

MEMORIES OF THE FUTURE.
MAROON INTELLECTUALS FROM THE CARIBBEAN AND THE SOURCES OF
THEIR COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES, 1925-1940

by

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MEMORIES OF THE FUTURE: MAROON INTELLECTUALS FROM THE
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STRATEGIES, 1925 - 1940

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation traces the movement of Fernando Ortiz, Patricia Galvão, Elma Francois, Richard Hart and C.L.R. James across the Caribbean region and the groups in which they pioneered research about popular communication strategies between 1925 and 1940. By considering the history of the connections made between collective memories and the means of confirming how those interventions were shared in other territories, it is possible to examine how direct(ed) experience and consciousness are modified through social practices that turn the popular into a cultural force. This is the research problem, and these groups are brought together in their context to understand the situation which drove them to apply the historical practices they were investigating. The ways of questioning reality suggested by those collective practices are a contribution to the research methods in Communication.

After constructing a vocabulary underscoring the limitations of the current discussion about popular cultures, I examine materials produced by or about these groups pioneering emancipatory perspectives to see how their organized activity revealed obstacles to participation in the whole social order. Each case was approached with

questions designed to explain the means of communication used by the researchers while elaborating popular perspectives through events in which they participated and which they had promoted. This method of historical analysis was informed by the social and communication theories matured during similar junctures at subsequent historical periods by the Johnson-Forest group (U.S.A.), Paulo Freire (Brazil) and Jesús Ibáñez (Spain).

The results of the investigation demonstrate how these groups of intellectuals worked with the popular to transmit memories and produce a history of the present. The networks which resulted from such cooperation helped the intellectuals overcome their isolation and connected the popular opposition with their peers across the region. Despite the discontinuities imposed by the organization of work and public space, these groups created communication strategies which questioned all aspects of daily life and proposed inclusive methods of conducting dialogic research about becoming historical subjects.

The sense of community generated among those who became aware of the world in the process of emancipating each other in non-negotiable situations is what produced the popular communication strategies.

To my parents, for reasons which
exceed the space available here.

"Thought only acquires meaning in actions to transform the world." Paulo Freire. Pedagogía del Oprimido [Pedagogy of the oppressed] (1970)

"This is the theory that workers want...What they want are historical experiences which apply to their own problems and aims, not to abstractions...These are the things that serious students of theory want to know...to understand an account of what happened and why...This is theory and practice." C.L.R. James, Grace Lee, Pierre Chaulieu [Cornelius Castoriadis]. Facing Reality (1958)

"The cultural history of the Caribbean masses is the history of marronnage" Gerard Pierre-Charles. El Pensamiento Socio-Político Moderno en el Caribe [Modern Socio-Political Thought in the Caribbean] (1985)

"In the contemporary Caribbean our [Maroon] heritage is at the same time our utopia." Angel Quintero Rivera in Coloquio Internacional sobre el Imaginario Social Contemporáneo [International Colloquium on the Contemporary Social Imaginary] (1991)

"The maroon is a traditional voluntary act of collective work" Maurice Bishop in Nobody's Back Yard, Maurice Bishop's Speeches: 1979-1983 (1984)

"The notion of 'antillanite' or Caribbeanness, emerges from a reality we will have to question, but also corresponds to a dream that we must clarify and whose legitimacy must be demonstrated...What is missing...is the transition from the shared experience to the conscious expression; the need to transcend the intellectual pretensions...to be grounded in collective affirmation..." Edouard Glissant. Caribbean Discourse, Selected Essays (1992)

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Conversations around the fire

At the beginning of the Black Jacobins, C.L.R. James described the contrast between the behaviour of the Haitian slaves during the working day and their conversation around the supper fire.¹ Using the notes of 18th century travellers in the French colony, James contrasted the apparent docility with the lively and intelligent exchanges. The slaves told stories wherein skill defeated force, taught each other about new plants and exchanged ideas about their future freedom. There were also domestic servants in those plantations who had the opportunity of learning to read the slavers' books and newspapers. Those Haitian slaves who had not escaped the fields or the master's house by suicide, lived in free-mountain communities since the beginning of the 17th century, either as individual runaways or as free people in an urban district.

Around the evening fires of the plantation barracks and the mountain communities the participants in those conversations created a common representation of their new situation. Across the Caribbean region these processes of

oppositional adaptation were often repeated, with the variations that could be expected in each specific case. Nevertheless, these efforts shared the goal of changing borrowed cultural materials so as to ensure the survival and continuity of a shared critical consciousness. By bending and qualifying the dominant ideas without leaving a visible trace, the humanity and freedom of the enslaved were nurtured despite persecution. According to Sylvia Wynter, this strategy of survival also succeeded in changing the slavers' mode of communication by injecting the tension of unpredictable opposition. (Wynter, 1976, p.137) This tension was felt in the daily activities of the slaves on the plantations and the free mountain communities as well as in the subversive exploits of the domestic servants. Their actions included destruction of machinery, poisoning animals and wells, storing supplies for the maroons, spying on slavers, forging travel documents for messengers who connected subversive groups that included recaptured maroons/runaways, purchasing weapons and executing masters.

The meaning of the words in European languages was also altered by the dominated who used their learned languages to connect the dispersed opposition to slavery among the slaves, the servants, and the mountain villagers into a social movement. This tendency to identify the means of expression for the collective consciousness of the dominated continued among some writers and activists during the

colonial period. By the 1920s both European and North American representations of the Caribbean, as well as social theories and research methods were being borrowed, "translated" and incorporated into the region's radical traditions.² It was a type of cultural work performed by people with some degree of autonomy from the main tasks of social production and reproduction.

The work of Ortiz, Galvão, Francois, Hart and James presented in this dissertation contains some early and original findings about popular cultures and processes of communication. This pioneering work in our field emerged both in their writings about race, class, gender, nation and religion, and in their organized activity during the 1925-1940 period. One of the particularities of these groups in Cuba, Brazil, Jamaica, Trinidad and London here was an effort not only to study this process of critical reassembly, but also the communication strategies through which it occurred, through their collaboration with the social movements involved.

While the central figures of each case study will be introduced now, the content of the conversations around their "supper fire" will be presented later. Fernando Ortiz came from a family of Spanish merchants who arrived in Cuba during the 19th century. His research into the cultural history of the recently independent nation included the popular elements among the majority. Ortiz supported the use

of cultural themes by activist-intellectuals both in the Black Renaissance and the political opposition.

The second central figure is Patricia Galvão whose family lived in a working class neighbourhood of São Paulo, Brazil. While still training as a teacher, she became one of the muses of the radical artists from the upper classes. Galvão joined the organized political opposition and later became a foreign correspondent in North America, Asia and Europe.

The third central figure is Elma Francois who grew up among the Garifuna Maroons in St. Vincent. After migrating to Trinidad she became the organizer and ideologue for an early alliance of agricultural labourers, industrial workers, pan-africanists and feminists. Their organization combined the radical practices of migrants returning from trans-Atlantic experiences with a regional conception of anti-colonialism.

The fourth central figure is a Jamaican journalist and labour organizer named Richard Hart. Sent abroad to study law by his middle class family, Hart helped to organize the radical caucus of the nationalist movement after his return. His research of the opposition of the slaves to slavery was integrated into the educational activities of the inner circle and it was included in the speeches of the People's National Party's 1944 electoral campaign.

The fifth and last central figure is C.L.R. James whose family belonged to the Black middle classes in Trinidad. In addition to being a teacher like his father, James was a cricketer and a writer participating in a racially-mixed collective of intellectuals in Port of Spain. When James migrated to England his archival research was expanded to include the international workers' movement and pan-africanism.

The Caribbean was the first region in the Americas where issues of cultural autonomy appeared and were debated (see Table 9). This did not occur at the same time across the region, yet the variety of those debates points to the multiple experiments of globalization still occurring there between the world wars. (Bosch, 1983; Trouillot, 1989, p.247; Williams, 1984) That time span was chosen for this dissertation because it is the juncture in which the popular intervened in the national scene representing itself. During that period, some intellectuals were responding collectively to problems of national sovereignty, race and class conflicts, economic crises and fragmented memories by including the practices of the popular cultures in their analyses and debates; practices that were attempts to transform the dominant premises while changing the relations of force.

The combination of theory and practice was important to the groups of activist-intellectuals included in these case

studies, as it should be for communication scholars in the 1990s. The cultural practices of the popular, a term which I define in detail in Chapter II, gave continuity to instances of collective participation where the means of communication and their content matched the goals of self-determination. As popular solidarity became an organized activity with a historical perspective, the dominant responded with the application of technologies that confined the confrontation to the electoral sphere. The recurring historical research into practices of self-representation should be considered in this context by the reader.

What I propose to do and why

Between the two world wars, there were not many institutions which represented the interests of the colonized and were acceptable to the colonial administrations in the Caribbean region. Cultural institutions which combined reflection about collective problems and activism were particularly constrained by the existence of strong centralized States which preceded the emergence of national communities. In those situations intellectuals who enjoyed a measure of public support and had some means of circulating their ideas replaced the excluded popular organizations as interlocutors of the States (Castañeda, 1994, pp.209-215) What caught my attention was that even under those constraints there were

groups which imagined national communities without depending on the dominant standards. With the help of the case studies I intend to present a version of the popular which is not about critical consumption of mass culture, but rather about revealing and uprooting its causes. (Ribeiro, 1978, p.164)

This will be undertaken by presenting the evolution of attempts to understand interactions among the determinants of material conditions during a period of cultural crisis. One reason for doing so is to reconstruct the combination of social theories and empowering research methods. Another reason is to see how culture was turned into a means of identifying obstacles to democratic participation. (Inglis, 1996, pp.83-92)

During the 1925-1940 period there were several riots, insurrections and labour strikes in the Caribbean region. I propose to follow the impact of this insurgent street presence on the intellectual groups which shared and elaborated the perspective of the popular. (James, 1989, p.49, 58) Since their interaction was reciprocal, doing this will also help to evaluate the role of the intellectuals in the perception of opportunities for strategic initiatives among the popular during this period. Some of these intellectual groups operated as collective authors of literature, music, cultural history and political analysis. Contextualizing such endeavours should make it easier to

consider the means of communication used to reconstruct and convey the continuity of oppositional practices.

The use of popular history to understand society as a whole was not encouraged by the State in the Caribbean territories. Nevertheless the small groups I will be analyzing did use it to create communication vehicles that helped them cooperate with the emerging social subjects.

While the cultural fabric of some countries in the Americas is still a testimony to the presence of aboriginal and mestizo majorities, in others where the aboriginals were exterminated it was the cultural echo of the white settlers' ancestral homeland which prevailed. During slavery, and again in the 1930s, the populations of the Caribbean created communication strategies which produced a mixture resulting in a new people. (James, 1980, pp.173-190; Ribeiro, 1969) These new peoples invented opportunities of self-reflection which produced common ways of organizing ideas. Their daily cultural practices recuperated memories of solidarity and participation that resulted in an insurgent rationality. With those memories of opposition to slavery and military occupation, transmitted through popular cultural practices, it was possible to organize a critique of the power relations in the 1920s and 1930s. Using those memories as archives of their collective protagonism, the popular could also link communication processes to other exchanges organized by relations of inequality.

At critical junctures in the region's history (usually called crises, civil wars, transitions or reorganization of production) the differences between the dominant and dominated communities tend to sharpen. Despite the generalized circulation of a vocabulary of solidarity (like citizenship, social contract, national interests), the illusory bonds of common interests are weakened. During this period between 1925 and 1940 what became evident were some of these differences between the dominant and the dominated: in the shared memories, in the living conditions, in what their ancestors did during slavery, in their response to a diluted version of the same arrangements.

It is my contention that the various thought styles among the dominant and popular in the Caribbean developed with the awareness of these material differences. Part of the work undertaken by the groups discussed in this dissertation was to examine the institutions which reproduced those social relations. But the part that will be most useful for Communication scholars is the historical research done by and about the popular cultures. There, the activist-intellectuals sought methodological precedents and predecessors that could be used to promote more effective means of popular participation. (Said, 1979, p. 25) The results were different in every case, but across the region these small radical organizations shared an interest in

making the forbidden connections between exploitation, racism, colonialism, patriarchy and the State church.

These conflicts were social expressions of a continuity in the relations of inequality during this period, which the popular movements attempted to transform through their initiatives. (Ryan, 1989, p. 1-26) In 1933 the Cuban dictatorship was overthrown by a general strike which became a popular insurrection following similar events in Haiti (1929-1930) and Surinam (1931-1932). In the process of identifying the historical predecessors of the popular movements, we will consider the ground breaking research of the subjects in the case studies in their specific contexts.

These case studies include groups and individuals who identified the causes of the social problems, proposed solutions, insisted on new ways of thinking, and worked to build the alliances those changes required. (James, 1993, p. 218, 225) What remained as a model for me was the care with which such communication strategies were constructed to capture the evolution of the conflicts and their perception. In this dissertation some categories were also chosen because they may help the reader contextualize the research methods and social theories which organized the praxis of the small groups.

One example should be enough. During 1794 the Republican forces sent by the Paris Directory expelled the British occupation forces from Guadeloupe with the help of

the emancipated slaves. The new government supported insurgent Republican sympathizers and abolitionists in Jamaica, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, St. Eustatius and St. Martins. The abolitionist propaganda printed by the Republican government reached Brazil, Cuba and Venezuela. (Blackburn, pp. 226-229) (See Figures 2, 3, 4) During this campaign the governor, a Mulatto named Victor Hugues, also outfitted a fleet of corsairs which operated from Point-Pitre, Guadeloupe and Gustavia harbour in Swedish St. Barth's. For five years they persecuted whoever traded with the British slavers in the Eastern Caribbean. (Radcliffe, p. 120) Perceiving opportunities for regional coordination the Maroons took to sea in their own boats to create and maintain contacts with rebel forces in those islands where the Republicans were waging war on slave-owners. In 1798, the U.S.A., which had suffered some of the losses, declared war against the corsairs but the information network of the Maroons continued as recaptured slaves escaped.

As the small radical organizations in the case studies contributed to an awareness of the region's history in their territories, they reminded me of those seafaring Maroons who still criss-crossed the Caribbean in the 19th century. During the 1925-1938 period activist-intellectuals like Fernando Ortiz, Nicolás Guillén, Elma Francois, and C.L.R. James subverted western cultures from a critical distance. In that sense they were maroon intellectuals who had allowed

for their temporary capture, only to escape and continue participating in collective actions which connected the popular forces in the region.

Relevance for the present

Even when the same process of popular reassembly took place across the Caribbean, the differences in time and place should discourage generalizations. By looking at those who studied and participated in specific experiences of self-empowerment, I expect to identify some of the conditions for their organized practices. But why do this now, in the era of the globalization doctrine?

During the last fifteen years there have been urban upheavals in Buenos Aires, Santo Domingo, Guatemala City, Port-au-Prince, Santiago (Chile), Caracas, Los Angeles, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City, and Santiago del Estero, Argentina. More specifically, in April, 1984 a workers' strike in the Dominican Republic turned into a week-long riot to protest a currency devaluation (recommended by the International Monetary Fund [I.M.F.]), which increased the prices of all imports and local foods. In July, 1987 the transportation workers organized strikes in several cities in the provinces of the Dominican Republic with the support of shop keepers, churches, and labour unions. In Haiti there were attacks on the Army's barracks, looting of food stores and warehouses in May, 1985 to protest food shortages,

police brutality and government corruption. By November, 1985 a three month long period of looting, student protests, strikes by teachers and shopkeepers had resumed in Haiti in protest over the consequences of the I.M.F. policies. (Walton, 1989, pp.299-328) Such events are similar to those 18th and 19th century rebellions among the freed and enslaved which lacked a common leadership and strategy.³ Though the motivation may vary there have been similar recent urban uprisings in Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Sudan, Liberia, South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines and Turkey. These rebellions suggest diverse ways of using the mass media and the current economic order to challenge the dominant premises in an organized manner.

Such processes insinuate possible alliances between small intellectual collectives and social movements whose "indirect activities" challenge the premises of globalization.⁴ In situations where the existing power relations are maintained by state coercion it is difficult to imagine democratic strategies succeeding without the direct intervention of these emerging subjects constituted in conflict.

These collective actions of consciousness express a version of the popular which is not about critical consumption or negotiations with mass culture. It is a version of the popular which deserves more attention in Communication studies because it traces the history of

conversations and actions that lead to self-emancipation. (Freire, 1970) Another reason for its importance is that the communication strategies through which these social movements become subjects also carry a critique of dominant ideas about knowledge and verification. As this version of the popular places emphasis on the actions which favour ruptures in the routines of economic and cultural production, it is necessary to ask how current social movements gain access to the cultural solutions which have succeeded in the historical past. Such a question is pertinent in the field of communication, because the cultural history of the popular is excluded from mass culture. By presenting several cases of intellectuals who collaborated with the social movements of their day in the search for answers to the question about the transmission of historical memories, I hope to complement more recent work by Communication scholars who concentrate their attention on popular cultures in Central and South America. (Atwood and McAnany, 1986; Martín Barbero, 1987; García Canclini and Roncagliolo, 1988) Doing so will also help identify some of the pioneers in the study of communication processes in terms of their direct participation in the actions of the popular movements.

Making sense of direct experience requires collective memories which define the places and objects important to a community. History is more concerned with the relations

which give continuity to those collective memories. (Nora, 1994, pp.285-286) Through the exchanges of their direct experiences the popular sectors create a shared vocabulary that can transmit consciousness and identify the possibilities for change despite the conditions of domination. The dialogues through which that vocabulary of consciousness is created also identify the communication strategies of the popular and their participants' convictions. It is this affirmation of cultural creativity against the dominant that is examined by the Caribbean intellectuals in the case studies.

The Popular in the Caribbean Region

Popular cultures are studied in Latin America because they provide clues about the causal relations and methodologies which constitute strategies of social change. In the case of the Caribbean region the experience which represents possibilities for new forms of thinking and acting was that of marronage. That concept refers to the active subject constituted as a negation of the existing order by raiding plantations, working voluntarily for social benefit, and inventing means of overcoming isolation such as religions, languages, musical instruments, dances, medicine, and alliances between armed clans inside the colonial cities. During slavery those coastal and mountain communities of self-emancipated insurgents described a

continuous consciousness of self-organization. Their mixture of African, European, and Amerindian cultural practices whose continuity challenged the colonial monolith, became a reference for the intellectuals of the 1920s and 1930s. The conscious recuperation of those practices of Maroon originality activated memories of resources that opened possibilities for new experiences of collective empowerment. (Lewis, 1987, pp.230-232; Mattelart, 1983, p.17, 18, 29; Pierre-Charles, 1985, p.24)

The wider context of shared considerations

Despite the diversity of the urban protests (1976-1993) mentioned in page twelve, these events raise questions about the understanding of the popular among Communication scholars who concentrate on consumption and negotiation within the confines of mass culture. It may also be necessary to recognize the oppositional practices which are transforming the existing power relations as well as the means of recording the evolution and impact of those popular projects. (Ibáñez, 1986, pp.212-213; James, Lee, Chaulieu, 1974, p.165) Examining earlier attempts to combine constant interaction with the popular movements and collective analysis of those experiences may help define research strategies for the present juncture. In the process of formulating the questions I would ask of the past to address these problems of the present, four considerations emerged.

All of them will not be addressed in the case studies that are part of this dissertation but they are mentioned here to suggest the context for the present effort.

In Robert Allen Warrior's book Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions (1995) there is a question about the role of the intellectuals in processes of self-determination. (Warrior, 1995, p.88) This author states that achieving long term goals like sovereignty requires collective actions resulting from recurring practices that are renewed to sustain evolving traditions. (Warrior, 1995, pp.97-98) That being the case, the first consideration assumed the form of a question. How did the intellectuals live their experience of continuous assertive actions, and how did they interact with the cultural institutions of the popular?

The second consideration emerged from my conversations with Robert A. Hill. The combination of direct(ed) experience and collective social analysis by manual and mental workers as co-thinkers is the highest form of organized praxis.⁵ Another set of questions were derived from this second proposal. What do these thought collectives tell us about how intellectuals address the organized integration of theory and practice? What role do these thought collectives play in the communication of ideas that are relevant to the daily lives of the popular movements? What resources do intellectuals who come from regions where

the division between manual and mental work is less pronounced, bring to this question of organized activity?

The third consideration refers to the conditions of social participation in the colonial context. In The Narrative of Liberation: Perspectives on Afro-Caribbean Literature, Popular Culture and Politics (1989) Patrick D.M. Taylor identifies damaged communication systems that are supposed to help the colonized identify sites of conflict and change but can not associate events as parts of a historical process. When the practices of the colonized connect direct experience with discussions about opportunities for transformation culture and communication come together. This third consideration can also be turned into a question. In what lived group experience were these communication processes repaired so that liberation became a daily possibility? (Taylor, 1989, p.26, 28, 39)

The fourth consideration comes from the research group at the Martinican Institute of Studies. In their 1971 article, Glissant, Giraud and Gaudi mentioned that the themes of their investigation were a) the obstacles to indigenous social science research in the Caribbean region and b) the psychological components of colonial dependence.⁶ As they described the method of preparing for their research project, it included producing discussion papers that could help generate a common conceptual framework among all the participants. On the basis of the

above mentioned comments it seems that my interest in daily practices of sovereignty, organized activity and communication strategies is shared by others concerned about the cultural history of emerging subjects.

How I became interested in this problem

The Caribbean is not only the region where I was born and raised, but it is also where I have lived and worked most of my adult life. It is a region where capitalism assumed the form of colonial slavery for centuries. (See maps in Appendix D) Each colony was a commercial enterprise which produced merchandise for the international market and the production units were militarized to contain the rebellious among the waged and unwaged workers. (Lewis, 1969, p.50; Moreno Fragnals, 1976, p.131; Pierre-Charles, 1987, pp.14-18) During that era, the unwaged were recognized as slaves but their humanity was denied. With the advent of humanist capitalism, according to Jesús Ibáñez (1986, p.46), the humanity of the waged was recognized but their enslavement was denied.⁷

The Caribbean was also the region where the organized practices of pluralism and nationalism against the colonial state were pioneered by the Maroon communities. While reading C.L.R. James' The Black Jacobins I came across a discussion of the communication strategies of popular movements making communities. (James, 1963, pp.243-244, 306,

347) Their leaders emerged from the creation of a vocabulary which sought support for shared convictions. During the years it took to defeat the French, the British, and the Spaniards in Haiti, the perspective of those participatory deliberations was confirmed. What held my attention was James' description of popular movements becoming historical subjects as they taught each other.

Teaching about popular cultures with the aid of examples from European or North American history did not work well, in my experience as a Communication teacher in the Caribbean. Neither did using Latin American texts which were applying post-industrial perspectives to situations of permanent violence, marginalized majorities, and few illusions about development. (Zermeño, 1988, pp.61-70) When I searched for materials which could give students a sense of the treatment the subject of the popular had received in the Caribbean, I could not find a volume which represented the diverse experience of the region.⁸ Particularly, I needed one which described efforts to transform the gap between daily life and our consciousness (of those conditions), which was grounded on the region's cultural history.

According to George Lamming (1992, p.124, 164) all the people from the Caribbean need to study that history to confront the consequences of bonded work, indentured labour and slavery.⁹ I chose Fernando Ortiz, Patricia Galvão, Elma

Francois, Richard Hart and C.L.R. James because they worked in groups which studied that history which was central to an examination of popular cultures. Like the Maroons, they were also protagonists of the region's political history.

Goals of the research

That then is my general purpose, to bring together the work of those who examined popular oppositions to the institutions which produced and reproduced the gap between material conditions and consciousness in the Caribbean. During the 1920s and 1930s those institutions described a crisis of legitimacy and authority whose protagonists included the popular organizations which sought to transform the causes. As mentioned above, a particular kind of collaboration between social movements and small groups of workers and intellectuals appeared during this period. The reason for bringing these cases together is to examine the origins and development of that cooperation within its context and location.

I am particularly interested in the means used to connect memories which carried a critique about all aspects of daily life with an active participation in solutions expressing the shared convictions of the popular sectors. This means that I will be looking for the communication strategies emerging from this collaboration (mentioned above) as organized popular needs demanding recognition as a

leading social force. Such challenges to the existing conditions across the Caribbean region evolved from the 1925 riots in Trinidad to the 1929 mass general strike in Haiti on to the 1939 strikes in Cuba and Jamaica.

There are three components of this cultural history that will receive specific attention: the origins of the collaboration between the small groups of manual and mental workers with the social movements, the scope of their communication strategies or praxis mediations, and the means of confirming that their experiences of conscious opposition and collective research were shared elsewhere. The concept of praxis as the ultimate mediation is also defined in Chapter II.

With regard to the organized praxis of the intellectuals, recreating collective memories from the perspective of the popular movements taught both a great deal about expressions of social awareness.¹⁰ Putting the present situation in historical perspective the intellectuals also encouraged the popular movements to explore efforts of self-emancipation among their predecessors.¹¹ In some cases the interaction between the ideas and activities of the popular movements and the intellectuals evolved into communities of method and analysis. Such collectives were also a solution to the isolation and alienation of the radical intellectuals.¹² When these collectives were part of larger networks which

analyzed and participated in popular struggles, it will be possible for me to trace how their experiences circulated.

Research Questions and Procedures

During the 1920s and 1930s several groups of intellectuals from the Caribbean collaborated with the popular movements of the day identifying their historical predecessors. In my analysis of those efforts, mediation as the practice of relating the parts of a whole, appears to be a useful starting point. This is especially so since my task is to examine direct(ed) experience and consciousness modified through praxis. The texts to be examined can also be treated as mediations when their representations of constant change explained the causes of conflict. Like the texts, the collective actions which revealed the continuities and fissures in the existing order can be treated as mediations. Those actions which identified what was possible will be considered as dialogic processes of social transformation.¹³

In Communication studies of the popular, it is such organized activities which reveal the social relations in which mass culture is produced. (Rowe and Schelling, 1991, pp.10-12) These mediations allow Communication scholars to think of social processes as a whole that can be understood through those popular practices which reveal the connections between the parts. Praxis is the mediation of effective

intervention made possible by the understanding of a conflict's causes. This is also how the popular sectors become social subjects: through practices inserted in their cultural history which confirm their consciousness. Those popular practices are active reinterpretations of reality verifiable through direct experience. (Ibáñez, 1985, pp.85-127)

Since my interest here is the relation between the organization of social experience and consciousness, these direct actions which confirm the limitations of a previous understanding are quite useful. Both the memories and experience are the content of communication strategies which put the present power relations in historical perspective and bring their unquestioned premises to a crisis. What I will do is identify how the protagonism of the popular was asserted, connected to memories of solidarity in adversity, and used to construct means of effective participation despite exclusion from the public sphere. This refers to the concept of praxis, which will be discussed in Chapter II, and an understanding of totality, acquired independently of the dominant logic by groups capable of becoming a social force.

Popular cultures are the result of relations of inequality which generate specific practices of representation, interpretation, and mediation. These practices evolve as ways of connecting and communicating

ideas through their interactions with the dominant. Some Communication scholars have used the diversity of these interpretations of social experience to study the conflicts expressed. (García Canclini, 1982, pp.62-70) However, I have given more attention to the evolution of the small groups and popular movements as producers of those interpretations. Where they came together as a common collective subject, I also considered catalytic events that were generated and how these connections between context and consciousness were evaluated by the protagonists.

Observing their own involvement in social transformation, the small groups analyzed experiences shared with the popular as co-participants. The self-reflective practice of identifying connections, explaining their interaction and verifying that understanding turned them both into a collective subject with a shared vocabulary or thought style.¹⁴ Thus the mediations of the social movements, which combined theory and practice, allow us to understand how they became forces of culture.

Means of Organizing Evidence

In order to make the connections between authors, small groups and popular movements I did four things. The first was to prepare a binder with a section for each month between 1910 and 1950. As my research progressed, it was possible to keep track of sequence in events and sites where

protagonists intersected. (See Appendix C) The second was to identify their reasons why the texts were written, keeping in mind the relation between the place written about and the place where the writing was being done. Wherever possible I also noted the goals of the writers with their intended readers, and the debates among the protagonists in the small groups. The same applies to the public protests that are mentioned.¹⁵ (See Appendix B) The third thing I did was to prepare a chronology of the maroon wars and slave uprisings in the Caribbean so that I could verify what the protagonists were writing about. (See Appendix A) This chronology was not only a profile of the popular but it was also used to consider the possibility that the sites with the most radical Maroon precedents also had the most radical popular movements in the 1930s. The fourth thing was to prepare some guiding questions to which I will return in the conclusions.

The broadest questions were related to the general purpose of bringing together the work of those who examined the popular. Which communication strategies were best suited for supporting the participants' convictions? Which expressions and organized activity represented the conscious needs of the popular? The remaining questions were more specific. Under what cultural conditions did the activist-intellectuals join in groups connected with the popular movements, and for what reasons? How did the small groups

come to understand the motives and methods of the popular movements?

How did the collectives of activist-intellectuals select topics of historical research, during the 1920s and 1930s, to address the questions in the popular movements? During the conflicts of that period, how did the organized praxis of the intellectuals support the popular movements? Regarding the analysis of popular consciousness and its determinants, was there any evidence generated by the activities and writings of the small groups? The Maroon communities were a recurring presence in the writings of some of the authors examined. What did their remembrance represent during that period and how is it used in this dissertation? Where the small groups were able to gather analysis of world events from independent sources, how did it affect their interactions with the popular movements and their publications?

Making the connections

Despite the limitations of the indirect evidence, I will attempt to make some connections between the members of the same group, and between groups. Writing about the 18th century transatlantic working class, Peter Linebaugh offered some advice which I have adapted:

"Historians who consciously or unconsciously posit static and immutable

differences between workers black and white,...slave and free...have frequently failed to study the actual points of contact, overlap and cooperation between their idealized types. Without such cooperation, of course, the economy of the transatlantic world could never have functioned.

Our study starts from the material organization of many thousands of workers into transatlantic circuits of commodity exchange and capital accumulation and then proceeds to look at the ways in which they translated their cooperation into anti-capitalist projects of their own...It is thus a study of connections within the working class-connections that have been denied, ignored or simply never seen by most historians. It is also an effort to remember, literally to remember, to reconnect as a way of overcoming some of the violence, some of the dismembering..." (Linebaugh and Rediker, 1993, p.130)

There will be four axes to the connections attempted here. The first, are the expressions of social consciousness which confirmed the conversations between the popular movements and the small radical organizations. The second, is the organized collaboration of manual and mental workers with the popular movements. The public support and collective work among the members of each group is a third pivot. The fourth, is the international circle of contacts with other groups which shared methods of analysis and goals.

While trying to make these connections I expect to encounter several difficulties. One is attempting to bridge the gap between a general history of popular protests and the cultural ferment which was part of their context. The

intention among the popular to establish links with similar groups were restricted by the social order but those restrictions were not always recognized by the protagonists, or the present writer. Another predictable difficulty is the scope of accounting for the revalorization of popular self-representation while it is being appropriated by the Modernists, the pioneers of social realism and mass culture in the Caribbean. A third difficulty will be to describe the relative isolation between the territories while reconstructing the sequence of simultaneous events with common denominators.

The rest of the story

The succeeding chapters in this dissertation are organized in the following manner. The second chapter begins with more complete definitions of such concepts as culture, popular culture, marronnage, thought collective, praxis, maroon intellectuals, mass culture, historical memories and communication. The same chapter also includes the criteria used in the selection of the case studies, time period and geographic region, before presenting the appropriate unit of analysis with a conjecture about the conclusions.

The third chapter is a general introduction to the case studies. The fourth chapter is about the research on popular cultures done in Cuba by Fernando Ortiz. The archives, research groups and publications which resulted are

explained in relation to the struggles for sovereignty during the 1920s and 1930s. In this chapter I also introduce a younger generation of radical intellectuals which used the research by Ortiz to animate movements which combined race, class, nationalism, and religion.

The fifth chapter is divided into two parts which examine the issue of individual isolation common among intellectuals and some of the collective solutions to problems of personal and praxis support. The first part of the fifth chapter contrasts the trajectory of two women who collaborated with the popular movements in Brazil and Cuba. Patricia Galvão, was a journalist and novelist who lacked a network of solidarity. Ofelia Domínguez Navarro, was a lawyer and journalist who discovered new possibilities of organized activity from the political prisoners who protected her. The second part of Chapter VI contrasts the communication strategies of the Negro Welfare Cultural and Social Association (N.W.C.S.A.), which preceded the 1937 workers uprising in Trinidad, and the efforts of "the left" of the Jamaican People's National Party (P.N.P.), after the 1938 insurrection.

The sixth chapter is divided in two parts as well. The first completes the historical context and origin of the groups which participated in the collective analysis of their shared experiences with the popular movements. After discussing the work of The Beacon group in Trinidad, I

follow one of its members, C.L.R. James, to England. With C.L.R. James as a common denominator, it is possible to trace the evolution of the small radical groups. Whether in connection with popular movements in the colonies or in the metropolis, the historical research undertaken helped the emerging protagonists understand their context and what their predecessors had done in similar situations.

In the seventh and final chapter I return to the questions mentioned in the Introduction. I also offer reasons for studying expressions of organized praxis in the field of Communication. I then present contributions these collectives made to our present understanding of communication strategies, by putting the direct experience of the popular in historical perspective. Finally, I review the difficulties encountered, the work remaining and the consequences of the present effort for Communication scholars.

There are also four appendices which include: a) an inventory of slave revolts and Maroon communities in the Caribbean region; b) a chronology (1885-1950) which covers major events, including some of the texts produced, the social premises at the time, and the popular protests which questioned those premises; c) the times and places where the protagonists of different case studies converged; and d) maps of the region and specific territories mentioned throughout the manuscript. Appendix A should be treated as a

profile of the popular movements. Appendix B should give the North American reader a sense of the context and a means of exploring whether the popular protests (which challenged the accepted norms) are registered in the texts, which I also treat as mediations. Appendix C illustrates the trans-Atlantic character of the networks created by some of the groups and the sites where those networks intersected.

END NOTES

¹ C.L.R. James, The Black Jacobins. Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution (New York: Vintage, 1963), pp. 17-21. This is an example of the "hidden transcript" created by the popular in uncontrolled sites of communication. The ritualistic interactions which confirmed the dominant expectations were negated by the reciprocal loyalties constructed in autonomous cultural spaces. The public appearance of challenges to the dominant such as religions, modes of dress and rebellion was preceded by means of communication propagated by nomadic heretics, traders, artisans and healers. See James C. Scott, Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 127.

² As Wilson Harris points out, the historical connections are not necessarily retraced in a linear manner but through the cultural activities which activated common memories among the dominated. Being able to reassemble the representations so that they are recognizable by the different cultures which co-exist in the Caribbean was what distinguished the popular from the colonial empire. See History, Fable and Myth in the Caribbean and Guianas (Georgetown: History and Arts Council/Ministry of Information and Culture, 1970), pp.8-9.

³ See Roger Burbach, Orlando Núñez, and Boris Kagarlitsky, Globalization and its Discontents. The Rise of Postmodern Socialism (London and Chicago: Pluto, 1997), pp. 32-33, 95. The exceptions are the Cottica Confederation among the Maroons of the Guianas between 1768-1791, the Berbice insurrection of 1763-1764. Haiti and Guadeloupe between 1790-1805, and the urban uprisings in Bahia between 1798-1835. See Appendix A.

⁴ John Anner, ed., Beyond Identity Politics (Boston: South End Press, 1996). In this anthology about grass roots mobilizations among people of colour in North America, the authors insist that it is direct action which builds communities of solidarity that can claim and exercise power in the interests of their own class (across gender, race, and national identities). The cases mentioned include low income working women in Rhode Island, migrant workers in hotels and garment industry, environmental work among Natives, and student solidarity with Haitian refugees.

5. Robert A. Hill is C.L.R. James literary executor and Professor of History at U.C.L.A. This particular conversation took place on January 26, 1996. Hill was referring to the combination of theory and practice.

6 Edouard Glissant, Michel Giraud, Georges Gaudi et les membres Groupe Recherches, "Introduction a quelques problemes antillais," Acoma, 1 (Paris: F. Maspero, April, 1971), p. 30. This magazine was the publication of the Martinican Institute of Studies, a cultural project founded by Edouard Glissant. It included regular school courses, a theatre group, an international summer session for teachers, the research group and the magazine. The thrust of the whole enterprise was to support Martinique's national sovereignty.

7 The author notes that the exception to the humanist solution is that of the colonies where the consent of the governed is not required.

8 In his discussions with the Guinea-Bissau government, Paulo Freire had insisted that education in the vernacular was important because the learners could inhabit their own cultural history.

9 Richard Drayton and Andaiye, eds. Conversations. George Lamming: Essays, Addresses and Interviews, 1953-1990 (London: Karia, 1992), p. 124, 164. With a vocabulary that references the oppositional cultures of the popular, these groups and individuals increased the possibilities for communication within each territory and across the region. Also see A.R.F. Webber, Those that be in Bondage: a Tale of Indian Indentures and Sunlit Western Waters (Wellesley, Massachusetts: Calaloux, 1989). Original 1917 and Walter Rodney, A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881-1905 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981) about indentureship.

10 James is one of the examples mentioned in Clarisse Zimra, "Righting the Calabash: Writing History in the Female Francophone Narrative," Out of the Kumbla - Caribbean Women and Literature, eds. Carole Boyce Davies and Elaine Savory Fido. (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1990), p. 144; Darcy Ribeiro, Los Brasileños. Teoría del Brasil [The Brazilians, Theory of Brazil] (México, D.F.: Siglo XXI, 1978), pp. 177-185.

11 The way in which collective memories were recorded and evoked, to activate the popular imagination will serve as indicators of the conditions under which specific communication strategies were created. For a more recent case study of this type of collaboration between groups of intellectuals and social movements, see Eusi Kwayana, Walter Rodney (Wellesley, Massachusetts: Calaloux, 1991) which is about the Working Peoples Alliance of Guyana, 1974-1980.

12 Robert A. Hill, "Literary Executor's Afterword," C.L.R. James, American Civilization, eds. Anna Grimshaw and Keith Hart (Cambridge, Massachusetts and Oxford, England: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 361-364. On the concept of these communities of method and analysis as thought collectives, see Ludwik Fleck, Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact, eds. T.J. Tren and R.K. Merton (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1981) original 1935. On the study of such groups in research about cultural production see Raymond Williams, "Formations," Culture (n.p.: Fontana, 1981).

13 Paulo Freire, ¿Extensión o Comunicación? La concientización en el Medio Rural [Extension or Communication? Conscientization in the Rural Context] (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 1973), pp. 73-79. For more on this use of "mediation" see Luis Martín Santos, "Mediación," Terminología Científico Social. Aproximación Crítica [Social Science Terminology. Critical Approximation] ed. Román Reyes (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1988), pp. 595-600.

14 On this question of integrating experience, its analysis and communication see Jesús Ibáñez, "Tiempo de la Post-Modernidad," [Time of Post-Modernity] La Polémica de la Post-Modernidad, [The Polemic of Post Modernity] ed. José Tono Martínez (Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias, 1986), pp. 27-66 and Jesús Ibáñez, El Regreso del Sujeto - La Investigación Social de Segundo Orden [The Return of the Subject - Social Research of the Second Order] (Santiago, Chile: Amerindia, 1991), pp.85-96.

15 This treatment of the context was the result of reading Walter Rodney on the methods of analysis in the London study group with C.L.R. James. See Walter Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks. The Making of an African Intellectual. ed. Robert A. Hill (Trenton, N.J. Africa World Press, 1990), pp. 28-29. James' contribution to the study group was similar to that of the intellectuals with the popular movements: to provide information about the historical context. On the importance

of the context to understand a cultural project see Raymond Williams, "The Future of Cultural Studies," The Politics of Modernism (London: Verso, 1990), p. 151 and Carlo Ginzburg, The Enigma of Piero (London: Verso, 1987), pp. 2-12.

CHAPTER II
DEFINITIONS AND SELECTION CRITERIA

In American Civilization (1950), C.L.R. James explains in the introduction that he plans to address the contrast between possibilities and realities using a vocabulary that can define the country's history through ideas that are supposed to set it apart. Specific writers who could provide a sense of the past and future were chosen to trace the evolution of that vocabulary, until the ideas became part of tradition. Explaining the plan for his prospectus in the introduction, James adds that (when dealing with the present) the sources used to contrast the possibilities and realities in the U.S.A. would be taken from mass culture. The term refers to industrially-produced cultural merchandise which carries premises governing both the market and daily life through illusion of choice. As the second concept in this vocabulary chapter, it is defined in full on page forty three. The reason given for the selection of sources was that, together with the economic history and

traditional goals, mass culture expressed the contradiction between possibilities and realities quite clearly. This is advice that I have tried to keep in mind both in the selection of the vocabulary and case studies. The other guideline for the vocabulary is a bit closer to home.

As a young man my brother was asked to speak in our father's mountain village. The women who led the labour movement wanted to hear what he had learned as a college student abroad. After he had been talking about the appropriation of surplus value for a while, one of the women asked if he meant keeping the result of someone else's work. Before my brother could continue, she added that they had known about that kind of taking for quite awhile. I have thought of this vocabulary as a conversation with those labour leaders, who also taught us that learning together we can create a solution. The bridges to European and North American Communication scholars will be found in the footnotes.

Part A: Vocabulary

There were several categories introduced in the first chapter which will now be defined in greater depth. Those mentioned were culture, mass culture, popular culture, marronnage, thought collectives, thought style, meaning, knowledge, praxis, maroon intellectuals, hegemony,

consciousness, historical memory, identity, and communication.

Culture

Throughout the rest of this text the term culture will be used to mean the history of discussions and collective actions undertaken to overcome the obstacles to self-emancipation, as conscious existence mediated by praxis. The term will also be used to mean a critique that questions the dominant social relations and the creation of a vocabulary with which those relations can be understood.¹ Culture will be used here in reference to whole ways of working against domination in order to satisfy collective expectations.² A third sense in which culture will be used here is the constant actualization of mental associations which reference historical experiences of solidarity undertaken by communities of praxis.³ One of the characteristics which distinguishes one cultural identity from another is how these mental associations are linked, changed and repressed.

With these general elements in mind, I can proceed to a more comprehensive definition. Cultures develop in a process of struggle with the natural and social context, which results in institutions and practices representing levels of awareness among the participants about unequal power relations. In every society organized by relations of

force there is a struggle between different ways of thinking, between the creative impulse of the majorities and the need of the dominant to suppress that impulse. Thus it is more proper to refer to cultures in struggle, in situations where only one receives the support of the state, as a social process. Understanding culture as the shared memories that make meaningful exchanges possible between members of a community addresses this concern. The constant actualization of those shared memories, which means taking a position with regard to every social conflict with the existing order on the basis of the popular interest, is one way of denying cultural leadership to the dominant culture.⁴

George Lamming from Barbados, and René Depestre from Haiti, have both said that when referring to cultures and cultural histories it is necessary to include the history of the organization of work. (Depestre, 1976, p.66; Lamming, 1992, pp.226-228) Since the organization of manual production organizes mental production as well, processes of social transformation can be considered cultural processes.⁵ As social needs are defined and satisfied, cultures are sites of social difference and struggle connected with relations of inequality. However in his 1985 address about culture and sovereignty, and in another about politics and culture in 1980, George Lamming referred to a second sense in which the term culture can be used as abstract representations of what existence means on the basis of

direct experience. (Lamming, 1992, p. 78, 284) Here again Paulo Freire and Donaldo Macedo write about acquiring an understanding of the way cultures are organized in their immediate contexts in order to see beyond them, to transform the context by conscious practical work. (Freire and Macedo, 1987, pp.36-51) That work is supported by the building of oppositional reference points for interpreting the world through actions that are also factors of culture, according to Amilcar Cabral.⁶

Thus far I have tried to identify notions that will help evaluate cultural elements that contributed to emancipatory communication strategies, mobilizing and organizing people in a region where poverty and lack of mental stimuli were cornerstones of containment policies. Despite difficulties in overcoming domination, it may be possible to see systems of communication being lived materially as the participants demand their rights and create ties of solidarity across their differences. (Ahmad, 1995, pp.46-47)

More specifically, if the material products of these cultural practices also carry evidence of the conflicts over the relations of force, then the study of cultural histories may help access conscious reflections about those traditions of radical reinterpretation.⁷ In the colonial context, cultural conflict is not just about representation. In contrast with the common background and

freedom of the slavers who organized production to consolidate colonialism, the slaves lacked similar means to create institutions. Caribbean societies during the period of colonial slavery had separate but interdependent cultures because the slaves never accepted their assigned place. Instead they invented forms of transmitting their beliefs and values through recurring interpersonal exchanges such as languages, rites of passage, religious rituals, feeding, healing, obligations of reciprocity, architecture and crafts which were a commentary on the prevailing social relations. These practices of self-affirmation through which the slaves constructed a communication system and made diversity possible despite the repressive context, resulted in a culture that would prove impenetrable to the slavers. The common conscious attitudes and collective world views which the slaves and maroons produced in their struggle for survival places the peoples of the Caribbean on the cultural map that N. García Canclini wrote about when referring to the construction of a social history of Latin America culture.⁸

These practices through which resistance to cultural assimilation succeeded (despite slavery and colonialism) were re-examined during the 1930s. The memories of previous victories in similar situations, actualized and reinterpreted while constructing an autonomous perspective, may have prepared the activist-intellectuals to articulate

the political dimension of the cultural problem. If that were the case, the evidence may be in the practice of putting direct experience in the context of colonial history.⁹ This historical methodology is one of the reasons why culture is an important component in discussions about power relations. (Ahmad, 1996, p.20)

In short, I have defined culture as the practices of interpretation which help a community understand and endure the social causes of domination. Those practices are strategies of communication which identify possibilities for self-emancipation in daily life as the basis for collective action. The point of reference is the acquired and shared awareness of what others from the same community did in similar circumstances, and how they succeeded. But it is the process of actualizing the practices of interpretation, of making the past live in the present as it is lived today, that I have called culture.¹⁰ And it is important here for two reasons: first, these practices of interpretation are a historical process which link communication strategies and social movements; second, changes in the practices of interpretation reveals connections between the parts in conflict. These features help us think both of social processes as a whole and of possibilities for their transformation.¹¹

Mass Culture and Cultural Leadership

The second category is the relation between the products of the mass culture and cultural leadership. This relation includes mass production, mass media, and the extension of the market's logic to politics and culture. As the alliance of dominant classes attempts to represent the interests of the whole society, they seek support for relations of inequality which organize daily experience. In this context, obtaining the active consent of the dominated expresses the exercise of power over sectors which lack cultural autonomy, trying to make sense of the existing social relations with the dominant justifications. As a means of clarifying the contrast between an apparent negotiation and the conflicts between opposing social forces, the State can be a point of departure since the production of active consent for the governing ideas during crises of accumulation takes place under the coercive shadow of the State.

During the 1930s in the Caribbean region, those governing ideas went hand in hand with imperial industrialization and the legacy of slavery. Those were also the conditions under which the cultural autonomy of the popular sectors had survived. The understanding of themselves represented in their everyday practices, denied the dominant "common sense" compliant associates. Practices

which insisted in challenging unquestioned premises, which located the slave trade as the cultural origin of the region's history, could hardly have been negotiated in a social compromise whose function was to present the industrial investors and the colonial administration as guardians of the common good.¹²

The second point about the production of active consent is that the coalitions formed against the governing ideas are often based on long term solutions to the material conflicts in which the allies become subjects. These groups do not become social movements by internalizing that governing rationality, but by creating alliances which can transform the relations of power. (Gramsci, 1985, p.41) What makes the discussion about culture relevant here is that those relations of power are maintained through the combination of coercion and consensus.¹³ When popular movements are accumulating allies, or retreating in an orderly fashion, it is most important for them to question the ways of thinking and acting which do not represent the majorities' interests. They challenge these representations not as neutral ideas, but rather drawing attention to the social history in which "reason" and "logic" have complemented the use of force to suppress initiatives of the popular alliance. According to Michael Ryan, "force" should be used in discussions about cultural leadership in order to express the interaction between the stability created by a

popular consensus around its own social project, and the forces organized against it. (Ryan, 1989, pp.8-10) The question this raises for the popular movements is whether a counter-force should precede or succeed another strategic consensus.¹⁴

According to Agustín Cueva the answer might be in understanding how conditions of exploitation in the colonies served to subsidize the consensus reached in the imperial centres, under the cultural leadership of the governing alliance. (Cueva, 1984, pp.31-37) I agree. The instances of cultural and economic participation which European and North American workers received during the first third of the present century would hardly have been undertaken at an economic loss to those who profited from the business of the country. How then was a consensus financed? If profits extracted from the colonies were a source of funds, then the material conditions for government by consensus at home depended on a colonial empire governed by the coercive forces of the State. The latter could support conditions of exploitation while missionaries, school teachers, plantation administrators and commercial media gave the colonial empires ethical and intellectual leadership against the cultural autonomy of the popular in the occupied territories.¹⁵

Thus domination is not reduced to the passive acceptance of working conditions, it also includes

negotiations in which the State attempts to limit the citizenry to the market's authority. Mass culture is the systematic representation of those social relations, their industrial distribution and the appropriation of popular culture forms to do so. The study of the technologies used to circulate information does not necessarily provide the kind of access into cultural histories which is possible through the study of the appropriation of popular forms. Reconstructed as merchandise to produce a justification of market logic, the results can give people in the field of communication access to conflicts between ways of representing collective experience.

Andreas Huyssen has called these efforts to regiment daily life through the institutions of mass culture, a "system of secondary exploitation." (Huyssen, 1986, p.15) Attempts to actualize experiences of solidarity should be considered in light of those mass culture efforts to deny any other reference to those challenging authority.¹⁶

The institutions of mass culture can rearrange the original representations of popular experiences, but the result cannot produce an understanding of that community's awareness. Historical experience is "reduced" to the options in the official representations: obedience or confrontation, solving the causes of the conflict is not considered. As a space where the relations between these

forces is expressed, J. Martín Barbero and Armand Mattelart consider mass culture a site of social conflict. (Martín Barbero, 1987a, p.48; Mattelart, 1983, p.24) The conditions in which culture is produced and consumed as merchandise generates individuals who are the consequence of domination, who cannot create an organized initiative. But the analysis of a group or movement should consider how they came to understand the social relations that underlie the consumption of mass culture, and how that understanding was communicated.¹⁷

The institutions which reproduce the sectorial interests of the governing alliance as representations of the "common good" are instrumental in the exercise of power. This is the context for the struggle between cultures, between codes of competence and cognition. When the dominated become aware of these restrictions, they still need another way of thinking and acting to propose methods of social change. Such a representation of collective interests is constructed in projects of effective participation that affect the daily lives of the conscious sectors of society.¹⁸

The Popular

The attention given to the popular here is a consequence of locating the strategies of communication in a

shared understanding of social conflict produced by direct experience. The popular makes sense as a concept in relation to the cultural institutions which attempt to suppress the constant critique of the dominant.

In the creation of languages and religions, in the establishment of oppositional communities, through the oral tradition and seizure of public spaces the popular expressed a reply which often became a conscious systemic critique. Their existence would also be a constant reminder of the limitations of official culture as the "common good".¹⁹

Even though the emphasis here will be on the adaptation and reassembly practiced by the popular sectors of Caribbean societies, Miriam De Costa reminded us that during colonial slavery social relations were based on violent confrontation. (DeCosta, 1977, pp.3-5) Furthermore, the cultural institutions (which complemented those relations of force) were not transformed by the abolition of slavery or negotiated independence. This juncture is the point of departure for the methods of analysis with which the popular construct other truths that affirm their cultural protagonism.²⁰

With this concept of the popular I am referring to ways of thinking and acting against the present social relations, as an organized consciousness for self-emancipation represented in extended systems of solidarity. The reason to consider the popular is the nomadic

information circuits which connect the participants to means for successful cultural interventions such as direct experience and self-representation.²¹

Nevertheless the popular is not a separate set of facts about material reality, but rather the meaning which the present context acquires as it is reassembled by another system of analysis which taunts the dominant indirectly with another interpretation(s): rumours, jokes, myths, dances, music, sports. These forms are all vehicles for making unpredictable associations which deny cultural leadership to the prevailing perspective.²²

Official cultures in Latin America between the 16th and 19th centuries had two faces: the oral tradition and the written tradition of a shared religion, a shared calendar, and a stratified acceptance of colonialism, capitalism and slavery imposed from abroad. "There was always a popular rebellious counterculture, especially among the mutinous Blacks who expressed themselves in insurrectionary forms of conduct, whether in the African religious cults practised in secret or in the incitement to rebellion against slavery." (Ribeiro, 1978, p.164, my translation) Since then the popular has evolved as the recurring need for self-emancipation, which may include using elements from the dominant culture to acquire the strategic initiative. In the Caribbean region this has meant bending and qualifying dominant means of communication using

reference points from which the present can be imagined as a social problem with an empowering solution.²³

What is not too clear at this stage (of the vocabulary) is the kind of direct(ed) cultural experience through which the popular become factors of culture, in the sense suggested by Amilcar Cabral.(1979, p.143, 148) Both Fanon and Wilson Harris propose that questions asked of the present and events in the past can be connected through images and sounds which release emotional resources applicable in new contexts.(Fanon, 1968, pp.237-240; Harris, 1970, pp.13-27) What emerges from what Wilson Harris calls reassembly, independent of the dominant forms, are connections with ways of overcoming conquest which nurture opportunities for originality.²⁴ As the popular sectors are actualizing the connections with their own cultural history, those interpretative practices can incorporate a more wide ranging critique of the dominant. The resulting perspective will acquire support on the basis of common interest, and from there intervene through organized collective actions that redefine official cultural representations.²⁵

The process of working for popular participation in the defining decisions of any society are struggles for popular sovereignty. As exploitation and oppression are imposed beyond the plantation and factory, these struggles gain diversity and complexity linking daily practices to the

coordinated efforts of the social forces which can produce a rupture.

What determines where these social movements are popular (in the sense used here) is their goal of sovereignty, based on memories which identify other points of departure. It is the experiences of cooperation and struggle, the mixture of historical traditions which also redefine the reference points of the popular.²⁶ One of its features is the way the popular continues to connect the present with its social causes despite changes in the reference points remembered. Another feature of popular consciousness is a vision of the future that represents the needs of the whole society through demonstration projects.²⁷

The repetition, memories, and exchanges outside the market's logic are less important in a definition of the popular than the alliances promoted through communities of interpretation that cannot be regulated by the mass media or the cognitive codes. Nevertheless, the popular is not a common response but a process conditioned by the context and tactical creativity of the social subjects. The profile of the popular - as a communication strategy for social change - appears in a commentary by Ariel Dorfman about cultural resistance in Chile during the military dictatorship. (Dorfman, 1977) According to this author, the popular includes the daily struggle to assert a collective incompatibility with the established order in ways that

recreate a common territory of solidarity, constant challenges to discipline, and the creation of new languages which reassemble the official story in coded form. When I relay Dorfman's suggestions of giving collective solutions to the problems of daily life, rejecting institutionalized violence as normal, it may appear that I am repeating what was overheard in a conversation within a collective in one of the case studies, or better yet among the domestic slaves who would become counsellors in the maroon communities.²⁸ The confusion is understandable and it also helps to make my point.

In the case of the Caribbean region, the popular also included means of recuperating experience in a context controlled from abroad and new for the imported populations. The popular was a process of adapting to those conditions while using the actualized memories to create original solutions which supported sabotage and insurgency. Under the peculiar institution of slavery such expressions of incompatibility were sustained by a hidden history of confirmed hope about the future. That hidden history also included what the Maroons had done as freedom fighters.²⁹ In the 1930s the Maroons would be recognized among the predecessors of the popular movements and the artistic groups which rejected European models.

Long before abolition and negotiated independence the Maroon communities created instances of freedom which

expanded the imagination of opportunities for those who remained in bondage. There is evidence of this in the proverbs and stories about spiders, turtles and snakes in the oral tradition. In some cases the same territory had contradictory production schemes, but separate nations with cultures that rejected plantation society should not be confused with the latter's overthrow.³⁰

Some of those special cases in which marronnage as the popular attempted to go beyond the colonial-plantation-mill society will be mentioned in the case studies of this dissertation. A common characteristic of those special cases was a conscious alteration to the systems of interpretation which represented existing power relations to produce a way of knowing through communication. (Wynter, 1990, pp.365-366) This represented a pursuit of cultural sovereignty that could mobilize the resources to sustain itself. The popular's way of knowing verified the connections between the expressions of social conflict that appeared as isolated instances, and demonstrated the relation between awareness of such connections and self-organization in social movements.

Marronnage

The fourth term in the vocabulary is marronnage. During the 16th century the slave trade migrated between Mediterranean markets (Sardinia, Sicily, Tunis), the

Balearic and Canary Islands, and Mauritania. Later in the century, when the slaves in the markets of present-day Guinea and the Cape Verde islands became too expensive, the slavers continued their "trade missions" further south to the Gambia-Senegal region and later to the Congo and Angola. When the slave traders bought "cargoes" from Senegal, they were revisiting the warrior societies which had defeated King Alfonso and El Cid in the 11th century.

Throughout the European Middle Ages the Yalouf and Mandinkas had sent soldiers to colonize the Iberian peninsula, or to fight each other in West Africa. When they were sold in Española and Puerto Rico in the early 1500s, they organized the first slave rebellions and Maroon communities in the Americas. (See Appendix A) In time there would be urban Maroons as well, but their numbers seldom posed the threat to slave society implicit in the existence of rural Maroon communities. The latter represented the organized will to confront plantation society in terms which they could both understand. As this interaction evolved the noun "maroon/marron" which meant "dangerous savage" or "wild cattle" became a verb which meant "to escape".³¹

Instead of the collective subject being a product of resistance to the unequal relations of the day, Maroon communities represented opportunities to alter those relations. For the aboriginal Tainos in the Caribbean, the word maroon meant the arrow that seeks liberty. In time,

"the maroon" became the tradition of voluntary collective work for the community's benefit, work that could not be used against the social interest. (Barker and Beezer, 1992, pp.11-12; Bishop, 1984, pp.157-158)

The world of the Maroon communities was that of the escaped, who created new solidarities from the mixture of Africans, Black creoles, aboriginals, escaped European convicts and Sephardic jews who sought freedom. Since the time of those first "new world" struggles for self-emancipation, the continuity of marooning has depended on the circulation of shared memories about choice created.³² Peter Linebaugh writes about Robert Weddeburn who in 1817 included secret recollections in letters to his Maroon sister with an analysis of similar contemporary situations that suggested ways to intervene in their present. (Linebaugh, 1993, p.201)

I will use the term marronnage as a symbolic precedent to help the reader understand the discovery of possibilities with the vocabulary of that experience. When some of the protagonists in the case studies mention the Maroons as their predecessors, the reader will be better prepared to recognize something new if s/he understands the reference to the cultural history of the Caribbean region. The Maroon communities did organize production in a way that negated plantation society, liberated territory and sustained a separate nation. As self-emancipated groupings

they also represented a central quality of social movements: the organized communities which sustained conscious actions over an extended historical period. To acknowledge the history of marronage in the popular cultures also represented an opportunity to reorient Caribbean societies toward their own realities. The historical investigations into their victories undertaken in the 1920s and 1930s would look at the Maroons as a symbol of the cooperation needed to survive and as a means of examining the possibilities for independence in the 1930s.³³

The Maroon communities were not only a symbol of courage and determination but a model of institutions which encouraged production for self-sufficiency, and generated support for the vocabulary of its participants. As a metaphor for cultural opposition whose existence questioned the dominant rationality, these sovereign demonstration projects were the result of the historical conditions in the Caribbean. According to Sylvia Wynter, the location of the region's cultural origin in the slave trade presented specific choices for ways of struggling: accepting the denial of specific identities in order to appear in the official story or redefining the instituted rationality as generalizations which did not express the interest of the majorities. (Wynter, 1989, p.638, 642-644.) This is what the Maroon communities represented, a collective rejection of an assigned role which denied the slaves' history before

captivity, and the affirmation of prophetic memories which bound direct experience to the oral tradition.³⁴

Another set of cultural practices evoked by the mention of the Maroon experience in the Caribbean during the 1930s was the possibility of a regional information network. One of the obstacles to slave revolts and Maroon campaigns was the limited information about events outside the plantation, or beyond the colonial system of six empires which operated in the region: Holland, Denmark, France, England, Portugal, and Spain. Yet there were exchanges of information at the docks between sailors and stevedores, or between sailors and crafts people, until the news made its way to inland markets where slaves talked to each other and the maroons had spies (who also sold farm products). Similar information networks operated within each colony, using Nsibidi ideograms, Arabic, European languages or the cover provided by public events.³⁵

Since the beginning of the 20th century some of the intellectuals in the region identified agricultural workers who descended from the Maroons as the core of new identities that evoked cultural continuity. I will use the concept *marronnage* here as do Gerard Pierre-Charles and Dany Bebel-Gisler, meaning the efforts to overcome isolation in a secure environment, to create associations based on shared solutions to common problems, to sustain organized transgression against oppression and exploitation. (Bebel-

Gisler, 1994, pp. 262-267; Pierre-Charles, 1985, p. 24) Sometimes the slave revolts had more radical goals than the Maroon communities, sometimes Maroon communities even joined with the slavers against the slaves or other Maroon republics, but what is pertinent here is how marooning survived in the collective memory as a model of transgression sustained through cooperation.³⁶

Recourse to memories of Maroon communities was certainly a way of rehabilitating symbols of popular opposition to domination, but its usage by the members of the small groups during the 1930s may reveal other intentions. Social forces with cultural impact could also be appreciated as political protagonists once their interests were acknowledged. The activist-intellectuals recognized the process of excluding collective memories linking the territories in the Caribbean region. Doing so was a way of understanding the interaction between the organization of work and coercion with the efforts of the popular to regain control over their lives in confrontation and negotiation.³⁷

Thought Collectives and Thought Style

While defining the sense in which marronnage will be used, in the previous section, the social phenomena preceded the metaphor. The solution to a common problem was the result of a collective effort with a specific way of

organizing information.³⁸ According to Ludwik Fleck thought collectives (like the Maroon communities and small groups of activist scholars) with a specific thought style were part of the methodology for uncovering relations and creating solutions. (Fleck, 1981, p.51, 99) Fleck was developing these concepts at the same time as the intellectuals whose work will be examined in the case studies.

The social awareness, which consolidates at times of crisis, may not gain general acceptance then but it continues to exist as experience that reappears under different historical conditions. As that conscious experience becomes the tradition of an alternative explanation, when groups who need to create solutions combine tradition and direct(ed) experience, the process of organizing the information returns us to the fifth concept, thought collectives and thought style.

A new set of questions and a new direction are the consequence of a methodology which is autonomous from the society it critiques, and from the thought style which is its theoretical representation. A new vocabulary with which to formulate these questions requires another way of producing and organizing information. The people engaged in this cultural and political work are not merely members of a collective. Rather, it is their participation in a thought

collective which makes it possible for them to create a new thought style.³⁹

The premises about social relations, causality and change are the beliefs which condition the organization of information. Expressed through languages, religious rituals, and interpersonal relations, the evaluation of this experience which has become tradition helps connect cultural products and contextualize historical events. However, its analysis is not the product of logically identifying the consequences of previously active premises, but of methods learned in the apprenticeship "program" of a collective.

For the purposes of the case studies it will be useful to keep in mind that each individual represents the intersection of several such communities of thought, traditions of experiencing realities which contradict the official premises, and new ideas developing in critical interactions with dominant cultures. Both Fleck, in Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact, and Freire, in Extensión o Comunicación? [Extension or Communication?] suggest that knowledge (about the social activity of collective memory) is possible if the participants are active in actualizing a shared vocabulary.⁴⁰

Cooperation between the members of a thought community not only depends on the constant exchange of ideas, but also on agreements about the connections used in representations, standards of evidence and construction of

argument, criteria of verification, definition of the problem to be solved and the content of apprenticeship training.⁴¹ The continued development of their social awareness is not the exclusive result of discovering new relations, but also requires that the thought collectives remain open to aspects of reality which may challenge their common convictions.

Those social experiences which contradict the representation of reality implicit in the previous premises do not become facts on their own, they do not speak for themselves. Those social experiences become facts conditioned by the cultural histories represented in the communities of thought, by the goals which structure their interpretation.

In the Caribbean context, slavery affected many of the ties with abstract systems held by the majority of the imported populations. Though linked with cultural histories which preceded enslavement, the daily lives of those majorities was reorganized by relations of reciprocity created during their interactions in the Americas. This is a second reason to examine the common principles which generated different representations that can be understood upon consideration of the options available and the choices made. (Mintz & Price, 1992, p.51, 53, 62)

By the 1930s several thought collectives were proposing solutions to the social crisis that questioned the

previously accepted premises. Their actions and reflections represented another rationality for the construction of a social subject: a mechanism of cooperation and communication, as important in the study of opportunities for change as the reality itself. Within each small group the combination of different historical records, ways of recording, direct(ed) experiences and ways of evaluating those experience suggested a third reason to consider the evolution of the common understanding which characterized it.

Discovering possible solutions was a process of identifying the direct relation between what was experienced as reality and a specific set of assumptions. The thought style was not the definition of the concepts used to establish that relation, or the way the evidence about causal relations was evaluated, but rather the acquired capacity to analyze, verify and apply what was learned within a perspective based on accumulated experience. The thought style was the problem in which the group was interested, the judgements considered "normal," the disposition for experience structured by their rules of cooperation and the history of interaction with other thought collectives. The combination of these factors also conditioned the provisional character of the conclusions about the identified relations, and it was this temporary quality which provided access to experiences unregulated by

formal logic. (Fleck, 1981, p.28, 64, 99, 142; Fleck, 1986, pp.124-126)

The questions, vocabulary and premises which organize social research represent a position about social relations. They are consciously brought together, in conflict with other thought styles representing the perspective of different social forces. Not all will ask questions about ways in which daily life can be democratized or about social movements which can join in the effort. Some will critique the collective values which produce predictable interpretations, and assume relations of inequality are a given, with an analysis that emphasizes the social relations which produce those interpretations.

A fourth reason to investigate the thought style of the activist-intellectuals is to emphasize the consequences of explaining the contradictions of the time, while redefining what could be known about society. The interest in experiences of creativity among the marginalized majorities, displayed by members of the small groups, may have affected the way the popular in the Caribbean region felt about the place where they lived. They could have learned that recuperating challenges to the dominant rationality (hidden in the links between collective memory and daily conversation) was part of a long term process of decolonization.⁴²

In George Lamming's eulogy delivered at C.L.R. James' funeral, he referred to a community of complementary interests which nurtured the continuity of the work carried out by its members. (Lamming, 1992, pp.196-199) Lamming also mentioned that these qualities made it possible to bring together members of other thought circles to discuss the context for collective solutions.

The reader may recall that during the 1930s the "natives" in the colonial world lacked control of their situation and seldom had opportunities to move from apprenticeship to mastery in the official society. As some of the Caribbean intellectuals began to move away from a supposed continuity with European cultures, it became easier to construct circles whose style referenced the experiences of the popular.⁴³

According to L. Fleck, no individual can manage all that is previously known about the connections among a group of premises and direct social experience. "Cognition is the most socially conditioned activity of man and knowledge is the paramount social creation." (Fleck, 1981, p.42) The thought collective brings two contributions to this process: what is previously known by the group about the problem and a common understanding which directs the analysis of shared experience. The individual contributes an application of the collective's thought style to a specific set of results and preconditions. Fleck sees this social

activity as a process in which relations between individuals, the group's accumulated knowledge, and their way of thinking can be historically represented. The collaborative character of the process is similar to a conversation. As the experience of cooperation between the participants in the conversation increases, so does their awareness about a common problem's causes.

Other collectives with thought styles that reference nationality, gender, race, class, or religious belief will notice different challenges to the shared understanding that organizes their social experience. What remains comparable is what each understood by cooperation, and how their practices of cooperation were conditioned by a historical context.⁴⁴

The inclusion in this research of concepts such as thought collective and thought style has helped me to see their organized activity as a necessity for those intellectuals who tried to speak and write in terms that expressed the popular experience.⁴⁵ Communities of method and practice in which manual and mental workers matured a common understanding were a way of responding to that need.

Meaning and Knowledge

The sixth concept is the relation between the extraction of information (from the context) to produce

meaning and the knowledge created through injection of tension to produce possibilities for change. The latter could also be described as generating the crises or junctures that explain totality. In order to include the social subjects in their interactions with the context, my emphasis is on the relations between the parts. In this way the attention given to cultural practices in the daily life of the subjects can be linked to the relations of force. Even when they are both social productions, what is perceived as reality by passive observers who extract information and active subjects who inject tension may not be the same. For the active subjects it was not a matter of choosing between the social acts which produced a new situation and the extraction of information. A combination of the two was needed to establish the relations between the empowering changes to daily life and the State. It was not always easy for the small groups of activist-intellectuals to figure out what their role could be in such an empowering strategy. Some did the historical research, yet, according to Jesús Ibáñez, what was required was a representation of totality that used the extracted information to design social actions that could alter the balance of forces. (Ibáñez, 1991) The small groups and the popular movements needed to generate a "conversation" which produced information about reality and

developed possibilities for change. They would become subjects as they asked and discovered that knowledge and power were related to questioning everything about the whole.⁴⁶

In societies organized by relations of inequality there are several ways to produce reality and represent the manners in which it is experienced. What survives in the interpretation are the associations with the historical memories, unleashed by the context in which the exchange of symbols took place. This production of meaning by active subjects is what redefines processes of communication as cultural practices. (Ibáñez, 1985, p.86)

To define how the production of knowledge will be used here, I will consider briefly how social events can be registered. As mentioned above, they can be represented within a historical context. That representation can be interpreted in several ways: within the dominant codes of logic and rationality or against those codes, or by confronting them from another ethical ground outside the dominant truth systems. What still remains as a central issue is the process of confirming which of those interpretations is a more accurate expression of the way reality is experienced. There are means of corroborating which confirm the premises of the existing order. But there are other means of validation which compel the State to throw up evidence that contradicts those premises, revealing

the relations between the daily life of the popular sectors and the totality.⁴⁷

The popular need a way of explaining totality as a product of social relations that have been changed in the past, and can be changed again. The small praxis groups can help the social movements recognize and analyze their historical relations with all the existing institutions: identifying conflicts within the components of the official truth system, pointing out ethical inconsistencies, demonstrating the limitations of their common premise, raising awareness about holistic critiques and desires which have been excluded through combined institutional efforts. Gathering information to design social actions that will transform all the institutions is necessarily a collective cultural analysis. This includes evaluating the social actions as well, since they are also part of the totality. (Guattari, 1984, p.32, 38, 40; Loureau, 1981, p.176, 182) Both in the case of a popular movement and a collective of activist-intellectuals, this combined strategy is used to consciously produce something new.

According to N. García Canclini, to know is not to add facts as they appear, but to understand the relations which give those facts meaning within an explanation of the whole society. (García Canclini, 1988, p.483) This is the activity that the groups which exercise power would like to restrict, in order to control the conversation among the

social forces. It is insufficient for the dominated to respond by generalizing continued doubt as to the interpretations produced within the logic of the market and this is why Ibáñez (1985) suggests an independent verification of the holistic explanations proposed, as a measure against the monopolies of culture.⁴⁸

Praxis

The seventh concept is praxis, which refers to the mediation that links theory and social actions through critical reflection. A social force can only be overturned by its equal, and a theory becomes a social force if sectors of the population recognize it as an account of their situation. Praxis is the social capacity to work out the continuity between reality and possibility as a new understanding of the whole society. Praxis is also the process of confirming the limitations of the previous understanding and discovering conflicts at the gaps between what is and could be. Though the abstract analysis of the parts is not a substitute for direct action, praxis is the necessary reflection about how theories which had been applied before could be useful in the present. The historical evaluation of applied theory qualifies as praxis, in the sense that it will be used here, when recuperated examples illustrate how the conscious separation from

dominant values is connected to the discovery of a new common purpose.

Social subjects are constituted through their conscious efforts to transform the relations of power. That process includes a critique of the premises which are validated by the industrial production and consumption of merchandise.

For those in the process of becoming historical subjects, the perception of reality occurs through this acquired understanding of totality. A conscious practice that recognizes the historical connections between all the social institutions organizing daily life, includes a critique of the representations it uses. Praxis is the ongoing evaluation of the way those representations are used, and the social decision to use them in the interest of self-emancipation.⁴⁹

The definition of praxis brings us to one of the central issues in this dissertation. How is an understanding of totality, which is autonomous of the dominant logic, acquired by groups which can become a social force? One of the ways is by putting their previous understanding in the context of social history, to find excluded versions, causal relations and an inventory of conflicting interests. This social epistemology combines knowing and doing, collective action and evaluation of the changes to the subjects and the context. It is the appropriating of the cultural tools

needed to solve the causes of social conflict instead of negotiating its representations. As an autonomous understanding, praxis is the result of the communication between subjects whose combined efforts deal with the causes daily and permanently.⁵⁰

Maroon Intellectuals

The eighth concept is maroon intellectuals. The exercise of power is present in the social division of labour, in the separation of the manual and mental aspects of production. Separating the two from the means of satisfying social needs can also be understood as an expression of power relations. The plans presented by mental workers for the manual task seldom represent needs which the former have determined, especially when the production process itself is constantly redesigned to counter the workers' demands.

Within that general category of mental worker, there is a group which has a degree of relative autonomy from the routines of material production. As military officers or bureaucrats they can justify the existing order. But they can also work with the popular sectors in the resolution of social conflicts. The designers of such strategies of cooperation will be called intellectuals. Their strategies refer to means of addressing social needs in experiences of empowerment which are promoted and recorded. As the shared vocabulary gains support beyond the

spaces created by the popular, the reorganization of daily life requires a history of the present provided by the intellectuals.⁵¹

During the 1930s there were cultural movements in the Caribbean which caught the region's attention because they included collective proponents of cooperation. These were movements which identified continuities in the cultural territory where the colonized had become oppositional communities that had defeated the colonizers. The popular sectors of the day raised questions which some of the intellectuals, paying attention to the daily lives of the majorities, tried to address in their work.⁵²

When the natives, trained as scholars with foreign methods, return "home" (through these exchanges with the popular sectors) other ways of seeing themselves become possible: ways not dominated by the colonizers, by men, by whites, by christians, by investors. Unlike the runaway slaves who fled from the dominant the maroon intellectuals then bent and reassembled the advanced ideas of the day in support of cultural and economic sovereignty.

A common vocabulary may emerge from the reconstruction of those excluded histories, and the results are difficult to classify as humanities, social or applied sciences. According to Benedict Anderson the colonial schools gave the natives access to the metropolitan nationalism of overseas empires. (Anderson, 1990, pp.111-112)

By dwelling on this contradiction, and using such information against the grain, native-scholars also tried to "write."⁵³ The added details about the lives of the popular and the causes of their insurgence were an implicit critique of the colonial administration. But the instruments used for the research, could not produce a clean break with the leading ideas at the time.⁵⁴

When Ramona D. de Otero wrote in 1901, in a Puerto Rican newspaper called El Pan del Pobre (The Sustenance/Livelihood of the Poor), that she was coming to the "palenque" of the press, what could she have meant? In her context "palenque" could have been a noisy cockfight arena, a fence, or the free space of the self-emancipated inside the fence? I do not have an answer supported by contextualized records, but the comment suggests several ideas about the definition of maroon intellectuals. If they practice their understanding of social history, the means of presenting the emancipatory content should increase the choices of interpretation. Second, they should make efforts to demonstrate the common interests of those who share memories and histories. Third, the possibilities for an autonomous cultural life should be demonstrated daily: with results that resemble the collective which produces them, with an attitude towards liberation based on agreements and alliances.⁵⁵

A fourth characteristic of maroon intellectuals is the effort to give continuity to interactions with the popular movements, creating networks which generate a critical perspective about social relations and a reference for daily experience. This includes bringing together manual and mental workers to investigate the causes of their living conditions, elaborating a conscious thought style, and implementing actions which reveal the connections between the parts of their context.

The maroon intellectuals and the popular movements met at this intersection between politics and culture, where the memories of emerging subjects summarized social conflicts. What the maroon intellectuals attempted was to present models for collective action, which emerged from the region's experience of social change. They used that cultural history to inform the social movements of their day, and social theories to identify possibilities for conscious initiatives. While trying to contextualize the present situation through their writings, the maroon intellectuals looked for allies in the past and the present.⁵⁶

There were two activities distinguishing the maroon intellectuals from other mental workers: one was understanding how the popular sectors asserted their autonomy from cultural organizations which renewed the exercise of power; another was incorporating that excluded

protagonism as a necessary reference in the exchange of ideas across the Caribbean region. Accepting traditions of achieving mastery, which shaped the daily lives of the majorities in the Caribbean, also implied using that experience to create more participatory means of communication between the small collectives and the popular movements.⁵⁷ For the most part, these activities did not encourage the maroon intellectuals to operate in isolation. Public conversations became research groups, collective actions were evaluated in common projects that integrated manual and mental workers.⁵⁸

According to René Depestre, much as the Maroon communities took their distance from institutions which denied their humanity, major writers from the Caribbean had also escaped assimilation while validating popular transformations of western cultures to suit their adverse circumstances. (Depestre, 1976, pp. 61-63) For Depestre, what cultural marronnage did with western cultures was not an ahistorical translation, but rather the conscious introduction of their own values to sabotage the dominant and create something new.⁵⁹

The term "maroon intellectuals" will be used here to include both the efforts of collective reflection and the reciprocal relation with the popular imagination. In this regard, the ideas of Wilson Harris, from Guyana, complement those of the Haitian Depestre. (Harris, 1970, pp.13-15, 23-

27) According to Harris, the conscious reassembly of the material and spiritual worlds (which has distinguished the popular response to domination) also suggests opportunities for a critical representation of the region's history. What the maroon intellectuals acknowledged was the capacity to create a new civilization, found in the conscious reorganization of time and space by the popular imagination. This mixture, rooted in the contradictions of the region's social structures, showed itself in collective initiatives which successfully contested domination.

The seventh attribute of the maroon intellectuals was the combination of theory and practice to assert these elements from the Caribbean's cultural history, helping the popular define their contemporary tasks through their own forms of creativity.⁶⁰ Those who tried to combine an understanding of the dominant organization of information, with pluralistic alliances among people who investigated the history of the popular will be regarded as maroon intellectuals in this dissertation.⁶¹

Their flexible adaptations of social theories, qualified in light of the region's past, made it possible to use the results of that history as a point of departure for the analysis of present opportunities. When the proposals of the maroon intellectuals questioned the basis of a social organization that excluded the majorities, exchanges of direct experience often circulated across a larger web of

solidarity. But those biographical fragments could not come together spontaneously to make a whole consciousness. The communication networks that did were the result of strategic plans to integrate the multiple daily struggles. What the maroon intellectuals brought to this new way of participation was the continued practice of identifying connections between the parts of a problem with memories associated to a specific place.⁶² According to Mattelart, social movements which acquire this awareness can go on to innovate with the communication networks that bring the exploited and marginalized together. (Mattelart, 1983, p.31)

Identity, Historical Memory, Consciousness

According to J. Martín Barbero, putting the separation of work (into manual and mental labour) in historical context, understanding the political-economic-cultural interactions in that process, and explaining the oppressive outcome are all necessary to transform these relations of exploitation. (Martín Barbero, 1987b, pp.25-26) The expression of this collective experience in popular culture, and its representation in ways that propose solutions without separating the parts, illustrate the connections between identities, historical memories, and consciousness. The concepts behind those linked representations constitute the ninth entry in our vocabulary.

In a recent article about the failure of national communication policies, where Western Europe and North America are presently imposing conditions of exchange, M. Martín Serrano suggested exploring the relation between "national identity" and "the resistance to transculturation." (Martín Serrano, 1990, p.74) I mention it here because there are different nations inside each of the countries in the Americas, and several authors have pointed out that transculturation is one of the defining characteristics of the Caribbean region. Originally transculturation referred to the blending and mixture of daily practices among all the peoples brought together since forced labour was instituted.⁶³ Yet one of the weakest elements of that collective experience of exile and adaptation has been recognizing how the majorities represented their relation with their surroundings. Another problem, in the construction of identities in the Caribbean, has been making explanatory associations of diverse experiences that are also critical of the collective protagonists' historical origins. This approach to the challenges of constructing identities is what Vevé A. Clark calls "diaspora literacy," the reading needed to integrate other interpretations of this shared experience. (Clark, 1990, p.304, 313; Condé and Pfaff, 1993, pp.144-145)

Identity

As an acquired skill based on direct experience, the system of associations used to define the economic-political-cultural interactions was also a means of communicating a collective identity. Some of the writers of the 1930s, who had been schooled in the ways of the dominant cultures, still thought the world through languages which excluded other systems of naming, other identities. Others adapted radical metropolitan ideologies to denounce colonialism in solidarity campaigns that expressed the international composition (of the territories) and outlook (of the writers). Their efforts to learn about experiences (of self-representation) could be considered a search for models of cultural sovereignty. To write about what the peoples of the Caribbean thought of their oppression and exploitation, and to express it through systems of association which put those ideas in historical perspective was an attempt which illustrated the issues raised here.⁶⁴

The struggle over identity is the struggle to determine which groups can represent the experiences of reality in their own terms and which have to use the dominant cultural history as their reference points. The conscious effort to survive extreme conditions in a new place produced identities that challenged the dominant references on a daily basis: inconsistencies were exploited,

allies were recognized, another order of definitions was validated. Insurrections and revolts, such as those which occurred in the Caribbean region since the 16th century, could be considered among the theoretical and practical explorations undertaken by these disguised identities.⁶⁵

A new way of organizing historical memories, which produces a provisional understanding of the differences between groups, assigns a collective position which Stuart Hall calls identity. (Hall, 1990, pp.222-225; Hall, 1992, pp.223-224, 229-231) It is a process of producing representations, through cultural practices that reference a particular interpretation of history. In the colonial experience, the dominated is defined as lacking a history that can produce a collective identity, as unable of becoming a social subject. One of the ways in which that definition of the dominated was subverted, paid attention to the places which reminded them of their daily victories and common goals, public spaces which the dominated redefined with their presence and usage.⁶⁶ As the dominated created a network of public spaces, where they learned to solve common problems together, the existence of such reciprocal relations grounded in a specific territory challenged the dominant system of representation.⁶⁷

For the descendants of slaves in the Caribbean region, defining the construction of identities as a collective process raises the issue of remembering the past

before slavery. Under situations of domination, the means used to communicate the conflicts which define the dominated must involve using their own history: to question the norms which exclude them, to reassemble the dominant cultural products, to propose solutions which alter the causes.⁶⁸ It is in this sense of conscious product in process that identity will be used here.

Historical Memories

Remembering is at the heart of experience and discovery when they are collective processes. Through the interactions between historical memories and the vocabulary produced by social movements, to represent current experiences, memories can also be used to inform interventions in the present. To learn from experience in the actualization of memories, the questions asked of the past should be directed at the protagonists of previous self-emancipation efforts. The main consideration in this regard is the social sector whose interests are represented in the questions asked of the past, since the same questions cannot simultaneously represent those interested in uncovering methodologies of self-emancipation and those who have profited by their exclusion from the official story.⁶⁹

According to Sidney Mintz the slaves and Maroons in the Caribbean region addressed the question of historical memories by creating cultural institutions in their daily

efforts to survive slavery, in encounters of adaptation and confrontation. (Mintz, 1982, pp.45-49) Among them were systems of education, health, dispute settlement, self-defense, worship, news distribution and entertainment joined by a common vocabulary. Those institutions were a living register of conscious choices made in the process of inventing a new culture. They would also become a frame of reference for Asian contract workers and European indentured servants who were taken to the Caribbean during the 19th century. The result was a communication network which could question the legitimacy of imposed memories, separated from the context of coercive relations, with reconstructed points of reference that preceded slavery.

To insist in the 1930s on a sequence of historical events where the protagonists were popular movements was also to ask questions about ways to intervene efficiently in the present. This being the case, historical memories will be used here to mean the tracing of the counterpoint between the continuity of the social relations and their conscious interruption, as a source of experience organized from the present by a collective identity.⁷⁰

As the popular sectors rediscovered themselves in practices created by their ancestors, the colonial norm could be measured against a standard of collective communication. The daily activities that were used to transmit the ideas of the colonized about their situation

(fashion, crafts, music, theatre, novels, painting, newspapers, dance, organization of space, religion) were also indicators of changes in the coercive institutions.⁷¹

Consciousness

If the critical reflection in popular culture became part of a more generalized understanding of the historical past, the evidence of the new consciousness could be collected in the media used to represent experiences of self-emancipation. But the evidence for a more comprehensive understanding of the situation of the enslaved or colonized would be in their participation in such experiences.⁷² Thus consciousness is not the expression of imposed social relations but rather an attribute of historical subjects, whose experiences confirm the theories which explain social crisis.

The consolidation of a united perspective is not a mechanical consequence of conquest in a region whose cultural mix changes like the ingredients in a pot of stew. According to Wilson Harris, the colonized in the Caribbean need a vision of consciousness that changes with experiences that enhance the capacity for liberation. (Harris, 1973, pp.30-34) Historical subjects will be considered conscious when they recognize themselves in a history which is an affirmation of their social interest. When using the term here I will be guided by Paulo Freire's work, where

consciousness is the collective process of constructing the vocabulary which defines reality as a social problem to be resolved in practice. (Freire, 1970, pp.46-52, 71-72, 155-156; Freire, 1985, p.69)

This process is a conversation among the oppressed and exploited who compare their experiences, while developing a common criteria. For Freire, culture is an expression of consciousness, gained in conversations where the participants discover themselves thinking like their oppressors and doing so in less predictable ways. Consciousness is recognizing themselves in conflict with the dominant, where the only option is to struggle for their liberation. It is in the collective solutions to the existing conflicts, and reflecting on their actions that the dominated gain understanding of the whole society and become subjects conscious of their context.⁷³ According to Aijaz Ahmad, the conscious efforts of the popular to abolish the colonial institutions is missing in the work of Benedict Anderson and the Subaltern Studies group. (Ahmad, 1996, p.14)

Communication

The final entry in this vocabulary are the processes of communication, whose definition is not restricted to circulation of information through the commercial media. Processes of communication take place in the midst of conflicts determined by relations of force, as practices which challenge the dominant representation of the

existing order. Communication processes are a result of efforts to change the relations of inequality, but this cannot be solved with a better commercial system of circulating information. (Freire, 1970, pp.40-45, 168) Even when the dominated try to assume the premises of their dominant interlocutors, they cannot become participants in a situation which defines the dominated as incapable of becoming subjects.

For the colonized who face a similar problem unresolved by assimilation, mastery of the dominant culture may not explain local crises but it can be used to access the history of metropolitan discussions about the exercise of sovereignty. Processes of communication, of participating in reciprocal exchanges of shared experience, occur in communities that learn to bend the dominant representations in the pursuit of self-emancipation.⁷⁴

The processes of communication produce interpretations of the unequal relations in which exchanges take place, between organized subjects who share a common means of identifying their social needs. What makes those exchanges meaningful is their relation to the time and place in which the participants live, where they can recognize each other as members of a community of interpretation.

The inventory of their cultural histories (in which popular identities evolved under the constraints of power relations) may have helped both intellectuals and

social movements create a common means of talking about their collective needs. Previous experiences of cultural sovereignty in the Caribbean, (expressed in medicine, food, dance, crafts, warfare, fashion, languages and religions), were used in the 1930s to construct a more comprehensive understanding of the social relations. But the reference point for such processes of communication would be the direct experience of their own regional context.⁷⁵

In this dissertation processes of communication will be used in reference to the cultural actions of becoming a historical subject, to participation and cooperation. In this sense, becoming historical subjects refers to a process of inter-communication among the oppressed and exploited.⁷⁶

The consideration given to these exchanges needs to be complemented with attention to the social relations which also make obstacles to communication possible and necessary. I am referring specifically to social institutions organized as a consequence of those relations to prevent the interaction between activity and reflection in public conversation, thus preventing the valorization and appropriation of lessons learned from the popular struggles.⁷⁷

Explaining processes of communication requires identifying the connections with other processes of exchange, in order to overcome the artificial separation

between economic and cultural production. Communication as a social practice will be used here to mean participation in collective actions, intended to question - understand - transform the prevailing social relations. Not only are the fixed roles of interrogator and interrogated interchanged dialogically, but the questions are changed in order to discover possibilities for effective participation.

According to Jesús Ibáñez and Paulo Freire, such discoveries are possible in a conversation among subjects about their context: identifying shared cultural histories, verifying the vocabulary used to represent a common problem, participating in its resolution. (Freire, 1973, pp.73-79; Ibáñez, 1991, pp.102-103) I will use communication here to mean the process in which the participants teach each other while engaged in the redefinition of power relations. Part of that process is the constant updating of a shared way of thinking that distinguishes communities of liberation from the forces of domination.⁷⁸

What brings collective subjects into being is the cooperation that defines them as communities of action and reflection.⁷⁹ Ludwik Fleck refers to the unwritten customs of trust and mutual reliance, that support the members of a collective while they are exchanging ideas, as an apprenticeship in cooperation. (Fleck, 1986, pp.118-120) Here Fleck meant adjusting individual conclusions to the group's way of seeing and acting in order to gain confirmation.

Those are the ten concepts which I have tried to define in the first part of the second chapter as they will be used in the rest of the dissertation. In the second part of this chapter, I will try to explain the criteria for the selection of the case studies. In the third section, I will discuss the criteria for the selection of the historical period and define the concept of extended Caribbean in the fourth section of this chapter. The criteria for the appropriate unit of analysis will be discussed in the fifth section together with the research problem and conjecture.

Part B: Criteria for Selection of Case Studies

Discussions among European and North American scholars concerned about the place of culture in the domination of capitalist societies have generally excluded the interdependence between colonial and metropolitan cultural histories.⁸⁰ Prior to the fusion of the Renaissance and capitalism, the eurocentric representations of the rest of the world were more a function of provincialism. Until the sixteenth century the northern shores of the Mediterranean Sea had been the hinterlands of the Islamic world. But with the advent of European colonial capitalism, the representation of the conquered acquired a place in the material reality of the new empire(s). What the popular sectors in the colonies did with the representations disseminated by the metropolis is just as important for the

purposes of this dissertation. The second consideration was that interest in the popular, among the groups of activist intellectuals, evolved into a reflection about the excluded interdependence between the cultural histories of colonies and metropolis. A third consideration was the literary approach used in the 1930s to register the blending and mixing of cultures, and the organization of details which revealed conflicts between the premises of the protagonists.⁸¹

The criteria used in the selection of the case studies emerge from these considerations which place the relation between a collective of intellectuals and the popular movements in the midst of social conflicts. The role of their shared autonomous interpretation in the transformation of experience, needs to be addressed before considering how the consent of the colonized is achieved and extended. So the first criteria is that the groups or individuals located their interactions with the official consensus in the context of military conquest, and the relations of force maintained there by coercive institutions. The second criteria is the attention paid to changes in the economic relations, ways of governing and ways of representing the empire at home. As the occupation forces confront opposition in the colonies at the cultural level it becomes necessary to prevent their self-representation. The colonialist racialization of thought and

cultural imposition is not constructed as an encounter between nations, so the cultural opposition of those who think with the dominant mindset is also racial and continental. According to Fanon (1968) that is a blind alley because every culture is not only national but also connected to daily life in the present. The third criteria is the effort to verify histories of cultural protagonism by paying attention to practices which are recuperated and used to produce a collective identity.⁸²

The fourth criteria in the selection of the case studies is their use of "Western critical thought" to ask questions about the exclusion of cultural practices which were not inherited from the metropolis. This means that the praxis collectives selected saw cultural production among the popular movements as self-affirmation in the context of conflict.⁸³ The cases that seemed useful were those which illustrated the combined efforts of intellectuals and social movements to recuperate the excluded process of becoming communities of method from oral histories, official documents, and popular practices.⁸⁴ These cases will help to evaluate the historical models that were chosen to organize the cultural critique of ideas whose authority justified forceful occupation.

The fifth criteria in the selection of the small collectives or individuals is that each case helped identify possibilities for change in situations where they were

answerable to the people they were writing about, and aware of the social context conditioning their interpretations. (Said, 1981, pp.154-160) The choice of cases also illustrates an effort to overcome the cultural isolation which each empire imposed on their Caribbean colonies. The reader may identify some common denominators across the region from this inventory of rediscovered cultural practices used by the small collectives during the 1930s to critique the colonizers' representations. But the selection was constructed to include difference in approach and emphasis, regarding the conflicts of race-class-gender-nation-religion, despite the common systems of communication among the groups of maroon intellectuals.⁸⁵

Many of the issues concerning representation, interpretation, and mediation currently debated in the field of communication, especially in Latin America, were already being discussed in the Caribbean during the 1930s. Ideas such as opportunities for conscious participation, for discovery of the relations which organized totality, for evaluating the collective experiences which confirmed the vulnerability of the dominant order were being analyzed and put into practice. At that time the segmentation and reassembly of the governing ideas by the popular sectors, the impact of their autonomous communication system, were under consideration as a reference point for new possibilities of transformation.

The concern with the connections between the organization of production and the organization of daily life is manifested by the attention the small collectives gave to the popular cultures, to their oppositional movements. The groups of intellectuals may not be referring explicitly to the praxis of self-constituted subjects, which discover the mediations of totality on their own, but they are examining issues of representation, mediation and interpretation. The cultural presence of the popular sectors, mobilized against the authorities during the 1930s, materialized an interrogating potential that could democratize multiple exchanges. Such an interpellation required an explanation of domination (and resistance to it) which was grounded in the region's history. Those explanations of interventions in totality would draw attention to the collective examination of direct experience and to the discovery of opportunities for self-emancipation. That was the departure point for communication processes which made liberation a daily possibility in colonial capitalism.

At about the same time fascism, colonial capitalism returning home, was becoming the determining context for a group of scholars in Frankfurt also interested in culture and politics. Their deliberate silence on the connections between the struggles in the colonies and the

empires limited their contribution to the issues discussed here.

Additional criteria used in selection of case studies

The colonial context was chosen for a discussion about imperialism and culture. A second set of reasons has to do with the intersection of race, class, gender, religion and nationalism as detonators of social protest. Especially with the means used by the selected collectives to present the specific interactions between these multiple catalysts. The small groups in question paid attention to the popular perception of daily experience, whether or not the popular understood the causes of conflict and opportunities for collective solutions. Among the small groups selected, some even tried to produce explanations of the crisis in collaboration with social movements. In terms of appropriating that explanation or considering the context and media employed (public debates, printed materials, street mobilizations), the selection offers differences of degree and kind that refer to the particular combination of the catalysts mentioned above.⁸⁶

More specifically, the first of the additional criteria for the groups' selection was to see if the historical precedents of self-emancipation (such as slave rebellions, Maroon republics, or the Haitian Revolution) had

influenced their methodological choice in the production or dissemination of a more systemic explanation. Some of these groups examined popular cultural practices which actualized memories of social organizations from Asia, Africa and Europe. These memories had been re-assembled by the large concentrations of plantation slaves, urban house servants, and maroon communities. The ways in which they had employed their imagination against a common enemy, may have impressed the activist-intellectuals of the 1930s with the radical potential of syncretism. This refers to the use of dominant means to record the collective experience of the dominated. Once those means have been bent and qualified, the dominant could not perceive the direct communication among the popular.⁸⁷

Another criteria for paying attention to the truth system, which informed the choice of method for producing and disseminating a version of the existing conflict, is to determine whether the activist scholars in the small groups shared an understanding of popular syncretism and counter-memory. In constant interaction with an official history that omitted them, the popular started from personal experiences in the present until they revealed a utopic past excluded by official premises. This past was continually updated in organic practices that were re-invented by the popular imagination.⁸⁸

The third of the additional criteria in the selection of the cases was the possibility of examining two elements in the process of knowing/transforming reality, where the small groups and the social movements combined their resources. The first was the way the popular sectors gained access to previous experiences of autonomous discovery and communication. The second element was the role of the small groups (of activist-intellectuals) in support of the popular, as they became a national reference for the interpretation of collective experience. These efforts to demonstrate the present relevance of the past, and the capacity of the popular to produce an alternative reference, were conditioned by the State's efforts to restrict mass mobilizations against the colonial authorities.⁸⁹

Part C: Criteria for Selection of Historical Period

The juncture of the 1930s was chosen as a point of departure because it was a period in which challenges to the dominant premises, and popular mobilizations (representing the emerging criteria for social change) appeared across the Caribbean region. The notion of period is part of a more general consideration of method. If the material conditions which organize a society determine the general direction of its social history, changes in the social relations (which accompany those material conditions) can be considered as specific periods. Given similar material conditions and

similar social relations, it is probably safe to assume that the major social groups will conduct themselves in similar fashion. The differences will serve to highlight the conditions of each specific context. The purpose of this dissertation is not to explain the relation between periods, or the internal logic within a specific period, but only to identify the interactions among the determinants of the material conditions during a period of cultural crisis.⁹⁰ The period between the two world wars was one in which anti-colonial activity acquired a grasp of its adversary as a globally integrated system which demanded a holistic oppositional strategy.

During the 1930s there was a crisis of political, economic and cultural authority for the dominant alliance throughout the Caribbean region. In some cases there was also a crisis of the dominant systems used to verify representations of social experience. There was a reorganization of the popular means used to understand the dominant strategy, and of the daily practices used to communicate that understanding.

As the alliances of solidarity were extended to include the salaried, the marginalized and the collectives of maroon intellectuals, their presence in street mobilizations also fuelled collaboration between empires in the region. This was a period in which the dominant classes were reorganizing as well: lowering wages, raising

productivity, repressing the social movements, attacking the cultural perspective which supported the popular interest. The dominant alliance was reacting to the emergence of counter-forces which challenged the control of public space and the logic of production. This was a period of multiple opportunities to seize the initiative, in which the popular mobilizations revealed the uncertainty of control. These attempts also revealed the interactions between protagonists who seldom made a public display of their tactics, clarifying the connections between the parts of the whole.⁹¹

Part D: Definition of Caribbean Region

In this dissertation the term Caribbean region is not restricted to the insular territories but is used here in a more comprehensive sense. According to Stelamaris Coser, the Americas were born in the Caribbean encounter between indigenous, African, Arabic, European and Asian cultures. (Coser, 1995, p.3, 14) The export of gold was the initial motive, and during the 16th century the production of sugar and cattle was imposed as well. This encounter between cultures was organized by relations of domination represented by agricultural industries which also produced cotton and coffee with slave labour, connecting the islands with the plantations in the southern United States, Colombia, Venezuela, the Guianas and Brazil. The result of such an encounter, under those material conditions included

procedures of segmentation and reassembly that produced an original repertoire of choices for remembering, organizing space, communicating and imagining futures outside the prevailing logic. It is within the context of plantation America that the cultures of the African slaves played a defining role in the network of syncretic practices which have continued evolving until the present time. (Mintz, 1989, pp.9-10; Mintz, 1974, pp.55-62) The extended Caribbean is that region of the Americas which would have collapsed, during the 16th-17th-18th-19th centuries, without slave labour.⁹²

Neither the syncretic practices nor their results can be racially defined, but their definitive economic, cultural, and physical presence confirms the protagonism of the popular sectors through the region. Despite differences in imperial administrations and language, the peoples of the extended Caribbean have more in common with each other than they do with North, Central or South Americans even where the cultural processes were determined by the same social forces. The particularities resulting from sequence and context produced regional similarities and differences that discourage generalizations. (Trouillot, 1989, p.247) The region is a series of distinguishable sites that share some common historical elements: absentee dominant class, imported slave labour force (with diverse cultural origins), organization of time and space determined by plantation/mill

(or in opposition to it), deracination, miscegenation, existence of the State before the nation, urban and rural maroon communities.⁹³

But the majority of the population is not necessarily aware of the common regional elements in their historical experience. The region emerges as a conscious construction in practices of collective reflection that begin to address common problems, with identified allies, in a coordinated manner. Whether in groups of activist-intellectuals or oppositional movements, such practices question the possibility of a shared truth system between the dominant and dominated. This is especially the case when such collective reflection identifies the connections (between all the social sectors) that locate the Caribbean region in the Americas. The premises of that monolithic system of interpretation seldom explained why these new countries were created as a labour force for Europe. Nor did the dominant assumptions explain how the cultural practices adapted to a new environment gained regional support. Identifying the continuities within hybridity should make it possible to examine those premises with those who lacked illusions of assimilation.⁹⁴

Part E: Research Problem and Conjecture

The methodology for conscious interventions, demonstrated during the 1930s, was probably acquired in the

process of reconstructing the collective memories of previous popular victories. The evolution of this praxis may have been connected to the emergence of new subjects from the collaboration between manual and mental workers as industrial production was being reorganized. The forms of cooperation adopted by these subjects, constituted in praxis, may have also evolved with changes in the organization of a collective understanding about daily life.

The cultural presence of these new subjects was probably expressed in direct democracy at the local level, control over their own space/time, resistance to being excluded from the public conversations, in avoiding premature confrontations with the State. What I anticipate is that as the small groups participated in the reconstruction of a common memory, they adapted communication practices which referenced those historical examples of cultural sovereignty that had shaped Caribbean society. It is in this sense that I think the small groups of activist intellectuals became living examples of Maroon practices. Their use of foreign languages and ideas to question an interlocking system of multiple exploitations helps us reconstruct emancipatory communication strategies. (Said, 1993, pp.196-197) Even when they did not evolve from cultural movements to organized political control, we can

still learn from their struggles to understand the political dimensions of cultural history.⁹⁵

To understand the links between the premises in this situation, the thought collective is one of the appropriate units of analysis. It was a site of exchange between social movements and intellectuals to consider the values emerging in the cultural practices of the popular. It is also useful to understand the means of interpretation and verification that can act as collective restraints on the exercise of power. This unit of analysis was not selected to study society but rather to study the methods specific societies have used to know themselves.

These methods include popular communication practices, which need more attention than they have received, and the combined role of Caribbean intellectuals and social movements in their development. At the core of this approach is an understanding of the small group as a collective protagonist of social history. One of its features is that the participants acquire communication practices (which respond to the demands of their "constituency") in the process of attempting to overturn the present.⁹⁶ This is an activity that questions the dominant institutions through communication strategies which promote awareness of opportunities for collective creativity. The problem this dissertation will attempt to explore is the

relative impact of these means of communication on the social forces in conflict.

Given the common experience of slavery, capitalism, and colonialism in the Caribbean, one of the characteristics of the region's cultural production is an interest in emancipation, cooperation and sovereignty. That history of creating popular solutions to social problems is not institutionally displayed (to the degree that it is in European or North American galleries, museums and buildings) nor is to be found in imperial versions of colonial history. The depositories of the region's cultural history include a repertoire of herbal medicine and architectural solutions developed in Maroon communities, as well as land use schemes which express exchanges between communities connected by the Caribbean Sea. (Glissant, 1969, p.104) For C.L.R. James the literature from the Caribbean region often discloses a shared sense of purpose and method: making sense of the present in the context of past and future possibilities, mixing excluded events and mythologies to un-name/re-name official history. (James, 1989, p.49, 58) The authors in the small groups used different languages to represent similar realities: people who discover their context in extreme situations, as well as the contrast between the region's popular memories and imposed versions of history.⁹⁷

The period between 1925 and 1940 included massive urban strikes in Haiti (1929, 1930), in Jamaica (1938, 1939) and in Cuba (1933, 1939). Between those events there were hunger marches between cities in Trinidad and Martinique, urban insurrections in Brazil and Cuba, and riots within the Windward and Leeward islands. As the empires with Caribbean colonies adjusted their policies to the realities of wartime, street politics was dislodged. In its place social democrats and independence movements appeared to negotiate compromises that reduced the extension of the market's logic. Even if there was no break with that logic, the small groups had gained access to popular perceptions (of the social changes taking place) which were more explanatory than the compromise negotiations. These collectives could participate in the creation of more organized methods of expression: using the plot of their narratives to bridge a radical tradition and the present situation, writing about what their predecessors had done in the region.

Even when disguised as novels, theatre, poetry, visual arts or cultural anthropology this depository of cultural history was also an effort to participate in public conversations about a shared experience. Eventually some of these collective authors came to a similar understanding about the direction of that history. While exploring their communication strategies this dissertation will reconstruct that common view in order to identify cultural conditions of

social conflict, processes of segmentation and reassembly which generated new institutions in those conditions, and the combination of social theory with research methods in cultural politics.

Leaving aside, for a moment, the need to think and communicate by analogy, what is important here is the similarity between the conditions and consequences of exploitation imposed without much negotiation and the most recent period of the globalization doctrine. In this new situation it is still important to examine the terms under which the African Slaves, the Black Creoles and the Maroons transferred their loyalties to the Americas, and how those terms were updated between the world wars.⁹⁸

Summary

In the second chapter I have defined the terms in the conceptual vocabulary as they will be used in the rest of the dissertation; explained the criteria for the selection of the case studies, the choice of the 1930s as a point of departure, what is included in the extended Caribbean; the research problem and a forecast of some provisional conclusions.

The next chapter is the introduction to the three case studies. In tandem with Chapter III, the reader may want to consult Appendix B which includes some of the events

that defined the 1925-1940 period, questioned the dominant premises and interrupted the protagonists of the case studies. Such background should make it easier to follow the situations and proposals presented in Chapters IV, V and VI.

END NOTES

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⁴ Ngugi Wa Thiongo, Moving the Centre - The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms (Portsmouth, N.J.: Heinemann, 1993), p. 27; Noel Ignatin, "Meeting in Chicago," C.L.R. James, His Life and Work, ed. Paul Buhle (London and N.Y.: Allison and

Busby, 1986), p. 244-245; Gustavo Bueno, Ensayos Materialistas (Madrid: Taurus, 1972); P. Burke, "The Discovery of Popular Culture," People's History and Socialist Theory, pp. 224-225; Armand Mattelart, Mapping World Communications: War, Progress, Culture (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), p. 241; Tran Van Dinh, Independence, Liberation and Revolution: An Approach to the Understanding of the Third World. (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex, 1987), pp. 20-24; Amilcar Cabral, Return to the Source. Selected Speeches (New York and Conakry, Guinea: Africa Information Service/P.A.I.G.C., 1973), pp. 95-105.

⁵ Amilcar Cabral, "National Liberation and Culture, Unity and Struggle, Speeches and Writings, ed. P.A.I.G.C. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), p. 141; Agustín Cueva, La Teoría Marxista (México, D.F.: Planeta, 1987), pp. 125-147; Paulo Freire and Donaldo Macedo, Literacy. Reading the Word and the World (Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey, 1987), pp.35-36.

⁶ George Lamming, "Politics and Culture," (1980) and "Culture and Sovereignty," (1985) in Conversations. George Lamming, Essays, Addresses and Interviews, 1953-1990, eds. Richard Drayton and Andaiye (London: Karia, 1992) p. 78, 284; Thierry Verhelst, No Life Without Roots (London and New Jersey: Zed, 1990.), p. 17; Edward W. Said, Culture and Imperialism, Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), pp.XI-XIX; Amilcar Cabral, "National Liberation and Culture," Unity and Struggle. Speeches and Writings, ed. P.A.I.G.C. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), pp.138-154.

⁷ Sylvia Wynter, "Talk About A Little Culture," Carifesta Forum. An Anthology of 20 Caribbean Voices, p. 129; Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, Moving the Centre. The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms, p. 42; Ingrid Bjökman, Mother Sing for Me. People's Theatre in Kenya, (London and New Jersey: Zed, 1989), pp.48-49; Darcy Ribeiro, Los Brasileños, Teoría del Brasil, (México, D.F.: Siglo XXI, 1978), p.143, 157, 162.

⁸ Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, The Birth of African American Culture. An Anthropological Perspective (Boston: Beacon, 1992), pp. 3-5, 32; Michael J. Dash, Edouard Glissant (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 114, 115, 143-5; Beatrice S. Clark, "I.M.E. Revisited: Lectures by Edouard Glissant on Socio-cultural Realities in

the Francophone Antilles," World Literature Today, 63, No. 4 (Norman, Oklahoma: Autumn, 1989), 605; N. García Canclini, "Culture and Power: the State of Research," p. 469.

⁹ Vevé A. Clark., "Developing Diaspora Literacy: Allusion in Maryse Condé's "Heremakhonon," Out of the Kumbla-Caribbean Women and Literature, eds. Carole Boyce Davies and Elaine Savoy Fido (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1990), pp. 304-312. According to Edward Said placing cultural conflicts in the imperial context of the colonial world connects the two in a tight fit. See Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism, 1993, pp. 55-57.

¹⁰ Patrick D. M. Taylor, The Narrative of Liberation: Perspectives on Afro-Caribbean Literature, Popular Culture and Politics. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp. 37-40; Stephen N. Haymes, Race, Culture and the City. A Pedagogy for Black Urban Struggle (Albany, N.Y.: State University of N.Y. Press, 1995), p. 22; N. García Canclini, transcript of introduction to International Seminar at School of Communication, Autonomous University of Barcelona, February 1991; Antonio Gramsci, "Italian National Culture," Selections from Cultural Writings (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 253; C. Monsivais, "Cultura Urbana y creación intelectual-el caso mexicano," Cultura y Creación Intelectual en América Latina, ed. Pablo González Casanova (México, D.F.: Siglo XXI - U.N.A.M., Universidad O.N.U., 1984).

¹¹ J. Martín Barbero, "Comunicación, campo cultural y proyecto mediador," Dia-logos, 26 (Lima: 1990), 6-15; J. Martín Barbero, "Introducción," p.10, 15, 16 and "Comunicación, Pueblo y Cultura en el tiempo de las transnacionales," p.43 both in Comunicación y Culturas Populares en Latinoamérica, eds. F.E.L.A.F.A.C.S./C.L.A.C.S.O., (México, D.F.: Gustavo Gili, 1987); Roger Bartra, El Poder Despótico-Burgués. Las Raíces Campesinas de las Estructuras Políticas de Mediación, (Barcelona: Península, 1977), pp.32-36. Also see J. Martín Barbero, Procesos de Comunicación y Matrices de Cultura-Itinerario para salir de la razón dualista, (México, D.F.: Gustavo Gili, 1987).

¹² Sylvia Wynter, "Beyond the word of man: Glissant and the new discourse of the Antilles," World Literature Today, 63, No. 4 (Autumn, 1989), 642-644. The popular challenged institutions, social relations and ideas of hegemonic

alliance by organizing another sense of time, system of learning, set of loyalties and systems of spiritual rewards. See Carlos Monsivais, "La Cultura Popular en el ámbito urbano - el caso de México," Comunicación y Culturas Populares en Latinoamérica, pp. 115-116. But the popular as social subject is constructed in the interaction between economic history and cultural politics, where alliances can organize a new way of representing the relation with their surroundings. Since I am not making an effort to establish the connections between the categories in the vocabulary, a discussion of the intellectuals' role in the organization of that representation is not included here.

¹³ Atilio Borón and Oscar Cuellar have presented a reading of Antonio Gramsci, in the context of national construction, which has proved most useful in clarifying the relation between organization of production as the reference for historical subjects and the alliance which becomes hegemonic by way of the State. See "Apuntes Críticos Sobre la Concepción Idealista de la Hegemonía," Revista Mexicana de Sociología, XLV, No. 4 (México, D.F.: October, 1983), 1171-1175. I have suggested that the State is important in a discussion about hegemony for this reason. The same point is also made by the late Agustín Cueva, "El fetichismo de la hegemonía y el imperialismo," Cuadernos Políticos, 39 (México, D.F.: Editorial ERA, January-March, 1984), 31-33, and by Perry Anderson, "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci," New Left Review, 100 (November 1976-January 1977).

¹⁴ Michael Ryan, Politics and Culture: Working Hypothesis for a Post-Revolutionary Society, pp. 8-10; Carlos Monsivais, Notas Sobre la Cultura Mexicana en el Siglo XX (México, D.F.: Colegio de México, 1976), pp. 430-436. Both refer to the ways in which the hegemonic network organizes the relations of force to recycle the conflicts which have been contained as merchandise which reproduces the existing order. These cultural institutions which administrate domination can also be used to help the dominated forget the causes of social conflicts, repressing the alternative historical memories needed to achieve a consensus to reorganize society. See Stuart Hall, "Thatcherism and the Crisis of the Left," The Hard Road to Renewal (London: Verso, 1990), pp. 7-8.

¹⁵ Agustín Cueva insisted that the cultural, economic and political instances of domination and liberation did not operate separately. The subsidy extracted by the imperial states from the colonies to finance the production of

consensus in the metropolis is one aspect of this. Another is the necessary changes to the State in order to achieve a new consensus. See A. Cueva, "El Fetichismo de la Hegemonía y el Imperialismo," Cuadernos Políticos, 39 (México, D.F.: Editorial ERA, January-March, 1984), 31-37. This article is also included in A. Cueva, La Teoría Marxista, pp. 149-163. Since the issue of the State is seldom resolved at the sites where consensus is negotiated, the construction of cultural leadership which can organize alliances to democratize the relations of force is still an open question. See Tomás Vasconi, "Democracy and Socialism in South America," Latin American Perspectives, 17, No. 2 (Spring 1990), 25-38. His proposals agree with those made by A. Boron and O. Cuellar, A. Cueva, P. Anderson and M. Ryan.

¹⁶ N. García Canclini, "Culture and Power: The State of Research," Media, Culture and Society, 10, No. 4 (October, 1988) 473; J. Martín Barbero, International seminar Autonomous University of Barcelona, School of Communication (February, 1991: 4th lecture); Stuart Hall, "Gramsci and Us," The Hard Road to Renewal: Thatcherism and the Crisis of the Left (London: Verso, 1990), pp. 166-170; George Lamming, Conversations, George Lamming: Essays, Addresses and Interviews, 1953-1990, p. 202, 210, 211.

¹⁷ This is what C.L.R. James called self-representation by a community of free association. About mass culture see C. Monsivais, "La Cultura Popular en el Ambito Urbano - el caso de México," Comunicación y Culturas Populares en Latinoamérica, p.117; Dieter Prokop, "Problems of production and consumption in the Mass Media," Media Culture and Society, 5, No. 1 (January, 1983), 101-116 as well as the work of Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge (about the cultural organization of human needs in opposition to the discipline of exchange value) which complements those mentioned above.

¹⁸ For the response of the dominant bloc to the counter-hegemonic forces, whose demands cannot be negotiated, see James Petras and Morris Morley, U.S. Hegemony Under Siege, Class, Politics and Development in Latin America (London: Verso, 1990), pp. 48-52. José Aricó defines hegemony as the social construction of reality through which social subjects become the State, see "Prólogo," Hegemonía y Alternativas Políticas en América Latina, ed. Julio Labastida (México, D.F." Siglo XXI, 1985), p. 14.

19 María D. Juliano, Cultura Popular (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1986), p. 8; J. Martín Barbero, introduction to Comunicación y Culturas Populares en Latinoamérica, p. 11.

20 Sylvia Wynter, "Rethinking Aesthetics: Notes toward a deciphering practice," Ex-iles: Essays on Caribbean Cinema, ed. Mbye Cham (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1992), p. 264; Neil Larsen, "Post modernism and Imperialism: theory and politics in Latin America," Post modern Culture, 1, No. 1 (September, 1990); Joan Dayan, "Caribbean Cannibals and Whores," Raritan, IX, No. 2 (Fall, 1989), 64-66.

21 Armand Mattelart, "Introduction for Class and Group Analysis of Popular Communication Practices," Communication and Class Struggle: Vol 2, pp. 17-18; Alex Callinacos, Against Post-Modernism (Cambridge, U.K.: Polity, 1989) pp. 85-86; Robert A. Hill, afterword to American Civilization by C.L.R. James mentions relations of solidarity both among workers and within communities expressed in popular culture and in struggle to control production; Hakim Bey, T.A.Z.: Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Autonomedia, 1991), pp. 97-134.

22 Bruno Rosario Candelier, Lo popular y lo culto en la poesía Dominicana (Santo Domingo, República Dominicana: Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra, 1977), pp.243-249; Julia C. Ortiz Lugo, "Sabén más que las arañas. Arte Oral y Resistencia," La Tercera Raíz, Presencia Africana en Puerto Rico, ed. Lydia Milagros González (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Centro Estudios Realidad Puertorriqueña, 1992), p.85 refers to Josefina Ludmer, El Género Gauchesco. Un tratado sobre la patria (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1988) p.211, who writes about the popular as an invisible shadow which accompanies every gesture of official culture and jeers in silence.

23 Paulo Freire, The Politics of Education (Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey, 1985), p. 192; Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove, 1968), pp. 222-227, 233-238. Original 1961.

24 Amilcar Cabral, "National Liberation and Culture," Unity and Struggle. Speeches and Writings, pp. 138-154; Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth; Wilson Harris, History, Fable and Myth in the Caribbean and Guianas. (Georgetown: History and Arts Council/Ministry of Information and Culture, 1970), p.15.

25 Sylvia Wynter, "Rethinking Aesthetics: Notes toward a deciphering practice," Ex-iles: Essays in Caribbean Cinema, p. 269 and note 51 on p. 278; George Lamming, p. 285.

26 Tomás Vasconi, "Democracia y Socialismo en América del Sur," Contrarios, 3 (Madrid: November, 1989), 33-45. Also in English "Democracy and Socialism in South America," Latin American Perspectives, 17, No. 2 (Newbury Park, California: SAGE, Spring, 1990), 25-38; Armand Mattelart, "Introduction for class and group analysis of Popular Communication Practices," Communication and Class Struggles: Vol 2. Liberation, Socialism, pp. 20-22, 24; William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, Memory and Modernity. Popular Culture in Latin America (London and New York: Verso, 1991), pp. 168-176; Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, "The Many-headed Hydra. Sailors, Slaves and the Atlantic working class in the 18th century," Gone to Croatan. Origins of North-American drop out culture, eds. Ron Sakolsky and James Koehnline (New York: Autonomedia, 1993), p. 151.

27 Myles Horton and Paulo Freire, We Make the Road by Walking (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), p.98; Stephen N. Haymes, Race, Culture and the City. A Pedagogy for Black Urban Struggle (Albany: State University of N.Y. Press, 1995), p. 126, 138; C.L.R. James, American Civilization, pp. 150-163; J. Martín Barbero, "Comunicación Pueblo y Cultura en el tiempo de las transnacionales," Comunicación y Culturas Populares en Latinoamérica, p. 47; David G. Marr, Vietnamese Tradition on Trial, 1920-1945 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 385 gives example of small rehearsals of cultural self-sufficiency.

28 Mabel Piccini, La Imagen del Tejedor Lenguajes y Políticas de la Comunicación (Mexico, D.F.: F.E.L.A.F.A.C.S./Gustavo Gili, 1987), p. 55; Ariel Dorfman, Culture as Democratic Resistance in Chile Today, Document No. 15 (Geneva: I.D.A.C., 1977), pp. 4-22.

29 A. James Arnold, Introduction, to Aimé Césaire, Lyric and Dramatic Poetry, 1946-1982 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), p. xxxiii; Dany Bebel-Gisler, Leonora - the Buried History of Guadeloupe (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), pp. 233-235.

30 Jean Casimir, "Estudio de caso: respuesta a los problemas de la esclavitud y de la colonización en Haití," Africa en América Latina, ed. Manuel Moreno Fraginals (Mexico, D.F.:

siglo XXI, 1977), p. 402; Patrick D. M. Taylor, The Narrative of Liberation: Perspectives on Afro-Caribbean Literature, Popular Culture and Politics, p. XI; J. Michael Dash, Edouard Glissant, p. 98, 99, 168; Maryse Condé, La Civilisation du Bossale, Reflexions sur la literature oral de la Guadeloupe et del la Martinique (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1978), pp. 8-9.

³¹ Carlos F. Guillot, Negros Rebeldes y Negros Cimarrones, Perfil Afroamericano en la historia del nuevo mundo durante el Siglo XVI (Buenos Aires: Fariña Editores, 1961), pp. 22-25; Dany Bebel-Gisler, Leonora - the Buried History of Guadeloupe, translator's note 50, p. 247; P. Deschamps Chapeux, "Cimarrones Urbanos," Revista Biblioteca Nacional Jose Martí, Año 60, Tercera Epoca - Vol. XI, No. 2 (Havana: May-August, 1969), 147; Frederick Ivor Case, The Crisis of Identity. Studies in the Guadeloupan and Martiniquan Novel (Sherbrooke, Quebec: Naaman, 1985), p. 93, Case mentions the calm and patient execution of actions that matched horror of slavers with the horror of those who refused to become property, as narrated by Edouard Glissant in La Case du Commandeur (The chapter titled "The record of the torments").

³² Stuart B. Schwartz, Slaves, peasants and rebels: reconsidering Brazilian slavery (Chicago: University of Illinois en el Cuatro: la melodización de ritmos y la etnicidad cimarroneada," La Tercera Raíz, Presencia Africana en Puerto Rico, footnote 27 on page 54 quotes Juan José Arrom, "Cimarrón: apuntes sobre sus primeras documentaciones y su probable origen," Anales del Caribe, II (Habana: Casa Las Américas, 1982), p.184; Simone Schwartz-Bart, Between Two Worlds (Oxford, England: Heinemann, 1992), p.40; René Louise, "Le Marronisme Moderne," Antilla, 51 (Lamantin, Martinique: April 28-May 5, 1983), p.37.

³³ J. Michael Dash, Edouard Glissant, p. 168; Beverly Ormerod, "Discourse and Dispossession: Edouard Glissant's Image of Contemporary Martinique," Caribbean Quarterly, 27, No. 4 (Kingston: 1981), 3; Robert A. Hill, "In England 1932-1938," C.L.R. James, His Life and Work, ed. Paul Buhle (London and New York: Allison and Busby, 1986), p. 75.

³⁴ On the subject of the memories of the future or the prophetic vision of the past see Edouard Glissant, L'Intention Poétique (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1969);

Albert J. Raboteau, Slave Religion. The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 40-90 discusses maroon communities as models of syncretic hybridity which also created a way of perceiving through their spiritual perspective. Raboteau also explains why blacks and whites had less cultural contact in Caribbean than in U.S. and Canada; Gerard Pierre-Charles, introduction to "Presence de Jacques Roumain," Rencontre, 4 (Port-au-Prince: 1993), 6.

³⁵ Peter Linebaugh, "A Little Jubilee? The Literacy of Robert Weddeburn in 1817," Protest and Survival - the Historical Experience, pp. 204-209; C.L.R. James, "Black Scholar Interview," The Black Scholar. (San Francisco, California: September, 1970), 42; Eugene D. Genovese. From Rebellion to Revolution, Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), p.88. Genovese refers to the shift in the goals of the slave rebellions and the maroon wars during the French Revolution; Ineke Phaf, "Caribbean Imagination and Nation-building in Antillean and Surinamese Literature," Callaloo, 11, No. 1 (Baltimore: Winter, 1988), 157. Phaf speculates about the possibility of information exchanges between the maroons in Surinam and the Haitians at the time of the French Revolution. In my judgement the best description of information networks I've found is in C.L.R. James, The Black Jacobins, when the slogans to mobilize the peasants in the north are negotiated (1791-1792, 1801-1803).

³⁶ One of the reasons why the cultural practices of the Maroon communities survived in the collective memory of the popular, as a model of transgression sustained through cooperation, is that there were also examples of Maroon confederations to expel the colonialists altogether (the Guianas, 1768-1791), and alliances between Maroon republics and rebel slaves to overthrow the central government (Demerara, 1772-1775; Haiti, 1791-1804; Venezuela, 1795).

³⁷³ Benita Parry, "Resistance Theory/theorising resistance or two cheers for nativism," Colonial Discourse, Postcolonial Theory, eds. Peter Hulme, Francis Barker and Margaret Iversen (New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 172-174; Manuel de Landa, War in the Age of Intelligent Machines (New York: Swerve, 1991), p. 20, 84. The historical centres of this activity had been Brazil, Jamaica, Haiti, Cuba, Surinam. See Eugene Genovese, From Rebellion to Revolution. Afro American slave revolts in the

making of the modern world (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), p. 77; Albert J. Raboteau, Slave Religion. "The Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South, p. 90, explains ratio of white to blacks and work conditions in those five centres mentioned above.

³⁸ Much of my own understanding of this concept of thought style/thought collectives is the result of conversations with Dr. Robert A. Hill, U.C.L.A. - History Department and a reading of the Ludwik Fleck materials to which he directed me. Both helped me understand the nature of the problem I am considering here. Ludwik Fleck, Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact, eds. T.J. Trenn and R.K. Merton (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), Original 1935; R.S. Cohen and T. Schnelle, eds. Cognition and Fact. Materials on Ludwik Fleck (Boston: D. Reidel, 1986). There are also papers written by Fleck after 1945 in this second volume. There is a Spanish language edition translated by Luis Meana and supervised by Angel González de Pablo of the first Fleck text mentioned: La Génesis y el desarrollo de un hecho científico (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1986) from the 1980 Frankfurt edition.

³⁹ Aníbal Quijano, "Estado Actual de la Investigación Social en América Latina," (mimeo of paper presented at Conference in General Social Science Department, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras Campus, April 18, 1986), p.7; Alejandro Herrera Ibañez, "Wittgenstein en Persona," La Jornada-semanal (México, D.F.: April 8, 1990), 29. Herrera quotes Wittgenstein without giving a source: "a philosopher is not a citizen of a community of thought. That is what makes him a philosopher." For Wittgenstein philosophy was like belonging to a political party, a way of life (which required a willingness to give up previously accepted premises). In a 1944 letter to Constance Webb, C.L.R. James wrote that Walt Whitman needed a new form to represent the society which he saw, more democratic than the former metropolis and its cultural forms. Whitman's new style came with his participation in the social struggles of the country, as a member of a more conscious collective unit. See C.L.R. James, C.L.R. James Reader, ed. Anna Grimshaw (Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 138-139.

⁴⁰ Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, The Birth of African American Culture. An Anthropological Perspective, p. 32; Ludwik Fleck, Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact, p. 10, 53, 54, 97, 118, 123, 179, 180, 181 and in Note no. 7

of p. 111, about how communication of ideas between collectives alters style; Paulo Freire, Extensión y Comunicación? La conscientización en el medio rural (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 1973), pp. 73-79 about knowledge and society made possible in constant exchanges between subjects about object being studied.

⁴¹ R.S. Cohen and T. Schnelle, "Introduction," Cognition and Fact. Materials on Ludwik Fleck, pp. XI-XX, XXVII; Edgar Morin, El Método, III: El Conocimiento del Conocimiento Libro Primero - Antropología del Conocimiento (Madrid: Cátedra, 1988), pp. 205-206; In another text E. Morin, French communication scholar, suggests that the discovery of new possibilities for knowledge about society takes place in the transformation of the previous organizing principles through a critique that suggests new ways of using what is known to explain uncovered connections. See Edgar Morin, Ciencia con Consciencia (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1984), p. 315.

⁴² Manuel Martín Serrano, La Mediación Social (Madrid: AKAL, 1977), p. 46; Aníbal Quijano, "Estado Actual de la Investigación Social en América Latina," p. 20, 22, 26; Sylvia Wynter, "Rethinking Aesthetics: Notes toward a deciphering practice," Ex-iles: Essays on Caribbean Cinema, p. 248, 261, 268, 269, 272. Here Wynter suggests a way to evaluate how alternative systems of representation generated in processes of social transformation affect the social order's system of producing meaning; Clyde Taylor, "Black Cinema in the post-aesthetic era," Questions of Third Cinema, eds. Jim Pine and Paul Willeman (London: British Film Institute, 1989), p. 94, 96, 97.

⁴³ Raymond Williams referred to these communities (which shared a way of seeing other people and nature on the basis of common personal experiences) as collective subjects. Williams suggested that processes of cultural production could be studied through the processes of learning and imagining by which these collective subjects defined themselves, see R. Williams, "Literature and Sociology: in memory of Lucien Goldman," New Left Review, 67 (1971), 17; Kenneth Mostern, "Decolonization as learning: practice and pedagogy in Frantz Fanon's Revolutionary Narrative," Between Borders - Pedagogy and the Politics of Cultural Studies, eds. Henry Giroux and Peter McLaren (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), p.255; Edward W. Said, Culture and Imperialism, p. 256.

⁴⁴ Ludwik Fleck, Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact, pp. 38-40, 46, 51, 99-102. More recently Felix Guattari has considered the efforts to change the immediate present and the demands those efforts make on ways the goals and desires of the popular are communicated. According to Guattari, it is direct experience of active participation which brings these subject groups in conflict with the symbolic production generated to restrain them. In order to seize the initiative, it would seem pertinent to analyze the institutions which produce these obstacles to popular creativity. For Guattari, that analysis could help in the design of collective means of communication that would satisfy the goals and desires excluded by the logic of consumption. See Felix Guattari, "The Group and the Person," Molecular Revolution, Psychiatry and Politics (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1984), pp. 28-34.

⁴⁵ The Republic of Letters in 18th Century Europe was a possible precedent for the kind of community Fleck had in mind. A laboratory research team would be a more contemporary example. Gloria T. Hull has discovered such a network for exchanging ideas among the women poets of the Harlem Renaissance, see Barbara Smith, "Toward a Black Feminist criticism," Feminist Criticism and Social Change, eds. Judith Newton and Deborah Rosenfelt. (New York: Methuen, 1985), p. 16. The reference is to Gloria T. Hull, Color, Sex and Poetry: Three Women Writers of the Harlem Renaissance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987). In 1937, Richard Wright wrote that to produce literature that could articulate the goals of Black people, it was necessary for the writers to discuss their discoveries and verify their conclusions in groups, see Richard Wright, "Blueprint for Negro Literature," (1937) Amistad, 2, eds. John W. Williams and Charles F. Harris (New York: Vintage, February, 1971), p. 20. In 1944-5, R. Wright and C.L.R. James tried to organize a thinking circle to work out a common viewpoint among the writers recruited to produce a dozen studies about Black culture and racism. See Michael Fabre, The Unfinished Quest of Richard Wright (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), p. 268. Jack Conroy was another worker-intellectual, who built a network of collaborative efforts among mid-westerners in the U.S. during the 1920's and 1930's, see Douglas Wixson, Worker Writer in American - Jack Conroy and the Tradition of Mid-Western Literary Radicalism, 1898-1990 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

⁴⁶ Renè Lourau, "¿Trabajadores de lo Negativo, Uníos!," Los Crímenes de la Paz, ed. Franco Basaglia, (México, D.F.: Siglo XXI, 1981), p. 168; Edgar Morin, "The Fourth Vision: on the place of the observer," Order and Disorder, Proceedings of the Stanford International Symposium, (September 14-16, 1981), ed. Paisley Livingston, (Saratoga, California: Anma Libri, 1984), pp. 105-106; Jesús Ibañez, "El Grupo de Discusión en la Perspectiva de la Nueva Cibernética," (paper delivered at Support, Society, and Culture. Initial Uses of Cybernetics and Science Congress, Institute for Andrology. University of Amsterdam. March, 1989), El Regreso del Sujeto, La Investigación Social de Segundo Orden (Santiago, Chile: Amerinda, 1991); pp. 97-127. Both Ibañez and Paulo Freire refer to the translation of dynamic social processes into descriptions from which information can be extracted as "reading." Reading the world is preceded by conscious practical work of transforming it, translating abstract descriptions into social actions which "write" the world. See Paulo Freire and Donald Macedo, Literacy, Reading the Word and the World, pp. 33-35.

⁴⁷ As Peter McLaren and Tomaz T.da Silva suggest, the social and historical character of much of this work presumes concepts such as totality and mediation, see "Decentering Pedagogy. Critical literacy, resistance and the politics of memory," Paulo Freire, A Critical Encounter, eds. Peter McLaren and Peter Leonard (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 71. By mediation I understand the connections among the protagonists of social and economic conflict and their cultural representation. Through these conflicts are apparently negotiated in mass culture, their historical substance is better appreciated through direct verification. See Roger Bartra, El Poder Despótico-Burqués. Las Raíces. Campesinas de las Estructuras Políticas de Mediación, pp. 32-36. By totality I understand the diversity of sequences among the inter-related forces which condition social conflicts. Not only the material but also the abstract elements (like consciousness) which the social analysis of culture and communication need to consider. See Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution, An Analysis of the Democratic, Industrial and Cultural Changes Transforming Our Society, pp. 67-71.

⁴⁸ Creating new insight about the interrelated forces which organize social experience is an attribute of the exercise of power which can be redistributed. Just as the governing intentions can not be individually understood, the

representation of totality produced by another social sector cannot be individually verified.

49 Luis Martín Santos. Una Epistemología para el Marxismo (Madrid: AKAL, 1976), p. 48, 54, 59, 62, 83. This process of learning about exploitation/oppression while creating more democratic social relations is what social movements do when they discover the gaps that raise doubts about the logical justifications.

50 Paulo Freire, Pedagogía del Oprimido, pp. 166-168; N. García Canclini, "De qué estamos hablando cuando hablamos de lo popular," Comunicación y Culturas Populares en Latinoamérica, p. 34; George Rude, Ideology and Popular Protest, pp. 16-21; Paulo Freire and Donald Macedo, Literacy, Reading the World and the Word, p. 157. Praxis is the series of mediations which can diffuse the monopolies of cultural power, introducing diversity and use value wherever consumption of merchandise is imposed by force. Knowledge is extracted from the direct experience with conflict, and from evaluating the efforts to identify the causes of the social relations.

51 Ignacio Fernández de Castro, "División del Trabajo, Valor del trabajo y mecanismos de Poder," La Función Social del Intelectual, ed. Lacalle (Madrid: Ayuso, 1983), pp. 59-62; Sergio Bologna, "The Tribe of Moles," Working Class Autonomy and the Crisis (London: Red Notes, 1979), pp. 58-60. A different perspective on intellectuals is that of Brazilian social scientist Michael Lowy. See Para una Sociología de los Intelectuales Revolucionarios (México, D.F.: Siglo XXI, 1978) for a comparison between salaried professionals involved in cultural creation and bureaucrats/military officers.

52 The model for the approach I have chosen is implicit in the structure of C.L.R. James' manuscript-proposal, American Civilization (1950), p. 33, 34, 35, 128, 130, 136, 140, 148, 185. It suggests a way representations of social crisis could be used as a reference point in those exchanges between the intellectuals and the organized masses.

53 Vera Kutzinski and Cynthia Meshi-Ferguson comment on the results between disciplines, genres, and languages among the major works in the Caribbean canon. They also mention the tensions between the methodological protocols and the commitment to explain a collective memory. See "Afterword"

to Dany Bebel-Gisler, Leonora - The Buried History of Guadeloupe, p. 271. During this period of the 1920s and 1930s the Vietnamese intellectuals realized that accepting or rejecting western ideas was insufficient, that they needed an understanding of history that explained social change. To learn how to communicate with the peasants, they began to study the references to social transformation in traditional rituals and popular culture. See David G. Marr, Vietnamese Tradition on Trial, 1920-1945, pp. 273-282. With the recent revolution (1910-1917) as a reference some of their Mexican contemporaries were likewise engaged. The League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists founded in 1934, included people who were promoting the agrarian reform and participating in the debates at the National University. Between the defenders of a eurocentric curriculum and the proponents of its counterpoint, were people like Lombardo Toledano who promoted a conscious reflection about what they were doing. Among the writers and artists who supported Lombardo were Diego Rivera, Orozco, Siqueiros, Nicolás Guillen and Juan Marinello.

⁵⁴ The prevailing values of the day were called accepted second hand values. See George Lamming, Conversations: George Lamming: Essays, Addresses and Interviews, 1935-1990, p. 120; Evelyn J. Hawthorne, The Writer in Transition: Roger Mais and the Decolonization of Caribbean Culture (New York: Lang, 1989), p. 21.

⁵⁵ Ramona D. de Otero, "Labor Funesta," El Pan del Pobre. Puerto Rico. September 7, 1901, p.1. The quote is "Por Segunda vez vengo al palenque de la prensa." Extracted from Amor y Anarquía: los escritos de Luisa Capelillo, edited by Julio Ramos; de Otero's article was published in a page devoted to historical documents in a Puerto Rican weekly called Claridad (San Juan, P.R., March 7, 1996), 18; Patrick D.M. Taylor, pp. 21-22; Beatrice S. Clark, "I.M.E. Revisited: Lectures by Edouard Glissant on the socio-cultural realities in the Francophone Antilles," World Literature Today, 63, No. 4 (Autumn, 1989) 605. The reference to the frustration of opposition politics was made by Kamau Brathwaite, quoting one of the characters in Wilson Harris' The Secret Ladder, to illustrate how the maroon's histories have been used. See Edward Kamau Brathwaite, "Presencia Africana en la literatura del Caribe," Africa en América Latina, ed. Manuel Moreno Fraginals (Mexico: D.F.: Siglo XXI, 1977), p. 167.

⁵⁶ Armand Mattelart refers to social movements as a collective organic intellectual. The term maroon intellectual is used here to reference the collective character of discovery. When a slave escaped and lived alone s/he was a runaway, it was the experience of an organized life in a community of method with made her/him a maroon. See A. Mattelart, "Introduction for Class and Group Analysis of Popular Communication Practices," Communication and Class Struggles, 2, pp. 30-31. The intention of those discoveries by the popular is discussed by A. Gramsci, "Some problems in the Study of the Philosophy of Praxis," Selections from the Prison Notebooks, eds. Q. Hoare and G. Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1989, pp. 381-419; Sylvia Wynter, "Beyond the Word of Man: Glissant and the new discourse of the Antilles," World Literature Today, 63, No. 4 (Autumn 1989), 640; Grace Lee, "C.L.R. James: organizing in the U.S.A. 1938-1953," (mimeo of paper presented at C.L.R. James - Man of the People lecture series, Riverside Studios, London, England, 20 February 1986) p.6. Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks (New York: Grove, 1967), p.229. An example which captures the combination of social analyst-advocate-facilitator that may be more familiar to the North American reader is Ella Baker, investigative journalist and organizer across issues of gender, race and class. See Joy James, "Ella Baker, 'Black Women's Work' and Activist Intellectuals," Black Scholar, 24, No. 4 (Fall, 1994), 8-15. Since the 1930's Baker worked to connect micro-macro levels in the design of strategies for change.

⁵⁷ Henry Giroux, "Paulo Freire and the Politics of Post-Colonialism," Paulo Freire - A Critical Encounter, eds. Peter McLaren and Peter Leonard (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 117, 185. Giroux insists on considering the cultural representations under which a critique is being constructed. According to Maryse Condé, one of the ingredients of a regional perspective is the attention paid to the omissions that surround what appears as self-evident and hegemonic. See "Pan Africanism, feminism and culture," Imagining home: class, culture and nationalism in the African diaspora, eds. Sydney Lemelle and Robyn D.G. Kelley (London and New York: Verso, 1994), pp. 55-65. The cultural promoters I'm calling maroon intellectuals helped their contemporaries identify connections between values organized their perceptions and the communication strategies that survived slavery. The intellectuals and the popular sectors learned together, teaching each other. According to George Lamming, the vocabulary acquired from the experience of the poor could then be used to retrain the imagination of the

rest. See George Lamming, "Builders of our Caribbean House," Conversations, George Lamming: Essays, Addresses and Interviews, 1953-1990, eds. Richard Drayton and Andaiye (London: Karia, 1992), pp. 163-167. This was a speech delivered at Carifesta-Barbados (1981) which that year was honoring Nicolás Guillén, Aimé Césaire, and Edna Manley.

58 The eventual integration of manual and mental workers in the same small groups and the possibility of interacting with the popular movements provided access to the oral traditions of the subjects whose presence was not contrived by a research design. The creation of a focus group or a representative sample to answer a questionnaire are devices of another order. The former makes it possible to get inside the historical process of becoming a social subject, of questioning the social relations.

59 René Depestre, "Saludo y despedida a la Negritud," Africa en América Latina, pp. 345-347, 351-352. Even though the levels of success with cultural marronnage were uneven, across a region with different economic and political impositions, there was a community of method in the use of elements from a variety of sources to create something which served the interest of the popular sectors in the Caribbean.

60 Harris is correct in pointing out that the region lacks this integrated philosophy of history whose native perspective can acquire universal application. I am adding that these activists-intellectuals recognized the gap and tried to address it, motivated by the popular needs. See Sylvia Wynter, "Beyond the categories of the master conception: the counter-doctrine of the Jamesian Poiesis," C.L.R. James's Caribbean, eds. Paget Henry and Paul Buhle, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), pp. 83-87.

61 The reader should keep in mind that I am attempting to present a vocabulary that emerges from the place and space in which the events examined in the case studies took place. Though I have not tried to make the connections between the terms, they should be apparent to the reader by now. For people who were only one generation away from slavery in the 1930s, in countries with living testimonies of the maroon experience of cultural sovereignty/reassembly, this might have been a useful approach to the popular cultures. For a more contemporary reflection about the responsibilities of academics and intellectuals, please see Walter Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks. The Making of an African Intellectual, ed. Robert A. Hill (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press,

1990), pp. 114-115. I owe much of my own thoughts on the matter to the ideas presented in this valuable book.

62 Cases of methodological individualism and collectives which kept their distance from the popular movements will be considered among the instances examined later. About the impact of social movements on the intellectuals, see Aijaz Ahmad, "Culture, nationalism and the role of intellectuals," Monthly Review, 47, No. 3 (July-August, 1995), pp.53-56. About the role of the intellectuals in the reconstruction of the past to create common goals, see Edgar Morin, Pensar Europa, Las Metamorfosis de Europa (Barcelona: Gedisa, 1988), pp.121-130, 156-154; Nadine Gordimer, Writing and Being (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp.115-134; Barbara Smith, "Toward a Black Feminist Criticism," Feminist Criticism and Social Change, pp.8-9. About the strategic innovations which are possible beyond conversations concerning theory and official history, see A.Mattelart, "Introduction for Class and Group Analysis of Popular Communication Practices," Communication and Class Struggles: Vol 2. Liberation, Socialism. p.31. Here Mattelart mentions the importance of organic intellectuals and alliances as examples of mediations, so central to understanding processes of communication.

63 The author who created the term "transculturation" was the Cuban Fernando Ortiz, and he defined it as the intense cultural modifications which explained his country's history. See Cuban Counterpoint, Tobacco and Sugar (--: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947). (Original 1940).

64 Walter Benjamin, Sobre el Programa de la Filosofía Futura, (Caracas: Monte Avila, 1970), p. 141. Benjamin refers to language as a media which communicates identity in the process of naming other things. Maryse Condé refers to the search for cultural originality by the colonized who wanted to underscore their differences with the colonizers. See La Civilisation du Bossale. Reflexion sur la literature orale de la Guadeloupe et de la Martinique (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1978), pp. 51-52.

65 Benita Parry, "Resistance Theory/theorising resistance or two cheers for nativism," Colonial Discourse, post colonial theory, eds. Peter Holme, Francis Barker and Margaret Iversen (New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 176-177; René Depestre, 1976, p. 63.

⁶⁶ For Stuart Hall the struggle over self-representation includes the search for associations forgotten, suppressed and invented in order to resist dominant exclusion. The glue which held that process together was the memory of a past before slavery, and the recuperation of popular victories denied a place in the official history. See Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," Identity: Community, Culture, Difference, pp. 222-225, "Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation," Ex-iles, Essays on Caribbean Cinema, pp. 223-224, 229-231. Another version of identity as a strategy for learning connected to the way space acquires meaning is proposed by Stephen N. Haymes using the work of Paulo Freire. See Race, Culture and the City. A Pedagogy for Black Urban Struggle, pp. 3-11. What seems central is recognizing the material conditions which determine particular differences that shape the critical actions of subjects in a constant process of becoming.

Communication scholars in Canada have benefitted from Harold Innis' work about the impact of changes in methods of transmitting information on a civilization's sense of space. See "The Bias of Communications," "A Plea for Time," "The Problem of Space," "Industrialization and Cultural Values," Bias of Communication (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 59, 64-68, 99, 110, 138-140. The reader can also consult a more recent text on the same topic: Michel Serres, Hermes. Literature, Science, Philosophy, eds. Josué V. Harari and David F. Bell (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992), pp. 39-53, 65-70.

⁶⁷ According to Alberto Melucci one of the characteristics of social movements is representing their experience with concepts produced while teaching each other. I think that loyalty to the place where their coalitions began and won might be one of those concepts. See A. Melucci, Nomads of the Present Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), p.60, 185. This created system of interpretation, with a specific social history, is what Cornelius Castoriadis calls the identity of a community as it puts the exchanges of information in context. See "The Imaginary: Creation in the Social-Historical Domain," Order and Disorder. Proceedings of the Stanford International Symposium. September 14-16, 1981, ed. Paisley Livingston (Saratoga, California: Anma Libra, 1984), p.152.

⁶⁸ The use of the dominated's cultural history to challenge colonialism is discussed by Frantz Fanon, A Dying

Colonialism (New York: Grove, 1965), pp. 35-37, original 1959, and by Seamus Deane in the editor's introduction by T. Eagleton, F. Jameson, and E.W. Said, Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), pp. 14-19.

⁶⁹ Arcadio Díaz Quiñones, La Memoria Rota - Ensayos sobre Cultura y Política, p. 173; Anthony Wilden, System and Structure, Essays in Communication and Exchange (New York: Tavistock, 1984), pp. 373-377, 407-408; Peter McLaren and Tomaz T. da Silva, "Decentering Pedagogy, Critical Literacy, Resistance and the Politics of Memory," pp. 74-79. This effort to imagine the conditions which produce alternative versions of the historical past is what Freire has called *concientización*. It is another ethical and political code of interpretation which can identify "what is not yet." See George Lipsitz, Time Passages. Collective Memory and American Popular Culture (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), pp. 211-231 for a discussion of what he calls counter-memory.

⁷⁰ Clarisse Zimra discusses the difference between a novel set in the context of the metropolis' official history (like the defeat of Toussaint in Haiti) and another set in a context which calls into question the loyalty of the colonized to an imposed mythology of individual heroes. See Clarisse Zimra "Righting the Calabash: writing history in the female francophone narrative," Out of the Kumbia - Caribbean Women and Literature, pp. 152-155; Mabel Piccini adds to this concern over the context, that the social memory is a map of the relations of force at a particular moment, that it is constructed and resisted in the exercise of power. See Imagen del Tejedor. Lenguajes y Políticas de la Comunicación, ed. Mabel Piccini (México: D.F.: Gustavo Gili, 1987), pp. 41-43. When repressed alternatives are liberated, memory can become historical consciousness if the official means of verification are also challenged. See Jesús Ibáñez, Del Algoritmo al Sujeto: Perspectivas de la Investigación Social (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1985), pp. 13-15. The urgency of such an undertaking by the oppressed/exploited was well captured by Walter Benjamin when he wrote that hope can be retrieved from history when the living are convinced that even the dead will suffer the consequences of a lesson not learned. See "Theses on the Philosophy of History," Illuminations (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1968), p. 255.

71 About Glissant's ideas on practices of self-affirmation see Beverly Ormerod, "Discourse and Dispossession: Edouard Glissant's Image of Contemporary Martinique," Caribbean Quarterly, 27, No. 4 (Kingston, Jamaica: _, 1981), 1-12; J. Michael Dash, Edouard Glissant, pp. 143-153.

72 C.L.R. James, "On Marx's Essays from the Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts," (1947) At the Rendezvous of Victory (London: Allison and Busby, 1984), pp. 70-72. The question of consciousness as social events which confirm abstract analysis is taken up again by James in the fourth lecture to London Group in March, 1964. The historical methodology to which James contributed can be used to study colonial resistance as an expression of conscious self-representation. See Robert A. Hill, "In England 1932-1938," C.L.R. James. His Life and Work, p. 80. Edouard Glissant, like C.L.R. James, gave much thought to the use of the theatre as a means of collective reflection about the common past in the process of nation building. See "Theatre, Consciousness of the People," Caribbean Discourse, p. 220.

73 For N. García Canclini, consciousness is the product of historical knowledge. See Arte Popular y Sociedad en América Latina (México, D.F.: Grijalbo, 1977), p. 104; The European understanding of cultural domination and conquest do not mean the same for the diverse communities which make up the Caribbean region. See Wilson Harris, Tradition, the Writer and Society. Critical Essays (London and Port of Spain: New Beacon, 1973), pp. 30-34. In a review about Gabriel Albiac's book on Spinoza, Antonio Negri commented on consciousness and social memory as expressions of a crisis, as explanations of defeat. See "Contra la esperanza," El País (Madrid: November 29, 1987), 25.

In Ireland, Seamus Deane asked about the way in which the colonized can organize a liberating relation with the past and future, a relation which is not based on provincial dichotomies. His definition of consciousness includes: explaining the lack of control over their relation with British imperialism, the need for constant self-analysis, the separation from the origins of their own cultural practices. Deane also drew attention to a comment by Edward Said about Yeats which is useful here: consciousness in the colonial context also includes the imaginary escape from servility. See "Introduction" to T. Eagleton, F. Jameson, E. Said, Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature, pp. 3-11.

Mario Benedetti, "Se acabó el Simulacro," Claridad (San Juan, Puerto Rico, July 17, 1992), 19; Anthony Wilden, System and Structure. Essays in Communication and Exchange (New York: Tavistock, 1984), pp. 237-239. Both refer to consciousness as recognizing though not necessarily in the same vein as Paulo Freire which has informed my own thinking on this matter. See The Politics of Education, p. 69 and Pedagogía del Oprimido, pp. 46-52, 71-72, 155-156.

In an anthology of interviews with Caribbean intellectuals about the possibilities for nationhood in the French colonies, Alain Blerald's comments agreed with Freire's outlook. The discussion about such historical instances, according to Blerald, should start by acknowledging that the popular sectors are not convinced by abstract representations of colonialism. Consciousness is the result of practical experiences through which cultural and political sovereignty is constructed. See Alain Brossat and Daniel Marragnes, eds. Les Antilles dans L'impasse? ...(Paris: Caribenes, 1981), pp. 184-185.

In contrast with the comment about H. Innis in End Note 66, some writers in the Caribbean have explored the relation between landscape and consciousness to identify geographic references for experiences of fear and humiliation as well as cultural autonomy. A. James Arnold mentions A. Cesaire, J. Roumain and E. Glissant among those who contrast the colonial order of the coastal towns with the maroon villages in the hills. See A. James Arnold, introduction to Lyric and Dramatic Poetry, 1946-1982 by Aimé Cesaire, pp.XI-XII.

⁷⁴ J. Martín Barbero, Comunicación Masiva: Discurso y Poder (Quito, Educador: C.I.E.S.P.A.L., 1977), pp. 13-15; Chester J. Fontenot, Jr. Frantz Fanon - Language as the God Gone Astray in the Flesh (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1979), pp. 23-33. For Martín Barbero the value of an explanation of communication processes is not in its logic but in its capacity to make sense of social transformations. The same changes which Fontenot defines as the distinction between the pursuit of recognition and the achievement of liberation. For the purpose of this dissertation, the way in which the popular uncover the political and economic basis of communication processes is such an explanation.

⁷⁵ J. Martín Barbero referred to the relation between the social practice of producing interpretations and the historical experiences which condition the changes in the identities of those interpreting subjects, both in the

February 21, 1991 lecture about identities at the International Seminar, Autonomous University of Barcelona, School of Communication and in his introduction to Comunicación y Culturas Populares en Latinoamérica, p. 11. Much of what has been said here is informed by Stuart Hall, "Negotiating Caribbean Identities," New Left Review, 209 (January, 1995), 3-14. I share Hall's debt to the work of Fernando Ortiz about transculturation in Cuban Counterpoint (1940) and the work of Sydney Mintz about cultural retention. The latter was discussed here in the section about historical memory. The process of converting the experience of the colonized into the reference points of interpretation was also the subject of Nadine Gordimer's Charles Elliot Norton Lectures at Harvard University in 1994, see Writing and Being, pp. 118-120 and 130-134. She says that the construction of a memory connected to the place where you are, at the present, makes it possible to replace the metropolis where real events are supposed to take place.

⁷⁶ Paulo Freire, Pedagogía del Oprimido, pp. 162-168. In his doctoral dissertation about the work of Edouard Glissant, Wilbert J. Roget explains that the point of identifying differences is to propitiate relations of solidarity and inter-communication; that this is the way in which subjects are constituted. See his "Edouard Glissant and Antillanite," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1975), 299 pp.

⁷⁷ Antonio Negri refers to the constant changes in art forms as a result of changes in the social context. When the cultural production challenges the present order the language, consciousness, actions and communication among the collective subjects improves. See Lenta Ginestra, (Milano: Sugar Co. Edizioni, 1987), Chapter XV, "Materialism and Poetry." When the active interpretation of the receivers displaces communication processes to conflicts between cultures, the commercial media is less important, in the study of communication processes, than naming the conditions in which subjects are constituted. Those conditions in which communication is connected to the direct experience of the context are precisely what the commercial media in the market economy attempt to prevent. J. Martín Barbero, "Comunicación, Pueblo y Cultura en el tiempo de las Transnacionales," Comunicación y Culturas Populares en Latino-américa, p. 42; Oskar Negt, "Mass Media: Tools of Domination or Instruments of Liberation? Aspects of the Frankfurt School's Communication Analysis," New German Critique, 14 (Spring, 1978), 62-64; Mabel Piccini, La Imagen

del Tejedor - Lenguajes y Políticas de Comunicación, pp. 31-32.

⁷⁸ Manual Martín Serrano, "La Epistemología de la Comunicación, a los Cuarenta años de su nacimiento", Telos, 22 (June-August, 1990) 70; Hanno Beth and Harry Pross, Introducción a las Ciencias de la Comunicación (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1987), p. 109, 125.

Freire's ideas on what Harry Pross calls the conditions of participation in public life are discussed in The Politics of Education, p. 104 and pp. 175-184 where his conversation with Donaldo Macedo is included. The conditions for communication as a political act are discussed in the context of creating a new community.

In 1974 Dario Fo, Italian playwright and actor, discussed the same subject in a conference on popular culture in Milano. See Trumpets and Berries (London: Pluto Press, 1984), pp. 71-75. The imaginative reorganization of experience are the historical expressions of awareness which constitute a community that can produce new social relations, according to Raymond Williams. See Raymond Williams, "Literature and Sociology: In Memory of Lucien Goldman," New Left Review, 67 (1971), 3-18, and also "Means of Communication as Means of Production," Problems in Materialism and Culture (London: Verso, 1980), p. 62. Also A. Mattelart and J.M. Piemme, "23 notas para un debate político sobre la comunicación," Sociología de la Comunicación de Masas, Vol 4: Nuevos Problemas y transformación Tecnológica, ed. M. de Moragas, (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1986), p. 93.

⁷⁹ Ludwik Fleck refers to the unwritten customs of trust and mutual reliance, that support the exchange of ideas among the members of a collective, as an apprenticeship in cooperation. Here Fleck meant adjusting individual conclusions to the group's way of seeing and acting in order to gain confirmation. Fleck was writing about the mutual support that is necessary for the production of discoveries. Ludwik Fleck, Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact, pp. 119-121.

The Digger's collective farms and their program of cultural transformation was also based on the need for conscious cooperation. These demonstration projects in Surrey, England (1650) were repressed by the military, the church and the land owners. See Christopher Hill, The Experience of Defeat. Milton and Some Contemporaries, (New York: Penguin, 1985).

Antonio Negri has also written about collective cooperation during economic and cultural production as communication. See The Politics of Subversion (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Polity Press/Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 34, 50-52, 132; also in Lenta Ginestra (Milano: Sugar Co. Edizioni, 1987), pp. 295-297.

⁸⁰ In an article about Said's work, Benita Parry extends the list beyond the Frankfurt School's deliberate abstention from discussions about colonialism and imperialism to include the provincialism of Raymond Williams, E.P. Thompson, and Terry Eagleton in regard to the construction of national cultural identities. See "Overlapping Territories and Intertwined Histories: Edward Said's Postcolonial Cosmopolitanism," Edward Said. A Critical Reader, ed. Michael Sprinker (Oxford, United Kingdom and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell, 1992), p. 23 and footnotes 4, 5, 6 on p. 42. Edward Said's own views on this absence, as well as on which Western intellectuals do have important contributions to anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggles in the Third World are in Culture and Imperialism (1993), pp. 278-281.

⁸¹ Samir Amin, Eurocentrism (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989), p. 101; George Svedeker, "Edward Said and the Critique of Orientalism," Nature, Society and Thought, 3, No. 2 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota: April 1990), 145-165; Aijaz Ahmad, In Theory, Classes, Nations, Literatures (London and New York: Verso, 1994), p. 183. All three insist on the material reality of capitalist-colonialism as the historical context of efforts to institutionalize differences between dominant and dominated. Sidney Mintz and Richard Price mention the separate but interdependent character of colonial plantation society and some of the pioneers who studied them: Fernando Ortiz, Jean Price Mars. See The Birth of African American Culture - An Anthropological Perspective, p. 5. Anthropologists like Clifford Geertz have used this approach more recently. See Karen Winkler "An Anthropologist of Influence. Clifford Goertz relishes experimentation and refuses to be pigeonholed," The Chronicle of Higher Education (Washington, D.C.), 5 May 1995, Sec. A, p. A16, A17, A23.

⁸²⁸². George Svedeker, "Edward Said and the Critique of Orientalism," Nature, Society and Thought, 3, No. 2 (April 1990), 149, 156; Aijaz Ahmad, In Theory, Classes, Nations, Literatures, p. 164. Benita Parry, "Overlapping Territories and Intertwined Histories: Edward Said's Postcolonial Cosmopolitanism," Edward Said, A Critical Reader, pp. 23-24.

I am aware of the limitations in Said's work as mentioned by Svedeker, Ahmad and Parry. Their observations have been turned into the criteria used to select the case studies in this area of communication research. When occupation forces presume they have the right to dispose of a populated territory, they must also deny the dominated people's the right to speak for themselves. Looking at the relation between culture and imperialism, as Said suggests, is putting the struggle over self-representation in historical perspective. See Edward W. Said. Culture and Imperialism, pp. 51-52, 57, 60-61, 278-281.

In my research, what the native intellectuals learned with the popular, from their reassembly of mass culture, is a question that has helped determine which individuals/collectives would be included as case studies. It is in keeping with Fanon's comment about the native intellectuals who reject the blind alley of racialized continental cultures as a liberating reference point for the colonized. Reading the word and writing the world, as Freire suggests, from the perspective of interdependence eventually leads to asking whether the colonized peoples are nations with human rights beyond cultural opposition to metropolitan domination. Frantz Fanon, "On National Culture," The Wretched of the Earth, pp. 207-212, 215-218. Original 1959. According to Fanon, the native intellectual should model her interactions with the dominant cultures on the behaviour of the adopted child who does not stop investigating her circumstantial family. That has been a criteria for the selection of the case studies as well.

⁸³ I am not equating nation and culture, or the west and capitalism. Neither am I assuming that a state imposed by a group of absentee investors (to maintain the relations of force which complement specific production, circulation and distribution arrangements) can be transformed without also considering race, class, gender, and nation issues. See Aijaz Ahmad, In Theory, Classes, Nations, and Literatures, pp. 200-205, footnote 8 on p. 321. I agree with Ahmad in drawing attention to the limitations of discourse analysis which leaves out the material reality.

⁸⁴ The purpose here is to look at cultural responses to conditions of historical possibility and how those choices acquire the conscious purpose of self-representation. Said's discussion about the conscious choice of historical models to explain domination and consent suggests the inclusion of the commercial media. See Culture and Imperialism, pp. 60-61. But I'm more interested in the use of history to examine cultural alliances constructed by the agents of social

transformation. How they used "western cultural tradition" will be more important than whether they considered themselves to be adopted children in good standing or not. As Benita Parry says, the choice of the excluded practices to ask questions about the colonial experience under imperialism, and identify possibilities for change, is what distinguishes a group of Third World thinkers of liberation. See "Overlapping Territories and Intertwined Histories: Edward Said's Postcolonial Cosmopolitanism," Edward Said. A Critical Reader, pp. 20-23.

In the cases included here, there was an interest in collective research and action which in itself expressed a critique of the existing order's emphasis on individual monologues. But this commitment to life in an organization must also be considered as a choice which recognized what was necessary to explore possibilities for transformation. It is what Freire means when he insists that we teach each other, that we learn together in groups.

What distinguished the small collectives of intellectuals selected as case studies was their efforts to examine the conditions in which the popular had recreated themselves as subjects with an autonomous historical perspective and liberation project.

⁸⁵ Nationalism is not the only motivation for cultural practices which oppose the dominant order in the colonial world or in dependent republics, dominions and commonwealths. There are other forms of putting meaning in context which are just as critical: race, class, gender, religion to name the examples most common in the Caribbean region. These forms influenced the attention paid to economic and political changes in the neighbouring territories and the metropolis. They also influenced who was being addressed through the interpretations, their timing and goals.

According to Aijaz Ahmad, it is important to pay attention to the conditions, across boundaries and social movements, that generate common practices which transform their lives. These are the forms of producing and verifying contextualized meaning which Ahmad calls systems of communication. I think the term is applicable to the popular and the small collectives through the region. See In Theory, Classes, Nations, Literatures, p. 1; "Culture, nationalism, and the role of intellectuals," Monthly Review, 47, No. 3 (July-August 1995), 46. In this last article Ahmad goes on to state that even if there are several ways to invent the community, nationalism has the possibility of mobilizing the marginalized to present their demands as human rights and create ties of solidarity across social movements.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to pay serious attention to the conflicts inside each social movement.

I have already mentioned the article by Benita Parry about Edward W. Said in which this is discussed. Another is Bernice Johnson Reagon, "Coalition Politics: Turning the Century," Home Girls. A Black Feminist Anthology, ed. Barbara Smith (New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1983), pp. 360-366. The introduction by the editor Barbara Smith also draws attention to the need for multi-issue approaches by women from the so-called Third World in order to redirect the feminist agenda. Simultaneous and interlocking systems of (race, class, gender and colonial) exploitation require integrated analysis and practice. The consequences of recognizing the connections between those struggles include examining the attitudes which help coalitions succeed. Admittedly these are more contemporary considerations but they point to the current importance of my point made about events in the 1930s.

⁸⁶ George Rudé, Ideology and Popular Protest, p. 24, 35. For the selection of these variables and their treatment I have been guided by the work of Ken Post. Arise Ye Starvelings: the Jamaican Labour Rebellion of 1938 and Its Aftermath, (The Hague and Boston: Nijhoff, 1978) and Strike the Iron: a Colony at War, 1939 - 1945, 2 Vols. (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1981) are the two works by Post which have been consulted. The sacred aspects of life which add meaning to all human interactions were also considered by Post. See Majid Rahnema, "Participation," The Development Dictionary (London: Zed, 1993), p. 130.

⁸⁷ Albert J. Raboteau, Slave Religion. The 'Invisible Institution' in the Ante-Bellum South, p. 16, 18, 26, 34, 92; Helen Portes de Roux, "Creolization in the Caribbean," Festival of American Folklife (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1989), pp. 66-79; Robert Farris Thompson, Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy (New York: Random House, 1983). Thompson discusses other memories inscribed in ideographic writing, in the design of clothing, in the organization of private spaces, and in the invisible institutions which represented strategies of cultural sovereignty that intervened in the organization of daily life and its representation. The NSIBIDI ideograms, a writing system used by judges and priests, would be an example of this.

⁸⁸ Helena Portes de Roux, "Creolization in the Caribbean," Festival of American Folklife, pp. 66-79; George Lipsitz,

Time Passages, Collective Memory and American Popular Culture, pp. 212-213. Jesús Ibañez, Más Allá de la Sociología. El Grupo de Discusión: técnica y crítica (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1986), pp. 213-214. It is hoped that a correspondence between systems of interpretation and specific articulations of economic-political-cultural relations will be found.

⁸⁹ Antonio Gramsci refers to this third consideration in "Concept of the National Popular," "Italian National Culture," "Intellectuals and Literature" and the introduction to the section on popular literature in Selections from Cultural Writings, eds. David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 206-212, 252-255, 273-275, 342-345. The idea that is missing in Italian national culture, according to A. Gramsci, is the conscious acknowledgement of the presence of the historical past as an essential element of daily life in the present. Roberto Mac-Lean y Estenos was considering the matter in terms that are closer to the selection of the cases here. Mac-Lean considered how the popular became the national reference for interpretation, through the dissemination of cultural production that resisted folklorization. See Negros en el Nuevo Mundo (Lima, Perú: P.T.C.M., 1948). Also Frantz Fanon, "On National Culture," The Wretched of the Earth, pp. 234-237. Original 1959.

What was missing in Italian national culture, was not missing in Cuba in 1933. In the midst of anti-colonial campaigns, the organization of radical parties, and popular insurrections, the small groups of activist intellectuals who had been studying the practices which had produced the popular, created explanations of the present in which the marginalized and salaried majorities recognized themselves, Roberto Fernandez Retamar, "El Son del vuelo popular," La Gaceta de Cuba, 8-9, (Habana: August, 1962), 12-15.

⁹⁰ Pedro Mir, La noción del periodo en la historia Dominicana, p. 6, 69. According to George Lamming this was also a period in which awareness about the regional recurrence of insular problems and events was growing. The masses were emerging as confident protagonists of cultural movements and political exercises, in the street, where the popular forces held the initiative until World War II. See "The Novelist in Caribbean Politics," Race Today, 10, No. 3 (London, March 1978), 66-67. Samir Amin suggests that the global-historical process of capitalism has periodic setbacks within cycles of expansion that appear as unopposed

destruction. That seemed to be the case during the violent cycle of proletarianization and colonization that spanned the last quarter of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. See "Imperialism and Culturalism Complement Each Other," Monthly Review, 48, No. 2 (June 1996), 1-3.

⁹¹ Adolfo Gilly, Nuestra Caida en la Modernidad, (México, D.F: Joan Boldó i Clement, 1988) p. 46, 48, 44; David L. Lewis, The Race to Fashoda-Colonialism and African Resistance (New York: Henry Holt, 1987), pp. 10-11. Whether or not the emerging subjects, which embodied this new project of extended solidarity, took advantage of those opportunities during the 1930's is the subject matter of this dissertation. Some of the authors who will be discussed here wrote precisely about previous situations, like the French Revolution or the Dutch Republic, in which the people of the Caribbean had seized the initiative (even when they were mobilized by the European empires for other purposes).

⁹² Gabriel García Márquez, "La Revolución Cubana me libró de todos los honores detestables de este mundo," García Márquez habla de García Márquez, ed. Alfonso Rentería Montilla (Bogotá: Rentería, 1979), pp. 208-209; Jalil Sued Badillo, "El Caribe ante la historia," Claridad. En Rojo (San Juan, Puerto Rico: October 16, 1992), 22-24; J. Michael Dash, Edouard Glissant, p. 149. García Márquez and Glissant agree with Coser on this question about the extended Caribbean. The present day challenge is communicating ideas with concepts that emerge from the region's cultural history through means used by the majority to solve their common problems. See E. Glissant, "The Dream, The Reality," Caribbean Discourse, Selected Essays, p. 222 and Darcy Ribeiro, Los Brasileños, Teoria del Brasil, pp. 178-185. For Ribeiro this process of exploring the limits of what is possible means referring to the subject's own conclusions about collective solutions to local problems.

⁹³ Angela Negrón Muñoz, "Hablando con don Luis Palés Matos," Prosa, pp. 299-300. (Reprint of article originally published in El Mundo, San Juan, P.R.: November 13, 1932) and Luis Palés Matos, "Hacia una poesía antillana," pp. 237-239 (reprint of article originally published in El Mundo, San Juan, P.R.: November 26, 1932) both in Prosa, ed. Margot Arce de Vazquez (San Juan, Puerto Rico: University of Puerto Rico, 1984); C.L.R. James, The Black Jacobins, p. 402 (original 1938); Helena Portes de Roux, "Creolization in the Caribbean," Festival of American Folklife, pp. 66-79. In the

case of the popular, the evidence of continued mixture and adaptation to a new context is present in daily life throughout the region. This is the cultural history in which the social movements (and the small groups of intellectuals) are inserted: identifying common causes of shared problems, fixing responsibilities and turning the attention of the uprooted to the invention of new traditions and institutions. The peoples of the Caribbean have hundreds of years of experience in this process, despite the industrial prisons called plantations. By 1930s the struggle against exploitation and oppression was also a struggle against the colonial administration and the metropolis itself, in a context of poverty.

⁹⁴ Edouard Glissant, Caribbean Discourse. Selected Essays, pp. 223-224; Joan Dayan, "Caribbean Cannibals/Whores," Raritan, IX, No. 2 (Fall, 1989), 55; Khafra Kambon, "The Political System and its constraints on cultural sovereignty," Independence and Cultural Sovereignty: First Caribbean Conference of Intellectual Workers. Grenada. November 20-22, 1982 (Havana: Conventions Palace, 1984) pp. 3-4; J. Michael Dash, Edouard Glissant, p. 3; Sylvia Wynter, "Rethinking Aesthetics: Notes toward a deciphering practice," Ex-iles. Essays on Caribbean Cinema, p. 243; Darcy Ribeiro, Los Brasileños. Teoria del Brasil, pp. 159-161.

⁹⁵ Toni Negri, "Do you remember revolution?" Revolution Retrieved - Writings on Marx, Keynes, Capitalist Crisis and New Social Subjects (1967-1983), (London: Red Notes, 1988), p.231, 233, 236, 237, 242, 243. This was a collective document, written by the jailed Autonomia Operaria leadership before their 1983 trials.

According to Khafra Kambon, the Surinam maroons are an example of the relation between political, military and cultural sovereignty whose impact can shape the society (including a collective approach to economic development). See "The Political System and its constraints on cultural sovereignty." Independence and Cultural Sovereignty: First Caribbean Conference of Intellectual Workers (Grenada, November 20-22, 1982), p. 17; the limitations of the cultural movements in the Caribbean, during 1920s-1930s-1940s, and exceptions such as the Cubans discussed in our case studies, were both mentioned by Maurice Bishop in his opening remarks to the above mentioned conference. See "For the cultural sovereignty of the Caribbean people!," In Nobody's Backyard, Maurice Bishop's Speeches: 1979-1983, pp. 197-198.

In capitalist societies, the production of knowledge about the social relations is one of the ways in which collective subjects can manifest the exercise of power. In the case of subordinate subjects, it is a way of revealing the conditions which are disguised to achieve consent. Jesús Ibañez, Más Allá de la Sociología. El Grupo de Discusión: Técnica y Crítica, pp. 45-46. In a period of cultural polarization, the proposed universalism of the dominant was questioned by some sectors of the violently marginalized. Within the collective intellectual, there were cases who suggested compromise but there were others who knew that the metropolitan modernization had been the result of analyzing cultural forms which expressed the social crisis, and replacing the order which produced the causes of that crisis. This is the methodology we propose to examine. See Samir Amin, "Imperialism and Culturalism complement each other," Monthly Review, 48, No. 2, (June 1996), 4, 7, 8, 11, 95.

⁹⁶ The word "group", which emerged during the European Renaissance, does not appear to be connected to institutions of social control. Instead the term names an imaginary reality that evolves from an unconscious perception to a conscious interpretation. According to Jesús Ibañez, it does not become an object of study in the social sciences until the 20th century (with Lewin, Freud, Bion, Pontalis, Kaes, and Anzieu) but the definition remained unclear. Ibañez distinguishes between groups according to the criteria of their organization. If the members share a historical time in which they can exchange experiences about common problems to be solved collectively they are a group which can become a collective subject. They can become a collective subject if the group evolves from a conversation between individuals to a system of communication about all aspects of daily life. For the group to transform the institutions of social control, it is necessary to analyze the dominant culture, identify the links to those institutions so that a strategy or method will emerge from the mapping. See Jesús Ibañez, Más Alla de la Sociología. El Grupo de discusión: técnica y crítica, pp. 72, 126, 230-232, 234-235, note 40 on 235, 359. A strategy which understands the present as a totality, which explores the origins of collective thinking, will require the joint efforts of the small groups and the social movements. See Felix Guattari, "The Group and The Person," Molecular Revolution, Psychiatry and Politics, p.32, 37, 43.

⁹⁷ Colbert I. Nepaulsing, "Review of Barbara Webb. Myth and History in Caribbean fiction: Alejo Carpentier, Wilson Harris and Edouard Glissant. Amherst: University of

Massachusetts Press, 1992," Caribbean Studies, 26, No. 1-2, (1993), 198. More recently Clarisse Zimra has written an essay which supports C.L.R. James' claim about the interest in collective memory expressed by Caribbean writers. See "Righting the Calabash: Writing History in the Female Francophone Narrative," Out of the Kumbula - Caribbean women and Literature, p. 144. In this dissertation I intend to pursue that relation which James saw between social changes and the writers who could express the popular perceptions of those events. Which is to say that James saw the writers as historical products of their times. See Stuart Hall, "A Conversation with C.L.R. James," Rethinking C.L.R. James, ed. Grant Farred, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and Oxford, England: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 36-39.

Here I have been using history to mean the will to represent what has occurred, in a collective reflection about social events. The concept originally referred more to the understanding of the events than to the events themselves. Jesús Ibáñez has pointed out that the events themselves interrupt any orderly representation and theoretical reflection which may attempt to reduce and contain the possibilities for transformation. See Más Allá de la Sociología. El Grupo de discusión: Técnica y crítica, p.210. Some of those interrupting events are in the chronology in Appendix B.

⁹⁸ According to Jesús Ibáñez, the cultural institution central to processes of communication is war, as it clarifies priorities in human relations, and prevents adversaries from talking at once during a confrontation, thus making communication possible when the position of the interlocutors is recognized as valid. See Más Allá de la Sociología. El Grupo de discusión: teoría y crítica, p. 87, 150, 300. It is useful to remember this while seeking an explanation for the way hegemony is lodged in daily life. N. García Canclini, "Culture and Power: The State of Research," Media, Culture and Society, 10, No.4, 494. Plantation America, and its colonial sequel are militarized societies where the general cultural patterns are provided by the population which sustains their creation. Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, The Birth of African-American Culture - An Anthropological Perspective, pp. 47, 65, 82-83; Manuel Moreno Fraginals, The Sugar Mill: The Socio-Economic Complex of Sugar in Cuba (1768-1860) (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1976), p. 131. Ralph Ellison also comments on this early displacement of commitment and loyalty to the new world by the slave population. See "Blues People" in Shadow and Act (New York: New American Library, 1966), p. 248.

CHAPTER III

CASE STUDIES INTRODUCTION

Some of the reasons for the increasing interest today in study of the popular in the field of communication were already mentioned in Chapter II. These social movements are networks of cultural practices which can connect their participants with historical memories of cultural interventions, direct(ed) experience and self-representation. These groups can become collective subjects if they develop as communication systems about all aspects of daily life.¹ Among the purposes for this study, mentioned in Chapter II are the intentions to examine the use of historical experience to answer questions about the present; and the way in which these communication systems seized the strategic initiative, producing awareness of the relations of force which are concealed to create consensus. In other words, my intention is to examine the methodologies of small groups of activist-intellectuals and social movements which critique the cultural institutions that represented the economic crisis, and to look at how they organized efforts to change the social order which produced that crisis. What follows here are both individual and collective

representations of a methodological history, expressing variations in theoretical capacity and concrete understanding of the social tendencies in the Caribbean region. The questions the small groups in the case studies could ask of the past about self-organization and emancipation would depend on their grasp of the present. I will be looking for their interpretation of social events and findings which questioned the premises of the existing order at the time in which the events took place. Another issue I will be examining is whether the people in the case studies identified any common principles which connected the historical events they had retrieved with the present or future possibilities (James, Lee, and Chaulieu [Castoriadis], 1974, pp. 138-140). Thus instead of a manuscript which reduces events which were unforeseeable in the past to their redundant meaning, this will be an effort to present some of the excluded events which challenge the official interpretation of history. I will be paying attention to the context and focus of cultural practices which generated social conflicts, and to the actions of the personalities which were important in those events. As mentioned above, the purpose here is to examine how the record of events which might have forecast alternative futures was recovered, and how that retrieval was used to reveal and refute the legitimacy of the existing order.² According to C.L.R. James, those premises (about the origins

of a society, its goals and means) also organize the perspective of the writers and/or collective intellectual workers and structured their text. (James, 1992, pp. 236-237) The context created by the collective authors for the events mentioned in their writings illustrates the way in which the protagonists (in the case studies) perceived their relation with the dominant premises. Those intrusions on the assumptions of the age which were taking place while they were writing are in the chronology section of this dissertation. In that section the reader can examine the events and discussions which "interrupted" the writing of the personalities I have selected.³

According to Wilson Harris, the daily life of the popular in the Caribbean is one of constant reassembly. (Harris, 1970, p.10-11) Oppositional forms of communication require forms of social organization in which solidarity translates into a critique of the existing order. Angel Rama makes much the same point when he writes that what gives this combination of abstract opposition and organized political action an emancipatory thrust are the cultural references of a broader context. (Rama, 1983, p.18) Cultures and languages are not just complements of the way domination is organized, but sites of conflict negotiation which store evidence of popular creativity. While engaged in such an inventory, I will also pay attention to the way in which such historical evidence of popular creativity was

used to alter their material conditions. The need for organizations which could respond culturally to historical events should become apparent in short order: creating an alternative to the dominant representations which restricted the means of communication among the dominated to what was predictable and containable, devising the means of verifying the impact of cultural interventions that were independent of the dominant logic.⁴

The recuperated evidence of popular creativity not only provided clues about the production and distribution of information about the dominant society, but also about the means of identifying events that could point to its collapse. If the small groups of maroon intellectuals learned to reveal the disguised premises of their own present in this process, the combination of theory and practice also helped to actualize their social theories and research methods. To demonstrate that the integration of manual and mental work was possible in their time, for example, they needed to understand the codes of thought and action which emerged from daily life. The maroon intellectuals also needed a means of recording the stage in which the popular critique was at the time and how it circulated. Whether or not their thought collectives identified such a means of expression and self-education would condition the possibilities for maturing and disseminating an integrated explanation which could guide

the actions of both the small groups and the social movements. What I am thinking of here, with the authors of Facing Reality, James, Lee and Chaulieu [Castoriadis], is the principle which connects the historic evidence of self-organization and examination with "contemporary" instances of cooperation and solidarity. Such instances would have been identified as important in the explanation because they confirmed the presence of a democratizing possibility. An account such as that, resulting from the continued dialogue between the social movements and the small radical organizations, would probably identify the obstacles to the spread of this democratizing possibility. This rendition would also compare the performance of the dominant cultural institutions with the performance of self-organization efforts to improve the conditions of the popular.⁵

END NOTES

¹ Jesús Ibáñez, Más allá de la Sociología. El Grupo de Discusión: técnica y crítica (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1986), p.233. Original 1979. Felix Guattari, "Transversality, Molecular Revolution. Psychiatry and Politics (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1984), p.11-23. Original 1972. In the process of connecting identities, memories and consciousness social movements verify explanations of experience and implement proposed solutions.

² Jesús Ibáñez, Más allá de la Sociología. El Grupo de Discusión: técnica y crítica (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1986), pp.212-214. Original 1979. Elaborating on the questions which organize the direction of this dissertation, did the small collectives study the methods that may have caused the exclusion of certain historical events and make the applicable cases accessible to the social movements? As communication systems with a strategic conception, what cultural practices were chosen to organize collective consciousness? Which daily practices were considered the expression of the desires and needs of the emerging subjects, including the need for a democratic social order? Was the production of knowledge about the existing conditions part of the methodology for seizing the strategic initiative?

³ C.L.R. James, "My dear Leyda - letters to literary critics," C.L.R. James Reader, ed. Anna Grimshaw (Oxford, United Kingdom and Cambridge, United States: Blackwell, 1992), 231-237. Original March 7, 1953; Walter Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks. The Making of an African Intellectual, ed. Robert A. Hill (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2990), pp. 28-29. Original interview took place April 30 and May 1, 1975 in Amherst, Massachusetts.

⁴ Angel Rama, "Las Voces de la Desesperación," Claridad - En Rojo (San Juan, Puerto Rico: December 9, 1983), 18; Carlos Monsivais, Notas sobre la Cultura Mexicana en el Siglo II (México, D.F.: Colegio de México, 1976), pp. 378-380.

César Vallejo was another Latin American intellectual who posed the problems of communication during the 1930s. According to Julio Ortega, while Vallejo was in Paris, France he defined communication literally as communion. Vallejo thought that interlocutors understood each other as they shared the specifics of their daily lives. And it is the specifics of daily life which the dominant appropriate for their representations as mass culture, attempting to

convince the intellectuals that this is the way reality should be modified. Segmenting and recombining mass culture to question the premises of the dominant representations is what I defined in Section II as cultural marronnage. See Julio Ortega, "Leyendo a César Vallejo," El Nuevo Dia-Domingo (San Juan, Puerto Rico: March 22, 1992), 4-9; also Rene Depestre, "Problems of Identity for the Black Man in the Caribbean," Carifesta Forum. An Anthology of 20 Caribbean Voices, ed. John Hearne (Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Jamaica, 1976), pp. 61-67. Depestre insisted that the major writers of the Caribbean region had adapted imported cultures to the conditions and needs of the struggles there, without being assimilated.

⁵ C.L.R. James, Grace Lee, Pierre Chaulieu [Cornelius Castoriadis], Facing Reality (Detroit: Bewick Editions, 1974) pp. 90-97, 102-106, 113-119, 126-136, 138-145. In the course of presenting the case studies it will be useful to remember that most colonial metropoli were modernized as a result of a critical analysis of the cultural institutions which expressed the social crisis and the transformation of the order which caused that crisis.

CHAPTER IV

CUBAN INTELLECTUALS REACH OUT TO THE POPULAR

Nation and Culture in the Caribbean

In Imagined Communities Benedict Anderson (1990, p. 39, 56, 66, 74) suggests that nations emerge from common practices which shape culture and consciousness. Joshua Meyrowitz (1985, p.18, 34) refers to the work of H.L. Chaytor (1966) and Elizabeth L. Eisenstein (1979) who examined the consequences of printing. Chaytor argues that the shift to print altered the organization and presentation of ideas. The shared relation between ways of representation now common to several authors and a particular territory encouraged nationalism. With examples from the European Reformation and Western Science, Eisenstein ratifies Chaytor's argument. Yet before Chaytor's 1945 publication, C.L.R. James was already pointing out in 1938 that the common practices in which nations were created are those which demanded self-organization, constant mobilization and the construction of a common historical perspective. According to C.L.R. James (1963, p.243, 244, 306) and Walter Rodney later (1974, pp.44-46), the awareness of the

historical possibilities resulted from experiences of self-emancipation in which social transformation became a method of verification. James was referring to the way in which the Haitians became a self-sufficient nation which produced a victorious army.¹

During the 19th century, while the Haitian elites imitated the institutions of the former slavers and colonizers, national sovereignty was maintained by the subsistence agriculture of the maroon peasants. The crisis expressed by the U.S.A. occupation (1915-1934) provoked a re-examination of the elite's cultural institutions, and their search for alternative national references uncovered social relations, music, art and religion which spoke of African adaptations to the Caribbean. A new understanding of the social context emerged in the midst of that crisis, and a new leadership emerged from a population organized and radicalized by their collective understanding of the events. It was the people who were promoting this new national identity that also led the mass general strikes (which were the trade mark of the Haitian social movements). As with many Caribbean matters, to begin examining the Cuban case it will be necessary to consider a suggestion C.L.R. James made in the appendix to the 1963 edition of The Black Jacobins.

In the original 1938 edition, the author intended to underscore the applicability of the lessons from the Haitian Revolution to the African liberation struggles at

the time. As James extends the argument to the Caribbean in the appendix written for the 1963 edition, he mentions some of the region's writers and public figures: Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, Aimé Césaire, and Fernando Ortiz. The latter's career as a teacher, penologist and folklorist spanned the period between the last war of independence in 1895-1898 and the 1959 revolution. F. Ortiz appears in James' list because he spent the first half of the present century studying the Caribbean character of Cuban daily life and was among the first to bring the Positivist Humanism of Italian criminologists and their social democratic ideas into the region. (James, 1963, p.395)

In Para una Teoría de la Literatura Hispanoamericana [For a Theory of Latin American Literature] (1975) Roberto Fernández Retamar has argued that there is no general explanation of representation that accounts for the differences between Latin America and other cultural regions. Those regional differences include ways of defining competence and mastery, ways of organizing ideas and ways of imagining alternative futures. That difficulty is extended to the way the popular and marginalized probably redefine the ethics of their interactions with the dominant, their collective priorities, and their version of the truth. As the term has been used throughout this text, the popular sectors are not spontaneous or irrational subversives brandishing a Third World nationalism. The popular are

social movements which recognize the relations of force that determine their material conditions and respond with strategies of cultural politics. By this I mean the social movements initiate practices of self-emancipation, beyond the trappings of the government's electoral rituals for instance, which express awareness of the region's specific determinants. In the absence of a general theory, how do we explain the conscious efforts of the popular to represent the relations of force in ways which identify opportunities for social transformation? The cases chosen for discussion in this dissertation should help examine this question.

In the case of Cuba there is some evidence that such a search was emerging in the 19th century. For example, in 1830 Félix Tanco (a Cuban writer born in Colombia) wrote to Domingo Delvante (a Cuban writer born in Venezuela) and asked whether they should be writing in the style of Victor Hugo's Bug-jargal, 1791. Tanco's position was that they did not need to look overseas for models, the causes and consequences of the cultural mixture in Cuba should provide enough inspiration. Even though the process of cultural mixture matured in Cuba during the 19th century, to the point that even some white creoles began to perceive themselves as Cubans, recognizing the popular as a cornerstone of the national culture would remain a minority position well into the 20th century.² Until the 1950s the

white creoles at the top of the social pyramid continued to construct a representation of national community that ignored the contributions of the popular (in the countryside and the cities) and rejected their strategies of cultural sovereignty. Those strategies included separate religions, linguistic, medical, education, mutual aid, social, judicial and military institutions.

One of the leaders in the movement to gain the independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico from Spain, wrestled with the causes and consequences of these cultural differences in a now famous essay "Nuestra América" [Our America], written in 1891. The author was a Cuban named José Martí. (1971, pp.117-124) A journalist poet and politician who had worked across the Americas, Martí insisted on the investigation of the region's problems to produce original solutions collectively. According to Fernández Retamar, a recognized authority on the subject of Martí, that essay underscored the importance Martí gave to the context where imported ideas were critically applied, despite the differences in goals and norms. (Fernández Retamar, 1969, p.17, 48, 56; 1995, p.425) As an anti-imperialist from the colonized world, Martí recognized that Western cultural heritage was an element in the mixture, but that it was not the only tradition with which national cultures were being constructed in our Americas. For the purposes of this dissertation, what is important in Martí's 1891 essay is the

proposal that the ideas of Latin Americans should be the consequence of what is specifically known in that region by those who investigate the causes of its problems. Martí recognized this was necessary in order to support priorities which would have little in common with the imported, dominant ideas.³ A century later Roberto Fernández Retamar has looked back and recognized a long and little known intellectual tradition of such thinkers, which includes Fernando Ortiz, who have tried to decolonize culture in America. (1995, pp.426-434)

1878-1906: The Popular as Crime

Cuba had been a Spanish colony for four hundred years. During the 19th century the slave trade increased in direct proportion to the growth of the sugar industry. Since then sovereignty and race relations have been intertwined. During the period of the protectorate (1901-1934) the monopoly on foreign trade constrained the dominant classes. The Spaniards and Asians prevailed in the commercial sector and the university trained Cubans for the civil service. Cuban workers were also in the urban factories, construction crews, public services and sugar mills. Most of the cane cutters at the plantations were from Haiti and Jamaica.

I have chosen Fernando Ortiz as my first case study, not only because of the "recommendation" from C.L.R. James and Roberto Fernández Retamar, but for two other

reasons as well. First, because together with Nina Rodrigues, Artur Ramos (both from Brazil), Jean Price-Mars (from Haiti) and Arturo Alfonso Schomburg (from Puerto Rico), Ortiz was a pioneer of African American studies. Second, because his own activities serve to connect armed protests, secret societies, research groups, publications, political interventions, and cultural promotion. As Sidney Mintz reminds us, the important consideration is a research strategy that can uncover general patterns that act as a grammar that organizes the processes of selective adaptation (mixture, combination, reassembly) which produce popular cultures.⁴ In my opinion the connections between these social movements would reveal how Ortiz worked to demonstrate the existence of those general patterns.

Fernando Ortiz had received his academic training in Menorca, Barcelona, and Madrid. While studying law in Spain he had seen the artifacts used in the religious ceremonies of the secret societies. These organizations had existed in Cuba since the 16th century. Originally they were social clubs where freed and enslaved men and women gathered to drink and dance. Later they were organized by the Church according to African nationality for religious instruction and mutual aid. Each nationality held social dances and also marched in the Church processions with African costumes and Christian saints. As the nationalities reconstructed their rituals several Afro-Cuban religious emerged as private

practices under Catholic forms: Abakuá (Efik), Palo Monte (Kongo), Arará (Fon), and Ifá (Yoruba). During the 1898-1902 occupation they were identified with subversion and gangsterism.⁵

Ortiz returned to Cuba in 1902 at a time when the commercial press carried stories about Black witch doctors and sacrifices to justify the marginalization of the Black veterans (from the 1868-1878 and 1895-1898 wars of independence). While in Cuba he did ethnological research about the Afro-Cuban criminal underworld. Ortiz was then sent to work in the Cuban consulate in Genoa, Italy, for three years. During this time Ortiz studied criminology, paying special attention to the customs, origins, methods and writings of the criminals themselves. That was the interdisciplinary approach promoted by positivist-humanists at the time. Ortiz also took the opportunity to interact with some Italian social democrats who were academics: Lombroso (criminologist/anthropologist), Ferri (criminologist), Croce (historian).⁶ These were the thought styles he took back to Cuba at the beginning of the century. During this time in Italy Ortiz wrote a book that would be published in 1906.

Let us return briefly to the period in which Ortiz was away studying law in Spain. In the struggles leading up to the second war of independence in Cuba, in the period between 1878 and 1895, the veterans from the first war

returned to civilian life. The question of abolition which affected three quarters of them directly had not been resolved. With the support of the secret societies (which were also trade unions and carnival organizations) the veterans continued in the abolition struggle until 1890s. When the independence movement was reorganized from New York, Florida and the Dominican Republic, the internal delegate (Juan Gualberto Gómez, son of slaves) used the societies as the basis for the new party. The majority of the officers and members in the liberation movement were Blacks and Mulattoes who supported social demands combining issues of race-class-nationalism. They were soldiers, students, peasants, workers and artisans. (McGarrity and Cárdenas, 1995, pp.81-85)

But the Spanish immigrants brought during the first quarter of the present century tended to make common cause with the white creole officers in the military who administered the discriminatory policies put in place between 1898 and 1902. One of those measures had been to dissolve the liberation army where the people of colour were the majority. This alliance not only rewrote the recent legal and political history of Cuba but also promoted the exclusion of Black war veterans from commerce, industry, education and public service which effectively kept Black people with military experience out of the cities. Black Cubans were also excluded from high schools, clubs,

restaurants and even public parks. This alliance also promoted the persecution of the secret societies which practiced religions of African origin.

The immigration law of 1902, which restricted access to people of colour was "improved" in 1906. According to McGarrity and Cárdenas, the reaction among the people of colour was divided between: a movement for racial equality and social justice which stressed schooling, a reformist current inside the Liberal party, and a group which wanted to communicate its demands for racial and social justice through direct action. (McGarrity and Cardenas, 1995, pp.84-89; Wolf, 1975) This third group included many veterans from the 1895-1898 war who had the Aponte conspiracy of 1812, which was connected with the Haitian Revolution, as their model.

According to Arcadio Díaz-Quiñones one of the characteristics of Caribbean identities is internal and external exile, complicated by the urge to return to the place of origin. (Díaz Quiñones, 1995, pp.52-53) In this region there was not only the social impact of African slave labour which had been kidnapped, but the negotiation of common ground with other uninvited peoples from Asia and Europe. That process of defining the national and identifying its components should also remind the reader of the violence that can accompany the transformation of representations and identities. What Fernando Ortiz studied

for over half a century was the contributions which the cultures of African origin made to that reassembly in Cuba.⁷

Period 1: 1906-1917, Slavery as Historical Context

This was the context in which Fernando Ortiz published the first text which is related to the subject matter of this manuscript. It was called Hampa Afro-Cubana: Los Negros Brujos. Apuntes para un Estudio de Etnología Críminal (Afro-Cuban Underworld: The Black Witchdoctors. Notes for a Study of Criminal Ethnology) first published in 1906. At a time when many white creoles were being initiated into the secret societies, Ortiz concerned himself with the daily life of a population whose cultural practices had been criminalized by those who benefitted from their initial kidnapping and continued exploitation. (Brandon, 1993, p.91) Trying to go beyond the stories about witchcraft in the commercial press, Ortiz would explain the context of those cultural practices and present artifacts illustrating contributions to the national community. The argument could be made that Ortiz was putting the dominated belief systems under investigation on the same level with the belief systems of the conquerors. This publication was an important contribution to the discussion about the presence of the popular in the national culture, even though that was not its explicit intention. Nevertheless the main themes of his

long term research calendar are announced in this initial effort.

The formal goal of the book, consistent with Ortiz's training as a positivist criminologist, was to identify the contextual obstacles to the cultural assimilation of the population which resists Western Civilization. At this stage Ortiz suggests that the dominant cultural institutions can organize outreach programs that will deprive the secret societies of a following. The author explains how these societies emerged in a period of permanent violence and constant conspiracies, providing the criminal underworld with systems of organization, communication and beliefs. The languages created by the communities of faith allow the initiated to have their meetings in public, to maintain their traditions, and socialize new recruits as thought collectives. These systems of communication also allowed the secret societies to maintain a stable existence without submitting to the established authorities.⁸ By the early 1900s the secret societies had almost 400 years of experience in adapting, in communicating by analogy, in order to survive slavery and the persecution of the maroon camps.

Since the publication of this first book, Fernando Ortiz's intellectual production can be divided into four periods: 1906-1917, 1918-1924, 1925-1940, and 1946-1952. Before I comment on the first period, let me point out that

the most important period (for the purposes which have been outlined earlier) is the period between 1925-1940. This period will also be the main focus of our attention with the other cases. Let me return then to the aftermath of that first publication, before Ortiz was elected to the Cuban Parliament in 1917. During this time he was moving toward more liberal social positions. By 1908, when Ortiz was named substitute lecturer at the Law School in the national university, he was also trying to get the Spanish immigrants to participate in the construction of a sovereign Republic in Cuba. That would lead later to the creation of a Spanish-Cuban cultural institution.

The group of Black Cubans who wanted to communicate their demands directly had been working especially in the city of Cienfuegos since 1905. By 1908 they had organized a political party called Independientes de Colour [Independent People of Colour] to promote racial democracy and create the kind of social justice they had fought for between 1895-1989. By August, 1908 they had their own newspaper Previsión and the most progressive social program in Cuba during the first quarter of the present century. That political project took notice of the barriers to keep Black workers out of the professions and proposed changes in the education system. Those changes included free and compulsory schooling up to the age of 14, with the option to continue in technical or secondary. University

would also be free for all who qualified. Private schools would be supervised by the government to ensure access and a nationalist curriculum. Their plans also included outlawing racial discrimination, especially in access civil service jobs and the immigration laws. The penal and judicial reform proposed by the Independientes de Color included abolishing the death penalty. Finally, they planned to establish an eight-hour work day and a hiring policy that favoured Cubans. (Helg, 1990, p.55)

In 1910 the governing Liberal Party banned from the electoral process political organizations which recruited along class and racial lines. More than 200 of the Independientes de Color leaders were jailed for several months that year. That ban was directed at this new party which continued using legal means to resist their exclusion from the political process until 1912. When that failed, the Party organized an armed protest which began in May 1912 and went on for several months (especially in the eastern provinces of Oriente and central Las Villas). (See Figure 5) While suppressing the uprising, government soldiers (supported from the foreign military bases in Guantanamo) killed between three and six thousand insurgents. The occasion was also used by white civilians as a pretext to terrorize the Black population in the the rest of the country.⁹ After that, the public performance of religions or

profane rituals by Black people was prohibited until the 1930s.

The next year, 1913, Fernando Ortiz was promoting the reproduction of rare books and unpublished manuscripts to provide scholars and researchers with the basic resources needed to do research about the country's history. Then in 1916 Ortiz published an expanded version of the first part of that earlier text from 1906. This time the title was Hampa Afro-Cubana. Los Negros Esclavos. Estudio Sociológico y de Derecho Público (Afro-Cuban Underworld. The Black Slaves. Study in Sociology and Public Law). By now the research calendar had been reorganized to reflect a better understanding of the subject matter. This new text was to be the introduction in a sequence about the cultural problems of Black criminality. The 1906 volume would become the second in the series and there were plans for other volumes about the free Blacks, the Blacks who came from Spain, and the societies of judges and executioners. With this reorganization, the second edition of the 1906 book could then concentrate on fetishism.

Los Negros Esclavos (1916) was structured in a way which could help the reader understand the social and emotional background of the Afro-Cuban criminal underworld. There were sections in the book about the slave trade and about the history of slavery in Cuba. Under the conditions which the slaves endured, Ortiz considered they were denied

all their rights. To make matters worse, according to Ortiz, the slaves were forced to worship the slaver's god during their rest periods - a god which denied the slaves any relief from exploitation during their lifetime. In Los Negros Esclavos (1916) the author paid attention to the conditions of the slaves engaged in agricultural work: their entertainment, dances, songs, diseases, funeral rituals, the languages the slaves created, and how they were punished. In this book Ortiz also considered the conditions of the urban slaves and the emancipated, as well as the laws which regulated the social institution. The author notes that the urban slaves had the possibility of buying their freedom, of holding regular meetings with their peers and of performing their rituals. The discussion about the slave laws is developed in tandem with that of the conspiracies, escapes, slave rebellions, alliances (with pirates, rebel whites, Amerindians) and maroon uprisings which took place since the beginning of the 16th century (1528-1538). According to Ortiz these activities do not appear in the chronicles until the 17th century. Before the colonial administration and the slavers publicly recognized the permanent transgression as an extraordinary problem, they had been concerned that the news would become an example to others. (Ortiz, 1975, pp.386-388) He mentions the Aponte conspiracy (1812) and La Escalera (1844), discussing their leadership, organization,

plans and social support. In 1812 freed Black abolitionists and slaves burned plantations and mills across Cuba (in Puerto Principe, Holguín, Bayamo, Trinidad and La Habana) executing the administrators. (See Figure 5) This conspiracy had the support of officers in the Haitian army. In 1844 the secret societies organized a general uprising with two leaders in most of the plantations in Matanzas province. This included women trained to administer poison. (Ortiz, 1975, p.390)

Then Ortiz discusses the uprising of 1912, mentioning the lack of attention to alliances, to strategy, to making connections with the priorities of other social sectors. This was the armed protest in the central and eastern region during the spring and summer in which several thousands lost their lives. It had been a movement of Black workers and soldiers. If I understand the argument, the author is saying that "the people" were not afraid of a revolution (or opposed to one) but rather that the insurgents did not consider all the social causes which would motivate "the people" to produce change.¹⁰

This book was the high point of that first period with respect to understanding popular cultures for two reasons. According to Julio Le Riverend the intention to study the low life or the criminal underworld recedes slowly in Ortiz's work, as it was in conflict with the understanding provided by a historical perspective whose

reference point was the slave trade. (Le Riverend, 1973, p.22) During this period Ortiz's intellectual direction was affected not only by his contacts with the Liberal Party but, according to José Luciano Franco, Ortiz was also the only intellectual who maintained direct contact with the peoples whose oral traditions he was studying during this period. (Luciano Franco, 1975, p.12) This second book was not written in Italy like the first, but in Cuba while engaging in direct relations with the social movements he was writing about.¹¹

In 1917 Fernando Ortiz then published the second version of Los Negros Brujos, which was limited to the part about fetishism. By now the author recognized that when dominant cultures criminalized popular practices, that did little to explain the daily lives of people who were transplanted against their will, to be exploited. There was also an insurrection in February of that year, promoted by the Liberal Party against the central government. In addition to the Liberal insurrection there were several partial and general strikes in every province of the country between 1917-1919, suppressed by the central government with the support of their foreign advisors and troops. This was also a period which saw an increased interest in art of African origin: music, literature, painting, sculpture.

What has come to be known as the Harlem Renaissance, and later similar movements in Haiti and Cuba

began during the second period, 1918-1924. Cuban university students and professors would also develop a popular university during this second period, much like Diego Rivera, Henríquez Ureña and others had started in Mexico between 1912 and 1922.

Period 2: 1918-24, Solutions to Decadence

It was at this time that Ortiz resigned his teaching job at the Law School and went to the Parliament replacing the Liberal who had become mayor of Havana. Without the support of the University Ortiz nevertheless continued to give free courses on the history of legal ideas and a general introduction to the study of law. This then is the beginning of the second of four periods in this case study, in which there were events that further accelerated the intellectual evolution of Fernando Ortiz. While in the legislature Ortiz tried to unite the wings of a party whose nationalism was declining, and he tried to oppose collaboration with the foreign occupation. The constant show of force and foreign support by the Conservatives could not be effectively challenged by the Liberals. Instead of working together to defeat the government installed by fraud and violence, the Liberal factions were competing against each other for bribes and candidacies.

Ortiz's proposals for honesty, cultural promotion and contextualized education that would make a democratic republic possible could not be considered during the permanent crisis by institutions which oversaw the corruption and collaboration Ortiz was criticizing. In 1919 he was re-elected to Parliament. That year he had published an article in Revista Bimestre Cubana (February, 1919) - "La Crisis Política Cubana. Sus Causas y sus Remedios (Resumen de un libro que ya no se escribirá)", [The Cuban Political Crisis, its causes and solutions (summary of a book that will not be written)] - which was a political program of reforms in education, land tenure, electoral processes, and government.

In the fall of that year Ortiz returned from a trip to Washington, D.C., having failed to convince the U.S.A.'s ministry of foreign affairs that they should support fair elections in Cuba, but knowing more about the interests who benefitted from the concentration of power in Cuba (Le Riverend, 1973, p.28, 29). Fernando Ortiz did not seek a third term. His recent trip confirmed that under the existing order reform was improbable. In 1919 Rubén Martínez Villena joined the law offices of Fernando Ortiz, Jiménez Lanier and Barceló as assistant secretary, becoming Ortiz's personal aide soon thereafter.

With the financial crash of 1920 most bank transactions in Cuba were taken over by the National City

Bank of New York, the Royal Bank of Canada, the Chase National Bank of New York, the Bank of Nova Scotia, the First National Bank of Boston, and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce which imposed the U.S.A. dollar as the monetary standard. These institutions also supported commercial treaties which frustrated the development of a national industry.¹² Finally, in November, 1920 General Enoch Crowder, a special representative of the U.S.A. President was named advisor to the President of Cuba. General Crowder lived across the street from the Presidential Palace, at the Sevilla Hotel, and walked to his office inside the Palace every day. During 1920, the future Minoristas: Martínez Villena, Enrique Serpa, and Núñez Olano, met daily at the Café Martí in Havana's Central Park. When they were joined by Emilio Roig and José A. Fernandez de Castro they gained access to a magazine called Social. This discussion group later included other radical intellectuals such as Nicolás Guillén, Regino Pedroso and Juan Marinello. (See Table 2 and Table 11)

In 1921 Fernando Ortiz published a book about the origins (in Spain) of the mutual aid societies which mediated between Africans from the same nation and the dominant society. These institutions had existed in Seville, among Africans and Gypsies, since the 14th century and were transplanted to the Americas. Meanwhile in Cuba, in 1922, a group of merchants, industrialists and plantation owners

organized an effort to challenge the politicians for control of the budget administration. The former opposed the 1901 protectorate and corruption in public affairs. This happened at a time in which the central government was taking some measures in support of sugar-cane planters with small plots.

Art and Politics Among Friends

1923 was the pivotal year in this second period. The first national congress of women was held this year. There were street demonstrations opposing government plans to turn the Isle of Pines over to foreign control. For some time a group of young intellectuals, young enough to be Ortiz's children, had been meeting for lunch on Saturdays at the Lafayette Hotel in Havana. They taught each other about the problems of their country, ways to mobilize the citizenry against government corruption and incompetence and the use of the arts to intervene in public affairs. This group evolved as a thought collective which combined popular art, politics, and anti-imperialism.

Their goal was to reform intellectual life with a nationalism aware of world events which were contributing radical solutions to the same problems they had at home. These problems included concentration of land ownership, dependence on a single export, and a state which supported foreign interests against the majority of the population. Juan Marinello, Emilio Roig, José Z. Tallet, Julio Antonio

Mella, Alejo Carpentier, Jorge Mañach, José A. Fernández de Castro, Fernando Ortiz, María Villar and R. Martínez Villena were among the participants in that small organization. Roig, Ortiz and Martínez Villena were close friends. Tallet became Martínez Villena's brother-in-law. Mella and Martínez Villena worked at the popular university. Most were writers and connected with the literary section of Social or Diario de la Marina.

When they were summoned to court for protesting the presence of the Justice Minister at a public function, the activist-intellectuals were represented by Fernando Ortiz. They emerged from the mobilizations in support of the veterans' uprising that spring of 1923 as the Minoristas. Martínez Villena had been in charge of the propaganda for the Veteran's protest. In the summer of that year the Washington law firm of Elihu Root, author of the Platt Amendment, called for a permanent U.S.A. presence in Cuba.¹³ Root had been Secretary of War (1899-1905) during the first military occupation of Cuba, and Secretary of Foreign Affairs (1905-1909) during the second. As an appendix to the Cuban Constitution, the Platt Amendment ceded territory, permitted military intervention, set health standards, limited loans and treaties.

In January, 1923 the university students were protesting in demand of curriculum reform and the end of government controls over faculty appointments. While the

protests were taking place Ortiz was presenting a bill in Parliament to recognize the autonomy of the University. In 1923 Fernando Ortiz also established the Archive of Cuban Folklore, to intervene in discussions about national culture from the perspective of the popular. This organization, in which Martínez Villena also collaborated, published a magazine Revista Archivo Folklore Cubano between 1924 and 1930. This year Ortiz also started the Collection of Cuban Books, which published volumes which were out of print and translated some that had not been available in Castilian before. The Junta Nacional de Renovación Cívica (National Committee for Civic Renewal), promoted by Fernando Ortiz existed long enough to express alarm at the growing domination of the foreign investors. The next ten years (1923-1933) would be a period of strikes and uprisings that went beyond the interests of the small landowners and merchants. Such a juncture demanded direct actions that surpassed the Junta.

An anthology of speeches by Fernando Ortiz, edited by the leadership of the Minoristas, was published this year as well. (Martínez Villena, 1923) The editor of the anthology, R. Martínez Villena, had also promoted the first national congress of university students, held in October, 1923 and the José Martí Popular University which began in November. The 2,000 workers in regular attendance met in union halls, cinemas, and lecture halls to hear conferences

which encouraged them to participate in social causes. Between 1923 and 1927 this adult education program taught national history, explained citizen's rights and prepared people to vote while supporting the assembly of veterans and patriots which was trying to overthrow the government.

For the elections of 1924, the recently formed student federation and Ortiz himself, supported the Liberal platform which promised measures against foreign landowners of large estates and called for the repeal of the Platt Amendment. While the electoral campaign was taking place, Mella and Martínez Villena were organizing the Anti-Imperialist League which was founded in Cuba in November, 1924. During this year of electoral campaigning Ortiz gave a speech in February that was later published as "La Decadencia Cubana" (The Cuban Decadence), that is an indicator of his intellectual radicalization. This speech not only denounced the aggressive document from the Elihu Root law firm calling for the permanent occupation of Cuba, but it also identified the social, economic and political consequences of reduced attention to schooling and growing illiteracy.¹⁴

By this time Spengler's Decline of the West had appeared in Castilian and was circulating in Cuba. Spengler proposed a departure from a decadent Europe which could no longer assimilate the colonies or serve as their cultural model. Mañach among the Minoristas and F. Ortiz were

promoting cultural autonomy under the influence of that book. In Puerto Rico Palés Matos who pioneered the literary acknowledgement of popular cultures, was also studying Spengler. The text gave them grounds to think that the Americas could develop on their own.

Period 3: 1925-1940, Renaissance and Civil Strife

This next period, 1925-1940, is the most important with regard to the popular because it brings together culture, politics and nationalism in a way which reveals the connections between several small groups and social movements. Some of the members of the Minoristas and the National Student Federation founded the Cuban Communist Party in 1925. They brought together veterans of the War of Independence, Cuban workers and workers from the rest of the Caribbean (imported for the foreign owned sugar mills) by reviving the demands of the Independientes de Color, whose insurrection had been contained in 1912. The foreign cane-cutters, recruited by United Fruit and General Sugar agents at one dollar per day, had reduced the presence of the Cubans in the industrial labour force to 16% of the total economically active population at the end of the 1920s. (Mires, 1988, p.285) The reappearance of the connection between race and class as an issue of public debate attracted many Black Cubans to the Communist Party,

especially in the eastern part of the Republic.¹⁵ As this is taking place Ortiz and Martínez Villena are also working for a parliamentary commission which is rewriting the constitution while Mella is expelled from the University and imprisoned.

Since the end of the so-called First World War (1918), some intellectuals in Cuba had been responding to the problems of national unity, sovereignty, racial conflict, economic crisis and social memory described above by proposing locally generated solutions. These included the incorporation of popular cultural practices into the discussions about national conflicts. In a region obsessed with the origins of the population, where everyone suffered the consequences of violent transplantation, Janney and González Echevarría agree that these proposals were an attempt to create a sense of cultural autonomy. (Janney, 1981, p.18; González Echevarría, 1977, p.43)

Other groups of Cuban intellectuals referenced the Hispanic traditions of the creole land owners in their definition of the national community. The perspective of the gentleman farmer which resonated across the Castilian-speaking Americas was their alternative to recognizing the implications of cultural diversity.

One of the proposals among those in the cultural movement that was emerging in the 1920s who also wanted to

change the social order was that the existing relations of force excluded the working people who had produced the country, and the rebel armies which had won independence, from participating in the deliberations about the national problems. What Fernando Ortiz and others of his generation provided for that sector of the nationalist cultural movement which acknowledged the Afro-Cuban component was the research that documented the place of the popular cultures in Cuban society. They revealed the social, religious, linguistic, musical and literary spaces in which these marginalized communities were constantly redefining themselves through their daily activities without any illusions about participating in the public conversation. These sites included the religious communities, carnival organizations, mutual aid societies, judges and executioner groups which created new languages, musical instruments, oral literatures and graphic arts. The presence of the popular in women's organizations, unions, and radical parties were notable omissions. Since many white creoles were joining the secret societies, it is probably safe to assume that Ortiz was also concerned about the emerging cultural leadership of Afro-Cuban communities which were making alliances and speaking for themselves.¹⁶

Participants in the nationalist movements which proposed cultural autonomy did not share F. Ortiz's original interest in criminology. They read his books to learn about

the cultures of the popular in their country looking for examples of unity and sovereignty. His fieldwork and writings about the representations and spiritual practices of the Black Cubans were used as references in cultural proposals which gained support as the government became more intransigent with the opposition forces. Many in the cultural autonomy movements had reservations about Ortiz, but as they got to know each other better Ortiz became more active in opposition to the Machado administration and he included some of the work by younger intellectuals in his publications about history, society and culture. One outstanding problem was that many in this cultural movement were still translating the fashions of the European vanguards and emulating publications such as Revista de Occidente published in Madrid by Ortega y Gasset. Initially they did not incorporate the thinking patterns or the communication methods of the popular sectors.¹⁷ These included reassembly and qualification of the dominant representations, as well as seizing the initiative through holistic interpretations that expressed the popular convictions. Their communication methods combined direct experience and multiple registers in a disguised script of simultaneous dualities.

For the purposes of this dissertation, what is important is the evolution of that nationalist cultural movement as a result of the interactions between the groups

of intellectuals and the social movements. Since much of the cultural production of the writers and artists would grow to depend on their direct experience with the daily activities of the popular sectors, the cultural movement would eventually address the causes of the existing relations of force. More specifically, the Negristas turned to the priorities of the majority of the population, the respect their cultural contributions were denied and the common denominators among similar efforts across the Caribbean region. The Cuban authorities in the 1920s and 1930s came to see the new beginning proposed by this cultural renaissance as a political problem.

Despite their initial personal connections with European modernists (like García Lorca, Stravinsky and Picasso) during this 1925-1940 period the Cuban activist-intellectuals matured through their interactions with the religious organizations among the popular sectors, secret societies and carnival traditions which were part of their own history. These were the organizations which produced the vocabulary shared by the popular, organized the independence movement inside Cuba, and withstood persecution under the protectorate. Their members had learned to communicate by bending the dominant forms. Another factor to consider in understanding the maturation of the Cuban cultural movement, in this period, is the communication and collaboration among those participants who were connected by a common purpose.¹⁸

Up to now I have refrained from either naming this movement or using any of the names it has been given: McGarrity and Cárdenas (1995, p.78) think that "Afro-Cubanismo" suggests that there are some aspects of national life that can be separated from the mixture that holds the society together. They think that the practices of African origin are central to Cuban culture. Both Cobb (1979, pp.47-49) and DeCosta (1977, p.116) think that initially this "Negrista" movement expressed the interest of some white creoles in the cultural practices of slave descendants as an imitation of imported trends. In Europe and North America it was then fashionable to glorify a "primitive" African past as more natural and romantic. Words, myths, song and dances were used without explaining the difficulties of their daily practitioners. The interest generated by the cultural promotions of the white creoles also created opportunities for the popular sectors to re-examine their own context in order to explain the ways dominant violence had been overcome. Encouraged by the sociological and anthropological research of pioneers in African American studies like Fernando Ortiz, people within these communities began to explore the experiences of their own cultural histories as a metaphor for all the exploited and marginalized. Instead of just referencing the cultural forms or the ritual content which had been exoticized by outsiders, new symbols of national liberation and social

transformation began to appear. In this sense, social history was being rewritten by the interaction between the popular movements and the promoters of the "cultural renaissance" to make it useful in the present.¹⁹ "Renaissance" is used here as it has been used to characterize similar movements in several black urban communities across the United States, and in Haiti, which were occurring about the same time.²⁰

Social Movements and Popular Cultures

During the third period (1925-1940) of this case study about Fernando Ortiz and his friends, events taking place in other parts of the colonial world were receiving increased attention. Inside Cuba itself the mobilizations (organized by the National Student Federation already mentioned) against foreign intervention, the reappearance of race and class issues in public discussions, the protagonism of several women's organizations (that we shall examine in the next case study), and the organized presence of the labour movement encouraged the participants in the cultural movement to redefine the collective reference points. For those who moved beyond the initial romanticism of returning to folkloric forms of representation promoted by mass culture, the experience of the popular was a search for evidence of the constant mixture that could help define the codes of thought and action in a liberating communication strategy against mass culture. The media disseminated the

primitivist songs and dances of José Z. Tallet and R. Guirao which tourists came to see. Pedroso, Guillén, Arozarena, on the other hand, referred to the general aspects of their common experience with that of other workers. Even though the results were recycled by the media and the tourism industry, their connections during this period with similar efforts in Haiti (Jacques Roumain), Puerto Rico (L. Palés Matos) and the United States (Langston Hughes) suggest their initial intention had been the redefinition of the national culture. What the small radical organizations were supporting was the effort to use the evidence in the popular cultures to define their own context and confront foreign intervention.²¹

One such small group, which met to discuss politics and culture, emerged from the mobilizations in support of the 1923 veterans' uprising as the Minoristas. Since the early twenties the Minoristas had been influenced by a magazine published in Madrid, Revista de Occidente, which translated the writings of European modernists into Castilian. Between 1927 and 1930 some of those who referenced the Hispanic tradition in their definition of the national community published their own magazine, Avance, in the midst of a growing economic crisis.

The crisis of the Cuban banks in 1920 was followed by a fall in sugar prices and production in 1925. After 1929 when Europe and North America transferred the cost of their

recuperation to the areas dependent on primary sector exports the crisis was institutionalized. When the terms of exchange deteriorated further after 1933, the crisis of dependence became one of underdevelopment and neo-colonialism as well. The price of sugar had fallen to 1/25 of the 1929 price.²² Between 1928 and 1934 the sugar cane cutters earned fifteen to forty cents per day in currency only recognized at company stores with the highest prices in the country. Those salaries only lasted during the three month harvest and the rest of the year most of these field workers lived without a subsistence plot.

Combining their ideas about socio-economic progress, nationalism and artistic innovation, the Avance group (1927-1930) promoted art exhibitions in Cuba and a continental survey among well-known thinkers about the future of the arts in America. Following the suggestions of José Martí in his 1891 "Nuestra América" essay, the editors of Avance were encouraging a discussion about common goals and methods. Among the members of the original editorial board were Jorge Mañach, Juan Marinello and Alejo Carpentier. Carpentier also was involved with other radical intellectuals and labour organizations in the struggle against the Machado dictatorship. He was arrested in 1927 and used the jail time in August to prepare the first draft of a novel about the Afro-Caribbean world called Ecuae-Yamba-O [Praise be to God], that would be revised and

published in 1933 while the author was exiled in France. Carpentier's arrest had been preceded in April, 1927 by government accusations against the Popular University faculty for conspiracy to overthrow the government. The results of the trials in July were also used to ban the Communist Party. In April Martínez Villena had published the first social analysis of the present political and economic occupation, "Cuba, factoría yanqui" [Cuba, Yankee Trading Post] in the first issue of América Libre, which he directed.

The magazine Avance by contrast had commentaries about recently published books, reviews of conferences given in public halls, original research and editorials about several topics of current interest in each issue. The editorials were debated among the board members until a consensus was reached. (Davis, 1997, p.83) Whenever some editors tried to integrate matters of culture and politics they were replaced on the board, as was the case with Carpentier and Tallet.

In 1928 José A. Fernández de Castro, who had participated in the 1923 Minorista protest, was in charge of the cultural supplement in a daily Havana newspaper, El Diario de la Marina. That supplement had a section called "Ideales de una Raza" [Ideals of a Race] whose task was to promote the cultures and defend the priorities of Black Cubans. It evoked a similar section called "Palpitaciones de

la Raza de Color" [Heartbeats of the Black Race] directed by Ramón Vasconcelos in a Liberal newspaper, La Prensa back in 1915 during the aftermath of the 1912 uprising. The director was a Black Cuban architect named Gustavo Arrutia. The section published articles about African languages spoken in Cuba, literature, music, and the origins of cultural traditions. The work of white creoles who used themes from the popular cultures in their creations also appeared. "La Rumba" by José Z. Tallet and "Bailadora de la Rumba" by Ramón Guirao are examples of the latter. The poems, articles and interviews done by Nicolás Guillén also appeared in this section of the supplement between 1928 and 1931.

The January 15, 1929 issue of Avance (4, No. 30, p.8) carried an article which considered the relation between race and culture among the major topics of discussion in America at the time. One of the editorials in that issue reviewed a recent conference by Fernando Ortiz on the same subject. Both the article and the editorial considered it was unnecessary to insist on the history of slavery, as it created more cultural problems than it resolved. Later that year, in the June 15 issue (4, No. 35, p.181) there was another article which noted European and North American interest in the products and production methods which revealed evidence of cultures with African origins. As they had at the end of November, 1927 (2, No. 16, p.87) again in October 15, 1929 (4, No. 39, p.287) the

magazine editorial argued against importing workers from other parts of the Caribbean to work in the sugar industry. The magazine considered the negative impact on the wage of the Cuban workers, as well as the social and cultural impact of the migrants' presence in Cuba. At that time, there had been public protests over this very issue in several parts of the country. When in the spring of 1930 a group of athletes from Panamá was denied entry at the Havana Yacht Club, the editorial page of Avance (5, No. 45, p.97) also asked the central government to intervene. The Avance group pointed out what the government could do in support of displaced Cuban workers and citizens from another occupied "Hispanic" country mistreated in Cuba. The Havana Yatch Club observed a strict code of Jim Crow segregation at the front door.

In 1930, the "Ideales de la Raza" section of the Diario de la Marina cultural supplement published eight poems by Nicolás Guillén from a series called "Motivos del Són." In May the editor of the supplement, Fernández de Castro, followed this up with an interview. The whole series was published as a book that year. The June 15, 1930 issue of Avance (5, No. 47, 187) reviewed two books by Langston Hughes, who had been one of the outstanding members of the Harlem Renaissance, and whose interest brought him frequently to the Caribbean. In July 6, the cultural

supplement mentioned above published three more of Guillén's Motivos del Són and yet another in the August 10 issue, both in Urrutia's section. In August, 1930 Guillén also gave a conference about his book Motivos del Són at the Club Atenas in Havana. The Atenas congregated a group of western educated Black Cubans who shared an interest in an academic discussion about ethnic matters in Cuba. They publicly endorsed the courses taught by Fernando Ortiz at the University of Havana summer school on this subject.²³ There was a general strike that year and Martínez Villena was one of its leaders. Since 1923 he had been active in the Lafayette Hotel conversations about politics and art, in the student federation, the Minorista protest, the labour movement, armed actions, and the publication of F. Ortiz's speeches.

Ortiz echoes O'Kelly's example

Having abandoned electoral politics since 1922, and criminological research since 1925, Fernando Ortiz was working with the Archive of Cuban Folklore between 1923 and 1930. By encouraging the publication of specific books, by promoting the creation of a national collection of texts which had been unpublished or out of print, Ortiz was addressing the cultural limitations he had identified since February, 1924 in

a conference given in Havana called "The Cuban Decadence". He also wrote the prologues for a number of those recently published books.²⁴ Fernando Ortiz managed to get Editorial Cultural to publish a history of the 1868-1878 War of Independence. This manuscript had been written by an Irish independence leader, James J. O'Kelly, who worked as a war correspondent for a United States newspaper. (O'Kelly, 1930) In his prologue, Ortiz identified the liberated areas as maroon lands and he made the connection between the ongoing struggles for sovereignty in Ireland and Cuba.

Written in the midst of the conflict with the Machado dictatorship, the biographical prologue explained the distinction the Irish made between civilian politicians and armed politicians. Ortiz also recognized that the existence of the separatists made it possible for the colonial administration to negotiate with those who would settle for limited self-government. The prologue went on to show how the author, James J. O'Kelly, worked with separatists and autonomists, civilian and armed, simultaneously in order to seize the initiative with the reformists when there were no radical opportunities. Many believed that the Cuban nationalists were similarly organized: studying social needs, educating political organizers, and training civic groups when other incursions were not possible. When describing the places that O'Kelly visited in the liberated zones, Ortiz pointed out that the

free zones were more than liberated geography, they were also a cultural territory where Cubans had created the symbols of the Republic.²⁵ The Irish case was an example to contrast with the Cuban politicians who administrated the protectorate.

At the end of 1930 Fernando Ortiz went into exile. Constitutional guarantees had been suspended by the government. Before leaving he produced a public document which was published on December 10 with his signature. In that document he described the central administration of his country as a government of thieves. The legislated changes to the electoral laws excluded recently organized parties from electoral participation. Ortiz proposed the resignation of the executive, the congress, and the establishment of a provisional government which would bring to trial all those who had broken the law while in public service. (Ortiz, 1973, p.142; Le Riverend, 1973, p. 34). Shortly after arriving on the United States, on January 18, 1931, the newspaper La Prensa in New York City carried his comments denouncing the foreign controls over the affairs of Cuba. (Le Riverend, 1973, p. 35) One of his friends during the period of exile was Carleton Beals, the only U.S.A. citizen who interviewed Sandino. During the 1920s, the American Civil Liberties Union, American Anti-Imperialist League, American Fund for Public Service (or Garland Fund), the Workers' School and The Nation magazine were distributing

information about Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and Nicaragua. In 1928 The Nation commissioned Beals' interview with the leader of the Nicaraguan insurrection as part of its solidarity campaign. Since 1920 Beals had also been travelling to Cuba and now Ortiz had direct access to this network of contacts which included Scott Nearing, Ernest Gruening and Oswald Garrison Vilard. (Zwick, 1997)

An uprising to win electoral concessions from the government of Cuba led by the traditional opposition concessions failed in August, 1931, but armed confrontations continued during the next three years. That year in April Langston Hughes returned to Cuba, where he met with Guillén, and in October continued on to Haiti where he would meet with Jacques Roumain. With his colleagues, the Haitian poet was organizing the radical nationalists. By 1931 not even the moderate opposition to the Cuban dictatorship considered a negotiated solution possible. The insurrection of their combined forces failed in August, 1931. On April 3, 1932 a Tampa, Florida newspaper, La Traducción, carried comments by Fernando Ortiz that if the economic institutions in the U.S.A. had a choice, between the struggles of the social movements and authoritarian regimes, they would favour the latter. (le Riverend, 1973, p. 35) That was also the choice for the Cuban people, and armed insurrection broke out again in 1933.

A series of mass strikes culminated with a general strike in August. The opposition which brought down the government included workers, students, land owners as well as soldiers and civilians who were former collaborators. Ortiz was among those who tried and failed to unite that opposition. In September the student organizations and the non-commissioned officers deposed the interim administration, replacing it with a provisional government that included university professors. Ortiz declined an invitation to join that government. Coping with the disapproval of the Communists and the U.S.A. government, the decrees sponsored by the student organizations were not enough to mobilize the workers' support. The divisions and indecision among the civilian parties favoured the military who replaced Professor Grau San Martin as President in January, 1934. The military ruled indirectly until the end of the decade, and by then they had the support of the Communist party. Batista and the Soviet Union had both joined the Allies.

Post-Machado Interlude

What came together during this 1925-1940 period was nationalism, an organized labour movement, radical women's organizations, mobilizations against foreign intervention, discussions on the relation between race and class, a cultural resurgence expressed in the arts, the

small organizations of maroon intellectuals, and the social movements. Whether in the popular university, among the Minoristas and in Avance their magazine, in the Archive of Cuban Folklore and their magazine, the Communist Party, or the Society of Afro-Cuban Studies and their magazine, there was a common core of people who exchanged the results of their work and supported each other publicly. (See Table 2 behind End Notes) They studied how the popular cultures produced a shared vocabulary which gained support for the convictions expressed. In the rest of this case study I will demonstrate the impact of such experiences of collective empowerment on the communication strategies of intellectuals who were still speaking for the popular sectors.²⁶

Fernando Ortiz returned to Cuba once Machado was ousted. Shortly thereafter he set out to reorganize the Spanish-Cuban Institution of Culture so it could focus on the discussion of Cuban affairs. This collective would grow in importance with the opportunities made possible by the establishment of cultural relations with the Spanish Republic.

R. Martínez Villena died in 1934. Active in the student organizations, he had taught at the Popular University. Together with E. Roig, F. Ortiz, José Z. Tallet, A. Carpentier and J.A. Mella he started the Minoristas. Martínez Villena steered the cosmopolitan intellectuals toward an active participation in Cuban politics. He edited

F. Ortiz's speeches and founded the Communist Party, organizing the general strikes that overthrew Machado in 1933.

Nicolás Guillén published his third book, West Indies, Ltd. in 1934. That same year the Platt Amendment, which allowed the U.S.A. military interventions in Cuba to protect foreign investments, was eliminated from the Cuban constitution by the Batista-Mendieta regime which had just overthrown the provisional government. In 1935 investment in the sugar industry continued to contract together with the market price of the harvest. The plantation owners could stabilize productivity while decreasing the numbers of employees. Thousands of foreign workers from the rest of the region were sent back home as the wages of the Cuban workers continued to drop. In March 1935 there was a general strike which included urban and rural workers, peasants, small business owners, and university students. Their main goal was a constitutional government without Batista, who controlled the armed forces. An armed insurrection scheduled for May, 1935 in Matanzas was betrayed and repressed. It was led by the student organizations which administrated the provisional government between September, 1933 and January, 1934.

That same year, folklorist Eusebia Cosme gave several recitals of Afro-Cuban poetry in Puerto Rico. Between 1935 and 1937, Fernando Ortiz published several

articles about the kind of poetry that was being written by Guillén and Palés Matos as expression of the cultural mixture which characterized the region.²⁷ The performances and commentary were used to redefine a national and regional community in terms which would get wide distribution in the commercial media. Those terms also alluded to the centuries in which the popular had been verifying its capacity for self-government.

In June 1936 F. Ortiz founded a new kind of publication in Cuba. Ultra was to compile summaries of the main stories in foreign newspapers and magazines which covered current affairs in the physical and social sciences. That same year folklorist Lydia Cabrera published Cuentos Negros de Cuba in France. Alejo Carpentier, who was also in Paris, sent a review of the book by Fernando Ortiz's sister-in-law to a Cuban magazine in Havana, Carteles. In 1924 Carpentier had been the director of Carteles.

National Community includes the Popular

One of the major events of this third period was the founding of the Society of Afro-Cuban Studies, June 1, 1936.²⁸ The list of the founding members of the Cuban Society adds evidence to my claim about ongoing collaboration among former Minoristas, social scientists, radicals, reformists and promoters of the cultural movements. The leadership of the organization included F.

Ortiz, Nicolás Guillén, Juan Marinello, Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, Emilio Ballagas, and José Luciano Franco. Among the membership were some of the major promoters of the cultural movement that identified this third period: Teodoro Ramos Blanco (sculptor), Regino Pedroso (poet), Amadeo Roldán (composer), Ramón Guirao (writer), Alejandro García Caturla (composer), Gustavo Urrutia (literary critic, researcher of African religions and architect), José A. Fernández de Castro (journalist), Rómulo Lachagnarais (folklorist), Marcelino Arozarena (poet), and Eusebia Cosme (poetry reciter). This network was also the consequence of thirty years of research and publications on the subject of popular cultures by F. Ortiz himself. Those materials had generated collaborations between many of those mentioned: in performances, fieldwork, and anthologies.

In 1937 the Society of Afro-Cuban Studies began to publish Estudios Afro-Cubanos twice a year, until 1940. The very first issue included a lecture that had been read at the Society by Fernando Ortiz on January 16, 1937 at the Atenas Club. In his talk about the place of religion in the new poetry representing Caribbean cultures, a comparison was made with North American efforts. According to F. Ortiz people of African descent in North America had accepted the teachings of the Christian missionaries and used the prayer meetings and spirituals to cope with the conditions imposed by slavery. According to F. Ortiz, the religious gatherings

in North American had been the rituals which gave cohesion to the slave communities, as well as their link with the dominant authorities. In the Spanish-speaking Caribbean there were no Black Christian congregations or Black Christian clergy during slavery. The African religions were practiced secretly, before their own altars, as well as in the organization of daily life as a whole.²⁹ Since religion is a representation of the society which practices it, adopting a new belief also changes a culture, and its communication strategies. Ortiz argues that what the new poetry registers is not the separation of religion from the daily lives of the initiated, nor the synthesis of European and African mythologies, but rather the shared experience of black and white creoles in the urban centres of the Caribbean. According to Fernando Ortiz what the new poetry of the cultural movement retains from the religious experience is the tone of the prayers chanted in responsive alternating parts, which define the community. While in North America the sense of community evolved in connection to the Church, in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean the reference point for the communities' collective experience of the popular, was the Carnival where they could assert their cultures and practice their religions disguised as tourist entertainment. This was the kind of national theatre that F. Ortiz considered Cuba should be proud of, as an expression of popular aspirations and hopes.³⁰

Context for Self-Representation

By 1937 the Cuban government allowed the Left to appear publicly as a unified party. During a period of popular democratic fronts called by the Communist International (COMINTERN), the Cuban version had the radical intellectuals and the workers' organizations joining forces with the parliamentary opposition. That year N. Guillén published his fourth book, Cartas para soldados y sones para turistas [Letters for Soldiers and Afro-Cuban Music for Tourists] with a prologue by Juan Marinello. According to Cuban critic Roberto Fernández Retamar, the book made the connections between issues of race, class, nationality, culture and foreign intervention. (1962, pp.12-15) During the same year Guillén and Marinello met with Alejo Carpentier at the Congress of Anti-fascist Intellectuals held in Spain to support the Republican government.

Meanwhile in Puerto Rico, an anthology which collects Palés Matos' Afro-Caribbean poems appears, Tún Tún de Pasa y Griferia [Wooly-Haired Mulatto Improvisations] (1937). Most of the poems included had been published separately since 1925. In November 1937 a Puerto Rican critic named Tomás Blanco was invited to Cuba to speak about Palés Matos' poetry at the Spanish-Cuban Cultural Institution and at the Society of Afro-Cuban Studies. Palés had appeared in F. Ortiz's writing about cultural mixture

published by Revista Bimestre Cubana since 1935. This meeting with Blanco was an opportunity to consider the regional elements which had propitiated these independent yet simultaneous developments.

In keeping with the 1934 international tactic of anti-fascist alliances, the Cuban Communist Party decided to support the Batista government in 1938, the same year Regino Pedroso won the national poetry prize. That year R. Lachatagnarais published a collection of Yoruba prayers and religious songs, with a prologue by Fernando Ortiz. Together with L. Cabrera's 1936 anthology, A. Carpentier's novel Ecuae Yamba-O [Praise be to God] (1933), and the new poetry, Lachatagnarais' anthology was demonstrating that the cultural production of the popular sectors was not merely a fad in Cuba. The subjects and personalities which had not been taken seriously by the dominant society, the practices of the secret societies, were a permanent feature of popular self-representation which had to be recognized as a reference point for the expression of the national according to Fernando Ortiz in this prologue. The other point made in the prologue was that the collective cohesion of the popular was in this oral tradition from which they extracted the truths that organized daily life. What Lachatagnarais' anthology demonstrated was that the presence of the popular also extended to the realm of sacred mythologies.³¹

Referring in the prologue to Lachatagnarais' cultural and intellectual predecessors Ortiz mentioned another Cuban mulatto of Haitian origin, Paul Lafargue (who was Karl Marx's son-in-law), the Central American diplomat and poet Rubén Darío, South American essayist Juan Montalvo, novelist Machado de Assis and poet Cruz e Souza.³² The reason for doing so was to draw attention to the contributions of several cultures to a national community. Ortiz considered this acknowledgement a condition for national unity which could create the basis for sovereignty.

The 1938 edition of José Antonio Saco, Historia de la Esclavitud de la Raza Africana en el Nuevo Mundo (History of African Slavery in the New World) also had a prologue by Fernando Ortiz. The latter described the development of the history of slavery as a research area since the 1830s. Ortiz recognized that the most advanced work on the social consequences of slavery, during the first third of the present century, had been done in Brazil. In that prologue he also mentioned that similar materials about collective activities, languages, music, religions, and daily life were being generated in the Society of Afro-Cuban Studies with care to put them in the context of Cuba's economic history. (Ortiz, 1938)

Much of the cultural effervescence which had marked the beginning of this third period in Cuba, also became evident in Ecuador toward the end of the

1930s.(Ortiz, 1977, p.79) As the Black writers there became aware of the value of their creativity, they began to represent the relation between race, class and nationality in an original manner. I found Nelson Estupiñan Bass and Adalberto Ortiz writing like their assertive Cuban predecessors.

Cultural Identities and Economic History

By the end of this third period Fernando Ortiz had come to a sense of what cultural identities meant. In an article which appeared in the Afro-Cuban Studies magazine in 1939, he described the process as a slowly cooking stew where each new group of migrants added ingredients to an open kettle.³³ That same article also proposed that the first community in Cuba to combine several cultural contributions resulting in something new were the Black creoles, and that was why F. Ortiz considered them the first Cubans. The metaphor about the stew in the open kettle, was repeated in a conference Ortiz gave toward the end of 1939 for a student fraternity at the University of Havana. On that occasion he added that cultural identities were a dynamic process in which the peculiarities of each country, resulting from the constant mixture of cultures, were assumed consciously.(Ortiz, 1973, pp.153-157) 1939 was also the year in which the Communist Party was officially recognized. In the month of December there were strikes in

Cuba against foreign-owned companies like United Fruit and the Cuban Electricity Company.

Estudios Afro-Cubanos ceased publication in 1940, after one volume per year since 1937, and gaining the support of the Havana mayor that same year. By then Fernando Ortiz was also collaborating with the Cuban Society of Historical and International Studies. The Castilian-language edition of Cuentos Negros de Cuba, compiled by Lydia Cabrera, was published that year with a prologue by Fernando Ortiz. The stories were animal fables that had undergone two translations - the transition from Africa to the world of the Black creoles, and then again to the world of the compiler and her readers - without losing form or content. In response to the critics who claimed the stories lacked an ethical message, Ortiz suggested that the stories were the product of another social and historical context with another moral code. The anthology was also considered by Ortiz as a welcome contribution to the national literature.³⁴ Cabrera herself had already done research on popular cultures, before going to Paris to study art between 1927 and 1929. Since her return to Cuba in 1938 Cabrera devoted her research calendar to elaborating what she gathered in interviews from the living documents who were the authors of the publications she promoted.³⁵

1940 was also the year in which Contrapuntéo Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar [Cuban Counterpoint, Tobacco

and Sugar] was originally published. Together with his 1916 book about slavery, this is one of F. Ortiz's most important contributions to the discussion about culture in the Caribbean context. Through the contrast between the sugar and tobacco industries, Ortiz explained the social consequences of single-crop sugar cane farming imposed by neo-colonialism. The importance of the economic history, and the clashes generated by the conflicting interests between these two industries, was intertwined with the research about popular cultures. (Ortiz, 1970, p.5) That connection between an understanding of economic history and an explanation of cultural practices was reiterated throughout this book. Much has been made of the continuous syncretism undertaken in the Caribbean since the 16th century by the uninvited immigrants to the region. But in recovering the history of institutions like those which organized the work stoppages, Ortiz recognized that the popular evolved under conditions of permanent war and terror inherent to colonialism, slavery and industry. The result was not the shedding of their own culture, or the assimilation into the dominant but the creation of something new. Fernando Ortiz called this process of reassembly and fusion, "transculturation."³⁶

In December, 1940 the Haitian poet Jacques Roumain was in Havana. He had been invited by Nicolás Guillen to continue his anthropological research in Cuba. During

Roumain's stay he also wrote and read an essay about the uses of literature: "Poetry as a Weapon".³⁷ The commitment to the goals of the popular, and the translation of ideas into social action which are the subject matter of that essay is what much of this third period had been about.

Final Observations

In this first case study, the small radical groups which asked questions of a retrieved historical experience were the Minoristas (who studied Martí), the Society of Afro-Cuban Studies (which studied the popular cultures), and the Avance group (which promoted research about Latin American cultures). In the popular university, groups of workers, feminists and students exchanged experiences in search of the historical causes and the example of their predecessors. The groups which identified the common denominators between the ignored cultural history of the popular and the questions raised by their present included the Society of Afro-Cuban Studies, the Folklore Archive, the Minoristas, and those involved with the popular university.

The Independientes de Color [Independent People of Colour] and the social movements which emerged from the popular university experience attempted to develop as communication systems (about all aspects of daily life) but lacked the means to generate sustained support. These organizations seized the initiative of producing a

systematic critique of the social order which revealed the relations of force between 1905-1912 and again between 1923-1935. During those junctures of armed insurrection, military intervention, economic crisis and frequent strikes, some of the small groups questioned the bases of the official version in publications such as Social and Avance. Some of the Minoristas (like Mella, Martínez Villena, Marinello, Carpentier, and Ortiz) also played an active role in opposition to the Machado government.

The result of those questions put to the historical experience excluded from the official version was used to promote changes during the 1920s and 1930s. Guillén, Pedroso, Arozarena were examples of such collective inquiry where workers and intellectuals collaborated. Whether it was defining the components of the national community or researching the causes of the nation's problems, they were also following O'Kelly's example.

Having examined historical experiences of collective empowerment, some of the small groups mentioned in this case study promoted critical conversations which produced a shared vocabulary about society. The Minoristas who supported the veterans and patriots' 1923 uprising, the social movements which emerged from the popular university, and the Society of Afro-Cuban Studies seeking to include the popular in a definition of the national community are examples of the communication strategies encountered in this

case. These small groups identified situations, documents and accents which combined race, class, gender, nation and religion in ways previously excluded from the historical record.

None of the small groups in this case study were able to provide the social movements with a history of their present. Rather it was the contact with the veterans, workers, and secret societies that provided the feminists and intellectuals with a sense of the gaps in their own collective memories. Some of the difficulties in constructing a social change strategy related to those gaps in understanding the particular links between economics, politics and culture. Nevertheless when the activist intellectuals asserted the legitimacy of popular communication strategies they were demonstrating how the relations of force operated in concrete cases. And they were doing so at a time when Cuba was the major site of industrial investment in a region which was the laboratory of the global market.

The other contribution of the small groups was in the adaptation of western social theories to retrieve an oral tradition which touched on all aspects of daily life. Such research projects were undertaken to explain the participation of the popular in the construction of a Cuban nation and to identify resources for its democratization. Fernando Ortiz proposed the study of the social forces which

determined that cultural history. The Minoristas proposed and implemented an active participation in oppositional politics. With the exception of the popular university, the small groups lacked direct means of gauging popular awareness of possibilities for social transformation. The exchange and publication of research, regular conversations, presence in multiple forms of opposition, solidarity network and international contacts remain as a point of reference and comparison in the evolution of the small radical collective.

After 1940 Fernando Ortiz advised Wifredo Lam, Alejo Carpentier and Lydia Cabrera in their field work. Ortiz also participated in the founding of the International Institute of African American Studies and completed his research about Cuban musical instruments of African origin. He remained in Cuba until his death in 1969.

In the next case study I will compare two individuals and two organizations. The first set includes Patricia Galvão and Ofelia Domínguez Navarro. The former was mentioned in the Introduction (Chapter I) as a muse of Brazilian Modernists, pedagogy student, journalist and social critic, novelist and foreign correspondent in Europe and Asia. Domínguez Navarro was a teacher and lawyer, participant in the Cuban popular university, feminist and recruiter for the insurrection against Machado, journalist and diplomat. The two organizations were a radical

collective which participated in the formation of the Jamaican People's National Party and the Negro Welfare, Cultural and Social Association (N.W.C.S.A.) of Trinidad. The former ran several newspapers, a book club, and an education project while paying less attention to race, gender, and popular religion. The N.W.C.S.A. conducted field research in urban neighbourhoods, had several working class women in the leadership and worked with similar groups in the neighbouring territories.

At the outset of the remaining case studies there will be a summary of the previous one. In doing so I am following the example and counsel of C.L.R. James in American Civilization:

"At every stage in a book there is reached a certain climax...it is necessary here to place the main points already made briefly before the reader." (1993, p.118)

TABLE 1. NETWORK OF SMALL GROUPS IN CUBA

Popular University (Nov 1923-1927)	Minoristas (1923-1928)	Communists (1925-)	Negrismo (1925-1938)	Avance Group (1927-1930)	Society Afro-Cuban Studies (1936-1950)
2,000 workers					
?	*Juan Marinello	*Juan Marinello		Juan Marinello	*Juan Marinello
Sarah Pascual					
	*Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring				*Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring
*José A. Fernández de Castro	*José A. Fernández de Castro	?	José A. Fernández de Castro		José A. Fernández de Castro
		Salvador García Aguero			*Salvador García Aguero
*Alejo Carpentier	*Alejo Carpentier	?	Alejo Carpentier	Alejo Carpentier	?
O. Domínguez Navarro		O. Domínguez Navarro			
	Juan Antigua				Juan Antigua
					José Antonio Ramos
*R. Martínez Villena (Sec.)	*R. Martínez Villena	*R. Martínez Villena			
*Julio Antonio Mella (General Secretary)	Julio Antonio Mella	*Julio Antonio Mella			
	*Nicolás Guillén	Nicolás Guillén	Nicolás Guillén		*Nicolás Guillén
	Luis Gómez				
	J.M. Acosta	José Luciano Franco			*José Luciano Franco
	*Regino Pedroso	Regino Pedroso			Regino Pedroso
Raúl Roa		?		Raúl Roa	
		M. Arozarena			Marcelino Arozarena
	Amadeo Roldán		Amadeo Roldán		Amadeo Roldán
	Fernando Ortiz		Fernando Ortiz		Fernando Ortiz
	A. García Caturla		A. García Caturla		A. García Caturla
			Gustavo Urrutia		Gustavo Urrutia
* José Z. Tallet (President)	José Z. Tallet		José Z. Tallet	José Z. Tallet	
Luis F. Bustamante					

* = leaders of several groups

END NOTES

¹ Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (New York and London: Verso, 1990), p. 39, note 62 on p.39, 56, 66, 74.

Scott McLemee, "Afterword: American Civilization and World Revolution: C.L.R. James in the U.S., 1938-1953" in C.L.R. James and Revolutionary Marxism, Selected Writings of C.L.R. James, 1939-1949, eds. Scott McLemee and Paul LeBlanc (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1994), p.218. According to McLemee, James thought of social transformations as an opportunity for collective creativity to bring forth new social institutions. In a 1970 interview with Black Scholar magazine James himself had said that the interaction between industrial technologies and the means by which social transformations occur are among the central concerns of civilized peoples. See C.L.R. James, "Black Scholar Interview," The Black Scholar (San Francisco, California: September, 1970), p.40.

Referring to that process of discovery in which the priorities of several social movements are coordinated in a liberation struggle, Walter Rodney compared the cases of Viet-Nam, Guinea-Bessau and Mozambique with the Left in the Caribbean during the 1970's. See Walter Rodney, "Black Scholar Interview," the Black Scholar (San Francisco, California: November, 1974), 44-46.

² Nicolás Guillén, "Natural Identity and Mestizaje," Carifesta Forum. An Anthology of 20 Caribbean Voices, ed. John Hearne (Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Jamaica, 1976), p. 39. The presence of the black population on the independence side of the wars (1868-1878 and 1895-1898) would accelerate the recognition of their daily practices as a determinant of the national identities. That included the active intervention of the "emancipated", the free artisans, and the property-owning people of colour.

According to its author Bug-jargal, 1791 was a novel about the encounter of Europe and Africa in the battlefields of the Americas. It was initially published in 1819 and revised in 1825, when the author received the collaboration of war veterans and slavers who had been defeated in Haiti. The second edition was published in 1826.

³ Lola Aponte Ramos, "Martí sus arrugas y sus verrugas," Claridad - En Rojo (San Juan, Puerto Rico: May 12, 1995), pp.16-17. Aponte Ramos also mentions the outline for a book Martí was planning about the gratitude of blacks who were being accepted as equal to the white creoles. The planned

book was not written. In 1891 Martí also gave a speech at the Tampa Lyceum in which he spoke about the reasons why the white creoles need not fear vengeance from the assimilated blacks.

⁴ Sydney Mintz and Richard Price, The Birth of African-American Culture - An Anthropological Perspective (Boston: Beacon, 1992), p. vii. Mintz refers here to some comments by folklorist Charles Joyner.

⁵ For a discussion of the Haitian equivalents, see Wade Davis, "The Secret Societies," The Serpent and the Rainbow (New York: Warner, 1985), pp.171-325.

⁶ Julio Le Riverend, "Fernando Ortiz y su obra Cubana," Orbita de Fernando Ortiz, ed. Julio Le Riverend (La Habana: Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba, 1973), pp.10-15. The interest in making sense of the totality was a major influence from Lombroso.

⁷ Arcadio Díaz Quiñones, "Puentes a Cuba - el exilio externo y el interno", Diálogo (San Juan, Puerto Rico: January, 1995), 52-53. Since the present writer is Puerto Rican, I may be expected to mention Luis Palés Matos in this section. That is not the case because this manuscript is about small research collectives of activist intellectuals who interacted with social movements. As far as I have been able to find out Palés Matos, since his arrival in the capital in 1921, joined a conversation group. Six of its members published a short-lived magazine between February and July 1924. I agree with Professor Hugo Rodríguez Vecchini that Palés Matos' affirmation of the African cultural heritage was carried out without the benefit of the collective research that took place in Cuba, Haiti and the U.S.A. The critique of cultural domination in his poetry, newspaper articles and published interviews was the result of his own bibliographical investigation of which there is evidence in the vocabulary added to the 1950 edition of Tún-tún de Pasa y Griferia, see Hugo Rodríguez Vecchini, "Palés y Pedreira: la rumba y el rumbo de la historia," La Torre, VII, No.27-28 (Universidad de Puerto Rico: Julio, 1993), 611.

The reason for not including Arturo Alfonso Schomburg at a higher profile in this case study or as a separate case study also deserves an explanation. On the merits of Schomburg's participation in small collectives like the Dos Antillas Society, made up of radical nationalists from Cuba and Puerto Rico, which he co-founded in New York City in 1892, Schomburg deserves a place here.

Arturo Alfonso Schomburg not only co-founded Dos Antillas, he was the secretary until 1896 and a member until 1898. Schomburg was also a member of the New York City lodge of Cuban and Puerto Rican free masons since 1892, and its master by 1911. At that time El Sol de Cuba lodge became the Prince Hall lodge, in honour of the founder of Black freemasonry in the U.S.A. Schomburg participated in the foundation of the Negro Society for Historical Research with John E. Bruce, in 1911, and was invited to join the American Negro Academy in 1914, becoming its president in 1920. Yet above all else what earned Schomburg a place in this story was his international search for artifacts, art objects, and printed materials which could document the cultural contributions made by people of African heritage. The work of many pioneers of African-American studies in the U.S.A. benefitted from his unacknowledged counsel.

Schomburg also lent his support to the writers and artists of the Harlem Renaissance (1918-1929), much as Jean Price-Mars would do in Haiti and Fernando Ortiz would do in Cuba with their respective analogues. Since 1919, Schomburg was also a supporter of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, with his colleagues from the American Negro Academy, John E. Bruce, William Ferris and Dr. John Wesley Cromwell. Within the Harlem neighbourhood where Schomburg lived, he participated in support of the Scottsboro Boys, the Negro Writers Guild, the protests against the Italian occupation of Ethiopia and the Spanish Republic.

Other scholars have done work on the life of Arturo Alfonso Schomburg: Elinor D.V. Sinnette, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg: Black Bibliophile and Collector. A Biography (New York: N.Y. Public Library and Wayne State University Press, 1989); Claude McKay, Harlem: Negro Metropolis (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1940) makes some comments about Schomburg's communal activism in Harlem. This endnote itself owes a great deal to the work of Winston James, "Afro-Puerto Rican Radicalism in the United States: Reflections on the Political Trajectories of Arturo Schomburg and Jesús Colón," Centro-Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, 8, No.102 (New York: Spring, 1996), 92-127. James teaches history at Columbia University in New York and has published books about the Caribbean diaspora and Caribbean radicalism abroad. Another source is Flor Piñeiro de Rivera, Arturo Schomburg, un Puertorriqueño descubre el legado histórico del Negro (San Juan: Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe, 1989). This last book includes an extensive collection of Schomburg's own writings, with commentary by Piñeiro.

⁸ Fernando Ortiz, Hampa Afro-Cubana. Los Negros Brujos (Apuntes para un Estudio de Etnología Criminal) (Madrid: Editorial América, 1917), pp. 27, 29, 36, 229, 251. Original 1906.

⁹ On the subject of this social movement, which was in the background of F. Ortiz's first publication, the reader can also consult: Serafín Portuondo Linares, Los Independientes de Color, Historia del Partido Independiente de color (La Habana: Editorial Librería, 1950); Louis A. Pérez, Jr., Lords of the Mountain: Social Banditry and Peasant Protest in Cuba, 1878-1918 (Pittsburg, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburg Press, 1989); Aline Helg, Our Rightful Share: the Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Rafael Fermoselle-López, Política y Color en Cuba: la guerrita de 1912 (Montevideo: Geminis, 1974); Tomás Fernandez Robaina, El Negro en Cuba, 1902-1958. Apuntes para la historia de la lucha contra la discriminación racial en la neo colonia (Habana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 1990); Thomas T. Orum, The Politics of Color: The racial dimension of Cuban politics during the early republican years, 1900-1912 (New York: -, 1975) New York University Ph.D. dissertation. Miguel Barnet, Canción de Rachel [Rachel's Song] (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988), pp. 52-57; Rosalie Schwarz, "The Displaced and the Disappointed: Cultural Nationalists and Black Activists in Cuba in the 1920's" (San Diego: -, 1977) University of California - San Diego. Ph.D. Dissertation.

¹⁰ Fernando Ortiz, Los Negros Esclavos (Habana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 1975), pp. 278-279, 284-292, 362-368, 387-391. Originally Hampa Afro-Cubana: Los Negros Esclavos. Estudio Sociológico y de Derecho Público (Havana: Revista Bimestre Cubana, 1916).

¹¹ About the slave trade as a point of reference for the study of social history in the Caribbean region, see Maryse Condé, La Civilisation du Bossale. Reflexions sur la literature orale de la Guadeloupe et de la Martinique (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1978), p. 6, 24, 26.

¹² Francisco López Segrera, Cuba: capitalismo dependiente y sub- desarrollo (1510-1959) (Habana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 1981), pp. 144-146. Foreign Policy Association, Problemas de la Nueva Cuba [Problems of the New Cuba] (New York: n.p., 1935), p.373.

13 Dawn Ades, Art in Latin America: the Modern Era, 1820-1980 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989) includes a list of all the participants in the group who signed the May 7, 1927 Minorista Manifesto; Julio Le Riverend, p.32.

14 Fernando Ortiz, "La Decadencia Cubana," Revista Bimestre Cubana, XIX, No. 1 (Habana: January-February, 1924), pp. 17-44; Fernando Ortiz, Glosario Afro-Negrismos (Havana: Imprenta Siglo XX, 1924) also published this year was a glossary about the African origins of the popular vocabulary in Cuba. In Puerto Rico Palés Matos participated in a collective literary magazine, Los Seis, which started in February and closed in July of the same year.

15 Gayle McGarrity and Osvaldo Cárdenas, p. 90. Even though the Cuban Communist Party would eventually fall under the supervision of the Caribbean Bureau run by the U.S.A. Communist Party from New York City, the ideologue initially sent by the Comintern was a transfer from México, Enrique Flores Magón. The Cubans in exchange would send one of their best cadre to México, Julio Antonio Mella, who worked with the Communists there until January, 1929. Mella was assassinated in Mexico City.

16 Roberto González Echevarría, Alejo Carpentier: the Pilgrim at Home (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 43-47; Frank Janney, Alejo Carpentier and His Early Work (London: Tamesis, 1981), p. 18; Fernando Ortiz, Cuban Counterpoint - Tobacco and Sugar (New York: Vintage, 1970), pp. 98-102. Original 1940.

17 Roberto González Echevarría, pp. 48-49; George Brandon, Santería from Africa to the New World. The Dead Sell Memories (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1993), p. 92. Brandon points out that the original intention of Ortiz's work, from the perspective of the Santeros especially, was repression and assimilation. After 1925 Ortiz seems to have abandoned a criminological approach in his research about popular cultures in Cuba. Some of the initial exercises in this cultural movement include "Danza Lucumi" by Alejandro García Caturla and "Obertura sobre temas Cubanos" by Amadeo Roldán. The poetry that Palés Matos had begun to write in Puerto Rico could be faulted for the same reasons of limitation and exclusion.

18 George Brandon, p. 93; Frank Janney, p. 18. Janney mentions several examples: Amadeo Roldán and Alejandro García Caturla wrote music for the poems of Nicolás Guillén

and Luis Palés Matos, Alejo Carpentier wrote the script for a ballet scored by Amadeo Roldán, A. Carpentier reviewed the paintings of Wifredo Lam and the stories collected by Lydia Cabrera. Nicolás Guillén acknowledged the influence of Fernando Ortiz on all of them, and Fernando Ortiz promoted their poetry, painting, novels, music in his articles and essays.

¹⁹ Among the white creoles mentioned by M. Cobb and M. DeCosta are José Z. Tallet, Ramón Guirao, Emilio Ballagas, Alejo Carpentier, Luis Palés Matos, and I. Pérez Valdés (in Uruguay). Initially these writers selected words (whose meaning or context they may not have fully understood) to include in their work for the impact to the sound. As a result of my exchanges with Dr. P. Fernández de Lewis, in San Juan, about Palés Matos and through the reading R. González Echevarría and Frank Janney, about Alejo Carpentier it is possible to say that both of these authors worked very hard in field work and archives to overcome their initial situation. Nevertheless it is with the work of Nicolás Guillén, Regino Pedroso, and Marcelino Arozarena that a qualitative leap takes place. See Martha Cobb, Harlem, Haiti, and Havana. A Comparative Critical Study of Langston Hughes, Jacques Roumain and Nicolás Guillén (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1979), pp. 47-49; Miriam DeCosta, Blacks in Hispanic Literature: Critical Essays (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1977). Special mention should be made here of an essay by DeCosta, "Social Lyricism and the Caribbean Poet/Rebel", pp. 114-122. There she discusses the work of these writers, Guillén, Pedroso and Arozarena who could use the communication strategies of an experience they knew directly to address the social priorities of the nation. They wrote about the common experiences of exploitation and exclusion, about the difficulties of understanding the present. And here again they knew and supported each other with prologues and critical reviews. See for example Regino Pedroso, Poemas: Antología 1918-1938 with a prologue by Nicolás Guillén (Habana: -, 1939) and Marcelino Arozarena, Canción Negra Sin Color (Black Song Without Color) (La Habana: U.N.E.A.C., 1966). The original is a contemporary of Pedroso's anthology. R. Fernández Retamar, "El son del vuelo popular." La Gaceta de Cuba, 8-9 (Habana: August, 1962), 12; Julia Cuervo Hewitt, Aché. Presencia Africana: tradiciones yoruba-lucumi en la narrativa Cubana (New York: Peter Lang, 1988), p. 272.

²⁰ As I have mentioned earlier, Sylvia Wynter and Teophile Obenga have suggested that these cultural movements occur when intellectual collectives recuperate practices of representation and interpretation that have been marginalized by the dominant institutions. In addition to controlling the means of disseminating collective memories, the terms of self-definition were also imposed. Thus the reconstruction of continuity in the cultural history of the popular included self-representation of the unifying symbols. See Theophile Obenga, "Sous-thème: la pensée Africaine et la Philosophie dans une Perspective de Renouveau," paper presented at symposium organized by F.E.S.P.A.C. in Dakar, Senegal, December 15-19, 1987. Quoted by Sylvia Wynter in an essay about Columbus and the 500th Anniversary: "1492: A New World View," The New World, 2 (-: Spring-Summer, 1991), 4-5.

²¹ This attention to popular cultures by the nationalists was taking place in other parts of Latin America at the same time. In México, for example, J.A. Mella was working at the newspaper of the Mexican Communist Party, El Machete, in 1927. During June and July Mella published a course which would turn readers into correspondents for the newspaper. Mella's cultural work earned him a recommendation to join the Red International of Labour Unions at the 1928 Congress. For what happened inside Cuba during this third period see Roberto Fernández Retamar, "El Son de Vuelo Popular," La Gaceta de Cuba, pp. 12-15; Frank Janney, pp. 1-20; Wifredo Lam in painting and Teodoro Ramos Blanco in sculpture are examples of that search for the popular practices which defined their own context in combination with their international connections. See Guillo Blanc, "Cuban Modernism: the search for a national ethos," Wifredo Lam and his contemporaries, 1938-1952, ed. María R. Balderrama (New York: Studio Museum in Harlem, 1992). For some of the writers, the search for forms of representation in the folklore of the islands also meant acknowledging the cultural contributions of the practitioners to the construction of a regional perspective that was critical of the existing order. See René Depestre, "Problems of Identity for the Black Man in the Caribbean," Carifesta Forum. An Anthology of 20 Caribbean Voices, ed. John Hearne (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica, 1976), p. 65.

²² See Francisco López Segrera, Cuba: Capitalismo Dependiente y Subdesarrollo (1510-1959) [Cuba: Dependent Capitalism and Underdevelopment 1519-1959] (Habana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 1981); Gerard Pierre-Charles, Génesis de la

Revolución Cubana [Genesis of the Cuban Revolution] (México, D.F.: Siglo XXI, 1978); Agustín Cueva, El Desarrollo del Capitalismo en América Latina [The Development of Capitalism in Latin America] (México, D.F.: Siglo XXI, 1977); Fernando Mires, La Rebelión Permanente. las Revoluciones Sociales en América Latina [The Permanent Rebellion. Social Revolutions in Latin American] (México, D.F.: Siglo XXI, 1988), p.283.

²³ When F. Ortiz himself spoke at the Club Atenas in December, 1942 he alluded to the social composition of the club, as being made up of "the more educated people of color", see "For the Cuban integration of Whites and Blacks," Afro Cuba. An Anthology of Cuban Writing on Race, Politics and Culture (Melbourne: Ocean, 1993), p. 31. Marcus Garvey also spoke at Club Atenas during the 1920's. On the scope and social composition of the Club Atenas, also see Arturo Schomburg, "My Trip to Cuba in Quest of Negro Books," included in Peñeiro de Rivera, pp. 187-193. It was made up of middle class professionals.

²⁴ In the case of José Antonio Saco y sus ideas Cubanas. (Habana: El Universo, 1929) the prologue and epilogue by Ortiz was almost another book about a dominant cultural tradition.

²⁵ Fernando Ortiz, "Introducción Biográfica," James J. O'Kelly, La Tierra del Mambi (Habana: Editorial Cultural, 1930), pp. LXX-LXXI. I have not been able to find out more about this publisher, or their relation with the 42 volume collection of Cuban Books which Fernando Ortiz designed. Like the Club Atenas, it should be an important part of this story.

²⁶ Among the people who were present in several of these organizations, I have been able to identify Juan Marinello (Minorista, Communist, Society of Afro-Cuban Studies), R. Martínez Villena (Minorista, Communist, National Federation of Students), Nicolás Guillén (Communist, Society of Afro-Cuban Studies, Cultural Movement), J. Fernández de Castro (Minorista, Society of Afro-Cuban Studies, commercial media), Gustavo Urrutía (Society of Afro-Cuban Studies, Cultural Movement and commercial media), Fernando Ortiz (Archive of Cuban Folklore, Society of Afro-Cuban Studies), Emilio Roig (Minorista, Society of Afro-Cuban Studies), José Luciano Franco, and Regino Pedroso. The Minoristas and the Archive of Cuban Folklore went from 1923 to 1930, the cultural renaissance went from 1925 to 1938, the Communist Party was founded in 1925, and the Society of Afro-Cuban

Studies went from 1936 to 1950. The National Association Against Discrimination was founded in 1937 and the following year the Black Secret Societies formed a National Federation which existed until 1948. For a chart of the networks, see Table 1 preceeding the End Notes.

27 Fernando Ortiz, "Los Ultimos Versos Mulatos," Revista Bimestre Cubana, XXXV, No. 3 (Habana: 1935), 321-336; Fernando Ortiz, "Más Acerca de la poesía mulata. Escorzos para su estudio," Revista Bimestre Cubana, XXXVII (Habana: 1936), 23-39, 218-227, 439-443. Other articles published as late as 1939 would prepare the way for Counterpoint (1940).

28 Only in Brazil was this line of research pursued at an earlier date, with a founding congress in 1934 and a second congress in 1936. The Brazilian pioneers of African American Studies were Gilberto Freyre, Mario de Andrade and Artur Ramos among others.

29 Fernando Ortiz, "La Religión en la poesía mulata," Revista de Estudios Afro-Cubanos 1, No. 1, (Habana: 1937), 21-28.

30 Fernando Ortiz, "La Religión en la Poesía mulata," pp. 40, 60, 62. In this essay Ortiz also mentions some of his peers among the pioneers of Afro-American studies and students of the popular: Nina Rodrigues, Artur Ramos, Edison Carneiro, Jean Price-Mars, J. C. Dorsainvil, Louis Mars and Albert C. Barnes.

31 Fernando Ortiz, prologue to Rómulo Lachatañere, ¿Oh, Mío Yemayá! (Manzanillo, Cuba: El Arte, 1938). The author was not only a member of the Society of Afro-Cuban Studies, but together with G. Aguirre Beltrán, from México, a member of the second generation of Latin American researchers of Afro-American Studies and issues of popular cultures.

32 Since among those mentioned in Fernando Ortiz's review Juan Montalvo is probably the least familiar to the North American reader, some of his bibliography is included here: Ensayos, narraciones y polémica (Buenos Aires/New York: W. M. Jackson, 1946); Prosa Escogida. Con Resúmenes Históricos, Biográficos y Literarios, ed. Matilde Calvo de Gargano (Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra, 1966); Prosas (Habana: Casa de La Américas, 1968); Ensayos (Quito: Editorial Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, 1975); Diarios, Cuentos y Artículos: páginas inéditas (Ambati, Ecuador: Municipio de Ambati, 1987).

³³ Fernando Ortiz, "La Cubanidad y los Negros," Revista Estudios Afro-Cubanos, III (Habana: 1939), pp.3-15. José Luis González pursued a similar line of thinking in the case of Puerto Rico. See Puerto Rico: the For Storyed Country. (Maplewood, N.J.: Waterfront Press, 1990). Original in Castilian 1980.

³⁴ Fernando Ortiz, prologue to Lydia Cabrera, Cuentos Negros de Cuba (Barcelona: Icaria, 1989), pp. 32-34. Original in Spanish 1940, in French 1936.

³⁵ Lydia Cabrera, El Monte (Miami, Florida: Kema, 1968), pp. 8-10. Original 1954. While in Europe Cabrera had met Wifredo Lam and Roger Bastide in Spain in 1936.

³⁶ Fernando Ortiz, Cuban Counterpoint. Tobacco and Sugar, (New York: Vintage, 1970), pp.86-90, 98-102. Original 1940.

³⁷ Jacques Roumain, "Poetry as a Weapon," When the Tom-Tom Beats (Washington, D.C.: Azul, 1995), pp. 105-109. Original publication 1944.

CHAPTER V
THE POPULAR AS COLLECTIVE INTELLECTUAL

Retrospection

In the first case study I explained how a core of people who exchanged the results of their research and practice, who publicly supported each other, came together in Cuba during the 1925-1940 period. Several instances where maroon intellectuals constructed liberating strategies of communication and created institutions to improve the quality of collective inquiry were mentioned. I also discussed how the awareness created in a group setting circulated among the social movements despite the prevailing relations of force.

A common characteristic of the thought collectives in the previous section was an understanding of their context as a social and economic order to be replaced through collective action. (McChesney, 1996, pp.1-18) Another common characteristic, shared with the social movements with which these small radical collectives collaborated, was their effort to invoke a continuity with a history of struggles informed by the relations of power in the specific

context of the Caribbean region. According to Peter Linebaugh, whatever traditions of struggle survived in popular culture did so because they changed with the reorganization of production and daily life in a context that was new for most of the working people. (Linebaugh, 1982, p.89, 90, 114)

While discussing the situation in Cuba I mentioned that news about international research and art circulated among the small collectives working with the popular movements. These news about other communities that also rejected the dominant social organization because of the democratic ideas they practiced, stirred the memories of their Cuban counterparts. These were social movements whose composition and outlook required they remain informed about international changes which created opportunities for participation in the Caribbean. One of the ways to examine these movements is to see how their critique of the present affected the vocabulary with which further analysis was then conducted. (Linebaugh, 1982, p.119). The analysis of the 1912 Independientes' insurrection by Ortiz, and the retrieval of their program after 1925 refocused the discussion about race, class and nation at a time of economic crisis.

In the context of the relations of force which characterized the Caribbean region during the 1920s-1930s, there were situations of crisis followed by the pretense of communication, for example, both via the Forster Commission

in Trinidad, 1937, and via the Moyne Commission following the 1938 uprising in Jamaica. These two commissions were created by the British Colonial Office to investigate the causes of social unrest in their Caribbean Territories during the 1930s. They were expected to produce reports which would include recommendations gathered from hearings held in London and the colonies themselves. The Forster Commission's charge included arbitrating a labour dispute, and the findings of the Moyne Commission were so incriminating to the colonial administration that they could not be published until after World War II. In each case, the dominated were asked to explain the situation to those responsible for its reproduction. With this in mind, it will become necessary to determine whether any of the individuals or small groups mentioned in this dissertation considered the changes to the power relations which would make communication (between the dominating and the dominated) possible. (Lorde, 1984, pp.114-116)

In the 1920s-1930s many colonials in the Caribbean region still organized their identities in relation to the cultural traditions of the imperial occupation, traditions which rejected the efforts of the colonized to understand their own situation and forced them to imitate the colonizers. The result of accepting that exclusion was that the colonized knew little about the island or region in which they lived, while remaining afraid of remote

institutions. For the assimilated there was still the promise of opportunity in the imperial metropolis. (Simlowitz, 1986, p.8) Some of those who stayed were able to undo the premises of those external institutions, updating the memories of the popular communication strategies.¹

In the case of the Caribbean region, the maroon intellectuals who constructed this critique with the social movements operated between the demands of their present and the practices that connected them with their past. They redefined those practices incorporated into daily life in order to alter the limits of what was then considered possible. After centuries of keeping their distance from the manual workers, some among the mental workers found reasons to join with the dominated. Aware of their condition as marginalized exiles, these individuals came together either as collectives of maroon intellectuals in the Caribbean or by taking the battle against the dominant premises to the colonizer's place of origin. (Carew, 1988, pp.106-110)

The small groups which will be examined in the next case study emerged from critical conversations about national and regional patterns in the exercise of power. As they demonstrated the concrete operations of abstract social theories the small group members were also identifying means and opportunities for intervention. A second thing to look for in this case study is whether the understanding of the mechanisms of domination and persuasion circulated among the

dominated in ways that connected their struggles. In other words, whether the circulation of common experiences made the dominated aware of a need to redefine the cultural forms which organized collective actions in order to combine race, class, gender, nationality and spirituality in their daily lives.²

An example from the previous case study would be the way the Cuban independence movement promoted daily readings of journals and books in the cigar factories, of journals and books which were then discussed among the workers. This collective analysis was institutionalized in the Cuban cigar factories and emulated by the exiled communities, providing an instance which suggested the emergence of a radical common culture. The cigar makers selected what would be read to them, and they also commissioned writers to prepare texts which would be distributed beyond the cigar factories as well. The result not only was increased support for the liberation movement, but collective practices which combined manual-mental work with inter-racial cooperation toward a shared goal of economic justice. This cultural practice confirmed the proposals of the Cuban separatists in the last third of the 19th Century about the kind of Republic that was necessary. (Fornet, 1983, pp.117-118) Not only were the cigar makers among the intellectual leaders of the workers' movement, but they also had a system of transmitting messages inside

cigars which connected New York, Florida, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, France and England. In the last case study I mentioned the social forces which delayed the possibilities of that history.

Nevertheless there was an understanding of culture in the first case study which is important to carry into this segment. Where cooperation between the intellectuals and the people, who are teaching each other, is possible is in understanding the values produced in the activities initiated by the popular sectors. (Haug, 1983, pp.98-99; Ruprecht, 1995, p.5)

With the reintegration of manual and mental work in workplaces where objects are produced at the same time that ideas are created, the dominated teach each other. That qualitative shift includes exchanges of information about the material conditions in which the interlocutors live. But the kind of information which can be exchanged is determined by the extent to which the dominant social forces organize daily life beyond the strict production of merchandise, and effectively control the exchanges between dominated groups or within them. Still according to Seth Siegelau, another sense in which these exchanges are important is in the transmission of historical memories which promote ideas about liberation between generations. (Siegelau, 1983, pp.14-16) The organization of daily life, beyond the workplace, by the logic of the dominant generates new

conflicts between reconfigurations of the social groupings in new sites like leisure time and public space. The role of the intellectuals as mediators is not overtaken by these events, but rather complicated in ways that require asking of the past the questions that are raised here.

Thirty years ago Roger Bastide pointed to the ideological marronage practised by schooled individuals denied social mobility and effective participation by the minorities who administrated the colonies. (Bastide, 1969, pp.197-205) Bastide was referring to their construction of an African past to match the fabricated myths of the armies which still occupied the region in the 1930s. But he also found the learned heritage transmitted through direct(ed) experience more useful in understanding the cultures of the Americas. It was here that exiled peoples created new methods and criteria for seizing control of their affairs, passed on as conscious experience through popular cultures.

The elements which I have used in identifying those cultures are their constant challenge to domination, their rejection of the prevailing organization of work, the creation of awareness about their situation, and the means of giving that knowledge continuity. Following Peter Linebaugh, this dissertation attempts to examine the experiences of cooperation on which the lives of the popular depended and the sites where they came to recognize the

forces which both isolated them and created conditions for the exchange of common experiences.³

In the Caribbean context, giving continuity to popular awareness has been a collective process of adapting displaced cultures. The direct(ed) experience implicit in that collective process of constant reassembly suggests ways in which praxis research may improve the conduct of inquiry in the field of communication. As a collective subject whose practices exemplify the application of social epistemologies to communication studies, the popular creates autonomous institutions which not only impose changes on mass culture, but also influence the values expressed in fashion, diet, healing methods, participating in public affairs and spirituality.

Introduction to the Second Case Study

This second instance is about small groups of activist intellectuals in Brazil, Jamaica and Trinidad. The Negro Welfare, Culture, Social Association (N.W.C.S.A.) in Trinidad promoted and participated in conscious challenges to the cultural leadership of the region. Organized before the juncture of 1937, they were able to intervene by creating the conditions for a cultural crisis. As we shall see this was not the case in Jamaica or Brazil during the same period. The N.W.C.S.A. was a small collective of people who were both manual and mental workers, creating ideas in

public discussions about their working conditions and daily life situation. In these public conversations, the Trinidad N.W.C.S.A. promoted exchanges of direct experiences among workers (from several islands) who would represent themselves in social conflicts. The participants became aware of the connections between the common experiences among the neighbouring islands (of St. Vincent, Grenada, Barbados, Tobago and Trinidad) and benefited from their contacts in New York, London and Marseilles. (See Figure 4) More so than their counterparts in Jamaica or Brazil, the members of the N.W.C.S.A. were internationalists in the composition of their group and in their activities: promoting alliances between the workers of Asian and African ancestry in Trinidad, and analyzing the values created by the cultural practices of the popular to uncover possibilities for social change. First I will contrast an individual in Brazil with another in Cuba, and then proceed with the organizations in Trinidad and Jamaica.

During this same time period there was a group of Modernist writers and visual artists in Brazil who used cultural representations with nativistic forms and nationalist contents to intervene politically, much like the Cuban Minoristas mentioned in the previous segment. The Brazilian Modernists were impressed with the opportunities created by industrial technology for daily life in the city and with severing the dependence on European norms. But

their contacts with social movements (among the salaried and marginalized who were consciously challenging the premises of what existed to undo it) were limited. The separate existence of the Frente Negra Brasileiro (Black Brazilian Front), as a political movement since 1931, is a case in point. Another small radical collective which will be mentioned in this segment is a group that called itself "The Left" in the Jamaican People's National Party (P.N.P.). In this case study I will consider part of the period (1939-1944) in which "The Left" operated in connection with the People's National Party to see if they were interested in aspects of daily life other than the labour unions. As in the previous segment the contrast between the organized life of collaboration with a collective of maroon intellectuals connected with social movements, and the situation of individuals who were on their own will be suggested in the comments about Ofelia Domínguez Navarro (Cuba) and Patricia Galvão (Brazil). The first was a school teacher from a nationalist family in central Cuba. As a lawyer active in women's organizations, she was imprisoned during the insurrections against Machado. Galvão was a journalist and novelist, who was also jailed for her oppositional activities.

Part 1: Background

During this century it has been politically safe in Brazil to pursue academic interest in African religions, folklore and art as traces of surviving customs but dangerous to study these cultural practices as strategies of communication among the exploited and marginalized. Specifically around the 1920s and 1930s, efforts to explain the organization of the material conditions which prevented the majority from participating in public affairs, as full citizens, were discouraged.⁴ In fact, the promotion of awareness about the connections between race, class, gender, nationality and religion with the causes of exploitation were specifically discouraged. The social movements which did make those connections in autonomous cultural institutions, during the first half of the 19th century and again during the 1920s and 1930s, have not been thoroughly studied in Brazil because it was politically dangerous to do so.⁵ To explain the ascent of such movements during the latter period mentioned above, it might be useful to review earlier descriptions of race relations within the working classes during this century. Those descriptions should allude to the employer's efforts to promote racial conflicts among the workers, and to the thought styles which emerged from the intersection between several catalysts of social protest. (Skidmore, 1994, p.269)

Between the abolition of slavery in May, 1888 and 1918 racial explanations of social history were so prevalent in Brazil that their critics even had to consider the form of presenting their arguments. Manuel Querino (1851-1923), for example, disguised his arguments about the material context of cultural history in books such as Costumes Africanos no Brasil [African Customs of Brazil] (1888). According to Skidmore, other nationalist writers who opposed the dominant racialist ideology, like Alvaro Bomilcar (1916), used current events to draw attention to the social forces which produced the context of racial conflict.⁶ The revolts against the whip in 1910 and 1911 among the non-commissioned in the Brazilian Navy, who were mostly Black volunteers, were among the current events used to illustrate a growing awareness of that relation. By the 1920s the dominant sectors in Brazil had decided to prevent the massive incorporation of the emancipated Blacks into the industrial workforce, encouraging instead the immigration of European labour. This policy was subsidized by the plantation owners and the government who assumed that the migrants were more vulnerable to pressure than the ex-slaves who had centuries of experience organizing secret solidarity networks. Another reason to import European workers was to placate the concerns about "racial purity" shared by some of the foreign investors and their local intermediaries.⁷

When Black workers in Brazil demanded material conditions which would permit their social mobility and effective participation in public affairs, the myth of racial democracy was questioned in ways that were dangerous to groups across the urban spectrum: employers, labour bureaucrats, marginalized migrants, and recently arrived peasants from the interior of the country. Much like Ortiz's work in Cuba before 1925, the pioneers of African American Studies in Brazil included those who used Italian criminologist Lombroso to justify the prohibition of the popular's cultural practices of resistance.⁸ The claim that the moral climate among the most recent migrants was different from that of the Black workers was an assumption of the period which was examined by Galvão, who extended her observations to include the moral climate among the employers and aristocracy.

During the first decade of the present century workers' organizations in Brazil were growing among the skilled trades, construction and transportation sectors. In 1906 these sectors established a labour conference. From that time on the anarcho-syndicalists held the cultural leadership among the organized workers' movement for about fifteen years. There was a decline in the growth of the workers' organizations between 1908 and 1912, and another increase in membership participation which coincided with the second labour conference in 1913. (Skidmore, 1979, p.99)

During the 1910s, while their organizations were growing, the autonomous workers movement researched the use of general strikes to overthrow the government. In 1913, the deportation clauses of the immigration laws were redefined to facilitate the expulsion of the foreign born anarcho-syndicalists. (Dulles, 1973, p.514) That was a decade of increased state repression and deteriorating living conditions for the working people, and a time of sustained receptivity for the anarcho-syndicalist proposals. In July 1917, a spontaneous strike which began in the textile factories of São Paulo spread to the breweries and won some concessions. Without the same results the strike nevertheless did spread to Rio de Janeiro. Again in May and October 1919, the anarcho-syndicalists tried to turn economic strike actions into general strikes. Among the textile plants in both Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo they tried and failed again in March 1920. Another attempt to call a general strike starting with the maritime workers failed in early 1921. (See Figure 6)

Once again the State redefined the deportation clauses to act against the foreign born anarcho-syndicalist organizers. During the 1910s the autonomous workers' movement had confronted the employers and the State in organized actions that had altered the terms of the conflict. During the 1920s the dominant sectors responded by subsidizing new waves of European immigrants, increasing the

surplus labour from the countryside and extending the repression of the State, at the same time that there were conflicts within the dominant classes over the implementation of the industrial crisis. (Skidmore, 1979, pp.100-101)

One of the expressions of those conflicts was the recurring insurgency among the nationalist Lieutenants (from the emerging urban middle classes) in Rio de Janeiro in 1922, in São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul in 1924, and the long march of their retreating forces through the interior of the country between 1924 and 1927. (See Figure 6) This reform movement became known as the Prestes Column once Luis Carlos Prestes, from Rio Grande Do Sul, was chosen as its leader in 1927. Their supporters inside Brazil were middle class sectors excluded from public participation by the land owners, industrialists and foreign investors. Instead of promoting public debate about changes in the power relations, the Lieutenants' supporters selected from Prestes' correspondence items distributed as open letters.

In the case of the 1924 insurrection, the loyalist cavalry destroyed the union's headquarters in São Paulo to check the workers' support for the nationalist Lieutenants who held the city for a month. The state of siege measures established at this time (1924-1932) were continuously applied to the workers' movement, except in the sectors responsible for the circulation of capital such as railways

and seaports.(Dulles, 1973, p.514) The Communist Party was founded during this period in which the organized workers directly confronted the responses of the State.

No other communist organization in Latin America had such a large proportion of anarcho-syndicalists among its recruits during the 1920s. The time which could have been used to work with the new arrivals to the industrial parks (through the mutual-aid societies and the cultural institutions in the neighbourhoods) went into debating interpretations of history and theory inside the party.(Skidmore, 1979, pp.102-103) Nevertheless between 1925-1929 they attracted social sectors which were dissatisfied with the existing order: youth, workers, and people in the media (who could help the communists mingle in the circles of the activist-intellectuals). But the opposition of the communists to the populist measures of the Vargas regime after the first coup in 1930, and their opposition to political alliances with the nationalist Lieutenants reduced the support for the communists during the time span I will be examining here. Despite the communists' preference for electoral politics over general strikes or military actions, the armed protest of 1935 (led by a Luis Carlos Prestes now officially connected with the communists) again attracted the support of the dissatisfied.⁹ Even though the communists had not officially participated with the Lieutenants (1922, 1924), with the

Lieutenants and Liberals (1930) or the Conservative Paulistas (1932) they continued to be persecuted by the State. The landowners and industrialists supported by foreign investors had governed since the 1880s without negotiating the power relations. Regardless of its origin, social protest was considered a military matter by the oligarchy.

Brazilian Modernists

Among the intellectuals in São Paulo, there were some like Oswald de Andrade who had connections with the Italian Futurists since 1912. The Futurists celebrated the urban life that was made possible by industrial technologies. By 1916 Oswald de Andrade, Emiliano de Cavalcante and others were meeting daily at a São Paulo bookstore from which they sponsored concerts, recitals and art exhibits which expressed increasing interest in the Brazilian communities and places rejected by the Europhilic academics. By the 1920s, de Andrade's collaborators became Modernists' using popular sources to redefine the representation of the national cultures. The Modernists in Brazil adapted the aesthetic experiments taking place abroad to express their cultural nationalism and views about the social crisis. Between February 13-17, 1922 the Modernists held painting, sculpture, prose, poetry and music festivals at the Municipal Theatre in São Paulo. This form of urban

protest against the dominant standards included the musical compositions of Heitor Villa-Lobos. During the 1920s their leader was a writer, folklorist, musician and painter of African cultural origins named Mario de Andrade, who would become famous for the novel Macunaíma (1928).

There was a civil rights organization in Brazil and a feminist lawyer in Cuba who appear in this story as points of contrast with the small group of Modernists, connected with the Communist Party in Brazil. By 1922 Ofelia Domínguez Navarro had been a rural teacher in Las Villas before going to practice law in Havana. (See Figure 5) During the 1920s she participated in several national and international meetings of women, and in the social protests that emerged from the Popular University which she had attended with a student leader named Mella. The Popular University was founded by the National Organization of University Students and about 2,000 workers studied there. Julio Antonio Mella had organized the university students, the Popular University and the Cuban Communist Party (between 1923 and 1925) with Martínez Villena.¹⁰ Like Mella, Martínez Villena was a writer, Minorista and labour organizer who was active in the opposition to Machado. Martínez Villena was also a close collaborator of Fernando Ortiz.

In March 1922 the Brazilian Communist Party was founded and in July the Lieutenants staged their first

revolt attempt at Fort Copacabana. In 1923 the Rio de Janeiro police confiscated the files and printing press of the Communists. That same year the middle-class feminist Cuban lawyer attended the 1st Congress of Women in Cuba to defend the rights of children born out of wedlock. That meeting as well as the founding of the national federation of university students, of the Popular University, the veterans and patriots uprising (from which the Minoristas emerged) were all part of the protests over foreign intervention taking place in 1923.

In July 1924, the nationalist Lieutenants expressed their opposition to the president-elect from Minas Gerais with a second revolt attempt in São Paulo and a third in Rio Grande Do Sul toward the end of October. (See Figure 6) Both groups retreated toward the southwestern interior from where they moved to the northeast, trying to mobilize the support of workers, peasants, and urban civilians. The Prestes Column, as they were called, gained support among the rural civilians along their path. A state of siege was imposed until the end of the year, but the repression against the organized workers continued until 1932. (Dulles, 1973, p.514) The insurgents from São Paulo and Rio Grande Do Sul retreated toward the State of Paraná where they came together in March 1925 and from there a united column marched to the northeastern part of the country. (See Figure 6) Despite the political support of the civilians, the

federalist forces kept the insurgents in the backlands of Bahia until the end of 1926. At that time they went into exile to Paraguay or Bolivia. During 1925, Ofelia Domínguez Navarro, now 31, attended the 2nd Congress of Women in Cuba again to defend children's rights.

The Northeastern version of the Brazilian Modernists appeared in 1927. Known as the Academia dos Rebeldes [The Academy of the Rebels], this group which included Jorge Amado, Edison Carneiro and José Alves Ribeiro was critical of the dilettantism among their São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro counterparts. In February and March of 1927, while the exiled Lieutenants were reaching their destinations, the Brazilian Communists were celebrating the election of Dr. João Batista de Azevedo Lima, a federal deputy from Rio de Janeiro, who had won with their support. That same year the Centro Cívico Palmares was founded in São Paulo as an educational organization which soon became involved in the struggles against racial discrimination, social inequality and poverty. The Palmares Civic Center sponsored lectures and lobbied the state legislature but it failed to become a political force representing Black and Brown Brazilians. Palmares referred to the multi-racial cooperation which created a sovereign community of 30,000 Maroons at Serra da Barriga between 1605 and 1695, resisting attacks by Dutch, Portuguese and Creole armies in the forests of what are now Pernambuco and Alagoas States. I

have not discovered any collaboration between modernists, the Communists or the Lieutenants with the Centro Cívico Palmares.

By 1928, a subset of the Brazilian Modernists who had staged the cultural festivals in 1922 published an Anthropophagists' manifesto which supported abortion, divorce, primitivist aesthetics and a critique of the Christian justification of colonialism. Responding to Europe's artistic vanguards, the authors of the manifesto were adapting those ideas to their understanding of the Brazilian context. Oswald de Andrade and Patricia Galvão were among the active supporters of the manifesto group which also collaborated with the radical organizations that opposed the State in Brazil. Galvão's work is located at this intersection of questions about the basis of the existing order. In examining the explanations for the events which interrupted her perspective I expect to identify the limitations of the communication strategies among her colleagues.

At the time the Communists had recently elected Octavio Brandão and Minervino de Oliveira to the Rio de Janeiro city council and were also undertaking their first major purge. Their relations with the reformist electoral alliance which had just won those city council seats was not in keeping with the conclusions of the 1928 Congress of the Communist Internationale (COMINTERN). In preparation for

their own party congress at the end of 1928, they expelled the proponents of collaboration with other organizations on economic, political or cultural issues of mutual interest. When this congress started in December, Patricia Galvão had been working with the Anthropophagists' Manifesto group for a couple of months when she graduated from Teachers' College in São Paulo that December, 1928. Galvão was 18 years old.

In September of the same year a group of working women and concerned aristocrats organized the National Feminist Alliance in Cuba (to demand the voting rights denied them by the Constitutional Assembly), calling themselves the new insurgent army for justice. Domínguez Navarro was among those women from all social classes who came together as suffragettes. (Stoner, 1987, p.128)

In 1929 the collapse of coffee prices on the international market affected Brazil. The opinion polls conducted by the commercial media placed Prestes, the exiled leader of the nationalist Lieutenants, in the lead for the 1930 presidential elections, well ahead of the state governors who were running.¹¹ The Anthropophagists' manifesto group continued their activities with individual art exhibits in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and with a magazine Revista de Antropofagia [Cannibal Review] that had published eleven issues by July 1929. Several of the issues included graphic designs contributed by Galvão.

That year (1929) there was a second split among the Communists and the Trotskyists were expelled. There was also a congress organized by the Red International of Labour Unions (R.I.L.U./PROFINTERN) with its Latin American confederation in June, in Montevideo. That meeting was presided by the head of the parent organization. The next month the South American secretariat of the Communist International (COMINTERN) held a conference of Latin American parties in Montevideo, Uruguay. While the conference was taking place, the head of the Brazilian delegation met with the exiled leaders of the nationalist Lieutenants to propose an electoral alliance for the 1930 election. They could not agree on a joint program that was conservative enough to suit the soldiers, who maintained a political attitude that excluded the organized participation of the social movements. Despite their disagreements the Brazilian Communists and the nationalist soldiers continued their negotiations.

Back in Brazil, state repression made freedom of speech and electoral participation difficult. The speeches of a Communist municipal councilman, Otavio Brandão, in Rio de Janeiro, were censored and when the workers and peasants' electoral alliance tried to select a slate for the 1930 election, they were interrupted with arrests and gun fire. At this time the Communists decided to organize militias with their own private communication system.¹²

From Election Campaign to Coup, 1930

At some point between the announcement of candidates in January, 1930 and the Liberal coup in October (against the election of the São Paulo governor) Patricia Galvão and Oswald de Andrade were married. The promise of labour laws by the Liberals increased the support from the Workers and Peasants Bloc voters for Vargas. Their own candidates were arrested, jailed, tortured and deported. The campaign evolved as a competition between dependent intermediaries who were supporters of investment from Europe versus the supporters of North American investors, and the former won the March 1 election. While the Communists debated what the Liberals and the Lieutenants would do next, the May 1st labour celebrations were banned as the arrests and deportations continued.

In April and May the South American Secretariat of the COMINTERN met in Buenos Aires, Argentina to evaluate the March elections in Brazil. The continued collaboration with reformists like the Lieutenants had been noted with disapproval earlier in the year. As of this meeting, the South American Secretariat was presided over by a veteran of the 1917 revolution, an officer in the Red Army and a veteran of the 1921-1923 German insurrection, named August Guralsky. During this evaluation meeting the party theoretician, Otavio Brandão, (identified above as the

censored Rio de Janeiro councilman) was criticized for making alliances with other economic, cultural and political organizations. (Dulles, 1973, pp.417-418)

Until this April-May 1930 meeting the leaders of the Brazilian Communists had been well-travelled and educated middle class intellectuals or artists who understood less about social movements than they did about conspiracies. The campaign to replace them in the leadership, by recruiting workers for those positions, began in this meeting. When the support of the ranks for the Liberal promises was causing a fissure inside their party, and the actions of the State against them were increasing in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the Brazilian Communists were advised to reject the alliances built during eight years and dismiss all of their intermediate leadership.¹³

In Cuba, Ofelia Domínguez Navarro and others formed the Union of Working Women. Domínguez Navarro had been Vice-President in charge of Labour with the National Feminist Alliance until the spring of 1930 but the suffragettes' group did not advocate the priorities of working women. So, in May 1930 Bertha Darder Bebé, Ofelia Domínguez Navarro and others formed an organization which identified poverty, gender exploitation, the market economy and foreign investors as the sources of women's oppression. The Union of Working Women also considered that issues of class, race and gender were just as important as ending the

Machado dictatorship, unlike other women's groups in Cuba which were limited to demanding the vote. The leaders in the Union were either prestigious aristocrats or university graduates with social status, who were clearly Socialist. (Stoner, 1987, p.131)

In July 1930 there was an uprising among armed peasant bandits in Northeastern Brazil. Toward the end of the month Governor Vargas' running mate was assassinated. In August, the commemoration of Sacco and Vanzetti was interrupted by the police. That same month Le Corbusier arrived in São Paulo to inaugurate an exposition promoted by the Modernists. In September the Communists requested handguns to participate in the coup promoted by the Liberals, with the support of the Lieutenants, but they were turned down. Between 1924 and 1926 the Communists and the anarchists had supported the nationalist soldiers against the government. Now the Liberals and the soldiers were staging a coup backed by North American investors, and the workers' organizations remained in the opposition. The constant repression of the workers' organizations by the State during the 1924-1932 period discouraged their development. (Dulles, 1973, p.514)

At the request of the Brazilian government Luis Carlos Prestes, leader of the Lieutenants, was arrested in Argentina. The execution of the October 1930 coup and consolidation of the new government lasted three weeks.

Patricia Galvão participated in the October 25th protests against the coup in which the Communist hierarchy had tried to participate. The alliance of North American investors, landowners from Southern Brazil and nationalist military officers were now in control.

From 1930 coup to constitutionalist wars, 1932

After Vargas became the head of the new government in November, 1930 supporters of the previous and recently elected administrations were released from jail. But not so the Rio councilman, Otavio Brandão, who insisted in denouncing the foreign support for the coup. While the Vargas government increased the persecution of the opposition, the leadership of the Brazilian Communists was replaced under the supervision of an observer from the Red International of Labour Unions. In December 1930 Galvão went to Buenos Aires to give a poetry recital, and while in the city she met the exiled leader of the Lieutenants.

During the 1920s, the Communist intellectuals investigated the formation of the labour force in Brazil, and the proposals of previous radical movements in the country's history. They were looking for patterns in the recurring problems (of land, race and class) as well as in the causes and solutions. According to Chilcote, these investigations may have affected the thinking of party theoreticians like Cristiano Cordero, Leoncio Basbaum,

Astrojildo Pereira and Otavio Brandão, but the organization did not make the connections between the previous and the "present" challenges to the relations of power. (Chilcote, 1974, pp.15-17) In the midst of an economic crisis, and placed on the defensive by the State, it was difficult for a divided organization which had just replaced its experienced leadership to assume cultural initiatives which identified opportunities for the opposition. (Chilcote, 1974, pp.34-37)

Two examples should suffice to illustrate my point. Among the researchers of Afro-Brazilian cultures, this was a time of renewed attention to the materials of Nina Rodrigues and of integrating research about nutrition, culture, physical and mental health, urban and rural living conditions to reinterpret the impact of the popular on the national. While that was taking place in the Northeast, a civil rights organization was being created in São Paulo. (See Figure 6) The Frente Negra Brasileiro (F.N.B.) or Black Brazilian Front was founded to promote education and active participation in public affairs. Even though it would eventually have offices in Minas Gerais, Espíritu Santo, Bahía, Pernambuco, Maranhão, Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul it lacked the capacity to coordinate simultaneous activities on a national scale. According to Florestán Fernandes (1969), the Front worked for social mobility and integration within the existing structures. But the Front's implicit critique of racial democracy was present in self-

help and self-defense campaigns promoted by their regional publications. The Front's publication, O Clarim d'Alvorada [The Bugle of the Dawn], addressed national issues which affected Black workers and professionals, as well as covering the international conditions in which analogous movements acted. (Hanchard, 1994, p.35, 36) But the discussion of Pan-Africanism and the Garveyite's Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) in the Front's publications was not enough to solve the disparity among their members between the priorities of the workers and educated professionals.¹⁴ The former protested about the exclusion from jobs or the access denied to public services, while the latter were more accommodating to the established order. (Correia, 1992) All this occurred in the major cities of the country without the support or collaboration of people who had studied the slave rebellions and the millenarian religious cults continuously challenging the Brazilian State, people who had been active in the leadership of the workers' movement until the end of 1930.

In 1931 the Communists were nevertheless the only organized opposition to the government, so Patricia Galvão and Oswald de Andrade both joined the Party. They tried to live as workers until Galvão became ill, but during March and April they published eight issues of a magazine called O Homem do Povo (A Man of the People) with a third writer named Alvaro Duarte. It was a journal of social commentary

about the dominant ideology and mass culture. Galvão designed the illustrations, blocked the titles, organized the layout, answered the mail, drew the comic strip with one pseudonym and with another wrote a column on page 2 called "A Woman of the People." In that column, Galvão, alias Pagú, mentioned: the disinterest among the official feminists in the changes that would improve the situation for the majority of the women in the country, the consequences of submitting to the dominant morality, the church hierarchy and the landowners who benefitted from the exploitation of the workers. (Besse, 1987, p.111) Her critique extended to anarchists and Communist women who exploited their maids and accepted the prevailing sexual repressions.¹⁵ According to Jayne Bloch, the ideas in the Galvão-"Pagú" column represented the most radical feminism being printed in Brazil at that time. (Bloch, 1986, pp.190-192) Galvão examined the impact of the fashion magazines on the attitudes of the bourgeois feminists of her day toward illiterate working women. In the last column published before the São Paulo government banned their journal, Galvão wrote about the women who attended teacher's college and, ignorant of world events, attacked the workers whose ranks they were preparing to join. Instead of making common cause with the obstacles to a better world, she encouraged her former schoolmates to become pioneers of the new times.

Since the April 9 issue (#7) of O Homem do Povo the children of the wealthy had been accused of subverting the State's existence, while their parents returned part of their profits as charity in the name of tradition. The law students in São Paulo pressed charges against the journal's staff and threatened their offices daily. By April 13 Andrade asked for police protection but Galvão went out to the street to confront them. When their yelling turned to physical aggression, she fired several gun shots at them. To maintain peace, the metropolitan delegate of the Vargas government banned the publication.¹⁶

Earlier in 1931, before the publication of O Homem do Povo began, a worker who had been studying in the Soviet Union since 1927 and returned to Brazil in December, 1930 was selected national leader of the Communists in January 1931. The efforts of the organization to mobilize the workers and unemployed in a Hunger March at mid-month had been repressed by the police with arrests, jailings and deportations of foreigners. The Brazilian party was in fact being led by Ines Guralisky, partner of the Lithuanian responsible for the Comintern's South American office in Montevideo. In June, 1931 the leader selected in January was deposed and sent to northern Brazil for trying to make alliances with some of the reformist social movements. Since

then the intellectuals were excluded from votes taken at the leadership meetings.¹⁷

In August, Galvão participated in a strike of construction workers and was later arrested at a demonstration in the port city of Santos, Brazil where the dockworkers were being organized. (See Figure 6) During that demonstration at the central square in Santos, in memory of Sacco and Vanzetti (executed in 1927), a Black worker shot by the police died in Galvão's arms. When she was released from jail the party asked her to sign a document which exempted the organization of any responsibility for her arrest. By then Galvão was already writing a novel about the illiterate working women in the neighbourhood where she had grown up in the 1920s. This working class district of São Paulo was also the area chosen for the reorganization of the Communist Party in September 1931.

At about the same time a returned Brazilian worker (who had been studying abroad) was appointed leader in January, Ofelia Domínguez Navarro was arrested in Cuba while recruiting students for the armed protests against the Machado dictatorship. She spent two days in jail. In March she was arrested again, and sentenced to seven months in jail. Her experiences during that second period of confinement were very different from Galvão's. The system of mutual protection among the political prisoners and their

means of exchanging information with the outside world helped Domínguez Navarro survive. It was the solidarity of her jailmates that won her over to their thought collective.¹⁸ During that period she kept a journal of the living conditions in the prison, which included observations about the shared instincts and fears among the guards and convicts. In August, an uprising encouraged by the traditional Liberal opposition had failed. Upon her release in September Domínguez Navarro continued to defend students and workers as a lawyer, to speak in public meetings, and she began to replace jailed journalists as a newspaper editor.¹⁹

During the same period the Brazilian Communist Party was being reorganized inside the workers' neighbourhoods of São Paulo that Galvão was writing about, Braz and Mooca, Rachel de Queiroz was moving from Ceavá to Rio de Janeiro in the fall of 1931. (See Figure 6) The daughter of a landowner in Ceará, Queiroz's first novel was considered among the best in her region. Like Galvão, Queiroz was a young writer with radical politics. Since the police repression against the opposition to the coup was increasing in Rio de Janeiro, the communist leadership migrated to São Paulo. Toward the end of October there was an insurrection promoted by the Lieutenants' movement among the members of an Army batallion stationed in Recife. In November the regional conference of the Communists was held

in Braz, and the elected officers stayed behind to live there.²⁰

All year long the central government had been burning the coffee surplus. They had also been recognizing official unions that could keep order in the factories in exchange for better housing conditions, vacations, and arbitration in labour conflicts. What had started out as a coup in October, 1930 was gaining mass support and isolating the radical opposition. The official unions were also preventing the evolution of an autonomous workers' movement, forcing that same opposition to depend on the tolerance of the State. (Chilcote, 1974, pp.10-11)

During the fall of 1931 Galvão was in the port city of Santos recuperating from her jail term. While resting she continued to work on the manuscript for Industrial Park but the Communist Party was not being supportive. The regional leadership elected in November was living in Braz, but their meetings about the national organization left little time to discuss initiatives against the Vargas government that included popular participation. At the beginning of 1932 Galvão and de Andrade moved to a working class neighbourhood in Rio de Janeiro where the former continued to write.

When the national leadership of their organization was reconstituted in January, 1932 the decision to cooperate with the official unions was taken. In March the central

government established the eight hour workday by decree. After the failure of the May Day mobilizations, the national leadership submitted to further reorganization that same month under the supervision of a delegate from the Montevideo office, who was relieved by another from the Red International of Labour Unions (R.I.L.U./PROFINTERN) who arrived in São Paulo. (See Figure 6) The reorganization took place while encouraging a general strike of shoe makers, railway workers, and glass makers, as the conservatives in São Paulo were staging mass demonstrations against the Vargas government across the Paulista region. When the general strike was crushed, what remained of the communist leadership moved back to Rio de Janeiro.²¹

Galvão was working in Rio de Janeiro at the Diario de Noticias journal, escorting people to their seats in a movie theatre, and in the security squad of the communists' public meetings in the same city. Since the fascists and nazis had joined forces to create the fastest growing political organization in Brazil, Ação Integralista Brasileira, the left felt encouraged to experiment again with alliances and electoral blocks. It was during this period that Galvão was finishing her manuscript about the workers' neighbourhood from which the few free leftist leaders had just fled.

Between July 9 and October 2, 1932 there was an insurrection in São Paulo to restore the constitutional

government and overthrow the Vargas administration. Since the 1930 coup against the federal government, the increased access to work, education and housing had earned the new incumbents a measure of support from workers, Black organizations and women. The military tried to pacify the state of São Paulo with a civilian administration, responsive to their regional demands while continuing to persecute the left. With another seventy-three leaders jailed in the aftermath of the Paulista War, the left met again in November to reconstruct for the third time in one year. During 1931 and 1932 the former anarchists continued to be replaced, as the restraints on the intellectuals and free thinkers increased. Rachel de Queiroz, now 22 years old, had joined the Communists in Rio de Janeiro. When she refused to change the plot line in her second novel, and rework thirty characters after the final draft had been submitted to the publisher, she was expelled. (Dulles, 1973, p.504; Queiroz, 1932)

The Modern Artist's Club was founded in São Paulo on November 24, 1932. It was the kind of small organization of activist-intellectuals we have encountered before. Its five members (Di Cavalcanti, Gomide, Flavio de Carvalho, Carlos Prado, and Noêmia Mourão) shared a meeting hall, a library with subscriptions to art magazines, a coffee shop, work space, and reciprocal public support for their common interests. In a city which was recuperating from the

Paulista War, the Modern Artist's Club promoted recitals, improvised performances, and theatre. Meanwhile the Left was denied a separate electoral registration and they had to prepare a slate for the May 1933 elections under the guise of a reformist electoral front. In December, 1932 Antonio Maciel Bonfim became an advisor to the communist leadership. The former sergeant in the Prestes Column had been active in the radical wing of the Lieutenants' movement since July 1930. His presence strengthened the anti-intellectual campaign inside the Communist Party.

From campaign for Constitutional Assembly to Congressional Elections, 1934

Since the party disapproved of Galvão's manuscript, she was advised to use another pseudonym (beside Pagú) which would distance her book from the organization. Industrial Park was published under those conditions in a private Brazilian edition which began circulating in January 1933. At that time, Domínguez Navarro was arrested in Cuba for the third time, and went into exile in Mexico before her prison term began. She would return in September, 1933 (once Machado was overthrown) escorting Mella's ashes.²²

During 1933 the Women's Department of the Black Brazilian Front, founded in São Paulo earlier in the decade, was a forum which discussed the relations between sexual harassment, exploitation, race and gender discrimination in

the industrial and service sectors where they worked. These topics concerned the working women in the Front much more than the campaigns of the suffragettes. By this time their reputation as strong, assertive and dependable had also improved their employment opportunities, but an alliance with the suffragettes (who had won the right to vote in 1932) was not encouraged by the latter, at this time. (Davis, 1995, pp.255-256) The candidate from the Black Brazilian Front, Arlindo Veiga dos Santos, did not get elected to the São Paulo city council in 1933. This was also the year in which Rachel de Queiroz joined the Brazilian Trotskyists, who paid special attention to radical intellectuals and artists in São Paulo.

Neither of those two small groups appear in the Brazilian novel Industrial Park. For the purpose of this dissertation Galvão made six important points. The first is that the factories were collective prisons where the workers struggled to seize control of the time away from the employers. Even though the factories were an improvement over life on the plantations, it was in the exchanges about the particulars of a common exploitation at public meetings where the workers discovered the connection between their unsatisfied needs and the excess in the lives of their employers. (Galvão, 1993, p.9, 23) Galvão went on to explain how Carnival was used to smother and derail the growing awareness of the exploited and marginalized who

began to make those connections. During the brief period of "suspended" social relations, the leisure and disguises associated with Carnival suggested recurring opportunities for escape into social mobility without struggle. The year long preparations also kept the slum-dwellers away from social protests. (Galvão, 1993, pp.37-39) The third point was about the way in which capital (of plantation origin) was invested, in industry and agriculture, under foreign supervision and the protection of the State, in order to benefit from the economic crisis. When the purchasing value of profits decreased or sales fell, the businesses were sold to the State and the investments transferred abroad. (Galvão, 1993, pp.65-66) For Galvão the bourgeois feminists and the modernist intellectuals were among the obstacles which the working women in Braz had to overcome. (Galvão, 1993, p.70)

Beside the second point about the Brazilian Carnival, Galvão made a fifth point about the media. Public opinion was constructed by the journalists controlled by the factory owners. The workers and the unemployed could not afford the cinema which distracted the self-employed university graduates so the former were reduced to sharing their experiences in those neighbourhood squares where rebellions began. Even if the workers and unemployed could have attended the cinema, according to Galvão they would have been tricked with images of a world that excluded them. (1993, p.65, 79) I think that the main point of the

novel is the sixth: the workers from Braz could travel to any other capitalist country and there would be a tenement blackened by industrial smoke, to which pieces of the factory would march home everyday after the whistle blew. Instead of trying to solve the problems of the community under the leadership of professional radicals, the workers in any industrial park needed to organize themselves to promote their priorities. (Galvão, 1993, p.77, 88, 93)

Galvão's novel was a document of social history, which mixed modernism, social realism, Marxist feminism and the author's observations about the intersection of race-class-gender in the urban context to promote an insurgent political awareness among workers unable to read it. The author had combined her cultural and political interest to do the research for the book among people who she knew were trying to solve their common problems. The characters in the book discussed these problems in their own terms, and this displeased the dominant society, the nationalists who were promoting modernism, and the Communists. Another attribute of the novel is that it showed the marginalized European migrants and Brazilian mulattoes in a shared context.²³

The novel was also a commentary on the whole society from the perspective of working women who confronted the social consequences of industrialization. It was the first political novel about urban life in Brazil, about the cultural confrontations which revealed the need for social

change in that context. The novel also took great pains to demonstrate the common morality among all the social classes.²⁴ But the process of collective verification of opportunities identified in the public meetings among the workers was not explored as a parallel truth system or thought style.

Whatever the limitations of Galvão's book, the material was used by Oswald de Andrade in Serafin. Ponto Grande, another novel published the same year. Unlike her Cuban counterparts mentioned in Chapter V, what this young woman accomplished was done without a mentor, institutional support, or a network of similar minded colleagues who sustained each other publicly.

The Brazilian Left was busy with the electoral campaign for the Constitutional Assembly, to be held in May 1933. The parties connected with the workers' movement did not elect one representative, while the majority went to the candidates selected by the state administrators of the central government and the nationalist soldiers. After that electoral defeat and the continued growth of the fascists' organization, the Communists decided to expand their alliances in order to seize control of the official unions and recruit new members. (Dulles, 1973, p.517) One of the members of the Modern Artists Club, Flavio de Carvalho, started a theatre group which performed dances from the slavery period (which had just ended fifty years earlier).

By November, 1933 the São Paulo police had banned the dance group. That was the same month in which the Constitutional Assembly began its deliberations. Meanwhile in Cuba, Ofelia Dominguez Navarro arrived from México escorting Mella's ashes, which were turned over to R. Martínez Villena in a public ceremony September, 1933.

Until November 1933 Galvão accepted being used as a scapegoat by the Brazilian Communists, who were conducting internal campaigns against their own middle class intellectuals while attempting to make alliances with middle class reformers and the official unions. The leadership of her organization believed Galvão dabbled as an amateur with the rigors of clandestine life and the constant police persecution.²⁵ That month she went abroad to work as a foreign correspondent for two Rio de Janeiro journals (Correo de la Manha, Diario de Noticias) and another in São Paulo (Diario de la Noite), leaving her husband and son behind. During the next year she visited Panamá, California, Japan, Manchuria, China, Siberia, Russia, Poland, Germany and France. She stayed in France for a second year, studying at the popular university and working with the youth of the French Communist Party.

During the first semester of 1934 the Constitutional Assembly in Brazil met to rewrite the constitution. With the continued growth of the fascist movement, the Communists tried to bring together working

people, women's organizations and the urban middle classes to oppose them and the foreign investors. Unchecked by the Vargas government, the fascists were especially successful in southern Brazil. The main component of this anti-fascist alliance were the nationalist Lieutenants. When the Communists celebrated their national conference in July, 1934 they elected Antonio Maciel Bonfim, a member of the Lieutenants' movement, as their main leader. That particular individual, a former sergeant with the Prestes Column, was also an informant with the Brazilian police. (Chilcote, 1974, pp.37-39) The 2nd National Feminist Convention was held in Bahia that July to decide which candidates to support for public office, and they only supported rich and famous women. Toward mid-month, before dissolving, the Constitutional Assembly had also elected Vargas president.

In August, as the policy of collaboration with middle class reformers gained favour inside Brazil and in the Montevideo office, the Communists officially admitted the chief of the Lieutenants' movement into their party. Luis Carlos Prestes had been working with the Executive of the COMINTERN in Moscow since 1931. During the congressional elections held in October, the Lieutenants lost their powerbase of ten years in the Northeast. At that time a meeting of Latin American Communist parties slowed down the pace of reformist alliances. (Dulles, 1973, p.517) The Brazilians were trying until then to bring nationalists and

anti-fascists together, while holding local conventions to weaken the government's control over the official unions (legalized since 1930). (Chilcote, 1974, p.39)

From Popular Front to Defeat of Leftist Military Coup, 1935

Since 1928 Northeastern Modernists (such as Rachel de Queiroz, Graciliano Ramos, José Lins de Rego and Jorge Amado) were consciously documenting the life of their region in fiction. These writers were influenced by Euclides da Cunha - a journalist who described the 1896 military campaign against a religious movement in Os Sertoes [Rebellion in the Backlands] (1902) - and by exchanges with social scientists researching the regional expression of national problems. One of those social scientists was Gilberto Freyre, from Pernambuco. (See Figure 6) In November, 1934 the first Congress of Afro-Brazilian Studies was held in the northeastern city of Recife. This activity was promoted by followers of Nina Rodrigues such as Artur Ramos, organized by Gilberto Freyre, and attended by Luis Viana, Jr. and Mario de Andrade. The latter was a mulatto who had been in the leadership of the Brazilian Modernists during the 1920s, the group from which Galvão came. That same year the first university in Brazil opened in São Paulo.

By early 1935 Galvão was in France. In March a coalition of workers' organizations, women's organizations and middle class nationalists who opposed fascism was publicly launched. With the support of the Lieutenants' movement and the Communists, the National Liberation Alliance was critical of the intervention by foreign investors in Brazil's internal affairs, and of the government's repressive measures. When the federal congress passed the new National Security Law, at the end of March, the National Liberation Alliance held their first public rally in the capital city (Rio de Janeiro). Prestes returned to Brazil in April, with the authority of the Comintern Executive and the support of the national leadership.

The meeting of the Latin American parties in October, 1934 had specified how the policy of alliances would be implemented in each country. Between May and October, 1935 the Communists in Brazil debated whether to promote a united labour federation or not.²⁶ When Prestes published an open letter calling for a massive assault on the federal government, the National Liberation Alliance was banned within a week. Inside their own organization the opposition to an insurrection insisted that without a theoretical or historical analysis, coordinated military actions would not find the means to gain the workers' active support.²⁷ The government was able to prevent the protests over the ban of the National Liberation Alliance in Rio de

Janeiro but mass protests were held in São Paulo. After the ban, the same movements regrouped in other coalitions during the rest of the year, with new names for their publications.

In October 1935, there was a strike among the railway workers. By then the Bread, Land, and Liberty popular front was distributing a sixteen page publication produced with the help of Caio Prado, Jr. and Di Cavalcanti from the Modern Artist's Club. Both were also with the Comando do Trabalhadores Intelectuais (Commando of Intellectual Workers) connected to the Communists. Others in this group included Jorge Amado, the architect Oscar Niemeyer, and the writer Astrojildo Pereira (Chilcote, 1974, p. 164). By then the ascent of the fascists was impressive enough to provoke a response from writers who published a manifesto against racial prejudice. Some of the Brazilian scholars in African American studies, like Artur Ramos, Gilberto Freyre, and Edgar Roquette-Pinto were among the signatories. Theirs was not a call to alter the social relations, but to respect the changes made to the terms of the discussion.²⁸

Informed in advance about the date of the planned insurrection, the federal government forced the hand of the insurgents with a planted message. Instead of simultaneous military mutinies with the support of labour strikes, what took place was a series of disconnected events in Natal, November 23-27 and in Pernambuco, November 24-25. (See

Figure 6) By the 25th Congress had approved a state of siege declaration for 90 days, which was extended four times. The support of the workers' strikes was scheduled to begin on November 26. When the regiment in downtown Rio de Janeiro finally joined the coup attempt on November 27 they were subjected to sea and air bombardment. (Dulles, 1973, pp.528-530) During the next year houses were searched, public meetings banned, press controls were applied, parliamentary immunity was revoked, and foreign-born subversives were deported. Thousands were arrested, imprisoned and kept in confinement beyond their acquittal. (Chilcote, 1974, pp.42-43)

After a year in Paris where she met the surrealists, studied with Paul Nizan and Georges Politzer at the popular university, and was arrested while working with the French Communists, Galvão was deported back to Brazil where she arrived toward the end of 1935. Under martial law people who supported and opposed the coup attempt were getting arrested (along with members of coalitions like the Alliance and others) by the thousands and sent to prison ships and prison islands. Even the places which Galvão described as collective prisons, the textile mills, were used to confine the arrested. Between jail cells and hospitals Galvão was detained until 1940. During this time she was tortured, put in solitary confinement, attempted to escape and went on a hunger strike. It was not an experience

like that of the solidarity network which recruited Domínguez Navarro in Cuba during 1931. Like many others, she was convicted for events that took place before November 1935. Some were held long after they had been acquitted for lack of evidence.²⁹

The distance between Brazilian scholars who studied African American cultures and the social movements attempting to alter the social relations can be evaluated with greater precision if we consider that the proceedings of the first congress of Afro-Brazilian studies was published in 1935, together with a book by Artur Ramos about Afro-Brazilian folklore. Even those connected with the Communists, like the mulatto from Bahia, Edison Carneiro, were able to publish the following year.³⁰

From martial law to the second Vargas coup: the New State (1937-1945)

In June 1936 Artur Ramos began a lecture series organized for the São Paulo municipal government by Mario de Andrade and Claude Levy-Strauss. (Ramos, 1979, p.XXIII) In July 1936 the Vargas government established National Security tribunals to prosecute the subversives. The Second Afro-Brazilian Studies Congress, organized by Edison Carneiro and Aydano do Couto Ferraz, was held in Bahia in 1936 with delegates from Pernambuco, Alagoas, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba and Rio Grande do Sul. (See Figure 6) In

1937 the proceedings from the Second Congress were published. Edison Carneiro, Artur Ramos and Rachel de Queiroz also published new books while Galvão was in jail.³¹ At the end of 1937 Galvão, weakened by torture, solitary confinement and hunger strikes was moved to a penal hospital. By then the presidential campaign of 1937 was over and Vargas had staged another coup with the support of the fascists. On December 2, 1937 all the opposition parties in Brazil were banned.

Meanwhile in Cuba, Domínguez Navarro had to go into exile a second time in 1937. She worked with the Mexican government to secure the nationalization of the U.S.A. petroleum companies and she also helped to organize the workers. Domínguez Navarro continued to write for Cuban newspapers and published a book about her experience in Cuban jails during 1931. (Stoner, 1987, p.138; Domínguez Navarro, 1937)

Back in Brazil, the government cracked down on the fascists in 1938. That same year there was a meeting of young Black Brazilians at the Arts and Sciences Institute in the city of Campinas, São Paulo called to coincide with the 50th anniversary of abolition. The meeting was a week long evaluation of the material conditions in which they lived combined with pledges of solidarity with struggles in Africa. (Nascimento and Nascimento, 1992, pp.19-20) Roger Bastide arrived in Brazil in 1938, to study racial relations

in São Paulo with the support of the recently created university. When the third Afro-Brazilian Studies Congress met in Minas Gerais, any discussion of current Black marginalization was consistently avoided by the white creoles who attended these meetings. (See Figure 6)

When Ofelia Domínguez Navarro returned to Cuba in 1939, she continued to work with the Communist Party (which had been legalized), attending women's congresses, writing for the newspapers and doing a regular ten minute spot on the radio. (Stoner, 1987, p.138) When Galvão was released from prison in July, 1940 she had spent four and a half years in confinement. She then resigned from the group she had joined to express her opposition to the government in an organized manner and moved to Rio de Janeiro, where she had finished writing Industrial Park in 1932.

The second novel Galvão wrote with Geraldo Ferraz dealt with the dogmatism and lack of solidarity among the leaders of the Communists, who stifled the creativity of their own associates.³² The year of its publication in 1945 she did literary criticism which promoted the discovery of what was beyond the limits imposed on literature and life by such dogmatists. It was a nine month long series about the lack of national purpose in Brazil. In that series she contrasted the work of writers who questioned the reader's assumptions and writers who justified authoritarian leaders. One of her columns was a commentary on Jorge Amado's

biography of Prestes. 1945 was also the year in which Mario de Andrade, who had been the major animateur of the Modernists in São Paulo, died.³³ Since then Galvão promoted work which presented social relations in ways that challenged the dominant premises, as she had in her "Woman of the People" column in 1931.

While Galvão's twenty-four column series was being published Ofelia Domínguez Navarro became the executive officer of her country's delegation to the San Francisco meetings which constituted the United Nations. She remained with the Cuban delegation to the U.N. until 1962, and they returned to Cuba.³⁴ Galvão died the same year.

Commentary

Even though the writers and researchers collaborating with the independent workers' movement in Brazil may have known about the Maroon communities, slave uprisings, peasant rebellions and anarcho-syndicalist strikes which had challenged the State, they did not create conditions to incorporate that learned experience into their communication strategies during the 1930s. Whatever efforts there may have been, to assume a continuity with that cultural history of the popular, were interrupted by the supervision of foreign professional radicals, the persecution of activist-intellectuals who collaborated with social movements, and the attention paid to the nationalist

soldiers (both inside and outside the Left's organizations). Since Galvão agreed to publish under a new pseudonym, but criticized the professional radicals who tried to lead the working women in her novel, it is not clear to me whether she was expelled in the early thirties (like Rachel de Queiroz) or resigned in 1940. What is clear is that the relation between the collective and the writers-artists-theoreticians in it did not create a network of cooperation to help resist the continuous repression and seize the initiative during the twenties and thirties.

Domínguez Navarro, on the other hand, was constantly involved with small groups in Cuba and México that collaborated with the social movements. Those radical collectives included the group which participated in the José Martí Popular University, another which recruited students for the protests against Machado, a third group supportive of working women and a fourth advising labour organizations in Cuba and Mexico. These instances of cooperation encouraged the radicalization of the membership as events interrupted their collective trajectory. Her practice inside the jails of the Cuban State with the networks of radical women, continued outside and in exile, suggest a collective experience which integrated direct(ed) actions and analysis probably lacking in Galvão's case. It is not certain that the strong, assertive women in the Black Brazilian Front would have found more support for their

concerns among Galvão's "comrades" than they did among the suffragettes. (Davis, 1995, pp.255-256)

Part 2: The Negro Welfare Cultural and Social Association from Trinidad and "The Left" in Jamaica.

A comparison between a small radical organization in Trinidad (which helped to create the conditions for a cultural crisis) and another in Jamaica (which emerged during a crisis) will identify the social conditions in which small groups can reflect with the popular movements about actions undertaken together.³⁵ Both of these groups are contemporaneous with the events in Cuba and Brazil just discussed, as are the public demonstrations of the unemployed in Trinidad and the workers and peasants' uprising in Jamaica.

Part 2: Background

The way in which experiences of popular struggles has circulated across the Caribbean region is not as well documented as the connections between the Caribbean, Africa, Europe and North America in the work of Gerard Pierre-Charles (1987), Gordon K. Lewis (1987), Robert A. Hill (1982), Maryse Condé (1978), Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh (1993). For example, cases such as The League of the Antilles in the 19th century or other organizations that brought together Caribbean migrants across languages and

cultural histories in London, Paris, Amsterdam or New York, have not benefitted from the consistent attention of Caribbean scholars.³⁶ In addition to the small groups abroad, there were other collectives within the extended Caribbean which intervened in the region as a whole.

The slaves sold between the islands, the black crew members in the ships that crossed the region, and the workers who migrated to plantations or construction crews (in the Canal Zone) constituted stages in a network that carried information about the material conditions and the possibilities of changing them. One recurring event which spoke about those material conditions was the marches and protests of poor people demanding farm lands in Jamaica between the 1880s and 1920s. Before and during the so-called First World War, Black seamen from North America working in the Caribbean also distributed radical literature wherever the boats docked, and continued to do so into the Twenties and Thirties. (Harvey, 1972, p.iv)

Introduction

The 1919 dock strike in Port of Spain, Trinidad benefitted from the ways in which experiences of popular struggles circulated across the region. (See Figures 4 and 7) Another source was the shared sense of disillusion with the democratization in the colonies among the war veterans. At that time the dock-workers were the most disciplined and

organized sector among the salaried labour.³⁷ So their strike represented a new stage in the conflicts between working people, the colonial interests and their local intermediaries. Even though the strike action did not extend to the sugar plantations, the dockworkers assumed control of Port of Spain without the interference of the colonial police. In 1919 the British administrators were not sure the policemen would shoot their own race and class. In the colonies where employers were expatriates or European creoles and employees were ex-slaves a strike was an action against capital, the colonial administration and the empire. (Craig, 1988, pp.21-25). After the stevedores won a pay increase, many of the strike leaders (who were Garveyites as well) were deported back to their islands of origin. As proponents of pride in their African heritage, entrepreneurship, and ethnic nationalism the members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) were a problem for the colonial administration. The unrest in Trinidad continued into 1920, and the distribution of Garveyite publications was prohibited by the colonial authorities. One of them, The Negro World (1918-1933), was the most widely circulated Black weekly at this time. One of the results of this confrontation was the organization of the Trinidad Workingman's Association. The next stage, which would include both government employees and workers in the

oil industry, would extend the struggle against colonialism to the regional level, between 1933 and 1938. For a brief period of time, before being displaced by the middle class intermediaries of the foreign investors, the popular sectors would represent themselves and intervene directly. Elma Francois arrived in Trinidad, the same year as the waterfront strike of 1919.³⁸

Many alert peasants and workers migrated across the region during the 1920s to find work in Cuba, Costa Rica, Curacao, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic. After 1924 the construction workers in the Panama Canal Zone were repatriated. Others would be sent back home without the prospect of a job or a piece of land during the 1930s.

Elma Francois, who came from a Maroon community, had picked cotton in several estates in rural St. Vincent, and worked at the Mt. Bentick sugar factory. (See Figure 4) She moved to Kingstown when she was fired for trying to start a union at Mt. Bentick. While still in Kingstown Francois met G.A. McIntosh, a radical intellectual who was a labour organizer and druggist. At that time he was proposing elected representation in the colony's legislature. In Trinidad she worked as a domestic maid and joined the Trinidad Workingmen's Association (T.W.A.). When the leaders from the other islands were deported, Captain Andrew Arthur Cipriani (1875-1945), a creole from the French colonies, was invited to join those who remained in 1923. But unlike

George Angus McIntosh with whom Francois had discussed the conditions imposed on the workers in St. Vincent, Cipriani opposed direct actions by the popular. Under his leadership, the T.W.A. preferred private negotiations among representatives of the groups in conflict. The social consequences of the depression during the 1920s were not among the issues discussed in those negotiations.³⁹ The 1926 mass meeting in support of self-government was not enough to quell the effects of the 1925 riots. Unlike the middle classes, Francois promoted public conversations among the salaried and unemployed about their living and working conditions.

To prepare for those conversations at Harpe Place or the discussion of the daily news at Woodford Square, Francois studied after work and investigated the social history of neighbourhoods she did not know by conducting interviews on site. The combination of direct experience and reading materials like Trinidad (1929-1930), The Beacon (1931-1933), The People (1933-1939) were among the sources of her comments from the speaker's box in the early thirties. (Reddock, 1988, pp.10-11; Craig, 1988, p.13)

During the time span between the 1919 dockworkers' strike and Francois' first interventions at the speaker's box, events connected with both of the small collectives under consideration were taking place in the U.S.A. Since the end of the 19th century there was a growing community of

Caribbean migrants in New York City. After the so-called first world war, some of them were at the centre of radical activities in Harlem. Among them were journalists and labour organizers like Wilfred A. Domingo (Jamaica), Richard B. Moore (Barbados) and Otto Huiswoud (Surinam), historian J.A. Rogers (Jamaica), writer Claude McKay (Jamaica) and editor Cyril V. Briggs (Nevis). Together with Hermie Dumont Huiswoud they advanced their analysis of the relation between race and class in cooperatives which promoted self-defence and self-government (the African Blood Brotherhood), political organizations (the Socialist and Workers parties), newspapers [the Amsterdam News, The Messenger (Socialist), The Crusader (1918-1922) (African Blood Brotherhood), The Emancipator (anti-U.N.I.A. and Socialist)], The Harlem Educational Forum (1923), the American Negro Labour Council (1925), Sunday morning study groups and a Unitarian congregation in Harlem (1920).

This small collective also wrote for the newspapers in their place of origin, debated with the Garveyites, presented Caribbean leaders to metropolitan audiences, connected the Caribbean islands and New York through a news service they created, and turned the city into a major intersection of Caribbean cultures. In 1924, the efforts to create a federation of Black organizations in the U.S.A. also benefitted from their involvement. The impact of this organized public presence also contributed to

the reconsideration of the popular cultures in the Black communities across the U.S.A.⁴⁰ The Caribbean radicals were able to overcome the isolation promoted by the different occupation forces (French, Dutch, English, U.S.A.) and mount attainable interventions against several empires at once during their tenure in New York City.

In August 1929 one of these Caribbean radicals originally from Surinam and living in New York, attended a Garveyite convention in Kingston, Jamaica. In a public debate with the leader of the U.N.I.A., Otto Huiswoud introduced class as a factor which also determined social protest. As a delegate from the American Negro Labour Council, Huiswoud returned to the Caribbean in the first semester of 1930. At that time he was probably recruiting delegates for a July conference in Hamburg, sponsored by the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers (R.I.L.U.) under George Padmore's leadership. (Post, 1978, p.5)

Experiences of self-representation in Trinidad

Between 1930 and 1934, the lack of interest among the leaders of T.W.A. in the social consequences of the depression continued. With unemployment increasing, the strikes and riots continued; the organized public demonstrations demanding rent controls and relief work began in 1933 with the support of Jim Barrette and Elma Francois.

As the migrants in Venezuela, Curacao, Costa Rica and Panamá were sent back to their islands of origin, the social pressures in places like Trinidad increased. The unemployed marched often in 1933 and on June 19 there was a Hunger March. With this they succeeded where the Brazilian radicals had failed in January 1931. This small group was doing what Cipriani's Trinidad Workingman's Association did not, promoting public protests over the material condition of the salaried and unemployed, which complemented the opposition to colonialism.

In 1934 Barrette, Francois, Dudley Mahon, Clement Payne and Jim Headly formed the National Unemployment Movement, which was particularly active in the northern urban centres of Trinidad. (See Table 3 behind End Notes and Figure 7) Headly was a Trinidadian merchant seaman who had been in the National Maritime Union (U.S.A.). While living in that country Headly had worked with the Young Communists League, where he met George Padmore. Years later the newspaper published by Padmore's office in the Red International of Labour Unions (R.I.L.U.), The Negro Worker, was brought ashore in Trinidad by sympathetic seamen. (Reddock, 1988, p.13)

In 1934 the number of work stoppages increased over the previous year, especially in the sugar cane plantations. The number of marches also increased in comparison with 1933. These mobilizations were becoming a

characteristic of Trinidad politics also imitated by Uriah Butler in the southern part of the island. But in the southern region of the oil refineries the marches were not used to organize the participants. The National Unemployment Movement (N.U.M.) held regular public meetings where they exchanged news about the international context for information about the local living conditions. In this way Francois' walking expeditions in Port of Spain were extended to construct a map of the national situation. When the meetings were held in Central Trinidad, those who had come from other parts of the island learned about the situation of the Asian workers on the sugar plantations. (Reddock, 1988, pp.14-15)

On the basis of these information exchanges, the N.U.M. planned a march that would bring together the workers of Asian and African heritage in a joint action on July 20, 1934. But a military cordon manned by the colonial police prevented the two communities from expressing their collective support for common concerns. That year they did manage to organize a register of the unemployed which neither the colonial administration nor the T.W.A. - now Trinidad Labour Party - had managed to compile. In 1934, the Legislative Council augmented the laws regarding theatres and dance halls authorizing the police to censor the contents of calypsos and ban their distribution in the colony.

During the rest of the second semester of 1934, the N.U.M. group in Trinidad continued holding public conversations, expanding their network of contacts among the migrants from the neighbouring islands, and recruiting people who had returned from Europe or North America. These returning migrants had experiences with nationalism, worker's organizations, communication networks, radical politics, race organizations and insurrections. Bringing together such a collection of unemployed nomads affected the quality of the opposition, not only because of the individual contributions but also because the exchanges among them helped to fashion an increased awareness of the regional obstacles and the opportunities for cooperation which those obstacles created.⁴¹ This process would intensify in Jamaica when the Cuban sugar mills improved productivity and reduced production between 1935 and 1937, sending thousands of migrant workers back home permanently.

In January 1935 there were public protests in St. Kitts and a Hunger March in Fort de France, Martinique in February. (See Figure 4) In May, striking dockworkers at Falmouth, in northwestern Jamaica moved to more direct forms of public protests when strike breakers were brought in. The Garveyites tried to start a labour union in Jamaica in June. In September and October there were public disturbances in British Guiana and St. Vincent respectively. The leader of the Workingman's Association/Labour Party, George A.

McIntosh was jailed in St. Vincent during the public disturbances there. In this climate of revolt taken to the streets, the hunger marches of the unemployed continued in Trinidad together with the public meetings where local conditions and international issues (like the arrest of the Scottsboro Boys or the invasion of Ethiopia) were discussed. At these public meetings the people in the N.U.M. group met oil workers from other islands, and returning migrants with international experience. One of them, Rupert Gittens, had been deported from France because of his activities with the French Communist Party in Marseilles. As those experiences circulated among the N.U.M. group, they extended their interest beyond the mobilizations of the unemployed.⁴²

After the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in August, the protests expanded to a boycott of the Italian businesses in Trinidad which led up to a mass meeting early in October. There again the incapacity of the colonial government to solve the unemployment situation was connected, by the N.U.M. speakers, to the international situation. As a result of that mass meeting there were organized expressions of support for Ethiopia among the schooled and self-employed, which extended into the media.

Toward the end of 1935, these activities, alliances and international experiences had evolved into the Negro Welfare, Cultural and Social Association (N.W.C.S.A.). It was a small group of radical workers whose activities

were concentrated in the urban north of Trinidad. From there they had created a network of connections between organizations of seamen, dockworkers, and civil servants, Asian agricultural workers, Pan-Africanists, and people working toward independence. According to Rhoda Reddock (1988, pp.5-6), the N.U.M./N.W.C.S.A. campaigns for cooperation and solidarity were affirmations of African origins without proposing another ethnocentrism. They were in favour of self-government by all the working people, and in consequence opposed colonialism, and its domestic version in Europe as well.

The N.W.C.S.A. directed its efforts toward government affairs, unions, cooperative work, research, education and social activities. After the collective study of the media they used public conversations in parks, mass meetings, and even calypso shows at the cinema to promote discussion about the issues of the day: making the connections between the events in the region, whatever was happening in the place of origin of the recent migrants of Trinidad, and the struggles of radical workers. The songs which set off the discussion were performed by live bands, playing pans from oil drums, at activities which were conceived as fundraisers. In order to receive information about their jailed comrades, the small organization also maintained cordial relations with the police and the personnel at the colonial governor's office.⁴³

One of the reasons for the cultural and social work undertaken by the N.W.C.S.A. was to attract working women, who became an important sector of the organization's membership and leadership. Elma Francois was the ideologue, Christina King was the main writer and administrator of the information network, and Adelaide Harrison was the secretary. Their first task upon joining was to develop an understanding with their partners about the cooperation needed to fulfill their political, cultural and teaching responsibilities. (Reddock, 1988, pp.17-18)

As the support of the N.W.C.S.A. group for the direct actions of self-organized workers increased, Cipriani's tactics of negotiating inside the municipal offices lost ground. The leadership of the Trinidad Labour Party then denied the N.W.C.S.A. access to the green space where the latter were thought to hold their public conversations. During the Apex oilfield strike at Fyzabad, in 1935, the N.W.C.S.A. began to work with Uriah Butler (despite his limited political culture). (See Figure 7) According to Reddock, Butler thought that respecting the rights of the colonized as British subjects should be enough to solve a labour dispute, while the N.W.C.S.A. group was supporting their self-representation and mobilizations.⁴⁴

In April 1936 the Jamaica Labour Party was launched. In May the N.W.C.S.A. renewed their public conversations and demonstrations in Trinidad when Ethiopia

was being forced to negotiate the terms of annexation by Italy. Despite the lack of support from the leaders of the trade associations, the N.W.C.S.A. group started a campaign against a shop closing ordinance promoted by the colonial administration. This ordinance restricted the buying and selling activities of the self-employed by closing downtown shops on days in which the government did not want the poor circulating in the commercial district. They also continued efforts to coordinate N.W.C.S.A. activities with the oil workers in the southern region. That year a new colonial governor arrived, Sir Murchison Fletcher, fresh from counterinsurgency tours both in Hong Kong and Ceylon. His advisor was the British Navy's commodore for the whole Caribbean region. (Craig, 1988, p. 25).

The Jamaica Progressive League was founded in New York City in September, 1936 by some among that group of Caribbean radicals who had been active in cultural politics since the 1910s with the Garvey movement or the U.S.A. Socialist Party. The president was W. Adolphe Roberts, a journalist and novelist who had been living in the U.S.A. since the 1920s. The League was soon in contact with the International African Service Bureau (I.A.S.B.) in London, led by George Padmore and C.L.R. James. Some of the League members may have met Padmore when he was a university student in New York in 1924. During the course of the next ten years they shared common friends, such as Richard B.

Moore and Otto Huiswoud, all of whom were concerned with race, class and colonialism. In New York, the League was connected with organizations of Cuban, Dominican, and Puerto Rican emigrants. In consequence the League's combination of class and nationalism placed them to the left of other efforts inside Jamaica at that time. (Post, 1978, p.222) But like the organizations which would emerge from the 1938 uprising, the middle class reformers in the League did not include race or gender in their proposals, ignoring the lessons from their own cultural history. Their proposals for the daily lives of the majority accepted the limits of the dominant logic in those areas. (Ford-Smith, 1988, p.33) The Jamaica Progressive League was created to promote self-government as a dominion within the British Empire.

In December 1936 the Jamaica Workers and Tradesmen Union (J.W.T.U.) organized a demonstration that was dispersed by the colonial police. Later that month the leaders of the union invited a verbose money lender, named Alexander Bustamante, to help in a recruiting drive. That campaign to explain the causes of exploitation, especially to the dockworkers in the banana plantations, across Jamaica resulted in the first labour union within the sector. It also intensified a process of bringing together individuals who could connect the relations of force with the institutions that systematically imposed them, which these working class nomads and intellectuals could place in the

context of their experiences abroad to face a colonial administration incapable of solving an economic crisis. At the same time marginalization was being managed through syncretic religions like Obeah, Pocomania and Rastafari.⁴⁵ It was in those circles where the exploited created collective solutions to their situation. (Bastide, 1969, p.199)

One of the leaders of the J.W.T.U. was Hugh C. Buchanan. During the 1920s he had migrated to Cuba, meeting both Communists and Garveyites while working in the construction sector. Buchanan was a mason by trade. It was in the midst of the Cuban struggles against foreign intervention that Buchanan's nationalism matured. After returning to Jamaica in 1929, he spent much of his free time studying social theory and history. Among the people with whom Buchanan discussed his reading were the Jamaican C. Antonio King, who had been a member of the Cuban Communist Party, and two exiled radicals from the Dominican Republic named Morales and Pereira. (Hart and Monroe, 1990, p.100)

During the 1930s Buchanan would come across Arthur Henry, who had been a merchant seaman, and O.T. Fairclough. The latter had worked at the National Bank of Haiti, a financial institution through which French, North American and German capital prevented the Haitian government from proceeding according to their own laws.(Castor, 1971, pp.31-33) The U.S.A. investors who controlled the National Bank

since 1910 used it to block foreign loans, finance coups against the Haitian government and withhold public funds for operating expenses. In December, 1914 U.S. Marines removed \$500,000 (U.S.) of the Haitian government's funds from the vaults in support of foreign businesses. By 1922 the National Bank was a branch of National City Bank of N.Y. with an executive officer on site who determined Haiti's financial policy. In 1933 the City Bank of N.Y. offered to sell its Haitian branch office to the Haitian government.

While living in Haiti, Fairclough had met activist-intellectuals like Jacques Roumain who opposed the military and economic occupation. Back in Jamaica, the ideas of Henry and Fairclough evolved with the pressures of different living conditions, and new interpretations became accessible, but in 1936 there were no means of connecting such experiences and circulating the results. (Post, 1978, p.209) Even though organized popular protests would have to wait, the effort with the dockworkers at the banana plantations was a step toward integrating the immediate experience and the regional context. After the abolition of slavery, waged workers had built those plantations which produced for export, with foreign-owned shipping and marketing corporations.

Direct action and regionalization of the struggles

By 1937 the small group in Trinidad had extended its work beyond the public conversations and marches of 1933. The N.W.C.S.A. was a communication network led by radical workers, who were promoting an alliance of associated labour unions which had independent newspapers. (Harvey, 1972, p.21; Ramdin, 1982, pp.141-142) At the time, the colonial administration considered most of that activity to be seditious. Even though Butler had not supported the 1936 campaign against the government's shop closing ordinance, they had agreed to a national strike on June 21, 1937.

In February of the same year, Fairclough founded a weekly newspaper in Jamaica to support the creation of a reformist party that recognized economic matters were beyond their control and advocated cultural nationalism. The weekly publication was called Public Opinion. One of its goals was to mobilize the middle classes into creating that kind of anti-colonial party. On March 21, the middle-class nationalists founded the National Reform Association, in Jamaica, without a unified economic-political-cultural proposal of self-government. Their purpose was to improve communication with the metropolis. Hugh C. Buchanan, from the union organizing the dockworkers at the banana plantations, was invited to the executive council, where he

made contact with other activist-intellectuals like Richard Hart. Some of the others who would later become the inner circle of "the left" met on Friday nights to prepare the mailing of Public Opinion to the subscribers. They also began to meet with Buchanan to make plans for a different political organization. (See Tables 4 and 5 following the End Notes)

Una Marson returned to Jamaica from London in 1936, organized a Writers and Readers Club with H. G. de Lisser (editor of The Gleaner and secretary of the Jamaica Imperial Society), Aimee Webster, Elsie Benjamin Barsoe and Frank Hill (the journalistic editor at Public Opinion). By mid-year the Jamaica Progressive League in New York was submitting articles to the Public Opinion weekly which proposed a debate about the ways of bringing the nationalists and the workers together. That debate would start at the end of the year when the leadership of the League moved back to Jamaica.

The same issues were being addressed in Trinidad, with the advantage of years invested in research, discussion and organized mobilizations that generated alliances among social movements. As part of the preparations for the Monday, June 21 strike, the N.W.C.S.A. group had called a mass meeting for Friday, June 18th which the legislative council (led by the head of the Labour Party) declared illegal. (Reddock, 1988, pp.29-30) That same day Butler

organized a sit-down strike at Forest Reserve which was the administrative and residential district arrogated by administrators of the oil industry. (See Figure 7) When the police tried to arrest Butler on Saturday the 19th, one of the constables was burned to death. At the end of the day thirteen other people including a sub-inspector was also shot dead. (Craig, 1988, p. 27). On Sunday the 20th, Elma Francois went to investigate the stay-in strike at the oilfields and returned to Port of Spain the same day. The colonial governor was in the southern region on Sunday as well, appraising the relation between the forces. Naval reinforcements were on the way and censorship was imposed on all media to deny the workers accurate information. (Craig, 1988, p. 27). On Monday the 21st the N.W.C.S.A. helped to coordinate the mobilizations of construction workers who shut down the Port of Spain harbour, the commercial district and the Trinidad Trading Company. That Monday night there was looting in downtown Port of Spain. (Reddock, 1988, p.30) What followed was a series of events that lacked an orderly progression, despite the small group's efforts. On Tuesday the strikes spread to other places across the island of Trinidad and the colonial administration requested a second boat of reinforcements. By Wednesday the 23rd the civil service in the capital and the workers in the sugar plantations had joined the strike. There were already nine dead workers when the British Navy arrived on Wednesday.

Despite the government's announcement to protect the strike breakers, no one returned to work Thursday or Friday the 25th. (Craig, 1988, pp. 27-28)

By Saturday the 26th, Butler's advisor, Adrian Cola Rienzi (previously Krishna Deonarine), was discussing a list of negotiators with the colonial administration. The workers' demand for a salary increase before returning to work was not part of the discussion. The arrests of the strike leaders continued on Sunday, while the offer to negotiate was circulating. Arresting Butler was more difficult since he moved about with an armed escort of about ninety men. By the following Friday, July 2, there were fourteen dead workers, fifty nine wounded and hundreds arrested (including half of the negotiators on Rienzi's list). When Monday, July 5th, came the oilworkers' strike was finished, and the dockworkers could not resist the pressures of the official media, the presence of the Navy's Riflemen and the strikebreakers much longer. (Craig, 1988, pp.28-31)

The concession of permitting union organization was not accompanied by the demanded salary increases during the negotiations that followed. Soon after the federation of associated unions (promoted by the small group) was made public. The reforms proposed by Governor Murchison Fletcher and the Colonial Secretary Howard Nankiwell which supported the striking workers were stopped by the sugar and oil

interests. A reward for the informer who provided clues that would lead to Butler's arrest was also announced in July.

For some time the N.W.C.S.A. Chairperson, Clement Payne, had been in Barbados helping to organize another workers' uprising which occurred in July 1937. (See Figure 4) Hundreds of barefoot people marched on Government House when his deportation was announced, overturning cars and smashing stores as they made their way through downtown while the whites fled. Fourteen people were killed, forty-four were wounded, and four hundred and fifty three were arrested. Payne was deported for his part in the leadership of a strike which took place while he was in Barbados. (Reddock, 1988, p.32)

Despite the persecution and arrest of their leaders in Trinidad, the N.W.C.S.A. continued to promote the organization and mobilization of the workers, to support the prisoners and prevent Butler's arrest. The level of organized support can be gauged by the fact that Butler remained at large between June 19th and the end of September, when he turned himself in after being promised an opportunity to testify before the Forster Commission. After his arrest, the N.W.C.S.A. asked the oilworkers to call another national strike, but Butler's counsellors (A.C. Rienzi and John Rojas) rejected the proposal.⁴⁶

Since July the activities of the small group in Trinidad had been affected by the sedition charges brought

against their leaders because of their union activities. When the Forster Commission arrived from London in September to investigate the workers' rebellion during the summer, the employers demanded a permanent garrison, troops in their places of business, manageable unions, partial negotiators in labour disputes, and the persecution of dissidents. The Commission did not make any comments about wage increases. During the second semester of 1937 the N.W.C.S.A. continued with public conversations, marches, and efforts to organize unions at sugar plantations and the oilfields from which they had been banned by Butler's advisors. With rumours of another strike circulating since September, the colonial administration requested more guns and ships to be delivered before the end of October.

By October 1937 Governor Fletcher was implementing the policies of the sugar and oil companies in an attempt to prevent his recall which occurred in December of the same year. In preparation for the sedition trials they also asked for changes in the procedures and a ban on public expression of opposition to the government which congregated more than ten people. Curiously enough the government's request list included the public conversations, distribution of pamphlets and calypso shows which the N.W.C.S.A. used to communicate with the citizenry. (Craig, 1988, pp.38-40, 48). Butler went to jail in January, 1938. Meanwhile in Jamaica, Public Opinion had been carrying an exchange between W.A. Domingo,

W. Adolphe Roberts, both from the Jamaica Progressive League, and Richard Hart since the end of October. The subject of their discussion was the limitations of the market economy on dominion status and the means of establishing another economic order.

At her Trinidad trial in February 1938, Francois outlined the collective's goals in her own defense. It was a fitting postscript to the debate in Public Opinion about the kind of organization which socialist separatists should promote in Jamaica. Neither a workers' party nor a coalition of classes materialized there in 1938 but the debate was an exchange that publicly connected radicals and reformers before the literate minority.

What was on trial in Trinidad was the growing cultural leadership of a small group which promoted self-organization and direct action. In her defense Elma Francois stated that their objectives were to improve the black people's living conditions, to make their opposition to the current situation known abroad in order to gain international support, to promote cooperation among black people in the region and beyond, as well as to connect the situation of the poor in Trinidad with events in the rest of the world through public conversations.⁴⁷

Despite the efforts of the State, the N.W.C.S.A. conducted a constitutional consultation during the rest of the year among their membership and the labour unions, with

the assistance of some intellectuals (like Alfred Richards, former president of the Workingmen's Association). The colonial administration did not pay much attention to such a critique of negotiated self-government. By then the Colonial Secretary, Howard Nankiwell, had also been transferred out of Trinidad. While collaborating with the unions from the northern region which organized the May Day celebrations and commemorated the anniversary of the June 1937 strike the small group continued to make the connection between the national and the international. (Reddock, 1988, p.44) On December 8 the colonial administration of Trinidad revived an old slavery law to restrict collective bargaining among the recently organized sectors which did not accept private negotiations. (Ramdin, 1982, p.226)

In Jamaica, 1938 was eventful enough to interrupt the debates about the kind of organization that would achieve independence and socialism. The liberal investors who supported the creation of the National Reform Association in March, 1937 founded a newspaper, the Jamaica Standard in February, 1938 to compete with the Gleaner. (Post, 1978, p.218)

In January 1938 the Kingston Drama Club presented "Pocomania" by Una Marson. This Jamaican writer lived in England between 1932 and 1936. Shortly after her return she founded this organization to promote nationalist cultural expressions. In 1937 she also founded the Readers and

Writers Club which had the same priorities. Frank Hill, who worked in Public Opinion (and would later become a member of the radical collective discussed here) participated in both of those cultural institutions. Written during 1937, "Pocomania" captured the social crisis without identifying the causes or protagonists of a solution. In that sense, it forecast some of the difficulties the local radicals would face shortly.

"Pocomania" presented a working class congregation which combined African and European songs and dances in their religious rituals. In the midst of unemployment and displacement, the play discussed the cultural heritage of middle class women who try to evade their personal situation in a repressive colonial society. Marson also raised questions about the cultural institutions which imposed definitions of normal behaviour, as obstacles to rebellion. (Cobban, 1990, pp.211-215).

By March, the workers and the peasants began an uprising across Jamaica which underscored the role of the middle classes as accomplices of those who exploited the insurgent subjects. Agricultural workers, public works employees, dockworkers, streetsweepers, firemen, sanitation workers and unemployed nomads eventually engaged in confrontations which revealed the relation between the State and the existing order. The immigrants who returned from Cuba and Española to a jobless and landless future, and the

women whose subsistence farm plots had been overtaken by the foreign agro-industrial monopolies were also there to bear witness about the consequences. According to Ken Post (1978, p.316), the debates in Public Opinion followed by the beginning of the workers' uprising represented two ways of learning and knowing the social context in which the distribution of power was being discussed. By April, the unorganized working poor had generalized the strike activity across Jamaica which ended by killings in the Frome Estates-Westmoreland with rifle fire. (See Figure 8) In May, strikes at sugar plantations in the southwest spread to the urban workers in the capital and further east by the end of the month. There were also burnings and street fights across the entire island. More strikers would be killed with rifle fire in May. During the uprising there were armed confrontations in every district. (Campbell, 1980, pp.1-22)

In response to the riots among the workers in the southwestern canefields of Westmoreland, the May 7 editorial in Public Opinion suggested the middle classes assume a leadership role in order to restrain the employers and speak for the "mute" strikers. A week later, on May 14, Hugh C. Buchanan launched the Jamaica Labour Weekly, as a newspaper aimed at the working classes, but one in which exploitation and the State were not analyzed nor their relation explained to the readers.⁴⁸ But the Labour Weekly staff did criticize the project for a reformist labour party which Fairclough

was promoting in Public Opinion. It was into this space of negotiation and containment of the popular that Norman Manley and his associates marched with the support of the shipping companies and the banana plantations. Within another week, May 21, the dockworkers struck again and by Monday, May 23rd the manual workers and the unemployed had assumed control of the streets in downtown Kingston, bringing factory and public service workers out with them. The white collar workers did not join the manual labourers even when the uprising spread to other districts. The uneven understanding of colonialism among the strikers was evident in the continued deference to the Crown and Christianity, as well as the search for leadership outside their own ranks. When the dockworkers asked the middle class nationalists in the National Reform Association for advice, Ken Hill suggested they organize their own union. More strikers were killed toward the end of May and Bustamante, the money lender, was arrested on Tuesday May 24th. Manley intervened May 28 to have Bustamante released on bail so they could persuade the strikers to form unions where members of the Brown middle class would speak for the Black majority.⁴⁹

Protagonists are displaced by Electoral Parties and Salary Negotiations

Ken Hill helped to organize a union of drivers in the transportation sector in May, and another of printers

and journalists in June. With the support of Hugh C. Buchanan, Frank Hill, Wellesley A. McBean, Richard Hart and A.A. Morris from the small group of radicals, other industrial unions emerged during the summer. Those workers' organizations were a way of implementing their plans for labour leadership in the nationalist movement. During the spring and summer of 1938 the discussions which had begun in the offices of Public Opinion became experience. The study groups that were created in conjunction with these industrial unions promoted internal democracy and class awareness, without incorporating race or gender into the analysis.⁵⁰ The disagreement within the group was on collaborating with the creation of a reformist party. Buchanan, who was their teacher, opposed the idea but the rest agreed to help organize the P.N.P.

A July 9 editorial in Public Opinion insisted on the common interest among the salaried, and the common benefits of middle class leadership in order to achieve them. In late May, the colonial administration had deputized private investors and self-employed professionals as police "officers". Since most of these men were White or Brown, the government's measure underscored the relation between race and class in the conflict. On July 23, 1938 the editors of the Jamaica Labour Weekly were charged with sedition for opposing the military use of volunteers who might seek to exact vengeance. Since slavery, the masters only felt safe

when they had executed the rebellious slaves. (James, 1980, pp.173-179). By then the insurrection had been contained. During the summer of 1938 the Labour Weekly, which often expressed the positions of the small group, referred to the problems of the poor peasants and subsistence farmers but their organization was not promoted nor were land seizures encouraged.⁵¹

The People's National Party (P.N.P.) was founded on September 18, and the editors of the Labour Weekly were convicted October 3. The publication did not appear between October 22 and December 17. During this time the Left Book Club was founded by the activist-intellectuals, with some of the members of the Readers and Writers Club, to promote nationalism through discussions and presentations of literature and art. Lacking permanent connections with the labour movement, the small group of Jamaican radicals who called themselves "The Left", recruited in the Left Book Club. One of the people they recruited was Arthur Henry, a former seaman and railway worker attending the Club's lecture series (which began in March, 1939). But the internal deliberations within their discussion group had not yet matured a common understanding of the year's events when a commission of aristocrats and colonial experts arrived in November, 1938 to investigate the recent events (in Trinidad, St. Kitts, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Barbados, British Guiana and Jamaica).⁵² (See Figure 4)

What the small collective of Jamaican Marxists agreed upon while Buchanan was in jail, was the continued organization of industrial labour unions and the creation of a workers' party. Their role inside the P.N.P. was not clear during the time the small group existed. When the Labour Weekly resumed publication on December 17, the news coverage was an expression of that agreement. Working people and the unemployed had addressed the unequal distribution of power directly, and this small group was proposing an anti-colonial approach that accepted the premises of colonialism (without explaining the relation between exploitation, colonialism, and the interests of the Black majority).⁵³

In January 1939 the Jamaican dockworkers went on strike again. By then Alexander Bustamante had joined the People's National Party (P.N.P.). The colonial administration again mobilized the volunteer constables (which had been brought out in June, 1938) and also asked the rural unemployed to come and replace the striking dockworkers. For the members of the small Marxist group who now produced the Labour Weekly, it was easier to assume a more radical anti-colonialism while covering such events than to decipher the way the black poor combined gender, religion, race, and class in their daily lives. (Post, 1978, pp.416-417) Working as labour organizers in the Bustamante unions, some of the participants in the radical collective

were encouraged in January by the P.N.P.'s interest in support from organized labour.

A small radical organization - after the crisis

The small Marxist collective in Jamaica consolidated its internal affairs (with regularly scheduled meetings, assigned dues, and formal minutes) in February, 1939. The core group would eventually include Hugh C. Buchanan, Richard Hart, Frank Hill, Wellesley A. McBean, Arthur Henry and A.A. Morris. McBean had been a peanut vendor and song composer before becoming a contributor to Public Opinion and the representative of the British Left Book Club. Henry was a small businessman, still active in the Bustamante Maritime Workers Union. Morris was a tally clerk in the Kingston docks. Others who have not been mentioned before, who were likewise part of the left's inner circle, included T.G. Christian who was also a tally clerk in the Kingston docks, Cecil Nelson who was a mason apprentice and office messenger at the central office of the Bustamante unions, a manual worker named Lionel Lynch, a steelworker named Osmond Dyce and printer C. Dawkins. Ken Hill has already been mentioned in connection with the industrial unions and the National Reform Association. There were six to eight other people in the group that I have not seen identified in the sources consulted.

When the Bustamante unions and the Jamaican P.N.P. created a Trade Union Council that same month, the small group was not in a position of cultural leadership from which to promote democratic procedures for the Council. In March, the Marxist labour organizers were ousted from the Bustamante unions and in April the founders and former editors of the Labour Weekly were released from prison. One of them was Hugh C. Buchanan. Lacking connections with labour organizations that had access to the rural majorities and independent media, the small group found itself inside a party which needed to win elections to make economic reforms. And even there, "the Left" was not a determining thought style. Their stronghold was the P.N.P. Kingston organization, which shared offices with the Readers and Writers' Club as well as the Left Book Club.

Butler was released in Trinidad on appeal in May 1939,

and was expelled from his own union by Rienzi in July for supporting a strike at the asphalt plant. Since Butler continued his trade union activism, the colonial administration arrested him in September, 1939 and kept him in jail without trial until 1945.

The other newspaper to which the small Marxist group in Jamaica had made a contribution was Public Opinion. In September, 1939 they had to start another newspaper which was also censored by the colonial administration. The

Evening News tried to represent the concerns of the workers in Kingston, without institutionalized feedback from its imagined constituency. During this period the Left created the Negro Worker's Education League in order to recruit among the workers and peasants in the slums of West Kingston, but the recruiting did not occur. When the Evening News became The Worker at the end of November, this daily covered the Caribbean region including news from the Castillian and French-speaking territories.

In closing I want to make a couple of observations to complement the assessment of "the Left's" possibilities after the 1938 uprising. Those events which can be seen as a period of cultural affirmation, were continued by those who chose to dissent at home and by those who chose to take their dissent overseas. When the internal dissent was expressed in terms that created a new community from the diverse cultural migrations in the region, the middle classes did not recognize themselves in the popular.⁵⁴ It seems that this Jamaican collective shared that difficulty in the initial stages of their group's life. They did continue to operate in an organized fashion inside the P.N.P. until 1944 but what we have covered here is sufficient for the purpose of this dissertation.

Commentary

The conditions of exploitation in Jamaica did not change after 1938 but the way they were discussed did change. The vocabulary used in reference to the power relations now had to include nationality, race and class in negotiations between investors and the colonial administration.⁵⁵ But according to Joan French, the reforms undertaken by the colonialists suggest they were also interested in reducing the protagonism of women who were active in the workers' movement and had participated in the uprising. (French, 1988, pp.38-41) Expelling women from the factories, the farms and the labour unions became government policy, with the support of the middle classes. This situation, which was extended to the government relief projects, did not receive the attention of the small Marxist collective in the texts that I have been able to examine about the period in question.

Race, gender and the popular traditions were absent from the cultural politics of the Jamaican group, which did not appear to explore the multiple catalysts which came together in 1938: the organization of work, race, class, gender, nationalism, syncretic spirituality, Pan-Africanism, agrarian reform, and unemployment.⁵⁶ I have not found evidence to support a claim about efforts to research the cultural histories of the majorities, to reconstruct its

continuities or participate in activities where the relations of power could be discussed at cultural events.

In contrast, the N.W.C.S.A. in Trinidad had used calypso shows held in urban cinemas to connect local events with the situation across the oceans. The campaign begun in 1939 opposed the participation of colonial subjects in support of imperial war efforts, while their basic rights were denied. To organize unions in the sugar plantations and oilfields, the public meetings and marches continued. The third national project of the year was reviving the celebration of Emancipation Day through activities which connected the resistance of the slaves and the abolition movement with the events of June 1937. That more recent series of strikes was considered the beginning of another abolition movement, which needed to remember the struggle for freedom of their slave ancestors. Until 1945 the construction of that critical memory was the small group's priority, giving meaning to their other campaigns.⁵⁷

To remember means to run through the heart again. In 1940, the colonial administration increased the repression against people connected with independent publications: the editor of Callaloo and Picong, Jean de Boissiere, was charged with libel, the offices of The People were searched; and the home of Albert Gomes, who will be mentioned again, was also searched.⁵⁸

In 1940, the Jamaican P.N.P. favoured the nationalization of public services and the sugar industry, land reform and workers' cooperatives. (Guerin, 1961, pp.126-128) At the same time the Marxist Left was excluded from Public Opinion in February and on March 9, they had to close down their own newspaper The Worker. Without autonomous connections with the peasants or workers, the small group promoted study groups in the Left Book Club, the Negro Workers Education League and the Kingston branches of the P.N.P. where they had some influence. But the multiplying effect was reduced because of the cross-membership between these organizations. In the slums of West Kingston, Ken Hill also organized two discussion groups among Rastafari who respected his capacity to speak in their terms, as a Brown man who did not forget his origins. (Chevannes, 1994, p.149)

When the Left took their proposals (for the use of Marxist analysis in the party, linking independence to the priorities of the workers, calling for a Constituent Assembly, and putting the members of the propaganda committee on the Executive) to the annual meeting of the P.N.P. in August, 1940 they lost on every vote. They only won two of eighteen seats on the Executive Council. Their efforts to gain influence inside the party by the quality of their work among the white collar sector, weakened the small group's efforts with the Negro Worker's Education League in

the slums of West Kingston. Marching in the streets with red flags to protest Bustamante's arrest on September 9 did not unite the unions, the P.N.P. and the Left for very long.

Final Observations

During the 1930s radical Brazilian historians such as Caio Prado, Jr. and Aderbal Jurema were publishing materials about the popular movements which had challenged the State in previous centuries. From the evidence presented here I cannot conclude that organizations such as the Frente Negra or the communists incorporated the lessons from that research (about the religious fanatics, the Maroon wars or the anarcho-syndicalists). Nor did these organizations adopt the popular movements, retrieved by the radical historians, as their predecessors. The socialist feminists with whom Ofelia Domínguez Navarro worked in Cuba offered a contrast in that regard. The Cubans did link race, class and nation in the construction of a knowing subject who referenced their history. As with the Cuban women, the small group in Trinidad, the Negro Workers Social and Cultural Association (N.W.C.S.A.), used those links to question the premises of daily life. Without the anti-intellectual campaigns of the Brazilian communists, or the conflicts between the leaders and members of the Frente Negra, the N.W.C.S.A. studied the needs of the popular sectors, educated organizers and created oppositional institutions.

With regard to their communication strategies, the small groups in Jamaica and Trinidad evoked experiences of communal empowerment (such as slave rebellions and the struggle for abolition) in their education campaigns. Out of their critical conversations about shared problems, the radical collectives in Cuba and Trinidad discussed in this section developed a common vocabulary with verifiable support. Galvão, the Frente Negra, and "the Left" in Jamaica identified situations, documents and accents which had been excluded from the official story. But it was the groups in Cuba and Trinidad which combined race, class, gender and nationalism in ways that encouraged communication across social movements. This was especially so with the N.W.C.S.A. in Trinidad, which made connections between the popular conceptions of cooperative means and goals with a non-racialist, internationalist perspective that incorporated women, Asians, pan-Africanists, labour, and anti-colonialists. This was the same collective which demonstrated the concrete operations of the social theories behind the shared vocabulary by identifying opportunities to intervene against regional patterns in the exercise of power. What stands out is the way the N.W.C.S.A. redefined the means of communication which organized their collective actions in order to address all aspects of daily life.

The overall impact of individuals like Patricia Galvão in the context of their times did not compare

favorably with that of collectives whose organized activity was connected with the popular movements. In terms of providing a history of the present relations of force neither the Frente Negra's publications nor Galvão's Homen do Povo compared with the encounters during the Hunger Marches, the public conversations, or the research about living conditions conducted in Trinidad. After 1940 "the Left" in Jamaica proposed an analysis of workers' and peasants' unmet needs, but the opportunity to implement the research only arose the year before disbanding. During the period considered here, the Trinidad collective was the one which created conditions that allowed them to verify the support for proposals that are still pertinent in the 1990s. In the intellectual tradition of McIntosh and Padmore, the N.W.C.S.A. in Trinidad represented the self-organization of workers who integrated manual and mental tasks, incorporated women into the leadership, and seized the initiative on a regional scale. Like the Jamaicans who exchanged information with the British Communist Party, the Trinidadians did so with Padmore's African Bureau, and the Brazilians with the COMINTERN office in Buenos Aires, Argentina. By sending one of their organizers to Barbados, the N.W.C.S.A. also extended the definition of cooperation.

After 1940, the Left's investment in the P.N.P.'s structures left them little time for autonomous work in the Negro Workers Education League of West Kingston. By 1942 the

growing influence of the Left in the General Council, the Executive and department heads mobilized the party in labour organizing and membership education. The reaction of the colonial government was to arrest and intern Richard Hart, Arthur Henry, Ken and Frank Hill for six months. Hart had also been lecturing about Black Resistance to slavery in terms considered seditious. After their release in March 1943, the Federation of Government Employees was launched, but less than a year later, in February 1944, the radical collective in the P.N.P. ceased to function. Later that year the P.N.P. lost the elections to Bustamante's Labour Party.

Meanwhile the N.W.C.S.A. sedition trials in Trinidad had led them to set up campaigns of constant labour mobilization, which integrated the 1937 uprising and the abolition of slavery. They also had been active in opposing military conscription until 1944, and like the Jamaican radicals, attended the 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress organized by George Padmore. Between 1945 and 1952 the successor of the N.W.C.S.A., the West Indies Independence Party, tried to bring together an electoral majority. As part of their internationalist tradition they also attempted to coordinate their work with Cheddi Jagan's P.P.P. in British Guiana and the progressive wing of the Jamaican P.N.P.

In the third case study I will examine the historical background for the most advanced version of the

small radical organization. Between 1928 and 1932 a racially mixed group of writers and artists came together in Port of Spain, Trinidad to produce two magazines. One of the founders of that project then went to Great Britain where he simultaneously worked in two collectives of the sort discussed here. The first was part of the labour movement in Great Britain, and the second was a pan-Africanist research and education group. Both groups included workers and intellectuals who redefined social theories on the basis of their collaboration with social movements.

TABLE 2: SMALL GROUPS IN TRINIDAD

National Unemployment Movement (1934-1935)	National Welfare Cultural and Social Association (1935-1945)
*Dudley Mahon	*Dudley Mahon
*Jim Barrette	*Jim Barrette, labor organizer, attempted 1937 strike coordination; joined Worker's Freedom Movement (1945), executive
*Jim Headley worked in U.S.A.	
*Elma Francois	*Elma Francois (St. Vincent) ideologue
	*Bertie Percival (St. Vincent mother) oilfield worker, attempted 1937 strike coordination
	Rupert Gittens worked in France
	*Christina King writer, maintained information network; joined Worker's Freedom Movement (1945)
	*Adelaide Harrison secretary
	Matilde Goodridge social committee
*Clement Payne	*Clement Payne Chairman, organized workers in Barbados (1937)
	*Caesar Ashby
	*Christopher Harper
	*Gaskynd Granger Public Works and Public Service Workers Union (1937)
	Christopher Lynch delegate to 5th Pan-African Congress, Manchester, England (1945)
	Lucius Mondezie joined Worker's Freedom Movement (1945)
	Alfred Richards Federal Worker's Trade Union (1937)

* = leaders in N.U.M.

* = leaders of 1937 insurrection

TABLE 3: THE SMALL GROUPS IN JAMAICA

1937 Kingston Drama Club	1937 Kingston Readers/Writers Club	July 1938 -Feb 1944 Kingston "The Left"	Sep 1938 -Feb 1944 Kingston Metropolitan Group People's National Party (P.N.P.) Propaganda and Organizing (P.O.C.)	November, 1938 West Kingston Left Book Club	February 1939 Kingston Trade Union Council	October 1939 West Kingston Negro Workers' Education League
Una Marson (founder) - produced "Pocomania" play	Una Marson (founder)					
		Hugh C. Buchanan (mason)				
		Richard Hart (lawyer)	Richard Hart (ideologue)		Richard Hart	Richard Hart
Frank Hill - produced "Upheaval" play	Frank Hill	Frank Hill (journalist)	Frank Hill			Frank Hill
		W.A. McBean (clerk)	W.A. McBean	W.A. McBean (representative of British Left Book Club)		W.A. McBean
		A.A. Morris (clerk)	A.A. Morris			A.A. Morris
		C. Dawkins (printer)				
		Ken Hill (journalist)	Ken Hill (labour organizer)		Ken Hill	Ken Hill
		Arthur Henry (railway fitter)	Arthur Henry (labour organizer)	Arthur Henry		Arthur Henry
		Lionel Lynch (printshop worker)				
		Cecil Nelson (mason apprentice)	Cecil Nelson (lecturer)			Cecil Nelson
		T.G. Christian (clerk)				T. G. Christian
middle classes			middle classes	school teachers and Black workers		
			Roy Woodham			
			Henry R. Fowler			
			Grubb			
		Osmond Dyce (steel worker)	Osmond Dyce			
			C. Lindsay			
	H.G. de Lisser		G.S. Atherton			
	Aimee Webster					
	Elsie B. Barsoe					
Drama Club shared offices with Readers and Writers Club and P.N.P. and Propaganda and Organizing Committee (P.O.C.)			also created and controlled Cross Roads Group, P.N.P. and Worker's Correspondence College	Book sales, lending library, art exhibits, lectures, discussions. Another branch in Montego Bay.		Study groups had cross membership with Left Book Club and P.N.P. Link with workers and peasants at Back-o-Wall and the Dungle.

TABLE 4: MEDIA PRESENCE OF JAMAICAN GROUP

February 1937 <u>Public Opinion</u>	May 14, 1938 - July 15, 1939 <u>Labour Weekly</u>	Sept 19 - Nov 22, 1939 <u>Evening News</u>	Nov 22, 1939 - March 9, 1940 <u>The Worker</u>	October 25, 1942 - <u>The Masses</u>
O.T. Fairclough (one of 3 editors)				
H.P. Jacobs (one of 3 editors)				
	A.G.S. Coombs (founding editor)			
	H.C. Buchanan (founding editor)			
	Richard Hart			
Frank Hill (one of 3 editors)		Frank Hill, editor		Frank Hill, editor
W.A. McBean (Fridays)	W.A. McBean	W.A. McBean		
A.A. Morris (Fridays)	A.A. Morris			
Joy Aitken (Fridays)				
		A. Henry		
W. A. Domingo (contributor)	W. A. Domingo (contributor)			Olive McNeil, asst. to editor, intellectual from youth movement
Pearl Goulborne (Fridays)				
Lionel Lynch (Fridays)				
"Left" ran paper Feb. 1939 - Sept., 1939. Lost all clout after Feb., 1940	Hart, McBean, and Morris ran paper Dec. 17, 1938 - May, 1939. In May 1939 Buchanan leaves with them.	Government ordered all copy submitted for approval before publication.	Became a daily Dec. 27, 1939. Closed down for lack of readers and revenues.	Weekly newspaper

END NOTES

¹ Bob Quinn, Atlantean: Ireland's North African and Maritime Heritage (London: Quartet Books, 1986), pp.174-177.

This is what Audre Lorde calls ways of actively being through interdependence. See Audre Lorde, p.111; also Paul Gilroy and Alan Mackenzie, "Interview with C.L.R. James," Visions of History, ed. Henry Abelove (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp.266-267 where James describes the task of identifying what is necessary and portraying the activities undertaken by organized social movements to realize what is possible.

² See Vinay Bahl, "Reflections on the Recent Work of Sheila Rowbotham: Women's Movements and Building Bridges," Monthly Review, 48, No. 6 (New York: November, 1996), pp. 34-41.

³ Peter Linebaugh, pp.93-95, 103-104, 108-112. Even though colonialism is a common denominator of cultural awareness in the Caribbean region, cooperation across the region is limited by the different empires which occupied the islands. The result was an obstacle to cultural and economic exchanges overcome by the Black corsairs during the Maroon Wars, and by the maroon-intellectuals who turned cities like New York, London, Amsterdam and Paris into cultural capitals of the Caribbean. See George Lamming, The Pleasures of Exile (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992) Original, 1960 and Gordon Lewis, The Growth of the Modern West Indies (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969).

⁴ Florestán Fernandes, O Negro no Mundo dos Brancos (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1972), p. 15; Abdias do Nascimento, O Genocídio do Negro Brasileiro. Processo de um Racismo Mascarado (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Paz e Terra, 1978), pp. 41-47; Roger Bastide, p. 199 stresses the importance of the spiritual practices of self-affirmation that exemplify adaptation and reassembly in a new context.

⁵ Thomas E. Skidmore, "Race and Class in Brazil: Historical Perspectives," Race and Ethnicity in Latin America, ed. Jorge I. Domínguez (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), pp. 260-274; Roger Bastide and Florestán Fernandes, Brancos e Negros em São Paulo (São Paulo: Editorial Nacional, 1971), pp. 229-268; Roger Bastide, Estudos Afro-Brasileiros (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1973), pp. 129-156. Even the social history research of the São Paulo School (Fernandes, O. Ianni, Fernando H. Cardoso) during the 1950s did not recognize Black cultures.

⁶ Thomas E. Skidmore, "Racial Ideas and Social Policy in Brazil, 1870-1940," The Idea of Race in Latin America, ed. Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), pp. 11-21.

⁷ Florestán Fernandes, The Negro in Brazilian Society. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969; George Reid Andrews, Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, 1888-1988 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991). For more on the 1910 and 1911 revolts by the Black seamen in the Brazilian Navy see Edmar Morel, A Revolta de Chibota. Subsídios para a História de Revolta na Esquadra pelo Marinheiro João Candido em 1910 (Rio de Janeiro: --, 1963)

⁸ I am referring to the work of a mulatto named Nina Rodrigues.

⁹ Ronald H. Chilcote, The Brazilian Communist Party: Conflict and Integration, 1922-1972 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 143 and 319 (End Note 6). The preference for electoral politics during this period was shared by most Latin American communist parties, the January 1932 insurrection in El Salvador being the exception.

¹⁰ K. Lynn Stoner, "Ofelia Domínguez Navarro: The Making of a Cuban Socialist Feminist," The Human Tradition in Latin America, eds. William Beezley and Judith Ewell (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1987), pp.120-126; Gerard Pierre-Charles, Génesis de la Revolución Cubana (México, D.F.: Siglo XXI, 1978), p.105 (End Note 27).

¹¹ Ronald H. Chilcote, pp. 399-405.

¹² Ronald H. Chilcote, p. 408. The following subheadings for the division of the Brazilian section into periods were borrowed from Chilcote's history of the Brazilian Communist Party.

¹³ John W.F. Dulles, pp. 420-443.

¹⁴ The Universal Negro Improvement Association had chapters in the Americas, and supporters in Europe and Africa, which promoted entrepreneurship and heritage pride. They had a newspaper and commercial projects to reestablish connections with Africa. As a back-toAfrica movement the U.N.I.A. appealed primarily to Black Workers attracted by their self-help cooperatives.

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- 15 Susan K. Besse, Restructuring Patriarchy: The Modernization of Gender Inequality in Brazil, 1914-1940 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1996), pp. 182-183 and End Note 85, p. 247.
- 16 Augusto de Campos, ed. Pagú: Vida-Obra (Sao Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982) There are several articles in this anthology which cover the period in question.
- 17 John W.F. Dulles, pp. 455-482.
- 18 It is in regard to this consideration that the work of Paulo Freire and Jesús Ibáñez is important for the field of Communication. See Jesús Ibáñez, Más Allá de la Sociología. El Grupo de Discusión: técnica y crítica [Beyond Sociology. The Discussion Group: Technique and Critique] Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1986. pp.213-214. Original 1979.
- 19 K. Lynn Stoner, p.137. The book about Domínguez Navarro's time in jail would be published while in exile: De Seis a Seis (México, D.F.: n.p., 1937).
- 20 John W.F. Dulles, pp. 482-492.
- 21 John W.F. Dulles, pp. 492-495.
- 22 K. Lynn Stoner, p.137. Julio Antonio Mella had been assassinated in México by employees of the Cuban government in January, 1929.
- 23 Patricia Galvão, "Neoconcretismo," A Tribuna, Supplement 107 (Santos: April 12, 1959), p. 4. quoted by K. David Jackson in "Afterword" to Industrial Park (1993), pp. 118, 124-135; João Ribeiro, "Parque Industrial," Jornal do Brasil, January 26, 1933 quoted in Augusto de Campos, Pagú: Vida-Obra (1982), pp. 282-283.
- 24 Antonio Roseiro, "Pagú: vida-obra, obra vida, vida," Pagú-Vida-Obra, ed. Augusto de Campos (1982), pp.20-21; Geraldo Ferraz, Depois de Tudo (Sao Paulo: Paze Terra, 1983), p.106; Jayne Bloch, "Patricia Galvão: The Struggle against conformity," Latin American Literary Review, 14, No. 27 (1986), p.193; Susan K. Besse "Pagú: Patricia Galvão-Rebel," The Human Tradition in Latin America, eds. William Beezley and Judith Ewell (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1987), p.111.

25 Patricia Galvão, "Verdade e Liberdade," Pagú: Vida-Obra, ed. Augusto de Campos (Sao Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982), pp.188-189; Leoncio Basbaum, Uma Vida em Seis Teimpos. Memórias, (Sao Paulo: Alfa Omega, 1978), p. 119; Susan K. Besse, Restructuring Patriarchy: The Modernization of Gender Inequality in Brazil, 1914-1940, pp. 182-183.

26 The decision made at the October, 1934 meeting to promote an armed insurrection in Brazil was based on reports by people who lacked the means to evaluate the situation accurately. See John W.F. Dulles, pp. 517-530.

27 Even when party theorists had access to the research about earlier challenges to the State (like Aderbal Jurema, Insurreicoes Negras no Brasil. Recife: Casa Mozart, 1935) they may not have made the connection with the social movements which emerged in the 1930s. See Ronald H. Chilcote, p.17.

28 Thomas E. Skidmore, "Racial Ideas and Social Policy in Brazil, 1970-1940,) The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940, pp. 7-36. An example of their work at the time was Edgar Roquette-Pinto, ed., Estudios Afro-Brasileiros (Rio de Janeiro: Ariel, 1935) which included the work of Mario de Andrade about dance and popular festivals.

29 Ronald H. Chilcote, pp.43, 295 (Footnote 72).

30 Edison Carneiro, Religioes Negras, Notas de Etnografía Religiosa (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1936). This book about religions of African origin was used in Cuba by Fernando Ortiz. Carneiro was a member of Northeastern Modernists from Bahía, an anti-fascist and a historian of Black popular cultures in Brazil, especially in his region. Mario de Andrade also published in 1935 in the first issue of Lanterna Verde (1935) an article about the option of obedience or war represented in an Afro-Brazilian dance of Congolese origin. For more about Andrade, see TelePorto Ancona Lopez, Mario de Andrade: Ramais e Caminho (Sao Paulo:--, 1972).

31 Edison Carneiro, Candombles da Bahia (1937); Artur Ramos, As Culturas Negras no Novo Mondo (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1937); Rachel de Queiroz, Caminho de Pedras (Rio de Janeiro: Olympio, 1937). In the magazine of the municipal archive, Mario de Andrade published an article

about rural "paulista" samba in November, 1937 as well. The presidential campaign of 1937 was taking place at that time.

³² See A Famosa Revista (Rio de Janeiro: Americ-Editora, 1945).

³³ The columns by Galvão appeared in a Rio de Janeiro magazine, Vanguardia Socialista, between August 31, 1945 and May 24, 1946. See Jayne Bloch, pp. 193-195.

³⁴ See Ofelia Domínguez Navarro, 50 Años de Una Vida [Fifty Years in a Life](Havana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1971). This is Domínguez Navarro's autobiography. Another source is Melissa M. Prins, A Guide to the Women's Movement in Cuba, 1898-1958: the Stoner Collection on Cuban Feminism, ed. K. Lynn Stoner (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1991).

³⁵ J. Angelo Corlett, Analysing Social Knowledge (Lonham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1996), pp. 1-12.

³⁶ Melina Pappademos, "Romancing the Stone: Academe's Illusive Template for African Diaspora Studies," Issue-A Journal of Opinion, XXIV, No. 2 (Birmingham, Alabama: African Studies Association, 1996), pp. 38-39. In the 1890s the League brought together Jamaican, Haitian, Cuban, Dominican and Puerto Rican workers in New York City. The African Blood Brotherhood (1918-1925) in the United States may be the exception in terms of scholarly attention.

³⁷ Franklin Harvey, p.20. Just as the oil workers would assume that role as the most disciplined and organized sector of the working people in the thirties. Also see Susan Craig, Smiles and Blood. The Ruling Class Response to the Workers Rebellion of 1937 in Trinidad and Tobago (London and Port of Spain, New Beacon, 1988), p.13.

³⁸ Franklin Harvey, pp. 1-2, 20.

³⁹ Rhoda Reddock, The Life of Elma Francois (London and Port of Spain: New Beacon, 1988), pp. 6-14. For more details about G.A. McIntosh see Sir Rupert John, Pioneers in Nation Building in a Caribbean Mini-State, (New York: United Nations Institute for Training and Research, 1979).

⁴⁰ W. Burghard Turner and Joyce Moore Turner, Richard B. Moore. Caribbean Militant in Harlem: Collected Writings,

1920-1972 (London: Pluto, 1988), pp. 35, 38, 48, 50-51, 88-89. The organized presence of the Garvey movement must also be considered in regard to the impact of Caribbean migrants on the Black Cultural Renaissance in the U.S.A. during the twenties, see Roger Bastide, Las Américas Negras. Las Civilizaciones Africanas en el Nuevo Mundo (Madrid: Alianza, 1969), p. 199. See Theman R. Taylor, Cyrill Briggs and the African Blood Brotherhood: Another Radical View of Race and Class During the 1920s (University of California-Santa Barbara: Ph.D. Dissertation, History, 1981) and Ted Vincent, Keep Cool. The Black Activists Who Built the Jazz Age (London: Pluto Press, 1995) for other perspectives on the subject.

41 Ken Post, p. 133. Post is referring especially to the Jamaicans returning from Panamá, Costa Rica and Cuba without the prospect of temporary work or land for subsistence farming who were among the leaders of the 1938 workers' insurrection. I think the impact of the unemployed nomads with international experience applies to Trinidad as well.

42 Rhoda Reddock, pp.13-16.

43 Rhoda Reddock, pp.17-24.

44 Rhoda Reddock, pp. 23-27.

45 Ken W. Post, pp. 5-6, 137, 146, 176, 250, 256-257. For a consideration of that relation manifested in the rest of the region, see Juana Elbein Dos Santos and Deoscoredes M. Dos Santos, "Religión y Cultura Negra," [Religion and Black Culture] Africa en América Latina, ed. Manuel Moreno Fraginals (México D.F.: Siglo XXI/U.N.E.S.C.O. 1977), pp. 103-128.

46 Ron Ramdin, pp. 225-226. For more details on Uriah Butler's departure from Cipriani's Labour Party, campaign of public letters to the colonial Governor, trial for involvement in 1937 strike, 1939-1945 preventive detention and electoral participation, see: W.Richard Jacobs, ed., Butler vs. the King: Riots and Sediton in 1937 (Port of Spain, Trinidad: Key Caribbean Publication, 1976); Daniel Guerin, Cuatro Colonialismos Sobre las Antillas [Four Colonialisms over the Caribbean] (Buenos Aires: Editorial Palestra, 1959), pp.123-127; C.L.R. James, A History of Pan-African Revolt (Washington, D.C.: Drum and Spear, 1969), pp.88-93.

47 Rhoda Reddock, p. 37. The importance of solidarity among working peoples everywhere and the efforts to extend their information network beyond the Caribbean is not always recognized by specialists who refer to this group. An example of this is John La Guerre, The Politics of Communalism: the Agony of the Left in Trinidad and Tobago, 1930-1955 (St. Augustine, Trinidad: Pan Caribbean, 1982) original 1979.

48 Ken W. Post, pp. 278-281. On page 317 Post quotes the May 7, 1938 editorial in Public Opinion about the Westmoreland-Frome Estate riots.

49 Ken W. Post, pp. 280-291.

50 Honor Ford-Smith, p. 33; Ken W. Post, pp. 350-354, 383.

51 Ken W. Post, p. 321, 356.

52 See Walter E. Moyne, West India Royal Commission Report (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1945). Known as the Moyne Commission Report, the findings of the 1938 research tour could not be made public during the war for reasons of State.

53 Ken W. Post, Strike the Iron. A Colony at War. Jamaica 1939-1945. 2 Vols. (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1981), p. 432, 517; Evelyn J. Hawthorne, The Writer in Transition: Roger Mais and the Decolonization of Caribbean Culture (New York: P. Lang, 1989), p. 174; Ken W. Post, Arise Ye Starvelings, pp. 37-39, 314-316, 383. My debt to the work of Ken W. Post in the reconstruction of events in Jamaica between 1937 and 1939 cannot be overstated.

54 V.S. Reid, "The Cultural Revolution in Jamaica after 1938," delivered in Kingston, at the Institute of Jamaica, 1978, p. 13 (mimeo); Edward Brathwaite, "Introduction," Brother Man by Roger Mais (London: Heinemann, 1986), pp. v-xxi.

55 Ken W. Post, Arise Ye Starvelings, p. 452 (Note 71), 464.

56 Ken W. Post, Strike the Iron, p. 45, 47, 65, 175, 190. My own future research in this regard will compare their recruiting efforts in West Kingston (with the Negro Workers Education League), especially the preparatory research into cultural history, and the N.W.C.S.A.'s neighbourhood work.

If the minutes of the Jamaican group are available, the comparison could be extended to public conversations sought out by each collective.

⁵⁷ Rhoda Reddock, pp. 46-56.

⁵⁸ See Ralph de Bossiere, Crown Jewel (London: Picador, 1981) original 1952. The manuscript was started in 1935 and revised in 1940 to incorporate the workers' rebellion of 1937. The author joined the Federal Workers Trade Union, organized by the N.W.C.S.A., and the novel covers the period of persecution, censorship and repression which followed the strikes of 1937 in Trinidad. The text discusses the identity crisis of the colonized, particularly that of the coloured middle class which can't choose sides in the midst of the new world brought on by this turning point. Clifford Sealy, "Crown Jewel - a note on Ralph de Bossiere," Voices, 2, No. 3 (Port of Spain: March, 1973), pp. 1-3. Like Albert Gomes, who also joined the Federal Workers Trade Union, de Boissiere will be mentioned again in the next case study.

MEMORIES OF THE FUTURE.
MAROON INTELLECTUALS FROM THE CARIBBEAN AND THE SOURCES OF
THEIR COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES, 1925-1940

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VOLUME II

CHAPTER VI

TRINIDAD: ORIGINS OF SMALL GROUP PRAXIS

Retrospection

In the second case study I contrasted instances of limited communication (with the social movements) and instances of concerted production of awareness through daily practices which connected the popular with their excluded cultural history. The groups in Cuba and Trinidad took examples of separatists and abolitionists, who tried to change the organization of work, as references for the creation of more democratic communities in the 1930s. Such a sense of shared memories was particularly important to the N.W.C.S.A. in Trinidad and to the groups with which Domínguez Navarro collaborated in Cuba.

The Caribbean experience of intellectuals from the colonies who took their methods of injecting tension into power relations in order to reveal their organization to the imperial capitals will be considered in the third case study. This approach to the process of verification by a group of freely associated producers could be considered a contribution to the geography of praxis proposed in this dissertation. In their struggle against the repression of creativity and insular isolation, these maroon intellectuals were examples of the methods and practices about which they

were writing and teaching. Their work on sites of memory, oppositional cultures, and gateways to consciousness precedes that of Pierre Nora, James C. Scott and Wilson Harris as well.¹ The collective subjects, with whom these maroon intellectuals collaborated, were also inventing myths of belonging that would uncover common ways (of remembering, thinking, acting, and mastering the context) across the region. These findings are worth considering when trying to explain communication across the archipelago.

A common characteristic of the collaboration between social movements and thought collectives, from Cuba and Trinidad, discussed in the second case study was the constant verification of their social understanding through self-initiated mass mobilizations. In the conversations that preceded and followed such actions, the relation between the present and the excluded histories was addressed in a regional and trans-Atlantic perspective. It appeared that in Trinidad and Cuba, more so than in Brazil and Jamaica, the small groups considered the transformations in the power relations between competing interests which would make communication between them possible. It seems to me that the sense of solidarity and cooperation in the region which was promoted by this small groups-social movements collaboration was not only an effort to acknowledge the connections with a global community of working people, but also a means of exchanging experiences about the transformation of those

power relations which prevented communication. Their interest in autonomous media and meetings abroad suggest a concern with gaining access to the international discussions of the day (about race, class, gender, anti-colonialism and the spiritual vacuum of urban life).

Social movements become organized co-thinkers identifying the connections which permit continuities in their collective memories. Those continuities are critically appropriated in the conversations among allies overcoming the institutional obstacles to popular practices. Another characteristic among the small groups in the second case study was the effort to identify the common denominators across social movements which connected these with the pioneering efforts of self-emancipation among slaves and indentured workers. After the colonial administration in Trinidad revived a slavery law to restrict collective bargaining in December, 1938 the Negro Welfare Cultural and Social Association (N.W.C.S.A.) began to commemorate Emancipation Day August 1, 1939. Abolition was the outcome of a long campaign of self-organized mobilizations which included slave rebellions, escapes and uprisings (such as those in Tobago between 1770 and 1774). Those annual public meetings after August, 1939 generated interest in the historical examples of collective self-emancipation which resulted in the reorganization of the social order. The participants were reminded by the N.W.C.S.A. speakers that

the labour uprising of June 1937 was the beginning of another emancipation campaign.

Those present at the yearly gatherings may not have discussed the concepts of popular sovereignty which emerged from the French Revolution, but the means of achieving dual power during slavery were not far removed from their collective memories. Six examples from Appendix A should suffice to make the point: the communities in the Bahoruco Mountains of southern Haiti between 1720 and 1860s, the Maroon Wars in the Guianas between 1726 and 1862, the liberation movement in Haiti and Martinique between 1791 and 1804, the Maroon resistance in Guadeloupe between 1785 and 1848, the slave insurrection in sixty Barbados plantations during Easter 1816 and separatist conspiracies of slaves, maroons, and radical white creoles in Cuba, Jamaica and Brazil between 1837-1844.²

For the small collectives of the 1920s and 1930s these historical precedents were also examples of regional communication networks where the popular had adapted the dominant thought styles in order to speak for themselves. In those historical precedents, creoles of African/Asian/European descent working as domestic servants had become teachers and counsellors in the Maroon communities. In both time periods the conflict expressed through forms of the popular which consciously challenged mass culture.³ Those issues expressed in the Maroon

insurrections, which reappeared in the workers' uprisings of the 1920s and 1930s, are still important to Communication scholars who want to understand the popular as means of discovery under adversity.

Despite the efforts of the colonial administration the interventions of the N.W.C.S.A. evolved to the point where they extended to Barbados, British Guiana and Jamaica. In comparison with their contemporaries in Jamaica and Brazil, the small group in Trinidad was able to adapt the cultural experience of the members who had lived in France and the United States to the urban living conditions which they had researched and tried to change.

It is in this sense that I referred to the members of these small groups as maroon intellectuals, using a concept which emerges from the experience studied. When the social movements in the 1920s and 1930s took to the streets it was not because the small radical organizations had helped them rediscover their cultural past, but because they discovered together that the colonial occupation was an obstacle to taking charge of their present. Popular praxis had transformed a reality impossible to change into an unbearable situation which was impossible to accept. (Laing and Cooper, 1971, p.130) To intervene against the institutions which reproduced the present, the social movements needed to identify those who shared their history and their goals. (Fanon, 1967, pp. 227-229; Linebaugh, 1993,

p.203) What the small radical groups contributed were opportunities to generate an autonomous perspective from those information exchanges about their living conditions and the international situation. In the second case study, the groups which integrated theory and practice were able to identify situations where the liberating methods of thinking and acting were already in existence.⁴ It was the practice of verifying theory that made communication possible, explaining the social relations and the continuity of the daily struggles to change them.

Despite sharing common problems, the way in which the determinants of culture were combined in each Caribbean colony at different times produced specific results. Thus the evolution and development of the small groups under consideration must also be considered in relation to their own specific context. The examination of the possibilities for organized action pursued by each collective of maroon intellectuals can then reveal the specificity of each case.⁵ How did their cultural interventions help the social movements reveal the conflicts which defined the society as a whole? How did the thought style they proposed and practiced differ from the dominant theories, explanations and logic? How did they help the social movements combine manual and mental work? Finally, how did the small radical groups connect the initiatives of the social movements and

the reaction of the institutions which restrained the majority's democratic needs?⁶

Popular protests in Cuba between 1923 and 1933 or in Trinidad between 1933 and 1937, were preceded by conversations with the strategic methodology of military science. The workers, women, blacks, nationalists seized the initiative to question the context and its institutions in ways analogous to war: questions were modified, answers were challenged, valid interlocutors were identified, the roles of questioner and respondent were exchanged dialogically. Interwoven with the public performance which met the dominant expectations of their interactions with the dominated, the climate of insurgency in Brazil, Cuba, Jamaica and Trinidad was evidence of an interrogating initiative analogous to war.

As the basic cultural institution war also synchronized the interactions between adversaries in confrontation. (Ibáñez, 1986, p.150) Each side tried to integrate all the accessible information about the battlefield, while encouraging the other to fragment what they knew. Such a relation between the emerging popular subjects and the dominant institutions excluded conscious cooperation between opposing forces of culture.⁷ That was the case in a region which had been a battlefield during centuries of invasions, forced labour and opposition to state terror.

During this period between 1925 and 1940 the radical intellectuals like Domínguez Navarro reached out to the popular movements in Cuba through several womens' organizations, the popular university, and the workers' movement. In Trinidad the Black Workers organized themselves and made alliances with South Asian agricultural labourers, pan-Africanists and separatists. In both cases they were using the dominant ideas to construct an integrated understanding of the time and space in which they confronted the opposing forces. The social movements were confirmed as collective subjects as they changed the context through their organized activity. (Guattari, 1984, pp.11-23; Ibáñez, 1986, p.193, 233) Producing an explanation of the relations of force to be transformed required a conceptual vocabulary and methods of analysis which identified the parts of the totality, the connections between them, and the reference points in a map of the battlefield which integrated the ends and the means. (Piccini, 1987, p.42) Such an oppositional version of the context confirmed by the mobile transgressions which I have called organized activity were invented, taught and defended in spaces of unsupervised communication among the subordinate.⁸

As the social movements analyzed these popular culture practices with the small radical organizations, they learned about the similarities and differences between the periods of slavery and waged labour but also about the limits of the

dominant cultural leadership. The systems of communication thus created to evaluate all of their social experience were also evidence of thought styles developed and learned to challenge official cultures. They were preceded by analogous efforts which survived the militarization of daily life and the enslaved who informed against their own.

There were several oppositional institutions which nurtured networks of reciprocal solidarity even after the abolition of forced labour. Some of the public means of actualizing the continuities with those institutions included the creole languages which recorded excluded histories in songs, stories, modes of worship and evening games. Mutual loyalties among the popular were also nurtured publicly under the guise of music, dance, herbal medicine, modes of dress and cooking. Larger gatherings such as market days, processions, carnivals, rest periods and burials could even produce exchanges between plantations, villages or countries. Through these webs of popular communication it was possible to organize conscious cooperation until the end of the 19th century, resulting in expropriations of tools and weapons, escapes, executions and rebellions.⁹

Among the historical precedent of the popular, the Maroon communities represented the most comprehensive example of the oppositional institutions which kept the slavers' society under a continual siege. The nomadic initiatives of these cultural forces certainly had military

significance, but they are important in a dissertation about communication strategies for other reasons as well. Despite the permanent state of war, even after abolition, the Maroon communities were models of self-sufficiency based on voluntary work. Another reason was that the Maroon experience offered the opportunity to learn from their own mistakes. That was not the case in slave revolts where the options were victory or death. Those Maroon republics which promoted efforts to seize control of all the territory under European occupation, in order to transform the organization of work, could also be considered as sites of popular culture.

While trying to explain the interest of the activist-intellectuals in the historical Maroons, I have also considered the efforts to destroy their rearguard bases and to exclude them from public discussion. The evidence examined in the previous case study suggests that small groups like the N.W.C.S.A. in Trinidad were helping the popular intervene in several aspects of daily life, in order to overcome the isolation imposed by the colonial administration and seize the initiative.

Introduction to the Third Case Study

The period which C.L.R. James spent in the United States (1938-1953) was characterized by intense political work in small radical organizations which improved on the

theories practiced by the groups examined thus far. Johnson-Forest and Correspondence were groups that demonstrated a critical mastery of radical thought, attention to mass culture, and popular history which informed their research methods and practice.¹⁰ Their production of books, pamphlets, and the Correspondence newspaper were part of a conscious effort to demonstrate ways of overcoming the division of manual and mental work, the separation of theory and practice. Several people would contribute materials about a particular theme from newspaper clippings, collected direct experience, and annotated texts which were then written up by one to three persons. The manuscripts, which tried to explore specific theoretical or concrete situations were often circulated among the members for commentaries, additions, and revisions before being published under several pseudonyms.¹¹ What I am interested in examining are the origins of this praxis research method, which recorded the evolution of popular critique at the same time its development was promoted.¹² By the 1950s the Correspondence committees were creating networks in which the cooperative activity of putting direct experience in its social context created opportunities for an autonomous perspective. The publication encouraged written reactions from readers, becoming a record of their current thinking about the problems they could not solve alone, their place in the

country's history, and the international tendencies in which the social movements were situated.¹³

According to Robert A. Hill, James had previously participated in small radical organizations during the 1932-1938 period the latter spent in England. In a passage from his essay on the subject Hill (1986, p.69) states:

"By 1937, however, the conjunction of Pan-African agitation and organized Trotskyism was complete, for not only was James advocating both objectives simultaneously but he had become part in both cases of the type of organized activity, which would characterize the rest of his entire political career, namely, the small Marxist organization. This is a distinct political formation with deep historical roots and deserves much greater scholarly attention than it has hitherto received."¹⁴

The preface to the April, 1937 publication of World Revolution, 1917-1936 suggests that one of the small groups in England mentioned by Hill was part of an international network of similar organizations which exchanged interpreted research materials. I will examine the small collectives in which James participated before going to Great Britain, and the context for his organized activity while in the empire's capital. As in the previous cases I will be looking for organizations of both manual and mental workers such as the popular university in Cuba or the N.W.C.S.A. in Trinidad whose collective praxis was undertaken in reciprocity with

social movements which combined race, class, and nationalism.¹⁵

Part 1: Trinidad

James finished school at Queen's Royal College in Port of Spain when the first world war veterans were returning with experiences that would change Trinidad's cultural climate. During the war they quickly became "modern men", and upon their return disillusioned with the slow pace of colonial democratization. Many of these veterans received publications distributed by seamen, who also brought news about popular struggles across the region. When James joined the sports club of the brown-skinned middle classes, he chose those with whom he shared abstract common interest. But that choice also kept him away from the sports club with whom the progressive Blacks identified, denying him the exchanges which could have accelerated his political development. (James, 1983, pp.55-59)

The period between 1919 and 1937 in Trinidad was a new stage in the conflict between the organized workers and the local middle classes allied with the colonial administration. One of the questions of the period was what policies could mobilize the workers. In 1919 there were strikes in the oil and asphalt fields, as well as in the capital city docks in November. At that time the dock workers were the best organized and most disciplined sector

among the salaried workers. Between 1919 and 1921 James also joined a literary club of Black lawyers, doctors and teachers called the Mavericks. This second group also had little interaction with the popular sectors. At that time and until 1923 James was a temporary teacher at his former school. (LaGuerre, 1971, p.1) The sports club, the social club, and the colonial school were situations that rarely intersected with the strikers or the labour unrest which continued during 1920. That year the colonial administration banned the distribution of seditious publications brought in by the boat workers. When James and his father (who was also a teacher) started a private school in 1923 the enterprise did not reduce the gap that separated them from the popular. The same year that James' school was opened, one of his childhood friends, George Padmore, went to study medicine in the United States.

By the time of the 1925 riots in Trinidad James had met one of those war veterans, a Portuguese creole named Alfred Mendes. What started as an exchange of books and conversations about European cultures soon became a racially mixed group of European creoles, Eurasians, mulattoes, South Americans, Chinese, Blacks, and South Asian progressives interested in books, reading each other, and discussing music or graphic arts. The meetings were held at the homes of Mendes, James, Joseph da Silva or Ralph De Boissière. (Sander, 1988, pp.27-29; Singh, 1985, pp.18-32) All the

members of the group had access to a collection of European literature, British newspapers, and magazines from France, the U.S.A. and Britain subsidized by Mendes' father. Within the limitations of the intellectual tradition which had adopted European models, cultural activity in the Caribbean colonies emulated the post-abolition village circles of school masters and parsons. The membership of the group around Mendes and James included the headmaster at Queen's Royal College (A.C. Farrell), a violinist and music critic (Sonny H. Macdonald), a physiologist (Dr. Thomas), an English archaeologist (Austin Nolte-Bullbrook), a painter (Amy Appang) and a librarian (Carleton Comma). There was also an upper middle class woman (Kathleen Archibald, related to Algernon Wharton), a Black man (Ernest A. Carr), a Barclay's Bank employee (John Vickers or John Basford) and someone named Daly. The core of the group, who remained to work in the second magazine were a Portuguese Creole businessman (Joseph da Silva), an Anglo-German Creole and painter (Hugh Stoll-Meyer), an English Creole from Barbados (Frank V. Evans), a lawyer who would become an editorialist (Algernon Wharton), a geneticist who also became an editorialist (Dr. Sydney Harland), a Mulatto from the French Creole aristocracy (Ralph A.C. de Boissière), Alfred H. Mendes and C.L.R. James. (See Table 5 preceeding the End Notes) Given the stratified restrictions of class, race, colour, nationality, and gender which existed at the time,

such a mixture of people interacted in a created context of abstract interests where the relations of power were temporarily suspended. In public they could not treat each other as peers but they exchanged ideas among themselves and with the writers who visited Trinidad. (Beshoff, 1986, pp.23-24; Sander, 1973, p.69)

In October, 1927 one of James' short stories appeared in Saturday Review, and it was included in a London anthology the following year. (O'Brien, 1928) During 1927 James had also begun listening to Andrew Arthur Cipriani, a representative of labour and nationalism in the colonial legislative council. In 1928 Albert Gomes went to study in the U.S.A.; the following year the group which had been meeting to discuss the arts decided to publish their writing in the form of a literary anthology. The first issue of Trinidad edited by Mendes and James appeared in December, 1929. By then James had become a civil servant with a permanent posting at the government's Teacher Training College, teaching literature and history. He had also married a Chinese woman named Juanita Young, who was a secretary stenographer at a law firm. (Cudjoe, 1995, p.315) James was then busy with marriage, a civil service job, sports, the discussion group, the magazine, and doing research on labour history at the public library for a biography about Cipriani. James was also writing about sports, culture and politics in the newspaper of the

Trinidad Workingmen's Association, The Socialist. (Hall, 1992, pp.4-5; Hall, 1996, p.5, 18; Kelley, 1995, p.4)

Trinidad Magazine

Within the British territories, Trinidad pioneered a literature of social realism. The stories about barrack yard slum life and sexual desire as well as the poetry were innovations in subject matter, organization of ideas, and use of the creole language. Some of the writers in the group, like Mendes and James, did research work in marginalized communities where they gathered material for their stories with the neighbourhood's assistance. (Sander, 1973, p.71) Among the lives and values of the "lower" classes these writers found lessons unavailable in the European literature. James in particular did long interviews which were then presented in his stories as conversations among popular characters. One example is "Triumph" which appeared in the first issue of the magazine.¹⁶ Events like the recent war and the Russian Revolution had made the group members more aware of colonialism's international character, so one of the magazine's goals was to encourage discussion about Trinidad's colonial status. The second issue edited by Mendes alone and appearing in Easter 1930 included more art work. A copy was sent to Albert Gomes who was studying at New York City College. (Sander, 1973, p.67)

While Gomes was in New York, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights published The Liberator, edited by Cyril V. Briggs. This journal combined class struggles and Pan-Africanism with the promotion of a Black nationalist literary movement. In this publication the tradition of popular struggles was recognized and research into cultural history was encouraged as part of their political task. The Liberator gave the readers access to an autonomous tradition of oppositional cultures. (Kelley, 1994, pp.40-46) According to James, what Gomes took back to Trinidad, in the second semester of 1930, was his experience with literary circles of writers and with legalized racial discrimination. (Beshoff, 1986, p.25) At that time in Trinidad the seven elected members of the legislative council still lacked effective power and British policy still considered their subordinates did not understand self-government when they asked for it. (Samaroo, 1974, p.X1) If the colonials acted on their ignored demands the interlocking interests of the investors, civil service and colonial administration treated the organized mobilizations as seditious.

When Gomes returned home at age 19, he sought out the group which had published Trinidad, and by March 1931 de Boissière, da Silva, Evans, Wharton, Harland, Mendes, James, and Gomes were publishing a second magazine with the support of two people in the U.S.A. Their goal was to give

expression to previously excluded positions that revealed the parochialism and contradictions of the colonial system. The movement of written protest was sustained by a network of contributors who discovered their shared oppositions in the pages of The Beacon (1931-1933). (Gomes, 1974, pp.17-18) There were enough debates about race, religion and morality to bring the group to the attention of the colonial police, the Catholic Church, and the university-trained middle classes.

The Beacon Group as the origin of a concept and method

The Beacon was the literary dissidence of a multi-racial group concerned about the lower classes and rejected by the elites. Some of the people who joined the group after the publication started, were: a woman with Russian relatives (Olga Yaatoff Gittens), an Newfoundland woman interested in Indian mysticism (Beatrice Greig), an English man who had edited a magazine in another Caribbean island (Stephen Haweis), a Ukrainian painter (Vassilief), an English creole from Barbados who wrote about Trinidad (W.R.H. Trowbridge), another English man (Dr. W.V. Tothill), the personification of rebellious life (Jean de Boissière), a Black Trinidadian trade unionist (Ralph Mentor), a South Asian law student (Adrian C. Rienzi) and another Black Trinidadian named Joshua E. Ward. (see Table 6 preceding End Notes) Their art discussions and magazine work provided the

only context in which the members of the group could meet as equals in colonial Trinidad. If the people of colour in the group were to achieve positions of responsibility and career recognition they would have to leave their country to the expatriates. (James, 1980, pp.239-241)

The Beacon group insisted that the stories be located among the working people in the Caribbean region. However, it should be pointed out that the causes of the conflicts represented in the stories were seldom identified, and the protagonists of those stories did not seize the initiative in opposing their exploiters. In this regard, Ralph de Boissière's Crown Jewel, which includes a section about the 1937 general strike, surpasses the early fiction of James and Mendes by turning the material conditions into a social problem which the popular sectors attempted to solve.¹⁷ At the same time writers in other British territories were taking notice and in the 1940s similar publications were started in Barbados (1942), Jamaica (1943) and British Guiana (1945).

Between March 1931 and November 1933 The Beacon had a run of 28 issues. "It was anti-capitalistic and anti-ecclesiastical, bohemian and iconoclastic," according to Reinhard W. Sander. (1995, p.41) The social commentary was extended to regional and international, as well as national issues. Despite police visits, threats of arrest, church

pressures on the advertisers, negative reviews from the pulpit and opposition from some business people there was a growing interest among readers in a public forum which put current events in historical perspective. There were articles about foreign affairs, about Caribbean cultural history and the migrants' place of origin. The arts were promoted through the publication of drawings which illustrated the daily lives of the common people, and critical reviews of the art exhibits then hanging in Trinidad.

The Beacon published articles from banned journals which itinerant seaman delivered to the editor's house. The perspective of that radical smuggled literature was adopted when the group intervened in public debates through the magazine: emphasizing the relation between class and race, promoting historical research, denouncing the social conditions in other Caribbean colonies, and setting up a section of the magazine about Asia. (Sander, 1977) From the outset The Beacon was connected with progressives in the U.S.A.: Sheldon Christian, from The New Republic magazine and Nathan Schneider (from the same publication) who participated in determining policy at The Beacon as associate editor until October 1931. Schneider was also the representative of The Beacon in the U.S.A. (Sander, 1988, p.45; Sander, 1977, p.XV111) As the magazine intervened in

public controversies, the pressures of the Church on the advertisers was complemented by visits from the colonial police to the writers and advertisers. When the magazine ceased publication in November, 1933 advertising was increasing and they did not have financial problems. (Sander, 1977, p.XX111)

In the first issue of The Beacon James had a short story about a clash between two prostitutes in a yard and another article.¹⁸ In the second issue another of his short stories "Revolution" was published, in the form of an interview with an insurgent against the Gómez dictatorship in Venezuela. The story contradicted the official version in the commercial media and presented the events in terms that were similar to the daily lives of the common people in Trinidad. With the fourth issue of the first volume, the magazine began to carry editorials commenting on foreign control of the Trinidad economy, independence, and the West Indian Federation. Through the combination of editorials, letters to the editors, sections (on art, music, India, and book reviews) the debates promoted by the magazine, and the manuscripts submitted by people across the island The Beacon became a reference point for public opinion. The editorials were expanded in the second volume with further commentary. There were also articles about solutions to local problems

which had been implemented elsewhere and veiled references to local issues in articles about foreign affairs.

In July 1931 Gomes received a visit from the colonial police in his house because of an article in which Black Americans were urged to resist discrimination. That same year the October issue included an article, by a baker apprentice named Cummings, about the living conditions in some tenements owned by the Catholic Church.¹⁹ James Cummings was also a printer apprentice involved in trade union organizing. The same issue included a second article about the consequences of living under those conditions. Gomes and Cummings worked together during several meetings preparing the baker's article for publication. During that year the legislative council was discussing a divorce project submitted by the colonial administration. The Catholic Church and Cipriani opposed it but The Beacon's editorials supported it. Cipriani was criticized in the magazine often after the bill was approved. James was writing a biography of Cipriani at this time. (His version of the divorce debate can be found in Chapter Seven of James' biography).

Cipriani and the Trinidad Workingmen's Association stood for negotiated concessions from the employers without unions or strikes. They also symbolized self-government based on universal adult suffrage and the West Indies Federation. The group which produced The Beacon was divided

on the question of giving all the workers the vote. To me it is not clear from the content of the articles whether they were all in agreement about self-government. The Beacon group rejected crown colony status, lamented that the British did not grant dominion status to territories with non-white majorities and opposed self-government and universal suffrage, according to Sander. (1973, p.76) If that were the extent of their editorial line, it would situate them against the demands of progressive industrial and agricultural workers. It should be pointed out, however, that they did support campaigns among the popular to organize unions, procure unemployment insurance, denounced exploitation of shop girls, and rejected South African investment in the oilfields. (Sander, 1988, p.36)

After James' departure

During 1931 James had been preparing to travel abroad and in March, 1932 went to Great Britain with Learie Constantine's help. Constantine was a professional cricketer who played in Nelson, Lancashire. James was to help Constantine write his autobiography but they had met as opponents since Constantine belonged to the Black sports club James had not joined. He left with the manuscripts for the Minty Alley novel and the Cipriani biography. That same year The Beacon started a regular section on South Asia

after the May issue. Since the section ignored the material conditions of the South Asians living in Trinidad, the space devoted to religion and politics in India also divided the group. The magazine continued to publish historical research which demonstrated how the popular sectors had organized to defend their interests, about the arrival of the French creoles fleeing the Haitian revolution, the historical origins of carnival and its place in the national identity. Henry C. Alexis' article about the riots in 1903 is an example of popular self-organizing to act in defense of their common interests: when the colonial administration raised the price of water, the people burned down the government house.

James' biography of Cipriani was published in Lancashire, England in September, 1932. The issue of The Beacon bearing the same date included an editorial devoted to the book. It was considered an inefficient critique of the colonial government, which did not explain Cipriani's political principles. According to the editorialist the best part of the book was the one devoted to the colour question. This was an important agreement in the context of the controversy published in The Beacon about the biological justification of racism, a debate in which James had participated. However, the editorialist considered that if James had made the connection between race, class, and colonialism the result would have been a better book.²⁰

Another commentary by Joshua E. Ward in the same issue stated that the book was a disappointment on the divorce law issue despite the accurate presentation of the racial animosity between the classes in Trinidad.²¹ Ralph Mentor also reviewed the Cipriani biography in the next issue. According to that reviewer the attack on British colonialism outweighed the scarce information about the personality in question but the section about the shared interests of the Blacks and South Asians was realistic.²²

Commentary about Part 1

From an examination of The Beacon collection as a whole I found evidence of an effort to identify references about popular resistance to which the readers seldom had direct access. Through direct(ed) research in the neighbourhoods or through the collective discussions of articles submitted by workers or villagers, the people in The Beacon group were trying to understand the society in which they lived. Later James would say that the authors from the 1930s could write independently because they could look on a tradition they understood (but were not a part of) as outsiders. (James, 1980, pp.243-244) James' statement suggests that as the middle classes discovered the popular means of communicating an oppositional understanding of the social problems, ways of thinking and acting which were independent of European norms became a possibility for the middle classes.

Gordon O'Bell was a Panamanian of Barbadian parents whose poetry was published in The Beacon. Bell was the editor of The Forum Quarterly (1931-1934) for the Forum Club in Barbados, a group interested in the Black cultural histories of the Americas. Despite exchanges of articles with such individual writers in Barbados, and the fact that some writers from other British colonies visited them in Trinidad, the evidence available at this time does not suggest that The Beacon group made persistent efforts to communicate with similar groups.²³ When the magazine ceased publication in November, 1933 the group which produced it had contributed to questioning the legitimacy of the premises which justified the relations of force then dominant across the Caribbean.

According to Sylvia Wynter, the premise of the existing order was that the division between the colonizer and the colonized was not race, class, gender, or the pursuit of self-government but the capacity to understand and obey rules which were natural and reasonable. (Wynter, 1992, pp.69-72) Thus when The Beacon group presented the desires and fantasies with which the popular organized their lives, as alternatives the middle classes could explore with the working majorities, they were proposing terms with which the relations of force could be redefined. However the members of The Beacon group were not in agreement about race, class,

adult suffrage, or self-government being the main catalyst of that redefinition.

Some like James reacted to the colonial limitations by seeking to create abroad the careers they were denied at home. Others like Gomes, Rienzi, and Thomasos gained employment as elected officials in the colonial government. Gomes was elected to the Legislative Council in 1938, Rienzi became mayor of San Fernando in 1939 and Thomasos joined the Legislative Council in 1951. Ralph Mentor and Ralph de Boissière practiced their ideas in industrial unions which were still victims of threats and restrictions after being legalized in 1932. Mentor was General Secretary of the Oil Workers Trade Union between 1937 and 1951, becoming deputy mayor of San Fernando in 1945 and government labour inspector in 1951.

These were the experiences in groups which were not parties (nor were trying to seize control from the civil service or the government) which James took to England in 1932. He had been planning the trip since the period in 1929 when he researched Cipriani's biography and wrote Minty Alley, James' interest in the daily lives of the common people was the result of studying the ethical codes in European literature. Another reason why middle class colonials went to the metropolis was that they imagined those codes were practiced in their place of origin. (Hall, 1992, p.5; Hall, 1996, pp.18-20) The consequences of

discovering otherwise are the subject of the second part of this case study.

Part 2: The Shock of an Inconsistent Empire

Since becoming a professional writer was not possible in Trinidad, James had been making plans to go abroad. In 1931 he was offered the opportunity to write a book with the cricketer Learie Constantine and a place to stay in Lancashire, England. This second part is about the organized activity in which James participated during the 1932-1938 period, before going to the U.S.A. During this period the small radical organization would develop as a network for gathering, analyzing and exchanging research materials used in the collective production of manuscripts conceived as practical interventions.²⁴ After 1938, this model of emancipatory communication strategies evolved as a "cooperative" of manual and mental workers who recorded the recuperation of sovereignty over daily life and researched the historical continuity of workers organizing themselves. In their exchanges about direct experience, the historical crises which defined a nation, and the information needed to mobilize the social movements, the small organization eventually became a thought style of international dimensions during the 1950s. However, the scope of this second part is limited to the intermediate stage between the Caribbean and the U.S.A.

Background

In 1926 the labour section of the Communist International (COMINTERN) created an International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers (I.T.U.C.-N.W.) presided over by an African-American labour bureaucrat named James W. Ford, who was also a prominent communist. With the decline of the Garvey movement and the Pan-African Congress movement of DuBois, that Negro Workers department of the Red International of Labour Unions was expected to acquire greater protagonism.

Under the leadership of German editor and journalist, Willi Münzenberg, and of V. Chattopadhaya an attempt was made in February, 1927 to congregate pacifists, socialists, trade unionists, pan-africanists and bourgeois nationalists from the colonies and the Americas. This was a meeting of delegations and patriotic personalities who opposed foreign occupation and intervention. Among the participants were delegates from India, Indonesia, Algeria, Senegal, Egypt, South Africa, Haiti, Perú, Cuba and México. The result of this International Congress Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism held in Brussels, Belgium (February 10-15) was The League Against Imperialism. The chairperson elected was Fenner Brockway, the political secretary of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain.

During the Congress deliberations, a commission on the Negro Question was chaired by an African journalist, Lamine Senghor, who edited La Race Nègre in Paris. One of the members of the editorial group for that newspaper was Garan Kouyauté, a student from Mali who will be mentioned later. Their publication covered the affairs of Black workers in Africa, Europe and the Americas advocating independence for the colonies. (Geiss, 1974, p.311; Padmore, 1972, pp.300-308) Other participants in that Negro Question Commission included Richard B. Moore (American Negro Labour Congress), J. T. Gumede (South African National Congress), Carlos D. Martins (Union Patriotique of Haiti), Max Bloncourt (Union Intercoloniale in Paris and French Antilles). It was Moore, from the group of Caribbean radicals in New York, who drafted their resolution and presented their report. This was the group that pushed forward the implementation of the directive for the creation of an international trade union committee of Black workers. Later James W. Ford would be replaced in the committee's leadership by Kouyauté and George Padmore, from Trinidad.

In December, 1928, The Negro Worker which was the journal of the I.T.U.C.-N.W. announced its goals for the next period. They were going to establish trade union schools and research institutes in Africa, North America and the Caribbean. Where organizations of Black workers existed, they would collaborate; where such unions did not exist,

they would be established. In the Caribbean, relations with their Latin American counterparts were to be encouraged.²⁵

There was a second meeting of The League Against Imperialism in Frankfurt, Germany (July 20-31, 1929). This time James W. Ford was accompanied by another U.S.A. delegate, named George Padmore, who was James' childhood friend. A conference of Black workers was planned for July, 1930 by a committee which included Padmore, Jomo Kenyatta (who had been in London since February 1929 and would later become president of Kenya), Ford, two South Africans, and representatives of the N.A.A.C.P. (in the U.S.A.), the American Negro Labour Council, the League for the Defense of the Black Race (France), the Indian National Congress, and the All-China Trade Union Federation.²⁶ It was at this meeting that Padmore and Kouyauté met.

The international conference of Black workers was held in Hamburg, Germany (July 7-8, 1930) with delegates from Jamaica, Trinidad, Nigeria, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Cameroon, South Africa and U.S.A. An executive group for the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers (I.T.U.C.-N.W.) was selected during this conference and it included Padmore, Kouyauté, E. Reid (Jamaica), as well as delegates from South Africa, Nigeria, Gambia and the U.S.A. (Mackenzie, 1980, pp.68-69; Geiss, 1974, p.334)

At the end of the year Padmore joined Ford in Hamburg, where the office and press of The Negro Worker was located.

Until the fall of 1931 Ford remained as editor. Their workplace was disguised as a hostel for seamen and dockworkers. The publication itself, distributed mostly by Black and African sailors who were supplied with copies in Marseilles, covered issues of race, class and colonialism across the Black Atlantic world. The result marked a new stage in understanding the intersection of those issues. (Kelley, 1995, p.5) The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers written by Padmore and published in 1931, also provided a reference point for the anti-capitalist, anti-colonial, anti-racist kind of pan-africanism proposed in The Negro Worker.²⁷ For scholars concerned about the colonial question in Africa this book would remain required reading until 1938.

Before James and Padmore joined forces, the League of Coloured Peoples was founded in Great Britain in March, 1931. This was an organization of middle class professionals and university students, supported by British liberals interested in improving the situation of the colonials then living in the pivot of the empire. Their activities were designed to gain support from the existing power structures for League projects such as a hostel for university students.²⁸ It will prove useful to contrast their evolution with that of the groups with which James and Padmore worked, especially with regard to the means used to generate awareness about the relations of force.

After September, 1931 Padmore replaced Ford as the Hamburg editor of The Negro Worker. In December the state police seized the office-press-hostel ending the uncertainty which followed with Padmore's arrest, confinement and deportation to England by February 25, 1932.²⁹ That same month Padmore and Kouyauté met again in Hamburg, at a meeting which organized the Seamen and Dockworker's International Union.

1932, West Indian Nationalism in Lancashire

Early in 1932, after the fall 1931 parliamentary elections, the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) ended its alliance with the British Labour Party. Labour had not endorsed the I.L.P. candidates during the 1931 election, and had rejected a federation arrangement with the I.L.P. at Easter, 1932. That summer the Lancashire branch of the I.L.P. had asked James to speak about conditions in the West Indies. In September, the same month Cipriani's biography was published in Lancashire, James was hired by the Manchester Guardian to cover the cricket country matches during the 1933, 1934 and 1935 seasons.³⁰ Meanwhile in Paris, Padmore met Nancy Cunard that fall of 1932. She had already collaborated with Padmore in 1931 as a fundraiser in Great Britain for the Scottsboro Boys case. Cunard had just returned from Harlem, New York where she had been gathering materials for an anthology on Black politics and culture.

For that anthology Padmore recommended writers among his contacts and submitted several of his own articles from The Negro Worker.³¹ Cunard and Padmore continued to collaborate on the project in the following year.

1933, the beginning of James' radical education

In 1933, James moved back to London in April, working as a sportswriter for newspapers in England and Trinidad. That spring, with the financial support of some members from the Bloomsbury group, the first three chapters of the Cipriani biography were reissued as a pamphlet called The Case for West-Indian Self-Government by Leonard Woolf's publishing house.³² During this year James was studying socialist publications, Marxist theory, and the radical social historians Michelet, Aulard, Mathiez, Jaurès, and M. Georges Lefebvre who wrote about the French Revolution. The latter interest was a continuation of a research project about the Haitian Revolution, begun in Trinidad and continued in Nelson (James, 1963, pp.383-385). James was one of five speakers at the first weekend seminars sponsored by the League of Coloured Peoples in the spring, with about forty people in attendance. The first issue of the League's magazine, The Keys, appeared that summer to coincide with the centennial of Wilberforce's death (in July).

In August 1933 the Red International of Labour Unions dissolved the I.T.U.C.-N.W., the department which Padmore

and his comrades had turned into the anti-colonial office for Africa and the Americas. (Hooker, 1967, p.41) For some time Padmore's resignation was kept a secret. That same year the U.S.A. recognized the U.S.S.R. and resumed trade relations. In Germany the Nazis improperly won a general election with 92% of the vote. With that electoral result the League Against Imperialism moved its office from Germany to London, but under Reginald Bridgeman as its spokesperson it would not denounce the empires operating in Africa and the Americas which recognized the Soviet government. France, Great Britain, Holland and the U.S.A. were now Soviet allies. Without the support of Padmore's associates who promoted the radical movement of Black workers in the colonies, or the support of the Soviet government the League Against Imperialism expired in 1939.

In December, 1933 Trotsky's followers in Great Britain could not agree on entering the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) to recruit as an organized faction. With the support of Trotsky's office, a minority of about twelve did join the I.L.P. Another faction of Trotskyists, which was already inside the I.L.P., had a majority in about ten party branches. (Alexander, 1991, pp.442-443) Within ten months the group of twelve had an organized faction, the Marxist Group, which controlled four additional branches within the I.L.P. If C.L.R. James joined the Marxist Group and the I.L.P. at the same time, he probably joined in 1934.³³

1934, race, class and nationalism came together

On February 3, the expulsion of Padmore and his co-editor Kouyauté from the I.T.U.C.-N.W., was officially announced while they were both away in Paris. Their resignations had not been accepted. Because of their persistence in combining Marxism and nationalism they had also voluntarily withdrawn from the League Against Imperialism as had Jomo Kenyatta. After short periods in Denmark and Belgium, The Negro Worker which Padmore and Kouyauté had edited now moved its offices to Holland. The new editor, Otto Huiswoud, had been a member of the New York group of Caribbean radicals between 1918 and 1925.

By the time Cunard's anthology was published Padmore's visits to London were longer and more frequent. (Cunard, 1934; Hooker, 1967, pp.27-36) He was moving in the same circles of anti-colonial activity which James frequented but James was being published regularly. In the spring issue of The Keys James had an article about West Indian self-government, a subject he had been addressing in England since the Cipriani biography (1932) and Constantine's history of West Indian cricket (1932).³⁴ During these three years James had concluded that a civilization which depended on the imposed occupation of other countries was doomed.³⁵ His research and conversations with those who opposed colonialism supported those provisional conclusions.

During the summer of 1934 Padmore chaired an ad-hoc committee which organized public meetings in London to mobilize support for a delegation from the Gold Coast. Padmore was also leading a study group among African immigrants, trying to start a journal, and seeking DuBois' aid for an international conference where the mixture of race-class-nationalism opposed by the Soviets could be promoted. (Hooker, 1967, p.41; Padmore, 1972, p.123; Hill, 1986, p.307)

From the sector of the Gold Coast delegation composed of traditional chiefs and conservative politicians, the League of Coloured Peoples invited a representative to speak at a conference in mid-July. The other speakers at that event were Jomo Kenyatta and the League president, Dr. Moody. In the political space between Padmore and Moody, there was a third grouping that insisted on the points of unity: Dr. C.B. Clarke (who worked with the student hostel sponsored by the League and later became Padmore's physician), Jomo Kenyatta, C.L.R. James and Paul Robeson (who had been living in London since 1927). The students in the League who were interested in radical politics wanted to include Asians, and took the matter to the annual meeting in the fall of 1934. Moody's opposition was reported in the commercial press and the League's magazine.

As mentioned earlier, it is my contention that James came in contact with the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.)

during the organization of the Marxist Group. When they convened the sixty people in their faction on November 3, 1934 they already had separate publications in "their" branches and submitted collective contributions to the I.L.P. internal bulletin, Controversy, edited by C. A. Smith. As a publicly known writer and lecturer, with links to the African and Caribbean community in Great Britain, James raised the profile of the Marxist Group within the I.L.P., becoming chairman of the party's Finchley branch until 1936.³⁶ But at the same time the recovery of the Labour Party after the 1934 municipal elections had an adverse effect on the Independent Labour Party. During that first year the Marxist Group was already divided about their future within the host organization.

1935, Pan-Africanist educating British public opinion

During 1934 and 1935 the I.L.P. had spent much of its time debating whether to rejoin the Labour Party in time for the November 14, 1935 general elections. The difficulties of the I.L.P. to field a complete slate of candidates in all the electoral districts was an indicator of their limited support among the salaried and unemployed. The only region where they were strong then was around Glasgow, Scotland. For that election the Trotskyists stayed in the I.L.P., while those who supported the Soviet government and negotiation with the Germans (to avoid a war) voted for Labour.

This was also the year in which Padmore moved his residence to London, earning his living as a tutor and freelance journalist. His own time was dedicated to maintaining an information network which continued to support the independence movements in Africa. With less resources than at the Hamburg office of The Negro Worker, Padmore managed to expand his constant exchange of letters with other radical separatists.³⁷

In August, while the COMINTERN was meeting in Moscow to promote the alliance of employers, workers and peasants against the fascists and nazis, the Italian armies were on their way to Ethiopia. Some of the members of the ad-hoc committee which Padmore had organized to support the 1934 Gold Coast delegation now came together to mount a solidarity campaign for Ethiopia. The difference between the scope of the small groups (which produced the information that social movements used to become communication systems) on a national scale, and an international solidarity campaign is significant. The point of comparison is not with the groups in Cuba, Brazil, Jamaica or Trinidad but with the group of Caribbean immigrants in New York (between 1918-1925). The campaign undertaken in London was intended to inform journalists, politicians and workers about colonialism in Africa to show that what happened there was as important as the independence movement in India or the turmoil on the European continent. As part of the education

campaign this group supported the production of James' play about the Haitian Revolution, starring Paul Robeson as Toussaint L'Ouverture. A second goal was to help the Ethiopian people resist the fascist invasion. While members of the League of Coloured People preferred to follow the lead of the Ethiopian monarchy in seeking redress through the League of Nations, the International African Friends of Abyssinia (I.A.F.A.) discussed another possibility; to raise an international force of volunteers which could expel the invasion, abolish the feudal system of forced labour, and redistribute the land among the peasants.³⁸ The I.A.F.A. also prepared a ceremony to welcome the Ethiopian royals during their period of exile in England.

The executive committee of I.A.F.A. included: Dr. J.B. Danquah, George E. Moore and Samuel R. Wood (all from the 1934 Gold Coast delegation) as sponsors, Sam Manning (Trinidad), Mohamed Said (Somaliland), and later George Padmore (Trinidad), Jomo Kenyatta - secretary (Kikuyu Association), Amy Ashwood Garvey - treasurer (Jamaica), T. Albert Marryshaw - vice-chairperson (Grenada), Dr. Peter Millard - vice-chairperson (British Guiana) and C.L.R. James - chairperson (Trinidad). Ms. Garvey was the former Mrs. Marcus Garvey. Others who joined included members of the London-based Negro Welfare Association, and former members of the League Against Imperialism. (See Table 6 preceding End Notes)

Paul Robeson had spoken at Dr. Moody's League earlier that year about the tragedy of imitating the dominant cultures. At their annual meeting in September, they passed a resolution in support of independence for the colonies in Africa. That fall the League of Coloured Peoples also invited James to speak about the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in October and later published the conference in The Keys.³⁹ That was one sector of public opinion which had to be educated through the channels available to the I.A.F.A., another was the workers' movement.

The debate in which the I.A.F.A. intervened was whether retaliation against the Italian state should take the form of supporting League of Nations sanctions or workers' sanctions. The latter meant refusing to unload goods imported from Italy, preventing the transportation of troops to Ethiopia, and refusing to export materials to Italy. James became the spokesperson of the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) for workers' sanctions at public meetings throughout Great Britain. In October and November, 1935 he also wrote several articles for the I.L.P. newspaper, New Leader, about Ethiopia, the League of Nations, and the Welsh miners stay-in strike.⁴⁰

While James was participating in I.L.P. public meetings, writing newspaper articles, chairing the I.A.F.A. activities and preparing the play about Toussaint, he was also involved in the debates within the Marxist Group about

moving over to the Labour Party. In November Trotsky's office asked the Marxist Group to request a vote on the matter at the next general meeting of the I.L.P.⁴¹

While Padmore concentrated on the colonies in Africa, James combined the Pan-African solidarity and research with his work for the radical transformation of the metropolis. What they shared with Jomo Kenyatta was an interest in adapting European theories to situate the self-emancipating efforts (of the colonized) as a strategic priority for free thinkers. That common goal organized and conditioned their conversations, solidarity campaigns and efforts to combine Marxism and nationalism.⁴² In 1935 they may not have yet understood the consequences of such an integrated approach but they were generating means for praxis research. This allowed the group to contrast the imperial institutions which represented the cultural and economic crises with popular efforts to change the causes of that crisis in several places at once.

1936, the small groups as international network

During this year Secker and Warburg published Minty Alley, James' novel about the passions and survival tactics of the working poor in a Caribbean city, written in 1929. In January, 1936 his lecture about "Abyssinia and the Imperialists" was published in of The Keys. Another of Padmore's books, How Britain Rules Africa, was published in

London by Wishart that year as well. One of his arguments was that there was a liberal sector among the dominant classes in the metropolitan countries which would support decolonization. It should be pointed out, however, that this was one of the points of debate among the Pan-Africanists and workers' groups in which Padmore, James and Kenyatta intervened. Padmore also expected the common interests of workers in Europe and in the colonies to prevail over the allegiance to empire among the former. The research conducted by James into the Haitian and French Revolutions was the basis for his disagreements with Padmore. The exchanges among the members of the small pan-africanist group evolved from conversations, to public lectures encouraging each other to produce books as well. Facing Mount Kenya, The Black Jacobins, and The History of Negro Revolt were among those published in the next three years.

While in Great Britain during the 1930s, Paul Robeson had given many free presentations. He had learned that working people made the connections between art and their daily life, especially when music was included in the performance. (Stuckey, 1994, p.231) Since Robeson wanted to encourage working people to discover the mediations between their context, consciousness, and the pursuit of the political consequences, he decided to promote the theatre. He particularly encouraged the work of Black writers about

cultural sovereignty which had not gained the attention of the commercial theatre. While in London, Robeson expressed an interest in creating a Pan-African theatre company which would produce plays where the protagonists altered the institutions through which power was exercised. The opportunity to create the company did not arise, but Robeson did act in a play James had written about Toussaint L'Ouverture. The production of this project was supported by the International African Friends of Abyssinia (I.A.F.A.) and put on in March by the Stage Society. (Stuckey, 1994, p.194; Hall, 1992, p.8) The play was a version of James' research project which had included eight months of research in France.⁴³

At that time the workers' organizations and the radical pan-africanists were debating the relation between the social history of imperialism, processes of decolonization, and independence leaders who accepted the cultural premises of the occupation. In the midst of those debates James' play presented a Caribbean people who combined race, class and nationalism in a way which changed the course of world history. However, at this point in his research the Haitian maroons did not yet speak for themselves nor were there examples of collaboration with the literate insurgents in the practices used to recuperate control of daily life. For me it is significant that James' generation of maroon intellectuals developed as did the literate participants in

the early phases of the Haitian Revolution who believed that the ethical codes of the dominant culture were practiced in the metropolis and discovered otherwise.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the evolution of both generations (in the Maroon Wars, and in the 1920s-1930s) suggests a recurring critique of the dominant ideas about knowledge and verification which this dissertation is attempting to represent.

During the fall of 1935 the I.A.F.A. had seen that the League of Nations would not defend the sovereignty of Ethiopia, that colonized peoples had to rely on their own methods and resources. Here again the case of the Haitian maroons (both in 1791-1804 and again in 1915-1920) was a model which reaffirmed the possibilities of self-sufficiency. After May 1936 Italy consolidated the occupation of Ethiopia and the royal family was given asylum in Great Britain. The I.A.F.A. group organized a reception at the time of their arrival and then left the public relations work to others, notably Una Marson, a Jamaican journalist who worked in The Keys.

The League of Coloured Peoples celebrated their spring weekend conference on April 4, 1936. The general topic was "The Impact of Europe Upon Tropical Society" and James spoke about the impact on the economic organization. Meanwhile in Palestine a six month general strike, which included peasant guerillas in the West Bank and the mountains of Galilee to the north, began on April 25.⁴⁵

That same month the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) held its annual conference during Easter. Some of the debates were about the questions the Marxist Group had been asked to bring to a vote: entering the Labour Party, publicly declaring support for Trotsky, and workers' sanctions against Italy (for invading Ethiopia). The first two were defeated by the delegates, and the third through a referendum among the membership. (Alexander, 1991, p.445; Bornstein and Richardson, 1986, pp.183-186) Since the fall of 1935 the position adopted by the Marxist Group and defended in their publications was that of workers' sanctions. The annual conference of the I.L.P. also banned organized factions. Nevertheless the discussion within the Marxist Group about moving to Labour or staying in the I.L.P. continued during the summer and fall 1936, as individuals and whole branches began to leave for Labour on their own initiative.

The radicals who had not left Labour since the 1932 elections, had been joined in March 1934 by the Trotskyist majority (which did not join the Independent Labour Party). Together they had attained leadership positions in London in 1935, and in the national Labour Party in 1936. In May, the Trotskyists who joined Labour in 1934 resumed publication of their tendency's best known paper Red Flag. That same month the Left Book Club was organized by publisher Victor Gollancz, Professor Harold Laski (of the London School of

Economics) and John Strachey. One of their first publications was World Politics, 1918-1936 by R. Palme Dutt, which supported the foreign policies of the Soviet Union. The author was a journalist and theoretician in the British Communist Party.

In June, 1936 the Ethiopian emperor went to the League of Nations, where the results were disappointing. Shortly thereafter Una Marson who had been in charge of the royals' public and personal affairs returned to her country, Jamaica. James must have been in Geneva at the same time, at the preparatory conference for the founding of Trotsky's international.

While the Olympics took place in Munich, in 1936 the uprising in Palestine continued and the fascists in Spain began a coup to overthrow the elected government. At the end of the month, the first international conference of the Trotskyist movement was held in Paris, July 29-31, 1936. Two of the three London groups had sent delegates: James for the Marxist Group inside the Independent Labour Party and Denzil Harber for one of the factions inside the Labour Party. The editors of Red Flag could not afford the trip. It was during that conference James met one of the radical social historians of the French Revolution, Daniel Guerin. The recommendation from this meeting for the British organizations was to integrate all the groups and join Labour in order to recruit among its members. A few days

later the trials against Stalin's adversaries started in Moscow. Before the three British groups could organize a conference of unification, members of the Marxist Group continued to join Labour individually.

By the end of the summer James was working on a reply to the Palme Dutt book about the COMINTERN, to be published by Secker and Warburg as World Revolution: 1917-1936. The Rise and Fall of the Communist International. The book was put together between his return from the Paris conference in August, 1936 and the middle of January, 1937.⁴⁶ Away from the cricket matches, this was the season James read, studied and wrote. According to Al Richardson (1993, p.XV) the readings among the group which organized the book were not only critical of the Soviet government, but they were also critical of Trotskyist doctrine.⁴⁷ The production routine which resulted in the book suggests internal procedures of the Marxist Group which are relevant for the purpose of this dissertation. There is evidence of a system for coordinating an international network of collaborators which shared a thought style used to gather and analyze information. That international network also participated in the collective discussion and correction of a manuscript which used the analysis of a crisis to identify contrary codes of cognition and competence.

James wrote the book with Harry Wicks. Wicks had returned to Great Britain with the books from his courses in

the Soviet Union (1927-1929), the documents of the 1928 COMINTERN Congress, and the record of the debates which led to Trotsky's deportation from the U.S.S.R. in 1929. In addition to the documents from his files, Wicks could contribute his direct experience of the situation about which they were writing. What is remarkable about the Wicks-James collaboration on that manuscript is that at the time they were not members of the same organization, but were trying to demonstrate that it was possible to work together. In the preface James recognized that his task was first to coordinate an international network which gathered, interpreted, and sent them materials from France, China, Germany and Russia. The selection and emphasis was the responsibility of the work group in Great Britain, who discussed and corrected the manuscript in collaboration with like-minded others in South Africa and Canada. (James, 1937, p.11; Hill, 1986, p.70) What this book indicates to me is the emergence of an attitude which used the analysis of a turning point as an opportunity to contrast thought styles in conflict, produce information which the social movements could adapt, and establish a sense of historical continuity with the most advanced social movements from previous crises. The Colonial Office banned its distribution in India because the book indicated that Britain's colonial grip could not survive another world war.

While Wicks and James were writing that manuscript in the fall of 1936, Wicks' group inside the Labour Party (which edited Red Flag) tried to carry out a democratization campaign with two other radical factions inside the same party. Like the I.L.P. which banned factions in April, the Labour national executive determined that participation in that campaign was incompatible with membership in the party. (Alexander, 1991, p.447) On October 10, 1936 and by a narrow margin the Marxist Group adopted James' recommendations: to join forces with the two other Trotskyist groups in London and to work with the I.L.P. and Labour. The publication which was supposed to become the joint effort of the three groups, Fight, was launched to coincide with the unification talks, with James as editor.⁴⁸

The next day the three groups met to initiate the unification procedures. The Marxist Group reported their assets as forty members in London, another forty in the provinces and sales of 1,800 copies of Fight. The disagreement over recruiting inside Labour or the I.L.P. made the coordination of their activities difficult. When the editorial group of Fight supported the establishment of an international Trotskyist movement in print, soon after the October unification meetings, they were expelled from the I.L.P. At James suggestion the whole Marxist Group abandoned the I.L.P. in mid-November without joining Labour. They had lost half of their members since the summer of

1936, but in December took over the newspaper and tried to create an organization that did not recruit inside another. At that point the Marxist Group was not complying with the suggestions of the summer meeting in Paris, and their difficulties in finding public figures for Trotsky's "defense committee" did not help their situation with the other two groups. (Bornstein and Richardson, 1986, pp. 255-257).

1937, the African Bureau, Souvarine and the popular in Haiti

Padmore's third book was published this year. In Africa and World Peace, he discussed the urgency of addressing the demands in the colonies in order to resolve the escalation of war in Europe. The civil wars in Spain and Palestine continued as did the trials in Moscow. The solidarity campaign with the independence movements in the colonies among the electoral parties in Britain was gaining support. While still in London Paul Robeson also organized a Council of African Affairs, with Dr. Max Yergan, to distribute information about current events and document the historical consequences of colonization. (Robeson, 1978, pp.156-160)

In February 1937 James and Wicks both spoke at a mass meeting sponsored by the Trotskyist defence committee in Great Britain. That month the three groups met again under the supervision of a foreign delegate without coming any

closer to the coordination of their activities. By this time the Ethiopian royal family was settled in London and the International African Friends of Abyssinia was re-organized in March. The consolidation of the Italian occupation had revealed the limits of liberal de-colonization and of the international institutions of governments with colonies. This process of verification encouraged the maroon intellectuals of London to regroup, redefining both the direction of the research on the colonial question and the range of collective actions to stimulate mobilizations. While James' research about Haiti suggested the need to intervene simultaneously in the colonies and the metropolis, Padmore continued to encourage the separatists as he created a supportive public opinion.

The new organization was called the International African Service Bureau (I.A.S.B.). Whenever an important event took place in the colonies, they would call a meeting, pass a resolution, take a copy to the Colonial Office and another copy to the media. The Bureau made sure that events that took place in the African colonies were noted. They would write letters to newspaper editors, submit articles and promote resolutions at meetings organized by other groups. They would speak at public parks, labour unions, at educational activities of electoral parties, and at meetings of the British Communists or Empire Day celebrations where they were not welcome. This appeared to be a conscious

effort to alter the public conversation to include the news of misrepresented social movements. The I.A.S.B. took a special interest in keeping all the parties in Parliament informed of the situation in the colonies, so they would raise questions. For the next twenty years Padmore also lectured at the Independent Labour Party summer school. Their general goal was to make sure that the commercial media, and the participants in public debate, paid as much attention to Africa as they did to Europe and South Asia.⁴⁹ In addition to disseminating information, the I.A.S.B. could measure success by the actions undertaken by political parties, labour unions, cooperatives and cultural organizations which recognized common interests with the proponents of decolonization. The Bureau was also a space where activities to mobilize public opinion were also used to question the premises of the existing order (in Moscow and in London): applying radical social theory to the colonial world, and recuperating the insurgent traditions of European social movements to propose them as models in campaigns of education or solidarity. (James, 1977, pp.65-68)

The African Bureau could use the news and research materials the Marxist Group received from the international network mentioned earlier, as well as the information supplied by the correspondents in Africa with whom Padmore was constantly exchanging letters. Since the members of the

African Bureau were connected with organizations of migrants, students, dockworkers, and university-trained professionals circulating news items could be confirmed or corrected by triangulation. In addition to the written and verbal exchanges, the members of this small radical group used the education campaigns and their work as foreign correspondents to explain how events in the colonial world affected the peoples of Europe and North America. (James, 1977, pp.64-65; Hall, 1996, p.26)

In Great Britain the African Bureau proved indispensable for those who wanted to understand the global dimensions of the social system. Despite James' expulsion, the continued collaboration of some of the African Bureau's members with the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) resulted in the eventual creation of a British centre against imperialism and the I.L.P.'s own office of colonial affairs. For African and Caribbean activists interested in fashioning the strategies and policies of national liberation, the African Bureau became a required visit upon arriving in Great Britain. The Padmores' apartment was at the centre of all this activity, even when the small group had a rented office space. That apartment was the place where the translations were made, the research prepared, the guests entertained, the leaflets printed and the fundraising planned. It was also where direct experience and information exchanged was put in the context of global tendencies. The

lectures, public discussions, pamphlets and books generated by this collective shall be considered later.

In March 1937 the small group which had undertaken to include issues of economic sovereignty, decolonization and direct democracy in pan-africanist circles underwent its third reorganization since 1934. With the occupation of Ethiopia fresh in their memory, the circle of radical pan-africanists in London decided to study the colonial question in order to mobilize an international network that would support its resolution in Africa. The core group included: Fritz Braithwaite (Barbados); Arnold Ward, from the London Negro Welfare Alliance (Barbados); Chris Jones, ex-Communist (Barbados); I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson, trade unionist (Sierra Leone); Jomo Kenyatta; C.L.R. James; Padmore; and two recent recruits Dorothy Pizer Padmore (Great Britain) and T. Ras Makonnen (British Guiana) who were at the centre of the African Bureau. Pizer Padmore worked with the translations and hospitality while Ras Makonnen procured meeting halls and raised funds. The latter ran a boarding house in London and several restaurants where the schooled migrants from Africa and the Caribbean met regularly. Arthur Lewis (St. Lucia) and Eric Williams (Trinidad) were among the university students in the periphery of the African Bureau. Arthur Lewis eventually won the Nobel Prize for Economics and Eric Williams became Prime Minister of his country. (See Table 6 preceeding the End Notes)

Fight, the journal of the Marxist Group, was published irregularly during 1937. Throughout the year there was opposition to the way the unification with one of the Trotskyist groups inside the Labour Party was proceeding. During the early part of the year James had spent much of his time with independence leaders from the British colonies, and with the research for two more books. Other members of the Marxist Group continued to write about events in Asia, they reviewed each other's books and continued to publish articles in the Independent Labour Party Press but James' work with the African Bureau received more press coverage. (Bornstein and Richardson, 1986, pp.264-265) During the spring, and fall of 1937 James continued to work on the role of the intellectual in the Haitian popular revolution. By identifying the connections between Europe, Africa and the Caribbean at another critical juncture, he was also trying to answer questions being debated in the 1930s such as the means of communication across the social movements and their mobilization, or the reluctance of the intellectuals to join with the popular sectors who could transform the crisis. (Beshoff, 1986, p.25; Hall, 1992, p.9; Richardson, 1993, pp.X111-X1V)

At the same time he was preparing the Black Jacobins' manuscript James was translating Souvarine's biography of Stalin. During the time spent in Paris with the author,

James also learned about the anonymous protagonists of the workers' movement excluded from its official history. The possibility of explaining that marginalized intellectual tradition and cultural history was one of the lessons from his conversations with Souvarine in Paris. Once again it was a question of selection and emphasis, concentrating on individuals who exemplified the interaction between cultural institutions and power relations at a specific time. (Hill, 1986, pp.71-75) The opportunity to translate Souvarine's case study also put James in touch with the oral tradition of the Bolsheviks, and the strategic logic with which initiatives were conceived.

Some of the Trotskyists inside Labour like Harry Wicks published Red Flag until October, 1937 when their organization disbanded and most joined the Marxist Group. Neither of the two groups wanted to recruit inside Labour exclusively. Since neither had a publication which appeared regularly their defense of Trotsky from the Moscow trials' accusations was done through letters to the editors of commercial publications and by speaking at the meetings of other organizations.

1938, Discord Among the British Bolsheviks

James finished writing The Black Jacobins in January. On February 17, 1938 the Marxist League and the Marxist Group began the process of integration. They also planned

meetings with unions and cooperatives to procure their support. That same month the theoretical journal of the Independent Labour Party, Controversy, published an article by C.L.R. James.⁵⁰

The results of the Dewey Commission (investigating the accusations against Trotsky) were presented in March at a mass meeting in London, where James was one of the speakers. (Alexander, 1991, p.451) That same month the League of Coloured Peoples held their annual meeting on March 11 and their weekend seminar on March 25-27. At the former they passed a resolution rejecting Germany's colonial claims in Africa, reaffirming an International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers' (I.T.U.C.-N.W.) initiative the League had "gladly" supported since 1937.⁵¹

Since the beginning of 1938 George Padmore's articles were published in the I.L.P. newspaper, New Leader, as were the notices from the African Bureau and the group's essays about the colonial question. That party celebrated a seminar, about imperialism and the war in April, where the featured speakers were Fenner Brockway (now editor of New Leader), another high ranking member of their organization, and Padmore. (Hooker, 1967, pp.50-51) That same month the newspaper of the Marxist Group, Fight, announced its fusion with Red Flag, and the integration of the small radical groups behind them led by James and Wicks.⁵² Between April and May the editor of FACT (another I.L.P. publication), R.

Postgate, approached Padmore about doing a special issue of the magazine on the history of Black revolts.

Padmore could not write it because he was preparing a joint statement for the Moyne Commission, investigating the workers' uprisings in the Caribbean, on behalf of the League of Coloured Peoples, the Negro Welfare Association, and the African Bureau. The hearings of the Commission were in September, 1938, and Padmore's submission was to be published by The Defender, a Black newspaper with offices in Chicago and distributed across the U.S.A. Within a year Padmore would become that newspaper's Europe correspondent. Since Padmore could not, James was asked to write the FACT pamphlet to be published in September, 1938. It would be another opportunity to situate the self-emancipating efforts of Black people among the radical tendencies that changed world history.

That spring the British government was to decide on the future of Namibia, Botswana, and Swaziland held in trusteeship for the League of Nations in Africa. This may have been one of the reasons why the African Bureau called for a mass meeting at Trafalgar Square on May 8th. Later in the month a group of organizations with similar interests sponsored an anti-colonial exhibition which coincided with Empire Day, May 24th. The program of speakers included Jomo Kenyatta on land reform, and Padmore on fascism in Africa and the Caribbean. This was certainly related to one of the

options being considered in London, which was turning the trustee territories over to the South African government.

The new organization that the Marxist Group had been a part of since the beginning of the year, was now led by Harry Wicks. In June they invited the Socialists in Scotland and the group of Trotskyists still inside Labour (the Militant Group) to discuss a merger again. The issue of Fight which was circulating then carried an article by James about the reaction of the colonial administration to the workers' uprising in Jamaica.⁵³ It ended asking the readers to send their written protest to the Colonial Office and channel their contributions through the Fight newspaper or the offices of the African Bureau. At the end of June, 1938 Padmore spoke at a rally about the social crisis in Jamaica. Manual workers and the unemployed had seized control of central Kingston, many had been killed and the uprising continued.

At this time James was editing the monthly, Fight, correcting the proofs for the FACT pamphlet, spending time on the Souvarine translation, and attending the meetings of the African Bureau and the "new" Marxist group. During June, James must have been preparing the first issue of the African Bureau's journal, International African Opinion which began its monthly appearance in July. Since 1937 James also covered the cricket matches for the Glasgow Herald between April and August.

Despite the efforts of a second foreign delegate sent by Trotsky's office, all the radical groups invited by Wicks and James did not participate in the national unification conference held in London July 30-31. But they all participated in the selection of delegates to the founding convention of their international movement in September: one from the Scottish socialists, James from the two merged groups and Denzil Harber for the Militant Group (inside Labour). The Scottish Socialists and the two merged groups, now one, decided to work more closely and evaluate their progress in January, 1939. (Alexander, 1991, p.455)

The first issue of International African Opinion appeared in July, 1938. It was edited by James and a Black American named William Harrison. The latter had graduated from Harvard and was doing graduate work at the London School of Economics with Professor H. Laski (who had founded the Left Book Club in 1936). The purpose of the journal was to make its readers aware of events in the colonies, and conduct discussions about the tactics and policies best suited to resolve the colonial question.⁵⁴ Such a journal was expected to complement the occasional pamphlet about the Caribbean, the League of Nations' trust territories and North America, as well as the books written by members of the small pan-africanist group.⁵⁵

That August, the N.A.A.C.P. publication, The Crisis, published an article in the U.S.A. by George Schuyler about

the upcoming war and its impact on the colonial struggles against foreign intervention. Even though the article was titled "The Rise of the Black Internationale" it referred to the growing awareness of common interests among the liberation seekers in Asia, Africa and the Americas, as well as the concerns among the colonialists about the governability of the occupied territories. (Schuyler, 1991, pp.328-336) In September the African Bureau published "Europe's difficulty is Africa's opportunity," as a pamphlet in which the small group discussed a similar "community of interests" with the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) and some Congress Party leaders from India. All three agreed that the colonized should take advantage of the upcoming war, in which the empires would be busy with each other, to promote decolonization. (Hooker, 1967, p.53) It would also be a war in which the empires forced to arm the colonized, would be creating options difficult to contain. That same month there was an I.L.P. demonstration in Glasgow, against the official Empire exhibition, where Padmore spoke on behalf of the African Bureau. Before the Moyne Commission set off for the Caribbean, they held hearings in London where the joint statement that Padmore had prepared was read.

During September the public founding of the Trotskyist International took place in Paris. Two of the three

delegates from Great Britain were included in the world-wide executive: Denzil Harber from the Militant Group and C.L.R. James from the "new" Socialist League.

Another pamphlet which appeared in September illustrated the stages in the collective discussions among the members of the small groups: from private meetings to research organized in groups, from activities in meeting halls where manuscripts were discussed to critical editing among co-thinkers in an international network, and then publication. Some of the pamphlets were directed at educating the commercial media and the members of Parliament, others were designed for distribution in the colonies.

The Independent Labour Party which published FACT magazine had decided to prepare a special issue about Black liberation struggles. This particular monograph by James appeared at a time of continuous uprising in the Caribbean since 1929 (in Haiti), a 1935 miners' revolt (in Rhodesia) and a recent transportation strike (in the Gold Coast). As the pamphlet was circulating the control over most Palestinian cities by peasant guerillas was testing the limited capacities of the British Colonial Office. This was the kind of publication available in train stations, press stands, and coffee houses to counter the interpretation of the official media. In addition to putting current events in

the context of historical tendencies, The History of Negro Revolt is significant for several reasons.

Despite recognizing his debt to Padmore's book The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers (1931) the differences in emphasis (with regard to the relation between the social movements in the metropolitan countries and the colonies, to the conditions under which they are both victorious) were at the centre of their disagreements about praxis options.⁵⁶ James' participation in radical movements within British politics was supported by his research on the Haitian and Russian revolutions, which suggested that organized efforts of self-emancipation in the colonies had a better chance of success when the "sans-culottes" were also establishing direct democracy in the metropolis.⁵⁷

As with other publications from the members of the African Bureau, The History of Negro Revolt proposed that it was necessary to end colonialism to defeat fascism, and that there was historical precedents for that kind of cooperation among workers across differences of race and national origin. In 1938 James recognized there were multiple economic, cultural and mental catalysts for the colonial uprisings which deserved the attention of readers interested in identifying possibilities for recuperating the direction of their historical predecessors.

The discussions in the African Bureau (about civil disobedience or warfare, about alliances with metropolitan ruling classes or self-sufficient organizations in the colonies) were also present in another book by James which was published in 1938, The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution.⁵⁸ This book also helped the lay reader in Great Britain understand the economic interdependence between Africa, Europe and the Caribbean as it was institutionalized during the era of forced labour. Uncovering the levels of cooperation among enslaved Africans and creole maroons (whose lives depended on creating common means of identifying the mediations in a foreign context) was intended to provide an example for African separatists operating at home in the 1930s.

James had begun to acquire the French materials for this research while still in Trinidad. While living in Lancashire he had continued to pursue the subject. The book was dedicated to the family who subsidized over a semester of research time in France, from the earnings of their teashop and bakery in Nelson.⁵⁹ Once in London the research was nurtured by conversations with other maroon intellectuals who were likewise interested in historical cases where self-organized workers' armies in the colonies had seized on opportunities created by metropolitan upheavals. As others have pointed out, it was the organized praxis of the small group which made it possible to identify

contemporary opportunities for self-emancipation on the basis of the examples studied. (Bogues, 1997, p.47; McLemee, 1994, pp.215-217) In his essay about the years James spent in England, Hill (1986, p.77) wrote the following about the conclusion of The Black Jacobins:

This was no Utopian vision. It was based ultimately on the facts of history and directly on the organized political activity which had started among a handful of Black men but which would subsequently become encompassed in the political motion of the African peoples themselves. It was the very apotheosis of realization for the "small political organization."⁶⁰

What this passage suggests to me is that much as the Caribbean migrants in New York could represent the whole region from New York City, between 1918 and 1925, in ways that were more difficult in any single site, the small groups in London could recognize historical tendencies in the late thirties. A thought style had evolved during that period which was shared by a network of groups that gathered information, edited manuscripts as a collective intellectual and whose analysis could be confirmed by mass actions.

In The Black Jacobins, James paid attention to the cultural tradition of self-organization, to the oppositional relation between the thought styles among the social movements, in Haiti, and the dominant ways (of thinking and acting to produce knowledge) in Europe. He also referred to the communication system created by the maroons and their

intellectuals while describing the causes and consequences of Toussaint's authoritarian behaviour.

According to James, one of the attributes of Caribbean societies was that the levels of competence and mastery shared by unschooled people allowed them not only to understand the organization of the whole but how it could be transformed.⁶¹ Communication between the West African slaves and the French slavers could only go beyond instructions given at the mills and plantations, beyond the requirements of exploitation, after 1791 when the French were forced to recognize the mastery of the Haitian's popular organizations. Before the Marxist Group or the African Bureau, the insurgents from Haiti had an international network of contacts (with abolitionist groups, maroon confederations and Black corsairs) whose information helped them make decisions at home and in Paris.⁶² By concentrating on the manual worker's capacity for rapid cultural adaptation and creativity James was also proposing a reading of the historical record which captured his argument in the discussions at the African Bureau mentioned above.⁶³

Before returning to the book, a brief description of the events during the rest of 1938 will help us complete the context questioned by the praxis of the small groups. The October, 1938 issue of Worker's Fight was probably the last one edited by James. It included two articles with his

signature: one about the choices created for the radicals by the direction of the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.), another about labour relations in France.⁶⁴ On the basis of the limited success of recruiting within the I.L.P., the small group with whom James worked was still unwilling to restrict its recruiting to the Labour Party and the Scottish Socialists concurred with that position. This meant that the agreements reached in July, 1938 were not being implemented and the Militant Group was the only one inside the Labour Party. Invited on a speaking tour of the United States by the same international delegate who had supervised the unification meeting July 30-31, James left Great Britain in October. The public profile of the opposition to entering Labour and the support for the intellectual tradition exemplified by Harry Wicks and Boris Souvarine was reduced. The impact of James' presence in the U.S.A. for the evolution of the small radical group as a type of communication strategy exceeds the limits of this present dissertation.

As Europe correspondent for Chicago's The Defender, Padmore went on assignment in November to investigate growing colonialist sentiment in Nazi Germany. That same month Worker's Fight started again with a masthead that read: "New Series: Volume 1, Number 1." James' absence would also become evident in the African Bureau. Direct participation in metropolitan social movements and attention

to the Caribbean region would both lose ground in comparison to the work the small group continued. (James, 1977, p.63; James, 1984, p.263) On January 7, 1939 James began his speaking tour in Philadelphia. It is for these very reasons that we must return to The Black Jacobins with this background in mind.

Popular communication strategies in Haiti

In the 1970 Black Scholar interview James said that historically societies have been interested in two social processes: revolutions and wars. (James, 1970, p.40; McLemee, 1994, p.218) Earlier in this chapter I mentioned the shift in emphasis which has allowed communication scholars to examine the cultural history of these processes. Now it is possible to point out that consciousness about the unequal relations which organize society was among the main goals of the small groups James worked with between 1934 and 1938. My own effort to demonstrate the combination of an autonomous theoretical framework, the search for answers about their present in the study of specific historical cases, and the practice of collective actions which stimulated political mobilizations can be illustrated with a closer reading of The Black Jacobins.

The purpose of the book, as the author understood it, was to demonstrate the historical relation between the

constraints imposed by the context and the capacity of the popular to create possibilities which responded to the majority's needs. (James, 1963, p.X) The obstacles surmounted by the Africans - who managed to defeat Europe's armies shortly after being enslaved - are often contrasted with the conditions for self-emancipation in the 1930s. The acquisition of a strategic conception which identified opportunities was evaluated through the cooperation between the literate house servants and the maroon communities (which existed since the beginning of the 17th century). (James, 1963, p.25) The analysis of the metropolitan dependence on the colonies as part of the contextual constraints was represented by the relation between the French bourgeoisie, production on the slave plantations and their complementary industries at the centre of the empire. The attitude of indifference toward the colonial question in the 1930s is linked to the prevailing attitude toward slavery in Britain, which changed only when Haiti became productive and the North American colonies were sovereign. (James, 1963, pp.47-51). (See Figure 2) What these passages suggest is an effort to structure the agenda for discussions among the activist-intellectuals in the small groups: where was the wealth created, who were the allies of the wealth's producers, which groups were adversaries under the existing order?

Combining historical research and an acquired thought style, James argued that as the conflict between the industrialists and the aristocracy during the French revolution had helped the rest of the metropolitan population acquire a strategic conception, the slaves in Haiti had become conscious of the opportunities for change during the conflicts between white and brown slavers. The point being that in the 1930s the anticipated world war could be used to mobilize the colonized if lessons could be extracted from the historical precedent. In 1931 Padmore had suggested that the workers in Europe and North America should educate the workers in the colonies, and in 1936 that support for decolonization could be found among the propertied as well. Here James argued that when the mulatto slavers demanded their rights as citizens, the whites (republicans and monarchists, in Haiti and in France) joined against the colonized, despite their common interests as property owners. It is in this context that James asked whether property ever listened to reason. (James, 1963, pp. 69-70)

The organizations of radical democrats who supported debating the colonial question and recognizing the mulattoes as citizens were destroyed by the factory owners in 1791, as the armed confrontations between the slavers showed the slaves how freedom was taken. In tandem with the reconstruction of the public events, James interjects that

groups of slaves gathered at night to compare the printed news from France and their direct observations of the civil war. As with the colonialists making common cause in France and Haiti against the Republicans, that would not be the last time they destroyed each other. Once again that gave the colonized an opportunity to create institutions in which the news could again be read against the grain with the benefit of direct observation.

During the 18th century the plantations in the Northern plains were the hub of Haiti's economic activity as well as the site of Cap Francais, the colony's political and cultural centre. (See Figure 10) The hundreds of workers brought together in the plantations and sugar mills in the North of Haiti did not have property which required parliamentary recognition, those Black labourers organized themselves to take their freedom. In that region work was organized in such a way that the slaves were closer to the attributes of an industrial labour force than any of their contemporaries. So unlike radical peasants these workers organized a national insurrection through the communication network of their religious organizations. This is what James C. Scott called the hidden transcript. (Scott, 1990, p. 5, 127) It is this section of the book which I consider most useful for communication research. This is where the author discusses the experience of self-organization: the contextual perspective contributed by the intellectuals

while the manual workers created the policies and institutions of their sovereignty. (James, 1963, p. 109, 151, 243, 244)

Given two hundred years of experience with the methods through which power was exercised, the northern slaves organized themselves to intervene in ways that would be understood by the popular and the dominant. The leadership which emerged included the initiated in the religious practices, some domestic servants, former slaves and maroons. The intensification of the racial terror by the slavers made it easier to win the support of the undecided slaves. According to James, it was the existence of an organized insurrection among the Haitian slaves which encouraged the workers and peasants in France to support the most inclusive solution to the colonial question, abolition of the way work was organized. But the monarchists and the factory owners could not negotiate. (James, 1983, p. 127)

When the British forces occupied Haiti, after slavery was abolished in France on February, 1794, they were confronted with an organized population with policies that proposed radical solutions to the problems of daily life. (See Figure 9) In the fall of 1794 the conservatives had regained control in Paris and made an alliance with the British in order to restore slavery in all the colonies. As James wrote this in 1938 the western democracies were recognizing the claims of the fascists to colonial

territories, while the Soviets were supporting democratic empires such as France and Great Britain.

For our purposes here the defeat of the British, Spanish and French armies in Haiti is less important than James' treatment of the communication systems that vertebrated the process of decolonization. This is the bridge between the events in Haiti and what he was trying to propose for the policy discussions of both small groups in London. The popular assemblies and the military sections of northern Haiti were the result of negotiations among the workers in the region which was the territory's economic motor. The demands and slogans that would mobilize them to war were identified at those negotiations, their leadership and initiatives emerged from those experiences of emancipatory communication. As they exercised their cultural capacities the Africans, the creole slaves, and the maroons together organized the defeat of Europe's best armies. (James, 1963, p. 244, 306). Their rapid adaptation to the demands of the conflict was considered a function of the popular information systems which revealed the intentions of the dominant. (James, 1963, pp. 276, 281-288)

By 1802 the war was an expression of the context which had produced the opposing armies as well as the verification component in a process of identifying possibilities by social epistemic agents. It was a test of their communication strategies as cultural practices. (James,

1963, pp.300-306). Once again it was in the popular assemblies in the northern mountains that the rebellion was reorganized, that new leaders emerged in conversations that were courses about the cooperation on which their lives depended. As race, colour, class, nation, and religion became intertwined Black and mulatto insurgents recognized that even under Dominion status slavery could be restored. In actions that combined cultural and economic sovereignty, the Haitians denied the expeditionary forces the benefits from forced labour by burning the crops and poisoning the wells. (James, 1963, pp. 356-362)

That was the first successful uprising by Africans and Black Creoles against three European empires. (See Figure 9) The result of the first war of liberation in the Americas was a new people who were the product of mixture and adaptation, whose sovereignty depended on their self-sufficiency. Under more advanced conditions of conscious struggle which rejected the dominant premises, in 1938 colonial subjects in Africa were better prepared to procure their sovereignty. (James, 1963, pp.375-376) The example of the Haitian workers was one that James submitted to the consideration of those Africans.

The period between the first and second edition of Black Jacobins is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Between 1938 and 1963 the praxis of the small radical organizations evolved as a space which integrated manual and

mental work in processes of self-mediation. Nevertheless in the Appendix to the second edition James mentioned the intellectuals and social movements in Cuba, Haiti and Trinidad during the 1920s and 1930s. This dissertation is an attempt to expand on the considerations of that Appendix in the 1963 edition. Limitations of time and space have prevented me from commenting on the social movements in Haiti (and Jacques Roumain) or Surinam (and Anton DeKom). In general terms those cases would have reiterated much of what has been already mentioned about the maroon collectives. As individual activists, however, Roumain and DeKom precede James. The comparison of their efforts with the cases mentioned here will have to wait until further research into the activities of Roumain's group (1929-1934) and the writers and workers' cooperative with which DeKom collaborated in Holland (1926-1932).⁶⁵

In closing the 1963 Appendix, James reviews the collaboration between manual and mental workers as the Caribbean intellectual tradition which has resulted from sharing with others the experience of implementing solutions to the region's problems. The gap between the material conditions and our awareness of them can be probed in language, the arts, commercial media, urban life and the study of history but James suggests that this Caribbean intellectual tradition has tried to examine that gap by explaining the institutions which sustained and reproduced

the exercise of power. (James, 1963, p. 408, 413-418). It is that tradition which James traced to the mountains of northern Haiti where the people in the popular assemblies learned together.

Commentary about Part 2

Through their own praxis activities members of the African Bureau critiqued the intellectuals who instructed the social movements. The evaluation of historical cases like Toussaint served to design more effective liberation policies for the colonies. In research that uncovered the overlap between race, class, nationalism and the cultural production of the popular the members of the African Bureau also demonstrated the links between Europe, Africa and the Caribbean.

As with Fernando Ortiz, I have concentrated on the work of C.L.R. James because he was the common denominator between several small groups. In addition, James placed the discussion about decolonization in the mediations between the colonies and the metropolis, in the discovery of the connections between the parts and the whole represented by the knowing subjects and their context.⁶⁶ To understand the encounter between the Africans and the Europeans in the Americas, as well as the consequences, James argued that it was necessary to explain the contradictory relations between all the parts.⁶⁷

In The Black Jacobins James succeeds in putting the Caribbean region at the centre of world events, while giving the reader an opportunity to contrast the construction of official history with the exclusions from collective memory. His reconstruction of the past was undertaken to address at least two needs of the 1930s that I have identified: the way in which solidarity overcame repression, and an autonomous version of events in the Caribbean region.⁶⁸ Another need of the 1930s addressed in The Black Jacobins, and still urgent in the 1990s, was to reveal how the peoples of the region invented communication networks (between huts, plantations and islands) despite the violence generated by slavers and colonialists. These sections of the book about the popular assemblies and the recruiting procedures in the Northern Mountains, between 1791-1792 and 1801-1803, should be frequently consulted by communication scholars. More recently the causes and consequences of that experience have received the kind of scholarly attention which suggests renewed interest among present day activist-intellectuals in self-mediation and self-constitution of collective subjects.⁶⁹

In this third case study the goal was to demonstrate that C.L.R. James did not arrive in Great Britain empty handed, that he brought the lived experience of small radical groups which created means of communication about

all aspects of daily life. Those Caribbean collectives pioneered a thought style which linked the unsatisfied needs of the manual workers to the constraints of the existing order and questioned its premises. The efforts of The Beacon group were not unique nor did they occur in isolation. First in Cuba and Haiti (in 1927), then in Brazil, Surinam and Trinidad (in 1931) other small groups faced the challenge of coming to terms with cultural events which interrupted their understanding by revealing the relations of force. In the three case studies undertaken the small radical organizations created means of examining the values which emerged from popular creativity in relation to the dominant premises.

These thought collectives contrasted the efforts to confront the causes of previous crises by their self-organized predecessors with the performance of the cultural institutions which represented the crisis between 1925 and 1938. The small groups in which James participated in Great Britain can be compared with the groups of Caribbean migrants in New York City (between 1918 and 1925).⁷⁰ With regard to the process of learning together with the popular movements, the groups in London (between 1934 and 1938) appear to have developed a more evolved community of method. That is what I have attempted to demonstrate in this case study. While the Caribbean migrants in New York City shaped the cultural politics of the Black Renaissance during the

1920s, the London groups proposed strategies for change in the colonies and the metropolis from the perspective of the popular.

My goal was to present the historical roots of the small Marxist group and to present the context in which it evolved as a research device and method of cultural intervention.⁷¹ Through its collaboration with the popular movements, this type of collective epistemic agent provided a means of distinguishing between the extraction of information to construct a representation and the injection of social tension to produce consciousness. The relation between such praxis strategies of reflection about direct(ed) experience and more recent discussions in the field of communication shall be the subject of our conclusions.

Final Observations

Following the authors of Facing Reality, I said at the outset of this dissertation that my intention was to examine the use of historical experience to answer questions about the present. (James, Lee and Chaulieu [Castoriadis], 1974, p.165) In Trinidad The Beacon group encouraged historical research about experiences of self-organization, like the riots of 1903 over the increased price of water. They were also interested in investigating the conflicts expressed in the history of carnival, such as the public appearance of

the songs and cane burning processions which accompanied stick fighting dances. In Great Britain, the African Bureau prepared publications about the history of the colonial present, as well as more extensive investigations about the practice of self-emancipation.

The Beacon developed as a communication system about daily life in colonial Trinidad. The publication became a reference point for public debate through its support for social reforms in the editorials, stories about working people in the island, articles about local problems solved elsewhere, and critique of foreign affairs coverage. In Great Britain, the African Bureau did attempt to produce awareness of the relations of force. In doing so the African Bureau became a site where the popular from the colonies, who sought a contextual understanding of the global empires, intersected with the Europeans who publicly debated the topic.

The causes of the problems discussed in The Beacon were seldom identified. The Caribbean protagonists in the published fiction did not seize the initiative against the source of their difficulties. This was in contrast to the projects which James carried out with the Marxist Group or the African Bureau where the premises of the official version were questioned. In both the World Revolution: 1917-1936 and The Black Jacobins the critique of Soviet and

colonial history was also organized so as to identify the common principles between the excluded popular practices and the late thirties.

Cooperation between manual and mental workers at The Beacon was exemplified by the case of Cummings, the baker. Not only was the exposé prepared for publication with the help of the editors but it was also accompanied by an article which considered the consequences. The African Bureau operated as an information centre on colonial affairs for a network of correspondents and for British solidarity campaigns. Despite their disagreements the members of the African Bureau proposed innovative solutions once they had identified the causes of the problems under investigation. In texts like The Black Jacobins, the author continues a practice undertaken at Trinidad and The Beacon which was to use the historical research about the popular to redefine the national culture.

With regard to the communication strategies practiced by the groups mentioned in this third case study, both those in Trinidad and in Great Britain carried out critical conversations about the common problems of the popular sectors. What varied between the groups considered was the interest in the Caribbean, the international workers movement or the Black diaspora. In the case of The Beacon group, the Marxist Group and the African Bureau those

conversations generated a vocabulary shared, beyond their immediate circle of interlocutors, by those who identified the situations and documents used to construct an oppositional history of their common problems. James undertook projects with the African Bureau that examined collective experiences of empowerment as a means of communicating an emancipatory interpretation of the relation between race, class, nation and religion. History of the Negro Revolt [History of Pan African Revolt in 1969 edition] and The Black Jacobins were both the result of exchanges based on a common vocabulary and means of seeking active support for its representation of totality.

The means of communication practiced by these collectives of maroon intellectuals expressed the evolution of their understanding and relations with the popular. In the case of Trinidad and The Beacon colonialism and exploitation were rejected in the content of the pieces published but even the social realism form was within European "standards." The internationalist outlook and membership of the Marxist Group contributed to a thought style which integrated popular experiences from Asia, Africa, Europe, North America and the Caribbean. Whether directed at educating British opinion makers or anti-colonial activists, the publications of the African Bureau proposed means and opportunities for intervention which were revealed by patterns in the exercise of power. The

explanation of the dominant cultures which appeared in the Bureau's publications helped the readers make connections among the struggles of the dominated, between the past and the present, or across social movements.

In The Black Jacobins there was evidence of an intention to raise awareness about the need to include the multiple catalysts which affected daily life in the redefinition of those cultural forms which organized collective actions. The analysis of the failure among the Haitians to combine race, class, nation and religion earlier on could be understood as having such a purpose. That initial effort by James would have benefitted communication scholars even more had it referred at length to the popular assemblies which produced leaders that did not collaborate with the occupation or surpassed Toussaint's proposals of dominion status. Had Souvarine worked more closely with those involved in the conversations which preceded The Black Jacobins more time and space would have probably been given to the means of communication practiced by the insurgent leaders who were Toussaint's contemporaries: Boukman Dutty, Georges Biassou, Cecile Fatiman, Jean Francois, Jeannot Bullet, Hyacinthe, Docoudray and Halou.

Assessing the impact of the groups in this case study on their context, both of the groups in Great Britain provided the social movements with a history of their present. These small collectives of activist-intellectuals

in Trinidad and Great Britain presented evidence from concrete cases which demonstrated the implementation of principles which were important to the popular. In one instance this was done through stories about the daily life of working people in Trinidad, and in another by analyzing the means of self-emancipation in Haiti together with the international conditions that made such events possible.

Whether at The Beacon, the Marxist Group or the African Bureau the historical research which was pursued asked questions of the past that would organize the answers needed in the 1930s. By the time James was in Europe he had combined the perspective of the French historical school, the international discussion among collectives of co-thinkers, and a thought style which privileged class. Having demonstrated in The Black Jacobins that the dominant in the metropolis would not support decolonization, James proposed a self-sufficiency which would seize the initiative during periods of social crisis in Europe. In making their contribution to the reconstruction of the popular memories, the small groups participated in projects whose proposals are still pertinent for communication scholars in the 1990s.

The goals of The Beacon included investigating the history of popular self-organization in their country, promoting interest in the daily lives of the popular as a reference for a national culture and informing about current events in the migrants' place of origin. Among the network

of collectives to which the Marxist Group was linked, one of the goals was to uncover the histories of the anonymous protagonists in the workers' movements. The African Bureau intended to create a civic organization which could both educate opinion makers about colonialism and prepare anti-colonial agitators like Kwame Nkrumah. One of the ways in which the experience of Trinidad and The Beacon enriched the communication practices of the groups in Great Britain was the emphasis on the realistic representation of the emerging popular forces based on the direct experience of the researchers.

Among the groups examined in this case study there were several contributions made to the concept of the small radical organization. The first was also the mutual learning that took place as Cummings, the baker, and the editors worked together in preparing the article for publication. The second contribution to the concept of the small group was the network of co-thinkers who shared a thought style with which materials about social movements were gathered and analyzed in a way which made it possible to represent the totality. The third contribution was a system of letter exchanges which the African Bureau promoted to keep abreast of events which were excluded from the commercial press. The fourth contribution was the use of the commercial media to distribute their letters, petitions,

articles and information about activities to keep colonialism under constant scrutiny.

As The Black Jacobins demonstrated, there were events in the colonies that had the capacity to change the course of history in other parts of the world. Those forces of culture which acted without European precedent or sanction had been made apprehensible in the context of intellectual traditions of popular insurgency.

After 1938 James remained in the United States until his deportation in 1953. During those fifteen years he worked in a small group called the Johnson-Forest tendency which rewrote political theory on the basis of their direct experience with movements of women, youth, workers and Blacks. Even though James was in England between 1953 and 1958, he continued to participate in the evolution of Johnson-Forest into the editorial committees which published the Correspondence newspaper in the U.S.A. During the 1950s this organization was part of a network that included Unitá Proletaria in Italy, Socialism Reaffirmed [later called Solidarity] in Great Britain, and Socialisme ou Barbarie in France.⁷²

During the next five years (1958-1962) James was in Trinidad where as editor of The Nation newspaper he implemented many of the lessons from the Correspondence group. One example was the campaign in support of terminating the presence of a U.S. military base and another

was the campaign in support of a Black captain for the West Indian cricket team. James returned to Great Britain between 1962 and 1965 where he finished Beyond a Boundary and with his wife Selma led a study group of students from the Caribbean enrolled at British universities.⁷³ In 1965 James returned to Trinidad as a cricket reporter for the British press and remained to create a political party which was defeated in the 1966 election. During 1967 James lectured in West Africa and then spent ten years (1968-1978) teaching in the United States. By 1981 James was back in London to write about cricket, to work on the biographies of George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah, and to promote the celebration of a 6th Pan African Congress. James died in London in 1989.

In the conclusions which follow I will consider the relevance of these case studies for the field of Communication.

TABLE 5. MAGAZINES IN TRINIDAD

TRINIDAD (1929-1930)	THE BEACON (1931-1933)
A. C. Farrell	
Sonny H. Macdonald Carpenter	
Dr. Thomas	
Austin Nolte-Bullbrook (England)	
Amy Appang	
Carleton Comma	
Kathleen Archibald	
Algernon Wharton	Algernon Wharton
Ernest A. Carr	
John Vickers (or Basford)	
___ Daly	
Joseph da Silva	Joseph da Silva
Hugh Stoll-Meyer	Hugh Stoll-Meyer
Frank V. Evans (Barbados)	Frank V. Evans
Dr. Sydney Harland	Dr. Sydney Harland
Ralph A.C. DeBoissiere	Ralph A.C. DeBoissiere
Alfred H. Mendes - EDITOR	Alfred H. Mendes
C.L.R. James - EDITOR	C.L.R. James
	Olga Yaatoff Gittens
	Beatrice Greig (Newfoundland) ASSOCIATE EDITOR
	Stephen Haweis (England)
	Vassilief (Ukraine)
	W.R.H. Trowbridge (Barbados)
	Dr. W.V. Tothill (England)
	Jean DeBoissiere
	Ralph Mentor
	Adrian C. Rienzi (India)
	Joshua E. Ward
	Albert Gomes - EDITOR
	Sheldon Christian (U.S.A.)
	Nathan Schneider (U.S.A.)
C. A. Thomasos	C. A. Thomasos

TABLE 6: GROUPS IN BRITAIN

BOLSHEVIKS (1934-1938)	PAN-AFRICANISTS (1935-1938)
Louise Cripps (University College-London)	IAFA Dr. J.B. Danquah (Gold Coast)
Esther Birney (Canada)	IAFA George E. Moore (Gold Coast)
Earle Birney (Canada) (L.S.E.)	IAFA Samuel R. Wood (Gold Coast)
Arthur Ballard	IAFA Sam Manning (Trinidad)
B.L. Gupta (India)	IAFA Mohamed Said (Somaliland)
Leslie Bradley (Canada)	IAFA *George Padmore IASB (Trinidad)
Esther & Dr. Israel Heiger	IAFA *Jomo Kenyatta IASB (Kenya)
*C.L.R. James (Trinidad)	IAFA *C.L.R. James IASB (Trinidad)
Jack Whittaker (Oxford University)	IAFA T. Albert Marryshaw (Grenada)
Hilary Sumner-Boyd (Oxford University)	IAFA Dr. Peter Millard (Br. Guiana)
Bert Matlow	IAFA Amy A. Garvey (Jamaica)
*Arthur Cooper	IASB Fritz Braithwaite (Barbados)
Tony Doncaster	IASB Arnold Ward (Barbados)
*Frederick Marzillier	IASB Chris Jones (Barbados)
*Arthur Ballard	IASB *I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson (Sierra Leone)
Stewart Kirby	IASB Dorothy Pizer Padmore (Great Britain)
Margaret Johns	IAFA *T. Ras Makonnen (Br. Guiana)
John Goffe	IASB Arthur Lewis (St. Lucia)
Ernie Patterson	IASB Eric Williams (Trinidad)(Oxford U.)
Hilda Lane	IASB William Harrison (U.S.A.)(L.S.E.)
Ted Grant	Paul Robeson (U.S.A.)
George & Lee Bradley	IAFA Krishna Menon (?)
Max Bosch (South Africa)	
Ted Grant (South Africa)	
*Harry Wicks	
Ajit Roy (London School Economics)	International African Friends of Abyssinia (I.A.F.A.)
*Denzil Harber	
Margaret Johns	
Stewart Kirby	
John Archer (London School Economics)	International African Service Bureau (I.A.S.B.)
*Jock Mulligan	
*Karl Westwood	

* = leaders

* = leaders

END NOTES

¹ Pierre Nora, Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); James C. Scott, Domination and the Arts of Resistance (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Wilson Harris, History, Fable and Myth in the Caribbean and Guianas (Georgetown, Guyana: Ministry of Information and Culture, 1970). Though it is not elaborated in this case study, the work of Anton DeKom and Jacques Roumain, about the role of cultural history in constructing oppositional movements is also quite important. Some of it was published between 1931 and 1934 in Haiti, Surinam and Holland.

² I am referring to "the Balaida" in Maranhao, Brazil (1837-1840); to a conspiracy of Haitians, Cubans, and deportees from North and Central America in Jamaica (1843), and to "La Escalera" in Matanzas, Cuba (1844) against slavery and colonialism. See Appendix A.

³ Daniel Guerin, Class Struggles in the First French Republic (London: Pluto, 1977), pp. 19, 21-28, 33; Sheila Rowbotham, Lynne Segal, Hilary Wainwright, Beyond the Fragments. Feminism and the Making of Socialism (Boston: Alyson, 1981), pp. 9, 26-27, 40-41, 70-76; "Social Movement, Social Change: The Remaking of Latin America," issue of Two Thirds. A Journal of Underdevelopment Studies, III, No. 3 (Toronto: Department of Education Planning, O.I.S.E., 1982); Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, Social Movements, A Cognitive Approach (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), pp. 45-65.

⁴ C.L.R. James, Raya Dunayevskaya, Grace Lee, The Invading Socialist Society (Detroit: Bewick/Ed, 1972) original 1947; Amilcar Cabral, "National Liberation and Culture," Unity and Struggle. Speeches and Writings, ed. P.A.I.G.C. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), p. 140; Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove, 1968), p. 227; Walter Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks. The Making of an African Intellectual, eds. Robert A. Hill and Howard Dudson (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1990), pp. 114-115; C.L.R. James, Grace Lee, Cornelius Castoriadis, Facing Reality (Detroit: Bewick/Ed, 1974), p. 165. What the new subjects need is information about the history of their present, according to the authors. Original 1958.

⁵ Maryse Condé, "Pan Africanism, feminism and culture," Imagining Home: Class, Culture and Nationalism in the African Diaspora, eds. Sydney Lemelle and Robin D.G. Kelley (London and New York: Verso, 1994), pp. 55-61. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "The Lost Continent of the Americas: Recent works of Afro-America and the Caribbean," Latin American Research Review, 24, No. 2 (University of New Mexico, 1989), pp. 247-249.

⁶ Michael Smith, "C.L.R. James. You Don't Play With Revolution," The Reporter (Montreal: October, 1968); Noel Ignatin, "Meeting in Chicago," C.L.R. James, His Life and Work, ed. Paul Buhle (London and New York: Allison and Busby, 1986), pp. 244-246. With the benefit of their own experience to review, the Correspondence group discussed these questions in the documents for their September, 1960 Convention. See "Our Perspectives" and "Program for Correspondence". This was the small group with whom James had worked in the U.S.A. between 1941-1953.

⁷ Jesús Ibáñez, El Regreso del Sujeto. La Investigación Social de Segundo Orden [The Return of the Subject, Second Order Social Investigation] (Santiago, Chile: Amerinda, 1991), pp.97-127; Ludwik Fleck, Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact, eds. T.J. Trenn and R.K. Merton (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp.119-120; Antonio Negri, Politics of Subversion (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Polity, 1989), pp.132-138, 215; Christopher Hill, The Experience of Defeat. Milton and Some Contemporaries (New York: Penguin, 1985). Hill discusses how the Diggers proposed the abolition of property by the State with a plan which defined reason as the conscious need for cooperation. That is the way the present writer has been approaching process of communication in this manuscript as well.

⁸ James C. Scott, pp.2-5, 118-127. I am grateful to Marilyn Gates and Nick Witheford for suggesting this text more than once.

⁹ Eric J. Sundquist, To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature (Cambridge: Belknap/Harvard University Press, 1993) pp. 195-215; Albert J. Rabotau, Slave Religion. The Invisible Institution in the Antebellum South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Robert Farris Thompson, Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-

American Art and Philosophy (New York: Random House, 1983); Eugene D. Genovese, From Rebellion to Revolution. Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), pp. 18-21.

¹⁰ Alan Wald, The Responsibility of Intellectuals: Selected Essays in Marxist Traditions in Cultural Commitment (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1992), pp.69-70; C.L.R. James, Education, Propaganda and Agitation (Detroit: Facing Reality, 1968) original October 1944. This pamphlet is about the collective task of research into cultural history for an organization which questions those premises which organize the prevailing loyalties and ways of thinking. The publication is also about the kind of journalism such an effort requires.

¹¹ C.L.R. James letter to Constance Webb (1945) quoted by A.Grimshaw, "Introduction," C.L.R. James Reader, ed. A. Grimshaw (Oxford, U.K. and Cambridge, U.S.A.: Blackwell, 1992), p. 10. For James the grasp of totality required collective effort. See C.L.R. James, American Civilization, eds. Anna Grimshaw and Keith Hart, Cambridge, Massachusetts and Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 1993). Original 1950. Preface, p. 26. Numbered copies of the manuscript were circulated requesting written commentary on the prospectus. A November 3, 1953 letter from James to Grace Lee and another from Selma James to Nettie Kravitz dated August 26, 1966 illustrate the continuity of the collective intellectual as a research method and communication system. In separate interviews with the present writer Grace Lee (October 18, 1995) and Martin Glaberman (October 19, 1995) both said that they sent each other summaries of their readings, requested library searches, news articles and personal experiences collected from their contacts with the social movements. According to Nettie Kravitz (October 13, 1995) they encouraged each other to explain the way they lived in the letters which circulated among the group members.

¹² See Robert A. Hill, "Literary Executor's Afterword," in C.L.R. James, American Civilization, eds. Anna Grimshaw and Keith Hart, 1993), pp. 292-366; Scott McLemee and Paul LeBlanc, eds., C.L.R. James and Revolutionary Marxism - Selected Writings of C.L.R. James, 1939-1949 (New Jersey: Humanities, 1994), pp. 1-37, 209-238.

¹³ Scott McLemee, 1994, pp. 215-217, 228-232.

¹⁴ McLemee makes the point that the impact of this type of organization far exceeded the number of its participants. See McLemee, p. 215.

¹⁵ Robert A. Hill, 1993, pp. 361-364. That kind of practiced theory was different from the "thinking coterie" which Richard Wright had been a part of in Chicago, and which he tried to bring together between the spring of 1944 and 1945 in New York City. See Michel Fabre, The Unfinished Quest of Richard Wright (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), p. 268. What I am looking for are efforts to bring together representatives of applied ideas which can contribute to improving on existing theories by analyzing the connections between their present struggles, and identifying the possibilities for social transformation. See Martin Glaberman, Theory and Practice (Detroit: Facing Reality, 1968), pp. 8-13.

¹⁶ Reinhard W. Sander, 1988, pp. 91-103; C.L.R. James, "Triumph," Trinidad, 1, No. 1 (Port of Spain: Christmas, 1929), pp. 31-40. Reprinted in The C.L.R. James Reader, ed. Anna Grimshaw (1992), pp. 29-40.

¹⁷ See Crown Jewel (London: Picador/Pan, 1981) original 1952; A.H. Mendes, Pitch Lake (London: Duckworth, 1934); A.H. Mendes, Black Fauns (London: Duckworth, 1935); C.L.R. James, Minty Alley (London: Secker and Warburg, 1936). For a different appreciation see D. Elliot Parris "Minty Alley," C.L.R. James. His Life and Work, ed. Paul Buhle, pp. 200-202. Parris considers this novel a pioneer of West Indian fiction.

¹⁸ See C.L.R. James, "The Problem of Knowledge," The Beacon, I, No. 1 (Port of Spain, Trinidad: March, 1931), pp. 22-24.

¹⁹ James Cummings, "Barrack Rooms," The Beacon, I, No. 7 (Port of Spain, Trinidad: October, 1931). Reprinted in From Trinidad. An Anthology of Early West Indian Writing, ed. Reinhard W. Sander (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978); Reinhard W. Sander, 1988, p. 37. This is a combination of direct experience and analytical complement that will also appear in The American Worker (1947) and The Correspondence articles in the 1950s.

²⁰ C.L.R. James, The Life of Captain Cipriani. An Account of British Government in the West Indies (Nelson, Lancashire:

Coultron, 1932); --"Editorial Commentaries," The Beacon, II, No. 5 (Port of Spain: September, 1932), pp. 5-7.

21 Joshua E. Ward, "One Negro to Another," pp. 5-7.

22 Ralph Mentor, "A Study of Mr. James Political Biography," The Beacon, II, No. 6 (Port of Spain: October-November, 1932), pp. 15-17.

23 Reinhard W. Sander, 1973, p. 77. The Beacon's contemporaries in Barbados were the people who produced The Forum Quarterly (1931-1934) and the people who produced The Outlook in Jamaica, O Homen do Povo in São Paulo, The Negro Worker in Hamburg and Belgium, Legitime Defense in Paris, and La Releve in Port au Prince.

24 Between the fall of 1935 and the spring of 1937, Richard Wright was also involved in several such small collectives of organized activity in the city of Chicago. All were created so that the participants could teach each other, whether they were political activists, artists, salaried labourers or civil servants. See Margaret Walker, Richard Wright. Demonic Genius. A Portrait of the Man. (New York: Armistad, 1993), p. 80, 284.

25 See "Plan of work of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers of the K.I.L.U.," The Negro Worker, I, No. 4 (December, 1928), p. 2. Quoted in Imanuel Geiss, p. 332 and 502, n. 35.

26 Imanuel Geiss, p. 333. In December, 1929 Padmore was named head of the Negro Workers Committee at the Moscow Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions. He was also put in charge of the international conference planned in Frankfurt. In that capacity Padmore was in Africa during the spring of 1930 recruiting delegates. See Robert A. Hill, "George Padmore," Biographical Dictionary of the American Left, eds. Bernard K. Johnpoll and Harvey Klehr (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), p. 306.

27 George Padmore, The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers (London: R.I.L.U. Magazine for the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, 1931). There is a more recent edition from Hollywood, California: Sun Dance Press, 1971.

28 Imanuel Geiss, pp. 341-342, 345, 349. See Kenneth Little, Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English

Society (London:--, 1947). Recommended by I. Geiss as a version of the League of Coloured People and its founder which is more complete than Hooker or Padmore, 1972.

²⁹ Robert A. Hill, 1986, p. 306. According to Geiss, Padmore was arrested in early 1933 and deported from Hamburg, but it could be a separate occurrence. See Geiss, p. 327.

³⁰ C.L.R. James, The Life of Captain Cipriani: An Account of British Government in the West Indies (Nelson, Lancashire: Coulton, 1932).

³¹ James R. Hooker, Black Revolutionary. George Padmore's Path from Communism to Pan-Africanism (London: Pall Mall, 1967), pp. 39-57. Nancy Cunard was a shipping heiress, whose partner was the Black American composer and pianist Henry Crowder. About her work with Padmore, see Anne Chisolm, Nancy Cunard (N.Y.: Penguin, 1979), pp.255-307. The Scottsboro Boys were nine Black men from Alabama arrested by white vigilantes on false charges of raping two white prostitutes. The nine young men were sentenced to death.

³² C.L.R. James, The Case for West-Indian Self Government (London: Hogarth, 1933).

³³ Louise Cripps studied journalism at London University College in early 1930s. She met James through discussion group at home of Esther and Israel Hieger. Dr. Hieger was a leading cancer researcher at the time. When I interviewed her in Dorado, Puerto Rico in 1994 Cripps mentioned that there was a group of Trotskyists meeting regularly in James' room since the fall of 1933. It included a couple of Oxford students (Jack Whittaker and Hilary Sumner-Boyd), three students from London University besides her, two Canadians (Esther and Earle Birney who studied at the London School of Economics), a carpenter named Arthur Ballard, and a South Asian (-- Gupta). In an unpublished manuscript, Cripps also mentioned another well known Canadian Trotskyist, Ms. Leslie Bradley, but it is not clear whether she was part of this group or not. It is the Birneys who are credited with recruiting James; see Al Richardson, p. XI for another version of this.

³⁴ See The Keys, 1, No. 4 (April-June, 1934); Imanuel Geiss, p. 346. James had helped to write Learie Constantine, Cricket and I (1932).

³⁵ C.L.R. James, "Natural but Necessary Conclusion," Chapter VII, Mariners, Renegades and Castaways - The Story of Herman

Melville and the World We Live In (New York: private edition, 1953), p. 187.

³⁶ Robert J. Alexander, p. 443; see Sam Bornstein and Al Richardson, Against the Stream. A History of the Trotskyist Movement in Britain, 1924-1938 (London: Socialist Platform, 1986), pp. 168-170. Some of the other members of the Marxist Group not mentioned before were Bert Matlow, Arthur Cooper, Tony Doncaster, Frederick Marzillier, Arthur Ballard, Stewart Kirby, Margaret Johns, John Goffe, Ernie Patterson, Hilda Lane, Ted Grant, George and Lee Bradley. Max Bosch and Ted Grant from South Africa joined in December, 1934.

³⁷ Imanuel Geiss, p. 312, 338, 352, 353; C.L.R. James, "George Padmore, the Man and his Work," Caribbean Symposium: West Indian Nation in Exile. October 6-8, 1967, eds. Tim Hector and Alfonso Roberts (Montreal: Caribbean Conference Committee, 1967); C.L.R. James, Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution (Westport, Connecticut: Lawrence Hill and Co., 1977), pp. 63-64; Alan J. Mackenzie, pp. 68-69.

³⁸ James R. Hooker, pp. 39-57; Robin D.G. Kelley, 1995, pp. 1-33; George Padmore, p. 123; C.L.R. James, "Black Scholar Interview," The Black Scholar, --(San Francisco, California: September, 1970), p. 35-37.

³⁹ C.L.R. James, "Abyssinia and the Imperialists," The Keys, III, No. 3 (January-March, 1936), also included in The C.L.R. James Reader, ed. Anna Grimshaw (Oxford, U.K. and Cambridge, U.S.A.: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 63-66.

⁴⁰ C.L.R. James, "Is this worth a war? The League's scheme to rob Abyssinia of its Independence," New Leader (London: October 4, 1935), p. 4; "The Game at Geneva: Behind the Scenes in the 'Thieve's Kitchen'," New Leader (October 18, 1935), p. 2; "The Workers and Sanctions: Why the I.L.P. and the Communists take an opposite view," New Leader (October 25, 1935), p. 4; "National Stay-In Strike? How the miners could win an increase--What I learned in Wales," New Leader (November 1, 1935), p.3.

⁴¹ Robert J. Alexander, pp. 444-445. It was Early Birney who visited Trotsky in Norway on behalf of the Marxist Group. The sector led by James, Cooper, Ballard and Marzillier was opposed to joining Labour immediately after the 1935 general election. Sam Bornstein and Al Richardson, 1986, p. 238, 246.

⁴² George Padmore, 1972, p. 129; C.L.R. James, 1970, p. 35; Alan J. Mackenzie, p. 69; C.L.R. James, 1977, pp. 63-64; Robin D.G. Kelley, 1995, p. 3.

⁴³ Pamela Beshoff, pp. 22-29; there is a version which was corrected twenty five years later. See Errol Hill, ed., A Time...and a Season. 8 Caribbean Plays (St. Augustine, Trinidad: University of the West Indies, 1976).

⁴⁴ In a letter to Reinhard W. Sander, James had stated that the Caribbean intellectuals who came to Europe were radicalized when they discovered that the colonialists did not practice the ethical principles exported. See Reinhard W. Sander, "C.L.R. James: the ambivalent intellectual," The Trinidad Awakening. West Indian Literature of the 1930s (New York: Greenwood, 1988), pp. 109-113.

⁴⁵ Ted Swedenburg, Memories of Revolt. The 1936-1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian National Past (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), pp. XIX-XXII. The book discusses the reconstruction of collective memories to answer the questions raised by the present conflicts.

⁴⁶ C.L.R. James, World Revolution, 1917-1936. The Rise and Fall of the Communist International (London: Martin Secker and Warburg, 1937). The preface on p. Xll is dated January 17, 1937; Al Richardson, "Introduction to paperback edition," C.L.R. James, World Revolution 1917-1936. The Rise and Fall of the Communist International (New Jersey: Humanities, 1993), p. Xlll.

⁴⁷ The group included Hilary Summer-Boyd, Louise Cripps, Harry Wicks and C.L.R. James. According to Al Richardson their readings covered the work of a French group formed in 1934 (which investigated the decline of the Russian Revolution) called Que Faire that included Kurt Landau; another French group called French Union Communists that included Henri Chaze; a Canadian group which followed a certain B.J. Field; Albert Weisbord, from the U.S.A. and a French bolshevik (who had been in the COMINTERN executive), Boris Souvarine. This last author had written a book about the COMINTERN (1919), another about Stalin (1935) and edited La Critique Social (March, 1931-March, 1934) a socialist magazine about books and ideas. In 1936 James and his co-authors may have had access to Weisbord's manuscript for Conquest of Power: liberalism, anarchism, syndicalism, socialism, fascism and communism (New York:--, 1937) and (London: M. Secker and F. Warburg, 1938).

48 C.L.R. James, "Revolutionary Socialist League," Fight (London: April, 1938), p. 3; Robert J. Alexander, p. 448; Sam Bornstein and Al Richardson, 1986, p. 252.

49 Stuart Hall, "A Conversation with C.L.R. James," Rethinking C.L.R. James, ed. Grant Farred (Cambridge, U.S.A. and Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 25-26; James R. Hooker, pp. 49-50; C.L.R. James, 1970, pp. 35-37; C.L.R. James, 1977, pp. 64-65.

50 See "Six Questions for Trotskyists and the Answers," Controversy, 2, No. 17 (February 1938). In the issue of Controversy for October, 1937 there had been another article by James. The one mentioned here is in the conversation style of the stories published in Trinidad, 1, No. 1 and The Beacon, 1, No. 2.

51 Imanuel Geiss, p. 347, 506, Note 28; see The Keys 5, No. 4 (April-June, 1938), p. 26 which includes the resolution.

52 C.L.R. James, "Revolutionary Socialist League," Fight (organ of the R.S.L.-C.L.R. James, editor), 1, No. 1 (London: April, 1938), p. 3.

53 C.L.R. James, "British Barbarism in Jamaica! Support the Negro Worker's Struggle," Fight, 1, No. 3 (London: June, 1938), pp. 1 and 4.

54 Stuart Hall, 1996, p. 26; James R. Hooker, p. 49; Imanuel Geiss, p. 355; George Padmore, 1972, p. 129. It has not been possible to examine copies of the International African Opinion to determine whether the content demonstrated: an effort to connect the participants in the social movements with their historical memories, an understanding of the conflicts generated by the popular practices, the identification of the common denominators among those conflicts. However, in the book to be examined here there is an analysis of self-organization to change the causes of a social crisis and the creation of a communication system which identified alternatives to the existing relations of force.

55 Among the pamphlets produced by the African Bureau were: The West Indies Today by George Padmore and Arthur Lewis; Hands Off the Protectorates; Kenya, Land of Conflict; African Empires and Civilizations; The Negro in the

Caribbean; White Man's Duty; The Voice of the New Negro; The American Negro Problem; The Native Problem in South Africa; The Voice of Coloured Labour; Europe's Difficulty is Africa's Opportunity. See George Padmore, 1972, p. 128.

Among the books written by members of the African Bureau were: Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mt. Kenya; the tribal life of the Gikuya (London: M. Secker and Warburg, 1938); George Padmore, Africa and World Peace (London: M. Secker and Warburg, 1937); C.L.R. James, Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution (London: M. Secker and Warburg, 1938). James had been introduced to the publishers by the editor of New Leader, Fenner Brockway. Kenyatta and Padmore began publishing with the same house after Minty Alley and the book about the COMINTERN were in circulation. Robert A. Hill, 1986, p. 70; Interview with Louise Cripps, 1994.

56 C.L.R. James, A History of Pan-African Revolt (Washington, D.C.: Drum and Spear, 1969), p. 60. According to Kelley, Padmore's 1931 book was a model for James' 1938 monograph. See Robin D.G. Kelley, 1995, p.7.

57 C.L.R. James, "'Civilising the Blacks': Why Britain needs to maintain her African possessions," New Leader (London: May 29, 1936), p. 5. In this review of Padmore's How Britain Rules Africa (1936) James responds to the author's contention that there are sectors of the dominant classes interested in ending colonialism. See Kelley, 1995, p. 11; Pamela Beshoff, p. 25.

58 All further references to this text will appear in the body of the dissertation.

59 Angus Calder, "A Place for All at the Rendezvous of Victory," Third World Book Review, 1, No. 2 (London:--, 1984), p. 12.

60 Also see C.L.R. James, 1977, pp. 65-68; C.L.R. James, 1970, p.35; Alain J. Mackenzie, 1980, p.70.

61 Stuart Hall, 1996, p.22; Robert A. Hill, "Afterword" to C.L.R. James, American Civilization (Cambridge, U.S.A. and Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 1993), p. 65. Hill mentions that the sense of having mastered what is necessary is acquired by the colonized in spite of the official order. I agree with

Hill that James' perspective on culture was informed by his experience as a colonial subject.

⁶² Antonio Benítez Rojo, La Isla que se repite [The Island that repeats itself] (Hanover, New Hampshire: Ediciones del Norte, 1989), p. 294. Vincent Oge, Victor Hugues, the British consulate in Havana, and the fleet which operated out of the French and Swedish islands in the Eastern Caribbean in 1790s can be mentioned as examples.

⁶³ In a retrospective interview James would comment that were he to rewrite The Black Jacobins, more attention would be devoted to the ordinary people. And by implication less attention would be invested on the westernized leaders, who were trying to keep up with what the manual workers were doing in the northern region of Haiti. As a person interested in those cultural processes, James acknowledged the benefit from the study of the Levellers while preparing the manuscript for The Black Jacobins. Pamela Beshoff, p. 25. The impact of his contacts with the French and British Bolsheviks in helping James recognize the decisive role of the manual workers in the Haitian Revolution has been previously appreciated by others. See Robert A. Hill, 1986, pp. 71-72.

⁶⁴ "Wither the I.L.P.: Centrist Circle about to be completed -the only road to Revolutionaries," Worker's Fight (London: October, 1938), p.2; "French 40 hour week attacked," Worker's Fight (London: October, 1938), p.3.

⁶⁵ In 1928 Roumain participated in the organization of the popular mobilizations against the U.S.A. occupation of Haiti (1915-1934). These continued in 1929, while Roumain was in jail, with the students and the nationalist youth supporting a peasant uprising which became a general strike. This ended when the U.S. Marines killed 22, wounded 51 at Marchaterre in the fall of 1929.

The combination of urban mobilizations and peasant uprisings continued during 1930. At this time Roumain is participating in the organization of a small radical collective which intervened in the electoral campaign. His critical evaluation of the mulatto elite La Proie et l'ombre [The Prey and the Shadow] which had been written in jail during 1929 is published in 1930. Another two books written in jail were published in 1931: Les Fantouches [The Puppets] about the urban society which collaborates with the occupation and the bourgeois nationalists which end up on the government payroll; La Montagne Ensorcelée [The

Bewitched Mountain] in which the peasants narrate their daily lives in a way the reader can understand the role of their spirituality.

Shortly after Roumain met Langston Hughes in Haiti in the fall of 1931, he travelled to New York City. Upon his return, Roumain's connections with the Communist Party were made public. In December 1932 Roumain, Max Hudicort and a Dominican named Pequero were arrested, charged with conspiracy, and released in February, 1933. After the publication of Analyse Schematique, 1932-1934 Roumain is arrested again for subversion and sentenced to three years by the foreign-controlled military. Co-written with Christian Beaulieu and Etienne D. Charlier, Analyse Schematique discussed economic consequences of the occupation, cultural nationalism, and colour prejudice from a class perspective and proposed solutions for the majority of the poor peasants.

Anton DeKom migrated from Surinam to Holland in 1920, where he worked as an accountant and became a teacher. He also contributed articles to progressive publications like Links Richten [Left Turn] and De Tribune. Some of these articles were republished in Surinam or made into leaflets there. DeKom also researched the cultural and economic history of Surinam at the Royal Library as part of a small radical collective. His relations with leftist organizations in Holland, included becoming an officer of the League Against Imperialism at the national office. DeKom was fired for his political activities in 1931, at the time in which he was exchanging letters with the leaders of the labour movement in Paramaribo. In October, 1931 the workers' demonstrations in Surinam were repressed with gunfire, and a state of siege was declared to prevent protests over the dead and wounded. In 1932 the workers created a union which was also a separatist party, and the correspondence between DeKom and their leaders continued. So did the history research about marronage, abolition, trade unions and the emotional consequences of colonialism (before James, Fanon or Memmi). When DeKom arrived in Surinam on February, 1933 he was denied a public hall where he could share the results of his research. After he was deported, it was published in Holland as Wij Slaven van Surinam [We the Slaves of Surinam] under police censorship in 1934.

⁶⁶ Karl Marx, Capital. A Critique of Political Economy Volume I (New York: Vintage/Random House, 1977), pp. 166-170, 173. Mediations are about getting behind the secret of merchandise to understand the social relations between the workers and the investors as ones of interdependence which characterize this mode of production. It is also a

retrospective understanding. See Luis Martín Santos, "Mediación," [Mediation] Terminologia Científico - Social Aproximación Crítica [Social Science Terminology - Critical Approach] (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1988), pp. 595-600. Through the study of the exchanges which clarified the relations of inequality that connected the parts, the social movements could turn abstract representations of conflict into mediations that stressed the interests in conflict.

67 Darrell E. Levi, "C.L.R. James: A Radical West Indian Vision of American Studies," American Quarterly, 43, No. 3 (September, 1991), pp. 489-490, 499. After the 18th century the indentured slaves from Asia are also part of the Caribbean encounter.

68 Another way to access unrecorded memories is to start with the conscious oral traditions of victorious maroons, and return to the past through them. That has been done in Daniel Maximin, Lone Sun (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989) about events in Guadeloupe that occurred at the same time as the Haitian Revolution.

69 Carolyn E. Fick, The Making of Haiti. The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990; Dany Bebel Gisler, Leonora - the Buried History of Guadeloupe (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994); Maryse Condé, La Civilisation du Bossale. Reflexions sur la litterature orale de la Guadeloupe et la Martinique (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1978); Edouard Glissant, La Intention Poetique (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1969); Edouard Glissant, Monsieur Toussaint (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents, 1981). These are mentioned here as examples of that renewed interest.

70 With the help of texts like W. Burghardt Turner and Joyce Moore Turner, eds., Richard B. Moore, Caribbean Militant in Harlem: Collected Writings, 1920-1972, (London: Pluto Press, 1988) and Ted Vincent, Keep Cool, the Black Activists Who Build the Jazz Age (London: Pluto Press, 1995) it will be easier to construct such a comparison.

71 When James remained in the U.S.A., between 1938 and 1953, the experience of the small radical group as a praxis device was extended to include representatives of industrial unions, women, youth, ethnic minorities and recent migrants. The Johnson-Forest Group was a further development in the evolution of this learning and communication activity. Their

constant exchange of printed materials (clipping files, notations on margins of circulated manuscripts, coordinating collective research) was one component. The transcription of direct(ed) experience(s) was another and they were integrated to identify possibilities of transformation that also uncovered an indigenous tradition of insurgency. Their work on race and class, on women, on mass culture, on the colonial question and the youth movement was pathbreaking in its methodology.

Between 1953 and 1958 the publications and correspondence of this small radical organization represent an original effort to convene collectives of workers and intellectuals who would gather, analyze and distribute information about all aspects of daily life. Their goal was to produce the materials which the salaried and marginalized needed for their self-mobilization. That part of this story is beyond the scope of the present dissertation.

⁷² Among the participants in that international network during the 1950s were Grace Lee, Martin Glaberman, Cornelius Castoriadis, Danilo Montaldi, Lelio Basso and Maurice Brinton. Others in the Socialisme ou Barbarie group included Gilles Deleuze, Feliz Guattari, Jean Francois Lyotard, Claude Lefort, George Lapassade and René Lourau. Guattari continued to work with pirate radio, the Italian Autonomia and the Workers Party of Brazil during the 1970s and 1980s.

⁷³ As I have mentioned throughout, Walter Rodney, the Guyanese historian assassinated in 1980 by the Burnham dictatorship, was one of the participants in this London study group.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Part 1: Retrospection

In the third case study I examined methods of collective cooperation used to comprehend "facts" which questioned the previously held premises about despotism. The evolution of such methods preceded the communication of a collective understanding based on shared memories. (Cohen and Schnelle, 1986, p.XI-XIII, XIX-XX) Earlier I referred to this as the thought style which characterized each small collective of co-thinkers. For the urban and literate colonials divorced from the oral traditions of the popular, the research published in The Beacon was an effort to regain contact with these institutions as part of their present.¹

The Beacon group learned those methods of collective work for critical inventory in their research about the living conditions of the popular, and in the materials they received from their contacts abroad. From March 1931 to November 1933 they managed to question some of the premises of the existing order: raising the colonial question, identifying the relation between race and class, insisting on the national context as the reference point for

their cultural production. This specificity of place was the beginning of decolonizing their cultural imaginary.²

Trinidad and The Beacon were not the first magazines in the island but they were among the first to use their interpretation of events to bring together readers and contributors who would question the premises of the colonial administration. The small group was also making events which occurred abroad part of their readers' own context, in contrast with "the official version." As was demonstrated in the third case study, the community which wrote and read the magazines did exist beyond the literary salon and the printed page. (Anderson, 1990, p.63; Piccini, 1987, p.39) Much like their predecessors in Cuba and Haiti, and their contemporary groups in Brazil and Surinam, this thought collective sought to understand the cultural history of the popular in Trinidad. The variety of results suggests differences in the articulation of social relations, consciousness and thought style throughout the region which refer to island-specific and regional obstacles to economic, as well as cultural cooperation. (Williams, 1995, pp.181-183)

What The Beacon group did not do was explore the memories of the context to identify the repressed images of slavery among the urban and literate, in order to connect the present with its historical causes. Specifically the memories of conflicts over territory, and the forms of

cooperation among those whose relation with space was reconstructed through shared remembering.³

It was in Great Britain where the small collectives in which James participated nurtured a distrust for the sanctioned rationality in the process of their self-representation. The choice of the Haitian insurgents as a means of communicating the origins of a Caribbean intellectual tradition suggests a cultural strategy: like the Trinidad veterans of 1918, the Maroons had proved themselves capable of modern self-government because they had mastered the institutions designed to restrain them. To avoid a repetition of an approved account which ignored the participation of the common workers in the Bolshevik Revolution, it was indispensable to reconstruct the organized activities of the Maroons. This was also a way of making that history of the present available to the successors of the Maroons in the 1930s: the anti-colonialists, industrial workers, unemployed, pan-africanists and socialists in the process of becoming oppositional subjects. As the consensus negotiated by the official institutions came under the increased criticism of the metropolitan workers and the colonized, the small groups in Great Britain made the connections between the increased rigidity of those institutions and their incapacity to solve the social crisis. As the obstacles to democratic concurrence were identified, the dominant lost social spaces

where the appearance of flexibility was enough to extract concessions.

The Marxist Group and the African Bureau had done the mapping which connected the causes, the means of enacting solutions, and the experience of social realities where they had been attempted. Their awareness was the result of more advanced ways of knowing the material conditions from which their vocabulary emerged without submitting to the dominant representations.

The small radical organizations mentioned in the third case study were more than a method of collective discussion and rewriting of manuscripts that they had previously organized and researched. These praxis collectives were also interpreting current events in ways which identified the conflict of principles in the representations of history and current events, as part of their efforts to acquire cultural leadership. To put the praxis options in context, the exclusions from the mass media were alluded to by way of historical research grounded on the organization of cultural/economic production. With examples of social movements which had changed the course of world history and the reconstruction of the premises for their success, the small groups opened perspectives both for cooperation among their readers in the colonies, and for a wider discussion about the contemporary premises.⁴

As with the literate domestic servants who read the publications about the French revolution in Haiti, it was hoped that some colonial subjects would read the publications of the African Bureau, verify the connections with their situation and create the means for self-emancipation. What was being proposed between the lines was a way of thinking and acting to be practiced consciously in daily life.

Part 2: Outset Reconsidered

Questions

Before proceeding to the conclusions I will try to answer the questions which have organized my search throughout this dissertation. The first was about the reasons and cultural conditions under which activist intellectuals formed or joined these small groups. Their understanding of the recurring crises of their time informed an oppositional perspective which made it necessary for these small groups to work with the popular movements. To disseminate information about autonomous methods of conscious intervention they reconstructed another logic through which daily practices of self-emancipation could be identified and recorded. This logic had informed the cultural institutions which slavery and colonialism dismissed while submitting them to a permanent siege. As Robert Allen Warrior suggests, in the continuous struggles

for sovereignty the intellectuals reclaimed those experiences which sustained collective actions of critical reassembly. (Warrior, 1995, p.91,97)

The second question was about the way in which the small groups understood the causes and methods of the popular movements. In societies where the colonial administration could accept docile competence but persecuted critical practices, the small groups became a method of examining radical praxis in their own context, of understanding the causes behind the "facts." What they found were common experiences which challenged the dominant, and the small groups recovered those memories of the popular becoming the national reference point. But as the reader cannot make sense of the written word without previous knowledge and interaction with the context, a passage from Paulo Freire and Donaldo Macedo (1987, p.35) will be useful here:

"...reading the word is not preceded merely by reading the world, but by a certain form of writing it..., that is, of transforming it by means of conscious, practical work."⁵

This passage suggests to me that the small groups gained an understanding of popular cultures through their collaboration with the organized mobilizations of the popular sectors, as collective practices whose intention was social transformation. This collective method of "writing

the world" has not been adequately considered in communication studies or its complementary disciplines.⁶

The third question was about the selection of historical research topics in the small groups to address current affairs in the 1920s and 1930s. During the first third of the 20th century social relations in the colonies were changing as a result of the changes in the organization of work. The relations between the colonial administrators, the industrial investors and the financial institutions were changing as well. Even when the codes of interpretation were a site of conflict, it was the emergence of an autonomous workers' movement which set off the reactions of the dominant alliance. (James, Dunayevskaya, and Lee, 1980, pp.177-180) The small groups were asking questions about patterns within the strategies for sovereignty in the Caribbean region, about self-organization in daily life without illusions about participating in the discussions distributed through the commercial media. The lack of conditions for a free exchange of ideas was another reason why they turned to the social movements as sites of direct interaction where the conversation was less restricted.

The autonomous communication of popular experience using the dominant circulation mechanisms was a way of inserting the marginalized in the official conversation to challenge the dominant system of organizing consciousness. Those circulation mechanisms included letters to the editors

of newspapers and magazines, producing commercial plays and musical reviews, promoting book publications, art exhibits, adult education and pamphlets for the mass market. Much like the cultural institutions of the Maroons had done with the institutions of slavery and colonialism, the small groups of praxis-researchers were asking: how have the popular used mechanisms designed to exclude them to transmit autonomously produced representations of their experience?

In most of the cases considered here there were efforts to bring manual and mental workers together to record and explain the daily experience of power relations. The fourth question was about the activities of the small groups to support the popular movements during the conflicts of the 1925-1938 period. I found that most of the collectives of activist intellectuals generated information about the cultural and economic issues which affected the daily lives of the popular, and about the dominant sectors which made the decisions. In second place, the small groups created means of informing the popular about the global context for their activities. Whether it was the popular university in Havana (1923-1927) or the marches and public meetings in Trinidad (1934-1938), the small groups created means for the self-expression of the emerging subjects. There were also publications promoted by the small groups in which the popular sectors learned to document their living conditions and goals. There are at least two more ways

in which the small groups were an organized cultural activity in support of the popular movements. The third way in which the small groups participated in "writing the world" was in bringing forth instances which suggested possibilities of recuperating popular initiatives. Fernando Ortiz, Anton DeKom, Jacques Roumain and C.L.R. James, for example, did research on the Maroons as factors of culture who were creators of autonomous institutions. By including the popular in the national they were able to illustrate the extreme conditions under which strategies of self-government had already become ways of life and struggle. The fourth thing the small groups did was to adapt social theories to extend the understanding of power relations to their reproduction by mass culture.⁷ By reviving the popular as an oppositional memory, with contemporary possibilities in the 1930s, the N.W.C.S.A. in Trinidad and the Homen do Povo (Man of the People) group in Brazil could be considered predecessors of post-1945 cultural studies. In their organized activities popular movements were linked to changes in power relations which included race, gender, culture, class, and national sovereignty. As they constructed a critical history of the present, these small groups also identified popular institutions which were the basis for democratic communications. (McChesney, 1996, pp.1-18) One Caribbean reference which can be mentioned as a point of comparison with European and North American

cultural studies is Dany Bebel-Gisler, Leonora. The Buried Story of Guadeloupe which explains the daily life of the common people using culture to connect the relations of domination with the opportunities to create collective solutions.

Two additional questions

The history of the means for gathering, analyzing, and disseminating information chosen by the small groups also allowed me to identify the contents and verification tactics which were excluded by the commercial media. (Piccini, 1987, p.49) That contributed to my understanding of the cultural conditions of the period. I discovered that historical research and fiction was less restricted than critical commentary about current affairs, for example.⁸ As I have tried to demonstrate, the choice of fiction, music, theatre and history was also informed by the need to suggest sources of unity which could encourage popular participation.

Since the small groups did not propose solutions but rather facilitated the research and distribution of information which the popular movements needed, there were two additional questions. The fifth was about the evidence left by the small groups regarding the analysis of popular consciousness and its determinants. The need for collective

participation appeared as a goal in the activities of the Frente Negra in Brazil, and the Left of the P.N.P. in Jamaica. As a principle which organized daily life, the same need appeared among the members of the African Bureau in London, the N.W.C.S.A. in Trinidad and in the work of Patricia Galvão. In the documents of the groups in which Fernando Ortiz participated, the need for collective participation appeared as a historical perspective.

Not all the groups had the same degree of success in connecting the historical context needed to understand the present with the information for the social movements. The difficulty may have been with identifying the economic processes which determined cultural production, the conflicting interests such production expressed and the strategies in support of popular participation. The research about slavery, colonialism and the export industries was already mentioned, and it was out of that aggregate experience that the practices of self-emancipation emerged.⁹ As a result of their research and direct experience with the issues mentioned above Ortiz, Galvão, and James analyzed the previous defeats of the popular movements. As their praxis evolved in interactions with these movements, the authors just mentioned also alluded to the conditions for social transformation.¹⁰

The sixth question was about the recurring presence of the historical Maroon communities in the written

evidence of the praxis work undertaken by the small groups across the extended Caribbean. During the 1930s the activist intellectuals mentioned here often referred to the Maroons as predecessors of the popular movements. What did the Maroon communities represent? As I have pointed out in the case studies, and reiterate now, marronage was used as a metaphor for an oppositional truth system, a regional information network and invisible institutions of solidarity. Marronnage alluded to cultural practices grounded in memories of creating equivalents to the dominant instead of its simple echo. Even when using western methodological norms, the collective testimonies of the maroon-intellectuals questioned the means and goals of academic production. I have also referred to "the Maroons" as a discovery device which emerged from the vocabulary of the Caribbean experience, and which was a historical precedent for the thought collectives in the case studies.¹¹

One of the reasons why the members of the groups worked in the commercial media or created autonomous outlets was to disseminate information about the international situation. The isolation of the island colonies was a concern underlying the public meetings, newspapers, magazines, regional news services, frequent travel, correspondence networks and radio broadcasts mentioned in the case studies. The care with which they identified the conflicts between the premises of the dominant and the

popular suggests an emerging critique of mass culture. Galvão's article about the cinema was a modest example. (Galvão, 1931; Galvão, 1993, pp.99-100) The other one was the effort to promote the popular means of transmitting news and commentary: the songs, stories, visual arts and rituals which influenced the cultural movements of Cuba, Haiti, Trinidad and the U.S.A.¹² Finally the international meetings and the foreign experience among the members of the small groups encouraged the maroon intellectuals to cooperate with their counterparts in other countries. Thus we have the collaboration between Padmore and the N.W.C.S.A.; between Guillén, Roumain and Langston Hughes; between Anton DeKom in Holland and the separatist workers in Surinam.

Main Task and Argument

Those were the questions I started with when setting out to study how the popular sectors learned the practice of consciously injecting tension in a situation to reveal the relations of force. I also wanted to learn how the popular sectors distinguished between this method of finding out what was possible in their context and the extraction of information to construct meaningful representations. As the research began, the crux of the matter appeared to be the strategies of verification practised by the popular and the negotiations promoted by

mass culture. My prediction at the outset was that in the process of reconstructing the historical connections between the social movements of the 1930s and the Maroon communities the activist intellectuals would update their unsanctioned strategies of verification. Using the communication systems created to oppose slavery, the small groups identified the premises of insular confinement, colonial occupation and salaried work. The verification process implied participating in events of collective consciousness which questioned those premises and confirmed a shared understanding of what was happening across the region.¹³ Like their Maroon ancestors driven to praxis in their experience of self-emancipation, the small groups in the 1930s were part of the same tradition which disputed the interests of the colonizers with demonstration projects of self-government. (Harris, 1973, p.36)

The evidence presented here represents an evolving capacity to master the dominant thought styles both through theoretical criticism and radical actions to change the social circumstances. The particular mixture of the dominant and unyielding traditions with the seditious ideas circulating during the 1930s depended on the specific context of direct experience. (Rudé, 1980, p.24, 35-37) What the case studies show is official intellectuals joining with the popular movements in the opposition and manual workers becoming maroon intellectuals. Those who reached out

to the popular and the manual workers who became a praxis collective wrote to record the living conditions of the popular sectors, the sacrifices and endurance of their ancestors, and the distance between the present and their goals. In the following passage about George Antonius and C.L.R. James, Edward W. Said (1993, p.258) suggests how the syncretic nature of this praxis research by colonials has often been misread:

"To misinterpret the historical force of their statements,...to impugn them...as waiting for sympathy, to dismiss them as emotional and subjective *cris de coeur* of strenuous activists and partisan politicians is to attenuate their force, to misrepresent their value, to dismiss their enormous contribution to knowledge."

I would argue that what is worthy of attention is not the use by colonial subjects of western theories and data about the colonies but the determination with which these tools were recombined in the Americas under extreme political conditions. The small groups recorded the impact of the social movements in these mediations where the practitioners of insurgent solidarities recognized themselves and their own transitions. The efforts to gain the release of the N.W.C.S.A. member in Barbados, the cooperation from the neighbours with the "yard" research of The Beacon group are two examples.¹⁴ With the written materials of the small groups we can learn about the

relation of the authors with the context, as the authors represented that relation.

What I saw as my main task throughout was to reconstruct the cultural history, and to identify the mediations with an argument that was grounded on an understanding of these communication processes. For that reason it was necessary to know the previous theoretical and practical interests of the activist-intellectuals, the immediate purpose of their writing, the environment which surrounded the events they discussed, and their long term goals. Understanding the social context did help me to identify the direction of the small group's cultural projects.¹⁵

The argument which I draw from the case studies is what follows. Social conflict appears as negotiable, and it is the negotiations which seem to connect groups in conflict between crises. The representations of the conflict which are distributed through mass culture conceal the relations of force which connect all the parts of social experience. It is the discovery and transformation of those links which I have called praxis, as it involves the exchange of experiences about the context and the consciousness of the knowing subject. To reveal the historical character of those relations of force, it is necessary to modify them consciously.¹⁶ Praxis is used here as a mediation which

confirms the understanding of popular sectors becoming social movements.

The indications that suggested this was occurring in the case studies were: the conscious separation from the values and meanings of mass culture, the conversations which identified the causes of conflict, the use of unsanctioned means to verify the social mapping of a crisis.¹⁷ I had chosen the case studies of the small radical organizations to examine these concepts of praxis and mediation (which are central in communication research about popular culture).

The small group appeared in the colonial context and abroad as a site of social epistemology where the popular sectors could verify what was possible despite the restrictions on what was permitted.¹⁸ This meant teaching each other about the causes and consequences of their direct actions as in the public conversations promoted by the N.W.C.S.A. In the dialogic relation with small groups in other parts of the world who shared information (as well as the results of their own direct experiences) the small groups were also sites of social epistemology. Overcoming the isolation of insular colonialism was one of the contributions they made to the social movements, bringing the comprehensive understanding produced in other places to the study of their own situation.¹⁹

Praxis and Communication

How then are these experiences of praxis and mediation connected with communication studies? First, if the analysis of cultural practices is limited to representation by the media or interpretation within the codes promoted by mass culture, the possibility of identifying opportunities for transforming the causes of social conflict is reduced. Negotiation of meaning in alternative cultures, cultures of resistance or pleasure appears as an opportunity to dissolve conflict. Second, the praxis of the small groups working with social movements is a mediation which challenges the self-justifying representations of the existing order. What characterizes that praxis is the unrestricted presence of the dominated and the inclusion of a rationality denied by mass culture. Third, instead of simply representing the memories of popular desires, the praxis of the small groups also identified opportunities for their self-expression and it analyzed the actions which opposed domination. To reveal those opportunities the small groups searched for the historical imprint of repressed futures in the premises of the present order. Trying to explain how the institutions which justified the origins of foreign domination had been subverted, the small groups also revealed how the premises for the export industries of the 1920s (still imposed with

methods from slavery) could also be abolished. Thus a form of analytical remembering could evolve into the practice of an imagined future.²⁰

But it was the initiatives of the popular movements, revealing the relations of force, that confirmed their organized existence as social subjects. Those provisional maps of their societies were more likely when these emerging subjects became systems of communications about every aspect of daily life.²¹ What the small groups contributed was the regional and global perspective which confirmed the analysis of the national situation. They did so by demonstrating the mediations between the logic of domination which governed economics, politics and culture at home and overseas.

Part 3: Conclusions

I think the examination of these cases of social epistemology suggest versions of praxis and mediation which can contribute to an understanding of popular culture. There are several currents of thinking in communication studies about the relation between "mass culture" and "popular culture", and some of them have also included comments about representation and interpretation. Earlier I quoted from Freire and Macedo on reading and writing the world which exemplifies one of the currents in these discussions: the

extraction of meaning is preceded by the conscious practice of transforming its context.

This section will be divided in three parts. The first will include some of the authors who have discussed the relation between "mass culture" and "popular culture". The second will add some of the authors which have referred to representation and interpretation in relation to mass and popular culture. In the third part I will submit the transitions between practice and theory by the small groups in the case studies as a contribution to these exchanges about popular cultures in the field of communication.

A. The relation between "mass culture" and "popular culture"

In this research project I have been able to detect several thought styles. The first will be called cultural studies and I will be referring to the work of people in Europe and the Americas. This set includes Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall, Nancy Fraser, Lawrence Grossberg, Jesús Martín Barbero, Néstor García Canclini, Phillip Elliot, Beatriz Sarlo and Valerio Fuenzalida. The second will be called praxis research and the authors referenced are again from Europe and the Americas. This thought style includes Paulo Freire, Jesús Ibáñez, Felix Guattari, Michael Ryan, Antonio Pasquali, Sheila Rowbotham, Antonio Negri, the socialist-feminist network in Hamburg and Berlin coordinated

by Frigga Haug, and Sistren in Jamaica. The third is an eclectic assemblage of Latin American activist-intellectuals who have written frequently about culture. Among those included in that assortment are Agustín Cueva, Mabel Piccini, Carlos Monsivais, Darcy Ribeiro, Aníbal Quijano, Oscar Cuellar and Atilio Borón. The last group consists of some German Communication scholars from the post-Frankfurt School listing which includes Dieter Prokop, Franz Dröge, Oskar Negt, Alexander Kluge, Lothar Bisky and Henk Prakke.

Among those mentioned above as included in the cultural studies thought style, one of the ways of revealing the reciprocal relations between the exercise of power and cultural production is through a general description of the context.²² They consider cultural practices as one of the systems of producing meaning which constitute the existing order. Specifically, the system through which the capacity to turn historical events and institutions into struggles for collective awareness can be assessed. Within this current of thought cultural practices are those which recognize that exchanges in society are a struggle over collective awareness and identity construction.²³ It seems to me that the writers in this group are concerned about how information is extracted from the context to produce meaning. Some of them are aware that paying attention to such construction of representations in daily life has not been enough to explain the failure of the "cultures of

resistance" to transform their context. (García Canclini, 1988, p.484; Fraser, 1992, p.94)

Among those inserted in the praxis school of thought, the purpose of exchanges about daily life is to find solutions to common problems. Once again this thought style includes Paulo Freire, Jesús Ibáñez, Félix Guattari, Michael Ryan, Antonio Pasquali, Sheila Rowbotham, Antonio Negri, the socialist-feminist network in Hamburg and Berlin coordinated by Frigga Haug and Sistren in Jamaica. These authors understand those exchanges about daily life as conversations between communicating subjects about the context and the conscious actions taken or planned. (Freire, 1985, pp.184-192; Ryan, 1984, pp.113-115) The emphasis in this current of thinking is on the communication practices which can change the relations of power as they identify the opportunities for transformation across the society. They see culture as the organic process which connects the parts of the whole. For this group conscious subjects are constructed through their participation in the transformations which reveal the social relations. (Guattari, 1984, pp.11-23) What I derive from the above is that among the authors who propose praxis as a mediation, communication is understood as a cultural process in which collective subjects attempt to reorganize their social reality as they gain understanding of it. Those collective

subjects include the popular sectors which organize against the State to solve problems connected with public policy.

The third group is concerned with the limitations of studying cultural leadership and the articulation of consensus in Latin America. As mentioned earlier this assortment includes Agustín Cueva, Mabel Piccini, Carlos Monsivais, Darcy Ribeiro, Aníbal Quijano, Oscar Cuellar and Atilio Borón. These activist-intellectuals propose the inclusion of the relations of production presently organized by imperialism under conditions of real subsumption in that discussion. During the era of industrialization it was the workers who were exchangeable, but now that the products and the consumers are exchangeable economics, politics and culture are more integrated.²⁴

Without vilifying mass culture or glorifying popular culture, the cultural studies set pays close attention to the history of the uses each has made of the other. It is through the study of those reciprocal interactions that some of the authors congregated under cultural studies try to explain the construction of social subjects and the power relations which structure their context.²⁵ According to J. Martín Barbero this can be done without attributing exclusive causality to the interest of the ruling classes or the control of the media technology.²⁶ Still according to J. Martín Barbero, it is in the interaction between the products of the media, the receivers

and their daily lives that meaning is negotiated. It is that definition of communication which leads him to suggest that more attention should be paid to what the popular sectors do with mass culture.²⁷

For Nestor García Canclini, who also shares the cultural studies perspective, the redefinition of needs and public conduct can be called popular culture, even when incorporating mass media elements which lack territorial specificity. (García Canclini, 1991, pp.98-103; García Canclini, 1988, pp.467-497) It seems to me that these cultural studies scholars understand popular demands and behaviours to be the result of interpreting the industrial production consumed. The deracinated codes of thought and behaviour are not only circulated through the merchandise of the cultural industries but through other means such as schools and museums which encourage their imitation. (Rositi, 1980, pp.28-42, 182-186) Once accepted as normal, these cognitive and competence codes become obstacles for those seeking effective participation in the public conversations about the strategic social decisions.²⁸

The praxis school of thought understands communication as the process of knowing society through its conscious transformation. It is a way of making the popular sectors aware of the actions required to address their needs and to reflect collectively on their trajectory.²⁹ For this group of authors, mass culture restricts the conditions

which are conducive to the creation of consciousness. Pasquali and Rowbotham for example consider the media as distributors of opinions and motivations which are an obstacle to the reconstruction of historical memories.³⁰ So instead of looking for the uses the popular sectors make of mass culture, this group of authors asks how the popular organizations can construct strategic initiatives against institutions of containment such as mass culture. Whether that initiative is expressed as a counterforce or as another cultural leadership, whether this appears before or after the reorganization of social relations are the kind of questions presently under consideration.³¹

The demarcation between the praxis grouping and the Latin-American activist-intellectuals is not rigid. Among the latter there are authors like Brazilian anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro (1978, pp.162-164) who distinguish between the popular as a negotiation of behaviour patterns within a shared set of references and the popular as an insurgent oppositional culture that creates options for itself. For the activist-intellectuals inserted in this third tendency, the popular cultures are more than the memories excluded from the official version, they are ways of communicating which have escaped the controls of the dominant. According to Mabel Piccini the way these cultural networks are constructed by the transmission of memories and

interaction with use value has not been studied enough. (Piccini, 1987, p.31, pp.39-41)

The Latin-American activist intellectuals included here have also studied the role of the State in the cultural relations between social groups. Some, like Cueva, Borón and Cuellar have insisted that in the struggle over cultural leadership, between popular and mass culture, more emphasis should be placed on the way social conflicts are brought to consciousness. (Borón and Cuellar, 1983, pp.1155-1171; Cueva, 1987, pp.149-163) This is an important consideration since the manner in which social subjects constitute themselves will affect which groups are appropriate units of historical analysis, and the conditions under which cultural leadership is produced. As well as can be determined, the options constitute themselves in the resolution of social conflict or in representation.

For Carlos Monsivais, mass culture tries to reduce the audience to obedience by justifying the latter's defeats and by censoring the critical and empowering elements of their practices. (Monsivais, 1984, pp.25-41) He adds that discussions about cultural leadership in Latin America presume a degree of State tolerance that is seldom practised. The spaces where debate can encourage effective dissidence to become a political alternative do not exist in the region. According to Monsivais, what does exist is the

possibility for mimetic consumption, social mobility through schooling or exile. (Monsivais, 1991, pp.51-52)

Among the grouping of German communication scholars Dieter Prokop writes about mass culture as a system of codes which reduce specific social experiences to the general narrative of sporting competitions.³² The popular cultural practices, on the other hand, are the basis for alternatives to the dominant codes because they address the needs which are excluded from mass culture. According to this perspective since mass culture discourages in-depth discussion of specific cases, it is difficult for the audience to identify the common denominators of social problems. Such a possibility would require an unrestricted conversation about all aspects of daily life. Those are precisely the unpredictable experiences of consciousness which mass culture attempts to prevent.

B. Representation and Interpretation in relation to mass and popular culture

Representation

Between 1977 and 1990 some of the proposals about the concept of representation were made by Néstor García Canclini, Oskar Negt, María Dolores Juliano, Jesús Martín Barbero and Manuel Martín Serrano. Both García Canclini and Martín Barbero have recognized the need to explain social processes of communication in ways which identify the

cultural elements in the mobilizations of the popular and in the exercise of power. (García Canclini, 1988, pp.467-497; Martín Barbero, 1987, p.40, 47) That has encouraged them to examine the cultural diversity expressed in the social movements, in order to think about society as an integrated whole. This kind of examination is also necessary to account for the delays between changes in manifested levels of social awareness and their appropriation by the cultural industries. One of the theorists mentioned by J. Martín Barbero as a contributor to this understanding of representation was Manuel Martín Serrano.

Martín Serrano's research team has developed a general explanation of communication which contextualized representation. According to their investigation unit the social processes which can be understood are those whose connections, to other exchanges of information between human beings, are recognized.³³ Some of those exchanges of representations, where direct experience is communicated, provide a critical counterpoint to mass culture. When an explanation of such communication practices includes social experience, in its specific historical context, that explanation can represent the existing society as a problem whose solution is collective. For Oskar Negt our grasp of the historical context in which direct experience occurs determines the explanation of its representations. (Negt, 1978, pp.70-71) Social exchanges about the conflicts

excluded from the mass media are also easier to understand with the inclusion of the historical context. For example, to propose a relation between processes of communication and the conflicts which gave the former meaning could be validated if the proposition had the capacity to explain a critical juncture.³⁴

It is possible to speak of a dominant alliance in a given society when it has imposed its standards of thinking processes and social relations. When the subordinate accept the representation circulated through mass culture as the norm, the dominant alliance has gained cultural leadership. A condition for such cultural leadership is restraining the capacity of the dominated for self-representation, for internal communication using the popular vocabulary. According to María D. Juliano it is through those information exchanges whose practices question the dominant codes that the direct experience of the popular can be communicated. (Juliano, 1986, pp.27-28, 34-34; Siegelau, 1983, pp.11-16)

Interpretation

During the 1980s some of the proposals among Communication scholars about the concept of interpretation were made by Beth and Pross from Germany, Martín Serrano from Spain, Piccini and Juliano from Argentina and Martín Barbero in Colombia. For Hanno Beth and Harry Pross the

object of research in Communication studies should be the processes of effective participation which constitute social subjects. (Beth & Pross, 1987, pp.109-115) One of the means of expressing that participatory intention is interpretation. This is why some Communication scholars take an interest in the cultural histories which make up the structure for the networks of shared symbols. Each culture mixes the interpretations of those symbols in a way which evolves throughout its history. But what all cultures share is the practice of connecting interpretations.³⁵ Mabel Piccini considers that these interpretation networks which are important in the collective life of any community can be elucidated with the cultural history. (Piccini, 1987, p.13)

Like Martín Serrano, I would suggest adding current social conflicts to the elements considered while explaining the interpretation networks. (Martín Serrano, 1990, p.70) By comparison, the information distributed through mass culture excludes insights derived from the autonomous interpretation of popular experience, especially if such interpretations can demonstrate the interdependence between the economic, cultural and political levels of daily experience. It is in this sense that María D. Juliano proposes popular cultures as models of interpretation, whose strategies for the use of information are determined by their combination of consciousness and daily practice. (Juliano, 1986, pp.22-24) For Juliano, popular cultures are

those whose interpretation networks do not exert domination over others.

In Latin America there were attempts to destroy the capacity of popular cultures for autonomous interpretation, during the construction of the national states. When they could not be extinguished, the existence of diverse cultures was then denied. According to J. Martín Barbero this raises two issues for Communication scholars. One issue is about cultural diversity as an obstacle to the logic of mass culture. The other issue is about the new national project which the popular movements inserted in their contradictory relation with mass culture. For Martín Barbero mass culture is both an expression of the relation between economics and culture, and a site of struggle for the national project of the social movements. (Martín Barbero, 1987, pp.47-48)

Mediation

All through this dissertation I have referred to communication as a process of mediation. Beth and Pross similarly understand communication as a process of recognizing the connections which explain the reciprocal character of social relations. (Beth and Pross, 1987, pp.160-167) For these two authors one of the challenges in Communication as a field for inquiry is identifying opportunities for conscious participation where information exchanges are structured by industrially tooled symbols. I

think they perceive this problem as a challenge because the present division of labour justifies a monopoly of mediation which excludes the participation of manual workers.

Finding indicators of the relations between the social context and the conditions of production in the content of the cultural product itself was another approach to mediation. This was the kind of investigation into the indicators of those relations pursued by Raymond Williams.³⁶ The emphasis was on the indirect relation between experience and composition.

Martín Barbero suggests that locating processes of communication in the conflicts where the dominated question and adapt from the dominant indicates the importance of the mediators. (Martín Barbero, 1987, pp.40-42) The attention to the popular in Communication research was therefore a way of emphasizing the processes, the sites and the producers of oppositional interpretations. Attention to the conflicts in processes of domination would then include the organizations, practices and subjects that indicted the confrontation's causes.

Martín Serrano's general theory of communication, which connected communication practices and social relations, stressed the representation of historical events. The social communication theory of this research team works with the concept of mediation. They use it to describe the exchanges and interdependence between the social uses of

cultural products and the dominant forms of cultural production. (Martín Serrano, 1986, pp. 24-26) In this case, mediations are the models of thought and action that justify the prevailing relation between technology and the information systems. (Martín Serrano, 1977, p.35, 46) But the technology of direct transmissions, for example, can reduce the importance of the official representation while still displacing autonomous interpretations.

Prokop's work on the codes distributed through mass culture suggests that mediations occur in the exchanges that consciously examine direct experience. (Prokop, 1983, pp.111-114; Knödler-Bunte, 1975, pp.56-60) Demonstrating the links between the economic and cultural in society may also generate opportunities for communication across several social movements, opportunities which include identifying the fantasies and desires which remain unsatisfied within the confines of mass culture.

The question for García Canclini is how to prevent the daily negotiations of the popular with mass culture from reproducing relations of inequality. (García Canclini, 1988, p.490) The adaptations dictated by reality are also mediations which can reveal possibilities for change beyond consumption. I agree with Seth Siegelaub when he writes that in the history of the dominated mediation also takes on a more general sense. Siegelaub refers to the transmission of experiences that are going to promote self-emancipation

among the next generation of strugglers. (Siegelau, 1983, pp.14-15) One reason for examining individuals and groups who have historically acted as mediators between generations is to see how they solved the communication problems both between the manual and mental workers among the social movements, and in the collective research process.

Mediations are not only the inclusion of missing connections which confirm the previous relations of domination, but also the marginalized social memories which coupled cultural production and social conflict. (Williams and Said, 1990, p.181, 194) Mediations are both relations of conflict and relations of solidarity as well. In this sense culture is an organic process that relates direct experience with social history. In the interactions between those two levels there are opportunities for the emerging subjects to discover the social relations between the parts and the whole. In the case studies I investigated how the small groups cooperated with the popular movements in those discoveries. The critique of the dominant ideas about knowledge and verification which emerged from that cooperation suggests an understanding of the values produced by the cultural practices of the popular that is pertinent today. Their continuous attempts to find out what was provisionally possible despite extreme conditions of oppression, by joining practice and theory, remains an example of empowering praxis methods.³⁷

C. Contribution of the Small Groups

Praxis is a mediation in which popular sectors becoming conscious historical subjects identify their needs as they reflect about the world in which they live. During those conversations the emerging subjects also discover that it is necessary to change the world to address those needs. The participants in the dialogic reflection about the world are changed in the exchanges of direct experiences and analyses of earlier attempts. What the small groups brought to those conversations with the social movements was a sense of continuity between the history of the popular and the present which produced a more complete map of the whole society.

Those critical conversations which produced a shared vocabulary, and which gained support for the expression of the participants' convictions were grounded on a communication strategy.³⁸ It was not limited to collective transformation through the reflection about daily life, it also included the development of goals which demanded participatory actions.

This understanding of praxis and communication considers culture as a connector between direct experience and awareness of the historical conditions under which previous struggles have occurred. As a mediation praxis is enriched by acknowledging culture as an organic process

which integrates the memories which make communication possible between the members of a specific community.³⁹ Unlike mass culture the self-reflecting actions of the popular produce consciousness of the conditions across society. In addition the practices of the popular can be examined to learn how that awareness of the possibilities for change is produced. Some of the small groups made their historical research contemporary by discussing these ideas and making their materials accessible to the social movements. Other groups organized their activities around the needs of daily life and then used these concepts (representation, interpretation, mediation) in their research.

In their writings and organized activity, the small groups examined the role of communication strategies in experiences of collective empowerment among the popular. Bringing them together in this dissertation presents specific Caribbean evidence missing in recent overviews about the historical continuity of popular praxis and the causes for its existence. (Martín Barbero, 1987a, pp.136-149, 201-210; García Canclini, 1988a, pp.17-76, 147-153)

Representation

With regard to the concept of representation here are two examples. Through the publications he wrote and prefaced Fernando Ortiz drew a map which registered the discrepancies between the official and popular versions of

reality. Ortiz recorded the social practices through which the popular reconstructed values held in common by recognizable communities. As I pointed out, those representations of what was not present in the national culture evolved between 1906 and 1916. During that period Ortiz went beyond the legal statutes and the official history to investigate the conditions which explained recurrent popular insurrections and parallel institutions. He could then represent the oppositional practices in the context of extreme oppression.

During the opposition to the Machado dictatorship, Ortiz wrote the biographical introduction of the author in a book about the ten year war (1868-1878) between Cuba and Spain. In that introduction, discussed in a segment of the first case study, Ortiz remarked that the lands liberated by the insurgent armies were also a cultural territory where the symbols of Cuban self-government had been created. (Ortiz, 1930, pp.7-59) That preface was also a vehicle to intervene in the public debate about Cuban sovereignty in 1930. In another prefatory note, written towards the end of the Afro-Cubanismo cultural movement, Ortiz considered the oral traditions of the secret religious societies. On that occasion he wrote that those prayers were the reference point for popular truth systems and their practices of self-representation.⁴⁰

The second example related to the concept of representation comes from the organized activity of the African Bureau. During 1937 and 1938 they sought to expand the public debate in Great Britain, about peace in Europe and unrest in India, to include the Caribbean and African colonies. The members of the African Bureau recognized the need to include the social movements of the colonized in the media representations of what took place overseas. Using their contacts among the opposition to match the efforts of the League of Coloured Peoples among the power structures, the media became a site of struggle to get a hearing for a reality which was not present in the commercial representations.

Delegates from the small group promoted resolutions as public meetings and took the documents both to the media and the Colonial Office. They wrote articles and sent letters to the editors so the mass media would distribute another translation of events. The publications strategy of the African Bureau also included pamphlets and books which were available in train stations and press stands where they competed with the commercial press. The theatre production with Paul Robeson, and the distribution of their own journal, suggest an effort to use the means available to question the sectorial interests in the dominant representations.

Interpretation

There are also two examples of organized activity to question the social hierarchy which produced the norms of interpretation. I am not referring here to the addition of detail but to the repeated reorganization of the components by other systems of interpretation with contrasting goals. (Ibáñez, 1986, pp.60, 202-204, 305; Pross, 1981, pp.198-201)

The analysis proposed by the first example evoked strategies of communication which had escaped the controls of the dominant. Guillén, Pedroso, and Carpentier were Minoristas, Communists, and members of the Society of Afro-Cuban Studies. They had used Ortiz's research and their direct experience to move beyond the appropriation of Afro-Cubanismo by mass culture. The experiences of the popular also provided them with evidence of adaptations from and against mass culture. In their writing and small group activities, these authors connected race, class, nationality, the popular, and foreign intervention. The symbols of national liberation and possibilities of transformation which they created spoke to the exploited and marginalized across the Caribbean.⁴¹

The second example was from the Homen do Povo group in Brazil. This magazine, produced in São Paulo during 1931, was critical of the cultural institutions which supported the existing order. The presumption of sexual

excess and unpredictable conduct among the popular was the official justification for the urban marginalization of peasants and emancipated Blacks since the beginning of the 20th century. So Patricia Galvão's column in the magazine critically analyzed the ethical improprieties and sexual abuses among the Church hierarchy, landlords and industrialists, the schooled and the bourgeois feminists. A great deal of that material was the result of her direct experience among the Modernists. (Jackson, 1993, pp.117-120)

The novel Industrial Park (1933) was the result of more systematic research in the tenements and workshops of a factory district. Here Galvão presented meetings where the workers exchanged information about their living conditions and compared them with the situation of the dominant. She also described how mass culture interacted with the people trying to make a habit of critical analysis in the tenements, factory meetings or personal lives. This was not the first urban novel in the Caribbean region, but it was among the first to discuss the racism and sexism that accompanied exploitation in an industrial district. Nevertheless it did not present its case using means accessible to the social movements nor did the author explore the means of verification employed by the subjects in question.

Mediation

The following examples, related to the concept of mediation, suggest that to understand the indirect relations between all the social practices it is necessary to include the direct experience of the dominated.⁴² Especially relevant are the events expressing collective consciousness which confirm the critical conversations about the relations of force.⁴³ One of the resources which small groups brought to the social movements was the international networks of similar collectives which gathered and interpreted information about experiences of collective empowerment. The exchange of those ideas probably enhanced the identification of opportunities for participation at the local level.

The Negro Welfare Cultural and Social Association (N.U.M./N.W.C.S.A.), for example, held public conversations with the workers about their living conditions. Initially they conducted research into the social history of Port of Spain's urban neighbourhoods. During hunger marches across the island, or in calypso shows, this group also exchanged information from overseas for reports about the local situation. Those marches organized and mobilized the people who were acting to change the relations they were identifying. After years of conversations, research trips, mobilizations and work in neighbouring colonies the N.W.C.S.A. group was part of a network linked with several

social movements. That network included urban unions with independent media, associations of agricultural workers, feminists, pan-africanists, nationalists, socialists and the African Bureau in London. The events of collective consciousness which took place in 1937 demonstrated that forms of comprehensive understanding were shared in several places at the same time.

The members of the African Bureau used historical research to answer the pressing questions for the social movements of their day: questions about gaining the active support of the participants in critical conversations, about communication across social movements, and about the reluctance of the intellectuals to work with the popular sectors. The research of the African Bureau demonstrated that the popular movements were the ones which had combined practice and theory making the connections between cultural practices and social memories, and that research could also be used to distinguish opportunities for self-emancipation in the 1930s.

In The Black Jacobins, James reconstructed the communication strategies which generated conditions for decolonization. The process of identifying the demands which would gain the most support, the deliberations in the popular assemblies and the leadership which emerged from that dialogue were considered central components of this successful communication strategy. The analyses of that

crisis in Haiti also helped the social movements in the 1930s explain similar situations which occurred later. This kind of research gave the intended readers a sense of historical continuity and connection with the most advanced social movements of a previous period.

The circumstance of the Haitian insurgents was an appropriate selection for James and for present day Communication scholars interested in popular cultures. People are not powerless when they are organized, and the Haitians succeeded in organizing modern strategies of communication which were understood and respected. The Haitians had become a nation while learning where they were and what they had to do next with the help of the conditions under which they had been forced to live.

Part 4: Closing Observations

There is still much to be done on the subject and mentioning some of the difficulties I encountered may help those that follow. The consequences of what I attempted will also be mentioned in this segment.

During the period between 1925 and 1938 the joint efforts of the small radical groups and the popular movements played a role in the daily construction of a critical representation of society. First I looked at the attention given, in those exchanges, to the role of

communication strategies in experiences of collective empowerment. To do that it was necessary to reconstruct an intellectual tradition of collective research among small groups which sought constant interaction with the social movements. Connecting the future of the Caribbean region to its own history of popular insurgency, the small groups chose diverse means to communicate their conclusions. (James, 1963, p.viii) In most of the cases, the institutions which sustained and reproduced the exercise of power were included in the collective efforts to explain the breach between the material conditions and social awareness of them.

Second, I considered how these small groups became thought collectives, communities of method which sought support for the expressions of popular consciousness. As I inspected the means used to produce representations which challenged the sanctioned version of history, I also found critiques of imposed variants of "knowledge" and "verification" in the now included memories. (Ibáñez, 1986, pp.212-213) The organized activities of the Union of Working Women (Cuba), the N.W.C.S.A. (Trinidad), the Marxist Group (London) demonstrated how these praxis principles operated in concrete cases.

Third, I identified the intersections between different groups, and the people who personified those intersections. One result was an examination of the

importance these intellectuals assigned to communication strategies in their analysis of social movements in previous crises. Another consequence was a review of the popular in the Caribbean, as whole experiences of struggle, to see if their interpretations proceeded along the lines proposed by Darcy Ribeiro, in Los Brasileños, Teoría del Brasil [The Brazilians. Theory of Brazil].⁴⁴ The results of my investigation hint at the ways in which the conditions of domination were simultaneously used to circulate the struggles against them. The indirect evidence is not sufficient to establish conclusive connections without documentary or alternative means of verification. Hopefully what has been presented here will encourage researchers with access to other primary sources in the areas identified in the next segment.

Keeping abreast of the present discussions about the popular in Latin America during the 1990s has been the main problem encountered during this dissertation project.⁴⁵ This is especially the case with regard to the Caribbean region, where the echoes from overseas research centres specialized in the area lose much in the decontextualized translation. I was particularly interested in discovering whether dialogic research methods which promoted self-emancipation were being used to examine the multiple interactions between the popular and the doctrine of globalization.⁴⁶

Further study of the question

There are at least four areas where there is more work to be done. In the case of Ofelia Dominguez Navarro, it is necessary to learn more about the Union of Working Women, founded in May, 1930. The analysis of the 1931 and 1933 jail terms where she encountered the solidarity and communication networks of the political prisoners is another area of pending research. Finally her work as a journalist during the fall of 1931 and all of 1932 deserves more attention.

In Trinidad, the unions connected with the N.W.C.S.A. had independent newspapers which need to be examined. So do the transcripts from interviews with participants in the calypso shows which were used for the education campaigns. And finally, de Boissière's novel Crown Jewel (1952) has to be evaluated as a source of information about the N.W.C.S.A. The author was a member of one of their unions and he writes here about the 1937 uprising. Ralph de Boissière was also one of the founding members of Trinidad and The Beacon group who remained in contact with the popular movements after 1933. In the case of the Jamaican Left, it will be necessary to review the minutes from the meetings of the Negro Workers Education League, in West Kingston, and those of its inner circle (1937-1943).

To complete the regional vision of the small groups it will also be necessary to do more work about Anton DeKom and Jacques Roumain. The network graphs behind the End Notes illustrate the gaps in our preliminary findings.⁴⁷ Since the stories in this segment occur in several groups and unrecorded discussions locating interviews with an insider's perspective will be useful. In the case of DeKom I will need information about his participation in the League Against Imperialism (1927-1934) and the Dutch Left. This is particularly relevant in order to substantiate his connections with George Padmore and Otto Huiswoud in Europe. Since 1931 DeKom was working with the separatist trade unions in Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana but more research is needed on their 1931-1932 correspondence. While in Holland his articles were published in Links Richten [Left Turn] and De Tribune but I was unable to find out much more about the organizations responsible for those journals.⁴⁸

For the purposes of our research the most important period of Jacques Roumain's life was between 1929 and 1934. This was the period in which culture-race-class-nationalism came together in the communication of social analysis. The contacts of his group with the rural and urban workers during the protests of 1929 need further study. Also in need of attention are the group's methods of communication during the campaign for the May, 1930 election which the nationalists won. The Haitian radicals came

together as an organized collective between 1929 and 1932 but the conditions under which that occurred are not clear to me. Before publicly joining the Communist Party in 1932, Roumain went to New York City, but I did not succeed in finding out what happened during that trip. Roumain was arrested in December, 1932 for conspiracy but I was unable to get information about the Haitian and Dominican arrested with him other than their names. The causes of his arrest and military trial in 1934 are also part of the work remaining to be done, as is what happened to their group during the two years (1934-1936) Roumain was in jail.

Implications of the findings

In closing, what are the consequences of this dissertation for students and scholars of Communication? Popular cultures today are still contesting the dominant attempts to present the interests of one social sector as negotiated norms, which define local and national needs. To imagine national cultures in Canada against the logic of the globalization doctrine, it may help to include the diverse cultural histories which make communication possible among members of specific popular communities. The case studies in this dissertation were examples of how this inclusion was attempted during previous periods of globalization.

This dissertation should encourage those who study the history of popular cultures in Latin America today to

include the writings and organized activities of their predecessors. In courses still dependent on European and North American references, this material should give students of Caribbean affairs and Caribbean students corresponding sources grounded in experiences much closer to their own.⁴⁹ For readers in North America, this dissertation should illustrate the connection between the efforts to change the relations of power and the communication practices used to gain support across differences which had to be translated. As the social movements learned to explain their experiences to each other, the small groups helped by confirming that such analysis was shared by their peers in other places. The results were forms of organization which expressed the participants' convictions, without confusing contact with the dominant and communication.⁵⁰ In attempting to imagine a decolonized society on the basis of their own cultural histories, North Americans would be well advised to consider the example of these small groups from the Caribbean.

These activist-intellectuals constructed an understanding of what was possible while learning about their context with the popular movements. It was the organized activity of the popular sectors which suggested both means and opportunities for seizing the cultural initiative. Popular cultures were studied in Latin America because they provided insights about the causal relations

and practices which made up strategies of change. In North America there are new questions for Communication scholars about the nature of social conflict and liberation from massified intellectual work, now that a greater concentration of applied science in the production process has altered the forms of exploitation. In the era of real subsumption (when the industrial logic governs daily life) it is the intellectual labour force which can act as an agent of cooperation during the planning, training, and evaluation of conditions in the production process. This situation redefines the social as the information circuit demarcated by the circulation and distribution of data. (Negri, 1989, p.34, 85) Such a development suggests that overcoming the present relations between capital and labour requires a capacity to organize the communication and creativity of manual and mental workers so that they can create value outside the dominant institutions. In that regard, research into the subject of the popular as proposed in this dissertation could also benefit North American scholars interested in emancipatory communication strategies.

Transforming the recognition of possibilities for change into effective collective praxis, while under the present social relations, requires the communication networks which the popular maintain in daily life, and are now needed in commodity production. Those networks created,

maintained and defended by the popular subjects are now at the centre of the cultural spaces where the dispute over the relations of power is taking place. (Scott, 1990, p.118; Nora, 1994, pp.284-285) In this cultural terrain the control of the vocabulary used to imagine collective liberation is part of the general social conflict. This is the vocabulary employed in the collective practices where the subordinate become subjects against the material conditions which brought them together. There is evidence in the North American service sector and in the schooling sector of the cultural industries that such disputes over the control and management of workers' freedom are presently taking place.⁵¹

What distinguishes conscious collectives from isolated individuals is the capacity to reject and break with the dominant values. Agency is central not only when issues are presented as negotiable quantities, in terms of "more" or "less", but especially in the case of "yes" or "no" issues which are not negotiable. Where groups and communities share historical origins and goals, they can satisfactorily address non-negotiable issues. Such historical references are missing among human gatherings that did not begin as a break with the previous order but as a continuation of its assumptions and institutions. (Ibáñez, 1994, pp.290-292) Given the one world doctrine of uniform isolation, the ethics of cynicism is a spent solution to the deferred assignment of social praxis.

I think that these are urgent questions in North America where popular protest has been continuously defeated and there is no effective opposition. Hopefully the exploration of solidarity and organized activity presented in this dissertation will suggest perspectives for further historical research in the field of communication. The creation, maintenance and defense of unsupervised popular spaces is one possibility for further investigation. Another instance is the oppositional use of the means of communication to challenge the organization of mass culture. I have tried to demonstrate that the popular as critical self-reflection beyond daily life was not a spontaneous transition in communication history. The process of uncovering the causes and solutions put in historical perspective also required intellectuals working collectively to contribute a sense of the breaks with the past and transmit the values of direct experience. (Glissant, 1992, pp.197-199) As with their Caribbean predecessors, North American scholars engaged in research about popular communication strategies may also acquire a sense of the diversity within their context, a more sovereign imagination and a sense of a collective.

TABLE 7. GROUPS IN HOLLAND AND SURINAM

Year	HOLLAND	SURINAM
1926	DeKom met and supported Indonesian nationalists in Holland. DeKom contacts International Red Relief and International Workers' Support.	Surinam workers in Curacão in touch with radical Venezuelan exiles and Spanish language media.
1927	DeKom joined workers and writers' cooperative which published <u>Links Richten</u> magazine, and began research for a book about those who opposed slavery and colonialism in Surinam.	
1929	DeKom is officer in Dutch section of League Against Imperialism. DeKom begins efforts to return to Surinam.	Indonesian, Indian and Black instructors from Dutch radical groups sent to Surinam from Holland.
1930		With crew members from Dutch steamship companies as couriers, organizations of workers and unemployed receive mail and radical publications such as <u>De Tribune</u> from Holland.
1931	DeKom is in constant correspondence with DeSanders, organizer of cooperatives and labour unions. Both were part of a larger radical collective.	Unemployed migrants returning from Curacão with radical ideas called public meeting and march for work. With Black creoles and Maroons, attempted general strike suppressed by state of siege.

1932	<p>Anton Pannekoek is writing about importance of organization in Dutch workers' councils. DeKom in correspondence with DeSanders about anti-colonialism campaign and recruitment of Maroons. DeKom also writing for <u>Links Richten</u> and <u>De Tribune</u> (where he criticized limiting Surinam protests to demand for work.) DeKom departs for Surinam.</p>	<p>Unemployed Asian farm workers, Black urban industrial workers and women domestics organized union was also a separatist party. Surinam General Workers Organization (S.A.W.O.) had lending library, newspaper and weekly meetings drew 1000 attendants. Chairman and ideologue was DeSanders. Union/party also linked with Paramaribo office of Dutch paper, <u>De Banier</u> [The Flag].</p>
1933	<p>Publishers of <u>DeTribune</u> and League Against Imperialism organized reception in Amsterdam, when DeKom denied permission to speak upon arrival at The Hague. During rest of year DeKom tried to resolve government censorship of his book while on lecture tour.</p>	<p>Denied lecture hall, DeKom travels to interior for meetings with Asian, Maroon and Amerindian workers. DeKom then opened advice bureau when colonial police cancelled planned public meeting. Farm workers who came discussed common problems and met each other. DeKom took notes became basis of proposal for independence, political education, international workers' solidarity and organization. Exercise suppressed when crowds grew to 4000 in two weeks. DeKom arrested and his notes were seized. Police fired four volleys at Asians and Blacks who protested DeKom's arrest. Despite laws to restrict workers, strikes and protests continued through summer and fall, even after DeKom deported at the end of May.</p>

1934	Dutch government tried to prevent publication of DeKom's book. Otto Huiswoud moved office of <u>Negro Worker</u> to Holland (1934-1936). DeKom named co-director of <u>Links Richten</u> magazine, was also doing anti-fascist work. DeKom's book, <u>Wij Slaven van Suriname</u> [We, the Slaves of Surinam] published in Holland after it was censored.	Colonial Governor Kielstra, who had pioneered concentration camps in Indonesia in 1932, had military patrols enforcing restrictions on workers which now included censorship of publications, arrest of journalists and labour leaders.
1935	DeKom writes to André Gide about French language edition of <u>We, the Slaves</u> . Gide was radical anti-colonialist intellectual between 1928-1938. German language edition was published in Leningrad.	Colonial administration prohibits newspapers and political organizations in Surinam.
1936	Jacques Roumain and DeKom were published in <u>The Negro Worker</u> (1934-1936). DeKom travelled abroad as a dancer with troupe, and continued anti-fascist work in support of unemployed.	
1939	DeKom still in correspondence with DeSanders, making plans to return to Surinam. DeKom continued to write and lecture until arrested by Nazis in 1944. His manuscripts and notes seized again, and he was killed in 1945.	

TABLE 8. HAITIAN GROUPS

Le Trouee (nationalist) June 1927	Revue Indigene (modernist) July 1927-Feb 1928	Le Petit Impartial (nationalist) 1927-1932	Ligue Jeunesse Patriote (nationalist) May 1928 -	Communist Party (race & class) 1930 - 1934	Les Griots (noiriste) 1932-1938
(one issue)	(six issues)				
Richard Salnave (director)	Dominique Hyppolite				
George Petit		George Petit (director)	George Petit		
°Carl Brouard	°Carl Brouard	°Carl Brouard			°Carl Brouard
Elie Guerin					
*Jacques Roumain	°Jacques Roumain	°Jacques Roumain	°Jacques Roumain	°Jacques Roumain	
	°Normil G. Sylvain				
	°Emile Roumer (director)				
	°P. Thoby-Marcelin				
	Antonio Vieux				
				Etienne Charlier	
				Christian Beaulieu	
Max Hudicort?	Max Hudicort?			Max Hudicort	
				J. Blanchet (?)	
				Pequero (Dom. Republic)	
		Louis Diaquoi			Louis Diaquoi
					Lorimer Denis
					Clement Magloire
Daniel Heurtelou?	Daniel Heurtelou?				Kleber G. Jacob
	J. Price-Mars				J. Price-Mars

°lived in Paris 1925-1926

*During the 1927-1934 period represented here Roumain was in jail between: December, 1928 and August, 1929; October 19, 1929 and December 17, 1929; December, 1932 and February, 1933; second semester 1934 and deported in 1936. During the fall of 1928 and again in 1929 he worked with the organization of 1929 general strike and 1930 electoral campaign against Vincent Borno.

END NOTES

¹ Joseph Zobel, Black Shack Alley [La rue cases-nègres] (London: Heinemann, 1980) original 1950. This novel located in Martinique during the 1930s illustrates the process of urban literacy and its consequences for a young man raised in the sugar cane plantations. It is similar to what was happening with some of The Beacon group.

² Sylvia Wynter, "Beyond the word of man: Glissant and the new discourse of the Antilles," World Literature Today, 63, No. 4 (Autumn, 1989), p. 639; Carlo Ginzburg, "Microhistory: Two or three things I know about it," Critical Inquiry, 20, No. 1 (Autumn, 1993), pp. 10-35. In reports, like those about the living conditions in the slums owned by the church or the protest over the price of water, the connections between the dominant representation of social relations and the oppositional values of the popular cultures began to appear. But the proposal and practice of another rationality grounded on historical research was not there in The Beacon.

³ A. James Arnold, "Introduction," to Aimé Césaire, Lyric and Dramatic Poetry, 1946-1982. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), pp. xl-xli. He discusses the geographic clues of the symbolism in Caribbean literature and the use of syncretism as a way of preventing the use of culture as a weapon of domination; Stephen N. Haymes, Race, Culture and the City. A Pedagogy for Black Urban Struggle (Albany: S.U.N.Y. Press, 1995), pp. 138-143. Also discusses the connection between spaces of self-affirmation and the constant reconstruction of collective memories.

The result of compiling the memories of the conflicts over territory could have been a map of the institutions which defined and imposed the histories which replaced memories, a map of the battlefield where the results of the cultural processes were determined by the relations of force. Such a map would need to abandon the prevailing rationality in order to explain a crisis. If such a map identified the necessary connections of the cultural institutions with the events that illustrated the social crisis, a strategy which considered the present as a whole to be transformed could have been defined.

According to Jesús Ibáñez war is the cultural matrix for such a dialogic attempt, since it requires recognizing the validity of the participants as interlocutors who exchange the roles of respondent and inquirer. See Jesús Ibáñez, Más Allá de la Sociología. El Grupo de Discusión: técnica y crítica [Beyond Sociology. The

Small Group: Technique and Critique](Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1986), p. 12, 87, 150, 300, 359, 360. On the same issue of war as the cultural matrix of communication, see: Armand Mattelart. The Invention of Communication (London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 198-223; C.L.R. James, "The Black Scholar Interviews C.L.R. James," The Black Scholar (San Francisco, California: September, 1970), p. 40; Paul Virilio and Sylvere Lotringer, Pure War (New York: Semiotexte, 1983), pp. 1-10, 67-117.

It is worth noting here that in an interview with Nick Witherford, Dallas W. Smythe remarked that, were he to start his life's work again, it would be around the issues of military power and war which had not been given adequate attention in communication studies.

In our cases the praxis of the small radical organizations revealed the sites where the social forces confronted each other. Instead of accepting a representation based on dichotomies, the small group can be a means of understanding the origins of collective thinking, its languages and networks. The small collectives are also opportunities for avoiding the trap of confronting the power structures of one alliance with its counterpart.

⁴ In 1950 the Johnson-Forest group undertook such an investigation of mass culture in the U.S.A., to determine which authors were writing constructively about the need to overcome the obstacles to prejudice and inequalities in the daily lives of women, the mental workers, youth and the ethnic minorities. See C.L.R. James, American Civilization, eds. A. Grimshaw and K. Hart. (Cambridge, Massachusetts and Oxford, England: Blackwell, 1993), p. 33, 118, 119, 123, 155-156, 185, 200, 216, 245, 250, 261.

⁵ The context is understood in the process of transforming it, that is how social subjects discover the significance of its parts.

⁶ Perry Anderson, Considerations on Western Marxism (London: Verso, 1979) original 1976. Anderson does not even consider Castoriadis' version of the Paul Romano and Grace Lee, The American Worker during the years of Socialisme au Barbarie in France. Also see Jesús Ibáñez, 1986, p. 360.

⁷ C.L.R. James, Grace Lee, and Pierre Chaulieu [Cornelius Castoriadis], Facing Reality (Detroit: Bewick Ed., 1974), pp. 94-119. Original 1958. Written after the Hungarian uprising of 1956, this was a more developed version of the praxis methodology used during the 1930s.

⁸ The short stories and "interviews" in Trinidad or The Beacon evoked the theatrical experience of the stories told around the fire before emancipation. Back then the slaves used these opportunities to speak for themselves, moving freely to exchange their discoveries about the weaknesses of the slavers. See Julia C. Ortiz Lugo, "Sabén más que las arañas. Arte Oral y Resistencia," [They know more than the Anancy spiders. Oral Art and Resistance] La Tercera Raíz. Presencia Africana en Puerto Rico [The Third Root. African Presence in Puerto Rico] (San Juan: C.E.R.E.P./I.C.P., 1992), p. 86.

It was in such opportunities of critical introspection and participation that communities of method became possible. Once again in the 1930s the forums for debate and mobilization created by the small groups became processes of combining adapted ideas, direct experience, and their awareness of the larger context. See George Rudé, Ideology and Popular Protest (New York: Pantheon, 1980), pp. 33-35; George Lipsitz, Time Passages. Collective Memory and American Popular Culture (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), pp. 214-223. Both Rude and Lipsitz discuss the process of questioning the prevailing premises through stories.

⁹ More recently Edouard Glissant noted that there are other elements in the landscape which evoke the history of the slave plantations under colonialism. Those elements also contain clues for the construction of historical explanations of the present: the vegetation, the architecture, and the sea. In more than one text Glissant has referred to the sea as a clue to the future as well. Edouard Glissant, L'Intention Poétique (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1969), p. 174; Caribbean Discourse, Selected Essays (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia: 1992), pp. 221-224.

¹⁰ According to Perry Anderson these were some of the limitations of Western Marxism during the 1960s and 1970s. See "Origins of the present crisis" New Left Review, 23 (London: January, 1964) and Considerations on Western Marxism (London: Verso, 1979), pp. 103-106. The existence of insurgent social movements in Cuba, Brazil, the anglophone Caribbean and West Africa as Ortiz, Galvão and James were writing is very different from what Anderson was describing in the texts mentioned above.

¹¹ A metaphor allows us to connect with the intentions for transformation of previous generations, it allows us to remember without the interference of an official interpretation

The historical Maroons represented the mediations between multiple struggles with capital (which included the slaves, emancipated, abolitionists and separatists) as well as a possibility of communication between those struggles.

The members of the small groups have been called maroon intellectuals because they represented the organized activity of direct(ed) experience and consciousness in search of provisional possibilities for change. The conditions under which that search was undertaken (between 1925 and 1938) when the laws of slavery could still be applied demanded the nomadic tactics of the Maroons.

¹² Peter Linebaugh has written about how news and commentary circulated in the workplace and across the Atlantic during the extreme conditions of slavery, in the 18th century. See "All the Atlantic Mountains Shook," Labour/Le Travailleur, 10 (Canada: Autumn, 1982), pp. 108-112, "A Little Jubilee. The Literacy of Robert Weddeburn in 1917," Protest and Survival. The Historical Experience, eds. John Rule and Robert Malcomson (London: Merlin Press, 1993), pp. 203-211; Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, "The Many Headed Hydra. Sailors, Slaves and the Atlantic Working Class in the 18th Century," Gone to Croatan. Origins of North American Dropout Culture, eds. Ron Sakolsky and James Koehnline (New York: Autonomedia, 1993), pp. 129-160.

¹³ C.L.R. James, Lectures to London Group (March, 1964), mimeographed version. Lecture #4, p. 3.

¹⁴ The yard is the common patio shared by the ground floor rooms in Caribbean colonial houses. In the urban tenements it is a space for meetings, cooking, learning the oral traditions and rehearsing carnival dances. Alfred H. Mendes and C.L.R. James both did research trips to working class boarding houses where they lived for months at a time gathering material for their writing with the help of their neighbours.

¹⁵ Walter Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks. The Making of an African Intellectual, ed. Robert A. Hill (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1990), pp. 28. Rodney was remembering a London study group led by Selma and C.L.R. James during the 1960s.; Raymond Williams, "The Future of Cultural Studies," The Politics of Modernism, ed. Tony Pinkney (London: Verso,

1990), p. 151. Originally given as a lecture on March 21, 1986.

16 Roger Bartra, El Poder Despótico Burgués - Las Raíces Campesinas de las Estructuras Políticas de Mediación [Despotic Bourgeois Power - The Peasant Roots of the Political Structures of Mediation] (Barcelona: Península, 1977), pp. 32-36; J. Martín Barbero, "Comunicación, Pueblo y Cultura en el Tiempo de las Transnacionales," [Communication, the People and Culture at the Time of the Transnationals] Comunicación y Culturas Populares en Latinoamérica [Communication and Popular Cultures in Latin America], eds. Felafacs/Clacso (Mexico, D.F. Gustavo Gili, 1987), p. 35; Luis Martín Santos, Una Epistemología Para el Marxismo [An Epistemology for Marxism] (Madrid: AKAL, 1976), pp. 45-48. Martín Santos refers here to the learning which takes place in the process of cancelling the way in which material conditions are lived. Manuel Martín Serrano, La Mediación Social [The Social Mediation] (Madrid: AKAL, 1977), pp. 40-46, 54-56. The latter is the source for the usage promoted by Martín Barbero. It refers to the media adjustments which represent a social crisis as having individual solutions. These mediations allow communication scholars to think of social processes in terms of the practices which reveal the connections between the parts. See "Comunicación, Campo Cultural y Proyecto Mediador," [Communication, Cultural Field, and Mediating Project] Dialogos, 26 (Lima, Perú: 1990), pp. 6-15.

17 Néstor García Canclini, "Culture and Power: the State of the Research," Media, Culture and Society, 10, No. 4 (London: October, 1988), p.483. For Canclini to know is to construct the relations that give facts meaning within an explanation of the society. What I am trying to add here is the social experience which drives the popular (and the small groups) to reveal those relations and the forms that process takes. According to Joan W. Scott these forms include political identities, social institutions and cultural interpretations, see Gender and the Politics of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p.6.

18 C.L.R. James, Beyond a Boundary (New York: Pantheon, 1983), p. 251. They could become a free association of mediators, made aware of their own interest by direct experience, who could represent reality accordingly. This possibility of self-representation was encouraged by the small groups. In Roumain's La Montagne Ensorcelée, for example, the subsistence farmers speak for themselves.

¹⁹ C.L.R. James, Lectures to London Group (March, 1964), mimeographed version. Lecture No. 4, pp. 2-3.

A small group of Caribbean migrants in New York City preceded the N.W.C.S.A., the Jamaican Left, and the African Bureau in this regard. Between 1918 and 1925 they hosted closed study groups on Sunday mornings and open educational forums on Sunday afternoons. They created a news service that connected the anglophone islands, and used it to have their positions on the affairs of the region published in the Caribbean. As members of the Harlem Socialist Club they also wrote in the radical press of the U.S.A. See W. Burghard Turner and Joyce Moore Turner, Richard B. Moore. Caribbean Militant in Harlem: Collected Writings, 1920-1972 (London: Pluto, 1988), pp. 9, 30, 88-89. Among the participants were Claude McKay, Cyril W. Briggs, Wilfred A. Domingo, Otto Huiswoud, Hermie Dumont Huiswoud and Richard B. Moore. I have not been able to determine if George Padmore ever became a regular participant.

²⁰ Jesús Ibáñez, 1986, p. 21, 68, 72, 213, 214, 225. For another version of the construction of an interpretation system, see Sylvia Wynter, "Rethinking Aesthetics: Notes towards a deciphering practice," Ex-iles. Essays on Caribbean Cinemas ed. Mbye Cham (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1992), pp. 243-244. This article is about the use of a system of meanings - whose premises cannot be verified - to repress "the global archipelago of marginalized communities in the market economy."

²¹ Félix Guattari, "Transversality," and "The Group and the Person," Molecular Revolution. Psychiatry and Politics (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1984), pp. 11-23, 33-43. The constant contact with the social movements was one of the features of this form of political activity which also included the collective production of social analysis. See Robert A. Hill, "Afterword," C.L.R. James, American Civilization (London: B. Blackwell, 1993).

²² Raymond Williams, "Literature and Sociology - in memory of Lucien Goldman," New Left Review, 67 (London: __, 1971); Raymond Williams and Edward W. Said, "Media, Margins and Modernity," The Politics of Modernism - Against the New Conformists, 1990, p. 184, 194; Lawrence Grossberg, "Introduction: Bringing it all back home - pedagogy and Cultural Studies," Between Borders - Pedagogy and the Politics of Cultural Studies, eds. Henry Giroux and Peter McLaren (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 7-9.

23 E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London: Penguin, 1980), pp. 780-782, 810, 913-914; Raymond Williams, Culture (Glasgow: Fontana, 1981), pp. 13-14; Stuart Hall, "Notes on deconstructing the Popular," People's History and Socialist Theory, ed. Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 237.

24 Darcy Ribeiro, Los Brasileños, Teoría del Brasil [The Brazilians. Theory of Brazil] (Mexico, D.F.: Siglo XXI, 1978); Aníbal Quijano, Dominación y Cultura - lo Cholo y el Conflicto Cultural en el Perú [Domination and Culture - the hybrid and the cultural conflict in Peru] (Lima: Mosca Azul, 1980). Mabel Piccini could be included in any of the three groups mentioned. Also see Agustín Cueva, La Teoría Marxista [Marxist Theory] (Mexico, D.F.: Planeta, 1987). Cueva is quite critical of Ernesto Laclau, as are Atilio Borón, Oscar Cuellar and Tomás Vasconi. Their criticism could be extended to the cultural studies group by implication. The site where the subjects are constituted has been displaced from the economic to the political, from the political to the cultural and from the cultural to the transmission of written or verbal information without an explanation of how the connections between these sites has evolved. See Tomás A. Vasconi, "Democracy and Socialism in South America," Latin American Perspectives, 17, No. 2 (1990), pp. 25-38. Atilio Borón and Oscar Cuellar, "Apuntes Críticos sobre la Concepción Idealista de la Hegemonía," [Critical Notes on the Idealist Version of Hegemony] Revista Mexicana de Sociología, XLV, No. 4 (1983) pp. 1143-1177.

25 Nancy Fraser, pp. 93-94; Jesús Martín Barbero, "Introducción," [Introduction] Comunicación y Culturas Populares en Latinoamérica, [Communication and Popular Cultures in Latin America], 1987, pp. 10-16; Jesús Martín Barbero, De los Medios a las Mediaciones - Comunicación, Cultura y Hegemonía [From the Media to the Mediations - Communication, Culture, and Hegemony] (Mexico, D.F.: Gustavo Gili, 1987).

26 Jesús Martín Barbero, "Euforia Tecnológica y Malestar en la Teoría," [Technological Euphoria and Theoretical Unease], Dia-logos, 20 (Lima, Perú: April, 1988), p. 13. Martín Barbero supports his position with the work of Paolo Fabri, Franco Rositi and Mauro Wolf. Please see works cited for this section.

27 Jesús Martín Barbero, "Pueblo y Masa en la Cultura: de los debates y los combates," [People and Masses in Culture: From the debates and the combats] Tarea - Revista de Cultura, [Task - Magazine about Culture] 13 (Lima, Perú: November, 1985), pp. 3-13. Other authors, such as E.P. Thompson define popular culture as the practices through which the marginalized redefine their needs, practices which also draw attention to the conflicts that question the stability of the consensus, see Customs in Common - Studies in Traditional Popular Culture (New York: The New Press, 1993), pp. 7-15.

28 Beatriz Sarlo "La Teoría como Chatarra: Tesis de Oscar Landi sobre la Televisión," [Theory as Scrap: Theses of Oscar Landi about Television] Punto de Vista, 44 (Buenos Aires, Argentina: 1992), pp. 12-18. Philip Elliot, "Los Intelectuales la sociedad de la información, y la desaparición de la esfera pública," [The Intellectuals, the information society, and the disappearance of the public sphere] Los Intelectuales en la Sociedad de la Información [The Intellectuals in the Information Society] (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1987), pp. 106-108. Most of this book is a translation of a monographic issue devoted to the intellectuals in Media, Culture and Society, 4, No. 2 (London: July, 1982).

29 Paulo Freire, The Politics of Education - Culture, Power and Liberation (Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey, 1985), p. 193. The liberating initiative even uses the dominant culture to design the strategy of the dominated.

30 According to J. Martín Barbero, Antonio Pasquali is a pioneer of Communication Studies in Latin America. See Comunicación y Cultura de Masas [Communication and Mass culture] (Caracas, Venezuela: Monte Avila, 1977); Sheila Rowbotham, "The Women's Movement and Organizing for Socialism," in Rowbotham, L. Segal and H. Wainwright, Beyond the Fragments. Feminism and the Making of Socialism (Boston: Alyson, 1981), pp. 21-155.

31 Carlos A. Torres, "From the Pedagogy of the Oppressed to A luta Continua," Paulo Freire. A Critical Encounter, eds. Peter McLaren and Peter Leonard (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 138-140; Michael Ryan, Politics and Culture: Working Hypothesis for a Post-Revolutionary Society (London: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 8-9, 18-19, 24.

32 Dieter Prokop, "Problems of Production and Consumption in the Mass Media," Media, Culture and Society, 5, No. 1 (London: January, 1983), pp. 101-116. This whole issue is dedicated to the work of post-Frankfurt communication scholars. Other texts by German scholars include: Henk Prakke, Franz W. Dröges, Winfried B. Lerg, Michael Schmolke, Comunicación Social, Introducción a la Publicística Funcional [Social Communication. Introduction to functional Public Communication] (Madrid: AKAL, 1977); Lothar Bisky, Crítica de la teoría burguesa de la comunicación de masas [Critique of Bourgeois Theory of Mass Communication] (Madrid: De la Torre, 1982) Original 1975.

33 Manuel Martín Serrano, "La Epistemología de la Comunicación a los Cuarenta Años de su Nacimiento," [Communication Epistemology Forty Years After its Birth] Telos, 22 (Madrid: June-August, 1990), p. 70. Also see Manuel Martín Serrano, "Dialéctica acción-comunicación," [Action-communication Dialectic] Teoría de la Comunicación, ed. Manuel Martín Serrano (Madrid: Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo, 1981), pp. 223-240; Manuel Martín Serrano, José L. Piñuel, Jesús Gracia, María A. Arias, Teoría de la Comunicación Comunicación I. Epistemología y Análisis de la Referencia [Epistemology and Analysis of the Reference]. (Madrid: A. Corazón, 1982), pp. 13-81; Manuel Martín Serrano. La Producción Social de Comunicación [The Social Production of Communication] (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1986), pp. 15-113.

34 Jesús Martín Barbero, Comunicación Masiva: Discurso y Poder [Mass Communication: Discourse and Power] (Quito, Ecuador: C.I.E.S.P.A.L., 1977) pp. 14-15. This text precedes the work on mediations which Martín Barbero did with Martín Serrano in Madrid.

35 Michel Serres, "Discurso y Recorrido," [Discourse and Route] La Identidad, [Identity] ed. Claude Levi-Strauss (Barcelona: Ediciones Petre 1, 1981). Quoted by Mabel Piccini, p.9.

36 Raymond Williams, "Toward a Sociology of Culture," Culture (Glasgow: Fontana, 1981), p. 25; Raymond Williams, "The Use of Cultural Theory," The Politics of Modernism, ed. Tony Pinkney (London: Verso, 1990), p. 164; Also see Raymond Williams, "Means of Communication as Means of Production," Problems in Materialism and Culture (London: Verso, 1980).

37 C.L.R. James, The Black Jacobins. Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution. (New York: Random House/Vintage, 1963), p. 375. These small groups tried to stimulate self-emancipation on the basis of their own cultural history.

38 Ana M. Nethol and Mabel Piccini, Introducción a la Pedagogía de la Comunicación [Introduction to the Pedagogy of Communication] (México, D.F.: Terra Nova, 1984), pp. 102-103. The authors are referring to the ideas of Paulo Freire. See La Educación como Práctica de la Libertad [Education as the Practice of Freedom] (Montevideo, Uruguay: Tierra Nueva, 1971). Original 1969 and ¿Extensión o Comunicación? [Extension or Communication] (México, D.F.: Siglo XXL, 1979). A good example of this communication strategy is Walter Rodney, The Groundings with my Brothers (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture, 1969), pp. 59-67. Rodney describes the conversations where he met with the marginalized to exchange experiences and learn from each other during a period of social crisis. At the end of 1968, Rodney was banned from Jamaica by the government. The public expression of protest followed the ban.

39 Armand Mattelart, Mapping World Communication: War, Progress, Culture (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), p. 241. The basis for adaptation and critique is that shared cultural history. I agree with Raymond Williams when he points out that there is a difference between noting the indirect relations between society and art, for example, and stating that mediation is the necessary form of communicating meaning. It is more than a difference in emphasis. See Marxismo y Literatura [Marxism and Literature] (Barcelona: Península, 1980), pp. 21-31, 93-101, 115-120, 129-136.

40 Fernando Ortiz, "Prólogo," [Preface] ¡Oh, mio Yemayá (Manzanillo, Cuba: El Arte, 1938). The title refers to the mother of the seas in the Yoruba pantheon, represented by the Catholic Virgin of Regla.

41 Regino Pedroso, Nosotros: Poemas [Us: Poems] (Habana: Letras Cubanas, 1984) Original 1933; Regino Pedroso, Poemas: Antología 1918-1938 [Poems: 1818-1938 Anthology] (Habana: __, 1939); Regino Pedroso, Más Allá canta el Mar [Beyond Sings the Sea] (Habana: M. Altolaquirre, 1939; Alejo Carpentier, Ecuae-Yamba-O (Barcelona: Bruguera, 1979). Original 1933; Nicolás Guillén, Cantos Para Soldados y Sones Para Turistas

[Songs for Soldiers, Afro-Cuban Music for Tourists] (México, D.F.: Editorial Masas, 1937); Nicolás Guillén, West Indies Ltd. (Habana: Ucar, García y Cia., 1934).

⁴² Part of what the small groups did was to record the presence of the oppositional rationality of the popular, in all the social practices of cooperation on which their lives depended.

⁴³ C.L.R. James considered that discoveries about social relations expressed themselves as agreements about what was possible. When those agreements were shared by people living under similar conditions in several places the direct experience of the participants in the expressions of collective consciousness still had to be analyzed with the most advanced theories available. See Lectures to London Group. London: March, 1964. Mimeograph version, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁴ Darcy Ribeiro, p. 164. According to Armand Mattelart, the network of nomadic alliances which bring local conflicts to media attention is a model of oppositional communication whose relevance is increasing in the age of globalization and "low-intensity" warfare. See Armand Mattelart, 1994, p. 101. The example of the Maroon communities and the continuity of their cultural practices is a precedent to be considered by the Caribbean diaspora.

⁴⁵ Rita Atwood and Emile G. McAnany, Communication and Latin American Society. Trends in Critical Research, 1960-1985 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986); Jesús Martín Barbero, Procesos de Comunicación y Matrices de cultura. Itinerario para salir de la razón dualista [Communication Process and Cultural Matrix. Timetable for emerging from dualist reason] (México, D.F.: F.E.L.A.F.A.C.S./Gustavo Gili, 1987); see J. Marques de Melo, "Communication Theory and Research in Latin America: a Preliminary Balance of the Past 25 Years," Media, Culture and Society, 10, No. 4 (London: October, 1988), pp. 405-418; Néstor García Canclini and Rafael Roncagliolo, eds. Cultura Transnacional y Culturas Populares [Transnational Cultures and Popular Cultures] (Lima: Instituto para América Latina, 1988); Robert A. White, "La Teoría de la Comunicación en América Latina: una visión Europea de sus Contribuciones," [Communication Theory in Latin America: A European Vision of its Contributions] Telos, 19 (Madrid: September-November, 1989), pp. 43-54; Alan O'Connor, "The Emergence of Cultural Studies in Latin America," Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 8 (March, 1991), pp. 1-14; William Rowe and

Vivian Schelling, Memory and Modernity. Popular Culture in Latin America (London: Verso, 1991).

46 As Armand Mattelart has pointed out, the globalization of financial support for communication research has conditioned the interest on culture and communication as processes of social organization and collective empowerment. See "Nuevos Horizontes de la Comunicación: el retorno de la Cultura," [New Horizons of Communication: the return of culture] Fundesco, 151 (Madrid: April, 1994), pp. 14-16.

47 In DeKom's case his documents were seized by the Dutch colonial police and again by the Nazis. With Roumain the period between 1929 and 1936 is the one least referred to in the materials presently available to me. See charts behind the End Notes.

48 This understanding of the workers and writers collective which produced Links Richten [Left Turn] should provide some information about their research methods. It is possible that We, the Slaves of Surinam (1934) was produced much like World Revolution, 1917-1936 (1937) which was coordinated by C.L.R. James.

49 The references I was alluding to include: Mijail Bajtin, La Cultura Popular en la Edad Media y el Renacimiento. El Contexto de Francois Rabelais [Popular Culture in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The Context of Francois Rabelais] (Madrid: Alianza, 1989); Peter Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (____: Wildwood House, 1988). Original 1978; Carlo Ginzburg, The Cheese and the Worms. The Cosmos of a 16th Century Miller (____: Penguin, 1987). Original 1976; Michel de Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Robert Muchenbled, Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France: 1400-1750 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985). Original 1978.

In the case of Argentina, for example, a complementary reading to the above would be Alberto Ciria, Politica y Cultura Popular: La Argentina Peronista, 1946-1955 [Politics and Popular Culture: Peronist Argentina, 1946-1955] (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Flor, 1983). For Mexico see Carlos Monsivais and Gustavo Esteva.

50 Simon During, "Post colonialism and Globalization," Meanjin, 51, No. 2 (Parkville, Victoria: University of Melbourne, Winter, 1992), p. 347.

Hanno Hardt, Critical Communication Studies. Communication, History and Theory in America (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 3, 217, 230, 236. The small groups attempted to explain the relation between slavery/colonialism and the forms of consciousness which were possible. To do so they examined the history of communication practices in popular cultures. In this text Hardt also mentions a member of the Frankfurt School, Leo Lowenthal, who considered journalists and writers (of trade books) as intellectuals in the context of popular culture. Lowenthal thought their treatment of issues was an important research topic of social history.

⁵¹ See Nick Witheford, "The Contest for General Intellect: Cycles and Circuits of Struggle in High-technology Capitalism" (Ph.D. diss., Simon Fraser University, 1996), 300.

APPENDIX A

SLAVE REVOLTS AND MAROON COMMUNITIES IN THE CARIBBEAN

(TABLE 9)

**TABLE 9: SLAVE REVOLTS AND MAROON COMMUNITIES
IN THE CARIBBEAN**

YEAR	COUNTRY	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1514	Puerto Rico	slave uprising	Mandinkas and Yalouf warriors from Senegal and Gambia
1522	Española	slave uprising 27 December	Mandinkas and Yalouf warriors from Senegal and Gambia
1522	Venezuela	maroon wars	King Miguel's forces shut down important mines
1527	Puerto Rico	slave uprising	
1528-1532	Puerto Rico	slave uprising	
1529	Colombia	slave uprising	destroyed town of Santa Marta
1531	Panamá	slave uprising	
1532	Venezuela	slave uprising	Coro region
1533	Cuba	slave uprising	at Jobabo
1533-1543	Española	slave uprising	Africans and Amerindians joined together, high point was 1537
1537	México		slave conspiracy suppressed in Mexico City
1538	Cuba	slave uprising	taking advantage of attack on Havana by French corsairs
1540s	México	slave uprisings	at least two more
1540	Cuba	slave uprising	at Bayamo
1545	Española	slave uprisings	and again in 1546 and 1548
1548	México		public meetings of three or more unsupervised slaves forbidden
1548	Honduras	slave uprising	at San Pedro mining district
1548	Colombia	maroon wars	at mining district in the interior, African slaves executed slavers and took Amerindians to Maroon bases

YEAR	COUNTRY	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1549-1556	Panamá		the construction of the Maroon bases is consolidated under Chiefs Felipillo and Bayano, between 1550 and 1600
1550s	Colombia	slave uprising	area of Zaragoza is paralyzed by 400 slaves, Santa Marta is damaged
1552-1555	Venezuela		Maroon base of King Miguel is established at Buria
1553	Perú		
1560-1580	México	slave uprisings	Pachuca, Guanajuato, Xalapa, Orizaba, Cuernavaca, Oaxaca, Guatulco, Guadalajara, and especially important in Zacatecas, Mexico City, Panuco and Veracruz
1569	Cuba	slave uprising	in Havana
1591	México		the Coyuia Maroon base established in the Costa Chica region of Guerrero
1595-1695	Brazil		the Maroon kingdom of Palmares established in Serra da Barriga, Alagoas
	Ecuador		before 1600 Maroon bases established in Esmeralda, Ecuador by survivors of slave ships run aground
1601	Venezuela		Niqua
1606	Española		Guaba
1606	Cuba	slave uprisings	in Sancti Espiritu and Trinidad

YEAR	COUNTRY	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1607	México		Maroon armies control the regions of Veracruz, Rio Blanco and Punta Nizarlo
1608	México	slave uprising	
1609	México		slave conspiracy repressed
1609-1698	México		Maroon Republic of Nanga, in the Omealca Mts. near Cordoba, Veracruz, is recognized as sovereign by colonial administration
1612	Española		Maroon base El Maniel in the Ocao Mountain range was self-governing Republic until 1790s
1612-1737	Colombia		Maroon base San Basilio near slave port of Santa Marta, province of Cartagena became self-governing Republic
1612	México	slave uprising	financed by religious society of Black Catholics in Mexico City
1616	México	slave uprising	a joint African-Amerindian rebellion in Durango
1625	Guianas		
1633-1700	U.S.A.	slave uprisings	six rebellions
1647	Chile	slave uprising	in the capital city of Santiago
1649	Barbados	slave uprising	
before 1654	Argentina		before 1654, slave rebellion in Buenos Aires produced urban maroons

YEAR	COUNTRY	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1663	Dutch Guiana		Portuguese Jews hide their slaves in the forest to avoid tax collectors. Slaves go to Maroon bases
1665-1726	Martinique		maroon bases
1669	Jamaica		St. Dorothy's Parish
1670	México	slave uprising	
1672	Jamaica	slave uprising	twice during the same year
1673	Jamaica		
1674	Puerto Rico	slave uprising	
1675	Barbados	slave uprising	
1677-1731	Cuba	slave uprisings	at the "El Cobre" mine
1677-1800	Cuba		in the Eastern part of the island, at Minas Santiago del Prado in Oriente province, there was an important Maroon Republic
1678	Jamaica	slave uprisings	twice during the same year
1679	Haiti	slave uprisings	at Port de Paix, and another at Pt. Margot
1682	Jamaica	slave uprising	
1685	Jamaica	slave uprising	
1690	Jamaica	slave uprising	Clarendon Parish
1691	Haiti	slave uprisings	one of them was at Port de Paix, another included 200 people
1698	México	slave uprising	near Veracruz
1700's	Virginia		Maroon base in Blue Ridge Mountains
1700's	North Carolina, Virginia		Maroon base in Dismal Swamp
1702-1860s	Española		Maroon base in Bahoruco Mtns. created town of Neybe in southern Haiti

YEAR	COUNTRY	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1712	New York City	slave uprising	flew an anti-Christian banner
1712	Dutch Guiana		during raids from French Navy, the slaves looted and fled to the Maroon bases
1712-1792	Perú		the Maroon base of Huachipa was led by Chief Francisco Congo
1721-1795	Venezuela	slave uprisings	seventy slave uprisings during this period, whites were joining Maroons at mountain bases
1723-1795	St. Vincent	maroon wars	Black Caribs or Garifunas fought the British occupation
1724	Brazil	slave uprising	at Minas Gerais
1725	Grenada	slave uprising	
1725	St. Kitts	slave uprising	
1725	Nevis	slave uprising	
1725-1795	Jamaica	maroon wars	
1725	México	slave uprising	in Veracruz
1726-1823	Guianas	maroon wars	an average of one uprising every two years: Essequibo, Berbice, Demerara, etc.
1726	Cuba	slave uprising	in Havana
1728	Antigua		
1729	Louisiana	Amerindian insurrection	Natchez people had support of insurgent slaves
1730s	Florida		Maroon bases are fortified
1730s	Jamaica	slave uprisings	one every year of the decade
1730	Haiti		
1730-1733	Venezuela	slave uprising	300 Spaniards died at Yuracuy Valley before Andresote's Revolt was defeated

YEAR	COUNTRY	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1731	Cuba	slave uprising	when July 24 insurrection failed at the "El Cobre" mine, the slaves took their weapons to the hills
1731	Guianas	maroon war	at Essequibo
1732	Venezuela	maroon war	at Puerto Cabellos
1733	Dutch Guiana		
1733	Jamaica		
1733	St. John's	slave uprising	Danish punished more than 850 slaves involved
1734	Haiti		maroon forces controlled Trou de Nord region were defeated
1734	Bahamas		
1734	Jamaica	1st maroon war	
1735	México		Maroon insurrection of Amapa at the Omealca Mountains near Cordoba, Veracruz
1735-1736	Antigua		
1736-1738	Guadeloupe		
1737	Antigua		
1739	South Carolina	slave uprising	Angolans under Stono who also challenged dominant religion
1739	Jamaica		Maroon Republics recognized by colonial administration
1740-1758	Haiti		Hougan Mackandal is administrating oath for slave rebellion
1741	Guianas	maroon wars	at Essequibo
1741	New York City		slave conspiracy for St. Patrick's Day uprising brutally repressed
1742	Puerto Rico	slave uprising	
1744	Guianas	maroon wars	at Essequibo

YEAR	COUNTRY	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1747	Venezuela		at Yare
1748	Cuba	slave uprising	at Cabo Cruz
1750	Curacao	slave uprising	
1750	Dutch Guiana		colonial administration recognizes Chief Adoc's Maroon Republic
1751	Dutch Guiana	maroon wars	Maroons win a war
1754	Jamaica		
1757-1761	Dutch Guiana	maroon wars	Chief Arabi starts a war in 1757 and colonial administration recognizes Maroon Republic in 1761
1759	Haiti		Hougan Mackandal led campaign of poisoning slavers, water wells and animals
1759	St. Croix	slave uprising	its memory accelerated abolition ahead of schedule
1760	Jamaica	island wide slave uprising	Tacky's Rebellion. call to arms organized by Obeah men turned over 1000 Akan slaves into warriors
1761	Dutch Guiana		Auca Maroon's Republic is recognized by colonial administration
1762	Guianas	slave uprisings	at Berbice
1762	Dutch Guiana		colonial administration recognizes Saramaka Maroons

YEAR	COUNTRY	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1763-1764	Guianas		at Berbice, alliance of almost half the slaves in British plantations with Cuffy's Maroon armies. Their goal was to create sovereign country in alliance with some European governments
1765	Jamaica	slave uprising	
1765	Honduras		
1766	Jamaica	slave uprising	against British Empire and their Maroon allies, like 1760 and 1765
1760-1790s	Grenada		maroon bases established in St. John's, St. Andrews and St. David's
1767	Guianas	slave uprising	at Berbice
1768-1791	Guianas		the Cottica Confederation is formed: joining the armies of Chiefs Baron, Bonni and JoliCoeur to expel the Dutch altogether
1769	Jamaica		
1770	St. Kitts		
1770	Tobago		
1771	Tobago		
1771-1777	Cuba		Maroon bases at Guamutas, Guatao, Mariel, Bauta, Guamacaro, Jaimanitas
1772	Guianas	slave uprisings	at Demerara, two rebellions in one year
1773	Guianas	slave uprisings	at Demerara
1773	Honduras		
1774	Tobago		

YEAR	COUNTRY	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1774-1775	Guianas		at Demerara, full scale civil war between slaves and maroons vs. whites and amerindians
1776	Jamaica		
1781	Colombia	slave uprisings	at Antioquia, Medellín and Rio Negro
1783	Grenada	slave uprisings	two during the same year
1783	Cuba		Maroon bases at Guane and Jaruco
1785-1848	Guadeloupe	slave uprisings	about one per year during that period
1785	Dominica		
1785	Haiti		slaves set fire to Port au Prince at the Cabreuil plantation, all the slaves stopped working
1787	Haiti		at Marmelade, in the North, nightly assemblies among mulattoes and blacks discussing independence. Led by Jerome (alias Poteau) and Telemaque who taught others how to organize such meetings
1790	Tortola		
1791-1804	Haiti	war to abolish slavery and win national sovereignty	Hougan Boukman conducts oath ceremony in August, 1791. Moise leads rebellion against white planters after abolition and Dessalines leads independence movement
1791	Cuba	slave uprising	at Quiebra Hacha

YEAR	COUNTRY	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1793	Martinique	slave uprising	
1793	Española	slave uprising	at Hincha
1793	Jamaica	slave uprising	
1794	Venezuela	slave uprising	at Cancagua and Capaya
1794	Guadeloupe		slaves support Republican expedition implements abolition and expels British occupation
1794-1795	Guianas	slave uprisings	taking advantage of change to Republic in Holland
1795	Venezuela	slave uprising	at Valle del Coro, begins Maroon Republic La Cumbe led by José Chirinos. It was a precedent for independence movement
1795	Cuba	slave uprising	at Puerto Principe
1795	Española		at Samaná, slave conspiracy included three white French men
1795	Louisiana		conspiracy at Pointe Coupée again with Black and Amerindian cooperation
1795-1796	Grenada	slave uprising	what started as a rebellion against British occupation by mulattoes and emancipated in St. John's parish became a generalized slave rebellion
1795-1796	Jamaica	2nd Maroon Wars	at Trelawney, 2nd Maroon Wars began
1797	St. Vincent		Garifunas deported to Honduras, Belize, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Nicaragua

YEAR	COUNTRY	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1798	Brazil		Taylor's conspiracy: free and slave creoles fought together with whites for a program inspired by French Revolution
1798	Cuba	slave uprising	at Trinidad
1799	Venezuela		
1799	Tortola		
1800s			Maroon bases in Louisiana, Florida, Tennessee, South Carolina
1800-1820	Cuba	slave uprisings	average of twelve per year
1800	Virginia	slave uprisings	at Richmond, Gabriel Posser conspiracy
1802	Española	slave uprisings	at Haina and Nigua, in support of abolition of slavery in Haiti
1802	Guadeloupe		resistance against restitution of slavery put down in Basse Terre
1803	Guianas	slave uprising	at Demerara
1803	Uruguay	slave uprising	at Montevideo, with support of Maroons. At the time the slaves were one third of total population
1805	Argentina		sit-down strike among urban slaves in Buenos Aires
1807-1835	Brazil		prolongued war led by Ewes, Nupes, Yoruba, Mandinka and Hausa Muslims. Their plan was to take city of Bahia and recruit slaves in countryside plantations.
1807	Jamaica	slave uprising	

YEAR	COUNTRY	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1809	Cuba		sedition conspiracy in Havana in March
1811	Louisiana		largest slave revolt in U.S.A. history at St. John the Baptist parish
1811	Martinique	slave uprising	
1812	Cuba		Aponte Conspiracy in Puerto Principe, Holguin, Bayamo, Trinidad and Havana. This is reference point for independence movement and had support of Haitian army.
1812	Florida	1st Seminole War	U.S.A. Marines defeated by Amerindians and Black Maroons
1814-1852	Cuba	Maroon Wars	in Eastern provinces
1815	Jamaica	slave uprising	
1816 April 14-18	Barbados	slave uprising Ideologue, Nany Grigg, was informed about Haitian success and shared its project.	Coba and Bussa rebellion at 60 different plantations during Easter Week. Rebels deported to British Honduras
1817	Brazil	slave uprising	in Pernambuco
1822	South Carolina		in Charleston, Denmark Vesey conspiracy in contact with Haitians
1822-1823	Martinique	slave uprisings	two years in a row
1822	Puerto Rico	slave uprising	
1823	Guianas		between 10,000 and 20,000 slaves were making war against the slavers
1824	Jamaica	slave uprising	
1825	Cuba	slave uprising	in Matanzas province
1826	Cuba	slave uprising	in Matanzas and La Guira

YEAR	COUNTRY	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1826	Puerto Rico	slave uprising	
1830s	Florida		Black Seminoles and Red Seminoles confederated
1830-1831	Cuba	slave uprisings	in coffee plantations
1831	Virginia	slave rebellion	led by Nat Turner in Southampton
1831	Martinique	slave uprising	and again in 1833, at Grande Anse
1831-1832	Jamaica	slave rebellion	led by Sam Sharpe, for freedom and wages, in most Western parishes, repressed by British and Maroons
1835	Florida	2nd Seminole War	second U.S.A. military invasion defeated by Maroon-Amerindian alliance
1837	Cuba	slave uprising	in Manzanillo
1837-1840	Brazil	radical social movement	bandits, Maroons and revolutionaries in Maranhão region against central government
1840-1870	Puerto Rico	slave uprisings	dramatic increase in conspiracies and revolts among the slaves
1840-1841	Cuba	slave uprisings	at least two
1842-1843	Colombia	slave uprisings	in the Cauca Valley
1843	Jamaica		joint conspiracy of Haitians, Cubans and people expelled from Central and North America
1843	Puerto Rico	slave uprising	in Tao Baja
1843	Haiti	peasant/maroon revolt	led by Jean-Jacques Accau, demanded agrarian reform, priority of class over race, popular army, and food self-sufficiency

YEAR	COUNTRY	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1844	Cuba	slave uprising	in Matanzas, "la Escalera" organized through religious associations with two chiefs in each plantation. Against colonialism
1844-1849	Guadeloupe	slave uprising	with support of Maroons and emancipated
1848	St. Croix	slave uprising	8000 slaves sieged Frederickstead to demand abolition in July, and won
1848	Puerto Rico		conspiracies in Ponce and Vega Baja discovered and repressed
1848	Martinique		rebellion of emancipated against former masters
1862	Dutch Guiana	slave uprising	
1865	Jamaica	social justice movement	in Morant Bay, St. Thomas parish led by Paul Bogle and George William Gordon against the British and the Maroons

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APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGY (1885 - 1950)

(TABLE 10)

The particularities of social conflicts, and the strategies to transform the conditions which cause them can be better understood by identifying the connections between economic, political, military and cultural institutions in specific cases. In the case of the Caribbean region, working people initially confronted the conditions imposed by capital during concentrated slavery and later under diluted slavery (or salaried work). For hundreds of years working people there have understood this peculiar social arrangement as an obstacle to the satisfaction of their needs and desires. That collective awareness was expressed by challenging the controls over time imposed by the dominant order, creating ties with the new territories, and other expressions of consciousness which brought the majorities together. The interactions between race, class, gender, nationalism, spirituality probably differed from case to case as a result of the concrete mediations between the institutions mentioned above.¹

In this dissertation my intention is to explore the role of several thought collectives, and their interactions with the popular movements, in the evolution of this critical awareness. But before getting into the examination of their direct(ed) interventions, or the content of their writing, it may help to present an inventory of the social protests taking place at the time. Whenever possible that inventory will also include the mention of books which

challenged the assumptions of the period, or which represented those assumptions.²

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1885		<p>Antenor Firmin, <u>De L'egalité des Races Humaines: Anthropologie Positive</u> (Paris: F.Pichon, 1885). Author was sociologist, diplomat and politician. Beyond refuting de Gobineau, Firmin concluded racial equality implied abolition of privilege through organized action. Valorization of African civilizations made this book a precedent of cultural renaissance in 1920s. Its author was the cultural and political leader of the Haitian intellectuals during the last quarter of 19th century.</p>	<p>Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882) was French diplomat and author of <u>Inégalité des Races Humaines</u>, 4 Vols. (Paris: n.p., 1853-1855). Proposed sending European settlers to replace Blacks in Latin America. This is the view Firmin is arguing against.</p>
1889	<p>French[^]end attempt to build inter-oceanic canal across Colombian province.</p>		

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1890		<p>J. Jacob Thomas, <u>Froudacity: West Indian Fables</u> by <u>James Anthony Froude</u> (London: n.p., 1890) responded to Froude with discussion of Pan-Africanism, anti-colonialism and racial solidarity in the Caribbean region.</p>	<p>J.A. Froude, <u>The English in the West Indies</u> (1887)</p>
1890	<p>In New York City, there is a League of the Antilles which includes Cubans, Haitians, Dominicans, Puerto Ricans and Jamaicans. Some of the organizers connected with independence movement in Cuba and Puerto Rico. Most of the Cuban émigrés in "La Liga" were Black workers.</p>	<p>John Jacob Thomas was also involved with first literary journal in Trinidad.</p>	

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1891		José Martí, "Nuestra América," <u>El Partido Liberal</u> (México, D.F.: January 30, 1891)	Latin America is not an echo or an extension of European cultures. These are part of the cultural mix but it is not the same tradition. The role of intellectuals in the colonized world is to find <u>own</u> time.
1894	Ofelia Domínguez Navarro is born.	R. Nina Rodríguez <u>As Racas Humanas e a Responsa- bilidade Penal do Brasil</u> (Bahia: n.p., 1894)	Gustave Le Bon, <u>Psychological Laws of the Evolution of Peoples</u> . This author was in line with Gobineau, using deterioration of Haiti during 19th century as evidence.
1896	Arthur Henry is born.		
1897	Elma Francois is born.		
1898	U.S.A. intervenes in Spanish-Cuban War, and also Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Paul Robeson and Anton DeKom are born.		

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1900- 1902	Canadian Pacific builds first section of integrated railway system in Cuba, with loan from military government and support of Secretary Elihu Root, U.S.A. War Department.		
1901	C.L.R. James is born. U.S.A. intervenes in Nicaragua to interrupt negotiations with German and Japanese investors to build inter-oceanic canal. Government eventually resigns in 1909. Platt Amendment proposed in U.S. Senate on February 25 and accepted by Cuban Congress March 2.	R. Nina Rodrigues, <u>O Alienado do Direito Civil Brasileiro</u> (Bahia: n.p., 1901).	Treaty to build Panama Canal under U.S.A. supervision. Platt Amendment (added to Cuban Constitution by U.S.A. government) ceded territory, legitimized future military interventions, set health standards for the protectorate, limited loans and treaties.

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1902	Nicolás Guillén and Wifredo Lam are born. End of U.S.A. administration of Cuba (1899-1902). Urban mobilizations in Montego Bay, Jamaica and Port of Spain, Trinidad.		U.S.A. acquires perpetual control over Panama Canal. Commercial Treaty (Cuba- U.S.A.) continued exchange without taxes, with special dispensations and prohibited similar conditions for third countries.

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1902- 1919	Spanish settlers imported to Cuba, supported and benefitted from occupation's racial policies.		
1902- 1920	Attempts to redefine public debate in Puerto Rico by study centres of trades people.		Among trades people in Puerto Rico, there was a culture of collective discussion (about readings from own libraries) which produced autonomous reflection on social issues.
1903	U.S.A. seizes Dominican Republic.	W.E.B. DuBois, <u>Souls of Black Folk</u> (Chicago)	Since its creation Panamá has been occupied by sixteen foreign military bases.
1904- 1908	Canadian Pacific and the United Fruit Co. build railway in Guatemala, with support of Estrada Cabrera regime and U.S. War Department.		
1905- 1909	U.S. Marines seize customs offices in Dominican Republic. Una Marson and O.T. Fairclough are born.		U.S.A. dollar becomes currency in Dominican Republic.

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1906- 1909	Second U.S.A. administration of Cuba. Nicaraguan government continues negotiations with Japan to build canal.	Fernando Ortiz, <u>Hampa Afro-Cubana: Los Negros-Brujos (Madrid)</u> . 2nd edition, 1917.	Black crime could be more efficiently repressed if their secret societies were understood.
1907	U.S.A. also reorganizes debt structure of Dominican Republic. Black workers in Cuba begin to organize own political party. J. Roumain is born.		
1908	Street mobilizations in St. Lucia. Black political party only one supported social justice and racial equality in Cuba. Despite electoral loss this year, party continued to grow. Richard Wright is born.		This was the most progressive political program in Cuba, between 1900-1920.

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1909	October 28, Ateneo de la Juventud founded in México by Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Diego Rivera, Alfonso Reyes and José Vasconcelos among others. Ken Hill is born in Jamaica. Nicaraguan government overthrown. New administration delegated sovereignty over canal and national defence to U.S.A.		Most co-founders held positivist ideas, in alliance with bourgeoisie. Martín Luis Guzmán and J. Vasconcelos joined Pancho Villa during Revolution. Luis Cabrera joined Carranza. Henríquez Ureña was among the first to understand culture in Latin America, as a global experience. Vasconcelos discussed cultural blending and identity in his writing.
1910	N.A.A.C.P. founded in U.S.A. China abolishes slavery. Patricia Galvão is born. The Mexican Revolution begins. The Liberal government in Cuba bans political parties organized by race and class.	Harry Johnston, <u>The Negro in the New World</u> , (London). Antenor Firmin <u>Lettres de Sainte-Thomas: etudes sociologiques, historiques et litteraires</u> (Paris).	
1911	Frank Hill is born in Jamaica.		
1912- 1933	U.S.A. Marines occupy Nicaragua.		

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1912 1912- 1922	Insurgency in the Dominican Republic; revolution in México; street mobilization in Kingston, Jamaica; demonstrations by Black Independent party in Cuba led to uprising lasting several months. U.S.A. Army intervenes and there are between 3,000 and 6,000 deaths. Henríquez Ureña, Diego Rivera and colleagues found Popular University in México. W.A. McBean is born.	James Weldon Johnson, <u>Auto-biography of an Ex-colored Man</u> (Boston)	U.S. National Bank established in the Dominican Republic. Royal Bank of Canada bought Bank of British Honduras.
1913	Henríquez Ureña, Diego Rivera and colleagues also founded School of Graduate Studies; Mexican Revolution continues. Aimé Cesaire is born.	Beatrice and Sidney Webb found "The New Statesman" in London.	Canadian George Scarfe bought Butters mine in El Salvador. This was the richest silver and gold mine in the country.

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1914	Mexican Revolution continues; U.S. Marines invade Veracruz, México and replace President Huerta; Panama Canal opens; so-called World War I begins.	T.G. Steward, <u>The Haitian Revolution, 1791-1804</u> (New York)	
1915- 1934	July 28, U.S.A. Marines enter Haiti, to quell popular uprising that was becoming mass movement. Leader had support of people's militias in bid for presidency of Haiti. Richard Hart is born.		First transcontinental telephone call inside U.S.A., between New York and California; Cuban women attend international meetings of suffragettes. Royal Bank of Canada opens in Costa Rica.

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1916- 1924	U.S.A. intervenes in the Dominican Republic; armed resistance to U.S.A. occupation continues in Haiti; Mexican Revolution continues; so-called World War I continues; Pancho Villa's Northern Division occupies Columbus, New Mexico, U.S.A.; U.S.A. buys Danish Antilles. Under Felipe Carrillo Puerto, government of Yucatán, México begins agrarian reform.	Alain Locke, <u>Race Contacts and Interracial Relations</u> ; <u>Journal of Negro History</u> begins publication in Washington, D.C., U.S.A., as organ for Association for the study of Negro Life and History established by historian Carter G. Woodson the year before.	Dadaist cult in Zurich, Switzerland. Woodson was an educator and philosopher, who had benefitted from counsel and example of Arturo Schomburg.

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1917	General strike in Brazil; armed insurrection in Haiti is by this time organized in regions, with an information network and unified command; in February, Liberal insurrection in Cuba.	Luis Palés Matos, "La Danzarina Africana" (Puerto Rico); William Carlos Williams, <u>A Book of Poems: al que quiere!</u> (Boston); Waldemar Westergaard, <u>The Danish West Indies Under Company Rule</u> (New York); Cyril Briggs, edited <u>Amsterdam News</u> (New York).	Palés Matos' poem is among first treatments of Caribbean cultures in poetry. Briggs would evolve as black nationalist, radical socialist, leader of African Blood Brotherhood and cultural animator.

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1918	As Secretary of the Navy, Franklin Delano Roosevelt writes Haitian constitution; U.S.A. forces establish regroupment camps and state of siege, experiment with airplane bombing raids against continued insurrection in Haiti; in October Haitian insurgents take the capital for a day; Mexico nationalizes oil fields; race riots across U.S.A. during summer; African blood Brotherhood founded in U.S.A. Canadian mining consortium moves into Nicaragua, after El Salvador (1913).	Manuel R. Querino, <u>The African Contribution to Brazilian Civilization</u> (one of eight books about role of Black Brazilians in national defence, unity, arts, religion and crafts.)	Foreigners could own land in a sovereign country and occupation forces could demand travel documents from people moving about inside their own country; radical black nationalist organization promoted armed self-defence against lynchings in U.S.A.; Harlem Renaissance 1918-1928.

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1919	Dockworkers strike in waterfront, Port of Spain, Trinidad and seize control of city; strike in Sao Paulo, Brazil; race riots in Chicago and Washington, D.C.; street mobilizations in Belize, British Honduras; longshoremen strike in New York (carried out by Blacks, Italians, Irish together); general strike in Winnipeg, Canada.		Many of the strike leaders in Trinidad were Garveyites. Commune in Munich, Soviets in Budapest, Spartacists in Berlin, Bauhaus in Weimar. 1st Pan-African Congress in Paris.
1920	Textile workers repressed in São Paulo, Brazil; social unrest continues in Trinidad; balance of state repression in Haiti: 3,500 dead, 4,000 jailed and 6,000 detained as suspects (in camps); in January, the capital of Haiti had been taken by insurgents again.		Carter G. Woodson founded Associated Publishers to produce and distribute books about African-American history.

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1921	DuBois and Garvey meet at 2nd Pan-African Congress.	Rene Maran, <u>Batouala</u> (Paris); Oruno Lara, <u>La Guadeloupe dans l'histoire</u>	2nd Pan African Congress in London, Paris and Brussels. With novel about French colonial administration in Africa, Maran was first Martinican to win the Goncourt Prize.
1922	Oklahoma is under martial law after K.K.K. terrorism; U.S.A. Senate rejects anti-lynching bill; U.S.A. investment in Cuban sugar mill machinery, construction and installations slows down (to be setback by 1930, come to a crisis in 1938 and increase again after 1945); stock market boom starts in U.S.A., after depression.	Claude McKay, <u>Harlem Shadows</u> (New York); Maurice Delafosse, <u>L'aime Negre</u> (Paris), anthology of African folklore; Nina Rodrigues, <u>A Raza Negra na America Portuguesa</u> ; Carter G. Woodson, <u>The Negro in Our History</u> .	While Haitian national reserves are deposited at First National City Bank, Price-Mars lectures about popular culture at an elite private club; week of modern art celebrated in Brazil, in connection with European vanguards; Oklahoma government conducts air raids against communities, organize self-defence against lynchings.

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1923	Tri-state meeting of K.K.K. draws 200,000 to Indiana; military uprising by Cuban veterans of 1895 independence war; 150,000 Haitian migrants in Cuba.	Jean Toomer, <u>Cane</u> (New York); Considered a member of Harlem Renaissance by critics. Mentor was novelist Waldo Frank. Book is collage of impressions about Black South. Langston Hughes' poem "Jazzonia."	New generation of Cuban intellectuals tries to combine cultural nationalism and radical solutions to social problems. 3rd Pan-African Congress in London and Lisbon.
1924	Union headquarters in São Paulo destroyed to prevent labour support for rebellion of nationalist lieutenants in armed forces of Brazil.		

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1925	Street mobilization in Trinidad; Cuban Communist Party founded, incorporating program of Black Independents in defense of working people. Bahaus moves to Dessau from Weimar, Germany. 4th Pan-African Congress, which was to be held in the Caribbean, did not take place.	Countee Cullen, <u>Color</u> (New York); Alain Locke, <u>The New Negro: An Interpretation</u> (New York) includes W.E.B. DuBois, "The Negro mind reaches out;" Gertrude Stein, <u>The Making of Americans, being a history of a family's progress 1906-1908</u> (Paris/New York); James Weldon Johnson, <u>Book of American Negro Spirituals</u> (New York)	In Puerto Rico Palés Matos starts writing poetry about Caribbean cultures, after vanguardist collective publication folds in 1924.

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1926	<p>Movement of Cuban intellectuals and artists who celebrated impact of African cultures in new synthesis (1926-1938). International Power of Montreal purchased Puerto Rico Railway, and a power company in Venezuela. International Power also launched power company in British Guiana.</p>	<p>Langston Hughes, <u>The Weary Blues</u> (New York); Vincent T. Harlow, <u>A History of Barbados, 1625-1685</u>, (Oxford, England); Vicente Rossi, <u>Cosas de Negros; los orígenes del tango y otros aportes al folklore Rioplatense. Rectificaciones Históricas.</u> (Rio de la Plata, Argentina); Ildefonso Pereda Valdés, <u>La Guitarra de los Negros. Viñetas de María Clemencia.</u> Montevideo: La Cruz del Sur.</p>	<p>Langston Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the racial mountain." <u>The Nation</u>, 123, (23 June) Reply to George Schyler. "The Negro-Art Hokum" <u>The Nation</u>, 122, (16 June) 662-663. Rossi discusses contributions to popular cultures by peoples of African origins in Argentina. His is still a racist and paternalist perspective. Commemoration of Negro History Week begins in U.S.A.</p>

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1927	<p>League Against Imperialism, starts in Europe with conference in Brussels; Centro Cívico Palmares founded as educational organization in Brazil. International Power of Montreal gains control of electricity generating capacity and railroads in El Salvador. Student protests in Cuba.</p>	<p>Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, <u>Azúcar y Población en las Antillas</u> (Habana). Discusses impact of sugar industry on demand for Black workers in Cuba. Author assumes defense of planters against both mill owners and cane cutters.</p>	<p>European solidarity with anti-colonial struggles; Cuban magazine, <u>Avance</u> conducts continental survey about what Latin American art should be; 4th Pan-African Congress in New York.</p>

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1928	Brazil's economy collapses due to overproduction of coffee; in Colombia government soldiers under Conservative government killed hundreds of workers from United Fruit plantations at La Cienega Village Square (Magdalena Province) on December 6, 1928. See Gabriel García Marquez, <u>One Hundred Years of Solitude</u> (1968)	P. Henríquez Ureña, <u>6 ensayos en busca de nuestra expresión</u> (Buenos Aires); R. López Albújar, <u>Matalache</u> (Lima); Lowell J. Ragatz, <u>The fall of the planter class in the British Caribbean, 1763-1833. A Study in Social and Economic History</u> (London); García Lorca, <u>Primer Romancero Gitano. 1924-1927</u> (Madrid) 2nd edition; J.C. Mariátegui, <u>Siete ensayos de Interpretación sobre la realidad peruana</u> (Lima); Claude McKay, <u>Home to Harlem</u> (New York); J. Price-Mars, <u>Ainsi parla l'oncle</u> (Port-au-Prince); Luis Araquistáin, <u>La Agonía Antillana. El Imperialismo Yanki en el Mar Caribe.</u> (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe). Mario de Andrade, <u>Macunaíma</u> (São Paulo).	Cultural supplement of Cuban daily carries page about Black Cubans regularly. Peruvian novel is about race and class conflicts in region of Piura. Lopez Albuja was considered the most versatile Afro-Peruvian novelist. Araquistáin was a Spanish journalist who visited in the Caribbean region. De Andrade had been among founders of the Brazilian Modernists in 1920s.

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1929	Nationalists and socialists in Haiti, opposed to re-election under U.S.A. control, mobilize urban and rural masses in general strike during the fall. U.S.A. Marines need re-enforcements to contain situation which confirms success of mobilization campaign; N.Y. stock exchange collapses about the same time in U.S.A.	Countee Cullen, <u>The Black Christ</u> (London and New York); Carl Brouard's poetry is published in Haiti. Brouard had been in group of seven edited <u>Revue Indigene</u> in Port au Prince. Editors were relatives of women from Primavera Club invited Price-Mars to lecture in 1922. Leland Jenks, <u>Our Cuban Colony</u> (New York). Ildefonso Pereda Valdés, <u>Raza Negra: Poemas</u> [Black Race: Poems] Montevideo, Uruguay: Ediciones del periódico negros La Vanguardia. [Published by Black newspaper The Vanguard].	In Cuba, race and culture considered a relation which constitutes one of the main research problems in Latin America, given interest in Europe and North America; Brazilian modernists propose primitive communism in their magazines.

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1930	Street demonstrations and strikes increase in Trinidad, with growing unemployment; uprising in northeastern Brazil and end of First Republic; international conference of Black workers in Hamburg, Germany.	Jorge Amado, <u>Pais do Carnaval</u> (Rio de Janeiro); C.S. Johnson, <u>The Negro in American Civilization</u> (New York); Langston Hughes, <u>Not Without Laughter</u> (New York) this was a commissioned novel.	In U.S.A., League of Struggle for Negro Rights (1930-1934) published <u>Liberator</u> magazine, promoting cultural revival based on own tradition of Black insurgency. The editor was Cyril Briggs.
1931	Uprising against Cuban government; unemployed, returned migrants, maroons attempt general strike in Surinam, state of siege is imposed; collapse of Austrian bank leads to financial crisis in central Europe.	George Padmore, <u>The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers</u> (London); Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, <u>The Black Worker: the Negro and the Labor Movement</u> (New York).	Black Brazilian Front organized education project to increase participation of men and women in political and economic activities; section of British Labour Party separates to form a fascist party.

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1932	<p>Demonstrations and strikes continue in Trinidad; thousands of veterans march on Washington, D.C. demanding bonus payment; tax protest by Surinam farmers ended with military repression; workers' organizations banned in Surinam; defeated peasants slain in El Salvador insurrection; constitutionalist revolution against Vargas government fails in Brazil.</p>	<p>Nina Rodrigues, <u>Os Africanos no Brasil</u> (São Paulo); Milo Rigaud, <u>Rhythms and Rites</u> (Vienna); Jorge Amado, <u>Cacao: the Life of the Workers in the Plantations of Brazil</u>; R. Díaz Sánchez, <u>Caín</u> (Venezuela).</p>	<p>Intellectuals from French colonies in the Caribbean publish manifesto, which condemns bourgeois culture, in Paris. R. Díaz Sánchez's essays are about cultural history of Venezuela. Canadian gunboats go from Esquimalt, B.C. to Acujutla, El Salvador where left had won large number of rural districts and had support of army against central government.</p>

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1933	National insurrection in Cuba; police in Trinidad prevent joint African-Asian workers' hunger march; several strikes in Surinam; unemployed in Trinidad demonstrate for rent controls and relief work; general strike and army revolt overthrows dictatorship in Cuba.	Regino Pedroso, <u>Nosotros</u> (Habana); Alejo Carpentier, <u>Ecuae-Yamba-O. Historia Afro-Cubana</u> (Madrid); Arthur P. Newton, <u>The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493-1688</u> (London); Gilberto Freyre, <u>Casa Grande o Senzala</u> (Rio de Janeiro); Claude McKay, <u>Banana Bottom</u> (New York); E. Martínez Estrada, <u>Radiografía de la Pampa</u> (Buenos Aires).	Brazilian fascists and Nazis join forces. Women in Black Brazilian Front became a recognizable social force and solidarity network in major urban centres. In February, Tomás Blanco and Graciany Miranda Archilla write about Palés Matos' Caribbean poetry in the commercial press; W.E.B. DuBois taught course about Marxism and the Negro at Atlanta University.

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1934	Sandino executed by National Guard firing squad in Nicaragua; in Trinidad, marches of unemployed increase over 1933, so do strikes in sugar plantations; major sugar cane workers' strike in Puerto Rico; general strike in France. Government deposed in Cuba.	Guy Endore, <u>Babouk</u> (Vanguard Press); Alfred Mendes, <u>Pitch Lake</u> (Trinidad); Nancy Cunard, ed., <u>Negro Anthology</u> (London); Melville J. Herskovits, <u>Rebel Destiny</u> , (New York); Antonio S. Pedreira, <u>Insularismo</u> (San Juan, Puerto Rico).	1st Congress of Afro-Brazilian Studies held in Recife; DuBois pushed out of N.A.A.C.P. when making connection between race and class; Langston Hughes' <u>The Ways of White Folks</u> was being acclaimed by Black Americans; Platt Amendment removed from Cuban constitution. Endore was U.S.A. screenplay writer. His novel is about Haitian Revolution. Cunard was radical publisher and editor from Anglo-American aristocracy. Her book is 800 page collection of politics and culture in support of racial equality.

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1935	Hunger march to Fort de France, Martinique; social unrest in St. Kitts, British Guiana and St. Vincent; workers protest in Falmouth, Jamaica; strike in Trinidad oilfields; street protests in Harlem, N.Y. Black ghetto; Italy invades Abyssinia with Soviet fuel.	Artur Ramos, <u>O Folclore Negro do Brasil</u> (Rio de Janeiro); Aderbal Jurema, <u>Insurreicoes Negras no Brasil</u> (Recife: Mozart); W.E.B. DuBois, <u>Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880.</u> (New York)	Society of Afro-Cuban Studies founded; International Friends of Abyssinia founded in London; Congress of Industrial Organizations founded in U.S.A.; newspapers and political organizations banned in Surinam; after 27 year dictatorship in Venezuela, Gómez dies. In Buenos Aires, Aníbal Ponce (1898-1938) gives lectures about bourgeois humanism and proletarian humanism at the Colegio Libre de Estudios Superiores.

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1936	Spanish Civil War begins; Italy annexes Abyssinia; oil workers strike in Venezuela and national labour organization formed there.	José Antonio Ramos, <u>Coniqui</u> (novel about Cuban maroons); George Padmore, <u>How Britain Rules Africa</u> (New York); Melville J. and Frances Herskovits, <u>Surinam Folklore</u> (New York); R. Pattee, <u>Jean-Jacques Dessalines: fundador de Haiti</u> (Habana); Abram L. Harris, <u>The Negro as Capitalist</u> (New York); R. Díaz Sánchez, <u>Mene</u> , (Caracas); Aníbal Ponce, <u>Educación y Lucha de Clases</u> (Buenos Aires).	Society of Afro-Cuban studies founded; Second Congress of Afro-Brazilian studies held; Black Brazilian Front becomes a political party; in New York City, Jamaica Progressive League became connected with International African Service Bureau and Cuban, Dominican, Puerto Rican exile organizations) is founded.

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1937	Series of strikes (without central co-ordination) in Trinidad; strike in Barbados; strikes in Jamaica banana plantations; coup in Brazil; 20,000 Haitian workers massacred in Dominican Republic; central labour council organized in Surinam; between September 1936 and May 1937 500,000 participate in C.I.O. style sit-down strikes in U.S.A.; Ponce massacre in Puerto Rico.	<u>Estudios Afro-Cubanos</u> magazine begins publication; L. Palés Matos, <u>Tun-tún de Pasa y Grifería</u> (San Juan, P.R.); Leon Damas, <u>Pigments</u> (Paris); George Padmore and Arthur Lewis, <u>The West Indies Today</u> (London) Artur Ramos, <u>As Culturas Negras no Nuevo Mundo</u> (Rio); Zora Neale Hurston, <u>Their Eyes Were Watching God</u> (Philadelphia) is a feminist novel by African-American anthropologist. Ildefonso Pereda Valdés, <u>El Negro Rio Platense</u> [Blacks in Rio Plata Region] Montevideo, Uruguay: C. García y Co.	International African Friends of Abyssinia becomes International African Service Bureau in London; all political organizations banned in Brazil; debate in Jamaican journal about the kind of workers' organization which could promote national independence and socialism both; Haitian massacre covered up in three countries involved. Founded in Habana, National Association Against Discrimination declared racism a national threat.

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1938	Workers' uprising in Jamaica; social unrest in British Guiana; effort to build unions in sugar plantations and oil fields continues in Trinidad; Mexican government nationalizes oilfields which belonged to U.S.A.	Z. Neale Hurston, <u>Tell My Horse</u> (Philadelphia); Leon Damas, <u>Retour de Guyana</u> (Paris); E. López Albújar, <u>Poemas Afro-yungas</u> (Lima); Manuel Querino, <u>Costumes Africanos no Brasil</u> (Recife), posthumous anthology of articles from journals; Ildefonso Pereda Valdés, <u>Línea de Color. Ensayos Afro-Americanos</u> [Color line. Afro-American Essays] Santiago, Chile: Ercilla.	Collective bargaining in Trinidad restricted with law from slavery period, revived by colonial administration; between 1914-1938 824 lynchings had occurred in U.S.A.; Moyné Commission investigates unrest in Caribbean colonies on behalf of British government.
1939	Dockworkers in Kingston, Jamaica go on strike; workers' movement in Surinam is repressed by colonial administration; Spanish Republic defeated; so called World War II starts.	Aimé Césaire's "Notebook of a return to the native land," appears in <u>Volontés</u> magazine in Paris; Artur Ramos, <u>The Negro in Brazil</u> (Washington, D.C.); Regino Pedroso, <u>Antología Poética. 1918-1938</u> (Habana).	Supreme Court bans sit-down strikes.

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1940	Wild cat strikes in .S. auto industry.	Lydia Cabrera, <u>Cuentos Negros de Cuba</u> (Habana), had already appeared in France in 1936; Richard Wright, <u>Native Son</u> (New York and London).	Development and Welfare Organization established for British Colonies in the Caribbean region.
1941	March on Washington, to integrate war industries called off by organizers; Anglo-American agreement gives U.S.A. military bases in British colonies; Vietnamese organize resistance to Japanese invasion.	Richard Wright, <u>12 Million Black Voices</u> (New York); Melville J. Herskovits, <u>The Myth of the Negro Past</u> (New York and London); <u>Tropiques</u> magazine founded in Martinique; Ildefonso Pereda Valdés, <u>Negros Esclavos y Negros Libres</u> (Montevideo).	

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1942	<p>People of Guadeloupe set fire to sugar cane harvest, to protest unequal distribution of rations by military; labour organizing continues in Jamaica during growing economic crisis; resistance to no-strike pledge in U.S.A.</p>	<p>Langston Hughes, <u>Shakespeare in Harlem</u> (New York); Nancy Cunard, ed. <u>The White Man's Duty; An Analysis of the Colonial Question in Light of the Atlantic Charter</u> (London). This volume was edited in collaboration with George Padmore; Jorge Amado, <u>La Vida de Luis Carlos Prestes</u> (Buenos Aires); Eric Williams, <u>The Negro in the Caribbean</u> (Washington, D.C.).</p>	<p>Anglo-American Commission established to co-ordinate war effort, in the Caribbean Region, among occupation forces.</p>

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1943	Race riots in Detroit and Harlem; strike against Nazism in Berlin; railway strike in Jamaica; strike against fascism in Turin.	Cuban edition of Cesaire's <u>Notebook of a Return to the Native Land</u> translated by Lydia Cabrera; Herbert Aptheker, <u>American Negro Slave Revolts</u> (New York); Adalberto Ortiz, <u>Juyungo</u> (Buenos Aires).	1st Interamerican Demography Congress in Mexico City; International Institute of African-American Studies established with offices in Mexico City. Ortiz is Ecuadorian diplomat and university professor from Black and Mulatto district of Esmeralda. The novel is about a Black man who has lived among Amerindians and returns home to make common cause with others fighting for social justice.
1944	Popular government takes power in Guatemala; Vietnam declares independence from France; Elma Francois dies.	Eric Williams, <u>Capitalism and Slavery</u> (Chapel Hill, North Carolina).	

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1945	Cycle of economic expansion through foreign investment begins in Caribbean; steel pan bands take the streets of Port of Spain during carnival; Brazilian military overthrow Vargas government.	G. Arciniegas, <u>Biografía del Caribe</u> (Buenos Aires); Richard Wright, <u>Black Boy</u> (New York); Noel Deerr, <u>The History of Sugar</u> (London); the magazine of the International Institute of Afro-American Studies began publication.	National School of Anthropology and History in Mexico celebrates seminar about the problems of Black and indigenous populations. Arciniegas was Colombian historian.

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1946	Major labour strike in .S.A.; general strike in Haiti overthrows president imposed by foreign interests; first congress on cybernetics held in New York City. P. Henríquez Ureña dies in Argentinian exile.	Alejo Carpentier, <u>La Música en Cuba</u> (Mexico, D.F.); G. Aguirre Beltrán, <u>La Población Negra de México, 1519-1810</u> (Mexico, D.F.); Josué de Castro, <u>Geografía da fome</u> (n.p.); St. John Perse, <u>Exil</u> (Paris); José Luis Lanuza, <u>Morenada; una historia de la raza Africana en el Rio de la Plata</u> (Buenos Aires: Emecé).	Anglo-American Commission, now included France, Holland and local leaders in colonies. Discussion of independence and industrialization was not allowed by colonial administrators. Lanuza and Rossi are required references, both share paternalistic and racist perspective. G. Aguirre Beltrán was Mexican anthropologist co-founded International Institute Afro-American Studies in 1943.

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1947		<p>Leon G. Damas, ed. <u>Poetes d'expression Francaise (d'Afrique Noire, Madagascar, Reunion, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Indochine, Guyane) 1900-1945</u> (Paris: Editions du Seuil). Co- founders of <u>Presence Africaine</u> magazine in Paris included Aimé Cesaire and Richard Wright. P. Henríquez Ureña, <u>Historia de la Cultura en la América Hispánica</u> (México, D.F.). Edison Carneiro, <u>O Quilombo does Palmares</u> (São Paulo). Herbert Aptheker, "Additional Data on American Maroons," <u>Journal of Negro History</u>, XXXII (October), 452-460.</p>	<p>India is partitioned. Plan to partition Palestine announced by United Nations.</p>

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1948	Major labour strikes in U.S.A., in the magnitude of W.W.II wildcat strikes. Urban insurrection in Bogotá, Colombia.	R. Cepero Bonilla, <u>Azúcar y Abolición</u> (Habana). Discusses social composition of abolitionist and nationalist movements in Cuba. Demonstrates both were result of popular insurgency. Official version proposed creole planters and land owners as leadership of those movements.	Radio soap opera about racism, single mothers, abortion began transmission in Cuba, lasting about one year. Cepero Bonilla was lawyer and journalist, specialized in economic history, who became government minister (1959-1962).

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1949	Labour strikes of great proportions continue in U.S.A.; Black Experimental Theatre founded in Brazil; China is sovereign; India is independent; ten year civil war in Colombia (1949-1959) will leave 300,000 dead.	W.Adolphe Roberts, <u>The Single Star</u> (Indianapolis); Pedro M. Arcaya, <u>Insurrección de los Negros de la Serranía del Coro</u> (Caracas); A. Carpentier, <u>El Reino de Este Mundo</u> (México, D.F.) A. Lespes <u>Las Semillas de la Ira</u> (). This Haitian novel had been written in 1943. Author was agronomist and writer, as well as politician like his contemporary Roumain.	Roberts, journalist who migrated to U.S.A. in 1920s writes about Jamaican creoles in 1895 Cuban War of Independence; Lespes writes about 1937 massacre of Haitians in Dominican Republic; somewhat like literary supplement in <u>Diario São Paulo</u> (1946-1948), cultural criticism begins to appear in weekly insert in some Mexican newspapers; Carpentier writes about Haitian Revolution.

Year	Social Protests Other Events	Texts Produced	Ideas Discussed, Assumptions of the Period
1950	Nationalist insurrection in Puerto Rico, one of their commandos attempts to execute the President of the U.S.A. at Blair House. U.N. troops land in South Korea.	R.Díaz Sánchez, <u>Cumboto</u> (Buenos Aires); Joseph Zobel, <u>La Rue Cases-Negres</u> ; Pales Matos, <u>Tún-tún de Pasa y Griferia</u> (San Juan, P.R.) second edition now includes vocabulary section and bibliography as supportive evidence.	Díaz Sánchez writes about the period of slavery in the history of Venezuela, in this novel. Zobel, a civil servant, writes about village life in 1930s Martinique from perspective of a Black child.

Summary

The preceding version of a chronology should help the reader evaluate whether or not the writers (in the case studies) made the connections between the assumptions and social relations of their period, between the assumptions of that period and their cultural interventions.³ At the end the reader should have a sense of the historical evolution of the communication strategies created by small groups of activist-intellectuals, connected with social movements in the Caribbean, for the purpose of self-emancipation.

END NOTES

¹ Perry Anderson, "Origins of the present crisis, New Left Review, 23 (London: January, 1964). This same article can be found reprinted in Perry Anderson and Robin Blackburn, eds. Toward Socialism (London: Fontana/New Left Review, 1965), pp. 11-52, and with minor revisions in Perry Anderson, English Questions (London: Verso, 1992), pp. 15-47. C.L.R. James, History of Pan African Revolt (Washington, D.C.: Drum and Spear, 1969), pp. 1-20, 125-129. Original edition London, 1938; C.L.R. James, "The Making of the Caribbean people," Spheres of Existence (London: Allison and Busby, 1980), pp. 176-181, 187. Original version 1966. Walter Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks. The Making of An African Intellectual, eds. Robert A. Hill and Howard Dodson (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1990), p.73.

² In a letter to a literary critic, C.L.R. James mentioned the need to assess the assumptions of the period which organize the perspective of the authors. How are the way the connections between the social relations and the authors life/work represented as the context in the text? Original published later as "My dear Leyda," C.L.R. James Reader, ed. Anna Grimshaw (Oxford, U.K. and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 231-237. In the London study group Selma and C.L.R. James had in the mid-sixties, the point was made again: knowing something about the events and debates which surround the writing of a book, sheds light on the assumptions and goals of its author, Walter Rodney, Walter Rodney Speaks. The Making of an African Intellectual, pp. 28-29.

The Canadian presence in the events which took place in the Caribbean region is recorded in two texts. First, Peter McFarlane, Northern Shadows. Canadians and Central America (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1989) offers a long term perspective. Second, Robert Chodos, The Caribbean Connection (Toronto: Lorimer, 1977) is an appropriate complement which concentrates on the more recent past.

³ The ideas developed in this chronology are based in a compilation of dates and events in the Caribbean region, drawn from all the sources used in my dissertation. The binder used to organize the draft of the chronology is available in the author's files.

APPENDIX C

OVERLAPPING TRAJECTORIES AMONG THE PROTAGONISTS

(TABLE 11)

TABLE 11: OVERLAPPING TRAJECTORIES AMONG THE PROTAGONISTS

Year	City	Possible or Certain Encounters
1918-1925	New York	Cyril V. Briggs, Hermie Dumont Huiswoud, Otto Huiswoud, Richard B. Moore, Claude McKay, W.A. Domingo, J.A. Roger worked together in Harlem. George Padmore was studying sociology at Columbia University, 1924-1925, before moving to Fisk University in Nashville, 1925-1927.
1924-1929	New York	Jim Headley, from Trinidad, was a merchant marine with the National Maritime Union and Young Communist League. Through the latter he met with George Padmore during this period.
1926	Mexico	Alejo Carpentier (from the Minoristas and Afro-Cuban Cultural Movement) met with Diego Rivera at a convention of journalists. Deported by the Cuban dictatorship, Julio A. Mella was working with the Mexican Communist Party as a journalist.
1926	Port of Spain, Trinidad	A.R.F. Webber, socialist, trade unionist and journalist in British Guiana participated with Cipriani in mass meeting supported self-government. C.L.R. James and Elma Francois were in Trinidad at the time.
1927 February	Brussels, Belgium	Richard B. Moore attended meeting founded international version of League Against Imperialism. J.A. Mella was there as well. That same year Anton DeKom came in contact with International Red Relief, International Workers Support, and League Against Imperialism.
1927 August	New York	Otto Huiswoud and Richard B. Moore met with W.E.B. DuBois at 4th Pan-African Congress. While studying at Howard University, George Padmore travelled U.S.A. for the Communist Party.

Year	City	Possible or Certain Encounters
1929 July	Frankfurt, Germany	Padmore, Kouyaute, James W. Ford, Jomo Kenyatta attended 2nd International Meeting of League Against Imperialism. Anton DeKom was an officer of the Dutch chapter of the same organization.
1929 August	Kingston, Jamaica	Marcus Garvey and Otto Huiswoud met and debated each other publicly at the Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) Convention. Hugh C. Buchanan, who had been active with the U.N.I.A. in Cuba, returned to Jamaica this year. In Cuba Buchanan also had indirect contacts with the Communists. Back in Jamaica he studied Marxism until 1938.
1930 July	Hamburg, Germany	Padmore, James W. Ford, Otto Huiswoud, Jomo Kenyatta and Garan Kouyaute attended International Congress of Negro Workers.
1930	London	Hubert Crichlow, West Indian trade unionist, and A.R.F. Webber were part of British Guiana delegation lobbying for public works projects. Paul Robeson was in London as well, until 1939.
1930	Havana	In March Langston Hughes met José A. Fernandez de Castro and later Regino Pedroso, Juan Marinello, Nicolás Guillén, and José Z. Tallet. In August Marcus Garvey and Nicolás Guillén spoke at the Club Atenas during the same month.
1930 April September	Havana	Langston Hughes and Nicolás Guillén meet again.
1931 October	Port au Prince	Langston Hughes and Jacques Roumain meet.
1933 August- December	London	George Padmore deported from Germany, worked with Nancy Cunard in final stages of editing <u>The Negro Anthology</u> .
1933 Sept. 29	Havana	Rubén Martínez Villena received Julio António Mella's ashes, escorted back to Cuba (from México) by Ophelia Dominguez Navarro.

Year	City	Possible or Certain Encounters
1934	Paris	Leopold Senghor, Aimé Césaire, and Leon Damas published <u>L'Etudiant Noir</u> . G. Padmore and G. Kouyaute are also in Paris during month of February. Padmore remained for the summer.
1934	Mexico	Langston Hughes arrived in December to settle estate of exiled father and stayed six months.
1934-1936	Amsterdam	With Otto Huiswoud as editor, offices of <u>The Negro Worker</u> are located here. DeKom is in Holland at this time, getting his book published and writing for <u>The Negro Worker</u> as well as co-editing <u>Links Richten</u> . Jacques Roumain is also being published in <u>The Negro Worker</u> at this time.
1936 March	London	Paul Robeson and C.L.R. James put on play about Toussaint L'Ouverture.
1936 June	Geneva	Una Marson at the League of Nations with Ethiopian Emperor. C.L.R. James at preparatory meeting for Paris July conference.
1936 July	Paris	C.L.R. James and French historian Daniel Guérin meet at the international conference of the Trotskyist movement. Otto Huiswoud moved offices of <u>The Negro Worker</u> from Amsterdam to Paris.
1936 August	Paris	George Padmore meets with Nancy Cunard after she had covered League of Nations discussion of Ethiopian invasion. Cunard was on her way to Spain.
1937 January	México	In January Nicolás Guillén travels from Cuba to México, joining Juan Marinello exiled there and both attend Congress of Writers and Artists called by Mexican League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists. In June Guillén and Marinello leave México for Europe.

Year	City	Possible or Certain Encounters
1937 July	Paris	Nicolás Guillén, Jacques Roumain, Langston Hughes, René Maran and Leon Damas are at the second International Writers Congress.
1937 July	Madrid Valencia Barcelona	Juan Marinello, Nicolás Guillén, Alejo Carpentier attended congress of anti-fascist intellectuals with Jacques Roumain. Before and after the congress Guillén and Roumain met in Paris. Langston Hughes and Alejo Carpentier are in the city at year's end.
1939	New York	Jacques Roumain is attending Columbia University. C.L.R. James is on a speaking tour between January and March, returning to New York in July. In the meantime he had been meeting with Trotsky in Coyoacán, Mexico, April 4-11, 1939.
1939 December	Kingston, Jamaica	The Negro Workers Education League publishes article by Jacques Roumain in <u>The Worker</u> . The organization was effort of "the left" to connect with workers and peasants in West Kingston slums. When colonial administration imposed censorship on <u>Evening News</u> , they started <u>The Worker</u> which carried news about region's affairs.
1940	Havana	Roumain studies and writes in Cuba as Guillén's guest, returning to Haiti in 1941.
1941	Fort de France, Martinique	Aimé Cesaire, André Breton and Wifredo Lam met during occupation by Vichy government.
1941	Havana	Wifredo Lam works with Society of Afro-Cuban Studies under supervision of Fernando Ortiz. Lam works with A. Carpentier, Lydia Cabrera and Teodoro Ramos Blanco (sculptor).

APPENDIX D

MAPS

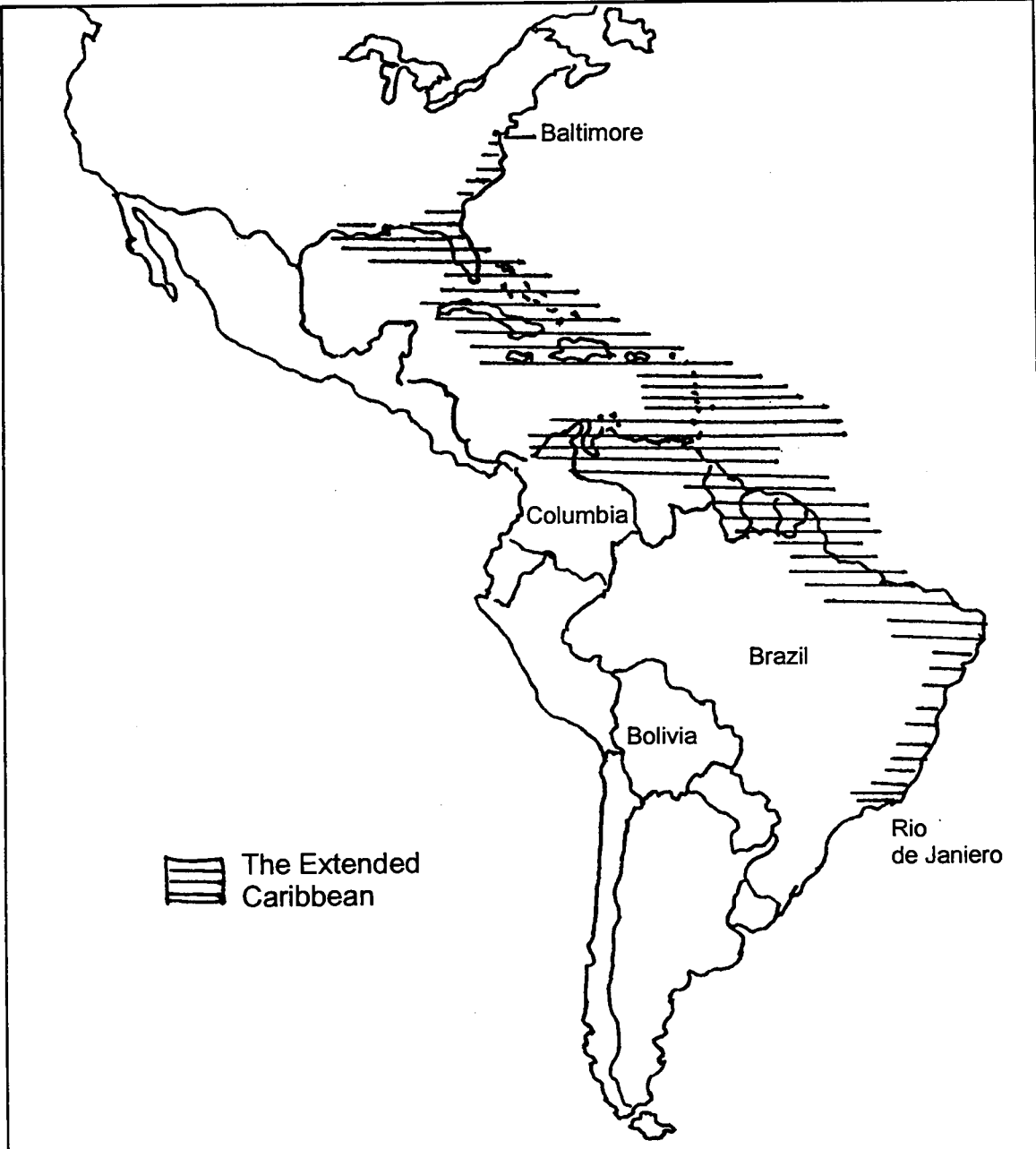


Figure 1. The Extended Caribbean

After: (Coser, 1995, p.2)

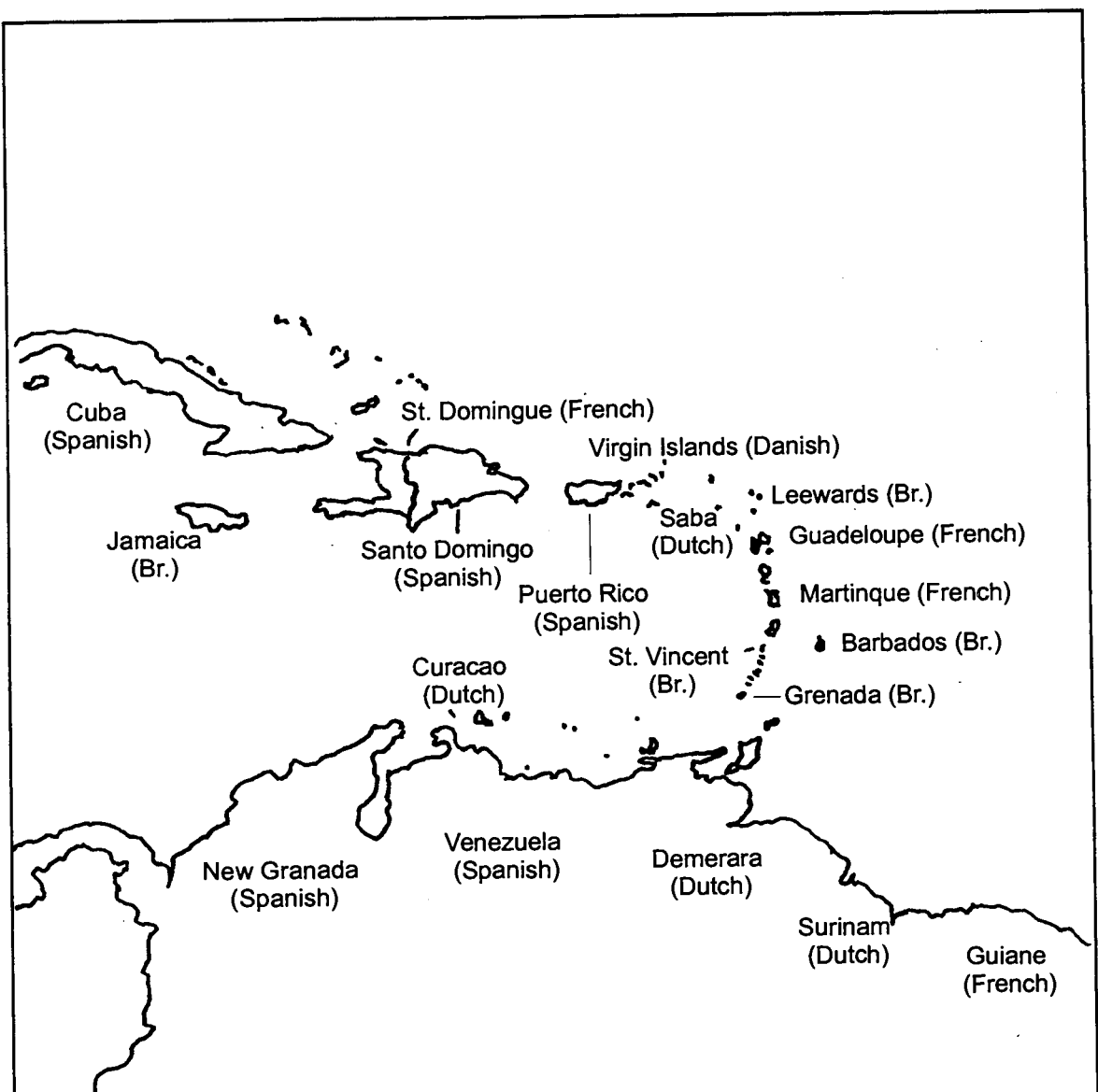


Figure 2. The Caribbean in 1770

After: (Blackburn, 1988, p.2)

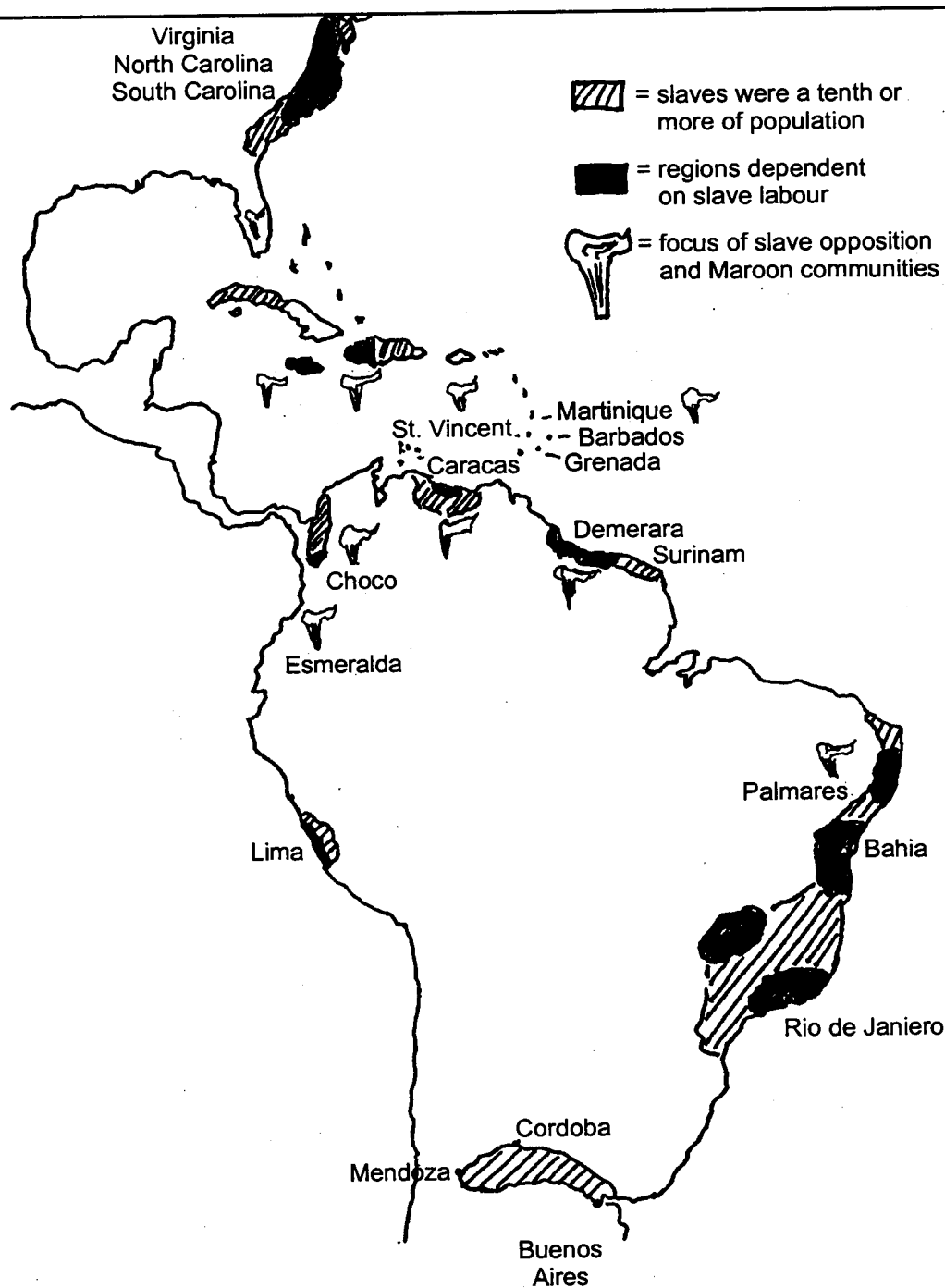


Figure 3. Regions of slave labour and resistance, around 1770

After: (Blackburn, 1988, p.34)

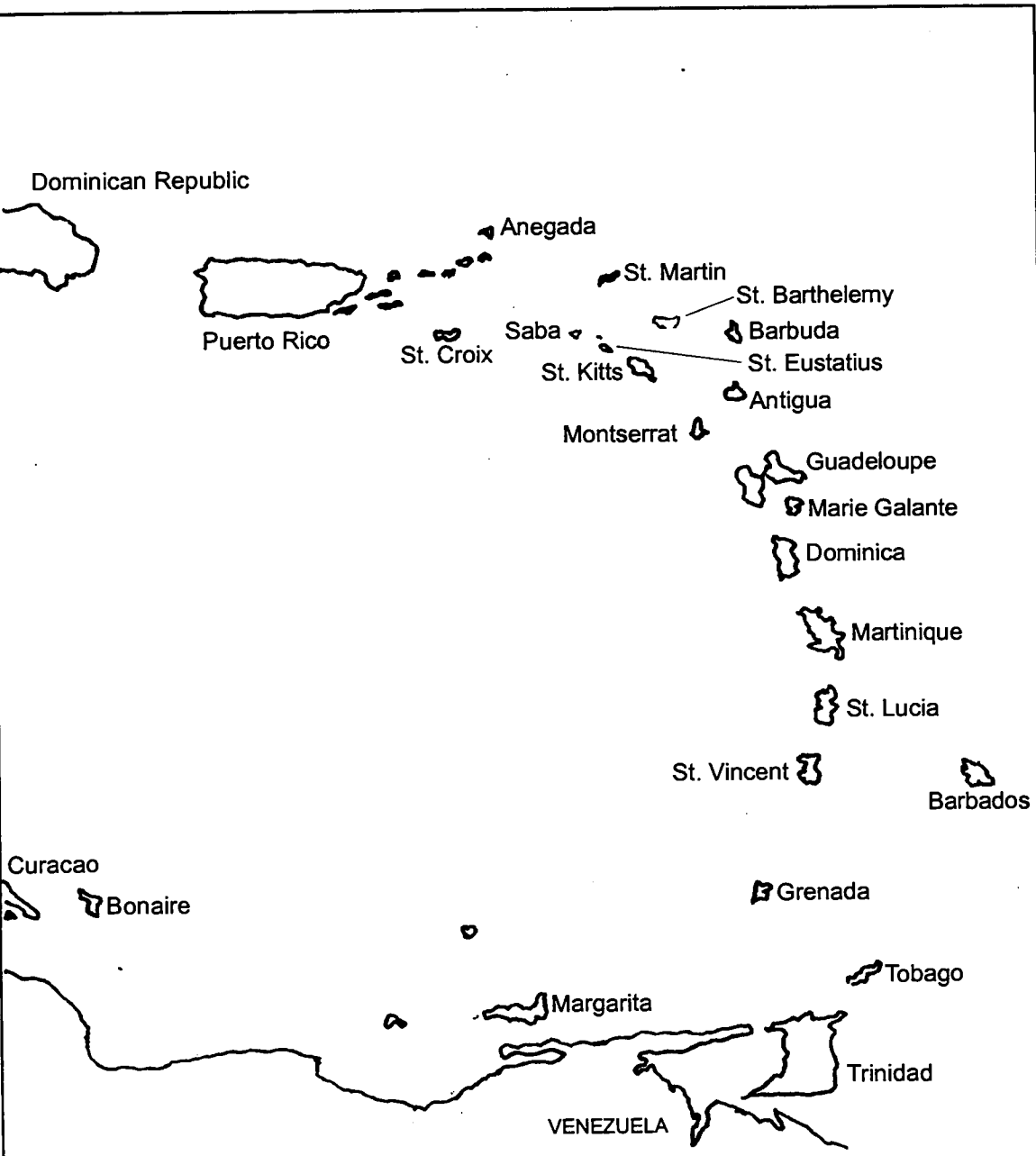


Figure 4. The Eastern Caribbean

After: (Hamlyn, 1996, back cover)

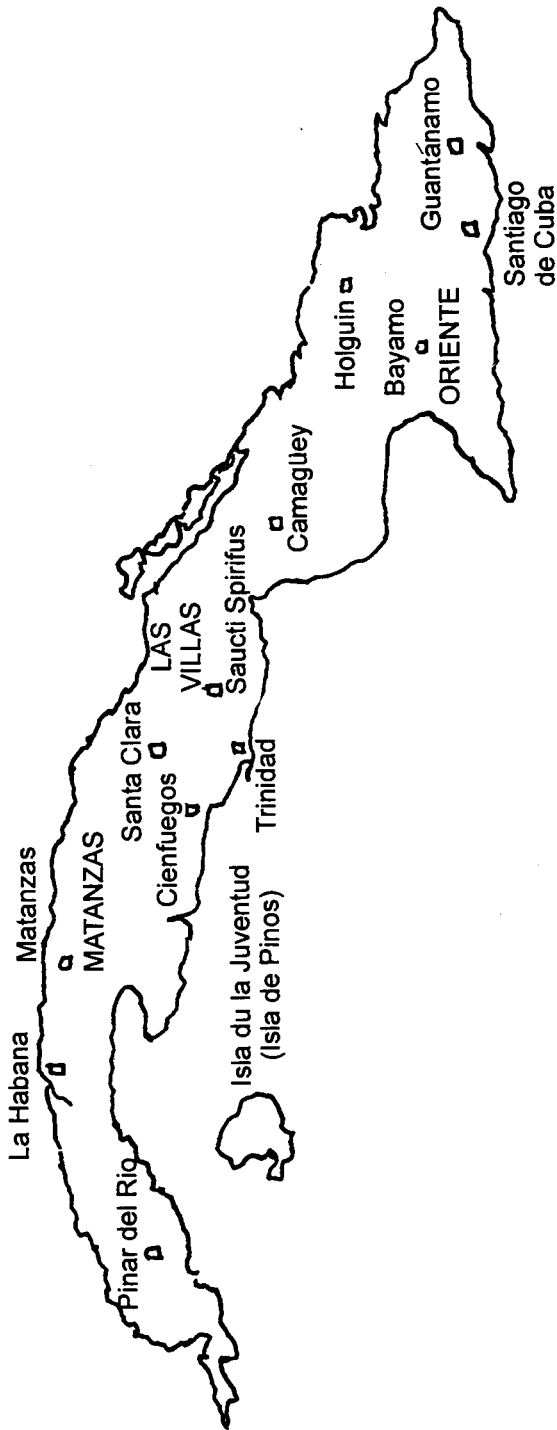


Figure 5. Cuba

After: (Hamlyn, 1996, pp. 166-167)

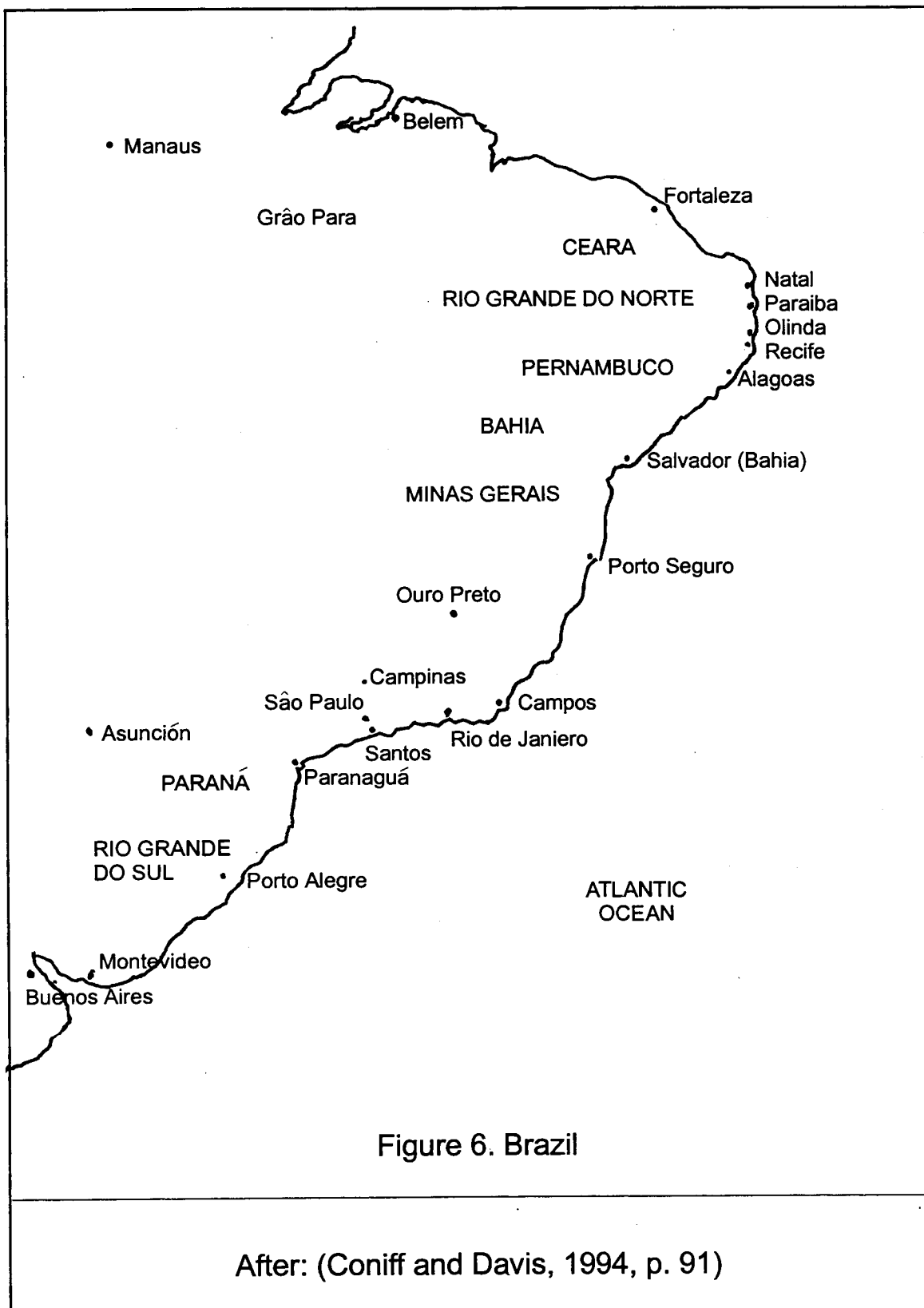


Figure 6. Brazil

After: (Coniff and Davis, 1994, p. 91)

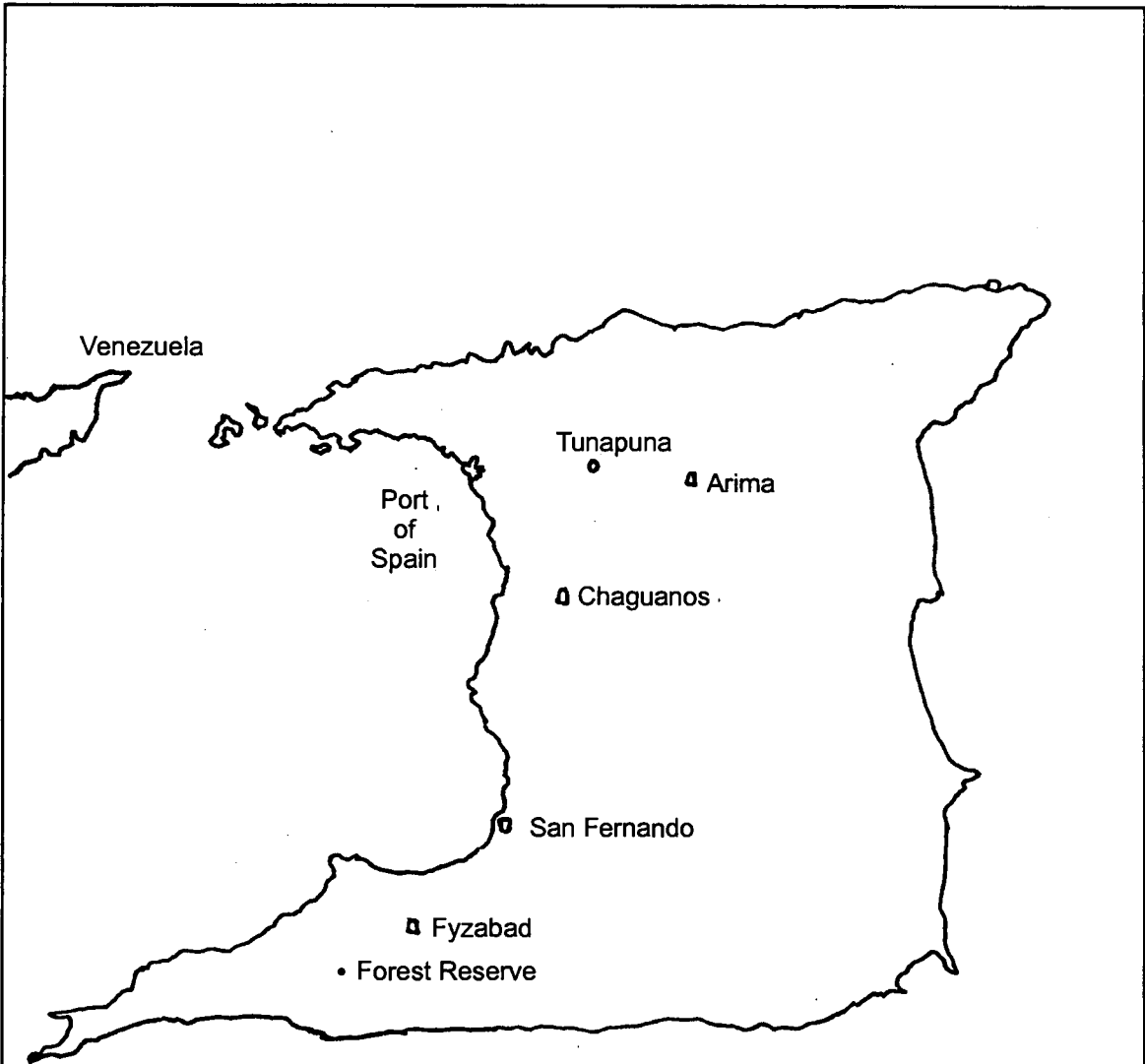


Figure 7. Trinidad

After: (Hamlyn, 1996, pp. 224-225)

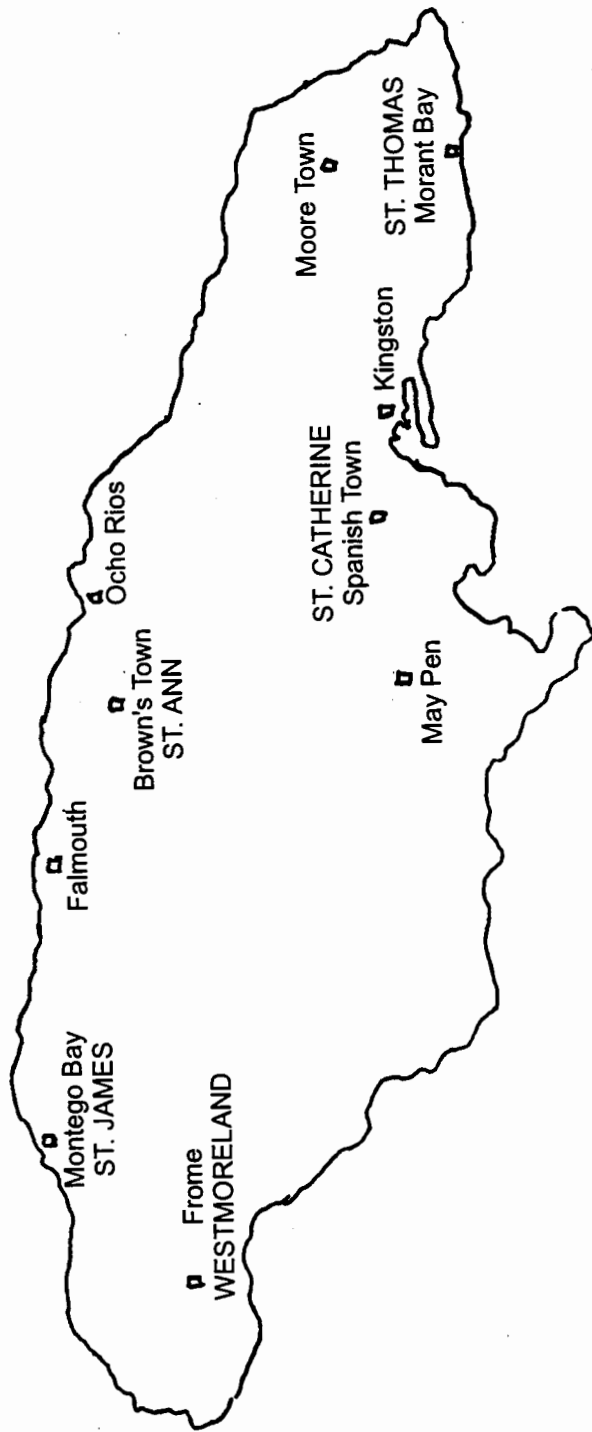


Figure 8. Jamaica

After: (Hamlyn, 1996, p. 146; Heuman, 1994, p. IX)

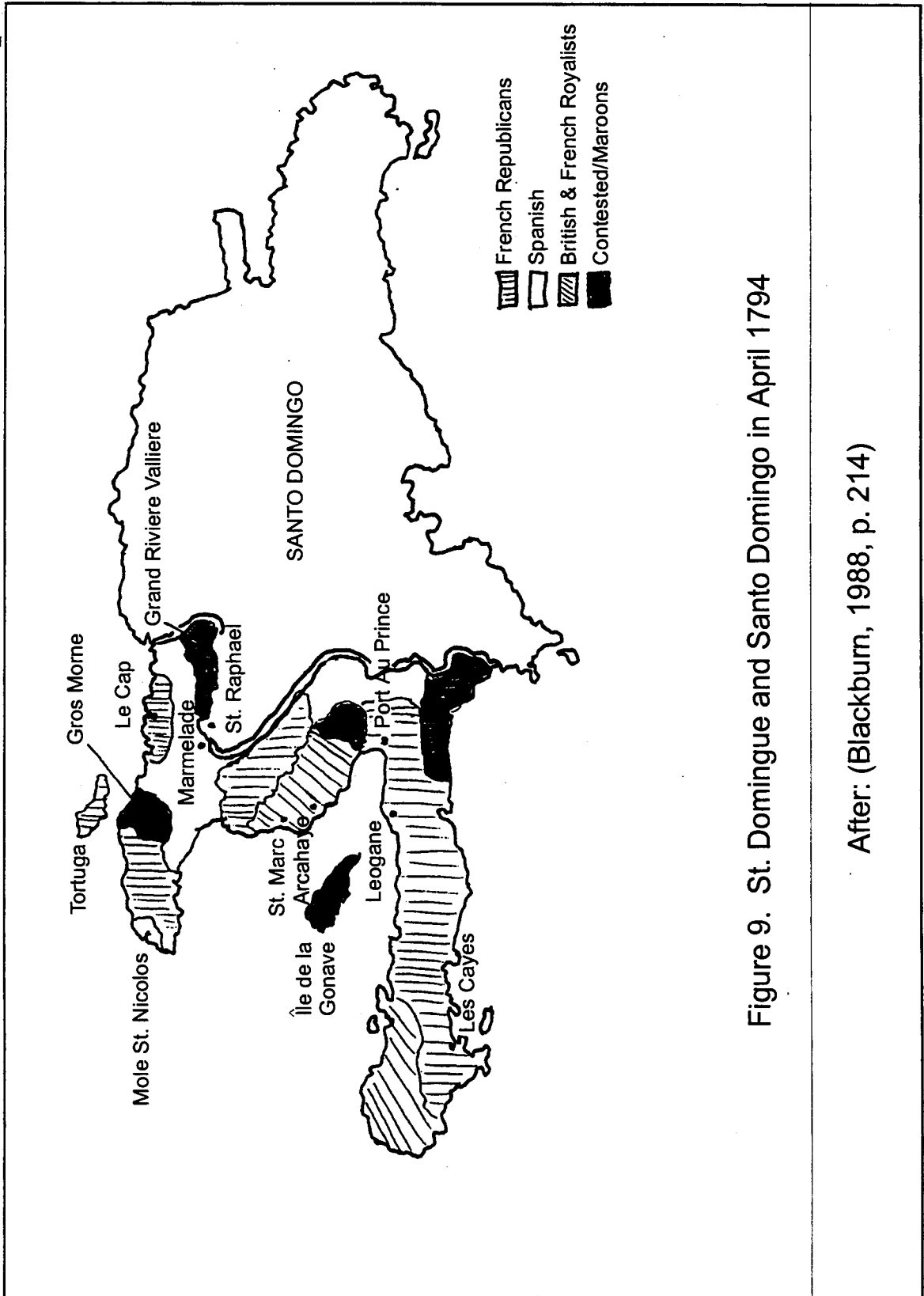


Figure 9. St. Domingue and Santo Domingo in April 1794

After: (Blackburn, 1988, p. 214)

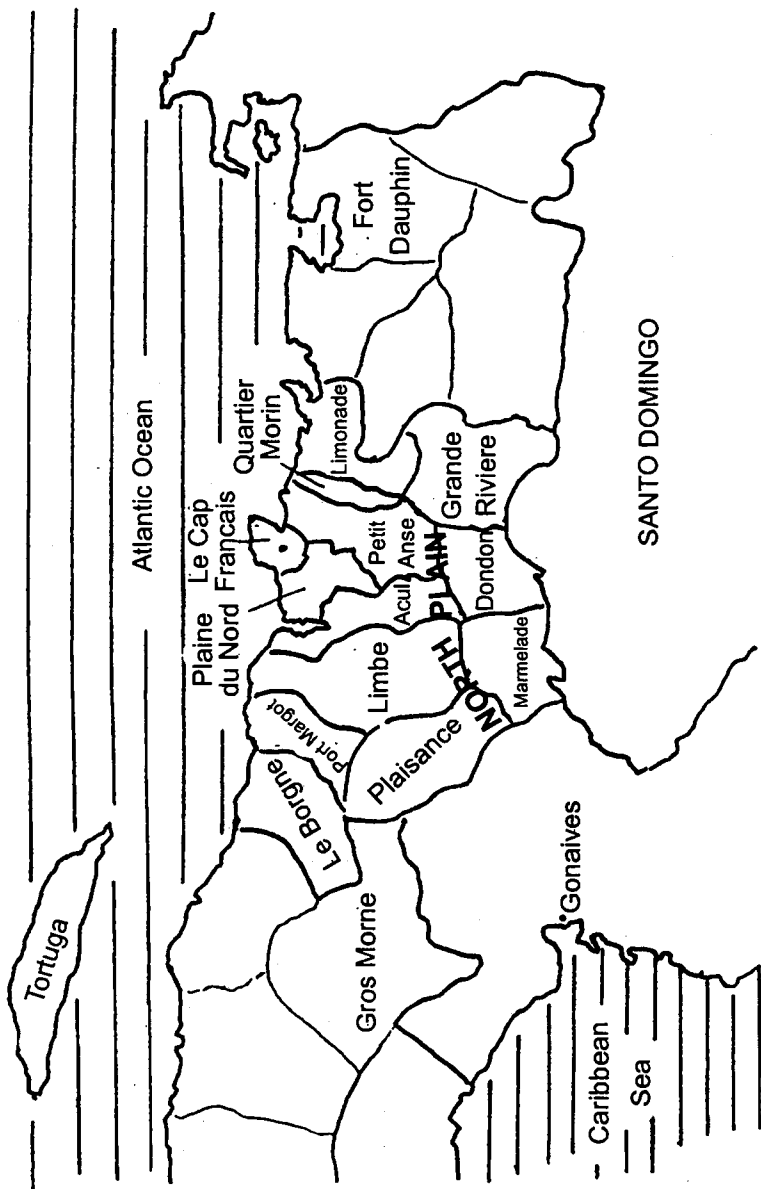


Figure 10. Haiti's North Province, 1791.

After: (Fick, 1990, p. 101)

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