

The Monroe Doctrine and the making of the Western hemisphere

*Latin Americanism and Pan-Africanism as Transnational Responses to U.S.
Neo-Imperialism in the Americas*



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Introduction

The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain [sic] are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

James Monroe (1823)

The excerpt above is part of a speech that U.S. President James Monroe held in 1823. It was the introduction of a new policy that regarded the sovereignty of the countries in the Americas. By that time most of the Latin American countries were just declared free and on the threshold of building their own independence. Yet, as will be elaborated in this thesis, this allegedly anti-colonial policy of the United States shifted to a neo-imperialist one. Initially, the Monroe Doctrine was addressed to the European nations in order to keep them out of the Americas, but it rapidly shifted to a claim of the right to intervene in Latin America and the Caribbean. Through a postcolonial lens, I will investigate the U.S. neo-imperialism in Latin America and the Caribbean, which did not consist of any form of formal colonialism. In this thesis I will investigate the role played by the Monroe Doctrine in configuring the Western hemisphere, and how certain terms articulated by the Doctrine, such as, the very notions of 'Western hemisphere' and 'hemispheric citizenship', were also appropriated by the two American anti-imperialist movements Latin Americanism and Pan-Africanism.

Initially, it seems quite generous of the United States to declare firmly that the European countries had to stay out of the Americas. Therefore the United States would operate as a defender of the unstable independent Latin American countries. But this policy must be read critically regarding the new role that the United States took over Latin America. Political critic of the United States Gretchen Murphy (2005, 5) suggests that Monroe's gesture of solidarity towards Latin America and the Caribbean conceals a gesture of imperialism. Diplomatic historian Eldon Kenworthy (1995, 16) states something similar about the Monroe Doctrine: "[T]his statement of protection, through subsequent interpretation and reinterpretation, turned into one of control". The historian William Appleman Williams (1961, 215) called it a defensive statement of the territorial and administrative integrity of the Americas that conceals an expansionist statement of U.S. supremacy in the 'New World'.

The above-mentioned critiques show that there might have been more reasons behind this policy of 'defending' Latin America. Several U.S. interventions in the 19th and 20th

centuries underscored these critiques. For example, in 1842 the Monroe Doctrine was applied to keep France and Britain out of Hawaii, when they had interfered in the island. Yet Hawaii was shortly later annexed to the United States.¹ After the Spanish-American War in 1898, the United States took over Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam after 'buying' those countries from Spain.² The first time that a European country interfered successfully in the Americas since Monroe's speech, was during the American Civil War of 1861-1865. Indeed, the United States had not been able to react on the French invasion that put Maximilian on the throne in Mexico. Right after the Civil War, the United States referred to the Monroe Doctrine and, together with Mexico, put an end to the French occupation.³

Although the speech was held in 1823, only in 1853 the Monroe Doctrine was adopted as a resolution. The United States were convinced of the necessity of the Doctrine, which can be seen in a statement by Senator Lewis Cass, who played a major role in creating the definitive resolution. As he put it: "[S]uch legislation was necessary to show European powers the force of public sentiment that backed Monroe's principle with an almost unexampled unanimity" (Cass, quoted in Murphy 2005, 15). If one has to believe Senator Cass, it was clear that the whole North American population was standing behind the Monroe Doctrine. Nowadays, we might consider the adoption of the Monroe Doctrine as a definitive resolution in 1853, just as a starting point for firm adjustments on the Doctrine itself and the self-proclaimed power of the United States over the Americas.

One of these adjustments was the Roosevelt Corollary of 1904, which was created by U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt and stated that the United States not only had to defend, but also police 'their' part of the world to stabilize its democracy:

Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the western hemisphere the adherence of the US to the Monroe Doctrine may force the US, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such

¹ After France and Britain had interfered in Hawaii, the United States in 1842 affirmed their interests in the island by sending a letter to its government. The letter stated that no European country was permitted to annex Hawaii. Only in 1898 the United States did annex the island (Smith 1994, 26-27).

² As part of the peace treaty after Spain's loss in the Spanish-American War of 1898, Spain had to cede these countries to the United States. The latter consolidated the position of the United States in the Caribbean sea and granted it a strategic position in the trade with Asia, in the form of the Philippines (Smith 1994, 91-93; King 2004, 336; Luis-Brown 2008, 70).

³ The alliance with Mexico against the French occupation was regarded in the United States as a successful application of the Monroe Doctrine (Collin 1990, 7; Smith 1994, 24).

wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power. (Roosevelt 1904)

The United States claimed to have a right over the so-called Western hemisphere, a term that will be discussed in the next section of this thesis. As the events that will be discussed throughout this thesis show, the Doctrine has been implemented several times by U.S. Presidents to display power over Latin America and the Caribbean.

In 1893, despite the history of Spanish colonialism in the Dominican Republic, Dominican intellectual and political leader Gregorio Luperón spoke about the apathy of Europe concerning political conflicts in the Americas. Luperón complained that Europeans neglected American affairs, leaving the United States free to do as it pleased (Collin 1990, 354). Yes, the fact that Europeans did not interfere in the Americas was at least in part a sign that Europe respected the Monroe Doctrine. Such a speech of a post-colonial political leader invoking the role of Europe (despite its colonial past) against U.S. neo-imperialism, well illustrates the paradoxical consequences set in motion by the Monroe Doctrine and, more broadly, by the notions of Western hemisphere and hemispheric citizenship.

In the second half of the 20th century, influential U.S. historians, philosophers and even linguists like Dexter Perkins and Noam Chomsky expressed heavy critiques on the Monroe Doctrine. Perkins (1933, 191) stated that the Doctrine blocked reasonable judgment: "Only cry out 'Monroe Doctrine', and the door to reasonable and orderly discussion is already half-closed". Chomsky (2004, 63-64) argued that in practice the Monroe Doctrine has functioned as a declaration of hegemony and a right of unilateral intervention in the Americas, which only grew stronger with the addition of the Roosevelt Corollary.

The main focus of this thesis is the role of the Monroe Doctrine in configuring the Western hemisphere, which first seemed apparently anti-colonial but actually proved to be neo-imperialist. The thesis investigates two of the most influential anti-imperialist reactions to U.S. neo-imperialism (Latin Americanism and Pan-Africanism), how did they deal with the concepts of 'Western hemisphere' and 'hemispheric citizenship' to be found in the Doctrine itself, and to what extent did they work within a transnational framework to challenge U.S. neo-imperialism. This leads to the following research question: to what extent did the Monroe Doctrine influence the anti-imperialist movements Latin Americanism and Pan-Africanism and their capacity to build a transnational framework to challenge U.S. neo-imperialism?

In the first section I introduce the notions of 'Western hemisphere' and 'hemispheric citizenship', while in the following sections I analyze in depth and compare Latin

Americanism and Pan-Africanism. In section two on Latin Americanism, I analyze the U.S. intervention in Panamá and the poem *A Roosevelt* ('To Roosevelt') by Nicaraguan Latin Americanist writer, poet and thinker Rubén Darío (1867-1916). This section also deals with the ideas of the Cuban Latin Americanist writer-activist José Martí (1853-1895) and the problematic situation of Cuba at the end of the 19th century, caught in-between Spanish colonialism and U.S. neo-imperialism. In section three I focus particularly on the influential North-American Pan-Africanist writer, thinker, sociologist and historian W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963), who argued insistently for the forming of a transnational alliance against the neo-imperialism of the United States at the end of the 19th and during the first half of the 20th century.

1. Configuring the Western hemisphere

In *The Rise of the Western Hemisphere Idea*, Arthur P. Whitaker (1954, 7) explains that the idea of the Western hemisphere originated in the 1400s and 1500s. The term displayed, as he put it, a way of looking at America through a European perspective. As seen on European maps, the world was classified by European cartographers. These latter were mapping out the world from their own location, placing the continent they lived in always in the middle of the maps.

With the Monroe Doctrine a remarkable change took place in the use of the notion of the Western hemisphere. The United States turned the notion of the two hemispheres to their advantage, because the Doctrine can be interpreted as yet a separation between the hemispheres. Where the Europeans implemented the term on 'their' object (the New World), the United States applied the same term, the other way around, as an anti-colonial language towards Europe. The United States declared that the people of the Americas possessed a certain citizenship of the Western hemisphere, where European powers should not intervene. This was also the case for struggles located in Europe, such as the Greek revolt against the Turkish rulers between 1821-1832. President James Monroe supported Greek independence, but the United States would not interfere because of its location outside of the Western hemisphere (Murphy 2005, 5). It was of no direct threat to the United States and events unfolding in that part of the world were, according to Monroe, of exclusive European concern (Monroe 1823). The term was thus first coined by Europeans to divide the world, but soon the United States brought the term into practice by explaining that only they had the right to intervene in the Western hemisphere and actions outside of it were not of their concern.

1.1 *The neo-imperialist turn of the Monroe Doctrine*

The anti-colonial aspect of the Doctrine thus meant that European countries were not allowed to interfere in struggles in the Western hemisphere and the other way around the United States would not do so in struggles which are located in Europe. In line with the Doctrine, it can be observed that none of the European countries interfered during the *Guerra de los Mil Días* (Thousand Days' War), a civil war that took place in Colombia between 1899-1902 and led to the independence of Panamá (which was until then part of Colombia).

In 1902 the United States, under President Theodore Roosevelt, intervened in Panamá. The explicit reason for the intervention was the struggle for Panamá's independence from Colombia, which was led by the *Partido Liberal Colombiano*. However, the strategic reason was that the United States wanted to build a canal zone through Panamá to reach the west side of South America and to challenge British sea power (Collin 1990, 127). Indeed, with the independence of Panamá the United States could build their canal through the country and try to compete in overseas trade with Britain, who held a monopoly with the Suez Canal (Collin 1990, 307-308).

With the help of the United States, the *Partido Liberal Colombiano* took power and proclaimed the independence. Several European countries had already argued for the construction of a canal through the former Colombian region, which then covered present-day Panamá. While the Colombian government had resisted any opportunity of building a canal through the region, with the newly formed government of Panamá the construction of the canal was possible, and the United States became the owners of a part of sixteen square meters in Panamá (Collin 1990, 311).

No matter how one regard the independence gained by Panamá thanks to U.S. support, it is important here to stress that the United States found formal legitimation for their intervention precisely in the Monroe Doctrine; Colombia was situated in the Western hemisphere and thus the 'U.S. part' of the world. So this invasion was justified through the principles of the Doctrine, and showed that the United States turned the notion of the Western hemisphere to their favor. The Doctrine thus deployed an anti-colonial language towards the European countries, but benefited the neo-imperialist policy of the United States.

Hemispheric citizenship imposed by the United States on the people of the Americas, through the anti-colonial language of the Monroe Doctrine towards Europe, meant that the United States could use their power over people of 'their part of the world'. Next to the

intervention in Panamá, this can also be seen in the following cases: the U.S. intervention in border disputes between Venezuela and British Guyana between 1895-1898, the U.S. occupations of Nicaragua between 1909-1933, the U.S. interventions in México between 1914-1917, the occupations of Cuba between 1898-1922, of Haiti between 1915-1934, of the Dominican Republic in 1905 and between 1916-1924, and of Puerto Rico which is until today a self-governing commonwealth within the United States (Smith 1994). Moreover, the United States later on intervened in several Latin American countries for the deposition of leaders such as the democratically-elected President Jacobo Arbenz of Guatemala in 1954 (which led to more than thirty years of dictatorship, violence and oppression) and Salvador Allende of Chile in 1973, against whom the United States supported the *golpe* led by General Pinochet which ended with the installation of a dictatorship (Smith 1994).

These cases show that the concept of Western hemisphere developed from a colonial attitude of the Europeans with regard to Latin America, the Caribbean and the United States themselves (i.e. the countries of the Spanish, Portuguese, French and British empires), to an anti-colonial use by the United States towards Europe (the Monroe Doctrine itself), and again to a neo-imperialist one by the United States concerning Latin America and the Caribbean (i.e. the interventions in Panamá, Haiti and Cuba).

1.2 Anti-imperialist appropriations of the hemispheric imaginary

Yet, the travelling of the concept of Western hemisphere did not end with its crossing of the Atlantic Ocean and its U.S. anti-colonial yet neo-imperialist appropriation in the Monroe Doctrine. The concepts of Western hemisphere and hemispheric citizenship also landed in Latin America and the Caribbean, where they were turned into anti-imperialist notions. In the United States hemispheric citizenship had been linked to being citizen of the Western hemisphere. Latin Americanists José Martí and Rubén Darío and Pan-Africanist W.E.B. Du Bois, among others, implemented the notion of hemispheric citizenship to argue for transnational alliances among the oppressed peoples (Martí 2005 [1891]; Darío 2004 [1905]; Du Bois 1900).

The Cuban Martí argued for transnational alliances in the Western hemisphere. In *Hemispheric Imaginings*, Murphy (2005, 117-118) stresses that Martí isolated America from Europe through his application of the notion of Western hemisphere: "The construction of the Western hemisphere carefully avoids the geographic moralities of either homogenizing the Americas, emphasizing racial and ethnic difference between the United States and Latin

America". African-American Du Bois did not only focus on the Western hemisphere, because Pan-Africanism went beyond the hemisphere and also had vast influences in Africa (Domino 2007).

These latter approaches to hemispheric citizenship developed through movements, such as Latin Americanism and Pan-Africanism, which gathered the oppressed peoples of the Americas and expressed their anti-imperialist feelings. It is important to stress that these were movements that consisted of people and not of states. So at stake is not a struggle between states, but a struggle of different oppressed peoples against the United States. The call for this transnationalism is seen in the works of, for example, Martí, Darío and Du Bois. Hence, in different ways, all these authors appealed to a hemispheric imaginary to oppose the neo-imperialist policy of the United States. They argued that the oppressed peoples ought to form transnational alliances as Western hemispheric citizens, to oppose U.S. imperialism (Martí 2005 [1891]; Darío 2004 [1905]; Du Bois 1900). The urgency for transnational alliances was stated by Du Bois in a speech in 1898, when he spoke about the imperialist ambitions of the United States:

Most significant of all at this period is the fact that the colored population of our land is, through the new imperial policy, about to be doubled by our ownership of Porto Rico, and Hawaii, our protectorate of Cuba... What is to be our attitude toward these new lands and toward the masses of dark men and women who inhabit them? Manifestly it must be an attitude of deepest sympathy and strongest alliance. (Du Bois 1900, 53)

Du Bois criticized the neo-imperialist policy of the United States that was affecting, in his view, the Latin American and Caribbean peoples as well as the people of color within the United States. With the annexation of Puerto Rico, Hawaii and Cuba, the amount of subaltern U.S. citizens of color was about to double. Du Bois argued that the people of color of the Americas residing *both* within *and* outside the United States should form an alliance against U.S. imperialism. In *The Souls of Black Folk* Du Bois explained that, although with the 13th amendment slavery had been abolished, the people of color were still divided and hierarchized fundamentally along the color line from the white people. According to Du Bois (1903, 239), the 13th amendment did not place the people of color on the same level of the white people.

In *Waves of Decolonization*, his work on the development of hemispheric citizenship in Cuban, Mexican and U.S. thought, cultural critic David Luis-Brown (2008, 19) describes the work of writer-activists as follows: "while decolonization reveals the limitations of nationalist movements, [the] transnational focus [of movements such as Latin Americanism and Pan-Africanism] sets in relief the varied and sustained efforts of writer-activists to narrate and practice an alternative form of citizenship: hemispheric citizenship". He continues by arguing that those who practiced hemispheric citizenship worked to turn critical perspectives on U.S. imperialism in Latin America to the political advantage of the oppressed in the Americas, hence crossing national borders in favor of transnational alliances among subaltern populations (Luis-Brown 2008, 19).

Martí and Darío were, among others, important for the development of Latin Americanism and Du Bois, speaking from an African-American standpoint, is considered one of the founding fathers of the Pan-Africanist movement (Procter 2007, 154). The power of anti-imperialist movements such as Latin Americanism and Pan-Africanism lies in the efforts of, for example, the above-mentioned writer-activists. Through books, speeches, music and poems they attempted to communicate their ideas to oppose the neo-imperialist policy of the United States.

The urgency of alliances among different peoples against U.S. neo-imperialism was imminent; the United States was quickly expanding its territory in the Western hemisphere. Next to Puerto Rico, Hawaii and Cuba, other Caribbean islands such as Haiti and Dominican Republic were annexed in the early 20th century (Collin 1990, 424). Also uninhabited minor islands in the region were incorporated in the U.S. territory (Collin 1990, 425). The United States occupied parts of Panamá and Nicaragua and large parts of Mexico were annexed after the U.S.-Mexican War of 1846-1848 (Davenport 2004, 48).

2. Latin Americanism

In *Nuestra América* ('Our America'), his work on Cuban identity and U.S. neo-imperialism, José Martí expressed his desire for people in America to unite. Martí can be described as a poet, writer, journalist, political theorist and revolutionary philosopher (King 2004, 151). He stressed that the oppressed peoples needed to step forward and resist the 'Giant of the North' (Martí 2005 [1891], 133). With 'Giant of the North' he referred to the United States and with 'nuestra América' he explicitly referred to people of Latin America and the *Latinos* living in the United States. Next to criticizing U.S. neo-imperialism, Martí was also very critical

towards the European colonization in the Americas. He was one of the most influential Latin Americanists.

Gretchen Murphy (2005, 117-118) describes the role of Latin Americanism as the lightning of the oven, so that everybody could bake bread in it. This metaphor describes the role that Latin Americanist writers and thinkers such as Martí had, namely spreading the ideals and offering ideas on how to resist U.S. neo-imperialism. The Latin American peoples had to unite to ‘bake their bread in this one oven’, and thus cooperating as one. It is therefore clear that, despite Martí’s as well as other Latin Americanists’ main focus on particular national contexts (i.e. Cuba), their political and cultural project had to emerge as transnational. So despite the differences in oppression of, for example, Mexicans, Argentines, Cubans or *Latinos* living in the United States, in order to form a transnational alliance the Latin American peoples had to unite.

Transnational alliances in Latin America were not something new. Between 1813-1830, Venezuelan intellectual and soldier Simón Bolívar (1783-1830) fought for the independence of several Latin American countries. He is also known as *El Libertador* (The Liberator), thanks to his efforts in the independence process of several countries from Spain such as Panamá, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela and Bolivia (King 2004, 33). Bolivia was even named after Bolívar himself. Although there are significant differences between the struggles of, for example, Bolívar and Martí, where the former literally fought against Spanish colonialism while the latter combatted against U.S. neo-imperialism with words, the wish for transnationalism was similar. Remarkably, even though the oppressor was different, both Bolívar and Martí had to do with the Monroe Doctrine, albeit in different ways. Although a source of Bolívar mentioning the Monroe Doctrine is lacking, historian John Crow (1992, 675-682) stresses that Bolívar presumably received the Doctrine with gratitude, because with the initial aim of the Doctrine, Bolívar’s independence process would not be bothered by European countries.

Bolívar’s dream was a Union or Republic of independent nations in Latin America. He realized the beginning of this dream with Gran Colombia in 1819, which covered present-day Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Northern Peru, a part of Brazil and Panamá (King 2004, 39). Yet, one year after Bolívar’s death, Gran Colombia fell. In 1831 it dissolved into Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador, while Panamá voluntarily remained part of Colombia (King 2004, 48-49). As mentioned in the previous section, this would last until 1903, when Panamá became independent also due to U.S. intervention in the area. This is an example of the ambiguity of the Monroe Doctrine; the Doctrine had presumably helped Bolívar with its anti-

colonial rhetoric, yet its neo-imperialist purposes also became clear with the intervention in Panamá, driven by U.S. interests in the Panamá Canal.

2.1 *Rubén Darío's A Roosevelt*

The U.S. intervention in Panamá was the reason for poet and Latin Americanist Rubén Darío to compose the poem *A Roosevelt* (2004 [1905], 84-87), in which he criticized U.S. neo-imperialism. Darío is not Panamanian, but Nicaraguan, a biographical aspect that shows the transnational nature of his anti-imperialist commitments. During his life, he lived in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Spain, Panamá, Argentina and France, developing an internationally-oriented vision (King 2004). *A Roosevelt* pursued multiple goals. Darío wanted to address clearly *both* the United States *and* the people of Latin America. In the aim towards the latter group, he combined the positive aspects of (the history of) Latin America with the urgency of resisting the neo-imperialist policy of the United States. This comes forward already in the first stanza:

¡Es con la voz de la Biblia, o verso de Walt Whitman,
que habría que llegar hasta ti, Cazador!
Primitivo y moderno, sencillo y complicado,
con un algo de Washington y cuatro de Nemrod.
Eres los Estados Unidos,
eres el futuro invasor
de la América ingenua que tiene sangre indígena,
que aún reza a Jesucristo y aún habla en español.

The voice that would reach you, Hunter, must speak
in Biblical tones, or in the poetry of Walt Whitman.
You are primitive and modern, simple and complex;
you are one part George Washington and one part Nimrod.
You are the United States,
future invader of our naïve America
with its Indian blood, an America
that still prays to Christ and still speaks Spanish. (Darío 2004 [1905], 84-85)

In the first line Darío calls Roosevelt a hunter. He continues by targeting the U.S. President the "future invader of our naïve America / with its Indian blood, an America / that still prays to Christ and still speaks Spanish". He immediately makes clear that there is a difference between English speaking and Spanish speaking America. The latter still represents a large history of Spanish colonialism. Hence, Darío points out that it is not the first time that Latin America has to face imperialism. Historian of Latin America John King (2004, 150) describes this as the counter position of 'Our America' vis-à-vis U.S. neo-imperialism. King points at the separation that the Latin Americanists established in the Western hemisphere between Spanish speaking and English speaking America. A remarkable aspect of this Latin Americanist standpoint is the shift from naming Spain as the oppressor to recognizing the United States as the principal imperial power (although the legacy of Spanish colonialism is never downplayed). In *Theodore Roosevelt's Caribbean*, historian Richard H. Collin (1990, 30-32) wrote that Darío's main point in the poem in question was his refusal to accept North American cultural and political superiority at large, rather than just criticizing the political figure of Theodore Roosevelt.

Darío continues indeed with two stanzas about the wealthy position and the power held by the United States, after which he stresses the positivity of Latin America (Darío 2004 [1905], 84-87). In those two stanzas, Darío also reflects on the separation of the hemispheres. As mentioned in the previous section, there was a paradox in the notion of the Western hemisphere. As a reaction to the U.S. notion of Western hemisphere, which benefited U.S. neo-imperialism, Darío turns the notion in support of his arguments. In one of the stanzas he applies this through emphasizing the beauty and rich history of 'his' America. He enforces his argument by speaking for all the peoples of Latin America when he talks about the beauty of Spanish speaking America (Darío 2004 [1905], 84-87). Darío here separates the Western hemisphere in two parts: the U.S. and the Latin American part. This change in the notion of Western hemisphere resembles Martí's split between 'nuestra América' (Latin America) and the 'Giant of the North' (United States). The stanza in which Darío switches from pointing critically at the United States towards underscoring the beauty of Latin American history and culture, best illustrates this change in the notion of Western hemisphere.⁴

⁴ This can be compared to the discursive strategy of the Negritude movement, extremely influential in the Caribbean, which proposed a celebration of blackness as a reaction to the pejorative expressions of the word 'black' and the racist stereotyping of black people. Negritude was an attempt to rescue and reverse blackness from its definition always in negative terms. The Negritude movement sought to reverse blackness to something positive and valuable, behind which black people throughout the world could unite (McLeod 2010, 93-101).

In the same poem, Latin America is termed by Darío "the aromatic America of Columbus, / Catholic America, Spanish America" (Darío 2004 [1905], 86-87). This line underscores the above-mentioned move from Spain towards the United States as the principal power to challenge. Darío defines in the last stanza what Latin America is. Several things he mentions are reminders of the Spanish domination. Examples of this are the emphasis on the Spanish 'bringing' Catholicism to the Americas and imposing it on the Latin American peoples and the statement "Long live Spanish America" (Darío 2004 [1905], 86-87). In her essay on the problems of the application of postcolonial theory on Latin America, historian Claire Taylor (2007, 126) explains that this shift is vigorously visible in contemporary U.S. discourses. Especially Mexicans who live in the United States articulate an independent identity focussed on challenging the United States. Looking at the work of Darío as well as other Latin Americanist artists and critics, it becomes clear that the shift towards challenging the United States as the principal power dates back at least to the early twentieth century and has been provoked by U.S. neo-imperialist interventions in Latin America.

2.2 Transnationalism versus internationalism

After the poem became famous, Darío denied any real antipathy toward the United States and Roosevelt (Collin 1990, 32). In fact, in the years after the poem, Darío was caught on writing quite positively about the United States (Collin 1990, 32). The Latin Americanism of Darío was expressed through criticism of U.S. neo-imperialism and through celebrating the proliferation of the rich Latin American history and culture. Since the decline of his anti-imperialist perspective (the positive writings on the United States), Darío's emphasis on the common history and culture of Spanish America remained his Latin Americanist contribution.

This can be seen as an example of how Latin Americanism is more international than transnational, that is, the movement recognizes the national borders rather than transcending them, which is the case for transnationalism. The latter is more related to an alliance among peoples of different countries, while internationalism focuses on relations between states (*inter* is the Latin word for between) (Zabyelina 2010, 133-135). The difference between these terms is also described by literary and postcolonial critic Timothy Brennan (2003, 42) in his book *Debating Cosmopolitics*: "[Internationalism] is an ideology of the domestically restricted, the recently relocated, the provisionally exiled and temporarily weak. It is addressed to those who have an interest in transnational forms of solidarity, but whose capacities for doing so have not yet arrived". In other words, internationalism tends to be

transnational but first has to deal with particular struggles in one nation. This is also seen in the case of Darío. In *A Roosevelt* he wants to create an alliance among peoples with a common history and culture, but first there are national conflicts to overcome. The fact that he, as Nicaraguan, puts effort in a Panamanian issue does show the transnational intentions of Darío. But due to the rootedness in a specific national context which is inspired by a particular national event, it does not transcend the borders and is thus an international- rather than a transnational alliance. This is an example which shows that Latin Americanism is rather international than transnational, despite the fact that Darío's ideals were transnational, he invoked Latin American pride against U.S. intervention in Panamá as a Nicaraguan, he divided the Western hemisphere in Spanish and English speaking America, and called for a hemispheric citizenship by romanticizing Latin American history and culture.

The limitations of an internationalist logic when it comes to create transnational alliances among peoples, emerge, in a very similar way, in the case of Cuba and the work of Martí. The latter, in his 1891 essay *Nuestra América*, encouraged a Cuban Revolution. At the time Martí wrote the essay, Cuba was, in contrast to other former Spanish colonies, still a colony of Spain (King 2004, 46). Martí's goal was, next to Cuba's independence, to form a transnational alliance among the Latin American peoples. While he was sent in exile to the United States by the Spanish colonizers for his criticism, he compared Spain and the United States respectively with a tiger and an octopus (Martí 2005 [1891], 136-137). Spain was the tiger whose prey is Cuba and the United States was an octopus, which is a metaphor meant to convey the greediness and the grasp of U.S. imperialism. Cuba found itself in a special position, caught in the middle of U.S. and Spanish powers. Martí (2005 [1891]) called for the formation of an alliance among people with a common history, but primarily focused on the Cuban context. Nevertheless, Martí's ideas were not limited only to Cuban resistance, but he also stressed the need for a Latin American resistance against U.S. neo-imperialism. So, at the same time he was engaged in the national struggle for Cuban independence, Martí was also trying to look beyond this and towards the formation of a transnational alliance.

Remarkable is the respect that Martí, and thus not only Darío, had for the United States, which he praised for its solidarity and independence. Nevertheless, he feared U.S. annexation of Cuba by the time the latter would have gained its independence from Spain (Martí 2005 [1891], 138). Martí claimed that *La Guerra de los Diez Años*, or the first Cuban War of Independence between 1868-1878, was a success for the Cuban people; they acted in

unity to affirm their culture and political liberty (Martí 2005 [1891], 136).⁵ But he also warned against "exchanging one master for another" (King 2004, 46). He wanted an independent Cuba and called for an end of Spanish colonialism, but this would have lost its meaning if Cuba was to be annexed to the United States. Martí was right, because Cuba was indeed annexed in 1898 to the United States and remained a U.S. colony until 1902 and a U.S. protectorate until 1934 (Collin 1990, 522-529). Here the imperialist language of the Monroe Doctrine comes into play, for as soon as Cuba got rid of the European influence the imperialist meaning of the Doctrine became visible. Martí's ideas and warnings against the U.S. annexation did not prevent the actual grasp of the United States.

So Latin Americanism, at least in the cases of Panamá and Cuba, did not succeed in the formation of effective transnational alliances as a reaction against and resistance to U.S. neo-imperialism. Latin Americanism was in fact more international, due to the focus on specific national contexts. Nonetheless, the ideas of Darío and Martí were transnational and the fact that Latin Americanist writers also wrote about Latin American people living in the United States shows a certain transnational aspiration, which however is better developed in the thought of Pan-Africanists such as W.E.B. Du Bois.

3. Pan-Africanism

That transnationalism was better developed in the thought of Pan-Africanism is evident, among other things, in the organization of the so-called 'Pan-African Congresses'. During the 20th century a series of these congresses was held. The congresses, which have been held in the Western hemisphere, Africa and Europe, gathered speakers from different movements, such as Pan-Africanism, Negritude, Harlem Renaissance, Negrismo and Garveyism (Hill 2007). These Pan-African congresses were a core aspect of Pan-Africanism and worked as focal points where these different movements met and through which Pan-Africanism influenced several other movements. W.E.B. Du Bois was one of the most important speakers at such congresses, whose aim was to end colonialism, imperialism, racial discrimination and human inequality (Hill 2007). At the Pan-African Conference in 1900, Du Bois closed the meeting with a request towards European leaders to grant independence to their colonies in the Western hemisphere and he claimed more rights for the African-Americans (Du Bois

⁵ During the *golpe* of guerrilla leader Fidel Castro in 1960, Martí's hard-nosed romanticism was picked up (King 2004, 52).

1900). Du Bois inspired the way of thinking among people of African descent in *both* the Western hemisphere *and* Africa (Martin 2004).

Pan-Africanism represents, as historian Minkah Makalani (2011) remarks, the complexities of black political and intellectual thought over two hundred years, and is a belief that African peoples, both in the African continent and in the diaspora (in this case in Latin America and the Caribbean), share not merely a common history, but a common destiny. In spite of what the name might suggest, the Pan-African movement originated in Latin America and the Caribbean. By the end of the 18th century free people of color in the Americas established churches and gathered to oppose racial segregation (Makalani 2011). The 13th amendment set free a large number of people of color in the United States, who were spread over the Americas due to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. A feeling of dislocation could arise among them and Pan-Africanism could grow. Pan-Africanism thus existed already far before any national independence was achieved in the Caribbean and was more focused on the oppression of people of color, unlike Latin Americanism, which originated as a direct answer to U.S. neo-imperialism. So, when the United States pointed at the Monroe Doctrine for the first time, in 1823, there already was a Pan-Africanist framework.

3.1 *The dilemma of the people of color in the Americas*

As mentioned earlier, Du Bois stood up and fought for the rights of the oppressed people of color. He called for a transnational alliance among them, when the U.S. people of color were about to double due to U.S. neo-imperialism, that is, the annexation of Cuba and Puerto Rico. While the writer-activists of Latin Americanism argued from Latin American countries, Pan-Africanism had the advantage of also practicing pressure from within the United States itself. In his handbook *Racism*, historian George M. Fredrickson (2002, 31) underscores that Pan-Africanism started as a philosophy of Afro-Americans, because they experienced forms of racism and oppression in the country they lived in. Du Bois established the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* (NAACP) in 1909, which focused primarily on the people of African descent within the United States. Writer-activist Marcus Garvey, born in Jamaica, expanded this focus and established the *Universal Negro Improvement Association* (UNAI) in 1914, a group that struggled for the rights of all the people of color in the Americas with African roots (Makalani 2011).

Makalani stresses that the efforts of, among others, Du Bois and Garvey led to the diffusion of Pan-Africanism in the entire Western hemisphere. Du Bois (1903, 179-189)

argued that Pan-Africanism, in part, created a feeling of solidarity among the peoples of color in the Western hemisphere through the so-called sorrow songs. He stated that these songs represented the human experience of those who were born in the Americas (Du Bois 1903, 180). This mode of expressing a common identity inspired, among others, the Rastafarians in Jamaica (Makalani 2011). This describes a way in which Pan-Africanism crossed national borders in the Western hemisphere.

One of the subjects discussed during the Pan-African congresses but also central in Du Bois's writings was 'double-consciousness', a concept that refers to the dilemma of being black and American (Procter 2007, 154). The term was introduced by Du Bois himself in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) and became characteristic of Pan-Africanism as a reaction to U.S. neo-imperialism. In his work, Du Bois put it as follows:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others. [...] No one ever feels his two-ness, an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (Du Bois 1903, 9)

The dilemma of the people of color, according to Du Bois, meant that they could not be themselves, because of their 'two selves'. Herring (1962) stresses that this double-consciousness creates an element of conflict within the black Americans, as they struggle, often unsuccessfully, to reconcile their identity as a black person and as an American citizen. Du Bois stated that this double-consciousness will not change the position of the people of color, and to challenge their oppression they must form a transnational alliance (Luis-Brown 2008, 4). Du Bois's double-consciousness created a framework of national *and* transnational perspectives, because the specific feeling of being black and American constructed feelings of solidarity with other peoples of color in the Americas. This is to be seen, for example, in the case of Haiti.

3.2 The application of the Monroe Doctrine in Haiti

It is worth noticing that the emergence and the development of Pan-Africanism in Latin America and particularly the Caribbean was triggered by similar or even the same political events that were pivotal to the emergence of Latin Americanism. When we look at examples

of U.S. intervention in the Caribbean, Haiti holds a notable position.⁶ Haiti, the first independent country of Latin America and the Caribbean, dealt with U.S. neo-imperialism between 1915-1934. After the annexations of Cuba and Puerto Rico and the possession of the Panamá Canal, the U.S. sphere of influence in the Western hemisphere expanded with the intervention in Haiti, where the United States installed puppet governments, ran the economy, military and police and for all intents and purposes were in absolute control of the country (Herring 1962). In her book on the relation between Haiti and the United States, Brenda Gayle Plummer stresses that the United States felt that Germany became their competitor in the field of trade:

[B]efore the United States entered World War I, Washington officials expressed trepidation over Germany's growing role in the independent republics' import-export sector. [...] Keenly sensitive to the advantages given German businessmen by state support; superior education; and, above all, elaborate, efficient, and highly integrated methods of organization, stateside commentators contributed to the illusion that Germany was surpassing the United States in business development in its very backyard. (Plummer 1992, 88)

Hence, we can read the U.S. intervention in Haiti as a measure of securing its economy, since the United States felt threatened by the upcoming German power, at least in the way they saw it. Next to this competition with Germany, the anti-U.S. policy of the Haitian President Jean Vibrun Guillaume Sam was another reason for the intervention in Haiti (Plummer 1992, 90). So, the United States again pointed at the Monroe Doctrine to actually stabilize its own economic position.

In an earlier published article, Plummer (1982, 125) mentions the self-proclaimed higher position of the United States as opposed to the Haitians, who were depicted in the U.S. discourse as a backward people in need of discipline and enlightenment. This is best illustrated by President Woodrow Wilson's 1913 statement to the British Minister of Foreign Affairs Sir William Tyrell on the problematic economic situation with Mexico and Haiti: "I am going to teach the South American republics to elect good men" (quoted in Langley 1983, 81). The display of U.S. power over 'their' hemisphere in order to secure U.S. economy and to teach Haiti how to govern itself shows again the neo-imperialist working of the Monroe

⁶ In 1492 Christopher Columbus first arrived in the country he named Hispaniola (Haiti and Dominican Republic). The Dominican Republic stayed a Spanish colony until 1844 and Haiti a French colony until 1804 (King 2004).

Doctrine. Due to the turbulent economic situation of Haiti as well as the fact that the United States had invaded the neighboring country Dominican Republic a year earlier, they succeeded easily in the intervention in Haiti (Herring 1962).

The NAACP condemned the U.S. intervention in Haiti, and Du Bois, the founding leader of the organization, stated: "[H]elp Haiti rid herself of thieves and not try to fasten American thieves on her" (Du Bois 1915, 30). Even in 1920 the NAACP addressed the other influential Pan-Africanist organization, the UNAI founded by Garvey, to cooperate as one and help Haiti regaining its sovereignty and challenging U.S. neo-imperialism. Plummer (1982, 133) observes that a letter from the NAACP to the UNAI contained the following statement: "[I]t [is] exceedingly necessary that the colored people of America unite with their brothers in Haiti." This describes a transnational alliance between two Pan-Africanist organizations that transcended the borders of several nations in the Western hemisphere to challenge U.S. neo-imperialism. We can see here that Pan-Africanism transcends borders of single countries, as opposed to the more international logic of Latin Americanism.

In other words, Pan-Africanism aroused for a transnational alliance among peoples of color that not only crosses the borders of the Western hemisphere (establishing links with African and European movements, mainly through the Pan-African congresses), but also the borders *within* the hemisphere. Du Bois saw the necessity of forming a strong alliance that not only looks at the citizens of one's country. He argued for stronger cultural and political bonds able to overlook borders. For him, this was the only way to challenge U.S. neo-imperialism (Luis-Brown 2008, 8). Where Latin Americanism acted as rather an international alliance, Pan-Africanism did transcend national borders to oppose U.S. neo-imperialism, which found one of its most evident expressions in the Monroe Doctrine.

Conclusion

In this thesis the influence of the Monroe Doctrine in the Western hemisphere has been investigated. While the Doctrine initially contained an anti-colonial language towards the European countries, it instead appeared to be a neo-imperialist policy. This form of U.S. neo-imperialism, which gave the United States a self-proclaimed right to intervene in the Western hemisphere whenever they felt the need for it, received a lot of critiques. Next to critiques from historians, philosophers and cultural critics from within the United States themselves, influential anti-imperialist movements, within and outside the United States, challenged the U.S. neo-imperialism. In this thesis I have investigated the way in which the movements Latin

Americanism and Pan-Africanism fostered transnational resistance against U.S. neo-imperialism in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Eventually Latin Americanism appeared to be more international compared to Pan-Africanism, which did succeed more in the formation of a transnational alliance. Although Latin Americanists José Martí and Rubén Darío expressed a certain transnational aspiration in Cuba and Panamá respectively, Latin Americanism did not fully transcend national borders, which showed their internationalist logic. In contrast, the Pan-Africanist ideas of W.E.B. Du Bois did turn out to be transnational within the Western hemisphere, as can be seen in the call for a transnational alliance to challenge the U.S. intervention in Haiti between 1915-1934. It can thus be concluded that, at least in the investigated countries, Pan-Africanism surpassed Latin Americanism in the formation of a transnational alliance opposed to the U.S. neo-imperialism that was introduced through the implementation of the Monroe Doctrine.

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