



GLOBAL DIVERSITIES



# Racist Regimes, Forced Labour and Death

British Slavery in the Caribbean and the  
Holocaust in Germany and Occupied Europe

Colin Clarke



palgrave  
macmillan

# Global Diversities

## **Series Editors**

Steven Vertovec  
Department of Socio-Cultural Diversity  
Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious  
and Ethnic Diversity  
Göttingen, Germany

Peter van der Veer  
Department of Religious Diversity  
Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious  
and Ethnic Diversity  
Göttingen, Germany

Over the past decade, the concept of 'diversity' has gained a leading place in academic thought, business practice, politics and public policy across the world. However, local conditions and meanings of 'diversity' are highly dissimilar and changing. For these reasons, deeper and more comparative understandings of pertinent concepts, processes and phenomena are in great demand. This series will examine multiple forms and configurations of diversity, how these have been conceived, imagined, and represented, how they have been or could be regulated or governed, how different processes of inter-ethnic or inter-religious encounter unfold, how conflicts arise and how political solutions are negotiated and practiced, and what truly convivial societies might actually look like. By comparatively examining a range of conditions, processes and cases revealing the contemporary meanings and dynamics of 'diversity', this series will be a key resource for students and professional social scientists. It will represent a landmark within a field that has become, and will continue to be, one of the foremost topics of global concern throughout the twenty-first century. Reflecting this multi-disciplinary field, the series will include works from Anthropology, Political Science, Sociology, Law, Geography and Religious Studies. While drawing on an international field of scholarship, the series will include works by current and former staff members, by visiting fellows and from events of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity. Relevant manuscripts submitted from outside the Max Planck Institute network will also be considered.

Colin Clarke

# Racist Regimes, Forced Labour and Death

British Slavery in the Caribbean  
and the Holocaust in Germany  
and Occupied Europe

palgrave  
macmillan

Colin Clarke  
Oxon, UK

ISSN 2662-2580

ISSN 2662-2599 (electronic)

Global Diversities

ISBN 978-3-031-55543-5

ISBN 978-3-031-55544-2 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-55544-2>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2024

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors, and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover Image: Inez Clarke/ Still Life with Skull, 2022

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG. The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Paper in this product is recyclable.

*To Gillian with love and gratitude*

## Also by Colin Clarke

*Jamaica in Maps*

*Kingston, Jamaica: Urban Development and Social Change, 1692–1962*

*Caribbean Social Relations* (editor)

*A Geography of the Third World* (joint author)

*Geography and Ethnic Pluralism* (joint editor)

*East Indians in a West Indian Town: San Fernando, Trinidad, 1930–1970*

*Cambio Social y Económico en Latinoamérica: Perspectivas Geográficas*  
(joint editor)

*Politics, Security and Development in Small States* (joint editor)

*South Asians Overseas: Migration and Ethnicity* (joint editor)

*Society and Politics in the Caribbean* (editor)

*Class, Ethnicity and Community in Southern Mexico: Oaxaca's Peasantries*

*Kingston, Jamaica: Urban Development and Social Change, 1692–2002*

*Decolonizing the Colonial City: Urbanization and Social Stratification in  
Kingston, Jamaica*

*Post-Colonial Trinidad: An Ethnographic Journal* (joint author)

*War's Nomads: A Mobile Radar Unit in Pursuit of Rommel During the  
Western Desert Campaign, 1942–1943* (joint editor)

**viii**      **Also by Colin Clarke**

*Race, Class and the Politics of Decolonization: Jamaica Journals, 1961 and 1968*

*Mexico and the Caribbean Under Castro's Eyes: A Journal of Decolonization, State Formation & Democratization*

*The Handkerchief Tree: The Journal of Frederick Grice, 1946–83*  
(joint editor)



# Acknowledgements

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, I started to take an interest in the reunification of Germany and the gravitation of the Eastern bloc towards the European Union. In doing so, I was motivated by Gillian, my wife, a German specialist and former teacher. Between 1991 and 2003, we made six field-research visits to various parts of Poland, three of which are germane to this book. I received research grants from Jesus College, Oxford in 1996, 2000 and 2003, the first covering field work in Krakow, Auschwitz, and Upper Silesia; the second Gdansk, Rastenburg (Wolf's Lair), Treblinka, Lublin, Zamosc, and Lodz; and the third Zamosc, Lublin, Belzec, and Sobibor.

During the 1996 trip I began to think seriously about comparing Caribbean plantation slavery and its accompanying pervasive pattern of death (1650–1807) with shooting to death, forced labour, death, and labouring-to-death in the Nazi concentration camps (1941–45). It was the area around Lublin in the eastern part of the General Government (Hitler's puppet colony carved out of Poland) that I came to think of as the European Heart of Darkness. Lublin, under Himmler's henchman Globocnik, was the Headquarters of Operation Reinhardt, and the hub for Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka, the death camps located in its vicinity. Jamaica in the British Caribbean, with half the slaves in the colonies, was

the equivalent control point for British slavery and colonialism, with the largest and most exploitative plantation system and a death rate perpetually outstripping natural increase.

My plan to write a comparative account of Caribbean slavery and forced labour in the context of the Holocaust was rejuvenated in 2011 when I was invited by Steven Vertovec, the Director of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity in Göttingen, Germany, to apply for a research grant from which this book has been written. My wife and I spent nine months in Göttingen, during which I collected the German-language research materials needed for my project. I am indebted to Michaela Becker of the Goethe-Institut in Göttingen for five months of intensive tuition during which we read and discussed in German five key Holocaust texts that I had chosen. To this information, I would add new reading about British Caribbean slave history, which I had originally begun while working on my doctorate on Kingston, Jamaica, starting in 1960 and extending over my years as a Caribbeanist.

I am indebted to three of my former doctoral students for their support at various stages of the research and writing: Alina Darbellay for her companionship in the field in Central Europe, not forgetting her invaluable Polish language skills; Barry Higman for his support and advice as a Caribbean specialist on slavery, and for his encouragement to examine Caribbean slavery and Nazi forced labour together; and Michael Fleming for his specialist knowledge of wartime Poland, and for his willingness to support my challenge to the uniqueness of the Holocaust. Jesus College, Oxford, generously funded this research through the award of three competitive grants, which enabled me to complete the fieldwork for the European section of the project. The Bodleian Library in Oxford provided a congenial environment for study, as did the Max Planck Institute in Göttingen, from which I was able to access the Library of the Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen and the State Library of Lower Saxony; in each case I am grateful to the staff for their wholehearted support.

I thank Barry Higman Elizabeth Thomas-Hope, David Lambert, Michael Fleming, Ian Klinke, Aidan Clarke, and Henry Hollanders for reading the typescript of parts or all of the book; and my wife Gillian, and Vivienne Kendall, for their dedicated and high-quality editorial skills.

Bob McIntyre provided first-class IT support throughout. Ailsa Allen, Cartography and Graphics Officer in the School of Geography and the Environment at Oxford University, drew the maps with her customary skill. I am grateful to Steven Vertovec for inviting me to Göttingen as a Senior Research Fellow, making the facilities of the Max Plank Institute and its library available to me, and later inviting me to publish my book in the “Global Diversities” series with Palgrave Macmillan. Above all, I wish to thank my wife, Gillian, for her help during our shared field and library research, our numerous research travels in the Caribbean, and our visits to concentration camps and Holocaust sites in Poland and Germany. This book is dedicated to her with love and gratitude.

## **Praise for *Racist Regimes, Forced Labour and Death***

“Juxtaposition of slavery in the British Caribbean and the Holocaust in Nazi Germany and Poland has been rarely attempted. Colin Clarke demonstrates their comparability as manifestly racist, male-dominated regimes under colonialism/occupation, with forced labour resulting in massive loss of life. The book relies on in-country personal exploration of each regime, described separately then expertly combined in a concluding synthesis.”

—Elizabeth Thomas-Hope, Professor Emerita,  
University of the West Indies, Jamaica

“This thought-provoking book, juxtaposing the Holocaust with British Caribbean slavery, considers how mechanisms of differential incorporation and the absence and removal of civil liberties have led to the dehumanization and death of racially targeted populations. In the context of ascendant populism and growing international tensions, it provides an invaluable reminder of the human costs of antisemitism, racism, colonialism and occupation.”

—Michael Fleming, Director of the Institute of European Culture,  
Polish University Abroad (PUNO), UK

# Contents

<b>Part I</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>A Question of Comparison—British Caribbean Slavery and the Holocaust in Germany and Occupied Europe</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Part II</b>	<b>British Caribbean Slavery</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Establishment of the Colonial Empire: Sugar-Slave Plantations, White Exploitation, and Slave Suppression</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Urban Ambiguity—Slave or Free?</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Social Structure of Slave Society and the Impact of the Abolition of the Slave Trade and Slave Emancipation</b>	<b>87</b>
<b>Part III</b>	<b>The Holocaust in Germany and Occupied Europe</b>	<b>121</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Germany’s Persecution of the Jews, Evisceration of Poland, and Exploitation of the Ghettos</b>	<b>123</b>

<b>6</b>	<b>German Ethnic Settlement, Spatial Planning and Colonization in the USSR (1941–44)</b>	151
<b>7</b>	<b>Jewish and Ethnic Victims of Forced Labour in Germany and the Occupied Territories (1939–45)</b>	179
<b>8</b>	<b>Death Camps in the General Government (1942–43) and High-Technology, Labouring-to-Death Camps in Germany (1943–45)</b>	201
	<b>Part IV Conclusion</b>	229
<b>9</b>	<b>British Caribbean Slavery and the Holocaust in Germany and Occupied Europe—A Comparison</b>	231
	<b>Glossary</b>	261
	<b>Index</b>	265

# List of Figures

Fig. 1.1	The British Caribbean in the early Nineteenth Century: Colonies and Towns	21
Fig. 1.2	Europe 1939–45: The Infrastructure of Nazi Annihilation	22

# Part I

## Introduction





# 1

## A Question of Comparison—British Caribbean Slavery and the Holocaust in Germany and Occupied Europe

### Introduction

The purpose of this book is to compare the systems of exploitative race relations associated with slavery in the British colonial Caribbean and the Holocaust in Germany and the Nazi-occupied countries in Europe. Each system was imposed by expansionist European colonial powers—Britain and Germany—though the enslavement, dehumanising and destruction of human life for the purpose of creating plantation infrastructure, and the export of tropical products in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, did not have the same rationale (racial exploitation plus neglectful high slave mortality) as the forced labour and mass murder of Jews, Sinti, and Roma during the Second World War. The Nazis, for their part, created an eliminatory concentration camp-cum-forced labour regime plus colonial-style ethnic cleansing of Jews and Slavs.

The juxtaposition of these companion studies will reveal comparisons and contrasts rarely explored in the field of race relations under colonialism/occupation. Ruth Kluger, a Jewish survivor of Auschwitz and Bergen Belsen, has argued:

We would be condemned to be isolated monads if we didn't compare and generalize, for comparisons are the bridges from one unique life to another. In our hearts we all know that some aspects of the [Holocaust] have been repeated elsewhere, today and yesterday, and will return in new guise tomorrow; and the camps, too, were only imitations (unique imitations, to be sure) of what had occurred the day before yesterday (Kluger 2003, 69).

A disclaimer is in order before pursuing this comparative framework. This research is not about slavery in the USA or Latin America, where black slaves were a minority of the labour force (other than at the local level), and labour-intensive sugar was not the major export crop. However, it is about the full range of victims of the Holocaust, such as Sinti and Roma and asocials (social misfits), and is not concerned solely with the Jewish victims of Nazism. Its focus is on race and how race and ethnicity were socially and culturally constructed in the British colonial Caribbean, where the harsh sugar plantation regime entailed the labouring to death of slaves of African origin between 1650 and 1838 (Higman 1984); and the Holocaust, which involved both labouring to death and outright mass murder perpetrated on Jews, Sinti and Roma and other targeted populations, particularly Slavs, by Nazi Germans during the Second World War between 1939 and 1945 (Roseman 2003).

The scale of the tragedy is expressed in the size of the slave population on the eve of the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807, when a mere 28 per cent of the 2.7 million Africans shipped to the British Caribbean were still alive. About 350,000 died on the Middle Passage, and seasoning mortality took one half of new arrivals in the Caribbean before 1700, reducing to one-fourth after 1790 (Morgan 2011). In comparison, the Jewish population of Europe was 11 million when Heydrich reported it to the deferred Wannsee Meeting in 1942; and 6 million were eliminated in the Holocaust in its various phases—the Holocaust by bullets; the deaths associated with the General Plan for the East, the Operation Reinhardt Death Camps; and the labouring-to-death camps and other associated atrocities (Gilbert 1991; Roseman 2003).

Comparative history—the comparison of different societies, social groups or empires—usually involves the same time period, or examines

shared socio-cultural circumstances at different times. In this book the four principal common denominators that make feasible the detailed comparison of British Caribbean slavery and the Holocaust in Europe—though differentiated in time and place—are racism, colonialism/occupation, slavery/forced labour, and death. By examining British Caribbean slavery and the Holocaust together, one is engaging with the most egregious episodes in European colonial history. The aim is to gain a better understanding of the way in which racial and religious persecution selected forced rather than free labour in colonial or quasi-colonial contexts, gave rise to forced population displacements, and established controlled economic spaces such as colonial sugar plantations and concentration camps with modern industrial capacity.

Racism in the British colonial Caribbean was expressed by the colonial white English “master race” in its exploitative relations with African slaves, selected for their alleged inferiority, and with an interstitial category of subordinated free coloured people created in the islands through race mixing. The mainstay of the colonial economy was the sugar plantation, and the purpose of economic endeavour was sugar exports grown and manufactured by coerced slaves driven under the whip; their very being was threatened over a period of 150 years by persistent natural decrease enhanced by disease, the only remedy for which was perpetual imports of replacement slave labour from Africa.

Racism in Germany was expressed by the Nazi state under the dictatorship of Hitler; the victims from birth being Jews, Sinti and Roma. They were persecuted, isolated, terrorized and treated as vermin; but the more Germany expanded through war into occupied/colonized Europe, the larger became the victim population that was to be spatially relocated in colonial fashion. Subjected to forced migration, forced labour in concentration camps and ghettos, these target populations were vulnerable to the “Holocaust by bullets” as the German attack on the Soviet Union, known as Operation Barbarossa, was launched in 1941. Afterwards the killing of Jews and Gypsies was systematized and took place in death camps and labouring-to-death camps, and drew into victimhood the Slav populations of Poland and the Ukraine.

# Slavery and Holocaust Studies and Reparations

## Slavery and Holocaust Studies

In his classic work, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*, Stanley Elkins at one point drew on the literature of Nazi concentration camps to excavate the psychological consequences of being totally powerless for a long period of time—namely, the condition of psychological dependency (Elkins 1963). Three common characteristics of dependency were identified: lack of resistance; scarcity of suicide; and absence of hatred towards captors. All were at times present in Nazi camps but absent from British Caribbean slavery, perhaps because Nazi incarceration was so complete and the slave plantation system so porous. Even more important for this book was Elkins' association of both slavery and Nazi forced labour with white male patriarchy. This was the driving force that determined the social construction of race, colour, and ethnicity in the context of both British Caribbean slavery and the Holocaust.

Since 1970 a great deal has been written about slavery in the USA and the Caribbean following the ground-breaking publication of Fogel and Engerman's quantitative study, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Fogel and Engerman 1974), and Barry Higman's innovative research and publications on the historical demography of Jamaica and the other British Caribbean slave colonies (Higman 1976, 1984). Equally mind-changing since the ending of the Cold War in 1989 and the opening of the archives (and increased German receptiveness to alternative interpretations), have been the scores of publications by a cohort of German and Polish scholars of the Holocaust dealing with the Second World War and the concentration camps.

But with only a few exceptions, these two tragic, barbaric events—Caribbean slavery and the Holocaust, though sharing roots in racism, imperialism, fascism and anti-Semitism—had until the early 2000s rarely been compared, and then only historically by Elkins and Drescher, and philosophically by Arendt, and Mordekhai Thomas (Arendt 1958; Drescher 2001; Elkins 1963; Thomas 1993). Mordekhai Thomas, a black Jewish American, refused outright to differentiate between the two forms

of racial and religious persecution—American black enslavement and Jewish forced labour and the Holocaust—refusing to treat one as being worse than the other.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century Drescher published an important comparative chapter on transport during transatlantic slavery and the Holocaust (Drescher 2001), but a more complex contribution had to await a special number of the *Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte* in 2002. This contained six papers dealing with slavery and forced labour, of which two comparative papers are particularly relevant to this book. The first, by Higman, dealt with plantation slavery in North America and the Caribbean; the second, by Füllberg-Stolberg reported “comparative thoughts” on *Zwangsarbeit* (forced labour), comparing and contrasting Nazi forced labour with the regimes of the Soviet Gulag and Caribbean slavery.

Higman pointed out that slave sugar in the British Caribbean and American slave cotton had different climatic requirements, one tropical and the other temperate to sub-tropical, and therefore different epidemiologies and mortalities. Slaves were unable to reproduce in the Caribbean without being replenished by the slave trade, because the work was so lethal, the climate disease-ridden, and the late weaning by slave mothers suppressed fertility. Yet, among North American slaves the opposite applied, and almost no major additions to their numbers from the slave traders were required after the early eighteenth century (Higman 2002).

Füllberg-Stolberg argued that Nazi forced labour was more effectively exploitative than both the Gulag and British Caribbean slavery. However, he failed to emphasize the industrial modernity of much German forced labour in high-technology armaments developed from 1943 to 1945, when compared to the absence of the very same manufacturing regime and technology, and its capacity to exploit labour in the Gulag and in the pre-industrial British Caribbean slave system. Although the Gulag was shown to be considerably less murderous than German forced labour, he gave greater weight to the attritional aspects of labouring-to-death in the Nazi concentration camps than on the Caribbean sugar plantations, where white slave masters were highly dependent on an endless supply of slaves as replacement labour (Füllberg-Stolberg 2002). But beyond these helpful observations, there was no attempt at a more systematic comparative analysis.

## Reparations for Slavery and the Holocaust

Despite the lack of interest prior to 2002 in comparative research embracing Caribbean slavery and the Holocaust, it is significant to mention that both historic events themselves were accompanied by appeals for reparations. The first took place during the abolition of slavery, and finally involved a vote in the House of Commons in 1833 to raise the funds to pay £20 million to compensate British Empire slave owners (mostly from the Caribbean) for their loss of property in their slaves. But there was no compensation for the slaves themselves. Furthermore, more than half the indemnity for slavery ended up back in Britain (Draper 2010).

A very different system of reparations followed soon after the end of the Second World War and provided compensation for the victims of the Holocaust, first paid by the West German Federal Government in the early 1950s and then by re-unified Germany after 1990 (Zweig 2001a, b). There are still today several hundred thousands of Jewish victims alive, more than 70 years after the Holocaust, who are recipients of compensation. Still more recently since 2010, demands have come from the British Caribbean, sponsored by the Caribbean Community or CARICOM, for compensation from the UK (and more widely from the EU) for the heirs of the victims of slavery and colonialism (Caribbean Reparations Commission 2013). While the issue of reparations for the Holocaust is ending, reparation compensation for British Caribbean slavery is in its infancy.

## Colonialism, Slavery and the Holocaust

Since the project for Caribbean Reparations started to gather momentum in 2010, two books by Millet (2017) and Katz (2019) have looked comparatively and more comprehensively than their predecessors at the issues of slavery, colonization and the Holocaust (Millet), and at the Holocaust and New World slavery (Katz). Colonialism and slavery, and the Holocaust and forced labour, are discussed in detail in Parts Two and Three of this book, though neither Millet nor Katz mentions reparations, as this volume does in the conclusion.

## Slavery, Colonization and the Holocaust

While Kitty Millet's *The Victims of Slavery, Colonization and the Holocaust: A Comparative History of Persecution* (Millet 2017) overlaps partially with this book, summarized as *Racist Regimes, Forced Labour and Death*, hers is more generalized when compared to the present book's focus on British slavery in the colonial Caribbean and the Holocaust in Europe in the context of the Second World War. The individual historical episodes of being enslaved, colonized and exterminated are brought together by Millet as synthesized experiences of victimization—not a theme of this book—rather than the victims being treated regionally in time and space, as is the case here; much of Millet's Part 2 is focused on Namibia in South West Africa.

The lynchpin of Millet's book is the realization that some historians—for example Jürgen Zimmerer and A. Dirk Moses—make a link between German colonialism in German SW Africa, the German genocide of the Herero in the colony in the early 1900s, and the Nazi Holocaust in Europe during the Second World War (Moses 2002, 2008; Zimmerer 2004a, b, 2005). This interpretation is used by Millet as her approach to what she sees as the connected themes of slavery, colonialism, and the Holocaust, within the framework of which she delves into the experience of groups being exterminated. Clearly colonialism made slavery feasible, and aspects of slavery and the Holocaust overlap, as do facets of colonialism and the Holocaust.

Nazi persecution of the Jews and German involvement in the Second World War came together with forced labour, mass murder, death camps, and working to death. Thus the de facto circumstances of occupation/colonization in Poland and the USSR helped to create the Holocaust. To view the genocide of the Herero in SW Africa as the organically linked precursor of the Nazi Holocaust is wrong; these SW Africa-Eastern Europe parallels are analogues, lacking evidence of organic connection through citation in the literature, and they require grounding in the geopolitical and military context of European *Lebensraum* (Olusoga and Erichsen 2010). There is no causal link between Caribbean colonial slavery and the Holocaust—but there are parallels, and it is unnecessary to

find a connection between German colonization in SW Africa and the Holocaust to recognize that Poland and the USSR (though by no means greenfield tropical sites) were, according to some German ideologues, ripe for occupation—that is de facto conquest and colonization—in 1939–41.

## New World Slavery and the Holocaust

Steven Katz's *The Holocaust and New World Slavery* (Katz 2019) is much closer in structure and intent to *Racist Regimes, Forced Labour and Death* than is Millet's book. Katz has 14 chapters—set out in two volumes, plus an introduction and conclusion; nine chapters deal with New World Slavery and five with the Holocaust. Katz argues that plantation slavery in the New World was initiated by drawing on the black populations of Africa and transporting them across the Middle Passage. Seasoning and slave survival ensured the creation and development of the plantation system. Slave reproduction was encouraged in colonial America (but not in the British Caribbean where mortality outstripped natural increase), and miscegenation and slave breeding were allegedly present (though there was no slave breeding in the British Caribbean) (Higman 1984).

In the New World (Katz uses the term but draws heavily on US evidence), efforts were made to encourage lactation among the slaves, to feed them and encourage their survival. However, this was not so in the British Caribbean until after the slave trade was abolished by the British Parliament in 1807 and pronatalism was introduced in 1817. At this juncture in Katz's book (Chap. 6) the European ghettos under Nazism are inserted into the text to show how mortal they were for the Jews—in contrast to the benign presence of the Christian Churches in the British American colonies (Chap. 7). US slave manumission and the role of American law are then shown to have been generally ameliorative of slave circumstances, and are contrasted with Katz's inserts on Nazi law relating to the murder of Jews in Germany and the Eastern Territories.

In Volume two, Chap. 10—the first to deal specifically and exclusively with the Holocaust—Katz's argument, which had previously been



broad-brush when dealing with slavery, dissolves into four narrow Holocaust themes related to fertility control and forced labour: (1) reproduction versus sterilization, the use of Jewish women and children in medical experiments and the abortion of foetuses and murder of Jewish new-born children; (2) labour needs in the context of the Jewish mass murder of men and women; (3) the rape and murder of women in the East; (4) death in Polish ghettos and the murder of children in Eastern Europe. This strategy enables Katz to clinch his argument about genocide, but at the expense of a holistic account of slavery and the Holocaust. Furthermore, there is little or no discussion of the enveloping social structure of slavery of the kind that historians, geographers and other social scientists have addressed for the Caribbean, and no distinction is made by Katz between urban and rural slavery, though one was substantially different from the other.

The overarching purpose of Katz's book is to show that New World Slavery did not deserve the term genocide (the intentional murder of a people) because of the pervasive pro-natalist policy of the US, while the Holocaust by the Nazis did. But if one shifts the focus from the New World (largely the US) to the colonial British Caribbean, the contrast between slavery and the Holocaust looks less extreme. In the Caribbean, the de facto genocide by the planters, based on slave deaths exceeding births and their dependence on importing fresh slaves from Africa (both patterns enduring for more than a century and a half), created a thoughtless killing not dissimilar to the Holocaust in outcome; it was only the introduction of pro-natalism after the abolition of the slave trade that the lethal project was grudgingly abandoned by Caribbean planters in favour of a tardy natural increase encouraged by British emancipationists and endorsed by the British government.

Nevertheless, this author's approach is similar to Katz's in that British Caribbean colonial slavery and the Holocaust are discussed as two separate case studies (dealt with here in nine chapters), but different in that Clarke is a Caribbeanist who has turned to the Holocaust for comparison. Katz, on the other hand, is a specialist on the Holocaust who has widened his lens to develop a comparative study of New World Slavery, though heavily reliant on the US evidence which forms the bulk of his slavery section. In this book, *Racist Regimes, Forced Labour and Death*,

both events are dealt with in approximately equal detail (three chapters on slavery and four on the Holocaust), and a conclusion is provided that focuses both on the attritionist demography shared by Caribbean slavery and the Holocaust and on racial and ethnic discrimination, including the withholding of civil rights in Caribbean slavery and the withdrawing of civil rights in the Holocaust.

## The Real World and Social Theory

### Exploring the Real World of British Caribbean Slavery and the Holocaust

In approaching Caribbean slavery and the Holocaust this author has argued for case studies of each, followed by a conclusion in which they are compared. This strategy—sequential comparison backed up by detailed comparative analysis of the two events—will be explored further in the concluding Chap. 9.

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 deal in detail with British Caribbean slavery. Chapter 2 explains the establishment of the English/British colonies in the Caribbean with the three-fold social structure of white slave masters, free people of mixed race (coloureds), and African slaves. It also examines the originality involved in the endeavour to colonize distant and unknown tropical islands; and the decision, after other experiments, to select the sugar plantation and slavery as the mode of production for the cultivation and export of sugar and sugar products for the British market. Not only were the British Caribbean colonies subordinate to Britain, but the bulk of their inhabitants—African slaves and free people of colour—were subordinate to the local white planters socially, economically and politically.

Although sugar plantation slavery was exploitative to a high degree, the urban slave community, examined in Chap. 3, was spread thinly across the British Caribbean and lacked the killing mechanism of the gang system peculiar to the rural sugar plantations. However, death, especially through disease, was the leitmotif in the region's two most deadly

locations—sugar plantations and Caribbean towns. The two largest urban centres—Kingston, Jamaica and Bridgetown, Barbados—were highly anomalous and characterized by free majorities of whites and coloureds (taken together), and many of their slaves were able to negotiate their own wages and pay rent for their accommodation away from the properties occupied by their owners/employers. Nevertheless, the port-towns were vital to the sugar economy, articulating the colonies politico-economically with Britain.

Chapter 4 describes the social structure of British Caribbean colonial society as a pyramid of legal estates: white planters from Britain who were free; free people of mixed race who were manumitted, but lacked the vote; and blacks, originally from Africa, who were enslaved. Legal status correlated closely with colour-class and culture. The latter was characterized by the creolization of family structures, religions and education; that is, turning them through interaction in the Caribbean environment into syntheses of European and African variants of those same institutions. The chapter concludes with the abolition of the slave trade, and the movement for civil rights among the free coloureds, free blacks, and Jews. It explores the role of the various social agents who set emancipation in motion—free people of colour, British missionaries to Jamaica, British abolitionists (especially Nonconformists), British Whig politicians—and the slaves themselves.

Germany and the Holocaust are introduced a century later. Chapter 5 treats national politics and international relations in the first phase of Nazism following Hitler's appointment as Chancellor of Germany in 1933. Covering the period 1933–1942, it involves the persecution of the German Jews; the evisceration of Poland; the creation of a pseudo-colony—the General Government; and the settlement in the Warthegau of the Volksdeutsche from former Poland and the USSR. It concludes with the lethal exploitation of immigrant German and Polish Jews in ghetto industries—especially in Warsaw and Lodz, both of which produced clothing for the German armed forces in the East.

Chapter 6 shows that Germany's intention in 1941 was to appropriate the land of the USSR, move or eradicate the victim populations, and repopulate the area with ethnic Germans. This programme of ethnic cleansing—the 'Holocaust by bullets'—was set in motion by Operation

Barbarossa in June 1941. But Moscow and Leningrad did not fall, and the war dragged on until 1942–43 when the German 6th Army was encircled and defeated at Stalingrad, and the westward retreat began. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to the General Plan for the East: the setting up of quasi-colonies in the General Government and the Ukraine; the removal of Jews from the settlement equation; the movement of helot Slavs into subordinate colonial roles; and the settlement of ethnic Germans as the would-be spearhead of SS colonization. Harried by Soviet and Jewish partisans, the colonial project was finally crushed by the Red Army.

Chapter 7 is devoted to the victims of forced labour, Jews, Sinti and Roma, plus the non-German ethnic Slavs who found themselves trapped as forced foreign labourers in Germany or the occupied territories. In the first phase of Jewish labour persecution in 1939 many were employed as manual labourers, working for public enterprises and private businesses, or in agriculture. These initial forced labourers were overtaken in numbers and significance after 1942 by the phenomenal expansion of the SS system of concentration camps, and by the reinvigorated persecution and increased selection of European Jews and ethnic Slavs as forced labour.

Chapter 8 shows that death was the hallmark of the camps, and it opens with a discussion of the three Operation Reinhardt Death Camps, Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka, located in the General Government. Within hours of arrival at one of these camps most victims were dead. The two enormous labouring-to-death camps discussed here operated very differently: in the case of Auschwitz-Birkenau, transports of victims were selected at the ramp, and 80 per cent were sent to immediate death; the remainder were employed in high technology industries, notably the Buna plant manufacturing synthetic rubber at Monowitz. In the case of Mittelbau Dora, selections of prisoners originally made at Buchenwald were immediately transported and forced into the labouring-to-death regime; in the subterranean caverns of the Harz Mountains were located the heavily reinforced underground factories related to key aviation and rocket industries.

The Conclusion, Chap. 9, opens by investigating two strands—differential incorporation in the British Caribbean leading, ultimately, to social inclusion at the end of slavery, and in Germany and Nazi-occupied Europe to exclusion and elimination. It is shown that despite these