
***El pensamiento antiimperialista de José Martí.
Paradigma de la identidad cultural latinoamericana
The anti-imperialist thought of José Martí. Paradigm of
Latin American cultural identity***

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Resumen

Los aportes de José Martí se evidencian por sus reflexiones sobre la identidad, la autoctonía, la cultura latinoamericana, el problema de los pueblos originarios y la emancipación de importancia para entender el problema de las identidades. Se ofrece una sistematización sobre el esclarecimiento histórico y conceptual del antiimperialismo martiano como paradigma de la identidad cultural latinoamericana, una visión sobre el concepto de identidad antiimperialista sobre la base teórica de los nexos con otros criterios, actividades docentes al respecto y que sirvieron de modelo para su construcción a partir del empleo de métodos teóricos de investigación.

Palabras clave: Pensamiento antiimperialista; Identidad cultural latinoamericana; Identidad antiimperialista; Antiimperialismo martiano

Summary

José Martí's contributions are evidenced by his reflections on identity, autochthony, Latin American culture, the problem of native peoples and emancipation of importance to understand the problem of identities. A systematization is offered on the historical and conceptual clarification of Martí's anti-imperialism as a paradigm of Latin American cultural identity, a vision on the concept of anti-imperialist identity on the theoretical basis of the links with other criteria, teaching activities in this respect and which served as a model for its construction from the use of theoretical research methods.

Keywords: Anti-imperialist thought; Latin American cultural identity; Anti-imperialist identity; Martí's anti-imperialism; Anti-imperialism

Introduction

The Cuban revolutionary process has been marked by the imperialist offensive and in its course has not been free of contradictions, deficiencies and insufficiencies; hence, it has been raised to the forefront the knowledge of Martí's thought, with emphasis on his anti-imperialism as a way to strengthen the national and Latin American cultural identity.

Since the revolutionary triumph on January 1, 1959, it has been a permanent concern of the leadership of the Revolution, the knowledge of the thought and work of José Martí by all the people, especially children and youth.

To achieve this purpose, the Cuban State, together with the political and mass organizations, as well as the Ministries of Culture, Education and Higher Education have directed several actions, among which stand out:

- 1- The realization, in 1971 of the First National Congress of Education and Culture that counted with the participation of teachers, professors and intellectuals, as well as different political and mass organizations, which raised the knowledge of the life and work of José Martí for the transcendence of his postulates in education.
- 2- The appearance in 1972, in response to a call from the Union of Young Communists of the Martí Youth Seminars, which are developed from the base to the national level to promote debate and exchange of various topics related to Martí's thought.
- 3- The creation of the Center for Martí Studies in June 1997, through Decree No.1 of the Council of Ministers, with the purpose of preserving, disseminating and systematizing the study of the life of the Apostle.
- 4- The creation of the Yearbook of the Center for Martí Studies in 1978, to publish academic texts, update Martí's bibliography, disseminate writings not included in the Complete Works, review books and other materials concerning José Martí.
- 5- The creation of the Cathedrals Martiana, supported by Ministerial Resolution No. 604/88 of the Ministry of Education (MINED). In the same, its fundamental objectives are gathered, directed to study in depth and to divulge by different ways, the life and work of the National

Hero, in correspondence with the changes that have been operated and that have consolidated the initiated work.

At the macro-social level, actions are carried out that attest to the presence of Martí's thought in the priorities of MINED and the Government, in a general way, among which are the following:

1- The creation of the José Martí Cultural Society in 1995, through the National Martiano Program, which begins in April 1997, directed by Armando Hart Dávalos, which contributes to achieve the necessary rapprochement of Cubans who love and build who has been, is and will be a permanent motive for reflection and the search for human improvement.

2- In chapter 3 of the Ministerial Resolution No. 60/96 of MINED, it is oriented to consolidate the already created Martian Classrooms and to extend them to the greater amount of possible groups, aspect that corroborates the necessity to continue deepening in the work of José Martí.

3- The creation of the Values Formation Chair, which was established in MINED's Ministerial Resolution 90/98. "Guidelines for the strengthening of the formation of values, discipline and civic responsibility from the school.

The decadence of imperialism and the search for alternatives of its defenders in perpetuating it demand the union of all progressive forces to close ranks in this struggle that demands the preservation of the original cultures of the peoples and in this sense, José Martí left a legacy.

My friends know how these verses came out of my heart. It was that winter of anguish, when through ignorance, or fanatical faith, or fear, or courtesy, the Spanish-American peoples gathered in Washington, under the fearsome eagle. Which of us has forgotten that shield, the shield in which the eagle of Monterrey and Chapultepec, the eagle of Lopez and Walker, clutched in its claws the flags of all America? (Martí, 1975, p. 143)

In this sense, systematization is offered on the historical and conceptual clarification of Martí's anti-imperialism as a paradigm of Latin American cultural identity, as well as a vision on the concept of anti-imperialist identity on the theoretical basis of the links with other criteria in this regard.

Development

Latin American cultural identity from José Martí's anti-imperialist vision.

In the 19th century, José Martí handled concepts and criteria ahead of his time. His ideals of freedom and independence, of deep humanist, anti-colonialist and pro-independence convictions, went far beyond simple postulates or speeches for an era. A gradual evolution of thought can be appreciated through his texts, being his ideology one of the elementary sources for the Latin American thinkers who preceded him.

Approaching culture and identity from his vision, based on the experiences accumulated in the most important periods of his life, is a recurring theme in his work. In this way, he allows us to know the history, not only of Cuba, but also of those peoples where he left his mark, especially those of America.

José Martí and his reflection on cultural identity, the question of the indigenous and the ethnic as the foundation of the Latin American, are essential for the knowledge of the cultural, social and political history of the social formations of Latin America and at the same time, a fundamental frame of reference to interpret the meaning of the resurgence of the Latin American indigenous movements at the beginning of the 21st century. At present, the cultural and identity rapprochement of the peoples is gaining importance in the face of the conservative wave against our unity. "Peoples who do not know each other must hurry to get to know each other, like those who are going to fight together" (Martí, 1975, p. 15).

The concepts and reflections on culture and identity in José Martí's work form essential elements of it. Martí's thought on Latin America constitutes an obligatory reference for the analysis of what identifies us and differentiates us from the rest of the world. To this end, he takes into account three levels of perception: that which emanates from the knowledge of the situation of the Indian and the forms of government in those Latin American republics that have preserved some of the old colonial institutions or their spirit, that which critically imitates ways of being from countries with a history, culture and social composition different from those of the Latin American orb and that which is related to the sphere of culture, seen by Martí as the great instrument that would allow reducing the enormous disparities in cultural and educational development between the Latin American nations and the cultural level reached in the dominant countries.

In essence, Martí's anti-imperialist thought is an inexhaustible source of historical memory in Latin American cultural identity, so that cultural identity is assumed as: "...the production of answers and values that, as heir and transmitter, actor and author of his culture, he makes in a given historical context as a result of the socio-psychological principle of differentiation - identification in relation to other group (s) or subject (s) culturally defined (s)". Laurencio (2002, p. 17)

Regarding cultural identity, the component of the historical values of the peoples is focused on the community of interest to preserve and transmit them to posterity, so it is considered important, in this work, the analysis of historical memory as an essential part of the anti-imperialist cultural identity. In this sense, it assumes historical memory as: "the faculty to preserve the events, phenomena, feelings, ideals, norms, customs and native, genuine values that characterize a nation and transfer them to the plane of historical consciousness" (Reyes, 1999, p. 36).

Peoples who do not preserve their historical memory have no historical consciousness or culture. Hence, the interest in studying the thought of José Martí as an essential way to not forget our origins. This can be analyzed through the different moments of his life, his fidelity to himself from his first writings to his fall in combat. His ideas are based on his taking sides from a very young age with the poor of the earth and on his palpable will of intellectual autochthony and social projections.

For Latin America, Martí was the one who, in his remarkable essay of the late 19th century, *Our America*, called for the construction of a knowledge from Latin America and for Latin Americans, which would allow the peoples of the region to know better the aspects that had been hidden by the European versions of our history and by the anti-scientific explanations of the condition of a backward and savage Latin America; to preserve the values of autochthony and Latin American identity, as essential modes of the becoming of concrete man in his social nature.

Martí's contributions to the Latin American cultural identity enjoy full validity, from his deep anti-imperialist thought, warning the Latin American peoples of the dangers of external influences to the detriment of the ignorance of their own, the autochthonous, the American.

These dangers resurface today because of the conservative wave sweeping the region, which aims to wipe out the Latin American left, destabilize progressive countries, impose hegemonic cultural patterns that destroy identities, create an ideological crisis and restore the domination of capitalism.

In this sense, Rodríguez (2019), called to "... prevent the imposition of a single, totalitarian and subjugating cultural model that destroys national cultures, identities, history, memory, symbols, individuality, and silences the structural problems of capitalism" (p. 2).

Martí's thought is framed in the need to know and solve Latin American conflicts and problems by the inhabitants of these lands that the solutions must emerge from within and not from foreign powers.

Taking into account the above, it is assumed that anti-imperialism, understood as a value, model, paradigm and element of identity, has common elements with the categories previously worked on. According to Morales (2019), "... anti-imperialism could be defined as a modality of political and cultural resistance that involves diverse aspects, among which it is worth mentioning a type of discourse, a rhetoric, a symbolism, a series of gestures endowed with specific features" (p. 3).

The anti-imperialist component appears and reappears with such insistence, articulating itself with different doctrinal bodies and particular ideological systems, because it possesses aptitudes that allow it to fulfill certain functions and also, and more fundamentally, because it refers to dispositions located at other levels.

Most Latin American societies are characterized, among other things, by the constant nature of disputes over the

of disputes over meaning and truth about the social. Although nothing is completely predetermined in the sphere of meanings, the role of traditions and symbolic sagas is of utmost importance here. It could be argued that, just as there would be traditions that are sensitive, permeable, akin to the anti-imperialist disposition, there would be others that are immune, impermeable, and alien. In fact, in the region, anti-imperialism is not a disposition shared by the totality of the population.

The referents discussed above, allowed to provide a definition of anti-imperialist identity, for the conceptualization of this category were taken into account concepts already addressed as Latin American identity, historical memory and anti-imperialism.

Anti-imperialist identity: model of action of social subjects, consistent with the values and traditions of rejection of imperialism. The local, national and continental historical memory is an integral part of it, according to the cultural interest's common to this model as a paradigm.

Therefore, the need for a model of Latin American cultural identity, based on anti-imperialism as the only alternative for these peoples to save themselves from interfering cultural models, which sweep away the best of our autochthony, is considered increasingly visible; therefore, the importance of the Cuban Foreign Minister's call at the UN headquarters to prevent the imposition of a single, totalizing and subjugating cultural model.

Similarly Galliano (2015), states that "the formulas of sterilization of consciences are tested with more success than birth control plans. The best way to colonize a conscience is to suppress it" (p.7).

For Martí, the values that identify a nation constitute the integrating elements of the unity of Latin American cultural diversities, but based on the rejection of a world divided between civilization and barbarism and the preservation of the traditions and elements of the autochthony of the originals of Our America. Indeed, he radically repudiated the European and colonialist conception of a world divided into civilized and barbarians, a racist and exclusionary vision based on the denial of the differences and cultural identities of all those who were not European. He warned that in the Latin American identity should remain the traditions, elements, customs and idiosyncrasies that characterize the forms and ways of spiritual and existential life of the native peoples, originating in America.

José Martí's thought is characterized by the rationality of the anti-imperialist ideology, by his commitment to the poor of the earth, by the defense of the identity of the peoples of the new world, by his perspective of the Latin American historical evolution in its process of resistance and liberation struggle, which has been established between the two Americas: the conquering Saxon and the conquered Latin. But the analysis of the cultural identity in Martí's thought starts

from his perception of the Latin American identity, he described a truly advanced and critical concept of Latin American identity for his time and epoch.

Interrupted by the conquest, the natural and majestic work of the American civilization, a strange people was created with the advent of the Europeans, not Spanish, because the new sap rejects the old body; not indigenous, because it has suffered the interference of a devastating civilization, two words that, being an antagonism, constitute a process; a mestizo people was created in the form, that with the recon quest of its freedom develops and restores its own soul [. ...] our robust America [...] Every work of ours, of our robust America, will inevitably bear the stamp of the conquering civilization; but it will improve, advance and amaze with the energy and creative drive of a people in essence different, superior in noble ambitions. (Martí, 1997, p. 11)

Martí understood the specificity and the concept of Latin American identity and reflects the role of the brutal conquest over the original peoples of the American continent, where races, cultures and features of these civilizations were exterminated. He also explains that from this fusion, the Latin American being is born with similar traits to the conqueror, but with a new expression and interests.

Martí's thought goes in search of the foundations of our Latin culture and the essence of development. Already in his travels through the countries of the continent he became aware of the reality, of the importance of defending the autochthonous and of looking for new ways; he noticed the need and the lack of education of the people, something he warned about in his travels through Latin American countries, Mexico 1875, Guatemala 1877 and Venezuela 1881. He also warned about the need for Latin American union in the face of the North American imperialist threat.

"To all invitations between peoples one must look for hidden reasons. No people does anything against its interest; from which it follows that what a people does is what is in its interest. If two nations do not have common interests, they cannot come together..." (Martí, 2007, p. 158).

Martí was clear about the meaning of the Latin American union. The history of the continent would prove him right, since the 20th century is a vivid example of what he announced, invasions, military occupations, coups d'état, establishment of dictatorships and a marked

economic exploitation of underdeveloped countries by the hegemonic powers. "From the cradle the people of the North dreamed of these domains" (Martí, 2008, p. 118). (Martí, 2008, p. 118).

In the nineteenth century, the United States had already achieved a development of capitalism that allowed it to reach the highest stage, imperialism; therefore, one of the characteristic features of Martí's thought is its consistent and justified anti-imperialism. In his political strategy for America, he stated that in order to safeguard Latin American countries from the expansionist intentions of the powerful neighbor, it was necessary to preserve the culture of our peoples, their national identity as well as their unity from the Rio Bravo to Patagonia.

It is necessary, because of the axiological, political and educational potential, that the anti-imperialist thought of the most universal of Cubans, in the conscience and practice of the Latin American peoples, in their struggle to preserve their traditional values and the right to choose the political form to represent their interests, which historically have been relegated by the imperialist pretensions on these lands with suspicion of foreign powers, the former colonial metropolises. In this regard, he expresses:

"Dangers are not to be seen when they are upon us, but when they can be avoided. Only a unanimous and virile response, for which there is still time without risk, can free the Spanish peoples of America once and for all from the restlessness and perturbation, fatal in their hour of development, in which the secular and confessed policy of predominance of a thriving and ambitious neighbor would have them without ceasing, with the possible complicity of the venal or weak Republics". (Martí, 2007, p. 46)

For Martí, identity also means defending the ancestral legacy of the peoples of this continent, being willing to fight for independence, not trusting the powerful master of the North, who believes he is superior to the Latin American republics, and not accepting any kind of alliance with the North. It advocates the defense of autochthony as the only way to defend what is ours.

"There has never been in America, from the time of independence to the present day, a matter that requires more sense, nor compels more vigilance, nor demands a clearer and more thorough examination, than the invitation that the powerful United States, full of unsalable products and determined to extend their dominions in America, make to the American nations of lesser power [...] From the tyranny of Spain, Spanish America knew

how to save itself; and now, after seeing with judicial eyes the antecedents, causes and factors of the invitation, it is urgent to say, because it is true, that it has arrived for Spanish America. ...] Spanish America was able to save itself from the tyranny of Spain; and now, after seeing with judicial eyes the antecedents, causes and factors of the invitation, it is urgent to say, because it is the truth, that the time has come for Spanish America to declare its second independence". (Martí, 2008, p. 118)

The United States believe in necessity, in barbaric right, as the only right; as long as they do not know more about Hispano-America and respect it more, will they be able to invite Hispano-America to a sincere and useful union? Is political and economic union with the United States convenient? "The people who buy command. The people that sell serves [...] when a strong people feeds another, it makes itself serve it. When a strong people wants to give battle to another, it compels to alliance and service those who need it" (Martí, 2007, p. 160).

Martí suggests the path of national liberation as a way to achieve true Latin American identity. "These children of our America, which is to be saved with its Indians, in what homeland can a man have more pride than in our painful republics of America, raised among the mute masses of Indians?" (Martí, 1975, p. 16)

At present, what is happening is a reaffirmation, as a form of resistance of cultures and of the knowledge on which they are based; in today's world where technological development and globalization predominate, many of these knowledges and knowledge emerge with great severity as forms of resistance to the degradation of the human being and the material wealth of the world, sold as the most important element for the life of men.

Therefore, the question of identity is a historical process that is not only the accumulation of ideas, customs, traditions, languages, worldview of existence and being that is transmitted from generation to generation, but a process of construction in which individuals and social groups are defining themselves in close interaction with their different and similar ones and in a social context of international relations of domination.

Given the convergence of the elements that integrate the diverse concepts of identity, cultural identity, Latin American cultural identity, in which the social subject is centered as a transforming entity of society, as well as its conceptual relationship with the modes of action of

anti-imperialism to what is demanded in our continent as the only way to preserve the autochthonous, in the face of imperialist depredation.

Therefore, it is necessary to study Martí's thought with emphasis on anti-imperialism, as a reference from which to transform the theoretical and practical models that contribute to the formation of the education professional with an ethical sense of vision and mission to transmit knowledge that demonstrates the need to strengthen anti-imperialism as a national and continental identity value.

As part of the study and deepening of José Martí's work, activities for teaching purposes are proposed for the discipline History of America.

From the general and specific objectives of the History of America program, it is pointed out:

- To support that capitalism is not the solution to the problems of humanity and that colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism have been the historical enemies of the peoples of the world.
- To argue that capitalism, in its historical evolution up to neoliberal globalization, has not been the solution to the problems of the Latin American peoples.

Activity model

Unit: 4. The disparate evolution of the two Americas in the 20th century.

Thematic: 4.3 The thought of continental unity. Latin Americanism versus Pan-Americanism.

Objective: To demonstrate the character and validity of the historical enemy of the U.S. towards Latin American peoples, enhancing the rejection of imperialist hegemony.

Method: independent work with the text.

Media: Textbook and reference book.

Methodological orientations for the work with Martí's work Our America

1. Based on the revision of the textbook, define the concepts of Latin Americanism and Pan-Americanism.
2. By the postulates that define each ideological position, which one is more beneficial for the peoples of Latin America.

3. From the work *Our America* by José Martí, analyze:

- Year in which it is written.
- Latin American historical context.
- Main ideas.
- Evaluation of the work.
- Synthesis of essential ideas.

"...the trees must line up in a row, so that the giant of the seven leagues does not pass! It is the hour of the count and of the united march, and we must walk in a tight square, like the silver at the roots of the Andes."

1- "With the oppressed it was necessary to make common cause, to strengthen the system opposed to the interests and habits of command of the oppressors".

2- "The tiger, frightened by the flash, returns at night to the place of the prey. It dies with flames shooting out of its eyes and with its paws in the air. He is not heard coming, but comes with velvet paws. When the prey wakes up, the tiger is on top of it. The colony continued to live in the republic..."

3- "America is being saved from all its dangers. The octopus is sleeping over some republics...". "But another danger runs, perhaps, our America, which does not come from itself, but from the difference of origins, methods and interests between the two continental factors, and it is the next hour in which an enterprising and thriving people that does not know and disdains it approaches it, demanding intimate relations".

Question system

- Explain the current situation of Latin American countries.
- -Demonstrate the reasons that justify that the peoples of America, according to Martí, have to walk in a tight square.
- Why does Martí say that with the oppressed it was necessary to make common cause?
- What is defined as common cause for the Latin American peoples today?
- Which country does Martí qualify as the giant of the seven leagues? Demonstrate.

- "The colony continued to live in the republic..." "Over some republics the octopus is sleeping..."
- Support the above idea taking into account the political panorama of Latin America in relation to the USA.

Conclusions

At the present time in our America, Martí's thought becomes a reference to understand the Struggles of social movements for the conquest and respect for their rights. The socio-political ideas around the problem of identity, autochthony and culture in Latin America constitute a reference for the analysis of these issues. He created an example of human emancipation and national sovereignty, whose deployment was mediated by a substratum of cultural identity, marked by a vision of the world and of man sustained in the essence of the Latin American, to undertake political action, traces the paths, cultivate reason and prepare the minds to obtain the longed-for liberation of the peoples.

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