MY AFRO-LATIN AMERICA: INTRODUCTION TO COSMOLOGICAL HISTORY

By:
Julio César Pino*

Abstract

These explorations in history are dubbed "Afro-Latin Essays" first of all because the author is himself Afro-Latin. This is a portrait of my America, much as the Franco-American historian Eugene Weber wrote of "My France."[1] *This is my America, and I do not pretend it is anyone else's. The essays collected here are the product of over thirty years of study and political activism dating back to my undergraduate days at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). One conclusion I have drawn from three decades of scholarship is "no study, no political practice, and vice versa." As the author of these reflections I participated, in a modest way, in the struggles of the peoples of Latin America to gain their freedom, from my native land of Cuba to Central America to what I now consider my second patria, Brazil. I was and remain the perennial student and the workers and peasants of Latin America---black, white, indigenous, female and male---are my professors. My heritage is Afro-Latin, my subjects are Afro-Latin, and to the extent that research and imaginative insight permit, my weltanschauung is Afro-Latin.*

Keywords: *Afro-Latin America, Malês, Muslim, history-historiography-pedagogy*

Introduction

The three topics covered in these essays are intertwined: history, historiography, and pedagogy. They are not ranked in order of importance, for I no longer believe, as I did thirty years ago, that history is like the lever of Archimedes and "if I stand in one place, I can move the earth." Let me use, by way of illustration, the topic that has engaged my research for the past decade. My views on the Afro-Muslims of Salvador, Brazil, in nineteenth century, the Malês, are different for having taught Afro-Latin history in the Midwest of the United States, and not merely for having scoured the Archives of the State of Bahia in Salvador. I further insist that my outlook is different because my subjects exist in my historical imagination, and not merely as one knot in a long rope of historiography on the Malês. I can convey to my students one part of the historiography, and a part of my historical research, but never the whole story. A leap of faith is required, of me and by the students, to enter the world of the Malês; we are both sojourners in a night journey out to rediscover an Afro-Muslim cosmos. One way I should like all of us who do history to re-think our craft is by positing a triad of history-historiography-pedagogy, where exordium and terminus are the same. No matter where one enters crossing through the other two is imperative for a fuller, I do not say full, picture of the past. But, there is a key to all three doors, and that is the ability of the historian to combine research with imagination. Facts do not speak for themselves; rather the collective memory of the historical actors speaks through us and by us to the students and from the students back to us.

This Afro-Latin view of history forces a rethinking of concepts critical to Latin American studies, from multiculturalism to transculturation to subalterns, all of which in one way of another, make the case for a melting-pot of cultures and soft ways of resisting power. In revisiting and revising the histories of the Malês and working class women I stress both the continuity and continuum of resistance from mosque to shantytown, using weapons ranging from the female corpus to the Quran. This collection of essays might be dubbed "marginalization and its discontents". Much like Moliére's "bourgeois gentilhomme", who had been speaking prose all of his life without knowing it, I had been writing of the resistance of those silenced by history for the last three decades, though my locus had changed from *favela* (shantytown) to prayer house and I had made a leap in time from the twentieth to the nineteenth century. In the second decade of the twenty-first century it is my firm belief that these essays, some written decades apart, are more relevant than ever, for we are now at one of those all too rare turning points in the history of what is now a global working class. Let us reflect on the timeliness, and timelessness, of the themes herein addressed:

* Corresponding author: Julio Cesar Pino, PhD, Associate Professor at Kent State University, Ohio, United States of America. Email: pino1@kent.edu
[1] Eugene Weber (1992). *My France: Politics, Culture, Myth*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

*The urbanization of the working class: The countryside has moved to the city; of the seven billion people on Earth by 2010 over half lived in cities, with more than one billion living in slums, typically drawing a dollar a day in salary, but through migration they became neither citizens nor proletarians but semi-citizens and semi-proletarians; a floating population, such as the Malês of the late nineteenth century or the favela women of the late twentieth, seeking to survive in a strange, hostile environment but also searching for some reason to survive---something to believe in. These essays, the author hopes, can illuminate questions ranging from why the slum dwellers of Cairo turn to the politics of "Islam is the answer" to bourgeois versus proletarian feminism. Race has also come to the fore in global class struggle in a manner I had not envisioned thirty years ago. The world is more and more divided between a First World of the privileged, including a significant portion of white workers, along with select members of the black and female working class, and a Third World where workers of color, and especially women, constitute the large majority of the urban population living on the outskirts of the great cities from New Delhi to Nairobi. This new global proletariat is neither post-racial nor post-feminist but marginalized on account of class, race and gender in mega-slums.[2]

* The entry of women into the global workforce, and the crisis of the family. Entering the new century the Third World, with Latin America leading the way, witnessed both the explosion of poor, female-headed households and the rise to power of female politicians from Mexico to Argentina. But, what do we know of the working women of the region? What is her contribution to history? Does fighting for female rights contradict or enhance the struggles of male workers? What of their children? Every year of the new millennium seven million children, mostly in the Third World, die before reaching age five.[3] These women and children are the heirs of slaves, independence fighters and *favelados* (shantytown dwellers). They haul water, make bricks, collect garbage and clean the houses of the rich. Are they trapped by history in repeating cycles of poverty and violence, or do their methods of survival provide clues as to how another, non-capitalist world might be forged?

- The resilience of religion. Organized religion had been pronounced dead by everyone from Marxists to secular humanists to post-modernists. Yet, in the last decades of the twentieth century, religion made an outstanding, and to its opponents, startling comeback among the world's poor. The opiate of the masses, supposed a comprehensible but futile gesture of symbolic, semiotic resistance was taken back from theoreticians by practitioners, and the notion and practice of religion as a genuine weapon, and not an example of false consciousness, was acknowledged by everyone from Fidel Castro to philosophers such as Terry Eagleton.[4] These Afro-Latin essays explore both church and state manipulation of religion in the forging of more pliable citizens and the use of belief in everything from enabling poor women to speak for themselves and Muslims to take back the night---the cosmos of history---from their European Catholic masters.
- The persistence of race. When the twentieth century began, the century of the "problem of color", according to W.E.B. Du Bois, race was a cudgel wielded by the world's white minority against the vast majority of the "colored races".[5] This blatant racism soon gave way to a more subtle but no less dangerous celebration of "racial democracy" and "transculturation" and finally to the proclamation of a "post-racial" society in the Americas.[6] In my investigations of race and race-thinking in Cuba and Brazil I put forth the notion that race can never be considered apart from class, gender, culture, religion or geography, and that changes in one must per force bring about changes in the others, *viz.* a post-racial society is not possible within the confines of class society or patriarchy. Nor can race as an issue, or problem, in the Americas be treated separately from global history. Has there not, ever since the European conquests, always been a confluence between Africa, Europe, and Indo-America? Will this river, and its reflux, ever stop flowing?
- No end to resistance. Only a brief word is needed here. In a one super-power, globalized, capitalist planet, is there any room left for resistance, and if so, of what kind? These essays suggest that if Afro-Muslim slaves and black shantytown women can make history, who can honestly argue that history, meaning resistance---the will in motion against matter---is finished? The hope for history as an art and teaching tool

[2]I am drawing primarily on Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums* (New York: Verso, 2007) for these statistics, *en passim*, without endorsing his conclusions.
[3]British Broadcasting Corporation, "Child Deaths: UNICEF Says Global Mortality Rates Fall", *BBC Online*, 13 of September, 2012. www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-19581433
[4]Fidel Castro, Armando Hart and Frei Betto (2006). *Fidel and Religion: Conversations with Frei Betto on Marxism and Liberation Theology*. New York: Ocean Press. ; Giles Fraser (Compiler), Terry Eagleton (Introduction) (2007), *The Gospels: Jesus Christ (Revolutions)*, New York: Verso.
[5] W.E. B. Dubois (2011). *The Souls of Black Folks*. New York: Tribeca Books.
[6] Richard Rodriguez (2003). *Brown: The Last Discovery of America*. New York: Penguin, reprint. p.1.

> lies in the historian throwing in her and his lot with those marginal figures, many literally operating in the dark, which persist in being recognized as human beings who shall determine their own fate.

When I began to research the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, the topic of my dissertation and first book, I took pride in the fact that I was conducting a scientific investigation of a historical problem---how the shantytowns of Rio originated, why and how they had grown to gargantuan proportions, and how urban poverty was produced and reproduced in a capitalist underdeveloped economy. However, further investigation and reflections on two centuries of Afro-Latin life in the Americas have convinced me that "social science" is an oxymoron. The historian should take for a model not the scientist but the poet, using imaginative insight to enter the world of the slave and the shantytown woman from inside out, and if not photograph at least paint a picture, in words, of the cosmos of the Bahian mosque and the *carioca* (Rio de Janeiro) favela. The historian must write and speak in poetry, not prose. If history is an attempt at reproduction then poetic insight, as in Aristotle's praise of poetry, produces a likeness, and "the reason why men enjoy seeing a likeness is that in contemplating it they find themselves learning or inferring, and saying perhaps, "Ah, that is he." [7]

I began my scholarly career with a strong belief in historical laws and the ability of the historian to abstract everyday experience into universal concepts. I am now convinced that the opposite is closer to the mark; the more we know, or think we know, about a historical subject the less it is possible to draw conclusions relating to universal truths. The women and men of the plantations, slave quarters and shantytowns ate, drank, worked, slept and , in some cases, worshipped as we do, but they were not, as one of my dissertation advisors once told me, "people just like us." Our common humanity is what makes historical understanding possible, but while the needs and functions of our ancestors may have been be akin to the living, the meaning of those needs and functions are particular, grounded in a time and space partly open and partly closed to the historian. I shall call sum of the meanings of historical actors their cosmos. The notion of cosmos, completely absent from *Family and Favela*, takes center stage in these essays. In these pages I write of cosmology---an exploration of those beliefs and habits, mental and physical, customs, languages, signs, and symbols which belong to one community and may be shared, but never paralleled, by another. This venture is not an exercise in esotericism nor thick description, but neither is it scientific understanding. These essays treat a subject that is non-scientific and some might even label non-rational, and that is the mind of the historical agent. That mind is driven by will, inner being, and not a common, much less universal, human nature but a communal spirit or culture.

A cosmos is not a prison house with doors and windows shut, and an "Entry Forbidden" sign placed on the outside gate. The historian may enter, provided that at the forefront of her or his mind is the caveat of L.P. Hartley in *The Go-Between*, "The past is a different country; they do things differently there." [8] Cultures differ from each other not so much on the scale of labor productivity or any other scientific, materialist calculation but on the values particular to that culture, which can never be weighed on any scale. These values may be unique, singular or even shared, up to a point, but the one thing they are not is inevitable---the product of a process or linear progression of history, to be examined from the high perch of the historian from a backward-looking vantage point. The greatest mistake a historian can make, and I made it myself for the last thirty years, is to conflate function with meaning. I may see a "subproletariat" in the Rio shantytowns, but it does not therefore follow that the favelados thought of themselves this way, or any other economic category. A domestic servant or construction worker in 1940s Brazil performed an economic function that I, the historian, recognize as partially proletarian and partially marginal to the economy of the city, but these are my meanings derived from my values. In order to step back in time and view the world of work and home through the eyes of the favelados the historian needs more imagination than information; greater use of insight and less reliance on statistics. In stepping back out of my own century and into the world of the nineteenth-century Muslim inhabitants of Salvador the necessity of an imaginative leap looms larger, for it was an underground world of a religion imported to Brazil and persecuted by the government authorities. How can that past be recaptured if political economy or the military powers of the Brazilian state are used for starting points of investigation?

The historian assuming the role of cosmologist is not quite the same thing as the profession of historical anthropologist or sociologist. These two rightly consider themselves scientists decoding the past in the manner of a

[7] Francis Fergusson (1961). *Aristotle's Poetics*. New York: Hill and Wang. p. 55-56.
[8] L.P. Hartley (2000). *The Go-Between*. New York: Penguin. p. 1.

student learning a foreign language and translating it into her or his own tongue. A completely accurate translation is impossible because no two translators will ever agree on the correct meaning for the same word, but an approximation of the original passage, understandable to one's peers, is possible, for all languages are the expressions of the natural condition of humankind, much like hunger or thirst. In arguing for a cosmology of the past, I am proposing a bolder break with science, and a much more radical role for the historian, than many of my peers. [9] I see the Malês, for example, occupying one locus of a pan-African and trans-Atlantic Muslim community, but that knowledge is derived from a combination of studying what they recorded of their religious lives along with the insight I gain being an Afro-Latin Muslim myself.

The historian cosmologist is forever walking in the shadow lands situated somewhere between Terence's maxim, "I am human and nothing human is alien to me" (not by coincidence, Karl Marx's motto), and the dark, mysterious and irrational side on humanity. [10] The cosmologist always returns to the question of values, and values are not quoted on the London Stock Exchange nor counted in the national census. The values of a community or people are immeasurable and to a high degree incommensurable with other values, including our own in contemporary times. Values may be products of the soil, of the way women and men toil the earth, per Marx, but they are not simply epiphenomenon of production. Under the rubric of values we may place customs, traditions, religions, and other symbolic gestures, and in the end we shall find that all these things boil down to will, individual and collective, working upon nature and in so doing carving out not a universal human nature but, on the contrary, the peculiarities that make the Malês akin to and apart from other Muslims, and the favelada integral and marginal to the definition of the Brazilian woman. [11] In sum: in the course of my studies I have transcended, while not wholly abandoning, the view of history as matter in motion, clashing with other matter to produce synthesis and a higher level of material conditions to a belief in the great power if not the final triumph, of the will to resist and overcome material conditions. Here I stand, a traitor to my former self, but I can do no other.

I begin this collection of "Afro-Latin Essays" with a study of the Malês in the belief that it constitutes the most thorough attempt I have yet undertaken to write history from a transcendental idealist, or what I have termed cosmological, point of view, but practical considerations, personal and political, also played important roles in choosing this topic for insightful rather than scientific analysis. After publishing my monograph on the favelas in 1997 I anticipated making the history of the Afro-Cuban working class in Havana, post-independence to pre-Castro, my next assignment in Afro-Latin history. However, I had not counted on the bureaucratic and political problems that come with being a Cuban-American wanting to return to his homeland for research. Almost two years went by, and while I gathered valuable information from American sources, chiefly the National Archives and the Library of Congress, all my petitions for an academic visa to Cuba went unanswered. In diplomatic terms, I was occupying a twilight zone of multiple identities; Cuban, but not Cuban enough for the current Cuban government, and a U.S. citizen but one who had to produce a Cuban passport or birth certificate to apply for entrance into Cuba. This exercise in futility taught me a valuable lesson in digging inside the world of the uprooted and marginalized, of which I was and am a member. With diplomats shutting doors in my face on account of my lack of a fixed identity, I decided to return to my home ground and begin another project on Brazil, shifting focus and locus: the Northeast rather than Southeast; the nineteenth rather than twentieth century; and, most important, the world of spirit, in this case Islam, rather than matter---the shantytowns of my book.

Although I envisioned the Malês project in 2000, and spent that year reading the secondary literature, research in Brazil did not begin until the fall of 2001 when I made personal contacts in Salvador, in the state of Bahia, which would allow me to stay in the city for one year to conduct my studies. I found what I had read on the Malês unsatisfactory due to its scientific, materialist and parochial approach, and the failure of historians to place the individuals they studied inside a broader trans-Atlantic and pan-African world. Another look from a fresh perspective was required, one not tied to the provincialism of Brazilian history. Before departure for Brazil, politics

[9] Laura de Mello e Souza (2004). *The Devil and the Land of the Holy Cross: Witchcraft, Slavery, and Popular Religion in Colonial Brazil*. Trans. Diane Grosklaus Whitty. Austin: University of Texas Press, does an excellent job of recreating the mythical side of the European-African-Indo-American triad of imaginations which composed colonial Brazil, yet the author still relies on a functionalist interpretation what this or that ritual was supposed to achieve for the perpetrator.

[10] Terence, *Heuaton Timorumenus*, 77.

[11] Carl Jung's notion of a "collective unconscious" represented by shared symbols and myths for all of humanity is a variation on this theme, alas not sufficiently utilized by historians, with the notable exception of Arnold Toynbee. See "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious" in Joseph Campbell, ed. (1971). *The Portable Jung*. New York: Viking Press, pp. 59-69; M. Goldwert (1983). "Toynbee and Jung: The historian and analytical psychology—a brief comment", *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, pp. 363-366.

intervened on my project, but in a dramatically different manner than my failed attempts to enter Cuba. I took off for Brazil on September 18, 2001, exactly one week after the 9/11 attacks by al-Qaeda on New York City and Washington D.C. This act, and fact, had to have profound repercussions on my research, as the line between the personal and political was once again blurred, just as in the case of the aborted Cuba project. All of a sudden "political Islam" was one everyone's mind, from Washington think-tanks to Brazilian daily newspapers. I found myself with the advantage of watching the reaction of the U.S. government and the American public to these dramatic historical events through a Brazilian lens---newspapers, television and daily conversations. I was just far enough away from what both Osama Bin Laden and U.S. President George W. Bush were calling the epicenter of a holy war not to be swayed on my own understanding of political Islam, yet living through these events is what opened my eyes to the notion that jihad could take many forms, and not simply military attack, be it the Islamic raids on the U.S. homeland or the armed urban insurrection of the Malês in 1835. Two major autobiographical points are important to mention if the reader is to grasp my aim in this essay, "A Day in the Mind of the Malê": I had converted to Islam in the year 2000, but was still engaged in Afro-Cuban history and striving to conduct investigation in Cuba. My religious conversion may have subconsciously turned my research interests towards the Afro-Muslim world, but I leave such speculation up to the reader; second, most of my writing from 2001-2002 was done inside the only mosque in Salvador, which also served as an Islamic Cultural Center, complete with a library of Quranic commentary and Hadith (sayings attributed to the Prophet Mohammed). The residents and caretakers of the mosque proudly called themselves the heirs of the Malês. In living among them I was simultaneously living through a jihad in the outside, present day, world, played out back home and reported and disputed in Brazil, but also reliving the Afro-Muslim past I was chronicling by being among the descendants of another jihad of the previous century.

My failed Cuban venture, along with numerous trips to Brazil during the 1990s to tie up loose ends in my book on the favelas pushed me to rethink race relations in both of my home countries. On this topic too I was unsatisfied with predominant explanations that tied the two nations together as twin cells in a much larger body called Afro-Latin America. (Actually, "Afro-America" was the preferred term in the 1990s.) "Hegel seems to me to always want to say that things that which look different are really the same. Whereas my interest is in showing that things which look the same are really different", Ludwig Wittgenstein once remarked about his place in philosophy. [12] I have come to the same conclusion regarding race relations in Afro-Latin America. The generalizations and abstractions that dominate the field of black studies, even when produced by self-proclaimed post-modernists who see ever-shifting patterns and paradigms, do not hold well under close scrutiny. Historians cannot simply assume, as one school of thought maintains, that plantation societies in the New World were bound to produce slave revolts and runaway communities. [13] I see no such repeating patterns. In "Fernando Ortiz, Gilberto Freyre, and the Myth of Mulataje: An Essay in Comparative Historiography", an abridged edition of which appeared in Spanish in 2002, [14] I took aim at the exponents of "transculturation" and "racial democracy" in Latin America, Ortiz and Freyre, respectively, to demonstrate that in fact these two authors, so often lumped together in the historiography of Afro-Latin America, took radically different approaches to the study of race relations, based upon totally different national histories---Cuba's revolutionary integrationism forged through anti-imperialism and the formation of a significant black proletariat versus the relative marginalization of the Afro-Brazilian population following abolition and low levels of black participation in class struggles in Brazil prior to 1930.

The pedagogy of Afro-Latin America is currently a cottage industry, which is why I decided to post in this collection the 2004 essay "A Twenty-First Century Agenda for Teaching the History of Afro-Latin America and the Caribbean", originally published in *Latin American Perspectives*. [15] The article captures a certain moment when Afro-Latin studies first began to attract a large audience in American universities. I promote a pedagogy that examines race-making through chronicles of historical resistance to racism and colonialism on the part of the actors, rather than taking the smooth path of pinning academic labels on them. Drawing on my own classes at Kent State University I review the hits, and misses, of introducing students to a multi-disciplinary and multi-dimensional approach to a new continent, Afro-Latin America, utilizing sources ranging from testimonial literature to political

[12]Rush Rhees, ed (1981). *Conversations with Wittgenstein*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 157.
[13]João José Resis (1983). "Resistência Escrava na Bahia: "podemos brincar, folgar e cantar…: O protesto escravo na América", *Afro-Ásia*, No. 14, pp 107-122.
[14]Julio César Pino (2002). "Fernando Ortiz y Gilberto Freyre: racismo, democracia racial y revolución." *Revista Estudios* Caracas, Venezuela. Vol. 10, No. 19, pp 55-72.
[15]Julio César Pino (2004). "A Twenty-First Century Agenda for Teaching the History of Afro-Latin America and the Caribbean", *Latin American Perspectives*, Issue 134, Vol. 31. No. 1, pp 39-58.

manifestos to contemporary film. Today I would no longer write, as in 2004, that academics who would tackle this subject must break out of the ghetto to which they have been assigned by academia, for very many, to their credit, have left the barrio. [16]Yet, I stand by my conviction that the smashing of the colonialism of the mind---using North American derived ideas of race and transplanting them to Latin America---remains a top priority. We still need a revolutionary pedagogy, not the re-shouting of outworn shibboleths.

My shift towards the study of marginalized groups gained greater depth when I revisited the subject of my book, the favelados of Rio de Janeiro. Although *faveladas* (favela women) feature prominently in that opus, I had not inquired into the role of gender in politics and gender formation from above and below in my study of how the favelas came to be. The essay "The Female in the Favela and the Favela in the Female" is based on numerous research trips to Rio de Janeiro after the publication of my book. This time, I wanted to go beyond the materialist and statistical exposition of shantytown women's lives and, in the words of one commentator of an early draft of this essay, "listen to the women themselves." In pursuit of this maxim, I poured through journals and field reports of the social workers who studied at the Pontifical Catholic University (PUC) of Rio de Janeiro in the 1940s, interviewing faveladas relocated to the Provisional Proletarian Parks housing settlements spread throughout the South Zone of Rio, and Catholic women, some clerical, others lay, who participated in the "Saint Sebastian" building project designed by the Church in the 1950s to morally rehabilitate favela women. Presentations of my research at Sarah Lawrence College, The New School for Social Research in New York City and other academic institutions helped me to move beyond a victims and victimizers dichotomy of how the favela woman was shaped in governmental and ecclesiastical discourse during two decades, and focus much more on how the faveladas fought back. I hope to have reproduced for the reader the words of the women themselves on marriage, child-rearing, employment and their thoughts on Church and state attempts to mold their lives.[17]

Just as in the case of Afro-Latin studies, the rediscovery of the lives of Latin American women witnessed its own starting in the1990s and continuing into the new millennium. Exciting new works explored often overlooked countries (Costa Rica, Uruguay), and exotic topics, such as gossip as a means of subverting authority gained a say in the historical literature. Fresh methodologies flowered, with a new generation of historians delving into the politics of the reconstruction of historical and personal memory. My own modest contribution, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Working Women in Latin America: Poverty, Power and Politics from Pre-colonization to Post-globalization" is an exploratory essay of historiography addressed to a generation of scholars and students that too often elide social class in their examination of gender in Latin American history. [18] A much greater concern to me was the parochialism of even the finest of these new studies, which seemed to suggest a hermetically sealed women's past with little if any connection to present day problems. I ask my readers to go in the opposite direction, and time travel back and forth between twenty-first century Latin America to pre-colonial Indo-America, Africa and Europe that we may uncover the economic, legal, political and cultural matrix of women's bondage and their strategies for emancipation. As with Afro-Latins, I am asking historians to make a virtue out of presentism, investigating history by first examining the condition of the contemporary Latin American female, from street vendors to heads of state. This method of doing history aligns itself with the other essays in this volume by reiterating that past and present can never be disentangled nor should they be. If we wish to understand the world of the indigenous female domestic servant of seventeenth-century Lima the place to start is with reports on female poverty, political participation and acts of violence against women in present day Peru. I do not claim the two situations are identical or even highly similar; what I am proposing is that the study of the first case will make no sense unless we have a firm grip on the second. How many of the historians whose work I scrutinize in this essay would agree with me I cannot say, but I will venture to pronounce that they are no more capable of avoiding the reality of the contemporary Latina than I am.

[16]George Reid Andrews (2011). *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, New York: Oxford, 2nd edition, has become the touchstone volume for classroom teaching, while Henry Louis Gates Jr. (2011). *Black in Latin America*. New York: University of New York Press, is meant for a broader public.

[17]The lives of contemporary faveladas are marvelously examined in Donna M. Goldstein (2003). *Laughter Out of Place: Race, Class, Violence and Sexuality in a Rio Shantytown*. Berkeley: University of California Press. See my review in *Latin American Perspectives* Vol. 33, No. 6 (November 2006): 179-181. On institutionalized violence against shantytown women and their political and psychological response the magnum opus is still Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1993). *Death without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

[18]John D. French and Daniel James, eds.(1997). *The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers: From the Household and Factory to the Union Hall and Ballot Box*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, is a bold and largely successful attempt to revive social class for the history of Latin American women, or in the words of the editors to "gender labor history."

At the start of this revolution in Latin American women's history I taught the subject at Kent State University to an undergraduate audience, and one result was the article, "Teaching About Women and Underdevelopment in Latin American History", originally published in *The History Teacher* in 2001. [19] I feel it is important to bring this essay to a broader audience, as it captures reflections of a crucial decade in Latin American history, when socialist revolution was still in the air and neoliberalism hardly a household word, even in academia. The 1990s witnessed the downfall of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, near collapse of the Castro regime in Cuba, and the fadeout of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in Mexico. The time was ripe for a course on the consequences of underdevelopment for Latin American women, and the triumphs and failures of changing the condition of women through political revolution. Many scholars had already consigned all three revolutions to the dustbin of history, while others maintained these revolutions had initially held out the promise of liberating women, but failed to confront women's problems directly, and all had excluded women from positions of political power. [20] Based upon my classroom experience, detailed in this essay, I would say these issues still burn and stimulate fiery discussion among the students. An equally important reason for writing this article was and is to stimulate more male colleagues to teach Latin American women's history.[21]

The last twenty years of my scholarly life, ever since I began to teach at Kent State University, could easily be dismissed under the label of "errata." I have assumed many errors and fallacies in the course of this introduction. Where am I now? I have moved beyond political left and right to more of a *tercermondiste* position on world history---seeing the struggles of the oppressed in terms of a global war between the planet slums and high luxury apartments, while maintaining my focus on capitalism, underdevelopment and revolution. In the philosophy of history I have transcended, but not wholly abandoned, the historical materialist methodology for an appreciation of how personalities and ideas---cosmology, culture and religion---make history through women and men. In the classroom I continue to challenge myself to listen more to my students and, with all due respect, less to academic contemporaries who base their pedagogies on the latest European philosophical fad. Above all, I continue to cling to the hope that the historian, political activist and philosopher can be united in one person who is able and eager to bring provocative insights into both the groves of academe and the political playing field. *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

References

"The Concept of the Collective Unconscious" in Joseph Campbell, ed. (1971). *The Portable Jung*. New York: Viking Press.

Donna M. Goldstein (2003). *Laughter Out of Place: Race, Class, Violence and Sexuality in a Rio Shantytown*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Eugene Weber (1992). *My France: Politics, Culture, Myth*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Fidel Castro, Armando Hart and Frei Betto (2006). *Fidel and Religion: Conversations with Frei Betto on Marxism and Liberation Theology*. New York: Ocean Press.

Francis Fergusson (1961). *Aristotle's Poetics*. New York: Hill and Wang.

George Reid Andrews (2011). *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*, New York: Oxford, 2nd edition.

Giles Fraser (Compiler), Terry Eagleton (Introduction) (2007), *The Gospels: Jesus Christ (Revolutions)*, New York: Verso.

Henry Louis Gates Jr. (2011). *Black in Latin America*. New York: University of New York Press.

[19] *The History Teacher* 34, No. 3 (May 2001): 353-360.

[20] Margaret Randall (1992). *Gathering Rage: The Failure of Twentieth Century Revolutions to Develop a Feminist Agenda*. New York: Monthly Review Press, ; Sandra McGee Deutsch (1991). "Gender and Sociopolitical Change in Twentieth-Century Latin America", *Hispanic American Historical Review* Vol. 71, No. 2. 259-306.

[21] Joel T. Rosenthal (1996). "Every Man Should Do It! Teaching Women's History". *Perspectives*, Vol. 34, Issue 4, 21-22.

João José Resis (1983). "Resistência Escrava na Bahia: "podemos brincar, folgar e cantar…: O protesto escravo na América", *Afro-Ásia*, No. 14.

Joel T. Rosenthal (1996). "Every Man Should Do It! Teaching Women's History". *Perspectives*, Vol. 34, Issue 4.

John D. French and Daniel James, eds.(1997). *The Gendered Worlds of Latin American Women Workers: From the Household and Factory to the Union Hall and Ballot Box*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Julio César Pino (2002). "Fernando Ortiz y Gilberto Freyre: racismo, democracia racial y revolución." *Revista Estudios* Caracas, Venezuela. Vol. 10, No. 19.

Julio César Pino (2004). "A Twenty-First Century Agenda for Teaching the History of Afro-Latin America and the Caribbean", *Latin American Perspectives*, Issue 134, Vol. 31. No. 1.

L.P. Hartley (2000). *The Go-Between*. New York: Penguin.

Laura de Mello e Souza (2004). *The Devil and the Land of the Holy Cross: Witchcraft, Slavery, and Popular Religion in Colonial Brazil*. Trans. Diane Grosklaus Whitty. Austin: University of Texas Press.

M. Goldwert (1983). "Toynbee and Jung: The historian and analytical psychology—a brief comment", *Journal of Analytical Psychology*.

Margaret Randall (1992). *Gathering Rage: The Failure of Twentieth Century Revolutions to Develop a Feminist Agenda*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Mike Davis (2007). *Planet of Slums*. New York: Verso.

Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1993). *Death without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Richard Rodriguez (2003). *Brown: The Last Discovery of America*. New York: Penguin, reprint.

Rush Rhees, ed (1981). *Conversations with Wittgenstein*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sandra McGee Deutsch (1991). "Gender and Sociopolitical Change in Twentieth-Century Latin America", *Hispanic American Historical Review* Vol. 71, No. 2.

W.E. B. Dubois (2011). *The Souls of Black Folks*. New York: Tribeca Books.