

**‘Hanging by Invitation: Capital Punishment, The Carceral Archipelago and Escalating Homicide Rates in the Caribbean and Africa’**

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**ABSTRACT:**

The escalating rate of violent crime in the Caribbean has prompted calls for the resumption of capital punishment as an appropriate response. This paper reviews the philosophical debates and statistical evidence of the effects of previous executions on the rates of homicide and concludes that the role of the Privy Council in permitting capital punishment in the Caribbean allows us to critically reflect on the theory of industrialization by invitation that was attributed to Sir Arthur Lewis. A comparative analysis of evidence from other parts of the world would be used to present a case for the abolition of capital punishment in the Caribbean and Africa.

**Introduction:**

On reading about the theory of unlimited supply of labor, I was puzzled because the population of the entire Caribbean is less than that of one major city in Nigeria. It was only after hearing Norman Girvan’s 2008 Nobel Laureate Celebrations lecture on Lewis that I understood the context of the theory – it was developed with South East Asia in mind and there is no doubt that overpopulation is more of a concern there than in the Caribbean. Yet, it is clear that Lewis generalized the theory to the Caribbean, leading Lloyd Best and others to dub it a theory of industrialization by invitation. Girvan (2005:200) makes this generalization clearer when he stated that ‘Lewis rested the case for industrialization on the over-population of the islands’. More recent discussions of the population bomb focus on Africa (Ghose, 2013).

My concern with the theory is not exclusively to do with Africa and the Caribbean but with a generalized concern that wherever it is believed that there is a surplus population in history, the response of policy makers is not always to try and

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create more opportunities to utilize the surplus human resources more humanely. Rather the tendency is for policies to be developed to cull the population either through population control, war, enslavement, disease, genocide, transportation or through mass incarceration of the surpluses as the theory of Malthus clearly implied. Cheikh Anta Diop theorized that wherever a minority rules over the majority, the tendency was for the state to adopt genocidal measures to keep the dominated population in check (Diop, 1991). Karl Marx summarized this tendency in his critique of Adam Smith's comments on overpopulation in his (Marx's) *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* that was first translated into English by CLR James as follows: "The surplus will have to die!"<sup>i</sup>

Strange as it may seem, this was the reaction of Marcus Garvey (1987) to people who accept an inferiority complex as clipped in Damian Marley's *Welcome to Jamrock*: "You race of cowards, if you cannot do what other nations have done, what other races have done, then you had better die!" Mark Figueroa (2008) made a related remark at his Lewis 2008 Nobel Laureate Celebration Lecture when he suggested that Lewis' mother was the one who taught him that whatever Europeans can do, Africans can do too. I told Mark afterwards that I had wanted to ask him if Lewis believed everything his mother told him or if he disagreed with any aspect of this advice that Frantz Fanon (1963) would have dismissed as the illusion of catching up with a monstrous Europe? For instance, since Europeans enslaved and colonized the world for hundreds of years, should we Africans aim to do the same? I am suggesting that the idea of unlimited supply of labor is suspect and should not be maintained because of its ideological collateral damages in the hands of agents of social control who are happy to copy the genocidal examples of European modernity while apparently shunning the positive fruits of the Enlightenment. Given the threats of the AIDS pandemic globally, we cannot afford the luxury of thinking that there is a surplus human population anywhere especially given that the people more likely to be seen as surpluses are also by some coincidence the ones that are more prone to HIV infection today just as they are the ones most likely to be sentenced to death and executed in jurisdictions that retain the death penalty in response to relatively high homicide rates and public outcry to fight fire with fire.

In this paper, I will review the theory of unlimited supply of labor and comment on its critics and followers. Then I will review the theory of *Punishment and Social Structure* by Rusche and Kirchheimer to highlight a concern in criminology that surplus populations tend to be wasted rather than employed gainfully. Against the theoretical background, I will examine whether there is evidence of correlations between high rates of imprisonment and the death penalty and rates of unemployment in the Caribbean and Africa. In conclusion, I will call for more democratic ways of dealing with social crisis in the region and globally with lessons for economic development and social control based on evidence from social research to which more funding should be allocated.

### **Lewis on Unlimited Supply of Labor:**

The essay of Lewis (1954) starts by announcing that it is written in the classical tradition based on an assumption that there is a consensus from Smith to Marx that there is unlimited supply of labor for industry as an engine for capital accumulation. My suspicion is that Smith and Marx would disagree on what is to be done with the surplus labor – to alienate it or to invest it but Lewis did not make this difference clear in his essay. Rather, he announced that in the neoclassical era, economists were misled by Keynes into dropping the assumption that there was an unlimited supply of labor in Europe and shifted their attention to prices and income distribution as the explanation for economic growth. No word about the very Keynesian US Marshall Plan for the rebuilding of the post-war economies of Europe and Japan with grants, not with the wages, taxes and credits that Lewis seemed to favor as planning tools.

According to Lewis, while the assumption of a limited supply of labor was no longer applicable to Europe, the original assumption that labor was unlimited in supply was still applicable to Asia. Keynes *General Theory* was noted as reviving interest in the assumption that there is unlimited supply of labor, but also unlimited supply of land and capital. In elaborating the theory, Lewis makes exception for Western European economies and some African and South American economies where certain kinds of labor could be said to be scarce. My question is whether we could read any meaning into the decline in the assumption of unlimited supply of labor in Europe at a time that Lewis was advocating such a theory for Asia – did the assumption decline because Europe was progressively treating labor more humanely compared to the situation in the colonies where workers were still being treated as disposable *God's Bits of Wood*, the title of Sembene Ousmane's semi-autobiographical novel about a Senegalese rail workers' strike? Lewis cites declining population growth rates in Europe as one of the reasons why the assumption of unlimited supply of labor no longer applied there but by citing the theory of Malthus in this regard, he reinforced the concern that population control policies are implied in the theory of unlimited supply of labor. This concern is not answered by the definition of unlimited supply of labor offered by Lewis (1954):

In the first place, an unlimited supply of labour may be said to exist in those countries where population is so large relatively to capital and natural resources, that there are large sectors of the economy where the marginal productivity of labour is negligible, zero, or even negative.

I wonder if the negligible, zero or even negative marginal productivity of labor when assumed by planners would encourage them to treat such workers humanely or regard them as clogs in the wheel of economic growth? The surprising thing is that this category of surplus labor is applied, not to the unemployed who are seeking work, but to the petty trader, the casual laborer or the rural small-holding farmer who have survived being proletarianized

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completely. Lewis goes on to comment on the assumption that domestic servants are often unproductive 'burdens on the purse' of their middle class employers while office messengers were dismissed as making only negligible contributions to business establishments. There is no hint here that these are some of the most exploited workers who are often overworked and underpaid. Although his argument that creating waged employment for women is one of the ways to increase national wealth is correct, Lewis somehow concluded that the work that women do at home is not gainful employment. Lewis appears to be aware of this fact that belief in the existence of unlimited supply of labor coincides with inhumane treatment of labor:

Thus, the owners of plantations have no interest in seeing knowledge of new techniques or new seeds conveyed to the peasants, and if they are influential in the government, they will not be found using their influence to expand the facilities for agricultural extension. They will not support proposals for land settlement, and are often instead to be found engaged in turning the peasants off their lands. (Cf. Marx on "Primary Accumulation"). This is one of the worst features of imperialism, for instance. The imperialists invest capital and hire workers; it is to their advantage to keep wages low, and even in those cases where they do not actually go out of their way to impoverish the subsistence economy, they will at least very seldom be found doing anything to make it more productive. In actual fact the record of every imperial power in Africa in modern times is one of impoverishing the subsistence economy, either by taking away the people's land, or by demanding forced labour in the capitalist sector, or by imposing taxes to drive people to work for capitalist employers (Lewis, 1954).

This is a clear indication that Lewis was aware that assumptions of unlimited supply of labor do not always go hand in hand with efforts to develop the human capital gainfully but often lead to neglect or mass oppression of such excess supply of labor. Since this paper is not focused on the economic theory of Lewis but on the social control implications of his assumption, the paper will now proceed by considering criminological theories that have tackled similar problems of surplus labor. It is interesting to note that Lewis was writing at the height of the Eugenics movement and yet he gave so much attention to Malthus and his questions about how to curb human population growth. He made this clear in *Racial Conflict and Economic Development* when he wrote that 'Fast population growth eats up resources....The gap between the rich and the poor countries will not start to narrow until the poor countries get their flood of population under control' (Lewis, 1985: 117). Unfortunately, flooding is associated with natural disasters and sometimes blamed on poor maintenance of drainage in the Caribbean but not used to refer to human beings as such. George Bush senior as US Ambassador to the United Nations was clear about what needed to be done to the so-called surplus populations:

The per capita income gap between the developed and the developing countries is increasing, in large part the result of higher birth rates in the poorer countries.... Famine in India, unwanted babies in the United States, poverty that seemed to form an unbreakable chain for millions of people--how should we tackle these problems?.... It is quite clear that one of the major challenges of the 1970s ... will be to curb the world's fertility. (Bush, 1973: vii-viii.)<sup>ii</sup>

In the paper, 'Unemployment in Developing Areas', Lewis distanced himself from the population curb advocacy by stating that; 'Population pressure is not a primary cause of unemployment. Countries with high population pressure learn over the centuries how to provide some work for everybody' (Lewis, 1967: 1022). However, creating jobs for everyone is not entirely inconsistent with genocidal practices as Horace Campbell reminds us in his 'Notes and Comments' where, without reference to Lewis, he challenged The University of the West Indies colleagues to be more critical of the ideas of European modernity that were passed down to us from the past because the same ideas were used to support the genocidal trans Atlantic slavery of our people (Campbell, 2005: 161). This is similar to the critique of modernity by Zygmunt Bauman (1989) who argued that the Nazi holocaust was based on the ideal rational bureaucracy of Max Weber but there was nothing in rationalism to prevent the emergence of the holocaust nor is there anything in a system of thought that privileges rationalism over compassion that would help us to resist a system like fascism when it (re)emerges.

As an 'anti-imperialist' development economist who was interested in testing theories and applying them to problems of economic development (Girvan, 2005), Lewis would be familiar with this kind of critical testing of his theory through an application to the field of criminology although he did not directly address this implication of his work. Fortunately, there exists a classic in criminology that attempted to account for the treatment of surplus populations by social control agents prior to the classic essay by Lewis. That publication by Rusche and Kirchheimer will now be summarized and compared with what Girvan (2005) called the more optimistic view of Lewis.

### ***Punishment and Social Structure by Rusche and Kirchheimer (1939)***

The thesis here is that 'Every system of production tends to discover punishments which correspond to its productive relationships' (Rusche and Kirchheimer, 1939: 5). They argue that different penal systems are variables that are associated with 'phases of economic development'. They admit that certain forms of punishment are retained from phase to phase. Using the example of transportation as a form of punishment, they report that Spain and Portugal were using this method as early as the fifteenth century but that 'England' was the first 'country' to introduce systematic use of transportation to service a growing empire (England is not a country, the UK is).

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The Vagrancy Act of 1597 legalized the deportation of ‘rogues’ to places ‘beyond the seas’. Condemned prisoners who were strong enough were allowed commutation of the death penalty in return for transportation and a limited period of penal slavery from which some of them rose to become wealthy in their own rights. Between 1717 and 1775, the Old Bailey alone sent at least 10,000 to North America. They differed from enslaved Africans because theirs was not really seen as punishment since it afforded them a raise in status and higher standard of living than they ever had in their own country but also they were hired for a period of servitude and not sold like chattel with rights over their children as property of the ‘owner’. Virginia had 2,000 enslaved Africans and about 6000 white servants in 1671 but by 1708 there were 12,000 enslaved Africans and fifty years later, 120,156 partly due to the practice of human husbandry. The Colonists in America later found the system of penal servitude unproductive and stated in their declaration of independence that they would not take ‘British refuse’ anymore. The authors suggest that the relative ease of the rehabilitation of the convicts who were transported to an improved social condition ‘proves conclusively that the categories good and bad, honest and criminal, are strictly relative’ (Rusche and Kirchheimer, 1939: 58-62). Maybe they are not always relative but it does suggest that punishment in the community and the creation of more legitimate opportunities to raise statuses of the ex-convicts would be more successful than incarceration especially if the society is seen as having limited supply of labor.

Rusche and Kirchheimer went on to argue that ‘The early form of the modern prison was bound up with the manufacturing houses of correction’ to which able-bodied convicts were leased according to the needs of the leasers and not according to the need to reform the offender. Du Bois identified the convict labor system as being partly responsible for the over-representation of African Americans in the criminal justice system at the end of enslavement. Rusche and Kirchheimer argue that while the poor bore the brunt of punishment the rising bourgeoisie was preoccupied with the formulation of substantive law to guarantee their emerging rights. Quoting Beccaria’s critique of the death penalty, they interpret it as a precaution that it would not be used against the rising bourgeoisie who saw life as a form of inalienable private property (Rusche and Kirchheimer, 1939: 76). Citing the Fascist and Nationalist Socialist penal policies that they had both fled and also with reference to post-war policies, they pessimistically conclude that:

‘So long as the social consciousness is not in a position to comprehend and act upon the necessary connection between a progressive penal program and progress in general, any project for penal reform can have but doubtful success, and failures will be attributed to the inherent wickedness of human nature rather than to the social system. ... The futility of severe punishment and cruel treatment may be proven a thousand times, but so long as society is unable to solve its social problems, repression, the easy way out, will always be accepted (Rusche and Kirchheimer, 1939: 206).

**Unlimited Supply of Labor and Punishment in Trinidad and Tobago.**

Most of those who have examined the history of surplus labor tend to agree with Rusche and Kirchheimer that a social system that views parts of its population as surpluses would tend to identify the poor as the surpluses and would more likely move to repress the surpluses instead of mobilizing them for economic development. This could be regarded as one more complication of the theory of unlimited supply of labor by Lewis who was optimistic that the capitalist sector would absorb the surplus labor released from the subsistence sector, provided that the country invests in education of the labor force and that there are tax and credits incentives to employers. In this section, the paper will briefly see if there is any association between murder, narcotics seizures, the death penalty and prison rates in Trinidad and Tobago.

First of all, the paper looks at the relationships between murder and death penalty figures. Please note that the numbers of executions are few and far between due to the infrequency of the execution of this sentence and so the missing values in the zero years may be affecting the computed correlations. The correlation appears to be intuitive in the sense that it appears to show a negative correlation suggesting that if the number of executions is increased, then the murder rate would drop and vice versa! Supporters of the death penalty would say that they told us so but they should be careful what they wish for. In other words, the correlation also suggests that about three times out of ten, if the murder rate increases, the number of executions would also decline. That is counter-intuitive but actually factual in the sense that the death penalty is rarely used even by jurisdictions that authorize it the most, compared to other forms of punishment.

		Murder	Executed via Death Penalty
Pearson Correlation	Murder	1.000	-.348
	Executed via Death Penalty	-.348	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	Murder	.	.009
	Executed via Death Penalty	.009	.
N	Murder	46	46
	Executed via Death Penalty	46	46

Table 1: Correlation between murder and the number of executions.

Closer to the theory of the unlimited supply of labor, we see also a negative correlation between murder and unemployment rate but that would be counter

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intuitive too. It suggests that as unemployment rates rise, the number of murders would fall and that; as the number of murders rise, the unemployment rates would fall. Perhaps it is not so counterintuitive if killing more poor people reduces the unemployment rates but it is not clear how the reduction of the unemployment rates could lead to increased number of murders by about the same proportion as the relationship between numbers of executions and numbers of homicide.

		Murder	Unemployment Rate
Pearson Correlation	Murder	1.000	-.318
	Unemployment Rate	-.318	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	Murder	.	.030
	Unemployment Rate	.030	.
N	Murder	36	36
	Unemployment Rate	36	36

Table 2: Correlation of Murder and unemployment rates.

This might be evidence that both murder and unemployment rates, just as we saw with executions and murder rates, are not causally related, only correlated. They may be subject to other causal factors such as the requirements of the dual economy of Lewis or the social system of Rusche and Kirchheimer. The paper suggests that what is the causal factor is the unequal access to power between the people involved, a political factor that both approaches broached but did not fully account for in their relatively economically deterministic emphases of both works on economic development and social control.

		Prison Population	Narcotics
Prison Population	Pearson Correlation	1	.639(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.008
	Sum of Squares	5314898	150792
	and Cross-products	9.909	2.250
	Covariance	1236023.021	100528.150
Narcotics	N	44	16
	Pearson Correlation	.639(**)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.



Sum of Squares and Cross-products	1507922.250	1879450.000
Covariance	100528.150	110555.882
N	16	18

Table 3: Correlation between prison population and narcotics seizures

The above table shows a strong positive relationship between prison populations and narcotics seizures that can only be expected given what we know about the impacts of the war on drugs on a carceral society. The response to this could be to congratulate the protective services for helping to lock up some of the ‘garbage’ that pollute the peace of the law-abiding citizens. This paper will argue that we know enough about harm reduction to advocate a different response to narcotics that would be more effective in reducing prison populations, narcotics seizures and possibly homicide numbers in the near future.

To examine these variables more closely, I collaborated with David Greenberg on a more sophisticated time series analysis of more extensive data from 1955 to 2005 in Trinidad and Tobago with implications for other death penalty jurisdictions (Greenberg and Agozino, 2012). The lack of adequate records of death penalty rates and homicide rates appear to have restricted much of death penalty research to the US and to past European jurisdictions that have since abolished the death penalty. Our analysis focused on Trinidad and Tobago because it had a homicide rate that was five times the rate in the US and we were able to collate the death penalty records in Trinidad and Tobago from 1955 when it was still a British colony to 2005 following nearly 50 years of independence. We found one publication that focused on post-independence Nigeria (1967-1985) and which came to the conclusion that the death penalty was not a deterrent to homicide as we also concluded in our own analysis (Adeyemi, 1987):

Our time series analysis of homicides and serious crimes in Trinidad and Tobago seriously undermines the politicians’ contention that capital punishment offers a solution to Trinidad and Tobago’s soaring homicide rate. Over a span of 50 years, during which these sanctions were being deployed in degrees that varied substantially, neither imprisonment nor death sentences nor executions had any significant relationship to homicides. In the years immediately following an appeals court’s determination limiting executions, the murder rate fell (Greenberg and Agozino, 2012).

On that note, I urge the government of Trinidad and Tobago and those of the entire Caribbean and Africa to reconsider the intended policy of resuming capital punishment and rather support the UN General Assembly resolution for a global moratorium on capital punishment that they voted against in 2008. When the country of The Gambia announced the intention to execute 37 people on death

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row at once, I forwarded a blog of mine to the government and urged the country to reconsider and the mass execution was halted. There is overwhelming evidence that capital punishment encourages homicide and other violent crimes for some unknown reason. For instance, the European countries that abolished capital punishment are all less violent than the US which retains it and those states in the US without capital punishment also record lower rates of homicide on average compared to the states with capital punishment.

In Trinidad and Tobago, evidence available from my government-funded project on the causes of crime,<sup>iii</sup> indicates that the escalation in violent crimes, including murder and kidnapping, coincided with the multiple executions of 1999. Prior to that brutal orgy of executions, murder was less than a hundred annually and there was no recorded kidnapping, for instance. Soon after the executions, the citizens probably took encouragement from the government of that time that it was all right to kill their fellow citizens and all manner of violent crimes skyrocketed. Amnesty International (1984) documents similar evidence for Jamaica indicating that the escalation in homicide rates coincided with the resumption of executions in the early 1980s. Bartilow (2007) urges South American and Caribbean countries to reconsider drug enforcement because imprisonment appears to escalate recidivism and violent crime waves as Foucault (1977) also pointed out.<sup>iv</sup>

### **Discussion:**

We appear to be very tough on Lewis in this paper but we should also be hard on Rusche and Kirchheimer for they share a lot of the economism of Lewis. Both approaches privilege the economic system as the driving force of development on the one hand and social control on the other. In this connection, Greenberg (1980) finds Rusche and Kirchheimer to be economically reductionist while Garland observes that Punishment and Social Structure ‘overestimates the role of economic forces in shaping penal practice’ (Garland, 1990: 108). Similarly, David Johnson (1992) reports that although Arrighi (1970) critiqued the Lewis model as being of limited applicability to Southern Africa (as Lewis himself admitted) because extra economic forces determined the labor policies there up to 1920, evidence from the enforcement of the Native Labour Act of 1942 indicates that forced labor continued beyond the 1920s of Arrighi and that Africans continued to resist the forced mobilization of thousands of Africans to work for European farmers as part of the war effort.

The extent to which political ideas and related social values come into play in setting the agenda for development as well as the priorities of social control is relatively neglected in both approaches. The two approaches share the shortcoming of assuming that the solution to the problem of labor and deviance would be found in economic policies that are applicable to industrialization and penal policies. Although Rusche and Kirchheimer talk broadly about the social structure, their analysis did not really go far from the economic substructure

analogy just like Lewis. However, Figueroa (2005) has defended Lewis against the critique of economism by outlining his theory of democratic political leadership which could allow competent leaders to emerge even from the poorer classes.

The two approaches nevertheless share a flaw in assuming that labor would allow itself to be controlled and mobilized in any way that suits the needs of the ruling class; to move labor from subsistence sectors to the industrial sectors as Lewis believed; or that the crisis of penal policy could be resolved through progressive penal policy in the case of Rusche and Kirchheimer. The extent to which the labor problem could be solved by recognizing the need for independence among those engaged in the subsistence sector and the extent to which the penal crisis could be resolved by rolling back the nets of the control-freak state, whatever the prevailing economic system, were not seriously considered by both approaches.

In the case of surplus labor, what if the state adopts a revenue distribution formula by which a significant portion of the national budget is allocated directly to the people to invest as they see fit rather than simply assuming that the unlimited supply of labor is always available to industrialists for exploitation? It may be more in tune with the needs of the informal sector to go beyond taxation and credits as mechanisms for extracting the surplus labor and instead offer farm subsidies kind of grants to the entrepreneurial minded labor to be their own bosses the way Europe and North America spends heavily on their rural white farmers but sadly not on the poor urban youth to enable them to become relatively autonomous from the industrial sector.

In the case of punishment and social structure, the fact that liberal punishment might not be the answer given that penal abolitionism could work more effectively especially in instances of so-called victimless crimes, was not taken up seriously for examination. But the data on the narcotics seized in Trinidad and Tobago in the above analysis indicate that if the nanny-state is allowed to relatively wither away to allow more autonomous space of independent self-employment by the rural and urban poor their creative energies could be productively channeled rather than subject them to labor/social control. This is indicative of how the solutions to the problems of labor and those of punishment can be pooled together in the direction of the increased democratization and decolonization of civil society. For instance, allowing young people to trade in the relatively harmless substances that lead them into the abyss of penalty would turn them into entrepreneurs in their own rights instead of looking at them as surplus labor to be expropriated from the land and exploited by industrialists or jailed for long terms in the war against drugs.

## **Conclusion:**

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If we perceive labor as unlimited we may tend to treat the surplus negatively. This negative treatment would not be against the bourgeoisie but against the poor, black, male. Therefore this understanding of labor could be applied to the theory of articulation as advanced by Hall (1980) where it is suggested that we cannot understand class relations (labor), for instance, without considering how such relations are articulated, disarticulated and re-articulated with race and gender relations. In other words when a surplus of labor is perceived by the state the poor, the non-white, and depending on the situation, a man/woman may become an endangered species as the state attempts to curb or control the surplus but the statistics we looked at above are not disaggregated in race-class-gender axes. We need to challenge our minds, nevertheless, to perceive population growth not as a bad thing but as an opportunity for wealth creation and not economic resource depletion, as Karl Marx observed in his critique of Malthus, a critique that Lewis ignored while lavishing attention on Malthus.<sup>v</sup>

We are theorizing how to explain the negative correlation between the death-penalty and murder but as we argued above, the missing values make this very problematic. Additionally we would not invest much intellectual resources on trying to explain these relationships because as Agozino (2003) has argued, life is not linear, it is, in fact, messy and chaotic. Therefore looking for a linear causation or correlation between death-penalty, violent crime, unemployment, prison rates, etc. and murder is misleading as murder is (in the decolonization model of Agozino) a fractal phenomenon. There are many issues at play that explain the fluctuations of the death penalty in our society – low-levels of clearance in murder cases, long periods of trial and appeal, political enquiries and campaigns for abolition (Chambliss, 2007). *The Express*<sup>vi</sup> reported that the British who made the law requiring the death penalty during the colonial period are now reluctant to send police officers to help in the investigation of post-colonial murder cases because the British have since abolished the death penalty for all offences in their own country while the independent African and Caribbean countries cling to this barbaric, cruel and unusual penalty. Our suggestion is that the retention of the death penalty encourages an atmosphere that looks at human life as disposable and thereby contributes to the high levels of homicide in the Caribbean.

We live in control-freak societies where the ideology of imperialism dominates at all levels from the personal to the interpersonal, intergroup, national to international levels. So when we see many people working on land as subsistence farmers, we are encouraged to calculate how much more profits they could generate if we could round them up and confine them in factory cells to manufacture commodities for export and failing that, we should plan to expand the prison-industrial complex to ware-house them until they have been disciplined enough to be subjected to the logic of Fordism. At the personal and interpersonal level, we do the same to our own bodies, to spouses and our children, to our friends and colleagues, imagining how much more profitable they could be for us if they were engaged in gainful employment within or outside the family with us benefitting economically and any objection would result in

repressive punitiveness that is often abusive and unloving or even destructive of human life, increasing the toll of homicide and stoking the fires of capital punishment and vice versa. Pepinsky (2006) recommends the alternative of peacemaking as a radical criminological approach and Agozino argues that peace is never enough without love and prosperity (Agozino, 2007).

We need to rediscover the wisdom of love in our personal, interpersonal national and international affairs instead of thinking that macro economics and authoritarian populism alone would solve all our problems. This element of love as a subject that is never taught in economics textbooks nor in criminology classes might hold the key to the solution of the related crises of population growth and prison population explosion. Regression analysis may never capture the logic of love because love is blind and fractal but we should not continue along a path that represents human beings simply as another industrial resource to be calculated and controlled along with land and capital.

We need to set up programs in Love Studies as part of the solution to the increasing homicide rates and the problem of rising unemployment, industrialization problems and violent crimes. Dennis Pantin (2008) attempted to go beyond the call for industrial capitalism by Lewis by calling for ecologism as a potential contribution of the Caribbean to world civilization. Given the origin of the one love philosophy of Rasta in the Caribbean, the idea that love has a role to play in statecraft, criminology and the economy is not as far-fetched as it seems to mode of production types of analysis or to neoconservative popular fiction readers/writers who are driven by fanatical fear of the end of times to arrogate to themselves the roles of holy warriors who would embark on a massive destruction of human life as punishment by the forces of good against the forces of evil (Pfohl, 2007).

This paper would like to end by pointing out that even criminologists relatively ignore the biggest crimes against humanity while obsessing with how to control the so-called surplus populations of the poor. Wayne Morrison (2007) calls this tendency of silence on genocide 'the companion that criminology ignored' obviously following the critique of criminology by Stan Cohen for its 'states of denial' on human rights crimes (Cohen, 2001). It has been argued that the dual economy model of Lewis is convergent with human rights concerns (Henry-Lee, 2005) and the *Crime and Social Structure* theory of Rusche and Kirchheimer makes such concerns explicit. However, given the over-emphasis in both approaches on the economy as the most likely solution to the problem, we are reminded of the fact that huge multinational companies might dominate small island states and African countries to the extent that their criminal activities are neglected even when they cause more damage than some of the violent crimes that criminologists like to worry about (Pearce and Tombs, 2007). We should learn to treat the crimes of the relatively powerless in the same ways that we treat the crimes of the powerful – with reparative rather than with retributive justice. Since the European countries that imposed the death penalty on colonized Africa

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and the Caribbean have since abolished it in their own jurisdictions, Africans and the Caribbean nationals should demand immediate abolition of the death penalty.

David Garland (2010) stated that his book, *The Peculiar Institution*, on why the US chose to retain the death penalty when most industrialized countries had abolished it, did not take sides either with abolitionism or with retentionism but clearly explained that the home-rule or local democracy tradition of the US makes it possible for any state to legislate in support of the death penalty or to abolish it in accordance with the will of voters. African criminologists cannot afford to be neutral in this debate – we must state loud and clear that we are against the death penalty in line with the example set by Madiba Mandela with the abolition of the death penalty in a democratic South Africa. Our journal should carry more articles advocating the end of the death penalty as a colonial imposition on Africa and the Caribbean. The Caribbean countries that have effectively held a moratorium on executions should go all the way and do away with the barbaric colonial imposition that the colonizers themselves have abolished in their own countries. Grenada pardoned the people who were convicted of the assassination of Maurice Bishop in an abortive coup after they spent decades awaiting execution but this appears to be because the Privy Council of the British House of Lords refused to authorize executions for anyone who had been on death row for more than five years. It is a shame that people of African descent are still going to ask Europeans for permission to execute their own people. Down with the death penalty! Trinidad and Tobago also refused to execute citizens who were convicted of attempting a coup, despite advice from a blood-thirsty Nigerian army General who was appointed to the tribunal that tried the suspects and who allegedly insisted that in Nigeria, such people would be lined up and shot in their dozens for the treason. Trinidad and Tobago should go the extra step and abolish the death penalty. General Olusegun Obasanjo narrowly escaped being executed by General Sani Abacha over a phantom coup allegation and he promised that he would seek to abolish the death penalty when he was elected president of Nigeria but he did nothing to bring that about (Agozino, 2003).

### **In this issue:**

This issue of our journal brings out a lot of articles on various topics that are too many to summarize here. This editorial indirectly alerts the readers of the journal that too many of the articles are conventional and not a enough critical articles are being submitted. I encourage critical criminologists who have research interests in people of African descent to make their views represented on our journal. African criminologists should continue the decolonization efforts of our ancestors by seeking to decolonize the criminal justice systems that affect Africans at home and abroad.

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<sup>i</sup> Marx on Wages of Labour: "Eventually, however, this state of growth must sooner or later reach its peak. What is the worker's position now?"

3) "In a country which had acquired that full complement of riches both the wages of labour and the profits of stock would probably be very low the competition for employment would necessarily be so great as to reduce the wages of labour to what was barely sufficient to keep up the number of labourers, and, the country being already fully peopled, that number could never be augmented." [Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, p. 84.]

"The surplus would have to die.

"Thus in a declining state of society — increasing misery of the worker; in an advancing state — misery with complications; and in a fully developed state of society — static misery" (Marx, 1959).

<sup>ii</sup> Thorne, Christopher, *Allies of a Kind*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978: 158-59). Before WWII, Charles W. Taussig had been FDR's "personal representative" in the West Indies and "chairman of a presidential commission to study the natives in the Caribbean Islands." Fulton Oursler, Jr., "Secret Treason," *American Heritage* (December, 1991: 55). Fortunately for the Puerto Ricans, FDR 's information about Nazi sterilization was flawed. For an accurate description of Nazi attempts at mass sterilization, see: Alexander, Leo. "Medical Science Under Dictatorship," *The New England Journal of Medicine*, Vol . 241, No. 2 (July 14, 1949: 41). For the medical report from the experiment see: Alexander Mitscherlich, *Doctors of Infamy* (Henry

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Schuman: New York, 1949: 136-137). The report notes: "If persons are to be rendered permanently sterile, this can be accomplished only by X-ray dosages so high that castration with all its consequences results." It concludes by noting: "It appears to be impossible to carry out such a program without the persons affected sooner or later ascertaining that they have been sterilized or castrated by means of X-rays."

iii The Government of Trinidad and Tobago funded project, 'Causes of Crimes in the Country, the Region and Globally', through the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, with Biko Agozino as Principal Investigator and Keron King as Research Assistant.

iv Although Foucault asserted in his concluding chapter, *The Carceral*, that: 'Were I to fix a date of completion of the carceral system, I would choose.... 22 January 1840, the date of the official opening of Mettray', a penal colony for children in France; he was completely silent on colonialism and penal colonies in the Caribbean that would have made his quotation of a dying child's regret – "What a pity I left the colony so soon" – sound like a child's play (Foucault, 1977: 293).

v Marx's footnote on Malthus from *Capital*: 'If the reader reminds me of Malthus, whose " Essay on Population " appeared in 1798, I remind him that this work in its first form is nothing more than a schoolboyish, superficial plagiary of De Foe, Sir James Steuart, Townsend, Franklin, Wallace, &c., and does not contain a single sentence thought out by himself. The great sensation this pamphlet caused, was due solely to party interest. The French Revolution had found passionate defenders in the United Kingdom; the " principle of population," slowly worked-out in the eighteenth century, and then, in the midst of a great social crisis, proclaimed with drums and trumpets as the infallible antidote to the teachings of Condorcet, &c., was greeted with jubilation by the English oligarchy as the great destroyer of all hankerings after human development.... All honour to Malthus that he lays stress on the lengthening of the hours of labour, a fact to which he elsewhere in his pamphlet draws attention, while Ricardo and others, in face of the most notorious facts, make invariability in the length of the working-day the groundwork of all their investigations. But the conservative interests, which Malthus served, prevented him from seeing that an unlimited prolongation of the working-day, combined with an extraordinary development of machinery, and the exploitation of women and children, must inevitably have made a great portion of the working-class "supernumerary," particularly whenever the war should have ceased, and the monopoly of England in the markets of the world should have come to an end. It was, of course, far more convenient, and much more in conformity with the interests of the ruling classes, whom Malthus adored like a true priest, to explain this "over-population" by the eternal laws of Nature, rather than by the historical laws of capitalist production. ([Marx, 1906: Ch. 17.4.a, n7](#)).

vi Andy Johnson, 'Hanging hang-up: British not sending police' in *The Daily Express*, Thursday, 21 August 2008.