

confidentially from a Uruguayan diplomat (181). The term “moderating power” is more broadly accepted than “moderative power” for Brazilian imperial privilege in political matters (200). These, of course, are all small matters and detract little from Izecksohn’s useful treatment of comparative recruitment.

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GERALD HORNE. *Race to Revolution: The United States and Cuba during Slavery and Jim Crow*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2014. Pp. 429. \$29.00.

Gerald Horne’s *Race to Revolution: The United States and Cuba during Slavery and Jim Crow* charts the intersecting histories of African descended populations in Cuba and the United States. Horne begins with the age of slavery, when U.S. citizens from the North and South owned thousands of slaves in Cuba, and an illegal slave trade from Cuba into the United States thrived. The second half of the book narrates the Jim Crow era, in which the United States attempted to impose racial segregation in Cuba, jazz emerged as a product of cross straits collaboration, and Communists attacked U.S. racism. The Cuban Revolution halted U.S. neocolonial rule and Jim Crow in Cuba, but instated new racial hierarchies. Other scholars have examined the intertwined history of Cuba and the United States, most notably Louis A. Pérez in *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy* (1990), but Horne’s book differs from Pérez’s in that it foregrounds the perspectives of African descended people. Horne also synthesizes transnational historiography by Lisa Brock and Digna Castañeda Fuertes, Frank Guridy, Alessandra Lorini, and Nancy Raquel Mirabal among others on the links between African Americans and Afro Cubans. *Race to Revolution* is both a triumph of synthesis and the result of voluminous bilingual research, as Horne draws on the holdings of numerous archives, including the Archivo Nacional of Havana and the Communist Party USA papers.

Horne argues that the differing treatment of African descended people in Cuba versus the United States served as a longstanding destabilizing force, giving hope to African Americans that other racial formations were possible. He shows that the attempted U.S. imposition of Jim Crow in Cuba in the early twentieth century proved to be a powerful transnational organizing tool, linking those opposed to racism to others who chafed under U.S. neocolonial rule—these forces coalesced in the Communist Party and eventually contributed to the Cuban Revolution of 1959, which toppled Fulgenio Batista’s dictatorship: “at least on the island, this racism ironically hastened the race to revolution” (205).

During the close of the eighteenth century, the Haitian Revolution initially forged the close relationship between Cuba and the United States. Whites in Cuba and the United States feared that slaves would replicate the Haitian Revolution in their own countries. Following the Haitian Revolution, when Cuba was poised to take

over as the world’s chief producer of sugar, whites from the U.S. North and South descended on the island to purchase slaves and plantations—white U.S. Americans owned thousands of Cuban slaves by 1840. By the mid 1850s, Cuba sold 85 percent of its sugar to the United States. African American abolitionists like Frederick Douglass and Martin R. Delany denounced a thriving illegal slave trade in which U.S. vessels brought Africans to Cuba and also smuggled slaves into the U.S. South through Key West, New Orleans, and ports in Texas. African Americans expressed fascination with Cuba’s high rates of manumission, its large population of free people of color, and slave rebellions like *La Escalera* (The Ladder Rebellion, 1843–1844).

Following its own slave emancipation, the United States supported the Cuban War for Independence. Afro Cuban exiles, like the activist editor Rafael Serra in New York and General Antonio Maceo in New Orleans, saw decades of organizing for independence come to fruition as “three full regiments of African American men” (151) joined U.S. forces fighting Spain in 1898. Black troops never imagined that the war would lead to U.S. attempts to impose Jim Crow segregation on Cuba: “As early as 1899 signs proclaiming ‘We Cater to White People Only’ were posted in Havana at the insistence of U.S. leaders” (173). Nevertheless, transplanting Jim Crow to Cuban soil was an uneven process. Many black Americans moved to Cuba, drawn by economic and social opportunities, even if they criticized racial segregation. The race neutral discourse of the struggle for Cuba Libre eventually resulted in the Morúa Amendment to the Cuban Constitution in 1910, which outlawed race based political organizations like the Partido Independiente de Color. When protests against this law broke out in 1912, the United States sent 3,500 soldiers to fight the insurrection. This repression, later known as the Race War of 1912, resulted in the deaths of 3,000 to 5,000 Afro Cubans.

By 1920, U.S. citizens owned nearly 50 percent of Cuban sugar production. In the 1920s, Garveyites forged ties across the Florida straits. Afro Cubans constructed alliances with the NAACP and the U.S. Communist Party in their struggle against racism. Communist Party members who led the critique of the Scottsboro case in 1931 were deeply interested in Cuba. William Patterson, a black Communist, spearheaded the campaign supporting the Scottsboro boys, who faced false accusations of raping white women in Alabama. Both Patterson and James Ford, the leading black Communist, traveled to Cuba in the 1930s; Ford addressed a crowd of fifty thousand in Cuba in 1938. Horne’s thesis that U.S. style “racism [in Cuba] . . . hastened the race to revolution” is persuasive insofar as it applies to the support for the Cuban Revolution among Afro Cubans like Digna Castañeda Fuertes, who was appalled by segregation among U.S. Marines who walked the streets of Havana in the 1950s (260), but future scholarship will have to discover whether that thesis is persuasive when applied to all Cubans, perhaps by examining the role of race in the contributions of the 26th of July Movement and the

Cuban Communist Party to the Cuban Revolution of 1959 (205).

This indispensable book represents transnational history at its best: it not only illuminates the cross national personal exchanges and flows of capital, migration and travel, as well as political systems and social movements, it also casts a new light on the national histories of Cuba and the United States, entangled in a crushingly uneven embrace.

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