

Violence and Colonial Order

This is a pioneering, multi-empire account of the relationship between the politics of imperial repression and the economic structures of European colonies between the two world wars. Ranging across colonial Africa, Southeast Asia and the Caribbean, Martin Thomas explores the structure of local police forces, their involvement in colonial labour control and the containment of uprisings and dissent. His work sheds new light on broader trends in the direction and intent of colonial state repression. It shows that the management of colonial economies, particularly in crisis conditions, took precedence over individual imperial powers' particular methods of rule in determining the forms and functions of colonial police actions. The politics of colonial labour thus became central to police work, with the depression years marking a watershed not only in local economic conditions but also in the breakdown of the European colonial order more generally.

MARTIN THOMAS is Professor of Imperial History in the Department of History at the University of Exeter. He is a director of the University's Centre for the Study of War, State and Society, an inter-disciplinary research centre that supports research into the impact of armed conflict and collective violence on societies and communities.



Critical Perspectives on Empire

Editors

Professor Catherine Hall University College London

Professor Mrinalini Sinha Pennsylvania State University

Professor Kathleen Wilson State University of New York, Stony Brook

Critical Perspectives on Empire is a major series of ambitious, cross-disciplinary works in the emerging field of critical imperial studies. Books in the series explore the connections, exchanges and mediations at the heart of national and global histories, the contributions of local as well as metropolitan knowledge, and the flows of people, ideas and identities facilitated by colonial contact. To that end, the series not only offers a space for outstanding scholars working at the intersection of several disciplines to bring to wider attention the impact of their work; it also takes a leading role in reconfiguring contemporary historical and critical knowledge, of the past and of ourselves.

A full list of titles published in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/cpempire



Violence and Colonial Order

Police, Workers and Protest in the European Colonial Empires, 1918–1940

Martin Thomas





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107519541

© Martin Thomas 2012

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2012 First paperback edition 2015

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Thomas, Martin, 1964-

Violence and colonial order: police, workers and protest in the European colonial empires, 1918–1940 / Martin Thomas.

pages cm. - (Critical perspectives on empire)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-76841-2

- 1. Political persecution Developing countries History 20th century.
- 2. Protest movements Developing countries History 20th

century. 3. Europe – Colonies – Administration – History – 20th

century. I. Title.

JC585.T483 2012

303.609171²409041-dc23 2012018833

ISBN 978-0-521-76841-2 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-51954-1 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



In memory of my father, Rex Thomas





Contents

	List of maps	page ix
	List of tables	X
	Acknowledgements	xi
	Introduction: Police, labour and colonial violence	1
	Part I Ideas and practices	15
1	Colonial policing: A discursive framework	17
2	'What did you do in the colonial police force, daddy?' Policing inter-war dissent	42
3	'Paying the butcher's bill?': Policing British colonial protest after 1918	64
	Part II Colonial case studies: French, British and Belgian	87
4	Gendarmes: Work and policing in French North Africa after 1918	89
5	Policing Tunisia: Mineworkers, <i>fellahs</i> and nationalist protest	112
6	Rubber, coolies and communists: Policing disorder in French Vietnam	141
7	Stuck together? Rubber production, labour regulation and policing in Malaya	177
8	Caning the workers? Policing and violence in Jamaica's sugar industry	206
9	Oil and order: Repressive violence in Trinidad's oilfields	235



viii	Contents	
10	Profits, privatization and police: The birth of Sierra Leone's diamond industry	256
11	Policing and politics in Nigeria: The political economy of indirect rule, 1929–39	277
12	Depression and revolt: Policing the Belgian Congo	301
	Conclusion	325
	Notes to the text	335
	Bibliography	459
	Index	517



Maps

4.1	French North African colonial territories	page 94
5.1	French colonial map of Northern and Central Africa,	
	c. 1925	113
5.2	French War Ministry map, 'Comintern activity in	
	North Africa', produced in August 1936 (AN F60, 769)	139
6.1	French colonial map of Indochina, c. 1938	143
6.2	Economic map of colonial Indochina in 1930	146
7.1	Colonial Malaya	178
7.2	Rubber cultivation in Malaya	180
8.1	Caribbean territories	207
10.1	Map of West Africa prepared for the British Bank	
	of West Africa	259
11.1	Colonial Nigeria	278
12.1	Belgian Congo administrative territories, 1926 and 1933	304



Tables

4.1	Gendarmerie personnel, May 1917	page 93
6.1	Vietnam rubber plantations, size in hectares (he),	
	distribution and ownership, April 1936	147
6.2	Size of Vietnam's rubber plantations (in hectares – he),	
	April 1936	147
7.1	FMS plantation wage rates (in Malayan dollars),	
	January 1928	188
7.2	Straits Settlements Special Branch arrests of	
	communist suspects, 1932–3	201
7.3	Straits Settlements Special Branch anti-communist	
	section raids, 1931-5	202
12.1	Numbers of European-owned industrial, commercial	
	and agricultural businesses in the Belgian Congo, 1930-1	317
12.2	Union Minière du Haut Katanga workforce composition,	
	1925-30	322

X



Acknowledgements

When I began work on this book the oligarchic regimes of the Arab world seemed deeply entrenched, the phrase 'credit crunch' meant nothing and my favourite football team stood three divisions higher. With so many years passed, I'm not sure that a few words can do justice to the support I've had from friends and funders alike in bringing this project to fruition. Writing a comparative study of colonial policing has involved lots of travelling and lots of requests. The travel and the writing it generated were made possible by the award of a Leverhulme Trust Major Research Fellowship, which gave me the time and space to pursue this study. An earlier pilot project grant from the Nuffield Foundation allowed me to do essential preliminary foraging. The requests were usually made to archivists and the gatekeepers of various private papers. My thanks go to the staff at each of the archives and libraries I've visited as well as to the trustees of the following private paper collections: Clarence Buxton, Alfred Chester Beatty, Fernand Gambiez, Jamaica Sugar Estates Limited, Henry de Jouvenel, Baron Killearn, Guy La Chambre, Sir Percy Loraine, Louis-Hubert Lyautey, Malcolm MacDonald, Georges Mandel, Alfred Milner, Marius Moutet, Joseph Paul-Boncour, Gabriel Puaux, John Roland Phillips, the Rubber Growers' Association, Albert Sarraut and Maxime Wevgand.

Several ideas and some of the case studies discussed in this book were tested before audiences in France, Britain, Canada, Germany, Ireland, Qatar and the United States. Among the organizations involved were the Al Jazeera Research Centre, Bristol University's Centre for the Study of Colonial and Post-Colonial Societies, the École Normale Supérieure, the Society for French Historical Studies, the Institute of Commonwealth Studies Decolonization Seminar, the International Studies Association, Paris I Sorbonne, the University of Freiburg, University College, Galway and University College, Dublin's Centre for War Studies. I thank them all for helping me to clarify my thoughts.

For reading chapters, offering hospitality, providing archival leads, or talking over the research I am grateful to the following: Robert Aldrich,

хi



xii Acknowledgements

Andrew Barros, Robert Bickers, Emmanuel Blanchard, Dan Branch, Raphaëlle Branche, Alison Carrol, Joshua Cole, Richard Drayton, Saul Dubow, Marie Dunkerley, David Edgerton, Martin Evans, Kent and Gudrun Fedorowich, Robert Gerwarth, Ruth Ginio, Chris Goscha, Martin Horn, Stacey Hynd, Talbot Imlay, Julian Jackson, Peter Jackson, Keith Jeffery, Anja Johansen, Sam Kalman, Feriel Kissoon, Simon Kitson, Jean-François Klein, Patricia Lorcin, Richard Overy, Rogelia Pastor-Castro, Jennifer Regan-Lefevre, Todd Shepard, Emmanuelle Sibeud, Sarah Stockwell, Sylvie Thénault, Andrew Thompson, Mike Vann, Helen Vassallo, Mathilde von Bülow and Kim Wagner. At Cambridge University Press, I've been expertly advised by Michael Watson, Nicola Philps and the editors of the Critical Perspectives on Empire series as well as the anonymous readers of the original manuscript. Rose Bell provided expert copy-editing. Colleagues at the University of Exeter and its Centre for the Study of War, State and Society have provided a supportive academic environment throughout. Closer to home, to Suzy goes the biggest 'thank you' of them all.

Reproduction of images in the book is by permission of The National Archives. Sections of certain chapters draw on articles that have been published before. I wish to thank the editors and publishers of two publications for permitting me to make use of this earlier work: "Paying the Butcher's Bill": Policing British Colonial Protest after 1918', Crime, Histoire & Sociétés/Crime, History & Societies, 15:2 (2011), 55–76, copyright Librairie Droz and the editors of Crime, Histoire & Sociétés/Crime, History & Societies, and 'Eradicating "Communist Banditry" in French Vietnam: The Rhetoric of Repression after the Yen Bay Uprising, 1930–32', French Historical Studies, 34:3 (2011), 611–48, copyright Duke University Press and the editors of French Historical Studies.