NOTES

Introduction


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 Bertani and Alessandro Fontana, trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003), chapter 11.


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);
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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.

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


5. Ibid.


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?


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.


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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).
25. Ibid., p. 245.
27. Ibid., p. 333.
28. Ibid.
30. Ibid., p. 8.
32. Ibid.
34. Raymond Williams, Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 57.
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.


46. Ibid.


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.
58. Ibid., p. 12.

66. Ibid., p. 39.
68. For an initial discussion of this subject, see Anthony Bogues, *Singing Songs of Freedom* (forthcoming).

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.
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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.


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


82. Ibid.


Chapter 2: Race, Historical Trauma, and Democracy


2. Ibid.


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.


8. Ibid.


13. Ibid., p. 152.


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

16. Ibid., p. 78.

17. Smallwood, Saltwater Slavery, p. 60.


19. Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks.


23. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, p. 112.
26. Ibid.
28. Ibid., p. 3.
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.
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.
49. Ibid., p. 3.
50. Ibid., p. 5.
51. Ibid., pp. 9–10.
55. Ibid., pp. 122–23.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., p. 68.
59. Ibid., p. 71.
61. Ibid., p. 13.
62. Ibid., p. 182.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., p. 185.
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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).


70. Ibid., p. 53.


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


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.


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.


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.


17. Ibid.


22. Ibid.


25. Ibid., p. 38.


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 wit-
tnessed the enactment of lynching. The pictures of Abu Ghraib followed this
established practice.

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

35. Marnia Lazreg, *Torture and the Twilight of Empire: From Algiers to
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,

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,

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

41. The term “bare life” has become popular in contemporary Western politi-
cal 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, Metaphys-

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).


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


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


56. Ibid., p. 32.

57. Ibid., p. 33.


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.


69. Interview in Cascade Gardens.


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 proofreading 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.


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).


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


3. Ibid.


5. Freedom. 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.


10. Ibid., p. 53.
14. Ibid.
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.
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).
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 human-kind. 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).


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).


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.


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.


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


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