Afro-Colombia: A Case for Pan-African Analysis
Joseph F. Jordan, 2013

Note to Readers, May 2013

When this article was originally written in 2005-6, the movement to build U.S. –based solidarity in support of the legitimate aims of the progressive Afro-Colombian movement was just beginning to take off. Activists in the U.S. from a broad range of communities and ideological tendencies found common cause with Afro-Colombian communities that had long been neglected within as well as outside the country.

My perspective on the situation was a decidedly radical one, influenced by interactions with left- leaning labor and political groups and community-based organizations. The analysis I developed, much of which is evidenced below, was informed by personal experiences with Afro-Colombian communities in areas outside Medellin, in Bogata and in Soacha, in Quibdo and surrounding areas in the Choco region, and in other communities or groups in the Pacific region and in Cali. My interactions and conversations with political organizations, students, women's groups and collectives, and labor representatives gave me a sense of the complexity of the situation that confronted Afro-Colombians.

I have continued to try to support these same communities and to work with U.S. based organizations and individuals that have a history of principled solidarity work that seeks to recognize and help build the capacity of Afro-Colombians to identify a path forward that privileges their own notions of self-determination. Some of the people and organizations, that I felt symbolized this objective when this article was written, have now, in my opinion, shown themselves to be complicit with the very forces that work against the interests of the Afro-Colombian community.

Some who are quoted in this article have gone on to became allies of a Colombian government that was eventually recognized as one of the most corrupt in the Americas and that built an effective governmental and extra-governmental apparatus to frustrate Afro-Colombian attempts to exercise their constitutional rights. In a cynical turn, some of the same Afro-Colombians I had encountered and who had lived and worked in the U.S., ostensibly as politically progressive exiles, returned to become spokespersons for the very government that facilitated the dispossession of Afro-Colombian land in favor of development schemes by mega-corporations. Others allied and aligned themselves with programs generously funded, designed and specifically intended to neutralize or split the growing U.S. support movement for the Afro-Colombian cause. Initially, they were devastatingly effective.

Today, the analysis of the dynamics of the movement in the wake of these developments demands a more extensive and comprehensive treatment, which is not the intent of this preface. However, I would be negligent if I did not acknowledge that the analysis presented in the article below, as all analyses, should be reviewed with a critical and dispassionate eye and seen as part of an evolving dynamic. That dynamic includes the

renewed interests (regional security, economic, diplomatic interests) of the U.S. and U.S. and other corporate interests; the political and economic ambitions of Afro-Colombian opportunists, collaborators and provocateurs; rivalries between internal Afro-Colombian communities of various political tendencies; and the growing influence of expatriate Afro-Colombian communities, particularly those in the US.

One must also factor in the role of the NGO community, which operates in almost every facet of Afro-Colombian life, and the huge influence of multi-lateral and multi-national agencies (Inter-American Development Bank, Organization of American States, USAID, etc.) whose quasi-independent activities (but clearly aligned with corporate and political interests) skew the dynamics of every social or economic project they undertake.

Please keep these factors in mind and continue to support the community-based and national political organizations that demonstrate their commitment to a progressive and critical movement.

Check out the Afro-Colombian Support Network on facebook at
www.facebook.com/ACSNetwork?fref=ts

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Afro-Colombians, one of the most resourceful and resilient communities in the Americas, are under siege. They have struggled largely outside of the gaze of most of the world despite suffering massive social upheavals. According to some sources, Afro-Colombians constitute up to twenty-five percent of the country's total population of about forty million, and as a group have a population in excess of ten million. These figures may vary according to the criteria used. (1) Despite such a large population size, Afro-Colombians face constant threats of displacement from both the Colombian state and transnational corporations.

In the wake of these attacks, Afro-Colombians have adopted new strategies of resistance to combat repression from the state and its multinational allies. By looking inward or engaging in self-valorization as an initial strategy, Afro-Colombians have determined the character of the struggle. However, self-valorization, a form of identity politics, is not sufficient as a basis for struggle, though, when connected to a larger movement for political institution-building, self-valorization has the potential to bring Afro-Colombian communities together with other groups of African-descent in Latin America that are currently engaged in mass movements for social change. At this present moment, Latin America is in transition, and popular movements are challenging regional hegemonies.

This essay examines the changing political landscape in Colombia and offers some preliminary thoughts on analyzing the course of Afro-Colombians' struggle for self-determination from a Pan-Africanist perspective.

Marronage and the Afro-Colombian Struggle

The early history of Africans in Colombia begins with the Spanish conquest and settlement of various areas in the early 1500s. The importation of Africans as slaves provided labor for Spanish conquest and slavery remained a key feature of Colombia's history until it was abolished in 1851. The formation of an Afro-Colombian identity built upon a tradition of resistance can be attributed to a continuous history of slave rebellions and to the existence of independent maroon communities called *palenques*, formed by escaped African slaves. The term *palenque* is translated, literally, as stockade.

Today, Palenque San Basilio, on the Pacific coast of Colombia, maintains an autonomous culture of resistance that recalls the independent spirit of those early maroons. Sustaining a culturally based consciousness of defiance and resistance is a key component for a Pan-African project that endeavors to reclaim Afro-Colombian autonomy, cultural heritage, security and ancestral land, particularly in regions such as Choco, on the northern end of the Colombian Pacific littoral.

In September of 2002, organic intellectuals from all sectors of the Afro-Colombian community as well as other states in the region assembled for the first Afro-Colombian national conference to advocate for a maroon-based perspective on the Afro-Colombian struggle for self-determination. In particular, conference speakers drew up the political actions undertaken by Black intellectuals in the English speaking Caribbean as a model for Afro-Colombians' movement building:

> During times of crisis, the Maroon experience was used to construct an explanation for the situation in the 1920s and 1930s. The methodology and style of thinking that emerged from these efforts was characterized by its capacity to analyze, verify and apply what had been learned within a perspective that had been based on that accumulated experience. ... Although individuals represented in themselves several different ways of perceiving experience—through race, class, gender, nationality, religion and political party—it was the emergence of a shared vocabulary, created through the exchange of experience, that made it possible for groups across the region to make sense of their situation. (2)

The maroon experience thus consisted of a process that begins with a specific form of consciousness, that, in turn, produces a specific critical analysis based on accumulated experiences. When considered collectively, the separate aspects of the process produce a *maroon complex*, or group of factors that characterizes Afro-Colombian resistance to oppression. In addition to those models of resistance examined at the 2002 national conference, there are other approaches that have examined the primacy of Black popular culture as a means of both recovery and as a catalyst for social change and movement building.

Scholarship by Arocha, Escobar, Wade, Asher and others (3) has addressed the genesis of African and/or Afro-Colombian identity in Colombia using various analytical frames that include the roles of popular cultural forms, modernity as a contextual frame, and the importance of transnational cultural flows. A common critique in these scholars' work suggests that certain practices that signify "Blackness" or "African" identity and culture in Colombia, according to the contemporary socio-political sense of both designations, should be read as new rather than historically grounded cultural practices. According to these critiques, the signification of Blackness or African identity in Colombia replicates the cultural production of other external Black populations and, therefore bears all of the limitations of an imitative culture. (4)

If this logic is valid, youth in Cali, Colombia, who use hip hop to make statements about their socio-political conditions could not be said to have *created* a cultural product, but instead are reproducing the cultural products of the Black youth experiences in the United States. One, however, could contend that hip-hop itself is a re-creation in that its producers have borrowed from several cultural traditions within and outside of the U.S. context. Therefore the adaptation of hip hop by Colombian youth follows the recombinant strategies that have produced the wide range of Black popular cultures that are common throughout the Americas.

Wade, who studied this phenomenon, argues that dismissing these strategies, ". . . also raises issues about the analysis of cultural politics and the deconstruction of cultural 'inventions' without thereby invalidating them as a locus of ethnic solidarity."(5) Francis Njubi sees efforts, such as those of the youth of Cali, Colombia as the counter-penetration of information technology by people of African descent in the struggle against human rights violations produced by slavery, colonialism, apartheid and globalization. Historical anti-racist movements like abolitionism, Pan-Africanism, and the anti-apartheid and civil rights movements all used communications technology to expose the extent and brutality of white supremacy and to create international networks of resistance movements. (6)

Richard Powell, in "What is This 'Black' in Black Popular Culture?" references Stuart Hall's validation of the reality, veracity, and even strategic necessity of such a concept. (7) Powell identifies five attributes, implied in Hall's definition of Black popular culture, that also define Black diasporal cultures.(8)

While acknowledging the general framework these Africanist interpretations provide, this article also offers a preliminary examination of the Afro-Colombian struggle to organize for their own advancement as a national community, and the means through which they continue to rationalize a group identity in relation to the Colombian nation-state.

The dynamics observed in the Afro-Colombian struggle also appear in other Latin American nations where African-descended populations, having suffered exploitation and the threat of psychic annihilation, form political struggles or movements to articulate (or rearticulate) their histories.

Cultural Identity and Interethnic Cooperation as Strategies in the Struggle

A primary contention of this essay is that Afro-Colombians have articulated a new Black cultural identity as a strategy for mobilization within the current historical process of Colombia's national-definition. Re-imagining "Blackness," African consciousness, Afro-Colombian ethnicity, and maroon identity provides a means for an extra-national citizenship and connects Afro-Colombians to struggles waged by other communities of African-descent throughout the Americas. This cultural connectedness lays the foundation for African-descended populations in general, and Afro-Colombians in particular, to construct political alliances that acknowledge and build upon cultural and historical commonalities.

Contemporary cross-cultural alliances between Black and Indigenous communities, in Colombia, and in other Latin American nations, recognize both groups' colonial histories of oppression under European settlers and militaries as well as the formation of resistance struggles by earlier coalitions of Black-Indian to fight against these forces. (9) In forming the current cross-cultural alliances, Afro-Colombian activists worked to stave off the development of factions between racial/ethnic groups leading up to Colombia's new constitution in 1991.

Current work by cultural, political, and intellectual cadres to sustain coalitions between indigenous and African-descended communities throughout the region has a more progressive orientation. In doing so they avoided what Fanon saw as a failure of national consciousness, at the height of anti-colonial struggles, to articulate a consciousness oriented toward notions of justice beyond parochial interests.

Hence, the lack of inclusive representation and participation from all groups during the formation of a self-governed nation-state would reproduce the exploitation the oppressed had suffered. Fanon also addressed the issue of culture and how it was recovered and expressed:

> . . . culture is not a folklore nor an abstract populism that
> believes it can discover the people's true nature. It is not
> made up of the inert dregs of gratuitous actions, that is
> to say actions which are less and less attached to the ever
> present reality of the people. A national culture is the whole
> body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to
> describe, justify, and praise the action through which that
> people has created itself and keeps itself in existence. (10)

For African-descended communities, this process of engaging an extra-national citizenship built around a shared cultural and racial identity and similar diasporic experiences can be placed under the general rubric of Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism is a concept used to describe a movement, and is sometimes divided into cultural and political manifestations. For the purposes of this argument, the separation of *culture* and politics seems to be a false dichotomy given that history shows the opposite is true.

Pan-Africanism, a concept with a two hundred year history, theorizes a politico-cultural link between Africa and Black people in the African diaspora contending with similar experiences of colonial oppression based on the racialized notions attached to Blackness, and, therefore, establishes a foundation for a common struggle against colonialism to regain self-governance.

Although mentioned at various moments in the major studies of Afro-Colombians, most analysts have examined the deeper implications of Afro-Colombians' self-identification in a diasporic, or Pan-African context, or have engaged the theoretical literature on Pan-African identity in their works. Nonetheless, these largely historical and ethnographic studies add to a growing literature on the Afro-Colombian community's development as a distinctive presence in the nation.

Even when Pan-African connections are made in the literature, few seem to imagine the possibility of a region-wide or a broader international alignment with other Black struggles against racialism, imperialism, state and criminal terrorism and capitalist exploitation.

Re-Situating Afro-Colombian History

As Horner notes, historians of Latin America "seem to lose all interest in the Negro as soon as abolition is accomplished. In any case, he disappears almost completely from the historical literature." Clearly, Africana histories must neither begin, nor end with the history of slavery in the Americas. Yet, Watson notes:

> National states have been built through purposeful racial,
> ethnic, religious, class, or other internal exclusions such that
> the nationalization of society has tended to move in tandem
> with the racialization of society. Many states practice forms
> of self racialization, by constructing national identity and
> defining national belonging via criteria like birth, ancestry, or
> naturalization, with the effect of using citizenship to
> transform commensurable diversities into markers of relative
> difference. . . . Paradoxically, to become civil and national
> under sovereign states people have had to enter the nation-state
> as alienated national persons. (11)

What then, provides the means for a recovery and re-situating of the Afro-Colombian as a subject rather than as an object in the nation's historical consciousness? Marino Cordoba, an Afro-Colombian human rights activist and founder of the Association of Displaced Afro-Colombians (AFRODES) has worked over the years to connect with other communities in the African diaspora. He has argued that the shared condition of discrimination created the conditions that compelled Afro-Colombians to recognize themselves as a community and join together to address these issues. According to Cordoba:

African descendants comprise 26% of Colombia's population.
As with other African descendants, we face racial discrimination
which results in economic hardships far worse than those experienced
by the average Colombian. However in Colombia, a vibrant 1980s
civil rights movement won full recognition of our cultural rights
and collective ownership and community control of our territories
and natural resources. The 1991 Colombian Constitution and the
landmark Law 70 explicitly enshrine these rights and recognize official
democratic Afro-Colombian governance structures ... 12)

Cordoba's presentation also confirms the evolution of a distinct and modern Afro-Colombian identity that breaks from (as well as evolves from) previous notions of Africanness. And, he hints at the prospects for an enlightened politics based upon this new outlook both for Afro-Colombians and other Afro-Latin communities facing similar struggles. Afro-Latin collectives/communities are consolidating new ideological positions and collaborative alliances as a way to resist state hegemony. In the case of Colombia, these alliances also hold the promise of providing a political vehicle for the expression and pursuit of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous agendas for participation in the political system.

Writing in the *Cultural Politics of Blackness in Colombia*, Wade notes that, in previous generations, government and societal attempts to theorize and valorize *mestizaje* meant Black and Indigenous lives were devalued. Mestizaje, and promotion of the notion of a "Cosmic Race," is understood as the state's attempt to fix the hierarchy of racialized identities around the notion of a Spanish-Indian-Black hybrid. Where "Blackness" as a distinct presence would be gradually eliminated. As Arocha notes, "Carved into the stone walls of the Spanish Language Academy building in downtown Bogotá is a golden motto: ONE GOD, ONE RACE, ONE TONGUE." (13)

But, in reality, achieving the true equality necessary to realize this motto is impossible in a context where European aesthetics and cultural and social values inform a rigid hierarchy of race and identity. The Colombian state continues to reject the idea of Afro-Colombians as legitimate cultural and political subjects. Furthermore, state forces dismiss the socio-cultural structures of Afro-Colombians, and indigenous peoples as well, as primitive and anachronistic and incapable of forming a foundation for life in the modern world. Mestizaje assumes, in the most Darwinist and Manichean manner imaginable, that Afro-Colombians desire and need to shed their identities and whiten themselves in order to participate in Colombian society. In this atmosphere, Blacks are forced to struggle against the social pressure towards *blanqueamento*, or the whitening imperative, as both an act of political resistance and as an affirmation of their own humanity and identities.

Afro-Colombians' pursuit of political recognition and ancestral rights to land based upon heritage strikes at the heart of the "one race" proposition of the Colombian state, and supports, instead, collective rights for Blacks and indigenous peoples. The multiethnic proposition provides for the mestizaje myth, and would presume that political and

economic rights and benefits are distributed equally among all citizens/individuals deemed eligible for those rights and benefits. In this system, group rights are minimized in favor of the capitalist model of individual ownership and exploitation of resources based upon the individual(s) yielding to modernism and state imperatives.

In contrast, Afro-Colombians identities critiques these claims based upon the reality of existing structural inequalities reflected in class status and other hierarchies as a result of centuries of racism, ethnocentrism and economic exploitation. Recognizing these historical realities, the Afro-Colombian movement identifies the existence of marginalized ethnic groups and their rights to collectively own land and proposes redistribution of national resources based on ancestry, tenure and other historical grounds. Though not a perfect alternative, it is one that accounts for the inherent discrimination that exists within state articulations of the Colombian individual and the impact on Colombia's communities of color as a collective.

Organizing for Action—Afro-Colombian Pursuit of Collective Gains

Afro-Colombians had engaged in an extraordinary process of political organizing during the constitutional reform period during the 1980s and were preparing to take advantage of new openings promised by the new constitution of 1991 and the passage of Law 70 in 1993. The new constitution acknowledged ethnic diversity in the nation and had provisions for collective land ownership rights for Afro-Colombians and autonomous indigenous territorial units for Indians.

Despite their activism, Afro-Colombians' lack of strong organizational structures, lack of access to technical assistance and the general lack of sympathy for their plight on the part of state officials made it difficult for them to take full advantage of the new political openings. Added to these complications were the state's commitment to mega-development projects that required control of lands historically occupied by Afro-Colombians and Indigenous peoples.

In contrast, Arocha documents the effectiveness of the indigenous community's links to external and national NGOs, as well as their own collective organizations during the period of petitioning and filing claims for land in 1993. The comparative weakness of Afro-Colombian political organizations and the relative lack of extra-national support meant they were not able to take advantage of new laws to claim land in the same manner as members of Colombia's indigenous community. (14)

Since then Afro-Colombian activists realized that obtaining collective land rights has important implications for Afro-Colombians' reconciliation with the state as well as for their concomitant reconstruction within society. These activists have been reconfiguring their efforts to build coalitions with other African-descended communities throughout Latin America to build a broader political movement to redress their specific problems. Such initiatives follow a long tradition of Pan-African cooperation and problem solving in the Americas and promises to provide new directions for the Pan-African movement as a whole. (15)

No Easy Walk—The Long Road to Recognition

The development of Afro-Colombian's pluriethnic alliances has been and continues to be a tedious process, hence this essay draws these connections in broad strokes. This study aims to explore the development of racialized cultural and political practices within the Afro-Colombian community that actively draw upon Pan-African internationalism as a natural vehicle for organizing their struggle. At the first ever meeting of Afro-Descendant Legislators of the Americas and the Caribbean held in November of 2003 in Brasilia, Brazil, those gathered acknowledged that "Afro-Descendants account for more than 150 million in the Americas and the Caribbean", and that the majority "live in poverty, a situation disproportionately affecting Afro-descendant women".

After first agreeing that true democracy in the Americas was impossible without afro-descendant participation, they then pledged to "create a working group of Afro-Descendant legislators of the Americas for the promotion and construction of an Afro-Descendant Parliament of the Americas and Network of Afro-Descendant Legislators". (16)

At the same time that Afro-Colombia gazes outward to make those extended Latin American connections, regional developments also echo these sentiments. At the Preparatory Conference of the Americas Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance held in Santiago, Chile in December of 2000, those gathered there issued a statement entitled, the Chile Declaration of African Descendents that opens with these words: ". . . Affirming that the main victims of racism in the Americas are African descendants and indigenous peoples." (17)

In the body of the document attendees further ". . . affirm that African descendants have the right to our cultural identities, to recognition of those identities and to the adoption of measures that protect and develop them, as well as educational systems and institutions that respect our history, cultures, and identities." (18) This statement marks both a transgressive and affirming action to articulate an African selfhood by persons from nations where Blackness has, historically, been a mark of backwardness and exclusion. Further pronouncements from the Conference were equally impressive. Those gathered agreed to:

> . . . condemn the situation of exclusion and marginalization that leaves our peoples submerged in poverty in all the Americas, a situation aggravated by the implementation of economic policies and development models that do not respect diversity, promote homogeneity, and perpetuate the systematic violation of our economic, political, social and cultural rights. As a consequence, we demand that states, multilateral organizations and private enterprise adopt

compensatory measures, including reparations. (19)

Similar dynamics are evident in efforts in Ecuador, Guatemala and Peru as well as Brazil. Nascent Africanist and Pan-Africanist projects that build on sporadic but persistent efforts over the last two hundred years are developing in these countries as well as in Uruguay, Costa Rica, Mexico, Honduras and Bolivia. In other countries such as Panama, Puerto Rico, and Cuba, a strong Africanist and Pan-Africanist formation has existed for many years, but retains a legacy of racialized thinking reified in the rigid color hierarchies still evident in the political, economic and aesthetic sectors of these societies.

Conclusion

While traveling in Surinam in 1972, S. Allen Counter, and David Evans made contact with a maroon community. The Surinam chief of the maroon community asked both men the following question: ". . . are you still the white man's slaves?" To that, Counter and Evans replied: "We are not slaves in our land. Well not really in the true sense of the word." His people having fought for their freedom and won, the chief asked another profound question: "Well, have you won your fight?" To that they responded: "The battle is still being fought." The conversation continued and produced this telling inquiry from the Bush chiefs: "Well, have you found the road home?" (20)

In this essay, I examined the situation of Afro-Colombians as an oppressed community within Colombia, in relation to the exploitation of African descendants in the Americas. The intent was to propose a validation of the Pan-African perspective both as an analytical frame for understanding the evolution of Afro-Colombian identities, and as a strategy for internationalizing their struggle for rights and recognition. This holds important implications for the Pan-African movement as a whole, which has experienced a theoretical/practical stasis since the fall of the apartheid regime in South Africa and the emergence of modern reactionary regimes on the African continent.

The emerging Afro-Colombian rights movement is an important historical development for Pan-African solidarity because it has critically articulated and theorized Africana identities, histories and futures. In addition, Afro-Colombians have acknowledged the need for commitment to theory and practice and for critical reflection upon both, as a way to nurture the developing Afro-Latin movement that aims to further institutionalize its gains.

Returning to the history of maroon traditions will enable theorists and activists of the Afro-Colombian struggle to gain further insight on ways to shape campaigns of resistance in the Americas. These traditions of resistance serve as crucial reservoirs for consciousness and appear as significant touchstones when attempting to forge a national and international sense of unity. The maroon complex and the independent settlements it spawned have important symbolic meanings since these runaway groups provided a structure for Black and Indian cooperation in opposition to state repression. Antonio Benitez Rojo has reminded us that, "Some day, when the holistic investigations on this

matter are undertaken, the Caribbean itself will be surprised to learn how close it came to being a confederation of Maroon states. . . . It would certainly be necessary to examine the participation of the Maroons in the social struggles and independence movements of the region." (21)

All of these imperatives pose new questions. How should theorists and activists execute further projects to sustain solidarity and support in a pluriethnic context? How can the lessons of the past twenty years be incorporated into these projects to create a comprehensive model of action based upon the unique aspects of the Afro-Colombian and Afro-Latin conditions, and the special remedies demanded by these conditions? Lastly, how do solidarity projects of this nature provide for the further restructuring of the Pan-African internationalist movement in the U.S.? Will it help to resolve lingering ideological or philosophical questions about the nature of the movement? Will NGOs, community-based support groups and government officials find imaginative ways to integrate their work, and thus produce a more viable movement?

With the official recognition of African-identified communities in Latin America the Pan-African movement has entered a period wherein the theoretical stagnation of the past twenty years can be addressed. As Afro-Latin communities begin to insist upon a regional integration of their individual political struggles, based upon the commonality of their conditions, a more complete critique of globalization and neo-liberal capitalism and imperialism becomes possible. Moreover, when Afro-Latin national and regional groups extend their views and endeavor to situate their analysis within a Pan-African context, the movement for self-determination is profoundly transformed.

However, even though a new and empowered identity accompanies the growth in Afro-Colombian political activism, in order to be successful this process must consider the perspectives from other African-descended communities dispersed across many nations who have experienced similar transformations. Lastly, Afro-Colombian activists must continue to struggle with the histories of denial, and the often self-imposed identity isolation that has separated their communities from the African world diaspora in general and from the rest of African-America, which reaches from the northern to the southernmost regions of the Americas.

Notes
1. Arturo Escobar, "Displacement, Development and Modernity in the Colombian Pacific," *International Social Science Journal*, No. 175 (March 2003): 157–167.
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3. For Jaime Arocha, see "Inclusion of Afro-Colombians: Unreachable National Goal?" *Latin American Perspectives*, 25:3 (May 1998): 70–90; "Los Negros y la Nueva Constitucion Colombiana de 1991," *America Negra,* 3 (1992): 39–54; and "Afrogenesis, Eurogenesis y Convivencia Interetnica," *Pacifico: Desarrollo o Biodiversidad? Estado, Capital y Movimientos Sociales en el Pacifico Colombiano*, Ed. by Arturo Escobar

and Alvaro Pedrosa (Bogota: CEREC: 1996). For Arturo Escobar, see, "Displacement, Development and Modernity in the Colombian Pacific," *Moving Targets: International Social Science Journal*, 175 (March 2003): 157–167; and "Culture, Economics, and Politics in Latin American Social Movements Theory and Research," in *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*, Eds. Arturo Escobar and Sonia Alvarez, (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1992), 62–85. For Peter Wade see, *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); "The Cultural Politics of Blackness in Colombia," *American Ethnologist* 22:3 (1995): 341–358; "Blackness, Music, and National Identity: Three Moments in Colombian History," *Popular Music* 17:1 (1998): 1–19; "Representations of Blackness in Colombian Popular Music," *Representations of Blackness and the Performance of Identities*, Ed. Jean M. Rahier (Westport: Bergin and Garvey, 1999); "Current Anthropology, Making Cultural Identities in Cali, Colombia," *August* 40:4 (Oct 1999): 449–468; and "Racial Identity and Nationalism: A Theoretical View from Latin America," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24:5 (Sep. 2001): 845–8-67. For Kiran Asher, see *Constructing Afro-Colombia: Ethnicity and Territory in the Pacific Lowlands*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Florida: 1998).

4. See, for example, Eduardo Restrepo, "Afrocolombianos, antropologia y proyecto de modernidad en Colombia," in *Antropologia en la Modernidad: Identidades, Etnicidades y Movimientos Sociales en Colombia*, Ed. Maria Victoria Uriba and Eduardo Restrepo (Instituto Colombiano de Antropologia, Bogota: 1997).

5. Peter Wade, "The Cultural Politics of Blackness in Colombia," *American Ethnologist* 22:3 (1995): 341–358.

6. Francis Njubi, "New Media, Old Struggles: Pan Africanism, Anti-Racism and Information Technology," *Critical Arts* (Jan 2001): 117–135.

7. Richard J. Powell, *Black Art: A Cultural History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003). pp. 13–15.

8. Ibid.

9. Adam Halpern and France Winddance Twine, "Antiracist Activism in Ecuador: Black–Indian Community Alliances," *Race and Class*, 42:2 (Oct–Dec 2000): 19–32.

10. Franz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth* (Grove Press, NY: 1963). p. 233.

11. Hilbourne Watson, "Theorizing the Racialization of Global Politics and the Caribbean," *Experience Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 26:4 (Oct–Dec 2001): 449–484.

12. Cordoba, Marino. Why Afro-Colombians Oppose the Colombia FTA. Hill News. February 7, 2008.

13. "Inclusion of Afro-Colombians: Unreachable National Goal?" *Latin American Perspectives* 25:3 (May 1998): 72.

14. Ibid, 82

15. See Karen Juanita Carillo, *Afro-Latinos Prepare for Third AFROAMERICA XXI Conference, Mundo Afro Latino, February 25, 2004,* http://www.mundoafrolatino.com/english/020504.htm. Also, *Chile Declaration of African Descendents*, Preparatory Conference of the Americas Against Racism Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, December 5–7, 2000, Santiago,

Chile.

16. Brasilia Declaration. First Meeting of Afro-Descendant Legislators of the Americas and the Caribbean. November 21-23, 2003.

17. *Chile Declaration of African Descendents*, Preparatory Conference of the Americas Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, December 5-7, 2000, Santiago, Chile. [online]. Available from World Wide Web: http://academic.udayton.edu/race/06hrights/VictimGroups/AfricanDescendants/AfricanDescendants.htm.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. S. Allen Counter and David L. Evans, *I Sought My Brother: An Afro-American Reunion* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981).

21. Quoted in W. F. Santiago-Valles, "The Caribbean Intellectual Tradition that Produced James and Rodney." *Race and Class,* 42 (Oct–Dec 2000): 47. Original source: *The Island Is Repeated: The Caribbean and the Post-Modern Perspective* (Hanover, NH: Ediciones del Norte, 1989).