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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

BETWEEN COSMOLOGY AND IDEOLOGY:
EXPLORATIONS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT OF JOSÉ MARTÍ

BY

ROBERT WALKER WHITNEY

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled BETWEEN COSMOLOGY AND IDEOLOGY: EXPLORATIONS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT OF JOSÉ MARTÍ submitted by ROBERT WALKER WHITNEY in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

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Date: 24 November 1988

ABSTRACT

Studies of José Martí have reached a turning point. The revolutionary historiography on Martí is both vast and suggestive. We learn that he was a revolutionary and an extraordinary individual, but we are left with some uncertainty as to what kind of revolutionary. This thesis approaches the thought of José Martí by assessing his cosmology (his individual world view). By placing Martí within the broad historical context of late 19th century Cuba and Latin America, the thesis explores the interrelationship between his cosmology and Cuba's struggle for independence. It is argued that the basis of his revolutionary thought cannot be understood without an appreciation of this interrelationship. It is further argued that the legacy of Martí can be found in his articulation of Cuba's struggle for national dignity, a struggle which will continue as long as Cuba is threatened by U.S. imperialism.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores two interrelated themes. The first and most obvious theme is the revolutionary thought of the Cuban national hero José Martí (1853-1895). A second topic involves the very notion of what it is to be a revolutionary. The connection between the two themes might appear to be self-evident: if a person is a self-declared revolutionary participating in a revolution, then it would seem to be a redundant exercise to distinguish the revolutionary from the revolution. But is it? The secondary literature on Martí leaves the reader with the clear idea that he was, indeed, a revolutionary in the sense that he considered himself to be one and that he was the dominant figure of the Cuban revolution 1891-1895. Along with this certainty, however, comes disquieting uncertainty: what "kind" of revolutionary was José Martí? A partial list of the epithets used to describe him leave the researcher confused as to the man's revolutionary politics and the nature of the revolution of 1891-1895 itself. Martí has been described as a rebel, a revolutionary, a radical liberal, a bourgeois democratic revolutionary, a proto-socialist, a radical democrat, a revolutionary idealist, and the list goes on. This confusing state of affairs becomes more complicated when

we note that the revolution of 1891-1895 is called "la revolución martiana." Martí, in other words, becomes the revolution itself.

This thesis hopes to clear up some of the confusion by discussing the revolutionary thought of Martí. Unlike much of the literature about "el apóstol", the point of departure of the work will not be a descriptive narrative of his life leading up to the best label for his thought. Instead, the thesis will explore that ambiguous area between psycho-history and social history. Somewhere between the two one finds a series of tensions between the world-views of individuals on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the world-views of social groups seeking the re-organization of society. The former world-view will be termed "cosmology", the latter "ideology"; the former involves the individualist metaphysics of each individual; the latter refers to the collective articulation of reality under given social relations of production. The two world-views are not mutually exclusive, but nor are they synonymous. To reduce the one to the other does not help us any more than it is useful to reduce the revolution of 1891-1895 to the character of José Martí.

In the pages that follow the tensions within the thought of José Martí will be examined in greater depth. In Martí we can find a tension between the

rebel and the revolutionary and between the revolutionary and the revolution. If a revolutionary is someone with a sense of historical responsibility as to when and how to make a revolution, a rebel is a person who refuses to be a prisoner of history. For Martí, "history" included the future as much as it did the past. The connection - the tension - between the past and the future is embodied in each individual. Martí's thought and actions were thus determined by his view of the future as much as they were by his understanding of the past. The immediate task of building a revolutionary movement, therefore, was both the product of the past and a leap into the future. In the thought of José Martí, the tension between the past and the future becomes the very essence of existence itself: what one is left with, according to Martí's cosmology, is individual historical responsiblity - "deber", "agonía", "la patria." What the Cuban nation was left with was the extraordinary legacy of an individual's thought which managed to articulate some disquieting feelings about the human conditions within the colonial context.

CHAPTER II

JOSÉ MARTÍ: THE HISTORIANS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY

To write about José Martí is to write about Cuba's revolutions. It would be a pointless task to attempt to separate the principal figure of Cuban political culture from the revolutions that he inspired. So pervasive was Martí's influence in the Cuban revolution of 1895-1898 that Cuban historians refer to the event as "la revolución martiana." The revolutionaries of 1952-1959, led by Fidel Castro, regarded Martí as the intellectual author of their revolution. For the Fidelistas, the 1959 revolution was a continuation of Martí's revolution.

To write about José Martí is also to write about the Cuban character. Martí's life spanned the period of Cuban history during which the Cuban nation matured. His brief but incredibly full life, from 1853 to 1895, encompassed several crucial historical processes which were of fundamental importance in the evolution of the Cuban nation. The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed the end of slavery in Cuba, the growth and proliferation of the labouring classes, the diversification of agrarian structures within the sugar economy, and the coming of age of United States' expansionism and imperialism. As a consequence of the social changes within Cuban society, Cubans began to view themselves as a nationality:

regionalism and localism declined; economic and social integration increased, and Cubans developed a sense of "cubanidad."[1]

During the development of their nationalism, Cubans were attempting to come to terms with their colonial master. Spain had lost most of its Latin American possessions early in the nineteenth century. Cuba and Puerto Rico had remained loyal to Spain largely because both colonies had not developed a sense of national identity as had other Latin American colonies. Cuba and Puerto Rico were not considered to be nations throughout the colonial period nor even well into the nineteenth century; rather, they were plantation societies with the plantation providing the centre of both economic and social activity.[2] The dominant mode of production within Cuban plantation society, and, to a lesser degree, with Puerto Rican society, was slavery. With the existence of a large African slave-labour force, the ideological predisposition of the colonial upper class centred upon racist notions of social control. It was, indeed, the racist sentiments of the elite which undermined the earlier attempts toward building an independence movement within the two colonies.

As long as the main division within society was between masters and slaves, the major concern of the planter class was to maintain power by coercion over labour. The Spanish state provided the best guarantee for that power; the memory

of the Haitian Revolution was a constant reminder of the pent-up rage of the slaves. For the planter class, their fear of the exploited masses over-rode any complaints which they had about Spanish colonial rule: independence would mean chaos.

The decline of slavery brought the simultaneous rise of free labour. The complexities and the historiographical controversies of the issue cannot be discussed here.[3] It is important, however, to make the general point that with the transition from slavery to free labour came an equally complex change in Cuban political culture. Ever since the 1850's there had been a growing movement in favour of the abolition of slavery. The theoretical arguments of the political economists were buttressed by the active resistance and rebellion of the slaves themselves. The Ten Years' War (1868-1879) was characterised by a division between the moderate and the gradualist abolitionists holding the political leadership of the insurrectionist movement, and the more militant slave and ex-slave military arm of the rebellion. The Pact of Zanjón, which ended the Ten Years' War in 1878, was essentially a truce within a larger battle: Cuba was still a colony, and any future movement for independence would have to take the labouring classes seriously. One of the reasons why the Ten Years' War proved to be inconclusive was the inability of the political leadership of the rebellion to take immediate and decisive steps against slavery. With the slave and ex-slave

fighters (and generals) demanding complete abolition, however, the war effort could not sustain itself. For those intransigent independistas, the inevitability of the next war meant that a more consistently planned strategy of rebellion and revolution would, indeed, be necessary.

José Martí participated in all of the major struggles of the period. Throughout the course of the thesis, important biographical information about Martí will surface.[4] It should be emphasised, however, that Martí was first and foremost a man of action; virtually his every act was planned as part of the Cuban independence movement. His voluminous writing fills twenty-eight volumes.[5] The content and the form of his writings speak to the exigencies of the historical moment; his purpose, at one and the same time, was two-fold: to interpret the world and to change the world, at least as far as Cuba was concerned. He did not write for the benefit of latter-day academics who might want to study his work with the view of understanding "the essential Martí." He wrote for Cubans--especially for those Cubans who were struggling to free their nation from colonial domination

If there is any single theme uppermost throughout the entire life work of Martí, it can be summed up in two related topics: "la patria" and "Nuestra América" (fatherland and Our America). Both topics revolve about the notion of a people's identity; la patria was not only Cuba

in a general sense of the country, but it was the Cuban people as living, breathing individuals; Nuestra America was the same notion applied to all Latin Americans. As will be discussed below, the two notions are inseparable in the work of Martí. Equally important, both themes are intended by Martí to be an affirmation of the duty of all Cuban and Latin Americans to strive toward self-assurance and dignity. The work of José Martí is a clarion call for all Latin Americans to take their stand in the world, to repudiate racism, and to forge their own destiny according to their own nature.

There are very few "martiólogos" who would object to the above presentation of José Martí and to the description of the historical context in which he lived and worked. The matter becomes more complicated when the discussion shifts to more specific interpretations of the meaning and implications of Martí's work. The historiography on Martí and his legacy is vast. In 1953 alone, during the centenary of Martí's birth, more than six hundred publications about Martí filled shelves in Cuban book stores.[6] The total number of publications is in the thousands. It is no exaggeration to state that the publication of books and articles on Martí is a veritable Cuban national industry. The important point is that the best works are far from being uniform in their interpretation of the life and times of José Martí.
For all of the writers, Martí represents that which is

noble in the Cuban character. The hagiographical tone which they adopt does not obscure fundamentally different perceptions concerning the significance of Martí, the man, nor the nature of the Cuban struggle for independence, nor the legacy of Martí within Cuban society.[7]

In the most general terms, the major division among martiólogos is that between those who argue that Martí is, indeed, the founder of Cuba's revolutionary tradition, and those who argue that Martí is a symbol of Cuban nationalism who was, and remains, above modern political interpretations.[8] While it is true that the particular division within the historiography of Martí provides a fertile area for study, the purpose of this chapter is to examine the literature which treats Martí first and foremost as "a radical revolutionary of his time."[9] There are two important reasons for such an examination. First, Cuba experienced a revolution in 1959, a revolution which radically transformed Cuban society. It is impossible to understand the revolution without learning the reason for the leader, Fidel Castro, to make the statement that Martí was the "intellectual author of the Cuban revolutions"[10] second, the social and political nature of the second Cuban struggle for independence is by no means clear. Was it a social revolution as well as a struggle for national liberation from foreign domination? Was it a bourgeois democratic revolution? Did Martí's

articulation of events define the ideological character of the revolution? The issues are intimately linked because, for the Fidelistas. the revolutionary struggle of the 1952-1959 had been a continuation of the struggle of 1895-1898; the rebels of the 1950's were certain, from a revolutionary point of view, that they were martianos.[11]

This chapter will provide historiographical analysis of the methods by which historians have discussed Martí, the revolutionary. Perhaps the most difficult question to be analysed is the following: if the revolutionaries of 1952-1959 were totally convinced about the revolutionary content of Martí's thought, can the historian be equally convinced?

It is possible to examine what will be termed the "revolutionary historiography" on Martí by utilizing three subdivisions. The first category of literature can be classified as the treatment of Martí as primarily an uncompromising anti-imperialist, so uncompromising, in fact, ·hat his struggle against imperialist domination of his country (indeed, of Latin America) impelled him to begin to formulate a critique of the effect of capitalism. The second type of literature about Martí, the revolutionary, considers Martí to be an extraordinary individual who came to a revolutionary awareness through his own dramatic and heart-wrenching experience as a young activist against Spanish rule; Martí, in other words, was an existential revolutionary who transferred his own

highly personal experiences into a social vision--a revolutionary ideology--in order to transform Cuban society. The third category of writings views Martí as a bourgeois democratic revolutionary who became increasingly radicalised as he observed the increasingly imperialist nature of the United States.

Each perspective provides fascinating insights into the character of Martí, the thinker. It is rare, however, to find within the literature an explicit and unambiguous statement on the precise nature of the revolutionary content of Martí's thought. The overall tendency is one of providing extensive quotations from Martí's work, with the historian commenting on the implications of Martí's words. It is true that the historian must draw out the implications of Martí's ideas; nowhere did Martí define in a concise manner the revolutionary core of his thought. In its entirety, however, much of the revolutionary historiography does bring the reader closer to an appreciation of Martí the revolutionary.

By far the largest category of the works on Martí, the revolutionary, is on the topic of Martí the anti-imperialist. A general survey reveals certain common features. In the first place, the tone and the emphasis of much of the writing highlights his opposition to United States' imperialism.[12] In the second place, all of the works with this particular bent argue that the

transcendentalism of his work can be found in the anti-imperialist writings. In other words, to a greater or lesser degree, all of the works view José Martí as an anti-imperialist in a cultural sense; Martí expresses the struggle for dignity, self-respect, and the aspirations common to the Cuban and Latin American people.

Two of the earliest examples of writing which emphasizes Martí's anti-imperialism are by the Cuban authors Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring (1889-1964) and Juan Marinello (1989-1977).[13] Undoubtedly, the classic work is Roig de Leuchsenring's 1952 book Martí, anti-imperialista.[14] This book was the first major contribution which emphasized Martí's anti-imperialism as having direct reference to Cuba's condition in the middle of the twentieth century. Roig de Leuchsenring stresses Martí's "continentalism" and his "internationalism." In both cases, the authors point out that Martí had developed a notion of "la gran patria continental." By making reference to Martí's well-known arguments in "Nuestra America," Roig de Leuchsenring's intention is to reaffirm Martí's notion of the separate natures of the two Americas. An example of one of the many quotations from Martí is the following.

> In America there are two peoples and no more than two: with diverse souls, origins, antecedents, and customs, the only similarity they share is their fundamental human identity. On the one side there is Our America, and all its peoples are of the same nature and origin, of equal balance. Then there is the other part

> of America that is not ours, whose emnity is not sensible nor viable to develop. With firmness and decorum, as well as sagacious independence, it is not impossible to be friendly.[15]

Roig de Leuchsenring then goes on to state that, as a consequence of Martí's stress on the common identity of Latin American peoples, Martí himself came to the conclusion that Latin American unity was the best means of insuring each nation's independence. Once again, the author quotes Martí.

> We struggle in Cuba to assure our own independence as well as the independence of Hispanic America.[16]

It is out of this particular presentation of Martí that Roig de Leuchsenring's central argument arises. There is no doubt that Martí wanted an independent Cuba, and an independent Latin America, without the domination of caudillos and militarists.[17] Of of equal importance it is certain that Martí viewed the problem of Latin American independence as a social question as much as a formal political question.[18] The specificity of Roig de Leuchsenring's interpretation is that Martí began to develop his social critique of Latin American reality as a consequence of his anti-imperialism. In other words, as Martí became increasingly concerned about United States' expansionism during the late 1880's and 1890's, he fortified his notion of the need for Latin Americans to create a "new people," a united people with their own sense of justice, history, and dignity.[19] Roig de

Leuchsenring makes it clear that Martí did not view imperialism as a product of modern monopoly capitalism. Rather, Martí's understanding of expansionism was characterized by a growing cultural domination of Latin America by the United States (or any other power, for that matter).[20] For him, it was morally wrong for Latin Americans to imitate the cultural fads of the United States: such imitation, for Martí, was the result of the lack of a fully matured Latin American character rather than the product of capitalist imperialism. By the time that Martí had written his last letters, however, his attitude toward the United States had become decidedly militant.[21] It is precisely in this mood of militant anti-imperialism, according to Roig de Leuchsenring, that Martí's true contribution lay. Martí's later writings are "the most transcendental of all the political and revolutionary work of Martí."[22]

Martí's revolutionary anti-imperialism set him apart from many other participants in the struggle. Besides the most obvious example of Martí's successor as leader of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, Tomás Estrada Palma,[23] Roig de Leuchsenring argues that such important figures as Maximo Gómez and Antonio Maceo, while anti-imperialist, "acted like warriors and nothing more than warriors."[24] Martí's closest associates, Manuel Sanguily and Enrique José Varona, did not enjoy the

same prestige as had Martí:[25] both figures were tireless practical men, but both lacked the charisma necessary to influence large meetings and mass mobilizations.

Juan Marinello is another author who emphasizes Martí's anti-imperialism.[26] According to Marinello, Martí's anti-imperialism is his "highest revolutionary quality."[27] Marinello sees Martí's contribution as being that of the first major Latin American writer to write about, and to struggle for, an indigenous framework for Latin American institutions, free from the slavish imitation of foreign models.[28] In particular, Marinello states that Martí's firm anti-racism provided a major pillar for his anti-imperialism.[29] The particular aspect of Martí world-view which fascinated Marinello was Martí's conception of Latin America's resistance to imperialism since the conquest of Mexico by Cortes and up to the Cutting Affair.[30] This resistance to conquest had its foundation in the Latin American character itself: Latin America had been a victim of foreign domination, but since that domination had imposed institutions and ways of thinking which did not correspond to the nature of Latin Americans, then there would always be an instinctive resistance on the part of Latin Americans to such foreign influence. Marinello admired Martí because Martí attempted to organize a conscious anti-imperialist resistance which was based upon a Pan-American identity.[31]

As was the case with Roig de Leuchsenring, Marinello views Martí's notion of imperialism as vague in terms of the actual causes for imperialist expansion. At the same time, while admitting that Martí was an idealist, Marinello argues that Martí's depth of commitment and his force of personality overcame his idealism in the face of practical, political questions.[32] Martí's idealism, in other words, did not prevent him from organizing an effective revolutionary party, a vibrant propaganda network, and a clear political programme.

A scholar who has written in the same vein as Marinello is the Cuban historian Leonardo Acosta.[33] Acosta makes the compelling argument that Martí was moving toward a new ideology and culture of liberation based upon the surviving aspects of the Latin American past. Colonialism and imperialism have systematically dehumanized America; the great historical task, therefore, is to instill a pride and unity in Latin American people.[34] The deification of Europe must end. In Acosta's words:

> The primary task of the revolutionary is to de-mystify power: to de-mystify the colony; to take apart its myths which began with the conquest itself; myths sanctified by the church and the culture of the conqueror.[35]

The two works of Martí in which Acosta shows particular interest are La república española antes la revolución cubana (1873) and "Nuestra América" (1891).[36]

What impresses Acosta about the former work is Martí's clear sense of what "la patria" is:

> The fatherland is something more than oppression, something more than pieces of land, without liberty and without life; it is something more than the right of possession of force. The fatherland is a community of interests, a unity of traditions, a unity of common purpose, a sweet fusion and consolidation of loves and hopes.[37]

In "Nuestra América" Martí went on to argue that "the colony continued to live in the republic." There was, in short, a colonial mentality which had to be overcome.[38] To overcome this colonial mentality, Acosta argues that Martí saw the need for "a supreme inversion of values." Latin America had suffered colonial exploitation, and it must, therefore, suffer through its own liberation.[39] The coloniser had made Latin American history; it was now the turn of Latin Americans to make their own history. Latin Americans would be certain to make many tragic mistakes, but, at least, they would be making their own mistakes. There is, for Martí and for Acosta, nothing worse than suffering, and, at the same time, living a hollow existence.[40]

Acosta also makes the point that Martí's political, historical, and cultural conceptions were influenced by his understanding of the religions of pre-Colombian civilizations.[41] Martí was impressed by the combination of religiosity and responsibility that the pre-Colombian civilizations possessed. In particular,

Martí considered such civilizations to be "balanced" and "natural;" their gods corresponded to the people's own intimate state of existence.[42] Latin Americans must re-discover their past, not so much because of some utopian vision of the past, but rather, to help modern Latin Americans to re-discover their identity so that they can progress.[43] Latin Americans must rid themselves of the falseness of their colonial past in order to re-discover and to understand their "true" history.

Similar themes are presented by other writers such as Denia García Ronda,[44] Manuel Maldonado-Denis,[45] Roberto Fernández Retamar,[46] and Antonio Sacoto.[47] All discuss Martí's anti-imperialism in light of what Antonio Sacoto aptly terms "the anguish of America."[48] The common ground in the writings is that Martí's cultural anti-imperialism impelled him to break from the growing confines of bourgeois egoism. Individual identity and collective identity are intimately intertwined; the struggle against colonialism and incipient United States' imperialism result in a "new American man."[49] Both Garcia Ronda and Fernández Retamar state that Martí combined the real and the mythological; mythology is fundamental as a foundation for the people's confidence and identity.[50] The dominant imperialist ideologies of the day undermined the people's self-confidence; social Darwinism and positivism denied the Latin American past. Martí's contribution, as Fernández Retamar states, was "to raise them [Latin

Americans] to a state of struggle;" to provide the people with a deep sense of self-confidence, equality, and constructive energy--"an ideological bulwark against the oppressor."[52] Individuals must conduct themselves in such a way as to provide a living example of what they desire "la patria" to be.

In all writings which emphasize Martí's anti-imperialism, the core of the argument is that the Latin American is faced with a choice: to choose to live according to the false dictates of colonialism, or, to struggle to take control of the destiny of Latin America. The issue cannot be avoided because it is a fact that Latin America had been subject to colonial rule for over three hundred years; following formal independence from Spain, Latin Americans looked away from their continent for models of government and social organization. The scholars discussed so far in this chapter hold the perspective that José Martí articulated an anguished and painful dilemma: the dilemma had been structured into their very history. Martí is seen by such writers as one providing a profound sense of collective identity for Latin Americans, and his significance as a revolutionary lies precisely in his articulation of a problem which exists today as much as it was in evidence during the late nineteenth century. It is not simplistic thinking, therefore, that has led some writers to liken José Martí

to some of the great figures of the anti-imperialist struggle in the twentieth century. Indeed, there is a striking similarity between Martí and such figures as Frantz Fanon, Che Guevera, Ho Chi Minh, and Sun Yat-sen.[53] But not everyone considers Martí to have been first and foremost an anti-imperialist revolutionary. While not denying Martí's striking contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle, some scholars search for Martí's revolutionary nature in his deep personal commitment to fight for social change. To a certain degree, one can say that this second group of writers turns the "Martí, revolutionary anti-imperialist" argument on its head: instead of viewing Martí as becoming increasingly militant as a consequence of the anti-imperialist struggle, some contributors argue that it was Martí's psychological and personal make-up that caused him to be consistently militant.

There are very good reasons for one to contemplate a search into Martí's personality for evidence of his revolutionary nature. Martí was, beyond doubt, an extraordinary individual. All biographies of Martí highlight his sensitive nature. Even from an early age, he was an aloof person; he had earned a reputation of being serious and distant as a student, and of being an individual who spoke only when he deemed it to be necessary.[54] More important, writers about Martí were

all impressed to learn to what extent the young man would transfer his own personal sensitivity to a social situation. It is common, for example, for scholars to mention his early experiences in eastern Cuba (Hanábana). When, as a boy travelling with his father, the two came upon some slaves being beaten by Spaniards, the young Martí protested loudly and emotionally to his father, but the latter refused to intervene on the slaves'behalf.[55]

It is, in fact, a hallmark of the works that emphasize Martí's personal character to give considerable space to the situation of his family. Martí's parents were first generation Spaniards living in Cuba. His father, Mariano Martí, was a sergeant in the Royal Artillery Corps, and he was unequivocally pro-Spanish in his views. Martí's mother, Leonor Pérez, was a quiet unassuming woman who loved her son deeply, but she did not understand his political sentiments. Mariano Martí was distant but a firm disciplinarian; his relations with his son were always tense.[56]

For many writers, Martí's family is an exact parallel to the colonial experience of Cuba: Martí was emerging from the period of adolescence in much the same way that Cuba was emerging from the period of Spanish domination.

> Understandably, the young Martí--so obviously different in temperament from don Mariano--evaded the normal childhood stage of introspection, clearly refusing to imitate or

> identify with the attributes of his father's character. The somewhat rude and uncompromising attitude of his father must have been totally unacceptable to Martí, who, noting the military position of don Mariano as well as his unquestioning acceptance of the many injustices committed in Cuba in the name of the crown, may well have identified his father's uncompromising and rigidly authoritarian approach with that of the official Spanish policy. Quite possibly Martí, unconsciously comparing his father's attitude with the repression practised in the name of the crown and increasingly disassociating himself from don Mariano, became a potential revolutionary earlier than is generally thought.[57]

The Argentinian author, Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, has made a similar point: Martí's biography, to a certain degree, can be seen in the history of Cuba itself.[58] The point made by these particular authors is that Martí learned to respect what was good and noble in his parents as well as appreciating the great qualities of the Spanish nation; Martí, while remaining firmly committed to Cuban independence, never dismissed his parents nor Spain as evil or entirely negative.

For those writers who argue that Martí's personality was of fundamental importance in order to appreciate his revolutionary position, there is total agreement that Martí's prison experience (1870-1871) was of central importance in his life.[59] Martínez Estrada, in particular, considers Martí's prison experience to have provided the basis for his profound sense of duty and commitment. Prison forced Martí to choose between a modest home life and a life of struggle; prison had been

the formative experience for Martí's personality.[60]

There can be no doubt that Martí's time in prison had changed him. Martí came to the conclusion that it had not been simply the individual who had been imprisoned but the Cuban nation itself.

> That prison was the prison of Cuba, an institution of government, an act repeated a thousand times by the government and sanctioned by the representatives of the country.[61]

Throughout his book, El presidio político en cuba, Martí appeals to the human sense of dignity, to a sense of injustice. The prisoners are humiliated, and Cuba is humiliated; Spain is humiliated and will not itself be free until injustice is refuted.[62] Martí's hatred of colonialism becomes internalized, personalized; his hatred of injustice is now turned toward effective political action.[63] Prison was thus an apprenticeship; from 1870, José Martí was to devote his total revolutionary energy to the liberation of Cuba.[64] The rather vague, emotional, and romantic patriotism that Martí had learned from his teacher, Rafael María de Mendive, was converted into a deep-seated militancy.[65]

So profound had been Martí's prison experience that virtually every major political decision that he made bore the stamp of the dramatic event. In Martí, according to Martínez Estrada, we have a combination of the existential pathos of a Dostoievsky and a profound sense of historical responsibility.[66] As with

Dostoievsky's prison experience, Martí's incarceration engendered a personal crisis: faced with the immediate prospect of death, the struggle for life became the justification for life itself. Consequently, Martí was able to inject the Cuban struggle for independence with a moral and ethical content. Martí transformed the diverse groups of independistas into a united party of revolutionary struggle; but, of fundamental importance, the Cuban Revolutionary Party became an "ethical-juridical structure,"a social collectivity with a common ideal.[67] José Martí imbued the Cuban struggle with such a sense of inspiration that Martínez Estrada liken him to Moses leading the "chosen people;""the C.R.P. is Cuba, and the C.R.P. is Martí."[68]

It is, therefore, no accident that Martí is difficult to classify. The works on Martí, the socially responsible existential rebel, view him as outside of any particular ideological framework. John Kirk states that Martí was both a coherent thinker and a person who was less influenced by abstract intellectual ideas than by the events of his own life.[69] His ideological coherence, therefore, was based upon a moral and ethical imperative to create the "new man" out of revolutionary action.[70] Martínez Estrada makes a similar observation:

> His spirit of rebelliousness is not a form of nonconformism, a form of maladjusted activity....Rather, his failure to conform and his resistance to the influence of contagious

> ideas and people stems from his natural defences of temperament and his psychological make-up. It is for this reason that Martí is evaluated with diverse epithets: rebel, insurgent, conspirator, agitator, revolutionary, liberator, redeemer, anarchist, apostle, teacher. None of these labels are antagonistic: all these attitudes of vital opposition reflect a positive attitude and do not exhibit a philosophical nihilism or religiosity such as that examined by Camus in his book [The Rebel].[71]

Martí is, thus, viewed as a person whose rebelliousness would be free from any constraints on the historical task which confronted him--the liberation of Cuba. He had a "sense of social responsibility that was not common among the rationalist, purists, theorists" and his views proved increasingly "irreconcilable with the bourgeois society of his time."[72] He had observed the hollow republicanism of the Spanish government of 1868-1874, as well as the complete corruption of United States' electioneering; Martí was, therefore, determined to make a break from meaningless formalism in politics. As a consequence, he began to move in an increasingly anti-capitalist direction from the perspective of an ethical critique of capitalist social relations. He proved to be such a consistent egalitarian that there could be no compromise with the selfish greed of American capitalism: "A people who are fanatic patriots or imperfect patriots are preferable to an egotistic people."[73] On another occasion, Martí was to state that "this republic, [the U.S.], through its excessive cult of wealth, has fallen,

unchecked by traditional shackles, into a state of inequality, injustice, and the violence of the monarchic countries."[74]

What is clear, then, is that, for writers such as John Kirk and Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, the revolutionary content of Martí's world-view is to be found in his character and drive to translate his sense of personal anguish and injustice into a socially articulated vision for the Cuban people as a whole. What is not clear, however, is the precise historical context in which Martí lived, thought, and fought. It is possible to accuse Kirk and Martínez Estrada of ahistorical perspective when writing on Martí. Both authors hold to the view that Martí was, indeed, the embodiment of the Cuban struggle for freedom. Martí becomes the Cuban revolution of 1895; he is the C.R.P.; he is the Cuban people. It is no accident, therefore, that the tone of Martínez Estrada's two volumes is hagiographic. Other writers on Martí are not satisfied with the emphasis on Martí, the revolutionary existentialist. For the third group of writers, greater social and historical analysis of the specific circumstances is necessary to come to terms with the issue of the revolutionary significance of José Martí.

In a broad overview, the Cuba of 1895 was not the Cuba of 1868-1878. The transformation of social and economic relations mentioned at the outset of this chapter resulted in a further ideological transformation within

the Cuban independence movement. The political legacy of the Ten Years' War was an exiled and exhausted faction of independistas as well as the predominance of a reformist movement within the island itself. The more militant veteran leaders of the war, Maximo Gómez and Antonio Maceo, held the view that, had it not been for the civilian and reformist political leadership of the war effort, a victory over Spain would have been possible. Throughout the war, Gómez and Maceo attempted to take the fighting to the heartland of Cuban sugar production, the provinces of Matanzas, Habana, and the western part of Las Villas: to defeat Spain, they realized, meant the complete disruption of the plantation economy. The reformist politicians, on the other hand, many of them planters of moderate means, opposed such radical measures. For Gómez and Maceo, the struggle had been a bitter experience: never again would they be able to trust civilian independistas.

The division between the military arm of the rebellion and the civilian arm had an important ideological dimension as well. The backbone of the fighting force under Gómez and Maceo was slaves; they were struggling for freedom. The moderate elements wanted lower taxes and greater representation in Madrid; the gradual abolition of slavery was first and foremost a question of political economy and not a matter of

principle. With the end of the war, the Pact of Zanjón (1878) signified the tacit acceptance of reformist solutions within the colonial framework. The independistas gathered themselves into small exile groups in the Dominion Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, Honduras, Costa Rica, and the United States. Gómez and Maceo, the unquestioned leaders of the independistas, set about to organize more attempts at initiating another war of independence.

If the Cuba of 1895 was not the same as the Cuba of 1878, it is equally true to say that Cubans of the 1880's were not the same. Slavery was no longer the dominant mode of production; there was a proliferation of social classes. In particular, the 1880's saw Cuba suffer through a major economic crisis and a fundamental shift in the social relations of production. The destruction caused by the war and the increasing competition from European sugar beet producers placed Cuban sugar production at a disadvantage. Moreover, the general decline in profits resulted in many moderate-sized planters falling under a greater burden of debt. Consequently, they could not obtain the capital necessary to modernize production techniques. The crisis became especially acute after 1885 when a combination of higher taxes, declining sugar prices, and mounting debt forced many planters to abandon sugar production altogether. Changes in the structure of the sugar market, such as

greater marketing potential according to the variety of cane sold at any given time, meant that a producer must improve the efficiency of each mill rather than increase the quantity of mills. The traditional planter elite, if they had survived the crisis, became dependent upon greater infusions of United States' capital and on the New York sugar quotations.

Among lower-class Cubans, wholesale dislocation completely modified their lives. While a minority of people might gain access to a plot of land to become small-scale sugar growers, the vast majority of independent farmers and peasants were displaced. The tobacco industry had shifted its base of operations from a smaller core of factories located in Cuba to a more concentrated and larger network located in Florida. By 1885, there were 3,000 Cuban cigar workers in Key West alone, and, by 1889, there were more than 100 cigar factories in the same city.[75] Those workers unable to migrate to the Florida factories, lived in increasingly impoverished circumstances within Cuban cities. According to Hugh Thomas, the crisis of the 1880's was so severe that the standard of living for former slaves was often lower than their standard prior to official abolition.[76] The Cuban population had grown four-fold between 1827 and 1894; between 1882 and 1894, one quarter of a million Spaniards emigrated to Cuba.[77] It is clear that the

social foundation for any future war of national independence would be of an entirely different kind than the social base of the struggle of 1868. Not only would the social base of the future war be different, but the ideological bases of struggle would have to appeal to the new social sectors if a truly national struggle were to happen. It is within the context of chronic economic crises and social dislocation that the ideological struggle over the character of the second war of independence took place. The figure at the centre of the ideological struggle was José Martí.

For those writers who wish to place Martí within the broader social and economic context, the information outlined above is of the greatest importance. The social and economic crisis engendered an ideological crisis within the independence movement. But the central historical problems at stake are the following: What was the nature of the general crisis? Was the revolution of 1895 a bourgeois democratic revolution conducted against a moribund colonial power? Was the second war of independence also a war of national liberation against both Spanish and United States power? If so, what was the ideology of liberation? In a more precise historical sense, what was José Martí's role?

One of the earliest attempts to place Martí within the broader social and economic context was a short article written in 1925 by the founder of the Cuban

Communist Party, Julio Antonio Mella.[78] The importance of Mella's contribution lies not so much in his analytical precision but rather with the author's political importance within the Cuban political spectrum of the 1920's. The first two decades of relative prosperity in Cuba's sugar industry had come to an abrupt halt by 1925. Disastrously low sugar prices, chronic and massive unemployment, distribution of smaller sugar producers, and increased racial conflict due to the arrival of Spanish immigrants and the labour-related migration of Jamaican workers, created a volatile situation in the country. In addition, the vulnerability of Cuba to protracted economic crises was exacerbated by the humiliating Platt Amendment. Mella and the Cuban left in general were struggling to formulate an anti-imperialist and socially progressive movement against social injustice and United States' domination, but, given the specific circumstances of social dislocation and racial conflict, such a movement was by no means easy to build. It is no wonder that Mella referred to the unity forged by Martí in 1895 as "a miracle."[79] Mella pointed to the neeed for Cubans to study Martí in a vigorous manner: Martí must be placed within an historical perspective, and his revolutionary principles must be taken seriously. Mella's essay was intended to spark such a serious debate. The founder of the Cuban Communist Party put forward the view that Martí

was "a genuine representative of the national revolution as in France in 1789."[80] His position was similar to that of Sun Yat-sen, as analysed by Lenin: Martí was a representative of the national bourgeoisie, and he had the capacity to go beyond the perspective of that class because his (Martí's) ideological position understood the constructive and militant role played by the working class.[81] Martí, for Meila, was essentially an egalitarian who wanted a pure republic, free from internal and external exploitation; the relevance of Martí, from a revolutionary perspective, was in the ideological foundation for the need for both social justice and national independence.

Other members of the Communist Party upheld Mella's initial perspective. Blas Roca, in an article originally published in 1948, supported Mella's contention that Martí was the leader of both the national independence struggle in general and the leader of the socially radical wing of the movement.[82] Roca, however, spends more time developing the argument that Martí's radical politics obtained broad support because the complex pattern of class formation taking place within Cuba during the late nineteenth century created the conditions for greater ideological flexibilty. Martí is thus viewed as an articulator of a complex process of national emergence; he "personified" the political struggle and the fight for the "national liberation" of Cuba.[83]

Both Mella and Roca perceive Martí as a radical revolutionary of his time. While it is true that both writers see Martí's anti-imperialism as a vital aspect of his continued relevance, unlike the other writers mentioned earlier in this thesis, Martí is situated within more specific historical confines. Martí was essentially a bourgeois democratic revolutionary, albeit a radical one. For Mella and Roca, Martí's relevance lay in the "fact" (according to their analysis) that the bourgeois democratic revolution had yet to be fulfilled. The two essays reveal that for Mella and Roca the figure of Martí was proof that the Cuban struggle of the 1920's and 1930's was likewise a struggle for basic democratic rights and for social justice: the Cuban Communist Party had the same task confronting it as had Martí and C.R.P. in 1895.

The first attempt to make a thorough analysis of the historically specific relevance of Martí's revolutionary thought was in a book by Antonio Martínez Bello published in 1940.[84] Martínez Bello argues that despite the obvious idealist trappings of Martí's ideology, Martí was, in practise, a materialist:

> Idealism, Krausism, Emersonianism, or transcendentalism, Senecanism, stoicism, Spencerism, theosophism, and many other philosophical "isms" can all be located easily if only partially in his multi-spiritual work. He went to all these philosophical doctrines, as he himself said, precisely in order to avoid belonging to any specific school.[85]

Martínez Bello presents Martí as an idealist and as a moralist in his more remote ideas, but idealism could not provide the intellectual tools neccesary to make a precise revolutionary analysis during the 1880's and 1890's.[86] Martínez Bello is thus arguing that Martí is not a philosophical materialist, but that his practical method was, in fact, dialectical and materialist.[87]

To support his argument, Martínez Bello points to Martí's views on economic issues. Martí was anti-monopolist and pro-diversification as a matter of principle. He wanted to promote a future Cuba that would have a firm agricultural base of small holders and a technical, educational programme of high quality. Martínez Bello perceives this goal of Martí was one having important historical significance. With the decline of what the author terms "feudalism" in Cuba at the end of the nineteenth century, capitalist relations of production began to emerge; the transition engendered several ideologies, ranging from bourgeois democratic individualism to socialism, and José Martí managed to articulate both the bourgeois democratic aspirations of the period and the early desires for a transition to socialism.[88] Martínez Bello goes one step further than had Mella and Roca and argues that, had Martí not died, it was entirely possible that the "bourgeois democratic revolution of 1895 would have evolved into a socialist

revolution.[89] Martí is, therefore, a transitional figure within a transitional period; he is compared with the "young Marx" and the "mature Marx", and he evolved from being a romantic rebel to being a de facto socialist.[90]

Few scholars have gone as far as Martínez Bello in claiming that Martí was a proto-Marxist. But, the problems of analysing the historical context around José Martí and the social and economic transformations taking place in Cuba have not diminished. One of the most valuable contributions to the discussion is an insightful article by Pedro Pablo Rodríguez written in 1971.[91] Rodríguez states that his purpose is to emphasize the need to understand Martí as the central figure for the ideological foundation of the Cuban revolution of 1959.[92] Rodríguez takes his lead from Mella's 1925 article, and he attempts to determine the nature of Martí's thought as opposed to its symbolic or cultural permanence.

The author presents the thesis that Martí's thought can be placed into three periods. There was a formative period from 1871 to 1884 during which Martí had observed Spanish and Latin American reality from the perspective of a romantic nineteenth century liberalism; at the same time, Martí's analysis of the realities resulted in his questioning the contradiction between the high-flung rhetoric of republicanism and the stark realities of colonialism.[93] Martí was impelled toward this critique because of his experience in prison, his exile in Spain,

and his travels through Mexico, Guatemala, and Venezuela. Besides his observations on the false language of Spanish republicanism, Martí was bitterly disappointed by the coup of Pofirio Díaz in Mexico, the rule of Justo Rufino Barrios in Guatemala, and Antonio Guzmán Blanco in Venezuela.[94] Each of these countries fell under the control of caudillos and leaders who were influenced by positivist doctrines; Martí became increasingly concerned about similar dangers for Cuba.

It was just such concern that led Martí to the second stage of his ideological evolution. In 1884, General Gómez was preparing for a second war against Spain, and when it became clear to Martí that the war would be conducted as if it were the personal property of Gómez, Martí reacted sharply. Rodríquez cites Martí's letter to Gómez explaining his position. The original passage is worth quoting because many "martiólogos" stress the importance of the polemic.

> The nation is not founded, General, the way one commands a military camp. And when, in laying the groundwork for a revolution more complex and delicate than any other, one does not show a sincere eagerness to know and conciliate all the tasks, desires, and elements involved in making the armed struggle possible (simply one form of the spirit of independence), but instead shows the intention, either bluntly set forth at every step of the way, or ill-concealed, of using all the resources of faith and war that infuse with courage the cautious and personal aims of the justly famed generals offering their command to that war, then what guarantees can there be

> that national freedom will be more highly respected in the future? Is this not the only objective worthy of hurling a country into the fight? What are we, General, the humble and heroic servants of an idea that warms our hearts, the loyal friends of an unfortunate nation, or the brave and lucky leaders who, with whip in hand and spurs at the heel, are planning to plunge a nation into war only to take possession of that nation at some later date? Are you generals prepared to lose in another exploit the fame, courage, loyalty, and wisdom you won in the first? If war and its noble and legitimate prestige are possible, it is because there was first that painfully wrought spirit that demands it and makes it necessary. It is that spirit we must heed, and to that spirit we must show the most profound respect in every public and private act. For just as it is admirable to give one's life to a great idea, so it is despicable to make use of a great idea for the benefit of a man's personal hopes of power and glory, even if he exposes his life for them. A man has a right to give his life only if it is given unselfishly.[95]

Martí's struggle with Gómez was of pivotal importance in his ideological formation because he was forced to apply the lessons that he had learned from the formative period.[96] In addition, Martí's stay in the United States had convinced him that the model of that country was not only irrelevant for Cuba, but, that the economic injustice within the United States was to be avoided at all costs.[97]

By 1889, according to Rodríguez, Martí had begun to articulate a clear vision of the next war for independence: in order for Cuba to be free from colonial oppression, the struggle must be one of national liberation led by a party which represents the interests of the entire Cuban population.[98] After 1889, Martí's

third and most advanced stage of thinking had come into being. The core of Rodríguez' argument is that the historical conditions within Cuba were now present for a revolutionary situation to happen. Unlike 1868-1878, the circumstances from 1890-1895 allowed for the creation of a multi-class alliance against Spanish colonialism - an alliance led by the Cuban Revolutionary Party.[99] The author points out that what is striking about Martí's analysis is that the Party of the revolution was not simply a means to an end, but an expression of the future Cuban republic; the party would provide the Cuban people with the experience of participating in the formation of their own nation.[100] In other words, Martí came to promote the idea that the only way by which Cuba could liberate itself from colonial oppresson would be if the Party that organised and led the revolution in fact included the representatives of all Cubans within its ranks.[101]

The war of national liberation was thus both a war against colonialism and for the growth of the Cuban people: to become a true nation, Cuba (or any Latin American nation) must necessarily struggle against colonial rule.[102] Rodríguez points out that Martí's most important revolutionary contribution was his analysis of the contradiction between "la patria" and colonialism: in order for the former to be victorious over the latter,

a complete break must be made with colonial institutions and mentalities; however, it is the struggle itself which allows a people to come into its own.[103] Rodríguez is careful not to become bogged down with labels; Martí broke with the nineteenth century liberal notions because his view of the nature of "la patria" demanded such a break.[104] To argue that Martí was in any way a Marxist or a socialist "would be crazy and pedantic."[105] The author feels that Martí had "a vision," a "profound intention," which motivated his thought and action. Martí's "break with liberalism obliged those after him to further define other theoretical and ideological paths."[106] Thus, while Rodriguez does not define the revolutionary content of Martí's ideology, we do receive a sense that Martí was as much a product of the times (of the struggle) as he was the articulator of the times.

Few scholars are as sensitive to the difficulties of categorising José Martí as is Rodríguez. Despite such sensitivity, however, we are left with an image of what Martí is not: he is not a mere liberal; he is not a socialist; he will not compromise with colonialism or racism. Other writers besides Rodríguez have attempted to come to terms with Martí, the revolutionary. Paul Estrade,[107] Julio Le Riverend,[108] Jorge Ibarra,[109] and Peter Turton[110] have made useful contributions to our understanding of Martí, but, as is the case of the article by Rodríguez, while we do obtain a greater

appreciation of Martí as a thinker and ideologist on his own merits, we are still ignorant about what it is that makes José Martí a revolutionary. All of the scholars adopt the same periodisation put forth by Rodríguez. They also provide, greater detail about the specific influences on Martí's intellectual evolution. Estrade provides some valuable points concerning Martí's Mexican experience: from 1875 to 1877, Martí was essentially a Lerdista liberal; however, he had studied the "social question" in Mexico enough to decide that the historical task of Mexico (and all Latin America) was to improve the productive capacity of the nation so that all social classes would benefit economically and socially.[111] Estrade also analyses more deeply the practical applicability of Jose Martí's idealism in the face of the political questions of the day. He stresses Martí's concern with balancing social forces and his ceaseless struggle to unify the different classes into an effective struggle for independence.[112] Estrade views Martí as a man who led the bourgeois democratic revolution in Cuba: Martí recognised the reality of class struggle, but he deplored it as a reality which was fundamentally opposed to the natural interests of the country.[113]

Julio Le Riverend describes Martí as a thinker who had gained an appreciation of both the theory and practice of revolution.[114] Le Riverend believes that Martí had

become a convinced revolutionary by 1871, largely because of his analysis of the Ten Years' War and of his prison experience.[115] As in the case of Estrade, Le Riverend regards Martí's idealism as appropriate for the historical task confronting him: Martí was influenced by the philosophy of the German neo-Kantian philosopher Karl Krause (1781-1832) who emphasised the ultimate harmony of the universe and the unity of humanity.[116] Krausist ethics stressed that the greatest good is to be realised in each human being; history, for Krausists, is a process whereby humanity discovers, through reason, its own essence which, in turn, becomes manifest in the notion of human dignity. While Martí did not consider himself a Krausist,[117] he did utilise certain Krausist ideas, especially the responsibility to be aware of history. Le Riverend and Estrade consider Martí's application of such impressions as wholly appropriate to the historical exigencies of the moment. Martí believed that the Cuban revolution was inevitable because, as long as Spain - or possibly the United States - dominated Cuba, the social harmony, the dignity of the Cuban people, would be denied; the spirit of the Cuban nation, therefore, would be in constant turmoil and rebelliousness, and, since such national restlessness was a reality, the striving of the Cuban nation for independence (dignity) would be uncontrollable.[118] For Le Riverend, Martí's "historicism" is at the core of his revolutionary understanding. For Le

Riverend, it provided Martí with the "theory of action" necessary to organise the diverse elements of the Cuban revolution.[119]

Two works in a similar vein to those just mentioned are by Jorge Ibarra and Peter Turton. Both writers reason that Martí was on the verge of "an ideological break" from his peculiar form of bourgeois idealism.[120] Ibarra views the revolution of 1895 as essentially a bourgeois democratic revolution in terms of its broad goals, but he also argues that there was a profound ideological crisis which accompanied the revolutionary process. Ibarra reasons that the crisis was characterised by a break-down of the ideological hegemony of the Cuban-Spanish ruling class. As a consequence of the breakdown, the oppressed Cuban middle classes as well as the oppressed working classes struggled for a new ideological interpretation of their reality in order to articulate their class interests.[121] The figure of José Martí surfaces as central in the struggle because he was able to articulate the cultural aspirations of the Cuban masses at that period of Cuban history.

> In this epoch it was inconceivable that a person without a higher cultural level of instruction would be able to direct the political tasks of the day...The political dream of Martí was the yearning to give the patria to the Cuban diaspora, cut loose by emigration.[122]

According to Ibarra, Martí was the respresentative

of the Cuban middle class, and, unlike the other writers discussed in this chapter, the Cuban historian sees Martí as representing the illusions of the Cuban middle class as much as he articulated their revolutionary aspirations. Martí's vision of social harmony...

> was impossible to realise under the historical conditions of capitalist production. In reality, Martí was a victim of the illusions that were characteristic of the middle class, and he transmitted those illusions to the workers abroad. Under the circumstances of the ideological predominance of the middle class within the C.R.P. and among the emigré communities, the majority of the Cuban workers believed in the possibility to construct a harmonious and egalitarian society.[123]

Ibarra notes, however, that Martí was becoming increasingly wary of the opportunism of the wealthier Cubans participating in the national struggle. Martí, while never abandoning his vision of a harmonious and just republic, did believe that the poor would prove to be more consistent in the struggle for freedom than would the rich.[124] Thus, while Martí's philosophy of social harmony "prevented a clear conception of the workers' problems," he nevertheless was able to help define Cuba as a nation by articulating the new historical conjuncture of multiple Cuban social realities.[125] For Ibarra, Martí's appreciation of the role of the Cuban poor in the struggle for independence was the result of Cuba's struggle against Spain (the slaves and workers as the backbone of the Ten Years' War) and the greater militancy and self-sacrifice

of the tobacco workers during the revolution of 1895. Martí's great merit - and what separated his from the bourgeois liberalism of the day - was his consistent refusal to subordinate the interests of the workers to the interests of the more reticent Cuban bourgeoisie.[126] Ibarra regards Martí as a product of the times in the sense that "the ideological level of these classes [the poor] constituted a severe limitations upon the possible ideological development of Martí," but he was still capable of articulating the psychological mechanisms of the Cuban struggle for freedom.[127]

The most recent contribution on José Martí is a book by Peter Turton. Turton describes Martí's ideology as "paradoxical" in that it was characterised by an anti-imperialist yet non-socialist view of the world. The foundation of the ideology was Martí's neo-Kantian and Krausist idealism.[128] Turton's analysis runs parallel to that of Ibarra; both authors view Martí as subject to constant ideological formation. Turton, however, gives greater weight to Martí's neo-Kantian influences than does Ibarra.[129] Turton believes that Martí's political practise was far in advance for his day, but that his ideological articulation of the central issues of the period was not sufficiently precise to provide an alternative to capitalism.[130] It was a major paradox that Martí's political practise was always at the centre of his ideological formation: he had little time, nor was he

driven, to formulate a systematic world-view. It was exactly Martí's practical side that allowed him to make increasingly sharp criticisms of United States' capitalism in general and of the treatment of United States' workers in particular. Turton gives first place to Martí's observations on the Haymarket Affair (1886-1888) as a major radicalising impetus in the thought of the Cuban thinker.[131] Prior to the Haymarket events, Martí, according to Turton, was willing to give the United States the benefit of the doubt; after 1887-88, Martí became completely disgusted by North American society. Turton is careful to point out, however, that Martí's rejection of the violence of United States' society was not based upon a critique of the capitalist relations of production, but rather his observations centred around his notion that the United States, with its massive influx of European workers, was losing any resemblance to a genuine "patria." The United States was becoming an "unbalanced society," and as such, it could never attain the status of a harmonious republic.[132] Martí was appalled by the selfishness and individualism of North American society; by the time of the Haymarket Affair, he viewed the violent actions of the Chicago workers as lamentable but inevitable given the chaos of North American society. And, whereas prior to the Haymarket events, Martí had tended to blame the United

States' workers and capitalists in equal measure for the level of social violence, by late 1887, he was arguing that the workers were the victims of a greedy and hateful system, and, as such, they had a right to resist.[133]

> The worker believes he has a right to a certain security for the future, a certain amount of comfort and cleanliness for his house, a right to feed without worry the children he begets, a fairer share in the products of the work of which he is an indispensable fctor, some time in the sun for helping his wife plant a rosebush in his yard, some corner in which to live that is not a stinking hole one cannot enter without nausea, as in the city of New York. And every time the Chicago workers asked for this in some way, the capitalists banded together and punished them by denying them the work that means their meat, their heat, and their light. The bosses set the police on them, the police who are always eager to let their nightsticks fall upon the heads of the shoddily clothed. At times some policeman would kill some daring soul who resisted with stones, or some child. The workers were finally starved into returning to their jobs, spirits grim, misery further irritated, decency offended, meditating vengeance.[134]

By the time that Martí and his compatriots were making preparations for the second war for independence, he was painfully aware of the dangers of the United States' capitalist model. Martí had not attacked the capitalist system as a system, but he was aware that, without popular social justice, the future republic would be doomed. As a consequence, Martí, in spite of his own ideological inclinations, according to Turton, was moving toward a more radical critique of capitalism.[135] How this critique would have developed is, of course, a matter of speculation; however, for Turton, Ibarra, Le Riverend, and Estrade,

Martí had moved far enough in an anti-capitalist direction to inspire future fighters against oppression.

There are a number of crucial issues which arise from the historiography on Martí the revolutionary. Perhaps the overriding issue for historians is the analytical problem of delineating the nature of Martí's ideas from the nature of the Cuban revolution of 1895. To be more precise, are his ideas the same as the ideological foundations of the revolutionary movement of 1895? Martí is usually treated as the only ideologist of the revolution. What impact did other forces have upon the ideological articulation of the struggle? According to Gerald Poyo,[136] Peter Turton, and Jorge Ibarra, Martí was forced by events to modify his idealist notions in order to organise the coming revolution. The writers have thus challenged the common assumption that the ideological character of the revolution of 1895 was defined exclusively by Martí's own articulation of events. Reality, according to this perspective, was imposing itself upon Martí's world-view to the point at which he personally began to draw certain conclusions that were beyond the bourgeois democratic framework of many of the other leaders.

Was the revolution of 1895 a bourgeois democratic revolution at all? What is a bourgeois democratic revolution? A problem with much of the work utilising the notion of a bourgeois democratic revolution for 1895 is

that the social nature of such a revolution in Cuba at that time is far from clear. Most writers stress that the Cuban bourgeoisie as a class was not revolutionary in any sense; reformism and annexationism were far more influential among Cuban capitalists.[137] Which capitalists were involved in the revolution, and why were they involved? (Ibarra's nebulous "middle classes") Certainly the acceptance of the United States' occupation of 1898-1902 by many leading members of the C.R.P. would place doubt upon their adherence to the ideas of José Martí. Why did they join the C.R.P. at all? As suspicious as Martí might have become near the end of his life toward wealthy Cubans, he did not argue that they be denied positions of power within the C.R.P.. To what degree do these forces represent the ideology of the revolution?

Subsequent to such issues, one might ask another basic question: can a revolution be reduced to the revolutionaries who participate in it? The scholarship to date tends to assume that the revolution of 1895 is "la revolución martiana." The assumption, of course, raises the question of whether or not the revolutionary content of José Martí's ideas was, in fact, the same as the social nature of the broader struggle that he was articulating. The same questions can be asked of those scholars who argue that Martí was the head of a national liberation movement against Spanish colonialism and United States' imperialism. There is no doubt that Martí was unambiguously anti-

imperialist; however, was the central factor that motivated Martí in the anti-imperialist struggle the same factor that encouraged the Cuban tobacco factory owners of Florida to join the C.R.P.? Few, if any of them, would be as militant as was Martí when he stated:

> All that I have done up to now, and shall do, is to that end [to prevent Cuban annexation by the U.S.] ... With our blood we are blocking the annexation of Our America by the turbulent and brutal North which despises us ... I have lived in the monster, and I know its innards, and my sling is that of David.[138]

Certainly, Martí had a clear, if idealist, notion of what his historical task was to be. It is equally clear that he had a great deal of support precisely because of his militancy. His strongest supporters were the poor tobacco workers in Florida: it was they who first referred to Martí as "el apóstol." José Martí had struck a nerve in Cubans. He managed to motivate a dispersed people to come together to form a popular movement for Cuban independence. It is no wonder that many writers view Martí's unique contribution as founded upon his extraordinary character.

It is often said that Martí spoke in images, not in abstractions. Jorge Ibarra might be correct when he speaks about the importance of Martí's cultural level as a prime motivating force to mobilise people. Perhaps historians should stop trying to define his ideology and begin to discuss his imagery. Whatever the case, to reduce Martí's

revolutionary significance to a simple phrase or label is a pointless task.

When speaking of José Martí, we are reminded of another Cuban liberation fighter, Camilo Cienfuegos. Ernesto "Che" Guevera said the following of Cienfuegos:

> Let us not try to classify him, to capture him in a mold, that is, kill him. Let us leave him thus, in general lines, without attributing to him a precise social and economic ideology which he never completely defined... He belongs to those others who did not arrive and those who are to come.[139]

Such words seem to be appropriate to describe José Martí. Perhaps we can categorise revolutions - can we categorise revolutionaries?

NOTES

[1]Some of the most important works which discuss the social and economic changes within Cuba during the latter half of the nineteenth century include: Rebecca J. Scott. *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labour*. (Princeton, 1985). Paul Cepero Bonilla. *Azúcar y abolición*. (La Habana, 1971). Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Frank Moya Pons, Stanley L. Engerman (eds.). *Between Slavery and Free Labour: The Spanish Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century*. (John Hopkins, 1985). Louis A. Pérez *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902*. (Pittsburg, 1983).

[2]On plantation societies, consult: Manuel Moreno Fraginals. "Plantation Economies and Societies in the Spanish Caribbean, 1860-1930." *The Cambridge History of Latin America, Vol. 4*, (Cambridge, 1986).

[3]On the decline of slavery and the rise of free labour, see: Scott, *Slave Emancipation*.

[4]There are four main biographies of Martí. The two classic and traditional biographies are Jorge Mañach, *Martí, el Apóstol*. (Madrid, 1942) and Felix Lizaso, *Martí, místico del deber* (Buenos Aires, 1940). Two biographies by modern writers are, *José Martí: Mentor of the Cuban Nation*, by John M. Kirk. (Florida, 1983) and *José Martí: Architect of Cuba's Freedom*, by Peter Turton. (London, 1986).

[5]José Martí, *Obras Completas*. (La Habana: Editorial Nacional de Cuba, 1963-1965) (Hereafter cited as *O.C.*, followed by the volume number, "t 1", "t 2", etc.)

[6]For a survey of some of the best and some of the worst of these publications, see: Duvon C. Corbitt, "Historical Publications of the Martí Centennial," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 34, (August) 1954.

[7]The historiographical essay on the full range of works on Martí can be found in John M. Kirk. *José Martí*, Chapter 1.

[8]Ibid. In addition, see: Carlos Alberto Montaner, *El pensamiento de José Martí*. (Madrid, 1971).

[9]Blas Roca. "José Martí: revolucionário radical de su tiempo." *Siete enfoques marxistas sobre José Martí*. (La Habana, 1978).

[10]Fidel Castro, "History Will Absolve Me," Rolando E. Bonachea and Nelson P. Valdes, eds., Revolutionary Struggle: The Selected Works of Fidel Castro. (Cambridge, M.I.T. Press, 1972) 171.

[11]One of the leaders of the July 26th Movement stated: "Then [at Moncada] we were Martíanos. Today we are Marxists, and we have not ceased being Martianos, because there is no contradiction here, at least for us." Haydee Santamaria.

[12]There are certain standard writings by Martí which writers refer to when they wish to highlight Martí's anti-imperialism. The most important writings are: "El Congreso Internacional de Washington," (1889), O.C. t 6, 48. "La conferencia monetaria de las republicas de America," O.C. t 6, 160. Letter to Manuel Mercado, (18 May, 1895), O.C. t 4, 167-168. "Nuestra América" (1891) O.C. t 4, 15. "Manifiesto de Montecristi" (1895) O.C. t 4, 95.

[13]Both of these writers were extremely prolific, and a full bibliography of their works would be a separate project by itself. Roig de Leuchsenring and Marinello were members of the Cuban Communist Party since the 1920's. Marinello, in particular, played an important role as the Party's leader during the 1950's. Roig de Leuchsenring's interest focussed on imperialism and anti-imperialism in a general political sense; Marinello was particularly interested in literature and in Martí's cultural anti-imperialism. For a general introduction to the two writers, see: Sheldon Liss. Roots of Revolution: Radical Thought in Cuba. (Lincoln, 1987).

[14]Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring. Martí, anti-imperialista. (Buenos Aires, 1962).

[15]Martí, quoted in Ibid., 38.

[16]Martí, quoted in Ibid., 84.

[17]For Martí's most emphatic statements on this issue, see: O.C. t 1, 168. (Letter to Maximo Gómez, 20 July, 1882).

[18]O.C. t 1, 217; O.C. t 6. 15.

[19]Roig de Leuchsenring, 59-60, 80, 85.

[20]Ibid., 78-79.

[21]Two of the most famous letters are: Letter to Manuel Mercado, (18 May, 1895) O.C. t 4, 167-168 and Letter to Federíco Henríquez y Carvajal, (25 March, 1895), O.C. t 4, 110-112.

[22]Roig de Leuchsenring, 76.

[23]Tómas Estrada Palma became Cuba's first president under the auspices of American tutelage.

[24]Roig de Leuchsenring, 100.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Most of Marinello's writing emphasizes Martí's literary anti-imperialism; for an example of Marinello's essays on this subject, see: Marinello Ensayos. (La Habana, 1972.) The best single presentation of Marinello's views on Martí's anti-imperialism, see: Marinello, "Fuentes y raíces del pensamiento anti-imperialista de José Martí", Casa de las Américas, (May-June, 1975, No. 90).

[27]Marinello, "Fuentes raíces", 6.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid., 8. For Martí's statements against racism, see: O.C. t 6, 22-23 and O.C. t 1, 172.

[30]Colonel Francis Cutting was an active American expansionist during the 1880's. Cutting was a founder of the American Annexation League (1878) and he held racist views about Latin Americans. On the Cutting Affair see Peter Turton, José Martí: Architect of Cuba's Freedom. (London, 1986).

[31]Marinello, 9-11.

[32]Ibid., 12.

[33]Leonardo Acosta. "La concepción Histórica de Martí. "Casa de las Américas, No. 67, 1971. Also see his José Martí, la América pre-colombina y la conquista española. (La Habana, 1974).

[34]Leonardo Acosta. "La concepción histórica de Martí." 16.

[35]Ibid., 23.

[36]For the former, O.C. t 1, 89-98; the latter, O.C. t 6,

15-23.

[37]O.C. t 1, 93.

[38]O.C. t 6, 19.

[39]Acosta, "La concepción", 27. The notion of "suffering" is a constant theme in Martí's work. From his early work El presídio político en Cuba (1871) (O.C.t1. 48-74) through to his last letters (e.g. Letter to Federico Henríquez y Carvajal, O.C. t 4, 110) Martí refers to suffering and "la patria" as synonymous entities.

[40]Acosta, "La concepción" 27-29; O.C. t 6, 19.

[41]Acosta, José Martí, la América pre-colombina y la conquista espanola. 16-17.

[42]Ibid., 17.

[43]Acosta, "La concepción histórica de Martí." 31-34.

[44]Denia Garcia Ronda. "La America real y marvillosa de José Martí." Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional de José Martí, (No. 3, Sept.-Dec. 1984, Vol. 28).

[45]Manuel Maldonado-Denis, "Martí y su concepción de la revolución." Casa de las Américas, (No. 67, July-Aug. 1971).

[46]Roberto Fernández Retamar, Martí. (Montevideo, 1970).

[47]Antonio Sacoto, "El americanismo de Martí." Cuadernos Americanos, (No. 1, Jan.--Feb., 1985, Vol. 158).

[48]Ibid., 162.

[49]On this point, see: Garcia Ronda, 6-7; Fernández Retamar, 30-35; Maldonado-Denis, 5.

[50]Garcia Ronda, 8; Fernández Retamar, 50. For an example of Martí's own writings on the pre-Colombian past, much of which is found in his writings on Guatemala, see: O.C.t18, 380-389.

[51]Fernández Retamar. 50-52.

[52]Ibid., 49. For an example of Martí's own works on the subject, see: O.C. t 7, 118.

[53]See, for example: Miguel De'Estefano del Día, "Ho Chi Minh y José Martí, revolucionarios anti-colonialistas." Casa de las Américas, (No. 15, May-June 1975); Manuel Maldonado-Denis. "Martí y Fanon." Casa de las Américas, (No, 13, July-Aug. 1972); Jesus Sabourin. "Martí en el Che." Casa de las Américas, (No. 13, July-Aug. 1972).

[54]The two best examples of works which highlight Martí's early personal formation and its importance to his revolutionary consciousness are : Ezíquiel Martínez Estrada, Martí, revolucionario. (La Habana, 1962) and an article by John M. Kirk, "El aprendizaje de Martí revolucionsrio: una aproximación psico-histórico." Cuadernos Americanos, (No. 1, Jan.-Feb. 1977, Vol. 210). It is also interesting to note that many of the same arguments made in these works are identical to the views held by a traditional Cuban historian; see, Felix Lizaso, Martí, místico de deber. (Buenos Aires, 1940).

[55]John M. Kirk. José Martí 112. For Martí's own recollections on this event, see: O.C. t 22, 189.

[56]For some of Martí's comments on his mother and father, see: O.C. t 20, 45, and 287-88.

[57]John M. Kirk, José Martí: Mentor of the Cuban Nation. (Miami, 1983) 24.

[58]Martínez Estrada, Martí, revolucionario. (La Habana, 1962) 9.

[59]Martí and a close friend were put on trial in 1870 after Spanish volunteers discovered a letter by the two accusing a subordinate of collaborating with the Spanish.

[60]Martínez Estrada, Martí revolucionario, 70-73 and 150. See also, Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, Martí, El heróe y su accion revolucionaria. (Mexico, 1966) 6-8.

[61]O.C. t 1, 61.

[62]Ibid., 74.

[63]Martínez Estrada, Martí El heróe, 8

[64]Ibid., 40; Martínez Estrada. Martí, revolucionario. 69.

[65]Kirk, José Martí. 34.

[66]Martínez Estrada, Martí, revolucionario.

[67]Martínez Estrada. Martí, El heróe 110-112.

[68]Ibid., 110 and 135.

[69]Kirk, José Martí, 154. For Martí's own statement about how he chooses the ideas according to what is necessary, see: O.C. t22, 101.

[70]Kirk, José Martí. 152 and 155.

[71]Martínez Estrada, Martí, El heróe, 9.

[72]Ibid., 10 and 11.

[73]O.C. t 11, 207.

[74]O.C. t 11, 335.

[75]Gerald E. Poyo. "The Anarchist Challenge to the Cuban Independence Movement, 1885-1890. Cuban Studies, (No. 1, Vol. 15, Winter 1985).

[76]Hugh, Thómas. Cuba, or the Pursuit of Freedom. (London, 1971) 280.

[77]Louis A. Pérez, Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902, (Pittsburg, 1983), 23.

[78]Julio Antonio Mella, "Glosas al pensamiento de José Martí." Siete enfoques marxistas sobre José Martí, (La Habana: 1978).

[79]Ibid., 13.

[80]Ibid., 16.

[81]Ibid., 17.

[82]Blas Roca, "José Martí, revolucionário radical de su tiempo." Siete enfoques marxistas sobre José Martí. (La Habana, 1978), 43-46.

[83]Ibid., 51.

[84]Antonio Martínez Bello, Ideas sociales y económicas de José Martí. (La Habana, 1940).

[85]Ibid., 28.

[86]Ibid., 29 and 49.

[87]Ibid., 30.

[88]Ibid., 116-122.

[89]Ibid., 122.

[90]Ibid., 158 and 164.

[91] Pedro Pablo Rodríguez, "La idea de liberación nacional en José Martí." Pensamiento Crítico, (No. 49-50, Feb.-Mar. 1971), 120-171.

[92]Ibid., 126.

[93]Ibid., 134.

[94]For some of Martí's references to Mexico, Guatemala and Venezuela, see: for Mexico, O.C. t 6, on Guatemala, O.C. t 7, 104-106 and 118; on Venezuela, O.C. t 7, 182-294.

[95]O.C. t 1, 177-178. The translation is taken from Philip S. Foner (ed). Our America: writings by José Martí. (New York, 1977), 212.

[96]Rodríguez, 135.

[97]Ibid.

[98]Ibid., 138.

[99]Ibid., 139.

[100]Ibid., O.C. t 2, 35.

[101]Ibid., 142, O.C. t 4, 169-170.

[102]Rodríguez, 149.

[103]Ibid., 145; O.C. t 4, 111.

[104]Ibid., 147.

[105]Ibid., 169.

[106]Ibid., 165 and 169.

[107]Paul Estrade, José Martí, militante y estratega. (La Habana, 1983).

[108]Julio Le Riverend, José Martí, pensamiento y accion. (La Habana, 1982).

[109]Jorge Ibarra, José Martí, dirigente político y ideólogo revolucionario. (La Habana, 1980).

[110]Peter Turton, José Martí: Architect of Cuba's Freedom. (London, 1986).

[111]Estrade, 33.

[112]Ibid., 60.

[113]Ibid., 83 and 87.

[114]Le Riverend, 21.

[115]Ibid. 42-43.

[116]On Krausism, see: Juan Lopez-Morillas, The Krausist Movement and Ideological Change in Spain, 1854-1874. (Cambridge, 1981).

[117]Martí on Krausism: O.C. t 21, 98.

[118]Le Riverend, 17-20; O.C. t 4, 192-207.

[119] Ibid., 120 and 130.

[120]Ibarra, 169; Turton, 3.

[121]Ibarra, José Martí, 130-132.

[122]Ibid., 132-133.

[123]Ibid., 141-142.

[124]Ibid., 224-226; O.C. t 3, 303-309.

[125]Ibarra, 220 and 251.

[126]Ibid., 224.

[127]Ibid., 286.

[128]Turton, 1-2.

[129]On Ibarra's rejection of the importance of Martí's neo-Kantian ideas, see: Ibarra, 254.

[130]Turton, 107-109 and 137-138.

[131]Ibid., 127-137. For a good selection of Martí's ideas on this subject, see: José Canton Navarro. Algunas ideas de José Martí en relación con la clase obrera y el socialismo. (La Habana, 1980).

[132]Turton, 138; O.C. t10. 452.

[133]Ibid.

[134]O.C. t 11, 339. The translation is taken from Philip S. Foner. (ed) Inside the Monster: Writings on the United States and American Imperialism. by José Martí. (New York, 1977). 297.

[135]Turton, 127.

[136]Poyo, 30.

[137]See: Eduardo Torres-Cuevas. "Las clases sociales en Cuba y la revolución martiana. Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional de José Martí. (Jan.-Apr., 1983, No. 1).

[138]O.C. t 4, 167 and 168.

[139]Ernesto Guevera, Guerrilla Warfare, (University of Nebraska Press, 1985) (1960); Preface "To Camilo."

CHAPTER III

BETWEEN THE REVOLUTIONARY AND THE REVOLUTION

José Martí was a revolutionary. The statement might seem absurdly obvious, but after the foregoing historiographical analysis, we are entitled to ask an equally obvious but more difficult question. What kind of revolutionary was Martí? In fact, since the adjectives used to describe him seem to defy the conventional categories of revolutionary thought - socialist, Marxist, anarchist - then we are left to ponder the issue of what a revolutionary is in the first place. On reflection, the problem of what to label Martí is not limited to him alone. We are reminded of Marx's famous statement that he was not a Marxist; Ernesto Guevara was hardly an "orthodox" Marxist, and, writers still debate the question of "when" Fidel Castro became a Marxist. Rosa Luxemburg and Alexandra Kollentai were not only willing to challenge capitalist exploitation, but they were equally determined to break the rules of the partriarchal socialist movement: both women provide inspiration and are of continual relevance for those in the struggle against capitalism and sexism. Even when the term "Marxist" is an acceptable label for such figures, the qualifications and explanations of exactly what kind of Marxist are the stuff of entire books. Scholars have every right to criticize

the writings of revolutionaries for containing too many generalisations, for lack of precision, or for the lack of theoretical consistency. But what the theoretically-minded often forget is that for many revolutionaries the first task is to make a revolution, not to dissect one. Labels, quite simply, are beside the point. We can study the works of the great revolutionaries, but, in the end, we are often left with the sense of uneasiness: the energy and imagery of such works are as powerful as the nominal purpose of the author. Such a sense of unease is not a matter of agreement or disagreement with any particular thesis; it is possible to disagree with someone and still identify with a sense of dignity and with the determination to struggle for social justice.

To find a better example of such writing than that of Martí would be difficult. His words convey an imagery and a magical lyricism which leave the reader in a state of restlessness and of eager determination. We are ready to struggle, and, in taking up the fight, we are instilled with a sense of historical responsibility. At the same time, however, we feel that having blind faith in our goal would be dangerous; the duty of each person to act in accordance with her or his principles is the very soul of revolution. There can be no human dignity without individual dignity. Martí's work demands individual commitment; we are dissuaded from becoming complacent.

Perhaps the uneasiness that we feel when reading his words emanates from his incessant pressure to take individual responsibility for the social revolution. We can choose to ignore the uneasiness and to try to place a label upon Martí, but labels do not eliminate the lack of ease.

If we accept for the moment, despite the lack of conclusiveness on the topic, that the revolution of 1895 was a bourgeois democratic revolution, then is it possible to reduce Martí's contribution to that of fulfilling his "historic task" as a bourgeois democratic revolutionary? The fact that he holds continuous fascination for scholars and revolutionaries would suggest that Cuba's national hero cannot be boxed-in to an "historical task." Cuba's socialist revolution could not have happened without the ever-present legacy of Jose Martí. A scholastic cynic or a counter-revolutionary Cuban would probably view the Fidelista variety of martianismo as, at best, nationalistic symbolism and, at worst, another example of "Communist manipulation." However, the pro-revolutionary writings about Martí are so varied in their interpretations that a dismissal of their contribution would be unjust. His work is taken seriously by scholars and by revolutionaries alike; his continued relevance for Cuban and Latin American political culture goes beyond academic categorisation or national symbolism. His legacy transcends the ideological landscape of Cuban revolutionary politics. The history of Cuba is the

history of anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic struggle. The very existence of cubanidad is inseparable from the issue of colonialism; as Frantz Fanon would say, the problem of Cuban national identity was one of replacing a certain "species" of people (the colonized) with another "species" of people (the decolonized).[1]

The ideological foundations of the anti-colonial struggle varied both in terms of their content and their popular influence. In broad terms, the ideological pattern within Cuban society was framed within the context of the slave mode of production based upon plantation society. There were the racist ideologies of the planter class, and there were the ideologies of cultural resistance within Afro-Cuban society. The highly regional nature of Cuban society precluded any national expression of ideologies. Regional relations of production and local political culture so dominated Cuban politics that a generalized revolutionary mobilization was impossible to organize. Cuban nationalism, in fact, did not develop any firm social basis until after the first war of independence (1868-78), and only then because the particular situation of the sugar economy and the general circumstances of the world economic division of labour demanded greater national, social, and economic integration. Until there was national integration, Cuban nationalism remained at the level of a middle class

ideology. With the existence of a large African slave-labour force, the ideological predisposition of the colonial upper class centred upon racist notions of social control. It was, indeed, the racist sentiments of the elite which undermined the earlier attempts at building an independence movement.

The first war of Cuban independence was as much a war between masters and slaves as it was a war of national independence. The problem for the anti-Spanish force was that their ranks included both masters and slaves. The broad social and economic changes taking place within Cuba during the latter half of the nineteenth century forced Cuban planters to try to orchestrate the gradual abolition of slavery. Since the 1850's, there had been a growing movement among the elite in favour of abolition. The first war of independence was characterised by a division between the moderate and gradualist abolitionists holding the political leadership of the insurrectionist movement, and the more militant slave and ex-slave arm of the rebellion. Neither group held ideological hegemony within the rebel movement. At the very outset of the war, the lack of a co-ordinated strategy hindered the effectiveness of the effort. In purely economic terms, slave labour was giving way to other forms of "free" labour, but in ideological terms, the racist assumptions behind slavery dominated Cuban political culture. It would, in fact, be difficult to argue that the ideological foundation of the

first struggle for independence was consistently independista at all: the tenuous, indeed, the outright tense alliance of anti-Spanish forces was based upon a common dislike of certain harsh Spanish regimes rather than upon any common sense of Cuban nationality. For many wealthy planters supporting the anti-Spanish cause, the issue of independence was primarily a tactical consideration in order to maintain their social and economic position which was threatened by high export duties and high taxes imposed by the Spanish government. The slave and ex-slave forces demanded immediate abolition and unconditional independence from Spain; the ideological position of the slave and ex-slave masses, however, did not contain a popular vision of what a future independent Cuba would be like. Under such circumstances, it is doubtful whether the insurrectionary forces could have defeated Spanish colonialism: the lack of insurgent ideological clarity meant that while Spanish legitimacy was shaken, it could not be overthrown.

Some of the major transformations within Cuban society in the 1880's and 1890's have already been discussed. The point that needs to be made here is that, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the combined effects of the failure of the Spanish state to grant the most basic reforms to the Cuban elite, in addition to the social and economic transformations taking

place on the island, resulted in the proliferation of ideological tendencies within Cuban society. A study of the relationship of these ideological tendencies to the independence movement is beyond the scope of this work;[2] the important point is that throughout the 1880's and 1890's, the Cuban nation as a whole was faced with the problem to be a colony or not to be a colony. There was a national identity crisis: a new sense of "cubanidad" was clearly in evidence, but the practical and political articulation of exactly what "cubanidad" was would involve a new ideological ingredient. In other words, the central problem of Cuban political culture was one of mobilising and organising the Cuban masses for the next struggle against Spanish colonialism. What was required was an activating ideology of the Cuban revolution. José Martí was the single most important figure in the process of national articulation.

To return to the question of what kind of revolutionary Martí was, the next two chapters will cover his own articulation of the Cuban revolutionary process. The focus will be to identify what is, indeed, transcendental in the work of Martí. Even if his "historical task" was to lead the bourgeois democratic revolution, the projection of his ideas, his revolutionary sentiments, are no less real from a historical perspective. As long as Cuba remained subject to colonial oppression, whether from Spain or from the United States,

Martí's political relevance would remain embedded in Cuban political culture. More to the point, his revolutionary imagery transcended the bounds of any specific "historical task" because of his appeal to both the dignity of the Cuban nation and the dignity of every individual Cuban. The revolutionary legacy of José Martí can be located in the existential uneasiness, the anguish that an exploited people feel when they are struggling to articulate their very existence. The lack of ease cannot be labelled: the state of insecurity is a historical reality insofar as it drives people to fight for individual and national respect; we cannot categorise it because the human character cannot be reduced to any particular presentation of it. To be a complete revolutionary, in other words, entails an acknowledgment that one's adherence to any particular school of thought is not limited to a purely intellectual appreciation of the relevance of the doctrine. In the words of Che Guevera, "always be capable of feeling deeply any injustice committed against anyone anywhere in the world. This is the most beautiful quality in a revolutionary."[3]

The revolutionary ideas of Martí can best be appreciated by tracing his personal evolution as a political activist. However, the evolution of Martí the activist should not obscure the fact that his revolutionary politics were based upon his complete

personal identification with the Cuban struggle for freedom. A revolutionary is a person who: (1) has a deep existential commitment to struggle against any form of injustice (personal or political), (2) projects that commitment into the area of social action and historical responsibility, (3) fosters a close relationship with the people as well as showing a resolute firmness toward attaining the objective sought. It was a characteristic of Martí to exhibit each of the features. The particular form of that which he viewed as his historical responsibility did change over time, but the revolutionary content of his ideas remained essentially the same throughout his short life. Of course, it would be impossible to break down the human character to the point at which the three features of a revolutionary could be delineated or defined in a rigid manner. The problem thus becomes one of how we determine the revolutionary content of his ideas.

If we search the historiography for a clue to the content of Martí's revolutionary ideas, we are faced with a paradox. On the one hand, much of the literature uses such terms as <u>la ideología martiana</u> or Martí's "theory" of the party or "theory" of the revolution to describe his politics.[4] On the other hand, the same works will note that the presentation of his ideas was often not systematic and, at times, even ambiguous. The confusion is understandable. Martí managed to accomplish several

astonishing feats in just a few short years. He convinced the veteran leaders of the independence struggle to accept his method of organising the revolutionary movement; he was the pivotal figure in the formation of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, a political-military body capable of leading broad sectors of the Cuban population in a united anti-colonial struggle. He was, as well, the acclaimed leader of Cuba's second war of independence and the main propagandist of the movement. He completed all tasks without recourse to abstract political formulae or theories; his writing does not convince the reader of the reality of social injustice as much as it raises a pre-existing popular sense of injustice to the point of revolutionary struggle. The Cuban people did not need to be convinced that they were exploited: rather, what was required was a popular sense of self-confidence - a sense that the Cuban people could win the struggle for freedom. Given the way in which he expressed his ideas, therefore, the terms "theory" and "ideology" are not adequate.

Cuban historian Nelson Valdés has developed a useful distinction between theory and ideology. A theoretical line of reasoning involves a scientific orientation toward social reality, a methodological justification of revolutionary action. An ideology, on the other hand, is based upon a set of beliefs without recourse to methods of scientific verification or systematic study.[5] Ideologues,

according to Valdés, emphasise morals, ethics, broad ideas, and a sense of popular justice; ideologies often involve a new popular vision with a tendency to highlight the difference between order and disorder within society. Valdés makes the point that ideologies tend to utilise the cultural expression of ideas: the domination of one class over another class cannot be maintained solely on the basis of economic coercion. For a society to function smoothly, the cultural hegemony ot the ruling class must define the generalised norms of behavior.[6] Conversely, if a revolutionary movement is to effectively challenge the dominant order, the old norms of behaviour must be replaced with a new ideological set of beliefs. A revolutionary theory can be abstracted from the individuals who expound it; a revolutionary ideology cannot be separated from the flesh and blood revolutionaries. One can define a revolutionary ideology no more than one can define an individual human being. The "infrahistory" of the individuals - the unrecorded lives of ordinary people mobilised by ideas, struggling to change their daily existence - is both indefinable and yet is the substance of progress and true tradition.[7] It is not always clear when a popular sentiment for social change becomes a revolutionary movement for the transformation of society. The former tendency appeals to tradition as a justification for progress; the latter phenomenon involves an epistemological break within

popular political culture. If a revolution is the structural transformation of social relations of production, then revolutionary consciousness must refer to a fundamental change in the way people think about justifying their existence and their struggles.

In addition to Valdés' perspective on the distinction between a theory and an ideology, one can add that an ideology, whether a ruling class ideology or a revolutionary ideology, must include within its frame of reference the means to justify coercive acts in order to legitimize its existence in relation to opposing ideologies. In a class society, ideologies tend to reflect class relationships, or, at least, states of inequality, though not necessarily in a reductionist or mechanical form. Ideologies are not simply an articulation of social norms of behaviour; they are also the means by which one social group articulates and justifies its very existence in relation to other groups. The degree to which an ideology will reflect a society's conflicts will be determined largely by the amount of conflict within any given society. A society in which class antagonisms are particularly sharp and/or in which the division between the coloniser and the colonised is the main social contradiction, the ideological landscape will tend to exhibit greater evidence of ideologies of resistance, rebellion, and affirmation. Moreover, an

ideology does not necessarily have to aspire to be a popular ideology; it is entirely possible for any particular group within a society to use its ideological orientation as a self-regulating means of internal social control rather than to articulate a popular ideology of social change. In class and colonial societies, popular ideologies must necessarily come to terms with violence; violence, in turn, must be viewed as a necessary consequence - and a necessary means-for a group to affirm its own set of social relations. In order for an ideology to develop into a popular ideology, therefore, it must both represent one dimension of existing social relations and articulate a broader social vision in order to facilitate organised forms of popular resistance and rebellion.

Martí's ideas cannot be abstracted from his personality: he was not a theoretician. It would be tempting to use the word "ideology" to describe his world-view. On reflection, we are reminded that after his death, any popular articulation of his ideas quickly fell apart. The militaristic leaders, Gómez and Maceo, gained control over the civilian wing of the movement, and, the more moderate members of the C.R.P.-those people willing to accommodate United States' imperialism after 1898 - seemed to forget Martí's intransigent anti-imperialism.[8] It is legitimate to raise the issue, therefore, of whether or not Martí's vision was ever extended to the level of a

popular ideology. It is certainly true that there developed a popular mythology around his persona; insofar as mythologies and ideologies are intimately linked, we can say that there is such a phenomenon as la ideología martiana.

It is important to note that mythologies are not in and of themselves necessarily revolutionary nor counter-revolutionary. The historiography shows us that there are both a left-wing Martí-mythology and a right-wing Martí-mythology. To gain the "status" of an ideology, his world-view needed to provide the Cuban masses with a coherent popular vision of a new Cuba, a vision coherent enough to lay the foundation for the collective mobilisation against any counter-revolutionary measures. For all the impressiveness of Martí's feats while he was alive, there was no unified C.R.P. after his death; there was no "martiano" guerrilla resistance against United States' forces after 1898. It is striking that, from 1902 until the early 1920's, the most humiliating and corrupt period for the Cuban nation, there was no continuation of the high level of organised struggle that had been in evidence during the period from 1895.[9] Whatever had been transcendental in the ideas of Martí did not appear during the difficult years. It would appear that Martí's ideas could not inspire people during a period of defeat and de-mobilization. The connection between the man and the

organizational strength of the movement was so strong that without the former the latter lost its flexibility in times of counter-revolution. His ideas were powerful as long as he lived what he wrote; he demanded individual responsibility for the revolution. Perhaps his ideas do not suffer so much from vagueness as they suffer from his incredibly high standards of what a revolutionary should be. What is transcendental about the figure of Martí is his own behaviour, his own example. After his death, Cubans were left with the reality of foreign domination and corrupt politicians, and, at the same time, they retained the memory of their national hero who had devoted virtually every public and private act towards the independence and dignity of Cuba. Such an example creates uneasiness both in a nation and in the individual. If only we could study his works to the point at which we could claim to be "true followers of Martí." But no amount of copius quoting will make us into "martianos." The most valuable legacy that he provided for latter day revolutionaries was not an "ideology," nor a "theory;" rather, Martí left a legacy of revolutionary restlessness.

That Martí did become more radical as the years passed has been noted in Chapter I. What causes the sense of uneasiness is that Martí consistently maintained a position of struggling for justice for all Cubans: His idea of historical responsibility led him to take more radical positions against class exploitation without

developing a class analysis. Thus, his individual commitment to the historical responsibility of obtaining the goal of an independent Cuba based upon social justice created a legacy that can be considered to be profound but indefinable.

If, however, we cannot define his legacy as strictly "ideological," can we, at least, be more precise about the source of this legacy? In a social historical sense, it can be stated that revolutionary "martianismo" died with Martí. As long as he was living, speaking, and writing his own ideas, his power to activate people was historically specific and relevant. After his death, the immediacy of his ideas lost its force; the Cuban revolutionary movement lost its main articulate voice, and, without the means to express its raison d'étre, the fight could not continue. In a psycho-historical sense, however, "martianismo" continued to be relevant to those individuals who felt the anguish of Cuba's colonial condition. In Chapter I, we learned that the legacy of Martí appealed to figures such as Julio Antonio Mella and a new generation of Cuban Marxists. Obviously, Marxism held greater historical relevance for the younger group of revolutionaries than did an ideología martiana. The colonial condition of Cuba, however, went beyond the specificity of any particular revolutionary set of ideas. The form of expression of colonial anguish might (and did)

change over time, but a consciousness of anguish did, indeed, remain. To return to Martí, it can be said that his lasting contribution to Cuban political culture is realised in his articulation of the colonial condition of the Cuban people as a whole and in his demand that each individual Cuban fight against colonialism. His contribution was, thus, more of a psycho-historical nature than of a social-historical character.

The boundary between psychology and history can, of course, be slight. The notion of "infrahistory" has been mentioned in this regard. To clarify further the revolutionary content of Martí's revolutionary ideas, we need to discuss his own conception of the relationship between the individual and the universe. His ideas on this topic, his cosmology, are at the root of his world-view. His cosmological vision provided the epistemological foundation for his practical revolutionary activity. His ideas about human existence and our means of knowing about existence provided the foundation for the content and style of his work. The only way to know about our existence was to constantly affirm it through the struggle for individual and collective dignity. In the next chapter it will become evident that, for Martí, political struggle was both a means of self-justification and of self-knowledge. It should be clear, however, that a cosmology and an ideology are not the same. A cosmological vision involves a deep-seated and profoundly

personal conception of the place of the individual in the order of things. We might wish to extend that cosmology to other individuals, but the reality is that each cosmology is locked into an individualist metaphysic. Our views about our place in the universe are based upon assumption. We cannot prove that any particular universal order exists, but that fact does not prevent us from participating in collective action with our cosmology acting as a bridge between each individual and social reality: that is, various ideological movements within society.

The ideas of Martí, so full of lyricism and imagery, reflect his cosmology rather than an ideology. Certainly, he intended to influence people with his words, but that influence can be seen in the common ground shared among the victims of colonial exploitation. The common ground is the anguish of the split existence of the colonised. The colonial condition imposes certain historical constraints upon the ideological choices made by individuals: given Cuban reality in the late nineteenth century, Marxism was not an option for Martí. Few Cuban political organizers had any contact with Marxists or Marxist writings. Anarchism was by far the most popular revolutionary ideology among the Cuban masses. But since the colonial reality had been no less evident in 1890 than it was in 1925, the individuals who decided to fight

against colonialism created whatever ideological weapons which they would need to reaffirm their existence in the face of the coloniser. There is a dialectic between cosmology and ideology, but one cannot be reduced into the other. Similarly, there is a dialectic between any given cosmological vision and objective historical reality: historical reality - the forms of colonial, class, racial, and sexual exploitation - has a way of imposing itself upon our individualist metaphysic. We can choose to fight or to ignore such exploitation, but our choice is always justified by our cosmology, and, if we are socially active, by our ideological affiliations as well. We can decide to fight against injustice, but our choice is framed by the weapons at hand. If we intend to fight back, we must fight socially. If we do not fight against oppression, whether it be personal or political, then, to be honest, we must admit to our indifference toward the exploitation of others. We resign ourselves to surviving within a world that we would prefer to ignore; however, we must justify the preference to ignore. To act - and inaction is itself an act - is to have a system of values; action is but one form of self-justification. When the level of society's anguish is such that the attempt to ignore the suffering would involve a supreme effort, then more and more people feel compelled to decide "which side they are on." The historical problem comes into play when we realise that the level of collective suffering of a

people and the quantity and quality of the ideological options available to them are not always synonymous. José Martí articulated the suffering of the Cuban people, and in doing so, he left a legacy of forcing those who became exposed to his ideas to justify their stance toward colonial exploitation. He was the conscience of a victimised nation. It would be left to later revolutionaries to give greater ideological clarity to the colonial anguish articulated by Martí. The following chapter will examine his cosmology in greater detail.

NOTES

[1]Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, New York, 1969), 36.

[2]The best discussion of this issue can be found in the following works: Louis A. Pérez, Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902. (Pittsburg, 1983); Hugh Thomas, Cuba or the Pursuit of Freedom. (London, 1971); Gerald E. Poya, "The Anarchist Challenge to the Cuban Independence Movement, 1885-1890," Cuban Studies, (No. 1, Vol. 15, 1985).

[3]Ernesto "Che" Guevera, Che Guevera and the Cuban Revolution: Writings and Speeches of Ernesto "Che" Guevera. (New York, 1987), 371.

[4]Some examples of the works that use the terms "theory" in reference to Martí's ideas are those of Paul Estrade, Julio Le Riverend, and Jorge Ibarra, to name three prominent "martiólogos." (See Bibliography)

[5]Nelson P. Valdés, "Ideological Roots in the Cuban Revolutionary Movement." Institute of Latin American Studies. (Occasional Papers, No. 15, 1975, University of Glasgow.), 7.

[6]Ibid. 1-4.

[7]The term "infrahistory" is borrowed from the work of the Spanish writer Miguel de Unamuno. The application of this concept has been modified from Uramuno's original presentation. Unamuno's idea of "infrahistory" emphasizes the dead hand of tradition over history. History, for Unamuno, is the trajection of mystification over time. For the purposes of this thesis, the fatalism inherent in Unamuno's concept is discarded but the notion of a permanent revolution against tradition is useful for our understanding of the tension between the past and the future. On the notion of "infrahistory" see: Miguel de Unamuno, En torno al casticismo, (Madrid, 1943)

[8]A good discussion of this period of Cuban history can be found in, Louis A. Pérez, Intervention, Revolution, and Politics in Cuba, 1913-1921 (Pittsburg, 1978)

[9]See the work cited above by Pérez.

CHAPTER IV

BETWEEN COSMOLOGY AND IDEOLOGY: MARTÍ, CUBA, AND THE UNIVERSE

The basis of Martí's revolutionary thought can be found in his anthropocentric cosmology.[1] The anthropocentric cosmology possesses two main features: first, people are "at the centre of the cosmic order and the justification of all creation;"[2] second, his particular presentation of the vision included an activating element in the sense that with the idea of human beings being the justification of all creation came his notion of historical responsibility. For Martí, the litmus test for his ideas was their practical applicability and effectiveness in the Cuban struggle for independence. As was noted in Chapter I, he took his ideas from many different sources, and it would be pointless to repeat what other writers have admirably communicated. The point that does require emphasis here is that, if employing the concept of "cosmology" is appropriate for a better appreciation of Martí's ideas, then, to label his individualist metaphysic according to any particular ideological trend of the nineteenth century (Krausism, transcendentalism, Emersonianism, etc.) would not help us to appreciate the content of his revolutionary thought. Such ideological trends certainly influenced the way in which he presented his ideas; if Jorge Ibarra is

correct when he argues that Martí's idealism presented a clear conception of the nature of the class struggle in Cuba, we are still left with the problem of what made Martí's contribution unique.[3] Virtually all of the major pro-revolutionary works on Márti agree that, in some still undetermined way, he broke away from the confines of bourgeois liberalism. We are left with a new "ideology" - "la ideología martiana" - but within the spectrum of ideologies of the late nineteenth century, it is far from clear how we are to classify the "ideology" in terms of its relevance to Cuban political culture.

This chapter will focus on Martí's cosmology as the core of his revolutionary thought. The argument to be presented will highlight two points. First, the transcendental elment in his revolutionary ideas arises from his own articulation (cosmology) of the Cuban colonial condition in general and the individual condition of the anti-colonial revolutionary in particular. Second, the broader ideological struggles taking place within Cuban society (and within the United States) forced Martí to present his ideas in a more militant form as the struggle intensified. It becomes a moot point, therefore, whether we label Martí a "liberal," a "radical," or a "radical revolutionary of his time." What does matter is that he did, indeed, establish a consciousness of the anguish of the incomplete struggle for Cuban national identity and a consciousness of the continuing

responsibility of each revolutionary to be the soul of the revolution.

There is no doubt that Martí had a profound existential commitment to challenge human injustice and exploitation. His earliest writings (1869) exhibit a strong sense of indignation toward Spanish colonial exploitation of Cuba.[4] The work, however, that represents the cornerstone of his deeply personal hatred of colonialism is the book _El presidio político en Cuba_, published in January, 1871.[5] This book marks the departure point for all of his subsequent writing and activity: colonial exploitation, human existence, and political struggle are now molded together within a single revolutionary fighter. Martí, like many thousands of young Cubans during the 1860's, sympathised with the insurgent forces during the first war for independence. The political situation in Havana and other Cuban cities was highly volatile, with many young, middle class Cubans divided into pro-Spanish and pro-Cuban groups. Martí was a member of a group of nationalist students who participated in many public demonstrations against Spanish rule.[6] It was in the midst of such activity that Martí and a close friend were arrested for writing a letter denouncing a fellow student for joining a group of pro-Spanish volunteers. On October 21, 1869, Martí was accused of treason, and on March 7, 1870, he was

convicted. He was imprisoned near Havana, sentenced to no less than six years of hard labour in the rock quarry of San Lázaro prison.

With the publication of El presidio político en Cuba, Martí's tone and commitment intensified. The romantic and highly sentimental tone of the earlier writings was replaced by an intense indignation that surfaced in one of the most powerful political tracts ever written. Martí's indignation centred around the total humiliation of the prisoners, the very denial of their humanity. Not only were individual prisoners humiliated, but Martí extended the notion of humiliation to the Cuban nation and to Spain itself.

> To return bruised, wounded, blinded, and lame to the sound of the whip, blasphemy, beatings, and mockery, through the same streets that months before had seen me go by in calm and serenity, arm in arm with my beloved sister and with the peace of happiness in my heart - what is the meaning of this? Also nothing.
>
> A hideous, terrible, heartbreaking nothing!
>
> And you Spaniards were the cause of it.
>
> You sanctioned it.
>
> You applauded it.
>
> And oh, how frightful must be the remorse of a criminal nothing!
>
> The astonished eyes can see it; the scandalized reason is amazed; but compassion refuses to believe what you have done, what you are still doing.
>
> Either you are barbarians or you do not know what you are doing.
>
> Let me, oh, let me think that you are still unaware.
>
> Let me think that there is still some honor left in this land, and that this Spain here- so unjust, so indifferent, so similar to the repugnant and ill-tempered Spain across the sea- can still defend it.
>
> Stand up, stand up for your honor; remove those

> leg irons from the old men, the idiots, the children; take the lash away from the insensitive one who drinks himself senseless in the arms of vengeance and forgets both God and you; erase, uproot all this, and you will enable the man who has not yet learned to hate the lash or the voice of insult or the sound of chains, to forget some of his bitterest days....
>
> The people cried out unconsciously, and even the men who dream of world federation, of respect for the independence of others as a basis of their own strength and independence, anathematized the petition of the rights which they themselves demand, sanctioned the oppression of the independence they preach, and sanctified as representative of peace and mortality the war of extermination and of honest oversight.
>
> They forgot their very selves, and forgot the fact that, since remorse is inexorable, national atonement is also a fact.
>
> They demanded yesterday and demand today the most complete freedom for themselves, and this very day praise unconditional was to stifle other people's request for freedom.
>
> They did wrong.
>
> Spain cannot be free as long as she has blood on her hands.[7]

Throughout El presidio político en Cuba, Martí weaves a mosaic of personal horror, moral outrage, and biting political commentary. Martí's education under the Cuban man of letters, Rafael María de Mendive, had provided him with a sense of heroic patriotism and a notion of civic and national duty.[8] The experience in prison converted a love for the patria into a firm identification of the patria with those Cubans who were unable to defend themselves. "La patria," in other words, becomes synonymous with simple, humble, and exploited people. Of equal importance, Martí developed an overriding sense of duty and responsibility to struggle against their

suffering.

> If excruciating pain can be tempered by some joy, only the joy of silencing other men's cries of pain can temper it. And if something should exacerbate it and make it more terrible still, it is surely the conviction of our inability to calm the woes of others.
>
> This anguish that not everyone understands, and that causes so much suffering for the one who finally does understand it, often filled my soul and was constantly filling it in that dismal interval of life called Cuban prison.
>
> I usually forget my troubles when ministering to the troubles of others. I usually do not recall my sufferings unless the rest are suffering on my account. And when I do suffer, and my anguish fails to mitigate the pleasure of mitigating another's suffering, it seems to me that in former worlds I must have committed a great wrong which is my unknown peregrinations through space it has befallen me to purge here. And so I suffer more, realizing that just as my own pain is intense, the remorse of those who cause pain to others will be bitter and heartrending.
>
> It is truly afflicting to think about the torments that nibble away at wicked souls. Their blindness makes one sad. But there is never such great sadness as the rage aroused by criminal iniquity: systematic, cold, premediated iniquity as unalterably executed as it was rapidly conceived.[9]

San Lázaro prison was "the prison of Cuba, the institution of government."[10] The Argentinian writer Ezequiel Martínez Estrada has described Martí's prison experience as having "the intensity of living a revolution."[11] Prison forged Martí's character in the sense that not only did he suffer personally in prison, but, suffering, sacrificing, and demanding the end of suffering are inter-definitional.

> My country clasped me in its arms, kissed my forehead, and once again departed, one of its hands pointing toward space and the other toward the quarries.
>
> Prison, God: ideas as close to me as immense suffering and eternal well-being. Perhaps to suffer is to enjoy. To suffer is to die for the stupid life we have created, and to be born to the life of the good, the only true life.
>
> How many, many strange thoughts troubled my head! Never as at that time did I learn how free is the soul in the bitterest hours of slavery. Never as at that time, for I took pleasure in suffering. To suffer is more than to enjoy; it is truly to live.[12]

"La patria" becomes both a spiritual power and possesses a human quality. Throughout Martí's tract, it becomes clear that human beings must assume the responsibility inherent in their privileged position at the centre of the universe. Carlos Alberto Montaner argues that Martí exhibits a "tremendous religious spirit," and if religion is defined in its broadest terms, he is certainly correct.[13] For Martí, however, "liberty is the definitive religion;" the notion of "God" for Martí is clearly anthropocentric.

> ...God does exist in the idea of the good, which watches over the birth of every being and leaves in the soul embodied in that being one pure tear. Good is God, and the tear the source of eternal feeling.
> God does exist, and I come in his name to break in Spanish hearts the cold and indifferent glass that contains their tears.
> God does exist, and if you people make me move away from here without having torn out of you your cowardly, unfortunate indifference, let me despise you, since I am unable to hate anyone; let me pity you in the name of my God.
>
> I will not hate you, nor will I curse you.
>
> If I were to hate anyone, I would hate myself for so doing.

> If my God were to curse, I would deny him for so doing.[14]

Later, referring to the sufferings of another fellow prisoner, Martí writes:

> A man was being crushed to dust. Wretches! They were forgetting that this man contained God!
>
> Yes, this man is God; this man is the God who crushes your conscience to dust, if you have one; who burns your heart, if it has not already melted in the fires of your infamy. The one the country martyred is God himself as righteousness, as the universal idea of spontaneous generosity.[15]

In 1875, Martí was to make the point again: "There is a God-man. There is one divine force- everyone.[16] "True religion," for Martí, is both rational and within the means of human beings to control in order to change the world. Humanity does not receive progress in the form of fixed laws of history; "we are our own criteria, we are our own laws, everything depends on us; man is logic and the Providence of Humanity."[17]

The passages quoted above would seem to indicate that the word "religious" is perhaps inappropriate to describe Martí's world-view. The term "cosmology," however, is more indicative of a sense of universal order and hierarchy; people are at the centre of the universe, and, if God is contained within humanity, then it is each person's responsibility to act in accordance with what is "Good." One does not find any blind faith in the thought of Martí. His words do convey a sense of mystical duty toward humanity.

> To live on this Earth is nothing more than the duty to do good works......Each one must do their work.[18]

The cosmological vision that one finds in El presidio político en Cuba provides a central thread throughout Martí's life's work. The existential and highly personal statements from prison represent the foundation of his individual commitment as a revolutionary. The prison experience forged a synthesis between, on the one hand, Martí's evocative and spiritual language, and, on the other hand, a sense of practical urgency. The conceptual common ground for Martí's spirituality and his practical politics can be found in his notion of "la patria."

> The fatherland is something more than oppression, something more than pieces of land, without liberty and without life; it is something more than the right of possession of force. The fatherland is a community of interests, a unity of traditions, a unity of common purpose, a sweet fusion and consolidation of loves and hopes.[19]

It is no exaggeration to state that, for Martí, "la patria" and "God" are synonymous entities. It was precisely his cosmological interpretation of "la patria" that freed him from any jingoistic or chauvinistic notions of patriotism. It was his cosmology which allowed him to extend the idea of "la patria" to the Latin American continent as a whole. Before developing the idea, however, it is necessary to point out that up until now, we have been discussing Martí's cosmology, not an ideology. The perspective articulated in El presidio

político en Cuba and continued through to his last letters is solely Martí's own cosmology. Where Martí's cosmology and the ideologies of the Cuban masses merge is in the complex pattern of political struggle that occurred throughout the Cuban exile-community during the 1880's and 1890's. Martí's anti-imperialism was far too militant for the Cuban upper class, even for those wealthy Cubans who joined the Cuban Revolutionary Party in 1892. It is doubtful whether many Cuban patriots would have defined "la patria" in the way that Marti did in 1895, shortly before his death.

> For me, my country will never represent triumph, only agony and duty.[20]

It certainly is the case that many Cubans joined the patriotic cause for reasons that were less profound. The fact that many leaders of the revolution of 1895 willingly accepted the occupation of Cuba by the United States' troops from 1898 to 1902 suggests that Martí's ideas were not as all pervasive as the historiography suggests. Many Cubans, however, did accept Martí's militancy (though not his cosmology). While the poor approached the struggles of the 1890's from a different ideological background than did the rich, the historical conjucture of social dislocation, class struggle, nationalist sentiment, an anti-colonial movement, and, the figure of Jose Martí, provided the baptism of fire for the building of the Cuban revolutionary struggle of 1895. It is important to

emphasize, therefore, that the revolutionary content of Marti's ideas had its basis in his unrelenting commitment to alleviate the sufferings of the Cuban people by applying his personal cosmological vision of the universe to the day-to-day exigencies of the political struggle. The result of the synthesis was a powerful imagery and not la ideología martiana. The transformation of Martí's cosmological vision and imagery to an activating ideology, or popular ideology, were through the connections he made between his personal perspective and the "real world". The revolution of 1895 cannot be reduced to la ideología martiana any more than la ideología martiana defined the revolution. To mobilise people is not the same task as to convince people. People become genuinely convinced of an idea when their experiences in the world of social relations blend into their individualist conception of the order of things. There is therefore a "gap" between each individual's existence and the social world. But there is also a permanent struggle to close that "gap" because our existence depends upon others; other people are the theme of our actions. Exploitation, and the struggle against it, become both the subject and the object of actions and we are perfectly capable of being mobilized with others without accepting their individualist motivations.

Following Martí's release from prison in 1871, he lived a life of wandering and exile in Spain, Latin

America, and the United States. Martí's experience in Latin America proved to be of particular importance in the formation of his ideas. A biographer of Martí, John Kirk, has made the point that Martí "underwent a mystical experience as he travelled through Spanish America."[21] The statement does not seem to be an exaggeration: Martí's appeal for dignity, honesty, and justice in El presidio político en Cuba was extended to the Latin American continent as a whole. Just as he viewed Cuba's struggle for independence as an inevitable, maturing process of the Cuban nation, his travels through South America convinced him that, despite the formal independence of the republics, there was a constant struggle between the tendency for Latin American elite to imitate foreign political models and the inseparable struggle of Latin Americans to assert their own identity.

The usual approach taken by "martiólogos" when they discuss his travels through Latin America is to emphasise his Americanism and his liberalism. Martí's so-called "liberalism" will be highlighted later. For the moment, it is important to mention an admirable quality of his Americanism that bears direct relevance to Martí's cosmology. While it is certainly true that his Americanism exhibited the usual pride in being Latin American as well as his strong sense of cultural independence, it is equally true that Martí's Americanism emphasized the historical responsibility of all Latin

Americans to counteract the negative experience of colonialism. To be Latin American and to be historically responsible, for Martí, were inseparable. To be Latin American, moreover, meant that to assert one's own identity, one would inevitably come into conflict with colonialism: to avoid the conflict, one would deny one's true identity.

Perhaps the first clear expression of Martí's cosmological anti-colonialism surfaced during the Panamerican Congress which began in November 1889 and reconvened in the Spring of 1890. The purpose of the meeting was to provide the foundation for a Panamerican system of trade, banking, transportation, currency regulation, and diplomatic procedures. The Congress took place with the backdrop of the internal struggle among sectors of the United States' capitalist class.[22] In general, the Republican Party of President Harrison was divided between, on the one hand, the western silver and lead mining interests who wanted to reject the gold standard, and, on the other hand, eastern financiers who were attempting to further rationalise the industrial sector by fixing the gold standard. President Harrison attempted to steer a middle course, but his Secretary of State, James Blaine, was decidedly in favour of the eastern interests. The issue had not been resolved when Blaine hosted the International Monetary Commission in 1889.

Martí was opposed to Blaine and to United States eastern finance capital on the grounds that a standardised currency would facilitate United States' domination over Latin America.[23] Some writers on Martí, as will be discussed below, view his economic views as first and foremost a consequence of his liberalism. In a purely formal sense, they are correct. At the root of his critique of United States' economic policy, however, was a more basic notion of what he regarded as the two separate "natures" of the two Americas.

> Nations must be considered in depth, for they bury their roots far below the surface. They must be examined in their entirety so that we do not marvel at these apparently sudden changes and this cohabitation of lofty virtues and rapacious talents. That humanistic and communicative freedom which can move peoples across snow-covered mountains to rescue a sister nation, or can induce them to die in a body, smiling under the saber, until the species may be led along the paths of redemption by the light of the hecatomb, was never a characteristic of North America, not even in the generous carelessness of its youth. The Dutch trader, the egotistical German, and the overbearing Englishman, together with the leaven of a municipal government of the nobility, formed the dough of the nation that saw no crime in leaving a mass of men, on the pretext of the ignorance in which they were kept, in slavery to those who opposed being slaves themselves....But if these conclusions have been reached in spite of individual events and fortunate episodes, after studying the relationship between America's two nationalities in terms of their history and their present elements, and of both the constant and the renewed character of the United States, it must not therefore be assumed that the United States holds nothing but aggressive and dreadful opinions upon these matters.[24]

As a consequence of this analysis, Martí was to declare that, while the form of United States' political culture might change, the "egotistical and conquering spirit" of North America had intensified over time, and the dangers of United States aggression- economic and otherwise- were now greater than ever.[25] North American society was so imbued with racism that for Latin America to consider an alliance would be extremely dangerous.

> They believe in the invincible superiority of "the Anglo-Saxon race over the Latin." They believe in the inferiority of the Negroes whom they enslaved yesterday and are criticising today, and of the Indians whom they are exterminating. They believe that the Spanish American nations are formed principally of Indians and Negroes. As long as the United States knows no more about Spanish America, and respects it no more, although with the numerous incessant, urgent, and wise explanations of our people and resources it could come to respect us- can this country invite Spanish American to an alliance that would be honest and useful to our Spanish American nations?[26]

Spanish Americans, on the other hand, possessed a different nature from that of North America's. While the Washington International Congress was in session, Martí was invited (December 19, 1889) to give a talk for the Latin American delegates at a cultural event that had been organised by the Spanish American Literary Society. The talk was later published under the title "Mother America," destined to be one of Martí's most famous works. In "Mother America," he outlined his view of the two histories of the two Americas. According to Martí, "North America was born with the plow, and Spanish America, of

the hunting dog."[27] South America had endured a painful history of conquest and later of dual identity. On the one hand, there is the conqueror, "the distinguished gentlemen, the bishop, the higher clergy;" but then, there were the creoles, by their natures rebellious, "with no guide or model but his honour."[28] South America emerged a "redeemed continent, bloody and with sword in hand."

> We built upon hydras. Our railroads have demolished the pikes of Alvarado. In the public squares where they used to burn heretics, we built libraries. We have as many schools now as we had officers of the Inquisition before. What we have not yet done, we have not had time to do, having been busy cleansing our blood of the impurities bequeathed to us by our ancestors. The religious and immoral missions have nothing left but their crumbling walls where an occasional owl shows an eye, and where the lizard goes his melancholy way. The new American has cleared the path among the dispirited breeds of men, the ruins of convents, and the horses of barbarians, and he is inviting the youth of the world to pitch their tents in his fields. the handful of apostles has triumphed. What does it matter if, when emerging as free nations and with the book always in front of our eyes, we were that the government of a hybrid and primitive land (molded from a residue of Spaniards and some grim and frightened aborigines, in addition to a smattering of Africans and Menceys) should understand, in order to be natural and productive, all the elements that rose in a marvelous throng- by means of the greater politics inscribed in Nature- to establish that land? What does it matter if there were struggles between the city of the university and the feudal countryside? What difference if the servile marquis felt a warlike disdain for the halfbreed workman? How important was the grim and stubborn duel between Antonio de Nariño and St. Ignatius Loyola? Our capable and indefatigable America conquers everything,

> and each day she plants her banner higher. From sunrise to sunset she conquers everything through the harmonious and artistic spirit of the land that emerged out of the beauty and music of our nature, for she bestows upon our hearts her generosity and upon our minds the loftiness and serenity of her mountains. She conquers everything through the secular influence with which this encircling grandeur and order has compensated for the treacherous mixture and confusion of our beginnings; and through the expensive and humanitarian freedom, neither local nor racial nor sectarian, that came to our republics in their finest hour, and later, sifted and purified, went out from the world's capitals. It was a freedom that probably has no more spacious site in any nation than the one prepared in our boundless lands for the honest effort, the loyal solitude, and the sincere friendship of men. Would that the future might brand my lips.[29]

Resistance against colonialism was, thus, in the very nature of South Americans. South Americans must follow "what is written by the fauna and the stars and history;" Latin Americans "will not be traitors to that which Nature and humanity have sent to us."[30] Many of the same assertions would be repeated in Martí's most famous work, "Our America." Latin America was in the process of being born; government must reflect the spirit of the emerging nation. "Natural men have defeated the artificial men of letters."[31] The "natural man" of Latin America will defeat the tyrants of America because the true spirit of "Our America" demands it.[32]

By "true spirit" Martí is referring to his own cosmological notion of viewing the universe, with humanity at its centre, as a single evolving entity: the practical historical problem is not to deny one's own past but to

"find an infallible philosophy capable of grasping each social stage, enjoying its evolution, without regretting its passing."[33] Each people, whether North American or South American, must determine their own place in the universal hierarchy. Thus, what might appear to be reverse racism on the part of Martí when he refers to the two natures of the two Americas is, in fact, a form of "historical spiritualism:" "Man is one and order and entity are the healthy and irrefutable laws of nature."[34] Each people, however, have their own spiritual history. The practical problem is one of timing: when two distinct peoples come face to face, they must confront one another as equals, or, the weaker of the two will be at the mercy of the stronger. Martí was to make this point forcefully during the Panamerican Congress in 1890.

> What will come to pass has no bearing on the form of things, but on their spirit. What matters is the real, not the apparent. In politics the real is what cannot be seen. Politics is the art of combining, for an increasing inner well-being, a country's diverse or opposing factors, and of saving the country from the open hostility or the covetous friendship of other nations. In every invitation among nations one must look for hidden reasons. No nation does anything contrary to its own interests, from which it can be deduced that what a nation does is to its own advantage. If two nations do not share common interests, they cannot become allies. Should they do so, they would clash. Lesser nations still in the throes of gestation cannot safely join forces with nations seeking help for the excess production of a compact and aggressive population, and seeking an outlet for their own uneasy masses. The political

> acts of true republics turn out to be composed of such elements as national character, economic needs, party needs, and the needs of the politicians at the helm. When one nation is invited to join another, ignorant and bewildered politicians will be able to do so quickly, young people entranced with beautiful ideas will be able to celebrate the alliance unjudiciously, and venal or demented politicians will be able to receive it as a favor and glorify it with obsequious words. But he who feels in his heart the anguish of his country, he who is foresighted and vigilant, must make inquiries and be capable of telling what elements compose the national character of the host nation and the guest nation, and if they are predisposed to the common effort because of common antecedents and customs, and whether or not it is probable that the dreaded elements of the host country could develop in the attempted union at some risk to the guest country.[35]

What is clear is that for Martí the struggle against colonialism and United States' imperialism was both a matter of "nature" and of one's historical responsibility. Given his cosmological assumptions about the place of Latin Americans within the scheme of things, his refusal to compromise with any form of colonial domination is not surprising. His own experience in Cuba had provided the deep, personal imprint on this cosmological vision. His Americanism, therefore, was not simply a romantic wish to cultural affirmation and unity; rather, Martí's Americanism was inherently militant. The militancy, however, was less ideological than it was cosmological. Without the personal commitment to fight against the colonial situation, Martí's Americanism appears as a beautiful, symbolic statement of an emerging people; with

the determination to fight, his Americanism becomes a formidable weapon in the hands of the exploited. To make this point is not to underestimate the influence of specific events such as the International Monetary Congress and the various manifestations in United States' annexationism on the thought of Martí. We noted in Chapter I that he became more militant as he had become more aware of the obviously aggressive intentions of United States' imperialism and, too, of the special consequences of capitalist relations of production within the United States. What requires emphasis is that the content of Martí's ideas is to be found within the web of his individualist metaphysic and within the broader, social and ideological struggles in which he was constantly involved. The latter situation might have placed Martí within the context of a bourgeois democratic struggle for national independence; the former transcends any particular "historical task" and left his heirs in the conflict with a legacy of a struggle still to be won. Martí's Americanism, therefore, is another expression of the dialectic between the individual and society and between cosmology and ideology.

Some of the major works on Martí, when discussing his travels through Latin America, treat Martí as a political liberal and not as a revolutionary. Peter Turton, for example, describes Martí as "a true political liberal" during his stay in Mexico (1875-1876).[36] John Kirk holds

the same view, stating that, by the time Martí had left Venezuela (1880), he was "at this time a generous, idealistic and somewhat naive liberal."[37] It is true that Martí was a firm supporter of the Mexican liberal government of President Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada; Lerdo de Tejada continued the anti-oligarchic, anti-clerical policies of the great Mexican liberal Benito Juárez. Martí supported the classical, liberal policies of the late nineteenth century, such a free trade, anti-monopoly laws, and the creation of a large class of independent commodity producers as the basis for a balanced, strong economy.[38] The role of the government in the economy should be minimal; government exists as a mediator, a mechanism to balance the various economic attributes of a nation. Thus, in a purely formalistic sense, Turton and Kirk are correct: Martí's desire for a liberal, balanced, and prosperous Latin America, founded upon private, economic activity, is undeniable. When one delves deeper into the matter, however, it becomes evident that Martí's liberalism is far from being doctrinaire.

One of the most important differences between Martí's liberalism and the positivistic liberalism of most Latin American governments was Martí's firm rejection of the racist assumptions circulating in intellectual circles. When writing of his hopes for Guatemala, Martí was to combine his liberalism with anti-racism.

> Our bowels are made of gold and our arms are made of iron. People must know that we are worth something; those that know should come. One must apply intelligent work to a rich and docile land.... America must exist everywhere; it must not be reduced to avaricious profits, but rather a loving response to the desire to work by all men of all races and all nations.[39]

In Martí's best known essay, "Our America" (1891), he was to state categorically, "there is no such thing as racial hatred because there is no such thing as races."[40] The category of "race" did not exist in Martí's cosmology because for him "the soul emerges, equal and eternal, in diverse bodies and forms. It is a sin against Humanity to foment the opposition and hatred of races."[41] What mattered to Martí was work, useful labour; the future of Latin America was not to be found in false categorisation of human potential, but rather in the development of one's own strength, which, in turn, results in greater freedom.

> In the gymnastics of nations, as in the case with individuals, one only begins to lift heavy weights after having lifted lighter weights....Freedom is a reward which history provides as the result of this labour.[42]

Martí clearly believed that Latin America was too dependent upon foreign conceptions of liberalism. His cosmology contained an epistemological kernel which allowed him to hold to a consistent position concerning humanity's pivotal role as the creator of the world. For Martí, the formation of a people is due to the actions of the people themselves; it is not a question of inevitability, but rather a question of duty and freedom.

> We are free because we are not able to be slaves. Our continent is saved and our condition is determined by ourselves: but we do not know how to be free yet.... And this is the law of things: the formation of peoples begins with war, continues in tyranny, thus planting the seed of revolution, and finally there is consolidation in peace. There is nothing perfect, but things move toward perfection.... Because we are men, we bring to life the principle of freedom; with our intelligence we have the duty to realize freedom. To be liberal is to be a man; but one has to study, to create and bring into being with the art of application- this is what it is to be an American liberal.[43]

Referring to the position of Cuba in particular, Martí' viewed struggle, the revolution, in the following terms.

> The revolution in Cuba is the air we breathe, it is the shawl for our loved one, it is the continuous health of our friends, the memory of what has come and what we are struggling for, the success that we all guard.... Nothing is able to defeat it. The difficulty has been to give it order and create confidence in it.[44]

What surfaces from the ideas expressed in these passages is a perspective peculiar to Jose Martí. Despite Martí's own use of the word "liberal," the label hardly seems appropriate as an explanation for his political position. For Martí, the broad struggle within Latin America, and between Latin America and North America, was between order and disorder and between "false learning and Nature."[45] Martí wanted to balance the elements of the Cuban struggle for independence in order to make the revolution possible and victorious. His cosmological vision of Latin American reality in general, and of Cuban reality in particular motivated him to become acutely

aware of historical reality before encouraging the inevitable struggle against foreign domination. The struggle against General Gómez in 1882, referred to in Chapter 1, provides us with another example of Martí's sensitivity toward history and responsibility. Later, in 1885, Martí was to state that he would not struggle for "nominal freedoms."

> If we go where our people wish to go, we shall win.... We must fight if we are brought to it... the war should be nothing more than the expression of the revolution...so that when we unbuckle our weapons, a people emerges.... If not, we do not merit the honour of bearing arms for our country, nor do we have the right to start such a war.[46]

What is striking is that Martí was expressing such ideas at precisely the time when Cuba was experiencing significant changes in its economic and political structure. As has been outlined earlier, the 1880's and 1890's witnessed the fundamental transformation of Cuban society. Martí's anthropocentric cosmology provided the foundation of his sense of historical responsibility and duty. When the war which had been promoted by the other leaders of the independence movement failed (1885), the relevance of Martí's perspective was finally appreciated by those who had dismissed Martí as a coward. Martí considered his opponents in the ideological struggle within the independence movement to be sincere men; Martí could love such men, but he would not hesitate to break with them if necessary. They could not relate to the new

situation of the Cuban people; social dislocation, labour migration, organising a people in addition to an army, were not features of their past experience. Martí, on the other hand, realised that the maximum participation of all Cubans would be the only way by which Cuba could gain independence.

It was after the political struggles of the 1880's that Martí formulated his notion of the Cuban Revolutionary Party as the embodiment of the Cuban revolution. It is important to emphasize that the creation of the C.R.P. was not the product of Martí's "theoretical" formulations. The Party was the product of political struggle and of ideological confrontation. José Martí articulated that struggle, and he drew the necessary conclusions concerning the next step of the independence struggle. The C.R.P. promoted the absolute independence of Cuba, a necessary and short war of liberation, and a republican form of government. In addition, the C.R.P. was structured in such a way to encourage democratic control of the Party's decision-making process; all Cubans, from all social classes, were to be united in a federation of clubs, the clubs electing presidents who, in turn, would elect the leading "Delegate" of the Party. The Party structure combined local control by each club and initiative on the part of the "Delegate." José Martí was elected as the "Delegate," and it was Martí who wrote

all of the major documents of the Party.

The organizational structure of the C.R.P. was a complete departure from past methods of political organisation. The Party's structure and style of work was intended to be both the means and the ends for Cuban independence. It has already been noted that Martí viewed the struggle of the Cuban people and of the Latin American people as itself an act of creation: the people had found themselves. The C.R.P., according to Martí's conception (cosmology) was to organise the forging, the literal creation of the Cuban people.

> [The Party] must visibly mold the soul of the people and must be its arm and its voice; it must not have as its object the special interests of any particular group. It must not be organised in careless haste or to support artificial personal interests....[The Party] must prepare the foundation for the imminent war in order to avoid any future disorder within the future republic.... At times, to delay action is to die. At other times, to wait is to win. One waits, and when the right moment appears, with dignity and firmness of action, along with absolute disinterest and genuine popular naturalness that comes into being through the methods and ends of the Party; such waiting will mean victory.[47]

What is striking about Martí's vision of the Party "molding the soul of the people" is that his call for unity and decisive political action came at exactly the time at which the Spanish state was unable to grant even minimal reforms to the Cuban upper class. The sugar market was particularly unstable, and Cuba was experiencing a crisis of unemployment and social

dislocation. The tobacco factories of Florida were laying off thousands of Cuban workers, and the social and class struggles within the United States were marginalising the Cuban emigré work force. Furthermore, at the time of creation of the C.R.P. (1892), the aggressive annexationism of many United States' politicians was of the greatest concern to Martí. The historical conjuncture of the various factors, as interpreted through Martí's cosmology, encouraged Martí to act decisively. In 1893, Martí discussed the problem of the crisis and its relation to the Party.

> The North has been unjust and greedy. it has thought more about ensuring the interests of a few than about the well being of everyone. There is no calm in the North, nor equilibrium of man, which is the mysterious result of the history of that nation.... In the North the problems are getting worse and the care and patriotism necessary to solve such problems do not exist....[In the North] on the one side there is the rich, and on the other side the poor. The North is closing itself off and is full of hate. We must start leaving the North.[48]

Martí went on to state that "the crisis in the United States would bring only pain and poverty to Cubans and Puerto Ricans."[49] The task of the C.R.P., therefore, was to bring "agreement between the goals and methods of the actual situation of the country [Cuba] in a close and decisive union between the emigre communities and the revolution in the island."[50]

Martí was optimistic about the future for Cuba because Cuba had learned from the mistakes of other Latin

American countries.

> Other Republics were born seventy-five years ago; ours is born today. That which has happened in other republics will not happen in ours. We have the marrow of the republic, created in war and in exile.... In us there is a public mass that knows and loves liberty.[51]

It was during the period from 1890 to 1895, therefore, that José Martí's cosmological vision congealed with the general social and economic crisis. The result was a popular revolutionary leader who was the only individual capable of articulating the particular historical circumstances. Cuba was experiencing a general crisis, and the ideologies of the working class (anarchism) and of the elite (reformism), proved unable to speak to the needs of the Cuban masses in their totality.[52] It was not the case that Martí had a "theory" of revolution; rather, Martí had a cosmological vision that enabled him to interpret and to articulate history in order to change history. Had Martí simply been a dreamer, a man who played with popular ideas for no practical purpose, his ideas would have meant nothing.

> Few words and many ideas.... I adhere to simplicity, but not in the sense of limiting my ideas to this or that circle or school. Rather, I say what I see, what I feel, or what I think with the fewest possible words-powerful, graphic words, full of energy and harmony.[53]

More to the point, Martí insisted that "a true man goes to the root.... Let no man who does not examine all sides of things be a radical... let no one call himself a man if he

does not contribute to the security and happiness of all people."[54]

José Martí did not create an ideology: he articulated a social and historical process. It was Martí's anthropocentric cosmology that provided him with the tool to understand reality; his cosmology, in turn, was formed in struggle- in prison, during his travels, and during the struggles of the 1880's and 1890's. Martí's cosmology and the struggle of the independence movement are inseparable. In 1893, Martí commented on his own role in the fight for independence.

> It is an idea that has been carried to Cuba, not a person. It is not Martí who has disembarked: it is the magnificent union of emigre communities, brought together in local liberty in order to maintain a just spirit and the proper measures for the independence of the country. Stop the Person! Serve the homeland! [55]

There was no system of ideas that emerged from the work of José Martí. Since the litmus test of Martí's cosmology was practical action, his legacy lies more in his revolutionary determination to free Cuba from both foreign domination and from any form of exploitation. His determined action was not simply voluntarism: rather, his political action was based upon an existential vision of the place of people in the universe and their historical responsibility. Martí's cosmology would never, and could never, provide the basis for a popular ideology of revolutionary struggle. Its imagery, its emotive power,

and its mystical lyricism could, and did, provide the fuel for activating people to struggle for freedom. People would choose different ideologies in order to continue Martí's legacy; however, none of the ideologies used by later revolutionaries in Cuba would be based upon Martí's cosmology.

NOTES

[1]The term "Anthropocentric cosmology" is borrowed from Carlos Alberto Montaner, El pensamiento de José Martí (Madrid, 1971), 7. The application of the concept is cut according to my own interpretation.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Jorge Ibarra, José Martí, dirigente político y ideólogo revolucionario. (La Habana, 1980)

[4]Martí's first published works are in the form of two journals, El Diablo Cajuelo, O.C. t 1 31-36; and La Patria Libre, O.C. t 18.

[5]O.C. t 1 45-74.

[6]For a good account of Martí's early life and political activities, see: Felix Lazaso, Martí, místico de deber (Buenos Aires, 1940).

[7]O.C.t 1, 46 and 48. The translation is taken from Philip S. Foner, (ed.) Our America: Writings on Latin America and the Struggle for Cuban Independence. by José Martí. (New York, 1977). 153-154 and 155.

[8]On Martí's education, see: John M. Kirk, José Martí: Mentor of the Cuban Nation. (Florida, 1983).

[9]O.C.t 1, 68-69. Translation from Foner, ed. Our America. 182.

[10]Ibid., 61.

[11]Ezequiel Martinez Estrada, Martí, revolucionario. (La Habana, 1967).

[12]O.C. t 1, 54. Translation from Foner, (ed.). Our America. 163.

[13]Montaner, 8.

[14]O.C. t 1, 45.

[15]Ibid. 61.

[16]O.C. t 6, 226.

[17]Ibid.

[18]O.C. t 7, 118.

[19]O.C. t 1, 93.

[20]O.C. t 4, 111.

[21]John M. Kirk, José Martí: Mentor of the Cuban Nation. (Florida, 1983).

[22]The following analysis of the background to the Congress is taken from Paul Estrade, José Martí, militante y estratega. (La Habana, 1983). 38-47.

[23]O.C. t 6, 160-161.

[24]O.C. t 6, 47 and 48-49. Translation from Philip Foner, (ed) Inside the Monster: Writings on the United States and American Imperialism. (New York, 1975). 341 and 344.

[25]O.C. t 6, 159.

[26]Ibid. Translation taken from Philip S. Foner, (ed) Inside the Monster, 344.

[27]Ibid., 136.

[28]Ibid., 137.

[29]Ibid., 138-139. Translation taken from Philip Foner (ed.) Our America, 79-80.

[30]Ibid., 139 and 140.

[31]O.C. t 6, 16.

[32]Ibid., 17.

[33]O.C. t 7, 370.

[34]Ibid., 371.

[35]O.C. t 6, 158. Translation from Philip Foner, (ed) Inside the Monster. 369-370.

[36]Peter Turton, José Martí: Architect of Cuba's Freedom. (London, 1986). 68.

[37]Kirk, José Martí 47.

[38]O.C. t 6, 309-312; O.C. t 7, 30-83.

[39]O.C. t 7, 105-106.

[40]O.C. t 6, 22.

[41]Ibid.

[42]O.C. t 12, 146.

[43]O.C. t 7, 347 and 349.

[44]O.C. t 3, 266.

[45]O.C. t 6, 16-17.

[46]O.C. t 1, 182.

[47]O.C. t 2, 35.

[48]O.C. t 2, 367-368.

[49]O.C. t 2, 368.

[50]O.C. t 2, 369.

[51]O.C. t 2, 278 and 279.

[52]On the Cuban working class and anarchism, see: Gerald E. Poyo, "The Anarchist Challenge to the Cuban Independence Movement." Cuban Studies. (No. 1, Vol. 15, Winter 1985) For the upper classes and reformism, see: Hugh Thomas, Cuba, or the Pursuit of Freedom. (London, 1971).

[53]O.C. t 22, 101.

[54]O.C. t 2, 377.

[55]O.C. t 2, 278.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The legacy of José Martí is much more significant than simply being a matter of the intellectual foundations of the Cuban revolutionary movement. Martí spoke of what Frantz Fanon termed "the universality inherent in the human condition."[1] More to the point, this "human condition" is not a mystified state of existence but rather a concrete individual and historical confrontation with exploitation. Again, Fanon's words could have been written by Martí:

> I do not carry innocence to the point of believing that appeals to reason or to respect for human dignity can alter reality. [The revolutionary] will embark on this struggle, and will pursue it, not as the result of a Marxist or idealistic analysis, but quite simply because one cannot conceive of life otherwise than in the form of a battle against exploitation, misery, and hunger."[2]

Intellectual alienation from society does not provide the foundation for revolutionary struggle. Indeed, from a purely intellectual point of view, one could "agree" with Martí but refuse to engage in revolutionary action. This thesis has attempted to show that a qualitative feature of Martí's revolutionary thought is to be found in the subjective notions of deber, agonía, and la patria. Such notions are subjective in the sense that they were articulated through Martí's cosmology. At the same time,

these central tenets of martiano thought have become a part of Cuban political culture. The life, work, and legacy of José Martí provide us with a fine example of when simple intellectual adherence to his ideas becomes a hollow claim.

The result of the life of José Martí was the continuing relevance for revolutionaries to be people of exemplary personal and political contact. Within Cuban political culture, the struggle against imperialism and capitalism and the struggle for national dignity is personified in the revolutionary mystique of the "new person." Martí is a constant reference point for the cache of the Cuban Communist Party and the Cuban people as a whole. Notwithstanding his purely literary achievements, the relevance of Martí the revolutionary will continue to strike a cord for Cubans as long as their political culture is dominated by a militant anti-imperialism. What has become clear throughout this thesis is that it is impossible to abstract the revolutionary from the revolution. It is therefore impossible to separate Martí from the revolutionary movements that existed in the twentieth century, for virtually all of them have claimed the legacy of José Martí.

Sentiments are one thing, action another. To read Martí and to remain inactive is the first step away from claiming the mantle of "martianismo." Furthermore, to claim the legacy of Martí without taking the side of the

exploited would be equally fraudulent. Counter-revolutionary "martiólogos" want to take the rebel out of Martí the revolutionary: they want to deny the very basis of his existence. Without attempting to understand Martí the rebel one is left with the inexplicable phenomenon of an unsystematic dreamer inspiring countless revolutionaries to give their lives for a better world. People are either naive to the point of self-destruction or there is something in the "universality of the human condition" which forces people, at given times in their lives, to reclaim and initiate the struggle for freedom.

Earlier in this thesis, it was stated that for José Martí the purpose of life was to make a revolution, not to dissect one. It can also be said that Martí understood that there is a central paradox in any truly revolutionary doctrine: as soon as the ideas of such a doctrine are put into practice, the teaching itself begins to evaporate. Some revolutionaries never reach the point of doctrinal clarity; many do not aspire to that goal in the first place. When all is said and done, what mattered most to Martí was not whether or not people understood him, but rather, that his deeds and words roused the rebellious spirit of an oppressed people. Cuban history itself testifies to his success.

NOTES

[1]Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks, Grove Press Inc., New York, 1967, 10.

[2]Ibid., 224.

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