Being on the Move:
Formations of the Black Atlantic

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Movements of people, ideas and goods have shaped and influenced the history of the Atlantic world, while at the same time the Atlantic itself has shaped the history of its people and their political cultural and economic movements. Within these histories, black actors have played a central role, both as individuals who moved across the Atlantic and as agents who were involved in political and cultural movements.

The articles brought together in this issue are inspired by the conference „Being on the Move: Transfers, Emancipation and Formations of the Black Atlantic" held at Erfurt University in July 2010.[1] At this conference, we addressed movements between the U.S., the Caribbean and beyond and how they contributed to shaping the Black Atlantic.

Made popular by Paul Gilroy's 1993 highly influential text of the same name, the term Black Atlantic has been used to address the cultural and historical linkages connecting black people within the Atlantic region. It stresses that, as a result of the transatlantic slave trade between Africa, the Americas and Europe, the cultures involved in this exchange developed strong interdependencies. In his book, Gilroy himself traces some of these linkages along the lines of historical narratives of the Middle Passage, black music, and transatlantic journeys of black male travellers.[2]

In recent years, various critical yet productive questions have been raised, for example the racially re-essentializing nature of the term Black Atlantic, its seeming lack of spatial flexibility, or its missing consideration of hierarchies structuring the network.[3] However,

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1   We would like to thank Maria Neuhauss and Jürgen Martschukat for their support in bringing together this issue.
2   Paul Gilroy, The Black Atlantic. Modernity and Double Consciousness, Cambridge (MA) 1993.
3   Judith Anne-Marie Byfield, La Ray Denzer et al. (eds.), Gendering the African Diaspora: Women, Culture, and Historical Change in the Caribbean and Nigerian Hinterland, Bloomington (IN) 2010; Ruth Mayer, Diaspora. Eine

the Black Atlantic points to the often neglected fact that transnational and transregional networks matter.

Gilroy's conception of the Black Atlantic offers an alternative narrative to national histories and cultures that can be understood as powerful constructs that overlook transatlantic interdependencies in favour of their own narrow coherence. The Black Atlantic provides a conceptual frame in which movements across regions, national territories, or other socially defined boundaries take center stage in the analyses. Simultaneously, it allows for the examination of articulations of affinities, affiliations, or differentiations aside from the national and raises the opportunity to acknowledge power relationships that structured belongings, borders, and border crossings in 19th and 20th century history. Movements and transfers themselves become the issues of historic scrutiny, leading to a rethinking of notions of peripheries and metropolis, and blurring their allegedly distinct definitions and separations.

At the same time, the Black Atlantic can be employed as an analytical tool to criticize and deconstruct notions of an essentialist global black community, which is often referred to as a Black or African diaspora. Both in the past and the present, diaspora has corresponded with the idea that black people are naturally connected and culturally rooted in Africa. The Black Atlantic opens the possibility to consider the diaspora as the result of a continuing production. In this formation, notions of community are constructed and result from historic, as well as ongoing ascriptions, prejudices, and acts of self-fashioning. Or to say it in the words of Tiffany Ruby Patterson and Robin D.G. Kelley who have revisited the concept in their influential article "Unfinished migrations": "… linkages that tie the diaspora together must be articulated and are not inevitable, and … the diaspora is both process and condition."[4] While diaspora is often centered on Africa, Gilroy locates its coming into being within a "rhizomorphic structure".[5]

Based on these considerations, this issue takes the Black Atlantic as a starting point to bring together various histories connecting places and people across the Atlantic and beyond. The contributions will scrutinize various forms and practices of networking, such as the exchange of people, the transfer of knowledge, the trading of goods (such as tobacco or chocolate) and their culturally specific resignifications. In examining the formation of such networks and multiple movements and exchanges, this issue seeks to show how structures, narratives and spaces are created, appropriated, challenged, and changed, and, thus, rethink the concept of the Black Atlantic. A spatial focus is placed on the Caribbean, a region that has often been neglected in studies on the Black Atlantic. The articles will be concerned with networks in and around the Caribbean stretching to

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kritische Begriffsbestimmung, Bielefeld 2005; Sandra Gunning, Tera Hunter et al. (eds.), Dialogues of Dispersal: Gender, Sexuality, and African Diasporas, Malden (MA) 2004; Robin D.G. Kelley, Tiffany Ruby Patterson, Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World, in: African Studies Review, 43 (2000) 1, pp. 11-45.

4   Kelley, Patterson, Unfinished Migrations (footnote 2), p. 1.
5   Gilroy, The Black Atlantic (footnote 1), p. 28.

the U.S., Europe, Africa, and also to Asia: In which ways and for whom do networks[6] matter? How are they created and formed? How do they operate and become visible? Who is participating and shaping these networks? How do we as scholars approach, define and describe them and explore their cultural and historic meanings?

Entangled cultural practices of dance are the focus of Sonjah Stanley Niaah's contribution „Beyond the Slave Ship: Theorizing the Limbo Imagination and Black Atlantic Performance Geographies". She traces the linkages from the Middle Passage slave ship dance Limbo to ghettoes where the Blues, Kingston's Dancehall and South African Kwaito emerged and, thereby, points to the rhizomorphic structures of transatlantic transfers. As Niaah shows, these art forms did not cross the Atlantic in a linear direction, coming from Africa to the „New World" but instead moved back and forth, thereby informing each other.

Silke Hackenesch and Jean Stubbs address the circulation of commodities and point to their material, as well as cultural significances. Chocolate moved across the Atlantic both as a commodity and a signifier for Blackness, as Hackenesch shows in her article „Chocolate, Race, and the Atlantic World: A Bittersweet History". In looking at advertisements for chocolate, she reflects on its various symbolic meanings. She also considers the modes of production of chocolate by referring to a specific example from Portuguese West Africa around 1900 and contrasts the politics of labor with visual representations in advertisement. From the exploitive aspects of chocolate, she moves to its possibly emancipatory appropriations by African Americans in the 1960s.

El Habano, the Havana Cigar, and its manifold Atlantic crossings are the topic of Jean Stubbs' analysis "Beyond the Black Atlantic: Understanding Race, Gender and Labour in the Global Havana Cigar". She outlines what she terms the "Havana Cigar Universe" that stretches from Cuba to Florida, Connecticut, and Indonesia. In charting these spaces, Stubbs demonstrates how each location has been shaped by specific modes of production that, in turn, shaped the cultural meanings of the cigar. The journeys of the cigar as traced by Stubbs exemplify that the Black Atlantic can be used to look beyond the geographic borders of the Atlantic Ocean and to incorperate regions in Asia.

Christine Hatzky and Patricia Wiegmann focus their analysis on people on the move. Hatzky's article "Cuban Teachers in Angola: South-South Cooperation, Transfers of Knowledge and Mutual Perceptions" deals with an example of a transatlantic cooperation between two former colonial countries, Cuba and Angola. From 1975 to 1991 Cuba sent about 10.000 teachers to Angola to support the development of the Angolan educational system. Hatzky outlines the racialized ideological contexts of the exchange. By using statistical data, as well as oral history interviews, she examines how the teachers were perceived by the local population and vice versa. Her example shows how the Black Atlantic is informed by colonial structures that transcend into the postcolonial era.

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6   Our use of the term "network" does not refer to Systems theory but to Paul Gilroy's understanding who perceives the Black Atlantic as a webbed network. See Gilroy, The Black Atlantic (footnote 1), p. 29

In her article "Amy Jacques Garvey 'On A Trip from Coast to Coast': Roots, Routes, and Emancipation", Wiegmann looks at the Jamaican traveler Amy Jacques Garvey, who toured the United States in 1923. As a member of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, she recorded her experiences in a series of travel accounts that were published in the organization's newspaper. By employing a close reading of the articles, Wiegmann discusses how travel writing can be seen as practice of identification, community building and emancipation. Thereby, her article points to hierarchies within the Black Atlantic emanating from gender and class structures.

In their variety, the articles draw a broad picture of how the Black Atlantic concept can be applied in order to highlight entanglements within the Atlantic region and beyond. With their different methodological approaches, the articles illuminate culture, politics, and economy as interdependent fields forming the Black Atlantic in past and present.

Beyond the Slave Ship: Theorizing the Limbo Imagination and Black Atlantic Performance Geographies

Sonjah Stanley Niaah

RESÜMEE

Black Music und ihre Performanzen sind Praktiken, der weitreichende kulturelle und historische Kontinuitäten vorgewiesen werden können. Der Artikel untersucht drei Ausdrucksformen und ihre nationenübergreifenden Interdependenzen. Dabei werden verschiedene geographische und performative Räume mit einander verknüpft. Vom Middle Passage Slave Ship Limbo führt der Artikel zum US-amerikanischen Blues und Jamaikanischen Dancehall bis hin zu den Südafrikanischen Shebens und zeigt auf, wie sich diese kulturellen Praktiken und Räume in Ausformungen gegenseitig bedingen und verändern.

It's my brother, my sister.
At the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean there's a
railroad made of human bones.
Black ivory
Black ivory
Amiri Baraka

> *[A repressive society produces]… some kind of gangrene within you…that eats your soul, that forces you to save your soul. I couldn't really say that a repressive society would result in creative art, but somehow it does help, it is an ingredient; it acts as a catalyst to a man who is committed.*
> John Kani, South African Actor, cited in Coplan

1. Introduction

The epigraph at the beginning of this article says something about the people who made the musics discussed, performance practices around them and the conditions of repression and exploitation under which they lived. Both are linked. I would like to acknowl-

edge the role of all our forebears who were a part of those struggles to create, live, and name their place in the world, and importantly, those who died trying to record the cultural history of some of these performance practices.

Black musics and their corresponding performance practices have deeper continuities than slave history, movement, musical and celebratory patterns. Crucially, these deeper continuities have not been fully explored by such disciplines as ethno-musicology, geography, cultural studies, or history. Based on data gathered over twelve years' participation in Jamaica's Dancehall performance and over six years of research, I wish to expand my reading of New World performance practices to other Black performance genres. Essentially, by analyzing Dancehall's macro and micro-spatialities, spatial categories, philosophies and systems were revealed, thereby delineating what is best captured by the term performance geography. It is the delineation and application of performance geography to black performance practices from the Middle Passage slave ship dance Limbo, to ghettoes where the Blues, Kingston's Dancehall and South African Kwaito emerged, that is the subject of this article. Out of such marginal spaces as the ghetto, performance cultures have consistently emerged and challenged the very contexts that militate against their emergence.

What is Performance geography? By performance, I mean physical, mental, emotional and spiritual performance for the task of enacting one's being in the Black Atlantic space between violation, ruptured roots and self (re)construction; it is a requirement for life. Like the enslaved who arrived at Kingston Harbour after the ordeal of the Middle Passage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, inner-city youth survive the challenges of the urban experience through their strategies of performance (voluntarily or not). Further, with renewed interest in space and its implied discourse of spatiality spawned by the works of Michel Foucault, Edward Soja, and others, I see performance geography as developing on the work of Catherine Nash and Nigel Thrift on the role of performance, specifically embodied practices, in cultural geography.[1] This work looks at the way people living in particular locations give those locations identity through performance. Bearing in mind that this is work in progress, I see it as a mapping of the locations used, types and systems of use, politics of their location in relation to other sites and other practices, the character of events / rituals in particular locations, and the manner in which different performances / performers relate to each other within and across different cultures.

My analysis of performance geography in the context of blackness, the New World and its Middle Passage history invokes Paul Gilroy's Black Atlantic as a counter-culture of modernity. But there are ways in which I depart from that reading even as my work continues that tradition. Albeit the criticisms from Don Robotham, on the lack of attention to material forces, Peter Sutherland on the virtual absence of examples from Latin America, Africa and the Wider Caribbean in the formation of the trans-Atlantic black

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1   Catherine Nash, Performativity in Practice: Some Recent Work in Cultural Geography, in: Progress in Human Geography, 24 (2000) 4, pp. 653-664; Nigel Thrift, The Still Point: Resistance, Expressive Embodiment and Dance, in: Steve Pile/Michael Keith (eds.), Geographies of Resistance, London 1997, pp. 124-152.

culture, and Norman Corr Jr. and Rachel Corr on the absence of the Middle Passage history of suffering as a lost reference in the construction of black Atlantic scholarship,[2] I concur with Gilroy who states that

> [T]he expressive cultures of the black Atlantic world have been dominated by a special mood of restlessness. These songs … evoke and affirm a condition in which the negative meanings given to the enforced movement of blacks are somehow transposed. What was initially […] a curse – the curse of homelessness or … enforced exile – gets repossessed. It becomes affirmed and is reconstructed as the basis of a privileged standpoint from which certain useful and critical perceptions about the modern world become more likely …. I want to suggest that it … represents a response to successive displacements, migrations, journeys … which have come to constitute these black cultures' special conditions of existence.[3]

Geographically themed, Gilroy speaks to a spatial imperative in the black experience in terms of restlessness, homelessness, displacement, migration and other journeys. I would like, on a point of convergence with Gilroy, to continue the unearthing of New World performance, indeed popular culture and space in the tradition of Kamau Brathwaite, Wilson Harris and Genevieve Fabre who have etched clear images of the slave ship dance Limbo in black Atlantic scholarship. Space is an important element in New World Performance.

The Limbo dance highlights the importance of not only the historical but also the spatial imagination. Emerging out of the lack of space available on the slave ships, the slaves bent themselves like spiders. Incidentally, the lack of space is also obvious to the visitor of slave castles such as Elmina Castle with low thresholds that the enslaved navigated to move from dungeon to holding room to the 'door of no return' before boarding the slavers.[4] In the dance, consistent with certain African beliefs, the whole cycle of life is reflected. The dancers move under a pole that is consistently lowered from chest level and they emerge as in the triumph of life over death as their heads clear the pole.[5] The slave ships, like the plantation and the city reveal(ed) particular spaces that produce(d) magical forms of entertainment and ritual.

This historical continuity is evidenced in the way movement patterns like the Limbo were preserved throughout the last three centuries emerging among the Jamaican Maroons, 20th century Jamaican tourist entertainment, and within Trinidad as a wake dance.[6] Cru-

2   Don Robotham, Culture, Society and Economy: Bringing Production Back In, London/Thousand Oaks 2005; Peter Sutherland, In Memory of the Slaves: An African View of the Diaspora in the Americas, in: Jean Rahier (ed.), Representations of Blackness and the Performance of Identities, Westport (Conn.)/London 1999, pp. 195-212; Norman Corr, Jr/Rachel Corr, 'Imagery of Blackness' in Indigenous Myth, Discourse, and Ritual, in: Ibid., pp. 213-234.

3   Paul Gilroy, The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness, Cambridge (Mass.) 1993, p. 111.

4   Personal observation, Elmina Castle, Cape Coast, Ghana, November 9, 2003.

5   Molly Ahye, In Search of the Limbo: An Imagination into its Folklore as a Wake Dance, in: Susanna Sloat (ed.), Caribbean Dance From Abakuá to Zouk: How Movement Shapes Identity, Florida 2002, pp. 247-261.

6   Ibid.

cially, Limbo also appears in Jamaica's popular Dancehall culture in 1994 as one of the popular dance moves of that year. Limbo holds memory and marks continuity among performance practices of the New World. First, Limbo calls our attention to the dance movement and the space (its limits and potential) in which the movement was (and still is) performed. Secondly, it is a "ritual of rebirth,"[7] beyond the slave ship during the Middle Passage; it has also been linked to puberty and war rituals within Africa, to Kongolese cosmology in particular, as well as funereal rites. [8] Similarly, the plantation dances and urban Dancehall events evoke memories of celebratory events held within spatially restricted, heavily policed, and marginal settings. What I have done in previous work is to set up a conversation between Limbo as dance, space, system and symbol to look at the parallels, common genealogy, spatially and performatively, with Dancehall performance in order to develop my case for the use of a spatial argument. [9] I extend that work in this article.

A look at the scholarship on and common genealogy among the Blues, Dancehall and Kwaito would reveal that some of the same comments have been made about the performers, lyrics, role, performance practices, *raison d'etre* and aesthetics. What else can be said of the link between Dancehall, the Blues and Kwaito? I will not historicize the main elements of these forms; rather I wish to give a brief description of them focussing on analyzing their spaces of performance, venues, and the stories they tell about the meaning of celebration. The analysis is based on data collected in Jamaica and South Africa where interviews, case studies and participant observation were employed in addition to the analysis of posters, tickets, flyers, maps, internet sources and television broadcasts.

2. The Politics of Space in Dancehall/Dance-hall Culture

The name Dancehall has a spatial nuance. It first flourished in the 1950s around the consumption of the emerging popular music especially in Kingston Metropolitan Area, and its name derives from the exclusive yards/halls/lawns in which dance events were mainly held. It is first to be understood as the space in which adults meet to consume, celebrate, entertain and affirm group identity.[10]

Using space as a holistic category for analysing Dancehall performance in my early research led to an examination of the venues, events that occurred in those venues, and the culture of celebration in Jamaica, as well as the dance movement as an under-explored

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7   Geneveve Fabre, The Slave Ship Dance, in: Maria Diedrich et al. (eds.), Black Imagination and the Middle Passage, New York/Oxford 1999, pp. 33-46.

8   Maureen Warner-Lewis, Central Africa in the Caribbean: Transcending Time, Transforming Cultures, Mona 2003, pp. 242-243; M. Ahye, In Search of the Limbo (footnote 5), pp. 250-254.

9   See Sonjah Stanley Niaah, A Common Genealogy: Dancehall, Limbo and the Sacred Performance Space, in: Discourses in Dance, 2 (2004) 1, pp. 9-26, for a first look at this in context of new world Dancehall culture and the slave ship dance.

10 See id., Kingston's Dancehall: A Story of Space and Celebration, in: Space and Culture, 7 (2004) 1, pp. 102-118; and id., Kingston's Dancehall Spaces, in: Jamaica Journal, 29 (2006) 3, pp. 14-21.

aspect of Dancehall culture since the 1950s. I developed a classification scheme based on characteristic features, degree of commercialization, permanence and hierarchy, and associated with that, analytical categories, recurring metaphors, spatial descriptors and philosophies that characterize the evolution of popular Dancehall culture in Jamaica.[11] There are important stories about space in Dancehall culture. Most notable is the fact Dancehall occupies multiple spatial dimensions (eg. urban, street, policed, marginal, gendered, performative, liminal, memorializing, communal space) revealed through the nature and type of events, venues, their use and function. Also, Dancehall occupies liminal space between what is celebrated and at the same time denigrated in Jamaica, and moved from private community to public and commercial enterprise. Further, the way in which the urban gendered body creates space and status through performance in spite of the odds characteristic of life at the edge of survival is indicative of the role and importance of celebratory performance cultures. Beyond the multiple spatial dimensions there are spatial philosophies such as that of boundarylessness revealed in the way 'boundedness' translates into 'unboundedness', freedom, journey, contest and transformation.

Are the characteristics of spatial use, the philosophy and transformatory nature of Dancehall culture and its evolution similar for the Blues or Kwaito? What do they have in common in terms of performance space? From the Saturday night slave dance, to Blues, Dancehall and Kwaito, music and dance performances have been central to Black life. Following from Gilroy's statements on the kind of mental, physical, philosophical journeying and displacement across the Black Atlantic, I now turn to the spatial dimensions of the Blues and Kwaito to illustrate a common genealogy among slave ship (Limbo), plantation (slave dance; Blues), and ghetto (Dancehall; Kwaito) performance spaces.

3. The Space and Ethos of the Blues

Why the Blues? Blues Busters, Blues Dance (popular entertainment for the youth based on the sound system culture), Blue Beat (what Ska came to be called), and Clue J and the Blues Blasters are just some of the indications of the obvious influence the Blues had on Jamaican culture.[12] There were many copies of American big bands[13] with accompanying 'fake books' that contained the musical repertoire, a sign of heavy American popular musical influence on Jamaica between the 1930's to 50's. Blues was played in the Dancehall before Rhythm & Blues, then by the 1960s Ska developed as a combination of Rhythm & Blues and Jamaican forms such as Mento. There is also the lingering influence of the

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11   See: id., Kingston's Dancehall (footnote 10), and id., Making Space: Dancehall Performance and its Philosophy of Boundarylessness, in: African Identities, 2 (2004) 2, pp.117-132.

12   The Blues Busters was a vocal group popularly in the top ten musical charts in Jamaica with regular bookings at musical showcases at the Majestic and Carib Theatres.

13   American big bands refer to the blues and jazz bands that emerged around the 1930s. Some twenty to thirty bands that played Mento and jazz existed in Kingston by the 1940s and were all modeled on American big bands. Rhythm & Blues refers to a popular Black American musical genre that found favour with Jamaicans around the 1950s in the sound system dances.

Blues in Rhythm & Blues which was dominant in the 1950s and continues today in the staple of American artists that rotate on the Jamaican airwaves.

But outside of the historical links, are there any common features through musical flows? What is the Blues and how did it move from place to place in the early 20th Century? Around the late 19th Century thousands of black migrants experienced and took advantage of their 'out-of-placeness'[14] to travel from place to place through the US-South, in search of work or a sense of new self. In the context of troubles and problems of the everyday, blacks in the United States Delta region created their music. Some think of the Blues as "ain't nothing but a good man feeling bad."[15] The Blues is about no crime, just of being human, and is seen as an "anodyne for suffering that leaves the musician or listener feeling good again."[16] The experience of American blacks is bound up in the Blues – poverty, political disenfranchisement and legal segregation, the violence of lynchings, beatings and shootings are articulated in the musical and intellectual writings of performers. The Blues as a form of expression highlighted such issues as frustration, lack of love, loneliness, anger, life in the slums, rejection – many of them universal themes. Blues is also used to mean a way of playing Jazz and sometimes Blues is synonymous with Jazz.[17] Most importantly, Blues culture is defined as the "various forms of communication and the creation of community that occurred in such recreational environments as saloons, vaudeville houses, tent shows, juke joints, and street corners. In these spaces, Blues music became more than just entertainment, but music of self-definition and personal liberation".[18]

I am interested in the space of the Blues. The context in which Blues and Jazz emerged gives some indication of the space and conditions in which enslaved Africans had their entertainment. Based on the New Orleans Black Codes the enslaved had Sundays off and many used the day to dance, sing and play instruments in Congo Square. Hundreds of enslaved performers were escorted to the Square where their performances were supervised by local authorities. Policed spaces of performance were legitimized by the segregation laws. Formerly privileged creoles lost their jobs as performers due to these laws while blacks gained employment to play music in the saloons and dance-halls at which older

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14   I prefer to use the term out-of-placeness to highlight the sense of being out of place, out of a place to be and becoming.

15   Jimmie Rodgers, cited in Peter Puterbaugh, Pain for Gain: The Blues is Purely American Music, Attache (December 2005), pp. 39-43.

16   Jimmie Rodgers, cited in P. Puterbaugh, Pain for Gain, pp. 39-43.

17   I use the Blues as an umbrella term with the recognition that there are various sub-genres – country Blues, electric Blues (which is credited to Muddy Waters who electrified Delta Blues in urban Chicago, c. 1947–55), Delta Blues, soul Blues, and so on. The distinction between urban and country Blues is of course their spaces of operation. Country Blues is played and consumed in Juke Joints (also jook) and roadhouses around which Blues culture developed and was expressed. Bessie Smith for example moved from being a street performer to a theatre headliner as part of the transition from country Blues to urban Blues. Muddy Waters moved from rural Mississippi to Chicago in 1943, see: Peter Rutkuff/Will Scott, Preaching the Blues: The Mississippi Delta of Muddy Waters, in: Kenyan Review, 27 (2005) 2, pp. 129-147. See also Clyde Woods' essay in this collection for an elaboration on the political economy of blues geographies.

18   Michelle Scott, The Realm of a Blues Empress: Blues Culture and Bessie Smith in Black Chattanooga, Tennessee, 1880–1923, PhD Dissertation, Cornell University 2002.

brass bands were the staple. Black performers were also to be found playing in Minstrel shows, circuses, travelling roadshows, medicine shows, vaudeville shows, and carnivals. The restrictions on black subjects in the Blues era[19] stimulated innovative ways of maintaining the culture and ritual of the dance-hall. Since licences for operating dance classes were relatively easy to get, venues like 'Drake's Dancing Class' by day were transformed into New York's 'Jungle's Casino' by night. This Casino was a cellar, without fixtures or furnishing; liquor was stashed behind the unconcealed coal bin in the event that the venue was raided. Under the guise of dance classes patrons danced up a storm doing the two-steps, waltzes, schoostiches, the metropolitan glide, mule walk and gut stomp dances.[20]

The Blues brings interesting locational /situational elements by virtue of its point of origin in the Delta region.[21] Alan Lomax, David Grazian and Amiri Baraka explicitly acknowledge that space and place are critical to an understanding of the Blues as is its origins in slavery.[22] The Delta, the swamps of New Orleans, and Chicago's Southside are some regional key points that illustrate how the Blues has a home with authentic symbols and icons. It originates from the field hollers, chain gang chants, choruses of road builders, clearers of swamps, lifters and toters, and the anger of work songs rooted in African singing tradition. Beale Street in Memphis is an important site for popular Blues. The Mississippi Delta region is home to many Blues giants including Muddy Waters, Howlin' Wolf, and B. B. King.[23] Song titles attest to the importance of place. For example, a significant number of popular recordings highlight important sites of Blues memory, from St. Louis to the jail house. While lyrical analysis reveals that location was not always a strong reference point in the songs, the use of place as an important signifier (for an imprisoned lover from St. Louis or escape from the condition of the US-South, for example[24]) highlights the different ways in which place is inscribed in selfhood and a sense of community.

Places of locational importance include highways and streets, certain yards, and verandas. It was thought that Blues music came from the back alleys, the equivalent of the lanes of early Kingston, and portrayed the ways of the alley, its lifestyle.[25] There are memories and myths of the Blues bound up in certain locations. The street is an important site onto which music and dance activity spilled. It is much like in Dancehall culture where the streets are overtaken when events at a particular venue spill onto the street and also when the street is the actual site at the corner of Pink Lane and Charles Streets in Kingston, for

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19 By Blues era, I mean the time between 1930–1950 during which Blues music emerged and proliferated.
20 Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones), Blues People: Negro Experience in White America and the Music that Developed From it, New York 1968 [1963], p. 108.
21 See: Alan Lomax, I Got the Blues, in: Common Ground, 8 (1943) 4, pp. 38-52.
22 David Grazian, Blue Chicago: The Search for Authenticity in Urban Blues Clubs, Chicago/London 2003; A. Baraka, Blues People (footnote 20).
23 Stephen King, Blues Tourism in the Mississippi Delta: The Functions of Blues Festivals, in: Popular Music and Society, 27 (2004) 4, pp. 455-475.
24 Albert Murray, Stomping the Blues, New York 2000 [1976], p. 66.
25 Ibid., p. 50.

example, common throughout the 1950s to present. Beale Street is described by Violin player Jim Turner as "a song from dawn to dawn"[26].

What is distinct about the Blues is that its emergence is in displacement, 'out-of-place-ness', transport and travel, touring and migration, flows and networks. The concept of travelling roadside Blues encapsulates the nomadism in Blues performance. Like the movement of Jamaican Mento bands in the 1940s and 1950s, itinerant Delta Blues men traversed the Delta region up to the 1930s using trains, trucks and carts. Ma Rainey for example, "toured the South for years with a company called the Rabbit Foot Minstrels and became widely known in Negro communities everywhere in America"[27]. It is important to note that modes and symbols of travel in the Delta Region were racialized: "in many Delta towns, a railroad track serve[d] as an obvious physical symbol of racial demarcation"[28] and crossing it was regulated. Another important feature of the displacement was the nomadic street corner performers, including the visually impaired Lemon Jefferson moving characteristically with guitar in hand. Travel induced professionalism, experience on the road, a geography of learning that predates distance education. The best known musicians were wanderers and migratory farm workers. In a way restless feet produced 'placefulness' in the music.

As a popular site, juke joints (or honky tonks) were commonly associated with juke boxes that supplied the music where there were no live bands.[29] Juke boxes were usually located in the middle of the joint's floor. This is not the main source of its meaning however. The Gullah word *jook* or *jog,* meaning disorderly or wicked derived from the Banbara or Wolof of the Niger-Congo West African region.[30] *Jook house* meant disorderly house – combining a brothel, gaming parlour and dance hall, a roadhouse or tavern providing music and drinks. Jukeboxes, invented in the 1930s, began to provide music in the houses that did not have their own bands. Juke joints were also on the plantations, occupying a policed space. For example, McKinnley 'Muddy Waters' Morganfield, a tractor driver (credited with being one of the key originators of urban Blues music) who supplemented his income by operating a juke joint[31] that was located on the plantation.

26   Quoted in Shane White/Graham White, Strolling, Jooking and Fixy Clothes, in: Gena D. Caponi (ed.), Signifyin(g), Sanctifyin', & Slam Dunking: A Reader in African American Expressive Culture, Amherst 1999, pp. 434-452, p. 435.

27   A. Baraka, Blues People (footnote 20), p. 89.

28   S. King, Blues Tourism (footnote 23), p. 472.

29   During the 1890s recordings became popular primarily through coin-in-slot phonographs in public spaces and by 1910–1920 had become the mass medium for popular music, but it was orchestral and classical instrumental music that was most recorded at that time and could therefore be played by these phonographs. By the 1930s jukeboxes emerged to satisfy the dwindling phonograph market and could be found in roadhouses and taverns or juke joints. Every American innovation finds its way to Jamaica and the juke box is no different. My own grandfather purchased a jukebox in the 1960s which provided the music for various weekend dances organized by my aunts and uncles.

30   See: Juliet Gorman's work on the etymology of the word *jook* at http://www.oberlin.edu/library/papers/honorshistory/2001-Gorman/jookjoints/allaboutjooks/etymology.html (accessed on 27 August 2011).

31   P. Rutkuff/W. Scott, Preaching the Blues (footnote 17), p. 140.

Juke joints were constantly raided by the county sheriff and deputies or the city police. There were often fights, knife wounds or fatalities left behind.

According to Baraka (1963) you had to go to the 'gutbucket cabarets' to hear real Blues. These were the lower class venues where tripe or chitterlings, the delicacy of pig guts was served. These chitterlings (chitlins) appear under a different name in the South African context and I discuss this below.

While the Blues developed and was consumed in a more commercialized setting, it also maintained a strong presence in the more marginal/informal lounges and shacks (including many impromptu jam sessions), the street corner, at barbeques (family or public picnic events), roadhouses, and private and semi-private parties.

Chicago was the northern point of the Illinois Central Railroad which covered the Delta's North/South route. Migrants to Chicago came from Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Arkansas, and Tennessee.[32] Constant movement of bodies, music and performers within these multiple, informal, organic spaces (jook joints, streets, city) was an imperative produced by the condition of oppression. Even as the spaces were policed, performers defied the legal restrictions and new ways to maintain Black cultural identity were continually produced.

Urban Blues came to be more strongly associated with the formal setting of clubs and ballrooms such as the House of Blues, a modern replica of southern juke joints. In 1926, The Pelican (on Gravier and South Rampart Streets) was opened becoming New Orleans' newest and largest state-of-the-art dance hall. Being equipped with fe/male sanitary conveniences with attendants in waiting, free telephone, lounges, dance floor and smoking room made the Pelican a superior facility. Kansas City, like Clarksdale and Memphis, had its own ballrooms such as the Pla-Mar, Fairyland Park, and Frog Hop. Southside Chicago's Grand Terrace was also a popular ballroom.

Ballrooms like the Savoy which was first opened in March 1926 on Lenox Avenue and 140 & 141 Streets in Harlem were among the most prestigious venues. The Savoy, whose dance floor was the length of a block, with double band stands to house two orchestras, occupied a two-story pink building sporting mirrored walls, marble staircase, 10,000 square foot wooden floor that had to be replaced every three years due to excessive wear and hosted regular dance contests. This was one of the highest expressions of the Blues making and taking space. The ballroom was open to the public (black and white) for a minimal cover charge. Large Christmas events were popular and consistent with the proliferation of various dance events around holidays such as Christmas dances on the plantations. Weekends were popular with Saturdays often packed from corner to corner with strutting, swinging, shouting, shifting, rolling, hopping, dragging, bouncing, shouting, bumping, shaking, grinding, stomping, twisting, shuffling patrons. Blues dancing was at its highest level of execution and improvisation at such venues where old and new moves were on display. In the words of Duke Ellington from the recording containing the same

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32   See: Ralph Eastman, Country Blues Performance and the Oral Tradition, in: Black Music Research Journal, 8 (1988) 2, pp. 161-176.

line: "It don't mean a thing if it ain't got that swing"[33]. Blues people are "dance-beat-oriented people"[34]. As spaces of dance there were famous moves such as the Lindy Hop ("a creative, energetic, free-spirited partner dance executed with bent knees including various kicks"), the Charleston[35], Mambo, Slow Drag, Jitterubug, Carolina Shag, with West Coast Swing and Jive evolving from the Lindy Hop.

A high degree of spectator involvement, revelry, celebration around dance made the ballroom into a temple, according to Albert Murray: a sort of ritual space. The Blues musical pandemic that swept America from 1926 to 1960 ensured viability of venues like the Savoy that served as a "comprehensive elaboration and refinement of communal dancing"[36]. New modes of community have been built through dance and rituals have been performed. Blues musicians were simultaneously (as they played) "fullfiling a central role in a ceremony that was at once a purification rite and a celebration, the festive earthiness of which was tantamount to a fertility ritual"[37], "a ritual of purification and affirmation"[38], A ritual of resistance and resilience:[39] Though the dance-hall does not appear to conventional ritual workers / preachers as the locale for a purification ritual[40], Murray acknowledged that the rituals of voodoo / vodun are integral to the ceremony. Dance-hall proprietors are aware of the purging atmosphere that dance floors provide for what Murray calls "the baleful spirits"[41]. Of course early perceptions of Blues music mirrors perceptions held of Dancehall by purists who hold Judeo-Christian moral ethic as the high water mark of spirituality. It was thought to be devil music, not of the church or of God. The church as a space and religious aesthetic has a relationship with the Blues in the history of those Blues stars that had to go to church and were not even permitted to go to the weekend Blues. Ma Rainey, W.C. Handy and Jelly Roll Morton among numerous others have blended the conventions of the Protestant church musicians with their own practice.

Blues events always celebrated a specific occasion, such as a victory or an achievement, birthdays, marriages, or graduations:[42] This mirrors the celebratory ethos of Dancehall as well as Kwaito which is discussed below.

At the highest commercial level there are Blues clubs that are not seasonal or ephemeral, and contemporary Blues festivals (since the 1960s) along the order of Jamaica's Sunsplash or Sumfest[43], receiving funds from corporate sponsors and boosting the tourism industry

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33   A. Murray, Stomping the Blues (footnote 24), p. 148.
34   Ibid., p. 189.
35   Thought to have been an Ashanti dance, the Charleston emerges in America around the blues dancing era and bears similarities with Jamaica's Butterfly dance.
36   Ibid., p. 17.
37   Ibid.
38   Ibid., p. 38.
39   Ibid., p. 42.
40   Ibid., p. 23.
41   Ibid., p. 24.
42   Ibid., p. 17.
43   Sunsplash and Sumfest are the premiere summer reggae festivals in Jamaica today.

of especially Tennessee and Mississippi. In looking at the events, celebratory spaces such as those housing Blues festivals serve three purposes: homecoming (a sort of pilgrimage to home) or honouring musicians (dedicated to the memory of performers), preservation of Blues culture, and integration / racial harmony[44]. But even commercial activity was not exempt from state intervention. Though they were small scale festivals in the 1980's and were not well attended, law-enforcement officers seemed to plague them. As festivals proliferated throughout the 1990s with high levels of corporate sponsorship, civic and state support, they began to represent high levels of commodification by capitalizing on the resurgence of Blues in the 1960s. Just how organic community events in mostly marginal spaces become viable commercial activity is an important dimension of the transformation of space achieved through Black Atlantic performance culture.

An examination of Blues performance through the lens of space shifts the focus from linear, musical, lyrical or celebrity analyses to incorporate other perspectives, theoretical orientations, histories and national contexts. Without referencing fixed points of origin, I have shown that a common spatial imagination is referenced by the Blues and Dancehall: they reference the production and consumption of culture within policed, marginalized, ritual spaces, in the context of displacement, disenfranchisement and State intervention. This relationship between place, performance and identity extends beyond national contexts to a wider Diasporic space of musical trajectories. It is in this context that I look at Kwaito in the next section.

4. Shebeens, Kwaito Street Bashes and Politics

Why Kwaito? What is Kwaito? The influence of South African music on the Jamaican Calypso / Mento fusion is highlighted by Timothy White in *Catch a Fire* as cross-fertilization "producing around the late 1940s and early 1950s an aggressive amalgam that also contained South African elements and a percussive tack similar to the Highlife music of Nigeria." [45] It is a symbiotic process of cross-fertilization, however, and the influence of Jamaican music on Kwaito has hardly been probed. Jimmy Cliff, Bob Marley and Peter Tosh have significantly influenced the African musical landscape, Zimbabwe and South Africa in particular. Of course Africa's look to the Diaspora has seen the influence of early tours by vaudeville and ragtime performers which spawned a whole new culture of music production culminating in distinct South African Jazz and the colloquial renaming of townships like Sophiatown as 'little Harlem'. It is important to note that American Jazz is more popular in South Africa than any other African country, due; according to David Coplan, to the existential parallels:[46] It is also notable, that my focus on Kwaito does not privilege the musical hegemony which obtains in the flow of music from the American

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44   S. King, Blues Tourism (footnote 23), p. 457.
45   Timothy White, Catch a Fire: The Life of Bob Marley, London 1991 [1983], p. 17.
46   David Coplan, Born to Win: Music of the 'Black Atlantic' Revisited, paper presented at the National Art Festival, Grahamstown, South Africa (July 6, 2005), p. 11.

musical empire to the rest of the world. Instead I focus on the way Kwaito speaks to and about the Dancehall, an African Diasporic community of music creators and their influence, and the broader Black Atlantic spaces of performance.

Kwaito's similarities with Dancehall are political, musical, social and cultural. Dancehall emerged around the 1950s and 60s as an activity pioneered by the lower classes, a generation seeking political independence from Britain. Kwaito emerged in the era of a democratized South Africa, a new freedom era. As with the 1980s dispensation of accusations about Dancehall's 'slackness'[47] character (mostly from international critics) juxtaposed with the neo-liberal approach of the Jamaica Labour Party government, Kwaito has been branded with the same empty lyrics thought to flourish under neo-liberal macro-economic rule. Both are seen to have taken cues from the trends of new governments that supposedly gave rise to the advancement of personal wealth, and glamorized gangster lifestyles. Themes in Kwaito and Dancehall music are also similar: social commentary about crime and violence, anti-politics, sexuality / sexual prowess, socially conscious songs about AIDS awareness, and violence against women in an era of increased gang rapes of women especially in South Africa.

In order to illustrate the space of Kwaito and its similarities with Dancehall, I would first like to locate the musical history of South Africa. A genealogy[48] of Kwaito reveals antecedents such as Marabi nights (1950s) , *Mbaqanga* or jive (a musical experience around traditional songs heard in the shebeens), Kwela (1950s), *Mapantsula* (1980's, lower-class culture characterized by large groups of male dancers in synchronized movements very much resembling the 2002 rise of male dancing crews in Jamaica), Bubblegum (1980s), township Jazz, Afro-pop and western musics such as R&B, jungle, hip hop, house, ragga (the name Dancehall is known especially in the European context) and rap: a musical potpourri if there ever was one. The cross-cultural dimensions of Kwaito, specifically the focus on a reading of the Atlantic as a musical space of exchange, have been recently explored by David Coplan. This article extends that reading.

Kwaito is significant for forging new identities beyond apartheid South Africa burdened by a history of isolation. It has distinct styles of dancing, performance, fashion, and language (mostly township slang and indigenous languages). Unlike the protest music of Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba, Dolly Rathebe, among others, Kwaito like the 1980s

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47   'Slackness' in Jamaica refers here to lyrics about women's body parts, display of women's sexuality whether through lyrics or dance moves. It is also used interchangeably with vulgarity to reference licentious behaviour especially among women.

48   For an ethnomusicological history of South Africa see David B. Coplan, God Rock Africa: Thoughts on Politics in Popular Black Performance in South Africa, in: African Studies, 64 (2005) 1, pp. 9-27; and Lara Allen, Kwaito versus Crossed-Over: Music and Identity During South Africa's Rainbow Years, 1994 – 99, in: Social Dynamics, 30 (2004) 2, pp. 82-111. For a review of the scholarship on Kwaito to date, see: Gavin Steingo, South African Music After Apartheid: Kwaito, the "Party Politic" and the Appropriation of Gold as a Sign of Success, in: Popular Music and Society, 28 (2005) 3, pp. 333-357. This article details pre-Kwaito, stars of Kwaito, the break with and similarities with earlier music genres, the role of legislation in the promotion of Kwaito in the media, Mandela's presidency as the defining period, development of the industry and its successful takeover by the youth culture, and the meaning and metaphor of gold in the new politics of acquisition, subversion, critique and appropriation.

emergence of Dancehall music is thought to be apolitical[49], with often misogynist content focussed on girls, cars and partying, and sexually explicit dance moves. The general opinion is that its arbiters seek to dissociate themselves from agony, struggle, conflict and exploitation, "[…] a culturated degree of estrangement"[50] from the generation X that fought for the end of apartheid. As Thandiswe of Bongo Maffin fame stated in an interview - "Kwaito [is] about the energy of the time, post-independence youth expressing their freedom and excitement about everything being so brand new"[51]. This signals a movement into a new iteration of youth culture, ghetto youth culture, one linked to city life and not the rural backward and seemingly unprogressive life of grandparents:[52] Siswe Satyo says the performative language and ethos of Kwaito is "about throwing off the shackles of archaic rules imposed by some village schoolmaster or mistress. It is a benchmark of 'sophistication and creativity' within the peer group."[53] Kwaito stars are a new generation. They include M'du, Arthur, Oskido, Lebo, Mzekezeke, Mafikizolo, Mandoza, Mzambi, Chicco, Zola; groups like Boom Shaka, Bongo Maffin, Trompies, Aba Shante, and Genesis.

Kwaito is seen as the "true music of the new South Africa[n]"[54] rainbow nation, born when Nelson Mandela was released, defining a generation, popular television programmes and advertisements, films, websites, magazines, radio waves, fashion, a signifier for today's freedoms. Considered the music of township youth, it is a black dance music genre blending various musical cultures, and it signifies 'age and locale' at once:[55] Between 1999 and 2004, 30 percent of all hit songs were Kwaito tunes and an analysis of the industry suggests that 31 percent of all adults are part of the "Kwaito nation".

Kwaito is ubiquitous within South Africa as Dancehall music is in Jamaica. The music pumps out of minibus taxis, clubs, radio bashes, shebeens, and parties. Technology has reordered the spaces of production and consumption of Kwaito, making it possible to produce a Kwaito recording from start to finish by one or two persons often in one location, and consumed in another. Distance is inconsequential and space is about flows, the local/global influences all feeding each other. Kwaito is beyond the sound economies,

49   This criticism has also been leveled at Dancehall. However Kwaito's, like Dancehall's politics are seen in the discourses about safe sex, the AIDS pandemic etc. Steingo warns that Kwaito's rejection of politics as a stance is political, and that there is a new politics of wealth beyond struggle realized through opportunities made available through music.

50   See:Sarah Nuttall, Stylizing the Self: The Y Generation in Rosebank, Johannesburg, in: Public Culture, 16 (2004) 3, pp. 430-452, here p. 451.

51   Maria McCloy, Mama Africa Meets the Kwaito Generation: Interview with Musicians Miriam Makeba and Thandiswe, in: UNESCO Courier (July 2000), http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1310/is_2000_July/ai_63845103/ (accessed on 27 August 2011).

52   Cf. Simon Stephens, Kwaito, in: Sarah Nuttall/Cheryl-Ann Michael (eds.), Senses of Culture: South African Culture Studies, Oxford 2000, pp. 256-273; L. Allen, Kwaito versus Crossed-Over (footnote 49), 140 and Siswe Satyo, Kwaito-speak: A Language Variety created by the Youth for the Youth, in: Freedom and Discipline, 2001.

53   S. Satyo, Kwaito-speak (footnote 53), p. 141.

54   See: World Economic Forum, South Africa at Ten: Perspectives by Political, Business and Civil Leaders, Cape Town/Pretoria 2004, p. 156.

55   L. Allen, Kwaito versus Crossed-Over (footnote 49), p. 86.

racialized "spatialities and temporalities of apartheid"[56] and allows, like Dancehall and the Blues, for the circulation of another 'version' of local text, space and the everyday, a sort of 'transnational/cosmopolitan performance'.

While its appeal is to the youth, its purchase is clearly understood by the older generation, evidenced by its incorporation into political campaigns to mobilize voters. This is similar to the incorporation of the popular Rastafari symbolism and Rastafari-inspired music, as well as Dancehall music, into election campaigns of political parties in Jamaica.

Johannesburg and its surrounding townships, in particular Soweto, hold important sites of memory for Kwaito. The township is associated with high levels of danger for the average black South African youth: high murder rates, police harassment, hardship and squalid conditions. Visual representation of Soweto's poor neighbourhoods will feature horse-drawn carts, dirt surface roads, mud brick homes, barefoot children, and intense overcrowding. Since the 1930s for example, there were few services in townships like Soweto and Sophiatown. Roads, lighting, and water were non-existent. Families survived on low wages earned in mines and illegal brewing of beer by women.

This system of deprivation induced a whole culture of survival of which music was only one form of expression. By the 1950s, beer, music, and dancing came together especially on weekends around the shebeens. The Shebeen Queen's house was cleared of furniture and, for a modest entrance fee, patrons were treated to live music, beer and stew. As in the Blues juke joints where Chitterlings were served and in Dancehalls in Jamaica where 'mannish water' made from goat innards was an important part of the fare, so in Soweto, the lowly tripe was elevated to a delicacy in the social sessions referred to as 'Tripe parties'. Tripe is sold during the sessions because it is understood as "useful for overcoming hangovers and recovering from Sunday drinking"[57].

Shebeens are to be understood as sites of control, spaces of surveillance and closure, especially under Apartheid. However dance and music performance constructs an alternative political, spatial, and cultural narrative for the shebeen, an identity inconsistent with dominant political interests. While invoking and expanding work by James Scott, Allen[58] clarifies that music inherently has 'hidden transcripts' that have private meanings made public by the medium of transmission. By virtue of the transmission to various audiences musical messages transgress and rebut hegemonic discourses, a sharp departure from Modernist conceptions of leisure (including the consumption of music) which see pleasure as its only utility.

One glaring opposition to such constructions is the way dance halls, shebeens, and juke joints construct a politics of enjoyment even as the everyday militates against it. The existence of such enjoyment assaults and mocks the oppressive everyday and those who construct and maintain it. Enjoyment can reduce the potential to incite violence against the self and community because it channels energies in a pleasurable way. Where planta-

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56   See: Achille Mbembe et al., Soweto Now, in: Public Culture, 16 (2004) 3, pp. 499-506, here p. 500.
57   Cf. ibid.
58   L. Allen, Music and Politics in South Africa, in: Social Dynamics, 30 (2004) 2, pp. 1-19.

tion, township and ghetto folk are left to self-destruct in the quagmire of oppression, they mock that oppression by surviving in its face. Thus the very spaces created for consumption and production of cultural forms and access to pleasure constitute sites of political power for that practice and the people who create them.

It is important to note that shebeens were also meeting places for activists during apartheid. There is a parallel there with the fact that rude boys, gang members and dons who sometimes met in Jamaica's Dancehall sessions to (symbolically) taunt/rival other gangs and police officials by their very presence in the dance, though not necessarily to plan insurrection. Many of them are wanted men and numerous raids on dance sessions were thought to be as a result of gunmen, rude boys or dons hiding in the dance hall.

Different types of shebeens attracted different audiences: the 'respectable' versus the very 'low-class'. Sometimes Shebeen parties went on all night. Shebeens still form an important part of today's social scene. Haile Stone in her research on shebeens noted the function that they play in contemporary South Africa comparing them to juke joints: they "serve a function similar to jook joints for African-Americans in the rural South".[59] They are a social institution building a sense of community and group identity. Shebeens shaped the city's cultural geography cutting across class, but shaped by blacks. They are also called taverns and today are legally operated by mostly men instead of women. They now host young adults in the 18-20 age cohort typically having facilities such as tables, chairs and decorated dance floors.

"Kwaito is steeped in the ghetto"[60], draws its sustenance from it, and generates dialogue with other ghettos around the world. With Kwaito, urban youth could now spend their nights in clubs rather than under curfew. This is the context in which Kwaito emerged. Youth gangs are a real part of the everyday life of the ghetto and they are also role models for youth who aspire to gain material wealth quickly:[61] But wealth achieved from the music has fostered upward mobility and stimulated out migration from South African ghettos. Kwaito, like the Blues and Dancehall provides a way out of the township / ghetto even as it forms the source from which the music has its sustenance. One artist named himself Zola after the area in Soweto from which he came.

In the ghetto, the street is an important site: On weekends, streets are taken over by jams or bashes where aspiring actors try to woo audiences and attract the attention of producers. The street is the first stage for many aspirants.

There is much more to Kwaito though and I want to focus on its connections with Jamaican reggae / Dancehall style. Simon Stephens for example, argues that "Kwaito's appropriation of the ragga vocal style and aspects of modern European dance music is a direct result of black South African exposure to these", and a strategy employing "symbols of a black cultural ecumene and resistance"[62]. But this is a simple way of stating

59   See Haile Stone's seminar paper on Shebeens at http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/ARTS/Music/Stone-H_2001_Dance_ and_Music.pdf (accessed 27 August 2011).
60   M. McCloy, Kwaito, in: UNESCO Courier (July 2000), p. 1.
61   David Coplan, in unpublished personal interview with author, July 2005.
62   S. Stephens, Kwaito (footnote 53), p. 257.

what is a deeper relationship and conversations between Africa and its Diaspora on the one hand, the Black Atlantic and the relationship between Jamaican reggae musicians and the South African liberation struggle.

The first Kwaito group was Boom Shaka, and it is no coincidence that its leader Junior Dread (Junior Sokhela a street boy from the Hillbrow area) had a long relationship with Jamaican music through his uncle. According to Junior,

> *I've been a reggae fan since I was young because I had an uncle, and my uncle was an MK soldier. So what he did, he used to play Bob Marley but he loved Winston Rodney (Burning Spear). They loved Burning Spear, Culture (Joseph Hill), and he had like Mutabaruka, I-Roy and U-Roy… I used to hear all of them when I was young and I didn't know, but I got so interested, because he used to play them loud and they couldn't allow us to play any music which we want, so because it was his radio we had to listen to his music. So he'd put on a Prince Fari album and play it like non-stop everyday. So we'd be singing to that and I got used to it, I started imitating it. By that time as a youth I was still confused: I used to do break dancing, Ragga, and do football everything [but] I just loved music.*[63]

Similarly, a telling statement by the Kwaito artist Stoan explained the kind of conversation taking place across the Atlantic musicscape about aspiration, transformation, the politics of progress and freedom. He states: "when kwaito started, we had aspirations. We wanted to be like hip hop and ragga, like all the other forms of urban music that also came out of the ghetto and became huge."[64] Elaborating, Stoan added:

> *If we had to look at any other example of Black people off the continent who have found their essence, it's Jamaicans. For us, for South Africans after the curtain was lifted, after we could see other things besides what was presented to us on television which was blacksploitation movies and stuff like that, buffoons, you know the picture of us. Any other successful picture of a black man was him behaving like a caricature of himself. So Jamaicans brought another element to a picture we had of us as an out of body experience. Yeah, so I think you'll find that a lot of people, you know, have been touched by the culture, in South Africa, within ten years.*[65]

Stoan's invocation of the ghetto as the space of creation and identity can be viewed against the backdrop of its use within sociology and anthropology. Ulf Hannerz contextualizes ghetto as an "anti-euphemism" for innercity or slum indicating the poor run-down conditions but also the "nature of community and its relationship to the outside world", ethnicity, family ties and other factors that keep people living in the same space, ultimately producing a ghetto lifestyle:[66] What is different about early ghettos like the

63   Personal interview with author, July 2005
64   M. McCloy, The Kwaito Story, in: Rage. South African Street Culture Online, 43 (2004).
65   Personal interview with author, July 2005
66   Ulf Hannerz, Soul Side: Inquiries into Ghetto Culture and Community, Chicago 2004 [1969], p. 11.

one Hannerz studied and contemporary ones, particularly in Jamaica, is that their 'status as communities' is not necessarily determined by strong dependency on relationships with outsiders who dominate and jobs that are found on the outside for example. Fundamentally, economic and political self-sufficiency is low relative to non-ghetto communities. What exists, in addition to high unemployment and economic support maintained sometimes through illicit activities around the trade in illegal substances, weapons, and certain entertainment ventures, and little movement inwards or outwards on a daily basis by the majority of its citizens, is the proliferation of bonds of internal solidarity around music and dance. There is a transnational news and migratory network that they operate in, a sort of World Wide Web on the one hand distributing news of struggles and victories of daily life through music and the tangible links through travel among ghetto citizenry via Brixton, Bronx, Lagos and Soweto.

The spaces of Kwaito are varied and can be viewed, like Dancehall and Blues venues, on a continuum from community to commercial, based on the nature and type of events they host. Kwaito music is heard in refurbished warehouses, university stadia, clubs, parks, semi-private and private parties, festivals, stage shows and street bashes, train stations and free concerts hosted by record companies that attract sponsorship from multinational cooperations like Pepsi-cola. Events are most common in the summer and are used to celebrate public holidays, commemorative occasions, birthdays, anniversaries, victory after a soccer match, marriage, and to conclude interment rites.

The street bash was the most ubiquitous in the early period and still exists today. They have always been held in contravention of state laws, and during Apartheid they were raided. The street is transformed into an event when the sound system is set up and people gather for the evening. These are the common weekend township bashes which don't attract a cover charge. Clubs on the other hand attract cover charges and range in the class of their clientele and location. Clubs such as Tandor and Rockefellars in Yeoville, Horror Café, Enigma and Sanyaki in Rosebank, and the Stage in Randburg, are all in the greater Johannesburg area. Major centres such as Cape Town, Durban, and Pretoria have numerous clubs spotting the nightscape.

In a sense, Kwaito has achieved in ten years what the Blues didn't and Dancehall has recently achieved: there are solid artists that own recording studios, are producers, DJs and own record labels and video production companies, travel the world on tours, occupy soundscapes that are simultaneously local, national, regional and transnational. Oskido, who is a DJ and a producer with his own record label and video production company has played regionally within Africa, Europe, and the United States. Another good example of this is the recent travel itinerary of Bongo Maffin: they have toured the United States twice, played at 'Reggae on the River' in California, opened for Basement Jaxx in Central Park at 'Summer Stage', opened for Yellow Man at Sounds of Brazil in New York, played at the peace concert at the Coliseum (a stage which was shared by Ray Charles, Khalid and others some three years ago), opened for Femi Kuti at Hollywood Ball in California, played at small clubs in Germany and other European and United Kingdom destinations.

Like Dancehall, dancing has given Kwaito increased appeal. Dance moves were popularized by the first group Boom Shaka and they continue the creation of dances with recent moves like 'Chop di grass'[67] done to honour the men who cut grass when highways are being constructed. Dancing girls are a motivation for men to go to Kwaito parties and stage shows. Boom Shaka explains that their dancing is African and comes from the *Kwasa Kwasa* urban dance from Zaire which is popular among South African youth and performed mostly in the Shebeens to Kwaito music. Dance moves are sexy and included the 'Butterfly'[68], the '*Squga*' (get down) dance named after Mzekezeke's recent 'song of the year', Madiba jive (after one of Mandela's famous moves on his release from prison), Chicken (from 1980s, mimicking moves of the chicken), Copetsa, Sekele (a circle dance from the traditional), CODESA (literally the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, the name given to the negotiations around the reconstruction period), Bason (named after the whites thought to be involved in the killing of Blacks with the HIV virus), and Tobela (Boom Shaka's song of the same Sothu name meaning 'thank you', a greeting which was fashioned into a dance resembling Dancehall's Signal the Plane). Like Jamaican dance moves, they offer a window to the everyday life of South Africans while adding to the global conversation about meaning/representation and embodiment. DJs and producers have suggested that over fifty dance moves have been created since Kwaito's emergence building on traditional as well as regional dance influences.

 With a healthy dance culture, there are contestations over the display, size and form of the female body as a site onto which many inscriptions about propriety, work, ethics and morality have been written. And, it is a site in which gender relations are being revised. In an interview David Coplan explained the point he made in his 2005 article about the complex renegotiations in gender relations which cannot be oversimplified in discussions about sexualized performance in Kwaito. In reference to a music video by his favourite Kwaito group – Trompies, David Coplan described the story depicted:

> …*there's a beauty contest at the bar and the contestants, some of them 'fohloza' [a word coined to mimic the sound fat moving on a woman's body makes] and some of them are spaghetti, very thin, and we know that society favours spaghetti nowadays, you have to be thin. But the band is not having it. As the girls are introduced across the stage, every time there's a biggish one they're all going 'wow look at her!', or 'look at that one', 'look at her' only for the big ones and they are ignoring the slender ones. So they have their beauty contest: first second and third prize are taken by the big ones and the spaghettis loose out. And then these girls who won the contest they leave the club with members of the band who are admiring them… Of course it was hugely popular because first of all, a lot of our ladies do tend to be on the larger side and they can't manage the spaghetti look. Second of*

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67   Junior Dread says he is the first person in South Africa to do ragga music.
68   Most likely the Jamaican one, I have not yet verified this.

all it was just reversing the social stereotype that, you know, to be beautiful you must be thin, so the band was turning that upside down.[69]

These discourses are of course not unique to Kwaito. Hip Hop and Dancehall have mature conversations about the place, nature, beauty and power of woman, woman as whore, wife, sweetheart, diseased, virtuous, as well as the conniving woman.

5. Millennial Indaba my Children! – The Atlantic as Drum

What is the significance of this trajectory, these similarities, the links, the common genealogy? Why performance geography versus cultural history? What I have shared with you is an alternative way of looking at performance through space, particularly, the Black Atlantic as space, a musical and performance space. Dancehall, Kwaito, and the Blues are racialized performance sites of contestation, travel and transience, transcendence and boundarylessness, pleasure and ritual, innovation, hybridity and social integration that have fed each other and continue to do so. Their citizenry simultaneously enact, reclaim, reconnect and renew self and diasporic cultural identity. Like Dancehall and the Blues, Kwaito constitutes a more recent site of "psychic relocation"[70], embodying questions and paths toward making space, a new self and nation, also taking place within various sites in the Black Atlantic world.

Putting this into language closer to home, Braithwaite's notion of nation language helps us understand what happens out of the affirmation that Jamaican Patois speaks through us, of us and for us to the world of growing converts who especially in Japan learn patois before/instead of English propelled by the distance education provided by Reggae and Dancehall music. In the case of music it is diasporic language transmitted through performance. Performance, like spirituality, can be seen as a network linking us to the source of existence through ritual, our inner selves, and each other across different terrains, nations and identities. It tells stories about deep connections. I wish to echo Wole Soyinka's plea for a millennial indaba on United States soil as a point on which to conclude my arguments. Soyinka, as an exiled citizen of Africa and a citizen of the Diaspora, actively contemplated the relationship between the children of the Diaspora and those on the continent. Soyinka spoke of the "oceans of ignorance still separate[ing] the general black population from the mother continent…".[71] He believes a "percussive impact is required, a mammoth-scale, extended event that celebrates and contextualizes both the African past & contemporary reality". A millennial indaba is what Soyinka posits as the way to achieve this through conferences, exhibitions, film, performing arts, celebration, to promote exchange. This was his vision for bringing in the new era and closing the past.

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69   Personal interview with author, July 2005
70   L. Allen, Kwaito versus Crossed-Over (footnote 49).
71   Wole Soyinka, A Millennial Indaba?, http://www.edofolks.com/html/pub34.htm (accessed 27 August 2011).

The terrain I have covered, especially Kwaito, suggests an alternative way to view the millennial indaba. The sounds of the Caribbean, especially of Jamaica travelled to the United States (depending on your chronology or depth of research) and influenced the emergence of the Blues which in turn influenced the music of Jamaica and South Africa. South, as the rest of Africa, has been influenced both by the Diasporans in the United States and Jamaica. There is a large network of travel and cross-fertilisation through which exchange and learning helped wash away the 'oceans of ignorance' Soyinka discusses. The millennial indaba, albeit the indabas that have occurred in South Africa and other countries, has been achieved using what ordinary people have always had – the common impulse to create, to perform in spite of the odds in marginal/ized circumstances.

Therefore, I start where I began; at the bottom of the Atlantic are the tracks of black ivory laid down throughout the years of the Middle Passage slave trade. The ivory is moving to the beat of a triangular trade in reverse, bones flowing with the rhythms back to Africa. As our ancestors had little space in which to perform so did their offspring evidenced in the Blues, Dancehall and Kwaito. In instances where performers have had to create space to meet their need to celebrate in the face of oppression and repression, the adoption of a philosophy of limitless space and boundarylessness, allows for the reclamation, multiplication, and transcendence of space. This is what performers in the contexts where repression propels struggle achieved.

Chocolate, Race, and the Atlantic World: A Bittersweet History

Silke Hackenesch

RESÜMEE

Vor dem Hintergrund des Black Atlantic argumentiert der vorliegende Artikel, dass Kakao/Schokolade und Blackness vielschichtig – auf diskursiven und materiellen Ebenen – miteinander verknüpft sind. Es waren seit dem frühen 20. Jahrhundert in erster Linie versklavte schwarze Subjekte, die die Kakaobohnen auf Plantagen in Westafrika ernteten, und diese Produktionsbedingungen fanden nicht nur Eingang in das semantische Feld rund um Schokolade, in dem diese als exotisches Genussmittel, als Aphrodisiakum, oder als Luxusgut konstruiert worden ist, sondern auch in die visuelle Bildsprache von Schokoladenreklame, die häufig koloniale Phantasiewelten evozierte, in denen „exotische" Menschen an „tropischen" Orten Kakao ernteten. Schokolade fungiert hier, in Anlehnung an Roland Barthes, als Mythos, denn es erscheint in den Quellen selbsterklärend und vermeintlich „natürlich", warum ein ehemals koloniales Produkt mit (Imaginationen von) Blackness verwoben wird. Interessanterweise taucht chocolate in afrikanisch-amerikanischen kulturellen Kontexten aber auch als affirmative und positiv konnotierte Selbstbezeichnung auf, und – im Gegensatz zu Deutschland – als emanzipatorische und häufig sexuell aufgeladene Aufforderung einer positiven Identifikation mit Blackness.

1. Introduction

Chocolate moved across the Atlantic not only in a very material sense as a commodity, but also as a cultural symbol and as a myth. Ships that left West African colonies for North American and Western European metropolises in the early twentieth century carried with them not only the raw product the consumers clamored for, but also a very condensed, distorted, and aestheticized projection of the conditions of labor on the plantations. In turn, this "ensemble" of materiality and symbolism of chocolate has found its way into popular culture where it has not simply been used, but transformed and

remetaphorized in many different ways. Following some brief remarks on the concept of the Black Atlantic, this contribution will firstly reflect on the symbolic meanings chocolate is endowed with; meanings that are also consumed when indulging in chocolate. Secondly, it will elaborate on the modes of chocolate production by means of a specific example from Portuguese West Africa around 1900, and contrast these politics of labor with the visual representations at work in an exemplary historical chocolate advertisement. Finally, it will analyze the use of chocolate on a semantic level and look at how it operates as a racial signifier for Blackness in (African) America.

2. The Black Atlantic as a Circum-Atlantic World

This essay is written from a transcultural and transnational perspective, investigating where and when the chocolate signifier operates within – in Paul Gilroy's words – "the rhizomorphic, fractal structure of the transcultural, international formation I call the black Atlantic."[1] What I am concerned with here are places around the Atlantic, not just the Atlantic itself. Historian David Armitage has identified three types of Atlantic history, "circum-Atlantic history," which takes the Atlantic unit as a whole; "trans-Atlantic history," which emphasizes a comparative approach; and "cis-Atlantic history," which looks at a particular place within an Atlantic context":[2] This paper is situated between a circum-Atlantic and a cis-Atlantic perspective; its underlying assumption is that the Atlantic is a useful unit of analysis because not only people but also commodities like cocoa link the Atlantic world through production, consumption, and commerce, as much as ideas, discourses, and modes of representations do.[3]

Joseph Roach, building on Gilroy's seminal work, proposes an expansion of the transnational and transatlantic perspectives by defining the circum-Atlantic world as follows: "As it emerged from the revolutionized economies of the late seventeenth century, this world resembled a vortex in which commodities and cultural practices changed hands many times. The most revolutionary commodity in this economy was human flesh, and not only because slave labor produced huge quantities of the addictive substances – sugar, coffee, tobacco, and, most insidiously, sugar and chocolate in combination – that transformed the world economy and financed the Industrial Revolution (Mintz). The concept of a circum-Atlantic world (as opposed to a transatlantic one) insists on the centrality of the diasporic and genocidal histories of Africa and the Americas – North and South – in the creation of the culture of modernity."[4]

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1   Paul Gilroy, The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness, London/New York 1993, p. 4.
2   Quoted from Alison Games, Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities, in: The American Historical Review, 111 (2006) 3, n. pag.; see also: David Armitage, Three Concepts of Atlantic History, in: id. (ed.), The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800, Basingstoke 2002, pp. 11-27.
3   A. Games, Atlantic History (footnote 2), n. pag.
4   Joseph Roach, Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performances, New York 1996, p. 4.

Roach's concept of the circum-Atlantic bounded by Europe, Africa, and the Americas is quite useful for emphasizing the diasporic dimensions and circulations in this region. He is not only concerned with the movement of commodities like sugar and cocoa, or ideas and discourses within a Black Atlantic. Equally important are the forced movements of human beings, that is to say, the massive enslavement of African peoples. As becomes apparent later, chocolate could not have become a daily indulgence for consumers in North America and Western Europe without slavery and forced labor practices on cocoa plantations around the turn of the twentieth century.[5]

3. The Politics of Desiring Chocolate

Monographs on the history of commodities like salt, sugar, tea, cocoa, and coffee have come to constitute a discrete genre widely read by the public. Besides scholarly works, there is a plethora of popular books on the history of chocolate, cookbooks with chocolate recipes, exhibitions on chocolate with accompanying catalogs, richly illustrated coffee table books, restaurants specializing in chocolate desserts, and chocolate boutiques selling expensive gourmet chocolate. Sidney Mintz reasons that this might be due to the "rediscovery of the role individual commodities came to play in the rise of capitalism."[6] A lot of the publications, however, focus solely on the consumption and the cultural impact of the products in North America and Western Europe.[7] Yet, in my view, the various nodal points of the commodity web – the production, the trade, the consumption, as well as the agents at these stages – should be taken into account. What complicates matters is the historical connection between the production, marketing, and consumption of this commodity on the one hand, and its involvement of Black subjects on the other. For

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5   One should note that these modes of production are still applicable today. Child slave labor as well as precarious labor practices are common features of the cocoa business as the work of several NGOs and journalists has shown. See, for instance: Carol Off, Bitter Chocolate: The Dark Side of the World's Most Seductive Sweet, New York 2008; Kathrin Burger, So süß und doch so bitter: Die Deutschen lieben Schokolade und wissen oft nicht um die menschenunwürdigen Bedingungen im Kakaoanbau, in: Die Zeit, 17 December 2009, http://www.zeit.de/2009/52/Kakao (accessed on 1 September 2011); Cat Cox, Chocolate Unwrapped: The Politics of Pleasure, London 1993; see also the BBC-documentary Slavery: A Global Investigation from 2004, http://www.stwr.org/africa/slavery-a-global-investigation.html (accessed on 1 September 2011). The film can be seen at http://freedocumentaries.org/film.php?id=192 (accessed 1 September 2011); see also: Anti-Slavery International, Trafficking of children in West Africa - focus on Mali and Côte d'Ivoire. (http://www.antislavery.org/archive/other/trafficking-children-wafrica.htm, accessed June 4, 2008).

6   Sidney W. Mintz, The Bromides of God, the Passions of Humans: Review of Histoire du Chocolat (Harwich) and The Chocolate Tree (Young), in: New West Indian Guide, 70 (1996) 1&2, pp. 107-108.

7   See, among others: Mark Kurlansky, Salt: A World History, New York 2003; Peter L. Bernstein, The Power of Gold: The History of an Obsession, New York 2004; Mark Pendergrast, Uncommon Grounds: The History of Coffee and How it Transformed Our World, New York 1999; Wolfgang Schivelbusch, Das Paradies, der Geschmack und die Vernunft: Eine Geschichte der Genussmittel, Frankfurt am Main 2002; Susan J. Terrio, Crafting the Culture and History of French Chocolate, Berkeley 2000; Nikita Harwich, Histoire du Chocolat, Paris 1992; Annerose Menninger, Genuss im kulturellen Wandel: Tabak, Kaffee, Tee und Schokolade in Europa (16.-19. Jahrhundert), Stuttgart 2004. Even the authoritative scholars on chocolate, Sophie and Michael Coe, barely mention slavery and slave labor in their 'true history of chocolate', but focus on chocolate as consumed in Central America and its trajectory in Europe, see: Sophie D. Coe/Michael D. Coe, The True History of Chocolate, London 2007.

the study of cocoa and chocolate, a more thorough inquiry reveals that there has indeed been a long-standing connection between cocoa/chocolate and Black people. And this connection has a symbolic as well as an economic dimension to it. Because chocolate is a myth, it is this mythical, symbolic element of chocolate that obfuscates the social and economic realities in the cocoa business, which only make possible the temptation chocolate has to offer.

Accordingly, what I am interested in here is exploring the antagonistic aspects of chocolate and the tensions that are thus produced. Historically, it has been a colonial commodity linked to slave labor and to the exploitation of Black people as a cheap work force. Unsurprisingly, however, this aspect is completely transformed and revalorized in the history of chocolate marketing.

Moreover, as I am going to elaborate on in the last part of this paper, chocolate is not only a product heavily tainted by historical and contemporary exploitation and child slave labor; it has also been used as a floating signifier and as a naming practice in various discursive spaces to construct images of Blackness. Used as an affirmative self-reference in many African American cultural productions (often framed as a sexual innuendo), it celebrates the diversity and beauty of skin shades and its appeal is derived from the many likeable associations attached to chocolate, foremost the myth that chocolate is an aphrodisiac.

3.1 The (Imaginary) Potential of Chocolate

Chocolate is endowed with various positive connotations. It is usually, as far as the popular milk chocolate is concerned, sweet (and, significantly, sweet products like honey, brown sugar, sugar, and chocolate are often used as terms of endearment), though, in the case of very dark chocolate, also bitter. These characteristics in the flavor of chocolate make for a metaphorical duplicity; the sweetness and the bitterness of milk versus dark chocolate relate to the friction I am concerned with. On the one hand the "sugary" qualities of chocolate, yet on the other hand the bitter, harsh realities of an exploitative business. Similar to other products such as coffee or sugar, chocolate once signified luxury and it continues to be regarded as a reward, an instant gratification, and as something that affords the consumer with psychological and physical pleasure. Chocolate is not only valued for its taste, but also for its stimulation of the olfactory, visual, and affective senses.[8] Up to the nineteenth century, it awarded its consumers with social prestige because it was a costly luxury.[9] From a Western European and North American perspective, it carried an "exotic" connotation because it can only be cultivated in countries with a

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[8]   Marcy Norton, Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics, in: The American Historical Review, 111 (2006) 3, pp. 660-691. On the conception of chocolate (and of coffee, tea, tobacco, etc.) as a drug, see, among others: A. Menninger/Katharina Niemeyer (eds.), Drogen: Aspekte einer globalen Konsumgeschichte, in: zeitenblicke, 8 (2009) 3, p. 3.

[9]   James Walvin, A Taste of Empire: 1600–1800, in: History Today, 47 (1997) 1, pp. 11-16, p. 12; Mort Rosenblum, Chocolate: A Bittersweet Saga of Dark and Light, New York 2005, p. 14.

tropical climate. It is smooth, it melts on the tongue, and is thus perceived as a sensuous pleasure. In fact, although there is no scientific proof to back up this thesis, chocolate continues to be considered an aphrodisiac. This myth is as old as is the history of chocolate and it is so pervasive, I suggest, because people want it to be true. It clearly adds to the fantastic dimension of chocolate indulgence. It also helps to strengthen the relation between chocolate and Blackness because the sexualization and racialization of chocolate correspond to the equally sexualized discourse on Black corporeality. Both chocolate and Blackness become a highly desired indulgence, and a sensuous pleasure – a construction clearly at work in some contemporary chocolate advertisements, as well as in erotic literature and blues music, for instance.

Chocolate is nourishing and considered to have an anti-depressant effect; it is given as a solace, a treat, a quick snack, or a gratification; it can come in artful and sophisticated wrappers, which underline its quality and its associations with foreign countries (often by depicting romanticized plantation scenes that are intended to represent the origin of the cocoa bean, as well as create the impression that the chocolate bar is not at all an industrialized product); it enters not only the body as nourishment, but also the mind as a stimulant. And yet, chocolate also possesses a sinful connotation; it is devilish because one can hardly resist its temptation, and consumed excessively it can even be unhealthy. As feminist Cat Cox poignantly observes in her book *Chocolate Unwrapped: The Politics of Pleasure*: "Whilst chocolate is a product which holds associations of sensuality and romance, it is also recognized as a food which makes you fat."[10] It expresses pleasure and vice, again the sweet and the bitter. Anthropologist Susan Terrio sums up: "On the one hand, it encompasses meanings of pleasure, strength, and celebration, as well as social bonds.… Consumed in moderation it is a sign for passion, love, even playful eroticism, and a constituent element of the social order. On the other hand, chocolate also connotates overindulgence, contamination, even illness, and is a symbol of sexual perversion, deceit, and class conflict."[11]

3.2 Chocolate as a Myth

The tempting characteristics one usually associates with the chocolate, truffles, hot chocolate, cookies, and chocolate bars that enrich one's diet, stand in stark contrast to individuals toiling on small, hidden plantations, in humid weather, and in precarious situations. It is therefore helpful to conceptualize chocolate as a myth, a concept I borrow from Roland Barthes. Mythologies participate in the making of our world, because they help us to make sense of our experiences within a culture. It is their function to naturalize the cultural, and thus to make dominant cultural and historical values and beliefs seem entirely "normal," "natural," and common sense. They appear to be objective and "true" reflections of "the way things are."[12] Framed as a myth, chocolate can then be understood

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10   C. Cox, Chocolate Unwrapped (footnote 5), p. 31.
11   S. J. Terrio, Crafting the Culture (footnote 7), p. 239.
12   In his essay Bichon and the Blacks Roland Barthes writes about "one of our major servitudes: the oppressive

as a depoliticized speech act, meaning that it turns the social and material history of chocolate (slavery, plantation economy, coercive labor practices) into a "natural" state of things; especially in advertisements, chocolate is stripped of its "historical fat," thus the "dark side" of the history of chocolate is often silenced and hidden. And yet, the material conditions are not completely erased, but rather impoverished on the semantic space chocolate inhabits.

The friction between these modes of production and the symbolism chocolate possesses again illustrate why chocolate is a myth. The product has to be divorced from its material basis in order to make for an attractive and a successful signifier. According to cultural critic Sut Jhally, "the fetishism of commodities consists in the first place of emptying them of meaning, of hiding the real social relations objectified in them through human labour, to make it possible for the imaginary/symbolic social relations to be injected into the construction of meaning at a secondary level... The real is hidden by the imaginary."[13] Chocolate and its connection to Blackness and Black coercive labor exemplify the fetish power of commodities. In tune with Jhally, Fernando Coronil, who wrote the foreword for Fernando Ortiz' classic study *Cuban Couterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, notes that "... the appearance of commodities as independent entities – as potent agents in their own right – conceals their origins in conflictual relations of production and confirms a commonsense perception of these relations as natural and necessary."[14] Hence, there still is, of course, a historical context, namely the context in which the commodity is produced, but these material conditions are "emptied out" on the representational level. This "emptiness" is then filled with new, attractive meanings, so that cocoa and chocolate become both – myth and fetish.

As a result, what is presented to the viewer in advertisements is a world without contradictions, a fantasy of consumption in which the existence of People of Color is legitimized by their function to work for white consumers. And this world, a world of clear-cut boundaries between "natives" or "savages" and the "civilized world," between rawness and refined materials, between Black and white, is not only pointed out, but literally imposed on the consumer.[15] The consumers of chocolate not only exploit the lives and labor force of People of Color in the Global South to provide the Western world with affordable sweets, but they also exploit the magic chocolate has to offer, the mythical dimensions, i.e., that it is a sweet treat, a mood enhancer, an aphrodisiac, a nourishment for the body and the soul.[16] Both, Jhally building on Karl Marx, and Barthes stress the fact that the real social relations – the historical realities – are hidden in order for the

divorce of knowledge and mythology," see: Roland Barthes, Bichon and the Blacks, in: David Theo Goldberg (ed.), Anatomy of Racism, Minneapolis (Mass.) 1999, pp. 127-129.

13   Sut Jhally, The Codes of Advertising: Fetishism and the Political Economy of Meaning in the Consumer Society, New York 1987, p. 51.

14   Fernando Coronil, Introduction, in: Fernando Ortiz, Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar, Durham (N.C.) 2003, pp. ix-lvi, p. xxvii.

15   Barthes notes that "myth has in fact a double function: it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us." See ibid., p. 117.

16   See also: Michael Taussig, Redeeming Indigo, in: Theory, Culture, Society, 25 (2008) 1, pp. 1–15, p. 12.

imaginary, for the fantasy to work. In a lot of advertisements for cocoa and chocolate, the coerced labor, the oppression and exploitation of Africans and South Americans, is glossed over and romanticized by a tropical fantasy of a premodern world.

What is intriguing is that despite the fact that (obviously) coerced labor, slavery, and colonialism would not make for successful advertising tropes, it is especially this visual rhetoric of the plantation – directly drawing on the historical production process – that proves to be so enduring and attractive in advertising. Put differently, these selling strategies for chocolate were dependent on the "hidden history" of labor conditions on the plantations because otherwise, a wide array of images and connotations would simply not have been available and could not have been revalorized as a fantasy of consumption. The material conditions of the chocolate business, the precarious labor situation and its exploitative nature are not completely erased, but impoverished on the semantic space chocolate inhabits as a sweet treat. Apparently, the idea that Black subjects toil for the pleasurable consumption of a commodity was (and possibly continues to be) so appealing to (white) consumers that this imperial fantasy constituted a decisive element in the discourse on chocolate and its visual representations.

I will now draw on two radically different examples in order to illustrate my points: firstly, an international scandal brought about by the use of slave labor in Portuguese West Africa around 1900; secondly, selected usages of the chocolate signifier within American popular culture and by African Americans themselves. Looking at the history of cocoa and chocolate from such differing points of view will allow for the combination of what is generally treated as two completely different aspects, namely the material and the discursive dimensions of (signifying) chocolate in the Atlantic world.

4. Chocolate Fantasies and Plantation Realities

> *How seldom do we think when we drink a cup of cocoa or eat some morsels of chocolate, that our liking of these delicacies has set minds and bodies at work all the world over!…*
> *To the black and the brown races, the negroes and the East Indians, we owe a debt for their work on tropical plantations, for the harder manual work would be too arduous for Europeans unused to the heat of those regions.*[17]

This quote by Arthur Knapp, an employee of the British Cadbury company who published a book on cocoa in 1920, illustrates that chocolate partly derives its exoticism and appeal from the knowledge of "tropical" places and peoples: the coercion of Black bodies and Black people's labor that enable the pleasurable consumption. Indeed, the modes of harvesting cocoa have not always been a well-kept secret, and I shall argue that the fact

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17   Arthur W. Knapp, Cocoa and Chocolate: Their History from Plantation to Consumer, London 1920, p. 17. Knapp's study was supported by the Cadbury Brothers as he was a research chemist for the company. His book contains an extensive bibliography, comprising titles (in chronological order) in English, Spanish, French, and German from 1643 to 1919.

that cocoa is produced by People of Color, in places and through practices reminiscent of European colonialism might in fact induce the "tropical" and "exotic" appeal of the consumption of chocolate.

Other commentators were more astutely aware than Knapp of the contradictions underlying Europe's appetite for colonial commodities with Enlightenment sentiments. In 1920, W. E. B. Du Bois, for instance, stated in his essay *The Souls of White Folk:*

> *Rubber, ivory, and palm-oil; tea, coffee, and cocoa; bananas, oranges, and other fruit; cotton, gold, and copper – they, and hundred other things which dark and sweating bodies hand up to the white world from their pits of slime, pay and pay well, but of all that the world gets the black world gets only the pittance that the white world throws it disdainfully.*[18]

It was, in fact, mostly kidnapped and enslaved Africans who toiled in the fields of stolen land in South American, Caribbean, and later West African cocoa plantations, and these modes of production prevailed long after slavery was officially abolished. The colonial production, the trade and the metropolitan consumption fostered the strength of the European empires. Cocoa, like other colonial commodities, linked the colonies to the metropolises and further influenced the interactions of the actors in the Atlantic world. The commodities from the periphery changed the society, culture, and economy of the metropolis as decisively, though in different ways, as the periphery was changed by colonization. Commodity production in the colonies, and their processing and consumption in Europe, made enslaved Africans and laborers crucial to the history of the Atlantic.[19]

4.1 Cocoa in Portuguese West Africa

During transatlantic slavery, most of the cocoa consumed in Europe and North America came from plantations in South America and the West Indies, primarily the Amazon region, Jamaica, and Trinidad.[20] But this changed rapidly and dramatically in the late nineteenth century, when cocoa production's center of gravity began to shift towards West Africa.[21] *The Story of Chocolate,* a publication from 1967, explains this shift naïvely as follows: "It became more profitable to cultivate cacao trees in West Africa where there were still many people willing to work on cacao farms. Proper growing conditions, the demand for the cacao bean at low cost, and a good labor supply have helped to make West Africa the chief source of cacao beans."[22]

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18 W. E. B. Du Bois, The Souls of White Folks, in: David R. Roediger (ed.), Black on White: Black Writers on What it Means to Be White, New York 1998, p. 194.

19 Stuart B. Schwartz, Introduction, in: id. (ed.), Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680, Chapel Hill (N.C.) 2004, pp. 1-26, p. 21.

20 Wolf Mueller, Seltsame Frucht Kakao:Geschichte des Kakaos und der Schokolade, Hamburg 1957, pp. 94–95, p. 173; Dauril Alden, The Significance of Cacao Production in the Amazon Region during the Late Colonial Period: An Essay in Comparative Economic History, in: Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 120 (1976) 2, pp.103-135, p. 103.

21 Patrice Mandeng, Auswirkungen der deutschen Kolonialherrschaft in Kamerun, Hamburg 1973, p. 70.

22 David P. Butts/Addison Earl Lee, The Story of Chocolate, Austin (Tex.) 1967, p. 47.

In the late sixteenth century, the Spaniards introduced the cocoa tree to Fernando Pó (now Bioko), an island close to São Tomé and Príncipe, off the West Coast of Africa in the Gulf of Guinea. From this Spanish island, it was taken to São Tomé and Príncipe in 1822 by an African individual named Tetteh Quarshie, and not by the Portuguese or the Spanish, as common "wisdom" often maintains.[23] Quarshie, who unfortunately did not leave a paper trail himself, was from the Gold Coast (since 1957 Ghana), and had been trained as a master-blacksmith at the Basel Missionaries workshop in Christianborg (close to the city centre of Accra). Now remembered and celebrated as the "Father of the cocoa industry in Ghana," Quarshie was asked to travel to Fernando Pó to work as an artisan. Six years later, in 1876, he returned with five cocoa pods and thereby initiated the growth of a highly successful cocoa industry in Ghana.[24] By the 1920s, due to Quarshie's pioneering spirit and small cocoa plantations run by African farmers, the Gold Coast became the largest cocoa bean exporter in the world.[25] Consequently, it not only overtook Caribbean and Latin American plantations, which were disease-ridden and could not meet the growing demand anymore, it was also a prestigious alternative for chocolate companies such as Cadbury who wanted to make sure that their beans were scandal- and slave-free and as a result refrained from buying cocoa in São Tomé and Príncipe.[26]

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23 Sophie and Michael Coe, likewise incorrectly, write that the Portuguese brought chocolate to São Tomé from Brazil in 1824, see S. D. Coe/M. D. Coe, Die wahre Geschichte der Schokolade, Frankfurt am Main 1997, p. 242; and so does A. Menninger in Genuss im kulturellen Wandel (footnote 7), p. 233. A. Knapp, on the other hand, writes of a "native of the Gold Coast" who brought the beans with him from Fernando Pó; see A. Knapp, Cocoa and Chocolate (footnote 17), p. 18.

24 Benjamin Acquaah, Cocoa Development in West Africa: The Early Period with Particular Reference to Ghana, Accra 1999, pp. 21–22; John A. West, A Brief History and Botany of Cacao, in: Nelson Foster (ed.), Chilies to Chocolate: Food the Americas Gave the World, Tucson 1993, pp. 105-122, here pp. 116–17; Allen M. Young, The Chocolate Tree: A Natural History of Cacao, Washington/London 1994, p. 40; C. Off, Bitter Chocolate (footnote 5), p. 96–97. Wolf Mueller also notes that Fernando Pó has played a crucial role because local Africans took the cocoa bean from there and introduced it to the West African mainland, where they established a vital cocoa business within five decades, notably in Ghana, the Ivory Coast, and Nigeria; see W. Mueller, Seltsame Frucht Kakao (footnote 20), pp. 176-77; see also: Andreas Eckert, African Rural Entrepreneurs and Labor in the Cameroon Littorial, in: Journal of African History, 40 (1999), pp. 109–126.

25 It should be noted that this "version" of how cocoa was introduced to the Gold Coast does not go unchallenged either. Although Tetteh Quarshie is practically a national hero in Ghana, a booklet by Michael A. Kwamena-Poh on the Basel Missionaries argues that it was in fact the missionaries who brought cocoa pods from Surinam to their settlement in the Gold Coast as early as 1858. According to this account, Quarshie has to be credited for successfully cultivating cocoa, but the introduction of the crop would not have been possible without the missionaries' involvement, most of whom were Germans or from German-speaking Switzerland. See Michael A. Kwamena-Poh, The Basel Mission and the Development of the Cocoa Industry in Ghana, 1858–1918, Mamfe, Akuapem (Ghana) 2005. It seems that this booklet is largely based on the work of Polly Hill, Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana, Berlin, Hamburg, Münster 1998 [1963], see especially p. 171. For an in-depth historical analysis with an impressive array of archival sources on Ghana's cocoa economy and the involvement of the Swiss, see: Andrea Franc, Wie die Schweiz zur Schokolade kam: Der Kakaohandel der Basler Handelsgesellschaft mit der Kolonie Goldküste (1893–1960), Basel 2008.

26 C. Off, Bitter Chocolate (footnote 5), p. 97.

4.2 The São Tomé and Príncipe Slave Labor Scandal

But before the Gold Coast / Ghana became the most important supplier of cocoa in West Africa, São Tomé and Príncipe occupied this position and became well known not only for their cocoa, but also for their coerced labor practices on the plantations.[27] One of the best documented episodes in this intertwined history of slavery and chocolate after the official abolition of slavery are the working conditions on these small islands.[28] While cocoa is usually a peasant crop in West Africa (as in Ghana, for instance), the two volcanic islands became infamous for the existence of coerced labor on privately owned plantations during a brief but intense boom in the cocoa industry.[29] Both islands, which are approximately the size of Germany's capital Berlin, were transformed at the end of the nineteenth century into virtual cocoa factories and became the largest cocoa producer in the world.[30]

Most of the plantations were owned by immigrant Portuguese or local Black Creoles, and worked by "perpetually indentured" laborers, which means that they were de facto enslaved. Between 1880 and 1908, some 70,000 humans were purchased, enslaved, and forcefully moved to the islands; they were bought in Angola, and came from various regions and countries, among them Central Africa, Dahomey (today's Benin), Gabon, and southwestern China.[31] These slaves joined thousands of other laborers from Central Africa; and at the turn of the century, the population in São Tomé amounted to approximately 35,000, of whom 18,000 were men and women from Angola and the Congo Free State, 2,500 were Europeans, and 3,500 free Africans. There were also over 11,000 indigenous inhabitants on the island, who did not work on the plantations.[32]

Those who managed to survive the strenuous and long passage through Angola, the main slave route, were sold as "contract laborers."[33] Over 50,000 short-term indentured labor-

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27   For an older standard work on the issue, see: James Duffy, A Question of Slavery: Labour Policies in Portuguese West Africa and British Protest, 1850–1920, Cambridge (Mass.) 1967.

28   Príncipe is much smaller than São Tomé. Concerning population and export of cocoa at the turn of the century, the relation of the islands is one to ten.

29   William G. Clarence-Smith, Cocoa Plantations and Coerced Labor in the Gulf of Guinea, 1870-1914, in: Martin A. Klein (ed.), Breaking the Chains: Slavery, Bondage, and Emancipation in Modern Africa and Asia, Madison 1993, pp. 150-170, p. 150.

30   W. G. Clarence-Smith, Struggles over Labour Conditions in the Plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe, in: Slavery and Abolition, 14 (1993) 1, pp. 149-167, p. 149.

31   Kevin Grant, A Civilized Savagery: Britain and the New Slaveries in Africa, 1884–1926, New York 2005, p. 115. On the laborers and where they came from, see also: William A. Cadbury, Labour in Portuguese West Africa: Second Edition with an Added Chapter, London 1910 [1909], pp. 30–31. Apparently, the Portuguese had hoped that Chinese "coolies" [sic!] would prove to be more resistant to the virulent African diseases and thus brought about 300 of these Chinese laborers to the islands in 1895. Few of them survived and the "experiment" was discontinued. See W. G. Clarence-Smith, Cocoa Plantations (footnote 29), p. 163.

32   K. Grant, A Civilized Savagery (footnote 31), p. 115.

33   Henry Wood Nevinson dedicated several chapters to the slave route (see for instance chapter six, "The worst part of the slave route," or chapter eight, "The Slave Route to the Coast") where he offered a detailed account of the route, of the agents involved, and of the practice of slavery on the mainland, accompanying his text with photographic evidence of the horrors of the passage and the human tolls it took; Henry Wood Nevinson, A Modern Slavery: With an Introduction by Basil Davidson, New York 1968 [1906].

ers, free and coerced, were also "imported" to the islands and stayed one to three years. These numbers illustrate that there was a constant need for new (preferably inexpensive) labor supply. On the one hand, this constant demand was due to the expansion of the cocoa production. On the other hand, it was a result of low birth rates and an extremely high mortality, which was in turn due to the occurrence of diseases such as malaria and sleeping sickness, as well as the brutally hot climate.[34] Commenting on the environmental conditions people had to face, the British journalist Henry Nevinson (1856–1941) describes his encounter with the local climate in his highly influential book, *A Modern Slavery* as follows: "After struggling for hours and finding no change in the swamp and no break in the trees, I gave up the hope of that rising ground, and worked back to the main river. When at last I emerged, sopping with sweat, black with slime, torn and bleeding from the thorns, I knew that I had seen the worst nature can do."[35] It does not come as a surprise that Arthur Knapp conveys a much more favorable picture of the climate and life on the plantation. Although he starts by stating that "we" should be grateful to "the Africans" for their work because "we" would not be able to bear the heat, he later describes São Tomé and Príncipe as "lovely" and continues by writing: "A warm, lazy sea, the sea of the doldrums, sapphire or turquoise, or, in deep shaded pools, a radiant green, joyfully foams itself away against these fairy lands of tossing palm, dense vegetation, rushing cascades, and purple, precipitous peaks."[36] He thus evokes an image that much more resembles a holiday resort on a "far-away tropical" island rather than the setting for cocoa farms, coerced labor, and abuse of the workforce in brutal heat.

Although, generally speaking, most cocoa in the world from the 1850s onward was produced by "relatively free" labor – primarily under sharecropping systems[37] – it is a cynical fact that São Tomé became the world's largest cocoa producer at the turn of the century precisely because of the notorious slave trade from Angola and a rigid slavery system on its plantations.

Portugal abolished the slave trade in 1823, and a decree of 1858 declared that slavery had to end within twenty years.[38] Yet, the official end of slavery in 1878 did not mean immediate freedom for the enslaved Africans. According to law, they had to work for their owner for an additional period of ten years without pay before they were legally free.[39] And after its official abolition, the slave trade continued to persist and even thrive on the African mainland. Henry Nevinson termed this "domestic slavery" or "tribal slavery,"

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34   W. G. Clarence-Smith, Struggles over Labour Conditions (footnote 30), p. 14; K. Grant, A Civilized Savagery (footnote 31), p. 116; Even Cadbury admits the "excessive mortality on the islands," see W. Cadbury, Labour in Portuguese West Africa (footnote 31), p. 93.

35   H. W. Nevinson, A Modern Slavery (footnote 33), p. 7; Nevinson's work was highly praised by missionaries, one of the earliest group of people to advertise and review his book; see: The Book Table, in: Congregationalist and Christian World, 21 July 1906; see also a review which appeared in the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society of New York, 40 (1908) 9, p. 566-567.

36   Ibid., p. 100.

37   W. G. Clarence-Smith, Cocoa and Chocolate, 1765–1914, London 2000, p. 195.

38   Lowell Joseph Satre, Chocolate on Trial: Slavery, Politics, and the Ethics of Business, Athens (Ohio) 2005, p. 41.

39   W. Mueller, Seltsame Frucht Kakao (footnote 20), p. 174.

which occurred among different ethnic groups and was less harsh and more flexible in terms of the duration and conditions of servitude. [40] The Portuguese authorities knew about these conditions, but in order to cut costs that resulted from importing free labor from West Africa, they did not take action.[41] The government in Portugal, which was hit by the global economic depression in 1873, had a strong interest in maintaining and even enlarging its income from the cocoa trade. The country's economic instability was one of the factors that led to the intensification of slavery on the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe.[42]

Thus, in order to guarantee a persistent labor supply without increasing costs, planters from São Tomé and Príncipe relied heavily on this illegal enterprise and purchased slaves from Angolan traders. These traders obtained enslaved women and men from chiefs or rebel soldiers in exchange for guns, ammunition, and cloth.[43]

Therefore, although slavery came to an end on the islands in the 1870s, it resurfaced later and figured prominently in the global cocoa economy. It was especially due to the growing demand for cocoa – for which lucrative markets developed from the 1880s on in Germany, Great Britain, the United States, France, the Netherlands, and Switzerland – that slavery resumed in the early 1880s and continued to do so until long after the First World War.[44]

After their long march along the "slave route" through Angola, the enslaved Africans, the migrants, and the "contract workers" were all shipped to the cocoa plantations, with some of them presumably knowing that their return to Angola was unlikely and that they had been sold into slavery. In fact, several missionaries, who were indispensable eye witnesses, observed that those who had been shipped to São Tomé did not return and were considered dead by their relatives.[45] Charles Albert Swan, a British missionary and a member of the Plymouth Brethren in Africa, recounted an incident in which a young woman threw herself overboard one night "rather than enter the unexperienced horrors of S. Thomé."[46]

Although the enslaved Africans were technically freed once they had been purchased and arrived on the plantations, they were forced to sign long contracts (usually for a five-year period), which were automatically renewed upon their expiration. As neither the content of the contract nor its regulations were translated or explained to them, most

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40   H. W. Nevinson, A Modern Slavery (footnote 33), p.14.

41   W. G. Clarence-Smith, Cocoa and Chocolate (footnote 37), p. 221.

42   K. Grant, A Civilized Savagery (footnote 31), p. 114.

43   Ibid., p. 115.

44   W. G. Clarence-Smith, Struggles over Labour Conditions (footnote 30), p. 162; According to Anti-Slavery International, reports of forced labor even continued well into the 1950s, see: Anti-Slavery International (ed.), The Cocoa Industry in West Africa: A History of Exploitation, 2004, p.3, http://www.antislavery.org/includes/documents/cm_docs/2008/c/cocoa_report_2004.pdf (accessed on 1 September 2011); K. Grant, A Civilized Savagery (footnote 31), p. 114; L. J. Satre, Chocolate on Trial (footnote 38), p. 44.

45   Charles A. Swan, The Slavery of To-day: or, The Present Position of the Open Sore of Africa, Glasgow 1909, pp. 29–31; L. J. Satre, Chocolate on Trial (footnote 38), pp. 7-8, 47.

46   C. A. Swan, The Slavery of To-day (footnote 45), p. 27.

of the workers did not understand the terms to which they "agreed."[47] One anonymous British missionary wrote in a letter to Swan: "So far as I understand, the paper (that is the contract) is simply a cloak to cover the evil practice, a 'convenience' for the white trader!"[48] In a similar vein, Nevinson characterized "contract labor" as a euphemism for "periodical slavery."[49] In tune with Nevinson, the missionary Swan likewise termed "contract labor" a "kind of bandage," with whose help the "open sore of Africa" is covered.[50] Echoing the work of Nevinson, Swan continues to describe the current slave trade and the horrendous passage through Angola. Stating that, indeed, the old slave markets no longer existed, and no overcrowded slave ship had been seen in a long time, the state of affairs could still best be characterized as slavery, yet in a "modern" fashion. Although the women and men on the plantations were relatively well treated, according to his assessment, they "have passed through untold suffering on their way to the Coast from the interior, and the terrible tale of agony endured by the very large percentage who die, or are killed because they cannot longer command sufficient strength to drag one foot in front of the other, will remain untold till the Great Judgment Day."[51]

4.3 Representations of Work on Cocoa Plantations in Historical Advertising Cards

Even if this example of São Tomé is not representative of the majority of the cocoa production in the early twentieth century, it is remarkable that the sudden surge in the demand for chocolate in Western Europe and North America could only be satisfied by a vast increase in slave labor. This is even more noteworthy since the symbolism of chocolate predominantly created by a simultaneously nascent advertising industry and popularized through, for example, advertising cards, rather envisioned a tropical fantasy in which "exotic" produce was linked to People of Color in a peaceful, sometimes pastoral plantation setting.

The Black woman in the exemplary card reproduced here, dating roughly from between 1890 to 1910, dressed in spotless white, kneeling (seemingly) peacefully on the ground and collecting cocoa pods, reveals a dialectical relationship between "natives" and "Westerners," since it is in fact this woman and other indigenous people who knew how to cultivate, harvest, and prepare cocoa – knowledge that mostly white people in North America and the so-called Old World valued and benefited from greatly.[52]

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47   Ibid., pp. 28–30; L. J. Satre, Chocolate on Trial (footnote 38), pp. 7-8.

48   C. A. Swan, The Slavery of To-day (footnote 45), p. 30.

49   Basil Davidson, Introduction, in: H. W. Nevinson, A Modern Slavery (footnote 33), p. x. B. Davidson – also an investigative journalist and a historian of Africa, who was widely read and became quite well known as an "expert" on Africa through his writings – wrote an account of coerced labor in Angola for Harper's Magazine as late as 1955 – fifty years after Nevinson's accounts had been published in the same magazine. Davidson's book Black Mother: The Years of the African Slave Trade, Boston 1961, was also a required reading on the Black Panther Party book list in 1968. People who wanted to join the BPP were asked to read all the books on that reading list.

50   C. A. Swan, The Slavery of To-day (footnote 45), p. 24.

51   Ibid., pp. 21-22.

52   T. J. Jackson Lears, Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America, New York 1994, p. 147.
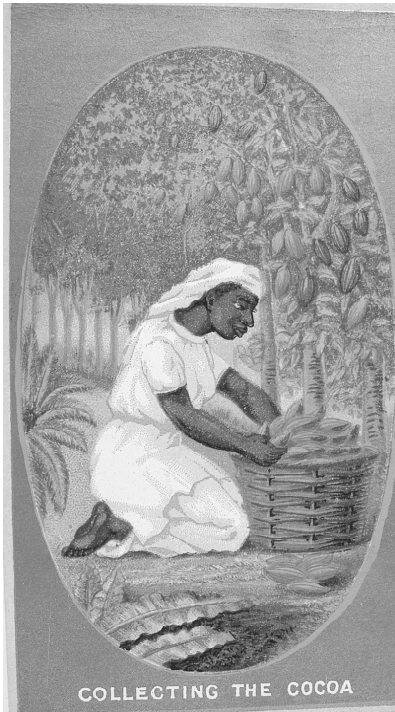
Collecting the Cocoa, n.d. (Source: Warshaw Collection of Business Americana – Cocoa and Chocolate, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution)

Through this image, consumers can infer what cultural historian Jackson Lears termed "imperial primitivism," that white conquerors had entered foreign, tropical lands, had extracted mysterious remedies and foods from the local population, whom they had made to work for them.[53] Apart from that, the image promises pleasure to the consumer; pleasure in consuming tropical riches such as cocoa, and pleasure from exploring a foreign, "exotic" world. According to cultural critic bell hooks, "the point is to be changed by this convergence of pleasure and Otherness. One dares – acts – on the assumption that the exploration into the world of difference, into the body of the Other, will provide a greater, more intense, pleasure than any that exists in the ordinary world of one's familiar racial group."[54] And, referring to the symbolic capital and appeal of Blackness and Black bodies, Paul Gilroy adds: "Blackness, which for so long had been entirely worthless, could be recognized as becoming endowed with symbolic value that nobody appears to have anticipated. Needless to say, new forms of racism emerged with these

53   Ibid., p. 146.
54   bell hooks, Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance, in: id., Black Looks: Race and Representation, Boston 1992, pp. 21-40, p. 24. On the process of "Othering" see also, for example: Homi Bhabha, The Other Question: The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse, in: Joanne Morra/Marquard Smith (eds.), Histories, Archaeologies and Genealogies of Visual Culture, London 2006, pp. 248-266.

big developments."[55] Through a system of relations, namely associating chocolate with a Woman of Color in a tropical setting, a redefinition of chocolate is achieved. It is not an industrial product, but becomes a pleasure commodity, connected to the riches of nature, to exoticism, to recreation from everyday life and the constraints of civilization. Eating chocolate could thus carry the consumer away to a tropical fantasy, a space full of riches, peaceful and abundant.

On another level, the notion of primitivism is qualified by a different, possible reading of the image. The woman in the picture can hardly be described as "primitive" herself because she is dressed in a white gown that communicates purity. She kneels in what evokes an image of the Garden of Eden, reaping the fruits of the tree. She seems to have entered a holy union with nature, being purified through the act of gathering the fruits the garden has to offer. This scenery can be characterized as pastoral insofar as it is free of the constraints of modernity and civilization; it implicitly suggests that those who indulge in chocolate can step outside of civilization and "return" to a place of harmony with nature. Literary scholar Lawrence Buell has defined "pastoral" as a remythification of the natural environment. According to his assessment, it has become synonymous with "the idea of (re)turn to a less urbanized, more 'natural' state of existence," a contradistinction to society, urbanization, and industrialization.[56] This fantasy is offered by the manufacturers of chocolate who apparently succeeded in settling the harvesting of cocoa and production of chocolate outside of civilization (or so they would like to suggest through such imagery). Thus, with the help of such visuals, the consumption of chocolate is remetaphorized as an exotic, tropical, liberating experience, which promises intense feelings, fantasy, and the fulfillment of utopian longings. Of course, what is silenced and erased in such an "imperial cast of American pastoral ideology" is the fact that Black subjects were usually excluded from any pastoral gratification.[57]

Moreover, what is equally interesting is that the card is painted in warm, natural colors; the colors of the cocoa pods and the landscape correspond with the skin color of the woman, thus also enforcing a visual connection between cocoa and chocolate with People of Color. Clearly though, chocolate's association with Blackness is not predominantly based on a vague similarity of the skin color of some Black people with the color of an edible product, but on the Western imagination of dark-skinned people, tropical places, and practices that produce chocolate.

The image discussed above does not mediate, however, coerced labor practices and slavery happening in São Tomé and Príncipe and other South American and African countries, but a woman who, in a serene setting, collects cocoa for the consumers in the Western World – who, according to other sources discussed above, would not be physically equipped to handle the hot climate. The ad not only recapitulates the idea of imperialism

55   P. Gilroy, Darker than Blue: On the Moral Economies of Black Atlantic Culture, Cambridge (Mass.) 2010, p. 9.
56   Lawrence Buell, The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture, Cambridge (Mass.) 1996, pp. 31, 33.
57   Ibid., pp. 36, 42.

as a moral and material progress and hide the exploitative realities, but also evokes notions of pastoralism and a moderate, one could say, tamed primitivism.

Yet, the material conditions of the cocoa business, the precarious labor situation and its exploitative nature cannot be completely erased, as knowledge of slave labor on cocoa plantations exists and the plantation context is referred to in the trade card. But these material conditions are impoverished on the semantic space chocolate inhabits. They are also silenced in the usage of chocolate as a racial signifier, which is the final aspect of this article.

5. Chocolate as a (Self-Affirmative) Racial Signifier for Blackness

Maybe the best known associations of chocolate and Blackness, especially in the German cultural context, are negative ones: racist stereotypes such as the infamous German advertising icon Sarotti Mohr, or chocolate as a metaphoric reference to Black people in everyday (racist) parlance.

What is less known, however, and what I would like to focus on here is the emancipatory potential of this signifier in the United States: its affirmative usage in order to create and offer an attractive and desirable Black identity. Apparently, this encoding was never only an imposition on African American peoples, but could on the contrary serve as a self-confident identification with Blackness: "Because Black people are not uniform in their physical appearances, many words – or labels – are used by Blacks to describe the various skin colors of Blacks. Over the years, Black people have generated a 'vocabulary of pigmentation' to describe all of the skin hues in their population."[58]

Especially during the second half of the twentieth century, chocolate was redeployed and remetaphorized by some African American individuals, and this new self-conception was deeply anchored in the discourses of the so-called New Negro Movement as well as the Black Power Movement. Examples for an affirmative usage by African Americans are the Broadway show "The Chocolate Dandies" (which premiered with Josephine Baker in 1924), as well as the dance troupes "The Chocolate Kiddies," and the "Hot Chocolates." "Harlem Sweeties," a poem by Langston Hughes, also ties the chocolate signifier to Blackness. Reflecting on and celebrating the diversity and beauty of Black women's skin shades, he rhapsodizes: "Peach-skinned girlie, coffee and cream, chocolate darling, out of a dream. Walnut tinted, or cocoa brown, pomegranate-lipped, pride of the town. Rich cream-colored, to plum-tinted black, feminine sweetness, in Harlem's no lack." Here, the chocolate metaphor is, among a plethora of other signifiers, used in a clearly eroticized fashion and in a reaffirming and celebratory way to construct Black women as desirable and sensual. It speaks to the internal differentiation of skin tones, as well as to the refusal of being perceived as "homogeneously Black."

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58   Kenneth R. Johnson, Words used for Skin Color in the Black Culture, in: The Florida Reporter (Spring/Fall 1973), p. 44.

5.1 Chocolate Cities: New Orleans and Washington, D.C.

This redeployment of the term continued after the Second World War and entered the realm of popular music and Blaxploitation movies, Black erotic literature, so-called ghetto literature, and eventually culminated in the powerful expression "Chocolate City," which was used in reference to cities with a majority African American population. The popularization of that expression and the connotations that it carried with it made it increasingly inappropriate for whites to use. The resignification worked successfully against a possibly derogatory usage of the term by Euro Americans, and it became a term "for Blacks by Blacks" (which is not to say that it was/is a term embraced by all or even most African Americans).

In 2006, the mayor of New Orleans, Ray Nagin, explicitly alluded to this emancipatory gesture within African American identity constructions, when he made the following comment as a response to hurricane Katrina: "New Orleans was a chocolate city before Katrina. This city will be chocolate at the end of the day. It's the way God wants it to be."[59] The view of New Orleans before Katrina as a "Chocolate City" expresses an alternative plan to the destruction the hurricane had brought. While this natural disaster destroyed the urban culture of New Orleans, "Chocolate City" claims an African American hegemony over that city's culture. This claim is corroborated by the reference to God, endowing the aspired Black hegemony with a divine legitimation. "Chocolate City" is the myth that captures this claim. Interestingly enough, Nagin's reference to the deity was less cause for irritation. Not only white middle-class residents, but members of the Black community, as well as the national mainstream media chose to focus their criticism and attention to Nagin's wish for a "Chocolate City" and accused him of racism.

Nagin's coining New Orleans a "Chocolate City" evoked the image of Washington, D.C., to which this expression originally referred in the early 1970s. Here, it proudly declared the city's majority Black status and its prominence in the Black cultural scene. Disc jockeys of a Black-operated radio station popularized the term as a means to express "D.C.'s classy funk and confident Blackness."[60] At the Human Kindness Day Concert on the Mall in Washington, D.C. in May 1975, where Stevie Wonder and many others performed, a huge banner above the stage read "Chocolate City."[61] It was a bold declaration of the fact that Washington constituted of a majority population of African Americans

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59 Nagin apologizes for 'chocolate' city comments, 18 January 2006, http://www.cnn.com/2006/US/01/17/nagin.city/ (accessed on 1 September 2011).

60 Kenneth Carroll, The Meanings of Funk, Special to the Washington Post, 1 February 1998 http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/local/longterm/library/dc/dc6898/funk.htm (accessed on 1 September 2011); Courtland Milloy, WOL, in: The Washington Post, 2 December 1979, p. C1; Don Shirley, In Search of Local Honor, in: The Washington Post, 4 August 1973, p. D2. Subsequently, Chicago, Detroit and Harlem (N.Y.) were likewise referred to as "Chocolate Cities."

61 The Human Kindness Day was a yearly concert on the Mall, organized by the National Park Service and local non-profit organizations, which took place from 1970 to 1975. Due to an increase of violent incidents as a result of ever bigger crowds, the event was eventually discontinued. See William Raspberry, The Violence at 'Human Kindness Day', in: The Washington Post, 14 May 1975, p. A19; Douglas B. Feaver/Alice Bonner, Scattered Acts of Violence Mar Human Kindness Day Celebration, in: The Washington Post, 11 May 1975, p. 1.

in the wake of the white flight to the suburbs. Alluding to that attitude, the funk band Parliament titled its 1975 album "Chocolate City." In the title track, bandleader George Clinton, backed up by that group's signature funk sound, proclaimed: "There's a lot of chocolate cities around. We've got Newark, we've got Gary. Somebody told me we've got L.A. And we're working on Atlanta. But you're the capital, CC" (CC meaning "Chocolate City"). He thus construes Black urbanization as a takeover and the Black ghetto as a space of resistance and defiance in a hostile society.[62] Moreover, the song "Chocolate City" played with the fact that African Americans had gained some level of economic independence, had established a visible middle class population, and were in political control of Washington, the nation's capital.

The cover of that album, colored in various shades of brown, shows three of the capital's most well-known national symbols, namely the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial, and the Capitol, covered in dark liquid chocolate. In my view, several readings of the image are possible. The fact that the Washington Monument, a prime example of a phallic object, literally ejaculates chocolate can be interpreted as a reference to the image of the hyper-masculine, virile Black man, which dominated the Blaxploitation movies at the time, as well as views on Black masculinity within the Black Power movement. Thus, depending on the perspective of the viewer, the Parliament cover could have been regarded as threatening by non-Blacks, as too bold a declaration of Black pride, and as an image that shows the "Black takeover" of the nation's capital. The positioning of the Lincoln Memorial in this image is noteworthy, too. Not only was Abraham Lincoln extremely popular among African Americans and has often been called the "Black man's president" for signing the Emancipation Proclamation (officially "freeing the slaves," who had already begun to emancipate themselves in significant numbers),[63] he was also accused by pro-slavery Democrats of advocating and promoting what they called "miscegenation."[64]

In any case, the cover can be interpreted as a demand for African Americans to enter not only the local, but the national political scene. In fact, the song opens with Clinton (prophetically!) stating that "They still call it the White House, but that's a temporary condition, too."

6. Conclusion

This essay on the history of chocolate has attempted to show that cocoa was not just an important commodity in the circum-Atlantic world but also a racial and political signifier. The powerful imagery of chocolate, making reference to a plantation context

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62   Eric Avila, Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles, Berkeley (Calif.) 2004, p. 5.
63   See also: Barbara Jeanne Fields, Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the USA, in: New Left Review, 181 (1990), pp. 95-118.
64   See especially chapter five of Elise Virginia Lemire, 'Miscegenation': Making race in America, Philadelphia (Pa.) 2002, for a discussion of the discourse on "miscegenation" after Emancipation as well as Lincoln's position.

as well as to People of Color, has been used both to foster racial stereotypes and to create an attractive and popular identity for African Americans. Such an expanded history of cocoa and chocolate does not limit itself to the (forceful) movement of humans and commodities, but also integrates the transfer of ideas and discourses. The semantics of chocolate have emancipated themselves to a certain degree from their immediate material conditions and have thus cleared the way for the creation of a counter-discourse that allows for a self-affirmative identity formation and a positive self-identification with Blackness in the U.S. discourse on race.

Beyond the Black Atlantic: Understanding Race, Gender and Labour in the Global Havana Cigar[1]

Jean Stubbs

RESÜMEE

Aus historischer Perspektive lässt sich die Karibik nicht nur als Teil einer Atlantischen, sondern darüber hinaus einer globalen Welt verstehen. Im Zuge der kolonialen Expansion zirkulierten zwischen den als East und West Indies bezeichneten Regionen, Güter, Menschen und Ideen. Im 19. Jahrhundert war Kuba ein Knotenpunkt innerhalb der so entstandenen Netzwerke, und die kubanische Zigarre etablierte sich als globales Luxusprodukt. In vielen Teilen der Welt begehrt und nachgeahmt, wurde *El Habano* zu einem mythenumgebenen Herzstück transnationaler Produktions- und Handlungsprozesse: industrielles und agrikulturelles Wissen, Saatgut sowie menschliche Arbeitskräfte wanderten zwischen den verschiedenen Regionen umher. Der Artikel verfolgt die grenzüberschreitenden Wege und Mythen von *El Habano* vom 19. bis ins 21. Jahrhundert und nimmt verschiedenen Stätten der Produktion in Kuba, Florida, Connecticut sowie Indonesien in den Blick.

The Caribbean has long been part not only of an Atlantic but also a far more global political, economic, and socio-cultural world. European empires that carved up the region they labeled the West Indies likewise staked their claim to territories in what in similar terms was for them their East Indies. Across networks of territories of the imperial west and east, and also through the interstices of empires, commodities, peoples, and ideas flowed. In the nineteenth century, Cuba was a hub for such networks,[2] and the handmade Havana cigar established itself globally as *the* luxury tobacco product of the century.[3] Coveted and replicated across the world, *El Habano*, lay at the heart of transnational processes of production, commerce, and myth making, as travel facilitated transfers of knowledge and practice, whereby seed, agricultural and industrial know-how, and human capital were all transplanted. This was accentuated by the migratory flows accompanying landmark political upheavals in Cuba, such as the late nineteenth-century struggles for independence from Spain, early twentieth-century U.S. occupations, and the 1959 Revolution.

The result was often-disputed identical brands, produced in Cuba and abroad, by island and émigré Cubans, and distributed through parallel chains, networks and circuits. In turn, this created a complex multi-tiered licit and illicit system that aimed to capitalise on the prestige of the 'authentic' product. Cuban cigar communities and economies were re-created abroad, often contested along class, race and gender lines, from both within and without. Moreover, above and beyond these communities and economies lay a far wider 'Havana cigar universe', which involved competing economies; political, social and cultural worlds; and imaginaries.

What follows first charts the broader Havana cigar universe. It then draws on the late Cuban ethnographer Fernando Ortiz's now classic Cuban counterpoint of tobacco and sugar and British social theorist Paul Gilroy's critique of the moral economies of Black Atlantic cultures, to frame a global commodity and labour history approach. Subsequently, it travels geographical 'pathways' of this one commodity, the luxury handmade Havana cigar, and the leaf that goes into its making, painting four time-sequential vignettes. The focus moves from struggles around more readily understood hierarchies of class, race and gender in cigar manufacturing in Cuba and Florida to those accompanying less readily recognised emasculated hierarchies in leaf growing in Connecticut and Indonesia. A final section highlights how Indonesia's rise to global pre-eminence challenges us to think beyond the racialised and gendered hierarchies of the Western Hemisphere and Black Atlantic to more global configurations.

2   This comes to the fore in the U.S.-Caribbean context in Matthew Pratt Guterl, American Mediterranean: Southern Slaveholders in the Age of Emancipation, Cambridge/London 2008.

3   Many publications highlight this, for example, Eumelio Espino Marrero, Cuban Cigar Tobacco: Why Cuban Cigars Are the World's Best, Neptune City (N.J.) 1996; Charles Del Todesco, The Havana Cigar: Cuba's Finest, New York 1997. See also my early monograph Tobacco on the Periphery: A Case study in Cuban Labour History: 1860–1958, Cambridge 1985. For the broader context, see: Iain Gately, La Diva Nicotiana, New York 2001.

1. The Havana Cigar Universe

Understanding how the 'Havana' became the centre of a whole cigar universe can be documented through agricultural science and technology; management, land tenure, labour, migration, and consumption; and also forms of communication. To give but a recent example, *Cigar Aficionado*, the up-market glossy magazine for 'the discerning male', founded in New York in the early 1990s, was highly successful in engineering an anti-anti-smoking campaign to promote cigar consumption. It did so socially and culturally as well as commercially, nurturing a whole cult of cigar cool whose epitome was the Havana.[4] Written for the connoisseur and punctuated by aggressive marketing, *Cigar Aficionado* reportage and feature articles signalled where and by whom Havana seed leaf is today grown outside Cuba, as also who is manufacturing and marketing the off-island Havana, and where.

The history behind this is what I set out to trace, charting the formation, growth, and decline of post-1868 and post-1959 Cuban cigar emigré communities; exploring economic, social and political processes in receiver territories as well as Cuba; and delving into the politics of historical myth and memory in émigré culture, associated as they are among Cubans in the United States with post-1868 political idealism and post-1959 political conservatism.[5] In the process, broader histories emerged, and these, for analytical purposes, I group into four categories.

First, there are closely interlocking cigar histories of territories with significant migratory flows out of and into Cuba. Most notable is that of Florida, boosted and eventually destroyed by two U.S. trade embargoes on Cuba: one in the 1890s build-up to Cuba's final war of independence from Spain and the other in the 1960s on the heels of the 1959 Revolution. Over and beyond the better-known Cuban émigré southern Florida cigar histories of Key West, Tampa and Ybor City,[6] there are also lesser-known histories

4   Having researched tobacco trade journals in the past, the striking levels of sophistication in Cigar Aficionado feature articles and advertising caused me to re-evaluate the importance of cultural and consumer histories in connection with the highly informative cigar reportage. For my preliminary reflections on this, see: Havana Cigars and the West's Imagination, in: Sander L. Gilman / Zhou Xun (eds.), Smoke: A Global History of Smoking, London 2004. For a broader discussion, see Arjun Appadurai, Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization, Minneapolis 1996.
5   Little work connects the various offshore economies and communities, but this is brought to the fore in the autobiography of tobacco agronomist Napoleón S. Padilla, Memorias de un cubano sin importancia, Hialeah 1998. See also Araceli Tinajero, El lector de tabaquería: Historia de una tradición cubana, Madrid 2007, which links the institution of reading in the cigar factories in Cuba, New York, Tampa, Puerto Rico, Mexico, and Spain; Evan Matthew Daniel, Rolling for the Revolution: A Transnational History of Cuban Cigar Makers in Havana, South Florida and New York City, 1853–1895, PhD dissertation, The New School 2010.
6   Among the pioneers were Louis A. Pérez, Jr., Reminiscences of a Lector: Cuban Cigar Makers in Tampa, in: Florida Historical Quarterly, 53 (1975); L. Glenn Westfall, Key West: Cigar City U.S.A., Key West (FL) 1984; and Don Vicente Martínez Ybor, The Man and His Empire: Development of the Clear Havana Industry in Cuba and Florida in the Nineteenth Century, New York 1987; Gerald Eugene Poyo, The Cuban Experience in the United States, 1865–1940: Migration, Community and Identity, in: Cuban Studies, 21 (1991); and Gary Mormino/George E. Pozetta, 'The Reader Lights the Candle': Cuban and Florida Cigar Workers' Oral Tradition, in: Labor's Heritage, Spring (1993). More recently: Robert P. Ingalls and L. A. Pérez, Jr., Tampa Cigar Workers: A Pictorial History, Gainesville 2003.

of the Florida-Georgia Shade tobacco belt, and linked cigar centres such as Amsterdam, Havana, Jacksonville, Quincy, and Thomasville.[7]

Equally in this first category would be nineteenth- and early twentieth-century New York, whose veritable explosion of cigar manufacturing involving many Cubans is only now being studied;[8] and Jamaica, with its little-known late nineteenth-century / early twentieth-century history of tobacco growers, workers and manufacturers who fled Cuba in the war-torn 1870s to found the once-thriving Jamaican tobacco economy.[9] Finally, looking across the Atlantic, the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century mass migratory waves of Canary Islanders into Cuban tobacco - in the context of the Canaries' geo-strategic position on the route between Spain, Africa and the Americas - fuelled subsequent return migration into the Canaries' own tobacco growing and production, using a blend of tobaccos from various parts of the world.[10]

In a second category are the closely intertwined histories of Puerto Rican and Cuban tobacco with no significant tobacco migration but closely monitored trade networks and circuits of knowledge.[11] Puerto Rico's own turbulent tobacco history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, fostered by U.S. capital with the U.S. invasion of 1898 after the end of Spanish colonial rule, was in turn undercut in the mid-twentieth century in the U.S.-blessed, Puerto Rican strategy of Operation Bootstrap. The early twentieth century saw considerable numbers of Puerto Rican cigar workers heading north to U.S. centres of cigar manufacturing, especially New York, where they joined Cuban émigrés. State-engineered migrant farm labour programmes of the third quarter of the twentieth

7   I explored the history of North Florida with the aid of Kyle Doherty during my 2011 spring semester at the University of Florida. I am indebted to Paul Losch, Assistant Head of the University's excellent Latin American and Caribbean Library, for alerting me to the footnote (p.300) in Gerardo Castellanos, Motivos de Cayo Hueso, Havana 1935, on the existence of Cuban cigar factories and workers in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Gainesville; and to Head Librarian Richard Phillips for referring me to Daniel Bronstein, La Cubana City: A Cuban Cigar Manufacturing Community Near Thomasville, Georgia, During the 1890s, in: Georgia Historical Quarterly, 90 (2006) 3. Our research suggests an unexpectedly significant North Florida history.

8   There is reference to nineteenth- and twentieth-century Cuban cigar makers alongside Puerto Ricans in New York in César Andreu Iglesias (ed.), Memoirs of Bernardo Vega, New York 1984 [1977]. See also Lisandro Pérez, Cubans in Gotham: Immigrants, Exiles, and Revolution in Nineteenth-Century New York, New York forthcoming.

9   I documented the earlier Cuban-Jamaican history in: Political Idealism and Commodity Production: Cuban Tobacco in Jamaica, 1870–1930, in: Cuban Studies, 25 (1995). See also: id., The Machado Story: A Pioneer Industry in Jamaica, 1874–1962, Kingston n.d.

10   I am currently processing my research on the Canaries. The 1990s granting of autonomy to the regions of Spain, which coincided with the revitalisation of links abroad in Cuba's post-Soviet crisis 1990s, produced a spate of work on the Canaries, Cuba and tobacco, including Andrés Arnaldos Martínez/Jorge Arnaldos de Armas, La industria tabaquera canaria, 1852–2002, Gran Canarias 2003; Anelio Rodríguez, Concepción Tradición insular del tabaco, Santa Cruz de Tenerife 2000; Mario Luis López Isla, La aventura del tabaco, Santa Cruz de Tenerifa 1998; C. Legna Verna / J. L. Rivero Cevellos, La industria tabaquera en Canarias: Globalización y reestructuración, Bilbao 1997; Gregorio J. Cabrera Déniz, Canarios en Cuba: Un capítulo en la historia del archipiélago, 1875–1931, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria 1996; and Manuel de Paz, Wanguëmert y Cuba, 2 vols., Santa Cruz de Tenerife 1991.

11   Juan José Baldrich makes this point in his work on Puerto Rican tobacco, see: From the Origins of Industrial Capitalism in Puerto Rico to Its Subordination to the U.S. Tobacco Trust: Rucabado and Company, 1865–1901, in: Revista Mexicana del Caribe, 3 (1998) 5; see also: M. Burgos Malave, El conflicto tabacalero entre Cuba y Puerto Rico, in: Revista de Estudios Generales, 4 (1989–1990) 4.

century then transported displaced farmers and agricultural labourers from what were once Puerto Rican tobacco areas to the Shade tobacco fields of Connecticut.[12]

In the third category are cigar histories that have seen small yet significant catalysts of Cuban cigar migration – those of late nineteenth-century Mexico[13] and late twentieth-century Nicaragua and Honduras, and also Ecuador and Brazil,[14] but most notably the Dominican Republic. Hitherto far behind in the Havana cigar stakes, the Dominican Republic was reinvented in the 1990s as home to the born-again Havana cigar for the U.S. market, where the real Havana was forbidden fruit.[15]

Finally, there are African and Asian interconnections, linked to global and imperial cigar expansion involving the UK, the Netherlands, Germany and France. The French moved into territories such as Cameroon, whose leaf became part of the global cigar blend; while the tobacco history of the Philippines – the third last colony of Spain, along with Cuba and Puerto Rico, and a U.S. colony until 1946 – mirrored that of its erstwhile colonial counterparts.[16] The Shade tobacco of Cuba, Florida-Georgia and Connecticut was itself derived from, and in competition with, that of Sumatra (and Java), in turn originally derived from Cuban and American seed (tobacco being indigenous to the Americas).[17] Developed initially by the Dutch and marketed primarily in the Netherlands and Germany, the cheaper Indonesian leaf and ultimately cigar were destined to flood the global market.

12   Ruth Glasser makes this point in: Aquí me quedo: Puerto Ricans in Connecticut, Hartford 1997. I draw out the Connecticut history in: El Habano and the World it Has Shaped: Cuba, Connecticut and Indonesia, in: Cuban Studies, 41 (2010). Connecticut's links with both Puerto Rico and Cuba find their way into the novel *Parrish,* written by local writer Mildred Savage, New York 1958, and made into a 1961 Hollywood blockbuster tobacco 'soap opera' movie.

13   There is little in the way of comparative study, but for two studies on tobacco in Mexico see: Susan Deans-Smith, Bureaucrats, Planters and Workers: The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico, Austin 1992, and: José González Sierra, Monopolio del humo: elementos de la historia del tabaco en México y algunos conflictos de tabaqueros veracruzanos, 1915–1930, Xalapa 1987.

14   Little connects Brazil with Cuba, though there are excellent Brazilian tobacco studies, notably Bert Jude Barickman, A Bahian Counterpoint: Sugar, Tobacco, Cassava, and Slavery in the Recôncavo, 1780–1860, Stanford 1998; Catherine Lugar, The Portuguese Tobacco Trade and Tobacco Growers of Bahia in the Late Colonial Period, in: Dauril Alden / Warren Dean (eds.), Essays Concerning the Socioeconomic History of Brazil and Portuguese India, Gainesville 1977; and Jean-Baptiste Nardi, Fumo brasileiro no periodo colonial, Sao Paulo 1996. See also Michiel Baud/Kees Kooning, Germans and Tobacco in Bahia (Brazil), 1870–1940, in: Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas, 37 (2000).

15   See my detailed discussion in: Reinventing Mecca: Tobacco in the Dominican Republic, 1763–2007, in: Commodities of Empire Working Paper, 3 (October 2007), http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/ferguson-centre/commodities-of-empire/working-papers/index.htm (accessed on 16 July 2011). For the most recent in a spate of tobacco studies in the Dominican Republic since the 1970s, see: José Chez Checo/Mu-Kien Adriana Sang, El tabaco: historia general en República Dominicana, Santo Domingo 2007.

16   The Philippine connection is one yet to be documented, but see: Edilberto C. de Jesus, The Tobacco Monopoly in the Philippines: Bureaucratic Enterprise and Social Change, 1776–1880, Manila 1980. For an excellent snapshot comparative representational study of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Hawaii, and Guam, see: Lanny Thompson, Imperial Archipelago: Representation and Rule in the Insular Territories under U.S. Dominion after 1898, Honolulu 2010.

17   I explore this in: El Habano and the World it Has Shaped (footnote 12).

2. Conceptualising Race, Gender and Labour in the Global Havana Cigar

Cuban ethnographer Fernando Ortiz blazed new ground in the Cuba of 1940 by publishing *Cuban Counterpoint*: *Tobacco and Sugar*, grounded on an analysis of these, Cuba's two major commodities. It was the seminal work in which he developed his concept of transculturation, using tobacco and sugar as metaphorical constructs, highlighting both their fetish power as commodities and a counter-fetish interpretation that challenged "essentialist understandings of Cuban history".[18]

Drawing on myth and culture, Ortiz began his counterpoint with an allegory to the dispute between *Don Carnal* (Carnival) and *Doña Cuaresma* (Lent) in the book *Libro de buen amor* (The Book of Good Love, 1330) by the medieval poet Juan Ruiz, known as the Archpriest of Hita (c. 1283–c. 1350). He thereby set the scene for a drama personifying masculine dark tobacco and feminine white sugar – *Don Tabaco* and *Doña Azúcar*. This was the literary precedent to enacting a long sequence of literal and figurative contrasts: sugar was a centripetal, centralising force reproducing the relationship between the exploitative metropolis and the exploited colonies, while tobacco was a centrifugal, decentralising force signifying autonomy, freedom and independence. Tobacco was quality and distinctiveness, 'the best', as opposed to 'the most' for sugar: the proud cigar band against the lowly sack. Sugar was black and unfree, in its slavery, contrasting with tobacco as white and free in its labour. Ortiz then unpicked these opposites in ways suggestive of new transculturations, akin to Cuba's emblematic culinary *ajiaco* (a stew of indigenous root vegetables), which was not so much *fusión* (a melting pot fusion) but *cocción* (an incessant simmering concoction), conflict and transformation, *mestizaje* (understood as both cultural and biological race mixing).

The 1990s revival of interest in the work of Ortiz[19] saw him as a thinker ahead of his times, writing in moments of international and domestic upheaval, which framed his concerns and help explain his work's allegorical character: a thinker very much in tune with the fluidity of the contemporary world. Ortiz's binary opposites were seen as tropes for events, ideas and interpretations that were in constant flux, and were the attraction of his work over half a century later, in the newly globalising world.[20]

The Ortiz revival coincided with the landmark 1990s work of Paul Gilroy conceptualising the hybridity of the Black Atlantic, and Ortiz's ideas resonate even more closely with the underlying thinking of Gilroy's *Darker than Blue: On the Moral Economies of Black Atlantic Culture* (2010).[21] The title, Gilroy explains, was taken from African American

18   Fernando Coronil, Introduction, in: Fernando Ortiz, Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar, Philadelphia (Pa.) 1995 [1940], p.xxviii.

19   Ibid.; Antonio Benítez Rojo, The Repeating Island: The Carribean and the Postmodern Perspective, Durham/London 1992 [1990]; Gustavo Pérez-Firmat, The Cuban Condition: Translation and Identity in Cuban Literature, Cambridge et al. 1989.

20   I elaborate on this in: Tobacco in the Contrapunteo: Ortiz and the Havana Cigar, in: Mauricio Font/Alfonso Quiroz (eds.), Cuban Counterpoints: The Legacy of Fernando Ortiz, Lanham (Md.) 2004.

21   Paul Gilroy, Darker than Blue: On the Moral Economies of Black Atlantic Culture, Cambridge (Mass.)/London 2010; also: id., The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness, London 1993.

writer Ralph Ellison on Louis Armstrong: "What did I do to be so black and so blue?" (p.149) The subtitle is borrowed from British historian Edward Thompson's work on the moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century;[22] and the book posits the need to interrogate Black Atlantic culture along the lines of morality and political culture, juxtaposing dissent and accommodation, in a society in which consumer citizenship has largely corroded moral citizenship.

Gilroy highlights unsustainable consumer culture, contestations of human rights, and geopolitical conflicts, weaving through the ways in which consumerism of goods has undermined the political and social aspirations of African Americans – his main concern – by individualising what was once a collective spirit. This he demonstrates through a compelling analysis of the lost moral power of commodities such as the automobile (once the symbolic vehicle of freedom in the U.S. civil rights movement), music (by Chuck Berry, Jimi Hendrix and Bob Marley) and writing (by Ralph Ellison and Frantz Fanon).

Gilroy depicts African American Studies as frozen at a critical juncture in its history. He argues that, whereas the colour line was once an overriding social and historical phenomenon, today we are beset by economic and ecological crises, neo-imperial warfare, and a fundamental questioning of broader human rights, all of which challenge established analytical comfort zones. He asserts the need to rethink how "the politics of race and racism, as well as the political and commercial value of blackness, have been altered decisively."[23] He argues:

> *The geo-political order is changing. Old inequalities persist and new varieties of unfreedom emerge. The racialised structuring of our world which was established during the nineteenth century is evolving too… This situation requires new analytical tools and conceptual adjustments… The teleological sequence that made the overdevelopment countries into the future and their formerly colonised territories into the past is being left behind. If the West now represents the past while the rest are to be the future, what does that change do to the assumptions about history and historicity that were required by racial hierarchy?*[24]

What are the implications of this for my work on the global Havana cigar? For Ortiz the cigar, more than any other product of Cuba, symbolised freedom, independence, nationalism and sovereignty. Yet there are equally ways in which it lies at the heart of an on- and off-island history that has embedded within it not only challenges to nationalism and sovereignty but also new forms of unfreedoms, as suggested by Gilroy; and this takes us to the heart of global commodity and labour history.

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22   E. P. Thompson, The Moral Economy of the English Crowd during the Eighteenth Century, in: id., Customs in Common, New York 1993.
23   Gilroy, Darker Than Blue (footnote 21), p. 2
24   Ibid., p. 4.

Commodity chain analysis[25] tends to focus on the substitution of a product or parts of a product by other such products that are cheaper to produce, different in quality, or new on the market; and on opportunities for traders to reorganise supply and create consumer alternatives, unbound by former dependencies and monopolies of suppliers. The appearance of new products or varieties does not necessarily entail the collapse of the older chain because frequently parallel structures develop. The emergence of informal and/or illicit economies and their impact on a chain are more difficult to trace, yet these hidden parts of a global commodity chain may be essential to an understanding of its entire functioning. Historians have frequently presented chains as linear connections between producers, traders, and consumers. Extending the analysis to encompass networks and circuits of knowledge challenges us to understand the fragilities and disconnections of their political, social, and cultural dimensions.[26]

There are multifaceted implications of this for understanding global labour history. Historians of the earlier era of the Black Atlantic have demonstrated the relationship between, on the one hand, the emergence of regions of 'freedom' in Western Europe, following the decline of serfdom and feudalism and the rise of market commerce and capitalism, that swelled the consumer markets for commodities previously produced under slave regimes, and, on the other, a commodity history nurturing colonial and post-colonial systems of migrant labour and forms of neo-slavery. Commodification in the Black Atlantic during the period after the formal end of African slavery in the Americas was when the line dividing freedom and unfreedom became even more blurred, and systems of control, often physical, violent and segregated, were put into place.[27]

Moreover, commodity production was not fixed in a single space but rather moved in a continual peripatetic movement of people, production, and the final goods. Marketing and consumption of the commodity (and the meanings attached to advertising and consumption) were ever more divorced from the realities of the labour and production processes and the locales where the product originated. In the process, global labour historians today argue, forms of labour management and discipline practiced under slave

25   A classic is Gary Gereffi/Miguel Korzeniewicz (eds.), Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism, Westport 1994, which includes: Terence Hopkins/Immanuel Wallerstein, Commodity Chains: Construct and Research.

26   Appadurai's 'regimes of values' and 'concepts of commodification', for example, see: A. Appadurai (ed.), The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective, Cambridge 1986, and: id., Modernity at Large (footnote 4); James Ferguson, Cultural Exchange: New Developments in the Anthropology of Commodities, in: Cultural Anthropology, 3 (1988); Philip Raikes et al., Global Commodity Chain Analysis and the French Filière Approach: Comparison and Critique, in: Economy and Society, 29 (August 2000) 3; Peter Dicken et al., Chains and Networks, Territories and Scales: Towards a Relational Framework for Analysing the Global Economy, in: Global Networks, 1 (2001) 2; Alex Hughes/Suzanne Reimer (eds.), Geographies of Commodity Chains, London/New York 2004.

27   For the earlier period, a classic is Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery, Chapel Hill (N.C.) 1994 [1944]; and major work has been produced by, among others: Robin Blackburn, The American Crucible: A Landmark History of the Rise, Abolition and Legacy of Slavery in the New World, London 2011; id., The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the modern, 1492–1800, London 1997; id., The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776-1848, London 2011 [1988]. For the U.S. post-slavery period, see: Paul Ortiz, Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920, Berkeley (Ca.) 2005. See also Robin D.G. Kelley, Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination, Boston (Ma.) 2002; and id., Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class, New York 1996 [1994].

regimes of the Americas were replicated in controlled migrant labour camps and the 'coolie' of the East is the slave of today.[28]

My Havana cigar traversed such a history, whereby - alongside island and émigré Cubans – Europeans, African Americans, and Caribbeans in Connecticut as well as Sumatrans, Javanese, Madurese and Chinese in Indonesia all played a part in the production of a *Cuban* cigar. Strikingly, they did so without significantly changing associations of the cigar with an iconography of Hispano-Cuban white skilled masculine labourers and exotic white women in the marketing or the cultural meanings attached to the pleasure, desire, and consumption of the luxury product.

3. Cuba: Those Militant Cigar Workers

Let us turn now to where my cigar story begins in Cuba: where, in Ortiz fashion, cigar making conjures up that elite white male world and cigar makers were those Hispanic Cuban male aristocrats of labour fashioning their quality product from a strong, fragrant leaf. The late nineteenth-century Cuban legend surrounding the prestigious cigar export industry and master cigar maker was one in which Hispanic white male icons symbolised labour, political idealism and militancy, while the single most obvious iconography of women was the seductive embossed Hispanic white lady on the luxury cigar labels. This was, of course, a highly circumscribed view, removed from reality.[29]

Hand cigar rolling is skilled work, but there is little to indicate it was originally considered as such. Nineteenth-century cigar makers were found in barracks, prisons, and homes. African slaves, indentured Chinese and free coloureds were brought into rolling shops alongside white Spanish wage labour, often under appalling conditions. Early wage labourers lived, side by side with slave and indentured labour, in badly ventilated galleries over the rolling shops, receiving only part of their pay in money, having leave of absence only once a week, and having to hold down a cigar maker's *libreta,* or identification card, in which debts were recorded, restricting workers from freely transferring their labour from one factory to another.

Figures for the 1860s signal 60 per cent of the work force in Havana and 55 per cent throughout the island were slaves and free coloureds. By 1899, the figures had fallen to 30 and 37 per cent, respectively. Against the backdrop of 1880s abolition of slavery and 1890s depression and war turmoil, many 'non-whites' were among those who left Cuba;

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28   Thought-provoking work in this respect is that of Marcel van der Linden, Workers of the World: Essays toward a Global Labor History, Leiden / Boston 2008; M. v. d. Linden et al. (eds.), Transnational Networks in the Twentieth Century: Ideas and Practices, Individuals and Organizations, Leipzig 2008; and M. v. d. Linden / Rana P. Behal (eds.), Coolies, Capital and Colonialism: Studies in Indian Labour History, Cambridge 2006.

29   I discuss this in: Reflections on Class, Race, Gender and Nation in Cuban Tobacco: 1850–2000, in: Constance Sutton (ed.), Revisiting Caribbean Labor: Essays in Honour of O. Nigel Bolland, Kingston (Jamaica) 2005; id., Gender Constructs of Labour in Prerevolutionary Cuban Tobacco, in: Social and Economic Studies, 37 (1988) 1 and 2; id., Gender Issues in Contemporary Cuban Tobacco Farming, in: World Development, 5 (1987) 1; see also: Andrew Zimbalist, Cuba's Socialist Economy Toward the 1990s, Boulder/London 1987.

and there was an entrenchment of Hispanic white workers, with an influx of Spanish immigrants into the skilled jobs in Havana's premium export factories. With the twentieth-century relative decline of the industry, the quality rolling skill and its national and racial component broke down, and the proportion of black cigar workers in Havana increased to 40 percent in 1943, though stood at only 11 per cent of those in cigar sorting and box labelling, the cream of the trades. There was little reference to women cigar rollers, although the preponderant home and outwork industry suggests the contrary, and women interviewed spoke of being taught by their fathers to roll cigars in the home and working in smaller local rolling shops. Women were excluded from rolling in the premium export factories.[30]

Thus, while in Spain Carmen may have immortalised the women cigar rollers of Seville, Cuba's Carmens were to be the stemmers, taking out the central vein of the cigar tobacco leaf. Even then, in the mid- to late nineteenth century, factory stemmers were Hispanic and male, and their pay and conditions on a par with the cigar makers. By the twentieth century, however, it was women stemmers who formed the majority work force. In addition to the stemming departments in the cigar factories, there were large stemmeries in the tobacco agricultural regions of Havana, Las Villas and Pinar del Río, many belonging to U.S. export companies and each employing on a short seasonal basis hundreds of women, especially black women, who were among the worst paid and least considered sectors.

Through their guilds, late nineteenth-century master cigar makers, sorters or box decorators succeeded in restricting entry along national, race and gender lines, and that was when the skill of premium cigar making most came into its own. The first major challenge to the exclusiveness and control of the trade came in the 1880s, from cigar makers in the less prestigious and less well-paid factories working on inferior-type cigars, who were not unionised, at a time when a large concentration of production and workers coincided with the abolition of slavery and a potential influx of newly freed labour. The challenge came in the form of an explosion of labour militancy and strikes with marked racial and nationalist overtones to class interests, with incipient labour movements divided along reformist, anarchist, anarcho-syndicalist, and nationalist lines.

A second major challenge came in the 1920s, when a semblance of national craft unions had been consolidated, again amidst hard economic times as the 1930s Depression loomed near. The question of mechanisation hovered over the industry, and there was stepped up anti-labour repression. Militancy and strikes went far beyond the confines of existing unions, involving women stemmers for whom unionisation was in its infancy.[31] Cuba's women stemmers – in effect Cuba's majority female labour sector (only domestics

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30 Ibid.
31 Interestingly, there is reference to a short-lived *Gremio de Despalilladores* (the original masculine word in Spanish for stemmers) in 1878 and no other recorded attempt until the 1917 Gremio de Despalilladoras (the word by then feminine).

and textile workers compared) – displayed high rates of literacy and organisation, and mounted a strong labour challenge in the form of strikes in the 1920s and 1930s.

Workers across the cigar industry proved to be a force to be reckoned with on issues vital to the very fabric of Cuban economy and society, notably the two attempts to mechanise an industry seen to be cause for national pride. The issue was volatile and ensured solidarity among tobacco and non-tobacco workers alike. This came to a head in 1948, in the context of cold war politics, when manufacturers and government coincided in wanting an end to militant communist-led union opposition to the machine. One stemmery manager angrily declared "the need for a bloody purge, a need to put a stop to these nigger women."[32]

We know relatively little about the 'nigger' women stemmers, but one thing is clear: those women and men who left Cuba did not leave behind them a labour situation uncontested along class, race and gender lines.

4. South Florida: Those Radical Emigrés

Cuban emigré workers and their families in Florida in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries found themselves on newly divisive terrain of the reconstruction and Jim Crow U.S. South. The initial wave left Cuba under Spanish rule and with slavery in place, and struggles that were by no means undivided. In Florida, their enclave community was then beset by new dimensions of racial segregation, violence, and lynching, in addition to influxes of Italian and Spanish immigrants.

Florida's early offshore Havana cigar world of Key West had also been home to Cuban nationalist and labour unrest, such that by the 1890s Spanish manufacturers sought to undercut this by relocating to other Florida towns, whose patricians were aggressively attracting industry. Descendants today proudly recall how their worker forebears donated from their wages to the independence cause, and how the communication from New York for the 1895 landing signalling the outbreak of the second war of independence was rolled in Florida into a cigar and smuggled into Cuba. They also speak with sorrow of a community divided.

The big losers in Tampa were 'non-white' Cuban cigar makers and their families, increasingly forced to live their lives separate from Hispano-Cubans and join the African American drift north. The advent of the cigar machine cemented this, with a process of feminisation and de-skilling in mechanised cigar rolling, which had started with the introduction of the bunching moulds in hand rolling. In Florida, labour struggles were undercut by vigilante violence and relocation north, notably to New Jersey.[33]

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32 A detailed study of the struggle waged against the cigar machine can be found in: Martín Duarte Hurtado, La máquina torcedora de tabaco y las luchas en torno a su implantación en Cuba, Havana 1973.

33 See Susan D. Greenbaum, More Than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa, Gainesville 2002; Nancy A. Hewitt, Southern Discomfort: Women's Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1800s–1920s, Urbana 2001; Evelio Grillo, Black Cuban, Black American: A Memoir, Houston (Tx.) 2000; Winston James, From a Class for Itself to a Race on Its Own: The Strange

Even so, in the 1950s, Tampa's Havana cigar industry was still the city's largest single employer, with thousands working in cigar manufacturing and providing a source of overseas support for Cuban revolutionary organisations. It was after the 1960s embargo that this changed dramatically, as more than 6,000 cigar makers lost their jobs. A United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) report prior to the embargo is illuminating as to why.[34] Cuba was the source of nearly a quarter of leaf tobacco for U.S. cigars. Some two-thirds of the seven billion cigars sold in the U.S. in a typical year contained Cuban tobacco. Around 670 million 'clear Havanas' and 'Havana filler' cigars used 45 % of Cuban tobacco imports; the other 55% was used in 'blended filler' cigars. If imports were to cease, 'clear Havana' manufacturers foresaw their problems as 'insurmountable' unless Cuban leaf was to be replaced by some subtropical tobacco to obtain the aroma and flavour needed. This marked the start of a quest to grow Cuban seed tobacco and move Havana cigar hand-rolling operations to the Caribbean and Central America. As a result, by the 1970s the cigar industry was fast disappearing as a factor in the economic life of Tampa Bay; by the 1980s, mechanised rolling using homogenised leaf[35] was yet another nail in coffin for labour; and Florida's minimum wage policy was often invoked by companies to explain why they 'had' to go offshore.

The post-1959 new wave of Hispanic white migration from Cuba, primarily to Miami but also to Tampa, sealed a silencing of Afro-Cubans' earlier presence and activism in labour, mutual aid, and community movements. The imagery bolstered was again the familiar Hispanic male cigar maker and seductive 'Latin' lady on cigar labels and bands; and a whole iconography of Hispanic Cuban cigar culture accompanied the retelling of the Florida 'clear Havana' story.[36] When Tampa's Ybor City and famed Vicente Martinez Ybor factory were rescued from demolition from developers in the 1980s, they became a tourist attraction complete with cigar museum, heavily Hispanic and male in their recreation of the past. One lowly building, on the outskirts of the renovated centre, remained

Case of Afro-Cuban Radicalism and Afro-Cubans in Florida, 1870–1940, in: id., Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America, London 1998; and Nancy Raquel Mirabal, Telling Silences and Making Community: Afro-Cubans in Ybor City and Tampa, 1899–1915, in: Lisa Brock/Digna Castañeda Fuertes (eds.), Between Race and Empire: Afro-Americans and Cubans Before the Cuban Revolution, Philadelphia (Pa.) 1998. Also, R. P. Ingalls, Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882–1936, Knoxville 1988.

34   A copy of the 1960 70-page USDA Report is housed in the Special Collections Library of the University of Florida and provides statistical and qualitative evidence on the history and juncture at the time of the U.S. cigar industry, as well as the significant impact of the embargo on Cuban leaf imports. President John F. Kennedy famously ensured he had his supply of Havana cigars before signing the embargo into law.

35   Homogenised leaf, also known as reconstituted leaf was introduced in the U.S. in the 1950s. Comprising huge sheets made from tobacco scraps, it was used first as a binder and only later as a wrapper in mechanised production. This was not to characterise Tampa's 'clear Havana' industry, and its use spread later only.

36   See: Kathryn Hall Proby, Mario Sanchez: Painter of Key West Memories, Key West (Fl..) 1981; Joe Davidson, The Art of the Cigar Label, Secaucus (N.J.) 1989; Narciso Menocal, The Tobacco Industry in Cuba and Florida: Its Golden Age in Lithography and Architecture, Coral Gables (Fl..) 1995. Also, the image recreated in the Broadway hit play Anna in the Tropics by Cuban-American Pulitzer-winning playwright Nilo Cruz, New York 2003, and the melancholy for that age in Cuba and Tampa expressed in Pablo Medina, The Cigar Roller, New York 2005, and in the earlier novels of Ybor City-born José Yglesias, The Truth About Them, New York 1971, and: Down There, New York 1971.

as home to the Marti-Maceo Club founded in 1904 by those wishing to hold on to the dream of a united Cuba.[37] It wasn't until the turn of the twenty-first century that the museum was to mount an exhibition that bore testimony to Afro-Cuban families.

Their story is told in Susan Greenbaum's *Afro-Cubans in Tampa: More than Black* (2002), whose opening is particularly striking. In the early 1960s, an Afro-Cuban lawyer was defending, and having to translate for, a Mexican farm worker in the Tampa courthouse. Afterwards, the presiding judge asked the lawyer how he had learned to speak Spanish: "The lawyer replied: 'I always have known how. I was born in Cuba.' The judge's retort: 'Cuban? I didn't know you were a Cuban. I always thought you were a nigger.'" (p.1) For Greenbaum, the casual racism on the judge's part captured how, in the United States, media stereotypes and popular construction of Cuban-American identity, especially the (Hispanic) Cuban-American Miami 'success story' had silenced blackness.

Her ethno-historical study retraced the social and cultural adaptations of black Cuban cigar makers, charting their attempts to negotiate the multiethnic, multicultural industrial enclave of Tampa while also involved in the politics of Cuba, from independence through revolution. Theirs were shifting diasporic identities – Afro-Cuban, Afro-Cuban-American, African-American. Over the generations, there were periods when they identified more as African-American than Cuban-American, but, she argues, there was no linear progression nor can there be said to be an identifiable end-point.

It might be argued that such shifting racial identities were not all that dissimilar from identity politics among Cubans in Cuba, as well as the United States. Over time, the island experience itself uneasily traversed variants of race relations: the more archetypal bipolar U.S.-type system of the black/white divide (especially during and after U.S. occupation); the more three-tiered system of the kind erected for the non-Hispanic Caribbean (distinguishing black, brown – mulato/a – and white); and the fluid racial continuum of the Hispanic Caribbean and Ibero-America. There were historical moments in Cuba when one or other appeared uppermost. There were times that were more inclusionary, when the races came together, such as the late nineteenth-century independence struggles of 1868-1898 and late twentieth-century revolutionary period of 1959–1989, with a primacy of nation over race and class. There were other more exclusionary times, when the races were pushed apart (1899–1958 and 1989 to the present). Throughout, there have been struggles in which there has been a primacy of race over class, and vice versa.[38] Similar observations have been drawn for gender/class primacy, largely, it should

37   The Club was named after Cuba's two great independence leaders: José Martí, the political leader of Hispanic descent, and military General Antonio Maceo, of part African heritage.

38   Pedro Pérez Sarduy and I documented this in the introductions to our edited collections Afro-Cuban Voices: On Race and Identity in Contemporary Cuba, Gainesville (Fl..) 2000; and AFROCUBA: An Anthology of Cuban Writing on Race, Politics and Culture, London et al. 1993. Our work was born of pressing concerns over growing racism in 1990s crisis Cuba and the need to articulate black Cuban experiences and perceptions, in much the same way Greenbaum was motivated in her work.

be noted, in the context of processes of feminisation of labour.[39] However, it is to processes of emasculation of labour that I now wish to turn.

5. Connecticut: Those Seasonal Farm Hands

While Cubans in Cuba and Cuban émigrés in Florida were fighting their battles, a related story of Shade tobacco leaf, developed from Cuban seed for Havana cigar binder and wrapper, was unfolding in what was once known as Connecticut Tobacco Valley. Today comprising only small expanses of tent-covered Shade tobacco land, alongside disused tobacco barns and derelict farm worker camps, tobacco acreage was at its height in 1921. An ephemeral 1960s revival was not on a scale to stem the decline that began with the 1950s introduction of homogenised binder and wrapper, was compounded by the 1964 US Surgeon General's report on the hazards of smoking, and was sealed with offshore relocation.

What is often recounted in its heyday as a proud New England story of twentieth-century tobacco-growing dynasties was also laced with cutthroat tobacco business and labour practices. Growers met their high seasonal labour requirements in various ways, including child and high school summer labour[40] but especially immigrant and migrant labour.

From the mid to late nineteenth century, waves of Irish and Eastern and Southern Europeans were met off the boats by middlemen and 'sold' to farmers, a practice described in 1911 as "a little nearer the slave trade than anything I had experienced."[41] Shortly thereafter, Southern planters, concerned about the lure of better pay in the North and with the aid of the Ku Klux Klan, went to great lengths to prevent black workers and their families from boarding trains and buses to head north.[42] Some did succeed in leaving, however, and, starting in 1916, African American students were recruited from black colleges in Georgia, Florida and Virginia for summer work.[43] Referred to in Connecticut as 'plantation darkies' or 'plantation negroes', Southern blacks, it was reported, 'streamed into Hartford' hoping for a better life, safe from violence, and worked in tobacco warehouses after the harvest or in better-paid non-agricultural jobs. As a result, the black

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39   This comes to the fore in N. A. Hewitt, Southern Discomfort (footnote 31) and my Gender Constructs of Labour (footnote 27).

40   There were press reports on child labour – see, for example: John J. Egan, Tobacco Child Labor Under Fire by Labor Commissioner, in: Hartford Times, 31 December 1946 – that contrast with the gentle nostalgia of 1990s personal testimonies of local people, see: Windsor Storyteller: A chronicle of 20th century life in Windsor, 2 vols., Windsor 1999.

41   This is recounted in James F. O'Gorman, Connecticut Valley Vernacular: The Vanishing Landscape and Architecture of the New England Tobacco Fields, Philadelphia (Pa.) 2002, p. 37.

42   This is a point made forcefully by P. Ortiz in Emancipation Betrayed (footnote 25). For a graphic recounting of that history, see: Stetson Kennedy, Jim Crow Guide: The Way it Was, Boca Raton 1990 [1959]; id., The Klan Unmasked, Boca Raton 1990 [1954]; id., Palmetto Country, Tallahassee (Fl..) 1989 [1942].

43   Stacey Close, The Ties That Bind: Southwest Georgians, Black College Students, and Migration to Hartford, in: The Journal of South Georgia History, 15 (2000), p. 19.

population of Hartford more than doubled from 1910 to 1920, occasioning a 1922 special report on "The Negro in the Industries and Other Work of the State."[44]

During World War II, the USDA and War Manpower Commission declared tobacco a crop essential to the war effort (smokes for the boys), and in 1943 the Farm Security Administration turned to the British West Indies, Jamaica in particular, for farm labour. Jamaican-born Fay Clarke Johnson documented oral histories of this all-but-forgotten interlude in *Soldiers of the Soil* (1995), its title borrowed from the Allied war effort.[45] Conditions were basic, and men tended to keep to camp, as they often met with hostility. In the words of George Christie, from Manchester, Jamaica, in a telegram sent to President Franklin D. Roosevelt: "Jamaicans dissatisfied of conditions… driven as dumb cattle, work under intimidation. United Nations fight for freedom, justice and fair play. We should have same. Please investigate."[46]

After the war, growers turned to employ displaced Europeans, before bringing in waves of Puerto Rican migrant labour to the camps under agreements signed with the Puerto Rican Department of Labour Migration Division (DTDM). During the 1960s and early 1970s, Puerto Ricans accounted for most Connecticut farm labour.

The Puerto Rican agricultural migration to Connecticut paralleled the earlier Cuban manufacturing out-migration to Florida in being integrally linked to upheavals on the island. These ranged from the U.S. occupation of Puerto Rico in 1898 and its subsequent incorporation into the United States, accompanied by the rise and decline of U.S. investment in Puerto Rican tobacco and many struggles associated with it,[47] to the post-World War II Operation Bootstrap, which resulting in an estimated 78% decline in the agricultural labour force in the years 1940–1979.[48] The migrants were male and

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44 Quoted in Margaret Buker Jay, Historical Perspective, in: Anadel Schnip / Katya Williamson (eds.), Changing Landscape through People: Connecticut Valley Tobacco, a Documentary of Photographs and Writing for the 1980s, n.p. n.d.

45 Fay Clarke Johnson, Soldiers of the Soil, New York 1995. The rallying cry was "Keep the Boys in Smokes". Thousands of Jamaican men signed up to contribute to the war effort, also seeking adventure and economic betterment.

46 Ibid, p.80, quoted from The Hartford Courant, 29 July 1944, p.8.

47 During the first half of the twentieth century, tobacco was not only second in economic importance in Puerto Rico but also a scenario of struggle, on which there have been some excellent studies. A 1950s classic is: Robert A. Manners, Tabara: Subcultures of a tobacco and mixed crops municipality, in: Julian H. Steward et al., The People of Puerto Rico, Urbana 1956. More recently, see: Teresita A. Levy, The History of Tobacco Cultivation in Puerto Rico, 1899–1940, Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York 2007. The new historians of the 1970s and 1980s produced pioneering labour studies, notably Angel G. Quintero Rivera, Socialist and Cigarmaker: Artisans' Proletarianization in the Making of the Puerto Rican Working Class, in: Latin American Perspectives, 10 (1983 [1978]), 2 and 3; and J. J. Baldrich, Sembraron la no siembra: Los cosecheros de tabaco puertorriquenos frente a las corporaciones tabacaleras, 1920–1934, Río Piedras (P.R.) 1988. More recently, see: Erick J. Pérez Velasco/David Baronov, Bibliografía sobre el movimiento obrero de Puerto Rico, 1873–1996, San Juan (P.R.) 1996; and Arturo Bird Carmona, Parejeros y desafiantes: la comunidad tabaquera de Puerta de Tierra a principios del siglo XX, San Juan (P.R.) 2008. Fictional representation of 1920s and 1930s struggles can be found in Enrique Laguerre, Los dedos de la mano, Río Piedras (P.R.) 1978 [1951].

48 After becoming U.S. citizens in 1917, many Puerto Ricans went to the mainland in search of work. The Hawaii Sugar Planters Association recruited them to cut sugar alongside Japanese, Filipinos, Chinese and Portuguese. By 1926, hundreds of Puerto Rican families were picking cotton in Alabama, and by the 1940s thousands of Puerto Ricans were to be found in poorly paid agricultural work. For the 1950s and 1960s Great Migration to the U.S. mainland, see: Jorge Duany, A Transnational Colonial Migration: Puerto Rico's Farm Labor Program, in: New

many came to Connecticut from Puerto Rico's own tobacco valley to work for the very same employers.[49]

Contracts stipulated they must be strong in physical stature, in good health, free from communicable diseases, accustomed to hard work, and with no police records or reputation as troublemakers. However, documents of the Shade Tobacco Growers Association and the DTDM Hartford Office from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s, and Connecticut local press and other holdings from the 1950s,[50] detail many complaints lodged by migrant workers and battles fought by them and organisations active on their behalf, including the Young Lords, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the Episcopal Church in Puerto Rico subsequently replaced by the Ecumenical Ministry of Agricultural Workers. The more growers tried to curb the work of organisations such as these, as well as access to farms and camps, the greater the protests; and the insults meted out to workers, as in 1973, were highly racialised: 'cerdos que se venden por unos centavos' (pigs bought for a few cents), 'negros sucios' (dirty niggers), 'esclavos de la colonia' (slaves from the colony).[51]

West Indian Guide, 84 (2010) 3 and 4; and, for a comparative study of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, see: id., Blurred Borders: Transnational Migration between the Hispanic Caribbean and the United States, Chapel Hill (N.C.) 2011. Also, Ismael García-Colón, Claiming Equality in Western New York, in: Latino Studies, 6 (2008); Carmen Teresa Whalen, From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia: Puerto Rican Workers and Postwar Economies, Philadelphia 2001; Cindy Hahamovitch, The Fruits of their Labor: Atlantic Coast Farmworkers and the Making of Migrant Poverty, 1879–1945, Chapel Hill (N.C.) / London 1997; Frank Bonilla, Manos que Sobran: Work, Migration, and the Puerto Rican in the 1990s, in: Carlos Alberto Torre et al. (eds.), The Commuter Nation: Perspectives on Puerto Rican Migration, Río Piedras 1994; and Gloria Bonilla-Santiago, Organizing Puerto Rican Migrant Farmworkers: The Experience of Puerto Ricans in New Jersey, New York 1988.

49   There has been no study as such of gender and migration in tobacco, in contrast with the many studies on women and migration in the garment industry and on women in the Puerto Rican tobacco industry: Fernando Pico, Las trabajadoras del tabaco en Utuado según el censo de 1910, in: id., Al filo del poder: subalternos y dominantes en Puerto Rico, 1739–1910, Río Piedras 1993 [1985]; Amilcar Tirado Avilés, Sobre el desarollo de la industria del tabaco en Puerto Rico y su impacto en la mujer puertorriqueña, 1898–1920, in: CENTRO: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Winter (1989–1990); and J. J. Baldrich, Gender and the Decomposition of the Cigar-making Craft, 1899–1931, in: Félix Matos Rodríguez/Linda Delgado (eds.), 'Según tu punto de vista': New Perspectives on Puerto Rican Women's History, Boston 1998. See also two studies of the anarchist, feminist writer and activist Luisa Capetillo, who, exceptional for her times, was a cigar factory reader and not only in Puerto Rico but also in New York, Tampa and Havana, see: Norma Valle Ferrer, Luisa Capetillo: Historia de una mujer proscrita, San Juan (P.R.) 1975; and Julio Ramos (ed.), Amor y anarquía: Los escritos de Luisa Capetillo San Juan 1992.

50   Records housed in the Library of CENTRO, the Centre for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, City University of New York, include the archives of the Farm Labor Program (1848–1993), Connecticut Shade Tobacco Growers' Agricultural Association Files (STGAA, 1955-76), Regional and Field Offices (1948–1993), Hartford Regional Office (1961–1984), and Regional Field Office Farm Labourer Files (1958–1983). Rich press collections for the same period are housed at the Hartford State Library; the Hartford Project, Trinity College, Hartford; University of Connecticut, Storrs; Windsor Tobacco Museum; and Windsor Historical Society, among others.

51   STGAA, CEPR, Windsor: File 30, Box 2526. There is no study of racialisation as such in the Connecticut case, but see: Ramón Grosfoguel/Ramon and Chloe S. Georas, The Racialization of Latino Caribbean migrants in the New York Metropolitan Area, in: CENTRO: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, 7 (1995) 1. Suggestive of work that needs to be done, raising the issue of race/class primacy in struggle, is: W. James, Afro-Puerto Rican Radicalism in the United Status: Reflections on the Political Trajectories of Arturo Schomburg and Jesús Colón, in: CENTRO: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, 7 (1995) 1. Schomburg and Colón were cigar makers who left Puerto Rico for New York in the early twentieth century and opted for different trajectories of struggle: for Schomburg, race was uppermost and for Colón, class.

In 1974, the attempt to have a farm workers bill passed in the Connecticut General Assembly was frustrated, and it was reported that farmer groups "insisted that an anti-strike clause must be included in the bill, or else their livelihoods would be in danger. The tobacco growers also threatened to move their operations to Latin America, where they hoped to find both good growing conditions and a docile labor force."[52] After failing to sign a further agreement with the Puerto Rican government and bussing in Mexican-American day labourers on a much smaller scale, companies and growers did, in effect, move their operations abroad.

6. Indonesia: That Coolie Slave Labour

The other side of the globe, Indonesia was fast cementing an advantage over competitors with enormous profits derived in no small part from what was decried as 'coolie slave labour'. Renowned among cigar smokers from the late nineteenth century for growing and curing the world's most prized wrapper leaf, Dutch Indonesia was also reviled for making other colonial ventures look benevolent. Its labour and living conditions were infamously compared to those of slavery, and unrest became a constant source of concern. It was what Ann Laura Stoler, in *Capitalism and Confrontation in Sumatra's plantation belt, 1870–1979* (1995) referred to as one of 'brutalities alternatively whispered and shouted': ever present in peasant-labourer discontent and in the post-colonial state's 'maneuvers and menaces', open to foreign business and ruthless in stamping out oppositional political and labour organising.[53]

It is not known for certain when tobacco, which is indigenous to the Americas, was taken across the world to Asia, but the first tobacco to be taken to Holland from Sumatra is reported to have been in 1860. Soon after, large-scale Dutch colonial investment followed in Indonesian tobacco, developed from Cuban seed and with the aid of Cuban agronomists. Sumatra leaf was favoured on the world market as cigar wrapper, since its thin central vein and thin flexible texture meant it could be used to wrap up to four times as many cigars as other leaf.[54]

While Sumatra first attained pre-eminence, lending its name to the quality cigar wrapper leaf, it was early overtaken in volume by Java. Estates emerged according to different lo-

52   STGAA, CEPR, Windsor: File 30, Box 2526.

53   Ann Laura Stoler, Capitalism and Confrontation in Sumatra's Plantation Belt, 1870–1979, 2nd Ed., Ann Arbor 1995; Stoler refers to contemporary silences as the quiet menace of a colonial past casting its shadow over the present. See also Karl L. Pelzer, Planters against Peasants: The Agrarian Struggle in East Sumatra, 1947–1958, Gravenhage 1982; and id., Planter and Peasant: Colonial Policy and the Agrarian Struggle in East Sumatra, 1863–1947, Gravenhage 1978; and Jan Breman, Taming the Coolie Beast, New York 1989.

54   The late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century experiments with nets in territories of the Americas (Florida-Georgia, Connecticut and Cuba) were to simulate the natural cloud coverage of Sumatra in the hopes of producing a cigar wrapper leaf that was similarly thin and elastic. Growing tobacco under cloth was what was to become Shade, as opposed to sun-grown, tobacco, see: Randall R. Kincaid, Shade Tobacco Growing in Florida, in: Quincy North Florida Experimental Station Bulletin, 136 (May 1960 [1956]). I discuss this in more detail in: El Habano and the World it has Shaped (footnote12).

cal land tenure and labour arrangements. The *apanage* system, which was unique to the Central Principalities, gave benefits to companies through local village heads, but was never applied by the Dutch to the directly ruled parts. There, the 1856 Landrental Law enabled investors to hire land in *erfpacht,* initially for 20 years, subsequently replaced for up to 70 years, later reduced to 50 years, but otherwise unchanged until nationalisation in 1958.

In Besuki, in central Java, *erfpacht* was granted on extensive uncultivated areas around Jember, where tobacco became the primary crop. Estates required labour, and planters set up their Immigration Bureau, bringing in Madurese and later Javanese, from densely populated areas of Central and East Java, as a result of which Besuki had the highest migrant population. Dutch companies also purchased cigar tobacco grown by local peasants, under conditions that conceded peasants weak rights over the land they cultivated and exacted heavy labour obligations. In 1917, peasant rights were increased and company rental rights reduced, but the strong influence of companies over local rulers and the Dutch authorities enabled production with very low costs and very high profits, especially up until the 1920s, when Besuki supplied 25% of Java's exports, exceeding any other region of Java.

This is highlighted in the work of Soegijanto Padmo, S. Nayiwanto, and Ratna Saptari,[55] which traces the transition from small-scale development in the 1860s-90s, with a number of individually owned estates producing tobacco and other cash crops, to corporatisation in the 1880s and more specialised production by fewer and larger companies over 1890–1920. During the final years of Dutch rule, the degree of consolidation was such that whole regions came under the control of one major corporation, and, after 1958, under one state enterprise.

Japanese occupation during World War II had a devastating effect on tobacco, as export cash crop plantations were turned over to food production, to feed the troops and for wartime self-sufficiency. Producers lost their Dutch and other international markets as tobacco fields were converted to meet the quota of rice to be delivered; tobacco buying was concentrated in six store houses; and farmers were only allowed to produce tobacco

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55 Soegijanto Padmo, The Cultivation of Vorstenlands Tobacco and Besuki Tobacco in Besuki Residency and its Impact on the Peasant Economy and Society, 1860–1960, Yogyakarta 1994; S. Nayiwanto, The Rising Sun in a Javanese Rice Granary: Change and the Impact of Japanese Occupation on the Agricultural Economy of Besuki Residency, 1942–1945, Yogyakarta 2005; Ratna Saptari, The Politics of Land, Labour and Leaf: Tobacco Regimes in Colonial Java and Sumatra (Late 19th-Early 20th Century), paper presented at the workshop on Plants, People, and Work, Yogyakarta, Java (Indonesia), August 2009. Saptari highlights early twentieth-century debates regarding working conditions coming to a head with a 1902 report and 1903 government-commissioned investigation of conditions in East Coast Sumatra plantations and the Labour Inspectorate established in 1908. Yet Deli expansion continued unabated, and by 1912, more than two hundred plantations had 150,000 workers and 35,000 to 50,000 new recruits arriving each year. See also S. Nawiyanto, Growing 'Golden Leaf': Tobacco Production in Besuki Residency, 1860–1970, in: Historia, 4 (July-December 2009) 2; and: id., The Economy of Besuki in the 1930s Depression, in: Ian Brown/Peter Boomgard (eds.), Weathering the Storm: The Economies of Southeast Asia in the 1930s Depression, Singapore 2000.

for domestic consumption and some export to the other Indonesian islands as part of mutual exchange for non-military commodities.[56]

Jember was one area where parts of estate lands were redistributed to peasants to produce food. This was a 'time bomb' when plantation owners returned to reclaim their *erfpacht* rights and came into conflict with 'squatters', who were strongly supported among Indonesian nationalist circles.[57] In Indonesia's subsequent bitter armed and diplomatic struggle against the Dutch for sovereignty, attained in 1949, there were squatters' illegal land occupations, strikes and labour organising, and the 'Indonesianising' of estate personnel. In early 1958, all Dutch economic interests were nationalised, and Dutch personnel left soon thereafter, operations transferring to Indonesian nationals.[58]

Developments since fast undermined any hopes of a fairer deal for labour. An attempted coup in 1965 led to a violent army-led anti-communist purge in which over half a million people were killed. The 'New Order' administration courted Western investment, which was a major factor in the subsequent three decades of substantial economic growth. Then, in the late 1990s, Indonesia was the country hardest hit by the East Asian financial crisis, and reforms since then have not stemmed instability, unrest, corruption, and violence, not least in the central Jember tobacco area.[59]

Thus, while over recent decades tobacco from Indonesia has been again celebrated the world over for its high quality and low price, the backdrop is dramatic. "We forbid our workers to speak while they work. Otherwise, they may make a mistake… They must work meticulously. The tobacco must be handled with respect," it was reported in *Cigar Aficionado* in 2009. However, tobacco barns continue to be burned in protest, and, as one tobacco hand confessed, it is "so difficult for us to survive" and "amazing that more people do not riot considering their situation."[60]

7. New Geo-political Hierarchies

Where is this leading? Gilroy invites us to consider new analytical tools and make conceptual adjustments in face of the persistence of old inequalities alongside new varieties

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56 See: S. Nayiwanto, The Rising Sun (footnote 53).

57 The Dutch disputed Indonesian nationalisation in a landmark case over Indonesian tobacco, better known as The Bremen Tobacco Case, of 21 August 1959, in the Bremen Court of Appeal. The Court ruled the expropriation/ nationalisation of Dutch companies legal and gave the green light to Indonesia's decision to trade on the Bremen market in place of Amsterdam, see: The Bremen Tobacco Case, Special Issue 60, Department of Information, Republic of Indonesia 1960.

58 S. Nayiwanto argues this convincingly in: id., The Rising Sun (footnote 53).

59 See J. A. C. Mackie, The Changing Political Economy of an Export Crop: The Case of Jember's Tobacco Industry, in: Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies, 21 (1985); see also: J. Breman, Good Times and Bad Times in Rural Java: A Study of Socio-Economic Dynamics towards the End of the Twentieth Century, Leiden 2002; and: Margo L. Lyons, Bases of Conflict in Rural Java, Berkeley (Calif.) 1970.

60 James Suckling, Tobacco Mecca: Indonesia's East Java Continues To Produce Fine Tobacco Despite its Troubled Economy, in: Cigar Aficionado January/February (1999), http://www.cigaraficionado.com/Cigar/CA_Archives/CA_Show_Article/0,2322,381,00.html (accessed on 16 July 2011).

of unfreedom, questioning our assumptions about history, historicity and hierarchy. My Havana cigar journey is suggestive of ways in which we might do that.

London and Amsterdam had early become European twin pillars of the international circulation of tobacco, as the British and Dutch expanded their empires. Tobacco was big business, with crown and state playing a central role. European states such as Spain, Portugal and France all established monopolies purchasing and processing tobacco, while German states enforced all-important taxation. There were no such monopolies in Britain, the Netherlands or the U.S., but, whether via monopoly or market, the state was heavily involved.[61]

After 1800, the U.S. rose to pre-eminence, partly because its competitors were few – only Brazil and Cuba in the Western Hemisphere and Holland and Germany in Europe – and partly because the colonial system ensured global segmentation. The Dutch Cultivation System was designed to foster export crops: sugar, coffee, and indigo first, then others including tobacco, and by the outbreak of World War I, the Dutch East Indies was the world's second largest exporter of leaf grown on a concentration of plantations. Sumatra and Java supplied the international market via Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the Netherlands and Bremen in Germany, competing with the Philippines, the U.S. and Cuba. The outcome was that, whereas in 1840 the US exported 87% of the world's leaf, the U.S. share of world output dropped to 30% by 1884, and 13% by 1984, a century later, with the break-up of the colonial system and the opening of new regions to the international market, especially Brazil, Cuba, and the Dutch East Indies.[62]

World War II and Japanese occupation brought Indonesia's tobacco exports to a virtual standstill, and the end of the war saw a dramatically changed Dutch East Indies with Indonesia's struggle for sovereignty. The subsequent suppression of political and labour mobilising, however, in the drive to control labour and push down costs, must be seen as a prime determinant in the contemporary global rise of Indonesian tobacco.

Cuba's 1959 Revolution fought for the opposite, but those who worked before and since to make Ortiz's proud export product, *El Habano*, still had to navigate these international waters – whether as émigrés in Florida or in the face of competition from Connecticut's migrant field hands and Indonesia's coolies, arguably the new emasculated slave labour of today.

In my analysis here, I have limited myself to the context of labour, but there is a racialised and gendered literary nostalgia associated with the Havana cigar and a far broader context of how the Havana cigar story fits into the body of work on white manhood and imperialism – the era of hyper-masculine imperial adventuring personified by Theodore Roosevelt in the U.S. War with Spain over Cuba at the end of the nineteenth century or

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61   A good discussion of this can be found in Jordan Goodman, Tobacco in History: The Culture of Dependence, London 1993.
62   Ibid.

U.S. presidents from 1959 to this day.[63] These are beyond my scope for now, but they are challenges that lie ahead.

63   I owe a debt to Bruce Dorsey and Ralph Poole as readers of my work who have encouraged me along these lines. I am currently writing a transnational study provisionally titled: Romancing the Cigar, on fictional representations referred to here – see: E. Laguerre, Los dedos de la mano (footnote 45), M. Savage, Parrish (footnote 12), N. Cruz, Anna in the Tropics (footnote 34), and P. Medina, The Cigar Roller (footnote 34). I also hope to explore the cigar in the context of works such as those by Kristin L. Hoganson, Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars, New Haven (Conn.) / London 1998; and Gail Bederman, Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917, Chicago / London 1995.

Cuban Teachers in Angola: South-South Cooperation, Transfers of Knowledge and Mutual Perceptions[1]

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RESÜMEE

Der kubanische Staatschef Fidel Castro definierte Kuba 1975 als eine „lateinamerikanisch-afrikanische Nation". Diese Ankündigung war überraschend, denn seit dem Verbot des Rassismus nach der Revolution waren Diskussionen über die afrikanische Herkunft eines großen Teils der kubanischen Bevölkerung Tabu. Castro benötigte jedoch einerseits Tausende von Freiwilligen für die militärische und zivile Kooperation mit dem unabhängigen Angola, andererseits musste er den größten transatlantischen Auslandseinsatz in der Geschichte Kubas politisch rechtfertigen. Diese damit implizierte Annahme einer gemeinsam-geteilten Identität von Kubanern und Angolanern ist der Ausgangspunkt für neue Überlegungen zur Bedeutung des Konzepts des „Black Atlantic". Sie basieren auf meinem kürzlich beendeten Postdoc-Forschungsprojekt über die kubanisch-angolanischen Kooperation im Bildungsbereich: Kubaner in Angola. Süd-Süd-Kooperation und Bildungstransfer 1976–1991.

In December of 1975, in a public speech to the members of the Cuban Communist Party, head of state Fidel Castro defined Cuba as a "Latin American-African Nation". This announcement was surprising for his audience, because matters of race had never been addressed publicly in Cuba following the official prohibition of racism after the Revolution in 1959. This promotion of a new transnational identity primarily fulfilled the following purposes: on the one hand the Cuban government urgently needed thousands of

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1   This is an extended version of my oral contribution to the international conference "Being on the Move. Transfers, Emancipation and Formations of the Black Atlantic" held in Erfurt, Germany, on 1-3 July 2010. I thank the organizers Jürgen Martschukat and Gesa Mackenthun, for inviting me to participate, and especially Patricia Wiegmann and Nora Kreuzenbeck, who invited me to submit a textual version of my presentation.

Cuban volunteers to fight and to work for Angola's independence from Portugal in order to fulfill what would be the largest internationalist and transatlantic military and civil mission in the history of Cuba. They needed the support of all Cuban citizens, at least one-third of whom had African ancestry. On the other hand Castro had to deliver a convincing political justification for this large-scale engagement in Angola. Castro therefore invented a joint tradition and underlined the "blood relationship" between Cubans and Africans, attributable to their common colonial past, the slave trade and the Cuban war of independence. He constructed this transatlantic space for interaction, which sounds like an "avant la lettre" construction of what came to be known two decades later as the "Black Atlantic": From this point of view the Cuban-Angolan cooperation that lasted from 1975 to 1991 could be regarded as a large-scale reverse transatlantic movement in which Cuban descendants of former slaves were called to return to support their "relatives". This definition of Cuba as a "Latin American-African Nation" and the connected assumption that Africans and Cubans shared a common destiny are the starting point for some reconsiderations of the meanings of a "Black Atlantic". These reflections are based on the example of the civil cooperation in education of Cuba and Angola between 1976 and 1991, the subject of my recently finished post-doctoral research project, *Cubans in Angola: South-South Cooperation and Educational Transfers, 1976–1991.*[2] In this research project I examined a unique example of a transatlantic South-South cooperation of two formerly colonized countries. Furthermore this cooperation marked in its quantitative and qualitative aspects – scope, intensity, and duration – something absolutely new in the African-Latin American history of the 20th century. Angola's achievement of independence from Portugal on 11 November 1975 and the first fifteen years of its postcolonial existence are inextricably tied to the Cuban military involvement in favor of the left-wing anti-colonial movement *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) and later government, because about 370,000 Cuban soldiers were sent to Angola until 1991. But Angola's postcolonial existence is also tied to the Cuban civil cooperation of about 50,000 doctors, teachers, engineers and construction workers, who provided extensive reconstruction aid parallel to the military involvement. Around 10,000 of the Cuban civilians worked in the educational field.[3] A significant transatlantic transfer of

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2   The article is based on some of the findings of my post-doctoral project, completed in 2009 at the Historical Institute of the University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany (forthcoming publication: Oldenbourg Verlag, Munich). The project was carried out through numerous periods of field and archive research in Cuba, Angola, Portugal and the U.S. between 2004 and 2006 thanks to the support of a research grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Council). Sources and information consisted not only of extensive archival material, particularly from Angolan archives, but also of 139 interviews with Cuban and Angolan witnesses. With the exception of interviews with persons in public life, the names of the witnesses were made anonymous. The archive materials and ministry files from the Cuban Ministry of Education (MINED) and the Angolan Ministry of Education (MED) are not classified and are quoted with their full title for the purposes of unambiguous identification.

3   Between 1975 and 1991 almost 380,000 Cuban soldiers fought on the side of the MPLA in order to defend their power against the internal rivals and external enemies and about 50.000 Cuban civilians worked in Angola in order to establish a health service, an educational system and a new social infrastructure, as doctors, teachers, technicians, advisers or construction workers.

ideas and knowledge between the two countries occurred during this cooperation in education.

The topic is therefore suitable for re-thinking the usefulness of applying the concept of a "Black Atlantic" as an analytical framework in order to write a transnational history that aims to focus on the movements and transfers of persons, experiences and knowledge between Cuba and Angola. Due to the limited space of this article, I will focus my attention mainly on two points: Firstly I will explain how this transatlantic space of interaction was filled with transfers of knowledge, focusing on the individuals who carried out this cooperation. Secondly I will raise the issue of the direct encounter between Cubans and Angolans who met on the spot, including self-perceptions and mutual perceptions. Did this personal encounter reflect the assumed common bond of people on both sides of the Atlantic? First I will give some brief background information about the state of research, my approach, my sources and the historical context.

1. State of Research

Until today only political, military or diplomatic histories had been published on the topic, most of them limited to the highly political aspect of the degree to which Cubans were Soviet proxies.[4] All these publications offer little more than a "big picture" version of Cold War history, with the Soviet Union and their "proxies" as the main actors on one side and the USA and their "proxies" on the other side. An Angolan interpretation of the history of their independence hardly exists to this day. The Cuban government itself created a kind of mythical meta-narrative of a victorious military intervention in Angola, claiming to have contributed significantly to the breakdown of the apartheid regime by defeating the South Africans in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in southeast Angola in 1988. It also claims to have contributed to the independence of Namibia from South Africa in 1990. In Cuba until today no other interpretation of the Cuban-Angolan cooperation is admitted.

My approach to the topic produced very different results. On the one hand the research highlighted the active role of the MPLA government as the driving force, whereas in the past all interpretations tended to attribute a passive role to the Angolans and, in a uni-directional sense, attributed the active part in this cooperation to the Cubans. On the other hand I chose the perspective of those whose personal biographies crossed the Atlantic and met in Angola or in Cuba – because their governments decided to start this cooperation and interconnected their destinies in this given historical Cold War constellation. This focus required a multi-perspective approach through comparisons and interrelations, connecting different levels of institutional and personal perspectives:

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4   The best post-Cold War publications on the topic are: Piero Gleijeses, Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959–1976, Chapel Hill (N.C.)/London 2002 (focused mainly on the political and diplomatic history ending in 1976); Edward George, The Cuban Intervention in Angola, 1965–1991: From Che Guevara to Cuito Cuanavale, London / New York 2005 (focused on military history).

the official and public discourses of both governments; the unofficial level, covering the institutions and the structures of the cooperation; and the personal level, covering the biographies of the persons involved, the life histories of the Cubans and Angolans whose memories I recorded in biographical interviews with 139 contemporary witnesses.[5] Especially these biographical interviews offered an insight in everything beyond the "big picture": disappointments, culture shock, misunderstandings, sacrifices and traumata, as well as considerations about identity, self-perception and the perception of the other. One of the main lessons learned from this was the impression that the history of success that the Cuban government still asserts did not necessarily affect everyday life.

2. The Cuban-Angolan Relationship and the "Latin American-African Nation"

The victory of the Cuban Revolution coincided in 1960 with the de-colonization of seventeen African colonies – a process observed with much sympathy in Cuba. Therefore many contacts between African and Cuban political leaders were established in the early 1960s. The first to receive Cuban military support was the Algerian liberation movement *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN) for its struggle against French colonial rule. In 1962 it also received the first civilian aid through a dozen Cuban doctors. In 1965 the Angolan MPLA leaders met the former Cuban Industry Minister Ernesto Che Guevara during his Congo expedition and got some Cuban military support. But the starting point for a close Cuban-Angolan cooperation was the military weakness of the MPLA ten years later. The demands for a Cuban engagement in Angola took place under the influence of the historical changes and hardships during the transition from the colonial period to independence.[6] On the eve of independence the MPLA had to fight against rival liberation movements such as the *Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola* (FNLA) and *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA), and also to cope with the threat of a powerful South African military intervention. The MPLA expected the Cuban government not only to provide military support to overcome the military conflict to achieve independence, but ultimately comprehensive help in building a new socialist society. That is why the leader of the MPLA, Agostinho Neto, asked the Cuban govern-

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5   During several field researches in Cuba, Angola, the U.S., and Portugal between 2004 and 2006 I interviewed Cuban and Angolan eyewitnesses. The Cubans (106 Persons) had all participated as civil cooperants, some of them also as soldiers. Nine of them lived in exile in the U.S., the others remained in Cuba. The Angolan eyewitnesses (33 Persons) had cooperated with the Cuban specialists or had been their students in Angolan schools; five of them lived in Portugal. The majority of my eyewitnesses (Angolans and Cubans) were people who were simply involved in this cooperation p.e. as teaches or as pupils; 28 of them held responsible positions within this civil cooperation as organizers, planners or politicians.

6   The extremely complex political and social situation of Angola before and after independence cannot be discussed in detail within the framework of this article. I therefore refer to several seminal historical, political and social science studies which are concerned with various aspects of the process of decolonization, e.g. Patrick Chabal / Nuno Vidal (eds.), Angola: The Weight of History, London 2007; Christine Messiant, L'Angola postcolonial, v. 1: Guerre et paix sans démocratisation, Paris 2008 and L'Angola postcolonial, v. 2: Sociologie politique d'une oléocratie, Paris 2008; David Birmingham, Frontline Nationalism in Angola and Mozambique, Oxford 1992.

ment for military aid in the spring of 1975. The Cuban response was hesitant but finally positive: In the days before Angolan independence in November 1975, Cuba provided the support of elite troops and thousands of soldiers, and coordinated the financial and military support of the USSR.

Ultimately only massive Cuban military presence made possible the victory of the MPLA over rival anti-colonial movements and the defeat of the South-African intervention. Nevertheless the victory of the MPLA, who formed the first post-colonial government, remained highly controversial. Having achieved political power after independence, the MPLA controlled little more than the Angolan capital Luanda. In November 1975 they still had to gain not only military but also political and administrative control over the whole country and had to win over the minds of the Angolan people in order to consolidate their power and to continue the struggle against their internal and external rivals, UNITA and the South African government. The latter had furthermore the covert support of the US government in order to stop a so-called communist menace in Southern-Central Africa. Therefore the Cuban troops remained in Angola. In spring of 1976 Agostinho Neto, the first president of post-colonial Angola, asked the Cuban government to extend its support, hitherto military, in the form of civil support on all political, administrative and social levels in order to reconstruct and to stabilize the country due to the massive brain drain of over 90% of the Portuguese population. The Cubans agreed again.[7]

The signing of an extensive "Framework Agreement on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation"[8] between the two states in July 1976 legalized the cooperation for civil reconstruction and created the institutional context for a further cooperation. The agreement was the decisive step to transform what was initially a politically and ideologically motivated internationalist solidarity into a long-term South-South cooperation, a socialist development aid project. Based on this agreement, in the following months several bilateral contracts, which defined specific programs of cooperation tailored to the needs of Angola, were established for various fields of cooperation.

Knowing that the provision of a large-scale and long-term engagement could only be provided with the unrestricted support of the Cuban population, Fidel Castro started his recruitment campaign and requested the Cuban people to fulfill their "revolutionary duty as civil and military internationalists". He founded his arguments on the principles of internationalist solidarity, and derived anti-racist principles applying to all Cubans to defend the independence of Angola against attacks by the South African apartheid regime.[9] Castro referred to the historical fact that more than one third of the Cuban people were descendants of Africans. He emphasized that of the 10 to 15 million Africans who are estimated to have reached America alive as a result of the transatlantic slave trade

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7   For more details on this, see: Piero Gleijeses, Misiones en conflicto: La Habana, Washington y África, 1959–1976, Havana 2004, pp. VII-LV (foreword by Jorge Risquet Valdés) and p. 513ff; E. George, The Cuban Intervention (footnote 4), p. 105ff.
8   Jornal de Angola, 31 July 1976, p. 2; Bohemia, 32 (1976), p. 55f.
9   Fidel Castro, Discursos, v. 3, Havana 1979, p. 149.

between the 16th and the 19th century, almost one million came to Cuba. The prosperity of the island in the 19th century, based on sugar production for the world market, Castro argued, was essentially achieved by African slave labor. Between 1868 and 1898 most of the slaves or their descendants had joined the struggle for independence against the Spanish colonial empire as soldiers, and some as renowned military leaders. Those who joined the struggle for independence were on the one hand able to attain their individual freedom whereas on the other hand an independent Cuba held out the prospect of the general abolition of slavery and integration into a society that had defined itself as exclusively white.[10] In 1886 abolition was achieved, but not integration into the post-emancipation society – although the experiences of war had brought about a variety of black-white alliances.[11]

For Castro this extensive participation of slaves of African descent in Cuba's war of independence – and thus the implication of a "common" experience of war against colonialism – was a further justification for the moral duty of all Cubans, regardless of the color of their skin, to support the Angolan independence war as internationalists: Every Cuban had the obligation to pay Cuba's historic "debt towards humanity" by means of personal sacrifice.[12] This reference was underlined by calling the first military intervention in 1975/76 "Operation Carlota", after an African slave who was the assumed leader of one of the most spectacular slave uprisings in Cuba in 1843. The famous Columbian novelist, Gabriel García Márquez, one of the closest supporters of the Cuban government, justified the Cuban military involvement in Angola for the international left by publishing an essay in the *New Left Review*, entitled "Operation Carlota".[13]

3. Education Policy and Transfers of Knowledge

The leaders of the MPLA had incorporated educational reform into the constitution in November 1975, introducing a new inclusive educational system for the benefit of the whole Angolan population.[14] Their aims were huge: the elimination of an illiteracy rate of about 85% of the population within a few years, the eradication of the heritage of colonialism, and the creation of "new men".[15] This new education program was an important break with the exclusive colonial educational system, where only whites and a few so-called "assimilated" blacks and mulattoes had the right to an education at all. Furthermore it offered a real chance for social and cultural advancement for many, and participation in it turned out to be very popular.

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10   Ada Ferrer, Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation and Revolution, 1868-1898, Chapel Hill (N.C.)/London 1999.
11   Aline Helg, Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1986–1912, Chapel Hill (N.C.)/London 1995.
12   F. Castro, Discursos (footnote 9), p. 238.
13   Gabriel García Márquez, Operacion Carlota: Los Cubanos en Angola; El Che Guevara en Africa; La Batalla contra el Reich Sudafricano: Textos del Sabueso Contemporaneo, Lima 1977.
14   Angola 11 de Novembro de 1975: Documentos da Independência, Luanda 1975, p. 15.
15   MPLA, Princípios de base para a reformulação do sistema de educação en ensino na R.PA, Luanda 1978.

On the other hand the new concept did not aim at a progressive educational system in order to stimulate the self-consciousness and self-liberation of the Angolan people as designed for example by the Brazilian educationalist Paulo Freire[16], who had developed the model of an "education for liberation" and had been one of the early educational advisers in Angola.[17] Although Freire had many supporters in Angola, Angolan politicians and educationalists finally chose the system successfully implemented in Cuba. The Cuban system, which was ideologically much more closed, was considered to be more suitable for educating the masses according to the spirit and the political aims of the MPLA to build socialist society. Cuba had carried out a literacy campaign in 1960 and implemented a new educational system with the main objective of educating "new men" and integrating them in the revolutionary socialist project. This experience became the main source for inspiration for the Angolan education system. Another advantage was the willingness of the Cuban government to send specialists who could support the Angolan reform.

In the early phase of educational reform, the support of Cuban advisers in the Angolan Ministry of Education was essential. From 1978 on Cuban teachers who were involved in order to overcome the lack of local teachers played a fundamental part in realizing the educational reform at all levels of schooling and in higher education. The cooperation in education was therefore an important field of transfer of knowledge and experience from Cuba to Angola. Cuban advisers were the most important issue due to Angola's lack of qualified persons in almost every sector. They were important for establishing the structure of the educational system and its administration as well as the creation of new curricula and textbooks, and the training of young teachers. Cuban know-how and experience were crucial at the beginning of the cooperation, when the advisers were active in every department of the Angolan Ministry of Education.

Nevertheless the deployment of Cuban advisers did not imply an automatic uni-directional adoption of Cuban models: A close reading of both the internal documents of the Angolan Ministry of Education revealing the conceptual discussions, and of additional interviews with Cuban and Angolan experts (e.g. former organizers of the cooperation) demonstrates that the post-colonial Angolan educational system was not a simple adoption of the Cuban system. It was rather the result of intensive (and often controversial) discussions between Cuban and Angolan specialists. In consequence, ultimately the Angolans decided about the structures, contents and methods they wanted to implement. It were the Angolan specialists who transformed these structures, contents and methods

16   Paulo Freire (1921–1997) conducted a literacy campaign in Brazil in 1947, in order to raise the consciousness of the poorest sectors of the Brazilian society and to mobilize them to fight for their rights. For this purpose he had developed a new, revolutionary literacy method – education for liberation – that conformed with the cultural characteristics of every local community and could be modified according to the respective vocabulary.

17   Interview Angola 2006, No. 7, Luanda, 27.01./17.03.2006 (Artur Pestana, "Pepetela"). Pepetela is one of the most important contemporary Angolan authors. He was Deputy Minister of Education between 1977 and 1981 and one of the architects of the post-colonial educational reform.

in accordance with the specific challenges of the country and of course in the interests of the MPLA government.[18]

All Cuban civil cooperants in Angola worked on behalf of the MPLA government, and despite being foreigners they represented the new power and the new political aims of constructing a socialist society and a culturally homogeneous nation state. In regions and provinces where the Angolan government had hardly any presence and where the political and military influence of its opponents was decisive, the ideologically trained and politically committed Cuban teachers were the "civilian outposts" of the MPLA government. Through their teaching, usually highly motivated and innovative, they represented in a positive sense the existence of a government and a state that actually carried out its promise of a progressive education policy. The use of Cuban teachers therefore not only served to implement the education reform but also to spread the new national project of the MPLA that aimed at the integration of the whole population.

This policy occasionally culminated in such paradoxical situations as Cuban teachers, despite their often inadequate knowledge of Portuguese, supporting the instructions of the MPLA about acceptance of Portuguese as the national language and its introduction in Angolan schools.[19] They therefore acted in accordance with the MPLA's policy of assimilation through linguistic homogenization. The Cuban teachers can thus be characterized as agents of the political, social and cultural change that represented the aims of the MPLA both as substance and symbol. As "representatives" of the MPLA government, they assisted in penetrating, controlling and administering the Angolan territory. Against the background of their own socialization in a nation state with a functioning infrastructure and administration, as well as a countrywide network of social services, their educational mission included support for the process of building state and nation in Angola, intensifying and stabilizing the rule of the MPLA.

Initially the Cuban government had supported the concept of empowerment by sending only advisers to the Angolan Ministry and instructors for the teacher training programs as well university professors to establish a system of higher education. Their aim was strict limitation of the numbers of civil cooperants. But finally the provision of thousands of Cuban teachers became the biggest contribution, because rapid training of a great number of new Angolan teachers proved to be impossible. The establishment of the new mass education system turned out to be so popular among Angolans that as early as summer 1977 the agreed cooperation programs were insufficient to cope with the num-

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18   This estimation is founded on my intensive study of hundreds of original documents from the years between 1976 and 1991 from the archives of the Angolan Ministry of Education (Ministério da Educação, MED). In particular the intensive internal discussions documented there clearly indicate the constant efforts to drive forward the educational reform and to critically evaluate the results already reached.

19   The statement of principles of the new educational system (MPLA, Princípios de base para a reformulação do sistema de educação en ensino na R.PA, Luanda 1978) mentioned the linguistic and cultural diversity of Angola only in connection with the backwardness of the country. The various African ethnic groups of Angola, which are generally divided into the larger groups of the Bakongo, Mbundu, Ovimbundu, Lunda-Kioko, Nhaneka, Ambó, Ngangela and Herero, with their differing regional and local Bantu and Khoisan languages, were not taken account of in national education policy until the mid-1990s.

bers of newly registered pupils, which grew to over one million. The MPLA government therefore turned to the Cuban government once again, asking for more civil cooperants to perpetuate their eager social and educational programs, in order to maintain popular support in the polarized and ongoing war situation. This time Angola requested Cuba to send teachers for direct support in the classroom. The Cuban government again reacted positively to this request and sent brigades of hundreds of Cuban students, the *Destacamento Pedagógico Internacionalista "Che Guevara"* (DPI),[20] to work as teachers in Angola, as well as several hundred more young teachers beginning in early 1978. That is why the initial empowerment concept was replaced by the massive deployment of Cuban teachers who stood in for non-existent Angolan teachers.

Another important component of the Cuban educational cooperation with Angola was the establishment of Angolan boarding schools on the Cuban "Isla de la Juventud" (Isle of Youth) funded in 1977, where several thousand Angolan children received (and still receive) a free primary and secondary school education. The best of them were sent to Cuban universities. Not only were students from Angola educated there (and still are); the Isla de la Juventud schooling program additionally included the establishment of national-based boarding schools for Asian, African and Latin American students from states friendly to Cuba.[21] In the 1970s and 1980s, the aim of these boarding schools was to complement students' normal education and their participation in specified qualification programs with revolutionary education of students to transform them into revolutionary cadres. All boarding schools were nationally organized. Every "nation" had its own schools, lodging and educational programs. The challenge of this nationally organized education was to promote a common national identity between the students and through linguistic and cultural homogenization. With regard to the polarized war situation in Angola this was considered to be especially important.

The number of Cuban teachers in Angolan schools increased continually until the 1982-83 school year and reached its peak in mid-1982 with the presence of 2,000 educators per year. In 1982, Cubans made up almost 80% of all foreign teachers in Angola; the other 20% were mainly Portuguese, but also Soviet, Bulgarian, East German and Viet-

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20   Between 1978 and 1986 a total of 2,026 Cuban trainee teachers, who were between 17 and 21 years old on average, were sent to Angola with these brigades, see Lidia Turner Martí et al., Breve Historia de un destacamento, Havana 1996, p. 30.

21   The social experiment on the Isle of Youth encompassed at times up to 34 national education centers for over 10,000 pupils and students. The program of scholarships continued after 1991 and still exists today. According to information supplied by the Cuban Ministry for Higher Education (MES), in the years to 2004 more than 40,000 students gained a school or higher educational qualification on the Isle of Youth and at other Cuban higher education institutions. According to this information 30,000 of them came from sub-Saharan Africa, and of these 8,000 from Angola. Not all figures on foreign participants in the programs can be accurately verified, but can be taken as guideline figures to show the scale of the program, see: Nancy Jiménez Rodríguez, Mujeres sin fronteras, Havana 2008; Ortega Vívino et al., Estudiantes extranjeros en la Isla de la Juventud (1977–1996), Havana 2004 (unpublished manuscript), p. 8 ff.; see also: Hauke Dorsch, Übergangsritus in Übersee? Zum Aufenthalt mosambikanischer Schüler und Studenten in Kuba, in: Afrika Spectrum 43 (2008) 2, pp. 225-244, here p. 231.

namese.[22] Most of the Cuban teachers worked in primary and middle schools.[23] Due to the language barrier between Spanish and Portuguese, they were assigned only from school year six, and not for teaching Portuguese but for mathematics, physics, biology, chemistry and history, subjects for which Angolan educationalists regarded the linguistic shortcomings of the Cubans as less serious. The teachers and lecturers were sent to Angola for one or two years. According to Cuban and Angolan statistics, more than 10,000 teachers and lecturers were active in Angola in the period 1976 to 1991 in primary and secondary education, as well as the Angolan universities.[24]

For Cuban society, the large scale of the whole civil cooperation with Angola from 1977 on represented an enormous challenge, particularly as in many fields the specialists requested by Angola (especially teachers and doctors) were not available because of shortcomings in Cuba. The situation came to a head in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when Cuban soldiers and civilian specialists also had to be available for large-scale internationalist programs in Ethiopia and Nicaragua. For this reason, many Cuban students were appointed as teachers in Angola to make up for the shortage of personnel.

How did this transatlantic Cuban-Angolan transfer of knowledge take place in the Angolan schools? The results of my research indicate that the personal commitment of the Cuban teachers played a fundamental part in achieving the aims of the Angolan educational reform. In particular, Cuban teachers were responsible for introducing and putting into practice new, modern and interactive methods of teaching and learning that had been developed and tested in Cuba since the 1960s. This practical work in the schools encompassed all elements of socialist instruction methods, including a variety of means to educate, to influence and to control the human will. These modern and interactive methods aimed to shape the students in correspondence with the socialist system. Therefore the objective of education was not only regarded as the imparting of knowledge but as an education towards integration into a socialist society. It was through such methods as the so-called monitor system, which meant special promotion of specially gifted pupils, employing them as supply teachers. These "monitors" were shining examples, obliged to support weaker students. The educational background of this method was to influ-

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22 RPA, Secretaria do Estado da Cooperação, Comissão de avaliação da cooperação ao Cda. Ministro da Educação, Luanda, Circular No. 1/CACI/SEC/Maio de 1982, Assunto: Avaliação da cooperação, 2 pages [People's Republic of Angola, State Secretary of Cooperation, Commission of Evaluation of the Cooperation to Ministry of Education, Luanda, Circular, May 1982, Affair: Evaluation of Cooperation] (MED archive).

23 RPA, MED/GICI/GII, Evaluação das cinco nacionalidades e categoría com a maior expressão, approx. 1985 [People's Republic of Angola, Ministry of Education, Dept. of International Cooperation, Evaluation of the five Nationalities and Categories with Major Expression] (MED archive).

24 See Angel García Pérez Castañeda, El internacionalismo de Cuba en la colaboración Económica y Científico-Técnica: Esbozo histórico de un cuarto de siglo de la Revolución Socialista Cubana, 1963–1988, Havana n.d. (unpublished manuscript), p. 242; N. Jiménez Rodríguez, Mujeres sin fronteras (footnote 21), p. 96. It is difficult to present exact data, as hardly any detailed information is available from Cuban authorities and the figures at my disposal were not always consistent. Nevertheless I had access to enough statistical material from both the Cuban and the Angolan side to be able to make relatively reliable statements. The available information makes it clear that the cooperation with Angola was the biggest civil operation in the history of Cuba until 1991, with cooperation in the field of education as the most important in quantitative terms.

ence the students in order to form leadership qualities. Another method implemented by the Cubans was the introduction of out-of-school learning through aptitude groups in which pupils were familiarized with future professions. Through this well-aimed promotion of interests and talents children were to be influenced in regard to their future professions and educated to work in a disciplined way.

The engagement of the Cuban teachers therefore did not end in the classrooms but was always extended to the organization of leisure activities (such as the aptitude groups) or an institutionalized homework supervision. It seems that owing to the huge involvement of Cuban teachers and their fierce determination to implement new teaching methods, the obsolete colonial methods (frontal teaching, learning by heart) were definitely superseded. From their individual perspective, the Cuban teachers even thought they had the task of "civilizing". Though this was never mentioned directly in the interviews but could be derived from the description of their jobs. "Civilizing" in this teacher-student context meant education in virtues like punctuality, discipline, work enthusiasm, and "socialist virtues" such as a strong esprit de corps and personal sacrifice. They also educated their pupils in hygiene, a healthy diet and the need for regular medical care. And they tried to implement a new national consciousness expressed in the schools through the popular song "From Cabinda to Cunene".[25] A direct transfer from Cuba was the implementation of the flag assembly and the singing of the new national anthem at the beginning of every school day.

According to the interviews with former Cuban teachers, contrasting them with those of the former Angolan pupils, out of all influences of the Cuban presence in the Angolan educational system, the new interactive teaching methods seem to have had the most extensive impact, despite their ideological background. Indeed, the Cuban instruction methods were also part of a general and global modernization of teaching methods, implemented in industrialized, western societies, too, during the 1970s, which implied a more "democratic" sense of the teacher-pupil relationship. With this practical application Cuban teachers seem to have promoted a kind of cultural revolution in the Angolan school system. All evidence I drew from my sources suggested that this modernization was the most enduring legacy of the Cubans within the Angolan educational system. But despite the approval the Cuban teachers got from their pupils, it was nevertheless an ambivalent task to carry through such crucial changes in everyday school life. The documents and the interviews revealed that this was a permanent and difficult process of negotiation with many setbacks, due to the fact that Angolan colleagues and school directors often refused to adopt the new methods. On the one hand, modern instruction methods signified much more work for notoriously badly paid teachers; on the other hand many of them were very skeptical towards the Cubans and refused to accept methods that came from "abroad". And finally the popularity of the Cuban teachers provoked jealousy and inferiority complexes.

25   Cabinda is the most northern (extraterritorial) province of Angola, and Cunene is the most southern Angolan province.

4. Cubans and Angolans: Self- and Mutual Perceptions

The encounter of Angolans and Cubans seems also to have provoked ambiguous feelings and perceptions of the self and the other. I learned from the interviewees that generally Angolan pupils appreciated their Cuban teachers greatly because, due to the radical modernization of the instruction methods, their lessons were more suitable for children and much more interesting than those of the Angolan teachers who had still been trained within the colonial system. Former students told me that they even loved their Cuban teachers because they felt that these teachers cared for them much more than their Angolan teachers. They found the Cuban teachers less strict and their lessons more interesting. This was the consensual conclusion of my Angolan interviewees who were former students of Cuban teachers. As one of them stated: "The Cubans had at least educated one generation of Angolans."[26] The former Angolan students also considered the language barrier between Spanish and Portuguese as less serious. It had merely led to rather comical situations in the classrooms which had been embarrassing for the Cuban teachers but not for the Angolan pupils.

Furthermore, the fact that Cuban teachers worked in rural areas where neither Angolan nor other foreign teachers wanted to live was received very well. A Catholic priest and physics teacher from the fiercely contested province Kuando Kubango in South-East Angola told me in an interview that he would not have been able to understand physics at all without his Cuban teachers and their convincing methods for explaining complicated mathematical operations. Additionally he appreciated very much the fact that they had come to his remote community at the cost of great privations.[27] Not all Angolan students were so enthusiastic about their Cuban teaches, but adopted a very pragmatic attitude towards them. After independence the Angolan educational system was severely under-developed, and schools and teachers were very scarce for those hundreds of thousands that took advantage of education reform and flocked to the classes now. Due to this situation they had to accept any teacher or not go to school at all.[28] Nevertheless, in retrospect all of the former students reflected clearly that the Cuban teachers had been agents in a policy to educate them in accordance with socialist rule.

And did they have a special relationship to their Cuban teachers because of the assumed "Latin American-African" relationship? None of my interviewees showed any such sentiment. And although in the Angolan vernacular the Cubans were sometimes affectionately called "cousins", nobody showed a special affinity towards Cubans, except for those who were married to Cubans. According to another Angolan expression calling them the "good colonizers", Cubans were considered predominantly as strangers even if the mutual relationship was good. For most of the Angolan students, the Cuban teachers were only a temporary episode in lives dominated by the turbulent events of indepen-

26   Interview Angola, 2006, No. 28 (O.), Luanda, 26 November 2006.
27   Interview Angola, 2006, No. 21 (P. S.), Luanda, 15 March 2006.
28   Interview Angola, 2006, No. 5 (B. P.), Luanda, 31 January 2006.

dence and the permanent war situation. Most of the former pupils admitted not having understood well why Cubans were teaching in their schools. Official Angolan propaganda claimed that the Cubans were friends and had come to help Angola. Some of the former students confessed that they had therefore perceived the Cubans as an important, powerful people. One interviewee illustrated it like this: Angolan pupils, unaware of the geographical realities, thought that Cuba was a huge, powerful, and developed country, able to provide teachers and schooling for Angolan pupils, since it was able to send so many people to Angola to fight against the South Africans and at the same time resist the power of the USA.[29]

This corresponded with the self-perception of many of my Cuban interviewees, who gave me to understand that they felt culturally superior to the Angolans – even if they almost never expressed this directly. They never doubted that they were in the role of the teachers and Angolans were always the pupils, even if they were referring to a position as advisor in the ministry. A strong sense of mission and the conviction that they were fulfilling an important revolutionary task characterized their approach to their political and educational task in Angola. Some of them showed a paternalistic attitude towards their students and even towards their colleagues. By contrast their former Angolan colleagues stressed that they had always had a balanced and non-hierarchical relationship.

Referring to the claimed existence of a "Latin American-African nation" (and bearing in mind the concept of a "Black Atlantic"), I asked my Cuban interviewees whether this ostensible proposal was also a motive for going to Angola. The answers, however, represented a clear breach with the official discourse and could not have been more unambiguous: regardless of whether they had African ancestry or not, the majority of them stated that they had no special personal connection to Africa or Angola. This negative answer was even more vehement when the interviewees were Afro-Cuban. No-one wished to be identified with Africa and Angola. On the contrary, several interviewees clearly stated that the arguments for a "Latin American-African nation" were in their opinion pure political fantasy or a skilful propaganda trick of their government. Only very few admitted that the search for their own roots on the African continent was one of their motives for going to Angola.[30]

The question relating to a "Latin American-African" identity rather brought to light a quite different result: most interviewees admitted that they had actually known nothing at all about Africa when they received the call to join the civil cooperation in Angola. Before they went to Angola, their image of Africa was of a very far-away and alien place. Judging by their answers, their view of Africa was limited to a very small number of stereotypes like "wilderness", "people with a low level of culture", "jungle" and "wild animals" such as lions, giraffes, snakes and even "cannibals" – and in many cases "Tarzan"

29   Interview Angola, 2006, No. 26, Luanda, 1 April 2010 (P.F.J.P.).
30   Cf. Interview Cuba 2004, No. 1, Havana, 18 October 2004 (G. M.); Interview Cuba 2004, No. 30, Santiago de Cuba, 19 November 2004 (G. R.); Interview Cuba 2005, No. 70, Santiago de Cuba, 11 January 2005 (R. M. B.).

was even given as the most immediate association with Africa.[31] For many of them, the first real or perceived connection to Africa and Angola was the first state visit to Cuba by President Agostinho Neto of Angola in July 1976.

If the search for their own roots in Africa was not a significant motivation, what impression had the experience in Angola made on them? Had it led to stronger identification with Africa and Angola or even a new transnational "Latin American-African" identity? An unambiguous result that emerged from this question was a clear demarcation from Africa. After their return, most of them identified even more strongly with Cuba, and drew a clear line between themselves and the Angolans, whom they perceived as being socially and culturally "backward". This result is largely congruent with the findings of other historical, sociological, anthropological and cultural studies concerned with transcultural encounters carried out in other contexts.[32] According to these findings, descriptions and representations of oneself often arise only after being confronted with the "other"[33], and encountering difference seems to stimulate reflection about one's own self and experience, which were previously taken for granted. For the Cuban participants that I interviewed, this encounter led to greater appreciation of what was perceived as their "own" culture, nation or society.

In the specific case of the cooperation with Angola, this is unsurprising for two reasons. The experience of violence in the war in Angola had a decisive influence on the everyday life of the civilians. Participants experienced a wide range of trauma, as well as excessive demands that arose from the work situation, resulting in cultural shock and reinforcing feelings of being alien. This made the social progress attained in Cuba after the revolution appear all the more beneficial. In the light of their experiences in Angola, the participants had good reason to show a much greater appreciation of positively viewed aspects of their own society which, in the opinion of my interviewees, were completely lacking in Angolan society in conditions of war and upheaval. They mentioned for example female emancipation, social justice, a high standard of education and comprehensive medical care. Moreover, the patriotism and consciousness of national unity they attributed to Cuban society seemed even more desirable than before as guarantors of peace and progress, in contrast to their perception of the situation in Angola, where society was seen to be ethnically and culturally fragmented.

The spatial, social and cultural separation of the Cuban civil cooperants from the Angolan population, too, seems to have been significant in their personal distance from what they experienced and perceived about Angola. Partly for security reasons, the Cuban

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31   Many of my Cuban interviewees, even those with African ancestry, repeated these widely disseminated stereotypes of "Africa".

32   For a survey of the state of research and the different approaches to researching intercultural communication, cultural transfers and perceptions of otherness, see: Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, Interkulturelle Kommunikation: Interaktion, Fremdwahrnehmung, Kulturtransfer, Stuttgart 2008; from a historical and non-European perspective, see also: Jörg Baberowski / Hartmut Kaelble et al. (eds.), Selbstbilder und Fremdbilder: Repräsentationen sozialer Ordnungen im Wandel, Frankfurt/M. 2008.

33   The „other" refers to the postcolonial understanding and intercultural interpretation of what is perceived and categorized as foreign and unknown.

civilians spent the whole duration of their stay in what I refer to as "Cuban enclaves", spaces that were largely isolated from the Angolan population. This was not just a matter of geographically separate residential complexes; these were socio-cultural spaces defined by the Cuban civil administration structure in Angola that corresponded to the political and social order dominant in Cuba. The resultant diverse mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion between Cubans and Angolans defined not only the status of the cooperants within Angolan society, but also their own perception of Angolan society, of the Angolans and of what was perceived to be "Angolan". This continuous and carefully maintained deliberate separation between Cubans and Angolans encouraged misunderstandings and feelings of otherness. This seems to be another reason why the two sides largely remained strangers to each other during the sixteen years of this transatlantic cooperation.

Demarcation from what was perceived as "Angola" or "Angolan" led to a new definition of the participants' own identity as "Cubans" and to a stronger identification with the social and political achievements of the revolution:

> When I arrived in Cuba, I saw them there in their country as Angolans, as Africans, but I felt much more Cuban, more content with my revolution, I was much happier to be here, […] to find fulfillment here, because we are like that, we love our country.[34]

This or similar responses were the answers of almost all my interviewees to the question of whether they had identified more with Angola or with the African continent after their return to Cuba as a consequence of their experiences there. The only exceptions to this demarcation seem to have been those Cubans who had decided to stay in Angola and to marry Angolans.

The special Latin American-African relationship between Cubans and Angolans repeatedly claimed in official propaganda was thus not real, and the Cuban-Angolan cooperation had not led to the emergence of a collective transatlantic "Latin American-African" identity. Therefore there are grounds for the assumption that a stronger identification of the Cuban participants with their Angolan counterparts was merely not desired by the government, but that its absence seems to have had the instructive side-effect of raising acceptance of the Cuban system through this experience of strong socio-cultural contrasts. Here my research demonstrates that a satisfactory and differentiated discussion of this question requires further empirical, social-scientific and anthropological investigation concerned with identity and phenomena of perception and belonging in contemporary Cuban society. The transnational and transatlantic experiences of hundreds of thousand of Cubans through internationalist solidarity cooperations like that in Angola most probably led to phenomena of social and cultural change, for example in the fields of religion and music, which possibly contributed to the construction of transatlantic identities. However, no profound examination has so far been carried out that is capable of permitting more specific conclusions on this subject.

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34   Interview Cuba 2004, No. 24, Santiago de Cuba, 12 November 2004 (I. C. M.).

5. Conclusion

An assessment of the results of the Cuban-Angolan cooperation concerning transfers of knowledge and mutual perceptions is necessarily ambivalent. On the one hand the massive and energetic support of Cuban teachers and advisers made it possible to lay at least the foundations for a modern national education system in Angola. However, the power struggle and conflict over material and ideals that the MPLA and UNITA fought with undiminished severity after the withdrawal of the Cubans until 2002 was a considerable handicap to all educational activities after 1991. In the face of the renewed outbreak of civil war, which forced millions of Angolans to flee and claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands, the modest progress that had been achieved until then was largely cancelled out again. The formula used to express the achievements of the Cubans, emphasizing that they had at least educated a generation, leads to the conclusion that the generation (including the interviewee) educated by Cuban teachers are – in a broader sense – ruling the country at the moment: All former students interviewed by me were middle or upper class, working as businessmen, university teachers, priests or even politicians. The current Angolan government, still dominated by the MPLA, is considered one of the most corrupt in the world. The poverty rates of the Angolan population are high and the receipts of the country's rich resources of petrol, ore and diamonds are not employed to benefit the Angolan people.

And concerning the personal encounter between Cubans and Angolans, their self- and mutual perceptions, I discovered that the political definition of the "Latin American-African Nation", supposing a special mutual, transatlantic identification or solidarity between Cubans and Angolans, was not reflected at all in the interviews. Angolans – except for those who married Cubans – generally did not develop a closer identification with Cuba or Cubans. For the Cubans this encounter led even to a greater appreciation of what was seen as their "own" culture, nation or society, and the Angolan interviewees never even took into consideration a transatlantic identity.

The Cuban cooperation with Angola neither led to the establishment of a socialist society in Angola, nor was it successful in ending the internal armed conflict. However, the experiences of organizing a large-scale civilian aid cooperation, both personal and institutional, led to a professionalization and reorientation of all Cuban civil cooperations undertaken after 1991. From the 1990s on, Cuban civil missions were no longer guided by revolutionary and internationalist but merely by humanitarian aims. The professionalization especially proved its worth after 1990, when civilian aid cooperations by Cuban specialists in zones of crisis and catastrophe, now separated from ideological premises, became an important source of income for the Cuban state. After the end of the Cold War and the break-up of the Soviet Union, the financial and economic subsidies vital to the Cuban economy were terminated, precipitating a long-lasting economic crisis for Cuba from which the country is only slowly recovering. The opportunity for civil specialists to earn additional income through civil aid cooperations abroad was in addition an opportunity for many Cuban families to survive the crisis after 1990.

Civil aid missions operated by the Cuban government were, and continue to be, extremely successful thanks to their long experience and professional organization, originating from the experience in Angola. Their success is also based on the outstanding reputation the Cuban civil aid workers enjoy worldwide due to their wealth of experience, their professional qualifications and their demonstrated commitment. Despite a considerable deterioration of the Cuban-Angolan relationship after 1991, which was due to the withdrawal of Cuban troops and civil cooperants from Angola and the abandonment of the socialist aims of the Angolan government, this relationship has experienced a surprising renaissance since 2007. From 2007 on, the presence of Cuban civil cooperants in Angola increased considerably. In 2009 more than 2.000 Cuban specialists worked in education and health services in Angola.[35]

Today there are again several thousand Cuban specialists working in Angola for the post-war reconstruction of the country. This renewed Cuban-Angolan relationship is now based on pragmatism and not on ideology, and would not have been possible without the cooperation between 1976 and 1991, regardless of the lack of immediate results. But in the long run, the cooperation with Cuba stabilized the power of the MPLA, who emerged victorious from the civil war after 1991 and has ruled now since 1975. My investigation demonstrated that this singular Cuban-Angolan cooperation within a transatlantic space of interaction turned out to be sustainable, because after more than two decades it was possible to recover the old transatlantic networks between the two governments in order to establish a new South-South relationship. And even for some of my Cuban interviewees, former teachers in Angola, it also turned out to be another opportunity to return to Angola after more than two decades to implement a literacy campaign once again.[36]

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35   Granma, 22.07.2009, p. 3.
36   I always tried to maintain contacts with my former interviewees and therefore I learned that some of them had returned as cooperants to Angola recently in order to fulfill newly established civil cooperation contracts between the two governments.

Amy Jacques Garvey "On A Trip from Coast to Coast": Roots, Routes, and Emancipation

Patricia Wiegmann

RESÜMEE

Ortswechsel schwarzer Menschen waren konstituierend für die Herausbildung transatlantischer Netzwerke, die Paul Gilroy als *Black Atlantic* begreift. Dabei durchquerten jene den atlantischen Raum nicht nur als Versklavte und Vertriebene, sondern auch als selbstbestimmte und selbstbewusste Reisende. Der vorliegende Artikel beschäftigt sich mit der in Jamaika geborenen Reisenden Amy Jacques Garvey, die 1923 gemeinsam mit ihrem Ehemann Marcus Garvey im Dienste der *Universal Negro Improvement Association* (UNIA) die USA bereiste. Ihre Erlebnisse und Eindrücke hielt Amy Garvey in sechs Reisereportagen fest, die wöchentlich in der Organisationszeitschrift *Negro World* veröffentlicht wurden. Entlang dieser Reiseberichte untersucht der vorliegende Artikel zum einen, in welcher Weise die Reise der Garveys und insbesondere die Aktivitäten Amy Garveys als Reisereporterin zu einer transatlantischen Vernetzung beitrugen. Zum anderen diskutiert der Artikel die sowohl emanzipatorischen als auch restriktive Dimensionen, die sich für Amy Garvey an die Reise und die Berichterstattung knüpften: In welcher Weise bestimmten zeitgenössische Vorstellungen von *race, class* und *gender* die Reise Amy Garveys und ihre Möglichkeiten der Berichterstattung? Die Berichte zeichnen die Verfasserin als aktiv Handelnde aus, die in ihren Reportagen selbstbewusst Formen von Rassismus kritisiert und sich diesen im Zuge ihres Schreibens widersetzt.

1. Introduction

On October 2 1923, the *Negro World* headlined in large letters on page three: "On a Trip from Coast to Coast: Impressions of Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey, Wife of Presi-

dent-General on Vacation".[1] This headline opened a series of six travel reports written by Jamaican born Amy Jacques Garvey on her journey through the United States of America. Together with her husband Marcus Garvey, the president of the *Universal Negro Improvement Association* (UNIA), she had toured the country for six weeks. They started in New York City where both of them lived, passed various Midwestern industrial cities onto California's West Coast, and from there they returned through the U.S. South and the capital Washington, D.C. back to New York City. During the trip, Amy Garvey reported her observations and experiences to the *Negro World*, the official press organ of the UNIA. In her travel reports, she depicted the landscape, reflected on the socio-economic conditions of black people throughout the various regions of the country, and described the personal encounters she and her husband experienced. At the same time, her travel can be seen as a practice through which she rooted her own identity within the Atlantic world and established connections among black people in the United States, the Caribbean, South America, and Africa as I will discuss in my article. Furthermore, I will illuminate how these processes of identification and community building opened up moments of emancipation[2].

As Paul Gilroy demonstrated in his landmark text *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, traveling has always been a crucial practice in the struggle for emancipation and equality. Gilroy observed that "modern black political culture has always been more interested in the relationship of identity to roots and rootedness than in seeing identity as a process of movement and mediation that is more appropriately approached via the homonym routes."[3] He argued, however, that identities are not fixed, singular and essentially rooted entities but fluid formations constantly in the process of making and subject to multiple influences and historical determinants. Identities are not merely biologically given but result from mediations between people and their social surroundings.

Besides pointing to the fluidity of identity, Gilroy's statement also underlines the importance of travel in the formation of black politics. The movement of people within the Atlantic region – the routes they pursued – affected their conceptions of belonging and the ways in which they proclaimed their own roots and that of others: experiencing routes has been significant in rooting black identities within certain time periods and spaces. In this context, travel writing is not only a reflection of what had happened during the journey. Rather, it can be seen as a practice of identification, as a means through which belonging and roots have been constituted. As such, travel writing might also become a practice of self-empowerment: in the description of the social surroundings they

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1   On a Trip from Coast to Coast: Impressions of Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey, Wife of President-General on Vacation, in: Negro World, 23 October 1923.

2   In this article the term emancipation is perceived in a broader sense. It describes not only the process of gaining full citizenship rights but is rather used to mark moments in which historical actors became able to modify norms that otherwise limited their access to social resources and thus their possibilities to act in the society they belonged to.

3   Paul Gilroy, The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness, Cambridge (Mass.) 1993, p. 19.

pass, travelers constitute images of themselves and the people they interact with. These portrayals of their own personas and that of others are always entangled in race, gender, and class norms. They are shaped by contemporary visions on race, class, and gender but also shape these visions themselves.[4]

Despite its important contributions to the critical study of the Black Atlantic, Gilroy's work disregarded not only black women's active involvement in transatlantic transfers of ideas and the creation of diasporic connections but also the gendered hierarchies structuring these processes.[5] However, my study of Amy Garvey's travel writings demonstrates the importance of female travelers. Through a close reading of Amy Garvey's travel writing, I will explore the ways in which visions of gender, race and class structured and determined the participation of females within processes of transatlantic exchange. At the same time, I will discuss in which ways traveling, and especially travel writing, could become a means to stretch these structures. In doing so, I will highlight the important contributions of black women to and within formations of the Black Atlantic and present them as people actively shaping transnational spaces as well as political movements. To that end, I will address the following questions about Amy Garvey and her "Trip from Coast to Coast": In which ways did Garvey's travels shape her identity? How did her journey through the United States connect to proclamations of her own roots and that of others? Which origins were claimed and by whom? How did these roots both open up and limit the social spaces in which Garvey could operate? Ultimately, how did the debate about roots prompted by Garvey's travels contribute to the formation of a black transatlantic community?

In order to understand the context, in which Amy Garvey's travel reports were written, I will first briefly introduce some of the purposes and transatlantic practices of the UNIA. Afterwards, I will outline Amy Garvey's way into the UNIA and discuss her position within the organization as it is reflected in the reports. Finally, I will turn to one scenario described in the reports to discuss entanglements between travel routes, the formation of communal roots and their racialized, classed, as well as gendered structures.

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4   On the political dimensions of (African American) travel writing, see for example: Virginia Smith Whatley, African American Travel Literature, in: Alfred Bendixen / Judith Hamera (eds.), The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing, Cambridge 2009, pp. 197-213; Jennifer Steadmen, Traveling Economies: American Women's Travel Writing, Columbus (Ind.) 2007; Cheryl J. Fish, Black and White Women's Travel Narratives: Antebellum Explorations, Gainesville (Fla.) 2004; John C. Gruesser, African American Travel Writing about Africa, Lexington (Ky.) 2000, pp. 1-20; Alasdair Pettinger, Always Elsewhere: Travels of the Black Atlantic, London 1998, pp. Viii-XX; Carol Boyce Davies, Black Women, Writing, and Identity: Migrations of the Subject, London 1994, pp. 1-28; Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation, London 1992, pp. 1-12.

5   For studies that broaden Gilroy's concept and highlight the gendered tensions within transatlantic relationships, see for example: Judith Anne-Marie Byfield et al. (eds.), Gendering the African Diaspora: Women, Culture, and Historical Change in the Caribbean and Nigerian Hinterland, Bloomington (Ind.) 2010, p. 2-5; Ruth Mayer, The Atlantic in Black and White: A Critique of the Black Atlantic, in: Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson, Europe and America: Cultures in Translation, Heidelberg 2006, p. 177-184; Jacqueline Nassy Brown, Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail: Geographies of Race in Black Liverpool, Princeton (N.J.) 2005; Sandra Gunning et al., Gender, Sexuality, and African Diasporas, in: Gender and Histories, 15 (2003) 3, p. 397-408; Robin D.G. Kelley / Tiffany Ruby Patterson, Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World, in: African Studies Review, 43 (2000) 1, pp. 11-45.

2. The UNIA: Origin and Objectives

The UNIA was founded by Marcus Garvey and Amy Ashwood in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1914. After three years of financial struggles, Marcus Garvey traveled to the United States to increase the group of supporters and members. While touring the country, he decided to relocate the organization's headquarters to New York City from where it evolved into one of the largest organizations in the civil rights movement of the early 20th century.[6] As its name already indicates, the organization saw itself as a universal actor addressing black people worldwide. Regardless of their current nationality, black people were seen as part of a community, as a race bound together by shared experiences of displacement, determination and supposedly common African roots. In contrast to white supremacy discourses that referred to blackness as a justification for exclusion, the UNIA equated blackness with belonging. It called black people to be proud of their blackness, as members of a diasporic community that stretched all over the Atlantic region. According to Garvey's philosophy, this community originated in Africa where it had been once a powerful, economically and culturally highly developed collective. Yet, slavery and its aftermath tore apart the collective and weakened it. Garvey blamed the ongoing weakness of the community as a whole for the various forms of everyday oppression that the community's individual members suffered from not only in the U.S. but also in the Caribbean, Central and South America, and Africa. Consequently for Garvey, oppression could only be overcome by a reunification of black people of those regions; they needed to fight collectively across national borders against their marginalization. Thus, starting from the idea that black people belonged to a diasporic community, the basic purpose of the UNIA was to re-unite this community and provide an organizational structure for this reunification.[7] And indeed, the organization not only proclaimed a transatlantic black community but also managed, to a certain extent, to establish one. During the 1920's, at its peak of success, the organization registered more than seven hundred branches located in North and South America as well as in the Caribbean and had supporters in Europe and Africa.[8]

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6   The trip to the U. S. was initiated by a correspondence between Marcus Garvey and Booker T. Washington. After exchanging some letters, Garvey aimed to meet Washington in order to secure his assistance. However, when he eventually arrived in the U.S. South, Washington had already recently died.

7   The philosophy of Marcus Garvey is reflected in a collection of his essays and speeches that was edited by Amy Garvey, see: Amy Jacques Garvey (ed.), Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, v. 1, New York 1923, and v. 2, New York 1925. Organizational documents as well as letters, speeches, and articles by Marcus Garvey are collected in: Robert A. Hill (ed.), The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, v. 1-9, Los Angeles 1983–1995. For a comprehensive historical study on the history of the UNIA, its purposes, activities, and historical significance, see for example: James C. Boyd, Garvey, Garveyism, and the Antinomies in Black Redemption, Trenton (N.J.) 2009; Mary G. Rolinson, Grassroots Garveyism: The Universal Negro Improvement Association in the rural South, 1920–1927, Chapel Hill (N.C.) 2007; Patrick Bryan / Rupert Lewis (eds.), Garvey: His Work and Impact, Trenton (N.J.) 1991; Judith Stein, The World of Marcus Garvey, Baton Rouge (La.) 1986; Tony Martin, Race First: The ideological and organizational struggles of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA, Westport 1976; Edmund Cronon, Black Moses: The story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Madison (Wis.) 1955.

8   Robin D.G. Kelley, To Make Our World Anew: The History of African Americans, Oxford 2000, p. 406.

According to an autobiographical article by Marcus Garvey, migration and travel had been essential in founding the organization. He recalled that he began to perceive himself as a political activist and leader during his travels across Europe "My doom – if I may so call it – of being a race leader came upon me in London after I traveled through almost half of Europe."[9] He eventually decided to establish his own political organization on his way back from Europe:

> *It was while speaking to a West Indian Negro who was returning home from Basutoland that I further learned of the horrors of native life in Africa. … I pondered over that subject matter … and at midnight the vision and thought came to me that I should name the organization Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities (Imperial) League.*[10]

With these autobiographic remarks, Marcus Garvey claimed that his experiences of traveling, and crossing Europe in particular, shaped his self-perception and political visions, and also induced his plan to establish a universally oriented political organization. Although the UNIA started its activities in Jamaica, Garvey did not locate its beginnings there. Rather, he placed the origins of the organization in the middle of the Atlantic and identified his transatlantic crossings as the founding moment. As such, Garvey's autobiographic constructions of the organizational beginnings exemplify the significance of transatlantic routes regarding the formation of ideas, activities and politics of black people.

The importance of transatlantic movements for the establishment of the organization was also emphasized by Amy Garvey in her memories. In her book *Garvey and Garveyism*, in which she reconsidered the activities and philosophy of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA, she recalled:

> *Persons who had relatives and friends in the West Indies and Central and South America wrote telling them of the Garvey organization, and because of his previous activities in these areas hundreds of branches were quickly formed through correspondence.*[11]

The people Amy Garvey referred to were primarily migrants who had moved in great numbers from the Caribbean islands to the United States since the turn of the century. Between 1899 and 1937 approximately 150,000 people left the English-speaking Caribbean for the United States in search for education, professional opportunities, higher pay and better living conditions.[12] Many of these Caribbean migrants became – or remained

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9   Marcus Garvey, The Negroes Greatest Enemy, in: Amy Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, v. 2, London 1967 [1925], p. 127. Before Marcus Garvey had moved to London in 1912, he had already traveled extensively throughout the Caribbean and Latin America.

10   Ibid.

11   Amy Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism, New York 1970 [1963], p. 34.

12   Adapted Report by the Commission of Immigration and the Secretary of Labor, in: Ira de Reid, The Negro Immigrant, New York 1939, p. 235.

– politically active in the U.S. and contributed significantly to the various organizations that fought against racism on cultural as well as organizational levels at that time. Migrants from the Caribbean also composed the bulk of members of the UNIA – especially in New York City where the largest Caribbean population lived in the 1920's.[13] With their ongoing contacts to family and friends in the Caribbean, they helped to establish the organization and to broaden its scope beyond national borders. So in addition to Marcus Garvey's own movements within the Atlantic region, the transatlantic transfers by the many Caribbean immigrants living in the U.S. turned the UNIA into a transatlantic venture: their personal relationships provided the basis for a transatlantic network of communication in which news and political ideas were delivered back and forth between the Americas and the Caribbean.

Besides private and organizational correspondence, the organization's newspaper *Negro World* was another important means for exchanging information and building a transatlantic community. In 1923, when Amy Garvey's travel reports appeared in the paper, it had reached a circulation of more than 50,000 issues and was distributed in the U.S. and Canada as well as in the Caribbean, in South America and even in Europe and Africa.[14] The weekly publication contained articles on world politics focusing especially on colonialism and the fight against it. Additionally, it depicted the activities, objectives, and plans of the UNIA. It focused on the New York headquarters and published information sent by branches situated in the U.S. countryside, the Caribbean, and Central America. Thus, the flow of information channeled by the *Negro World* was not unidirectional, with information delivered only from New York to the world. Rather, the paper served as a platform bringing together information from various world regions. Although the paper was the official press organ of the UNIA and contained a lot of information on the organization's activities, it did not only address members of the UNIA. Like the UNIA itself, the *Negro World* was praised as a voice from and for all black people in the world as the full title indicates: *Negro World: A Newspaper Devoted Solely to the Interests of the Negro Race*. The "Negro Race" the UNIA attempted to address and represent was envisioned as a multilingual community that included people from various parts of the Atlantic world as the Spanish and French section in the paper underlines.

Next to written communication and publications such as the *Negro World*, traveling was a vital organizational practice to establish contacts and coherence among black people across the Atlantic. In the 1920's, the organization, for example, arranged the "International Convention of Negroes of the World" almost every year. This Congress brought

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13   On the social and political activism of Caribbean migrants in the U.S. in the early 20th century, see for example: Frank Andre Guridy, Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in an Age of Empire and Jim Crow, Chapel Hill (N.C.) 2010; Joyce Moore Turner, Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance, Urbana (Ill.) 2005; Violet S. Johnson, The other Black Bostonian: West Indians in Boston, 1900-1950, Bloomington (Ind.) 2006; Susan Greenbaum, More than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa, Gainesville (Fla.) 2002; James Winston, Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in early 20th Century America, London 1998.

14   With its transatlantic circulation, the *Negro World* was one of the most widely read newspapers in the 1920s, see: Frederick German Detweiler, The Negro Press in the United States, Chicago 1922, pp. 176–188; Roland Edgar Wolseley, The Black Press U.S.A., Ames (Iowa) 1971, pp. 46–49.

together in New York City delegates from branches located in the various regions of the United States, the Caribbean, and Central America as well as other interested parties, who were not necessarily formally attached to the organization. In addition to meetings of members and followers in New York City, the organizational leadership also traveled to various countries to spread the philosophy of the UNIA, to attract new members and influential supporters, and to collect money for the manifold enterprises the organization had founded.

The trip of the Garveys in 1922 took place in the service of the organization as well. It served as a means to enhance Garvey's public presence and to bring him into contact with American people, as Amy Garvey later expressed in *Garvey and Garveyism*: "Much to the delight of the people out west he planned an itinerary that took him through the following states: New York, Pennsylvanian, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington, Oregon and California."[15] Thus, the trip was mainly initiated to attract new members and strengthen the cohesion within the organization.

3. Amy Garvey's Journey within the UNIA

When Amy Garvey went on her six-week long trip through the United States, she already had some travel experience. Her first longer trip had taken place in 1917 when she left Kingston, Jamaica. She was born there as Amy Euphemia Jacques to a middle class family in 1895. The social status of the family allowed her to attend not only a primary school but also a prestigious girls' school where she learned languages such as Spanish and French as well as bookkeeping and shorthand.[16] However, according to the scant autobiographic information she gave in *Garvey and Garveyism*, the professional position she could obtain as a colored woman in Jamaica was not satisfying to her. Therefore, she decided to leave the island. Initially, she had planned to move to London as many of her male contemporaries did in order to get a higher education. Yet, this opportunity was denied to her because she was a woman: during World War I, the ship from Jamaica to Great Britain did not accept female passengers because of submarine warfare. In order to overcome this gendered obstacle, she turned her attention to another place and moved to New York City.[17] For the following two years after her arrival, Amy Garvey disappears from the historical records: it is unclear where she lived, how she earned her living and in what social activities and circles she might have engaged. In 1919, she became officially

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15   A. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism (footnote 10), p. 129. At the same time, the trip was initiated to improve Marcus Garvey's health. Due to a successful accusation of mail fraud in 1922, Marcus Garvey had spent the summer of 1923 in prison. The imprisonment had had harsh effects on his asthma. For this reason his doctor had recommended a sojourn in a warmer climate.

16   For an encompassing biography of Amy Garvey, see: Ula Yvette Taylor, The Veiled Garvey: The Life and Times of Amy Jacques Garvey, Chapel Hill (N.C.) 2002.

17   A. Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism (footnote 10), p. 113.

engaged in the UNIA as Marcus Garvey's personal secretary. Three years later they were married.

Prior to their marriage, Amy had joined Marcus on several trips. According to an FBI agent who observed the activities of the UNIA, some members of the organization viewed their premarital journeys critically. In his report on Marcus Garvey's journey through the Caribbean in 1921, the agent noted for example: "The girl, Amy Jakes … is commonly known as the woman whom Garvey lives with. … He takes her on all his trips and his followers always entertain fears that some day he may be arrested for white slavery."[18] Although the misspelling of Amy Jacques' name suggests that neither the agent nor his informant were really familiar with her, the report nevertheless sheds some light on her perception by others within and beyond the organization. Here, she is dismissively referred to as a "girl" living with Garvey in an inappropriate and even dangerous relationship that might one day be used to accuse him for violating the *White Slave Traffic Act.*[19]

In contrast to the agent's report, the travel accounts that recorded the trip of the couple through the United States in 1923 explicitly introduced Amy Garvey as "Wife of President-General". The headline of the travel reports – "Impressions of Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey, Wife of President-General on Vacation" – already highlighted Amy Garvey's position as a legitimate companion of Marcus Garvey. In the travel reports her social status was no longer that of the improper "girl". She was now identified respectfully as "Mrs." and as the "wife" of the organization's leader. This kind of identification allocated authority and importance to her persona and thus awarded authority to her written voice, her thoughts and experiences expressed in her travel reports.

Ultimately, it can be assumed that it was above all her position as "wife of President-General" enabled her to become active in the public transnational space the *Negro World* provided. Taking up such a prominent, public space was rather unusual for women within the UNIA. Indeed, women were very active on the grassroots level of the movement and often constituted the majority of a branch, but there were only a few women visibly acting in the representative ranks of the organization. This resulted mainly from the organization's philosophy that was laden with culturally constructed concepts of gender. It was assumed that nature had provided men and women with different features, which in turn qualified them for different social tasks. Living along the lines of these supposedly naturally given arenas was seen as fundamental to creating and maintaining an independent and influential community. In this context, men and women were technically cooperat-

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18 Report by Special Agent P-138, New York City, 3/1/1921, in: Robert A. Hill (ed.), The Marcus Garvey and UNIA papers, v. 3, Berkeley et al. 1984, pp. 237-238.

19 Enacted in 1910, the act basically prohibited the interstate transportation of women for "unmoral causes" and had been initially launched to protect especially female European immigrants for being constrained into prostitution. Black women were not protected by the law which makes the fears of Garvey's followers seem somehow striking. Perhaps their fears referred to Amy Jacques' comparatively light complexion, due to which, she could have easily been classified as white by U.S. officials for the sake of accusing Garvey. Alternatively, the fears might have been due to her Caribbean background. Since as a Jamaican citizen, she was a British subject and thus could be formally declared a European immigrant by the U.S. officials in order to accuse Marcus Garvey.

ing partners with an equal share of power asserting their authority over separate spheres of influence. Men were assigned to public fields such as politics, economy, and military. Their main task was seen in protecting and providing for the community. Women on the contrary were perceived as biologically predestined for care-taking. Consequently, they were supposed to act primarily in the private sphere of the family and thereby to ensure the community's purity, beauty, health and moral strength. In practice this meant that the roles of men and women in the organization were not separate but equal but separate and hierarchical. Even though women were appointed to leading positions, these positions were usually subordinated to men. On the local level for example, the constitution of the UNIA asked the members to elect a "President" as well as a "Lady President" as representatives and heads of their division. However, while the male president was responsible for all activities of the division, the female president was supposed to coordinate only the activities of children and women and beyond that had to report all her decisions and plans to her male counterpart. However, with such a gendered construction of organization, the UNIA opposed a contemporary racism that was equally gendered. In fact, the model of separate spheres for black men and women can be seen as a reaction against racist stereotypes that attributed black men supposedly "femine" qualities such as passiveness and subordination and black women supposedly "masculine" features such as authority and an inflated physical strength. The organization's gendered structure also reversed the racist double standard that assigned white women to home and family while perceiving black women mainly as a work force and sexual objects.[20]

So on the one hand, the introduction of Amy Garvey as "Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey, Wife of President-General" in the headline of the articles followed the gendered visions pervading the UNIA: she was first and foremost introduced and perceived as the companion of the organization's male leader. In this regard, the headline might be seen as a sign for the gendered restrictions surrounding Amy Garvey's activities within the organization. Even though she obtained public space through her travel writing, she basically appeared in this space not in her own right but in her position as "wife". On the other hand, having in mind the gendered racist structures of the societies Amy Garvey acted in, the proclamation can also be read as an expression of self-assertion. The presentation as "Mrs." and "wife" provided her the status of a respectable woman that was often denied to black women within racist societies.

Eventually, the travel reports marked the beginning of Amy Garvey's activities as a contributing editor to the *Negro World* and increased her popularity within the organization,

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20   On gender relations in the UNIA, see: Kate Dossett, Bridging Race Divides: Black Nationalism, Feminism, and Integration in the United States, 1896–1935, Gainesville (Fla.) 2008, pp. 150-199; Michele Mitchell, Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny after Reconstruction, Chapel Hill (N.C.) 2004, pp. 218-241; Anne MacPherson, Colonial Matriarchs: Garveyism, Maternalism, and Belize's Black Cross Nurses, 1920–1952, in: Gender & Society, 15 (2003), pp. 507-523; Michelle Anne Stephens, Black Empire: The Masculine Global Imaginary of Caribbean Intellectuals in the United States, 1914–1962, Durham 2005, pp. 74-101; Barbara Bair, True Women, Real Men: Gender, Ideology and Social Roles in the Garvey Movement, in: Dorothey O. Heley (ed.), Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women's History, Ithaca (N.Y.) 1992, pp. 154-167.

as the couple's return to New York City indicates: When they appeared at the welcome back meeting in the New Yorker meeting hall, the crowd was not only interested in hearing Marcus Garvey speak but also claimed for a public performance of Amy Garvey by shouting, "We want Mrs. Garvey!" In contrast to former meetings in New York where Amy Garvey had basically remained in the background, she now went into the spotlight and reacted to the call of the members by giving a "very entertaining speech".[21] However, as the call of the crowd and the headline of the articles demonstrate, the newly gained visibility strongly remained connected to her femininity and to her position as "Mrs. Garvey".

Eventually, the positive reactions on her travel reports opened up to her further opportunities to act within the organization. A couple of months after the articles had been published, Marcus Garvey appointed her editor of the women's page, "Our Women and What They Think", that was launched in the *Negro World* in 1924. According to Amy Garvey's memories, it had been basically her success as a travel writer that had prompted Marcus Garvey's decision to nominate her as the editor of the page. The following three years, this page became a platform for Amy Garvey to express her political visions and to encourage other women to become politically active.[22]

Unfortunately, it is not possible to figure out whether Amy Garvey herself initiated the travel reports or whether she was requested to write them. Hence, it is also difficult to determine why they were created. According to the beginning of her first article, their main purpose was to keep her "numerous friends and well-wishers who would like to hear from me" updated on her whereabouts and wellbeing.[23] Thus, the travelogue was basically presented as a means to inform the interested parties about the couple's experiences while traveling through the United States. In contrast to the statement in the article, Amy Garvey in her later publication *Garvey and Garveyism* remembered the reports as a series of articles in which she had pointed out the difficult conditions of black people to show "how necessary it was to have united action to overcome such conditions."[24] Consequently, the articles can be read not only as reports on the Garvey's travel experiences but also as a practice through which Amy Garvey pursued political goals. Apparently they had also been created to depict black people's living conditions in the U.S. for an audience not necessarily familiar with them. Having in mind the wide-ranging circulation of the *Negro World*, the audience Amy Garvey probably envisioned were not necessarily members of the UNIA or African Americans but might have included people living in the Caribbean, South America, and Africa as well.

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21   Rousing Ovation Given Great Leader on Return From Tour, in: Negro World, 17 November 1923.
22   In her editorials, she often addressed the political importance of black women that in her view went beyond family care and welfare. For some editorials on women's political significance, see for example: Louis J. Parascandola (ed.), 'Look for me all around you'. Anglophone Caribbean Immigrants in the Harlem Renaissance, Detroit (Mich.) 2005, p. 107-130.
23   Garvey, On a Trip (footnote 1).
24   Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism (footnote 10), p. 34.

With their purpose to make readers within the Atlantic region familiar with black people and their lives in the U.S., the travel reports also became a site for community building. In this context, the form of the articles is notable. Every article began with the salutation "To the Editor of the Negro World" and ended with the farewell "Yours truly Amy Jacques Garvey". In contrast to other letters to the editor, Amy Garvey's writings were highly visible in the paper. They were usually published on page three or four, spanning several columns, and were covered by a large headline. However, by constantly referring to the readers as "my dear friends", she drew a common bond between herself and the widespread audience. She did not present herself as a superior voice or opinion leader within the organization but as a writer among a group of equals, a group of like-minded people inclined towards each other. So by their composition as letters to the editor, the articles supported community building. Garvey's friendly tone and manner of address served to turn the "trip from Coast to Coast" into a collective journey. With her detailed descriptions of the itinerary and the socio-economic landscapes as well as of the people she encountered, Amy Garvey made it possible for the readers to become accompanying travelers. Through her written mediation, they could connect to the various regions in the United States and get in contact with black people living there.

Garvey fostered linkages between black people in the Atlantic world not only by the form of the travel reports but also by its content. For example, in her observations of Los Angeles, Amy Garvey first addressed the opportunities as well as the difficulties for black people living there. Following her depiction, she concluded that the United States would never provide equality for its black citizens. In consequence she requested her readers to turn onto Africa:

> *Let [us] not kick our heels against the pricks and hurt ourselves, but let us turn our eyes in the other direction and look forward to Mother Africa, where we will be able to rise to the heights of true manhood and womanhood and live in happiness and prosperity with our brothers and sisters over there.*[25]

From Garvey's point of view, integration was a futile hope. Instead she proclaimed separation as the solution to achieve "happiness and prosperity". In her opinion, black people should focus on establishing a future in Africa in cooperation with the local population. Instead of fighting for equality in the U.S., she perceived a collective return to Africa as the right way to emancipation. With this claim, she constituted Africa as a space that provided affirming communal roots as well as a promising route to liberty. On the one hand, she proclaimed Africa as a place "to look forward to" and on the other metaphorically referred to it as a "Mother". Thus, for Amy Garvey, Africa symbolized at the same time a shared origin and a common future of black people. By placing the past as well as the future of African Americans within Africa, she constituted a common bond between black people in the U.S. and Africa in the reports. She further enhanced these linkages

25   Mrs. Amy Garvey Writes of Her interesting Experiences, in: Negro World, 17 November 1923.

by classifying the people in Africa as "brothers and sisters". In her view, they all formed a family, a diasporic community rooted in Africa.

As her depiction of Africa underlines, her visions of this community were deeply shaped by notions of gender. She decidedly presented the region as a feminine space in referring to it as the "Mother" of black people. Garvey thus associated Africa with the caring features usually attached to mothers – such as providing a comfortable home, shelter, and nurture. She thereby highlighted the possibility that Africa was as a place that could provide a prosperous, safe future for black people. Besides, the metaphor also turned Africa into the bearer of the transatlantic community and as such established unity: Black people worldwide symbolically shared the same "Mother" and consequently could be declared "brothers and sisters". Independent of their current nationalities, they were connected to each other due to their common roots in Africa. Despite their spatial diffusion and different nationalities, they still belonged to one and the same family whose origin and future lay in Africa. So through family metaphors, Amy Garvey created familiarity with Africa and its people. Moreover, she constituted a community that transgressed borders within the Atlantic.[26]

Notions of gender also shaped the conception of emancipation that, according to Amy Garvey, could be achieved in Africa. Africa in this part of the travel reports is not only presented as the place where "happiness and prosperity" can be achieved but also as a space where black people "will be able to rise to the heights of true manhood and womanhood". Thereby, Amy Garvey opposed contemporary discourses of discrimination. As already mentioned above, normative visions of white manhood and womanhood supported racism and vice versa. They contributed to the constitution of black people as inferior and served as a justification for their humiliation and marginalization. According to white supremacist discourses, black people were simply not able to act as "true men" or "true women", their supposed features – such as hypersexuality – allegedly prevented them from achieving these ideals. In contrast, Amy Garvey argued in her travel reports that black people could achieve these virtues. To her, it was not biology but social surroundings that prevented them from acting as "true men and women". In order to convert the ideal into reality, black people needed to move across the Atlantic and return to Africa.

Visions of Africa and a transatlantic, diasporic community not only informed Amy Garvey's descriptions of the U.S. landscape and cities such as Los Angeles, they also permeated her accounts of the contacts with the many people she and her husband met during their journey. In the last part of my analysis, I would like to focus on one of the encounters she described, which took place at a small train station in Alliance, Indiana.

26 Similar processes and the importance of family metaphors for the construction of national communities have been pointed out by Anne McClintock, 'No longer in a Future Heaven': Gender, Race, and Nationalism, in: Ibid. et al. (eds.), Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives, Minneapolis (Minn.) 1997, pp. 89-112.

4. "Traveling Africans"

Alliance, Indiana, was not among the main destinations on the Garvey's trip from "Coast to Coast". They only passed through the small town on their way from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to Gary, Indiana, because they had to change trains there. While Marcus Garvey was looking for somebody to help them transport their luggage from one platform to another, Amy Garvey stayed with the trunks and observed the small train station. As she waited, she took notice of two men who seemed to be local citizens of Alliance. Under the subheading "Traveling Africans", she described the encounter in her travel reports as follows:

> *My attention was attracted to a colored man who looked as if he had made the station his temporary headquarters. He walked around so leisurely that I was convinced that he belonged to the I.W.W.C. (I Won't Work Club) and must have been highly recommended on examination by 'Dr. Eat More and Work Less'. The gentleman looked me over, then my baggage, and finally said something to the approaching stationmaster who also surveyed me and my outfit. I moved nearer to them and was just in time to hear the station master say, 'Why those are Africans traveling.' I chuckled to myself at the tact of that white man. If we were traveling with bundles and the air of 'sacred and death' folks running from the south, we would have been called 'Niggers' but being well-clad, independent-looking people traveling first class, we were 'Africans' […]*[27]

The stop in Alliance was a comparatively short moment of time in the course of the whole trip. Yet in the travel reports, it emerged as a complex experience that exemplifies the interplay between travel writing, community building, and emancipation. Here, the train station becomes a contact zone[28], a space where power relationships are negotiated as the historical actors and ideas coincide and constitute identities. In observing each other and exchanging glances and opinions, the three agents rooted themselves and one another within social communities. They constructed differences as well as affiliations and in doing so arranged positions of power, as I will outline in the following.

As the subheading of the scenario "Traveling Africans" indicates, the allocation as "Africans" was central for Amy Garvey within this moment of contact. Though it was not the

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27   Amy Garvey, Mrs. Garvey visualizes Africa in American Industry, in: Negro World, 27 October 1923.
28   The term refers to the concept of Mary Louis Pratt who describes a contact zone as a "space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations." The concept emphasizes "how subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among … travelers and 'travelees' not in terms of separatedness, but in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, and often within radically asymmetrical relations of power," see: Pratt, Imperial Eyes (footnote 4), p. 8. Although Pratt uses the concept basically to approach imperial encounters, I think it is also a helpful frame to describe other forms of contact between people of different cultural and social backgrounds. Perceiving the train station in Alliance, Indiana, as contact zone helps to underline that the people who meet get constituted as social subjects by their relation to each other. The relationships developing among them are in turn shaped by power relations that encompass the contact and at the same time become manifested in it.

first time that she had been classified by others as "African". Previously, when she had boarded the ship from Kingston to New York City, the U.S. authorities had registered her as being "African".[29] In the context of her arrival in the United States, the classification as "African" had placed her in the group of non-white people and in consequence, had limited her possibilities to act within the racially structured U.S. society. In the context of the Alliance train station, the term "African" referred to processes of marginalization: according to Amy Garvey, it was the "white station master" who classified the Garveys as "traveling Africans". In doing so, he attempted to clarify the confusion of an African American man who was likewise observing the Garveys at the train station. Their behavior and assumptions show the two observers reflected contemporary racial and class perceptions that assigned recreational travel to whites. As Paul Gilroy has pointed out, discourses of the 20th century generally related "uncoerced, recreational travel experiences only to whites while viewing black people's experiences of displacement and relocation exclusively through the very different types of traveling undergone by refugees, migrants, and slaves."[30] According to Amy Garvey, the stationmaster engaged in these discourses. He was confused by the couple and uncertain of their roots because he was simply not familiar with black people traveling first class. Seemingly, the Garveys and their mode of traveling did not match any of the stationmaster's notions of African Americans. His identification of the Garveys as "Africans" indicates that in his worldview African Americans who travelled first class could or should not exist. Although their routes directed them through the United States, their unusual prosperity suggested that they could by no means have come from the U.S. and, therefore, they were identified as rooted in Africa.

As such, the scenario hints to the fact that being identified as a person of "African origin" did not always mean the same in the United States: In the context of Amy Garvey's arrival in the United States, the term "African" had marked a difference between her and the white population of the country. In the context of Alliance on the contrary, the term "African" marked a difference between the two locals and the traveling Garveys. While it in the first place had marked a social degradation, it now appointed dignity to her persona and that of Marcus Garvey. In her description, being African became connected to prosperity, pride, and independence. By including the scenario into her travel accounts, Amy Garvey spread this positive connotation of Africa to the public.

At the same time, her description of the situation in Alliance pointed out the racialized and class-bound notions of traveling that circulated in the United States. This issue had been implicitly addressed in the headlines of the articles, as the trip had been explicitly announced as "vacation". Considering that the couple mainly traveled in the service of the organization and therefore had nearly no time for tourist activities, the classification of the journey as vacation seems surprising at first. Of course, this might have simply

29   Department of Labor, List or Manifest of Alien Passengers to the United States. SS Carillo sailing from Kingston, Jamaica, 21/4/1917, http://search.ancestry.com (accessed on 18 October 2010).
30   Gilroy, Black Atlantic (footnote 2), p. 133.

resulted from the initial expectations and hopes of Amy Garvey regarding the tour. Beyond that, the expression "vacation" also countered the racist discourse in which African Americans only crossed the country as impoverished people. It stressed the fact that black people not only moved due to violence and economic pressure but also as self-determined travelers. Thus, the headline highlighted that there were indeed black people who were able and willing to travel as vacationers.

In the account of the situation in Alliance, Amy Garvey, however, not only represented racialized notions of traveling but also confidently and clearly expressed criticism at this form of racism. By chuckling about "the tact of that white man", she uplifted herself above him and his bigotry and rejected his judgements. Besides, she not only mocked the stationmaster but also emphasized the prejudice underlying his judgement by referring to the fact that they would have been perceived completely different when wearing other clothes and carrying other luggage. So in her report, she distinguished herself from the naïve locals who falsely perceived her as a "traveling African"; she freed herself from the gaze of her white observer. Moreover, in the report the naivety of the stationmaster contrasted with Garvey's persona as a sophisticated traveler, as an educated, urbane, active and prosperous woman.

However, the presentation of her persona as self-determined did not only result from Garvey's confident dealing with the stationmaster and his assumptions. It also relied on the distance she put between herself as a person "traveling first-class" and black migrants from the south. Thus, while her reference to the migrants served as a vivid image to accuse the stationmaster and via him U.S. society for their prejudiced perceptions, it also functioned as a contrasting picture that shaped the image of the Garveys as independent, glamorous, and charismatic people. This image of the Garveys was further enhanced by her description of the black male at the train station. By patronizingly describing him as part of the "I Won't Work Club" and by describing herself as "well-clad" and "traveling first-class", she allocated herself to a higher, affluent social status and turned him into a member of the lower class.

Amy Garvey's judgement of the black male also expressed her political opinions. In assigning the black male to the "I.W.W.C.", Amy Garvey not only delivered a cynical description of him but also generally condemned lacking willpower and behavior such as lingering around, being ingenuous or trusting the judgements of white people. In her view his lower position was self-inflicted as the term "I Won't Work Club" underlined. To her, it was not a missing ability or opportunity but a missing willpower that kept him away from work and thus away from achieving prosperity. This disparaging description of the black male at the train station reflected the philosophy of the UNIA. As already mentioned above, the organization espoused independent black businesses and self-initiative as a prerequisite to achieve respect and equality on an individual as well as on a communal level. According to the gendered philosophy of the organization it was especially men who should become economically active. The UNIA idealized the single-income family in which men provided a sufficient income that freed women from the need of working outside the home and thereby from potential exploitation by whites.

Because of his behavior, however, the black male in Garvey's travel report embodied exactly the opposite. According to Amy Garvey, he did not show any ambitions to work, refusing responsibility for himself and his personal uplift, as well as for other people of the community. Thus, the disgust she expressed towards the man by turning him into a representative of the "I Won't Work Club" in fact expressed her values regarding male duties within the community.[31]

Next to her gendered visions of communal life, the distance she put between herself and the man at the train station might have been enforced by her Caribbean uprising. In the Caribbean, class strongly infiltrated race relations as the assignment to a racial category depended not only on blood or skin color but also on education and estate. As a comparatively wealthy, educated woman, Amy Garvey had belonged to the Jamaican middle class, which was positioned and positioned itself above the group of the so-called black or "negro" working class.[32] When she entered the United States, she held onto this class differentiation, as her short biographic remarks in *Garvey and Garveyism* reveal:

> *Garvey convinced me of the worthiness of his program, and stressed the fact that the skin-color class system of Jamaica did not exist in America, as all strata of the race were treated as one – the slogan being, 'Any nigger is a nigger.' Therefore, it was necessary for the educated and better able to join with the masses in a strong uplift-and-onward movement.*[33]

As this conversation indicates, Amy Jacques was not at all convinced right from the beginning that black people were all equally part of a diasporic community and should work together in order to achieve civil rights. Instead, she clearly differentiated between "the masses" and "the better able". In the U.S. she at first continued to distance herself from other, less educated black people. According to her memories, it was only the junction with Marcus Garvey and the UNIA that convinced her of the necessity of a transatlantic community in which black people of all classes should cooperate on an equal basis. While her account from 1963 suggested that her attitude fundamentally changed under the influence of Marcus Garvey, her description of the contact in Alliance in the *Negro World* leaves another impression. Here visions of class still permeated her perception of other people as the difference she noted between herself and the supposedly non-working, foolish male at the train station, as well as between herself and the impoverished migrants exemplify. The encounter at the train station in Alliance in fact leaves the impression that the transatlantic black community Amy Garvey envisioned and attempted to establish was not necessarily a community of equals. Rather, her account indicates that

31   Regarding Amy Garvey's visions on male duties, see also: Mrs. Garvey Visualizes Africa in American Industry, in: Negro World, 27 October 1923; For You and Your Sons, in: Negro World, 13 November 1926; Women as Leaders Nationally and Racially, in: Negro World, 24 October 1925.
32   On race relations in the Caribbean and the social position of the Jacques family in Kingston, see: Taylor, The Veiled Garvey (footnote 17), pp. 9-15.
33   Garvey, Garvey and Garveyism (footnote 13), p. 4.

despite the official philosophy of the UNIA, the community was not only marked by solidarity but also by hierarchies emanating from social structures such as class.

5. Conclusion

Along some lines of Amy Garvey's travel reports, I have attempted to show how her travel writing was not only a presentation of the U.S. American landscape and its people but also a political text. It involved various processes of identification that were connected to negotiations of power and expressions of political visions.

As the travel reports demonstrate, Amy Garvey was as a confident political activist. In the reports she expressed and propagated the philosophy of the UNIA, underlined its strength, and presented its leadership as influential and charismatic. She not only described her experiences while traveling but also turned these experiences into expressions of her political attitudes and visions. On the one hand, her activities and her visibility as a political campaigner were strongly embedded in the gendered hierarchies that structured the UNIA. Yet, at the same time, she also presented herself as a perceptive thinker and social critic and thereby stretched the image of a reserved helpmate that was often allocated to black women in the organization. Besides, she herself referred to notions of gender in order to proclaim common African roots and to constitute community and coherence among black people throughout the Atlantic world.

In connecting her travel experiences to the proclamation of common African roots, Amy Garvey actively participated in the formation of a transatlantic black community. Her travel reports and their publication in the *Negro World* with its transatlantic circulation and audience gave the Garvey's trip through the United States an Atlantic dimension. As such, they significantly contributed to the purpose of the trip – and consequently also to the main aim of the UNIA – to set up relationships with black people who were spread throughout the United States, the Caribbean, South America, Africa, and Europe. Through her depictions of the routes she followed and the people she met on her way she established connections between herself, the black population of the United States and other places such as Africa. While the United States in this context were mainly presented as a country limiting and endangering the lives of black people, Africa was characterized as their genuine home and as such became connected to features as prosperity, safety, liberty, and independence. However, as the content of the articles and the conditions of its emergence underline, the transatlantic, diasporic community Amy Garvey described in her articles was not a community of equals but structured by social patterns such as gender and class.

Linking Africa and the United States in turn became connected to a self-assertion on various levels: By expressing gendered visions of Africa, Amy Garvey created a diasporic community that opened up an alternative to the national bodies in which black people still suffered marginalization and exploitation. The idea of "travelling Africans" that grew out of her encounter with two U.S. Americans at the train station in Indiana granted her

the status of a self-determined, independent, and sophisticated person. And it became a means through which she confidently addressed and criticized U.S. racism as well as the social behavior and supposed ignorance of (male) African Americans.

As such, the travel reports of Amy Garvey demonstrate that looking at the routes black people followed across the Atlantic provides a productive approach to analyze the limiting but also empowering potential that went along with the formations of transatlantic identities and the proclamation of communal roots.

BERICHT

Weltgeschichte und Historismus. Publikationen aus Italien zu Benedetto Croce und der neapolitanischen Schule[1]

Hans-Heinrich Nolte

 „… denn es gibt keine einheitliche Geschichte *in re*, sondern ausschließlich und immer *in cogitatione*“, zitiert Domenico Conte[2] (S. 18) Benedetto Croce aus einer Auseinandersetzung von 1951, einem Teil der umfassenderen „polemica su la Weltgeschichte“, in der es vor allem um Lamprecht und die erste Fassung der Propyläen-Weltgeschichte ging. Conte warnt vor einer allzu leichten Einverleibung des Zitats in die Konstruktion von Geschichte, trotzdem wird in ihm Croces Kritik deutlich: da der Historiker, seinem Interesse folgend, „immer wieder die Auswahl aus den Tatsachen der Geschichte trifft“ (S. 27 f.) kann eine Weltgeschichte nur eine Anhäufung von Tatsachen, eine „Chronica Mundi“ sein, und nie eine durchgestaltete „Geschichte“. 1941 hat Croce dazu apodiktisch geschrieben: „Historiographie wird nie aus dem Geist im Allgemeinen konstruiert … sondern immer aus dem in einer seiner Formen und Kategorien spezifizierten Geist.“ (S. 42).

Benedetto Croce (1866–1952) lehrte bekanntlich in Neapel, schrieb 1925 das Manifest gegen den Faschismus und war 1920 / 21 sowie nach dem Sturz Mussolinis 1944 Unterrichtsminister und Führer der liberalen Partei Italiens.[3] Der Philosoph war Hegelianer

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1 Die folgende Rezension der in Leipzig übersetzten und publizierten Monographien Fulvio Tessitores und Domenico Contes bilden einen Ausgangspunkt für eine genauere Einschätzung des Liberalismus Benedetto Croces und für eine Reflektion darüber, dass seine Schriften im Deutschland der Nachkriegszeit kaum präsent waren.

2 Domenico Conte, Weltgeschichte und Pathologie des Geistes. Benedetto Croce zwischen Historischem Denken und Krise der Moderne. Leipziger Universitätsverlag, Leipzig 2007, 265 S., Register. Deutsch von Charlotte Voermanek; italienische Ausgabe Domenico Conte, Storia Universale e Patologia dello Spirito, Saggio su Croce, Società editrice il Mulino, Napoli 2005, 241 S.

3 Vgl. Benedetto Croce, La storia come pensiero e come azione, Bari 1938. Das Buch wurde von Sylvia Sprigge unter dem Titel History as the Story of Liberty, London 1941 übersetzt und gehört bis heute zu den wichtigen

und begründete ausführlich, dass alle Aktivität Freiheit und Leben des Geistes sei. Der Geist macht sich seine eigene Geschichte und ist von dieser nicht zu trennen; Philosophie ist also wesentlich Geschichtsphilosophie. Da der Mensch nur erkennen kann, was er selbst hervor gebracht hat, erhalten die Geistes- den Vorrang vor den Naturwissenschaften; da Ereignisse Ergebnisse der Gesamtheit früherer Abläufe sind, aber nur Geschichte werden, sobald der aktuelle Geist sie begreift, ist Geschichte wesentlich Zeitgeschichte. Eine von Europäern konzipierte Geschichte muss nach Croce europazentrisch sein, „es sei denn, dass man Geschichte in einen Ausstellungssalon der verschiedenen Kulturtypen verwandeln will" (S. 203).

Aber was war die Geschichte Europas in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, konstruiert aus der Sicht eines zeitgenössischen europäischen Geistes? Conte beschreibt die Veränderungen im Geschichtsbild Croces im Verlauf der Kulturkrise, die durch die faschistische Bewegung gekennzeichnet ist. Bei aller Bedeutung Italiens hat sie für Croce (und Conte) ihren Höhepunkt in Deutschland. Romantik „als Gefühl, Praktik und Moral", die den Aspekt der Krankheit in den Vordergrund schiebt, entwickelt sich schon im 19. Jahrhundert zum „male del seculo" (S. 180). Bei Chateaubriand, Byron und Shelley werden „Grausamkeit und Schrecken … zu Lustgefühlen… Abnorme Vergnügungen werden schmackhaft" (S. 181). In dieser Reihe erscheint auch Bismarck, da in der deutschen Einigung nicht die Nation befreit, sondern mit Gewalt Macht erweitert wird. Im Ersten Weltkrieg verkünden Wilhelm II., Bülow und Tirpitz eine „Ideologie des Krieges", die „Erneuerung der verweichlichten Menschen durch Blutbäder …" (S. 187). Bei aller Kritik an Oswald Spenglers „Untergang des Abendlandes" wird „finis Europae" auch bei Croce zum Signum des aktuellen Geistes; er schreibt schon während des Ersten Weltkriegs von den Parallelen zum Untergang Roms in den Barbareneinfällen und 1949 vom „Niedergang des Zivilisationsgrades" (S.207). Kann der Geist krank werden? Croce zitiert Verlaine mit dessen Gedicht Langueur, auf das sich auch Spengler in seinem „Untergang" bezog, als frühen Beleg (S. 175):[4]

> Je suis l'Empire à la fin de la décadence
> Qui regarde passer les grands Barbares blancs
> En composant des acrostiches indolents
> D'un style d'or où la langueur du soleil danse.

Croce's Hauptbeleg aus der italienischen Geschichte ist D'Annuncio, „sinnlich, raubtierhaft, dekadent …" (S. 177). Die Bedeutung des Faschismus für Italien wertet er aber

Texten der liberalen Bewegung; vgl. die Neuausgabe 2000 durch den Liberty Fund . Der ältere englische Text ist online: http://www.quaestia.com. Unter dem genauer übersetzten, aber wohl doch dem Umgang mit der faschistischen Zensur geschuldeten Titel „Die Geschichte als Gedanke und Tat" erschien das Buch 1944 auch in der Schweiz (Conte, Weltgeschichte, S. 43, Anm. 117) und 1949 in Deutschland, hatte hier aber bei weitem nicht dieselbe Wirkung wie in der angelsächsischen Welt.

4   „Ich bin das Reich am Ende der Dekadenz/ das dem Zug der blonden Barbaren zu sieht / und schreibe apathische Akrostichen / in einem goldenen Stil, in dem die Trägheit der Sonne tanzt …" Die Übersetzung von idolents im Text S. 175, Anm. 54 ist u. E. falsch.

insgesamt als etwas „Karnevalsmäßiges" ab, während er im Nationalsozialismus etwas „Dämonisches und Tragisches" sieht. Deutschland, er zeigt das an Spengler, war wirklich dabei, die „Rückkehr zum primitiven Wald" zu proben – „fine della civiltà" (S. 199).[5] Allerdings traten Croces harte Urteile über Deutschland schon 1946 hinter vielleicht noch härteren über Bolschewismus und Marxismus zurück. Jetzt zerfällt die Welt für ihn „in zwei Gruppen entgegengesetzter Mächte: auf der einen Seite die des in seiner Gesamtheit historischen und liberalen Abendlandes, auf der anderen aber die des anti-historischen und diktatorischen Orients, an dessen Spitze Russland steht" (S. 254). Der Philosoph entsprach, so darf man als Historiker vielleicht zusammenfassen, dem aktu-ellen Zeitgeist von einer liberalen Position aus – vom „Germanophilen" über die Kritik des italienischen Faschismus zum Kritiker der deutschen Sehnsucht nach den Wäldern und schließlich zur Ausgrenzung Russlands aus Europa.

Conte hat sein Buch über Benedetto Croce Fulvio Tessitore gewidmet, der seit vierzig Jahren in Neapel über Geschichte des Historismus forscht und lehrt, über viele deutsche und italienische Autoren zum Thema Bücher und Aufsätze publiziert sowie eine verbrei-tete italienische Einführung zum Thema geschrieben hat. In der Auswahl von Aufsätzen, die kürzlich in Übersetzung erschienen ist,[6] sind Studien über Wilhelm von Humboldt, Dilthey, Max Weber, Friedrich Meinecke und Ernst Troeltsch sowie Benedetto Croce, Santo Mazzarino und Pietro Piovani gesammelt. Außerdem stellt Tessitore seine eigene Position vor. Er arbeitet die Unterschiede zwischen Croce und Meinecke, deutschen und italienischen Historismus heraus – er spricht von Historismen wenn auch fast entschul-digend als von einer „vielleicht zu einfachen und offensichtlichen Feststellung" (S. 188). In der Tat hat sich der Plural in der Historismusdiskussion weitgehend durchgesetzt.

Tessitore betont Croces ethische Bedeutung und seine „Geschicklichkeit gegen eine Welt, die einerseits wegen zügelloser Irrationalismen und Aktivismen und andererseits durch die Rückkehr des Naturrechts, das als Schutz gegen die Relativismen der Geschichte angesehen wurde, in Aufruhr war" (S. 195). Tessitore stellt die deutsche Debatte der Nachkriegszeit von Wolfgang Mommsen bis zu Gerhard Oexle, „die sehr ideologisiert und immer mit der Schuldfrage behaftet" war (S. 200) der italienischen gegenüber. Die habe an Pietro Piovani angeknüpft, der Historismus als „Produkt der Existenzialisierung der Geschichte, die die individuelle Handlung in den Mittelpunkt stellt, das *Sich machen* und nicht das *Gemachte* …" (S. 206) bestimmte und sich „auf Begriffe wie Individualität, Unterschied, ethischer und erkenntnistheoretischer Pluralismus, Verstehen des Anderen, Leben" konzentriert (S. 121). Tessitore selbst schlägt vor, Historismus als „Ereignisphi-losophie" zu definieren: „die Kunst des Verstehens, die die Repräsentation der Fakten und die Objektivität der wahrhaftigen Sicht der Fakten verlangt und realisiert, und zwar über ihre Form, über die sichtbaren Konturen der Fakten hinaus auf der Suche nach einer wissenschaftlichen Erklärung" (S. 229). Vielleicht kann man das, vergröbernd, als

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5   Trotz mancher Wortfelddifferenz als „Ende der Kultur" am ehesten übersetzt.
6   Fulvio Tessitore, Kritischer Historismus, Köln 2005.

individualistische Wendung gegenüber dem (auch in der Schuldfrage nationalem) Kollektivismus des „wir" im deutschen Historismus interpretieren.

Neapel mit seiner nach einem Kaiser und König von Deutschland sowie beider Sizilien benannten Universität ist ein Ausgangspunkt italienischen Interesses an der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft. Die gerade erschienene Sammlung von Aufsätzen Contes über Ernst Jünger und Oswald Spengler setzt diese Tradition fort.[7] Einer dieser Aufsätze – Oswald Spengler und die Idee der „Entwicklung", 2004 italienisch zum ersten Mal publiziert – wurde für den von Wolfgang Bialas und Gérard Raulet 2009 herausgegebenen Sammelband über Spengler übersetzt. Conte bezieht sich hier vor allem auf die posthum erschienen „Urfragen", welche einerseits feste Urformen und andererseits Schicksal herausstellen; nur Mittelmäßiges „entwickelt" sich. Conte arbeitet gegenüber solchen Zitaten die Sehnsucht Spenglers nach Sicherheit im Vegetativen einfühlsam heraus.[8]

Die historiographische Schule (so Tessitore im Vorwort) in Neapel oder zumindest Benedetto Croce selbst bringen ein Kernargument des Historismus gegen die Weltgeschichte vor: wie soll ein Historiker eine Quelle „verstehen", dessen kulturelle Kontexte ihm fremd sind? Wird eine Weltgeschichte nicht wirklich zur Ansammlung verschiedener Geschichten von Kulturen oder Nationen, wenn sie nicht aus einem Geiste geschrieben wird? Und übernimmt die Weltgeschichte sich nicht von vornherein auf methodischem Gebiet, wenn sie die historische Auseinandersetzung mit fremden Kulturen zum Thema macht, wenn sie nach ihren eigenen Voraussetzungen für das Verstehen dieser Geschichten nicht gerüstet ist?

Rezeptionsgeschichtlich ist nicht deutlich, wie Croces Einwände bei den Leipziger Autoren von Weltgeschichte, bei Walter Götz und später bei Hans Freyer, rezipiert wurden, obgleich Freyers „Weltgeschichte Europas" ja geradezu dem Programm Croces zu entsprechen scheint.[9] Während etwa Charles Beard sich in seiner Grundschrift des amerikanischen „Historischen Relativismus" „That noble dream" von 1935 mehrfach auf Croce bezog,[10] scheint dieser in der publizierten deutschen Diskussion keine große Rolle gespielt zu haben.[11] Als die „Göttinger" in den fünfziger Jahren dafür warben, mehr Weltgeschichte zu betreiben, haben sie - auch ohne explizite Bezüge auf den Croce - die methodischen Schwierigkeiten durchaus gesehen, allerdings den interessenorientierten Konstruktionscharakter des Geschichtsbildes nicht so klar angesprochen. Zu dem ersten

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7 Domenico Conte, Albe e tramonti d'Europa. Ernst Jünger e Oswald Spengler, Rom 2009.

8 Domenico Conte, Oswald Spengler und die Idee der „Entwicklung", deutsch Charlotte Voermanek, in: Wolfgang Bialas/Gérard Raulet (Hrsg.), Spengler – Ein Denker der Zeitenwende, Frankfurt a. M. 2009, S. 145-163.

9 Matthias Middell, Weltgeschichtsschreibung im Zeitalter der Verfachlichung und Professionalisierung. Das Leipziger Institut für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte, Bd. 2: Von der Kulturgeschichte unter Walter Goetz bis zur historischen Soziologie Hans Freyers, Leipzig 2005. Das Register (am Ende des 3. Bandes) führt Croces Namen nicht auf.

10 Charles A. Beard, Dieser edle Traum, deutsch in Fritz Stern (Hrsg.), Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung, München 1966 (englisch 1956), S. 322-337. Auch Edward Hallett Carr, Was ist Geschichte (1961), Stuttgart 1963 bezieht sich mehrfach auf Croce.

11 Weder Bernd Faulenbach (Hrsg.), Geschichtswissenschaft in Deutschland, München 1974 noch Manfred Asendorf (Hrsg.), Aus der Aufklärung in die permanente Restauration, Geschichtswissenschaft in Deutschland, Hamburg 1974 haben den Namen im Register.

Punkt etwa Hermann Heimpel: „Das Einzelne, die Nuance, das Feine, das Leise, das Langsame, das nur aus der jeweils eigenen Zeit Erklärbare, das Unmittelbar-zu-Gott-Seiende, das eben darum Beständige tritt in den Epochen ins Dunkle, die großen Linien, das Grobe treten ins Licht.“[12] Zum zweiten Punkt Reinhard Wittram, der es in seinem „Das Interesse an der Geschichte“ gerade ablehnte, einen „Katalog“ von Interessen aufzustellen und dann – nach der Kritik an dem aus der Politik „abgeleiteten Interesse“ des Kommunismus an Geschichte - sich zwar zum Gegenwartsbezug der Historie bekannte, aber zugleich ein die Nation umfassendes „wir“ als Quelle des Interesses bestimmte: „Wir haben ein Interesse daran, uns mit der Zuwendung zur eigenen Geschichte dessen zu versichern, dass wir nicht wurzellos und haltlos von einem Tag zum anderen treiben, sondern von unserer Herkunft leben.“ Die Vorlesungen wurden 1955/56 und 1957/58 gehalten, gut zehn Jahre nach dem Ende des Nationalsozialismus, den Croce 1944 aus italienischer Sicht als Ende der Teilhabe Deutschlands an der „civiltà“ bestimmt hatte; Wittram suchte dagegen aus deutscher Sicht eher die Befriedung der Nation, deren Geschichtsbild zunehmend zwischen den Söhnen und den Vätern gespalten wurde: „Das Interesse an der Geschichte soll sich Bahn brechen als Verständnis der Väter“.[13]

Trotz solcher Einwände – und trotz der Kritiken an den Universalgeschichten des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts - haben die Göttinger auf der „Möglichkeit einer Weltgeschichte“ beharrt und dagegen votiert, sie allein den Soziologen und Anthropologen zu überlassen, allerdings mit der klaren Einschränkung: die Weltgeschichte „ist Gewissheit und Unmöglichkeit zugleich.“[14] Wittram kritisierte den „historischen Relativismus“, den „keine Metaphysik und keine immanente Geschichtslogik … aufheben könnte“, und plädierte als Antwort für ein christliches Menschenbild, das zu „Solidarität im Gemeinmenschlichen“ führe.[15]

Inhaltlich ergibt sich eine Eingrenzung der Reichweite von Croces methodischem Einwand daraus, dass Croces Deutschlandbild zwischen Germanophilie und Exklusion aus der civiltà schwankte: was kulturell fremd war, wechselte selbst innerhalb des Lebens eines Historikers. Von Deutschland aus gesehen ist vieles kulturell fremd – selbstverständlich China, aber auch schon Russland, sogar Italien (erst recht Neapel – was läuft ab hinter der omertà der Camorra?). Aber in Norddeutschland ist doch auch schon der demokratische Klüngel im Rheinland fremd und das KZ vor der Haustür – wie soll man verstehen, was z. B. in jenen Wochen des Verhungerns vor der Befreiung durch die britischen Truppen in Bergen-Belsen geschehen ist? Und sind uns nicht schon die Familienmitglieder manchmal fremd (Opa war kein Nazi !) und manchmal wir selbst?

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12   Hermann Heimpel, Geschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft (1956) abgedruckt in Ders., Der Mensch in seiner Gegenwart, ²Göttingen 1957, S. 196-220, Zitat S. 202.

13   Reinhard Wittram, Das Interesse an der Geschichte, ²Göttingen 1957, Zitate S. 5-19.

14   Ebda., S. 122-136, Zitat S. 136. In seinem Kapitel „Der vollendete Historismus und die Verantwortung des Historikers", ebda. S. 58-69, bezieht er sich auf Ernst Troeltsch und Friedrich Meinecke, Erich Rothacker, Ernst Topitsch und andere, auch auf Georg Lukácz, aber nicht auf Croce.

15   Ebda. S. 67 f.

Der Einwand Croces hat aber trotzdem methodische Gültigkeit. Es ist besonders schwierig, fremde Kulturen zu verstehen und historische Forschung setzt voraus, dass die Fremdheit des Erkenntnisobjekts keinen fundamentalen Charakter hat, da es sonst eben nicht zu verstehen wäre. Man kann dem Einwand nur begegnen, in dem man auf einer grundsätzlichen Ähnlichkeit aller Menschen, auf der Einheit der Menschheit besteht, wie Johan Gustav Droysen: „…nichts, was den menschlichen Geist bewegt und sinnlichen Ausdruck gefunden hat, das nicht verstanden werden könnte, nichts verstehbar, das nicht in dem Bereich unserer Kongenialität liegt …"[16] (Droysen meint hier bekanntlich, dass Tiere und Pflanzen nicht „kongenial" sind und eben deshalb nicht verstanden werden können, aber der Terminus der Kongenialität trifft die methodische Forderung für die Annäherung von Historikern an einen – in gewissen Sinn immer fremden, aber von Mitmenschen hinterlassenen Gegenstand genau). Hat die neuere Forschung zur Methode von Vergleich, Interaktion und Weltgeschichte diese alte Bestimmung, aber auch die aus der Historismusdebatte folgenden Einwände aufgehoben?[17] Diese Frage geht über die Grenzen eines Review-Artikels hinaus, der aber ohne den Hinweis auf Max Weber nicht beendet werden kann, da der ja Zeitgenosse war. [18] Zu Max Weber hat übrigens Edoardo Massimilla 2000, ebenfalls in Neapel, eine Analyse der Diskussionen nach dem Erscheinen von „Politik als Beruf" vorgelegt – im Zentrum stehen die Beiträge von Ernst Robert Curtius, Erich von Kahler, Arthur Salz, Ernst Krieck und Jonas Cohn. Diese Debatten kreisen „um die Positionierung der Wissenschaft in der rationalisierten, polytheistischen und entzauberten Welt der zur Vollendung gelangten westlichen Moderne", wie Massimilla formuliert. Sein Buch betrifft die Geistesgeschichte der zwanziger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts und kann hier zurückstehen.[19]

Für den Althistoriker Alfred Heuss, der die Göttinger Debatte in diesem Punkt 1968 abschloss, stand das Verstehen von Fremdem nicht im Vordergrund der methodischen Überlegungen, aber er betonte, dass die Einbeziehung verschiedener Kulturräume von „der Erforschung des jeweiligen Sachgebiets" abhänge.[20] Heuss bestimmte das „Menschengeschlecht" als universales Subjekt der Weltgeschichte und „Welthaftigkeit" als

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16 Johann Gustav Droysen, Historik (1868), hrsg. von Rudolf Hübner, 7. Auflage Darmstadt 1974, S. 24.
17 Drei überzeugende Aufsatzsammlungen zu Ansatz und Methoden scheinen mir: Margarete Grandner / Dietmar Rothermund / Wolfgang Schwentker (Hrsg.), Globalisierung und Globalgeschichte, Wien 2005; Sebastian Conrad / Andreas Eckert / Ulrike Freitag (Hrsg.), Globalgeschichte, Frankfurt a. M. 2007 und Jürgen Osterhammel (Hrsg.), Weltgeschichte, Stuttgart 2008. Vgl. auch die fortlaufenden methodischen Debatten in der Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte und in Comparativ, zuletzt Heft 6 (2010), Die Verwandlung der Weltgeschichtsschreibung, hrsg. von Matthias Middell, Leipzig 2010.
18 Zu dem distanzierte Verhältnis von Croce zu Weber: Conte, Weltgeschichte, (Anm.2) S. 83-86.
19 Edoardo Massimilla, Ansichten zu Weber. Wissenschaft, Leben und Werte in der Auseinandersetzung um „Wissenschaft als Beruf". Aus dem Italienischen von Charlotte Voermanek, Leipzig 2008, S. 12.
20 Alfred Heuß, Zur Theorie der Weltgeschichte, Berlin 1968, S. 47. Heuß nahm damit die Position der gegenwärtigen Kooperationsbemühungen zwischen Area-Studies und Weltgeschichte ein, vgl. Birgit Schäbler (Hg.), Area Studies und die Welt. Wien 2007; auch Hans-Heinrich Nolte, Weltsystem und Area-Studies. Das Beispiel Russland, in: ZWG 1 (2000) S. 75-98.

Kriterium für die Zugehörigkeit zu ihr.[21] Auch er hielt es für nahe liegend, „die Darstellung einer Weltgeschichte um die europäische Geschichte herum zu gruppieren."[22]

Entscheidend war aber, dass Heuss Max Weber für diese Debatte um die Weltgeschichte rezipierte. Er verstand ihn dahin, dass die Einzelphänomene der Weltgeschichte „der Struktur nach doch nicht so isoliert sind" dass sie nicht verglichen werden könnten, und diskutierte ausgiebig und genau das Konzept Idealtyp als Instrument des Vergleichs.[23]

Conte hat 2000 ein Buch über Ernst Troeltsch, Max Weber und Oswald Spengler vorgelegt,[24] in dessen Zentrum ebenfalls Max Weber steht, der die neuen Wissenschaften Psychologie und Soziologie einband und „soziale Persönlichkeiten" wie die Puritaner konstruierte. Conte ging ausführlich auf Webers Arbeiten zur Religions-soziologie ein; nach seinem Urteil gelangte Weber durch Makro-Vergleiche zu einer Möglichkeit der Universalgeschichte, die keine Geschichtsphilosophie mehr war, sondern eine „storia comparata".[25]

Die italienische und deutsche Debatte über die Möglichkeit einer wissenschaftlichen Weltgeschichte hat mit dieser „storia comparata" eine neuen Status erreicht.[26] Aber auch der Diskurs über den Untergang oder die Untergänge bekommt aus dieser der Weltgeschichte zugewandten Sicht einen anderen Charakter. In der Tat war Croces Generation Zeuge sowohl der Belle Époque, die vielleicht als Höhepunkt der weltgeschichtlichen Stellung Europas gelten kann, als auch des „finis Europae". Das war schwierig zu erkennen und diese Erkenntnis war eine bedeutende intellektuelle Leistung. Allerdings schränken wir die Reichweite dieser Erkenntnis heute, mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert später, deutlich ein: es handelte sich nicht um das Ende der europäischen Kultur überhaupt, sondern eben „nur" um das Ende der europäischen politischen, intellektuellen, religiösen und ökonomischen, aber immer auch gewalttätigen Vorherrschaft in der Welt. Europa kehrte nach einigen Jahrhunderten der Hegemonie, die sehr oft unmittelbare Herrschaft war, zurück auf seinen weltgeschichtlichen Platz als eine der großen Provinzen der Welt.[27] Ohne Weltgeschichte[28] ist der Vorgang nicht zu begreifen – was selbst-

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21   Heuß, Zur Theorie (Anm. 20), S. 24.

22   Ebda., S. 47.

23   Ebda., S. 73.

24   Domenico Conte, Storicismo e Storia Universale, Linee di un'interpretazione, Napoli 2000.

25   Zitat ebda. S. 127.

26   An den Ansatz von Hans Freyer knüpft dann, wenn auch kritisch, der Versuch an, Weltgeschichte als Geschichte der Expansion Europas zu schreiben, an die Arbeiten Max Webers der Versuch, von den Vergleichen zu den Interaktionen zu gelangen, vgl. Peter Feldbauer / Andrea Komlosy, Globalgeschichte 1450–1820: Von der Expansions- zur Interaktionsgeschichte, in: Carl-Hans Hauptmeyer / Dariusz Adamczyk / Beate Eschment / Udo Obal (Hrsg.), Die Welt querdenken, Frankfurt a. M. 2003, S. 59-94.

27   Vgl. Dipesh Chakrabarty, Provincialising Europe, Princeton/NJ 2000; sowie mehrere Beiträge in Michael Gehler / Silvio Vietta (Hrsg.), Europa – Europäisierung – Europäistik, Wien u. a. 2010.

28   Vgl. neben anderen Hans-Heinrich-Nolte, Weltgeschichte. Imperien, Religionen und Systeme, 15.-19. Jahrhundert, Wien 2005; Hans-Heinrich Nolte, Weltgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, Wien 2009. Detaillierter für das gewählte Jahrhundert Jürgen Osterhammel, Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts, München 2009, der sich übrigens mit einer zentralen, zusammenfassenden Überlegung auf Croce bezieht (S. 1297).

verständlich die methodischen Schwierigkeiten des Genre, auf die Croce verwiesen hat, nicht verringert.

BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN

Rezensiert von
Ines Keske, Leipzig

Dass Museen die Geschichte ihrer Institution erforschen, ist seit Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bekannt, wenngleich bis heute nur wenige „ihre Geschichte" dann auch ausstellen. Das darauf bezogene akademische Fach und international betriebene Forschungsgebiet, die Historische Museologie, ist ein weit jüngeres Phänomen (insbesondere der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts). Sie beschränkt sich jedoch nicht allein auf die Geschichte des Museums als Institution. Als Teil der Museologie bzw. Museum Studies geht es ihr um die Erforschung des Musealphänomens, sprich musealer Tätigkeiten wie dem Sammeln von dinglichen Natur- und Kulturprodukten oder ihr Bewahren in eigens dafür errichteten Gebäuden in historischer Perspektive. Dies schließt auch die Beschreibung und Analyse der Kontexte bzw. Bedingungen musealen Handelns ein. Außerdem ist die Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Museologie Gegenstand der Historischen Museologie.[1] Ihre bekanntesten Vertreter sind Marlies Raffler und Friedrich Waidacher in Österreich. Für Polen ist zum Beispiel Krzysztof Pomian, für Großbritannien sind Tony Bennett und Susan M. Pearce zu nennen.[2] Bénédicte Savoy, die Mit-Herausgeberin der vorliegenden Quellensammlung, ist eine weitere bedeutende Vertreterin des Fachs aus Frankreich, die an der TU Berlin das Fachgebiet Kunstgeschichte lehrt. Die deutschen Kunsthistorikerinnen Kristina Kratz-Kessemeier und Andrea Meyer haben diesbezüglich bereits einschlägige Publikationen vorgelegt.[3] Unter ihrer Leitung entstand im Rahmen eines zweisemestrigen Seminars eine Anthologie, deren Quellen von Studierenden und Promovierenden aus allen drei Berliner Hochschulen sowie einigen Experten wie Alexis Joachimides kommentiert wurden.

Die Erforschung „musealer Geschichte" hat neben zahlreichen Einzelstudien und Überblickswerken[4] auch einige Quellensammlungen zu Museen hervorgebracht. Die Herausgeberinnen kritisieren jedoch, dass diese Anthologien nur einige zeitlich, geografisch oder thematisch begrenzten Aspekte beleuchten und dabei alle Museumstypen kurz abhandeln würden, anstatt einen Typ konsequent zu betrachten. Ziel der vorliegenden Anthologie ist es daher,

die Entwicklung des öffentlichen Kunst-museums – von 1750 bis 1950 – und die diesen Prozess begleitenden Diskurse und divergierenden Positionen aufzuzeigen. Ein Novum sei dabei die transnationale Perspektive, wie die Herkunft der Texte verdeutliche. Mit dieser Konzentrati-on auf einen Museumstyp reiht sich die Quellensammlung in die Forschung über Kunstmuseen ein, die „zum idealtypischen Objekt der interdisziplinären Forschung avanciert" (S. 12) seien.[5]

Daraus ist eine Anthologie hervorgegan-gen, die 38 einschlägige, teilweise erst-mals auf Deutsch übersetzte Quellen prä-sentiert, aber auch einige bis dato in der Museumsliteratur weniger zitierte. Die Quellengattungen sind dabei genauso vielfältig wie die Professionen ihrer Urhe-ber. Versammelt finden sich u. a. Wissen-schaftler, Journalisten, Museumspraktiker, Schriftsteller, Künstler und Politiker und ihre Kritiken, Briefe, Reden, Museums-katalogbeiträge, Manifeste sowie theore-tische Abhandlungen. Dabei stammen die Autoren aus acht Ländern – den USA und Niederlanden, aus Großbritannien, Fran-kreich, Deutschland, Österreich, Italien und Russland.

Die Quellen sind sechs zentralen Debatten-strängen um das Kunstmuseum in seinem 200-jährigen Verlauf zugeordnet. Entspre-chend gliedert sich das Buch in sechs Ka-pitel. Begonnen mit der Frage nach Ord-nungskriterien von Sammlungen, werden bspw. die Öffnung des Kunstmuseums für ein breites Publikum, seine Politisie-rung oder die Entstehung des Museums für zeitgenössische Kunst thematisiert. Neben Auszügen zentraler Abhandlungen von André Malraux über das „Imaginäre Museum" (1947) oder Alfred Lichtwark

über die Aufgaben der Kunsthalle (1886) befindet sich u. a. ein leidenschaftliches Pamphlet (1747) eines in Deutschland recht unbekannten französischen Kunst-kritikers über die Publikumsöffnung der königlichen Galerie seines Landes. In sei-nen „Überlegungen zu Ursachen für den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Malerei" zielt Étienne La Font de Saint-Yenne nicht nur auf die Wiederbelebung zeitgenössischer französischer Kunst, sondern auch auf den Bedeutungsgewinn dieser europaweit zu jenem Zeitpunkt noch unbeachteten hö-fischen Sammlung. Und eine frühe Rede Adolf Grimmes im Alten Museum Berlin (1930) zeigt, wie der Kulturminister aus der Not, radikale Kürzungen der staatli-chen Kunstförderung erklären zu müssen, eine neue Rolle der Kunstmuseen als öf-fentliche Identitäts- und Bildungsstätten begründet, die grundlegend für die Kul-turpolitik der Bundesrepublik nach 1949 war.

Auf jede Quelle folgt ein prägnanter, ein-bis zweiseitiger Kommentar. Obwohl viele Kommentatoren beteiligt waren, sind die Texte einheitlich gestaltet und stellen eine Bereicherung der Quellen durch wichtige Kontextinformationen auf durchgängig hohem Niveau dar.

Bereits der Buchtitel macht deutlich, dass auch bei der Konzeption dieser Antho-logie eine zeitliche Beschränkung vorge-nommen wurde. Die Quellen stammen aus dem Zeitraum 1750–1950, womit die Entwicklung des Kunstmuseums ab der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhundert ausgeklammert ist. Die Herausgeberinnen begründen dies mit der enormen Weiter-entwicklung dieses Museumstyps und den stark veränderten Anforderungen, wo-durch eine zweite Anthologie notwendig

sei, „wollte man die Debatten dieser Zeit nicht verkürzt wiedergeben." (S. 13) Vermutlich hat diese Zäsur aber auch praktische, mit den Möglichkeiten der Projektgestaltung im Rahmen von Seminaren zusammenhängende Hintergründe.

Dessen ungeachtet setzt die Anthologie mit dem richtigen Zeitpunkt ein: Erstens ist die Zeit um 1750 als Beginn der Konzentration und bewussten Zentralisierung von fürstlichen Sammlungen in ganz Europa zu sehen. Zweitens vollzieht sich in dieser Phase die Öffnung von Sammlungen für das breite Publikum, wodurch das moderne Museum, wie wir es heute kennen, entsteht. Ab Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts kommt es dann zur Ausdifferenzierung und Entstehung von Spezialmuseen – eine Entwicklung, die bis heute andauert. Anfangs bildeten sich kunst-, kultur- und naturgeschichtliche sowie historische Museen heraus und entstanden in Form von National-, Regional- oder Lokalmuseen. Diesen Aspekt spiegelt die Quellensammlung durch ihren Fokus auf Kunstmuseen nicht wider. Die Entscheidung der Herausgeberinnen ist zwar nachvollziehbar und auch berechtigt, doch wird der Buchtitel damit irreführend. Denn man erwartet eher eine Museumsgeschichte, die das Museum in seiner Vielfalt erfasst – und nicht allein das Kunstmuseum.

Im Buchrückentext wird angekündigt, der Leser gewinne einen „transnationalen Überblick über die Kontroversen" rund um das Kunstmuseum. Die Hälfte der Quellen stammt allerdings aus Deutschland, während Großbritannien, Österreich, Russland, die Niederlande und Italien nur ein- bzw. zweimal vertreten sind. Dies ist an sich kein Mangel, doch sollte man auf dieses Ungleichgewicht kurz in der Einleitung eingehen, zumal die Kommentartexte häufig transnationale Bezüge herstellen. Leider fokussieren diese Kommentare dabei auf den mittlerweile „klassischen" Vergleich innerhalb der Staaten Westeuropas bzw. dieser Region mit den USA, was zur Folge hat, dass die russische Quelle unverknüpft bleibt. Gewinnbringend wären daher entweder sechs kurze Abschlusstexte gewesen, die die jeweilige Debatte und die ihr zugeordneten Quellen zusammengeführt hätten oder aber ein Resümee der Herausgeberinnen über die sechs Diskurse in transnationaler Perspektive. So bleibt auch offen, warum diese Debattenstränge ausgewählt wurden oder ob andere (und wenn ja, welche) ebenfalls virulent gewesen wären.

Für Studierende der Kunst- und Museumswissenschaften ist die Anthologie eine gute Ergänzung zum üblich empfohlenen Lesestoff, da sie einen Überblick über die Bandbreite museumshistorischer Quellen und zahlreiche Professionen umfassende Gruppe museumsrelevanter Akteure gibt. Weiterführend sind auch die Literaturhinweise zu jeder Quelle, und das Personenregister eignet sich zum schnellen Auffinden von Akteuren, verzeichnet darüber hinaus auch ihre Lebensdaten und Berufe. Die neu aufgefundenen oder ins Deutsche übersetzten Quellen stellen eine wichtige Erweiterung des Kanons bereits bekannter Primärtexte dar. Neben dem akademischen Nutzen dieses handlichen Buches können die mitunter ironisch oder euphorisch verfassten Texte rund um das Kunstmuseum nicht nur Studierende und Fachleute, sondern auch historisch interessierte Kunstmuseumsliebhaber aber einfach auch nur zum Schmökern einladen.

Anmerkungen:

1 Vgl. Friedrich Waidacher, Handbuch der allgemeinen Museologie, Wien 19993, S. 65 f.
2 Marlies Raffler bspw. habilitierte zur Geschichte der National- und Landesmuseen der Habsburgermonarchie, vgl. Ines Keske: Rezension zu: Marlies Raffler: Museum – Spiegel der Nation? Zugänge zur Historischen Museologie am Beispiel der Genese von Landes- und Nationalmuseen in der Habsburgermonarchie, Wien 2007, in: H-Soz-u-Kult, 18.03.2009, <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2009-1-223>.
3 U.a. Bénédicte Savoy (Hrsg.), Tempel der Kunst: Die Entstehung des öffentlichen Museums in Deutschland 1701–1815, Mainz 2006; Kristina Kratz-Kessemeier, Kunst für die Republik. Die Kunstpolitik des preußischen Kultusministeriums 1918 bis 1932, Berlin 2007.
4 Als einschlägige Werke dieser Disziplin gelten nach wie vor: Andreas Grote (Hrsg.), Macrocosmos in Microcosmo. Die Welt in der Stube: Zur Geschichte des Sammelns 1450 bis 1800, Opladen 1994 sowie Tony Bennett, The Birth of the Museum. History, Theory, Politics, London, New York 1995. Als systematisches Überblickswerk gilt u. a.: Friedrich Waidacher (Hrsg.), Museologie – knapp gefasst. Mit einem Beitrag von Marlies Raffler, Wien 2005.
5 U. a. James J. Sheehan, Geschichte der deutschen Kunstmuseen. Von der fürstlichen Kunstkammer zur modernen Sammlung, München 2002.

Alexander C. T. Geppert: Fleeting Cities. Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, 398 S.

Rezensiert von
Klaus Dittrich, Seoul

Alexander C.T. Gepperts Monographie über imperiale Ausstellungen um die Jahrhundertwende basiert auf einer am Euro-

päischen Hochschulinstitut in Florenz entstandenen Dissertation. Einen guten Teil seines konzeptionellen Ansatzes sowie der Forschungsergebnisse hat der Autor bereits in Aufsätzen in englischer, deutscher und italienischer Sprache veröffentlicht. Forschungen zum Ausstellungswesen erlauben es, so Geppert, Struktur- und Ereignisgeschichte optimal zu kombinieren. Dieser Ansatz ermöglicht es auf der einen Seite, den Wettbewerb der Austragungsorte und -nationen, die Ausstellungen als singuläre events zu untersuchen, und sie auf der anderen Seite als in ihren Strukturen stabile Medien wahrzunehmen. Der Autor „liest" fünf Ausstellungen in Berlin, Paris und London, welche ihm als Knotenpunkte des exhibitionary complex gelten.

Geppert's Studie beginnt mit einem Kapitel über die Berliner Gewerbeausstellung von 1896. Er startet mit der Frage, warum es in Deutschland bis zur Expo Hannover im Jahre 2000 keine Weltausstellung gegeben hat. Er rekonstruiert die Debatte um eine deutsche Weltausstellung, die von den späten 1870er Jahren bis in das erste Jahrzehnt des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts geführt wurde. Entscheidende Triebkraft dieser Debatte waren Berliner Kaufleute. Das Ansinnen dieser Gruppe wurde jedoch von entscheidenden politischen Instanzen geblockt, allen voran Reichskanzler Bismarck und Kaiser Wilhelm II. Als Gründe für das Nichtgelingen führt Geppert neben einer allgemeinen Ausstellungsmüdigkeit die strategische Beteiligung an ausländischen Ausstellungen sowie einen Minderwertigkeitskomplex gegenüber Paris an. Kläglicher Rest der hochtrabenden Pläne war die Gewerbeausstellung von 1896, die Geppert in ihrer Bedeutung für

Deutschland beschreibt. Aber war es wirklich nur ein kläglicher Rest? Auf zeitgenössische Stellungnahmen aufbauend, kommt Geppert zu dem Schluss, dass die Ausstellung aus lokaler oder nationaler Perspektive durchaus einen Erfolg darstellte, wenn sie auch nicht mit den großen internationalen Ausstellungen ihrer Zeit mithalten konnte. Einen besonderen Schwerpunkt stellen die Kolonialausstellung sowie die Areale Kairo und Alt-Berlin dar. Diese Ausstellungsteile, indem sie dem Ausstellungspublikum quasi Reisen in Raum und Zeit ermöglichten, stellten einen bewussten Kontrast zu den explizit modernen Teilen der Ausstellung dar. Geppert schreibt ein Kapitel über eine Gewerbeausstellung, ohne jedoch den eigentlichen Gewerbeanteil oder die Inszenierung des Bürgertums, welche der Kaiser so fürchtete, ausreichend zu würdigen. Indem er das Hauptindustriegebäude nicht beschreibt, dringt Geppert nicht zum Kern der Ausstellung vor. Somit wird auch die Kontrastfunktion, welche die exotisierenden Ausstellungsteile zweifelsfrei boten, nicht wirklich herausgearbeitet.

Die Pariser Exposition universelle von 1900 ist die einzige große Weltausstellung des Samples. Als eine der größten Ausstellungen überhaupt stellte sie einen endgültigen Wendepunkt hin zur Kommerzialisierung und Unterhaltung da, obgleich entsprechende Tendenzen schon vorher zu Tage traten. Geppert ordnet die Exposition von 1900 in die Pariser Ausstellungstradition seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts ein. Dem Champ de Mars als städtische Freifläche, auf der sich die Ausstellungen des 19. Jahrhunderts im wesentlichen konzentrierten und auf dem aus Anlass der Weltausstellung von 1889 der Eiffelturm errichtet wurde, kommt dabei eine beson-

dere Rolle zu. Das Abhalten einer Ausstellung im Jahre 1900 war nicht unumstritten, wurde doch das Medium Universalausstellung zunehmend von verschiedenen Seiten in Frage gestellt. Auch dezentralisierende Bestrebungen in Frankreich wirkten gegen sie. Als Bilanz des Jahrhunderts war die Ausstellung rückwärtsgewandt. Die Frage des Clou ist für die Pariser Ausstellung von 1900 trotzdem nicht leicht zu beantworten, Geppert spricht von „polynuklearen" Attraktionen. Dazu gehörte das trottoir roulant, ein erhöht verlaufender sich bewegender Weg. Die Rue des nations war eine entlang der Seine angelegte Straße mit Pavillons der teilnehmenden Länder in nationaltypischen oder extravagantem Stil. Die Sektion Vieux Paris bildete die der Neugestaltung von Paris im Zweiten Kaiserreich gewichenen Viertel nach. Der Palais d'électricité fesselte die Besucher durch seine Lichteffekte. Eine Kolonialausstellung war auch vorhanden. Zudem wurde im Zuge der Weltausstellung auch die erste Linie der Pariser Metro eröffnet.

Die Londoner Franco-British Exhibition von 1908 war eine von privater Seite organisierte Ausstellung. Den Handel zu beleben war das Hauptanliegen der Organisatoren. Das Prinzip nationaler Symmetrie sorgte für einen ausgewogenen Anteil britischer und französischer Sektionen. Es ging also auch darum, die durch die Entente cordiale offiziell geschlossene Freundschaft zwischen den beiden Staaten zu zelebrieren. Geppert stellt vor allem die Rolle des Hauptorganisatoren Imre Királfy heraus, den er aufgrund seiner transnationalen Vernetzung und Involvierung in mehrere Ausstellungsprojekte als „superman in the exhibition world" tituliert. Királfy hatte über die Jahre eine Reihe von

Strategien entwickelt, um kulturelle Exotik auf eine Art und Weise darzustellen, welche das Publikum der Ausstellungsbesucher ansprach. Der Clou der Ausstellung war gewiss der Flip-Flap, eine Art Fahrgeschäft, mit dem die Besucher in die Höhe katapultiert wurden und von dem aus man das gesamte Ausstellungsgelände überblicken konnte. Der Kolonialteil der Ausstellung zeichnete sich vor allem durch indische und senegalesische Ausstellungen aus. Des weiteren gab es das irische Dorf Ballymaclinton. Auch 1908 war eine Zeitreise möglich, und zwar nach Old London. Der Pavillon der Stadt Paris stand dagegen paradigmatisch als Pol der Moderne.

Das Kapitel über die British Empire Exhibition in Wembley von 1924 ist das vollkommenste des Buches. Der Clou der Ausstellung war das sich auf dem Ausstellungsgelände befindende und kurz zuvor fertig gestellte Wembley Stadium. Am selben Ort war jedoch vorher geplant, eine Nachbildung des Pariser Eiffelturms, bekannt unter dem Namen Watkin's Folly, zu errichten. Somit gliedert sich das Ereignis in die europäische Ausstellungstradition und die damit verbundene Konkurrenz zwischen Paris und London ein. Obwohl sie von der Regierung unterstützt wurde, war die Ausstellung privat organisiert, auch Királfy spielte wieder eine Rolle. Die Ausstellung war ausschließlich britisch. In der Zwischenkriegszeit ging es darum, den Stolz auf England und das Empire zu verfestigen. Des weiteren bot die Ausstellung eine Chance, in der Demobilisierungsphase tausende Arbeitsplätze zu schaffen und die Wirtschaft zu fördern. Auch versuchte man, den Status von London als Metropole gegenüber Paris zu stärken. Wie schon vorher, standen sich in Wembley zwei Ausstellungsteile gegenüber. Auf der einen Seite boten der *Palace of Industry* und der *Palace of Engineering* Raum für die Errungenschaften Großbritanniens. Auf der anderen fanden Besucher einen auf Unterhaltung ausgelegten Kolonialteil, oder – wie Geppert aus einer zeitgenössischen Quelle zitiert – „a gigantic object lesson and pleasure ground combined". Hier kam es erstmalig zu einer offenen Kontroverse bezüglich der Zurschaustellung außereuropäischer Völker, weshalb die Ausstellung in Gepperts Sicht das nahende Ende des Kolonialreiches andeutet. Trotzdem war die Wirkung der Ausstellung auf die Zeitgenossen enorm, wenn beispielsweise behauptet wurde, dass sie Tourismus ohne Reisen ermögliche. Die Ausstellung wurde im Folgejahr noch einmal eröffnet, obwohl einige Aussteller sich dann schon zurückgezogen hatten.

Die *Exposition coloniale* in Vincennes von 1931 war die größte je veranstaltete französische Kolonialausstellung. Obwohl die Ausstellung den Höhepunkt des französischen Kolonialismus symbolisierte, nahmen auch Belgien, Dänemark, Italien, die Niederlande, Portugal und die Vereinigten Staaten daran teil. Für letztere bedeutete dies die erste Teilnahme an einer europäischen Kolonialausstellung. Die Ausstellung fand im Bois de Vincennes, das heißt in unmittelbarer Nähe der von kommunistischer Agitation geprägten Arbeiterviertel des Pariser Ostens statt. Einer der Gründe, die Ausstellung dort stattfinden zu lassen, war es, den roten Vorort „aufzubrechen". Der Clou der Ausstellung war das neu errichtete Kolonialmuseum sowie eine Nachbildung des kambodschanischen Tempels von Angkor Vat. Eine relative kleine *section métropolitaine* war französischen

Waren vorbehalten. Das Hauptanliegen des Generalkommissars Hubert Lyautey, eines früheren Kolonialverwalters in Marokko, war es, das französische Publikum über die Kolonialisierungsanstrengungen aufzuklären und ihnen gegenüber für eine positive Einstellung zu sorgen. Dies war schwierig, organisierten doch kommunistische und surrealistische Gruppen antikolonialistische Gegenaktionen. Schließlich entschied das Kolonialministerium noch während des Abhaltens der Ausstellung, zukünftig die Zurschaustellung von Menschen zu untersagen.

In der Zusammenfassung theoretisiert Geppert die in den Fallstudien gewonnen Erkenntnisse. Er arbeitet zwei Diskurse heraus, die das Ausstellungswesen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert geprägt haben. Zum einen war dies eine Fortschritts- und Friedensrhetorik, welche sich aus den Erfolgen der ersten Weltausstellungen der Jahrhundertmitte speiste. Zum anderen formierte sich ab Ende des Jahrhunderts ein Gegendiskurs, der sich unter dem Begriff der Ausstellungsmüdigkeit trefflich subsumieren lässt. Geppert listet minutiös die Kritik am Medium Ausstellung auf und zeigt, wie sich beispielsweise auch Industrielle zunehmend von den Ausstellungen distanzierten. Paradoxerweise setzten zur selben Zeit Bemühungen ein, das Ausstellungswesen auf internationaler Ebene besser zu koordinieren. Des weiteren standen Weltausstellungen in einer komplexen Wechselbeziehung zum jeweiligen städtischen Umfeld. Ein transnationales Netzwerk von Organisatoren war dafür verantwortlich, dass sich die meisten Ausstellungen in entscheidenden Punkten ähnelten. Gepperts Angebot zur Theoretisierung des Ausstellungswesens zielt letztendlich auf drei Merkmale ab. Erstens betrifft dies den transitorischen Charakter der Ausstellungen. Zweitens spiegelten die räumlichen Anordnungen der Sektionen, Gebäude etc. gesellschaftliche Machtverhältnisse wider. Drittens erlaubten Ausstellungen ihren Besuchern das Reisen in Raum und Zeit, sie waren also Chronotopen in Bachtins Sinne.

Was zeichnet Gepperts Ansatz, die Weltausstellungen zu erforschen, aus? Er schreibt eine Geschichte des Mediums und nicht, wie das Medium benutzt wurde. Die eigentlichen Ausstellungsstücke finden keine Erwähnung. An den Ausstellungen nahmen tausende von Industriellen und Experten teil, welche in Gepperts Narrativ keinen Platz finden. Für diese Gruppe von Organisatoren und -besuchern auf einem intermediären Level waren Weltausstellungen mindestens bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg ein zentrales Kommunikationsmittel. Es wird darüber hinaus nicht ganz klar, worauf sich das Attribut imperial im Titel bezieht. Meint der Autor damit seine nicht ausreichend erklärten Schwerpunktsetzung auf die kolonialen Sektionen? Oder bezieht er sich auf Ausstellungen als Ausdruck einer breiter gefassten imperialen Geisteshaltung, wie sie Christophe Charle's Formel von den sociétés impériales zum Ausdruck bringt?

Modus procedendi, dramatis personae, coda – Geppert bedient sich einer extravaganten Sprache. Das Buch zeigt, wie eine junge Generation deutscher Historiker auf Englisch schreibt. Es wirkt ansprechend, insbesondere im Kapitel über die Berliner Ausstellung, dass viele deutsche Begriffe im Text im Original belassen wurden. Der Band enthält ausgewählte Illustrationen in guter Qualität, die es dem Leser

erlauben, einen visuellen Eindruck von den Ausstellungen zu erlangen. Dazu gehören auch zahlreiche Pläne, welche die Raumdimensionen rekonstruieren. Positiv fallen Graphiken auf, die einige Sachverhalte zusammenfassend darstellen und das Erfassen des Stoffes angenehmer gestalten. Ein Anhang mit tabellarischen Angaben zu den wichtigsten Ausstellungen, Kurzbiographien der herausragenden Protagonisten, ausführlicher Bibliographie sowie kombiniertem Personen-, Orts- und Sachregister rundet die Monographie ab. Zusammen mit einer guten Papierqualität ist der Band ein gut zu lesendes und gelungenes Gesamtkunstwerk.

Daniela Liebscher: Freude und Arbeit. Zur internationalen Freizeit- und Sozialpolitik des faschistischen Italien und des NS-Regimes (= Italien in der Moderne, Bd. 16), Köln: SH-Verlag, 2009, 680 S.

Rezensiert von
Daniel Maul, Gießen

Die Periode von 1919 bis 1939 unterliegt momentan von historiographischer Seite einer Neubewertung. Während lange Zeit eine Lesart der Epoche als „Zwischenkriegszeit", als Interim zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen dominierte, treten nun deutlicher die Konturen einer von interwie transnationaler Vernetzung geprägten Periode hervor, durch die vielfache Konti-

nuitätslinien aus den Jahren vor 1914 und über 1945 hinaus verlaufen.[1] Daneben erscheinen die 1920er und 1930er Jahre zunehmend als ein alle politischen Systeme umspannendes Zeitalter sozialtechnischer und sozialpolitischer Experimente. Wolfgang Schivelbuschs essayistischer Verweis auf die „Entfernte Verwandtschaft" von Faschismus, Nationalsozialismus und US-amerikanischem New Deal[2] ist dabei nur ein Beispiel für Versuche, auch bestimmte Aspekte faschistischer und nationalsozialistischer Herrschaft nicht mehr allein aus sich selbst zu erklären, sondern vielmehr in allgemeinere, grenzüberschreitende zeitgenössische Diskurse einzuordnen. Auch Daniela Liebschers vorliegende Studie[3] zu den freizeitpolitischen Organisationen der beiden Regime lässt sich diesem Trend zuordnen. In ihrer breit angelegten (Beziehungs-)Geschichte der faschistischen *Opera Nazionale di Dopolavoro* (OND – kurz: *Dopolavoro*) und seines nationalsozialistischen Pendants „Kraft durch Freude" (KdF) bildet der internationale Kontext freilich kein bloßes Hintergrundrauschen. Für Liebscher war der internationale sozialpolitische Diskurs der 1920er und 1930er Jahre vielmehr die eigentliche Grundbedingung für das Ausgreifen beider Regime auf das Gebiet der Freizeitpolitik. Die internationale Debatte, als deren Hauptforum die mit dem Völkerbund verbundene Internationale Arbeitsorganisation (IAO) in Genf fungierte, wird zugleich als ein zentrales Bewegungsmoment in der Beziehungsgeschichte von Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus beschrieben, die der Entstehung einer „totalitären Internationale" in der Sozialpolitik zu Mitte der 1930er Jahre voranging. Die Arbeit gliedert sich in drei Teile, die sich formal

entlang der in der vergleichenden Faschismusforschung gängigen Epochengrenzen 1922, 1933 und 1936 (dem Jahr der Bildung der „Achse Berlin-Rom") bewegen. Bereits der erste Teil „Sozialpolitik als Werbung für das faschistische Modell vor 1933" relativiert in gewissem Sinne die Gültigkeit dieser Zäsuren. So war die Idee zur Gründung eines faschistischen Freizeitwerks in nicht unwesentlichen Teilen als Reaktion auf eine 1924 von der IAO verabschiedete Empfehlung zur Freizeitförderung zurückzuführen. Sie entsprach der im Wesentlichen von reformsozialistischen Ideen geprägten Agenda der IAO und war als direkte Folgeaktion zur Verkündung des Achtstundentages-Ziels 1919 zu verstehen: Freizeit meinte darin für den Arbeiter einen „Ort des privaten klassenübergreifenden Konsums" und „Raum der individuellen Entfaltung" (16).

Nach dem Übergang des Faschismus zur offenen Diktatur 1925 und der folgenden massiven internationalen Kritik an der Unterdrückung politischer und gewerkschaftlicher Freiheiten in Italien wurde die Freizeitpolitik zunehmend zu einem Instrument nationaler Imagepolitik ausgebaut. Der *Dopolavoro* diente dabei als Vorzeigeprojekt, mit dem sich das Regime auf dem Genfer Parkett als Propagandist eines Dritten Weges zwischen Kapitalismus und Kommunismus inszenierte. Wenngleich diese Strategie zunächst wenig erfolgreich war, fungierte die IAO in diesem Sinne als „Eisbrecher" (36) für den „totalitären Internationalismus" in der Sozialpolitik. Dabei gab es, wie Liebscher zeigen kann, durchaus auch inhaltliche Überschneidungen zwischen dem faschistischen Ansatz und dem sozialreformerischen der IAO. Beide konzipierten Freizeit bei al-

len Unterschieden bis zu einem gewissen Grad nach dem amerikanischem Vorbild als Phase der Regeneration und somit als Voraussetzung von Produktivität und Vorbedingung des wirtschaftspolitisch erwünschten Konsums der Arbeitnehmer. Diese Anschlussfähigkeit des faschistischen „Modells" erklärt einen Teil der Faszination, die der Faschismus auch und gerade in der Weimarer Republik um 1930 über alle politischen Lagergrenzen hinweg ausübte. Zu den glühendsten Bewunderern und eifrigen Rezipienten der faschistischen Freizeitpolitik zählten sich auch die Nationalsozialisten, wobei diesen die Organisation von Freizeit nach italienischem Vorbild insbesondere als Hebel zur Integration der Arbeiterschaft in die künftige „Volksgemeinschaft" attraktiv erschien. In der Gründung der KdF unter dem Dach der DAF bereits im Herbst 1933 fand dies seinen frühen Niederschlag.

Damit setzt der zweite Teil des Buches unter dem Titel „Der (Wett-)Streit der Deutschen Arbeitsfront mit der faschistischen Freizeit und Sozialpolitik" ein. Dass sich just in dem Moment, da sich die Entstehung einer freizeitpolitischen Gegen-Internationale abzuzeichnen schien, die Konkurrenz der beiden Regime auf diesem Gebiet verschärfte, erscheint nur auf den ersten Blick paradox, wird jedoch erklärbar, wenn sich der Blick abermals auf den breiteren internationalen Kontext richtet. Auf der einen Seite schienen faschistische Vorstellungen vom „Dritten Weg" im Gefolge der Weltwirtschaftskrise und vor dem Hintergrund sozialplanerischer Experimente in anderen Ländern im Aufwind (so etwa im *New Deal* oder im schwedischen „Volksheim"). Auf der anderen Seite wurden die daraufhin un-

ternommenen Versuche, im internationalen Rahmen offensiv für das faschistische Modell zu werben, von zwei Seiten konterkariert: Zum einen durch die DAF, die nach der Machtübernahme und dem folgenden Austritt aus dem Völkerbund eine harte, gegen das Genfer konsumistische Modell der Freizeitpolitik gerichtete Linie verfolgte und stattdessen voll auf die Herstellung rassisch homogener Volksgemeinschaften zielte. Dass die faschistischen Freizeitpolitiker sich nach 1935 dennoch für die Zusammenarbeit mit den Nationalsozialisten in der freizeitpolitischen Gegen-Internationale „Freude und Arbeit/ Gioia i Lavoro" gewinnen ließen und sich damit gegenüber der DAF praktisch freiwillig in die Rolle des Juniorpartners begaben, lag vor allem daran, dass die IAO nach 1933 wieder zunehmend zum Podium antifaschistischer Kräfte wurde. Dies schlug sich auch in neuen, dezidiert gegen das faschistische Modell gerichteten freizeitpolitischen Initiativen nieder.

Hier beginnt der dritte Teil „Gemeinsam gegen Genf: ‚Freude und Arbeit' 1936–1937", der eine Phase verschärfter sozialpolitischer Systemkonkurrenz zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur beschreibt. Auch die zunehmende Erosion des Völkerbundes in dieser Zeit machten diese Jahre zu derjenigen Phase im untersuchten Zeitraum, in der das Projekt einer „totalitären Gegeninternationale" seiner Verwirklichung am nächsten kam. Die Praxis der Zusammenarbeit der faschistischen und nationalsozialistischen Freizeitpolitiker innerhalb von Freude und Arbeit war freilich selbst in dieser kurzen Zeitspanne spannungsgeladen. Eine nicht geringe Rolle spielten dabei der immer wieder durchbrechende unverhohlene Führungsanspruch

der DAF und ihre Geringschätzung gegenüber der italienischen Seite.

Hier wie den vorangegangenen Teilen gelingt der Autorin eine außerordentlich dichte Beschreibung der bilateralen Beziehungen und ihrer aus der permanenten Parallelität von Transfer und Konkurrenz gespeisten Dynamik. Breiter Raum wird dabei der Vielzahl von offiziellen wie inoffiziellen Mittlern eingeräumt, die beide Regime bei der Propagierung ihrer freizeitpolitischen Vorstellungen nutzten.

Die vielleicht stärksten Passagen betreffen die Herausbildung freizeitpolitischer Expertise im Dreieck zwischen Deutschland, Italien und Genf. Liebscher beschreibt diesen Prozess als fortschreitende Professionalisierung. Dabei fällt der Blick auf Karrierewege und Netzwerke, die über alle politischen Zäsuren hinweg verlaufen. Gerade hier wird der Mehrwert des gewählten Ansatzes deutlich, gelingt es Liebscher doch dadurch, systemübergreifend wirksame personelle und inhaltliche Kontinuitäten zu identifizieren. Damit leistet sie wertvolle Beiträge auf einem breiten Feld von Themen, angefangen von der Entstehung des modernen Massentourismus bis zur Herausbildung von sozialpolitischen Expertengemeinschaften. Dass hier auch die gerade für die Zwischenkriegszeit oft unterschätzte Funktion internationaler Organisationen ins Licht gerückt wird, erscheint als ein weiterer Pluspunkt. Freilich hätte dabei die Einbeziehung der Direktorats-Akten des IAA unter Umständen noch weitere Aufschlüsse liefern können, was jedoch angesichts des ohnehin beträchtlichen Umfangs des zusammengetragenen und ausgewerteten Quellenmaterials den Rahmen der Arbeit gesprengt hätte. Eine „echte" Schwäche des Buches darf freilich

nicht unerwähnt bleiben: Es ist mit rund 640 Textseiten entschieden zu lang. Dieser Umstand wird zweifellos einen Teil der potenziellen Leserschaft abschrecken. Und dies wäre mehr als ein kleiner Wermutstropfen, denn Daniela Liebscher ist ein origineller und detailreicher Beitrag zur vergleichenden Faschismusforschung gelungen, der gleichzeitig die Chancen des transnationalen Ansatzes exemplarisch vorführt.

Anmerkungen:
1 Beispiele für diesen Trend: Sebastian Conrad/ Dominic Sachsenmaier (Hrsg.), Competing Visions of World Order. Global Moments and Movements, 1880–1930, New York 2007, Thomas Etzemüller, Ein ewigwährender Untergang. Der apokalyptische Bevölkerungsdiskurs im 20. Jahrhundert, Bielefeld 2007; oder für den Bereich des Internationalismus und internationaler Organisationen Madeleine Herren, Internationale Organisationen seit 1865. Eine Globalgeschichte der internationalen Ordnung, Darmstadt 2009.
2 Wolfgang Schivelbusch, Entfernte Verwandte. Faschismus, Nationalsozialismus, New Deal 1933–1939, München 2005, auch Kiran Patel, „Soldaten der Arbeit". Arbeitsdienste in Deutschland und den USA 1933–1945, Göttingen 2003.
3 Es handelt sich bei der vorliegenden Studie um eine in entscheidenden Teilen überarbeitete und aktualisierte Fassung einer in Tübingen 2004 angenommenen Dissertation.

Marie-Janine Calic: Geschichte Jugoslawiens im 20. Jahrhundert, München: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2010, 415 S.

Rezensiert von
Nenad Stefanov, Berlin

Fast genau zwanzig Jahre nach dem Zerfall der jugoslawischen Föderation und dem Beginn des Krieges um ethnisch homogene Territorien liegt nun ein Buch von der Münchner Professorin für Südosteuropäische Geschichte Marie-Janine Calic über die Geschichte Jugoslawiens vor. Allein die Tatsache, dass der C. H. Beck Verlag in seiner neuen Reihe „Geschichte Europas" u. a. mit der Geschichte Jugoslawiens beginnt, deutet an, dass es sich bei diesem Staat keineswegs um ein ephemeres Phänomen handelte, wie es aus der Perspektive jener erscheinen mag, die Nationen für etwas tief in der Vergangenheit verwurzeltes halten.

Dieser Abstand von zwanzig Jahren macht es nicht unbedingt einfacher, über Jugoslawien zu schreiben, im Gegenteil. Die unmittelbar oder mittelbar vom Krieg verheerten Gesellschaften, die aus der jugoslawischen Föderation hervorgingen, machen das ambivalente Erbe Jugoslawiens anschaulich. Zugleich war es niemals einfach, eine Geschichte Jugoslawiens zu erzählen. Im sozialistischen Jugoslawien schaffte es das Projekt, eine „Geschichte der jugoslawischen Völker" zu schreiben, Ende der 1950er Jahre nur bis zum dritten Band, der mit dem 18. Jahrhundert endet.

Die darauf folgenden Epochen hielten die Historikerkommissionen mit Disputen und weniger mit Publikationen in Atem, so dass irgendwann das Projekt stillschweigend eingestellt wurde. Aber auch in den letzten Jahren ist innerhalb der internationalen Historikerschaft kein breiter Konsens darüber entstanden, wie eine Geschichte Jugoslawiens nun zu schreiben sei.[1] Dies zeigt sich auch in einer ersten Reaktion auf das zu besprechende Buch.[2]

Jugoslawien war in der wissenschaftlichen Publizistik zwar durchaus präsent, aber vor allem in seinem Verschwinden. Zumeist wurde dessen Geschichte auf das gewaltsame Ende hin erzählt, setzte im Mittelalter der einzelnen Gebiete an und streifte nur kurz das 20. Jahrhundert, um dann die Kriege in den 1990er Jahren in den Mittelpunkt zu rücken. Mittlerweile hat sich in der Forschung ein neues Interesse am sozialistischen Jugoslawien etabliert, das Gesellschaft und Kultur unter neuen theoretischen Aspekten thematisiert. Dies demonstriert auch die Arbeit von Marie-Janine Calic. Jugoslawische Geschichte wird als Teil der europäischen Geschichte dargestellt, die Analyse fokussiert sich damit auf die „übergreifenden Dynamiken des Wandels, (…) Verflechtungen und Interaktionen, nach europäischen Gemeinsamkeiten und Parallelen im ‚langen 20. Jahrhundert‘" (S. 12). Hier deutet sich schon an, dass es weder um eine romantisch verklärende Erzählung Jugoslawiens, noch um eine eindimensionale Verfallsgeschichte geht. Vielmehr entwirft die Autorin ein gleichsam leitmotivisches Spannungsverhältnis zwischen einer ihrer leitenden Fragen, wie man sich unter den schwierigen jugoslawischen Verhältnissen „Entwicklung und Fortschritt vorstellte

und mit welchen Mitteln sie zu erreichen suchte" (S. 13), und letztlich dem Missglücken einer jugoslawischen Modernisierung. Damit distanziert sich Calic auch von „populären Erklärungen des jugoslawischen Problems", die ihre immer gleiche Antwort in „balkannotorischen Unverträglichkeiten" finden.

Demgegenüber formuliert Calic als ihre Kernthese, dass nicht „ewiger Völkerhass" das Projekt südslawischer Gemeinschaftlichkeit unterlief, sondern, „(…) die Politisierung von Differenz in der modernen Massengesellschaft des 20. Jahrhunderts" (ebd.). Warum und unter welchen jeweils konkreten gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen ethnische Zuordnung Bedeutung erlangte und zu einem Konfliktgegenstand werden konnte, diese Frage steht für Calic im Zentrum ihres Buches. Damit richtet sich der Blick der Autorin vor allem auf „Interessen, Weltauffassungen und Motive der Handelnden, um (auf) sozialökonomische Entwicklungen, sowie nicht zuletzt um die kulturhistorischen Dimensionen kollektiver Erfahrungen, Erinnerungen und Geschichtsdeutungen" (ebd.).

In seiner Unterteilung folgt das Buch der Chronologie der Entstehung der jugoslawischen Idee sowie der Entwicklung der beiden jugoslawischen Staaten. Ausführlich werden die kulturellen und gesellschaftlichen Ausgangsbedingungen im 19. Jahrhundert in den einzelnen Landschaften, Regionen und Staaten beschrieben, aus denen ab 1918 das Königreich der Serben, Kroaten und Slowenen entstand. Es folgt die Darstellung der Integrationsprozesse in dem 23 Jahre existierenden Königreich (ab 1929 in Jugoslawien umbenannt). Der dritte Teil beschreibt Jugoslawien im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Knapp die Hälfte des

Buches widmet sich dem, wie angedeutet bis vor einiger Zeit von Seiten der Historiker vernachlässigten, sozialistischen Jugoslawien. Dessen Geschichte ist unterteilt in die Phase der Herrschaft Titos bis 1980 und dem danach einsetzenden Krisenprozess (1980–1989). In konziser Form beschreibt der sechste Teil abschließend den „Untergang" Jugoslawiens bis zur Gegenwart.

Im ersten Teil verbindet die Autorin die Schilderung der einzelnen ideenpolitischen Strömungen mit den unterschiedlichen gesellschaftlich-politischen Bedingungen in den einzelnen Teilen des späteren Landes, die bis dahin durch das Habsburgische und Osmanische Imperium, durch die Entstehung serbischer Staatlichkeit sowie auch durch die venezianische Präsenz in den Küstengebieten geprägt waren. Dabei wird solche Differenz in keinem Augenblick essentialisiert. Es geht nicht um „zivilisatorische Verschiedenheit", sondern um „unterschiedliche gesellschaftliche Bedingungen" (S. 53) in den einzelnen Gebieten des zukünftigen Staates, unter denen sich Reflexion über zukünftige Ordnungsmodelle von Gesellschaft herausbilden. Es rücken die unterschiedlichen Formen von Institutionen, gesellschaftlicher Öffentlichkeit und Staatlichkeit in den Vordergrund. Die jugoslawische Idee ist dabei einer dieser Zukunftsentwürfe, vermittels derer die Überwindung der von der südslawisch orientierten Bildungsschichten als rückständig empfundene Gegenwart gedacht wird.

Die Gründung des ersten Jugoslawien bewertet sie aus einer solchen Perspektive nicht als von „macchiavellistischen Großmachtinteressen diktierter Retortenstaat" (S. 81), vielmehr erlangte der Erste Weltkrieg für die vielfältigen gesellschaftlichen, ideologischen und kulturellen Zukunftsentwürfe, wie die Autorin es formuliert, eine katalytische Funktion. Vielfältige Konzeptionen einer gerechten Gesellschaft, demokratischer Ordnung und nationaler Selbstbestimmung bündelten sich in der Vereinigung der bisher so unterschiedlichen Gebiete. Heterogenität in kultureller Perspektive wurde dabei durch die Schwierigkeiten, die ein derart komplexer Integrationsprozess zu bewältigen hatte, nicht unbedingt geringer. Für ein besseres Verständnis dieses ambivalenten Integrationsprozesses ist nicht allein der Blick auf klar determinierte national-kulturelle Konkurrenzen ausreichend – vielmehr bedarf es auch einer Ergänzung durch die Einbeziehung auch der sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des neuen Staates. Die ausführliche Schilderung (S. 100 f.) von deren krisenhaftem Verlauf, der Zuspitzung der sozialen Problematik zeigt besonders anschaulich, weshalb u. a. die Gründung eines ersten jugoslawischen Staates so stark konfliktbehaftet war. Für die Mehrzahl seiner Bewohner bedeutete die sich nach 1929 vertiefende Wirtschaftskrise die Enttäuschung von Hoffnungen auf ein besseres Leben und beförderte die wachsende Attraktivität anderer Modelle von Vergemeinschaftung. Ebenso erfolgt die Thematisierung des Zweiten Weltkriegs in Jugoslawien nicht entlang miteinander inkommensurabler nationaler Narrative, sondern beschreibt das Ineinandergreifen verschiedener Gewaltdynamiken, die durch den deutschen Angriff ausgelöst werden.

Während die Kapitel bis 1945 vor allem auf eine neue Konzeptionalisierung einer jugoslawischen Geschichte ausgerichtet

sind, die nicht allein aus der Perspektive einander entgegengesetzter National-Kollektive geschrieben wird, werden in den Kapiteln über das sozialistische Jugoslawien auch die Innovationen in der Forschung während der letzten zwanzig Jahre sichtbar.

Die Verweise auf die Sekundärliteratur machen deutlich, dass sich im letzten Jahrzehnt eine Forschung zu Jugoslawien unter neuen Vorzeichen entwickelt hat, in der das Nationale, das bislang dominierte, eines unter vielen Elementen der Darstellung ist. Exemplarisch für die im Buch gelungene Verschränkung zwischen gesellschaftlichen Strukturmerkmalen und der Artikulation nationaler Orientierung sei hier auf einen Aspekt hingewiesen, der für ein zukünftiges Verständnis jener jugoslawischen Gesellschaft, die zwischen 1945 und 1991 existierte, von zunehmender Bedeutung sein wird: die Entstehung neuer Trägergruppen des Nationalen. Selbstverständlich ignoriert die Autorin die Dimension des Nationalen nicht, vielmehr folgt sie ihrer einleitend formulierten Frage, warum und zu welchen Zeitpunkten dieses relevant wird. Eine Verbindung zwischen der Darstellung gesellschaftlicher Strukturen und der jeweils bestimmten Relevanz des Nationalen ist gerade für die Zeit der 1960er Jahre charakteristisch. Es zeigte sich auf einer Alltagsebene jenseits offiziöser Parteirhetorik, dass ein Bezug der Bürger sowohl auf eine nationale Zuordnung, sowie auf eine Selbstbeschreibung als Jugoslawe möglich war. Diese flexible und elastische Form von Zuordnung, einerseits Bürger Jugoslawiens, Jugoslawe, zu sein und sich zugleich in anderen Kontexten ein Selbstverständnis als Serbe, Makedonier etc. zu artikulieren, beinhaltete

einen großen Unterschied zum bisherigen Zwang zur Eindeutigkeit der Vorkriegszeit (S. 60 u. 181) Gleichzeitig aber blieb dies die einzige Domäne freier Artikulation. Föderalisierung des Staates beinhaltete die einzige Form von Demokratisierung in einer tendenziell autoritär verfassten Gesellschaft. Scheinbar paradox legten Partei und Staat auf diese Weise die Entstehung eines neuen Nationalismus an.

Die Trägergruppen dieses neuen Nationalismus waren die neu entstehenden Mittelschichten in allen Republiken. Deren Karrieren im Republiksapparat und in der Wirtschaft waren dominiert vom „Schlüssel", einem ethnischen Proporz, der seit Ende der 1960er Jahre zu einer neuen Aufwertung dieser Dimension von Zugehörigkeit führte. Gerade für einen großen Teil der neuen Mittelschichten gewann damit die Dimension des Nationalen an Relevanz und der Bezug auf ihre Republik, was die nationale Zugehörigkeit in der Folgezeit (in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren) auflud. Konkurrenzen und Konflikte wurden ethnonational interpretiert und legitimiert. Damit wird deutlich, dass das sozialistische Jugoslawien selbst die Trägerschichten des Nationalen in neuer Form hervorbrachte, diese ein Produkt des staatssozialistischen Vergemeinschaftungsprozesses waren (S. 222). Dies ist nur ein Beispiel dafür, wie auch in anderen Abschnitten gesellschaftliche Entwicklung und Formen von Konflikten miteinander in Beziehung gesetzt werden.

Bei dem Buch von Marie-Janine Calic handelt sich um einen gelungen prägnanten, konzisen Überblick über die Geschichte der jugoslawischen Idee und der beiden jugoslawischen Staaten, ohne das damit ein Verlust an Komplexität einherginge.

Der Band wird von einer knappen Chronologie, Statistiken und guten Übersichtskarten abgerundet.

Kritisch anmerken ließe sich allein, dass zu stark die großen Strukturen und Prozesse im Vordergrund stehen, hinter denen das Individuum allzu leicht verschwindet. Doch dies ist der Autorin bewusst, wenn sie zum Schluss ihres Buches mit Blick auf die Ursachen der Kriege in den 1990er Jahren feststellt: „Niemand kann sich auf Anthropologie, Struktur, Kultur oder die Eigendynamik der Gewalt herausreden, um von seiner Verantwortung für den Krieg und die Massenverbrechen abzulenken. Nichts war unumkehrbar, nichts unvermeidlich" (S. 344).

Anmerkungen:
1   Vgl. den umfassenden Verriss von John Lampes, Twice there was a country durch Ivo Banac, in: Slavic Review (1998) 2, S. 438-439.
2   Vgl die mit extrem negativen Affekten behaftete Rezension „Und immer wieder nur Patrioten… Eine leidenschaftliche Geschichte Jugoslawiens im 20. Jahrhundert mit manchen Widersprüchen" von Lothar Höbelt, Wiener Hochschulprofessor und Haider-Verehrer, in: FAZ, 3. Januar 2010 sowie den Leserbrief von Dieter Langewiesche, „Fehlender Respekt unter Professorenkollegen", in: ebd., 10. Januar 2010.

Julia Obertreis / Anke Stephan (Hrsg.): Erinnerungen nach der Wende. Oral History und (post)sozialistische Gesellschaften / Remembering after the Fall of Communism. Oral History and (Post-) Socialist Societies, Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2009, 401 S.

Rezensiert von
Susan Baumgartl, Leipzig

Lebensgeschichtliche Erzählungen, die das Leben im Sozialismus, den Systemumbruch und die Zeit der Transformation thematisieren sowie die damit verbundenen Erinnerungsdiskurse in Gesellschaften des ehemaligen sowjetischen Machtbereichs sind zentraler Gegenstand des Sammelbandes „Erinnerungen nach der Wende. Oral History und (post) sozialistische Gesellschaften". Er fasst nicht nur die detaillierten Ergebnisse der gleichnamigen Konferenz an der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg im Jahr 2005 zusammen, sondern bietet darüber hinaus methodisch-theoretische Überlegungen zum Stand der Oral History und zu Themen wie Identität und Erinnerung in diesem Forschungskontext. Der Band gibt Einblick in 19 Untersuchungen zu Vergangenheit und Gegenwart des Postsozialismus, die sich der Oral History als Methode und Quellenart bedienen. Die Vielzahl der vor allem von Nachwuchswissenschaftlern präsentierten Beiträge dokumentiert die thematische Bandbreite der wissenschaftlichen Auseinandersetzung

mit erfahrungsgeschichtlichen Dimensionen des Umgangs mit Diktaturen und ihren Nachwirkungen. Gleichzeitig wird ein Spektrum möglicher Interpretationsansätze aus verschiedenen Forschungsfeldern aufgezeigt.

Die bündige und präzise Einleitung der beiden Herausgeberinnen führt überblicksartig durch den aktuellen Diskussionsstand, über die Genese zu den Potentialen der Oral History – verstanden als Methode zur Produktion und Bearbeitung mündlicher Quellen sowie als interdisziplinärer Forschungsbereich. Ergänzt wird die gelungene Darstellung durch den Aufsatz Alexander von Platos, der am Beispiel der deutsch-deutschen Beschäftigung mit Diktaturvergangenheiten einige grundsätzliche Fragen des wissenschaftlichen Umgangs mit Systemumbrüchen anspricht. Seine Durchsicht verschiedener biographischer Forschungen zu Eliten(-wechsel) und der Verarbeitung von Umbruchserfahrungen endet mit dem Plädoyer für eine stärker komparatistische und transnationale Ausrichtung erfahrungsgeschichtlicher Forschung. Internationale Vergleichsprojekte, so Plato, eröffneten den Weg zu einer europäischen Erinnerungskultur. In diesem Zusammenhang dürfte der vorliegende Tagungsband als ein wichtiges Projekt mit dieser Zielstellung zu betrachten sein.

Analog zu den Sektionen der Konferenz, gibt es fünf große Themenblöcke, die den Sammelband gliedern. Der erste widmet sich dem Systemumbruch 1989–1991 und seinen Auswirkungen auf individuelle und kollektive Erinnerungsprozesse. Der vorangestellte Kommentar Ulrike Jureits reflektiert das Verhältnis biographischer Sinnstiftung – als Identitätsarbeit – und kollektiver Symbolbildung im öffent-

lichen Diskurs. Darin werden wichtige erinnerungstheoretische und methodische Aspekte aufgezeigt, die sich auch in den nachfolgenden Beiträgen wiederfinden. So beleuchtet Sidonia Nedeianu Grama in ihrer Untersuchung verschiedener Erzähl- und Erinnerungsformen (Memory Features) an die rumänische Revolution 1989 das komplexe Geflecht von biographischen Narrativen und institutionell geformten Versionen der historischen Ereignisse. James Mark untersucht Modifikationen in der Darstellung und Bewertung von Familiengeschichten ehemaliger Mitglieder der Kommunistischen Parteien in Polen, der Tschechoslowakei und Ungarn. Er zeigt wie sich Argumentationsweisen und Selbstbilder aufgrund veränderter Lebensumstände verschieben und anpassen. Die Prägekraft öffentlicher Debatten und gruppenspezifischer Erzählungen für die individuelle historische Sinnstiftung ist auch Gegenstand des Beitrags von Kobi Kabalek. Auf der Grundlage von Interviews mit ostdeutschen Jugendlichen über die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus versucht er, Erinnerungsbeziehungen zu rekonstruieren sowie Erzähl- und Deutungsmuster aufzuspüren, die nicht zur eigenen erfahrungsgeschichtlichen Erinnerung der Befragten gehören.

Im zweiten Themenkomplex werden Arbeiten zur Oral History vorgestellt, in denen es vor allem um die spezifisch weibliche Sicht auf alltags- und berufsrelevante Phänomene im Sozialismus sowie der Zeit der Transformation geht. Dilyana Ivanova untersucht anhand von lebensgeschichtlichen Interviews mit Frauen aus Rousse/Bulgarien inwieweit sich deren soziale Rollen durch die Industrialisierung nach 1945 und die Demokratisierung nach 1989 ver-

änderten. Yulia Gradskova vergleicht individuelle und öffentliche Erzählungen über Schönheit und Mutterschaft in der Sowjetunion. Sie zeigt wie sich einerseits Normen des offiziellen Diskurses mit traditionellen Vorstellungen verbinden und andererseits durch eigen-sinnige Deutungen umgeformt werden.

Wie Natali Stegmann im Kommentar kritisch anmerkt, stellt sich nicht nur für die aufgezeigten Strategien der Aneignung und (Re-)Produktion von Rollen- und Selbstbildern die Frage, ob man tatsächlich von gender-spezifischer Erinnerung sprechen kann. Für die Beschäftigung mit weiblichen Erzählungen und Kommunikationsräumen empfiehlt sie eine differenziertere Vorgehensweise.

Der dritte Abschnitt versammelt Forschungen, in deren Mittelpunkt die Konkurrenz verschiedener Geschichtsbilder und Diskurse steht. Mehrere Beiträge behandeln das Verhältnis von offizieller (staatlicher) Geschichtsbildung und gruppenspezifischen Narrativen. Bezugnehmend auf die komplexe erinnerungskulturelle Situation in postsozialistischen Gesellschaften mit einer Vielzahl sich überlagernder, ausschließender und rivalisierender Geschichtsdeutungen, gibt Daniela Koleva in ihrem Kommentar praktische Hinweise zum „Doing Oral History in Post-Socialist Settings". Dabei betont sie u. a. die Frage nach den Akteuren und dem Gebrauch von Geschichte und verweist auf diskursive Machtverhältnisse und die Verantwortung der oral historians bei der Erhebung und Auswertung ihres Materials.

Um Repressionsgeschichte(n) und Aufarbeitung geht es im vierten Themenblock, dessen Beiträge unterschiedliche Erfahrungen der Verfolgung, Unterdrückung und Stigmatisierung thematisieren. So unternimmt Smaranda Vultur in ihrer Untersuchung zu Deportationen im rumänisch-jugoslawischen Grenzgebiet eine Gegenüberstellung von Aktenmaterial der Securitate und lebensgeschichtlichen Erzählungen der Opfer. Anselma Gallinat beschäftigt sich mit „Opfer- und Überlebendengeschichten" aus der DDR-Diktatur. Sie zeigt wie die Betroffenen je nach Erzählkontext das Genre ihrer Darstellung ändern.

Der letzte Themenkomplex wendet sich der Alltagswelt im Sozialismus und den damit verbundenen erfahrungsgeschichtlichen Deutungen zu. Auf die schichtspezifischen Unterschiede dieser Zuschreibungen und die Bedeutung der jeweiligen „inneren Drehbücher" (scripts), die eine Zeitzeugenerzählung prägen, macht Dorothee Wierling in ihrem abschließenden Kommentar aufmerksam. Aufgrund dieser sozialen, kulturellen sowie nationalen Verfasstheit erfahrungsgeschichtlicher Erzählungen spricht sie sich für differenzierte und vielschichtige Erhebungsverfahren mündlicher Quellen aus. Auf diese Weise könne die Vielfalt von Erfahrungen untersucht werden, die (ehemals) staatssozialistischen Gesellschaften innewohnt.

Helmut Altrichter: Russland 1989.
Der Untergang des sowjetischen
Imperiums, München: C. H. Beck
Verlag, 2009, 448 S.

Rezensiert von
Jörg Roesler, Berlin

Die Stellung des Jahres 1989 in der Geschichte der Sowjetunion charakterisiert Helmut Altrichter, Lehrstuhlinhaber für osteuropäische Geschichte an der Universität Erlangen, so: „Es war das Jahr, in dem die Kommunistische Partei der Sowjetunion, innerlich zerrissen, die Macht mehr und mehr aus den Händen verlor; das Jahr, in dem die Staatsautorität im Lande unter dem Eindruck der Wirtschaftskrise immer mehr verfiel; in dem die Kriminalität wuchs, die zentrifugalen Kräfte, die nationalen Autonomiebewegungen das Riesenreich immer schwerer regierbar machten; in dem die kommunistischen Regime in Osteuropa stürzten, der Warschauer Pakt und der Rat für Gegenseitige Wirtschaftshilfe bereits deutliche Auflösungserscheinungen zeigten" (S. 9).

Die Ereignisse, die diese Ergebnisse hervorbrachten, werden von Altrichter in ihrem Ablauf, im Agieren der Protagonisten auf beiden Seiten ausführlich beschrieben. Der Leser kann sich fühlen, als wäre er dabei gewesen, als sich der Parteirebell Jelzin und der KPdSU-Generalsekretär Gorbatschow auf Parteitagen und -kongressen Rededuelle lieferten, als sich Reformer und Reformgegner über die Rolle Stalins, über die Interpretation der sowjetischen

Geschichte, stritten, als die verbalen wechselseitigen Vorwürfe zwischen den nationalistischen Kräfte Armeniens und Aserbeidshans in einem blutigen Bürgerkrieg mündeten. Das Buch ist flüssig, über weite Strecken fesselnd geschrieben. Altrichter hat seine Darstellung in vier Großkapitel unterteilt: „Ein Land im Umbruch", „Das Ende der Parteiherrschaft", „Der Verfall der Staatsautorität" und „Die Auflösung des Imperiums". Letzteres bezieht sich auf den Sturz der kommunistischen Regierungen der osteuropäischen Verbündeten der Sowjetunion. Die Darstellung endet mit einem Ausblick auf die beiden letzten Jahre der Sowjetunion. Für den 25. Dezember 1991, als Gorbatschow als Präsident der UdSSR zurücktrat, notiert Altrichter: „Die Sowjetunion, die über Jahrzehnte die Weltpolitik mitgeprägt hatte, gab es nicht mehr" (S. 404).

Herodot, der „Vater der Geschichtsschreibung", sah es als die zentrale Aufgabe des Historikers an, die Erinnerungen an große Taten und bedeutende Ereignisse lebendig zu erhalten. Dieser Aufgabe hat sich Altrichter mit großem Geschick, mit Sachlichkeit und Unparteilichkeit gewidmet – einer angesichts der Emotionalität, mit der 1989 gestritten und bis heute zu den Ereignissen von damals einseitig Stellung genommen wird, eine keineswegs leichte Aufgabe.

In seiner Rekonstruktion der Ereignisse des Schicksalsjahres für die Sowjetunion stützt Altrichter sich auf gedruckte amtliche Quellen, stenografische Berichte der KPdSU-Tagungen, auf sowjetische Zeitungen, deren Zusammenfassungen durch Radio Liberty und auf Erinnerungen, Tagebücher und Schriften der damals in verantwortlicher Position befindlichen

Personen sowie auf Sekundärliteratur zur Thematik in russischer und englischer Sprache aber auch von deutschen Autoren. Seine Darstellung ist damit nachprüfbar, Verklärungen und Verfälschungen wurden von ihm offensichtlich vermieden.

Die moderne Geschichtsschreibung verlangt aber mehr als den ehrlichen Chronisten. Sie verlangt vom Historiker auch die Deutung, die Bewertung der beschriebenen Ereignisse. Aussagen darüber vermisst der Leser in Altrichters Buch, sobald er – zunächst völlig im Banne der geschilderten Ereignisse – wieder Abstand gewinnt und nach Ursachen fragt, fast vollständig. Was stand hinter den großen Männern und ihren bedeutenden Taten? Warum konnte sich ein Jelzin durchsetzen und musste ein Gorbatschow scheitern? Das Buch erweckt den Eindruck, dass es die „Politik der Öffentlichkeit" war, die sich als Büchse der Pandora erwies, zunächst Gorbatschows Perestroika so beliebt machte, sich dann aber rasch gegen die Reform richtete. Waren es nicht eher die ausbleibenden Erfolge der auf die Einführung marktwirtschaftlicher Elemente und privates Unternehmertum gerichteten Wirtschaftsreform, die angesichts sich immer unübersehbar leerer Regale in den Läden den Umschlag bewirkten? Warum zahlten sich die marktwirtschaftlichen Initiativen in der Sowjetunion – anders etwa als in China – nicht im Wirtschaftswachstum aus? Diese und andere Fragen nach den Ursachen der beschriebenen Wirkungen bleiben unbeantwortet. Ganz ausgeklammert wird auch die Rolle der USA bzw. des Westens, wenn man einmal vom diplomatischen Geschehen und den die DDR-Bevölkerung erreichenden Rundfunk- und Fernsehsendungen aus der Bundesrepublik (von Altrichter als „ostdeutsche Ersatzopposition" charakterisiert) absieht. Wie weit beeinflussten eigentlich die in den Verhandlungen auf Schloss Gymnich durch die Bundesregierung der ungarischen Regierung gewährten Zahlungen deren Bereitschaft, die Westgrenze für ostdeutsche Touristen durchlässig zu machen?

Kein Wort fällt dazu oder auch darüber, dass in zumindest drei RGW-Ländern – Polen, Ungarn und Rumänien – seit der Schuldenkrise von 1980/81 der von den USA beherrschte Internationale Währungsfonds auf der Basis von „Strukturanpassungsmaßnahmen" mitregierte und der IWF mit seiner verfehlten Sparpolitik – ähnlich wie in den 90er Jahren in Lateinamerika – zur ökonomischen und sozialen Misere und damit zur massenhaften Unzufriedenheit der Bevölkerung in diesen Ländern beitrug. Eine Antwort darauf findet sich in Altrichters Buch nicht, wie er auch nicht die Frage stellt, ob es sich bei den Umbrüchen um „Revolution", „Implosion" oder „Restauration" gehandelt hat. Wohl aber regt sein Band – über die sorgfältig erarbeitete Chronologie der Ereignisse des Jahres 1989 hinaus – zu weiteren vertiefenden Überlegungen an und leistet somit einen wichtigen Beitrag zu der sich noch am Anfang befindlichen Historikerdebatte über das Ende des Sozialismus in der Sowjetunion und Osteuropa.

Thomas Adam / Simone Lässig / Gabriele Lingelbach (Hrsg.): Stifter, Spender und Mäzene. USA und Deutschland im historischen Vergleich (= Transatlantische Historische Studien, Bd. 38), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009, 341 S.

Rezensiert von
Katharina Rietzler, London

Jüngste Forschungen zur Philanthropie befassen sich mehr und mehr mit deren grenzüberschreitenden Eigenschaften. Unter europäischen Historikern gilt dabei besonderes Interesse der US-amerikanischen Stiftungsphilanthropie im 20. Jahrhundert, und den transnationalen Dynamiken, die sich aus den weltweiten Aktivitäten großer amerikanischer Förderstiftungen, wie zum Beispiel der Ford Foundation, ergaben.[1] Der vorliegende Band beschäftigt sich nicht nur mit Stiftungsphilanthropie, sondern verfolgt die Zielsetzung, das Thema im breiteren Kontext zu behandeln. In ihrer Einleitung legen die Herausgeber denn auch dar, dass ihr Band die Vielfalt philanthropischen Handelns erfassen soll, und zwar unter dem Aspekt inwieweit diese seit Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland und den USA zur Entstehung einer transatlantischen bürgerlichen Kultur beigetragen hat. Gemeinwohlorientiertes Engagement zielt stets darauf ab, private Anliegen in öffentliche umzuwandeln, weshalb Untersuchungen zu ‚Stiftern, Spendern und Mäzenen‘ im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert in einen größeren Zusam-

menhang, nämlich die Entwicklung des Wohlfahrtsstaats, eingebettet werden können und auch sollten. Will man dabei transatlantisch arbeiten, steht man aber vor der Herausforderung, unterschiedliche historiographische Traditionen vereinen zu müssen, eine an Tocqueville angelehnte, zivilgesellschaftlich orientierte in den USA und eine ‚korporatistische‘ in Deutschland. Diese Historiographien sollen im vorliegenden Band, jenseits von Sonderwegstheorien, mithilfe des historischen Vergleichs und der Analyse von Transferprozessen zusammengebracht werden. Fünf von elf Beiträgen wurden von amerikanischen Autoren verfasst und liegen in Übersetzung vor, der Rest entstammt der Feder deutschsprachiger Historiker.

Kathleen McCarthy und Thomas Adam widmen sich im ersten Teil den transatlantischen Verflechtungen, die gemeinwohlorientiertes Handeln im 19. Jahrhundert prägten. McCarthy vergleicht, inwieweit religiös motivierte Philanthropie Frauen in den USA und Europa Zugang zur Öffentlichkeit ermöglichte, wobei sie die Vorreiterrolle britischer Bibelgesellschaften und ihrer Ableger in Kontinentaleuropa und Nordamerika hervorhebt. Auf beiden Seiten des Atlantiks kam es dabei zu einer Partnerschaft zwischen Philanthropie und Staat. Staatliche Stellen förderten wohltätige Organisationen, um bestimmte Aufgaben, zum Beispiel in der Armenfürsorge, kostengünstig erledigen zu lassen. Adams Aufsatz über Wohnungsreformer in Deutschland und den USA befasst sich stärker mit den Mechanismen des transatlantischen Transfers von gemeinwohlorientierten Organisationsmodellen und der Rolle kultureller Vermittler. Die ‚philanthropischen Touristen‘ der Woh-

nungsreform eigneten sich fremdes know-how in zwei Wellen in den 1860er und den 1880er Jahren an, wobei der Kulturtransfer zuerst von Großbritannien und dann von Deutschland ausging. Sowohl in Deutschland als auch in den USA wurden marktorientierte Konzepte bevorzugt, doch Anpassungsprozesse an lokale Gegebenheiten und Missverständnisse in der Rezeption bewirkten, dass die Ergebnisse jeweils recht unterschiedlich ausfielen. Adam und McCarthy gehen hier beide von einer integrierten transatlantischen philanthropischen Sphäre aus, wobei es hier natürlich große Überschneidungen mit der von Daniel Rodgers heraufbeschworenen nordatlantischen Welt der Sozialmodelle gibt.[2]

Peter Dobkin Hall und Rupert Graf Strachwitz geben im zweiten Teil des Bandes einen Überblick über die deutsche und amerikanische Stiftungslandschaft. Hall analysiert den amerikanischen Nonprofit-Sektor nach 1945. Als bedeutende Entwicklung wertet er den Wandel von Interessengruppen und lokalen Vereinen zu nationalen Non-profit-Organisationen. Insbesondere seit der Etablierung einer konservativ orientierten Stiftungselite in den frühen 1980er Jahren ermöglicht der Siegeszug der non-profits die Umdeutung von ‚Gemeinwohl‘ für private Zwecke. Hall entwirft ein nuanciertes Bild vom Verhältnis zwischen staatlicher und nichtstaatlicher Aktivität, nach dem philanthropische Initiativen parallel und in Symbiose mit der Ausdehnung staatlichen Engagements im Wohlfahrtsbereich wuchsen. Er widerspricht damit der Annahme, dass ein aktiver Staat die Vitalität des Non-profit-Sektors dämpfe. Strachwitz sieht dies in seinem Aufsatz durchaus anders. Deut-

sche Stiftungen erlebten eine Blütezeit im Kaiserreich, wurden aber seit dem Ersten Weltkrieg infolge von Vermögensverlusten immer mehr von einem Staat dominiert, der sich seine Kompetenz im Wohlfahrtsbereich nicht von privaten Organisationen streitig machen lassen wollte.

Im dritten Teil des Bandes rücken die Akteure selbst in den Mittelpunkt. In ihren Beiträgen zum Stiftertum unter städtischen Eliten untersuchen Francie Ostrower und Michael Werner wie das Fördern von Kunst, Kultur und Wissenschaft als ein Vehikel gesellschaftlichen Aufstiegs genutzt wurde. Ostrowers Beitrag ist eine Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse ihrer Monographie zur Philanthropie gesellschaftlicher Eliten in New York, die in den 1980er Jahren durchgeführte Interviews als Quellen heranzieht.[3] Nach Ostrower legt philanthropisches Handeln den Grundstein für eine Reihe unterschiedlicher reziproker Beziehungen, nicht zuletzt innerhalb einer mäzenatisch aktiven Sozialgruppe, deren Mitglieder sich gegenseitig zu immer weiteren Gaben motivieren. Werners Aufsatz über Hamburgs Stiftungskultur von der Jahrhundertwende bis zum Nationalsozialismus schreibt Stiftern, die neuen Eliten angehören, besonderes Innovationspotential zu. So erschlossen im Kaiserreich vor allem wirtschaftliche Aufsteiger Wissenschaft und Künste als neue Aktionsräume philanthropischen Handelns. Die Einschränkungen, denen deutsche Stifter seit dem Ersten Weltkrieg unterlagen, bewirkten dabei, dass sich diese ihre Aktivitäten nun weniger auf ein breites Publikum und immer mehr auf die Akkumulation kulturellen Kapitals innerhalb der städtischen Oberschicht ausrichteten.

Kevin Mulcahy und Stephen Pielhoff gehen im vierten Teil des Bandes der Frage nach, ob der Kultursektor bedroht wird, wenn öffentliche Aufgaben verstärkt von privaten Stiftern finanziert werden. Mulcahy beantwortet diese Frage in seinem Aufsatz zur Kulturförderung in den USA seit den 1990er Jahren uneingeschränkt mit ‚ja‘. Das amerikanische Modell der Mischfinanzierung von Kultureinrichtungen aus eigenen Einnahmen, staatlichen Zuschüssen und privaten Quellen habe eine Kommerzialisierung und einen Verlust an Vielfalt begünstigt. Letztlich sei Kulturförderung eine öffentliche Aufgabe, die nicht allein privatem Engagement überlassen werden dürfe. Stephen Pielhoff greift diese Problematik in seiner Studie zum Musikmäzenatentum in deutschen Städten auf. Vor der fast flächendeckenden Kommunalisierung des Betriebes von Theatern, Orchestern und Opern in der Weimarer Republik war die Mischfinanzierung deutscher Musikkultur durchaus gang und gäbe. Mäzenatische Kulturförderung konnte sich vor allem in aufstrebenden Industriestädten ohne residenzstädtisches Erbe wie Dortmund entfalten. Das Beispiel Wuppertals, in dem private Konzertfördervereine erst Mitte der 1990er Jahre ihre vorherrschende Stellung verloren, zeigt, dass zivilgesellschaftliche Initiativen nur dann bestehen, wenn sie städtische Kulturträger und Öffentlichkeit von ihrer Relevanz überzeugen können. Kulturförderung wird Mäzenen in der Praxis also keinesfalls kritiklos überlassen, was Mulcahys Argument wieder relativiert.

Im letzten Teil des Bandes steht die Entwicklungshilfe im Kalten Krieg im Mittelpunkt und damit wiederum ein Politikfeld, in dem gemeinwohlorientiertes Handeln eigene Dynamiken entwickelt. Außenpolitische Zielsetzungen schränken den philanthropischen Aktionsradius ein, doch verfügen private Organisationen in Entwicklungsländern oftmals über einen größeren Handlungsspielraum als staatliche. Corinna Unger stellt dies in einem Aufsatz über drei große amerikanische Förderstiftungen dar. Sowohl die Ford Foundation, als auch die Carnegie Corporation und die Rockefeller Foundation engagierten sich ab 1945 stark in Entwicklungsländern, wo sie bis in die 1970er Jahre zumeist auf die Kooperation mit nationalen Eliten setzten und insbesondere Bildung und Wissenschaft förderten. Dabei identifizierten sie sich mit den Zielen der US-Außenpolitik, wollten jedoch nicht als Stellvertreter des Staates wahrgenommen zu werden. Unger bringt das komplexe Selbstverständnis der Stiftungen auf den Punkt: Diese nutzten ihre Unabhängigkeit als ‚strategischen Vorteil‘, um als nicht-staatliche Akteure im Sinne amerikanischer Außenpolitik zu handeln. Annett Heinl und Gabriele Lingelbach analysieren in ihrem Beitrag über die beiden großen kirchlichen Hilfswerken Misereror und Brot für die Welt eine ähnliche Arbeitsteilung zwischen Philanthropie und Staat in der Bundesrepublik. Beide Initiativen führten ab Ende der 1950er Jahre höchst erfolgreiche Spendenaktionen durch und avancierten damit zu Pionieren in der privaten Entwicklungshilfe. Die Bundesregierung suchte schon bald die Zusammenarbeit mit den kirchlichen Organisationen, um indirekt mit Ländern zusammenarbeiten zu können mit denen dies aufgrund der Hallstein-Doktrin offiziell unmöglich war. Die Kirchen nahmen staatliche Gelder zwar an, akzeptierten aber keine damit verbundenen politischen

Auflagen. Dies war in der DDR nicht möglich, wie Gregory Witkowski in einem Aufsatz über Brot für die Welt und das katholische Pendant Not in der Welt darstellt. Die Hilfswerke in der DDR mussten mit staatlichen Stellen verhandeln, weil Geldtransfers nicht möglich waren und stattdessen Warenlieferungen als Hilfe ins Ausland gesendet wurden. Die DDR-Regierung kontrollierte über das Rote Kreuz deren Zusammensetzung und wählte die Zielgebiete aus. Für die Kirchen waren die Spendenwerke allerdings ein Hebel, um ihre fragile Position in der DDR-Gesellschaft zu festigen.

Ein roter Faden zieht sich durch den Band: Dabei handelt es sich weniger um die Entstehungsgeschichte eines transatlantischen Bürgertums, sondern eher um die immer wieder explizit oder implizit aufgeworfene Frage, wo gemeinwohlorientiertes Engagement zwischen staatlichen und privaten Interessen verortet werden kann. Das mag daran liegen, dass transatlantische Transferprozesse im engeren Sinne nur von wenigen der Autoren überhaupt behandelt werden. Hier könnten zukünftige Forschungen, auf der Basis der in diesem Band enthaltenen vergleichenden Untersuchungen, ansetzen. Obwohl die Herausgeber Sonderwegstheorien überwinden wollen, sind doch einige Beiträge von den jeweiligen nationalen historiographischen Traditionen geprägt. So sehen Strachwitz und Werner einen starken deutschen Staat, der privaten Stiftern wenig Freiräume lässt, Mulcahy unterstreicht die Gefahr zu mächtiger stiftender Eliten. Manche Aufsätze sind hier um einiges differenzierter, vor allem der von Hall und die Analysen im letzten Teil des Bandes. Insgesamt haben die Herausgeber jedoch

einen schlüssig strukturierten und sorgfältig editierten Sammelband vorgelegt, der auch Spezialisten Neues bietet. Ein Index hätte die Lektüre allerdings erleichtert.

Anmerkungen:
1   Tagungsbericht US-Foundations and the Power Policies of Knowledge Circulation in the Global Arena (20th century). 01.07.2010-02.07.2010, Freiburg, in: H-Soz-u-Kult, 08.01.2011, http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=3475; siehe auch Katharina Rietzler, "American Foundations and the 'Scientific Study' of International Relations in Europe, 1910-1940", unveröffentlichte Dissertation, University College London, 2009.
2   Daniel Rodgers, Atlantic Crossings. Social Politics in a Progressive Age, Cambridge 1998.
3   Francie Ostrower, Why the Wealthy Give: The Culture of Elite Philanthropy, Princeton, 1995. Ein ähnlicher Ansatz findet sich bei Diana Kendall, The Power of Good Deeds: Privileged Women and the Social Reproduction of the Upper Class, Lanham, 2002.

Eva Maria Hinterhuber: Abrahamitischer Trialog und Zivilgesellschaft. Eine Untersuchung zum sozialintegrativen Potenzial des Dialogs zwischen Juden, Christen und Muslimen (= Maecenata Schriften Bd. 4), Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius, 2009, 262 S.

Rezensiert von
Jürgen Nautz, Wien

Wenn man einmal von Nachbarschaftsstreitigkeiten absieht, gehören Glaube und Religion neben dem Geld mit Abstand zu den beliebtesten Anlässen, einen erbitterten Streit, ja einen Krieg herbeizufüh-

ren. Diese unangenehme Seite von Religion wird in jüngster Zeit vor allem dem Islam zugeschrieben, wo man in den unterschiedlichen – mehr oder weniger prominenten – islamistischen Gruppierungen und Netzwerken die gefährlichsten Brandstifter ausmacht. Dabei ist es noch gar nicht so lange her, dass der „falsche" Glaube lebensgefährlich war. An den Holocaust hierzulande muss nicht erst erinnert werden; auch an die mannigfachen Diskriminierungen, Schikanen und Verfolgungen davor und danach nicht. Ich selbst, 1954 geboren, war in meinen Kindheitsjahren noch Zeuge von Prügeleien und Steinwurfattacken zwischen (römisch-)katholischen und evangelischen Schülern. Wenn man es nicht so persönlich formulieren will, kann man an den langen Weg der Emanzipation der Römisch-Katholischen in den Niederlanden oder an den Kirchenkampf in Preußen erinnern. In der Neuzeit könnte man zurückgehen bis zur Konföderation von Warschau im Jahre 1573, die als erstes europäisches Toleranzedikt der Neuzeit gesehen werden kann.

Anonym erschien 1689 John Lockes Brief über die Toleranz (*Epistola de tolerantia*), gefolgt von zwei weiteren, englisch verfassten 1690: *A Second Letter Concerning Toleration* und zwei Jahre später *A Third Letter Concerning Toleration*. Der Verfasser plädierte für eine gegenseitige Duldung unterschiedlicher christlicher Bekenntnisse. Für den Katholizismus sollte das nur mit Einschränkungen gelten, für den Atheismus überhaupt nicht. Während der Aufklärung wurde dieses Toleranzpostulat auf alle Konfessionen und über den Bereich des Religiösen hinaus ausgeweitet. Die Niederlande haben sich bei der Entwicklung ihrer Toleranzpolitik an der Lockeschen Philosophie orientiert. Daraus wurde eine Politik des „Lebens im eigenen Kreis", wo sich – zunächst – alle protestantischen Kirchenvarianten gegenseitig tolerierten und sich nicht gegenseitig in ihre Lebensgestaltung hineinredeten. Später wurde auch den Katholiken auf dieser Basis Gleichberechtigung zuteil. Auch die jüdische Bevölkerung konnte sich entsprechend entfalten. Es ist interessant, dass diese Politik dann an ihre Grenzen stieß, als es galt eine zunehmend große Zahl islamisch geprägter Menschen in die niederländische Gesellschaft zu integrieren. Auch in vielen anderen Gegenden der Welt verschärften sich, neben dem israelisch-palästinensischen Konflikt, Irritationen und Spannungen zwischen der westlichen und der islamischen Welt bis hin zu bewaffneten Konflikten gegen Ende des 20. Jahrhundert; jedenfalls wurde es oft so gesehen.

Diese verschärfte Lage schlug sich in der global rezipierten wissenschaftlichen und politischen Debatte nieder: Huntington sprach Anfangs der 1990er-Jahre vom „Clash of Civilizations"[1], Sloterdijk folgte vor einigen Jahren mit der Rede über den „Kampf der drei Monotheismen".[2] Nachdem für längere Zeit das Postulat vom säkularen Zeitalter die Debatte geprägt hat, orientiert sich die Debatte in Wissenschaft, Feuilleton und Politik in Richtung „Post-Säkularität". Es wird allenthalben eine Wiederkehr des Religiösen konstatiert. Die Debatte über die Wiederkehr des Religiösen hat vor wenigen Jahren auch die Zivilgesellschaftsdiskurse erreicht. Nach langjährigen Debatten über die Konstruktion von Zivilgesellschaften – nicht zuletzt als (ergänzende) Alternative zu staatlichen Strukturen und Prozessen – stellte sich auch im zivilgesellschaftlichen Diskurs verstärkt die Frage danach, wie denn in zivilgesellschaftlich (mit-)gesteuerten Gesellschaften moralische Standards vereinbart werden. Dass sich hier die Frage nach der Rolle von Religion – und für das Christentum im Besonderen auch die Frage nach dem Wirken der Kirchen – stellte, verwundert nicht. Aber es kam auch die Frage auf, ob nicht die dialogischen Mechanismen der Zivilgesellschaft hilfreich sein könnten, wenn es darum geht, gegenseitiges Verständnis, gegenseitige Akzeptanz und Toleranz zwischen den Anhängern verschiedener Glaubensrichtungen und -formen zu fördern. Daher ist es logisch, dass sich ein Institut wie Maecenata diesem Problemkomplex zuge-

wandt hat. Im Rahmen unterschiedlicher Forschungsprojekte hat man sich auf die Beziehungen zwischen den abrahamischen Religionen, also zwischen Judentum, Christentum und Islam konzentriert. Die vorliegende Publikation entstand aus dem dritten Projekt in dieser Reihe, das zwischen 2007 und 2009 durchgeführt wurde.[3] Das zentrale Erkenntnisinteresse lag dabei auf der Frage, ob und mit welchem Erfolg zivilgesellschaftliche trialogisch aufgebaute Initiativen wirksam zur Lösung tatsächlicher und vermeintlicher religiös bestimmter Konflikte beitragen können. Daran knüpfte sich die Frage nach den Bedingungen für einen nachhaltigen Integrationsprozess (siehe Vorwort S. VII).

Ein erster Schritt des Projektes bestand in einer Erhebung über den Umfang abrahamischen Engagements im Rahmen der Zivilgesellschaft, dessen Anfänge in den 1970er-Jahren verortet werden. Diese ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit durchgeführte Erhebung findet im vorliegenden Buch ihren Niederschlag in einer von Marie von Manteuffel verantworteten Zusammenstellung von zivilgesellschaftlichen Trialog-Initiativen in Deutschland (S. 195-245), die 54 Organisationsportraits umfasst. Bei einem Drittel dieser Initiativen können sich Angehörige unterschiedlicher Religionsgemeinschaften engagieren. Knapp die Hälfte der Organisationen beteiligt auch Personen, die religiös nicht gebunden sind. Diese Erhebung kann nur als Reiseführer mit Verfallsdatum durch die Landschaft des abrahamischen Trialogs gesehen werden, da zivilgesellschaftliche Strukturen eher volatil sind. Auch bei der Selektion der beschriebenen Initiativen mag man sich an einen Reiseführer erinnert fühlen, der eben einen spezifischen Blick wieder-

gibt. So ist zwar die Evangelische Akademie in Loccum richtigerweise als ein Akteur des Trialogs beschrieben. Aber eine zentrale, von dort betriebene Initiative, die all die enormen Schwierigkeiten, auf die die Trialog- oder auch nur Dialog-Akteure treffen, in sich birgt, ist nicht erwähnt: Die Evangelische Akademie Loccum war gemeinsam mit der ägyptischen NGO „CEOS" lange Motor des Ägyptisch-Deutschen Dialogs, bei dem es um eben diese Verständigung zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden ging.

Das Hauptstück des Buches ist der Beitrag von Eva Maria Hinterhuber, der auch dem Buch seinen Namen gab. Auf 194 Seiten entfaltet Hinterhuber eine gut strukturierte Untersuchung, die sich einleitend mit den für die Fragestellung grundlegenden theoretischen Diskursen über Zivilgesellschaft, Religionsgemeinschaften und Kirchen auseinandersetzt, um sich dann dem Kontext von Migration, Integration und Religion in Deutschland zu widmen. Dieser Kontext wird häufig als konstituierend für die religiöse Konfliktlage gesehen. Schließlich wird noch der Dialog theoretisch und im Kontext mit Zivilgesellschaft und Religionen problematisiert, um Kriterien für die Bewertung der trialogischen Zusammenarbeit zu begründen. Das zentrale Kapitel von Hinterhubers Studie beschreibt und charakterisiert die zivilgesellschaftlichen Akteure des trilateralen Religionsdialogs zwischen Islam, Christentum und Judentum in Deutschland. Vor dem zusammenfassenden Schlusskapitel werden noch einige knappe Länderstudien präsentiert, die den Blick über die Grenzen Deutschlands weiten sollen. Frankreich, Großbritannien, die Niederlande, Österreich, Bosnien-Herzegowina, die Schweiz, die Türkei

und Israel stehen auf der Liste. Es fällt auf, dass kein skandinavisches und auch kein baltisches Land beschrieben wird. Dabei hätten Länder wie Polen oder auch die baltischen Republiken interessante Einblicke liefern können, wenn es um die Frage geht, wie sich solche Initiativen auf die Neuformierung einer Gesellschaft auswirken. Auch in Skandinavien ist Interessantes zu finden.[4] So hat sich zum Beispiel in Schweden eine sehr lebendige und weitgefächerte islamische NGO-Landschaft entwickelt, die gerade für ihre Dialog- und Verständigungsinitiativen hohe nationale und internationale Reputation erworben hat.

Das Hauptaugenmerk der Untersuchung liegt aber auf Deutschland. Die wichtigsten Befunde der Studie hierzu seien im Folgenden kurz zusammengefasst:

Die Gemeinwohlorientierung ist ein zentrales gemeinsames Ziel, Basisnähe, Inklusivität und partizipative Strukturen sind gemeinsame Charakteristika der engagierten Organisationen. Die Studie weist nach, dass es vor allem gesellschaftliche und politische Ziele sind, die verfolgt werden. Es verwundert nicht, dass das gemeinsame große Ziel eine friedliche Gesellschaft ist. Vielfach wird darauf hingearbeitet, gegenseitige Vorurteile und Voreingenommenheit abzubauen und xenophobische und rassistische Strömungen einzudämmen. Allerdings verschleißt sich das Engagement nicht in theoretischen und politischen Debatten sondern zeigt sich deutlich handlungs- und alltagsorientiert. Wegen ihrer Verständigungsziele legen alle im Trialog engagierten Organisationen großen Wert auf Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, um ihr Anliegen möglichst breit bekannt zu machen.[5] Zugleich sind die untersuchten abrahamischen Organisationen sehr gut mit anderen zivilgesellschaftlichen Organisationen und Bildungseinrichtungen vernetzt.

Es wird von den Akteuren durchaus erkannt, dass die Konstruktion des abrahamischen Trialogs andere Religionen ausschließt. Um den interreligiösen Dialog nicht auf die drei Religionen Judentum, Christentum und Islam zu begrenzen, wird oft versucht, auch andere Gruppen in die Diskurse einzubeziehen. Dass der abrahamische Trialog von der Basis getragen wird und „dass sowohl unterschiedliche religiöse als auch nichtreligiöse Gruppen beteiligt sind", urteilt Eva Maria Hinterhuber, „ist die beste Voraussetzung dafür, dass der trilaterale interreligiöse Dialog zu einer gesellschaftlichen Integration beitragen kann" (S. 194). Hilfreich hierbei ist sicher auch die lebensweltliche Ausrichtung der Aktivitäten und dass theologische Diskurse eine nicht so große Rolle spielen.

Anmerkungen:

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2 Peter Sloterdijk, Gottes Eifer. Vom Kampf der drei Monotheismen, Frankfurt a. M. 2007.
3 Die Ergebnisse der Vorläuferstudien sind publiziert in: Martin Bauschke, Trialog und Zivilgesellschaft, Bd. 1: Internationale Recherche von Institutionen zum trilateralen Dialog, Berlin 2001; Martin Bauschke/Petra Stegmann, Trialog und Zivilgesellschaft, Bd. 2: Berichte und Texte, Berlin 2001; Peter Heine/Aslam Sayed (Hrsg.), Muslimische Philatropie und Bürgerschaftliches Engagement, Berlin 2005.
4 Vgl. Johann Marte, Vincenc Rajšp, Karl W. Schwarz, Miroslav Polzer (Hrsg.), Religion und Wende in Ostmittel und Südosteuropa. Pro Oriente Band XXXIII, 1989–2009, Innsbruck 2010.
5 Dieser Befund wird von einer Studie über islamische Vereine in Österreich gestützt: Kerstin Tomenendal/Sena Doğan/Valeria Heuberger, Ramadan in Österreich. Zur muslimischen Selbstdarstellung im Fastenmonat, Klagenfurt 2009.

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