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## Empire of Liberty

Anthony Bogues

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## NOTES

### *Introduction*

1. Stuart Hall, "The Toad in the Garden: Thatcherism among the Theorists," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), p. 49.

2. C. L. R. James, *The Future in the Present* (London: Allison and Busby, 1977), pp. 202–3.

3. These essays have been published in Anthony Bogues, *Black Heretics, Black Prophets: Radical Political Intellectuals* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

4. E-mail exchange with Ronald Judy, August 2009.

5. Of course I here refer to the way in which Michel Foucault uses the term to describe the emergence of a new form of power which seeks to capture "man-as-species." Later on I will expand this conception and argue that the current drive of power is about capturing human desires and imagination. For Foucault's discussion of the bio-political, see Michel Foucault, "*Society Must Be Defended*": *Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976*, ed. Mauro Ber-tani and Alessandro Fontana, trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003), chapter 11.

6. Cited in Robert W. Tucker and David Hendrickson, *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 159.

7. W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860–1880* (New York: Atheneum, 1962), p. 3.

8. Jacques Rancière, *Hatred of Democracy* (London: Verso, 2006), p. 3.

### *Chapter 1: Empire of Liberty*

1. Selected examples of this debate appear in the following: Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004);

Joseph Nye, Jr., *The Paradox of American Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Andrew J. Bacevich, ed., *The Imperial Tense: Prospects and Problems of American Empire* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2003); Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002). We also need to be reminded that there has always been an anti-imperialist tradition in American life. For books and discussions about some elements of this tradition, see the Web site: [www.americanempireproject.com](http://www.americanempireproject.com).

2. For a sense of the issues involved in this side of the debate, see the essays in *Daedalus*, Spring 2005.

3. The most important argument along these lines is Michael Ignatieff, “The American Empire: The Burden,” *New York Times*, May 5, 2003.

4. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 9.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Dominic Lieven, *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals* (London: John Murray, 2000), p. 14.

7. Pierre Manent, *An Intellectual History of Liberalism*, trans. Rebecca Balinski (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 3.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Of course there are the additional questions of the conceptual basis of a universal human nature and of what constitutes imperial legitimacy. To put the matter bluntly, on what basis and under what assumptions is the good in the political realm conceptualized?

10. Cited in Anthony Pagden, *Peoples and Empires* (New York: Modern Library, 2001), p. 26.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

12. Thus many supporters of American empire have pointed out America’s reluctance to engage in what is called nation building. For a discussion of this, see Ferguson, *Colossus*.

13. Cited in Robert Aldrich, *The Age of Empires* (London, Thames and Hudson, 2002), 302.

14. Cited in Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: Norton, 1998), p. 9.

15. Cited in Tucker and Hendrickson, *Empire of Liberty*, p. 19.

16. Julian Boyd, “Thomas Jefferson’s ‘Empire of Liberty’” *Virginia Quarterly Review*, no. 24 (1948): p. 548.

17. Tucker and Hendrickson, *Empire of Liberty*, p. 7.

18. Cited in Amy Kaplan, “Violent Belonging and the Question of Empire Today” (Presidential Address to the American Studies Association) *American Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (March 2004): p. 5.
19. Cited in Aldrich, *Age of Empires*, p. 280.
20. Cited in Aldrich, *Age of Empires*, p. 280.
21. For a discussion of these interventions, see Jenny Pearce, *Under the Eagle: U.S. Intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Boston: South End Press, 1982).
22. William Appleman Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).
23. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 7.
24. Foucault, “*Society Must Be Defended*,” p. 242.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
26. Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power,” in *Power* (New York: New Press, 2000), p. 332.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
28. *Ibid.*
29. William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1994), p. 6.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
31. Cited in Leach, *Land of Desire*, p. 37.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Achille Mbembe, *On Private Indirect Government* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2000), p. 7.
34. Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 57.
35. Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 1.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
37. It is interesting to read many of the debates over the implementation of French colonial power, particularly over the project of colonization in Algeria. See the 1841 essay in Jennifer Pitts, ed. and trans., *Alexis de Tocqueville: Writings on Empire and Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 59–116. Tocqueville argued about the relationship of domination to colonization and in his 1841 essay on Algeria made the point that “domination . . . is the only means to achieve colonization” (p. 64). For Tocqueville, domination was about war, but colonialism was in part about a civilizing mission.

38. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), pp. 17–18.

39. For a discussion of this process and the ways in which British colonial policy executed its civilizing mission in a post-slavery context, see Thomas Holt, *The Problem of Freedom* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Press, 1992). See also Catherine Hall, *Civilizing Subjects* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

40. For a discussion of Mill's ideas on race and colonialism, see Anthony Bogues, "John Stuart Mill and 'The Negro Question': Race, Colonialism, and the Ladder of Civilization," in Andrew Valls, ed., *Race and Racism in Modern Philosophy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 217–34.

41. Cited in Niall Ferguson, "The unconscious colossus: limits of (& alternatives to) American empire" *Daedalus* 134, no. 2 (Spring 2005): p. 22.

42. Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), pp. 93–94.

43. John Gray, *Two Faces of Liberalism* (New York: New Press, 2000), p. 2.

44. Robert Cooper, "Imperial Liberalism," *The National Interest*, no. 79 (Spring 2005): p. 34.

45. Louis Althusser, "Ideology and the Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001), p. 116.

46. Ibid.

47. Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2001), p. 64.

48. George Bush, "America's Responsibility, America's Mission," in *Imperial Tense* (see note 8), p. 5.

49. Jacques Lacan, *Ecrits: A Selection* (New York: Norton, 2004), p. 330.

50. For a discussion of this idea, see Sylvia Wynter, "On How We Mistook the Map for the Territory, and Re-Imprisoned Ourselves in Our Unbearable Wrongness of Being, of *Désêtre*: Black Studies Toward the Human Project," in *Not Only the Master's Tools: African-American Studies in Theory and Practice*, ed. Lewis R. Gordon and Jane Anna Gordon (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Press, 2006), pp. 107–69.

51. For a discussion of this, see Zygmunt Bauman, *Consuming Life* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

52. J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism* (New York: Gordon Press, 1975), p. 23.

53. See in particular Harry Magdoff, *Imperialism without Colonies* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2003).

54. Of course there are American colonies, and the history of American intervention in Latin America is one in which military and authoritarian dictatorships were openly helped and supported.

55. Rogers Smith, *Civic Ideals* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 6.

56. Judith Shklar, “Positive Liberty, Negative Liberty in the United States,” in *Redeeming American Political Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 111.

57. Cited in J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 9–10.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

59. See in particular Donald Pease, “9/11: When Was ‘American Studies After the New Americanists’?” *boundary 2* 33, no. 3 (Fall 2006): pp. 73–101.

60. Sheldon Wolin, *Politics and Vision* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 590.

61. See Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

62. One intellectual current that I do not deal with in this lecture is that of American exceptionalism. There are many texts on this subject. I recommend two: William Spanos, *American Exceptionalism in the Age of Globalization* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), and, more recently, Donald Pease, *New American Exceptionalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

63. Elsa Goveia, *The West Indian Slave Laws of the 18th Century* (Bridgetown, Barbados: Caribbean Universities Press, 1970), p. 21.

64. Joan Dayan, “Legal Slaves and Civil Bodies,” in *Materializing Democracy: Toward a Revitalized Cultural Politics*, ed. Russ Castronovo and Dana Nelson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 55.

65. Cited in A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 163.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

67. Nicolás Guillén, *Man-Making Words: Selected Poems of Nicolás Guillén*, trans. Roberto Márquez and David McMurray (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972), p. 187.

68. For an initial discussion of this subject, see Anthony Bogue, *Singing Songs of Freedom* (forthcoming).

69. Foucault, “*Society Must Be Defended*,” p. 240.

70. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

71. Perhaps one way to think of this is to complicate our understanding of modernity by thinking about it as colonial modernity. In other words, we ought to grapple with the fact that we cannot think historically about so-called modernity itself without locating it alongside colonial rule and therefore coloniality.

72. Colin Dayan, “Legal Terrors” *Representations*, no. 92 (Fall 2005): p. 49.

73. Colin Dayan, “Cruel and Unusual: The End of the Eighth Amendment” *Boston Review*, November 2004, [http://www.bostonreview.net/BR\\_29\\_5/dayan.php](http://www.bostonreview.net/BR_29_5/dayan.php). My initial argument uses a great deal from Colin Dayan’s current work on this subject.

74. Karen J. Greenberg and Joshua L. Dratel, eds., *The Torture Papers: The Road to Abu Ghraib* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 53.

75. This is simply untrue. I have profound disagreements with the rubric of “failed state,” but any cursory glance at the states labeled in this way demonstrates that many of them have seats in the UN, a sure marker of international recognition.

76. I have summarized the conditions for a failed state as outlined by the document. For a full description, see Karen J. Greenberg and Joshua Dratel, *The Torture Papers: The Road to Abu Ghraib* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 38–125.

77. Cited in Christina Burnett and Burke Marshall, eds., *Foreign in a Domestic Sense* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 13.

78. Cited in Kaplan, *Anarchy of Empire*, p. 10.

79. See Charles Mills, *The Racial Contract* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).

80. Cited in David Hackett Fischer, *Liberty and Freedom: A Visual History of America’s Founding Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 715.

81. Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 23.

82. Ibid.

83. Foucault, “*Society Must Be Defended*,” p. 246.

84. Graham Burchell, “Peculiar Interests: Civil Society and Governing ‘The System of Natural Liberty,’” in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 139.

85. Langston Hughes, “Words Like Freedom,” in *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes*, ed. Arnold Rampersad and David Roessel (New York: Vintage, 1995), p. 269.

## Chapter 2: Race, Historical Trauma, and Democracy

1. Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 3.

2. Ibid.

3. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), p. 8.

4. Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 81.

5. When I use the word *wrong* here, I mean it in some of the senses in which Jacques Rancière deploys it. See Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), especially chapter 2. For Rancière, “the wrong is simply the mode of subjectification in which the assertion of equality takes its political shape.” p. 39. However, I also wish to use the word in the sense that a wrong runs counter to justice. A historical wrong therefore is one in which issues of justice are erased from the enacted event. This means that there is no shadow of justice that haunts the event, because those wronged are said to have no claims on justice.

6. Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 3–4.

7. Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 2.

8. *Ibid.*

9. See Ron Eyerman, *Cultural Trauma: Slavery and the Formation of African American Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 2–4.

10. Toni Morrison, “The Site of Memory,” in *Inventing the Truth: The Art and Craft of Memoir*, ed. William Zinsser (Boston: Mariner Books, 1998), pp. 190–91.

11. Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (New York: Norton, 1989), p. 11.

12. For a discussion of this, see Stephanie Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 1–8.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

14. For a discussion of this tradition and its radical expressions, see Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (London: Zed Press, 1983).

15. LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, p. 77.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

17. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*, p. 60.

18. Robert Gooding-Williams, *Look, A Negro: Philosophical Essays on Race, Culture and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 1.

19. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*.

20. Glenn Loury, “Ghettoes, Prisons and Racial Stigma” (The Tanner Lectures, April 4, 2007), copy provided by author.

21. Howard Winant, *The New Politics of Race* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), p. 11.

22. *How Race Is Lived in America* (New York: Times Books, 2001), p. 26.



23. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, p. 112.
24. W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1961), p. 1.
25. Donald Pease, “Tocqueville’s Democratic Thing; or, Aristocracy in America,” in *Materializing Democracy: Toward a Revitalized Cultural Politics*, ed. Russ Castronovo and Dana Nelson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 23.
26. Ibid.
27. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. 1 (New York: Vintage, 1990), p. 19.
28. Ibid., p. 3.
29. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer, trans. George Lawrence, 2 vols. (New York: Perennial, 2000), p. 504.
30. Sheldon Wolin, *Tocqueville between Two Worlds: The Making of a Political and Theoretical Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 241.
31. Cited in Wolin, *Tocqueville between Two Worlds*, p. 251.
32. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. 1 (New York: Vintage, 1990), p. 9.
33. For a selection of Tocqueville’s writings on colonial empire, see Pitts, *Alexis de Tocqueville: Writings on Empire and Slavery*.
34. Ibid., p. 200.
35. Ibid., p. 203.
36. Ibid., pp. 207–8.
37. See Gustave de Beaumont, *Marie or, Slavery in the United States*, trans. Barbara Chapman, with a new introduction by Gerard Fergerson (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999). In the introduction to *Democracy in America*, Tocqueville makes reference to the work of his companion during his visit to America, Gustave de Beaumont. While Beaumont’s novel and its sociological appendixes explicitly argue that slavery was a negation of equality and democracy in the U.S. and was therefore not an incidental issue, Tocqueville was not influenced by this position. It confirms that he was committed to ideas from philosophical anthropology about the human race that were constructed upon a hierarchy of white superiority. In his text, Beaumont provides a brief discussion of American women, as well as a short essay on social and political equality in the U.S. and the role of white skin as a marker of privilege.
38. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. 1 (New York: Vintage, 1990), p. 331.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., p. 332.
41. Ibid.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 358.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 373.
45. The ACS was formed with the explicit purpose of raising funds and formulating a plan to return free blacks to Africa. The driving idea behind the plan was a growing fear of free blacks. Although some members of the organization opposed slavery, race was the primary motive. Henry Clay noted that because of the unconquerable prejudice resulting from their color, blacks never could amalgamate with the free whites of this country. Some white abolitionists agreed, and some blacks also agreed. However, most organizations of free blacks opposed the plan, and Frederick Douglass was in fierce opposition to it.
46. Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black Is a Country* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 92. It should be noted here that, while some historians have attempted to build upon the work of DuBois in *Black Reconstruction*, the text is still little studied. Besides Singh, see Cedric Robinson's *Black Marxism* (London: Zed Press, 1987), in particular chapter 9.
47. Cited in Singh, *Black Is a Country*, p. 95.
48. W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, p. 727.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.
52. C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins* (New York: Vintage, 1989), pp. 85–86.
53. Rancière, *Disagreement*, p. 11.
54. Dubois, *Black Reconstruction*, p. 67.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 122–23.
56. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (London: Penguin, 1965), p. 21.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
60. Dubois, *Black Reconstruction*, p. 124.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
65. W. E. B. DuBois, "Marxism and the Negro Problem," in *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Reader*, ed. David Levering Lewis (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995), p. 543.
66. John Dunn, "Conclusion," in *Democracy: The Unfinished Journey, 508 BC to AD 1993*, ed. John Dunn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 240–41.

67. We of course need to acknowledge that this citizen self-rule was itself limited to men and that Athens was a slave society. For a discussion of this fact and the conceptions of slavery in both Athens and Rome, see Moses Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998).

68. Ernesto Laclau, *Emancipation(s)* (London: Verso, 1996), p. 102.

69. The Levellers, *The Putney Debates*, with an introduction by Geoffrey Robertson (London: Verso, 2007), p. 52.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

71. Stuart Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publications, 2003), p. 19.

72. Ella Baker, “Bigger than a Hamburger,” *The Southern Patriot*, May 1960.

73. Jacques Rancière, *On the Shores of Politics* (London: Verso, 1995), p. 103.

### *Chapter 3: Death, Power, Violence, and New Sovereignties*

1. Jean Hatzfeld, *Machete Season: The Killers in Rwanda Speak* (New York: Picador, 2003), p. 10.

2. For example, see his recently published notes on Tasmania taken from his proposed unwritten book on the history of genocide. The section on Tasmania is published as Raphael Lemkin, “Tasmania,” in *Colonialism and Genocide*, ed. A. Dirk Moses and Dan Stone (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 74–100.

3. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harvest/HBJ Books, 1973), p. 461.

4. One of the most important texts to discuss this point is Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

5. Hatzfeld, *Machete Season*, p. 7.

6. See Jürgen Zimmerer, “The birth of the *Ostland* out of the spirit of colonialism: a postcolonial perspective on the Nazi policy of conquest and extermination,” in Moses and Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide* (see note 2 above), pp. 101–23, for a discussion of this German general and how the military tactics in his genocidal campaign against the Herero were repeated by the Nazis.

7. Hatzfeld, *Machete Season*, p. 13.

8. Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, in Peter Baehr, ed., *The Portable Hannah Arendt* (New York: Penguin, 2000), p. 328.

9. Hatzfeld, *Machete Season*, p. 15.

10. Hannah Arendt, “The Image of Hell,” in *Essays in Understanding*, ed. Jerome Kohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1994), p. 198.

11. Primo Levi, *The Voice of Memory: Interviews, 1961–1987*, ed. Marco Belpoliti and Robert Gordon (New York: New Press, 2001), p. 195.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

13. Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1969), p. 56.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 65. I would suggest that a close reading of Arendt's criticism of Fanon illustrates that she is really reading the text through Sartre's introduction to the text.

15. Mary Douglas, "The Two Bodies," in *The Body: A Reader*, ed. Mariam Fraser and Monica Greco (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 79.

16. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 34.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Cited in Steven Lukes, ed., *Power* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), p. 4.

19. Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," in *Power*, ed. James Faubion (New York: New Press, 2000), p. 337.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 340.

21. Judith Shklar, "Putting Cruelty First" *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (Summer 1982): pp. 17–28.

22. *Ibid.*

23. See in particular the debate between Jean Bethke Elshtain and Michael Walzer in Sanford Levinson, ed., *Torture: A Collection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 61–92.

24. David Luban, "Liberalism, Torture, and the Ticking Bomb," in *The Torture Debate in America*, ed. Karen J. Greenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 36.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

26. Cited in Luban, "Liberalism, Torture, and the Ticking Bomb," p. 75.

27. See the document in Karen Greenberg and Joshua Dratel, *The Torture Papers: The Road to Abu Ghraib* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 237.

28. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1995), p. 9.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

30. I would also argue that, because this is so, when placed in pain these excluded bodies can be made a spectacle of. In the twenty-first century, although there is no public spectacle of punishment in liberal societies, the visual recording of torture substitutes for this spectacle because pictures can be shown widely. The use of photography in public spectacles of torture and death has a long history in the United States, including the numerous pictures of lynched

slaves and ex-slaves taken and sent to friends and family by those who witnessed the enactment of lynching. The pictures of Abu Ghraib followed this established practice.

31. Greenberg and Dratel, *Torture Papers*, p. 55.

32. Colin Dayan, *The Story of Cruel and Unusual* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), p. xv.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

34. The debates also ignore another ghost, the historical involvement of the U.S. government in practices of torture in Latin America. For a discussion of these extensive practices, see Jennifer Harbury, *Truth, Torture and the American Way* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2005).

35. Marnia Lazreg, *Torture and the Twilight of Empire: From Algiers to Baghdad* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), p. 121.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 253.

37. Allen Feldman, *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 5.

38. Brian Meeks has argued that the current crisis in the Caribbean is in part the result of the dissolution of hegemony. See Brian Meeks, *Narratives of Resistance* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 2000). David Scott has consistently argued this position about Bandung. See in particular David Scott, *Refashioning Futures: Criticism after Postcoloniality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

39. A section of this discussion of Jamaica has been published in various places. See in particular Anthony Bogues, “Power, Violence and the Jamaican ‘Shotta Don’” *Report on the Americas*, special issue, *NACLA* 39, no. 6 (May–June 2006).

40. Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), p. 25.

41. The term “bare life” has become popular in contemporary Western political philosophy. It connotes a life that is limited to biological reproduction and that is distinguishable from the end of the politics, which is about human capacity and the structuring of common life. For slaves in Atlantic societies, very often not even bare life was permitted. For a discussion of bare life, see Andrew Norris, “Giorgio Agamben and the Politics of the Living Dead,” in *Politics, Metaphysics and Death*, ed. Andrew Norris (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).

42. W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction* (New York: Atheneum, 1962), p. 9.

43. See Diana Paton, *No Bond but the Law: Punishment, Race and Gender in Jamaican State Formation, 1780–1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

44. Horace Russell, “The Emergence of the Christian Black: The Making of a Stereotype,” *Jamaica Journal* 16, no. 1 (1983): pp. 51–58.

45. Michel Foucault, *Power*, Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984, vol. 3, ed. James D. Faubion, trans. Robert Hurley et al. (New York: New Press, 2000), p. 341.

46. This process is described in many texts, but see Philip Curtin, *Two Jamaicas: The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony, 1830–1865* (New York: Atheneum, 1970).

47. Cited in *Neither Led nor Driven*, p. 53.

48. Of course this reinterpretation belongs to two kinds of Afro-Jamaican religious practices, Rastafari and Native Baptist.

49. See of course Barry Chevannes’s important study on Rastafari, Barry Chevannes, *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 1995).

50. See Diane J. Austin-Broos, *Jamaica Genesis: Religion and the Politics of Moral Orders* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Press, 1997).

51. Cited in Anthony Bogues, *Black Heretics, Black Prophets: Radical Political Intellectuals* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 191.

52. The figure of Ivan is based upon the Jamaican folklore character Rhyging.

53. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), p. 94.

54. George Beckford, “Introduction” to Erna Brodber, *Standing Tall: Affirmations of the Jamaican Male* (Kingston, Jamaica: Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Research, 2003), p. 29.

55. Terry Lacy, *Violence and Politics in Jamaica, 1960–1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), p. 28.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

58. The definition of the relationship between clientage and political power is Carl Stone’s. Cited in David Scott, “Rationalities of the Jamaican Modern,” *Small Axe*, no. 14 (September 2003): p. 1.

59. Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 26.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

61. The interviews on which this lecture is based were done in 1999 in an urban community that we will call Cascade Gardens. This community is an inner-city community that has had an extensive history of political violence and warfare. I want to thank the entire 1999 graduate class in Caribbean politics at the University of the West Indies for agreeing to participate in this project. Many of the interviews were conducted by them. Also thanks to Judith Wedderburn,

Veraldo Barnett, and Sherine Mackenzie, who worked with the project and made it possible. In particular I want to thank most profoundly the members of this community who spoke openly and shared many aspects of their lives with me. From them I have learned much that cannot be repaid.

62. Interview in Cascade Gardens, 1999. This can be translated roughly as, “anybody who is caught has to die. You will not allow your enemy to live.” All the voices of those interviewed will be in Jamaican nation–language, and, when appropriate, I will translate.

63. Interview in Cascade Gardens, 1999. This is translated as “From you are informed by the sound of a stone hitting your fence, you know that you are asked to be up all night by some of the youths who are your friends. So you go and stay with them on the corner.”

64. Ibid.

65. Lorna Goodison, “*Jamaica 1980*,” in *Selected Poems* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), p. 38.

66. Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1969), p. 4.

67. See Michel Foucault, “Subject and Power,” in Michel Foucault, *Power* (New York: New Press, 2000), pp. 326–48.

68. Achille Mbembe, “Necropolitics,” *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003): p. 11.

69. Interview in Cascade Gardens.

70. Rex Nettleford, *Inward Stretch, Outward Reach: A Voice from the Caribbean* (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1993), pp. 80–90.

71. The closest it came to this hegemony was perhaps in the period between 1972 and 1977, during the regime of Michael Manley and the PNP government.

72. There are two types of area leaders in many communities. One type is deeply connected to the two-party political system, while the other is a semi-independent figure. It is the latter that I am concerned with. While I was proof-reading this manuscript, the U.S. government requested the extradition of one of Jamaica’s dons, Christopher Coke. After stalling for many months the Jamaican government agreed to this request. The move to execute the warrant for his arrest created (up to the time of this note) four days of violence in various parts of the island. The civilian death toll at this point (May 27, 2010) stands at seventy-three. In a profound sense Jamaican politics is today at a watershed moment as the “shotta don” becomes embedded within segments of the political and social system of the island.

73. See Diana Paton, *No Bond but the Law* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004). Paton observes that in nineteenth-century Jamaica, the existence of alternative justice systems depended upon the headman.

74. F. G. Cassidy and R. B. Le Page, in their classic *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 2002), give us an important description of the duppy. The duppy is a ghost with a specific set of meanings in the Afro-Jamaican worldview. Cassidy and Page write of “The spirit of the dead, believed to be capable of returning to aid or more often to harm living beings” (p. 164). In my experience in rural Jamaica, people believe that duppies are ghosts who refuse to die and who are always around. It is felt that they have a life of their own and exist in passages between this world and another one. I think it is of some importance that the word is used by these urban young men in describing acts that result in the deaths of others.

75. Interview in Cascade Gardens, 1999.

76. Cited in Obika Gray, *Demanded but Empowered: The Social Power of the Urban Poor in Jamaica* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 2004), p. 244.

77. For a discussion of this and two case studies, particularly one in the community of August Town, see Horace Levy, “Peace in August Town” (unpublished paper).

78. Judith Butler, *Precarious Life* (London: Verso, 2004), p. 38.

#### *Chapter 4: The End of History or the Invention of Existence*

1. Walter Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections of Walter Benjamin*, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), p. 257.

2. For a discussion of slavery, see in particular Aristotle, *Politics*, ed. Steven Everson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), Book 1.

3. *Ibid.*

4. For a discussion of the centrality of 1492 and Columbus’s voyages, see Sylvia Wynter, “1492: A New World View,” in *Race, Discourse, and the Origins of the Americas*, ed. Vera Hyatt and Rex Nettleford (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1995), pp. 5–57.

5. *Free-dom*. I am separating the word to linguistically mark the relationship between domination and imperial freedom that I have been working with throughout this lecture series.

6. Alex Callinicos, *Theories and Narratives: Reflections on the Philosophy of History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), p. 165.

7. Walter Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” in *Illuminations* (see note 1), p. 262.



8. Sylvia Wynter, “Jonkonnu in Jamaica: Towards the Interpretation of the Folk Dance as a Cultural Process” *Jamaica Journal* 4, no. 2 (June 1970): 35.

9. Georg Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 19.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

11. From [www.whitehouse.gov/stateofunion/2003/index.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/stateofunion/2003/index.html).

12. For a discussion of this, see Jean-Luc Nancy, *The Creation of the World, or, Globalization* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), chapter 1.

13. Stuart Hall, “The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power,” in *Formations of Modernity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), pp. 275–332.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Hannah Arendt, *The Promise of Politics* (New York: Schocken Books, 2005), p. 40.

16. Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge* (Boston: Basic Books, 1983), chapter 8.

17. Of course the term *critical theory* is usually associated with the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research and was initially derived from the work of the various members of the Frankfurt School: Adorno, Fromm, Horkheimer, Marcuse, and Benjamin. Intellectually, the term has its roots in a Kantian critique and in Marx’s critique of ideology. My argument is that the framing of the many questions asked by various members of this school of thought was shaped by the emergence of Fascism as a catastrophic event.

18. Cited in Richard Tuck, *Hobbes: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 29.

19. Thomas Hobbes, *The Leviathan* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1988). The entire fourteenth chapter of this seminal text is taken up with the explication, in different ways, of the establishment of the social contract, seen in political theory as the originary formation of political society. Of course the masculine and racial nature of this contract has come under severe and, to my mind, justifiable critique. See in particular Carole Pateman and Charles Mills, *Contract and Domination* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

20. See Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial of the British West Indies*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: 1806), p. 32.

21. Paul Ricoeur, *History and Truth* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 34.

22. When thinking about the question of the human today, one is of course confronted with the remarkable developments in the fields of genetics and neuroscience. However, as critical as these new developments are, I do not believe they constitute a basis for discussing a definitive post-human stage for humankind. What is most human in us is not that we are biologically determined but

that we are socially and culturally shaped. Therefore as a species we are capable of change and adaptation. For an attempt to think about how the post-human need not be anti-human, see N. Katherine Hayles, *How We Became Post Human* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

23. John Edgar Wideman, *Fanon* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008), p. 222.

24. Stuart Hall, “The Afterlife of Frantz Fanon: Why Fanon? Why Now? Why *Black Skin, White Masks*?” in *The Fact of Blackness: Frantz Fanon and Visual Representation*, ed. Alan Read (Seattle: Bay Press, 1996), p. 14.

25. Lewis Gordon, *Fanon and the Crisis of European Man* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 86.

26. Charles H. Long, *Significations: Signs, Symbols and Images in the Interpretation of Religion* (Aurora, IL: Demos Group Publishing, 1995), p. 212. I want to thank my colleague Corey Walker for introducing me to the work of Charles Long.

27. Ato Sekyi-Otu, *Fanon’s Dialectic of Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 4.

28. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, p. 217.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid., p. 220.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., pp. 220–21.

34. Ibid.

35. For the classic discussion in English about the revolution, see C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins* (London: Allison and Busby, 1980).

36. This can be discerned from the many historical accounts of ex-slave life in post-emancipation Caribbean society. For example, see Frank McGlynn and Seymour Drescher, eds., *The Meaning of Freedom* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992); Frederick Cooper, Thomas Holt, and Rebecca Scott, eds., *Beyond Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

37. See Kojève’s discussion of Hegel’s work in Alexandre Kojève, *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), especially chapter 1.

38. Carolyn Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), p. 179.

39. For a discussion of this, see Anthony Bogues, “The slave work so do we, what’s the difference,” in *Caribbean Thought and the Radical Imagination* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 2010). For a full discussion of the Haitian Revolution and its meanings for freedom in the modern world, see Anthony Bogues, *Singing Songs of Freedom: Freedom and Black Radical Intellectual Tradition* (forthcoming).

40. The evidence is sufficient to understand the Haitian Revolution as a dual revolution. The first revolution abolished slavery and culminated in the 1801 Constitution promulgated by Toussaint L'Ouverture. The second revolution was the one for political independence, marked by the Haitian Declaration of Independence of 1804.

41. Cited in Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, p. 223.

42. Aimé Césaire, *Notebook of a Return to My Native Land*, trans. Mireille Rosello and Annie Pritchard (Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK: Bloodaxe Books, 1995), p. 117.

43. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, p. 225.

44. For a discussion of dread history, see Anthony Bogues, *Black Heretics and Black Prophets: Radical Political Intellectuals* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

45. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, p. 222.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

50. In a set of conversations with me, John Edgar Wideman has insisted that we call the “new humanism” a radical humanism. He may be right, not only because we need to rethink what the human means in humanism, but because we need to do so from a radical perspective, one that opens up new categories of thought.

51. For a discussion, see Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage, 1994), chapter 10.

52. For a fuller discussion of this point, see Anthony Bogues, “And What about the Human? Radical Anti-Colonial Thought and Critical Thinking,” in *Who Can Act for the Human?* ed. Taieb Belghazi, Mohammed Ezroua, and Ronald Judy (Rabat, Morocco: Mohammed V University, Publications of the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, 2009), pp. 51–63.

53. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, p. 232.

54. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), p. 316.

55. David Macy, *Critical Theory* (London: Penguin, 2000), p. 74.

56. For a selection of the writings of this school, see Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt, eds., *The Essential Frankfurt School* (London: Continuum, 2007).