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From Occam to Creole: Kamala Harris and the *Immigrant-American identity factor* in the run up to the USA 2020 elections (a performative examination of Senator Harris's candidacy)

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Abstract

This investigation finds its *raison d'être* in Michel Foucault's analysis of the relationship between power and the political economy in the lectures given at the College de France between 1975 and 1979 (Venn 2009; 206). There the expansiveness of the work established the foundation for the demonstration of the intertwinement of the relationship between power, political economy and race (Venn 2009; 206). Through this process of intertwinement relayed through the Foucauldian themes of: economy, security, population and race and the *longue durée* of history we are made to apprehend his concept of biopower as a phronetic rather than epistemic way of apprehending self-discipline. Foucault has mined here Greek and Roman philosophical traditions and their link especially to Socrates as a means of apprehending this self-discipline as a constructing of self in the light of truth. Parrhesia, which was simply translated as "speaking truth to power [unequivocally]" could be apprehended as the umbilical link that Foucault sought to make between Graeco-Roman philosophy - its emphasis on the harmony between the way one lives [bios] and the rational discourse or account [logos], which one might or might not possess, that would justify the way one lives, - and a critical philosophy for the present dispensation. Foucault has sought to align this critical philosophy with the ability to autonomously fashion ourselves. Indeed, this Foucauldian apotheosis - the [bios] and the choice of collapsing of the latter, the [logos], into the former as a trope of agency - has potentially reconfigured the performative as a subversive trope; this is especially in regard to the discourses on race, gender, and the problem of colonization. However, although championing subjugated knowledge in these lectures, he has not gone far enough - he has not interrogated his own position

and the broader question of who is speaking as opposed to what is being said (Radhakrishnan 1996, 27-61). Further, Radhakrishnan concludes that Foucault cannot have a macropolitics because it would mean attacking his own position, as an elite Eurocentric intellectual and the concomitant inability to be anything else – working class, subjugated, oppressed or colonized (Radhakrishnan 1996, 27-61). This Kamala Harris investigation should therefore be apprehended as a post-colonial redress to the Foucauldian position.

Keywords: Biopolitics, Biopower, Creolization, littoral Neoliberalism, Horace Williams, Kamala Harris, Occam Razor.

Refresher on identity and the Harris family legacy

"I heard it today that she (Kamala Harris) doesn't meet the (birth requirements to run for U.S. Presidency Office) and by the way the lawyer that wrote that piece is a very highly qualified, very talented lawyer" (Reuters 2020, par.1)

The issue of identity generally, and Caribbean/Postcolonial identity in particular, has been associated with two perspectives; one essentialist and the other postmodern. The former assumes a kind of monolithic core/center that is cocooned within a labyrinth of artificially imposed selves which people with a shared history hold in common (Hall, 1990). Within the shared cultural codes of this definition, diaspora people in the two-thirds world have sought to galvanize themselves in their struggle against their respective colonial or metropolitan centers. This two-thirds colonized; one thirds (colonizer) division is the putative conceptualization that held the attention of the architects of the anticolonial struggle in the earlier part of the twentieth century, encapsulated in what became popularly known as the Negritude movement (the French Caribbean) and the Pan- African political project (the Anglo Caribbean).

The latter – the postmodern – assumes a rupture in the Brathwaithian Sense where the crucible of slavery and colonialism produces a self-consciousness among Caribbean people. This self-consciousness carries with it, not just an awareness of our past, but additionally, the continuous *play of history, culture and power* (Hall 1990, 224). It is only from this second position – the phenomenological – that we apprehend how diaspora people in general, and black people in particular (using the Brathwaite idyllic model of Caribbean Society) are positioned and subject-ed. This positioning and subjection are in the vista of the dominant regimes of representation through the effects of a critical exercise of cultural power and normalization (Hall 1990, 224). Hall's employment of *play* here, therefore, in part, refers to the bricoleur's demonstration of good faith or bad faith in his/her capitulation or resistance to the dominant regimes of

representation in their (diaspora peoples') autopoietic journey. Here resistance is not limited to scientific observation – as was evidenced in Fanon's employment of the Algerian Revolutionary Case Study to establish his anticolonial prescription – rather it may be apprehended additionally as performance or production where the bricoleur/performer is enmeshed in a complex machinery of different devices, networks or social conventions. As a case in point therefore Shymala Harris (Kamala's Mother) and her father Donald, in coming to the United States as immigrants from India and Jamaica respectively, and as prospective university students, chose to carry the children – Kamala and Maya – to civil rights conventions and protests; this because she wanted them to affirm and embrace their black identity ascription from the beginning of this sojourn.

The germane-ness of a performative perspective to this investigation.

Shotter and Tsoukas argue that practical wisdom and judgment (phronesis) is developmentally emergent within an unceasing flow of activity (Shotter and Tsoukas 2014, 377-396). This is in contrast to it being talked about as something hidden in the mind (ibid, 377-396). Within this labyrinth of activity, the dual foci of *felt emotions* as well as *giving linguistic expression to the former* become a critical part of the toolkit of seeking to establish a new orientation to one's surroundings. This process - epistemic cognition - has been at the center of Joe Biden's choice of a running mate in Kamala Harris. Goldmacher, Nagourney and Medina (2020) capture and contextualize this epistemic awareness when they argue that the selection of a running mate on the basis of geography – referring to whether or not they are able to bring their home state victory for the prospective presidential candidate – has long gone as a staple in the USA electoral process. Rather the current/felt emotion of systemic racial oppression and its radical empirical representation in the deaths of Michael Brown, Breonna Taylor, Floyd George, Daniel Prude has made gender and race (and the selection of the Harris metonymy) a necessary part of the democratic party apparatus' conduct of conduct.

This impact of the Harris nomination on conduct was captured in the director of Working America, Matt Morrison's comments, encapsulating the seismic experience within his labor backed political group of three million members:

This has sent a lightning bolt of electricity across a base that has been watching and waiting and looking for a reason to be excited about this race. I have a Black mother who is literally through the roof, and she is emblematic of the visceral excitement of the base that drove Barack

Obama to the White House (Morrison in Goldmacher, Nagourney and Medina 2020).

A similar lightning bolt was experienced in the community of Brown's town in the parish of St Ann's Jamaica on the night of the Harris' nomination where her father was born. Here eighty-one-year-old oral historian and parish native Omar Mustafa has name-tagged St Ann the *capital of the world*. This due to the Harris family appending their global footprint to a compendium of illustrious Jamaican immigrants to the USA; these were all native to St Ann, particularly the areas in and around Brown's Town. Further, though this Brown's Town village legacy encapsulated in the likes of Garvey, Marley, Belafonte and Harris has decibelled the issue of black civil rights to a global audience; Anna Kambhampathy (Kambhampathy, 2020), reminds us that while Indian Americans don't wish Kamala Harris to be pigeon-holed, they also do not wish to have her biracial heritage erased. That writer's aim here is to deconstruct/ disrupt retentions of the Manichean Allegory around the civil rights' binary dialectic and the emphasis on the history of African-Diapora-over-representation and the under-representation of its Asian equivalent as purveyors of the struggle against antiblack racism. Rather, Kambhampathy problematizes the fixity of the boundary between civil rights and immigration using the Derridean concept of ipseity and difference. Here Kamala Harris is seen biographically/ autobiographically as a metonymy of this civil rights/immigrant hybrid through the instrumentality of her grandfather PV Gopalan. He, within the context of the intransigent patriarchy of the fledgling postcolonial India, dug into his retirement savings to enable Shymala's tuition at UC Berkeley in pursuit of her graduate degree (Bengali and Mason 2019). Needless to state that Gopalan's decision and subsequent sustained support for his daughter, placed him in the category of a very unique minority, considered way ahead of their time.

In gist therefore, the visceral expressions from: *Working America*, *Brown's Town in Jamaica*, and *New Delhi (India)*, the home of PV Gopalan, may all be said to belong to the same discursive formation as forms of conduct (Foucault 1966, 168; Hall 1997, 73).

[Re]interrogating hybridization (creolization) as a trope of intentionality in its post-colonial context

The reference to *Working America*, *Brown's Town in Jamaica*, *New Delhi (India)* as visceral flash points: i) the black mother who is literally *through the roof*

ii) the meccanization of Brown's Town iii) digging into retirement saving funds in a typically fledgling colonial outpost to facilitate metropolitan university fees, all respectively point to a process of creolization. Here the latter is being divested of its organic/historical context - referring to the *sitz-im-leben* of Spanish Colonization of the 2/3 world, and the mesogenic offspring of colonizer and native. Rather creolization is presented as obscene caricatures of their respective European Enlightenment Ideals as metonymies of privilege and power, indeed tropes of resistance to the latter. In this sense therefore, of using detritus to exoticize empire, the former is apprehended to have intentionality. Gundaker drawing on Lee Drummond's Intersystem Approach to creolization apprehends this intentionality from the point of view of marginalized communities or *borderlands in motion*, however they are embedded in events rather than located in space (Gundaker 2000, 124-133; Drummond 1980, 352-374). The event under examination here is the upcoming USA general elections on November 3rd. Though the routine norms of a continued sense of displacement and deprivation characteristic of post-colonial studies continue to resonate in his work, Gundaker's broad intersystem approach is a radically different, trans-colonial, transindividual response to the zero-sum game of neo-liberalism apprehended in the Foucauldian concept of biopower and biopolitics. His variant of intersystem theory however, like Foucault, deterritorializes culture as a unitary construct, envisioning a world in which contact and variation are not aberrations from norms (2000, 126). Here his use of Africans and Europeans meeting each other prior to the period of the triangular slave trade first in Africa and then in the Americas along the Atlantic littoral provided a *creole* prototype in the skilled brokers, translators, mediators that were employed in the bartering of merchandise (Berlin 1996, 251-288; Gundaker 2000, 125). Central to these groups was the *issue of communication*. Therefore, they made the most of similarities and redundancies between them in order to optimize this goal (Gundaker 2000, 125). Concomitantly they also selectively loosened objects and activities from their moorings in these systems, treating them as resources to draw on as new situations warranted (Gundaker 2000, 125). Of interest is Ira Berlin's suggestion, that - in contrast to this pre-triangular-slave-trade- period, and on the cusp of its explosion,- the cosmopolitan nature of these skilled communicators was in very significant evidence. With the institutionalization of chattel slavery, this artisan population declined through enslavement and incorporation into the mass of less sophisticated captives from deeper in the African interior (Gundaker 2000, 130). In other words, the invasive nature of the chattel system, as a form of juridical-sovereign power, put paid to this creole prototype and its effective system of communication. He argues further, following the longitudinal research of Robert (King) Carter, that this cosmopolitan feature did not re-emerge on the other side

of the Atlantic – the American plantations - with the next generation; only after a new culture emerged on the plantation (Gundaker 2000, 130). King adduces that this cosmopolitan re-emergence resulted from two intersecting factors; Americanizing Africans as well as relabeling creoles as Africans, suppressing their cultural difference from the enslaved people who succeeded them on the transatlantic voyage (Gundaker 2000, 130).

Immigrant-American hybridity, the Harris metonymy and Creolization-as-method-of-warfare.

Research background

Bartlestone's (2001) apperception of the Foucauldian conception of the state as a discursive fiction, that is, - the result of a "series of speech acts or a system of statements" (152) – while fallacious in his overall understanding of Foucault - carries with it an ironic semblance of truth. This is in as far as the latter saw government not as a monolith in the Lockean sense, but rather as "an assemblage of institutions, *communication procedures*, knowledges, etc, with little overall unity and certainly a minimum of necessity or functionality" (Foucault 2007, 87-114; Coleman and Grove 2009, 492). It is in the context of Foucault's project to revise John Locke's contract theory by reinscribing it within the quotidian, that we have italicized communication procedures in the immediately above citation. Our intention here, is to retroactively point to the meeting alluded to in the previous section between Europeans and Africans; and the emphasis on communication, as warfare. In this vogue, Gundaker, following Drummond, apprehends creolization as internal variation and change, rather than uniformity and synchronicity. Further, he opines that "Cultures are neither structures nor plural amalgams, but a . . . set of intersystems" (Drummond 1980:34) that shape lived experience as participants reconfigure relationships among intersecting, interfering, and often hierarchical cultural systems to fit changing circumstances; we speak here of a context of racial warfare. In terms of further explication, the reference to state racism and the Foucauldian purview of Nazi administered genocide, threw up for his genealogical analysis separate, yet intersecting modes of race-war-compliant juridical-sovereign power cum biopower. In *the state must be defended* (2006) and *society, territory and population* (2007) respectively, Foucault presented these two varieties of power discursively, as core and edifice of a building. Here the core – juridical-sovereign power – organizes space on the disciplinary principle of centripetality – *ensuring that the smallest things are not abandoned to themselves* (Coleman and Grove 2009, 494). The latter – the biopolitical – demonstrates a centrifugal organization of space by – *allowing things to take their course*. This reinscribing of the subject within apparatuses of everyday society

through the instrumentality of speech/act - *ensuring that the smallest things are not abandoned to themselves (micromanagement); allowing things to take their course (laissez faire management)* – is Foucault’s accounting (contra contract theory), for private warfare in the normalizing society (Coleman and Grove 2009, 489-507). Further, [t]his accounting, can be read not only as an expansion of biopolitics in the form of discipline-biopolitics-racism; but at the same time geographically as a general space of circulation and freedom, buoyed by contrary spaces of considerably restricted freedom (ibid 489-507).

Research rationale

The United States of America (USA’s) 2020 national elections are overtly pregnant with firsts: i) the first biracial immigrant American candidate to run on a prospective presidential ticket ii) makes that the first biracial immigrant American female ...iii) all of the immediately preceding attended by the very real prospect of this individual, Kamala Harris, being the first president emerging from the previously mentioned cohort. Less obvious, is the seismic impact and implication this -set of firsts - poses for this critical epicenter of global capitalism, its transnational gatekeepers, and the strategic coalition/s that ensure the sustenance of subjugation and colonization of indigenous, immigrant and diaspora people as a community. Here I wish to highlight the harbinger of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict, the skilled brokers, translators, mediators – *black lives matter*, their kindred relationship with synecdoches of subjugation and colonization in Gaza, television and cable networks inside/outside the USA – and the littoral from Ferguson Missouri¹ to Palestine (Lamont-Hill 2016). Of significance here, is the United States-Israeli coalition, having its historical underpinning in the Richard Nixon-Golda Meir era of Cold War politics. At that juncture, the decision to watch each other’s back by guarding each other’s interests – Israel’s in the United States Congress², and the US’s in the Middle East – had ensured that all along the littoral, juridical-sovereign power established the requisite micro managemental constraints on its more adventurous biopolitical, laissez faire management variety. What this has meant in terms of the television and cable networks in the United States is a quotidian vernacular that is more concerned about representation than reality, effectively executed propaganda (hasbara) more-so than truth (emet) ; in other words, *it matters not if justice and truth is on the side of Israel and the United States as its incestuous ally; rather the*

¹ Here Ferguson (Missouri) may be apprehended as synecdochical of what Said (2005) has apprehended as exiled communities and Gundaker (2000) as Borderlands; in other words, the indigenous, immigrant and diaspora as an outsider

² We refer here specifically to the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee and its seismic influence in determining US government policy towards Israel.

imperative was to depict their position -in the Gaza Occupation - as just and truthful (Netanyahu in Media Education Foundation 2016), this is in as far as these US networks take on the Middle East Crisis is concerned. The synecdochical epicenter of this incestuousness was graphically depicted with the joint sitting of the house of congress giving Benjamin Netanyahu a standing ovation for AIPAC³ election campaign contributions, and by extension, an open cheque for Israel's continued West Bank violations (Rosenberg 2016). In terms of cash returns on AIPAC quid-pro-quo investments, this has meant news networks in the USA intertwining, the narrative of Palestinian Terror on Jews over that of the latter's illegal occupation of West Bank territory with a proclivally suspicious approach to a Kamala Harris being attached to the Biden ticket; all this in their effort to effectively police the Ferguson-to-Palestine littoral. Therefore, the rationale for this investigation is to determine the extent to which a [re]-focus on the vernacular practices of these skilled brokers, translators, mediators – those of a bio-political (laissez faire management orientation) as well as those of a juridical-sovereign orientation - will provide a very few, and hopefully effective insights, on the fault lines of subjugation and colonization inherent in the 2020 US election race war. Here again, the assumption, following the lead of Drummond and Gundaker, is that the *simplest explanation* for the discriminatory practices between networks in the USA and their European counterparts, is that the political economy of the former and its form of Liberal Capitalism – that is one committed to the Judeo-Christian credo encrypted in the Nixon/Meir coalition – is the non-negotiable matrix of determination. That is the determination of who wins and who loses in the struggle for US electronic media space. However, as Gundaker et al will attest, the susceptibility of *Occam's Razor* to an overdetermination of meanings, has increased exponentially in this post Bretton Woods biopolitical era; this, for a set of reasons, two of which we examine here. First, the Cultural Turn of the 1970's has brought with it, a veering away from the reductionist approach to meaning, consistent with acculturationist and functionalist theorists' interpretation of cultural phenomenon (Jameson 1998). In a context where the venerated practice was to assume that social institutions were the primary producers and repositories of culture, the reflex was to conflate political and economic domination with that of the cultural. Rather, the alternative keyed to the complex mix of politics,

³ The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC /'eɪpæk/ AY-pak) is a lobbying group that advocates pro-Israel policies to the Congress and Executive Branch of the United States. The quid pro quo relationship between the US government via its turning a blind eye to the Apartheid-like policies of Israel in return for joint Democratic and Republican election funding is graphically reflected in the supine Israel in return for joint funding to the Republican and Democratic parties for national elections, is graphically reflected in the supine approach to American cable and television network reporting under their proverbial mantra: Israel has the right to defend themselves against Palestinian Terror Attacks

economy and culture, is the researcher's attention to vernacular practices as to institutions (Gundaker 2000, 126). Secondly, the kleptocratic-neo-Fascist threat posed by the Trump era to the United States political economy and its mode of neo-liberal [political] practice, has exponentially disaffected the homeostasis between juridical-sovereign and biopolitical power, resulting in a boon for the latter; this is in the tactical advantages to the most colonized and subjugated in the war against the state (West 2020). This is in as far as these exiled communities have used the tactical advantage of their ballot in their war against the American State. The exhumation of the use of this kind of soft power has triggered what some academicians would apprehend as a crisis of choice in the concomitant political landscape. Here American networks have been caught between the proverbial Scylla and Charybdis; the current scramble to end the Trump Reality Show⁴ and the concomitant loss of the financial fringe benefits that come with it (including significant AIPAC funding) or to align themselves with the best reporting practices of the wider collegium of television and cable networks globally. Here the reflex would be an un-recalcitrant commitment towards unbiased reporting, despite the voyeuristic gaze of corporate and transnational power, and the scramble for their money. The rationale for this investigation is therefore to determine how the leverage of soft power palimpsestic to this crisis may be connected to Kamala Harris' selection to the democratic ticket and its evidence in the vernacular expressions at critical pre-election performance checkpoints. Further still, how creolization, as a trope beyond the metropolitan borders contributes to the complexity of this investigation.

Purpose of the Study

Kamala Harris's record as a public prosecutor and her current record as a junior senator – when examined as a whole -has appeared to be schizophrenic. To some of the pundits of the US liberal democratic system she was anything but a progressive reformer, and to some African-Americans in particular, she contributed to the aggregate misery of their reduced life chances. On the other hand, interviews with her as a junior senator have portrayed a tacit reinvention of herself as an ultra-progressive; being identified as one of those forces who will drive Biden to the Left if he is elected. For these, and other purveyors of the proverbial liberal-conservative continuum of American Neo-Liberalism, this ambivalence points – at best – to puerile uncertainty, not compatible with vice-presidential pedigree; at worst, a cause for mistrust.

The purpose of this investigation is to rummage into the creole tool box to determine if there may be potential ways beyond the reductionist approach of

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the simplest explanation, to grapple with this alleged schizophrenia. We refer here – in terms of the tool box metaphor – to the alchemy of languages, behavioral styles, and material repertoire associated with the social world, that scholars of intercultural situations viscerally intuit as being connected to behavior *beyond the borders* or alternatively, within the context of *borderlands in motion* (Madsen 2003 Gundaker 2000, 124-133; Drummond 1980, 352-374). Here, the intercultural or intersystemic situations that this researcher has given attention to is the race war in the Palestinian West Bank between the Israeli Government and indigenous people and in the United States between the current – Trump – government and the black population. We give specific attention to the propaganda campaign (hasbara) sic, as represented through the vista of the documentary: *Occupation of the American Mind – Israel’s Public Relations’ War in the United States* (US) (Mundovision Productions 2016). This campaign highlights the uncritical stance of US Television and Cable Networks (USTCN) towards Israel’s illegal occupation of the West Bank as well as the draconian tactics attended by the governing regime; this is in contrast to their European counterparts. The researcher uses the intersystem approach to draw lines of connection between this phenomenon and the narrative in the USA, as this narrative relates these skilled brokers, translators, mediators contrasting interpretation of Harris’s pre-election performance on critical appraisal check points⁵. Further, even beyond the antinomies of success and failure at these check points, are the anomalies that critics see as disturbingly puzzling; enthusiasts as *unnecessary baggage that should be expeditiously shed* if defeat in the 2020 elections is not to be stolen from the jaws of victory for Harris and her democratic party. This researcher looks to her code-switching/immigrant/inferior alter ⁶as the creolized trojan horse to explore these anomalies; we refer here to her Indian-Jamaican social world’s employment of what Nettleford apprehends as the creative imagination, to avoid the wholly assimilationist impulse of her superior American ego (Fanon 1961, 37-38; Nettleford 2003).

However, a caveat is instore those who limit creolization to this subservient rather than subversive understanding; Gray Gundaker continues:

The idea of creolization as an ac/culturative, even interculturative process between “black” and “white,” with the (subordinate) black absorbing

⁵ Our reference to pre-election performances give primary focus to: i) the senate hearings where senator Harris has distinguished her self in terms of her prosecutorial skills via questions posed to high public officials hand-pick by President Donald Trump since coming to office ii) the individual debates between aspiring candidates for the vice presidential and presidential offices cum vice-presidential debates between presumptive and incumbent iii) personal interviews with American television and cable network anchors iv) daily interaction with constituency and potential constituency members.

⁶

“progressive” ideas and technology from the white, has to be modified into a more complex vision in which appears the notion of negative or regressive creolization: a self-conscious refusal to borrow or be influenced by the Other, and a coincident desire to fall back upon, unearth, recognize elements in the maroon or ancestral culture that will preserve or apparently preserve the unique identity of the group. This quality of consciousness is recognized in all modern societies as one of the roots of nationalism (Gundaker 2000, 128).

Research Questions

To what extent are the neo-liberal tools associated with the Western Epistemology of Consciousness generally, and the United States national political arena particularly and its US Television and Cable Networks (USTCN) apparatus, an underdetermined means of assessing Kamala Harris’ pre-election performance in the regularized check points, for evaluating presidential-ticket-readiness?

To what extent is her American-Immigrant identity and its related-ness to Creolization an effective and efficient augment to such an analysis?

How may the Foucauldian concept of Racial Warfare explored through the cartography laid out by an intersystem approach and its relation to Creolization augment an understanding of the crisis of choice faced by the USTCN in their continued – less than critical- genuflection to the Judeo-Christian Credo as manifested in the historical Nixon-Meir Coalition?

Methodology/Method

In search of a methodological overview, this researcher has adopted the view from Grey Gundaker’s discussion on Creolization, Complexity and Time that an intersystem approach may be apprehended as a two-tier approach to the assessment of Senator Harris’s pre-election performance record. The first level draws on Occam’s Razor and his assertion that *pluralitas non est ponenda sine necessitate*, “plurality should not be posited without necessity.” The principle gives precedence to simplicity: of two competing theories, the simpler explanation of an entity is to be preferred. The principle is also expressed as “Entities are not to be multiplied beyond necessity” (Duignan 1998; 2015). It is in this context that we apprehend the liberal (left) to conservative (right) as an ideological – linear - continuum against which we assess Harris as a progressive criminal justice reformer, or conversely, one who does not fit the bill. The second tier poses the question as to what happens when creolization meets Occam? Here we wish to focus on the immediately above Occamian translation - *Entities are not*

to be multiplied beyond necessity – for the richness of meaning preserved in the deconstruction of Occam - into Foucault’s architectural adjustments to juridical sovereign power to effect the biopolitical variety. We draw on his definition of biopower as evidence of a direct counter positioning with Occam. Foucault writes of

[A] power that exerts a positive influence on life, that endeavours to administer, optimize, and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations (Adams 2017 par.4).

The insight corresponds with his triple adjustment to sovereign-juridical authority: i) *the biopolitics of the individual* - anatomo-politics of the human body, where individual bodies are kept under carceral observation, and if necessary, subject to punishment (Coleman and Grove 2009, 493) ii) *the biopolitics of the social* - “biopolitics of the human race” (Foucault 2006, 243). Foucault explains this as a remote and aggregate form of management which has as its goal making populations live in productive ways as well as insuring against the “random element inherent in a population of human beings” (Foucault 2006, 246; Coleman and Grove 2009, 493) iii) *state racism*- the return of a (decentered) sovereign right to kill at the heart of biopolitics, “unleashed throughout the entire social body” (Foucault 2006, 253; Coleman and Grove 2009, 493). The fly in the ointment is the multiplicative factor, the heteroglossia in the social body arising from these three adjustments.

Occam’s Razor and the creative imagination

In crafting a method therefore, the researcher has employed a vox media blog crafted by German Lopez as his data base, that does a type of cost/benefit accounting of what he labels as: *Kamala Harris’s controversial record on criminal justice explained* (Lopez 2020). This blog invariably captures the spirit of the first tier and its reductionist Ochamian focus, as a kind of Bentham hedonic calculus. He cites a contrasting mosaic of opinions interpreting her performance track record from district attorney to attorney general of California as evidence of the apparent contradictions to the consistent cartography of progressive law reformer that she has sought to craft. In his own attempt to *explain* these contradictions, Lopez posits the following:

But what seem like contradictions may reflect a *balancing act*. Harris’s parents worked on civil rights causes, and she came from a background well aware of the excesses of the criminal justice system – but in office, she played the role of a prosecutor and California’s lawyer. She started in an era when “tough on crime” politics were popular across party lines –

but she rose to national prominence as criminal justice reform started to take off nationally. She had an eye on higher political office as support for criminal justice reform became de rigueur for Democrats – but she still had to work as California’s top law enforcement official (Lopez 2020 par.8),

Palimpsestic to Lopez’s insight is the definition continuum between a modernist view of cultural identity posited at the beginning of this paper, and its postmodern variant. Closer to the former essentialist perspective where identity is deemed to be real, we are apprehending what cultural theorists have understood as cultural fluidity as an alternate translation to *the walking tightrope (balancing)* trope, this in the context of the hegemonic American Culture and its assimilationist posture and the creative imagination that the Immigrant- assimilated- alter brings to the table, in the face of the totalizing impact of the former. Therefore in the face of her recalcitrance to release people from prison after they were proved innocent, defending the California death penalty system in court, resisting calls to get her office to investigate certain police shootings; she concomitantly, pushed for programs that helped people find jobs instead of putting them in prison, refused to pursue the death penalty against a man who killed a police officer, implemented training programs to address police officers’ racial biases (Lopez 2020 par.7).

Here the pre-Bretton Wood totality of juridical-sovereign power is being implicated in what Mazrui understands as the second wave of globalization generally associated with the fledgling period of independence from the European metropolitan centers, and having two components; homogenization and hegemonization (Mazrui 1999; Burton 2009, 7). The former explains why the Gopalan family in New Delhi India, and the Harris family in Brown’s town Jamaica, under this second wave⁷ saw emigration to the neo colonial center of the United States as critical to their families’ self advancement. The latter - hegemonization - is why a Kamala Harris driven by higher political goals than law-enforcement, and recognizing that she had been signed by the dual omen of race and gender, negotiated untenured progressivism for shrewdness; especially at a time when the top cop was obligated to apply tough measures, which were very much the vogue, in dealing with crime.

At the other end of the littoral – in Gaza Palestine, the pervasiveness of the propaganda in regard to Israeli Occupation of Gaza and the West Bank was crafted in its own idiosyncratic vernacular, that underlined juridical-sovereign

⁷ The assumption is that the triangular slave trade provides the premiere exemplar of globalization.

power though paradoxically materializing as a post-Bretton Woods phenomenon. We refer to Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 allegedly in an attempt to nullify the Palestinian Liberation Organization offensive. Concomitant to this attack was the launching of what generally is thought to be one of the most sophisticated media campaigns aimed at reconciling the aggressor-victim conundrum, under the scaffolding mantra asserting *Israel's right to defend themselves*; this in the face of blatant terror against Palestinian people (Jhally 2016). Here we recognize Frank Luntz as one of the critical contemporary gatekeepers - skilled brokers, translators, mediators, - policing the littoral between Palestine and the United States. As the pied piper who is credited for the tune to which virtually -if not- all US cable and television networks subscribe, in their trenchant focus on *Palestinian terror against Jews over the illegal Jewish occupation of Palestinian territory*; he has also taken responsibility for the melody to which the *white/Anglo-Saxon/protestant/Jewish sections* of the American Choir make de rigueur responses when assessing Kamala Harris' pre-election check-point performances. Again, the fly in the ointment is that where sovereign-juridical power traditionally had exclusive rights to this America to Palestine Corridor - metonymized in Luntz and other contemporaries of the Jewish-American Coalition - it has now become the home of uninvited electronic termites. We refer here to the proliferation of social media and internet new sources, video footage and high profile documentaries, that have facilitated linkage between Israeli terror against Palestinians, the human rights atrocities against blacks in the United States, and the rationale for the need to muzzle senator Harris as a synecdochical point-guard of the proliferation of soft - biopolitical - power; this is in the centrifugal sense (Jhally 2016).

Creole meets Occam

The second data base comes from South African comedian, writer, producer, political commentator, actor, and television host Trevor Noah's Today's Show and his getting-to-know interview with Kamala Harris (Noah 2020). We draw on his Daily Show for several reasons, some of which are: i) the researcher believes that as a stand-up comedian, his presentation package parodies many of the features associated with the latter - postmodern - view of discourse as - vernacular - practices as explored in the work of Foucault (19975-76; 1977-78) and indeed by Drummond (1980) and Gundaker (2000). These devices are reinscribed and multiplied in the quotidian experience of racial warfare ii) his interview with senator Harris provides an opportunity for a tacit creole redress to Ochamian reductionism; this deconstruction process being symptomatic of Drummond and Gundakers' work in intersystem theory iii) arguably, the elitist emphasis on power in the Foucauldian sense, is

synecdochically effected in Noah's graphical presentation, to the point of enabling the researcher to convey to the reader, the limitation to the former's view of subjugation and colonization (Radhakrishnan 1996, 27-61) iv) contingent on iii), the researcher is able to identify and isolate creole as a unique type of biopower emerging from beyond the boundary, a legacy of exiled cultural spaces (Said 2003).

Foucauldian discourse as previously indicated, is encrypted within the struggle between juridical-sovereign power and biopolitical power, crafted by the three adjustments mentioned at the beginning of this section. The multiplication – heteroglossia – derived from this triple-adjustment, is evidenced in this Harris's book-promotion you-tube interview by Noah. He graphically recaps her grilling Bret Kavanaugh, the recently promoted associate justice of the US supreme court, under the cloud of being so strategically positioned, to facilitate the protection of president Trump from criminal impeachment. Here *grilling*, that would normally be in the service of oppressive juridical-sovereign power – black America's final frontier/obstacle to desegregation of schools as a case in point – is now being re-deployed to exhume oppressive/disenfranchising/socially alienating information – a biopolitical trope. Further, this redeployment has resonance on the other side of the Ferguson to Palestine littoral, where Rula Jabreal points to John Snow, Channel Four Anchor in the United Kingdom, *grilling* Mark Regev about Israel's bombing of the Al- Wafa hospital in Palestine (Jabreal 2016). We may, in the context of this Ferguson to Palestine corridor, realign Harris's questioning of Kavanaugh, not only with immigrants from the boundary lands, but additionally with indigenous people's interests, metonymized by Snow, and diaspora people generally, in their race war against the Israeli-United States Coalition and its congress acolytes. If the reader senses a cosmopolitan underpinning to this corridor, it is deliberate; it may resonate with Frantz Fanon's *black skin white masks* very bold -literary- attempt to articulate WEB DuBois race war in the United States to a global audience (Fanon 1967; Wynter 2001, 31; Gagne 2007, 253). Here we observe intersecting threads of connection between post-colonial [l]iterature, the Black Atlantic sea coast (littoral) and a [l]iteral struggle of Palestinian/African/Asian diasporas encapsulated in Harris putting Kavanaugh's *feet to the fire*⁸; this, for being in bed with Jewish/American plutocracy.

Secondly, Gundaker presents a very intuitive example of a taxonomy that we may inadvertently grade from opulence to depravity – where the former

⁸ This metaphor only adds to Harris's increasing repertoire of firsts, we are referring to the first vice president who brings with her extraordinary cuisine skills to this office.

represents the quintessence of de-creolization, and the latter optimal creolization. The purpose of this facilitation is to make the point that the essence of creolization is variation and change, not uniformity and synchronicity (Drummond 1980 34; Gundaker 2000, 124). We have adopted this taxonomy in our examination of the performance check-points of Senator Harris in her run up to the November 3rd general elections. This taxonomy is ordered from what we consider to be: a) the most poignant expression of judicial-sovereign power – the senate hearings b) the next level is constitutive of the individual and vice presidential debates, interviews with cable and television network personnel cum book promotion- the interview with Noah would fall into this category c) finally the interaction with her extant and potential constituency members. From this taxonomy block, we have deselected two bytes of information for continued exploration. The rationale for this very limited deselection is (i) that our investigation has already covered sovereign power in terms of the grilling discourse, and under the force of subjugation and colonization, the lighted causeways it provided to the most disenfranchised; Fanon's wretched of the earth (ii) intersystem theory finds its exegetical strength in the qualitative connections that it is able to bring to the light of quotidian experience and the level of ummatic (visceral) support it is able to solicit in doing so, not in predetermined hierarchies. This aside, we have deselected, first of all the affable moment of self-disclosure about her growing up under the tutelage of her own admittedly amazing mother that Harris identified – this affability reiterated by her umbilical link with Noah's own single-mother's-maternal-tutelage – and compared this affability with what we will caption, as the juridical-sovereign hostility of her sixty minutes interview with Nora O'Donnell. My reference to hostility must be apprehended within the Foucauldian context of the reinscription of Lockean Contract theory into the quotidian- race-war - experience. Therefore, the *frivolity* label that has been attached by some television and cable networks to Harris's approach to O'Donnell's interrogation of i) her - allegedly - being maybe the most left-of-center senator on the democratic ticket ii) whether or not she intends with taking office to drive Biden to the ideological left, is being exhumed by this researcher as a trope of creolization ; here we apprehend the latter as a focus on livity before ideology (Gundaker 2000) . This refractive recourse to life experience as a primary way of understanding the world – which is the essential answer Harris posited to O'Donnell's quibble about forcing/ not-forcing Biden to the ideological left – is the trojan horse to neoliberalism and its antinomic approach to life. From Bob Marley to Stuart Hall, it has been employed as an insurance policy: against invasive questions into the financial worth of the former, against being ever out of touch with current experience in the latter (Marley 2012; Nealon 2016). The emphasis here in the

case of these three diaspora persons is on contingency not antinomy. In the case of Marley, the vitriol of the 1970's - 1980's Jamaica and the temptation to resort to the gun as answer to exploitative music producers, found its redress on two fronts; the catharsis of his music, and the recognition that the emperor Haile Selassie had levelled the playing field against injustice by bringing equal misery to the life of music producers (Marley 1973). In the case of Hall, the great pendulum swing of neo-liberalism had to find its resolution, in the currency of Thatcherism and its historical ramifications. For Harris it was the cash value of being raised by a single immigrant mother, and the cultural fluidity needed to survive as a black female prosecutor.

While this refractive recourse to life experience as a primary way of understanding the world, has been *chicken soup* for the creolized - working class, subjugated, oppressed, colonized - soul, it is considered an aberration to unbridled capitalism and its occultic obsession with freedom. Here, in deselecting the second bit of information from the *today show interview with Harris* to highlight this obsession claim, in the face of the Occamian reductionism underlying American neo-liberalism, we note what constitutes Noah's counter argument that he adds to his graphics to enhance the ethical appeal of his presentation. We refer to the insert that draws on Harris's walk through her constituency and invoking the code-switch from constituency oversight to that of top cop through the threat to lock-up parents or guardians who do not make sending their children to school a priority. Harris then satirically points to the fact that the strategy worked; evidenced by immediate - subsequent - enhancement of the schools' student populations. Her mimicry of the rumored response of the related parents to the damoclean threat of a lock-up obviously did her no favors in the eyes of neo liberal pundits, especially those who within the context of the conservative-to-radical conundrum sought to consign her to the "tough on crime tomb" and dock political points from her progressivist resume.

However, despite Noah's attempt to parody the searing questions that Harris nay-sayers will attempt to pose in regard to this tough love display by her as part of his comedy act, and his best intentions to have her shed this *unnecessary baggage* in light of her being potentially on the cusp of making history as vice presidential nominee, we argue this alleged faux pas provides an opportunity, to reclaim Kamala Harris as a cryolite agent. Again, we invoke Gundaker: "in practice, linear argument often constitutes a ...reinforcement for reductiveness that obscures cryolite variability because it aims to demonstrate predictability, an invariant connection between a "cause" and an "effect"" (Gundaker 2000, 127). The variability being referred to, constitutes Harris's

improvised switch from prosecutor to village enforcer to ensure that justice is achieved on behalf of the child in terms of her right to an education. Here the occultic preoccupation with individual rights and freedoms – as neoliberal trope – is being overturned by African communal ethics via the Nigerian – Igbo – culture and proverb 'Oran a azu nwa', which means it takes a community or village to raise a child. The same sentiment is echoed in proverbs of various other African cultures, such as the Swahili proverb “One hand does not nurse a child”, the Sudanese proverb “A child is a child of everyone” and the Tanzanian proverb “One knee does not bring up a child” (Sangonet 2010, par.2-3). For the neoliberal pundit, the concern was about what she said; for the challenged black community in her California constituency, the concern is about who is speaking. As a case in point, we may consider the incarcerated Jamaican dance hall artist Vybz Cartel being momentarily released to do a back to school concert at the start of the Fall Semester. The concern of the security forces as a metonymy of juridical-sovereign power would be centripetal – any incendiary statement that would be considered counter to the process of maintaining law and order; for the community it was the gangsta DJ who buss and pointed the way for them, out of the miasma of poverty and squalor- centrifugality. Harris as a cryolite encapsulates this Derridean paradox of ipseity and difference, of cop-on-the-beat and community enforcer (Pada 2007). Further, for cryolites this polyvocality is the norm, not an exception, for neoliberals it spells treachery to the progressive cause. Gundaker further argues that if one attends instead to the above networks of associations, to intersystems, it becomes easier to see how participants orchestrate shifts of identity and interpretive framing (Gundaker 2000, 127).

The shibboleth of the neoliberal at this point is to either *exoticize Harris as a prosecutorial anomaly* or to *universalize improvisation as a black – reference being made here to her biracial extract – endowment that is not shared by any other ethnic group*; in its answer-back to the western epistemology of consciousness, creole again balks at such a characterization. Focusing on either distinctness or universality can obscure important contextual information and purposeful ambiguities (Gundaker 2000, 128). The cultural wars around identity politics within a postmodern milieu, may be better redressed therefore, by primarily making theory accountable to the world – specific reference here being made to exiled/refugee/racially-marginalized communities – while eschewing narrow methodologies or isms – specific reference being made here to [A]merican neoliberalism (Radhakrishnan1996). Further, it means establishing productive dialogue between different disciplines and critical practices to establish common ground (Radhakrishnan1996).

Research findings and recommendation

The creole window has provided two observations that when read from the perspective of American neoliberalism seem contradictory to their progressivist construct, but we declare to be trojan horses that though falling outside of the scope of the conservative to liberal radar, finds its cultural identity resonance between modern and postmodern creolization (Williams 2020, 16; Fanon 1961, 37-38; Nettleford 2003; Gundaker 2000, 128). The first -modernist-observation, a choice of shrewdness above untenured progressivism, would suggest that being signed by the double threat of race and gender may have forced Harris into this negotiating position in light of her goal of higher political office. We draw here as a case in point on the cinematic interpretation of the great debaters from Wiley Collage in Marshall Texas of the mid 1930's where James Farmer (PhD) reminded his son to keep his eye on the ball (nevertheless) when given the great news that the latter was the youngest replacement selectee on the stellar team. This was an era when excellence for African and Asian diaspora from the colonies and the plantation economies of the American South was defined by the capacity to delay gratification; this was the trade mark of the native elites who replaced the colonial leadership in the fledgling days of independence. Further this was the stuff of which: Gwendolyn Simmons, Thurgood Marshall, Diana Nash, Charles Hamilton, Paul Robeson as movers and shakers of the civil rights movement, among so many others, was made. Still further, these individuals punched way above their weight levels - athletically, academically, and culturally; and prompted ascriptions like *likkle-but-tallawah* to be ascribed to their post-colonial territories and US counties of origin (Gray 2004; 2010).

The second-post-modern-observation probes more deeply into the 'evolution over time' linguistic and other discursive properties relating to text, talk and (cultural) context of minorities, immigrants and other peoples (Van Dijk 2008, 96). What this implies is that the subtle exhumation of the juxtaposing tensions between the individual and the communal, Harris as the cosmopolitan mix of the Americanized biracial woman on the one hand as top cop, and repressing the visceral difference between herself and the Bantustan vernacular that her black constituents understand. The rationale for this unearthing is the ocular blind-spot that occultic individualism, derived from American neoliberalism, has levied on American culture; in the context of the post Bretton Wood emergence of biopower and biopolitics. This has resulted in the travesty of

Harris as creolization metonymy, being emblematic of the two mantra terms of this green economy era; mobilization and mitigation, and yet, being hidden in plain sight. What was being missed by Noah and network pundits in their scramble to repackage Harris for full election readiness, is the cultural wars around identity politics within a postmodern milieu, which as indicated above,, is better redressed therefore, by making theory accountable to the world – specific reference here being made to exiled/refugee/racially-marginalized communities – while eschewing narrow methodologies or isms – specific reference being made here to [A]merican neoliberalism (Radhakrishnan1996). This Harris performance was vintage vernacular practice.

Limitations to the research

In order to increase internal reliability, and what Martin Barber apprehends as a defensible corpus of knowledge in this ethnographic investigation (Barber 2006, 163), we have captured both text and video – YouTube – footage to match theory in the former, with supportive evidence in the latter. However, the pro-Israel lobbyists may argue that a more varied use of documentaries rather than (Mundovision Productions 2016) singly would improve the reliability of information, in relation to varied interpretations in meaning. My response to this criticism is that the Mundovision consultation team gathered in terms of depth interviews demonstrated significant ethnic, racial, and ideological variability. However Max Blumenthal expresses what we believe to be the mantra of distinction that sets the high watermark of this documentary when he declares: “...everyone who decides that she/he is going to tell the other side of the Jewish/Palestinian narrative knows he has crossed a barrier...but have said to themselves they are willing to pay the price” (Blumenthal 2016). Here Blumenthal captures the quintessential spirit of the commitment to *good-faith-journalism*. There is very little sterner stuff than this to put the cap on this kind of ethnographic inquiry.

Conclusion

Western liberalism and its guarantees of ideological left-right insurance policies, have been shattered by the frivolities of creolization. This is not unlike the pre-Bretton-Woods scenario, where the iron-clad-castle of juridical-sovereign power fortified by treaties; Churchill – the few, Lincoln-Geddes burg and Jack Kennedy- inauguration, was shattered by the exhumation of its shenanigans to the global south. Here Foucauldian apparatuses: social media and internet new

sources, video footage and high-profile documentaries, cable and television networks, have been instrumental in this exposure. However, the zero-sum-game of American neoliberalism and its rooting in the Nixon-Meir (Judeo-Christian) coalition, poses a tsunamic propaganda challenge aided by power of their money. The research has argued that Kamala Harris – inadvertently or otherwise – has been a synecdoche of creolization, where its potency lies in its trojan horse characteristic. We refer here to the refraction through daily life experience as its primary reflex; the focus on livity before ideology. Still further we argue that the relationship between the former and the latter is one of contingency and not antinomy. Finally, we argue that the United States of America faces a probably unprecedented period in its history – an Armageddon – where exogenous-juridical-sovereign-power is in cataclysmic confrontation with the endogenous – biopolitical variant. The Harris metonymy and her performative pre-election practice of the latter challenges us to further explore how cryolite vernacular practice may be instrumental in the mobilization and mitigation against social inequality; this kind of pedagogical intervention is non-negotiable.

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