

en la práctica. Para Gama, uno de los líderes del sindicato, *linyannaj* se parece al entramado que forman las raíces de un manglar en donde cada parte nutre al todo formando un ecosistema.

pwofitasyon: Este término alude al lucro y específicamente a lucro injusto que se hace a costa de la explotación de los demás. Durante la huelga, el término se utilizó constantemente y ocupó un lugar prominente en los eslóganes, las canciones e imágenes que se desarrollaron en torno a la huelga. Desde el punto de vista del movimiento, el agente explotador a que se alude no se concibe de manera simplista como el colonizador blanco. Los que se lucran pueden ser los empresarios *békés* que viven en Guadalupe, los políticos guadalupenses, los franceses, o cualquier otra persona que se beneficie de las políticas neoliberales que estrangulan al pueblo con precios exorbitantes o condiciones laborales injustas.

Conclusión

Está claro que Bonilla se solidariza con el movimiento obrero que documenta. Sin embargo, su análisis no romantiza la lucha ni sus líderes. En cambio, la autora nos describe un panorama complejo en el que hay mucha desilusión con los resultados de la huelga, por un lado, pero también mucha nostalgia y deseo de revivir la experiencia de la lucha misma que también puede ser esperanzadora, aun cuando se forja en un espacio liminal político. Para la autora, la desilusión que relatan y experimentan los activistas hay que tomarla con pinzas porque está informada por expectativas de la modernidad (independencia, nación, soberanía, etc.) que hace falta rebasar, pero que todavía tenemos demasiado cerca y no podemos ignorar a la hora de medir las victorias. Sin embargo, la autora reconoce que la nostalgia nutre futuros esfuerzos y da continuidad a las luchas y al deseo de seguir soñando por un mejor futuro, sea en Guadalupe o en Puerto Rico, aun si todavía no se sabe bien cómo nombrarlo.

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Non-Sovereign Futures contents, careful analysis and theoretic-methodological foundations make a contribution to new ethnographies of the Caribbean, to socio-cultural anthropology, cultural studies of social movements and to social sciences more generally; an excellent interdisciplinary work with relevance to many interests. The

book examines national disenchantment and struggles for autonomy during cyclical ‘crises’ in the Caribbean, which are also creative opportunities, as the book demonstrates so beautifully. Bonilla’s methods, ethically sound and de-colonizing, are very welcome. In particular her attention to the micro-politics of fieldwork, her effectiveness as a humble ethnographic-witness, and her portraits of fieldwork participants (such as Gama) as cultural subjects and agents, not only as representatives of social groups. She pays attention to the politics and poetics of participants localities and to French Caribbean Creole ways of speaking, not as an afterthought, but foregrounding how certain words are theoretically anchoring of people’s ‘practical consciousness’ and alternative ‘infra-politics.’ Bonilla shows how these words-concepts carry counter-historic narrative frames of great significance for Caribbean people’s radical hopes. The attention given to cultural politics and to new forms of *marronage*, makes the book an archive of concrete labor memories-histories, and a political resource—useful for non-academic publics—to re-think our contexts, to engage with the most basic reclamations for dignified survival in our local communities.

I appreciate in particular (echoing Isar Godreau), that the book is delightfully readable, engaging, evocative, yet scholarly rigorous and theoretically sound, which is a rare combo in contemporary book-length ethnographies. Bonilla has produced a nuanced representation of social struggles in Guadeloupe, highlighting the 2009 strike events, and, with ethical sensibility, rendered sharp poetic narratives from labor activists organizers and memory-walks participants. Bonilla comes in and out of these accounts; her reflexive and accountable presence seems appropriately measured. It seems [based on declaration in the book’s introduction], that Bonilla’s narrative memory-walk experience in Guadeloupe, the understanding she gained from this project, and her engaging ethno-account make scholarly significant contributions, but it seems also personally significant for the author, which makes us hope for Bonilla’s future works about Puerto Rico’s non-sovereign experiences and the fragmented—yet hopeful—emergent movements from civil society that are arising in times of crisis.

I found the following concepts useful to help re-purpose old ‘narrative frames,’ uncovering of ‘silences’ in the production of history of the most concrete micro spheres of everyday struggles. Bonilla has shown how these concepts serve to re-situate and theorize, not only pointing to ideological/discursive formations, but also to collective struggles and individual liberation paths. In Chapter 2 Bonilla gives a tour of *marronage*, as a historical condition and as a verb, showing how people negotiate the historical and present points of dependence within Caribbean nations. I find very useful in particular, defining *marronage* as a verb

and as a ‘complex of resistance’ (going from *petit* and *grand* marronage and forms of *marronage léger* ‘in-between’). *Non-Sovereignty* is evidenced through a long list of broken, unrealized and unfinished independences in the Caribbean, Latin America and Africa, as Bonilla points out. From a ‘true’ independence of Cuba, claimed by the Revolution 1959, to the celebrations of independence day by immigrants in the USA (ironically, their presence there evidences their survival struggles and dependent nature of their countries of origin). So it is important to ask with Bonilla, what sovereignty? *Sovereignty* as narrative frame, failed even at its emergence with nation-states as ‘modernity’ entities, since no country has been fully independent (there is plenty of evidence in scholarly and historical works, as well as in current new ones). What I understood by the term ‘*strategic entanglement*’ encompasses colonial contexts, negotiations of micro-macro politics of diverse social groups within Caribbean nations, and their social movements, but also sheds light on spontaneous ways of negotiating identity politics through means other than direct anti-colonial political engagement.

Bonilla’s foregrounds insider perspectives of Guadeloupean labor activists, through their own Creole terms, proposing a dual theorizing, not just an academic discussion of terms, rather anchoring vernacular ‘practical consciousness’ through language usage (‘signifying’). *Liyannaj* [unity in difference] is quite an appropriate term for how the *Lyannaj Kont Pwofitasyon* (LKP) was formed through strategic alliances, yet agglutinating diversity of struggles, rather than abolishing small organizations existence. In a sense *lespri kaskod* is a ‘technology’ [in the foucaudian sense] of constant re-adjustment in the Caribbean experiences, carved out through vernacular theorizing, that has given subjects and communities a certain resilience, flexible strategic re-articulation of visions, even if only through *petit marronaging* to create partial spaces of partial autonomy, solidarity and cultural empowerment [balsam for past and present wounds]. These and other creole terms show, not only define, Glissant’s ‘poetic formations,’ as new political and cultural experiences which will produce new forms of subjectivity and community formations. We could say that ‘strategic entanglement’ is what is *done* under non-sovereign conditions of the neoliberal present. *Lespri kaskod*, as strategic actions tailored around colonial French law, local politics and colonial experiences put into [perspective], bracketing memory-work as essential to current reclamations. *Kaskod*, could, like *marronage*, be used as a verb, a way to navigate *non-sovereignty* to organize not only autonomy claims, but also acts and events of cultural re-invention such as the memory walks.

Chapter 5 serves to illustrate the theorizations and ethno-historical contexts discussed in the first 3 chapters. “The Route of History” is

focused on ‘memory-walks’ as public events, beautiful examples of *lespri kaskod* and of *jantiman* politics at work, as these experiences-archives, become sites of grounded remembering and emplacement, of embodied memory-work. For example, LKP organizing coalition of the 2009 strike, seems to have been keenly aware and ‘in tune’ with the need to call for a cultural public engagement through memory-walks, just at the height of the strike. Direct action through strike and indirect action through cultural events seem new modalities of organizing struggles which, on the ground, function as emergency healing spaces, mental-health first aid of sorts, besides being powerful political tactics. The memory-walks are a form re-inhabiting local grounds in times of crisis. I appreciate in particular the descriptions of food narratives and food used as social action. In the context of the memory walks, we can appreciate other angles of ‘food strategic uses’ in the re-invention of memory and its role in labor movements. Re-imagining the past is not only recuperating or finding a ready-made history, but re-inventing connections between counter-narratives, and creating memory-archives for younger and future generations. Anchoring memory-walks into colonial slavery past and simultaneously echoing its resonance to a 1952 labor strike, Bonilla reveals precisely how those engaged in memory-walks make the link to slavery landscapes through their present struggles [the strike in 2009, for example].

To me chapter 5 is the opus of the book, YET we need to read all the other chapters in order to fully savor its poetics in the specificity of Guadeloupe context, and the tremendous significance of public memory and cultural archives in our times. The memory-walks as ‘place enactment’ (Hayden 1999), become paths of liberation as they help agglutinate diverse sectors of civil society in struggles for autonomy and dignity. These partial and contingent alliances help further nourish a common vision or radical hope which comes from particular situated experiences. By ‘radical hope’ is meant, not optimism but rather knowing that we are not going to see the end of the film, that things are bad, that crises might get worse; we can either feel impotent or do something about it, even when disenchanted, even if that something is a modest act of everyday kindness, spreading non-violence in personal relations, or engaging in creative struggles even if their success is not guaranteed. Bonilla also shows how memory-walks function as ‘consciousness rising’ workshops, sites of tactics and strategies of struggle in a non-sovereign neoliberal. Bonilla’s focus on memory walks speaks of her own life projects (that she could have minimized them but didn’t), as in the ‘field’ the body of the ethnographer also walks, and she can say (with Sara Pink 2008), that ethnography is also made by walking...

References

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El libro *Non-Sovereign Futures: French Caribbean Politics in the Wake of Disenchantment* representa una aportación significativa a la búsqueda de uno o varios sistemas políticos y sociales más adecuados a la realidad de cada isla del Caribe. Además, es un proyecto que abre nuevos canales de discusión para conocer e identificar los diferentes problemas sociales que las islas del Caribe enfrentan en la sociedad actual, los movimientos sociales, proyectos, propuestas y estrategias que se están creando y las alternativas que se proponen para resolverlas. Este libro también nos permite darnos cuenta de que, como caribeños, no estamos solos en la lucha por un sistema social y económico más adecuado a nuestra realidad. El reto reside en la aceptación de que esta alternativa o estas alternativas no necesariamente existen, sino que están por definirse y organizarse. A través del ejemplo de la huelga de 2009 en Guadalupe, nos damos cuenta de que es importante señalar el malestar que viven las islas del Caribe y de que los sistemas políticos y sociales impuestos unas décadas atrás ya no funcionan. Es el momento de cambiar o modificar, pero con la idea clara que se trata de buscar soluciones nuevas e innovadoras que no están definidas en su totalidad.

Hace algunos años, asistí a la ponencia de la profesora Bonilla que auspició el Instituto de Estudios del Caribe de la Universidad de Puerto Rico sobre la huelga de 2009 en Guadalupe. El 24 de febrero de 2016, se ofreció un conversatorio sobre su investigación antropológica convertida, para mi satisfacción, en el libro *Non-Sovereign Futures: French Caribbean Politics in the Wake of Disenchantment*. Estas dos presentaciones fueron sumamente importantes para mí porque trataban de una huelga muy reciente y sin precedentes en el Caribe francohablante. Como martiniquesa que estudiaba en la Universidad de Puerto Rico en 2009, viví esta huelga a distancia, a través de comentarios de familiares, artículos por Internet y las redes sociales. Además, agradecí que se