Contents

Preliminary Observations to Market and Violence XX

- 1 On Direct Violence in Pitiless Conditions 1
- 2 Armed World Trade 7

Robbery and regulations 9

Overseas Trade Monopolies 19

Just Another Commodity 22

First Theoretical Remark: On Merchants and Capitalists 32

3 Historical Preconditions for Capitalist Accumulation 37

Competition Set Free 37

Commercial Freedom Ashore 38

Commercial Freedom on the High Seas 39

The Pacification of Transport Routes 41

The Fight against Highway Robbery 41

Fighting Piracy 43

The Capital of Industrial Capitalism 44

From Merchant Capital to the Trading Capital of Industrial Capitalism 49

The Liberation of Wage Labour from Coercive Political Power

Wage Labour in Germany and Particularly in Prussia 52

Wage Labour in France 57

Wage Labour in England 60

Servitude, Slavery, Free and Unfree Wage Labour in the United States 65

Indenture (Temporary Servitude) 66

Slavery 71

The Living and Working Conditions of Slaves 80 Slavery and Profit 82

Unfree Wage Labour in the South 95

Free Wage Labour beyond the Former Slave States 105

Second Theoretical Remark: The Political Economy of Capitalist Labour 108



VI CONTENTS

4 Appropriation Abroad Forced Trade 111 Territorial Sovereignty Fiscal Exploitation 120 For Example: The Conquest of Financial Sovereignty in India Tributes, Poll Taxes and Labour Services For Example: Caoutchouc instead of Money 127 Limits to Taxation 134 Settlement and Expulsion 134 **Excursus: Justifications Practices of Settlement** Spanish America 141 Australia 142 North America: United States of America Algeria 156 Land Grabbing through Colonisation: A Summary Teaching a Lesson Decisions on Site 172 International Experts in Pacification Patterns of Recruitment 177 With Drill and the Maxim Making Indigenous People into 'Natives' 185 Third Theoretical Remark: Capitalist Colonial Rule Labour under Coercive Colonial Power Slavery and Ersatz Slavery Domestic Slavery Ersatz Slavery 225 Debt Bondage Contractual Debt Bondage (Coolie-Labour) For Example: The Plantation Economy on the East Coast of Sumatra 244 For Example: Production in the Tea Gardens of Assam Coolies Were Not Slaves For Example: Lascars Forced Labour as a Development Strategy For Example: Military Logic and State Violence in German South West Africa 261 For Example: Forced Labour in the Congo, International

Criticism and a Continuing Practice 265

CONTENTS VII

For Example: Private Enterprises in the Caoutchouc Belt (Moyen Congo) 271 Unfree Wage Labour 274 For Example: German South West Africa For Example: Compounds 283 Peasant Workers: Specific Transformations For Example: India Fourth Theoretical Remark: Colonial State Power The Colonial Order 301 The Colonial Specificity of the Monopoly of Violence The Specificity of Colonial Exploitation The Big Difference 5 The World at War 315 The Burdens of the Great War on African Shoulders 319 The War of the Others 6 The Domestication of Industrial Capitalism in the Metropolitan Capitalist States 328 330 344 Germany 365

The Brutalisation of the Regime of Appropriation

The National Socialist Labour Regime

Disciplining through Terror Preparations for the Big Robbery

Calculation and Violence

Forced Recruitment 393

The Economic Exploitation of Soviet Prisoners of War and 'Eastern Workers' 396

The Economic Exploitation of Concentration Camp Inmates

399 Not for the Eyes of the World 406

Fifth Theoretical Remark: The Functioning of Domesticated Capitalism and Its Vulnerability

7 Domesticated Capitalism in Globalised Competition

Preconditions of Globalisation

Decisions 414

England

USA 336 France

The Political End to the 'Trente Glorieuses'

VIII CONTENTS

8	Market and Violence in Globalised Capitalism 420
	Sixth Theoretical Remark: Unbounded Exploitation 424
	Forced Sex Work 428
	Basic Patterns of Labour Exploitation in Globalised Capitalism 436
	The Boundless Exploitation of 'Foreigners' 438
	Domestics 439
	Day Labourers 448
	Labour Conditions Not Covered by Collective Agreements 450
	Construction Workers in Qatar and Elsewhere 454
	The Snakeheads' Hostages 461
	Seventh Theoretical Remark: States and Their Margins 462
	Unbounded Exploitation 'Offshore' 463
	Flags of Convenience 466
	Export Processing Zones (EPZs) 474
	Representatives of Workers' Interests – an Endangered
	Species 492
	Unbounded 'Inshore' Exploitation in Non-metropolitan Capitalist
	Countries 498
	Child Labour and Child Slavery 512
	Eighth Theoretical Remark: Class Analysis? 520
	The Political Geography of Poison 523
	Poison in Industrial Production 524
	Poison in Agriculture 525
	Toxic Waste 531
	Unbounding the World of Commodities 538
	The Human Body as a Supplier of Commodities 540
	Trafficking in Hair 540
	Trafficking in Organs 542
	Commercialised Force of Arms 552
	Conflict Diamonds 553
	Private Military Companies 558
	Physical Nature, Production and Violence 566
	Land Grabbing 566
	Raw Materials of Violence 580
	For Example: Oil Exploitation in Nigeria 584
	Ninth Theoretical Remark: Post-Colonial States as a Theoretical
	Challenge 591
	On the New Political Economy of Violent Criminality 609
	Piracy 610
	Drug Trafficking 622
	Smuggling of Human Beings 637
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

CONTENTS

Tenth Theoretical Remark: Violent Criminality in Global Capitalism 648

Concluding Remarks on Market and Violence 659

Postscript 666

Bibliography 667 Subject Index 727 Author Index 729