers, and by uniting them against white capitalist power. Police surveillance targeted the BEWCHRP to thwart this solidarity, building on the naturalized role of the overseer as bulwark against group resistance by racialized laborers. Police surveillance was also a principal mechanism of countering the political agency of Jamaica's working class, through the targeting of the Four H's as principal organizers amongst the lower classes, to which I will now turn.

Four Communists and the People's Party

Although Jamaica's People's National Party declared itself a socialist organization at its founding in 1938, it would be inaccurate to suggest that all party members cohered around a cohesive political ideology. Party president, Norman Manley, was a dedicated Fabian who shared party ranks with avowed Marxists and liberals.[455] Manley's political orientation in 1940 could be summed up in his statement to fellow PNP leaders, "I have declared my opposition to Empire but I do not advocate independence."[456] While Manley gained momentum with Jamaica's middle classes by promoting a path to self-government through the achievement of Dominion status over outright independence, Richard Hart, Frank Hill, Ken Hill and Arthur Henry (the Four H's) were eager to direct the PNP to appeal directly to the working masses and unemployed peasantry and advocate for full independence.[457] Some party members advocated for independence for "racial reasons," emphasizing that "dominion status means nothing for a country as small as Jamaica."[458] Manley's desire to maintain support for the cause of self-determination from the middle class, who in his estimation were "as a whole…not prepared to sever connections with the British Empire," were one reason behind his more cautious approach.[459]

[455] Rex Nettleford, "Manley and the Politics of Jamaica – Towards an analysis of political change in Jamaica 1938-1968," *Sir Arthur Lewis Institute Social and Economic Studies* 20, no. 3, (1971): 1-72.
[456] Ibid.
[457] RHP, PNP Policy Discussion, 1940.
[458] Ibid, N.N. Nethersole comments.
[459] Ibid, Manley comments.

Contrastingly, party members such as N.N. Nethersole and the Four H's expressed more interest in galvanizing the power of the racialized peasantry and laboring masses. They prioritized trade unionism, recognizing its potential to move Jamaica beyond the system of capitalist racial order in place since slavery. Their prioritization of the lower classes repudiated the class-color hierarchy forged in the British West Indies over centuries – the same hierarchy which white and colored upper classes sought to protect, and within which many middle-class persons sought to earn marginal privilege. The four championed the worker's struggle as the revival of a rebellious lineage born in revolts by enslaved ancestors against white capitalist dehumanization. Richard Hart, himself a near-white Jamaican, countered imperial logics positioning African heritage as shameful biological evidence of inhumanity, instead emphasizing that non-white imperial sympathizers were the emblem of the peoples' shame. Writing in his *Worker and Peasant* magazine in 1940, Hart declared :

> As we look back in Jamaican history, we see no reason why we should not be proud to be offspring of as noble a type as the Coromantyn[460] tribe from Africa. They were of noble character who have always led the fight against oppression. If we are to be ashamed of anything, it is those of us who refused to work for emancipation from subjection."[461]

The Four H's public disdain for white supremacist imperialism, and its brown middle-class enablers, coupled with their educational praxis seeking to uplift the very section of the population on whose exploitation West Indian imperial order was built drew the ire of the colonial government. In May 1942, an investigator from the Jamaica Constabulary Force Criminal Investigation Department (CID) reported fears that four "communists of the Lenin school" were "pushing Manley from behind," and had the potential to take over the leadership of the party.[462]

> As these four are capable of interpreting Lenin's views literally, and use the present increase in unemployment….combined with the loss of ships and the consequential loss

[460] Refers to the Koromanti, or "Coromantee," a subgroup of the Akan people. Hubert Devonish, "Kromanti," *Department of Language, Linguistics & Philosophy*, accessed 11 March 2024, https://www.mona.uwi.edu/dllp/jlu/about/index.htm (accessed September 27, 2023).
[461] RHP, *Worker and Peasant*, April 1940.
[462] Ibid.

> in food stuffs, for propaganda to instill revolutionary ideas into the heads of the labourers and unemployed in readiness for trouble…[463]

Policing officials had reason to be concerned. Hart and the Hill brothers were responsible for organizing the PNP-affiliated trade union, the Trade Union Congress. Richard Hart also organized a Left Book Club group in Kingston to introduce workers to readings on socialism and spearheaded the publication of the party's educational pamphlets on the imperatives of decolonization and a socialist system tailored to meet the needs of post-colonial states.[464] Manley shared their belief in the virtues of a socialist system of governance in Jamaica. However, Manley's Fabian socialist ideal and genteel comportment diverged sharply with the younger Hart and Hill brothers who wrote and spoke frequently and vigorously about the crimes of the colonial administration and the urgency of revolution to dismantle the racial capitalist order.[465]

Manley, for his part, eager to retain the support of the middle class sought to downplay the prominence of the party's young communists. In the lead up to the 1940 election for Jamaica's Legislative Council, Manley requested Hart and Frank Hill withdraw from the party's electoral platform. Hart and Hill reluctantly acquiesced to Manley's request while insisting that the more radical arm of the party had been responsible for developing "the consciousness of the toiling masses."[466] Manley's pragmatic outlook, however, meant that the political concerns of the masses were a secondary concern to be sidelined to protect the viability of the PNP candidate for the Jamaican legislature, N. N. Nethersole, as evinced by Hart's response to Manley:

> You argue that we will lessen the P.N.P. candidate's chances by appearing on his platform. And we are of the opinion that such work as we have done for the Party on the platform has had the reverse effect to date…However, in view of the immediate importance of Nethersole's success and your fears that as the time draws near the Communist bogey will be used more effectively by his opponents, we are willing to fall in with your suggestion and take no further part in this by election.[467]

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[463] Ibid.
[464] Nettleford, "Manley and the Politics of Jamaica".
[465] "Six Lessons on Political Economy : Lessons I and II, the Rise and Decline of Capitalism", Workers Correspondence College, The Worker, Kingston, Jamaica; Nettleford, "Manley and the Politics of Jamaica".
[466] RHP, Hart to Manley, 29 December 1939.
[467] RHP, Hart to Manley, 29 December 1939.

While Hart and Frank Hill were sidelined from the 1940 election, they nevertheless continued their efforts to stir the political consciousness of racialized workers by illuminating the exploitative and racist practices of the British Empire. Ken Hill described the colonial administration in fascistic terms and stressed an immediate break with Empire. In a 1940 editorial published in the *Gleaner*, Hill described the colonial administration as "300 years of professional quackery," assuring readers that the P.N.P. would deliver liberation from "Half-Hearted Hitlers, [the] miniature Mussolinis and Fifth-rate Francos" running the colonial administration.[468] Hill also publicly called into question the legitimacy of the "capitalist system" operating in Jamaica, routinely referencing the realities of social inequality in the early 1940s but also the historic injustices suffered during slavery:

> We have laboured in the fields under the scorching rays of the tropical sun…and for what? To produce wealth for a few people; to put money in the pockets of a few people; to make it possible for a handful of imported gentlemen to say that they have the right to treat us as they think best…and while a few live in comfort, luxury, and security, hundreds of thousands of our people exist without the barest necessities of life.[469]

Governor Richards took a hard line against the leftist wing of the PNP, declaring that a "scheme of racial hatred has been skillfully woven into the pattern of the incompetent Englishman in selfish and autocratic control for his own good and the people's detriment."[470] The Four H's were arrested in November 1942 and held until March 1943.[471] The justification for their detention was their being "recently concerned in acts prejudicial to public safety."[472] The acts in question are listed as declaring "political aims and ideals…so markedly anti-British and revolutionary in character" including:

(a) opposition to the British Empire and the Imperial war effort;
(b) the secession of Jamaica from the British Empire;
(c) the fostering of suspicion and distrust of the people and policy of the United States of America to the detriment of Anglo-American relations and co-operation;

[468] *Jamaica Gleaner*, 19 December 1940.
[469] Ibid.
[470] CO 137/854/14, AR Richards to Downie 1 June 1942.
[471] *Jamaica Gleaner*, 5 November 1942.
[472] RHP, Detention Grounds and Particulars, 1940.

(d) the deliberate embarrassment, during the war, of the Imperial and local Governments by means of subversive and anti-British propaganda, and by encouraging opposition to all constituted authority;
(e) the fostering of racial and class dissension in Jamaica;
(f) the dissemination of extreme revolutionary doctrines. [473]

The charges laid against the Four H's were certainly fitting of the men classified by the C.I.D. as the "extremists within the party."[474] The four were regarded as enemies of the colonial system for failing to uphold their proscribed, subordinated position as laboring subject of the Empire. By not only abdicating their own normative roles as "coloured" toilers, but also inspiring others to do so while espousing the need for a class *and* race conscious socialist framework for Jamaican independence, they opposed the very foundation of Jamaica's hierarchical order. Putting these individuals under police surveillance served to reiterate their positioning as subjects of colonial rule who could be disciplined by the police as sovereign authorities. The monitoring of their behaviors and private political beliefs were reported to higher authorities, in much the same way that overseers reported rebellious behaviors by enslaved people to plantation masters and magistrates. The political aims behind placing the four individuals behind bars only serves to underscore these continuities between police surveillance and the role of the overseer, as the activists did not shy away from openly espousing anti-imperial opposition and the need to dismantle Jamaica's racial capitalist hierarchy. Like overseers reporting on enslaved people "mustering by night" to collude against the slave society order, police trained their gaze on four rebellious subjects of Empire, asserting the agency of the workers to upend imperial rule. Placing the Four H's behind bars not only reiterated their subject position by punishing them for exceeding the behaviors expected of men of their color and station, but they were also impeded from influencing their followers and the political direction of the PNP. This afforded Manley the opportunity to lead the PNP without the Four H's Marxist-Leninist influence.

As Manley was less likely to espouse revolutionary principles or denounce the anti-Black racism inherent to Jamaica's post-slavery order, British officials found his rhetoric more palatable and was therefore the colonial administration's ideal leader. He had earned the trust of a significant portion of the population with promises of self-government, yet his speech was deemed placid

[473] Ibid.
[474] CO 137/854/14, Criminal Investigation Department (CID) report 20 May 1942.

enough to safeguard against any radicalism or disturbances. Manley was careful not to arouse the suspicion of colonial administrators that he intended to inspire "racial feeling" amongst PNP adherents. Since slavery, colonial administrators feared a Black-led revolution which would supplant white minority rule. Arousing "racial feeling" was thought to be particularly dangerous because of the tense labor situation in Jamaica, and it is this perceived danger that led to the police detention and surveillance of Leonard Howell, one of the first Rastafarians, and his followers.

Livity and the Law: Leonard Howell and the Policing of Rastafari

Leonard Howell was born in 1898 in the rural town of May Crawle River. He amassed a large following amongst poor Black Jamaicans preaching of the divinity of Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie I as the "King of Kings," the Black messiah who would deliver Black people everywhere from the "misery and oppression which they now experience from the hands of white nations."[475] Howell championed the cause of repatriation to Africa as the ancestral bosom of Black people in the New World, integrating Marcus Garvey's call for "Africa for the Africans" into a principle tenet of Rastafari doctrine.[476] Howell was convicted of sedition in 1934 for his rhetoric professing the coronation of a Black Messiah and the virtues of African repatriation. Howell served two years in prison on sedition charges, before being "certified insane" and sent to the Jamaica Mental Hospital in 1938.[477] Howell's experiences with Jamaica's police did not end there. CID police were sent to surveil and report on all meetings convened by Howell.[478] In January 1940, Howell addressed an audience of an estimated 500 people prophesizing the downfall of British Empire and Black usurpation of the seat at the pinnacle of Jamaica's race-color hierarchy troubled colonial officials.

Preaching unification between the Black peoples of Jamaica and Ethiopia within an ethos that foretold the eventual demise of European empire and racial hierarchy promoted an internationalist understanding of resistance which Governor Richards could not abide without careful observation. Howell's ideas provided Jamaica's Afro-descended masses an opportunity to process their social exclusion to political and social ends. In seeking repatriation, Rastafarians

[475] CO 137/840/6, Report of inspector Palmer, CID, 7 January 1940.
[476] Marcus Garvey and Amy Jacques Garvey. *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, or, Africa for the Africans* (Routledge, 1967).
[477] CO 137/840/6, Richards to MacDonald, 9 April 1940.
[478] Ibid.

could divorce themselves from the notion of belonging to the society which oppressed them by seeking a new nation imagined to be free from racial oppression and the colonial power structure. Further, Howell's insistence on the Rastafarians' gaze towards Africa (Abyssinia) allowed the grandchildren of enslaved Africans to imagine a return to the soil where their ancestors lived as people with agency, before slavery and colonial dispossession relegated them to the rung of nonhuman commodities under white supremacist capitalism. Importantly, the Rastafari movement provided rural and urban Black subjects the 'livity'[479] required to truly believe in the possibility of upending the capitalist racist hierarchy they were subjected to.

The clear allure of Howell's speech with the Black masses, onto whom the colonial government perpetually projected fears of rebellion, would have been sufficient grounds for his detention under the Defence Regulations by themselves. However, the founding of the Pinnacle community in St. Catherine parish provided additional cause for alarm. Pinnacle was founded as a self-sufficient community in which Afro-descendant Jamaicans excluded from the dominant social and political culture could exist free from the expectations of dedicating their minds and bodies to capitalist production. Hundreds of residents lived in the community organized on 485 acres, in spacious homes featuring the palm-thatched roofs and "earth-beaten floors" traditional within many rural Jamaican communities, which trap cool air and repel humidity.[480] At Pinnacle, "all trades were present", and community members shared the burdens and bounties of communal labor. As a *Gleaner* article details, Pinnacle residents were "a group apart, practical communists in the midst of a land where Democracy rules happily." The community organized a "common fund, which supplies their need, feeds them and clothes them and takes care of them when they are sick." Crucially, Pinnacle's community members "all work[ed] together on the property, tilling the soil, their intention being to reap the crop to swell the proportions of the common fund."[481]

The "Democracy" which the *Gleaner* author speaks of was the colonial society below the St. Catherine Hills which shrouded Pinnacle, where British order drained racialized labor in service of colonial capital and deployed state agents to reiterate Black subordination. By contrast,

[479] Rastafarian term for 'life force' and/or 'spiritual energy.' Lawrence O. Bamikole, "Livity as a Dimension of Identity in Rastafari Thought: Implications for Development in Africana Societies." *Caribbean Quarterly* 63, no.4 (2017): 451-466.
[480] *Jamaica Gleaner*, 23 November 1940.
[481] Ibid.

Pinnacle under Howell was a glaring demonstration that productive capacity need not be a resource for white capitalist profits– a dangerous notion in a society founded on commodifying racialized labor to serve plantocratic interests. The community therefore operated as a site of economic and socio-religious disordering by centering labor around communal wellbeing and as a group of racialized Black people adhering to Rastafarian religious tenets, eschewing Christianity as a European civilizational norm. Well-aware of their inability to assimilate into British colonial culture, they insulated themselves from the prevailing white supremacist social order by crafting their own spaces of belonging and in extolling salvation through repatriation. In a spiritual sense and a physical and geographical sense, many early Rastafarians sought to distinguish themselves from Jamaican society by existing on the margins of it until they could escape. The Pinnacle community was in many ways a part of this separatist spirit. If deliverance from Babylon's[482] hegemony in Jamaica would have to wait a few more years, per Howell's prediction, then Pinnacle would be their chosen purgatory.

The sight of Pinnacle as a self-contained community sustained through communal labor from which colonial enterprise could not extract profit was a disruptive example on its own. However, Howell, as the community's charismatic Black leader who avowed not just pride in African heritage, but also openly espoused contempt for the white power structure, persistently drew scrutiny from middle-class observers. By 1940, Howell had already been subject to a police surveillance and intimidation campaign which effectively dispersed early Rastafarian communities from St. Thomas, the parish which Howell later called home after leaving Kingston.[483] His speech announcing the impending fall of the "Throne of England" aroused suspicion from Governor Richards once again, and the Pinnacle community was targeted for police surveillance.

In 1940, the Jamaica Commissioner of Police implored the Ministry of Health in St. Catherine to investigate the camp, and authorized routine police raids on Pinnacle. These raids on the private community reiterated Rastafarian subordination to imperial power in response to their abdication of colonial society. Despite a December 1940 health ministry report claiming that "there were no complaints and all were willing to be examined," in January 1941, the police commissioner again

[482] Rastafarian term for the Western hegemony, the "evil empire," Davidson, Steed, "Leave Babylon: The Trope of Babylon in Rastafarian Discourse," *Black Theology* 6, no.1 (2008): 46.
[483] *Jamaica Gleaner*, 13 July 1934; *Jamaica Gleaner*, 23 May 1935; *Jamaica Gleaner*, 31 July 1935.

ordered another visit to Pinnacle by police.[484] This January raid was only the precursor to the July raid during which 115 police officers were sent to arrest Howell and 70 of his fellow Rastafarians. Howell was sentenced to two years imprisonment with hard labor. At his sentencing, the attending Magistrate stated his regret that he could not have Howell whipped: "I very much regret that I have not the power to order you to be flogged. I would have you ordered to receive 18 lashes. Unfortunately, I have not the power in law to do so".[485]

Though associated with slave society discipline, whipping and flogging in the West Indies remained a staple of police disciplinary power well into the 1970s. The lashes that marked the bodies of enslaved peoples, identifying them as subjects worthy of commodification and discipline, were still regularly employed against imperial subjects more than one century after slavery's demise. The spectacle of Howell's flogging, were it to have taken place, would have served the same purpose as corporal and capital punishments doled out to countless obeah practitioners and rebellion leaders. The judge in this instance was invoking the familiar tool of domination and discipline reserved for disorderly enslaved people as an appropriate mechanism of castigating Howell for daring to defy Jamaica's racial capitalist order. This judgement against Howell would not have been possible without the watchful gaze of the police. Howell's outright calls for racial pride and desire to subvert white supremacist Empire, as well as dangerous appeal of his words to many within the section of Jamaica's population racialized as exendable, rendered him an undisciplined subject requiring careful surveillance and punishment to force his adherence to order. In Jamaica's post-slavery colonial order, Howell's ebony complexion naturalized police surveillance and the flogging rod as the appropriate instruments to discipline his dereliction of order.

Conclusion

I have argued that West Indian colonial police surveillance was an outgrowth of slavery-era norms naturalizing the gaze of the dominant through the plantation overseer as an appropriate mechanism to discipline and counter the resistances of racialized laborers. Continued labor activism at the end of the 1930s and into the 1940s articulated demands for the full economic and social autonomy of thingified subjects through anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and anti-racist

[484] *Jamaica Gleaner*, 22 December 1940; Deborah Thomas, "Rastafari, Communism, and Surveillance in Late Colonial Jamaica," *Small Axe* 21, no.3 (2017): 63-84.
[485] *Jamaica Gleaner*, 25 August 1941.

discourse. This shift in the workers' political consciousness, coupled with increasingly fervent demands for an end to exploitative British rule, necessitated the reiteration of imperial racial order and the workers' position as thingified subjects. This was carried out by increasing the surveillance power of the police. Through their surveillance duties officers, with the aid of informants, acted as the eyes and ears of the colonial administration to ensure that the hard lines dividing the races and classes were maintained despite efforts by trade unionists and political party members to challenge racial hierarchy within the islands. Surveillance, building on West Indian plantation norms of overseer inspection and discipline of racialized unfree labor, was revived to constitute an everyday element of reiterating order in the colonies. This quotidian police presence was used to discipline the likes of the PNP's left-wing Four H's, Uriah Butler's multiracial worker's coalition and Leonard Howell's self-sustaining Pinnacle commune.

While this police gaze stymied their movements for racial and economic justice, it was unsuccessful in obliterating the anti-colonial spirit and racial consciousness unleashed by the 1930s labor rebellions. Howell in particular was targeted for his explicitly pro-African rhetoric, although he was not alone in raising racial consciousness and pride in African heritage amongst the West Indian expendable class. Workers' organizations too, including those run by the Four H's and Uriah Butler, were eager to spread racial pride amongst the workers. Amidst the fiery agitation against imperial exploitation, the allure of racial consciousness had been released and would prove difficult to contain. Race conscious resistance, including the interracial solidarity practiced by the BEWCHRP, provided the laboring masses an opportunity to assert a subjecthood that had not been crafted by European deceit and exploitative aspirations. These ideas were not necessarily shared in more economically and socially privileged sections of the community. Nationalist leaders educated in the halls of British institutions or possessing the pale complexions necessary to be welcomed into the social spheres of imperial privilege were reluctant, or unable to, eschew their imperial tutelage. These individuals, though ardent in their assertions of West Indian capacity for self-government, reproduced much of the same race/color-based discipline upon assuming power. Howell, and his followers and sympathizers, would find little change in their social conditions and relationship to state authorities as the West Indies shifted from British to Afro-Saxon rule.

Chapter 5: Suffering Afro-Saxonism: Creole Nationalism and Policing Order in Independent Jamaica and Trinidad

> I note what you said about the Hampshires. I understood that with the consent of Her Majesty's Government a detachment of these men would remain here for some time. It would be quite graceful of course to have them join in the Independence Celebration—it would show that we appreciate their stay here.[486]
>
> - Alexander Bustamante, 1962

On 24 January 1962, Alexander Bustamante, Jamaica's firebrand populist labor union leader and first Prime Minister, sent the above message to Premier Norman Washington Manley. The two men, who were cousins and members of Jamaica's mixed-race elite class, were discussing the potential for several members of Britain's Royal Hampshire Regiment to participate in Jamaica's independence celebrations, scheduled for August of that year. The Hampshires had been deployed to Jamaica in 1960 to conduct cordon and search operations to counter what local Jamaican and British colonial officials estimated to be a brewing anti-colonial insurgency led by Rastafarian preacher, Claudius V. Henry, his son, Reynold, and other members of Henry's African Reform Church. The insurgency, often referred to as the "Henry Rebellion," was an expression of the discontent felt by Afro-descendants with the colonial order which marked Rastafarians, famously prideful of their African heritage, for police abuse, public denigration, and persistent raids on their communities. Britain's Hampshires and Jamaica's constables worked in tandem to carry out the raids which culminated in the arrest of the individuals responsible for the insurgency, eliciting Bustamante's gratitude for the Hampshire's continued presence in Jamaica. This synergy between metropolitan and local security forces working in tandem to target manifestations of resistance by racialized members of the lower classes would come to characterize the policing and security landscape in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago after both countries achieved constitutional independence in August 1962.

Bustamante's emphasis on having the Royal Hampshires, as members of British imperial power, participate in the ceremonies intended to mark Jamaica's break with imperial governance was in line with his vision for independent Jamaica as an inheritor of British modes of governance. Like

[486] JA4/143/2/2 Bustamante to Manley, 24 January 1962.

Bustamante, many Caribbean nationalist leaders, by playing into the mythic trope of "native" civilized via absorption of empire's tutelage and ascribing to Western European conceptualizations of legitimate statehood, upheld international racial hierarchy within their respective nations.[487] As Anthony Bogues highlights, Manley himself articulated the practice of state politics as a "product of the civilizing processes."[488] This outlook reiterated colonial standards of respectable state governance, including the trappings of subordination and discipline, in the independent states. Through this civilizational framing, national leaders exhibited their capacity to deploy police power within the prototypical colonial models of police repression.

According to Taitu Heron and New World Group scholars Lloyd Best, George Beckford, Louis Lindsay, Norman Girvan, Caribbean decolonization was far from a project of creating a new world – at least not for the racialized Afro-and Indo-Caribbean underclass. Rather, independence perpetuated what Heron calls "the plantalogical politics" of colonial rule. Building on the work of New World Group scholars, Heron outlines how independence contrived under these conditions precluded a path for clear rupture with the colonial logics emerging from the seventeenth century onwards to regulate hierarchical plantation rule—there would be no change from the colony to the postcolonial state "except that we would no longer be 'British subjects'".[489] While no longer British subjects, racialized people were nevertheless beholden to a social, political and economic order conceived during British slavery which read them as criminally deviant, expendable, and incapable of embodying full human citizenship.

Indeed, Sylvia Wynter argued in 1967 that elite-led independence produced societies in which "the majority are still exiles in their own country." According to Wynter, this sense of internal "exile" exists "because for too long [we] have been made to deny one part or another of [our] heritage."[490]. It must be recognized that this denial at the state level emanates from the slave society bedrock which literally dehumanized Black bodies as a means of empowering a white slaveholding minority, and found danger and disgust in all which emerged from Africa. Thus

[487] Lindsay, Louis, "The Myth of Independence: Middle Class Politics and Non-Mobilization in Jamaica," *UWI Working Paper 1975.* p. 7; Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*.
[488] Anthony Bogues, "Politics, Nation and PostColony: Caribbean Inflections" *Small Axe* 6, no.1 (2002): 1-30.
[489] Taitu Heron, "Plantalogical Politics: Battling for Space and the Jamaican Constitution" in *Living at the Borderslines: Issues in Caribbean Sovereignty and Development* edited by Cynthia Barrow-Giles and Don Marchall (Ian Randle Press, 2001): p.505.
[490] Sylvia Wynter "Lady Nugent's Journal" in *Jamaica Journal* 1, no. 1, (1967): 23-34.

within post-slavery white supremacist frameworks, civilizational distancing from African inheritance and adhering to ordering mechanisms upholding white power become avenues to attaining legitimacy. With this attention to slave society civilizational logics in mind, I contend that policing in the context of Anglophone Caribbean decolonization represented the capacity to subordinate a racialized population as demonstration of governing competence. Nationalist leaders' assumption of control over police power, in these contexts, meant stepping into slavery's mold of upholding order, especially when threatened by resistance by poor descendants of enslaved and indentured persons.

During this period, alternative national politics championing radical departure from the imperial antecedent, such as the redemptive politics of Rastafarian resistance, were suppressed via familiar mechanisms of police discipline. This was done to preclude the possibility that the "islands [might] become embroiled in internal revolution," as a Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) memo to Britain's Foreign Office warned in 1960.[491] The JCF was not necessarily incorrect in its estimation of the potential for "internal revolution" as Anglophone Caribbean states achieved flag independence. While national leaders were at work crafting a Anglo-modeled Western identity for the region, the 1960s were a period of increased political and cultural upheaval by working class people, as Rex Nettleford, Deborah Thomas, and Brian Meeks have laid out.[492] The insurgents of the Henry Rebellion may have taken the most concrete militaristic steps to overturn the imperial order, however they were not the only entities seeking to upend imperial conditions of racialized capitalist exploitation. The period gave rise to the re-emergence of Marcus Garvey's People's Political Party, the Coral Gardens uprising and massacre, and the precursors to Caribbean Black Power movements in Jamaica's 1968 Rodney Riots and the 1969 student protests at the University of the West Indies in Trinidad and Tobago.[493]

[491]FCO 141/5269, Jamaica Constabulary Force to FCO 8 January 1960.

[492] Rex Nettleford, *Mirror Mirror: Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica,"* (Sangster, 1970); Deborah Thomas, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Duke University Press, 2004); Brian Meeks, *Narratives of Resistance: Jamaica, Trinidad, the Caribbean* (University of the West Indies Press, 2000).

[493] Deborah Thomas, "Democratizing Dance: Institutional Transformation and Hegemonic Re-Ordering in Post-Colonial Jamaica," *Cultural Anthropology* 17, no.4, (2002): 512-550; Christiana Abraham, "'*I Won't Take Bail Until We All Get It*' Gender, Black Power, 1960s Student activism and the Sir George Williams Affair—An Interview with Brenda Dash," *TOPIA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies* 44 (2022): 48-66.

With sufficient resources and organizational coordination to marshal the palpable frustration of the masses into a unified movement and respond to countersubversion efforts, these manifestations of opposition could have produced the "internal revolution" that state and imperial actors so feared.[494] Unable to abide by this, national leaders and Western imperial forces shaped police power to suppress disorderly potential, setting the stage for policing logics in the independent Anglophone Caribbean for decades to come.

In this chapter, I examine how police power in the context of decolonization reiterated slave society logics marking the racialized poor and working classes as deviant and expendable. I describe Anglophone Caribbean Creole, or Afro-Saxon, nationalism as an outgrowth of slave society order which privileged proximity to whiteness and assimilation to an Anglo-derived creole culture, as evidence of civilizational fitness. I argue that nationalist leaders wielded police power against those racialized as disordered within post-slavery colonial framings to demonstrate to national and international observers their capacity to rule. In this sense, cultural and phenotypic proximity to the colonial white civilizational ideal, as well as the power to wield the disciplinary forces previously upholding plantation colonial order, came to shape the state identity, thus reproducing slavery-era norms requiring the control and disposal of Black and non-white bodies to secure the state. I examine how decolonization shifted the subject positioning of racialized people subordinated by colonial rule from thingified subjects to expendable sufferers, who recognized the limits of Afro-Saxon rule to upend the social hierarchy which rendered them deviant and disposable. Sufferers are the working-class masses descended from enslaved African people and Indian indentured laborers, and who continued to be disproportionately subjected to racialized discipline as in earlier imperial periods. I examine how the 1960s policing of agitations for greater political recognition and economic empowerment by Rastafarians and Trinbagonian sufferer youth reiterated racialized subordination. Finally, I describe how the failure of nationalist leaders to challenge imperial order dovetailed with Anglo-American concerns about the revolutionary potential of the sufferers as the West Indies navigated decolonization.

[494] See for example, George Beckford, "Black Affirmation, Cultural Sovereignty and Caribbean Self-reliance" in *The George Beckford Papers,* edited by Kari Levitt, (Canoe Press, University of the West Indies, 2000); For more on potential for radical change see Brian Meeks, *After the Postcolonial Caribbean: Memory, Imagination, Hope,* (Pluto Press, 2022).

Rise of the Afro-Saxons: Decolonization as Anglophilic Inheritance

> I make no apology for the fact that we did not attempt to embark upon any original or novel exercise in constitutional building…Let us not make the mistake of describing as colonial, institutions which are part and parcel of the heritage of this country...I am not ashamed of any institution which exists in this country merely because it derives from England.[495]
>
> ■ Norman Manley, January 1962

In 1965, Llyod Best coined the term Afro-Saxon to describe the cultural and political forces guiding Anglophone-Caribbean independence struggles, noting their "tendency to differentiate and rank groups by their degree of conformity to metropolitan standards."[496] In practice, this informal ranking based on capacity to emulate metropolitan standards of civility gave rise to intentional separation from the masses racialized as nonhumans. Under colonial rule, class privilege and fluency in British culture provided some protection for the Afro-Saxon upper classes from the dispossession and racial rancor reserved for the lower classes. However, their class and simulated Britishness could not protect them from their status as racialized subjects of empire. While they were accorded marginal privilege, and enjoyed greater comforts than the sufferers, they were nevertheless understood to occupy a secondary rung of the colonial social ladder. As Jamaica's Trade Union Congress, a PNP affiliated worker's union, noted in 1948:

> The gulf between this whole ruling class and the coloured population is wide and fixed. Even those coloured "leaders" who are taken into the Governor's caste system are made to understand their "places" and the sufferance with which they are tolerated makes it endurable only to the most t[h]ick-skinned social climbers.[497]

These dynamics would soon change, as the promise of independence permitted the ascension of Black, brown, and mixed-race elites to the ranks of national leaders from their previous positioning in the liminal space between white social supremacy and Black social death. Where the lower classes have historically articulated a need for the empowerment of the African and Indian working-class majority, the Afro-Saxon class position British colonial mechanisms of rule

[495] NAJ Norman Manley, Jamaica Hansard, 719, 751.
[496] Lloyd Best "Polemic: Chaguaramas to Slavery," *New World Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (1963): 17-23.
[497] Trade Union Congress, Monthly News Bulletin, July 1948.

and Anglo-centered racial and cultural hybridity as an inexorable inheritance. This upper-class affinity for a Britishness not shared by most of the Caribbean populace was itself a product of colonial tutelage. As Jamaican political agitator and Marcus Garvey protégé, W.A. Domingo, lamented in 1958:

> Exposure of West Indians to propaganda that belittles their racial type and exalts European has had the effect of producing an educated class that is more English than Sir Winston Churchill and more royal than the Queen of England…They often stress the alleged racial harmony in the islands and predict that the new nation will be an example of racial tolerance in a world sorely beset by conflicts of race and colour.[498]

Like all peoples subjected to colonial rule, the Afro-Saxon class was certainly exposed to "propaganda that belittle[d] their racial type." As the *Jamaica Gleaner* reflected on the first anniversary of Jamaican independence in 1963, "the Empire was accepted the world over and it was treachery to condemn the empire."[499] Importantly, however, many members of the Afro-Saxon class, having been subjected to this belittling propaganda, made the decision to use their privilege to distinguish themselves from the suffering masses.[500] They positioned themselves at the pinnacle of the social order, supplanting whites as the enlightened gentry to usher the West Indies into their rightful place in the modern international order. This economic and social distance not only allowed for Afro-Saxon elites to be classed as separate from the colonial working class, but also legitimated their rule post-independence by appealing to Eurocentric, bourgeois standards of civility and an "indigenous" creole identity as evidence of fitness to govern.

X has written of the… As Sankaran Krishna writes, "leaders of anti-colonial resistance are themselves from societies with deep and

[498] W.A. Domingo, "Federation: Jamaica's Folly," (n.p. 1958)
[499] *Daily Gleaner*, 19 August 1963.
[500] Notably, there are Caribbean scholars and activists who likely could have ascended within the ranks of Afro-Saxonist governance by virtue of the class at birth or education later in life, but decided *not* to take the path of least resistance and joined anti-colonial resistance movements conscious of the problems of race-color-class hierarchies engendered by colonial hegemony. These include scholars like Elsa Goveia and Sylvia Wynter, from whom this work takes its primary inspiration, as well as C.L.R. James, Richard Hart, Norman Girvan, George Beckford and many others.

troubling imbrications of caste, race, hierarchy, and inequalities that are still ongoing."[501] In

This is broadly true of "fathers" of independence, Jamaica's Norman Washington Manley and Alexander "Busta" Bustamante (nee Clarke), and Trinidad and Tobago's Dr. Eric Williams. This class of colonial elites had been educated at royal colleges and boys boarding schools in St. Elizabeth and St. Clair, held degrees from Oxford and London, formed high society social clubs, or accumulated enough wealth through trade or usury to grant them entry into the halls of colonial privilege.

Norman Manley, the mannerly barrister, was the son of a rural planter who attended Jamaica College before being awarded a Rhodes Scholarship to study law at Oxford.[502] Though Manley made efforts to project a working man's background upon entry into Jamaica's national political stage, he was nevertheless the son of Thomas Albert Samuel, a property-owning planter, and Margaret (nee Shearer), herself a "near-white"[503] property owner. Following the death of his father, Manley would move from Roxborough, the property owned by his father, to Belmont, the logwood lumber plantation owned by his mother's family in Hanover Parish. A tribute to Manely published by the Jamaica Information Service describes his class positioning, noting that the father of Jamaica's formalized nationalist movement came from a "comparatively well-off 'Jamaica-brown' country gentry. Socially, they were well above the peasantry, but equally below the "backra" or white people."[504]

Though Manley may have been below backra and boasted that he "belonged to the soil from the first day he saw the sun,"[505] he was nevertheless the child of two landowning families possessing the cultural and economic capital necessary for him to rise within the ranks of the British

[501] Krishna, Sankaran, "A Postcolonial Racial/Spatial Order: Gandhi, Ambedkar, and the construction of the international," *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the global colour line*, (Routledge, 2015) p. 153.
[502] "Norman Manley," NLJ, accessed 5 March 2025. https://nlj.gov.jm/project/rt-hon-norman-washington-manley-1893-1969/.
[503] A term used in the former British West Indies to describe a person who appears to be phenotypically "white", but possesses some African ancestry.
[504] NAJ, Jamaica Information Service Special Issue, "Norman Washington Manley," September 1982.
[505] NAJ, PNP Pamphlet, *Man of Destiny*, 1954.

colonial educational system.[506] Manley enrolled in Guanaboa Vale grammar school before moving to the prestigious Wolmer's School- a privilege denied to most Black children of agriculturalists and other members of the working classes until the PNP instituted its free education scheme in 1973.[507] Khitanya Petgrave notes that prior to independence, curricula "tended to be taught from a Eurocentric perspective with little or no Jamaican/Caribbean content."[508] Manley's formation in these colonial educational spaces prepared him for the cultural milieu he would find in his subsequent education at University of Oxford, and deepen his appreciation for British governance, and its attending institutions.

Manley's cousin, Alexander Clarke, who later adopted the name Bustamante, was brought up under similarly privileged class circumstances. Bustamante was born to Robert "Bobby" Clarke, a white overseer on the Blenheim plantation, and Mary, "a handsome dark-skinned girl from Lucea."[509] As an adolescent, Bustamante was trained to follow in his father's footsteps as a Blenheim overseer, though he later set his sights on other pursuits.[510] He moved to Cuba as a young adult, where he changed his name and worked for some time as a special constable in the Havana police force.[511] Bustamante re-entered Jamaican public life with a fictive personal narrative claiming his adoption by a Spaniard named Bustamante, and started his own money-lending business. Bustamante later privately touted his "personal knowledge of police work and its requirements" as evidence of his governance acumen.[512]

In contrast to Manley and Bustamante's descent from the landed plantation elite was Trinidad and Tobago's Eric Eustace Williams, whose lower middle-class urban upbringing complicated his route to leadership. Williams was born to Thomas Henry Willliams and Eliza Frances Boissiere, both members of Port-of-Spain's middle class. Thomas was a low level civil servant within the colonial administration who Williams recalled was "quite proud" of his mother's French last name and the fact that she "was much lighter in color than he was."[513] While Thomas

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[506] Ibid.
[507] Ibid. Khitanya Petgrave, "Equality in Education? A Study of Jamaican Schools under Michael Manley, 1972-1980," *Caribbean Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (2011): 26-27.
[508] Petgrave, "Equality in Education" p. 27.
[509] Frank Hill, *Bustamante and His Letters*, (Kingston Publishers, 1976): 3.
[510] Ibid, p. 4, p. 48.
[511] Little is known about Bustamante's time in Cuba, however he made it a point to declare "I became an Inspector in the Havana Police Force," Hill, *Bustamante and His Letters* p. 21.
[512] NAJ 4/143/2/2, Bustamante to Manley, 22 June 1960.
[513] Eric Williams, *Inward Hunger: The Education of a Prime Minister* (Andre Deutsch, 1969).

concluded his formal education at the primary school level and was precluded from rising in the ranks of the civil service because he lacked the social capital of "colour, money and education," he ensured Eric was granted scholarships to realize his academic potential.[514] Williams entered Queen's Royal College in Port-of-Spain, which he later described as designed "to produce coloured Englishmen in the West Indies."[515] He later described writing *Capitalism and Slavery* as a disgruntled history student while navigating racism within the history department at the University of Oxford, before teaching at Howard University and later returning to Trinidad and Tobago. The fact that these men, educated in the ways of British civility, came to dominate the Jamaican and Trinbagonian national political landscapes naturally influenced the development of the national identities of their respective states. Their chosen brand of nationalism is referred to by scholars of the Anglophone Caribbean as creole nationalism.

Creole nationalism emerged from the colonial notion of "creolization," a term which evades a singular definition, but which many Caribbean historians and theorists acknowledge refers to genesis in the slave colonies of the Americas.[516] The term "creole" itself is thought to derive from the Spanish *criollo,* used to refer to the Spanish colonists born in the colonies.[517] In the Anglophone Caribbean, the term has been historically used to refer to both white enslavers and settlers as well as enslaved Africans born in the British West Indies. Importantly, creole nationalism emphasizes a multiracial hybrid national identity as the marker of Caribbean indigeneity and foregrounds a genteel Anglophilic cultural aesthetic. The bourgeois citizen ideal was not necessarily white, but could be identified as a scion of British cultural tutelage. They were neither African or Asian, nor European, but a mixture brought within the civilizational orbit of British modernity. The fact of this orbital plane's construction through genocide, chattel slavery, indenture and centuries of colonial violence was to be shrouded in national mottos like "out of many, one people" and "together we aspire, together we achieve."[518] For this reason,

[514] Williams, "Life with Father," in *Inward Hunger*.
[515] Ibid.
[516] Carolyn Allen, "Creole: the Problem of Definition," in *Questioning Creole: Creolisation Discourses in Caribbean Culture,* edited by Percy Hintzen, Verene Shepherd, et.al (James Currey, 2002); Rex Nettleford, *Mirror, Mirror: Identity Race and Protest in Jamaica* (William Collins and Sangster, 1972)*;* Stuart Hall, "Créolité and the Process of Creolization," *Creolizing Europe: legacies and transformations* 6, 12(2015); Edouard Glissant, "La creolisation et la persistence de l'esprit colonial," *Cahiers sens public* 2, no.10 (2009): 25-33 and "Creolization in the Making of the Americas," *Caribbean Quarterly* 54, iss. 1-2 (2008): 81-89.
[517] Percy Hintzen, "The Caribbean: Race and Creole Ethnicity," in *A Companion to Racial and Ethnic Studies,* (2008): 475-494.
[518] Anthony Bogues, "Politics, Nation and PostColony: Caribbean Inflections" *Small Axe* 11, no. 6 (2002): 1-30.

scholars of Caribbean social politics have long addressed how creole nationalism's premise of multiracial neutrality obscures the persistent race/color/class discrimination ordering the region.[519]

In creole nationalist logic, Anglophone Caribbean states were model societies precisely because they had internalized centuries of imperial tutelage and emerged with an evolved, Anglo-descended hybrid culture to provide an international example of liberal racial tolerance.[520] Norman Manley extolled the virtues of "a West Indian nation standing shoulder to shoulder with all other nations of the world", having achieved legitimacy in the international system by "wielding the power of…diversity".[521] In keeping with their perception of British rule as a beneficent inheritance, Manley, Williams and Bustamante showed early enthusiasm for overseeing the institutions which sustained British rule. Manley's dedication to maintaining British colonial governance model in independent Jamaica was also evident in his declaration to Parliament, just five months before independence, that the "British constitution is the best in the world and…the only good system of government."[522] Williams, despite his frequent and biting critiques of British racial hegemony, espoused similar views. In 1955, shortly before his People's National Movement (PNM) rose to power, Williams declared before a Woodford Square audience:

> The Colonial Office does not need to examine its second-hand colonial constitutions. It has a constitution at hand which it can apply immediately to Trinidad and Tobago. That is the British Constitution. Ladies and [g]entlemen, I suggest to you that the time has come when the British Constitution, suitably modified, can be applied to Trinidad and Tobago. After all, if the British Constitution is good enough for Great Britain, it should be good enough for Trinidad and Tobago.[523]

By exhibiting readiness to oversee British institutions of government, Afro-Saxon leaders could distinguish themselves as responsible governors because they had been educated in the

[519] See, for example: Norman Girvan, "Caribbean dependency thought revisited," *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 27, no.3 (2006): 328-352; George Beckford, *Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in the Plantation Economies of the Third World*, (Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1971); Lloyd Best, *Independent Thought and Caribbean Freedom*, (The Institute of Social and Economic Studies, 2002). Ravindra Jain, " The East Indian Culture in a Caribbean Context: Crisis and Creativity," *Indian International Centre Quarterly* 13 (1986):153-164.
[520] Hintzen, "The Caribbean: Race and Creole Ethnicity in the Caribbean."
[521] NAJ Norman Manley, *West Indian Federation: A cause vital to our progress*, p. 166.
[522] Jamaica Hansard, 55, p. 719-720
[523] Eric Williams, *Constitution Reform in Trinidad and Tobago, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 2*, 1955.

modalities of British imperial state functioning. This was part of a carefully mediated strategy for leaders like Manley and West Indies Federation President Grantley Adams of being able to sufficiently embody British civilizational aesthetics to negotiate independence in terms sufficiently acquiescent to the demands of the colonial office. For Eric Williams, walking the tightrope of British respectability seemed a necessary component of securing and maintaining independence in a U.S. and western European-dominated international system inhospitable to nonwhite leadership.[524] As Dr. Williams noted in a national address "so many of my friends who head governments of Third World countries constantly remind me [of] a determined effort among the developed countries to prove the incompetence of black governments".[525]

To circumvent this "determined effort" and prove the competence of the region's leadership within the Western-defined paradigms of responsible governance required strategic maneuvering. If Britain's civilizing mission sought to turn the Black world white via plantation labor and violent subordination, crafting an Anglicized multiracial identity to carry the nation into independence demonstrated the region's successful apprenticeship of imperial conceptualizations of modernity. Evidence suggests that colonial spectators outside of the Caribbean, having understood the region through the civilizational logics of chattel slavery, did indeed perceive Afro-Saxon leaders to be the natural inheritors of Caribbean governance *because* of their absorption of Western motifs of modernity. In 1967, discussing West Indian self-determination, Viscount Massereene and Ferrard, a former absentee proprietor of a Jamaican plantation, spoke to Parliament about his confidence in West Indian governance. His words bear quotation at length:

> We have seen the democratic principle come to nought in Africa. But in the West Indies, where they have a long association with democratic principles, I feel that there is far more hope of this system of Government succeeding and of having stable Governments in all these islands. One point I should like to make is that we owe a special responsibility to these people, and far more, I may say, than we owe to any other people in the Commonwealth. After all, we brought the people there in the days of slavery; they were uprooted from Africa, completely out of their environment and away from their tribal

[524] Amitav Acharya, "Race and racism in the founding of the modern world order," *International Affairs,*98, no. 1 (2022): 23-43.
[525] Eric Williams, *People's National Movement Address, Fourteenth Annual Convention, September 29- October 1,* 1972.

> customs…There are many other races there, of course, because of the indentured Indian and other labour that came in afterwards…They have been able to absorb British culture and British customs far more widely than the Africans... I feel that there is hope in these areas to build something really stable.[526]

The Viscount identifies the potential for stable governance as an outgrowth of slave society disciplining—the element, in his mind, distinguishing West Indian Afro-descendants from Africans on the continent. In 1967—134 years after the Abolition Act—the Viscount justifies self-rule as a form of graduation, using slave society civilizational logics pitting people of African descent in the Caribbean against their distant relatives who had not "absorbed" Britishness to the desired extent. It is important to note this perception amongst arbiters of independence as it shows the extent to which British political values and the appearance of cultural assimilation mattered as markers of fitness for self-governance. Indeed, postcolonial scholars including Edward Said and Uday Mehta emphasize that the uneven integration of formerly colonized societies into the international system results from imperial conditioning which "Others" postcolonial states such that their sovereignty is compared against a Western European episteme of civilized statehood of Westphalian provenance.[527] Mehta underscores that the liberal imperial order which national leaders sought to join as equals looked to physio-cultural manifestations of distancing from their supposed savage precolonial conditions to "settle boundaries between who is included and who is not."[528] When examining the case of the West Indies, it is necessary to extend this exclusionary framing beyond the realm of cultural difference to the imperial distinctions between who was *human* and who was not.

For centuries, the West Indies were located within the Empire as a zone of racialized commodification of savage nonhumans. Enslavement and apprenticeship, as mechanisms pulling the African into (forced) relations with the European, were purported to train the enslaved to perform liberal European civilization as a means of ascending to a free body constructed as human (as opposed to chattel). With centuries of training in slavery's hierarchies, biological proximity and aesthetic adherence to that which is constructed as "human" remained markers of

[526] Hansard, West Indies Bill, volume 279 debated on Thursday, 9 February 1967.
[527] Edward Said. *Orientalism* (Penguin Books India, 1995). Uday S. Mehta, 'Liberal Strategies of Exclusion', in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* edited by Frederick Cooper, and Ann Laura Stoler (Oakland, CA, 1997; online edn, California Scholarship Online, 24 May 2012), p.62.
[528] Mehta, 'Liberal Strategies of Exclusion', p.62.

legitimacy in the lead up to decolonization. Maziki Thame argues that "the elevation of hybridity" inherent to creole nationalism was "the basis of the state's claims to legitimacy vis-à-vis its status in relation to the former colonial power and as a route to consensus around nationhood ."[529] Where during slavery and colonial rule race determined one's access to liberty and bodily autonomy, it later came to shape who was perceived as rightfully holding sovereign authority within the state. With slavery's racial hierarchical logics still intact, to be read as rightful masters of the new Caribbean state meant subordinating the element positioned as the ultimate indicator of disordered humanity: Black African identity. Post-slavery sovereignty – conceived through the imperial mythos of African inhumanity— therefore constrains Black liberty as a performance of state power and civilizational legitimacy. As a result, Anglophone Caribbean leaders reproduced the policing patterns which characterized colonial rule during the transition towards independence. Colonial administrators, for their part, ensured there would be a police force present to maintain order.

Capacity to wield police power was an important component of expressing British political inheritance as evidence for fitness to rule. Across the Empire, colonial administrators assessed a country's readiness for independence in part by transferring authority over local police forces from the colonial governor to local ministers. Officials described local oversight of law and order as the "penultimate step before independence."[530] In the event that colonial officials determined ministers to be insufficiently competent in their handling of the police, authority over the force would be transferred back to the Governor. Positioning policing competence as a precursor to independence, colonial officials determined that "it is infinitely better to hand over responsibility for law and order (including the police) at a stage short of independence—e.g. Jamaica, Trinidad, Singapore—when it is still possible."[531] The Crown would nevertheless "retain an ultimate authority to intervene should Ministers fail to properly discharge responsibility".[532] For Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, the process of attaining independence following the demise of the West Indies Federation meant, in part, retaining mechanisms of order maintenance which conformed to British standards of law enforcement—namely the colonial police and defense forces. Dr. Eric Williams discussed the joint role of police and defense forces in maintaining

[529] Maziki Thame, "Racial Hierarchy and the Elevation of Brownness in Creole Nationalism," *Small Axe,* 21, no.3 (2017): 111.
[530] CO 822/2309, LS Carline, February 1, 1960.
[531] Ibid.
[532] Ibid.

order, noting British insistence on the existence of both forces to regulate order in states erstwhile subjected to colonial rule:

> The fact of the matter is that a new independent country is expected, even required by the ex-colonial power, to have some sort of defence force. The British Government made this quite clear when it set out eight criteria of independence at Jamaica's request at the time of the break-up of the Federation... Sir Alexander Douglas-Home, reiterated this fairly recently when in replying to a question on the *prime* considerations for the grant of independence, he stated: it is *essential* that a country concerned has an efficient army—no matter how small—loyal to the legally elected government and *an efficient police force.* [533]

In the early years of independence, the powers of law and order maintenance, including both internal and external defense, were housed within the Ministry of Home Affairs in both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Plans for the Trinbagonian and Jamaican police forces stipulated that both the police and defense forces were to coordinate in quelling disturbances and intelligence gathering on resistance movements, like the Henry Rebellion. In the near 63 years since Jamaica and Trinidad attained independence, resistance movements by the citizenry of both states have been met with the fatal consequences of heavy-handed collaboration between the police and defense forces. For example, following the Black Power uprising which occurred eight years after Trinidad and Tobago attained independence, Eric Williams again confirmed that British colonial authorities insisted on the existence of paramilitary forces as a precursor for independence, noting that "[t]he establishment of the Defence Force was one of the requirements for independence laid down by the British Government".[534]

I will discuss the Trinbagonian Black Power uprising in detail in Chapter 6, however, it is useful to mention it here as a demonstration of the naturalized expectations for police power to suppress a radical movement seeking to empower the Black and Brown masses. Despite transitioning to

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[533] Eric Williams "The Regiment", *Journal of the Trinidad and Tobago Regiment*, December 1964, p. 11.
[534] SHL, Dr. Eric Williams, Nationwide Broadcast, 3 May 1970. Williams was later accused of questioning the role of the Defense Force in order to marginalize the force and buttress the powers accorded to police. US Reporter Frank McDonald noted that "It is clear from recent events that Government cannot "rely" on the Army. As result, it must be assumed that a "re-examination" of the need for a Defence Force means that Williams intends to really disband the Regiment as soon as possible. Police will therefore be strengthened and their powers expanded." Frank McDonald to Richard Nolte, Executive Director of Institute of Current World Affairs, 7 May 1970. http://www.icwa.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/FJM-24.pdf

independence, state deployment of police power against citizens of the new nations largely followed the patterns established during the colonial era. Years of colonial logic proclaiming the inherent unruliness and violence of the African and Indian peasantry would prove difficult to dispel—particularly in the absence of concerted corrective efforts on the part of the new independent administrations. Officials within the colonial office and British metropolitan governments likewise shared these long-naturalized beliefs projecting inherent dysfunction onto persons subjected to colonial rule, particularly those of African and Indian descent.[535] The insistence on maintaining police power as a mechanism for social order as states acquired independence was an outgrowth of this imperial racial logic insisting that racialized non-Europeans required regulation until they had sufficiently transformed to resemble (though never completely embody) European standards of civilization. These persisting logics dictating the need to police poor and dark-skinned bodies reiterate slavery-era logics mandating racialized discipline as a mechanism for internal security. The added dimension of Anglophone Caribbean creole nationalism, positioning a mixed-race Anglo-acculturated citizen as its ideal type, worked to further marginalize dark-skinned persons, particularly those of African descent, from functional citizenship.

As Maziki Thame emphasizes, limitations to citizenship may be measured in police violence targeting the Black working class, a practice established during colonial rule and re-naturalized in the postcolony to produce a bifurcated order which "establishes the humanness and value of the individuals involved."[536] Under Afro-Saxon rule, the logic dictating appropriate modes of securing the social order were born of slavery's structuring violence reading Black people as requiring discipline or disposal to eliminate threats to racial capitalist order, and undeserving of state services unless they proved productive. In Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, this positioned the Black poor and unemployed population as surplus vulnerable to police violence, or being fatally expended for clientelist political battles. In Jamaica's case, Carl Stone emphasizes how clientelist party politics, particularly in the first decades of independence,

[535] See for example, United Kingdom Hansard: Parliamentary Debates. House of Representatives. 9 February 1967. "West Indies Bill". https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/1967-02-09/debates/d9c0be2c-3fd3-475a-8c72-64cb73949e0c/WestIndiesBill?highlight=%22affected%20by%20the%20bill%22; Hilary Beckles, "Capitalism, Slavery and Caribbean Modernity," *Callaloo*, 20, no. 4 (1997): 777-789.
[536] Maziki Thame, "Reading Violence and Postcolonial Decolonization through Fanon: The Case of Jamaica" *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 4, no.7 (2011): 80.

resulted in Black poor death to ensure party power.[537] We will return to the relationship between 1960s clientelist rule in the proceeding chapters, however here I seek to highlight how the political victories of Afro-Saxon and non-Black party elites have relied on a reserve base of neglected and impoverished racialized communities.

Individuals within these communities were deployed to orchestrate political violence on behalf of one party or another, leaving them subjected to death or injury at the hands of others who share their racialized class status, or police violence by armed forces mandated by the previous colonial power as prerequisites for decolonization. The desire of colonial officials for national leaders to retain colonial policing structures as safeguards against disorder by racialized subjects, dovetailing with the violence of creole nationalist clientelist rule and economic neglect, evinces a common understanding of the racialized poor as expendable bodies to be disciplined and killed to retain order.

This commonality between colonial authorities and national party elites recalls the writings of Fanon and Césaire who highlight the downstream effects of colonial education in shaping colonial elites' relationship with dominance and exploitation. Césaire writes that "the old tyrants get on with the new ones…there has been established between them, to the detriment of the people, a circuit of material services and complicity."[538] Where Césaire here is referring to the "old tyrants" of precolonial orders in Africa and Asia, his statement may easily apply to decolonial negotiations spearheaded by elites formed through imperial education systems and acculturation into the supper clubs and social circles where colonial power slithers in gardens of racialized exclusivity. Bourgeois privileging of upper class political, social and economic concerns perpetuates the post-slavery order positioning the racialized poor as deviant and therefore disposable to secure state order. As Fanon warns in the *Wretched of the Earth*, for elites of colonial and postcolonial society, "the incoherent mass of the people is seen as a blind force that must be continually held in check either by mystification or by the fear inspired by the police force."[539] The social distance between those empowered to through conformity to a colonial model and those who the model was designed to exclude produces contested relations between the state and citizenry, particularly as Afro-Saxon elites positioned themselves to

[537] Carl Stone, *Carl Stone on Jamaican Politics, Economics & Society* (Gleaner,1989).
[538] Aimé Césaire, Robin D. G Kelley, *Discourse on Colonialism*. (Monthly Review Press, 2000): 43.
[539] Fanon, *Wretched*, p. 146.

uphold, rather than dismantle, imperial structures of dominance. In the case of both Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, colonial administrators and state officials alike sought to pre-empt Fanon's predictions by strengthening police and defense forces in the years surrounding decolonization as a bulwark against postcolonial disturbances to order launched by the sufferers, to whom I will now turn my attention.

Sufferation in the State: A Neocolonial Condition

Standing in purposeful distinction to the Anglophilic ruling minority are the Sufferers: the self-identified, disenfranchised majority incapable or disinterested in adhering to the culture and politics of the powerful. The Sufferers have traditionally articulated their own politics of *sufferation,* which Jovan Scott Lewis defines as "a social condition characterized by an inability for economic progress, despite one's ambition."[540] Sufferers perceived that "the values of national leaders since 1938 [had] remained essentially the same as those of the imperial administrators they replaced," a fact which had largely been to their detriment.[541] Inherent to the sufferers' condition is the racialized relegation to the position of expendable deviant, linked to their inability or refusal to perform the placid gentility Anglophone Caribbean authorities expect. Nzinga King's strident protest against state authorities described in the introduction of this dissertation is but one manifestation of this refusal. The police response, in cutting King's dreadlocs, a physical articulation of her ascription to an Afrocentric standard of humanity, is likewise indicative of the state's positionality towards the sufferers. It is not simply because sufferers are impoverished, nor solely because they are racially oppressed, that sufferers are targeted by state forces. Sufferers are juxtaposed against the Afro-Saxon ideal and classed as racialized surplus, and therefore read as expendable, in the post-slavery society by virtue of their ancestral ties to people dehumanized and thingified via plantation labor and unattachment to the European civilizational image of the human.

While traditional Marxist classifications tend to separate the peasantry, proletariat and unemployed "lumpen" social categories into distinct and separate classes, the label "sufferer" is conceived from the understanding of the commonalities in the collective lived experiences of racialized subalternity shared by all three categories of persons in the post-slavery Anglophone

[540] Jovan Scott Lewis, "A So Black People Stay: Bad-mind, Sufferation, and Discourses of Race and Unity in a Jamaican Craft Market," *the Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 20, no. 2, (2014): 328.
[541] NLJ, *Abeng*, Vol. 1, No.3, February 1969.

Caribbean. The term correlates with the reality of Caribbean sufferers who, due to protracted economic precarity, often pursue short term labor contracts and domestic and international migrations which result in their moving between traditional class categories, but do not typically produce economic windfall. A young woman detailed elements of her sufferation in the *Abeng* newspaper, noting her precarity and shifts between years-long stints of unemployment to factory work before taking her chances at domestic labor abroad:

> All fe a young gal like me it hard to get work. An when you get de work de boss-man always wan play wid you. Today mi go down matches factory to look a work. Three years now I doan work an me couldn even get paper to sign…Next week I goin for interview wid de Agency for domestic work in America…dem is another tiefness again. But still I tink dis one soun' reasonable.[542]

Whether a sufferer locates their community amongst urban cultural laboratories of Spanish Town or Laventille, or amongst the peasantry in rural homesteads, or both, she knowingly experiences racialized marginality within the postcolony and seeks to end her *sufferation.* It is this tangible, recognized experience of both racialized *and* class-based oppression which animates a collective identity amongst people who feel the daily brunt of state abuse and neglect stemming from their constructed expendability. In the postcolonial sphere, the experience of *sufferation* is one of racialized lack, characterized by protracted social exclusion and economic deprivation stemming from slavery's naturalized acceptance of the death and devaluation of Black and brown bodies.[543] Like the enslaved African and indentured Indian peoples who make up the modern-day sufferer's ancestors, the sufferer exists outside of the desired civilizational standards of the state and are therefore subject to disproportionate death at the hands of the nation via the police.[544]

Importantly, the projection of sufferer deviance is linked to a perception that they are unruly and most likely to undo racial capitalist order within the state because of their capacity to articulate and mobilize towards alternatives to bourgeois creole nationalism and cultural chauvinism.

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[542] *Abeng*, vol. 1, no. 2, 8 February 1969.
[543] Thame, "Reading Violence and Postcolonial Decolonization"; Deborah Thomas makes more explicit links between contemporary state violence and slavery in *Exceptional Violence: Embodied Citizenship in Transnational Jamaica*, (Duke University Press, 2011).
[544] Term borrowed from Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*.

Indeed, as Carolyn Cooper and Sonjah Niaah describe, rural and urban sufferer cultures oppose, and indeed often mock, the "exclusionary conventions" which define postcolonial Caribbean elite cultural practice.[545] In the early days of the Jamaican and Trinbagonian nations, this power was most visibly articulated by Rastafarians and young sufferers disillusioned with the potential for social change within the dominant Anglophilic culture, and corresponding Westminister democratic model. Jamaica's Minister of Youth and Community Development, Douglas Manley, described this attitude amongst the nation's "unrepresented dispossessed majority"[546] shortly after independence:

> The youths of this unrepresented sector are not willing to docilely accept their rejection. Indicative of their approach to the society is their creation of their own sub-culture. Refusing to ape the life-style of the Euro-centric sector of the society, they have evolved their own jargon, dance, norms and values.[547]

Indeed, what Manley describes as a "sub-culture" would be better described as the *dominant* culture of the suffering *majority*. A rejection of the minoritarian politics which favored those already privileged by racial affiliation and class, Sonjah Stanley Niaah notes how the growth of the "jargon, dance, norms and values" of the suffering masses mirror the cultural cleavages engendered by divisions within plantation society. Indeed many histories of Caribbean resistance can be located within sufferer popular culture, particularly through long-cultivated expressive traditions of Calypso, Mento, Rocksteady, Reggae, Dancehall and, inceasingly, *Trinibad.* Here, Niaah finds an articulation of the persistent tensions "between the dispassionate middle and upper classes and the impassioned lower class, as they creatively assert their sense of a disenfranchised self."[548] The Sufferers' self-recognition of and resistance against their place within the social order produces their struggle to survive and fight for better circumstances in the

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[545] Sonjah Stanley Niaah, Sonjah Stanley. "Making space: Kingston's Dancehall culture and its philosophy of 'boundarylessness'." *African Identities* 2.2 (2004): 117-132 and "" Slackness Personified," Historicized and Delegitimized." *Small Axe* 10, no.3 (2006): 174-185; Carolyn Cooper. "" Lyrical Gun": Metaphor and Role Play in Jamaican Dancehall Culture." *The Massachusetts Review* 35, no. 3-4 (1994): 429-447; Mehta. 'Liberal Strategies of Exclusion' .

[546] JA1B/31/378-1973- Cabinet Submission, Proposal for the Employment of Detached Workers in Deprived Jamaican Communities, 18 June 1973.

[547] Ibid.

[548] Sonjah Stanley Niaah, *Dancehall: From Slave Ship to Ghetto,* (University of Ottowa Press, 2010)*:* 15.

face of state abuse and limited citizenship. It is because of this perceived unruliness and resistive power that the state reiterates their subordination through police violence.[549]

Where the enslaved person was subjected to the whip within the slave society, and the colonized body was truncheoned under post-slavery colonial rule, the sufferer under creole nationalism is left to experience starvation and police bullets as discipline by the bourgeois state for disrupting its racial capitalist order and Anglophilic aesthetic. Of course, the material experiences of their lives differ from those of the enslaved African or indentured Indian, as they cannot be considered chattel or forcibly sequestered to plantations. However, in many ways their lives, like those of enslaved and indentured persons, remained naturalized as expendable after independence thus subjecting them to what Mbembe called necropolitics—a mandate of premature death to uphold state security.[550] Naturally, sufferers grew weary with what they saw as a continuation of colonial hierarchy. In their estimation, national leaders alongside a "small clique of foreign and local white exploiters"[551] colluded to reproduce a system which kept "white on top, brown in the middle and black at the bottom."[552] They would find clear evidence of national leaders' capacity to reiterate imperial norms in the policing of the racialized poor, which I will address in the next section.

Policing Poverty, Producing Resentment

Where the Rastafarians represented a suspicious element warranting police correction in Jamaican society, the youth of urban impoverished communities, including Laventille and Morvant outside of Port-of-Spain, were targeted for policing in early 1960s Trinidad and Tobago. In the lead up to decolonization, police fixed their gaze on Laventille to monitor what they called "Gang War-Fare," following fights between the Marabunatas faction of the Shanty Town community, and the Laventille-based John-John faction and Desperadoes steel pan band. The Laventille community has been popularly referred to as suffering from "a culture of poverty" and historically is known as a site of settlement for Africans fleeing plantation forced labor in the days of Trinidad's slave society.[553] The community was also the site of origin of an

[549] Thomas, *Exceptional Violence,* p. 19.
[550] Achille Mbembe. *Necropolitics*. (Duke University Press, 2019).
[551] Alma Jordan Library (AJL), *Black Expression: The Voice of Morvant*, Issue No. 2, undated.
[552] NLJ, Abeng, February 1969.
[553] *Trinidad and Tobago Guardian*, History of Laventille, 14 March 2015.

important feature of Trinbagonian national culture, the steelpan and the bands of youths who played the instrument. Bands of Laventille youths, sometimes self-identified as 'badjohns,' formed bands like the All Stars, Desperadoes, Harmonites and Invaders to play the iconic instruments in Carnival processions. However, owing to their formation in economically and socially marginalized communities and frequent physical confrontations between bands, the 1950s and early 1960s development of these steelpan band rivalries gave rise to an association of "pan" culture with violent gang activity.[554] Laventille, as one of the sites of this culture conceived by Afro-descendant youths, was identified for police scrutiny as a site for potential disruption as Trinidad and Tobago approached decolonization.

In 1957, the Police Commissioner for Trinidad and Tobago opened an inquiry into the causes and effects of gang altercations, including activities by steel pan bands. The report describes an "outbreak of hooliganism" and characterizes the Laventille community as follows:

> In addition to the poor housing situation, other general conditions which are disadvantageous are (1) lack of facilities for creation, (2) the overall low average income of the residents of the area, (3) the 'bad name' which the area has come to possess, and (4) a seeming lack of community feeling…But there is a considerable feeling of attachment to the place on the part of most, this arising because of long residence, even birth, in the area. The area is 'home' to many, and this feeling might be strong enough to be used for good.[555]

While the Commissioner recognized the social factors contributing to what was described as "abnormal behavior" of the people of Laventille, the police report nevertheless pathologizes the young residents for their participation in steel pan bands, equating rivalry between musical bands with communal violence by burgeoning street gangs. He also suggested that their cultural expression was a contributing factor to their destitution and social marginalization, noting:

> It is also a fact that youths from this area are being ostrasized socially and occupationally by reason of the locality in which they live. Whilst this is unfortunate, it is understandable, in as much as they have become notorious as a result of the steel band clashes and various gang-warfares with which they have been associated. Their poor

[554] Wendell Wallace, "Understanding the Evolution of Localized Community-based Street Gangs in Laventille, Trinidad," *Journal of Gang Research* 26, no. 1, (2018): 1-16.
[555] AJL, Superintendent Administration to Deputy Police Commissioner, 28 August 1957.

> mentality too, plays no small part in this attitude of the public towards them and if a change of heart is desired the initiative must be taken by them. [556] *(sic)*

The Commissioner expressed that this perceived lack of self-reliance, as well as engagement in "anti-social activities," including "steel pan beating" and "lax morals generally" tended to "separate the boys [of Laventille] from '*decent* society'."[557] This distance from constructed decency was linked to the naturalized notions of respectability and deviance in Trinidad and Tobago. The Police Commissioner mentioned the youth's participation in steel pan "beating" because of its deviation from the quiet, genteel Anglicized cultural norms of the upper classes, thus using his power as a state agent to define the boundaries the decent. Steelpan came to exemplify the racialized cultural distance between the impoverished residents of Laventille and wealthier residents of Port of Spain, much as the explicitly African-derived element of Canboulay visually epitomized the presence of defiant, racialized Black people in a European-derived Carnival immediately following emancipation. Like the Canboulay celebrants, who were targeted with police violence in 1881 for their fiery revelry, youths participating in Laventille steelpan bands were pathologized and targeted with police violence.[558]

A 1962 memo from the Morvant Community Association emphasized the importance of the "institution of law and its concomitan(t) order" as a "keynote of a civilised society."[559] The community organization claimed that Morvant youths had been "bewitched by a kind of impatience and impetuousness which leads them to disregard the controlling influence of law and order."[560] This emphasis on the controlling influence of law and order was used to justify the frequent use of force by police against Laventille youth. The area was subjected to increased police patrolling which frequently resulted in the indiscriminate killing of young Black men and boys from the area. Much as police attention was directed towards economically and culturally marginalized people of Laventille, the connection between police abuse and economic lack was also evident in Jamaica.

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[556] Ibid.
[557] Ibid.
[558] CO 295/289/29 Report of J. Scott Bushe, 7 March 1881.
[559] Morvant Community Center, "The Responsibility of Youth in a New Nation with Special Reference to Trinidad and Tobago," 3 November 1962.
[560] "The Responsibility of Youth in a New Nation with Special Reference to Trinidad and Tobago," 3 November 1962.

In February 1962, Mr. Frank Grey testified that he had been beaten by numerous plain clothes police officers, after he saw the officers beating Bertram Alladyce, a young boy wearing his school uniform, and attempted to intervene:

> Man get wild a lick. Me have 'e shield mi yeye from dem lick it out, for everybody vex… Imagine! I try protect a citizen on the street and this is the result…I run under a table an they back me up and beat me like when people a run cockroach round town.[561]

Mr. Grey was a fisherman. After his arrest and beating, he was held in the remand section of Kingston's General Penitentiary for seven months. Upon his release, he found that his home, where he lived alone, had fallen into disrepair and his fishing boat, his "sole means of livelihood," had been stolen leaving him unhoused and with no financial means of remedying his situation.[562] The archive is silent on the details which follow Mr. Grey's abuse and loss of livelihood, however he could have easily been among those arrested in the 1960s and 1970s who have been held on remand for decades and remain in police custody without set trial dates.[563]

Mr. Grey was one of many sufferers across the Anglophone Caribbean whose lives and livelihoods could be extinguished by a chance altercation with the police. Their naturalized social exclusion and the postcolonial habituation to their being on the receiving end of police bullets both result from their racialized subordinated status. This subject positioning was first naturalized by the region's foundations in slavery and was further cemented by racialized subordination of the descendants of enslaved people during colonial rule. The 1960s reproduction of colonial, slavery-derived modes of racialized dominance was poised to reproduce this status. A 1966 memo from the Jamaican Council on Voluntary Services detailing poverty and police violence in West Kingston provides insights into the sufferers' self-recognition of their intractable outsider positioning and the state's failures to end their *sufferation*, despite independence. Importantly, the memo shows how the sufferers maintain a capacity for resistive disruption amidst the police violence and economic decay to which they are subjected. The Council states that police violence was inordinately directed against:

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[561]Translation from Patois: "The men were getting wild with their beating. I had to cover my eyes before they beat it out of my head, because every one of them was angry…" *Daily Gleaner*, 2 February 1962.
[562] *Daily Gleaner*, 5 January 1962.
[563] *Daily Gleaner*, 11 June 2020.

> Large numbers of persons for whom poverty and deprivation are acute…who have so long been unemployed that they have become unemployable…They have learnt that so long as settled society is not disturbed or inconvenienced, it is usually callous and indifferent to suffering. Violence and lawlessness serve to bring their problems to public notice, even if the reaction is sharp and repressive.[564]

Sentiments that the middle-class and ruling elites were callous to their marginalization were in fact widespread. Indeed, as stated by a sufferer commentator in *Black Expression,* a community paper from Trinidad's Morvant community: "Basically, they don't care a damn about the poor suffering masses."[565] These perceptions of middle-class aloofness to economic inequality and state violence provided ample ideological ground for organized resistance, eliciting concern from national leaders eager to make their mark as competent governors. They scaled up police violence and punishments for crimes impacting the middle and upper class. For example, the development of mandatory minimum sentences for housebreaking, an act understood to be a crime of economic necessity amongst the Caribbean lower classes,[566] perpetuated slavery-era physical discipline via the lash. As Jamaican leftist Hugh Small lamented in 1969:

> In the first three weeks of 1969 there were 11 cases in which accused persons were found guilty of criminal offences in the Circuit Courts…Two of the accused were young men of 17 and 20 years with no previous convictions. Each were sentenced to seven years in prison and flogging. In another case, a young man of 21 years with three previous convictions was sentences to 15 years and 10 lashes. Putting it another way, the Judge decided to shut that man away until 1984 when he will be 36 years old…Very soon these youths must inevitably begin to doubt the moral pretensions of a society and its legal system which turn a blind eye to robbery in high places but commands the jailer to whip and imprison Quashie.[567]

Proving the capacity to discipline this class was particularly important in the 1960s context of postcolonial nation building which hinged on demonstrating the capacity for self-rule. National

[564] Memo from Council on Voluntary Services to Bustamante, 13 July 1966.
[565] AJL, *Black Expression: The Voice of Morvant*, Issue No. 2, undated.
[566] Anthony Harriott describes "household burglaries and theft of personal property" as "crimes of the poor." "The Changing Social Organization of Crime and Criminals in Jamaica," *Caribbean Quarterly* 42, no.2-3 (1996): 59.
[567] *Abeng*, 1 February 1969.

leaders beholden to security and order maintenance expectations from international onlookers and middle-class voters alike used police power to uphold the preceding naturalized order. Thus for sufferers, the function of the state meant a reiteration of racialized relegation to the realm of the expendable. Those who were unable to or disinterested in embodying the national ideal or evincing productive capacity to the state's economic benefit were reminded of their incomplete citizenship through police violence.

A Foreign Menace and A Bad Name: Rasta Resistance and Sufferer Subjugation

On 5 June 1963, Rastafarian Brethren from the Back O' Wall United Front wrote to Alexander Bustamante declaring their status as persons of "African-Ethiopian Origin…'sent' as Slaves from Africa-Ethiopia, to Jamaica-West Indies over three hundred years ago."[568] The Brethren declared, on behalf of their Denham Town community, their intention to return to their self-identified point of origin on the African continent, referring to their proposed voyage as an "inalienable right":

> We the persons that represent this [community]…are willing to return to Africa-Ethiopia, Honourable Sir and Minister of External Affairs of the Jamaican Government…We the Ras Tafarian Brethren and persons, do hereby make this standard representation under "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights" Honourable Sir and Minister of External Affairs, This is a case of Exigency and needs consulting action…International Morality is at stake.
>
> Whereas it is noteworthy to mention that in April 1960 The Emperor welcome[d] a Jamaica Mission to Ethiopia, H.E. stated that "Ethiopia would always be open to people of African Origin who lived in the West and who desired to return"[569]*(sic)*

Examining Rastafarian appeals for repatriation, and the response by the Jamaican government to them, provides insights into perceptions of the shift in social and political order heralded by decolonization, and national leaders' conceptualization of the role of police power in the new nations. The Rastafarian community's demands from the government suggest a self-understanding of their position as members of a new state which ostensibly had the imperative of meeting the needs of its citizens. The Brethren of the United Front were requesting assistance

[568] NAJ 4/143/3/13-5/6/1963, Ras Tafari Brethren, United Front to Bustamante.
[569] H.E. denotes His Excellency. NAJ 4/143/3/13, RasTafari Brethren to Bustamante, 5 June1963.

from the Jamaican government to make the journey to Ethiopia as citizens demanding state attention to a "case of exigency". Prior to independence, numerous factions of Rastafarians had already established communications with the Ethiopian government independent of colonial authorities, culminating in Emperor Haile Selassie ceding Oromo lands at Shashamane for Rastafarian settlement in 1948.[570] However, in 1963, nearly one year after Jamaica achieved independence, the Rastafari were eliciting assistance from their government as full citizens of the Jamaican state. Although the Rastafarian brethren were asserting their external origins as Africans in the Caribbean, they were claiming what they understood to be their right as citizens to call on the government to act in service of their vision. They asserted their entitlement to correct the wrongs of the system of chattel slavery, which orchestrated the trafficking of their ancestors to "Jamaica-West Indies over three hundred years ago," by seeking to "return" to Africa.

The Rastafarian belief in redemption through resettlement in "Africa-Ethiopia" and rejection of the Western order of "Babylon" is well known. According to Horace Campbell, "the Rastafari movement, in all its contemporary manifestations, challenges not only the Caribbean but the entire Western world to come to terms with the history of slavery, the reality of white racism and the permanent thrust for dignity and respect by black people."[571] It was the counterhegemonic declaration that, despite what the colonial logics might have to say about the dearth of African civilization, Africa was a place worth belonging to and the West had brought little more than "misery and oppression…from the hands of white nations."[572]

By writing to the Jamaican prime minister, the Rastafari acknowledged the government's *capacity* to assist in their flight to Africa, but perhaps overestimated the Prime Minister's willingness to do so. On 6 June 1963 Bustamante sent his two-line reply to the Brethren: "I do not want to hear anything more of your nonsense about going back to Africa."[573] The Prime Minister's response was delivered in the context of elite and middle-class antipathy levied against the religious community since its emergence in the 1930s and more recent prolonged police actions towards them. By June 1963, the Henry Rebellion of 1960 had already culminated

[570] Scott Timcke and Shelene Gomes, "Placemaking in the Transnational Caribbean: A Rastafari Community in Ethiopia," *Journal of Black Studies* 52, no. 2 (2021): 166-185.
[571] Horace Campbell, "The Rastafarians in the Eastern Caribbean," *Caribbean Quarterly,* 26, no. 4 (1985), p. 44.
[572] NAJ, Report of Speech made by Leonard Howell, leader of the Ras Tafari, 7 January1940.
[573] NAJ 4/143/3/13, Bustamante to Rastafari Brethren, 6 June 1963.

in the arrest and death sentence of Claudius Henry, his son and several followers, and April 1963 bore witness to the Coral Gardens killings, known as "Bad Friday."

On 11 April 1963, police officers confronted Rastafarians at Coral Gardens, outside Montego Bay, resulting in a firefight which killed 8 people. Coral Gardens was a section of the Rose Hall plantation reclaimed by Black Jamaicans as Saint James authorities cleared arable public lands to spatialize the parish for the growing tourism industry. Anticipating a rise in foreign investments, direct descendants of the British planter class including H.G. DeLisser, Walter Fletcher, and Francis Moncrieff Kerr-Jarrett ordered local police to force "undesirables" from lands identified for development, including by physically preventing Black Jamaicans from walking through Coral Gardens.[574] As Custos—a position inherited from his father—Francis served as the personal representative for the British Governor General in the Parish.[575] He privately employed police officers and Edward Fowler, the overseer on Rose Hall plantation owned by the Kerr-Jarrett family, to police Rastafarians from crossing Salt Spring Road, a barrier separating Jamaica's people from the tourist world. In response to increased police harassment and segregation to enable the privatization of farmlands captured by local residents, Rudolph Franklyn, originally from Maroon Town, mobilized Rasta brethren and sistren from Upper King Street, Railway Lane and the Gulley community in a march to defy police orders.[576]

During the march, police attempts to remove the protesters devolved into a physical altercation, as Rastas beat Fowler and set fire to a Shell gas station built by Ken Douglas on lands previously occupied by the local Black community. In the fray, Detective Corporal Melbourne, another officer under Francis' private employ, and Superintendent Bertie L. Scott, were killed.[577] The *Gleaner* reported the attack was the contrivance of "cultists" positioning the "gang" of Rastafarians against the deceased police, making no mention of the demonstrators' purpose for the march. In a show of postcolonial support to the planter class, Prime Minister Bustamante flew to the scene. Invoking the base of slave society securitization logics, Bustamante reiterated the colonial positioning of Black bodies as expendable and deviant in calling on police to "Bring

[574] Horace Campbell, "Coral Gardens 1963: The Rastafari and Jamaican Independence," *Social and Economic Studies* 63, no. 1 (2014)*:* 207.
[575]Ministry of Justice, "Custodes", https://moj.gov.jm/custodes#:~:text=Functions%20and%20Duties&text=It%20is%20his%20duty%2C%20in,the%20precincts%20of%20the%20parish (accessed 9 February 2025).
[576]Campbell, "Coral Gardens 1963".
[577] *Gleaner*, 13 April 1963.

in all Rastas, dead or alive!"[578] What followed was a coordinated police manhunt targeting Rastas for arrest, and subsequently, torture in prison. Walter Brissette reported:

> The police hunted us like animals and took us all to prison, where we were severely mistreated. We were spat on, brutally beaten and food was purposely withheld from us.[579]

In just one short year of independence, Jamaica displayed its commitment to retaining the colonial view of (self)liberated Africans as the primary embodiment of criminal deviance. Such was the naturalized police aggression towards Rasta that Detective Selbourne Reid described police training schools used images of Rastafarians for target practice at shooting ranges.[580] Although many of those killed at Coral Gardens were Rastafari who had been subjected to frequent police provocation and violence, much of the elite perceived the incident through a lens suggesting the inevitability of Rastafarian criminality and justifying increased disciplinary violence. The Saint Andrew Custos wrote to Prime Minister Bustamante calling for "drastic steps" to curtail further disorder involving the Rastafarians:[581]

> I think the time has come when a section of the Camp lands, or some other suitable site, should be put under the control of the military, surrounded by barbed wire entanglements and all known Ras Tafarians should be brought into this Camp for a period of rehabilitation period those who benefit from the teachings which will be given them, and are prepared to take their places in the community as ordinary citizens to be released when deemed fit; others to remain indefinitely. This may be considered an imposition of the rights of citizens… but certainly enough harm and damage have been done to warrant this type of action.[582]

While the military camp did not come to fruition, the fact that the Custos, as a state officer of law and order, suggested its erection in the first place is indicative of the naturalized sentiment of police power towards the Rastafari as Afro-descendants eschewing the aesthetics and lifeways of "ordinary citizens" of the postcolony. Here, the notion of the ordinary, normal human citizen is

[578] Campbell, "Coral Gardens 1963"p. 198.
[579] Jamaica Office of the Public Defender, *An Investigation into the April 1962 Incident at Coral Gardens*, 9 December 2015. p. 26
[580] Ibid p. 26; Junior "Gabu" Wedderburn, Junior Manning, Carol Narcisse, Oxumgirl Productions, and Third World Newsreel (Firm). 2011. *Bad Friday : Rastafari after Coral Gardens*. Directed by Deborah A. Thomas and John L. Jackson. [Widescreen presentation]. New York, NY: Third World Newsreel.
[581] NAJ4/143/3/9-Custos of St. Andrew to Bustmante, 11 April 1963.
[582] Ibid.

juxtaposed against the Rastafari, perceptually relegated to slot of Afrocentric deviant. As Maziki Thame points out, the perception of Rastafari as derelict can be attributed to their Afrocentric beliefs centering an identity grounded in Black African origins, rather than Jamaican creoleness.[583] "Blacks were expected to submit to the nation," and Rastafari contravention of their normalized social place elicited the suggestion that they merited discipline via enclosure within "barbed wire entanglements."[584]

Premier Norman Manley evinced his own internalized imperial logics in the context of the aforementioned Henry Rebellion, telling the Jamaican House of Representatives in 1960 that the Rastafarians had introduced "the positive preachment of violence, against the country as a whole."[585] "It will be the policy of Government" he continued, "to pursue relentlessly and to stamp out every trace of this new movement of violence in this country."[586] Having positioned the Rastafarians as enemies of the Jamaican state before the House of Representatives, Manley subsequently turned his attention to the Jamaican populace. In a public address, he implored the citizenry to join the police manhunt for Rastafarians with the rationale that they should be captured because of their perceived alien deviance:

> At this time co-operation is demanded from every one. Every single element in the country—the political parties, the Press, the radio services and the public at large – can help bring a speedy end to this movement which I repeat, is foreign and alien both in leadership and attitude to our way of life".[587]

Though discovering a plot to overthrow government would have been far from ideal for any burgeoning nation, Manley's insistence on the "foreign and alien" nature of the Rastafarian movement – despite its very genesis in Jamaica by Jamaicans—is indicative of efforts to other the movement for its failure to conform to the idealized image of the Anglicized creole citizen. As Brian Meeks argued, the Henry Rebellion was an "ideological product of an alternative universe of resistance whose markers were the assertion of Africa, Blackness, and revolution."[588] Making his public appeal, Premier Manley implored the public not only to share information that

[583] Thame, "Racial Hierarchy and Elevation of Brownness".
[584] Ibid, p. 118.
[585] CO 1031/3994, Statement of the Premier, 1960.
[586] Ibid.
[587] *Gleaner* 29 June 1960.
[588] Brian Meeks, *Narratives of Resistance: Jamaica, Trinidad, the Caribbean* (University of the West Indies Press, 2000).

could lead to arrests of the wanted persons, but also reports of "*any* suspicious movements among Rastafarian cultists."[589] Building on slavery's naturalized Afrophobia, Manley's invitation to the public to report on Rastafarian "suspicious movements" normalized a view of the group as dangerous and decidedly outside of the prototypic image of the Europeanized citizen the government sought to project. Manley's statement and call for Jamaicans to surveil bodies constructed as deviant reiterated the subordinated subject position of Rastafarians, and anyone who the public *perceived* to belong within their ranks. Identified as disordering bodies for their capacity to awaken recognition of the population's African heritage and disrupt the ubiquity of Anglicized aesthetics, they were again positioned against the Eurocentric normal humanness Wynter speaks of. For their power to interrupt colonial normalcy, they were understood as security threats to be monitored against further subversion.

In response to the proliferation of police actions and rhetoric vilifying their communities Rastafarians made public pleas in their defense and imploring an end to police aggression. A 1961 open letter by Rastafarian residents of Western Kingston states:

> We the Rastafarian[s] are willing to cooperate with this government, while we are here, if we are <u>not</u> being provoked or brutalized, for more of the time, the police take the law in their own hands and provoke us without a cause. We call for an end to those provocations, and give us a time to meditate peacefully. We the Rastafarian remain non-violent, we do not deal with politics for it is full of envy. We close in the name of King of Kings, Lord of Lords.[590]

The Rastafari demanded social integration within a post-slavery context which had positioned them as aberrant, and therefore meriting provocation and brutalization by the police. Within Jamaica's post-slavery landscape, the prideful declaration of an African identity and eschewal of British-defined markers of civilized life– both in terms of appearance and lifestyle—rendered them heretical in Jamaica's colonial landscape. Thus Rastafarianism extends beyond a religious movement. In affirming their African heritage, Rastafarians embed within the broader Jamaican state a politics of refusal to reproduce their own dehumanization. Pride in Black African identity creates a self-expressed normalcy, through the love of the self in its unmodified biological integrity. For dehumanized Black people, this image presents potential for a new biological

[589] *Gleaner*, 29 June 1960.
[590] *Jamaica Star*, 27 October 1961.

referent of human normalness, a redemptive image that rejects slavery's notion of hopeless deviant. Here, the words of Sister Janet Tafari bear repeating: "Rastas want[ed] to move to a higher stage of society than one of shameless imitation of Europe."[591] Rastafari redemptive refusal operates not simply as a counter to thingification manifested variously across spaces subjected to colonial rule, but *specifically* the African cultural repudiation naturalized in the slave society to empower white planters and season Black bodies into instruments for plantation production. As Wynter reminds us, it was "the peoples of Black African descent who would be constituted as the ultimate referent of the 'racially inferior' Human Other…the negation of the generic 'normal humanness'."[592] Ultimately, the policing of poor Black communities in the early days of independence demonstrates the Caribbean state's continued negation of the normalcy of Black humanity.

Under Afro-Saxon rule, as in the slave society, Black humanity and culture were positioned as anathema to the Europeanized creole citizen the state projected as ideal. Following centuries of slave society training, the state under Bustamante reiterated plantation logics equating security and the protection of capital with the death of Black bodies rejecting their assigned subordinate status. This is made clear when examining the Coral Gardens killings, as resistance to capitalist encroachment onto previously public lands resulted in the death and torture of Black bodies. The function of police in buttressing racial capitalism is further elucidated when considering that these police operations were ordered, with the benediction of the state, by the same families of British and Scottish heritage constituting Jamaica's slave society oligarchs looking to increase their personal capital long after slavery. As Horace Campbell writes, police violence directed towards the Rastafarians was "a clear statement to local and foreign 'developers'" that spaces for tourist development would be cleansed of Black influence in the Rastafari. Bustamante's directive to bring all Rastafarians—as prideful Afro-descendants—into state custody "dead or alive" is a rearticulation of the plantation logics reading liberated Africanness as a disordering menace to capitalist production.

It is also therefore not surprising that Manley positioned the Rastafarian community as enemies of the Jamaican and West Indian aspirations towards independence, stating: "They are doing

[591] Horace Campbell, *Rasta and Resistance: From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney*, (Africa World Press, 1987): 169.
[592] Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being," p. 266.

your good name great harm, and it is tragic that this sort of thing should be happening just when people are on the verge of becoming an independent people".[593] Maintaining a "good name" within the bounds of colonial norms was of paramount importance in the years surrounding decolonization because imperial logics naturalized the understanding that subjects required tutelage due to a purported lack of civilization. Anglophone Caribbean authorities could build this "good name" through the naturalized imperial channels of order maintenance: targeting resistance by the racialized underclasses, particularly those who were vocally pro-African. In doing so, Afro-Saxon Caribbean national leaders evinced their ability to ensure the continuity of colonial social hierarchy. Importantly, the sufferers recognized that the persistence in their subordinated subject positioning under independent rule was linked to "victimization by the GARDEN BOYS of Imperialism, the Police."[594] Afro-Saxon leadership would do little to assuage sufferers' frustration over leadership's alignment with Western imperial interests, particularly as leaders like Bustamante declared that they were "with the West."[595]

"With the West": Afro-Saxon Alignment with Anglo-American Security Concerns

While Afro-Saxon leadership across the Anglophone Caribbean prepared to demonstrate their capacity to wield the reins of government, the United States and Britain maintained economic and political interests in the region. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Jamaica was one of the world's leading exporters of raw bauxite, supplying 60% of US bauxite imports. The island was host to US multinational corporations including Aluminum Corporation of America (ALCOA), Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation and Reynolds Metal Company, who owned large shares of the island's mining operations.[596] British oil firms continued extracting Trinidadian oil through the Shell corporation, while US enterprise Texaco increased its share of ownership of oilfield acreage.[597] Anglo-American economic interests dovetailed with concerns over the stability of Western hegemony in the Caribbean Basin to impact order enforcement in the region.

[593] *Gleaner* 22 June 1960.
[594] Capitals in original. *Abeng*, 31 May 1969.
[595] *Gleaner*, 6 August 1962.
[596] Godfrey P. Smith. *Michael Manley: The Biography*. (Ian Randle Publishers, 2016): 120-124.
[597] "The Geological Society of Trinidad and Tobago - History of Petroleum Exploration in T&T." The Geological Society of Trinidad and Tobago. Accessed March 2, 2025. https://thegstt.org/history/petro; Vincent, Godfrey. "Trinidad and Tobago: George Weekes and the Oilfields Workers Resistance to Imperialism, 1962–1987." In *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism*, edited by Immanuel Ness and Zak Cope, 2639–50.

By 1962, the Monroe Doctrine had long enabled US imperialism in Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, Cuba, Haiti and the Dominican Republic.[598] With the addition of the 1904 Roosevelt Corollary, the United States assumed the "role of regional policeman"[599]—seizing the right to define and guide capitalist order in the region. This role assumed new importance for the region after the Cuban Revolution culminated in the rise of communist rule in 1959. At the same time, Cheddi Jagan's communist People's Progressive Party (PPP) in neighboring Guyana enjoyed popular support from the Afro-Guyanese and Indo-Guyanese working classes even before Guyana's independence, prompting further concern from Anglo-American onlookers.[600] The communitarian anti-capitalism made actionable by Cuban revolutionaries and the PPP could have likely found fertile ground amongst sufferers fatigued with oppressive imperial class relations, without the influence of Western intervention and local middle-class pro-Western propagandizing. The British Commonwealth Office was aware that depressed economic conditions affecting the sufferer population in the Caribbean would leave the region open to influence from economic and social ideologies anathema to racial capitalist hegemony. A 1967 Commonwealth Office details concerns about the region's disruptive potential:

> Though some of the islands are reasonably prosperous, many of them have precarious economies. Nevertheless, the pressure of the population against limited size and resources; failure, so far, to diversify the economy; consequent persisting poverty in some places; the increasing tendency to compare local standards with those of North America; the proximity of Cuba; the strong undertones of racial feeling…all these factors carry the risk of unsettled internal conditions in one or another of the territories at any given time.[601]

Like their British allies, US officials were aware that popular dissatisfaction with the failure of national governments to end economic strife produced by the preceding colonial order made for

[598] Juan Pablo Scarfi, "In the name of the Americas: the Pan-American Redefinition of the Monroe Doctrine and the emerging language of American International Law in the Western Hemisphere, 1898-1933." *Diplomatic History* 40, no.2 (2016): 189-218.
[599] CIA, Intelligence Memorandum: Black Radicalism in the Caribbean—Another Look, 12 June 1970.
[600] The PPP would not officially declare itself Marxist-Leninist until 1969, however the tenets of the party aligned with Marxist-Leninist principles from the inception of the party, which was identified by Western powers as a communist threat in the early 1960s. Colin Prescod, "Guyana's socialism: an interview with Walter Rodney," *Race & Class* 18, no.2 (1976): 109-128.
[601] FCO 7/789, Draft Memorandum on British Policy in the Commonwealth Caribbean, 20 December 1967.

fertile revolutionary ground. In January 1962, the US State Department sought assistance to combat what they perceived to be Cuban efforts to "export its revolution." [602] Noting the potential for revolutionary forces to "capitalize on the failure of non-Communists to achieve real reform," State Department officials coordinated with British colonial forces to shape policing in the region to stop "sympathetic forces" from wresting power for the lower classes. [603] Given the United States' own persistent legacies of chattel slavery and racial capitalist order, it is perhaps to be expected that US officials held deep anxieties about the possibilities for self-government in the Caribbean. With the prospect of anti-capitalist disorder looming just south of Florida, the US looked to Britain as a special partner in sustaining white supremacist imperial order across the Caribbean.

During the 1930s labor rebellions, the United States consul in Bridgetown expressed worries along the lines of their British counterparts, predicting "the gradual submergence of the white man as an economic, political, and social factor in a tide of color" in the region.[604] By 1953, the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) expressed similar concerns of the white man's demotion, emphasizing the presence of European military and administrative officials as stable bulwarks against the people's "increasing capability in Jamaica and Trinidad for fomenting or abetting disorders," and "Communist infiltration."[605] A CIA memorandum titled "The European Dependencies in the Caribbean Area" explicitly lays out US reliance on European imperial authorities and police to maintain racial hegemony enabling capitalist exploitation of the Caribbean

> Preservation of European authority in the Caribbean dependencies tends to [e]nsure the availability of the strategic materials and bases in the area…Numerous radical and demagogic native leaders –including Communists and Communist sympathizers – have risen in nearly all the dependencies to organize and direct mass followings. The resultant tensions, which at times erupt into disorders, have posed a continuous threat to stability in

[602] Special National Intelligence Estimate 80-62, "The Threat to US Security Interests in the Caribbean Area," 17 January 1962.
[603] Ibid.
[604] 844C. 504/1, RG 59 NA, U.S. Consulate-Bridgetown to US State Department 17 August 1935.
[605] CIA, The European Dependencies in the Caribbean Area, 16 March 1954.

> most parts of the area, and they require the metropoles to maintain in the Caribbean trained military units as well as large police forces.[606]

Indeed, British colonial police and Security Liaison officers buttressed US desires to maintain the Caribbean's positioning as a den for strategic military bases, tourism, and bauxite, oil, and to a lesser extent agricultural, exploitation. These relations were particularly pronounced during and after World War II with regard to the protection and patrolling of military bases, including the US naval base at Chaguaramas. The 1948 Police Commissioner report details that, despite US forces having recently opened fire on local fishermen in Chaguaramas killing one unnamed man and grievously wounding his son, collaboration between "American and police authorities have been cordial." The report explains the mutual appreciation between US armed forces and local police, detailing that "many letters expressing thanks from the various U.S. Commanding Officers to the police" demonstrated the "very satisfactory state of affairs which exist between the Americans and the British authorities in the Colony."[607] It is, in part, due to the continued policing of the US military base at Chaguaramas that prompted Premier Williams to insist that "the West Indies Federation is a glorified Crown Colony, a 19th-century anachronism."[608]

In the postwar context which saw a Caribbean reeling from the Battle of the Atlantic juxtaposed against the novel alternatives of Cuban and Guyanese communism, the Empire saw renewed importance of securing the West Indies against foreign interference and internal instability fomented by leftist agitators. In addition to SLO monitoring activities positioned as subversive, Britain insisted on the formation of the West Indies Regiment to maintain internal order in the short-lived West Indies Federation. [609] Aside from efforts to push the West Indies territories to shore up British-conceived rule of law prior to independence, the colonial office understood that it had an ally in overseeing law and order in the Caribbean in the United States. The United States carried out this duty in large part through the work of CIA operatives.

While Norman Manley and Eric Williams never pursued leftist revolution, the CIA maintained active watch over left-wing political forces within their respective political parties, the People's

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[606] Ibid, p.4.
[607] National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago (henceforth NATT), Annual Report of the Commissioner of Police for the year 1948, p9.
[608] Quoted in Colin A. Palmer, *Eric Williams & the Making of the Modern Caribbean*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2006) p.77-78.
[609] Emphasis mine. CO 537/4287 Functions of Security Liaison Officer memo, 21 April 1949.

National Party (PNP) and People's National Movement (PNM). In contrast to Manley, Washington's perception of Williams vascillated between "vehemently anti-American" and demonstrating "friendliness", as he negotiated the US return of land granted by the British at Chaguaramas.[610] Still, the CIA viewed Williams as an arbiter of order amidst decolonization because of his capacity to "summon his forces" and maintain "control of the police" against the rise of leftist forces locally and regionally.[611] Williams offered the services of political forces "at the disposal of the United Force" , a Guyanese center-right party, as part of anti-Communist "maneuvers to oust the PPP".[612] Concerning Jamaica, a memo indicates that while "the Jamaican government is basically pro-US" the outlook of the Jamaican people did not match that of their political representatives, highlighting the stark divide between ordinary people and Afro-Saxon leadership.[613] Although the CIA cautioned that Jamaica's People's National Party promoted "more radical internal policies"[614] the potential perceived threat of the socialist party had been effectively neutralized, in the British view, after having "ousted the communist element"[615] from the party—namely the Marxist-Leninst Four H's from Chapter 4. The ruling Jamaican Labor Party (JLP) remained "the personal creation of Sir Alexander Bustamante" and while the party "retain[ed] a lot of working-class support it now also tends to attract the support of many of the commercial and business community."[616] The JLP's working class support was largely still a holdover of Bustamante's feverish activism during the labor rebellions of the 1930s, however some of the sufferers were beginning to awaken to the party's capitalist priorities.[617]

The situation was similar in Trinidad and Tobago, where the population was understood to be a threat to established order and the economic success enjoyed by the local capitalist class. Despite calling Trinidad an "almost a model of a successful British colony of predominately non-European race turned independent Commonwealth country,"[618] the British High Commissioner

[610] CIA, Office of Current Intelligence, 9 November 1961.
[611] Ibid.
[612] CIA, Weekly Summary, 20 December 1963.
[613] CIA, Central Intelligence Bulletin, 11 September1962.
[614] US National Archives (USNA) Visit of Mr. R.C.C. Hunt to Washington, Jamaica Country Note, April 1968.
[615] CO 1035/125, Official Committee on Counter-Subversion in the Colonial Territories, 1956.
[616] Ibid.
[617] Richard Hart. *Time for a Change : Constitutional, Political and Labour Developments in Jamaica and Other Colonies in the Caribbean Region, 1944-1955*(Arawak, 2004)*;* Trevor Munroe, *The Politics of Constitutional Decolonisation in Jamaica, 1944–1962*(Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1972).
[618] CO 1031/5003, British High Commissioner in Trinidad and Tobago to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, "Trinidad and Tobago After Two Years of Independence," 12 November 1964.

maintained a paternalistic view of the country's capacity to fend off the perceived "laziness, low productivity and indiscipline of the labour force, together with the extreme Left-wing views and immature irresponsibility of some but not all trade union leaders, particularly in the key oil industry."[619] The Commissioner identifying leftist politics and indiscipline amongst laboring sufferers and trade union leaders as the "most dangerous threat to Trinidad's future" hearkens back to British slave society concerns about the subversive potential of the productive Black body.[620] Should Trinidad's predominately Black oilfield workforce have pursued union-sanctioned work stoppages or revolt reminiscent of the 1930s, they would naturally disrupt the capital flows Texaco and Shell culled from the 50-56 million barrels produced on average annually in the early 1960s.[621] The potential explosion of these dynamics animated US and British fears of the Trinbagonian population forcing the state to make "a move to the Left."[622] A 1964 report by the British High Commissioner in Trinidad and Tobago notes Premier Williams' desire to maintain an "open economy and attract overseas investment" in the face of " pressures which could conceivably tempt him to move to the Left", including low wages and unemployment—key complaints of the Trinidad and Tobago's sufferers.[623] Fear of a political shift or revolt against the economic situation likewise shape the CIA's pre-independence view of Jamaica and the role of the island's police. Months prior to Jamaica's August 6 independence date, the Agency predicted Cuban forces would "exploit discontent among the island's chronically unemployed," noting that "[t]he police force can handle any disorders which might occur".[624] Before Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago would achieve independence in 1962, the Anglo-American security covenant worked to ensure that any revolutionary efforts by the discontented sufferers could be met with countersubversion measures, largely through the US CIA, to restore the order that was the source of their *sufferation*. As they prepared to assume the mantle of self-governance, the Afro-Saxon leadership would put up little resistance to these outside influences.

[619] CO 1031/5003"Trinidad and Tobago After Two Years of Independence".
[620] Ibid.
[621] Vernon Mulchansingh reports a rate of 50 million barrels in 1964 and 56 million in 1966. "The Oil Industry in the Economy of Trinidad," *Caribbean Studies*11, no.1 (1971): 73-100.
[622] CO 1031/5003"Trinidad and Tobago After Two Years of Independence".
[623] Ibid.
[624] CIA, Central Intelligence Bulletin, 6 April 1962.

In January 1962, Governor Kenneth Blackburne of Jamaica wrote to Colonial Secretary Richard Maulings requesting authorization for the newest proposed addition to the Jamaican security and surveillance landscape detailing the CIA's wish to post John G. Hayn, an Agency operative since 1946, to the Kingston consulate.[625] The Governor's willingness to bring the CIA operative to Kingston in advance of independence is of course reflective of Anglo-American security coordination within the region. However, importantly, before Governor Blackburne went to the colonial secretary for final approval, the matter was first approved by Jamaica's Premier, Norman Manley. While US security officials emphasized the need for additional anti-communist forces in the region, Manley saw the operative as an additional countersubversive mechanism against homegrown resistance by the sufferers- especially the Rastafarians. In 1960, Manley wrote to Minister of Home Affairs William M. Seivright suggesting that the Agency, which he identifies as the "equivalent of the British M.I.6", should "work with our Security Liaison Officer" to surveil "dangerous characters…who could join forces with the Rastafarians and other disruptive elements out here."[626] Manley noted he was "entirely in favor" of installing Hayn, particularly after "The Government of Trinidad has accepted something like that".[627]

Manley's mention of "dangerous" infiltrators joining forces with the Rastafari bears some attention in light of the Jamaican Premier's aforementioned reference to the group as a "foreign menace." The Rastafarians had already proven their willingness to foment resistance and make claims on the new state by 1960. The Henry rebellion was still fresh in the minds of Jamaican officials, eager to showcase their ordering prowess on the eve of independence. Manley's comments reflect the upper- and middle-class antipathy towards Rastafarian disruption of the Afro-Saxon projected image of the island as a placid paradise of Anglo-derivation. Manley positioned the Rastafarians as outside agitators waiting to dismantle the state before decolonization negotiations were complete. The CIA, as the US analog of Britain's MI6, was positioned as a policing structure, two years before independence, to first collude with British surveillance orchestrated by the SLO, and subsequently assume responsibility for Western intelligence oversight. This move signals the shift in imperial security influence in the Anglophone Caribbean, as the end of British governance promised entry into the precarious realm of US securitization. In this moment, Jamaica's national leadership identified policing and

[625] NAJ 1B/44/1/84, Blackburne to Maulings, 23 January 1962.
[626] Ibid.
[627] Ibid.

surveilling Black bodies representative of the impoverished and racialized masses thingified under colonial rule as its primary security interest, justifying the intervention of Western security mechanisms. During a meeting with Allen Dulles to discuss the particulars of CIA activities, Manley was insistent that operatives should be directed towards local subversive threats.[628]

By 1962, a CIA operative with joint reporting responsibilities for Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica was authorized by the Colonial Secretary, following approval by Williams and Manley. Within the first year of the CIA's presence in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, the Agency reported an increase in "[p]olitical ferment" in both islands and that activities in Cuba could "have a substantial inflammatory effect on local malcontents."[629] To complement the CIA's arrival in Jamaica, US police trained the Jamaica Constabulary Force and provided technical and financial assistance. Terry Lacey asserts the trainings increased the "degree of 'Americanization' of the police force…as a result of exposure to US police techniques, procedures and style."[630] Thus as Jamaica's Afro-Saxon leadership approached self-rule as a graduation into wielding Western norms of governance, they constructed a dependent security terrain that integrated intervention and guidance from Western forces to advance the perennial goal of disciplining and disposing of Black bodies. These amendments to policing and securitization strategies lend credence to Taitu Heron's aforementioned claims that decolonization would bring little change for the sufferers. Within the independent Caribbean, the sufferers confronted by state forces could still be penned in overcrowded cells or shot and laid in graves with the help of US forces, not as British subjects, but as expendable bodies possessing limited citizenship.

Conclusion

Because Afro-Saxon leaders like Manley and Williams had pursued self-rule by absorbing and reproducing British standards of civility, that which was considered deviant under colonial rule – the African and Indian laboring majority and their cultural outputs—continued to be packaged as subversive following constitutional independence. The United States understanding of deviance was not far from that of the British colonial order, allowing for Anglo-American synergistic security efforts discussed above. Thus, by inviting the CIA to establish operations in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, Manley and Williams further entrenched Western imperial logics of

[628] NAJ 1B/44/1/84, Manley to Seivright, 26 April 1961.
[629] CIA Intelligence Weekly Review, 5 October 1962.
[630] Terry Lacey, *Violence and Politics in Jamaica 1960-1970* (Manchester University Press, 1977): 155.

who and what were classed as deviant, and therefore in need of correction, through the disciplinary presence of an intelligence and security body empowered maintain the global supremacy of a northern imperial power through surveillance and police aid. In Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, the burden of Williams' and Manley's consenting to this force of US regional discipline most often fell on the sufferers. These early decisions would shape the security and policing landscapes for decades to come.

In the lead up to independence, creole nationalism offered multi-racial aesthetics and attending myths of racial harmony to appeal to imperial international and local upper class audiences. Rather than directly confronting the British imperial racial hegemony which ordered the region for centuries, the Afro-Saxons pursued myths of racial harmony via cultural hybridity. This mythos of Caribbean racial blindness was projected onto the burgeoning nations, contrary to overwhelming evidence of racialized class inequalities across the region, to position the Caribbean islands as multiracial states civilized by British imperial order and, therefore, deserving of self-rule. Afro-Saxon maintenance of imperial order at home was exacerbated by early cooperation with Anglo-American security and intelligence bodies to target the sufferers through the deployment of police power, as I have shown above.

At the same time, the racialized laboring population marked for discipline and dispossession, identified as Sufferers in the independent era were eager to achieve a form of sovereignty capable of disrupting the abusive continuities of slave society order which characterized the post-emancipation colonial environment. This form of sovereignty has yet to be realized across the Caribbean islands, some of which remain under external rule, wherein the dispossessed Afro- and Indo-Caribbean majority remain subjected to discipline by police power in service of a European-derived postcolonial order. I argue that this unrealized sovereignty is largely due to the path forged to independence by Caribbean Afro-Saxon leaders through the retention of British imperial norms of governance, and their willingness to align with Anglo-American security interests.

Failure to overturn the racial capitalist order resulted not only in the continued economic disadvantage of the sufferers, but also enflamed existing deep-seated rage within Black and brown sufferers at the preservation of imperial racial hierarchy in postcolonial society. Much as the labor rebellions of the 1930s had galvanized significant class *and* racial awareness, the 1960s

similarly initiated national conversations about– and rebellions against – the white supremacist economic and racial order. Realizing the fears of the Jamaican and Trinbagonian governments and Anglo-American security apparatus alike, the sufferers were soon to unite with students, trade unionists, and prominent scholars under the banner of Black Power.

Chapter 6: Policing Caribbean Black Power: Resistance and Reproducing Racialized Expendability

As dawn broke on 13 September 1973, Jennifer Jones began guard duty in a campsite nestled in Trinidad's lush Lopinot mountain range. Jennifer and her seventeen-year-old sister, Beverly, were members of the National United Freedom Fighters (NUFF), a guerilla group battling against the Trinidad and Tobago government led by Dr. Eric Williams' vanguard party, the Peoples' National Movement (PNM). NUFF was comprised of young Black Trinbagonians who, as the group's name indicates, had had enough of what they perceived to be the failure of Afro-Saxon-led independence to upend the racial capitalist hierarchies which governed Trinidad and Tobago since slavery. Jennifer spent only minutes at her post before gunshots and bellows from Police Superintendent Randolph Burroughs echoed through the bush. "We coming in the bush now for all yuh!", warned Burroughs, famous for carrying out "Chicago-style" shootings, firing on anyone in his path.[631] Officers detained Jennifer and continued firing into the camp. Two bullets hit Beverly—one pierced her cheek, the other her knee. Fellow NUFF member, Clem Haynes, recalled seeing two other members carry Beverly to a nearby river amid gun smoke and falling leaves as "she started to become weaker."[632] She drank the river's water as her NUFF brothers placed her under a blanket in a final act of care. "They said they found her trying to reload a shotgun, but she had no gun" said Terrence Thornhill, "it was that kind of thing, where police were on our heels."[633]

Beverly drew her last breath that day, two weeks before her eighteenth birthday. Instead of celebrating, she became a symbol, a girl child who "marched in the rain and sun" to help birth the PNM's promises for independence, only to be martyred by the same party's administration before she reached the age of maturity. Rather than searching for cake and candles for her

[631] Clem Haynes quoted in Brian Meeks, "NUFF at the Cusp of an Idea : Grassroots Guerillas and the Politics of the 1970s in Trinidad and Tobago," *Social Identities*, 5 no.4, (1999): 415.
[632] Clem Haynes quoted in *Wisemind: The People's Voice* Issue, 7, 2016.
[633] Terrence Thornhill quoted in Meeks, "NUFF at the Cusp of an Idea", p. 415

daughter, Viola Jones prepared a funeral.[634] Beverly's elder sister, Althea Jones-Lecointe, a Black radical in her own right, came home from London. In 1970, Althea and eight codefendants captured British attention—and escaped the snare of metropolitan imprisonment—defending the *Mangrove* restaurant and West Indian cultural hub from police violence. Three years later, she returned home to independent Trinidad and Tobago to bury her baby sister who was gunned down by officers trained in the same British modes of anti-Black police violence that nearly imprisoned the eldest Jones sister in London.

The Jones sisters' experiences in the early 1970s are representative of the postcolonial precarity which faced many sufferers[635] following independence in Trinidad and Tobago, and elsewhere in the Anglophone Caribbean, resulting from creole nationalist inability to break with colonial social and economic hierarchies. Althea migrated, only to be subjected to racialized police violence in the metropole. Jennifer was incarcerated. Beverly was gunned down by police. Viola Jones lamented her daughter's dashed hopes for independence, echoing the yearning for change voiced by NUFF members and Caribbean Black Power adherents across the region:

> we marched in the rain and in the sun, we wanted freedom and Independence…We used to get them to go over the hills in Gonzales giving out notices for [PNM] group meetings. Our aspirations which we struggled to achieve at that time are still not achieved. We want to be free, free to stay in our own country, and build it without having to go away…The presence of guns, pointing at our people, will not solve the problem.[636]

Just as Beverly had canvassed on behalf of the party whose administration would ultimately authorize her killing, Jamaican and Trinbagonian working-class youth were subjected to a post-slavery state order which naturalized their death and neglect to fuel the engine of racial capitalism in the region. Recognizing the consistency in their pre- and post-independence social and economic exclusion, Caribbean working-class activists adapted Black Power ideology to their contexts as a conduit to express frustration with the post-independence continuities with

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[634] "Mother of Beverly and Jennifer Jones Speaks, 1973" transcribed by Ryan Cecil Jobson from *Documents of the Caribbean Revolution,* 1974, https://medium.com/clash-voices-for-a-caribbean-federation-from-below/why-dont-we-say-her-name-the-police-murder-of-beverly-jones-in-trinidad-50-years-later-cb4f6a591ece (accessed March 6, 2025).

[635] Caribbean term for class-oppressed and racialized citizens facing chronic postcolonial precarity. See, for example, Jovan Scott Lewis. "A so Black people stay: Bad-mind, sufferation, and discourses of race and unity in a Jamaican craft market." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 20, no.2 (2015): 327-342.

[636] "Mother of Beverly and Jennifer Jones Speaks, 1973".

imperial order. Caribbean Black Power articulated that the current state of affairs was slavery's relic, built to enrich wealthy local whites and provide lucrative investment grounds for Western capitalist interests. By the late 1960s, the interests in question had largely moved from plantation exploits in sugar, coffee and cocoa, to bauxite, oil and gas; and the beneficiaries of this extraction have shifted from absentee plantation owners to Global north multinationals and their shareholders. However, the principles of white capital produced via Black labor remained the same—as it does today. Caribbean Black Power activists were acutely aware of this continuity, and nurtured imaginings of an unprejudiced reality where future generations could realize their potential rather than experience the same thwarted dreams imperial thingification denied previous generations.

The Trinbagonian Black Power Revolution began as a grassroots movement in solidarity with Caribbean students protesting racist treatment at Sir George William University in Montreal, Canada. The movement was spearheaded by groups like NUFF and the National Joint Action Committee, who sought to unite the Indo- and Afro-Caribbean sufferers, so long factionalized along lines of race, geography and labor affiliation, under the banner of liberation for racially subordinated workers and unemployed people. Where Trinidad's Black Power revolution featured widescale organized protest and armed struggle, Jamaican Black Power exploded followed the 1968 expulsion of Guyanese historian and Pan-Africanist luminary Walter Rodney by the Jamaican government. Rodney had come to be identified as part of the Jamaican Pan-Africanist movement popular with progressive sufferers, particularly economically and socially disenfranchised Kingston youth and Rastafarians. His expulsion sparked an urban uprising and new media by individuals exasperated with the Jamaican state's commitment to reiterating the preceding colonial order reliant upon the systemic devaluation of Black life. The Jamaican government followed the Rodney "affair", as the 1968 revolt came to be known, with widespread police abuse targeting communities thought to be ideologically sympathetic to Rodney and Black Power ideology.

In a display of regional order maintenance, Caribbean received ample assistance from Western powers to extinguish Black Power's threat to the operation of racial capitalism in the region. US and British forces coordinated a multi-factional police response, levying resources from the Office of Public Safety (OPS) within the US Agency for International Development (USAID),

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) US Department of Defense, and British Commonwealth Office to police and surveil Caribbean race conscious anti-imperial praxis. Below, I will examine the domestic and international policing of Caribbean Black Power in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica as a mode of countering the movement's potential for international anti-imperial revolution. I address Black Power's emergence as an international movement seeking to unseat imperial order and examine how Jamaican and Trinbagonian instantiations of the movement responded to the failures of Caribbean independence movements to deliver self-determination to the racialized and class-oppressed Caribbean masses. I will analyze international policing cooperation between United States and British policing authorities targeting the spread of Black Power ideology around the Caribbean and broader Black world.

Black Power: Caribbean Manifestations of an Internationalist Movement

While Anglophone Caribbean manifestations of Black Power agitation assumed distinct forms responding to the unique social conditions inherent to Black-majority post-slavery societies, they nevertheless incorporated Black Power's broader commitments to anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism and rehumanizing Black personhood. CLR James called Black Power a "banner which has come to stay, a banner which the twentieth century will need in the great efforts it will need to overcome the crisis that imperialist domination has imposed upon the whole world."[637] Black Power sought to unite individual regional and national struggles against the common enemy of Western imperialism everywhere. This was especially true in those zones where Black peoples felt the brunt of post-slavery, Western supremacist modernity erected from the systems which dehumanized and thingified their ancestors as plantation laborers.[638] Notably, the international movement did not seek to collapse all struggles into a singular liberatory vision. As Anthony Bogues notes, "like many political ideas throughout the history of Black radical diasporic activity…as the slogan traveled, it adapted to local conditions."[639] Black Power in the United States was, in part, born from youthful dissatisfaction with the failure of the United States Civil Rights Movement to challenge global white supremacist imperialism. In the United Kingdom groups like the British Black Panthers responded to conditions defined by Black, and non-Afro-descended "politically Black", life in the United Kingdom marked by rampant police

[637] CLR James, "Black Power" lecture given by CLR James, London 1967
[638] *C*ésaire, *Discourse on Colonialism.*
[639] Anthony Bogues, "Black power, decolonization, and Caribbean politics: Walter Rodney and the politics of the Groundings with my Brothers." *boundary 2* 36, no.1 (2009): 130.

terrorism, racial violence at the hands of community-based outlets for white rage like the Teddy Boys and state institutions like the British educational system.[640] In the Caribbean, movement leaders demanded a self-determination free from economic and clientelist political disenfranchisement and routine police violence. However, revolutionizing the political and economic order to favor the Caribbean suffering masses would require dissolving the social and economic hierarchies which had governed the region since slavery.

Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago remained heavily reliant upon foreign capital, largely due to the region's slavery-era plantation extractive model and national development strategies incentivizing foreign investment through business subsidies pursued by the likes of Norman Manley, Eric Williams, and Alexander Bustamante.[641] Foreign investment incentives throughout the 1960s gave rise to an oligopoly between Texaco Trinidad, Shell Trinidad, and BP Trinidad, resulting in foreign ownership of 98 percent of Trinidad's oil production and 100 percent of the country's refining capacity.[642] Texaco began purchasing Trinidadian oil companies as early as March 1955, and acquired the national Trinidad Oil Company, and its lucrative Pointe-a-Pierre refinery, in 1956. By 1957, Texaco had purchased one-third of shares in the Trinidad Northern Areas consortium, granting the company decision-making power over the Soldado oilfield, the islands largest. The situation was similar in Jamaica, where foreign entities owned significant shares of the crucial bauxite and tourism industries—a pattern which continues to this day. Foreign interests owned Jamaica's bauxite and alumina industry in its entirety, over half of the sugar and tourism industries, a fact which Michael Manley, prime Minister 1972-1980 and son of Norman, attributed to a "firmly elitist" society with an economy largely "controlled by a tight oligarchy".[643] Such power dynamics not only retained wealth in the hands of foreign corporations and select few families, but also generated widespread discrimination in hiring practices. By 1969, Black and Indian Trinbagonians held 4% and 9% of managerial roles in

[640] Bernard Coard, *How the West Indian child is made educationally subnormal in the British school system: the scandal of the black child in schools in Britain,* (New Beacon Books, 1971); Derron Wallace, *The Culture Trap,* (Oxford University Press, 2023).
[641] Keston K. Perry, and Zophia Edwards. ""Power to the People!": The Catalytic Role of the Black Power Movement in Trinidad and Tobago's Industrialization." *Social Science History* 47, no.4 (2023): 665-691; Norman Girvan, *Corporate imperialism: Conflict and expropriation* (Routledge, 2017).
[642] Mulchansingh, "The Oil Industry."
[643] Michael Manley, *Struggle in the Periphery,* (Third World Media, 1982) p. 40.

private firms, respectively, compared to 68% held by white and white-passing individuals, who only constituted 1.2% of the national population.[644]

It was against this situation of economic and social dominance by foreign enterprise and local white elites—hierarchies which heavily mirrored slavery-era plantation extractive dynamics—which Caribbean Black Power adherents most heavily levied their critique. Importantly, their activism spoke to the suffering masses, identifying the local and Western corporate entities coordinating economic exploitation. Trinidad's National Joint Action Committee (NJAC) explicitly detailed foreign multi-national companies as "Wanted" entities, naming Texaco, Fed Chem, Shell, Tesoro, Tate and Lyle, Pan Am, Hilton and local brand Neal and Massy, among other, as enemies of the people.[645] Activists heard wind of the 1969 taxation agreement with American aluminum company Alcoa, at the time shrouded in secrecy due to its unfavorable conditions permitting US companies to extract an estimated $20 million annually by mining Jamaica's resources, and published a front page story denouncing the Shearer administration as a "beggar government which degrades the whole nation".[646]

The notion of "beggar" governments operationalizing norms constructed over centuries of imperial slavery and dominance to placate foreign interests, including by brutalizing and starving the people, was a rallying point for Black Power regionally. Across the Caribbean, while foreign investors or families who accrued their wealth through enslaved or coerced indentured labor enjoyed the comfort and security of their business exploits, the racialized working class was expected to serve as an expendable and placid labor source generating income which would eventually leave the islands.[647] Black Power provided the people the space and language to challenge the existing post-slavery order which demanded their labor or placidity to buttress white local and international capital. To maintain the structures of racial capitalism in the Caribbean basin required a coordinated response from the police as the naturalized disciplinary forces defending imperial order. Domestic and Western international forces worked in tandem to curtail the threat of Black Power internationalism.

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[644] Perry and Edwards. "'Power to the People!".
[645] AJL, *Black Expression, Voice of Morvant National Joint Action Committee*, issue 2,
[646] Emphasis in original. *Abeng*, 24 May, 1969.
[647] Mimi Sheller, *Consuming the Caribbean : From Arawaks to Zombies* (Routledge, 2003)*;* Deborah Thomas, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Duke University Press, 2004).

In 1970, the CIA expressed concerns about Caribbean Black "extremism" generating "important changes in the traditional politics."[648] Voicing explicitly racialized concerns about the integrity of white wealth and safety, the Agency warned that "whites can easily become targets of racial hostility, partly because of their relative affluence."[649] The CIA's identification of "Black extremism" as the locus of violent racial hostilities, instead of the racial exclusionism of the wealthy which contributed to the sufferers' vitriol, is suggestive of what kind of "traditional politics" the United States hoped to safeguard against regional revolution. Similarly, Britain was concerned about Black Power's threat to white capitalist power, particularly the movement's metropolitan manifestations and potential to spread to its mineral rich zone of influence in Africa. In September 1970, following months of revolutionary protest in Trinidad and three years after Kwame Ture's emblematic speech to London crowds, John Rayner of the Information Research Department, Britain's clandestine intelligence and propaganda department within the Foreign Office, proposed disseminating anti-Black Power propaganda in Africa.

> As you know we have been considering what we can do to encourage differences between United States and Caribbean Black Power advocates and Africans. We had originally thought of a circular to be put out in Africa, attacking the U.S. and Caribbean manifestations of Black Power, on the lines of "Where Black is Ugly"…This would be posted in English from a notional West African movement, "Black Power - Africa's Heritage to Anglophone African countries, with the possible addition of a few addressees in the Caribbean and United States.[650]

British counterinsurgency plots were born from recognition that the continent's own imperial experiences with racialized dehumanization and economic exploitation could provide fertile ground for the growth of African Black Power – an understanding shared by Black Power adherents in the Americas. Black Power publications like *Abeng*, *Tapia*, *Moko* and *Ascria* ran news stories calling for anti-imperial solidarity with Amilcar Cabral's armed liberation in Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau, Samora Machel's struggle in Mozambique, and Kenneth Kaunda's ani-apartheid politics and Zambian nationalism. Understanding that the Caribbean was not alone in its relationship to white supremacist capitalist hegemony, African (and in Trinidad, Afro-Asian) societies also provided an imaginative horizon for economic and social reorganization in

[648] CIA June 1970, p.8
[649] CIA, June 1970, p.7
[650] FCO 168/4280 John Rayner to Mr. Biggin, 16 September 1970.

line with Black Power's demands for more equitable lifeways and economic self-determination. Lloyd Best articulated these dreams for a new global order in 1971:

> Now that our society is breaking free of the shackles of North Atlantic domination and is trying to establish itself on its own terms, we must reject the assumption that the only pattern of social and economic re-organisation is in the North Atlantic one. If emancipation of the colonized peoples is to mean anything, it must be cast in terms of fresh political theory and philosophy, in terms of new frames of social and economic organization, in terms of new styles of being and living…We are lucky to have ties with Africa and Asia. These continents may have been disrupted by European penetration; but in many ways they have retained the cultural memory of a time when industry and machinery did not plunder the land and subjugate the people.[651]

Black Power movements imagined a horizon where economic, cultural and political referents were guided by the principles of *ujamaa* rather than false notions of Western civilizational superiority and neo-imperial capitalist alienation. The movements in the islands provided new language and rallying space for the racialized multitude to demand the spoils that sovereignty failed to surrender. It is for this potential to imagine a world beyond racial capitalist order that movement adherents were subject to reiterative police violence in the islands, as I detail below.

Black Power in Jamaica: Combatting Clientelist Devaluation and Police Repression

On October 16, 1968 University of West Indies (UWI) students emptied the Mona Campus lecture rooms and dormitories and proceeded to Kingston's Orange Street. Their march began as an orderly procession, the result of an 11pm meeting the night prior in Mary Seacole Hall where 900 students collectively agreed to march to the offices of Jamaica's Minister of Home Affairs and Prime Minister to petition the expulsion of Professor Walter Rodney.[652]

Rodney was then a 26-year-old lecturer of African history, father and husband to Patricia Henry. He had come to be known amongst UWI students, Jamaican working class youth and Rastafarians as a sincere and committed educator of "African youth in Jamaica" within the University halls and in the dungles of West Kingston.[653] He was known for his "groundings",

[651] George Padmore Institute (henceforth GPI) *Tapia* 1 February 1970.
[652] Ralph Gonsalves, "The Rodney Affair and its aftermath." *Caribbean Quarterly* 25, no.3 (1979): 3.
[653] Rupert Lewis, *1968 Revisited.* (University of the West Indies Press, 1998); "Message to Afro-Jamaica Associations," in Walter Rodney, *Groundings with My Brothers,* (Verso, 2019) p. 15.

public anti-imperial discourse championing knowledge of African history for the largely Afro-descendant Jamaican populace. Rodney perceived the *rude boys* of Kingston's ghettos and the Rastafari to possess revolutionary potential, capable of "waging a struggle in their own way against ignorance, unemployment and starvation."[654] Like the sufferers, Rodney recognized Prime Minister Shearer's "determination that the police should be used to maintain the present system of social oppression," deploring that police possessed "full authority to utilise whatever brutal methods they think necessary to carry out this mandate."[655] While Rodney's students appreciated the professor's teachings on African Marxist praxis and history, he was himself reportedly eager to learn of the Jamaican struggles for liberation from what he called a "petty bourgeoisie…brainwashed into aiding the oppression of Black people."[656] Rastafarian leaders, especially the likes of Ras Negus, Mortimo Planner and Count Ossie, served as intellectual influences on Rodney. From them, he said he learned "real knowledge" of communitarian living and liberatory praxis grounded in cosmologies rehumanizing the Black human in the tropical spaces built on their chattelization. Writing in 1969, Rodney said of the Rastafarian influence:

> I got knowledge from them, real knowledge. You have to speak to Jamaican Rastas, and you have to listen to him very carefully and then you will hear him tell you about the Word…you hear them talk about Cosmic Power and it rings a bell. I say, but I have heard this somewhere, this is Africa. You have to listen to their drums to get the message of Cosmic Power. And when you get that, know that you get humility, because look who you are learning from. The system says they have nothing.[657]

Rodney's communing with the racialized poor transgressed the expectations of a young West Indian lecturer, in part because of his willingness to converse directly with the island's poor. But, more importantly for the brothers and sisters with whom he conducted his groundings, it was his capacity to learn silently and legitimize knowledge produced in the ghettoized spheres which earned him community and acclaim amongst his students on and off UWI campus. Rodney's subversion of Jamaica's racialized class expectations were not without consequence, and he was quickly dubbed a "grave security threat."[658] Rodney was considered a threat precisely because he

[654] Rodney, *Groundings*, p.15.
[655] Ibid, p. 14.
[656] Ibid, p.27.
[657] Ibid, p.66.
[658] *Guyana Sunday Graphic*, 1968.

appealed to the Black working class majority which the Jamaican government kept subordinated, in part through empowering police to target their communities with death and corporal punishment. Just as the order of slavery and colonial rule marked resistant Black bodies for physical abuse and death at the hands of law enforcement, the Shearer administration deployed brutal police violence, sanctioning Black death and injury as mechanisms of order maintenance.

These methods were employed in October 1968, after Rodney, who had been attending the Black Writers' Conference in Montreal, returned to Kingston to find that he had been expelled from Jamaica. As UWI students marched from campus to downtown Kingston, distinguished by the red gowns issued on matriculation, sufferer youth lacking the frocks of lettered legitimacy joined the demonstration in solidarity. Their arrival sparked the police response. Jamaica's police, who had been coordinating with US forces to surveil Rodney, pursued the youth as they entered George VI Memorial Park.[659] In typical fashion, they fired teargas, indiscriminately emptied live rounds, and sprinted after those who fled, with their guns and billy clubs in tow.[660] Police killed two people during their pursuit, one of whom was shot "during a stone throwing melee."[661] This unnamed individual's crime was not lancing a projectile of equal destructive capacity as bullets —indeed equating the destructive capacity of the two objects is disingenuous. Rather, their crime was daring to strike back against state authorities, and their body was expended to evidence the consequences of such derelictions of order.

According to news reports, young people fled to the nearby fire station prompting police to attack firemen, leaving many "not psychologically fit to work."[662] The firefighters' presence would likely have been welcomed, as the demonstration unfurled into an uprising featuring widescale property damage, chiefly targeting American- and Canadian-owned businesses. Amid the fracas, young people seized and set fire to buses to block roads. Rupert Lewis, who was a UWI student at the time of the demonstration, recalled that property damage was a "response to police repression."[663] Targeted destruction of foreign-owned property was a clear expression of a palpable yearning for the country to finally recognize that "Jamaica was predominately a country of people of African descent and its national substance and image had to come to terms with

[659] US National Archives (henceforth USNA) 2242RG59 Internal Security Review, Walter Rodney, August 1968.
[660] *Gleaner*, 17 October 1968
[661] Ibid.
[662] Ibid.
[663] Lewis, *1968 Revisited*, p.42.

reversing centuries of racial oppression and denigration."[664] Sufferers and students marched with the lived knowledge that the racialized class hierarchies which buttressed British slavery in the Caribbean, and the dehumanization of their ancestors, shaped the post-independence order, and dictated the decisions of the government which fired live rounds at them in George VI Park. For those who stood their ground and raised their unruly voices during the Rodney uprisings, the events of October 1968 were an expression of the reaffirmation of the self –the Afro-descended self—and legitimating the right of Black self-determination in a majority-Black sovereign nation.

In Jamaica, Black Power drew on the centuries-old tradition of Black anti-imperial and anti-racist mobilization endemic to the Caribbean isles since the days of slavery. Anthony Bogues has foregrounded how centuries-old traditions of mobilized resistance, manifested on Trinity Plantation in 1760 and Morant Bay in 1865 and in so many Maroon wars, were reborn in 1968 Kingston.[665] Rex Nettleford similarly contextualized Jamaica's late-1960s manifestation of Black Power within a broader lineage sparked by Marcus Garvey, noting that Garvey's agitation for Black economic self-determination, education and political power rendered him "the father of Jamaican Black Power."[666] Building on this tradition of Black resistance, Black Power mobilizers across the Caribbean sought a path towards clear self-determination, free from economic and clientelist political disenfranchisement of the Black majority, routine police violence and killings, and cultural chauvinism degrading Black lifeways. As one commentator noted, "The revolution that we, the youth, are undertaking is a total upheaval of all that went before us in an effort to finally remove the mental chains of slavery."[667] They demanded "freedom under progressive Black leadership and an end to white Imperialist domination."[668] Their calls were met with more police repression.

Rodney's expulsion, and the police response to the rage it elicited, was characteristic of independent Jamaica's security norms, built on the inertia of slave society logics of Black expendability mediated through Afro-Saxon politics of respectability. Jamaica's Chamber of Commerce called for "great alarm" and implored the citizenry to "support our government in the restoration of law and order." The students and sufferers were characterized as "hooligan gangs"

[664] Ibid. p.43.
[665] Anthony Bogues, "Abeng Journal" in *Black Power in the Caribbean* edited by Kate Quinn (University of Florida Press, 2014).
[666] Nettleford, *Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica,* p. 118.
[667] *Abeng*, 17 May 1969.
[668] Ibid.

after being shot and gassed, as the government stressed the police response was a necessary measure due to Rodney's pursuit of "activities which the Security Police deemed to be prejudicial to the national safety and interest in several parts of Jamaica."[669] Rodney's "prejudicial" activities involved using his academic pulpit to educate students and those traditionally excluded or alienated from university settings about the oppressive forces of the independent post-slavery state. Socialist scholars Winston Davis, Harold Drayton, Leroy Taylor, and George Beckford also experienced police harassment for similar activities considered subversive during the period. Although Beckford was Jamaican by birth, the Superintendent of Police in Charge of Immigration seized his passport as a consequence for his socialist publications.[670] Still, police reserved the full brunt of their disciplinary power for Black sufferers assuming defensive posture against state repression. The *Abeng* newspaper, founded by Beckford, explains that the state incentivized police violence against resistant Black people as a ordering strategy.

> the threat [to law and order] is more serious because we are more conscious, discontent is greater and ' law and order continues to benefit only a few people in the society. In the face of this the white power structure is so insecure that it considers every Black man a threat. The tragedy is that these people are black people too who don't know themselves yet. In the meantime they have their problems too. To get promotion they must show how efficient they are at beating black people…The sufferer will have no alternative but to respond.[671]

Indeed, the police, under Hugh Shearer, operated largely in the same manner as they had under British colonial rule: with reiterative police violence emphasizing the state's capacity to extinguish the sufferers' lives. Newspapers, activist pamphlets and student publications from the early years of independence are replete with reports of police threats and abuse against the sufferers—particularly young people and the unemployed. Within the first critical years of independence, Jamaica's government set the stage for the continued naturalization of slave society patterns of racialized ordering positioning Black bodies as expendable. This was especially relevant for those rendered surplus by their unemployed status. If the whole

[669] *Gleaner*, 17 October 1968.
[670] Lewis, *1968 Revisited*.
[671] *Abeng*, May 31, 1969.

population could not be productive, they would at least remain in their place— in essence, subject to being physically disciplined or extinguished by the state. A 1969 report by "Three youths of Falmouth" protesting for employment at their local water supply scheme evinces the posture of Jamaican police towards economically disenfranchised young people within the 7-year-old nation:

> [police] approached us, told us we have no right to march…He told us…we must get off the street and who dead, dead, who live won't have any use.[672]

The fact that the officers engaging with the Falmouth youths could proclaim the power to decide who would be dead and who could potentially live without "any use" suggests the police's continued positioning as arbiters of life and death in independent Jamaica. Independence had ushered in leadership by a (mostly) Afro-descended, locally-born political class, but the movement failed to unseat the centuries-old colonial impetus to debase Black life. The opportunity presented by rupture with formal colonial rule to build new worlds was not successfully realized by Caribbean leadership. Rather, the early Jamaican government used the police to reiterate the social and economic hierarchies which upheld British slavery by similarly promising to deprive the Black dispossessed of bodily integrity for resisting oppressive state order. Where previously, slave laws mandated the amputation of legs and ears for plantation resistance or flight, sufferers agitating for justice were told to get off the street or wind up killed or mutilated to spend the rest of their days without "any use."

Police terror was routine, reiterating the state's authority over the sufferers' lives. "Ras Stone" reported how a police raiding party in the politically significant community of Trench Town "in the process of 'cutting locks'"

> "took him outside of the gate, beat him with gun butts, then told him to run, run for his life, for '*we going shoot you.* While running in the direction of Ninth St. the police beat the zinc fence with bayonets, creating the sound of gun-fire. Then they called to their police friends at Ninth St. and shouted that they should chase the Rasta back up Ashland Rd. This continued until the man was too exhausted and terrified to run any further.[673]

[672] *Abeng*, 8 March 1969.
[673] *Abeng*, 14 March 1969.

That same week in Trench Town, "two policemen held a young man outside his house, while one beat him from behind with a rifle and the other held him by his throat." Later, "Pauline Brown, Everod's girlfriend, was beaten…with a 'rock-steady' across her back."[674] Weeks earlier, during a student protest at the Jamaica School of Agriculture, "Neville Farquarson was beaten to the ground…Patricia Rhoden…was kicked and hit by a stone…Eva McKenzie, was hit twice with a baton and beaten to the ground… McKetty was beaten until he fell over a wall."[675] In East Kingston, young men like "Mr. F. Lee, Brother David, Louis "Gussy" Dickens" reported being beaten and harassed on a routine basis. By October 1969, the men reported they had "experienced three police raids in the past two months."[676] East Kingston residents further reported that "policemen in responding to an alarm for robbery in the area and to cover up their own inefficiency, raid *certain* homes in the area, making arrests and charges which have nothing to do with robbery."[677] As Rodney himself noted in 1969, "incidents of police brutality are too numerous to mention."[678] News reports of the period cannot be enumerated here, such was the routine nature of the police violence reiterating the expendable positionalities of Black Jamaicans situated outside of the creole ideal. The sufferers denounced the continued normalization of police bloodletting, and the stagnant postcolonial subject positioning which marked them acceptable targets for execution, maiming, and arbitrary arrest. In the words of an anonymous "Democrat" who delivered "Black greetings from the oppressed, exploited youths of Eastern Kingston" to *Abeng* readers in 1969:

> The youth is daily facing police brutality. Why? Because the politicians see that there is no one to assist them in their campaign of terror and have set the police on the progressive youth of this sector…The youth fully know that only when the reigns of control [are] in the hands of the grass roots that we will have a bright future.[679] (sic)

Indeed, "progressive youth" protested their positioning, through Jamaica's post-slavery authoritative coda, as requiring violent control. This ideal citizen was educated in the mores of British colonial propriety, and thus docile, productive and –ideally – physically approximate to the native European phenotype, leaving the majority subject to exclusion. Those Sufferers who

[674] Ibid.
[675] *Abeng*, 15 February 1969
[676] *Abeng*, 3 October 1969
[677] *Abeng*, 3 October 1969
[678] Rodney, *Groundings*, p. 14.
[679] *Abeng*, 1 March 1969.

could not serve a productive purpose within the new nation as an ideal, orderly citizen supporting political authority were targeted for police abuse. In the words of a self-identified "Working Woman" from St. Andrew, "Cause we poor and black why dem a handle we so."[680] While Jamaican sufferers implored the "Black man fi get civilise now" by embracing the possession of their "many traits that can be easily associated with our African brothers and sisters"[681], state and postcolonial elites promoted Westernized disciplined pathways to civilization through reiterative violence by police and coercive clientelism.

Clientelism and the Expendability of Black Poor Life

Police violence and killings, especially in Jamaica's ghettoized and impoverished rural zones, were carried out in the context of deepening clientelist relations. From the early 1940s, Jamaica leaders established political communities, known as "garrisons", as enclaves of electoral support for the rival Peoples' National Party (PNP) and Jamaica Labor Party (JLP).[682] For each political community, party loyalty engendered access to material resources, though, crucially not political power. During the period, party officials took to arming poor Black male political supporters which, by the 1970s, resulted in the empowerment of politically connected criminal gangs. Obika Gray has highlighted how clientelist governance positioning poor Black Jamaicans as foot soldiers of the country's two political parties systematically subjects them to, and denies them justice for, state violence via the police. In these settings, gang and police violence acclimatized post-independence society to the frequent spillage of Black poor blood as a means of entrenching party power to uphold hierarchical order.[683] In this sense, Jamaica's independent government operated a necropolitical structure in which political leaders wield police and gang violence as a means of controlling political behavior and maintaining political power – even when it means sanctioning the death of rival constituents. Indeed, Jamaica's Black working class understood the power of political elites to decide whose lives would be free from starvation, unemployment

[680] *Abeng*, 14 March 1969.
[681] *Abeng*, 1 March 1969.
[682] Carlene Edie, "From Manley to Seaga: The Persistence of Clientelist Politics in Jamaica," *Social and Economic Studies* 38, no. 1 (1989):1-35.
[683] Obika Gray, *Radicalism and Social Change in Jamaica, 1960-1972*. (University of Tennessee Press, 1991); Edie, "From Manley to Seaga," p. 4.

and, in many cases, police beatings, incarceration or premature death. For them, these "politricks"[684] reproduce slavery's devaluation of Black life to buttress state power.[685]

In her essay, "No Humans Involved," Sylvia Wynter examined the implications of the 1992 acquittal of the Los Angeles policemen who battered Rodney King following a high-speed pursuit on March 3, 1991. Wynter highlights how the officers' use of the acronym "NHI," meaning "No Humans Involved", to refer to unemployed Black people in Los Angeles is an outgrowth of the slave society's "degrees of eugenic 'worth'" which rendered all Black life necessary insofar as we serve an economic purpose as captive laborer. While under slavery, enslaved Black people were damned to a wretched life of toil, post-slavery capitalist modernity provided alternative pathways to a newly subordinated human status, as producer and consumer. According to Wynter, outside of this ability to produce, the Black body reverts to a "discardable throwaway status".[686] The poor, unemployed Black body whose labor cannot be exploited by the state, is marked as an acceptable target for extermination. Police abuses are therefore justified for their capacity to both reproduce racialized subordination and discipline for failure to furnish political or economic use for the state.

By Wynter's logic, Jamaica's post-colonial, post-slavery setting, marked by widespread poverty and unemployment amongst the sufferers, stagnant income inequality and a plantation-extractive model maintained by capitalist, clientelist relations, presents the conditions for much of the island's Black life to be deemed expendable. Routine police beatings and shootings of Jamaican sufferers, especially progressive youth, were a reflection of the state's relationship to the Black masses who provided little political expediency to maintaining the racial capitalist hierarchy overtaken from British authority by the creole nationalist ruling class. For those who provided little productive capacity as workers, their principal mechanism of remaining useful to the political order was party support. In the absence of avenues for production or political use, many sufferers fell victim to the violence endemic to the island since its colonial reshaping and were rendered extinguishable excess. As Mbembe notes, "Power in the (post)Colony involves a tactile perception of the native that makes this violence more than simply an aesthetic and an

[684] A Jamaican term referring to political corruption and trickery. *Abeng*, 15 February 1969.
[685] Thomas, *Exceptional Violence*.
[686]Sylvia Wynter "No Humans Involved: An Open Letter to My Colleagues," Forum N.H.I.: Knowledge for the 21st Century 1, no. 1 (1994) p. 63.

architecture."[687] Indeed, the elite perception of the sufferers as surplus enabled their engagement as expendable political tools.

> Activists and Black Power-oriented scholars understood well the state's capacity to operationalize and dispose of poor Black Jamaicans, for political gain. They denounced the two-party system as "minority politricks" fomented by "the haves" who realized "they couldn't win votes themselves [and withdrew behind the scenes to control those who could."[688] A political cartoon in the September 1969 issue of *Abeng* displays a figure featuring a collection of human body parts, arranged in near-human fashion. The figure possesses a skull, though no brain. As the cartoon notes, those who cannot think "cannot upset fascists." The figure is armless "to prevent violent action against political pimps, grafters and bagmen," and without eyes, to leave "the actions of thieves in high places unobserved".[689] The image is reflective of social and political order which positioned the ideal Black body as a semi-human biologically outfitted for use by state power. Within the view of the artist, the state reproduced slavery's desired operationalization of Black bodies as an agglomeration of productive parts, as opposed to a fully enabled, feeling and critically thinking human. Within this persisting logic positioning Black humanity as incomplete, sufferers could be quickly eliminated if they resisted the demands of political elites. It is for this reason that Black Power activists demanded a change in political order.

Abeng, 15 February 1969

Activists recognized that the state's assumption of the disposability of Black life, especially poor and defiant Black life, enabled politicized police violence. They recognized that:

[687] Mbembe, *PostColony,* p. 175.
[688] *Abeng*, 15 February 1969.
[689] *Abeng*, 27 September 1969.

> The gigantic police-military raids and the murderation of the people have nothing to do with crime. It is the start of a reign of terror against Black Sufferers who no longer can be fooled by political games and promises.[690]

Both post-colonial Jamaican policing and slave society order relied on a naturalization of Black death- particularly when the removal of rebellious Black lives helped secure the social and political order. Through clientelist political disenfranchisement, and in cementing death and physical punishment as disciplinary norms for Black sufferers, the independent state reproduced the cheapening of racially subordinated life that was foundational to Caribbean plantation-based colonial projects.

Policing Black Power movements subordinated racialized peoples who defied the state's idealized image of the post-colonial citizen by rehumanizing themselves through the assertion of their political, social and economic agency. These movements were met with reiterative violence forcing a return to the slavery derived order. However, despite persistent police violence and harassment, Black Power ideology spread around the region. While Black Power's *Abeng* might have first sounded in Jamaica, its reverberations sparked a revolution amongst African and Indian sufferers in Trinidad and Tobago.

Trinbagonian Black Power: Policing NJAC Solidarity and NUFF Maronnage

In response to what many of the racialized poor and unemployed felt were continued pattens of colonial economic and political dominance, University of West Indies students Manakdal Daaga and Khafra Kambon founded the National Joint Action Committee (NJAC) in 1969. The group first began urban protests in solidarity with Caribbean students protesting racism at Sir George William University, before leading a coalition of Black sufferers, unionized oilfield and transport workers and members of Afrocentric, and later Indo-centric, cultural organizations. As in the colonial era, resistance by the multitudes was met with police repression. On 6 April, 1970, NJAC member Basil Davis, "an ordinary brother from the blocks of Bataria", was shot at point blank range by police for pleading with officers enforcing Trinidad and Tobago's vagrancy law to release an unhoused man, Charlie, from custody.[691] Davis died subverting the naturalized post-slavery order which positioned Charlie, an unhoused, unemployed and therefore unruly man, as

[690] *Abeng*, 14 March 1969.
[691] "NJAC Remembers Basil Davis, the First Martyr of the 1970 Black Power Revolution" *Wired 868*, 21 April 2022.

expendable surplus. In defending the expendable, Davis, like all activists defending Black life at this time, tested the limits of the state's valuation of his life. Countering the state's devaluation of racialized bodies, 100,000 mourners attended Davis's funeral, reiterating the *people's* veneration of Black life. Following Davis's funeral, the NJAC continued protests throughout April, drawing widespread support from urban communities, and eventually inspiring a mutiny within the Trinidad and Tobago armed regiment.

Lieutenants Raffique Shah and Rex Lassalle coordinated the mutiny. Shah, the self-described son of a "struggling sugar-worker-father", explained that Afro- and Indo-Trinbagonian servicemen blistered at racial discrimination within the Trinidad and Tobago Regiment, and mandates to undergo racist trainings by British forces at Sandhurst.[692] He stated:

> the training, the indoctrination is meant for British officers. The course is not in any way adjusted to suit the black cadets. This is manifest in the examples used while doing exercises. The enemy is always African, Asian or Arab; the friendly forces are always British, Australian or Canadian. It becomes necessary therefore, for the overseas cadets to adapt this training to suit their own countries.[693]

As Shah indicates, continued reliance on British norms of racialized securitization trained security forces to perceive racialized peoples as dehumanized enemies, reiterating the colonial pathologization of melanated bodies in the independent state. Shah emphasized that while "Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru and others were jailed by our white colonial masters", Trinbagonian sufferers and mutineers were persecuted by "black colonial masters" in the PNM.[694] This perception of Black PNM leaders gave rise to activists' efforts to unite the Afro- and Indo-descended communities' in radical action in recognition of their shared experiences of state violence and economic exploitation linked to racialized plantation subordination.[695] As Chan Maharaj, head of the Arouca-based National Freedom Organization, explained in March 1970:

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[692] "Raffique Shah: 'Black Power' and Indians; When flowering racial unity sparked a revolution," *Wired868*, 30 April 2020.
[693] AJL, Raffique Shah Address given to Court Martial at Town Hall, 12-13 January 1971.
[694] Ibid.
[695] Jerome Teelucksingh, "Black Power Movement in Trinidad and Tobago," *Black Diaspora Review*, 4, no.1 (2014): 157-186.

> Black Power has not turned against the Indian community. If you are not white you are black. Black Power is not confined to those of the African race. The Indian is the brother of the Negro…Go [to] the canefields and evidence of slavery will be seen.[696]

Articulated through the logics of a collectivized struggle against post-slavery racialized labor exploitation and the continuation of disciplinary norms modeled during slavery, Trinidad's Black Power activism advanced a notion of Blackness (rather than African heritage) as political, rather than biologically determined. For Trinbagonian Black Power leaders, Indo-Trinidadian canecutters confined to plantation spaces where "evidence of slavery" persisted 137 years after the Abolition Act had a clear stake in the movement for Black liberation as they too had been racialized through the plantation vectors which rendered Blackness an expendable racial category. Indo-Trinidadian Black Power agitator Brinsley Samaroo similarly framed Trinidadian Black Power as one component of "a world-wide struggle for awareness among black people… seek[ing] to revive *our* folklore which the British banned as primitive, our art, and our customs brought by our forefathers."[697]

The NJAC planned its first march "in solidarity with the Indian cane workers" on 12 March 1970.[698] The march united thousands of sugarcane workers in Caroni, in the heart of Trinidad's sugarcane plantation belt, where Shah recalled workers were eager to escape political "yoke" of "Baba" Bhadase Maraj, founder of the Caroni East Indian Association. The Society for the Propagation of Indian Culture, led by founder Ken Parmasad, worked with NJAC organizers in door-knocking efforts in Trinidad's southern villages dominated by Indo-Trinidadian sugar workers. Their efforts culminated in a community march on 20 April, 1970 where thousands of sugarcane workers marched on foot from Caroni to Port-of-Spain.[699] The following day, Prime Minister Eric Williams announced a state of emergency which saw police use indiscriminate force to beat and open fire on protesters, killing five, and largely squashing the burgeoning solidarity between plantation workers and the largely urban NJAC.[700]

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[696] Chan Maraj *40 years Later*, 1970.
[697] Brinsley Samaroo, "African-Indian solidarity" *Vanguard,* 1970.
[698] *Morning Star*, 1 April 1970.
[699] Brinsley Samaroo, "The February Revolution as a Catalyst for Change in Trinidad and Tobago," in *Black Power in the Caribbean* edited by Kate Quinn (University of Florida Press, 2014)
[700] Paul Sutton, "Black Power in Trinidad and Tobago: The 'Crisis' of 1970, *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 21, no.2 (1983): 115-132.

By 22 April, the government had purchased "a planeload of weapons, including mortars and machine guns" from the US to enforce the state of emergency. The US likewise deployed "a six ship squadron" to Port of Spain at President Nixon's command.[701] The Williams' administration's police response to the NJAC inter-racial Black Power mirrored colonial efforts to curtail activism uniting Trinidad and Tobago's African and Indian populations. During the colonial era, British administrators and local elites encouraged separation between the Black and Indian populations from the early days of indenture to curtail solidaristic action against white plantocratic power. An 1881 report following police opening fire on revelers during one of Trinidad's earliest Hosay[702] celebrations justified the violence as a means of maintaining racial order, noting that Black "creoles are often now to be found taking part in the festivals."[703] The report recommended increased police presence to prevent commingling between Black and Indian people, which was thought to constitute a "source of danger which a Government could hardly disregard."[704] Ninety years later, as Shah recalls, leaders in the PNM and Indo-Trinidadian-dominated Democratic Labor Party (DLP) reinforced racial separations for political ends. According to Shah, Williams "found common cause with leaders like Bhadase, and later Basdeo Panday…if the sugar workers were allowed to march and link up with the urban Africans, the PNM (and the DLP!) was dead!"[705] Parmasad likewise noted that SPIC members who participated in the Caroni march were subject to "grave threats" by political elites.[706] Following the demise of the NJAC, Black Power ideology found a new, and decidedly more militarized, vector for liberatory praxis in NUFF.

Active from 1971, under the leadership of former NJAC militant Guy Harewood and Michael "Jai" Kernahan, NUFF was inspired by the militant tactics Che Guevara outlined in *Guerilla Warfare* to establish a camp in Fyzabad forest outside Kernahans' hometown.[707] The group targeted foreign banking and extractive industries with armed violence, including several

[701] "US Plane Flied in Arms as Trinidad Fights Mutiny," *New York Times,* 23 April 1970.
[702] Hosay is an annual Indo-Caribbean Muslim celebration commemorating the death of Husayn Ibn Ali . Frank J. Korom. *Hosay Trinidad: Muharram Performances in an Indo-Caribbean Diaspora.* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).
[703] CO884/4 Report on the coolie disturbances in Trinidad ,p.8.
[704] Ibid.
[705] "Raffique Shah: 'Black Power' and Indians; When flowering racial unity sparked a revolution,"*Wired868,* 30/4/2020.
[706] "That 1970 march for national unity," *Daily Express,* 21 April 2020.
[707] Meeks, "NUFF at the Cusp of an Idea".

robberies of Barclays Bank and raids on the police stations guarding the Fyzabad Texaco Compound and Trinidad-Tesoro Oil company.[708] NUFF interpreted the struggle along largely class lines, recognizing the racialized class structure which pitted the working classes against exploiters both foreign and domestic. Kernahan notes that militants from working class backgrounds were often wary of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical debates popular with some middle-class members. Most NUFF militants found greater appeal in Guevara's *foquista* emphasis on demonstrable, militant revolutionary action.[709] NUFF militants nevertheless cohered around the notion that "armed revolution was the only solution."[710]

Given NUFF's emphasis on armed revolution, and demands to overhaul existing state order levied by the NJAC and other organizations, it is perhaps unsurprising that the Eric Williams administration directed police resources to surveil and infiltrate Black Power organizations. This was likely of little surprise to the activists themselves because, like Jamaica, the police brutality experiences under the colonial regime remained a fixture of post-independence life. Concerned citizen Wayne Davis expressed his experiences with police aggression to *Tapia* in 1971:

> Just last year too, my brother an eighteen-year-old schoolboy was arrested and beaten so that he had to be attended to by a doctor for a painfully swollen eye, the result of a cuff from the policeman who arrested him. And last year November, I was coming home around two a.m. when I was rudely accosted by a policeman on patrol in a squad car…I guess I aroused his suspicion, when I pointed out that I did not like how he addressed me, he said that I was [a] hostile young boy." In the course of the conversation he suggested that there were only two things he did with young hostile Negroes like me, either, fought them or arrested them and he asked me to make a choice…But nothing can top last Sunday's event, when a gun-toting detective broke up a Black Power meeting, that I was attending. The gentleman…informed us that he had the real black power in the form of a .38 revolver that he fondled continually throughout the grand performance. If [Haiti's] Ton Ton Macoute has seen him, they would have contributed to [Trinidad and Tobago's] brain drain by hiring him immediately.[711]

[708] Ibid.
[709] Ibid. p. 419; Victoria Pasley, "The Black Power Movement in Trinidad: An Exploration of Gender and Cultural Changes and the Development of a Feminist Consciousness," *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 3, no.1 (2000): 24-40.
[710] Meeks, "NUFF at the Cusp of an Idea", p. 419-420.
[711] Mr. Wayne Davis quoted in *Moko*, 30 January 1970.

Mr. Davis' description of the officer's immediate response to, in the officer's perception, a "young hostile Negro" is suggestive of the naturalization of racialized treatment by the police in Trinidad and Tobago. Mr. Davis was reduced to the status of thingified "Negro," for whom only two disciplinary options were appropriate: physical violence or immediate confinement to a cell. Further, his conclusion that the officer could have been easily recruited by the Ton Ton Macoute, the infamous secret police inaugurated by Haiti's authoritarian patriarch Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier, is indicative of the regional character of racialized post-slavery policing. While Papa Doc is often labelled an authoritarian leader for the wanton police violence inflicted under his regime, other Caribbean leaders employing similar mechanisms of control have largely evaded accusations of despotic rule by external observers. Such unrelenting external attention to Duvalierism, and Haiti's political landscape more broadly, is a clear indication of what Michel Rolph Trouillot described as the language of Haitian exceptionalism.[712] Indeed, the politically-driven police violence of the Ton Ton Macoute is far from exceptional—in the post-slavery Caribbean and broader Atlantic world, it is the rule. For Black Caribbean peoples, especially those at the intersections of race, complexion/color and class which place them at risk of being perceived by officers as "young hostile Negroes," this violence is part of the structural fabric of the slavery-derived order which subordinates racialized labor to foreign capital. This fact was not lost on Black Power adherents, particularly as they witnessed the escalation of police operations in response to their activities.

In March 1971, the New Beginnings Movement enumerated police measures deployed by the Williams administration to curtail Black Power:

> The Williams regime is now even more prepared... Since April, cases and cases of automatic weapons have been coming into the country. An estimate made by the New Beginning Research staff shows that over 3,000 automatic weapons have come into the country since August 1970. The police are in constant training, learning how to use their automatic weapons …There is a certain man who borrows a lot from the CIA. He has a whole team of gangsters working for him…They collect fat pockets and he swoops on the brothers... It will not be surprising if one morning, some explosives, bombs, arms and

[712] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "Chapter 2. The Odd and the Ordinary: Haiti, the Caribbean, and the World." *Trouillot Remixed: The Michel-Rolph Trouillot Reader,* edited by Yarimar Bonilla, Greg Beckett and Mayanthi L. Fernando, New York, (Duke, 2021).

> drugs are planted on New Beginning staff members and people hear on the radio that we are held in jail.[713]

The man who "borrows a lot from the CIA" most likely refers to Police Superintendent Randolph "The Fox" Burroughs. Burroughs, who was later promoted to the rank of Commissioner in 1978, gained notoriety as one of Trinidad and Tobago's top cops after being outed as leading conspirator of gang-led narcotics operations at the height of his career, as well as for his direction of violent anti-radical and anti-crime policing operations.[714] Burroughs exemplified the type of heavy-handed policing and near-celebrity status attributed to police commissioners and high ranking officials which characterized the image of the police from the 1970s-1990s. One reason for Burrough's rise to prominence was his wielding of his "gang eye" – the Flying Squad.

The Flying Squad was activated in 1970 as a special force incorporating officers of the state and community members to counter Black Power activism. The Flying Squad was one of the principal components of the Trinbagonian state's militarized response to the Black Power revolutionary gains, and a link in the long chain of anti-Blackness which had characterized Trinidadian policing since the days of Thomas Picton. Leniqueca A. Welcome describes the force as a major component of the state's "police war" against NUFF, suggesting both the force's pivotal role in defending the state authority and the state's pathologization of NUFF fighters as dangerous enemies outside of the realm of the social contract. Caribbean Black Power activists themselves often characterized their battle between post-colonial, Afro-Saxon-led governments and the peoples suffering under their foreign oriented governments as "war." *Tapia* defined its Black Power ethos in terms explicitly evoking the class conflict inherent to the movement against racial capitalism, noting that "in the ranks of the dispossessed there are no whites, but the *war* is between the dispossessed and the over-privileged, it is between all the *people all over the world* who understand the need for and desire a better world and those who have the insensitivity to care only about fattening their own carcasses."[715] From this, it is clear that Black Power

[713] AJL, New Beginning: A WARNING TO THE PEOPLE of Trinidad and Tobago (March 1971).
[714] See for example, the Scott Drug Report, 1987, which states that "Commissioner Burrough's close association with prominent drug dealers, Betalal, Chadee, Naim Naya and Rammer, is literally littered throughout the evidence." p31.
[715] GPI, "Special on the Current National Crisis" *Tapia*, 1970.

activists viewed their struggle as part and parcel of a *global* confrontation between those subordinated by racial capitalist imperial order, and those positioned to capitalize on their labor.

Importantly, the Squad was established and armed *following* a 1964 Commission of Inquiry report making recommendations to transition the colonially-organized police force away its paramilitary, post-slavery genesis. The report stressed the need to re-organize the police "not as a quasi-military body, which is neither feasible nor desirable in the modern state of Trinidad and Tobago."[716] The Commission recommended, among other things, the institution of a code of conduct and foregrounded the "stabilizing influence" of the police while stating that the force should be made to ensure "a sense of impartial justice."[717] Despite the PNM government's own characterization of a militarized police force as incoherent with the vision for post-colonial nation, the Flying Squad was nevertheless provided copious arms, ammunition and power to combat citizens articulating a desire for Black self-determination, with instructions including "don't take no prisoners and waste government money".[718] This directive evinces the understanding that a dead militant placed less financial strain than one incarcerated in state-run facilities. Eustace Bernard, Police Commissioner from 1970-1974, emphasized that Burroughs hand selected many members of the Squad from the group of policemen who had attended Queen's Royal College during the time that NUFF leader Guy Harewood attended, giving credence to the New Beginning's claims that the squad was using people close to "suspects" to garner information about their whereabouts.[719] Whether the officers were personally close to Harewood or not, they would have likely been familiar with Harewood and his associates given their membership in the small community of graduates from the prestigious Port-of-Spain grammar school. The Squad was organized into a combat unit, an undercover unit, and a surveillance team.[720] The combined efforts of the three branches under Burroughs acted as an intelligence gathering and counterinsurgency force, drawing on information culled from the broader population, often under duress, to orchestrate armed raids of NUFF camps like the one which led to Beverly Jones' death. Eustace Bernard notes that Flying Squad officers were

[716] Report Trinidad and Tobago Commission of Enquiry in to the Organization, Administration and Discipline of the Police Force and Procedures on the Investigation of Crime and Allies Matters, October 16 1964.
[717] Ibid.
[718] "Daaga make we do it! Black Power Stories of the Q and the 1970 Coup," *Wired 868*, April 21 2018. https://wired868.com/2018/04/21/daaga-make-we-do-it-black-power-stories-of-the-q-and-the-1970-coup/
[719] Eustace Bernard, *The Freedom Fighters* (Inprint, 1991).
[720] Ibid.

granted authority to conduct searches of private homes without warrants in search of information about NUFF activities.

The Williams administration's combative response to Black Power suggests its commitment to maintaining the established post-slavery colonial order, in which Black agitation for structural change is met with coordinated, paramilitary violence. This inclination towards militarized responses to Black resistance did not begin with NUFF. There is significant precedent for rebellious Black forces taking to the hills to escape or battle colonial structural hierarchies in the Caribbean, and indeed in the broader Atlantic world of former slaveholding states. The Maroons of Jamaica and Suriname used guerilla warfare to defeat European forces and wrest treaty-bound sovereignty for their communities. In Brazil and Colombia, enslaved Africans stole away to Quilombos and Palenques, defending their lands against white invasion and re-enslavement. NUFF guerillas, like many of the Black Power luminaries promoting knowledge of the Caribbean's resistive history during this period, were likely aware of the ways in which their actions in the 1970s were linked to centuries of anti-imperial agitation. The *Abeng* group, which was founded partially due to a desire to disseminate knowledge of "our own past and the struggles of our forefathers who survived the horrors of slavery," derived its name from the Abeng horn used by Jamaica's Maroons for long-range communication. Publications in Trinidad and Tobago, such as *Moko* and *Pivot,* likewise sought to contextualize the 1970s struggle by carrying pieces highlighting struggles fomented in the islands by ancestors subjected to slavery, indenture and colonial rule.[721] NUFF's revolutionary antecedents were well known – to activists and political authorities alike.

NUFF guerillas, armed with the material supports of firearms and *foquista* methods, emulated the storied fugitive praxis employed by Black dissidents since the era of New World chattelization. This tradition of marronnage not only saved Maroons, Quilombolas, and Palenqueros from the physical violence and drudgery of plantation life—it served as a rehumanizing force eschewing the rules of chattelization. Stealing ones-self away from the plantation was a blatant refusal of one's diminution to property status, countering the central principal of plantation racial epistemologies equating Blackness with fitness for thingified labor, physical subordination, and death. Through their community formations, they asserted their

[721] Rupert Lewis "Jamaican Black Power in the 1960s", in *Black Power in the Caribbean* edited by Kate Quinn (University of Florida Press, 2014).

independence, free from the threat of plantation discipline, surveillance and the syncretic veil which such oversight necessitated. It is from these contexts that Celeste Winston theorizes 'Maroon Geographies," which she characterizes as "part of a Black placemaking tradition shaped by subversions and rejections of dominant spatial imaginaries in addition to assertions of life - affirming forms of community."[722] Winston connects marronnage by enslaved people with African-American abolitionist and placemaking practices in the historically Black enclave of Montogomery County, Maryland outside of Washington D.C. to demonstrate the continuities in both anti-Black policing in the USA and the strategies developed by Black communities to thwart police aggression. The NUFF guerillas were part of this tradition of placemaking, openly defying the law by attacking and displacing the island's wealth from its traditional coffers in Western banks and foreign investments, and fighting back against state forces to imagine a new order. Their placemaking project extended beyond their camps in the Fyzabad hills and Trinidad's northern mountains to envision and wield arms in service of a radical society decentering white colonial standards of civility and the imperative for political and economic productivity as axes distinguishing those who may draw breath and those rendered undesirable and expendable surplus within the state order.

Given the precedents set by state's slave society genesis, the image of NUFF guerilla fighters as potential disrupters of the Afro-Saxon postcolonial state, coupled with their evinced willingness to attack the state's industrial and financial centers, required a coordinated militarized response. NUFF members were targeted with armed counterinsurgency and widespread surveillance by the likes of the Flying Squad and "the man who borrows a lot from the CIA," Randolph Burroughs. However, NUFF's activities were also known to international forces aiming to protect the existing order which enabled foreign dominance within Caribbean extractive industries. Anglo-American security apparatuses placed their faith in the local police as the arbiters of order. In 197, the CIA emphasized its confidence in the ordering powers of the Trinbagonian security forces after they killed NUFF leader Guy Harewood in the raid which also led to Beverly Jones' death:

> The existence of the NUFF first became known last February when it obtained some $60,000 in a daring bank holdup…Guy Harewood was the leader of the group based in

[722] Celeste Winston, *How to Lose the Hounds: Maroon Geographies and a World Beyond Policing*, (Duke, 2023), p. 2

> Trinidad's northern mountains, and Brian Jeffers heads a second unit located in the southern Forests…The recent successes by the security forces will probably cause the NUFF to lie low for the time being. The death of Harewood should help the public regain confidence in the effectiveness of the security forces.[723]

The fact that the CIA mention Harewood's killing by police as evidence of the effectiveness of the force itself is suggestive of an outlook linking capacity to kill with successful policing. Specifically, in this case, the capacity to extinguish a principal threat to a post-slavery hierarchical order was heralded as evidence of competence. However, these ideas of a successful policing model were not confined to CIA officials. They were diffused amongst the local police forces of Trinidad and Tobago, and so many other states, through British- and US-led police trainings drawing on the resources of multiple state agencies, including the US Agency for International Development's Office of Public Safety, as I discuss in the next section.

Stabilizing Regional Order: Anglo-American International Policing of Black Power

> "American pluralism quickly becomes a monolithic structure on issues of race. When faced with demands from black people, the multi-faction whites unite and present a common front."[724]
>
> -Kwame Ture

As Black Power ideology inspired revolts and revolutionary action in the Caribbean, the US Government perfected its multiagency approach to surveil and counter Black activism. Ward Churchill and Jim VanderWall chronicle how FBI counterinsurgency measures against US Black activists were often buttressed by CIA surveillance of their international connections.[725] As a complement, CIA officials and the Office of Public Safety (OPS), operating within USAID, helped shape police trainings and response measures in zones of strategic interest, collapsing the distinction between domestic policing and international counterinsurgency.[726] US officials also deployed this multi-agency machinery against Black Power activists in the Caribbean in cooperation with Caribbean policing administrators and British Commonwealth officials.[727]

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[723] CIA, OCI Bulletin 58-73, October 19, 1973.
[724] Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: Politics of Liberation in America* (Vintage, 1992) p. 21-22.
[725] Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall. *Agents of Repression : The FBI's Secret Wars against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* (South End, 2002).
[726] CIA, Deputy Director for Plans to Director of FBI, 23 February 1965
[727] Stuart Schrader, *Badges without Borders: How Global Counterinsurgency Transformed American Policing*, (University of California Press, 2019) p.30.

Coordinated efforts to shape policing against Black anti-imperial agitation counter the imagined delineations between domestic and international order enforcement, lending credence to Kwame Ture claim that demands for Black liberation elicited a united Western front to uphold racial capitalist hegemony.

Stuart Schrader points out that internationalist race-conscious organizations like the Black Panthers and Young Lords were most alarming to US intelligence officials, emphasizing how "race-thinking…both compelled and blocked the achievement of US geopolitical hegemony."[728] While successive US presidential administrations armed US police forces in Chicago, Oakland and beyond as Black domestic movements shifted from demands for civil integration to armed battles for international peoples' power, US intelligence apparatuses in the CIA and USAID provided an international complement in the struggle to maintain white capitalist world order. CIA activities in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago predate independence resulting from agreements made with independence leaders in 1960. Less than a decade into the Agency's presence on the islands, the CIA's Office of Current Intelligence (OCI) worked alongside local police to infiltrate local movements and surveil Black Power activists. CIA reports from the period suggest the agency monitored Black Power activities across the independent states and British-ruled territories in the Caribbean with concerns over the growth of a regional movement and the capacity for local resistance "to scare off tourists and discourage foreign investment."[729] The OPS opened within USAID in 1962 to streamline police training programs, under the logic that police were "the first line of defense against subversion".[730] Trainings were initially rolled out in Southeast Asia before expanding throughout Africa and Latin America. The program featured torture trainings and education in political policing for the more than 7500 officers the program trained across 52 "friendly foreign countries."[731] The OPS organizational memo details that providing arms, trainings and technical assistance to "make the local military and police advocates of democracy" and agents of "developmental process" was in the US strategic interest.

[728] Schrader, *Badges without Borders* p.45.
[729] CIA, Caribbean Commonwealth Members: Implications of Britain's Possible Entry into the Common Market, August 1970.
[730]Office of the Historian of the United States Department of State, Document 279. "Paper Prepared by the Department of State, September 1962 :United States Overseas Internal Defense Policy." September 1962. p.16.
[731] Ibid. p. 13

The program prioritized "friendly" countries, "particularly those threatened with subversion and insurgency".[732]

A British Commonwealth Office memo emphasizes the OPS multiagency approach to securing Anglo-American security interests in the Caribbean, emphasizing that "an inter-agency police group with representatives from the Department of Defense, Justice, State, Treasury, and other agencies" advised the USAID Public Safety program.[733] Public Safety officials were therefore positioned "to draw upon the extraordinary resources and capabilities of the FBI, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Border Patrol, the Secret Service, the Bureau of Narcotics and Customs, and the police and security services of the U.S. Military Establishment".[734] In the Caribbean police trainings tended to focus on perceptions of rising criminality amongst the urban population. Jamaica's OPS program began activities in August 1966 with a training program developed in consort with Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) officials to increase police capacities in "functions which would have more widespread impact."[735] Examining the time devoted to each training indicates the nature of the desired "widespread impact." A Public Safety Advisor coordinated trainings, ranging from 1-6 weeks long, on firearms and weapons use, criminal investigations, immigration and customs enforcement, and narcotics identification. Notably, firearms training occurred with the most frequency. By 1974, Jamaica recorded 10 firearms trainings, outpacing the next most frequent training in criminal investigations, which had taken place three times.[736] Officers were also trained in the United States, including 47 who were sent to the International Police Academy (IPA), and an additional 53 trained in "specialist fields" arranged by the IPA. According to Foreign Service officer Raymond Barrett, the Academy was inaugurated in December 1963 in the Georgetown neighborhood of Washington D.C. on the heels of the Inter-American Police Academy in 1962.[737]

This approach to policing Black Caribbean radicalism coheres with the historical US posture towards the region when threats to topple the racial order have emerged. Officials have long feared the knock-on effects of revolutionary acts by island-bound peoples reaching northern

[732] FCO 23/73 REL Johnstone to CE Diggins, 20 November 1967.
[733] Ibid.
[734] OD 28/129 Jamaica: British Police Training Mission, 10 March 1969
[735] Agency for International Development, Public Safety Project Jamaica, February 1974.
[736] Ibid. Appendix N.
[737] R.J. Barrett, "The International Police Academy," *Military Police Journal* 21, no. 10 (1972): 18-19.

shores. In the aftermath of Jamaica's 1865 Morant Bay Rebellion, reports emerged that the revolt was a "matter of some importance in the reconstruction of [the] Southern States" when "the working of emancipation culminated in an insurrection."[738] The reconstruction era United States was to "take notice that the question which excited these Jamaican fiends was a question of social and political rights" which, if Black Americans were to attain, would result in a "war of races…with its horrors of murder."[739] Indeed, it is this historical concern over Caribbean "fiends" articulating racially-conscious resistance which led USAID to instruct local police forces in surveillance and weapons trainings and oversee the sale hundreds of gas projectiles, grenades, bomb disposal suits, and dozens of Cadillac Cage Commando vehicles to the Jamaican Ministry of Defense and Trinidad's Police Force and Prison Department in the early 1970s.[740]

Reproducing an additional feature of colonial ordering, policing Black Power in the Caribbean also involved US collaboration with British forces. Britain and the US nevertheless initiated collaborative police trainings in the Caribbean soon after Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago achieved independence in 1962. Britain's Metropolitan Police trained Caribbean police and armed forces in the late 1950s and early 1960s. However shortly after independence the British recognized the "inability of the client countries to release officers from essential duties to attend overseas courses" and organized with the United States, and to a lesser extent Canada, to bring the trainings to the tropics.[741] By 1967, the British Commonwealth Office and OPS streamlined trainings to the extent that the Commonwealth office reported its satisfaction that the US perceived the "continuing liaison" to be "a fact of life."[742] While some Commonwealth officials expressed delight that US officials had finally begun to "address themselves seriously to the problems of the [Caribbean] region", others were concerned that that US-style policing would not be well-suited to influencing the British-modelled forces in the Caribbean. [743] In 1968, Commonwealth office official G.S.H. Ellis reported that the US training partners:

> Have rather 'hawkish' ideas about dealing with riots and expect every policeman to pack a pistol at all times. In fact I would have thought that the Jamaican Force needed little

[738] "The Defeat of Morant Bay" *New York Herald,* 17 November 1865, p.33.
[739] Ibid.
[740] Nancy Stein and Micharl Klare, "Merchants of Repression: U.S. Police Exports to the Third World" *NACLA's Latin America and Empire Report* 10, 6 (1976): 31-38.
[741] FCO 23/73 Michael Macoun, Review of Progress and Requirements, 28 November 1967.
[742] FCO 23/73 REL Johnstone to CE Diggins 20 November 1967.
[743] Ibi.

> encouragement in respect of the use of firearms these days and some of the reports of police shootings which have come to my notice contain disturbing features to say the least.[744]

Jamaican and other Anglophone Caribbean police forces were instituted by the British empire in the aftermath of emancipation to effectuate the very "disturbing features" of extrajudicial killings and indiscriminate arrests, that Ellis alludes to. Ultimately, it appears the US disciplinary instincts were of little concern as the Commonwealth Office established a "Tripartite Police Training Scheme for the English-speaking Caribbean Area" dividing training responsibilities between the British Special Branch, OPS and, to a lesser extent, Canada, in 1968.[745] Despite Ellis' concerns surrounding perceived differences in the character of British and US policing, British and North American forces were able to cohere around their collective securitization priorities to the extent that OPS director Brian Engle later reported that the joint-training efforts in the Caribbean were a "quite exceptional example of U.S.-U.K. collaboration which…had not been surpassed as far as the police field was concerned anywhere else in the world."[746] Officials of both the US and British security factions "recognized that any links between United States Black Power movements and the Caribbean should be closely watched".[747] Thus security officials monitored the spread of Black Power activities in the region as early as 1967, one year prior to the Rodney Affair.

While the OPS was instructed to avoid "overly prominent participation" in their involvement with security forces, it does not appear that their efforts to remain covert were effective. Black Power activists acknowledged USAID and CIA presence in their countries, and emphasized that Western desire to influence policing in the region dovetailed with local concerns over demands for Black self-determination. In November 1971, *Tapia* informed readers that the CIA and USAID were operating in Trinidad under "the notorious programme for "Public Safety" to coordinate policing measures "to see that companies 'operate within a stable political climate."[748] Noting that "Uncle AID does not leave anything to chance", the report warned of the

[744] OD28/129 GSH Ellis to Mr. Macoun dated 4 April 1968.
[745] OD28/129 Memo: Tripartite Police Training Scheme, n.d. 1968.
[746] FCO 23/73 REL Johnstone to CE Diggins 20 November 1967.
[747] FCO 23/73 Johnstone to Diggins 20 November 1967.
[748] GPI, *Tapia*, November 7, 1971.

development agency's plans to "detect, "subversive individuals," neutralize their activities and control militant behaviour.[749]

Tapia activists recognized that the "stabilization programme" shaping the island's security forces was installed to facilitate a political climate favorable to the very interests that NUFF guerilla fighters, NJAC activists, Rodney rioters and countless other Black Power adherents had worked to dismantle. Western and white local wealth was to be generated by racialized non-white labor and protected against resistance by state forces, before taking flight to coffers on other shores. This had been the law of the land since slavery. Should the racialized working class protest the system, or simply be unable or unwilling to participate in it, the expectation was that they should expire from hunger or police discipline. It is for this reason that Black Power hopes for a future free from racialized imperial profiteering were met with domestic police repression backed by Anglo-American security machinery. It is for this reason that Beverly Jones died at the wrong end of a police rifle before she could realize her adult potential; that UWI students and Kingston sufferers were shot with live rounds; and countless individuals thrust their fists towards the sun in the Black Power salute. Rather than realize racialized peoples' dreams for a new world at that fertile moment, the international policing of Black Power would see them deferred.

Conclusion

The Office of Public Safety highlights the critical importance of reform in a state's early independence period. "It is during the interim, between the shattering of the old mold and its consolidation into a viable modern state of popularly accepted and supported institutional strength, that a modernizing state is vulnerable to subversion and insurgency."[750] Black Power's overtures towards "shattering the old model" were forestalled by police violence and the institution of a new form of racialized exploitation risking Black life in the form of clientelist violence abetted by police and party officials alike. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the centuries-old slave society order carried on after the lowering of the Union Jack, slightly shifting its shape as national leadership began to physically resemble the people. However, independence had done little to relieve economic and social exclusion, to the disappointment of the racialized masses. The persistent, *post*-colonial targeting of poor Black and dark-skinned communities reinforced slavery's understanding of *who* it is appropriate to render subordinate through the

[749] Ibid.
[750] US Office of Public Safety, United States Overseas Internal Defense Policy, September 1962, p. 5.

compulsory visibility of police surveillance and the reiterative violence of police use of force. Though Black Power did not achieve its global revolutionary aims, it remains of ideological significance in the Caribbean and beyond for its capacity to give voice to the anger of millions marked by stain of slavery and colonial thingification. The historic moment serves as source of inspiration to multitudes who continue to live with knowledge that the violence and premature death inflicted upon their communities, as colonized and racialized peoples, is part of the postcolonial organization of state authority.

Chapter 7: Policing and Parasitism in the Manley Era: CIAga, Clientelism, and Carcerality

> The poor do not have equality before the law; and what is worse, they know it.[751]
> -Michael Manley, 1975

> Suppose me tell you bout Seaga and di CIA,
> An wha dem use fi destabilize di economy
> An who did set the order bring in guns a Tivoli[752]
> -Protoje

At the close of the 1960s, Jamaican society was still negotiating its relationship to its colonial foundation. During the first decade of independence, the country had seen acute clientelist violence reducing many Black youths to fodder for political power struggles, alongside the expulsion of Black radical scholar, Walter Rodney, resulting in urban protests to integrate the Black majority. Jamaica's first Prime Minister, Alexander Bustamante, declared that Jamaica was "with the West", while six years prior, independence leader Norman Manley initiated Jamaica's ban on travel and trade with the US-backed South African apartheid government. Put simply, Jamaica displayed an ambivalence towards assuming a national identity which recognized and aligned with the Black Third World struggle, with devastating consequences for Jamaica's underclass. Sufferers continued to complain of social and economic exclusion, effected through many of the same institutional channels that engendered their subjugation under British rule—namely policing and a lack of political representation. Demands for change drove action at the ballot box.

In 1972, charismatic PNP leader and former trade unionist Michael Manley swept to victory on a reformist platform promising that "Better mus' come" for the sufferers at home, and for people across the Third World. Internationally, Manley rose to prominence as a leading figure of the Non-aligned movement and proponent of the New International Economic Order.[753] Manley strengthened relations with Cuba under Fidel Castro and supported African liberation struggles, sparking suspicion from US onlookers. At home, sectors of the population, chiefly ghettoized

[751] Michael Manley, *Politics of Change: A Jamaican Testament* (Howard University Press, 1990). p. 63.
[752] Protoje, "80's Wild". Accessed 6 March 2025. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ioqI3mcYl6U.
[753] Brian Meeks, "Michael Manley's Vision" *Jacobin*, 2017.

Black youth and Rastafarians, were integrated into national politics in an unprecedented manner as Manley appealed to sufferer communities by aligning himself with their cultural productions, including Rudie and reggae music and emblems of Rastafarian culture. Campaign rallies shrouded in reggae music blaring from sound systems later gave way to an administration that ushered in a national housing trust, free universal education at the secondary and tertiary level, guaranteed maternity leave, a national minimum wage, and skills and employment training programs. It is for this reason that Michael Manley, son of Norman, is still remembered as "Joshua" – a biblical reference to Moses' successor as leader of the Israelite tribes.

Still, Manley was not without critics, despite domestic improvements in sufferer integration and international overtures signaling his commitment to a Third Word break with neoimperialism. In 1975, Walter Rodney said democratic socialism under the Manley administration represented the "rise of pseudo-socialism in response to the revolutionary momentum of the masses."[754] Indeed, Manley's openness to the sufferers' cultures of resistance did not necessarily result in a break with Jamaica's colonial institutions, nor was the administration successful in dismantling the country's existing social and economic hierarchies. As Rodney notes, under Manley's democratic socialism, "the socio-economic base remains the same".[755] Leaving hierarchical order intact left the sufferers in the same exploitable and fungible social position they had occupied since slavery. This is most clearly demonstrated through the state's political clientelism and Manley's opening of the Gun Court Prison.

The 1970s saw a marked increase in violent patronage as Manley's administration was subject to scrutiny from local elites, and surveillance and intervention by US forces eager to discipline Caribbean governments threatening to exit its zone of influence, and empowered to work with local police. Party officials, namely JLP leader and later Prime Minister (1980-1989) Edward Seaga and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and later of National Security Dudley Thompson, backed bloody political violence between party-affiliated gangs led by *dons* Claudius "Claudie" Massop and Aston "Bucky Marshall" Thompson, respectively.[756] Obika Gray identifies this

[754] Walter Rodney, "Contemporary Trends in the English speaking Caribbean," *The Black Scholar* 7, no.1, (1975), p.20.
[755] Rodney, "Contemporary Trends", p. 21.
[756] Yonique Campbell, and Colin Clarke. "The Garrison Community in Kingston and Its Implications for Violence, Policing, De Facto Rights, and Security in Jamaica" in *Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean: Subnational Structures, Institutions, and Clientelistic Networks*, edited by Tina Hilgers and Laura Macdonald (Cambridge University Press, 2017): 93–111.

clientelist political order as a parasitic "two-party cartel", highlighting its flexibility in extracting political power from an impoverished base typically denied the social and economic protections afforded to citizens.[757] Indeed, the political situation from 1972-1980 engendered an evolution in this predation, as domestic and US officials participated in reiterating slave society norms of Black fungibility through the manufacture of political violence and the introduction of new carceral mechanisms in the Gun Court Prison.

Official reports from Jamaican and US authorities are clear that the 1976 and 1980 elections were both characterized by "frequent gang clashes, charges of police brutality, hints of CIA destabilization."[758] What these archives of power do not detail is the scale of death produced from ideological clashes in Jamaica, and whose death was deemed acceptable –if not required— in the struggle to maintain capitalist order in the country. In the 1970s, the sufferers' constructed status as disposable proved a key asset in an international struggle for US hegemony in the Caribbean and beyond. The US Central Intelligence Agency and State Department proved poised to take advantage of the Jamaican state's post-slavery predilection towards disposal of its Black poor majority to counter Manley's internationalism which championed Third World solidarity. Records indicate that US international security officials worked in concert with JLP officials to deliver firearms to party dons and scale up electoral violence. Where the people dubbed Michael Manley "Joshua" – the son of the Biblical Moses—in reference to his famous father and embrace of the sufferers, Seaga's reported collusion with US forces earned his own nickname—CIAga.[759]

The rate of Black disposal during the Manley years demonstrates an undertheorized component of Jamaican clientelism: the post-slavery state penchant towards commodifying and disposing of Black poor people – and the utility of this norm for securing capitalist order. Those killed and jailed during this period of clientelist violence were swept up as collateral expended in the political struggle between Manley's democratic socialism and JLP conservatives aligned with US hegemony. Whether killed or injured in US-backed clientelist political violence or confined to an overcrowded cell by a social democrat, Black sufferers were rendered disposable fodder in the battle to sustain racial capitalist order and US hegemony.

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[757] Obika Gray, *Demeaned but Empowered: The Social Power of the Urban Poor in Jamaica* (University of the West Indies Press, 2004). p. 6.
[758] Ambassador Loren Lawrence to US Secretary of State, 8 November 1979.
[759] Tony Weis, "A precarious balance: Neoliberalism, crisis management, and the social implosion in Jamaica," *Capital & Class* 29, iss.1 (2005): 115-147.

In this chapter, I examine the political expediency of disposing of Black poor bodies in the context of political clientelism and US destabilization of the Manley administration. I will begin by detailing the rationale for intervention and analyse how Jamaica's post-slavery predisposition towards viewing the Black dispossessed as expendable provided fertile ground for the clientelist political order which was exploited by US forces with violent consequences for sufferer communities. I will then examine the context surrounding the establishment of the Gun Court and Prison and the punishments that emanated from within it with a particular focus on the criminalization of Black (sufferer) children. I argue that the confinement of Black bodies, including children and young persons, withing the Gun Court Prison was a product of chattel slavery's normative logics reading Black people – even as children—as fungible deviants requiring state discipline.

Michael Norman "Joshua" Manley

Michael Norman Manley was born on 10 December 1924 in St. James, Jamaica. He was the second son of Norman, the Afro-Saxon negotiator of Jamaican independence, and sculptor Edna Swithenbank. Manley was educated at Jamaica College, one of the island's elite-serving boarding schools founded by eighteenth century slaveholders to educate the island's poor white children. Manley served as editor-in-chief of *Public Opinion*, founded by Norman Manley as the official periodical of the Jamaican Peoples' National Party, before earning a degree in government and political science from the London School of Economics in 1949. By 1952, he had joined the PNP-affiliated union, the National Workers Union (NWU), where he cut his political teeth advocating for bauxite worker rights and coordinating political education. [760]

Manley's political education program stressed the key divergences between democratic socialism and Communism. Anthony Bogues stresses that this indicates Manley's "intervention into Jamaican politics therefore was against the Marxist-Leninist left".[761] It is notable that early in his career Manley, in many ways, followed the party ideologies embodied by his elder stateman father. As discussed in Chapter 5, Norman Manley had been a longtime proponent of democratic socialism, having overseen the expulsion of the Marxist-Leninist leadership, known as the 4H's, from the PNP. However, while Michael was afforded an elite education and career by virtue of

[760] "Tribute to a Visionary," *Jamaica Herald* 9 March 1997.
[761] Anthony Bogues, "Michael Manley, Equality and the Jamaican Labour Movement," *Caribbean Quarterly* 48, no.1(2002): 77.

his color-class background, he made great efforts to distinguish himself from the class-based and cultural chauvinism pervasive in the community he was born into. His upbringing amongst Jamaica's elites, coupled with his experience as a trade unionist, left him well-positioned to understand the deleterious impacts of elite bigotry on the living and working conditions endured by the sufferers.

As Bogues notes, during Manley's tenure with the NWU, "workers…were treated in many instances like their African ancestors on the sugar plantations during slavery."[762] In his 1975 memoir, *Politics and Change,* Manley states as much, noting that "until quite recently in our history, the working class did not exist as human beings for the privileged."[763] Manley later fashioned himself as man of the people in his 1972 campaign for Prime Minister.

Domestically, Manley's reformist agenda successfully alleviated some of the economic conditions producing "sufferation" for the impoverished Black majority. Within the first three years as Prime Minister, his administration implemented the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL) adult literacy campaign, the National Housing Trust public housing scheme, special employment placement and skills training programs, and a workers' bank. Alongside these initiatives, Manley's administration instituted national minimum wage, moved Jamaica's Women's Bureau to the Office of the Prime Minister and advocated for equal pay for women.[764] He provided free secondary and tertiary education, nationalized the financial services, and extended the franchise to all persons aged 18 and over.

To the north, U.S. authorities watched Manley's reformist administration with extreme caution. Manley's international profile included membership in the non-aligned movement and championing the New International Economic Order (NIEO), both campaigns aimed at overturning impediments to economic self-determination facing postcolonial states unevenly integrated into the world capitalist order. However, neither of these activities appeared to be as troublesome to the US State Department as Manley's domestic policies advancing democratic socialism as a Third World alternative to capitalist domination and deepening of Jamaica's relations with Cuba under Fidel Castro.

[762] Bogues, "Michael Manley Equality," p.78.
[763] Manley, *Politics and Change*, p. 54.
[764] A.Lynn Bolles, "Michael Manley in the Vanguard Towards Gender" *Caribbean Quarterly*, 48, no.1 (2002): 45-56.

Through democratic socialism, Manley sought to extricate Jamaica from the centuries-old capitalist plantation model of externally oriented development, a relic of the country's slave society genesis.[765] The administration's economic policies were guided by economist and New World Group member, Dr. Norman Girvan. Girvan was guided by the knowledge of the Caribbean's colonial terraforming to the plantation economic model, a concept advanced by Trinidadian economist and fellow New World Group member Lloyd Best. According to Best, plantation economies operate as "hinterlands of exploitation", wherein plantation labor and crude production are extracted by Western metropolitan powers for integration into the global economy.[766] Political and social economist and theorist George Beckford explains the continued function of the slave society plantation economic model in the 1970s:

> The plantation still dominates the economic life of the region. It owns and controls the use of the best land, has access to credit and technology, owns all the factory capacity for the rudimentary processing of plantation crops in the islands, provides services for the marketing of the export staples (shipping, insurance, overseas distribution, and so forth), and influences government policy in fundamental ways…and finally, the peasants still rely to a large extent on wage work on the plantations to supplement their own production.[767]

In keeping with efforts to break from the plantation economic model, Manley explained to constituents the problems of maintaining the system in terms that were relevant to the lived realities of Jamaican sufferers. In 1974, Manley delivered a speech in Trench Town positioning capitalist order as a rearticulation of slave society dynamics of colonial domination:

> The capitalist system is the system that brought slavery to Jamaica. Under capitalism, we suffered 300 years of colonialism. No way shall capitalism continue in Jamaica.[768]

The *Gleaner*'s coverage of the speech shows Manley speaking to an overstuffed hall of Trench Town Comprehensive High School, with several revelers raising fists in a Black Power salute.[769]

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[765] Norman Girvan and Cherita Girvan, "The Development of Dependency Economics in the Caribbean and Latin America: Review and Comparison," *Social and Economic Studies*, 22, no. 1 (1973):1-33.
[766] Lloyd Best, "Outlines of a Model of Pure Plantation Economy", *Social and Economic Studies* 17, no.3 (1968): 283-326.
[767] George Beckford, *Persistent Poverty* (University of the West Indies Press, 1999) p. 48
[768] *Gleaner*, 18 November 1974.
[769] Ibid.

Within the 1970s social climate still marked by Black Power slogans and protests, the sufferers understood that their present economic woes were inextricable from their previous social positioning under imperial rule. In addition to public speeches, Manley publicly exalted mining workers' rights and recent union wins, including the attainment of a 40-hour work week and increased vacation and pension provisions, in a 1974 *Gleaner* serial later published as a book titled *Voice at the Workplace.*[770]

Manley's frank references to the economic exploitation of the Jamaican poor earned him support amongst working and unemployed suffering constituents, as much as it inspired the ire of the US foreign affairs machinery. A letter from the US Embassy in Jamaica to the State Department complained of Manley's "emotional speech…in the Kingston ghetto," noting that the Prime Minister had "now decided to take off the gloves."[771] American concerns about Manley's potential to destabilize capitalism domestically in Jamaica dovetailed with worries over his potential to challenge the security of US hegemony regionally and elsewhere.

Declassified correspondence between Embassy staff and State Department officials indicates that worries concerning the impact of the Manely administration were twofold. On the one hand, Manley's perceived radicalism could spread across the Caribbean, and cause the "Black English-speaking islands" to drift further from the influence of Latin American regimes loyal to US interests. On the other hand, it was thought that Manley's decision to empower the Black sufferers could inspire similar action amongst postcolonial Black African governments. In a lengthy memo to US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Harry Schlaudeman explicitly names racialized concerns about the potential allure of Jamaica's socialist reformist agenda serving as a mechanism for destabilization of US influence on both sides of the Black Atlantic:

> Jamaica cannot be seen in isolation...our problems there are symptomatic, and quite possibly prophetic, of developments in the other islands…Being so near to us and to Cuba, the Black Caribbean leaders can credibly threaten radical alternatives that could give us security concerns... Moreover, charges of neglect and destabilization coming

[770] Michael Manley, *A Voice at the Workplace: Reflections on Colonialism and the Jamaican Worker* (Howard University Press, 1975).
[771]Office of the Historian of the United States Department of State, Document 450. "Telegram 4147 From the Embassy in Jamaica to the Department of State" Kingston, November 18, 1974, 2100Z.

> from the Caribbean are believable to most of the world given the history of U.S. hegemony in the area…Their racial and cultural make up links them to Africa and the problems of that continent…they can also become very troublesome opponents should we find ourselves positioned against radical African leaders.[772]

There is some truth to Shlaudeman's assessment that racial family ties between the Caribbean and Africa animated elements of Manley's internationalism. In his memoir, *Struggle in the Periphery*, Manley recounts speaking with Castro about their shared priorities for Third World solidarity, including "the Non-Aligned Movement, the economic struggle and the need to develop the broadest Third World unity around practical and attainable economic objectives."[773] Manley also reported that the two "shared a passion for the liberation struggles in Southern Africa" which "arose partly from an intellectual response to the principles involved and partly from the more visceral reaction that comes from a sense of ethnic connection between Caribbean and African society."[774]

To sustain diplomatic relations with the State Department, Manley claimed his relationship to Castro was simply the result of mutual respect between the two men, and a collective desire to share skills and resources between the two states.[775] At the same time, Manley used his position as Chairman of the 1975 Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference in Kingston to secure Commonwealth financial support for Mozambique after Samora Machel's victory against Portugal.[776] He retained the ban on travel and trade with the South African apartheid government instituted by his father, and openly pledged support for Cuba's envoy of troops to aid Angolan forces in the face of apartheid South Africa's racist, US-backed aggression in Southern Africa.[777] Recognizing that "Jamaica has steadfastly and consistently given its full support to liberation movements in Southern Africa seeking to free [B]lack Africa from the shackles of imperialism, colonialism and racism," the government established a fund to support Zimbabwe, and extended scholarships to Zambian and Namibian students.[778]

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[772] US Office of the Historian, State Department, Action Memorandum (Shlaudeman) to Secretary of State Kissinger, November 8, 1976.
[773] Manley, *Struggle in the Periphery*, p. 108
[774] Ibid.
[775] Manley, *Struggle in the Periphery.*
[776] Manley, *Struggle in the Periphery*, p.105; *Gleaner*, 5 March 1976.
[777] NAJ 1B/31/217-1978 PJ Patterson Visit to Senegal and Nigeria by the Minster of Foreign Affairs, July 5, 1978.
[778] NAJ 1B/31/466-1976-Cabinet Submission, Contribution to the Support and Solidarity Fund for the Liberation of Southern Africa, 1976.

This would not be the first time that the example of Black socialist solidarity illuminated the United States' commitment to Black neglect. Black socialists within the US Black Panther Party famously provided much-needed health and educational services in ghettoized zones. Their organized campaigns highlighted the US government's refusal to provide basic services to Black American citizens who, like Black Caribbean people, were understood as expendable surplus as a function of their post-slavery racial identity.[779] In Jamaica, Manley's democratic socialist uplift of Black sufferers, if successful, could have provided an alternative model for the Black postcolonial world moving away from reliance on capitalist models of ownership and production. Like the Panthers in the US, Manley's administration therefore required destabilization to protect US hegemony and capitalist order across the Caribbean and potentially beyond. Jamaica's built-in clientelist system, entrenched through persistent neglect of Black sufferers, provided convenient conditions for destabilization. The US Central Intelligence Agency provided the arms and means to police socialism through the production of Black death.

Clientelism and CIA Coordination: Policing Democratic Socialism in the Black Caribbean

Building on the clientelist factionalism of the 1960s, Jamaica's 1970s political order deepened its reliance on autocratic and paternalistic modes of violent patronage to constrain voter choice and maintain class hierarchy.[780] Obika Gray underscores that Jamaican political climate of the early 1970s was characterized by "the deepening of authoritarian state power and the emergence of novel forms of political domination."[781] For Gray, clientelism is an evolving system through which Jamaican state power vacillates between "predatory and populist; violent and paternal; as well as democratic and viciously abusive of human rights, depending on the exigences of the political situation."[782] Indeed, by the 1970s clientelist rule underwent dangerous contortions with an increase in police violence and arms distribution to political enforcers from the ranks of ghettoized Black youth understood to be expendable within the post-slavery state. In one case, parents from the South West St. Andrews constituency reported that parliamentarian, Pearnel Charles, attempted to coerce local youth into political service, telling them:

[779]Nik Heynen, "Bending the Bars of Empire from Every Ghetto for Survival: The Black Panther Party's Radical Antihunger Politics of Social Reproduction and Scale," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 99, iss.2 (2009): 406-422.
[780] Carl Stone, *Class, State and Democracy in Jamaica* (Praeger, 1986).
[781]Obika Gray, "The Coloniality of Power and the Limits of Dissent in Jamaica," *Small Axe* 21, no.3 (2017) p. 99.
[782]Gray, *Demeaned but Empowered*, p. 5.

> You know man mus' dead that man live. All who nah defend what we a defend must dead…105 people who a fight we [here] and [here] and [here] mus dead! Shine mus dead! Straan mus dead! $400 fi any man who kill any a dem! Norma from Fourth Street mus dead! Cocks from Sixth Street mus dead! Coco from Sixth Street mus dead![783]

While Pearnel Charles later refuted the claims brought forth by the St. Andrews parents and caregivers, the issue of clientelism's manifestation of political violence via police and political gangs were so widespread that Police Inspector Rainford Smart reported to the *Jamaica Star* that "people 'in high places' were aiding and abetting criminals in Jamaica".[784] These connections between "people in high places" and "criminals" were only possible because of slavery's hermeneutic mandating a view of the Black masses as inhuman, or at the very least, expendable and acceptable to kill. Regardless of whether or not Pearnel Charles himself ordered the deaths of Coco and Cocks from Sixth street, Shine, Strand and Ms. Norma from Fourth Street, their lives *could* have been called into question by him or another member of parliament because slavery's construction of them, as poor Black people, as devalued non-humans. It was this foundational logic positioning Black humanity as incomplete and expendable which served as the basis of the clientelist political order. Politicians could rise to and maintain power by "trading the life of hundreds of youths for a few dollars and set[ting] citizens of the community at war with each other."[785] Against this clientelist backdrop sufferer youth and caregivers of SouthWest St. Andrew channeled Black Power calls for Black self-determination through "[r]esolute struggle against political gangsterism" and the disempowerment of elected representatives "prepared to swim in the blood of the masses…to political power."[786] Their statement was informed by a community understanding of the state's preparedness to police and jail youths found with arms, leaving political party leadership to enjoy the fruits of Black death and incarceration.

The decade was characterized by shoot-outs between party-affiliated sets like the JLP-linked Phoenix set and the PNP-backed Spanglers. Police responses to these political battles were equally violent. Officers regularly opened fire on Kingston blocs during missions to arrest

[783] NAJ 1B/39/48-1974.
[784]"Politicians promoting gun crimes, police" *Jamaica Star*, undated.
[785] NAJ 1B/39/48-1974, Statement of southwest St. Andrews citizens association (SWSACA) Southwest St. Andrew citizens demand Pernell Charles arrest for conspiracy to murder 105 citizens of the community!" undated, 1974.
[786] NAJ 1B/39/48-1974, Statement of SWSACA, 1974.

shooters, a significant portion of whom were children and young persons under the age of 25. Many ghettoized youth were susceptible to gang recruitment due to proximity to top-ranking leaders, and increasing discontent with intractable poverty and continued stigmatization of the ghetto areas and their residents, which rendered it difficult to remain employed or enrolled in school. Children as young as 14 committed crimes alongside their elder counterparts, resulting in a moral panic over juvenile crime. In 1971, Gleaner columnist Thomas Wright complained that:

> So many of our crimes of violence are being committed by teenage boys…we are attempting to cope with medieval semi-savages by the rules of the civilized 20th century, and it won't work…until the murderous juveniles are treated like adults in terms of punishment they will continue to take advantage of society.[787]

For Wright, like many members of the upper classes, Jamaica's urban youth fit the description of the "semi-savage". Such a framing implies that these youth are only partially human – and therefore not entitled to the rights reserved for citizens embodying full humanity. Wright's view of Black children as uncivilized resulted from the failure, on the part of the nation's elites, to replicate the sufferers' intellectual and cultural discrediting of the slave society-era reading of the Black disruptive body as devalued, disposable and suitable for subjection to labor for the benefit of an external source. Sufferers, by contrast, maintained a clear analysis of the forces producing their poverty and dehumanization in the Jamaican post-slavery state, as evinced by class- and race-based activism and countless records spanning decades denouncing Western imperialism and Jamaica's class-color hierarchy. An anonymous letter to the Ministry of National Security details the social and educational barriers leaving sufferer children vulnerable to clientelist exploitation. The letter merits quotation at length for the author's elaboration of how postcolonial state neglect of children and adults alike produces an unemployed and impoverished voter base which may be exploited to orchestrate political violence. They write:

> If you really want to alleviate crime cut out slums criminals hide mostly in these lanes and leased lands—build small nice houses. Cut out uniforms in Government or primary schools, many times I asked these boys why they are not in school. I don't have any khaki pants or brown shoes etc. let them wear what they have as long as it is clean. These boys and girls, boys mostly don't go to school because they have no uniform, but they can steal

[787] *Gleaner*, 18 August 1971.

> horses, bicycles, fruits from the trees, chickens, dogs, etc.. Recently I met a decent looking chap he got a scholarship and went to Ardenne [high school] because he needed remedial reading and his parents could not afford to pay for that. [H]e was forced to drop out... You should see some of these dropouts doing things like mechanics, welding, art… some of them are really good, please give them a chance…Do look into this matter quickly because most of the time when a girl or boy is asked to leave school because he or she did not do well they feel left out and unwanted, help them… I am tired. I do hope you give this letter serious thought.[788]

Despite the author's cogent clear delineation of the consequences of social and economic exclusion, the political leadership resorted to familiar forms of the political victimization Gray describes. During a campaign event for parliamentarian R.C. McFarlane, Prime Minister Hugh Shearer announced his intention to deploy the military alongside the police in a show of "power" following the robbery of a local shop and battery of the shopkeeper, Ms. Mavis Maud Reid. According to the Gleaner, Shearer stated his intent to show the assailants "who had power by calling out the Militia and Reserve," if voters demonstrated their "disapproval of gangsterism and violence, by voting in favour of a respectable, 'dignified' and Christian gentleman like Mr. [R.C.] McFarlane, who had fought hard to get so many things for them."[789] Shearer invoked McFarlane's Christian faith in positioning him as the candidate through which citizens could combat "gangsterism and violence", indicating the entwining of postcolonial state disciplinary power with a colonial conceptualization of respectability. As discussed in earlier chapters, rhetorical defense of British colonial rule in the Caribbean hinged in large part on the notion of Protestant benevolence and the alleged morality of the civilizing mission. Shearer's promise to deliver increased security during a contentious election featuring rising levels of clientelist violence by both parties is indicative of the leadership class' relationship to the electorate. Shearer's calling attention to McFarlane's work to "get so many things" for the people, without naming or enumerating those "things", suggests relations in which the voting block is assigned the position of reliant devotee and the representative is the benevolent procurer of social and physical security. In short, Shearer's statement implies that the vote for his desired candidate would drive the administration to secure the community as a reward for demonstrating

[788] NAJ1B/39/48-1974, anonymous to Committee on crime, undated.
[789] *Gleaner*, 21 February 1972.

obedience. Thus in this setting, the normalized trappings of community security, as purveyed through the presence of armed police became a commodity—an asset reserved for useful devotees.

Shearer however was not alone in prescribing increased security to combat "gangsterism and violence". While Manley embodied the possibility for change through his reformist agenda, he remained resolutely attached to the draconian law enforcement norms and logics consistently endorsed by the island's elites, even before assuming office. Just days before the February 1972 election, Manley put forth a solution to curb firefights between the rival Spangler and Skull gangs, political affiliates of the PNP and JLP, respectively.

> My attitude is to have them come to me and stop the ignorance. Turn in your guns and let me put you to work. If I make the offer and they don't turn in the guns then I will stamp out gunmanship. I will let loose the wrath of God upon them because they will have no place to hide.[790]

While Manley positioned himself as the reform candidate through the cultural trappings of the underclass, his stated commitment to redeploying the same punitive police measures which already targeted them for harassment, incommunicado detention, physical abuse and death display the limits of his reformist agenda. Promising to unleash the "wrath of God" allowed Manley to weaponize the spiritual gravitas which surrounded him as the Rod-wielding Joshua. Despite the known political affiliations between the two parties and armed urban gangs, Manley invoked divine power in professing his capacity and willingness to direct state power to defend the nation against the "ignorance" of unemployed youth toting unlicensed guns—often while engaged in pursuits tied to their clientelist relations. The fact of these gangs' political affiliations, and specifically the violent subordination of young people recruited and coerced into membership by politically connected gang leaders for survival means, does not appear to factor into Manley's proposed solution to the crime problem. There is no proposal to alleviate the desperate conditions and political parasitism that result in gang formation, no plan to protect children and young people from recruitment, nor any stated efforts to target the hired dons and top-ranking gang leaders orchestrating the violence. Rather, Manley suggests that youths involved in gang activity engage in productive labor under penalty of punishment as a means of

[790] Ibid.

maintaining law and order, reflecting a reiteration of the racialized labor relations that governed Jamaica since the island's slave society genesis.

Like their ancestors who survived slavery and colonial rule, members of impoverished Black communities were instructed to either commit their bodies to toil for the state or industry, or suffer the punitive consequences for their deviance. Manley's comments are indicative of a latent view of people who engage in criminal behavior as individuals separate from the society, rather than persons neglected by the society to which they belong. It suggests that those who turn to crime, for a combination of survival or political motives, occupy a stagnant and irredeemable position as a non-citizen preying on decent citizens as defined by the state. However, such a predatory position implies a predisposition towards feeding from the labor and death of others which, as Obika Gray and Carl Stone have pointed out, more accurately depicts the Jamaican clientelist state apparatus than the population governed by it – including the impoverished and ghettoized.[791] Indeed, both the JLP and PNP participated in clientelist governance, and the US State Department and Central Intelligence Agency proved willing to participate in the state's parasitism.

CIAga and the Exploitation of Jamaican Clientelism

An undated CIA memo prepared for State Department consultation outlined the "Covert Action Options for Jamaica", justifying intervention through concerns over perceptions over Cuban and Soviet influence. Their chosen methods were elaborated as follows:

> Establish direct confidential contact with Edward Seaga, the leader of the main opposition party, the Jamaican Labor Party (JLP) and also provide guidance, assistance and funds to the JLP in the upcoming Jamaican national election campaign.[792]

The evidence—measured in hundreds of deaths, robberies, assaults and trafficked guns – suggests that the operation was carried out with Seaga's assistance in the lead up to the 1980 election. While Manley maintained that his administration did not receive Soviet support, Jamaica was nevertheless perceived as "taking a distinct turn to the left" because of continued

[791] Gray, *Demeaned but Empowered;* Carl Stone, "Race and nationalism in urban Jamaica." *Caribbean Studies* 13, no.4 (1974): 5-32.
[792] Carter Library, National Security Affairs, Staff Material, North/South, Pastor Country, Box 26, Jamaica, 10-11/79.

relations with Cuba and demonstrations of Third World international solidarity.[793] The CIA memo refers to Manley's recent meetings with Grenadian revolutionary leader Maurice Bishop and September 1979 speech at the Havana Non-Aligned Movement Conference, noting suspicions that Manley was collaborating with Marxist agents in Cuba, Grenada and the "University of the West Indies (UWI)-centered Caribbean radical left to work towards the installation of more leftist governments throughout the Caribbean."[794] Seaga appears to have fed US officials' views on Manley in meetings with Embassy officials in Kingston. Seaga accused Manley of organizing Jamaica's "subtle creep into Cuban communism".[795] Notably, Seaga emphasizes *Cuban*, rather than Soviet, influence, indicating Manley's political orientation as one more of regional solidarity than ideological affiliation to Soviet communism. Nevertheless, calling out Manley's affinity for the Castro administration allowed the JLP-leader to successfully position himself as a friend to Western capitalism in the Black Caribbean meriting assistance from the CIA and Embassy staff.

Despite clear links to law enforcement agencies, the CIA is not typically positioned as a policing institution due to its 1947 mandate limiting its function to foreign intelligence gathering.[796] While the CIA does not involve itself in the enforcement of local laws outside of the United States, its agents are nevertheless officers involved in shoring up the order of US capitalist hegemony globally, often by working in concert with local police. Intelligence gathered by the Agency provides the informational basis for the US military and foreign affairs complex to coordinate further actions, both clandestine and overt. Tarak Barkawi has described how a concert of military and police actors are involved in maintaining imperial power, including through armed intervention and covert design of regime change.[797] In the 1960s and 1970s, the CIA organized coercive strategies with overseas embassies and police officials as a means of regulating political and social behavior in the region. CIA forces enabled Forbes Burnham's rise to power in Guyana, aiding police in hampering Cheddi Jagan's multi-racial Marxist coalition and resulting

[793] Ibid.
[794] Ibid.
[795] US Ambassador in Kingston to Secretary of State Kissinger, 1 December 1976.
[796] Central Intelligence Agency, "History of CIA". Accessed 1 January 2024, https://www.cia.gov/legacy/cia-history/#:~:text=The%20National%20Security%20Act%20of,disseminating%20intelligence%20affecting%20national%20security.
[797] Tarak Barkawi, "Empire and Order in International Relations and Security Studies." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, 30 November 2017.

in the 1980 assassination of Walter Rodney.[798] This power to regulate the political orientation of a region is a critical component of US power to "police the world." As Colleen Bell argues, drawing on Foucauldian notions of discipline and behavioral regulation, international police power drives Western-backed regime change through "disciplinary practices that seek to correct problematic social orders and punish detractors within host societies."[799] Indeed, CIA operations in Jamaica have long shaped the policing and security landscape in Jamaica, leaving a lasting legacy on police punishment and conceptualizations of criminality with enduring consequences.

I focus on US intervention in Jamaica because it marks a major shift in the character of policing and the proliferation of violence in the country. Importantly, the CIA's presence on the island predates Jamaican independence. As discussed in Chapter 5 the CIA stationed an intelligence officer to coordinate intelligence and securitization policies with British colonial police.[800] Thus the Agency's monitoring activities buttressed the crown's imperial infrastructure policing the maintenance of racial capitalist order on the island in the lead up to independence. The Jamaican government desired the CIA's presence to monitor Black radicalism, especially in the aftermath of the Henry Rebellion shortly before independence. However, the Agency did not depart the island after the Rebellion was put down by the Bustamante administration. Evidence suggests that CIA agents continued to liaise with local police, US Embassies in the Caribbean, and other US policing institutions present in the islands. Former CIA agent Philip Agee reported that the CIA operationalized "a division of intelligence operations tasks along particular lines of specialty," which included "military and paramilitary or police work."[801] Agee also famously publicly disclosed the name of CIA station chief N. Richard Kinsman, noting that the office worked with the Office of Public Security and Kinsman maintained "working relations with a handful of high police officials."[802] In working with local police, CIA officials were able to shape the Jamaican securitization landscape and indeed policing priorities by defining what was

[798] Fred Halliday, "Cold War in the Caribbean." *New Left review* 141 (1983): 5–22; "Guyana: The Faces Behind the Masks," *Covert Action,* August 1980.
[799] Colleen Bell, "The police power in counterinsurgencies: discretion, patrolling and evidence," *War, Police and Assemblages of Intervention,* (Taylor& Francis Group: 2014) p. 19.
[800] 1B/44/1/84 – Seivright to Manley, August 1961.
[801] Press Release "Large CIA Station in Kingston", *Covert Action Information Bulletin,* 9 July 1980. Agee was prosecuted in US courts for revealing the identities of the station chief in Jamaica and 15 other operatives. His actions were roundly condemned within US intelligence circles. Andrew Szilagyi. "Blowing Its Cover: How the Intelligence Identities Protection Act Has Masqueraded as an Effective Law and Why It Must Be Amended." *William & Mary Law Review* 51, no. 6 (May 1, 2010): 2269.
[802] Press Release "Large CIA Station in Kingston", *Covert Action Information Bulletin,* 9 July 1980; Jo Thomas, Gunmen in Jamaica Hit Home of U.S. Aide, *New York Times*, July 5, 1980.

considered subversive in the context of regional security. The CIA's activities during this period also helped cement who could be expended as a means of maintaining US hegemony and capitalism in the region.

After beginning operations in Jamaica under the auspices of helping Jamaica police Rastafarians, the Agency continued to target manifestations of Black radicalism expressing anti-imperial and anti-capitalist demands. As mentioned in the previous chapter, officials aided in the surveillance of Walter Rodney before his expulsion in 1968. The Agency was also suspected of assisting Trinbagonian Police Chief Randolph Burroughs in targeting NUFF radicals. Thus the CIA operates as an arm of transnational US order enforcement, with material impacts on state operations of policing and carcerality by pointing out those who should be disposed of through police violence or imprisonment to protect the regional balance. Short of military intervention, destabilizing the Manley administration through manufactured criminality provided an expedient mode of enforcing white capitalist order in the islands by discouraging political behavior deemed undesirable by the arbiters of US influence like Secretary Schlaudemann, and Henry Kissinger. The character of the chosen disciplinary practices relied on Jamaica's established norm of Black expendability, reiterated in the post-colony to enable the state's clientelist use of Black poor bodies. As an agency born of the US post-slavery society, the CIA is not immune from operationalizing racial logics similar to those shaping domestic policing in the Anglophone Caribbean. In the context of US involvement in Jamaica, violence and policing resulting in Black death are the result of US and Caribbean synergistic reiteration of slavery's logics of Black expendability.

While the covert nature of CIA destabilization tactics renders it difficult to determine their scope from archival evidence, journalist Gary Webb and former agent Agee published evidence of the CIA's destabilization efforts through intelligence gathering and support for Seaga and JLP client gangs.[803] Documents also indicate that the CIA and Embassy officials supported Seaga in escalating political violence – and consequently the rate of Black death—by arming Black sufferer youth with US-manufactured guns and giving them license to fire against their political rivals in ghettoized communities loyal to the ruling party, allowing for Seaga to call for increased police action against the urban poor.

[803] Gary Webb, *Dark Alliance: The CIA, the Contras, and the Crack Cocaine Explosion*, (New York: Seven Stories Press, 1999); "Destabilization in the Caribbean," *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, No. 10 (1980).

As early as 1976 the Jamaica government recorded the entry of US-manufactured guns into the island through clandestine means. In October 1976, a declassified letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the US Embassy in Kingston requested information concerning the sale of unlicensed US-manufactured firearms recovered on the island. The letter details firearms sales to a Miami-based gun shop and several individuals of Jamaican, Cuban and US birth, including:

> 1. Smith & Wesson .38 No. J182371. Sold To Linton George Berry. Date Of Birth 10/5/50, Place, Jamaica.
>
> 2. Sougun .22 No. 134658. Sold To Veradero Market Of 1139 Nw 22nd Ave., Miami, Florida On 19/5/67.
>
> 3. Galesi .25 No 022210. Sold To Harold Kenyon Mcclave Of 4260 Ne 3rd Ave., Pompano Beach, Florida. Date Of Birth 2/1/43, Place Patterson, New Jersey, U.S.A.
>
> 4. Undercover Charter Arms .38 No. 319706. Sold To Emilio Hernandez Of 104 Sw. 20th Ave, Miami, Florida. Date Of Birth 19/1/37, Place, Cuba.[804]

These were a fraction of the guns which found their way to young people in JLP stronghold communities, like Tivoli Gardens. Situated in West Kingston, Tivoli Gardens was home to JLP gang leaders, includsing Phoenix Gang leader Claudius “Claudie” Massop and Lester “Jim Brown” Lloyd Coke. Tivoli residents venerated Massop as a political *don,* capable of acquiring and delivering key resources and contracted employment to community members in exchange for political loyalty to the designated JLP officials.[805] Ashton “Bucky Marshall” Thompson of the PNP-funded Arnett Gardens housing development, more famously known as “Concrete Jungle”, led the ruling party’s faction in urban battles, but also coordinated clientelist violence with police. Alongside Bucky’s buttressing PNP support, Minister of National Security Dudley Thompson’s command of the police forces resulted in the January 1978 Green Bay Massacre.[806] Demonstrating the state’s entrenched devaluation of Black poor life, police opened fire on

[804] US Ambassador in Kingston to Secretary of State Kissinger, 19 October 1976.
[805] Tracian Meikle, “The Multivalency of Memorial Murals in Kingston, Jamaica: A Photo-Essay”. *Interventions*, *22*, no.1 (2019) 106–115; Anthony Bogues, "Power, Violence and the Jamaican “Shotta Don” *NACLA Report on the Americas* 39, no. 6 (2006): 21-26.
[806] “The 1978 Green Bay massacre,” *Jamaica Gleaner,* 10 October 2024.

fourteen JLP South Side Posse members, killing Glenroy Richards, Howard Martin, Trevor Clarke, Norman Thompson, and Winston Hamilton.[807]

US officials were aware of these dynamics, and the broader clientelist environment governing Jamaican political infighting. Embassy documents refer to Massop as the head of "opposition ghetto leadership" in political fighting stretching "back for ten years."[808] Records show that officials from the US State Department and Embassy regularly denied knowledge of CIA destabilization, however it appears that they had little reservations exploiting clientelist violence to support Seaga. As electoral violence unfolded in 1976, the Embassy responded to queries from Deputy Secretary of State Robert Ingersoll concerning the "possibility of the JLP stepping up *its* violence." Indeed, despite PNP participation in clientelist battles, the JLP were better equipped to foment urban violence. Embassy staff reported that

> Seaga has his "gunmen" or "soldiers". Some astute local observers contend that if it were a simple question of JLP versus PNP gunmen, Seaga would win…lest anyone be in doubt, Seaga is no angel, but if anything he is rational. As an opposition leader he gets only one shot, and that the Embassy believes he will save for the general election. Power is his goal and that can only be achieved through the ballot-box. He needs his gunmen to assure safe passage for his supporters to the polling station.[809]

While Seaga operated through "his" gunmen, he nevertheless reported the need for police reform to curtail police violence against JLP constituents, complaining to embassy officials that officers "cannot fight crime on a professional basis."[810] In 1979, police staged a raid on a JLP community, which saw officers shoot and kill Claudie Massop. In the fray, police also "shot and beat up a number of people" while in pursuit of Massop, evincing how the racialized poor are normatively abused and expended in political struggles backed by Western forces.[811]

Political battles between the parties resulted in steady increases in Jamaica's murder rate. By 1980, Jamaica recorded 889 murders, compared to a total of 188 registered during the 1972

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[807] Ibid.
[808] March 2, 1979 Havenkamp Opposition version of recent events; Kingston Gangs Declare Truce, January 13, 1978.
[809] US Ambassador in Kingston to Secretary of State Kissinger, 13 February 1976.
[810] US Ambassador in Kingston to Secretary of State Kissinger, 8 November 1979.
[811] Ibid.

election year, prior to the escalation of clientelist violence and foreign gun imports.[812] Ieva Jusionyte has written about how clandestine shipments of US-manufactured firearms fuel gang conflicts abroad.[813] However, in the case of post-colonial Jamaica, gun shipments—and the death they produce—disproportionately impact ghettoized individuals classed as racialized surplus. Their relegation to this class is a function of Jamaica's genesis through chattel slavery.

Those involved in Jamaica's clientelist gang violence were largely unemployed as a consequence of their racialized status as "ghetto"-dwelling sufferers, which correlates to an inability to embody the Eurocentric creolized cultural identity championed as the national ideal by Afro-Saxon-led independence.[814] The young people handed guns – and by extension membership within the ranks of party enforcers—were the Black surplus understood to be expendable deviants by virtue of their racial identity and impoverishment. Their very residence in ghettoized zones like Tivoli Gardens and Concrete Jungle was a result of the longstanding state neglect of those unable, or unwilling, to embody the markers of creole desirability and wealth. Unable to secure housing elsewhere because of intergenerational impoverishment, sufferers in Kingston's ghettoized communities relied on the state-funded—and therefore party-affiliated— housing complexes in West Kingston. As economist George Beckford emphasizes, these conditions "can be traced back to the common experience which [B]lack people in the New World have undergone as a result of the pervasive influence of the plantation on their lives."[815] Indeed, the operation of political violence hinges on the existence of a racially-oppressed class understood to be disposable in the post-slavery terrain. Manley himself confirmed the socioeconomic dynamics permitting destabilization in a 1976 interview.

> The city of Kingston, like many, many cities with problems of unemployment and poverty, has always had a tendency to violence that you would certainly find in many North American cities…The actual terrorism is manipulated… what the poverty does is to create an atmosphere that can be exploited and manipulated by anybody that is

[812] Jamaica Constabulary Force, "Crime Statistics" https://jcf.gov.jm/stats-2/, undated; Yearbook of Jamaica, 1980.
[813] Ieva Jusionyte, *Exit Wounds: How America's Guns Fuel Violence Across the Border* (University of California Press, 2024).
[814] Thame, "Racial Hierarchy and Elevation of Brownness".
[815] Beckford, *Persistent Poverty*, p. 47.

> ruthless…as far as this question is concerned, there is no question that they're being used.[816]

Although Manley is not explicit about the racial dynamics enabling clientelist violence, he points to the fact that persistent poverty allows for the neglected class to be "used" by actors possessing capital and the power to shape local violence and policing dynamics. It is no accident that the majority of those available for "use" are the impoverished Black descendants of the enslaved. The notion that certain individuals could be "used", as one uses a tool or instrument, is a manifestation of reiterated slave society logics viewing the Black body as a fungible means to an end. Through manipulated political violence Black youth become commodities, purchased through the promise of funds and filled bellies, in exchange for placing their lives on the line to protect capitalist interests—or to secure socialist state order.

The fact that officials in both parties participated in fomenting political violence highlights the domestic entrenchment of government disregard for the lives of impoverished Black constituents. At the same time, the entry of the US foreign policy machinery into local dynamics demonstrates the international salience of slavery's normalization of Black commodification and discipline. Manley himself disparaged the elite dehumanization of poor Black people, and his administration made material social and economic gains on behalf of the sufferers. Despite this, his government nevertheless proved ineffective in avoiding the naturalized logic declaring the necessity of expending Black dispossessed bodies to reify state order. However, while both parties engaged in the clientelist consumption described earlier by Gray, the JLP orchestrated violence with CIA assistance to buttress their conservative domestic aims to the benefit of US hegemony, while calling for increase policing of the poor. In this way, clientelism evinces the international utility of reiterating slave society logics positioning the Black poor as commodifiable—and therefore disposable—as it provides a base of armed bodies through which to organize US policing of regional hegemony and capitalist order.

The CIA's predisposition towards fomenting violence as a catalyst for regime change is not unique to the Black Caribbean. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the CIA displayed a similar disregard for Black life through the plot to assassinate independence leader Patrice

[816] CTV News, "1976 interview with Jamaican PM Manley on political violence", YouTube, 17 October 2020, 10 minutes 35 seconds, Accessed 13 March 2025, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=blD-I1B9xgw&t=324s&pp=ygUYbWljaGFlbCBtYW5sZXkgaW50ZXJ2aWV3.

Lumumba and install Mobutu Sese Seko. The aftermath of Lumumba's death resulted in a crisis in which US-backed mercenaries are estimated to have killed at least 100,000 Congolese people.[817] Similarly, in Chile "Covert American activity" was present throughout all major elections between 1963 and 1973, finally culminating in the 1973 coup ousting popularly elected president Salvador Allende.[818] However, in the Caribbean and Latin America, specifically, the state predisposition towards clientelist exploitation, including violent patronage and vote brokering, are linked to the colonial influences of indigenous genocide and chattel slavery. Examining data from the *Americas Barometer,* Marcus Johnson finds that despite Latin-American color-blind discourse, voters with darker skin – signaling African and/or indigenous American ancestry – are targeted disproportionately for vote buying.[819] Johnson states this is due to the "heuristics that dark skin provides" within settings marked by "legacies of forced labor and white supremacy."[820] These dynamics are present in the Caribbean, where race and skin color remain indicators of social value, and mark one's access to rights and relationship with state authority as a consequence of the region's legacy of racial slavery.

As Yonnique Campbell underscores, rights for Jamaicans, are "contextualized and conferred upon citizens according to factors such as historical precedent, space, class and status."[821] Positioned outside of the colonially-defined realm of legitimacy due to their racial and class status, Black sufferers are "located at the base of the social pyramid, and lack de-facto citizenship."[822] Lacking status or capital, they must therefore demonstrate their utility to the state in order to access basic rights and services. Thus, the Jamaican case is notable in that domestic and international officials operated in concert through agreed upon logics naturalized within the slave societies of North America and the Caribbean positioning Black bodies as surplus devalued through their racial status, enabling their use to expedite regime change. Seaga's JLP and the CIA worked in concert to police the Black socialist state by fomenting violence and shaping police activity through an understanding of Black impoverished people as fungible tokens to be

[817] Susan Williams, *White Malice: The CIA and the Covert Recolonization of Africa* (Public Affairs Press, 2021).
[818] James Petras and Morris H. Morley "Imperialism and Intervention in the Third World: US Foreign Policy and Central America," *Socialist Register* 20 (1983).
[819] Marcus Johnson. "Electoral Discrimination: The Relationship between Skin Color and Vote Buying in Latin America." *World Politics* 72, no. 1 (2020): 80–120.
[820] Ibid.
[821] Yonique Campbell, and Colin Clarke, "The Garrison Community in Kingston and Its Implications for Violence, Policing, De Facto Rights, and Security in Jamaica." *Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean: Subnational structures, institutions and clientelist networks* (2017), p.106.
[822] Campbell and Clarke. "The Garrison Community in Kingston" p.95.

spent in securing capitalist order. However, these actors were not alone in reproducing slavery-era norms and rationale marking Black sufferers for death and disposal. While previously whippings and gaolings were deployed against unruly enslaved people and colonial subjects for threatening the social and economic order, the Manley administration equipped itself to restore order through the physical discipline of confinement, indefinite detention (later to be found unconstitutional) and bodily harm through the opening of the Gun Court and Prison.

The Gun Court and Prison

On March 20, 1974 the *Gleaner* reported that Parliament had declared "total war" against "criminal gunmen" – reported to be a "small band of evil men"—as they prepared the Gun Court Act of 1974.

> Led by the Prime Minister, the Hon. Michael Manley, the House of Representatives (and, later the Senate) pledged with one voice to 'eradicate the menace of the gun from the society' and enclosed measures framed by the Government to this end…Three main measures formed the Government's plan of attack on violent crime, in which the criminal gunmen were declared Public Enemy No.1. They were: drastic steps against the illegal possession of firearms: new wide powers of search and arrest by the Police and Security Forces: amendment of the Juveniles Law to treat young offenders similarly to adults.[823]

At the launch of the Court, Manley himself delivered prayers for a better future and condolences to "the relatives and friends of all those who have suffered the irreparable loss of their loved ones at the hands of criminal gunmen" before describing his views of gun crimes, those criminalized for committing them, and the proper rehabilitation methods.

> [O]ur sympathy goes to those who sustained injury at the hands of these same gunmen. We pray that they will not be embittered by this experience but recognize that the coldblooded men who perpetrated these crimes are not typical of the majority of their fellow Jamaicans… This fact, however … does not blind us to the realization that this small band of evil men have wrought a disproportionate amount of damage in our society in terms of fear that the Government and society must react swiftly, decisively and effectively to eradicate this evil in our midst…A brutal and savage retaliatory response to the criminal menace, while it may prove effective in the short term, would inevitably

[823] *Gleaner*, 20 March 1974.

> produce subtle, new dimensions of cruelty and inhumanity into our society, which once injected would continue to fester, only to erupt some day and some time as a new and frightening phenomenon to be faced by a new generation of Jamaicans. Such extreme measures as have been suggested as public execution, castration, wholesale repression etc. would be a denial of all the ideals of humanity and justice and freedom.[824]

As national leader and a former union organizer, Manley's comments suggest a concern for the humanity of the nation filtered through sympathy for the concerns facing most of the population. While expressing a desire "to eradicate the menace of the gun from the society," he remained focused on solutions "which would not do violence to our Constitution or our legal institutions."[825] Indeed, the Gun Court and Prison built on long held colonially-derived legal norms and practices criminalizing the Black body to confine individuals characterized as "evil men" as a means of producing security in the nation. This continued criminalization of impoverished Black people reiterated slave society norms of containing and disciplining Black bodies perceived to pose a threat to capital and productive society.

Jovan Scott Lewis and Beverly Mullings have underscored how the continued criminalization of impoverished Black people is related to the racialized class relations effectuated during chattel slavery and imperial rule.[826] The logics underscoring these relations dictate that the Black body, having first been understood in the "New World" as one that was acceptable to degrade and discipline, retains no value unless it is positioned in a state of labor for capital or service to the state. Sylvia Wynter likewise argues that the imperial depiction of Blackness as biologically lacking human worth results in a normative logic which paved the path to racial capitalist modernity and informs the continued devaluation of Black life – particularly Black lives lacking capital—in the contemporary era.[827] These imperial logics, which grounded Jamaican colonial society and the previous decade of JLP state rule, were hard at work during Jamaica's parliamentary debate over the Gun Court and Prison in March 1974.

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[824] Ibid.
[825] Ibid; NAJ 1B/39/48-1974, Michael Manley Speech in Parliament.
[826] Beverly Mullings, "Criminalization on a World Scale: Racial Capitalism, Finance, and the Crime of Poverty in the Caribbean" *Small Axe* 26, no.1 (2022): 169-180; Jovan Scott Lewis *Scammer's Yard* (University of Minnesota Press, 2020).
[827] Wynter, "'No Humans Involved".

Beyond establishing the Gun Court and Prison, the Gun Court Act mandated that persons aged 14 and above arrested for firearm possession be tried as an adult, and proscribed mandatory sentencing to "hard labor during the Governor's pleasure" – a euphemism for indefinite detention reflecting the colonial provision of Jamaica's legal logics.[828] The Gun Court Act included no provisions for bail. Prisoners were tried in closed hearings and were only granted one chance for appeal. Many were charged with life sentences for the crime of possessing a firearm. As discussed above some of those arrested for possession were young people handed arms in the context of Western destabilization efforts. Those confined inside the prison were placed into one of the 13 cells which lined the detention compound. There, they were provided one mattress, one pail and corresponding lid, toilet paper, one blanket, one plastic water pitcher, one drinking mug, and reading materials provided by the prison staff. Incarcerated people were permitted two outdoor exercise periods, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, although the chance to feel fresh air was routinely denied by prison guards as penalty for those perceived to engage in unruly behavior. Punishment was frequent at the Prison, prompting the flight of some inmates.[829] Others were not so lucky, and were forced to endure beatings with objects reminiscent of ropes and whips.[830]

In the prison's first year, incarcerated men and boys penned a letter to Minister of National Security detailing a litany of offences they experienced while incarcerated, and announcing the commencement of a hunger strike. The letter begins with a pointed inquiry:

> Should batons, electric cables, wires and sticks be used to inflict brutal punishment frequently on prisoners for reasons such as:
>
> - Alleged use of indecent language
> - Leaving one's cell to go to the pipe within the building
> - Alleged noise making
> - Taking a bath without permission within the building
> - Smoking a cigarette or having one in possession?

[828] NAJ, Gun Court Act, 1974
[829] *Jamaica Gleaner*, 27 January 1977.
[830] NAJ 1B/39/48-1974 "Prisoners from South Camp center to the director of prisons to be forwarded to the ministers", undated, 1974.

> Should warders persistently threaten inmates telling them that he (warder) would turn them into invalids (breaking their hands and feet before they (inmates) are free? Should a senior warder (Asst. Supt.) lead a battalion of warders with batons, into the building and order the beating of a complete section of inmates (50 in number) because a few of the inmates allegedly were making noise the night before?
>
> Are these rehabilitative measures? Were these intended by the Minister?[831]
>
> We demand that the persistent brutal castigation and intimidation of inmates by warders be thoroughly investigated and the persons responsible terminated and replaced.[832]

The record is silent on whether these men and boys received an answer from the Minister of National Security, leaving their question about the Minister's intent a mystery. However, concerning their question about rehabilitation through violence, some answers may be assumed from the Jamaican historical context wherein violent punishment has operated as the chief corrective measure to control Black bodies for centuries. The beatings with batons, electrical wires and switches and breaking of hands and feet to render one an "invalid" were modern iterations of colonial era punishments marking Black bodies as subordinate subjects requiring taming to secure others against their imagined deviance. At the same time, the act of limb breaking threatened by prison guards further demeaned the potential value of the individual outside of the prison by producing physical impediments to sustaining many forms of employment, exacerbating the already slim productive potential of most prisoners as a function of their racialized class status. During slavery, as well as in the context of the Gun Court Prison, these behaviors were naturalized as necessary rehabilitative efforts to remove any unruly instincts and reiterate the subordination of the Black body as a caution against disorder. Thus in breaking the Black body, carceral violence rehabilitates the racialized class relations which require Black subjugation—including the subjugation of Black children and youth.

What is striking about the Gun Court is how swiftly it reached capacity, and the youth of the incarcerated population. Statistics from the first year of the Prison's operation indicate an incarcerated population of 182 occupying a space designated for 161. Of those 182 individuals, nine were between the ages of 14-16; 89 were between the ages of 16-21; 34 were between the

[831] Ibid.
[832] Ibid.

ages of 21-25; 36 were between the ages of 25-30; and 14 were above the age of 30.[833] At this rate, with children and young people constituting the overwhelming majority of the incarcerated population, the Gun Court Prison had become a locus for surplus youth disposal.

A judicial system producing this disposal of impoverished Black youth operates from a particular logic understanding minors swept into the criminal legal system as embodying adult qualities, including adult criminal proclivities and the capacity to endure adult punishments. Trevor Munroe famously explained how Jamaica's political and judicial infrastructures were extensions of their colonial antecedents, retaining colonial laws and the Privy Council as the land's highest court.[834] By failing to break with colonial laws and legal logics designed to sustain British slave society order, the independent state continued to mediate justice through slavery's normalized positioning of Black bodies of all ages as deviant and fungible. Through this logic, the imprisonment of Black bodies, read as intractably criminal from their forced landing in the New World, was the only solution to secure racial capitalist order in the state.

Like their elder counterparts, Black children and youth are marked with the presumptions of criminal deviance inscribed onto Blackness as a marker of inferior (enslaved) status. Notions of Black deviance emanated from the slave society to justify the enslavement of Africans and their descendants as engines of European wealth accumulation. Thus, as Sylvia Wynter has argued, the Black body was constructed as the inherently aberrant, non-human surplus laborer, warranting discipline through forced labor and physical domination to maintain security and order in plantation settings. This inferior position was crystallized following abolition, leaving Black bodies exposed to continued colonial abuse and death at the hands of police. The continued sanctioning of this abuse in imperial law carried forth the notion of Black deviance and expendability for future generations. In the absence of legally codified slavery, those born into Black bodies were immediately assigned this fungible status, resulting in New World experiences of Black childhood. This is a childhood devoid of the presumption of innocence, as exemplified by the practice of indiscriminately jailing children as young as fourteen.

Scholars have written about the dehumanization and criminalization of Black children in state institutions. A research team led by psychologist Philip Atiba Goffe found that the

[833] *Gleaner*, 30 November 1975.
[834] Trevor Munroe, *Politics of Constitutional Decolonization: Jamaica, 1944-62*, (Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1972).

criminalization of Black children is the result of "contexts that provoke dehumanization" stemming from Western racial logics.[835] In the Jamaican context, the criminal legal system proved the limitations of Black sufferer citizenship by failing to ensure equal treatment of the poor. As Manley himself noted in his memoir *Politics of Change:*

> [C]an we really say that each man has equal access to the remedies of the law? A most superficial observation of the system at work refutes any such claim. Very often unconscious class prejudice seems to lead to summary justice of the worst kind when some poor boy is hauled before the courts. Inherent in the adversary system is the fact that wealth has a better chance of victory than poverty… As a consequence, the poor do not have equality before the law; and what is worse, they know it. [836]

Although Manley was speaking of judicial inequality in the modern Jamaican state context, these patterns of legal injustice had long been cemented in Jamaica as part of the punitive infrastructure which sustained chattel slavery. As discussed in Chapter 2, the normative logics naturalized by slavery remained intact following abolition, allowing formerly slaveholding elites to wield the judicial system to punish Black laborers who could no longer legally be owned, but whose devalued labor was nevertheless required to sustain the system of colonial accumulation. As James Williams, an eighteen-year-old formerly enslaved on Jamaica's Penshurt Plantation reminds us from his 1837 memoir, Black youth, adults and elders in the aftermath of slavery remained subjected to the whims of erstwhile slaveholders. While telling his own story of being flogged "most unmerciful[ly]" by police, he described the successive punishment of eight others held in court: "five man, and three boys." Williams himself had been whipped "just to please the massa" after the employer brought forth allegations that Williams intended to assault him and his sister. Williams writes:

> When them try me, massa said that one Friday, I was going all round the house with big stone in my hand, looking for him and his sister, to knock them down. I was mending stone wall round the house by massa's order; I was only half-grown boy that time. I told

[835] Philip Atiba Goff,, et al "The Essence of Innocence: Consequences of Dehumanizing Black Children," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 106, no.4, (2014): p. 527.
[836] Manley, *Politics of Change,* p.63

> magistrate, I never do such thing, and offer to bring evidence about it; he refuse to hear me or my witness; would not let me speak; he sentence me to get 39 lashes.[837]

By Williams' account, the courts and police operated as a tool of domination to deliver punishment on the behalf of elites as they saw fit. The image of the teenage Williams, "half-grown" in his body, holding a large stone elicited fear of the Black body's resistive potential when armed. It matters not that Williams' was in possession of the stone to carry out the labor assigned to him "by massa's order." Williams fit the profile of Black criminality and walking freely with this stone signaled to "massa" his intent to act on his perceived inherent proclivities. Because of the body he inhabited, Williams' childhood was erased, and he is reduced to slavery's stock image of aggressive brute. In the post-slavery society, justice meant punishing his adolescent body to reiterate Black subordinate, thingified status as part of the slavery-era and colonial repertoires of security-making. As during slavery, security in post-emancipation Jamaica rested on the control of the Black body—particularly those with disruptive potential.

One hundred and thirty-seven years after James Williams suffered 39 lacerations at the pleasure of "massa", the Gun Court Prison indiscriminately sentenced young Black bodies to hard labor "during the Governor's pleasure." This wholesale incarceration reiterated colonial logics equating the administration of justice with the protection of capital and industry by disappearing gun-toting youth disrupting order behind the Prison's red gate. Like Williams carrying the stone, the youth locked into the Gun Court Prison fit slavery's profile of the dehumanized, irredeemable Black criminal wielding objects at the behest of an external entity—in the 1970s case, weapons in the context of CIA destabilization. Many of the youth shuttered in the Gun Court Prison were arrested while carrying out duties given to them by a political master backed by a Western hegemonic structure. As Manley indicated, they were expended by political forces which required their violent labor to sustain state structure. However, their laboring on behalf of party authorities left them subject to arrest and police violence. Their perceived unruliness demanded their disposal, normalizing their swift imprisonment. Normal proceedings for a criminal hearing were suspended, for the urgency of containing the threat of persons perceived as unruly Black criminals superseded the desire to respect the rights traditionally afforded human suspects.

[837] Williams, *Narrative of Events Since the First of August 1834*.

Conclusion

As Carl Stone points out, Caribbean clientelism is more than simply a vote buying strategy. It is a "mechanism by which to institutionalize a power structure."[838] Indeed, the case of Jamaican clientelist violence proved useful in cementing domestic and international hierarchical power relations, as the naturalized commodification of Black life in Jamaica collided with the US Cold War struggle for global hegemony. The State Department perceived Jamaica under Manley to be "prophetic" of the weakening of US influence in the Caribbean, a trend which he estimated to have global, rather than simply regional, implications. In his Action Memorandum to Kissinger, Schlaudeman warned that "the politics of these small islands so close to us could have an inordinately large impact on relations outside of the hemisphere", particularly with reference to African liberation struggles.[839] With Jamaica positioned as the "most important of the Black English-speaking [Caribbean] nations", its leader espousing the virtues of democratic socialism at home and Third World solidarity internationally presented a racialized threat to established global order—one which could be quelled through the country's clientelist political structure and hired overseer *dons.*

As in previous decades, it was the Black sufferers whose bodies were spent in urban firefights or employed as dons, acting as political overseers to enforce the borders of political loyalty. In the 1970s, their existence within bodies normalized as fungible and deviant as a function of the enslaved and consumable status of their ancestors marked them for use and disposal in the struggle to stabilize capitalism in Jamaica and the broader Caribbean. Jamaican clientelism transformed ghettoized and racialized youth into party-affiliated combatants to be jailed indefinitely in Manley's Gun Court Prison, or summarily killed by police or gang members on the other side of the political divide. Those prosecuted by the Gun court were the very same impoverished, ghettoized Jamaicans who the state had, at various points, ignored or demonized as a function of the anti-Blackness of Alexander Bustamante and his successor, Hugh Shearer. From its bright red gate and blaring signage, the Gun Court and Prison announced the administration's capacity to discipline and confine the deviant surplus. At the same time, the United States international security apparatus was poised to take advantage of this post-slavery

[838] Carl Stone. *Clientelism and Democracy in Jamaica* (Transaction Books, 1980).p. 93.
[839] Office of the Historian of the United States Department of State, Document 471. "Action Memorandum From the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs (Shlaudeman) to Secretary of State Kissinger" 8 November 1976. RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File, P860055-1143. Secret.

predilection for Black destruction. The death and confinement of these young sufferers was the result of a concert of Western interventionist and domestic elite actors operating from the naturalized premise professing the expendability of the Black dispossessed.

Chapter 8: The Peoples' Failed State and Police Fungibility: Jamaat al Muslimeen, Yasin Abu Bakr and the 1990 Coup Attempt

"Look! Mr. IMF!" a young Black man clad in acid wash jeans and a camouflage jumper shouted to a colleague donning similar attire. The two were standing on the plush red carpeted floor of Trinidad and Tobago's Parliament building, affectionately nicknamed "Red House". The youth was pointing to Minister Selby Wilson, former Trinbagonian Minister of Finance responsible for approving the state's acquiescence to IMF loans and structural adjustment policies. For many Trinbagonians, IMF policies resulted in stagnant wages, increased cost of living and the elimination of social security nets, while delivering fiscal relief for politicians attempting to mitigate balance of payment issues. Wilson had been forced to the floor, his chest pressing into the aisle while his assailant pushed the barrel of a gun into his body.[840] "Look Mr. Wilson, the IMF man, how you like the IMF now?"[841] The young man pulled Wilson over the brass rail positioned to separate public spectators from the mahogany lecterns and cushioned leather chairs reserved for parliamentarians. On this day, the protected political class could not be shielded from direct confrontation with the public as armed members of the Jamaat al Muslimeen sought to unseat the government led by Prime Minister Arthur Napoleon Raymond Robinson and the National Alliance for Reconstruction party.

The young person who apprehended Wilson was one of 114 Jamaat members who staged a coup attempt in Port of Spain on July 27, 1990. The Jamaat were led by the charismatic and fundamentalist Imam Yasin Abu Bakr, a former police officer from the working class Carenage community who used his training in state domination to organize the coup. The members held Minister Selby Wilson and 15 of his colleagues hostage in the Red House and destroyed the headquarters of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service (TTPS), following years of sufferer complaints of economic woes and corruption by state forces, including the police. Twenty years after the Black Power revolution of the 1970s, Trinbagonian sufferers were still struggling with the pains of Third World lack, this time worsened by IMF policies impacting a population with clear memory of the revolution and its demands to eliminate the neglect of the racialized working class. As many perceived the state failure to protect the racialized poor from increasing

[840] AJL, Muslimeen Coup Documents, Factual Bundle A (henceforth FBA), Statement Selby Wilson, HCA no. 1337 of 1990.
[841] Ibid.

drug crimes, the Jamaat assumed responsibility for community security and punishing perpetrators, highlighting the government's incapacity to enforce its own laws. The Jamaat's self-prescribed role as community police culminated in the 1990 coup attempt, as the group positioned corruption and sufferer insecurity as evidence of state failure. Justice Mohammed noted in the state prosecution of Bakr, "one of the indicators of a failed State is when a force, other than the State, usurps the power to enforce law and exact punishment."[842] In momentarily assuming responsibility for state functioning by attacking those in power, the Jamaat sought to underscore the state's failure to provide security and stability for the sufferers.

In this chapter, I examine the 1990 coup attempt by the Jamaat al Muslimeen (the Jamaat) and its controversial leader Imam Yasin Abu Bakr. I first address the origins of the Jamaat and its relationship to sufferer communities as both a site of identity against state order and a self-appointed source of vigilante protection for neglected Black neighborhoods. I analyze sufferer peoples' identification of elements of state failure manifested during the NAR government in relation to academic discussions surrounding so- called "failed states". I then turn to the coup itself as the Jamaat's response to the peoples' perception of state failure, and how Imam Bakr's police training and lived experience of poverty helped facilitate the attempted coup. I conclude by examining the positioning of Caribbean police officers themselves who are often from sufferer backgrounds– yet are charged with upholding a racial capitalist order which reads them as fungible. The racial and class positioning of police officers is often secondary to focus on their function as arbiters of state order in genealogical studies of policing and carcerality.[843] However, when examining the working-class backgrounds of racially oppressed officers sent to risk life and limb in defense of state order, in relation to Trinidad and Tobago's slave society construction, it becomes clear that the state has not necessarily "failed" an earnest attempt to protect a population. Rather, in expending the bodies of the racialized dispossessed to defend itself, the state operates in line with its plantation precedent.

[842] AJL, FBA, Ruling by Justice Mohammed in the High Court of Trinidad and Tobago, the State Against Yasin Abu Bakr, June 25, 2007.

[843] See, for example Julian Go. *Policing Empires: Militarization, Race, and the Imperial Boomerang in Britain and the US*. (Oxford University Press, 2024); Ayodeji Ogunrotifa examines racialized policing through the lens of class, but focuses primarily on the class positioning of anticarceral activists and movement leaders, and does not directly address the positionality of police themselves: Ayodeji Ogunrotifa. Class Root of Police Brutality: The Missing Gap in the Black Lives Matter Movement. *International Critical Thought*, 13, np. 3 (2023): 381–402.

The Jamaat al Muslimeen and Yasin Abu Bakr

The Jamaat al Muslimeen was founded in 1982 when Imam Yasin Abu Bakr assumed leadership of the Islamis Missionaries Guild, an Afro-Trinidadian Muslim umbrella group previously led by Halim Sabur.[844] The Jamaat shared some functional similarities with criminal gangs. Namely, the group shared the Black Power origins that produced several US gangs, which began as community self-defense groups in the 1970s. Also, like urban gangs, the Jamaat provided a sense of communal purpose to largely urban, Black male youth frustrated by the stress of seeking security and legitimacy in the face of state neglect.[845]

While Islam in Trinidad and Tobago had long been the preserve of Indo-Trinidadians, the religion also held salience for some Black Trinbagonians.[846] Trinidadian scholar Daurius Figueira writes that "to be Afro-Caribbean and Muslim means in effect that you have given up on the appointed estate of the Afro-Caribbean."[847] Indeed, government and news reports alike appear to invoke a prejudicial positioning of the group as abnormal. Police commissioner reports and newspapers routinely referred to Jamaat members by their birth names, rather than the Islamic names members assumed as converts.[848] Similarly, depictions of Jamaat women, many of whom maintain modest dress in the form of hijabs and abayas, were often presented through an orientalist lens reading Muslim women as both submissive yet dangerous subversives. Police described Jamaliya Madany, a participant in the 1990 coup, as a "threat to national security" who had "discarded her Muslim apparel for *normal* wear."[849]

Converting to Islam via the Jamaat was tantamount to rejecting the expectations of a state directly descended from British colonial notions of European Christian propriety. Where the Black Power Revolution heralded the PNM's failures to enable economic autonomy

[844] Cynthia Mahabir, "Allah's Outlaws: The Jamaat al Muslimeen of Trinidad and Tobago" *British Journal of Criminology* 53, no. 1 (2013): 59-73.; Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the 1990 attempted coup, 2021, p.495.
[845] Mahabir, "Allah's Outlaws".
[846] Alexander Rocklin, *The Regulation of Religion and the Making of Hinduism in Colonial Trinidad* (UNC Press, 2019).
[847] Daurius Figueira, *Jihad in Trinidad and Tobago, July 27, 1990* (iUniverse, 2002), p.16.
[848] See, for example AJL FBA 5, Commissioner of Police Recommendation for the detention of Jamaliya Madany, 10 October 1990.
[849] Emphasis mine. AJL FBA 5, Commissioner of Police Recommendation for the detention of Jamaliya Madany, 10 October 1990.

for the impoverished Afro- and Indo-Trinidadian majority, the Jamaat threatened entrenched notions professing the virtues of the postcolonial state.[850] They divorced themselves from the normative racialized expectations of the state by adopting a doctrine thought to be pervasive amongst their ancestors—the enslaved Africans constructed as the dearth of humanity within the slave society from which the modern Trinbagonian state emerged. Cynthia Mahabir writes that Imam Bakr highlighted the importance of perceived ancestral ties for converts, noting his declaration that Jamaat members were "*reverting* to Islam more so than *becoming* Muslims."[851]

Imam Bakr was well acquainted with the struggle of many Jamaat recruits, having himself grown up feeling the hunger pains of poverty. Born in 1941, the eighth child in a family of seventeen, Bakr was raised in the Carenage community on the outskirts of Chaguaramas. Carenage can be characterized both by its vibrant cultural outputs, as one of the nation's hubs of *Trinibad* and *Zesser* music, as well as its continued underdevelopment resulting from state neglect and high rates of criminal and police violence.[852] Raoul Pantin, a journalist who survived the 1990 coup, described Bakr as a "boy who'd grown up poor…with little or no education or skill." Like so many other similarly situated Caribbean boys, he first chose "ironically, to become a policeman."[853] Bakr served in the Mounted Branch, where officers are typically responsible for patrols, crowd control during public events, and traffic duty. According to Pantin, Bakr's colleagues described him as "excitable" and "aggressive", traits which were "attributed to a kick in the head by a police horse."[854] Though Bakr spoke infrequently about his time as an officer, his connections to policing would later serve him after leaving the force, as I outline below.

Bakr left the police force in 1968 and departed to Canada to enroll in Ryerson University to study engineering.[855] There, he joined the Black Education Project, a grassroots education initiative which mobilized Black Canadians in anti-racist resistance.[856] Bakr described

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[850] Maboula Soumahoro, "Christianity on Trial: The Nation of Islam and the Rastafari" in Theodore Louis Trost, ed., *The African Diaspora and the Study of Religion,* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) p.39.
[851] Mahabir, "Allah's Outlaws", p. 6.
[852] "10-year-old shot in Carenage in ongoing Trinibad gun violence," *Newsday,* June 26, 2023; "Trinibad industry reels after murders of artistes," *Daily Express,* June 29, 2023.
[853] Raoul Pantin, *Days of Wrath: the 1990 Coup in Trinidad and Tobago* (iUniverse, 2007).
[854] Ibid. n.p.
[855] Pantin, *Days of Wrath.*
[856] Aliyah Khan, "'Say a Prayer for Abu Bakr': A Eulogy for the Caribbean's No. 1 Muslim Terrorist," *Pree Literature,* August 17, 2022.

developing relationships with Guyanese national leaders Forbes Burnham and Cheddi Jagan, noting that he became acquainted with the latter "because his son was in Canada with us during the burning of the Sir George Williams University."[857] Imam Bakr's presence during this seminal moment in the Caribbean Black Power movement, discussed in Chapter 6, prompted him to become "actively involved in the Caribbean struggles."[858] Imam Bakr carried the organizational skills he cultivated in Canada back to Trinidad and Tobago on November 25, 1978 amid the lingering sentiments of Black Power radicalism fostered by the NJAC and NUFF which had swept the country in years prior.[859]

Bakr clashed frequently with the state government over issues ranging from the Jamaat's possession of land in Mucurapo, to the NAR government's refusal to distribute prescription drugs allegedly donated to the Jamaat by Libyan leader Muammar Gadafi.[860] In 1987, Bakr was arrested twice for holding public marches in Arima and Port of Spain denouncing rising living costs, and was subject to inquiry after police reportedly discovered a mass of weapons at the Jamaat mosque on Mucurapo Road. Responding to allegations that the Jamaat had been stockpiling firearms, Imam Bakr noted that he "had been a policeman for nine years and was therefore familiar with the method of finding things not normally there."[861] While Bakr publicly divulged little about his own behavior as a police officer, he used knowledge of the state's methods of policing and domination to advance the Jamaat's oppositional stance against the state. Where earlier groups mobilized for revolution-driven egalitarianism through collective struggle, the Jamaat sought to unilaterally root out the corruption they perceived as endemic to the state.[862]

"All ah we tief!": State Corruption and Police Conspiracy

Despite the retreat of Black Power revolutionary action, calls for a Trinbagonian sovereignty capable of meeting the economic needs of the majority pervaded public discourse throughout the

[857] Bakr quoted in Khan, "'Say a Prayer for Abu Bakr'".
[858] Ibid.
[859] Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the 1990 attempted coup*, 14 March 2014. p.495.
[860] "Bakr: All men have arms in their sleeves," *Barbados Advocate*, 15 August 1990; Selwyn Ryan, "The Trigger Pulled in the Name of Almighty Allah," *Caribbean Quarterly*,37, 2-3 (1991): 14-27.
[861] ALJ, FBA, *Barbados Advocate*, 5 August 1990
[862] AJL FBA, Abu Bakr, transcript, Third Televised broadcast, TTT 27 July 1990.

1980s and 1990s as Trinidad and Tobago entered its period of IMF-led structural adjustment.[863] The decade ushered in Trinidad and Tobago's first transition of power after 19 years of shepherding by Dr. Eric Williams. In March 1981, Dr. Williams passed away in his home at the age of 80, leaving in his wake a complicated legacy marked as much by rigorous scholarship revealing the role of chattel slavery in developing modern racial capitalism, as his weaponization of police power against an interracial coalition of Trinbagonian citizens decrying the same racial capitalist system under the banner of Black Power. Williams' death resulted in a decline in PNM support from its traditional Black voting bloc, enabling the rise of the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) government under the leadership of Arthur Napoleon Raymond Robinson in 1986.[864]

The NAR government inherited a country heavily reliant on revenues from its lucrative oil industry, which ushered in new economic challenges following the 1973 oil crisis. When oil prices began to stagnate in the mid-1970s, government spending quickly outpaced income, with foreign reserves shrinking revenues plummeted in 1982.[865] Foreign exchange revenues fell from TT$3.1 million in 1981 to TT$1.8 million in 1983, coinciding with negative GDP growth at the rate of 5.2%. To mitigate balance of payment challenges, the NAR government adopted a battery of IMF structural adjustment policies in 1988. The IMF package included provisions to slash government spending on social welfare programs, subsidies and national development projects. It implemented wage freezes, limitations on public sector financing, and a Value Added Tax (VAT), leaving citizens to bear the stress and sufferation of higher prices and lower wages, without a social safety net.[866] The IMF's draconian conditionality packages were felt across the Caribbean in missed meals, unpaid school fees and higher utility bills due to the sale of national services. In Trinidad, the people's rage at the NAR government was immortalized in calypsos mocking Prime Minister ANR Robinson, encapsulated in the 1989 tune *Chauffeur Wanted*. Calypsonian Mighty Chalkdust notes that "After Eric Williams old car break down, We called in

[863] John LaGuerre "The 1990 Violent Disturbance in Trinidad and Tobago: Some Perceptions," *Caribbean Quarterly* 37, no. 2-3 (1991): 53-62.
[864] James Millette, "Power in the Streets: The Muslimeen Uprising in Trinidad and Tobago," *Caribbean Quarterly*, , 37, no.2, (1991) p.96-101.
[865] Kathleen Collihan and Constantine Danoupoulos "Coup d'Etat Attempt in Trinidad: Its Causes and Failure" *Armed Forces & Society* 19, no. 3 (1993): 435–50.; Andrew Downes, "The Impact of Structural Adjustment Policies on the Educational System in the Caribbean." Working Paper. World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession. 28-30 September 1992.
[866] Downes, "The Impact of Structural Adjustment".

NAR," only to find that "the new driver cannot drive." The "new driver" in Prime Minister Robinson, fatally failed to heed the advice of the NJAC to his own peril. Chalkdust sings that Robinson:

> Lost his way by the IMF station
> And askin a Yankee for direction
> And like a vagrant, he beggin all who passengers
> To buy back some of his oil and gas
> NJAC warn him that his new battery corrode
> And do not pass on the IMF road
> But he ent listening, he drop asleep driving
> And IMF thieves rob him.[867]

The unemployed and working poor shouldered exacerbated financial woes from the IMF policies amidst rumors concerning elites and government officials enriching themselves through corrupt means. Statements by officials themselves also gave credence to these rumors. During the 1986 election, Minister for Housing and Development and PNM MP for Laventille Desmond Cartey shouted, "Who ent tief in Trinidad? All ah we tief!" in response to a constituent accusing the party of longstanding theft of community funds.[868] Cartey later stated that his words were taken out of context and "trivialised", however the popular perception of rampant government corruption persisted. PNM officials were revealed to be embroiled in several corruption scandals, including a construction racket by Minister of Industry John O'Halloran.[869] O'Halloran, a key confidant of Prime Minister Williams, was nicknamed "The Bag Man" for his reputation as "collector of moneys of ill-gotten means".[870] The police were likewise implicated in corruption, particularly as the South American cocaine trade increasingly impacted Trinidad and Tobago's criminal landscape.

The police under the NAR operated much as they had under the PNM and the colonial administration: through normalized abuse and discipline of the sufferers. In 1984, the PNM

[867] "Chauffeur Wanted," Chalkdust, 1989. Accessed 11 November 2024. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_J6qoL7btbo.
[868] "All ah we tief'—a PNM slogan that they own" *Trinidad Express*, 18 May 2022.
[869] House of Representatives Debates, 27 July 1990, p. 713.
[870] Raymond Ramcharitar, *A History of Creole Trinidad, 1956-2010,* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).

government commissioned the Report of the Committee on the Restructuring of the Police Service (CRPS). The CRPS found that the force maintained the norms of its colonial antecedent, with officers relying on arbitrary stops, searches, unlawful arrests and physical punishment in detention to reiterate the institution's disciplinary authority.[871] Notably the report highlights a widespread public perception that the police were a "repressive force ready to harass people at every opportunity."[872] The same issues were again reported under the NAR government. In 1991, the Review of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service found evidence of continued abuse of power, including discrimination in arrest and search procedures, and a failure to pursue internal investigations of misconduct.[873] The force also reiterated its colonial function in quelling anti-imperial violence. Years of targeting Black activists and radical separatists agitating for self-determination expressed through the likes of NJAC and NUFF in the 1970s gave way to suppressing protest against the South African apartheid regime. On March 4, 1986 police clashed with members of the grassroots Anti-Apartheid Organisation of Trinidad and Tobago (AAOTT) and the Group of Concerned Trade Unions who gathered in Queen's Park Oval to protest British and West Indian cricket players who played in apartheid South Africa.[874] In typical fashion, police beat and summarily arrested non-violent protesters denouncing a white supremacist regime, reiterating the postcolonial Trinbagonian state's commitment to disciplining those denouncing racial hierarchy.

Importantly, no such police discipline action was directed against government officials involved in the theft of Trinbagonian taxpayer dollars. Indeed, officers known to have information concerning political authorities' involvement in illicit activities were reportedly targeted with professional and physical threats. Police themselves were widely reported to engage in drug smuggling, colluding with the urban dealers and runners facilitating the cocaine trade in the Caribbean Basin. An external report by Scotland Yard uncovered a "clique of corrupt police officers who protect drug dealers by the misuse of transfer and discipline systems."[875] Put simply,

[871] NATT, Committee on the Restructuring of the Police Service. *Report of the Committee on the Restructuring of the Police Service.*1984. p. 137-139.
[872] Committee on the Restructuring of the Police Service. *Report of the Committee on the Restructuring of the Police Service.*p.138.
[873] D.J. O'Dowd. *Review of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service*, 1991.
[874] "England Beat West Indies—Licks Inside, Licks Outside," *Trinidad Express,* March 5, 1986.
[875] Graham Seaby. *Final Report for the Government of Trinidad and Tobago on Investigations Carried out by Officers from Scotland Yard in Respect of Allegations made by Rodwell Murray and Others about Corruption in the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service.* 1993.

officers who actively policed drug crimes were frequently demoted, relieved of their positions, or transferred to other divisions. There were also reports of deadly repercussions for officers challenging corruption.

In 1987, Bernadette James, a Police Constable and Carenage resident, approached Imam Bakr with concerns for her safety after reporting that she witnessed government officials conspiring on behalf of unnamed local elites. According to court testimony delivered by senior Jamaat member Jamaal Shabazz, James met with Shabazz and other Jamaat elders to disclose that she had witnessed national security Ministers Selwyn Richardson and Herbert Atwell holding a discussion in a private room of Trinidad's Picaro Airport. James stated she saw several bricks of cocaine on a nearby table in the room. According to Shabazz's testimony, James told the Jamaat in a recorded statement that she saw Richardson dip his finger into the white powder and taste it before stating, "[t]his is the real thing but we have to put a lid on this, if we allow them to be charged it will be a big scandal and a lot of big people would be affected."[876] James and the Jamaat reported that Richardson's statement prompted them to believe that the drugs belonged to influential Trinbagonians and Richardson and Atwell were planning a cover-up.[877]

Bernadette James was subsequently killed while seated in a patrol vehicle during a police training exercise in Tucker Valley, Trinidad.[878] While live rounds are prohibited from use during training exercises, Constable James was shot with live rounds. Referring to his own time in the Police Service, Imam Bakr stated "of my ten years…I know for sure that you don't go on mock battles with live ammunition."[879] While there is no evidence to suggest the Jamaat acted in retaliation against police, members were emphatic that Constable James' death "was no accident."[880] For them, she was a casualty to the state police's reported complicity in drug crimes. Subverting the constructed image of the police as a protective service, the Jamaat accused state forces of "aiding and abetting crime here [in Trinidad] including the drug trade."[881]

[876] "Jamaat member claims: NAR cover-up in drug find in Piarco" *Trinidad and Tobago Guardian*, 21 June 2011
[877] Ibid.
[878]"Shabazz: Drug problem justified Jamaat revolt" *Trinidad Express,* 21 June 2011.
[879] "A recap of the 1990 Coup with Yasin Abu Bakr and host Avellon Williams on Wake Up Call," YouTube, July 31, 2019. Accessed December 20, 2024.
[880] "Cop's death no accident", *Trinidad and Tobago Newsday,* 22 June 2011.
[881] *Barbados Advocate*, July 28, 1990.

According to Jamaal Shabazz, the group "played police" in response to the state's failure to serve and protect the racialized poor.[882]

Playing Police in State Failing the Sufferers

Throughout the 1980s, that Jamaat positioned themselves as purveyors of community security by confronting the drug dealers and runners they perceived as the primary threat to sufferer community safety. According to Shabazz, the Muslimeen patrolled areas known for cocaine deals along Trinidad's East-West corridor, stretching from Port-of-Spain to Arima and encompassing the ghettoized communities of Laventille and Morvant. The group battled with infamous cocaine traffickers, including the King Brothers, Anthony "Tooks" Greenidge and Stephen "Bulls" Sandy, employing their own armory of weapons in their fights.[883] Shabazz emphasized that individual members employed violence at their own discretion to confiscate drugs and arms from dealers, reportedly to be destroyed by the Jamaat at their mosque at Mucurapo. He paints an image of a group eager to employ vigilante justice mimicking the physical discipline normalized by the Trinbagonian police—without embodying the domination of the sufferers exhibited by the state. Importantly, these displays of authoritative antagonism towards violent cocaine traffickers, combined with the Islamic doctrine, attracted the attention of many Laventille youth, who "feared and revered" Imam Bakr and his deputy, fellow Laventillian Salim Muwakil.[884]

Dealers and traffickers resistant to the Jamaat's self-appointed authority "would get some licks"[885] as Shabazz notes, articulating the group's methods using similar parlance used by police to describe legitimized violence deployed against individuals taken into state custody. Their repertoire of ensuring community protection relied on the pervasive naturalized disciplinary tactics usually understood to be the reserve of the police. Thus, even a movement drawing membership from Black sufferers operates within the specter of the post-slavery state's

[882] "Shabazz: Drug problem justified Jamaat revolt," *Trinidad Express Newspapers,* June 21, 2011, via WayBack Machine,https://web.archive.org/web/20110825185157/https://trinidadexpress.com/news/shabazz__drug_problem_justified_jamaat_revolt-124327938.html.

[883] "Cop's death no accident", *Trinidad and Tobago Newsday,* 22 June 2011.

[884] "Laventille activist Lennox Smith testifies: Muslimeem took charge of URP" *Trinidad and Tobago Guardian,* 14 December 2011.

[885] "Lick" is a phrase commonly employed by Anglophone Caribbean used to describe physical discipline with particular referent to physical blows delivered by a whip, belt, switch or similar device, or the hands or fists of another individual. Shabazz: Drug problem justified Jamaat revolt," *Trinidad Express Newspapers,* June 21, 2011, via WayBack Machine, https://web.archive.org/web/20110825185157/https://trinidadexpress.com/news/shabazz__drug_problem_justified_jamaat_revolt-124327938.html.

naturalized modes of securing order whilst endeavoring to exist as a counterforce to state power. It is primarily through physical violence that the Jamaat asserted its authority, and communicated its legitimacy to the communities the group patrolled. Indeed, the group boasted greater effectiveness in curtailing drug crime than the police, as indicated by Shabazz's claims that "when [the Jamaat] were finished with them, they did not need to go the (police) station" and "there were no repeat offenders."[886]

The Jamaat also went beyond typical police disciplinary tactics. Testimony from one Jamaat member, Azim, reveals a tendency towards blurring the lines between criminalized activity and community policing. Azim describes a by-any-means-necessary approach to responding to the state's failure to act on its responsibility for human security, and officials' collusion with corrupt forces:

> We saw that the government was being run by the rich Syrians who were taking our country away from us slowly but surely. We know that the Syrians were in the business of bringing drugs into this country and they had used us to an extent to carry out their drugs trade. They began helping us with aids and employment but we saw at one stage and point that they were going too far with the drugs business. We began to object to the large volume of drugs the Syrians were bringing into the country and they began to go to other sources…then Robbie and his boys started coming down on us whilst the Syrians do their drug business. I was assigned to recruit some groups and gangs to fire bomb some of the Syrian business places for us on a contract sort of job basis"[887]

Here, Azim addresses the police and Prime Minister Robinson—Robbie and "his boys"—as authoritative forces enabling the pillage of Trinbagonian state legitimacy. The "Rich Syrians" referred to here are the Caribbean descendants of an enriched class of Lebanese, Syrian, and Palestinian migrants to the region. Reproducing European colonial patterns of ethnic reductionism, Caribbean people tend to collectivize these groups under the title of "Syrian" due to their shared wealth, vocal expressions of anti-Blackness and operation of closed communal spaces, and proximity to forces of domestic and international power.[888] Azim suggests the

[886] "Cop's death no accident", *Trinidad and Tobago Newsday*, 22 June 2011.
[887] AJL, FBA: Statements. Testimony of Aziz, 12 March 1993.
[888] David Nicholls, "No Hawkers and Pedlers: Levantines in the Caribbean*." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4, no.4 (1981): 415–31.

disempowerment of state forces through relinquishing control to "rich" individuals responsible for stripping control of the country away from the majority of Trinbagonians racialized as fungible labor. By failing to use state police power to curtail drug crimes, removing access to public resources through structural adjustment, and perceived conspiracy with external forces thought to be pulling the levers of government, Azim positions the state as an adversary serving the interests of the wealthy and reiterating the expendability of the impoverished base. The Jamaat firebombing "Syrian" business therefore served as a corrective to the state's perceived pandering to a privileged group while neglecting the life and wellbeing of Trinbagonian sufferers. In their estimation, the government's incapacity – or unwillingness – to provide basic security for the majority was evidence of a failure to maintain rule of law. This marked the state as a failed entity to be controlled by the Jamaat for the sake of the people.

Academic debates surrounding so-called "failed states" highlight a range of factors thought to induce state failure. According to Robert Rotberg, these include a loss of the monopoly on legitimized violence, the inability to provide social services, and incapacity to control its territory and borders. Rotberg emphasizes the provision of human security as a function of the state, noting that states should provide channels for "citizens to resolve their disputes with the state and with their fellow inhabitants without recourse to arms or other forms of physical coercion."[889] Emerging in the early 1990s in response to the dismantling of state infrastructure in Somalia, the term has been variably applied to a number of states experiencing political crises, including Haiti, Liberia, Congo, Afghanistan, Sudan, Yugoslavia and Cambodia.[890] However, as Chales Call emphasizes, the very notion of state "failure" obscures the role of Western imperialism and colonial legacies in creating the conditions which impede state functioning, and the standards to which states are compared. Call describes the term, as it is employed by scholars of international affairs and human rights and aid industry workers, as "paternalistic" and points out that:

> European states (and later North American countries) create the system of nation-states, often drawing the borders of states themselves, as well as extracting resources, fostering colonial institutions with powerful legacies, propping up post-colonial leaders, providing

[889] Robert I Rotberg, *State failure and state weakness in a time of terror* (Brookings Institution Press, 2003)
[890] Charles Call, "Fallacy of the Failed State", *Third World Quarterly* 29, no.8 (2008), p.1491-1507.

them with arms, and undermining the emergence of plural or civil societies that might have diminished poverty, warfare and weak institutions.[891]

Indeed, many of the situations eliciting so-called state failure within the countries to which the label is affixed have colonial origins. Abdisalam M. Issa-Salwe underscores the colonial underpinnings of the 1991 coup in Somalia, a lynchpin case of failed state discourse. He traces the coup's origins to "European colonial intrusion", highlighting the role of Italian and British imperialism in dividing a "homogenous group of people" via "partition of their land into five different political entities."[892] Similarly, Jonathan Hill points out the impact of colonialism in the normative othering of African societies as functionally deviant due to a perceived failure to reproduce "a model of statehood that is based upon strictly European values, customs, practices, organization and structures."[893] Where African states may be read through a colonial lens emphasizing their divergence from Western standards of governance, the result of Anglophone Caribbean state failure to secure their populations also lies in a colonial regard. In this case, state positioning of its racialized and class oppressed population as expendable deviants which elicits the failure to curb violence against the citizenry.

In Trinidad and Tobago, the failure to provide basic security services to the sufferer population cannot be divorced from the state's colonial foundations in racial slavery. Unlike Somalia and other African nations handling the consequences of colonial partition, Trinidad and Tobago was conceived as a single colony uniting two islands and heterogenous racial and ethnic communities under the umbrella of a social order initially conceived to buttress slavery. As Sylvia Wynter argues, the construction of the New World slave society relied on a division between European imperial standard of Man, and the African non-human constructed as the fungible, deviant foil to white civility.[894] Thus these were societies built entirely through the dehumanization of people belonging to scores of ethnic groups, cleaved from their homes and objectified as laboring tools

[891] Call, "Fallacy of the Failed State", p. 1500.
[892] Abdisalam Issa-Salwe, *The Collapse of the Somali State: The Impact of the Colonial Legacy,* (Routledge, 1996). p.62.
[893] Jonathan Hill, "Beyond the other? A postcolonial critique of the failed state thesis." *African identities* 3, no. 2 (2005): 139-154.
[894] Wynter, *Unsettling the Coloniality of Being.*

on lands settled through indigenous genocide and ecocidal terraforming.[895] As objects, one Black body could be exchanged for another, worked to death and extinguished without their consent.

Caribbean sufferers have long expressed despair with state failures to curtail the vulnerabilities elicited from crime and corruption in newspaper commentaries, on verandahs, at domino tables and in calypsoes.[896] Kurt Allen and Dr. Roy Cape accentuate the stress of living in a country where "some people pocket fat, while some people [live] like sewer rats."[897] Allen and Cape position class inequality at the root of the security situation, noting:

> Murder, violence and crime, citizens can't get peace of mind
> Dial 999, waste of time!
> Mama tell them kiss where the sun don't shine
> Justice completely blind, defense and prosecution wine and dine
> No cent, five cent and no dime
> Give them dollar, dollar, dollar and they super fine[898]

Allen paints a picture of Trinbagonian state where justice and security are privileges of those possessing the capital to bribe officials with the almighty "dollar, dollar, dollar". Appealing to the police by dialing 999 is a "waste of time" for ordinary people, countering the institution's constructed image as a protective service provided by the state. Rather, those subjected to violence and crime are neglected by a justice system simultaneously "completely blind" to their needs, whilst remaining poised to exact discipline against them. Examining Trinidad and Tobago's slave society genesis may clarify that this attitude towards human security is the result of a failure to depart from imperial design and outlook, rather than a failure of well-conceived security strategies. Nevertheless, regardless of the origins of insecurity, in the Jamaat's view the state required remodeling to serve the people. As Imam Bakr stated, "we do what the government cannot."[899] After demonstrating their capacity to "rule the street", the Jamaat turned

[895] Norman Girvan, "Economics and the environment in the Caribbean: An overview" in *Caribbean Ecology and Economics* (University of the West Indies, 1991) pp.xi–xxiv; Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "The Production of Spatial Configurations: A Caribbean Case." *New West Indian Guide* 57, no.3–4 (1983): 215–229.
[896] "Is T&T on the path to failed state?" *Trinidad and Tobago Guardian,* 27 February 2016.
[897] Kurt Allen, "Sweet, Sizzling Summer". Accessed 22 January 2025. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3zbI2n24Ch4.
[898] Allen "Sweet, Sizzling Summer".
[899] "Port of Spain Journal; Failed Rebel's Boast: At Least He Rules the Street" *New York Times,* 9 January 2002.

their authoritative aspirations towards the state itself.[900]To assert a new political order, they once again "played police", mimicking the state's disciplinary tactics in a move to unseat the government.

The Coup Attempt

At approximately 6:05 pm on Friday, July 27, 1990, the regularly scheduled programming of the state-owned Trinidad and Tobago Television (TTT) station was interrupted. The evening's transmission cut to Imam Yasin Abu Bakr with furrowed brows, donning a wrinkled white kameez and black kufi, hunched over a table, the setting for the *Panorama News* program serving as his backdrop. "Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen, this is a news broadcast," Bakr stated. "The Government of Trinidad and Tobago has been overthrown. The Prime Minister and members of Cabinet are under arrest."[901] A few minutes after Bakr's declaration, veteran journalist and regular host of the TTT 7:00pm news hour Dominic Kalipersad addressed viewers at Bakr's behest.

> This is Trinidad & Tobago Television. We are being allowed to make another News Bulletin. The Imam Abu Bakr wants you to know that the Police Headquarters in downtown Port of Spain has been gutted by fire. They are still in control of TTT, the staffers here are unharmed.[902]

The Jamaat were in the process of carrying out a four-pronged armed mission to eliminate the NAR government and assume state control. The four steps included an attack on Police Headquarters, taking Red House and arresting ministers, and commandeering the headquarters of Radio Trinidad and TTT. Jamaat members planned the attack for weeks prior to execution, including a reconnaissance mission to survey the layout of the TTT building. Part of the Jamaat's plan may have involved overseas actors, as testimony from one Jamaat member Ismail Abdullah Muhammad, a doubles seller from Port-of-Spain, stated the group "planned to take over Picaro Airport as well, as [they] were to have received assistance from [their] Muslim brothers from overseas."[903] There is speculation that forces in Libya may have been positioned to assist in the

[900] Ibid.
[901] AJL, FBA, TTT Pre-Broadcast, July 27 1990.
[902] Ibid.
[903] AJL, FBA Ismail Muhammad, 28 February 1993.

coup, given Imam Bakr's reported personal relationship to Muammar Gadaffi.[904] While the Jamaat were ultimately unable to take over the airport, they were largely successful in carrying out the other components of their plot owing to Bakr's policing experience.

The Jamaat's plan reveals the extent to which the group knew the inner workings of the Trinbagonian state and security infrastructure to topple it, as well as the views and activism of working people, so as to strike at the appropriate times to have the best chance of garnering public support. As a 2014 government report notes:

> The date and timing for the attempted coup were carefully chosen. As members of the Summit of People's Organisations (SOPO), the JAM were aware that SOPO was planning an informal referendum for 27 July. They were also aware that the Oilfields Workers Trade Union (OWTU) had written to the Prime Minister giving him until 27 July to disband the structural adjustment programme and the austerity measures or else they would escalate their protests on 31 July. Imam Abu Bakr, encouraged by the rhetoric emanating from the public platforms of SOPO, conspired with Bilaal Abdullah and others to commit a *coup d'etat* on 27 July 1990.[905]

The Jamaat's decision to strike on the same day as two working class initiatives to rebuke the government coheres with the group's alignment with urban working-class communities and ghettoized neighborhoods. Given their proximity to working class people, it follows that they would have sought to cripple the government at a time of open working-class rebuke of the state. The timing and date selection of the four-fold attack is also significant, particularly because the group started by first attacking TTPS headquarters—a decision which reveals both the Jamaat's understanding of the necessity to subdue police as a means of furthering any subversive anti-establishment aims, as well as the Jamaat's relationship with the police force. As a former police officer, Bakr was able to leverage ties to members of the TTPS to carry out the attack on the police headquarters. As the Commission of Enquiry report states:

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[904] "Trinidad Rebels Ask for Plane" *Washington Post,* 28 July 1990; "Bloody 1990 attempted coup Bakr's legacy," *Daily Express,* 22 October 2021; Aliyah Khan, "Say a Prayer for Abu Bakr": A Eulogy for the Caribbean's No. 1 Muslim Terrorist", *Pree Literature Magazine,* 17 August 2022.
[905] Report of the Commission of Enquiry, p. 34.

> Imam Bakr, a former policeman, had important contacts with existing members of the Police Service and Defense Force. He knew that, on 27 July, 1990, many Police Officers and soldiers would have been off-duty and/or attending the football games at the Stadium. He calculated that the Protective Services would have been depleted and sought to take advantage of the security vacuum...it would have been relatively easy to execute the four-pronged strategy of simultaneous attacks in different and disparate locations.[906]

Indeed, Jamaal Shabazz later testified that Jamaat members even gave advanced warning to unnamed senior officers within the TTPS with whom Imam Bakr maintained contact that the headquarters would be bombed. Shabazz told the government commission investigating the coup that "The police were alerted. There was ample time, if they followed instructions, to evacuate the building."[907] With the knowledge that the police headquarters were largely empty of people, but nevertheless stocked with firearms and other weapons that could have aided in countersubversion, the Jamaat detonated firebombs from a green station wagon parked outside of the headquarters.[908] Jamaat members stationed around the headquarters fired indiscriminately to deter passersby from approaching the scene and to prevent the Fire Service from putting out the fires which erupted after the bombs exploded.[909] Given Imam Bakr's ties to senior officers in the police force, it is also possible that he was aware that a new interim Police Commissioner, Leonard Taylor was slated to assume office on July 26, taking over for Police Commissioner Jules Bernard one day before the attempted coup. According to former Deputy Commissioner Taylor:

> When I assumed the role of acting Commissioner on 26th July, I was not aware of any potential major incident, and I received no briefing or reports warning of any particular tensions in Port of Spain at the time. So far as I am aware, there were no contingency plans or the like to lay down procedures to deal with a crisis of the kind that occurred on the following day... I am aware that Abu Bakr was a former Police Constable and he was probably aware that most police stations changed their shifts at 6 o'clock in the evening.

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[906] *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into 1990*, p. 34.
[907] "Cops were alerted about '90 uprising," *Trinidad Guardian*,21 June 2011.
[908] *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into 1990*, p. 35.
[909] Ibid.

> At the time of the attack, therefore, most of the police stations would have been in the course of changing personnel. In addition, the Divisional and National Headquarters would have been more or less emptied.[910]

According to Commissioner Taylor, evening police duties in Port of Spain are coordinated by one Duty Officer and one traveling Deputy Inspector. The Inspector circulates around the departments within the city supervising police operations, leaving the national police headquarters free from personnel.[911] Knowledge of the shift schedule enabled the attack on the police without much resistance from officers. The Police Headquarters were destroyed by the fire, along with the central crime records for the entire country housed therein.[912]

It is perhaps unsurprising that the Jamaat's vigilantism gave way to their destruction of state Police Headquarters and infiltration of the Red House. Evidence suggests that the Jamaat staged the coup attempt to hold government power accountable for failing to ensure the safety of racialized and class oppressed citizens, by enabling the proliferation of drug crimes impacting their communities and targeted police violence—including against Jamaat members and Bernadette James. This show of force was means of attaining vengeance against those who used their power to exploit the suffering people the Jamaat professed to serve. As Imam Bakr pointedly stated himself during his televised address on TTT:

> We know the present suffering of the people and this week we looked at the national TV, the entire community of Trinidad and Tobago was besieged on National TV with the many corruptions by past Government Ministers and even the present Government Ministers. You are witness to that. Yet nobody was arrested. Yet there are so many young men who have died by the bullet, killed by police bullets for stealing food to eat. How do you bring a balance in a society with that kind of behaviour. I am not the one who accused Ellis Clarke of corruption. I am not the one who accused Johnny O'Halloran of corruption. I am not the one who accused Chambers of corruption. I am not the one who accused Mahabir of corruption. Those are all high profile people in the society…Which

[910] ALJ, FBA, Statement of Leonard Taylor, n.d. 1995.
[911] Ibid.
[912] AJL, FBA, Statement of Louis Andrews, July 6, 1995.

> one of the young people who were killed by police bullets were guilty of these numerous sums of money that has been filtered away from our own country by corruption? Which one?[913]

Bakr invokes the question of balance in a fundamentally unbalanced order. Where youths consigned to deprivation and insecurity are regularly extinguished by police bullets, the political class and "high profile people" who orchestrate precarity through corruption and draconian use of police power are free from the deadly consequences familiar to those constructed as racialized surplus. In staging the coup, the Jamaat sought retribution for the political order reiterating sufferer expendability. In a search for justice, they employed Bakr's police knowledge of disciplinary tactics designed to alienate sufferers. Having themselves been subjected to police searches and raids, many members of the Jamaat were likely to have been intimately acquainted with the policing strategies enforcing their subject positioning. Perhaps this muscle memory helped them perform them on the ministers that Friday.

Within the halls of Red House, Jamaat members held hostage 14 members of parliament forcing them all to adopt submissive positions, lying face down with their hands and feet bound—a standard stress position used by police officers during arrests.[914] In a show of force, Jamaat members stood over captive parliamentarians, demonstrating their capacity to use the state's normalized disciplinary tactics to temporarily subdue those in power. According to testimony by Selwyn Richardson, then Minister of National Security, this violence appeared to be pointed retaliation for the myriad ways in which the NAR government engendered sufferation for the Jamaat, the working poor, and the unemployed. This is evident from the Ministers' depictions of the Jamaat's entry into the Red House. Minister Richardson recalls first hearing a young man shout the names of specific ministers before detailing the deeds for which the Jamaat came to deliver retribution. Richardson described witnessing his colleagues butted with rifles and placed

[913] AJL, FBA, Transcription from Trinidad and Tobago Television Broadcast, 3rd broadcast, Yasin Abu Bakr.
[914] These procedures are well known to Black and brown racialized youth in ghettoized spaces across the Americas. See for example, the arrest techniques detailed in International Association of Chiefs of Police and Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, "Arrest and Search Techniques Study Guide", 2003, p. 3-11. https://www.berriencounty.org/DocumentCenter/View/1023/Law-Enforcement-Exploring-Arrest-and-Search-Techniques-Study-Guide-2003-PDF.

on the floor, before himself being apprehended in a manner mimicking procedures employed by state police during searches and arrests:

> I heard yet another person saying, "Look Richardson, the man who send police and army to take we land." I was still lying face downwards while the gun fire continued. When these persons had clearly identified me, I started being beaten. I received slaps, cuffs, and gun butts to the side of my face…I was ordered to stretch both my hands in front of me on the floor and one of them took a plastic cord and tied my hands at the wrist, in very tight tourniquet like fashion, so that as I moved the tourniquet became tighter. Someone else tied both my legs at the ankle in the same fashion and then my trousers were pulled down to my ankle, I was then hoisted to my feet by pulling on my clothing and they started to search me.[915]

From Minister Richardson's comments, one may understand that the Jamaat had, to some degree, personal scores to settle with Minister Selwyn "Mr. IMF" Wilson and Minister Richardson for their role in worsening quality of life for sufferers. Minister Richardson described fearing for his life as he was made to lie face down and assume the stance into which police routinely contorted countless Black Trinbagonian boys and young men while carrying out missions in the nation's ghettoized zones. Forced to the floor, his face, palms, wrists, torso and toes were depressed into the fibers of the carpet floor. His wrists were bound behind his back with restraints fastened beneath his shirtsleeves. His ankles were next. His captors patted down his body, running their hands up and down the length of his torso, then limbs one after another, in search of firearms or instruments which could help free him from his restraints. He was disrobed as a means of demonstrating the Jamaat's control in the moment. The Jamaat left him in possession of his wallet—and his life, in a stark departure from the normalized finale of such procedures when performed by state police on the bodies of poor Black people.[916] One minister after another, he and his colleagues held captive in the Red House were unclothed and momentarily release control of their bodies in a manner usually reserved as a technique of sufferer discipline.

[915] ALJ, FBA, Statement of Selwyn Richardson
[916] ALJ, FBA, Statement of Selwyn Richardson.

There are stark differences in the use of police power by police officers and the collaring and restraint of ministers. Police power exacted on behalf of the state serves to reiterate the subordinated racialized and classed subject positioning of a population existing in a social and economic order constituted through indigenous genocide, centuries of chattel slavery, and colonial thingification of racialized labor. Thus the Police, as operated by the state, exist to reproduce slavery's order built on racialized fungibility, employing deadly violence and countersubversive infiltration as a means of dampening the people's power to imagine and work towards a world beyond racial capitalist order. In contrast to the reiterative violence deployed by state police, the Jamaat's knowledge and use of police tactics was a form of retributive violence directed against the state to dismantle state order. Marginalized youths and elders from neglected bases of Morvant and Laventille exacted collective power to chastise officials upholding the racial capitalist order through persistent killing and disregard of the sufferers. In this way, the coup attempt demonstrated the Jamaat's capacity to physically subdue those at the helm of state power and served as a reminder that the people—or at least non-state actors claiming to represent the disaffected masses—*could* seize power, if pushed. While the Jamaat were only able to sustain their offensive stance for a few days, this was a forceful demonstration of the weaponization of entrenched disciplinary methods to demand a new order which served the majority rendered expendable through neglect and state violence. Despite the gravity of the attack, Bakr and the Jamaat escaped imprisonment as the result of an amnesty agreement.

The fact that the coup attempt was orchestrated by a former police officer, in Yasin Abu Bakr, is noteworthy. As Pantin noted above, Bakr joined the force like so many Caribbean "boys who'd grown up poor". Like most Caribbean police officers, Bakr's working-class origins led him to join the police force, as a mechanism of securing financial stability. While Bakr's police training helped the Jamaat successfully restrain state officials and destroy government property, it was his foundation as a member of the racialized working class which colored his understanding of the need for a new Trinidad and Tobago. Bakr is not alone in his lived understanding of state violence and neglect. As I discuss in the next section, police forces across the Caribbean are full of officers who themselves have suffered the economic struggles which plague the racialized and class oppressed communities they come to target upon assuming duty. For many, becoming a police officer means exchanging a life of economic strife for a badge representing their belonging within the state forces of order. However, while they may be empowered by their

allegiance to the state, they—like those they police—cannot escape the racialized fungibility inscribed onto them by the state's post-slavery order.

Class positioning of Caribbean Police Officers

Amidst the TTT broadcasts, firebombs and discipline of public officials, police corporal Desmond Renne was reportedly overheard by fellow officers expressing "feelings of joy and support" for the coup attempt and stating that the event "should have happened a long time ago".[917] Renne was aboard the M.V. Panorama, one of the ferries connecting Trinidad and Tobago when the fire broke out at the Police Headquarters. He remained on the Panorama hiding out until 30 July when a police search party located him in a ship cabin. According to police reports, Renne:

> Came to Trinidad [from Tobago] on rest days and was in the Southern area in company with 3 members of the Jamaat whom he had driving in his motorcar, one of whom is reported to be a notorious drug and arms dealer. He is also said to have been very active in regrouping members of the Jamaat Al Muslimeen *i*n the southern area with a view to pursuing the activities which commenced on 27th July 1990.[918]

Whether Renne expressed satisfaction or banal anticipation upon learning of the coup, his comments suggest an understanding of the dynamics which prompted the Jamaat to carry out the coup attempt, in particular the recent economic strife and government corruption. As a police officer who routinely encountered members of the public and given his understanding of the stress facing working and unemployed sufferers, he was perhaps aware that the coup attempt was imminent. Depending on Renne's personal class background, he likely felt the sting of the economic climate himself if he was like most Caribbean police officers who join the force in search of financial stability. As Jeanne Flavin and Robert Bennett note most police recruits in the Caribbean, as in the US and UK, are of working-class backgrounds.[919]

According to, Wendell Wallace there are several factors motivating individuals to join police forces, but most new recruits to the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service (TTPS) rank economic

[917] AJL, FBA Report on Corporal. Desmond Renne, undated.
[918] Ibid.
[919] Jeanne M Flavin and Richard R. Bennett. "Police work in the Caribbean: The influence of gender and nation," *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management* 24, no.1 (2001): 56-87.

concerns first amongst their motivations for enlisting in the force. Wallace finds that 86% of TTPS police recruits responded to a survey that job security was their primary motivating factor for joining, while "the opportunity for promotion, opportunity to prove one's capabilities, opportunity to enforce laws, and salary" were also key drivers of enlistment.[920] Similarly, criminologists Stamatis Elntib and Daliborka Milincic examine factors motivating recruits to join police forces in the global south and global north, finding that:

> Participants from [global south] countries scored higher motives related to job availability and benefits (i.e. only job I was contacted for, no other available jobs, job security, steady salary, early retirement, try until something else comes up), helping family and friends, and family influence.[921]

The respondents' emphasis on economic factors are perhaps unsurprising given the economic constraints imposed on some global south communities. The respondent's rankings reveal that a significant majority of police recruits in Trinidad and Tobago see policing as a means towards financial stability in an environment where they may otherwise be unemployed, and unwaged surplus. Wallace and Malisa Neptune Figaro found Jamaican recruits are similarly motivated by a desire for self-betterment through education and job security.[922]

That police recruits must be concerned about job precarity is telling of their class positioning before joining the force – a factor which Wallace notes impacts perceptions amongst Anglophone Caribbean populations that policing is a low status for school leavers.[923] Wallace notes that many Trinbagonians youth avoid police service due to the traditional perception of policing as "a job for individuals who could not be meaningfully employed elsewhere due to a lack of academic qualifications and therefore sought to become police officers wielding state power, authority and control at the expense of altruism".[924]

If the economic system calls for police subordination as a bulwark against collective power, then states will provide the funds to recruit new generations of officers, freeing recruits from

[920] Wendell Wallace, *International Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology* 23, no.4 (2021): 351-352.
[921] Stamatis Elntib and Daliborka Milincic, "Motivations for Becoming a Police Officer: a Global Snapshot". *Journal of police and criminal psychology* 36 (2021): 211-219.
[922] Wendell C. Wallace and Malisa Neptune-Figaro, "Motivations to enter the police profession in the Caribbean: Evidence from a cohort of Jamaican police recruits." *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* 11, no.4 (2022): 69-86.
[923] Wallace, 2021, p.351.
[924] Wallace, 2021, p. 351.

precarity. However, what police officers gain in job security they lack in prestige in the Caribbean. This is in large part due to disdain for their frequently abusive behavior, and in part due to the educational and assumed class profile associated with recruits. This is particularly true in the Caribbean because children from households operating below the poverty line leave school at higher rates than their peers with the privilege of financial stability.[925] For many, policework provides the chance to move from a racialized position of fungible subordination to access legitimate employment as an officer of state authority. This reveals an uncomfortable truth, resulting from the constraints on freedom imposed on sufferers, that the social and economic distance between police and the policed in the Caribbean may be measured in the length of a navy-blue uniform from collar to pant hem.

For Afro- and Indo-Caribbean police in particular, the choice to join the police force often results in a mandate to police ghettoized and impoverished rural communities which may resemble their own communities of origin. However, their position of authority distances them from being identified as an equal. As agents enforcing state order, they come to experience the communities as authoritative figures, endowed with the power stop, interrogate, detain, maim or kill those who could have been their neighbors, but are nevertheless subjected to police control. In this way officers are given license to subordinate those to whom they are socially and economically proximate to enforce a state order organized though the very racialized class oppression which constrains their economic stability, job availability and security. Thus accessing legitimate labor in the form of policing means defending the state's particular brand of post-slavery racial capitalism, reproducing the structural hierarchies which generated their economic precarity in the first place.

For some, particularly those long exposed to the social and economic repercussions of a subordinate racial and class positioning, being on the other end of state domination is itself attractive. For these individuals policing can provide a sense of subverting the subordinated, surplus position that is the default for racialized sufferers in the post-slavery Caribbean. By embodying state authority, officers are granted certain powers shielding them from feeling its brunt. Fanon asserts that "in the colonies, it is the policeman and the soldier who are the official,

[925] Jeniffer Mohammed, "Secondary education in Trinidad and Tobago: Impacts on the social and economic well-being of youth." *Current Politics and Economics of South and Central America* 11, no.3 (2018): 297-316.

instituted go-betweens, the spokesmen of the settler and his rule of oppression."[926] Joining the police force means becoming a constituent part of the instituted infrastructure upholding the system of racialized class oppression. Afro- and Indo-Caribbean officers in particular may experience this as a means of achieving a form of legitimate human recognition denied to their ancestors brought to the Caribbean as people subjected to complete dehumanization through chattel slavery and thingification as hollowed-out colonial laborers.

In the post-colonial Caribbean shaped by neoliberal financial restructuring, and its resulting high unemployment and concomitant reversal on social welfare policies, the laboring population must contend with the state selling their labor to external forces in the form of multinational corporations or remaining unwaged. The state has replaced the plantation owner and colonial administration as the dominating forces regulating labor, but –as was the case under the colonial economic systems—police work provides a buffer against this exploitation. As Sylvia Wynter writes in her seminal NHI letter:

> The organized working class …which has been seen as the potential agent of social transformation during the phase of [industrial] capital accumulation…no longer has enough clout to put a stop to the process of expanding job erosion, now that consumption has displaced production as the primary medium of capital accumulation. During the production phase, the category of jobless Poor, both in the First as well as in the reserve 'native' Third Worlds, had a function. This function had been that of providing an excess of labor supply over demand, in order to put a break on wage costs. In this new consumption phase of capital accumulation, it has no function.[927]

Rather than adhering to their constructed class positioning as commodified racialized laborer, police demonstrate their value within the state by reiterating the expendable status of working sufferers and unemployed surplus. While they can never shed their racial status, officers exist in the limbo of the "go-between" described by Fanon—for on the one hand they could be classed amongst those subjected to discipline by virtue of their racial and economic backgrounds, but instead are given the authority to dominate on behalf of the state. By agreeing to act as an agent of racial capitalist state order, they may be spared some of the financial consequences of existing as a surplus laborer racialized as deviant and expendable. They are nevertheless relegated to their

[926] Fanon, *Wretched*, p. 38
[927] Wynter, "'No Humans Involved".

racialized class positioning. In signing to join the armed reserve of state order, they maintain the status of expendable bodies, as Wallace indicates that it is rarely the children of the wealthy who consign themselves to the violence and potential death inherent to police duties.

Evidence of police fungibility lives in the memory of Constable Bernadette James. Constable James' death at the hands of fellow officers revealed the subordinate class positioning she was born into – a position obscured by her badge and police uniform. James appeared in a place where she was not supposed to be, in Piarco Airport, and was later killed, whether intentionally or not, by bullets that likewise appeared in a place where they were not supposed to be. This recalls Imam Bakr's quip about the habits of police power finding things in places where they are not usually located. Despite her employment as a constable, what James witnessed marked her for disposal. Like the ordinary Caribbean sufferers disproportionately targeted by her colleagues in the force, Bernadette James was positioned as an expendable Black body slated for death via police bullets to secure state power. She was not the first to die in the line of duty, nor would she be the last.

In a 2019 interview, Imam Bakr later claimed to have knowledge of other police officers slain by their colleagues, including a male officer killed shortly before Constable James.[928] This pattern of police-on-police violence did not end in the 1990, as the family of Police Corporal Clarence Gilkes, would likely attest. In April 2022, Gilkes was shot and killed by a stray bullet while he and a colleague shot at an unarmed civilian in Diego Martin. The Trinidad and Tobago Police Service (TTPS) did not investigate the killing, instead claiming that the unarmed civilian killed Gilkes, launching a manhunt to find the perpetrators. The TTPS' failure to investigate the killing of one of their own reveals the value the force places on the lives of its own officers, many of whom originate from the same racialized class positioning as those the institution was founded to discipline. Indeed, police engaging in the defense of state hierarchies risk life and limb in the line of duty, while disciplining their erstwhile siblings in racialized class subordination.

It is for this reason that Imam Bakr's stewardship of the coup attempt is noteworthy. As Raoul Pantin emphasized, it was ironic that Bakr shifted from defender of state order, to carry out the highest level of treason – and did so armed with knowledge of state police operations. From his earlier days orchestrating vigilante community security, Bakr evinced a willingness to use his

[928] "A recap of the 1990 Coup with Yasin Abu Bakr and host Avellon Williams on Wake Up Call," YouTube, July 31, 2019. Accessed December 20, 2024. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XxWjAL8gvqQ&t=2512s .

understanding of disciplinary methods naturalized in the post-slavery state to contravene established order. According to the Jamaat, this subversion was done on behalf of sufferers rendered expendable by the state. Perceiving the state as a failure for its neglect and often murderous violence targeting already vulnerable sufferers, Bakr reverted to his law enforcement training—this time using his disciplinary background to attempt a new order.

Conclusion

The memory of the Jamaat al Muslimeen attempted coup lives long in Trinidad and Tobago's national memory along with the character of the old Jamaat. In the organization's inception, joining the Jamaat meant divorcing oneself from the expectations imposed on Black, Christian laborers working on behalf of a state which failed to provide them basic security and social services. In this way, the Jamaat provided an outlet for the Afro-diasporic identifications and radical praxis which characterized Black Power, though articulated through a religious lens. Today, the character of the organization has changed, with much of its original religious radicalism subsumed by criminal violence targeting the very impoverished and working-class people on whose behalf Imam Bakr claimed to have attempted the coup.

However, in analyzing the 1990 coup attempt two things are revealed. The first is the capacity of peoples oppressed along lines of race and class to define the state which neglects them as failed. The second is the relatively short social distance between the police and their constructed targets. While Trinidad and Tobago has not been classified as a failed state by international observers, domestic commentary has long highlighted state failure to provide security for impoverished racialized communities as evidence of disfunction. For Jamaat members, "playing police" doing what the state could not, or would not, do to secure the wellbeing of the people, which frequently meant acting outside the law and refusing state order. The Jamaat assuming responsibility for community protection is indicative of their understanding that the state government had failed to provide security for those at the lower end of Trinidad and Tobago's racialized class hierarchy. The culmination of this self-assumed role in the 1990 coup attempt would not have been possible without both Imam Bakr's police training and intimate knowledge of the pain of postcolonial lack. His own experiences suggest that even those empowered as arbiters of state order are well aware of the plight stemming from racialized devaluation by the state and the plantations which preceded it. As Bakr himself stated, "these great injustices that we have suffered as enslaved

people…it's chattel slavery and that's the end of it."[929] Bakr articulates what Caribbean sufferers have felt and expressed for decades, and what colonized and enslaved people knew before them. If Trinidad and Tobago—or any other post-slavery society—consistently fails to secure racially oppressed people against death and debasement, the conditions producing this failure are endemic to the country's slave society genesis and the logics of racialized expendability.

[929] Quoted in Aliyah Khan "'Say a Prayer for Abu Bakr': A Eulogy for the Caribbean's No.1 Muslim Terrorist," *Pree Lit*, 17 August 2022.

Conclusion

In the days after the Public Prosecutor ruled that no charges would be filed in the Nzinga King case, Rastafarians and sympathetic demonstrators gathered Montego Bay's Sam Sharpe Square. Police Corporal Angel Mitchell Lewis, who was alleged to have cut Nzinga King's locs, claimed that King had pulled her thick locs out of her scalp on her own while in detention. Citing the physical difficulty of extracting locs from the roots without a sharp object to shear them, several community members determined Corporal Lewis' statement to be untruthful. Many framed the officer's claims in the context of Jamaica's broader history of police violence against Black Jamaicans, especially the Rastafari. Sandra Webster, who gathered with other demonstrators in Sam Sharpe Square said "[the officer] should not have said that that young lady pulled it out, she did that to *us* as Rastas…it's as if all police is the same to *us.* We don't trust you."[930] As she spoke, a bystander JCF officer quipped "you can't group all of us" before reminding the group of demonstrators that they had only been allowed to gather in the public square as a result of the officer's mercy.[931]

I return to the case of Nzinga King as a means of showing how the logics of slavery and its concomitant disciplinary norms are revived in the present day. Nzinga King walked away from the police encounter with her life intact but nevertheless sustained lasting harm. The growth of new hair strands will allow her to tend to her locs anew, if she chooses to grow them. However, the external, physical repair she may cultivate from her scalp is unlikely to exercise the internal damage she sustained during her encounter with state discipline. The evidence of her jailing will live on in her body and in her memory, as extensive literature from the fields of clinical psychology, public health, and social work demonstrates.[932] Perhaps it will not be limited to her body alone, as psychologists have shown that the trauma from racialized police violence is communal, seeping from one victimized body to relatives, friends and beyond. Indeed, racialized police violence leads to enduring communal harm. However, the practice of racialized violence

[930] "Rastafarians in Mobay dissatisfied with Nzinga King ruling, mount protest," *Jamaica Star,* February 26, 2022.
[931] Ibid.
[932] Sirry Alang, Donna McAlpine, Ellen McCreedy and Rachel Hardeman. "Police Brutality and Black Health: Setting the Agenda for Public Health Scholars." *American journal of public health,* 107, no 5 (2017): 662-665; Justin Feldman "Public health and the policing of black lives." *Harvard Public Health Review* 7 (2015): 1-3.

by state agents is itself an enduring legacy of the communal harms carried out during chattel slavery and colonial rule.

While Nzinga King, a slender young woman with a thundering voice, proved exceptional in her courage to resist the police action taken against her, the abuse she endured by Jamaica's state forces is routine. Police violence directed against her, and the severing of her locs and the Afrocentrism symbolized within them, was one publicized manifestation of the revival of Caribbean slave society logics demanding quiescence to racial capitalist order. Others subjected to routine police violence are similarly left with bodily harm or killed. Indeed, within January 2025 alone, Trinidad and Tobago police shot and killed five people in two days.[933] Many of those killed have yet to be identified. The family members of one of the deceased, Tabaquite resident Ronnie Alexander, report that he was shot after leaving his previous home in Morvant to escape gang activity. He planted crops and worked in construction.[934]

These stories of contemporary debasement of Black Caribbean life are rooted in the foundational histories of the West Indies and beyond. The scars of plantation punishments remain with us today, visibly present across the spaces formed for New World plantation production and the chattelization of Africans across the Caribbean islands, and Central, South and North America. In post-slave societies founded on the principles of white supremacy and capitalist exploitation, the bodies defined by the state as disorderly are traditionally the economically dispossessed people of darker hues. Colonial logics in the post-slavery Anglophone Caribbean positioned Blackness as the basis of disorderly potential, a fact well understood by post-colonial Caribbean elites and suffering subjects today.

Over the last eight chapters, I have presented historical vignettes of ordering police violence sustaining slavery-era disciplinary logics in post-slavery Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica. In chapter 1, I outline the imperial logics slotting Black African peoples into the rank of nonhuman to justify their chattelization, plantation use, discipline and disposal. In British-ruled Caribbean contexts, where absentee landlordism was common, the wealth generated through sugar, coffee and cocoa sales through Black sweat was sent to fund development elsewhere, namely mainland Britain and Scotland. I examine how codified disciplinary force organized along racial lines was

[933] "Trinidad police kill fifth man within two days" *Starbroek News*, 25 January 2025..
[934] "Man Killed in Police-Involved Shooting; Family Calls for Investigation | Loop Trinidad & Tobago." *Loop News.* 26 January 2025.

integrated within the structure of the slave society, which Goveia distinguishes from earlier social organizations within societies *with* slaves wherein racial capitalist hierarchy is not a totalizing logic ordering all aspects of life. This force was naturalized through white supremacist civilizational understandings reading Black peoples as the embodiment of deviance and disruptive potential, and a capitalist system requiring the dehumanization of racialized labor. In the face of rampant resistance by enslaved people, including armed violence and widescale property damage, discipline became the means through which capitalist functioning and Black dehumanization persisted. In this way, plantation discipline operates as reiterative violence, re, in the face of contestation against oppressive status positioning. In overexposing colonized subjects to corporeal harm and potential death as consequences for embodied biological deviance or resistance, reiterative violence is perhaps the most potent tool in facilitating the transformative imperial pursuit to entrench Western capitalist conceptualizations of modernity, even as resistance results in changes to political order.

As rebellion by enslaved people reached critical mass in the nineteenth century, culminating in the 1831 Sam Sharpe Rebellion, and calls for abolition swelled, the Abolition Act of 1833 was passed, giving rise to Apprenticeship. This form of labor organization replicated the master-slave relations perpetuated during chattel slavery, carrying forth the naturalized notion that the previous order built on racialized unfree labor and discipline into the post-slavery era. Perpetuating colonial rule required reiterating the logics justifying British dominance, without the legal backing of codified chattelization. Apprenticeship sustained slavery's civilizational logics, normatively positioning those racialized through plantation labor as devoid of value, outside of their productive potential. Fears of Black resistance rupturing order in the colonies dovetailed with imperial buttressing of white capitalist power, and saw the colonial state assume responsibility for the discipline necessary to sustain the engine of plantation profiteering. Thus disciplinary power previously relegated to plantation owners was institutionalized as a function of the state in the form of constabularies and police to perpetuate white supremacist dominance as an instrument of capitalist production. To sustain racial capitalist order in the post-slavery colonial state, authorities tasked early police and constables with surveilling and physically disciplining recently emancipated people, using the same modes of violence used to coerce enslaved people to submit to operationalization by white capital.

Both the slave society and post-emancipation colonial order empowered police to physically discipline the bodies of enslaved people and non-white racialized laborers to sustain white supremacist imperial social and economic order. During slavery, the whip was reserved for enslaved people as a means to "civilize" enslaved people into conformity to Western capitalist rule through means designed to reiterate their characterization as sub-human. It is through the reiterative force of the whip, and the myriad physical punishments reserved for the enslaved, that Black peoples, during slavery and afterwards, come to be internalized as deviant objects to be violently controlled, rather than human subjects. The routineness of the whip, and the visible keloids it left on the body, habituated slaveholding colonies to witnessing physical abuse of non-white peoples, setting a logic of the appropriateness of perpetrating violent discipline of their bodies. Racialized antipathy and desire to exploit Black labor on the part of the empowered planter class continued to color social, economic and political relations long after emancipation.

Colonial policing buttressing white capitalist accumulation continued after the demise of apprenticeship. The system was applied to Indian laborers arriving in Trinidad, Guyana, and to a lesser extent, Jamaica, as part of the indenture scheme. While indentured toilers were not subjected to the chattelization perpetuated during slavery, they were nevertheless inserted into a social and economic order requiring expendable, and racially subordinate labor. Thus, colonial authorities reiterated slavery's order to maintain the hierarchies inherent to the plantation economic model – namely through the continued positioning of racialized laboring bodies as fungible and uncivilized. Indian laborers were not initially conceived as constituting a part of the permanent fabric of Caribbean societies and were constructed as savage others whose adherence to "heathen" faiths compounded barriers to their social integration. As a result, Indian indentured laborers were likewise subjected to police discipline to guard against resistance and ensure their productive capacity.

Racialized reiterative violence by police was further entrenched as a function of colonial state rule despite efforts to issue standards for violent force across the police units operationalized as the Empire expanded. When Secretary of State for the Colonies Minister Walter Long initiated an Empire-wide inquiry into use of force following clashes in Ceylon, Police Commissioners in the West Indian colonies revealed that the extent to which colonial police relied on indiscriminate shootings and buckshot ammunitions was in excess of even the standards laid out

by the British Colonial Defence Committee. The West Indies' location within the Empire as the foundational site of racialized commodification, governed through related notions of Black expendability, naturalized this habituation towards disproportionate police violence. Given slavery's logics positioning Black people as nonhuman, police officials within the post-slavery colonies operated from the normalized view of Black bodies as expendable tokens who could be eliminated to sustain order. Thus, opening fire immediately in response to disorder, as opposed to other shows of force used in other colonies which stopped short of shootings, was the expectation. Indeed, failure to use violent force in response to disorder, especially resistance mounted by commodified racialized laborers, was understood to be an affront to order. The 1919 investigation and near censure of Trinidad's Colonel May for refusing to arm police to shoot striking Black dockworkers demonstrates the extent to which bloodshed as a consequence for Black derelictions of order was expected as part of the West Indian policing tradition. In spite of recommendations issued from Minister Long's inquiry attempting to reform police operationalization of force, this tradition of indiscriminate Black death carried on. At the outbreak of labor strikes in the 1930s, police were again empowered to indiscriminately shoot racialized laborers. Recognizing the throughlines between their relegation to disposable status through labor exploitation and police violence, and dehumanization and fungibility of the enslaved people who proceeded them, racialized people in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago organized towards political rupture with colonial rule.

As anti-imperial race- and class-conscious agitation continued into the 1940s and 1950s, the Crown increased resources dedicated to police surveillance and monitoring through Criminal Investigations Departments, buttressing the disciplinary power of local forces. These Departments organized covert surveillance targeting movements and individuals labelled subversive by imperial authorities. Those targeted for investigation included Jamaica's Marxist-Leninist Four H's, Uriah Butler and Adrian Cola Rienzi of Trinidad and Tobago's British Empire Workers and Citizens Home Rule Party, and Rastafarians like Leonard Howell seeking redemption from Babylonian dehumanization. Their targeting as subversives resulted from their capacity to raise the consciousness of racially subordinated multitudes of their expendable, thingified positioning under British colonial rule. Taking precedence from plantation overseers tasked with surveilling enslaved people as a preventative measure against rebellion, police commissioners and criminal investigations agents were persistent in monitoring and jailing

Butler and Howell for their popular appeals and praxes revealing the abusive nature of colonial order. However, shuttling the likes of Butler and Howell in and out of colonial prisons could not stop calls for a break with Empire.

Where abolition failed to eradicate racial capitalist hierarchy and its enforcement through discipline of plantation progeny, decolonization did not engender new social or economic relations. Neither did it lead to the cessation of Black poor death at the hands of state forces. Rather, it simply changed the color and character of state leadership and the hands wielding disciplinary power. Indeed, the independence negotiations of the 1960s should be understood within their historical contexts with attention to leaders whose political thinking was shaped by imperial civilizational ideals of governance and legitimacy. The stewards of Anglophone Caribbean independence attended British universities following a lifetime of education in the modes of colonial governance and racialized dominance in their respective home islands. Their understanding of appropriate models of state order were shaped by centuries of British racial capitalist hierarchy born of chattel slavery.

Leaders like Dr. Eric Williams and Norman Manley positioned Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica as the civilized inheritors of British discipline and global exemplars of multi-racial state order through the advent of Creole nationalism. National leaders underscored their fitness to rule by emphasizing their competence to wield British colonial institutions and governing logics, purchasing legitimacy for the region as it vied for independence within an international order organized through imperial principles of civilizational hierarchy. This elite image opposed the redemptive traditions and liberation ethos championed by radical Rastafarian and working-class movements in favor of safeguarding the institutions buttressing colonial rule, including the police, and emphasizing the region's British – rather than African or Asian—biological and cultural inheritance.

This elevation of European descent is rooted in the region's history of chattel slavery, but has clear implications for the performance of state sovereignty. In Caribbean slave societies, (European) human subjects were present as a minority given total power over the Black African majority, who were repositioned as plantation tools thought to be devoid of culture or values of their own. With Europeanness positioned as the referent of "human normalness", in the words of Sylvia Wynter, the enslaved African, dehumanized as commodified chattel, is socially

constructed as Man's approximation. Within this colonial paradigm, foregrounding British inheritance was a means of circumventing identification with the deviance associated with chattelization to achieve state legitimacy. Anglophone Caribbean sovereignty is not born from 1648 Westphalian laws of territorial autonomy, but of logics of Black chattelization born in the slave prisons of 1444 Lagos, Portugal. It is for this reason that – despite the continued, visible practice of innumerable West and Central African and Indian-derived spiritual and cultural customs in the region—colonists and colonial elites alike tended to advance a constructed image of Caribbean islands as tropical outposts of European culture and governance. Though the West Indies were known to be constituted primarily of persons who were not (solely) of European stock, colonial officials like Viscount Massarene perceived the region as suited for independence because of centuries of imperial acculturative domination, and a set of leaders suitably trained in British modes of civilizational logics.

Elevating British inheritance as a component of an internationally projected regional identity also has implications for internal order maintenance within the state in terms of who was understood to embody criminal deviance. In early 1960s Trinidad and Tobago, Laventille and Morvant youth were prime targets of police violence and surveillance. The state positioned the youth responsible for Trinidad and Tobago's steelpan music as the counterforce disrupting law and order for the genteel middle-class, mirroring the colonial rhetorics understanding impoverished Black people as deviant to justify the police violence directed against them. Similarly, in the early days of Jamaican independence, the state directed a police campaign to reiterate the collective dehumanization and fungible positionalities of Black Rastafarians at Coral Gardens, Montego Bay. This was done as a response to the whims of white capitalist descendants of the very planters who helped form and perfected the disciplinary logics naturalizing the expendability of Black life, including Custos Francis Moncrieff Kerr-Jarrett. Police action controlled Black access to public areas to enable state and private accumulation through the tourist economy, while simultaneously demonstrating to the masses that independent state rule would feature a reiteration of colonial logics of racialized criminality built on slavery-era notions of Black nonhuman deviance. In both Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, the ostensible end of formal colonial rule did not bring access to full citizenship or agency for the racialized underclass. Rather, those failing to embody the creole ideal signaling upper- and middle-class

acculturation to British colonial customs or racially-mixed heritage remained relegated to the class of fungible non-human, a status engendering the self-descriptor of "sufferer".

Despite independence, the political, social and economic agency of the sufferers remained constrained. While economic and social exclusion largely mirrored the colonial era, giving rise to calls for Black Power in the 1970s, the political system shifted to deepen clientelist relations. Caribbean clientelist rule oscillates between the predatory and the populist. It operates through asymmetric racialized power relations wherein leaders employ impoverished people to ensure party dominance by performing spectacular murders of perceived opponents. This political infighting enables the continued expendability of the racialized poor as, on the one hand, the state orchestrates the literal disposal of a sector of the population to sustain power, primarily through police and gang killings and imprisonment. At the same time, the state condemns political violence and crime, as harbingers of social disunity and the retreat of foreign investment, paving the way for cycles of domestic and international crimefighting and securitization strategies positioning poor Black death, imprisonment and spatial removal as necessary measures to secure public safety or economic growth.[935] National leaders themselves may become intermediaries for the US strategies to police the region to retain capitalist order in the face of perceived radicalism, as indicated by US Secretary Schlaudeman in Chapter 7. Within these conditions, examining policing from a domestic or US interventionist vantage point reveals the ways in which policing and security priorities in the region rely on reiterated logics positioning Black dispossessed bodies as expendable nonhumans. As during the slave society, plantation norms and logics are taken up by policing structures to negate the humanity of the Black dispossessed and render them disposable to protect regional order.

As the events described above indicate, police power is deeply imbricated with the enforcement of international imperial order within states. This is particularly evident when police violence is deployed in cases of resistance threatening to shift the structure of order. As mentioned in Chapter 5, in preparation for decolonization, the Colonial Office stressed the importance of indigenizing local police forces and shoring up local police capacity for putting down uprisings, as a predeterminant of the right to self-rule. Decisions concerning the form and function of police forces of soon-to-be independent states largely responded to local social conditions. The plethora

[935] See for example, Jamaica Office of the Public Defender, *Interim Report to Parliament on the Tivoli Gardens Incursion*, April 29, 2013; US Embassy in Trinidad and Tobago, "Security Alert: SOE Update" 10 January 2025.

of modes of resistance, inter-ethnic allegiances and animosities exhibited by peoples across the Empire precluded the development of a one-size-fits-all post-colonial policing model to be disseminated around the world. Indeed, policing dynamics and priorities are often shaped by contextual experiences of imperialism and colonial rule. As I have highlighted here, the specificities of Caribbean policing conditions stem from slavery's saturation of the region with racialized discipline and death.

However, while organizational models for police and defense forces varied across contexts, one throughline that united the character of post-colonial policing was the will to maintain internal security by enforcing colonial laws and disciplining challenges to order. Whether officials' concerns were sparked by Mau Mau insurgents in the 1950s, bloodshed in 1959 Nyasaland, or uprisings by West Indians in the 1930s and early 1960s, policing was the prescribed remedy to quell any disorderly activity possessing the potential to convince the multitudes of the demeaning nature of imperial order. This normative training in policing resistance was shaped through racialized imperial processes, including the violent practices which forced adherence to chattel slavery for four centuries. Taking seriously the globality of racialized police violence requires a comprehensive understanding of both how and why slave society logics were birthed to serve plantation profiteering, as well as how they were contorted and transmitted to serve colonial capital beyond the sites ruled by the plantation. Policing as a shared experience of colonial racialization merits further attention. For Black peoples especially, the common relegation to the status of the nonhuman across disparate geographic spaces and ethnic identities deserves further investigation precisely because the violence of plantation rule was, and remains, transatlantic.

In the Anglophone Caribbean, the form of transnational policing which emerged as the region moved towards independence continues to produce postcolonial precarity across the islands. Intervention by US forces, and domestic clientelist criminal affiliations have produced a security landscape which turns around the expendability and neglect of the racialized poor. For example, transnational security relations which emerged during the 1960s CIA and Office of Public Safety operations have landed successive transnational police missions on Caribbean shores. A recent iteration of this transnational securitization approach saw the government of Trinidad and Tobago under Prime Minister Keith Rowley cement the country's involvement with four

Department of Defense initiatives on 10 December 2024, strengthening local security forces and implementing "unprecedented and unparalleled opportunities for defense cooperation" with the US.[936] By 30 December 2024, the Rowley administration announced a state of emergency, citing increased gang violence, giving Trinidad and Tobago police widespread powers of search and arrest amid news reports that police officers were "facilitating criminal gangs, providing support."[937] In Jamaica, the Tivoli Gardens massacre provides an additional example of US capacity to shape Caribbean police power. In 2010, Jamaica Constabulary Force members killed at least 72 members of the Tivoli Gardens community, and tortured and unlawfully arrested hundreds more, in a US-backed mission to extradite Christopher Coke, son of the aforementioned "Jim Brown" Coke and leader of the Shower Posse gang operational in Jamaica, the US and Canada. As national leaders aid US security interests by paving the way for the arrest of one man through the death and torture of hundreds, it becomes clear where regional safety priorities lie.

As in previous decades, impoverished and dark-skinned people continue to be framed as security threats, rather than individuals meriting protection. Indeed, as police trainings coordinated through the Office of Public Security of the 1960s and 1970s have been replaced by similar formative measures under the auspices of the US Southern Command and the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative, impoverished racialized communities continue to be subjected to rampant police violence as a function of regional understandings of who and what constitutes danger and disorder. Producing a national outlook which understands certain deaths as acceptable, or necessary, to secure state order takes concerted effort. These normative understandings of who is thought to embody human value, and who is assumed to be devoid of it, were conceived and reiterated across time and changes to political landscapes. In the case of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, as in other Atlantic spaces shaped by chattel slavery, these logics, and the police forces which engender civilian adherence to them, were born of the plantation dehumanization at the basis of the modern hierarchical global system.

[936] U.S. Embassy in Trinidad & Tobago, "The U.S. and Trinidad Strengthen Strategic Partnership on Security Cooperation" news release, December 11, 2024. https://tt.usembassy.gov/the-united-states-and-trinidad-and-tobago-strengthen-strategic-partnership-on-security-cooperation/.
[937] "UNC: SoE unsuccessful so far" *Trinidad and Tobago Guardian*, 20 January 2025.

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