

José Martí and Aesthetic Discrimination Against Blacks*

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Europe Constructs the Canon

As private and public possessions, all bodies convert their time on Earth into something intricate, polemical, sociocultural, and somewhat linguistic.¹ Relatively recent studies find that bodies are tyrannized by the market, and by the economies of pleasure and domination. According to Michel Foucault, the human body gets caught up in a power mechanism that explores it, disarticulates it, recomposes it, and distributes it. Discipline creates subjected, trained, and docile bodies.²

A body's beauty is also constructed from a position of power that imposes its canon, at least in the West. The first Western person to offer a view on the beauty of races while having an institutional mantle, and enjoying the prestige of a scientific name, was George-Louis Leclerc, the Count of Buffon. I would like to examine the Count while using the perspective of contemporary scholar Tzvetan Todorov. Clearly, I will have to review a topic that in my opinion has not yet been seriously problematized in Latin American countries, and superficially so in the work of José Martí. One thing that should not be ignored is that I am trying for the first time to compare José Martí's work (1853-1895) regarding this topic with the

rhetoric that preceded him—in the pioneering case of Buffon—but also with the rhetoric employed by José Vasconcelos, thirty years after the Cuban's death. This should bring us to the current state of many Martí-inspired positions offered by black intellectuals regarding the subject with regard to the beauty of the black race, and its identification with resistance, also after Martí's time.

One can appreciate a link between current Cuban reality and Martí's ideas on race by looking at statistics on how blacks are still discriminated in publicly visible tourist areas and in other spaces in Cuba, like on T.V., because they are considered ugly.³

“Les jugements esthétiques doivent jouer un rôle capital”

Even if Martí makes reference to Buffon and one of his scientific roles, it is not known with any certainty how much he really knew about him.⁴ From his very complicated and mobile position, Martí actually rejects some of the Frenchman's declarations. On the one hand, Martí actually witnessed the slave period, which in Cuba lasted till 1886: on the other, his 15 years of exile in the United States allowed him to deepen his reflections on race in the North and South, in a country where one can still perceive the imprint of Reconstruction: “the clos-

est thing to a social revolution in the history of the United States.”⁵

Martí was as curious as he was diverse in his interests, which made him a polyglot, poet, journalist, novelist, story writer, playwright, political leader, literary and art critic, a diplomatic representative to the United States on behalf of three Latin American countries, and a lecturer and professor with two university degrees. He generated an enormous written opus, which immediately, and finally, calls to mind a sort of encyclopedic quality to his work. His confidence in the fact that history was moving invariably towards progress, and his faith in the perfectibility of human endeavors, demonstrates the influence on his work of the Age of Enlightenment.

The stamp of encyclopedism in Martí's work cannot be ignored, but it is not yet obvious if the Enlightenment affected Cubans in any particular way. This age may have generally advocated for equality, but it was also the cradle in which for more than one writer modern racism was born. When the value of reason and human beings' innate virtue became the standard, Greeks and Romans became the essential model by which virtue and beauty were measured. They coalesced as fundamental moral and ethical values for the creation of a sense of nation, in the European context. These precepts then migrated to Latin America.⁶

I will not here delve deeper into the many times in which racism was condemned in Cuba and the United States, because my intention with this particular article is to examine Martí's perspective on the beauty of the black race, and the universality that his opus expresses. He came to consider beauty a social and historical construction, as he set forth in “Nuestra América” [Our America], and in the brief note “Para las escenas” [For

the Scenes].⁷ More than once, Martí's work also reveals the evident charge of positivism in his own ideas, in works that are based on very contradictory notions, and whose logic reveal the influence of the dominant racist ideology. Jorge Camacho, among others, has explored these instances and contradictions in Martí's work in a number of articles and essays. My goal here is to highlight parts of Martí's work that are still influential in the twenty-first century.

The Buffon case shows just how old the rhetoric—and prejudices—are regarding ‘inferior’ races and the valorization of their beauty. Buffon contradictorily bases his view of a racial hierarchy depending on the degree to which the race is socialized, which results in a civilization-barbarism dichotomy. He creates a list of denigrating adjectives for non-whites and establishes a direct relationship between the physical aspects and morality of races that are situated in a very inferior position in the racial hierarchy. Once this identification is made, aesthetic notions cannot be divorced from ethical ones, and “les jugements esthétiques doivent jouer un rôle capital” [aesthetic judgments must play an extremely important role].⁸

Curiously, Buffon also believed that depending on the group doing the judging, and the place and time, there were different ways of appreciating beauty. He even wrote that early man had a different way of judging it than ours. Each nation, he adds, has different prejudices regarding what is beautiful, just as each man has his own particular likes and dislikes.⁹ According to Todorov, this makes good sense, but he also reveals something in Buffon's words that point to his French aristocratic origin—that in any human group, both beauty and ugliness are defined more according to a face's skin color than to its phenotype. He cites a few exam-

ples: “Whites are the most beautiful men” and “Strong beauty is white beauty.” Even when Buffon deigns to acknowledge loveliness in dark-skinned groups, he purposely and adversely adds—generally, men [of other races] can be swarthy and dark, but that can also be quite handsome, or “well-formed and handsome men, despite being olive-skinned.”¹⁰

According to Todorov, Buffon’s aesthetic ideal is as ethnocentric as his ethical and cultural precepts. He uses Europeans as his point of comparison to establish a separation between perfection and other peoples: “*L’homme primitive a été blanc, et tout changement de couleur est une dégénérescence*” [Primitive man was white; any change in color is from degeneration]. The Count writes that nature, as perfect as it can be, made man white.¹¹

Not surprisingly, the Buffon establishes three acceptable parameters for the human species, choosing to prioritize aesthetic factors: skin color, body shape and size, and morality.¹² What we have here is a discourse of dominance or, if one prefers, a Foucauldian-type device legitimated by institutional and scientific prestige.

Lamentably, more than two hundred years after Buffon’s death, his ideas refuse to die. A Caribbean man who also spoke French maintains that the “local inhabitant is found like an animal, in the words of another,” and knows that hegemonic discourse has “made all humanity disappear” from the face of Africans. Their bodies are obese and look like “something lacking a head or tale.” This is the zoological language with which whites represented blacks.¹³

If Fanon was able to write this at the end of the 1950s, aesthetic discrimination was generally much more linked to social spaces and daily life towards the last quarter

of the nineteenth century, when biologism, taxonomies—particularly of bones and skulls—and psychogism were still in vogue. Furthermore, this was Martí’s time, too. Without delving too deeply, it would not be unwise here to recall that a very young Martí creates a black protagonist in his short piece *Abdala*, at the same time the minstrel show, a kind of burlesque theater that makes fun of blacks, is king in the United States. In Spain and other European countries, authors such as Cervantes and Quevedo left many traces of their prejudicial view of black *others*.¹⁴

From Vasconcelos to Guillén

According to more than one writer, José Vasconcelos had a Hispanizing view of miscegenation in Latin America: it was also defined as *mestizofilia* [a love of miscegenation]. Despite its title (*La raza cósmica* [The Cosmic Race]), and many references to the supposed benefits of miscegenation, and to the synthesized nature of its product—the cosmic race, the book *The Cosmic Race* obfuscates or attempts to obscure its author’s frequent, racist inklings.

Any Chilean reader more or less familiar with racial rhetoric in Latin America should wonder why Jorge Larraín makes no reference whatsoever to José Vasconcelos’ determinism.¹⁵ Grinor Rojo, for his part, conjectures that “numerous legions of national heroes,” which includes from Justo Sierra to Vasconcelos, stays away from Latin American determinism, and particularly the Mexican version of it.¹⁶

Nevertheless, Mexican sociologist José J. Gómez wrote that Sierra’s work determined this Hispanicizing vision and contains all the basics for José Vasconcelos’ view of the cosmic race.¹⁷ Sierra asserted that a malnourished Indian “could be good at suffering, which is how men come closest to being

domestic animals; but he will never be an initiator, that is, an active civilizing agent. Alcohol and religion keep the Indian and even the rural Mestizo trapped in a distressing state of inferiority.”

Scholar Julio Ramos, who using contemporary theory carefully examines Bello, Sarmiento, Darío, and Martí, falls short when he discusses the “incredible social authority, even in the hinterland” of books like *La raza cósmica*. Ramos fails to qualify this statement by pointing to the book’s thoroughly positivistic tenor; he fails to highlight the positivistic brushstroke with which the book is tainted. He knows, of course, that by 1921 the Department of Public Education, in which Vasconcelos, himself, became noteworthy by introducing modern education to Mexico, had convinced the Mexican state to officially embrace Indigenism.

Yet, in speaking of Vasconcelos, we do not have to project anything on to writers such as those mentioned earlier, who still embrace Vasconcelos without also essentially problematizing his work.

Cuban Roberto Fernández Retamar, a Marxist and renowned Martí expert, asserts in *Martí en su (tercer) mundo* [Martí in his (Third) World] that the poet [Martí] is precursor of “the Vasconcelos who wrote *La raza cósmica*.” But in reality, instead of being a precursor to him, Martí is in many ways denying him.

What the aforementioned Latin American intellectuals apparently forget to confirm is if Vasconcelos’ valorization of miscegenation is in a “Mestizothilic” sense (as one writer puts it), and it then becomes integrated into a solid foundation “of racial disdain towards Indians as well as certain minorities of foreign origin.” In the end, the writer adds that Mexican racism would end

up being very different from the pessimistic sort of racism that in the mid-nineteenth-century Gobineau theorized in Europe.

Vasconcelos has a fixed and not relative notion of beauty, and only one race fits within its parameters: this is yet one more obstacle to the racial synthesis he portends, as this noteworthy quote demonstrates: “The inferior types of the species will be absorbed by the superior one. They can become redeemed in this manner, for example, a black person will voluntarily become extinct, little by little: the ugliest traits will recede and give way to prettier ones.”²⁰

If Western rhetoric saw aesthetics, ethics, science, and spiritual quality as operating in unitary fashion, then undoubtedly, in Vasconcelos’ view, blacks could not attain the desired measure of them. This is simply a mimicking of old stereotypes. In his analysis of Manuel Gamio and Vasconcelos, Alan Knight says that Indigenism “is still operating within a racist system.”²¹

Yet, towards the second decade of the twentieth century—when Vasconcelos’ popularity was at its greatest—African Americans who are struggling against discrimination and following W.E.B. Du Bois’ general arguments begin to consider themselves as beautiful. An extremely important figure within the Harlem Renaissance movement, Langston Hughes, penned the poem “I, Too, Sing America,” in which he asserts: “They’ll see how beautiful I am.” Twenty-five years later, though, in his essay titled “The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain,” he reconsiders his position, and clarifies: “We know we are beautiful. And ugly too.”²² This was an act of resistance for Hughes; he was gazing into a non-Greco-Latin mirror and referencing a different canon. Just the same, he was about to tread waters that other black intellectuals also explored.

Alfred Melon maintains that blacks began to mimic whites to the extent that they were judging themselves by Greco-Latin standards of beauty (Fanon calls this an inferiority complex and negative sense of worth). The vocabulary that emerges for aesthetic appreciation includes words and phrases like ‘bad hair,’ ‘good hair,’ ‘OK hair,’ ‘fat-lipped,’ ‘big-nosed,’ ‘improve one’s race,’ ‘a nappy black,’ etc. This language is used equally both by Cuban blacks and whites.²³

Keith Ellis writes that black racial features are considered inferior to ‘normal’ physical traits, and considered cause for ridicule, despite the fact there is not a direct cause for this.²⁴ Jorge Mañach had confidently indicated that there was a “final frontier concerning prejudice: the aesthetic one, with all its social derivations.”

At the time same time and along the same lines as Hughes’ Harlem Renaissance and *La raza cósmica*, Nicolás Guillén prints eight irreverent and uninhibited poems that made fun of Cuba’s hegemonic discourse. They are musical verses born from the very heart of Cuba but, despite they rhythmic tone, they are very serious about the aesthetic discrimination of blacks. They already begin to reveal a popularly cleansing view of society’s essentialist veneer: “¿Po qué te pone tan brabo/cuando te disen negro bembón,/si tiene la boca santa,/negro bembón?” [How come you jumps salty/when they calls you think-lipped boy,/if yo’ mouf’s so sweet,/thick-lipped boy?]. The verb *disen* [they say] alludes to a negative rhetoric of race. This response to an attack on and the essentialization of blacks as men with thick lips (*bembón* [thick-lipped boy] pejorative term) comes straight out of from the popular Cuban underworld.

Multiple Resistances in Martí

According to Martí, man has no right to turn what is beautiful into something ugly (XXI: 425): even so, this idea is often violated. The subjectivity that Martí defends inclines him to co-identify beauty and patriotism: “Men who fight to see their country free even become handsome of body” (XVIII: 304). Martí makes blacks visible and finds a way to work to undo the path followed by painting, engraving, and photography in Cuba, from which blacks were absent for many decades.²⁶

This is not to say that Martí’s oeuvre is free of any traces of positivism, but he works to rid himself of them, constantly evolving as he approaches his most mature period. In 1877, when he was barely 24 years of age, he writes while traveling the Caribbean basin, comparing black beauty to the Western canon: “One can see no white faces, but blacks of pure racial origin delight your eyes. Not the corrupt, bronzed, mixed black of Belize, but rather other bright, clear, clean ones who never have grey hair, whose women are round like Venus, whose naked men are like Hercules” (XIX: 37). It is plain to see that his aesthetic opinions do not attempt to compensate in any way for the prejudices of others but rather reflect his own sensibilities, which do not always have to favor blacks. In another example, the scene is taken from Livingston: “But that little one is much more interesting: he has somewhat akin to Narcissus and Apollo. He is fast and handsome, sinewy and proper: the little one is a black Cupid.” He goes on in detail about the colors of the boy’s clothing, as he goes along carrying a shallow basket on his head. No boy, especially a black one, could become a Cupid under these conditions. He alludes to historical moments universally known to humanity in his attempt to make black peo-

ple visible in his work, but he situates them on equal standing with others [white people], using the canon itself to celebrate black grace and beauty. One year later, while in Honduras, he sees “Carib blacks [and] considers them very beautiful and intelligent blacks” (IX: 294).

In 1889, Martí pens a phrase that amply displays the richness of his observations concerning the aesthetic discrimination of blacks in the United States, when he writes a critique of the Southern press, which prints that after the victory for black voting rights “thick lips and woolly hair would be running civilization” (X: 324). The idea was that the right to vote, that is, to have political power, was associated with controlling an aesthetic that projected blacks in animalistic terms. These are the same lips that Guillén brings back in his counterstriking poetry, many decades later.

In some of his other chronicles, Martí highlights the “unpleasant and miserable” appearance slaveowners bestowed on black slaves, and adds: “they make use of this appearance that they, themselves, criminally forced on them so they could refuse them good treatment” (XI: 238). Years after writing this, when Martí accuses of lying anyone who says anything bad about Cuban blacks, and similarly criticizes anyone who claims to not know any (XI: 238), he is trying to exile from his country, not only the racism that was generated in Cuba, but also the racism he witnessed in the United States. In intuiting the psychological consequences of just such an imposition, rhetoric and aesthetic construction, he defines them as criminal in nature.

Earlier, in the U.S., Martí had covered a sporting race, where the athletes gave much more than only their all. Martí recounted that by the fourth day they all ran more on

their knees than their feet. But “the black athlete, who was more energetic, walks gracefully, and is admired and applauded, because he is brave and sleek: his energy and beauty are always admirable, even amidst the greatest barbarie” (X: 51).

In addition to having their bodies insulted, African Americans were also invariably described as savages, as irrepressibly funny, and lascivious, but also as infantile, ill-humored, and surly. These are all attributes that are applied even to the unborn.²⁷ These parameters will run parallel to just the aesthetic rhetoric. The aforementioned minstrel show was a kind of one-act comic sketch that soared to popularity in the United States. It will transmit via a blackfaced white actor an image of black men with invariably round faces, pronounced eyes, and ridiculously protruding lips who are prone to rowdy laughter. Michel Fabre points out that the blackfaced minstrel consolidated the myth of black men as stupid and animal-like.²⁸

Fanon recalls an incidental point concerning black laughter that was consistently displayed “on every poster, every movie screen, every food label.” Citing Geoffrey Gorer, Fanon states: “whites insist that blacks be smiley-faced and friendly in all interactions with them.” From a very different point of view, and at barely 16 years of age, Martí, too, makes observations about black laughter. He is in prison, and will soon write the first Cuban theater piece situated in Africa, in which the protagonist is a black man who fights for freedom. Martí describes an old man, his cellmate at the Cuban political prison, and talks about the man’s “generous, honest, full laugh, common for an African-born black. Blows just awoke the old life in him. While the stick vibrated as it beat his flesh, the eternal smile disappeared from

his lips; a flash of his African ire quickly and fiercely shone in his subdued eyes; and his wide and nervously agile hand feverishly tried to contain the work implement”(I: 69).

In notes published in 1974, by a wise archivist of Martí’s material, the poet queries himself about what his attitude would be if a hypothetical daughter of his fell in love with a black man. He responds that he would be ready to confront all the “general opposition and repulsion, social prejudices and hate towards youth and women that the black problem implies.” He also demands pride from blacks “lest [they] forget when [they] lived in the bush.” Contrary to Western discourse, Martí feels it is necessary to remember the bush (the jungle, according to Fanon), which is precisely the symbol of savagery for the power structure’s essentialism.

In the same vein as Antonio Benítez Rojo’s treatment of Caribbean blacks, but almost a hundred years earlier, Martí wanted to expose that *other*, “that certain kind of being,” in New York blacks. During an Easter Sunday stroll in New York, he writes about African American women and their “beautiful thick lips, black faces, and wooly hair” (XII: 205). In addition, he describes scenes in which he includes gestures, postures, modes of laughter, and body language.²⁹ What is unique about this is that he mentions this beauty without including the word “but,” like Buffon. Martí appears to already be on a path that will lead him to finding a vocabulary of his own with which to talk about blacks.

Twenty thousand workers parade the busiest streets of New York on the first Monday of September 1884: “Three hundred black workers, beautiful as a blessing, showed up. Their faces were anointed. . . . It is moving to see them, and they, too, are moved.

The black race has a noble soul. . . . The joy of their souls spills onto their faces: anyone who has not seen a soul’s light can see it here”(X: 86). He does not obscure that it is precisely the soul of blacks that positivism almost invariably employs to point to the fact that they are an anomaly, and irreparably and negatively distanced from the European canon.

Martí is so aware of general determinism, particularly the Cuban variety, that he invites a notable patriot to give a talk in favor of island blacks—on a Cuban historical date. In his letter of invitation to this man, he reminds him that blacks are “referred to as little more than animals” (I: 227). The following example from *La Edad de Oro* [The Golden Age], Martí’s magazine for children, which became one of the most popular children’s books and in whose pages the equality of men was a repeated theme, is quite illustrative. In the story “Nené Traviesa” [Mischievous Child], a white girl has seen an illustrated book behind her father’s back. It is probably an anthropology book, and it contains the picture of a naked black man in it. The narrator finds the man quite beautiful and, according to the girl, the only thing he criticizes about him is his lack of clothing (XVIII: 378). It is a delicate situation that Martí created here: a naked black man seen by a white, blond, and rich girl was the worse sort of pornography in peaceful, nineteenth-century Cuba and America. Strictly speaking, what is of interest for us is that the black man, even a naked one, is beautiful.

Before he goes into battle, Martí travels to Haiti to finalize details about the war. Some time earlier, in an article he had written for Cubans, Martí deconstructed the negative version that the island’s power elite had constructed concerning the Haitian revolution and the inferiority with which the

inhabitants of that Caribbean island were—and still are popularly regarded. Just a bit before, close to the Haitian border (in Santo Domingo), he dialogued with a Dominican functionary who he describes as a “spirited mulatto in a blue suit and Panama hat” (XIX: 199).

Martí’s solidarity with Haiti and its inhabitants is evident in his body language, too. One of his newspaper articles reads: “at the foot of horse, a mother brings me her smiling little mulatto baby in his linen and ribbons.... And he stared and stared at me, and then he started laughing while I caressed and kissed him.”

During his Haitian sojourn (he knows Spain is trying to arrest him), he experiences a decisive moment that a certain scholar has compared to a photographic flash. It is a maritime scene, an etching with an impressive central figure. Late a night, Martí suddenly emerges from the marsh onto a shore to see: “Traveling on foot, his pants dragged down to his knees, his bare chest visible as his muscles push through his open shirt, his arms raised in a cross, his fine, aquiline face, mustache and goatee smudged by guano, appears a seemingly impassive, black Haitian with the sea and plants and sky at his back. Man rises to his fullest beauty in the silence of nature” (XIX: 207).

If Langston Hughes’ verses constitute the first time a poetic text expressed pride in being black, and the idea “Black is Beautiful,” which later spread all over the United States, what can one say about Martí’s proposal a couple of decades before Hughes’ poem.³⁰ For Martí, it is not enough to reiterate that the black phenotype is beautiful: instead, in this case, he has proposed it as a model of beauty.

In the Battlefield

But it is in his homeland, already on the

battlefield, where the evolution of his line of thinking coalesces. He calls Luis Gonzáles “an ancient and handsome black man,” and then quickly adds: “Luis’s embrace is beautiful, [he] with his smiling eyes, like his teeth, his short gray beard, and his wide, serene and beautifully black face.... The true beauty of his agile and majestic body comes from the peace in his soul” (XIX: 220).

If at times he lingers on a character, other times he passes over it rapidly. Of one of the most eminent generals of the Independence War, mulatto Antonio Maceo’s brother, he says: “The formidable José Maceo proudly parades his body.” Of Victoriano Garzón, he writes he is “a wise black man with a mustache and goatee, and fiery eyes, [who] is tough but has a sweet smile.” As Casiano Leyva guides the rebels through the bush, he writes: “I see his noble countenance, his proud, fugitive, and creased forehead, his peacefully firm, deeply set eyes; between broad cheekbones and a pure nose; his thick beard and grayish goatee: his body’s frame is heroic.... He speaks softly, and anything he does is wise and majestic” (XIX: 225 and 241).

Towards the end of his life, his Greco-Latin like similes, his detailed descriptions disappeared. They are frequent reminders of his Western cultural heritage. If one recalls how he portrayed blacks in a loving and supporting, but not clearly detailed manner, particularly in his earlier New York scenes, what we see towards the end of his life is an increasingly clearer representation. He has overcome any ambiguity or hesitation, and helped decolonize the black body. It is through aesthetics that Martí inserts blacks into Cuban history, which also indicates his degree of decorum, and the democracy there is in a sense of beauty that completely fulfills entirely equal human souls.

Rafael Rojas believes that Martí intuited what today is called multiculturalism, which has become so popular: the gaze of the *other* destabilizes the identity of the subject and object, of the observer and the observed.³¹ If Martí saw the *other* as an equal, the gaze of the black man towards another white man—Martí—created the complete sense of having been an object. While in New York, he lived in daily contact with his Cuban friends of African descent, and actually helped them establish a school—La Liga—where he worked gratuitously as an instructor.

There is no way to propose that Martí was a precursor of Vasconcelos, as Fernández Retamar has suggested. We can unhesitatingly assert that to a great extent he denied him. The same thing is true of Buffon. If in 1930, Nicolás Guillén writes in his prologue to *Motivos de son* that he is aware of the fact that “[his] verses will disgust many people,” wouldn’t Martí have understood this too, concerning his then soon-to-be published nineteenth-century newspapers, as one critic has suggested? We cannot forget that for a critic of the stature of Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, the *Diario de Campaña* is among the greatest of Latin American poems. Didn’t he understand that Martí’s campaign to vindicate black aesthetics was a challenge to the classes that ruled the nation’s economic resources, and to the intellectual elites who took control of the image of Cuba?

Despite the fact that other Cuban writers before Martí, particularly fiction writers, were inspired by the universal beauty that blacks, too, enjoy, he is the one, who from the position as an intellectual with political power, has allowed us to be part of an unequaled, nineteenth-century, literary effort to resist.

* Tribute to José Martí (January 28, 1853 – May 19, 1895) on the 156th anniversary of his birth.

Notes:

1. Parker, Ian. *Discourse Dynamics*. New York: Routledge, 1992; Brain, Robert. *The Decorated Body*. New York: Harper and Row, 1979.
2. Foucault, Michel. *Vigilar y castigar. Nacimiento de la prisión*. México: Siglo XXI, 1998: 32, 33, 93, 141, 142, 218.
3. Because they are considered ugly, blacks are discriminated in their access to jobs. See de la Fuente, Alejandro. “Recreating Racism: Race and Discrimination in Cuba’s Special Period.” *Cuba Briefing Paper Series* July 18 (1998); Arredondo, Alberto. *El negro en Cuba*. La Habana: ALFA, 1939: 76-78; Betancourt, René. *El negro, ciudadano del futuro*. La Habana: Talleres Tipográficos de Cárdenas, 1959: 57-71.
4. Martí, José. *Obras Completas XXIII*. La Habana: Editora Nacional de Cuba, 1963-1973: 143. Las páginas y el tomo aparecerán dentro del texto.
5. P. Van Den Bergh. *Problemas raciales*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1971: 142.
6. Gómez, José J. “Racismo y Nacionalismo en el Discurso de las Élités Mexicanas: Historia Patria y Antropología Indigenista,” in Gómez, J. (ed) *Los caminos del racismo en México*. México: Plaza & Valdés, 2005: 119.
7. Cabrera Peña, Miguel. *Cuba, el delirio y la historia*. Canadá: Editorial Trafford, 2006: 77-127.
8. Todorov, Tzvetan. *Nous et les autres. La reflexion française sur la diversité humaine*. Éditions Du Seuil, 1989: 149. The translations are mine.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid 150.
11. Ibid 150-51.
12. Ibid 147.
13. Fanon, Frantz. *Los condenados de la tierra* [Pról. de Jean Paul Sartre]. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1963; Fanon, Frantz. *Piel negra, máscaras blancas*. La Habana: Instituto del Libro, 1968: 37.
14. In Spain, with its longtime and plentiful presence of slave and freemen, there were many black characters who were characterized as comical and grotesque types who were almost always victims of “ferocious parodies.” Martín Corrales, Eloy. “Los Sones Negros del Flamenco: Sus Orígenes Africanos,” in *La Factoría* 12 (junio-septiembre),

Universidad Pompeu Fabra de Barcelona.
<http://www.lafactoriaweb.com/articulos/martin12.htm>
(December 2004).

15. Larraín, Jorge. *Modernidad, razón e identidad en América Latina*. Santiago de Chile: 1996: 151-152.

16. Rojo, Grinor. *Globalización e identidades nacionales y postnacionales ¿De qué estamos hablando?* Santiago de Chile: Lom, 2006: 34.

17. Gómez, J. Op. cit. 47.

18. Ramos, Julio. *Desencuentros de la modernidad en América Latina. Literatura y política en el siglo XIX*. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio, 2003: 294.

19. Discriminatory attitudes can be found in Vasconcelos, José. *La raza cósmica; misión de la raza iberoamericana*. México: Espasa Calpe, 1948: 11, 12, 29, 32, 36, 42, 43, among others.

20. Vasconcelos, J. Op. Cit. 43.

21. Stern, Alexandra. "Mestizofilia, Biotipología y Eugenesia en el México Posrevolucionario: Hacia una Historia de la Ciencia y el Estado, 1920-1960.", *Relaciones* 21: 81 (Winter): 62.

22. Hughes, Langston. *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes*. New York: Arnold Rampersad, 1994:46; Hughes, Langston. "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," *The Nation* 23 (1926), found at <<http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/45a/360.htm>> (October 2007).

23. Melon, Alfred. *Recopilación de textos sobre Nicolás Guillén*. La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 1974: 205.

24. Ellis, Keith. *Nicolás Guillén, poesía e ideología*. La Habana, UNION, 1987: 133.

25. Mañach, Jorge. "Gustos y Colores," in *Diario de la Marina*, "Página Ideales de una Raza." La Habana, May 19, 1929, 3rd Section: 6. See: Cabrera Peña, Miguel. *Introducción al periodismo de Nicolás Guillén*. Barcelona: Libros Puvill, S.A., 1997.

26. de Juan, Adelaida. *Pintura y grabado coloniales cubanos*. La Habana: Pueblo y Educación, 1985: 32-39.

27. Davis, Arthur P. and Saunders Redding (ed). *Cavalcade: Negro American Writing from 1760 to the Present*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971: 3.

28. Michel, Fabre. *Los negros norteamericanos*. Venezuela: Monte Avila, 1979: 20.

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