

¿Is Negritude Over?

María I. Faguaga Iglesias
Historian and anthropologist
Havana, Cuba



Pogolotti neighborhood. Marianao

“I see you are now quite active in everything about African descendants,” one of my friends suddenly said to me, and added: “Yeah, because African descendancy is in style now. You can’t say Afro-Cuban anymore.” She ends by saying: “Negritude is over! Now you have to say African descendant!” She seemed quite uncomfortable about that.

I try to explain to this white women, an ex-diplomat turned oppositionist (a dissident, if we consider her earlier political trustwor-

thiness for the system, and the fact she even organized important, international political events), who does not understand what it’s all about, and that it is not about the end of anything, but rather the beginning of a worldview to use in its place.

She makes it hard for me to speak, convinced, as she is of her truth, and turns her back on me just when I’ve managed to clarify for her that I still feel and call myself Afro-Cuban; that the term ‘African descendant’ is a transnational identifying convention, so as

to not exclude anyone; that Negritude is not over. I am left with the words in my mouth. My white friend leaves. She is not ready or willing to listen, and doesn't want to know anything else. A while ago, she warned me: "You're always caught up in that black thing, saying there's discrimination here." I turn to a foreign, black diplomat, a friend to us both, and I am my typically impetuous self. I say to him: "Don't pay any attention to her! Don't believe anything she says," even though he and I were talking about something else, and she had only very recently come over to us.¹ So, is she my friend?

First part

Racial issues are also political, no matter how much a part of culture they are, no matter how much people try to manipulate them analytically and propagandistically, and try to diminish them and not face the undeniable and inevitable: the need there is to deconstruct everything that has served to institutionalize it and its practices—from the power and economic structure all the way to our everyday interrelations.

Malcolm X warned that in order to talk to white people about racism it was better to do it informally. That way their passion diminishes their thought processes. Experience has shown me that it can make them act irrationally. Racism is confusing, treacherous, disorienting, sickening. Once it has penetrated a social fabric, it is an exercise in domination that becomes inculcated, and clouds people's judgment, making its identification by its successive executors difficult. Even if they are conscious of it, they accept it as natural and try to seek pseudo-scientific help for it. That is the trap that those who suffer from it and even try to break its chains can often get caught up in.

Those in power manipulate people interested in living off of anti-racism creating a select group of African descendants. These are the people they can show off, and assert that this is "the best proof there is of the fact that there is no racism in Cuba." At most, "what is left are capitalist, bourgeois, backward prejudices," as if they were not a part of racism, and of the mal-intentioned correlation between the political and classist socioeconomic system pertaining to the defamatory evil that springs from those in power and eats away at our very core.

Certain opposers of the Castro system get caught in that trap. Yet, they overcome differing political ideologies and come together for their common purpose—to obstruct the emergence of a true Cuban nation that is positively integrated, and in which ethno-racial groups share the burden at all levels and spheres. This would be a Cuba free of ghettos, those that today are dysfunctional, getting along through might but not right, and impeding in the birth of that Cuba where the skin color of those in power reflects how they view a symmetrical ethno-racial relationship, and are consequently committed to reempowering Cuba's black population. None of this can happen while the Cubans in power continue imagining and self-identifying themselves as white *criollos*, and do not eventually cut the umbilical cord that joins them to their *madrepatria*, Spain; while the powers that be exclusively acknowledge and empower the Roman Catholic Church as a social actor, to the detriment of the wide array of even more spiritual religious institutions on the island; while they persist in shamelessly folklorizing and now also commercializing many things African.

All these issues are irrefutable indicators of the overvalorization and undervaloriza-

tion of the country's two fundamental ethno-racial group: whites and blacks, respectively. There are indicators of a deformed imaginary that is reproduced in us by each political, economic and even cultural institution that shapes and confirms the power of those who wield it. They are meant to nurture and feed the idea that whiteness—essentially Spanishness—is superior and legitimate when compared to what is inferior and illegitimate (or tolerated, in the best of circumstances) about all the rest, particularly Africanness, always seen maliciously as “all things black.” Neoslavist, Castro socialism has always been anti-black, just as the expressly bourgeois republicanism and the manifestly slavist, Peninsular colonial system that preceded it were.

Second part

The Cuban nation never underwent a true decolonization, or a real liberation of the entire population, or emancipation of the Cuban black population. A full realization of all of Cuba's social groups as political, economic and cultural subjects did not accompany the island's political independence. Radical structural transformations did not follow to contribute to changing the public imaginary. Supposedly liberating rhetoric was not followed by corresponding and essential legislation nor were legitimizing mechanisms set into motion.

We just went on about our business without any laws to guarantee that each citizen could fully enjoy his or her freedoms, as recognized by the Magna Carta. We lack legislation that guarantees ethno-racial equity, holds responsible those who practice racism or any other form of discrimination. Thus, difference is still penalized and criminalized, loosely managed by those intolerant people

who are today called “revolutionaries.” Being anti-black should be illegal; discrimination in any future political system should be illegal.

Mulatto poet Nicolás Guillén used to say that pre-1959 whites hide behind the national anthem and flag to say they are patriots and not racists. Similarly, today they make noise about the revolution and non-existent socialism, and use Santería as a shield that supposedly protects them from the exaggerated, feeble and utilitarian position with which they reputedly deny the fact they are really anti-black.

The self-interested, selfish and sordid prolongation of this inertia has made it possible to reinitiate openly discriminatory practices. If being racist is no longer in fashion out there in the rest of the world, the Castro Ruz brothers have not yet discovered this. It is a daily occurrence here. Even very young Cubans are quick and generous with their racist aggressions, offenses and rude reactions. A white, sixty-year old, private taxidriver who is professionally bound by economic circumstances to rent out his government-granted vehicle, boldly and unhesitatingly told me: “Blacks are getting away with a lot! They find a way to get you to tell them that they have to be black, and then complain about racism!”

It is hard to accept that this driver's irresponsibility and daring is just one of many examples of the violence with which we live. His quick assumption about what he could say because of the racial group to which he belongs, and the fact that he said this to me, a black woman, is also part of a complex violence that is magnified by racialization. I get the sense that he heard my opinion about this uncomfortable exchange, and believed I should agree that he was right. I also realize that it upset him that I did not become aggressive despite the fact I was visibly upset. After



he dropped me off, I can just imagine him saying or thinking something like “It’s true that all black people are alike! She couldn’t understand me. After all, she’s black!”

A young, nineteen-year old guy courts a girl his age over the telephone on a music program with an open mic, and he stammers with fear telling her what he physically looks like. Finally, after the MC insists, he decides to launch into a shameful and hurtful description of himself: “I am sort of mulatto.” Another confesses to his sweetheart: “I’m black” and gets this surprised response from her: “Oh! You’re black?” The MC chimes in and says: “Oh, brother! But he’s black.” In the case of the sort of mulatto guy, who reluctantly revealed this, the young woman accepted it, encouraged by the radio MC not to give him her telephone number, but rather get his. It would be interesting to know if she called him, although if she had no better option this summer, I imagine he might have had enough money to her to a few fun places where he could pay with hard currency, that is, most fun places in Cuba.

An adolescent who stayed at a hotel with her boyfriend was unceremoniously told to leave, her clothes thrown out and strewn on the street. The response her mother got from him when she asked the boyfriend what had happened was: “Yeah! I threw her out, and I’d do it again. Just so you know, I made her have sex with another chick, to please me. What are

you thinking, anyway? After all, your daughter is black!” Then he loudly asks his buddy: “What else are black women good for? After I got everything I wanted from her, I threw her out! I found another one, right there, a white woman.”

The young man in this story is white and lives in an elite neighborhood in Nuevo Vedado, home to the Castro-socialist bourgeoisie. His father is powerful, and he a model of the “new man,” and not of an exception. Unfortunately, there are many men like this, and they are rapidly multiplying and limitlessly spreading like wildfire all over Cuba. “What for?” some might ask, adding “that is a cultural thing. After all, black women are just out there for the taking all over the place, chasing after white guys. So, they ask for it! What their mothers need to do is rein them in.” While it may not seem so, that young man, the young woman and guys on the radio program, the MC, the septuagenarian taxi driver, and my anti-Castro lady friend all think essentially the same thing. They partake of that imaginary that overvalues whiteness, and believe in that apocryphal superiority that supports their thinking and fuels their actions in a country where white people, or those who try to be white, scrutinize and question their reality. Their vanity allows them to be convinced that they are legitimately right, and allows them to cling to stereotypes that twist their sociological reality, but to their benefit.

I am not saying that there aren’t times when certain circumstances cause anti-black people to resort to using ‘African things,’ for example, in moments of grave difficulty, like sickness or problems at work. They do not hesitate to do “those black things,” like engage in African religious practices. This is not an example of a positive attitude towards ‘things black,’ as we are often told, but rather a self-

interested use of an extremely precious and constitutive element of our ancestral African cultures.

Third part

A Cuban-American journalist once said something that Cubans from both shores agree with: there is no problem with blacks either here or there. Both the Castro supporters and the opposition are equally responsible for the 'disappearance' of the Cuban African Diaspora of the last five decades. That's a fact. If we look back, we would find the (communist) Popular Socialist Party and its barbaric idea of creating a 'black dividing line on the island, for the explicit purpose of concentrating ourselves. This would allow us to resuscitate alleged patriot José Miguel Gómez, who in 1912, ordered the murder of 5,000 black Cubans who were not willing to accept their exclusion from the recently created republic (reviving him would not be a bad idea, because we could then try, judge and sentence him). Once again, our daily lives are being made difficult and uncomfortable by the fact that a monument to José Miguel Gómez is being erected right on a main thoroughfare, Avenue G (once the Avenue of Presidents). Its purpose is to honor him and perpetuate him in our collective memory. Is this a reminder of an anti-black racism they are bent on perpetuating *ad infinitum*? Or, is it a reminder to black men and women to remember just what the price is for being spiritedly rebellious in confronting inequity? Either way, now we have an expression of deformed patriotism by those who strive to create and set into motion cultural policies, if not their own bold and overt racism. By the way, none of these folks can claim ignorance. Scholars of the Cuban racial situation from throughout Cuban history

have been almost entirely ignored over these past 52 years. Their work is barely known either in Castro-controlled Cuba or abroad. Is it the case that the more direct and clear, the more serious and committed the treatment of the ethno-racial problem—truly dramatic and traumatic—the greater the invisibilizing it was/is/will be condemned to? By contrast, despite the many difficulties and obstacles, Gustavo Urrutia and Gastón Baquero, among others, had the possibility of publishing even in the most orthodox and "reactionary," bourgeois newspaper, *Diario de la Marina*, as well as in their own black newspapers, magazines and journals.

Generations born after 1959 have never known anything like that newspaper's column "Los ideales de una raza" [The Ideals of a Race], which exposed and challenged ideas concerning "the black problem," despite the fact it was said that its "definitive solution"² came precisely with the triumph of the Revolution in 1959. If that were true, there would be no young rappers expressing their ire and non-conformity, nor would there be organizations like the "*Juan Gualberto Gómez*" *Movement for Racial Integration*, "*Citizens' Committee for Racial Integration*" and the *Afro-Cuban Foundation* to challenge this official view, not even the more pro-official view *Cofradía de la Negritud* [Brotherhood of Negritude]. Cuba's Communist Party's Central Committee also wouldn't have felt the need to create the already defunct group "Color Cubano" within the Cuban National Union of Writers and Artists (UNEAC), as a result of international pressure, or to repurpose it to stand against racism and discrimination, or create a similar entity at the José Martí National Library and another hidden and/or *ad hoc* one for intellectuals who are revealing themselves to us only little by little.



Boot black

These commissions, whose work we are generally unaware of, and whose circumstantial realities seem to produce indefinite results, sharply contrast with the reemergence of a defensive rhetoric and accusations of “hypercriticism” against those of us who are dedicated to researching our unjust situation due to ethno-racial iniquities. Civic activists are criminalized for their very necessary work, and condemned as annexationists and pro-imperialists. Particularly noteworthy are those who accuse us, who like “my friend,” are part of the active political opposition in Cuba and are as anti-black as the Castro-socialists in power. They might have even been labeled something or other by now, or are working on one. This explains why the concern of people of any color, and any ethnic heritage, who are more or less militantly ethno-racial is to be expected and justified, because they are often also concerned about the future of Cuba, because they are afraid that “if our nation is handed over to ‘those’ people, the very same

thing could happen again, that we could have more of the bad situation we now and have always had.

Fourth part

Despite institutional silencing, we are already seeing this occurrence. The emerging economic sector, those who have the greatest access to material resources, is comprised almost exclusively of white men and women. The few black women in that group are generally in positions within a lesser category. This damaging situation is progressing, and no one in the black Cuban community seems to be concerned or disturbed by it, even though they are then accused of “going after money,” finding refuge in illegal situations, pimping, prostitution and Santería; of succeeding most in negative activities.

These accusations come from white racists and ‘window dressing’ blacks who serve the power that be. Anti-black neurosis among Cu-

bans, which sometimes achieves phobic proportions, knows no political differences, and affects the black population in many ways. The servile attitude of some, an always profound and traumatic desire to appear “correct” for the white, *criollo*, power elite, is one example of this. Self-esteem can hardly increase in an environment of fear, under-valorization, disdain, under-appreciation, marginalization, and falsely paternalistic and hypocritical attempts at integration. It can only happen with positive, virtuous, tangible and authentic notions of self to serve as our references for all areas of human development. Yet, they are maliciously hidden from us. This explains why governmental groups supposedly created to fight racial discrimination fail. Many of them have black members with pro-Castro and pro-government serving credentials. These credentials often publicly reveal that they claim to have never experienced ethno-racial discrimination.

Just being black does not automatically give one a feeling of being an Afro-Cuban with an ethno-racial consciousness, or make one militant or take action. Allowing citizens to acknowledge themselves as actors who can have agency from within that position, without needing to get ‘permission’ from those in power—lest they have to experience paralyzing fear on account of racialized duress and police repression—is a totalitarian regime’s very best weapon. Those who create great, contestatory organizations like the *Afro-Cuban Foundation* and the *Citizens’ Committee for Racial Integration*, despite the government labeling them ‘illegal,’ are completely committed to the subject and actual situation, as well as to thinking and acting—something their officialist counterparts lack. They are always hindered by controls, duress and fear, in addition to the incentives they receive, which explains why they lack initiative, because they are belittled and de-

moralized in the face of a community of origin of which they do not feel a part.

In their desire to be close to and/or belong to the white, *criollo* power elite, they quite often feel disconnected from that community. Their self-interested, dishonest and frankly deceitful rhetoric, which praises the Revolution’s accomplishments vis-à-vis the Cuban black population, and which the *criollo* descendants of Spaniards also use in their effort to silence non-conformist, black nay-sayers, imposes on us a perceived need to express gratitude towards those in power. This is not expected from any other group, but rather from those that have been “othered” and falsely perceived as having benefited, and criminalized not only for its illegal ways of earning their keep (because the others are often inaccessible to them), but also because of their color and appearance, which has been officially declared as bad.

Fifth part

Being docile is not a veil, even if it is useful at times, but it is always morally degrading. One is effortless, the other belittling, indignant and humiliating. Imposed and mandatory compliance and obedience are almost military-like. Resignation, and its concomitant passivity, docility, submission and obedience do not lead to progress. Flexibility is not necessarily a sign of submitting to someone else’s will. In Cuba, a place where there is an attempt to impose docility, submissive resignation on folks, particularly blacks, all these things are muddled into one. In fashion, ‘window dressing’ blacks try to get us to believe and/or accept it all as representative of flexibility and progress, choices that have been made consensually. There are principles that cannot be violated, under penalty of be-



Havana street person

ing disrespected and relapsing eternally into subalterity. This ignominy makes it absolutely necessary to be firm and tenacious, persevere and commit acts of civil disobedience. Oppositionists are not rewarded with loyalty, but neither are their repressors and their henchmen. Those in power are not ceding, and barely endorse what they can no longer ignore. It is with this basic knowledge that blacks, particularly Cuban blacks, should behave with themselves to achieve success.

Sixth part

From the African-American civil rights movement in the United States to the South African anti-apartheid movement, from the establishment and connection of U.S. African Americans to the steps taken in the consolidation of the Black Atlantic as a vastly variable and flexible sociological framework, these processes depended on governmental political will. These are 'links of negritude' with myriad and constantly changing expressions. Af-

ter overcoming the deafening, painful cry of yesteryear's Afro-Caribbeans and Africans—from the most proactive to the most anonymous—we return to Africa, when a remote and tragic misfortune was imposed on our black grandfathers by our white ones. The sustaining and vigorous negritude born of those events affirms and reaffirms us. That negritude took root in Indo-Afro-Hispanic-America. We African descendants are here, and negritude will not cease existing or change into just a cultural phenomenon, although culture is part of it, but it always runs the risk of being folklorized by those in power who are anti-black. In facing that pain, those hardships and the wounds that anti-black racism have been inflicting for centuries, which have now become impositions, marginalization, exclusion, humiliation of all sorts and varied expressions of violence, we need a soul and a weapon. That soul and weapon is our negritude, spirit and *cuirasse*, but it must be open and broad-minded, and not entrenched, because we are not trying to create conflagrations, but rather

ensure our selfhood and its myriad borders, consolidate ourselves relying on the best of ourselves, our heritage, creations and recreations, in our open declaration to the world, so we can defend and vindicate ourselves in a way we have a right to as collective and individual subjects.

Our negritude is an expression of our humanity and humanistic philosophy. It was defined by none other than the great Aimé Césaire, a man with a long, prolific and controversial life, as neither passive nor suffering, but the result “of a proactive and combative attitude of the spirit,” “and an awakening... of dignity,” “a rejection... of oppression,” “a struggle against inequality,” that is turned around [and directed] against a world culture system such as it was created during recent decades, and that is characterized by a specific number of preconceived notions [and] assumptions that resulted from an excessively rigid hierarchy,” that is, “negritude was like a revolt against something I’d call European reductionism.”³ It must once again fill that role against the kind of reductionism there is about African descendants as subjects in the Americas, a reductionism that keeps trying to objectify us by means of the most widely varying arguments and rhetoric of any political system.

Our negritude is not a space in which to hide out or an aggressive exercise, because the aggressors are those who forced it to be born and even now sustain it by means of their actions. African descendancy is open to the world. As a part of it, Afro-Cubanness is open to Cubanness. It is a main cog in its founding role, even if my white friend doesn’t understand that. That is why Afro-Cubanness cannot signify a split in the nation, as some self-interested, pro-Castro and oppositionist parties suggest. Afro-Cubanness has brought forth and nurtures the nation from which it

does not exclude or self-exclude itself. It also does not shatter the land from which it comes, and which it just as forcefully chose to, of necessity, integrates and naturalizes itself with greater haste than their white compatriots.

Seventh part

At a time of border and transnational identities, when the Cuban government breaks its own laws, and accepts double citizenship, we must ask ourselves the following question. Why is Afro-Cubanness seen as so repulsive? Might this attitude be nurtured by a fear that Cuba, which has never been white, might cease being so, to their way of thinking? Or that white *criollos* might no longer retain control of power? The latter scenario is the most likely. Controlling power is tightly connected controlling wealth, something the black population has been greatly responsible for creating, but has not greatly or generally enjoyed. Hardships of all sorts have been the norm for us, including material poverty, and many would like for us to suffer poverty of spirit as well. If this were not the case, why are they even trying to take our religions away from us. Among these, the only one that was certifiably born in Cuba was Regla de Ocha, or Santería, which for the first time is in a position of advantage over other religions as a producer of material wealth. Why is it that the world has now discovered them and comes here with curiosity and goodwill? We have a long way to go in our journey through this Afro-Cubanness of ours, about which we have nothing to hide or be ashamed in the context of a Cubanness in which those who should be our brethren see us as second-rate citizens. Shedding our blood on the rebel battlefields did not create a sincere brotherhood in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. The fate of the Castro rebels was similar to that of the



Children in marginal neighborhood

black *mambi* soldiers. They were overwhelmingly confined to the margins, or excluded without recourse. “Revolutions here have been made by whites, because they are in the know, because they have studied, because they are the ones who can carry them out,” assert many, mostly whites—whether they are young militants, communistic Castro atheists, or leftist lay Catholics always excluded from power. Both are intellectuals and university professors; the latter older enough to be the former’s father. When it comes to a casual, brotherly exchange, they both have *mulata* wives. Yes, we blacks have been cannon fodder, the people who won the battles, and frequently led them. But, whites have appropriated the power and excluded us from its benefits. For them, we are still “those little blacks” who must be grateful and, of course, please them by behaving well. This way, things would remain the way they are, that is, we’d have to resign ourselves to the idea that “there is nothing else, because that is our lot.” History has been repeated in each one of our revolutions. When will this end?

Eighth part

What is disconcerting, worrisome, stresses and preoccupies white *criollos* of any politi-

cal persuasion is that an important group of Cuban blacks that is no longer naïve or unknowing practices a militant Afro-Cubanness and is proud of it. Its members are worried about their people’s future, which is the same as being worried about the nation. We must decide that it is time to put an end to this situation. We know that the time has come: the time is now. It is time to take a ‘never again’ attitude towards to submission, servitude and resignation, and to being held prisoner to fears inculcated by our supposed liberators, who are nothing more than neo-slavists masquerading as revolutionaries, like their predecessors did as patriots. The time is now. We must say no to the temptation of solving personal problems by being taken in and raised up by those in power, because what we will receive in the form of crumbs is everything we got for ourselves on our own. We can no longer allow opposition to our black people, because it would be like being against ourselves. We can never again make a commitment to political ideologies that give us utopias that never come to fruition, or in whose realization we are continuously disadvantaged.

We need many Apontes and Antonio Maceos; many Mariana Grajales and Reyitas; many Evaristo Estenozes and Pedro Ivonets; many Rómulo Lachatañeré and many Bencomos; many Rafael Serras and Walterio Carbonells; many Consuelo Cernas and Juan René Betancourts; many Juan F. Benemelises and many Iván César Martínezes; many Carlos Moores and Georgina Herreras; many Zenaida Manfugás and Elvira Cerveras; many Enrique Pattersons and María Victoria Ruiz Labritses; many Leonardo Calvos and Sonia Garroses; many Manuel Cuesta Morúas and Diarenis Calderónes. All of these Afro-Cuban men and women are in tune with and clear about the past, present and future of our real

history of barely or altogether unacknowledged resistance, rebellion, merits, prestige and unequalled contributions to the creation of this incomplete nation. They have known how to characterize, confront and neutralize the anomalous phenomenon of our ethno-racial asymmetries and everything else related to them when facing those directly responsible. Many of them are acting on behalf of a true but threatened nation that is always hindered by the white *criollos* in power.

We must confront the conflicts, difficulties and dilemmas at hand, our traumas and dramas, incoherencies and absurdities, anxieties and frustrations, fear and pain. If we don't confront the fundamental problems of the structural racism that the old Peninsular, power elite imposed on us upon the emergence of modern Cuba, and the representative of power have been transforming so as not to lose it, we cannot be truly effective. We must face this racism because it wounds and debases, deforms, sickens and perturbs, because without doing so we cannot create from our multiethnic and multiracial population the truly pluralistic nation we need and must be.

To once again ignore it in order to avoid accusations of being treasonous renegades, unappreciative, or annexationists will not protect us from having to experience the complexities of a problem that this black-white island should not ignore in any future political project. Hopefully, everyone mentioned in this text will learn this, particularly my white, dissident, political oppositionist friend, since she should really act as an active political subject in a future Cuba. Hopefully, we will all learn this. We are a population in which even marital, maternal and paternal love is transcended and stricken by ethno-racial complexes, for which reason our negritude continues being not just necessary, but indispensable. The same

goes from Afro-Cuban militancy, even if "my friend" and so many others don't listen to or understand it. Yet, they will, because the need to is pressing, and at this historic time, it is imposing itself. It is no longer time for servitude, but rather to start a process of decolonization. Historical circumstances are finally on our side, despite the fact that some don't like this and refuse to acknowledge it. The United Nations did not declare the year 2011 the "International Year for African Descendants" as a handout or charity, but because the result of all the accumulated factors can no longer be disdained or taken for granted. All of us, no matter what color or ethno-racial affiliation, need to learn this, lest we risk political, civic and national suicide.

Notes:

- 1- All quotes come from the author's field work or personal experience.
- 2- Serviat, Pedro. *El problema negro en Cuba y su solución definitiva*. La Habana: Editora Política, 1986. In this work, Castro communist Serviat already associates Afro-Cubans organized in the illegal Independent Party of Color, who were massacred in 1912 (supposedly to benefit the nation which they were accused of wanting to tear asunder), of being pro-United States and selfish, and blamed them as the reason for the violence the racist, white *criollos* unleashed against the black Cuban population. Thus, the Afro-Cuban population has long been held responsible for the terrible violence against them, which is an old trick the dominators use. They aren't responsible for the evil, but rather the victims themselves.
- 3- Césaire, Aimé. *Discurso sobre a Negritude*. Belo Horizonte, Brazil: Editoria Nandyala, 2010. [Miami, 1987]: p. 109 s.