



International Conference

Cuba & Africa

Engagements, Circulations and Racial
Representations in the 20th Century

23 – 24 May 2016

The Institute for Humanities in Africa (HUMA)

University of Cape Town, Republic of South Africa

PROGRAMME & ABSTRACTS

In September 2012, the fourth meeting of “African Solidarity with Cuba” took place at the African Union, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. For two days, representatives of 27 African countries engaged in discussions with a Cuban delegation to cries of “Viva Fidel!” and “Cuba estamos contigo!” Delegates discussed shared struggles, the sanctions against Cuba, the fate of the ‘Cuban Five’ held in the United States and the joint development of Cuba and African countries. What did this show of solidarity reflect? Was it Cuban internationalism with a taste of anachronism? Pan-Africanism nourished in the matrix of Marxism? Developmentalism supported by policies of collaboration? Renewed South-South solidarity? (Adams 1981, Adi 2014, Falk 1987, Gleijeses 1996). To address these questions, we have to go back over the histories, representations and practices that accompanied, transformed or influenced the relations between Cuba and Africa. The objective of this first meeting is to measure the scale of the many-sided engagements between Cuba and many African countries.

1. The contours of a ‘Cuban pan-Africanism’

Our national historiographies, no less pressing in independent Africa, and our approaches by “cultural areas” might well have impeded considering the scale of Cuban engagement in Africa after 1959. The different areas of this multi-dimensional cooperation are to be considered together. Military engagement, as in the exceptional case of Angola, where tens of thousands of Cuban soldiers served during the 1970s and 1980s, and dramatically, even definitively, altered the balance of forces in southern Africa, from Luanda to Pretoria (Gleijeses 2002, 2013). Medical cooperation was implemented in many parts of the continent during particular crises or, more regularly, to train local doctors. Education was promoted through technical, administrative and university training of large numbers of young people and professionals, either at home or, often, in Havana. In the realm of culture, starting with music from the beginning of the 20th century, theatre and dance companies founded at the outset of the Revolution in Cuba (Hagedorn 2011) and after independence in West Africa (Djebbari 2012), largely contributed to the process of nation building. In the religious domain, Cuba made a comeback as representative of Yoruba traditions within an ambivalent relation with Nigeria (Argyriadis and Capone 2011, Gobin 2014). What is at stake is not so much ‘accounting’ of these developments as it is about furnishing, through multiple case studies, a first transnational and continental landscape of what we could call a ‘Cuban pan-Africanism’.

2. Mobilities and circulations

The Cuban experience should be questioned from Africa, and not simply from Cuba. This other perspective ties scales and spaces, and endeavours to trace the circulation of ideas, people and goods between Cuba and various sites and periods in Africa. A particular attention is given to influences, traces, and memories of Cuba in Africa, as well as to memories of Africa in Cuba. Archives, actors and memories are located in Havana or Santiago, as well as in Porto Novo, Luanda, Zanzibar, Addis Ababa, etc. The histories of individuals, of exchanges, and of transfers offer a social thickness to the transnational or Atlantic framework of interventions in the military, medical, educational and cultural fields. Thus there are Cubans participating in military operations in Africa, or Africans prizing their Cuban experience once they return home. The relations between Cuba and Africa have also left a material heritage, in the form of buildings, monuments – such as the Ethio-Cuba Friendship Square in Addis Ababa, military cemeteries, iconography (notably in the posters produced by OSPAAAL), literature and scientific knowledge. These trajectories and heritages allow the mapping of the mobilities and circulations peculiar to the African-Cuban relationship.

3. The making of a post-racial world

“Apartheid, in reality, was universal, and it lasted many centuries.”¹ Explicit on more than one occasion, the words of the Cuban authorities, like those of Fidel Castro before the South African Parliament in 1998, designated racism as one, if not the primary, of their enemies. This discourse on race is rooted first of all in the social reality of revolutionary Cuba (de la Fuente 2001), in the tensions that arose there (Moore 2008, Rodriguez 2004, Nunez Gonzales 2011), and then in the struggle with the United States (Moore 1989). It assumes a particular sharpness when we consider the representations preceding or giving birth to the relations between Cuba and Africa. The entanglement of racialism and non-racialism, a peculiarity of Revolutionary Cuba, with its successes and its failures, represents an ethic and a categorical imperative that has nourished, and was nourished by Cuban engagement in Africa. The task today is to evaluate the ideological cost of these discourses, and to identify the uses and the stakes of ‘race’ in the relations between Cuba and Africa. Interrogating the mobilities, the relations and the work of ‘race’ between Cuba and Africa brings up to date an Atlantic history *par excellence*, both strong in its local presence and relevant in its global implications.

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Monday 23 May

09.30 – 10.00 *Welcome*

10.00 – 11.00 **Introduction and Notes**

Adrien DELMAS (IFAS), Giulia BONACCI (IRD, URMIS), Jean Albergel (IRD) and Shamil JEPPIE (HUMA, University of Cape Town)

11.00 – 12.00 **Panel 1: Contours of a Cuban Pan-Africanism I**

José Luis MARTÍN ROMERO (Universidad de La Habana)
Cuban Health Collaboration in Africa. The experience of the Health National School of Cuba and the Impact of Solidarity in the Formation of its Staff Culture of Work

Agustín LAÓ MONTES (University of Massachusetts)
Diverse Discourses and Politics of Pan-Africanism: Comparing Cuba, Brazil, and Venezuela

12.00 – 13.30 *Lunch*

13.30 – 15.00 **Panel 2: Imagining and Experiencing Africa I**

Karo MORET MIRANDA (Universidad Pompeu Fabra)
Ecué Yamba Ó, hermeneutical Juego by Alejo Carpentier

Marzia MILAZZO (Rhodes University, Vanderbilt University)
Disappearing Blackness: Transculturation and Fernando Ortiz's Por la integración cubana de blancos y negros (For a Cuban Integration of Whites and Blacks)

Kali ARGYRIADIS (IRD, URMIS)
Cubanos en Nigeria, nigerianos en Cuba: los actores políticos, científicos y religiosos de la construcción de una filiación

15.00 – 15.15 *Coffee break*

15.15 – 16.45 **Panel 3: Imagining and Experiencing Africa II**

João Felipe GONÇALVES (Universidade de São Paulo)
Across the Straits and the Ocean: Cuban-American Connections with Africa

Emma GOBIN (LAVUE, Université Paris VIII)
Between a Renewed Cuban Africanism and a Nigerian Panafricanism: Reflections on Contemporary Religious Collaborations

Nahayeilli B. JUÁREZ HUET (CIESAS)
From 'Negro Brujo' to Cultural Patrimony: Transnational Circulation of the 'Orisha Tradition' between Nigeria and Cuba

16.45 – 17.45 **Itinerary**

Pablo RODRÍGUEZ RUIZ (Instituto Cubano de Antropología)
Hacer antropología en un contexto de conflicto armado. La experiencia de la investigación multidisciplinaria acerca de la cuestión nacional en Angola

Tuesday 24 May

09.00 – 10.30 **Panel 4: Contours of a Cuban Pan-Africanism II**

Emmanuel ALCARAZ (Université Paris X)

Las relaciones entre Algiers y Cuba desde 1962 hasta 1965 a los orígenes de la política cubana en África

Bernardo J.C. ANDRE & Héloïse KIRIAKOU (Paris IV Sorbonne, Paris I Panthéon Sorbonne, IMAF)

“The Cuban Internationalism” to serve the “Brothers” parties

Adrien DELMAS (IFAS)

Cuba against Apartheid

10.30 – 10.45 *Coffee break*

10.45 – 12.15 **Panel 5: Contours of a Cuban Pan-Africanism III**

Michel LUNTUMBUE (GRIP)

The Congo: First Crossroads of Cuban Influence in Africa?

Delmas TSAFACK (University of Dschang)

The Cuban Presence in Equatorial Guinea from 1969 to Today: Motivations and Legacies

Yonas ASHINE (Makerere University, Addis Ababa University)

Friendship Square and Cuba Camp in Addis Ababa. Narrating the Ethio-Cuba Relations in the Age of Two Successive Developmentalisms in Ethiopia

12.15 – 13.45 *Lunch*

13.45 – 14.45 **Panel 6: Afro-Cuban Rhythms and Exchanges**

Charlotte GRABLI (EHESS)

Atlantic Dialogues: Sound Correspondences and the Congolese Recreation of Afro-Cuban Music

Elina DJEBBARI (King's College)

Cold War and Cultural Policies: Musical Exchanges between Cuba and West Africa, 1960s-1970s

14.45 – 15.00 *Coffee break*

15.00 – 16.30 **Concluding Remarks and Open Debate**

Giulia BONACCI, Kali ARGYRIADIS, Pablo RODRÍGUEZ RUIZ, Shamil JEPPIE, Adrien DELMAS

Abstracts

Las relaciones entre Argiers y Cuba desde 1962 hasta 1965 a los orígenes de la política cubana en África

Emmanuel Alcaraz

El tema principal de esta comunicación es mostrar como la relación entre la República democrática y popular argelina y Cuba desde 1962 hasta 1965 esta a los orígenes de la formación de una red internacional de militantes antiimperialistas. Hay que mostrar también como los jalones de la política cubana en África fueron aplicados en Argelia durante este periodo con la primera misión médica y la primera intervención militar cubana en el continente africano durante la guerra de las arenas entre Argelia y Marruecos en 1963. Une encuesta fue llevada a cabo con militantes tercermundistas europeos, dirigentes argelinos en función aquella época y miembros del partido comunista argelino sin olvidar la prensa de la época y documentos de archivos cubanos. La meta para los historiadores es estudiar este ejemplo único de relación entre dos Estados del Tercer mundo sin cálculo de interés sino basando en relaciones de solidaridad evitando la idealización romántica a posteriori de una mitología revolucionaria.

Emmanuel Alcaraz es doctor en historia, investigador asociado a la Universidad de Paris X Nanterre y al Centro de investigación sobre Maghreb contemporáneo de Tunes. Es un historiador de la memoria y del Maghreb, autor de varios artículos sobre los lugares de memoria de la guerra de independencia de Argelia.

“The Cuban Internationalism” to Serve the “Brothers” Parties

Bernardo J. C. André et Héloïse Kiriakou

In this paper, we will study the involvement of the Cuban government in the internal and external political orientation of Angola and Congo-Brazzaville between 1960 and 1990. This comparative approach aims to show that in Angola and, to a lesser extent, in Congo, Cuba influenced local politics. Sometimes, Cuba took a stand for one politician (this is the case with Augustino Neto) and some other times, Cuba interfered militarily to keep governments (as in Congo during the coup of 1968 against President Massamba-Debat). We will show that beside the exceptional resources they used to support the "brother" parties (such as military resources (Carlota operation in Angola), educational resources, medical resources and cultural resources), the Cuban solidarity also included a form of interference in the political life of these young nations lacking political experience.

Bernardo J. C. André prepara un doctorado de Historia en la Universidad Paris 4 Sorbonne bajo la dirección de Luiz Felipe Alencastro.

Héloïse Kiriakou prepara un doctorado en la Universidad Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne (Institut des mondes africains (IMAF)) bajo la dirección de Pierre Boilley.

Cubanos en Nigeria, Nigerianos en Cuba: los actores políticos, científicos y religiosos de la construcción de una filiación Kali Argyriadis

En los años 1970, en el marco de un programa de cooperación cultural entre Brasil y varios países africanos que recientemente habían accedido a la independencia, los estudiantes nigerianos de habla yorubá jugaron un papel esencial en el movimiento de reafricanización del candomblé (Capone, 1999). En Cuba sin embargo, fue solamente en los años 2000 que se desarrolló un movimiento similar – y muy controvertido. En esta ponencia, apoyándome en la trayectoria de algunos de sus actores, quisiera explorar las premisas ideológicas, diplomáticas y religiosas de dicho fenómeno. ¿Cuál fue la postura de los intelectuales, de los investigadores en ciencias sociales y de los fundadores del Conjunto Folklórico Nacional en cuanto a la manera de pensar y presentar la herencia cultural yoruba en la Cuba revolucionaria? ¿Qué papel jugaron luego algunos diplomáticos cubanos desde su puesto en Nigeria entre 1974 y los inicios del « Periodo especial en tiempo de paz », convirtiéndose para algunos en autores de importantes obras históricas o antropológicas, o para otros en líderes de la Asociación Cultural Yoruba de Cuba, a partir del 1991? ¿De qué manera la visita del Ooni de Ifé en junio del 1987 abrió el paso a la visita de otros babalawos nigerianos en Cuba, culminando con la organización del Congreso mundial yoruba en La Habana en el 2003, y desembocando más ampliamente en una dinámica de controversias que cuestionaron la ortopraxis ritual y la legitimidad de la “tradicción” cubana en materia de religión de los orisha? El objetivo de esta ponencia será también de precisar algunos hitos esenciales de la historia de la antropología cubana y de sus relaciones a lo político y a lo religioso.

Kali Argyriadis es Doctora en antropología social de la EHESS (Francia) y investigadora del IRD, en la Unidad mixta de investigación “Migraciones y sociedades” (URMIS). Se ha dedicado al estudio de las prácticas religiosas cubanas, de su patrimonialización y de su transnacionalización. Fue coordinadora del programa de investigación Transnacionalización religiosa de los Sures: entre etnicización y universalización (www.ird.fr/reliitrans). Es autora y co-autora de varios libros y artículos, entre los cuales *La religión à La Havane. Actualité des représentations et des pratiques culturelles havanaises* (Paris, 1999), *Raíces en movimiento. Prácticas religiosas tradicionales en contextos translocales* (con A. Aguilar, R. De la Torre y C. Gutiérrez, Guadalajara, 2008) y *En sentido contrario. Transnacionalización de religiones africanas y latinoamericanas* (con S. Capone, R. De la Torre y A. Mary, México, 2012). Actualmente, coordina junto con Niurka Nuñez Gonzalez (ICIC Juan Marinello, Cuba) un programa de investigación dedicado al estudio de la historia de la antropología en Cuba y sobre Cuba, en el marco del eje 4 del LMI MESO, titulado "Epistemología comparada de la disciplina antropológica (a partir de Haití, Cuba y Guatemala)"

Friendship Square and Cuba Camp in Addis Ababa. Narrating the Ethio-Cuba Relations in the Age of Two Successive Developmentalisms in Ethiopia

Yonas Ashine

Located at the centre of Addis Ababa, the Ethio-Cuba Friendship Square was inaugurated in 2007, erasing, if not displacing, the former name of the place *Tiglachin* (our struggle), a memorial site of the Ethiopians' struggle against Somali aggression. The place was one of the memorial sites of Ethiopian socialism. There is also another place in Addis Ababa where the presence of Cuba is remembered. The place is called Cuba *gibbi* (Cuba camp or compound) a former royal place turned into, among others, a military camp, which served as Cuban military camp in the 1980s. Friendship square is an official memorial site reconstructed to fit the contemporary bilateral relation between the two countries; while Cuba *gibbi* as an ex-transnational space speaks about the presence of Cuban soldiers in the 1970s and 1980s. Cuba *gibbi* and Friendship square are two different places with different aesthetic power that tell of the history and the dynamics of Ethio-Cuban relations. Using the two places as metaphoric spaces with different time and ideology, this article narrates and questions the Ethio-Cuba relation from the 1970s to the present. The research considers the former socialist developmentalism and the contemporary developmental state imagination to capture Ethiopia's foreign policy imperatives while it takes the two places as socially and politically constructed spaces witnessing different local and transnational historical moments. In so doing, I explore how the presence of Cuba is being remembered and what social and cultural influence is left in the neighborhood of Cuba *gibbi*. The story of these two places tell how spaces are constantly being made, keeping in mind the assumption that spaces are always becoming and tell multiple local, national and transnational histories. The Ethio-Cuba relation is one among multiple stories the two places represent, however the question is how the two places today differ in telling the Ethio-Cuba relations since the 1970s.

Yonas Ashine is lecturer in Political Science and International Relations at Addis Ababa University (Ethiopia), and a PhD candidate in Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR) Makerere University (Uganda).

Introducing “Cuba & Africa. Engagement, Circulations and Racial Representations”

Giulia Bonacci

In September 2012, the fourth meeting of “African Solidarity with Cuba” took place at the African Union, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. For two days, representatives of 27 African countries engaged in discussions with a Cuban delegation to cries of “Viva Fidel!” and “Cuba estamos contigo!” Delegates discussed shared struggles, the sanctions against Cuba, the fate of the ‘Cuban Five’ held in the United States and the joint development of Cuba and African countries. What did this show of solidarity reflect? Was it Cuban internationalism with a taste of anachronism? Pan-Africanism nourished in the matrix of Marxism? Developmentalism supported by policies of collaboration? Renewed South-South solidarity? To address these questions, we have to go back over the histories, representations

and practices that accompanied, transformed or influenced the relations between Cuba and Africa. The objective of this first meeting is to measure the scale of the many-sided engagements between Cuba and many African countries.

Giulia Bonacci holds a PhD in History from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), and she is a researcher at the Institute of Research for Development (IRD) posted at the Research Unit Migrations and Society (URMIS), University of Nice Sophia Antipolis. She did extensive research on the relations between Ethiopia and the Caribbean, and she is developing a research programme on Cubans in Ethiopia. Her work on the Back to Africa movement, on Pan Africanism, and on the Rastafari movement is regularly published in peer-reviewed journals in French and in English, and the translation of her book was recently published by The University of the West Indies Press: *Exodus! Heirs and Pioneers, Rastafari Return to Ethiopia* (2015).

Cuba against Apartheid

Adrien Delmas

On which grounds did Cuba get engaged against apartheid – ideologically, diplomatically and militarily? Far from trying to assess the role of Cuba in the fall of the apartheid regime after its military intervention in Angola that lasted fifteen years (1975-1991), and mobilized tens of thousands of soldiers, this paper seeks to unravel the discourses that accompanied this internationalist engagement. How did apartheid immediately become an enemy for Cuban officials after the revolution of 1959? Why did the "racial issue" that was initially a thorny domestic issue projected Cuba into Africa? In the end, the Cuban involvement in Africa can draw the contours of a different history of non-racialism: a history that no longer appears so much as the opposition of two antagonistic models (*mestisaje* vs. apartheid) but rather, through plenty of reciprocal cultural references, as a common history.

Adrien Delmas, PhD (2010) in History from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, is currently Scientific Director of the French Institute of South Africa (UMIFRE 25 CNRS, USR 3336 'Afrique au Sud du Sahara'). He has published on travel writing in the early modern world including *Les voyages de l'écrit. Culture écrite et expansion européenne à l'époque moderne* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 2013) et *Written Culture in a Colonial Context* (Leiden, Brill, 2012). He is associate researcher at the EHESS and at the University of Cape Town.

Cold War and Cultural Policies:

Musical Exchanges between Cuba and West Africa, 1960s-1970s

Elina Djebbari

Based on fieldwork and archives research in Mali and Cuba, the paper will analyse the political and musical issues revealed by the crisscrossing and the transnational journeys of Malian and Cuban musicians in the light of the new cultural exchanges initiated between Cuba and recently independent socialist African countries during the Cold War. In this particular political framework, the role of music as a key component of the cultural diplomacy will be explored, particularly through the cultural conventions signed between Cuba and several African countries in the 1960s. On the

one hand, the creation of the band Las Maravillas de Mali by young Malians sent to Cuba to get trained in music in the 1960s will be addressed. On the other hand, the tours made in Africa since the 1970s by the famous Cuban orchestra Orquesta Aragón will complement the analysis grid of these transatlantic political exchanges. The paper will explore the great popularity of Cuban music in Africa and especially how it contributed to the development of an African musical modernity, and it will also focus on the (re)creation of closeness between Africa and the Caribbean during an era marked by Negritude and the Pan-African movement. By taking into account the intertwined musical journeys of Las Maravillas de Mali in Cuba and the Orquesta Aragón's tours in West Africa, different stratum of musical circulations and individual trajectories throughout the Black Atlantic will reveal the role of the political dynamics peculiar to the postcolonial context in the history of a transatlantic musical globalisation.

Elina Djebbari is a Postdoctoral Research Associate at King's College London for the ERC funded project *Modern Moves* led by Prof Ananya Jahanara Kabir. Her new research project investigates the 'return' of Afro-Caribbean music and dance practices in Africa. Her PhD in Ethnomusicology from EHESS (Paris) dealt with national cultural policies and heritage process using traditional music dance performances in Mali, through the National Ballet, private dance companies and the state-sponsored festival *Biennale Artistique et Culturelle*.

Between a Renewed Cuban Africanism and a Nigerian Panafricanism: Reflections on Contemporary Religious Collaborations

Emma Gobin

Since the 19th century, Afro-Cuban religious practices (santería and Ifá) constituted a link between Cuba and the West-African Yoruba space. Recent ethno-historic studies (Brown, 2003; Matory, 2005) were able to show that, contrary to widespread ideas, these practices never were static African "survivals": their development depended on the successive actions of religious leaders committed in a (un)continuous dialogue with Africa. From the 1960s to the 1990s, this dialogue mainly consisted of correspondences, circulation of religious documents or second hand narratives (including those of foreign anthropologists or Cuban political actors interested in the religious question and travelling in Benin and/or Nigeria). However, since the 1990s-2000s (i.e. since the reforms which deeply marked socialist Cuba), this dialogue is fed by renewed transatlantic exchanges which have opened a new page in the religious relationships uniting Cuba and Western Africa. In 2006, two Yoruba priests from Nigeria went to Havana to lead important initiatory rites in an "African way" in association with their Cuban counterparts. Considered by religious practitioners as seminal events, these encounters contributed to actualize religious links between Cuba and Africa through the establishment of new religious collaborations as well as new relationships of ritual kinship. This communication intends to document unexplored aspects of the current religious relations between Cuba and Africa by presenting the micro-history and the ethnography of such encounters. Crossing perspectives on the biographies and discourses of the Cuban and Nigerian actors involved in the project, this paper aims to highlight the federative elements and the divergent points emanating from these exchanges. In particular, while for the Nigerian priests ritual commitment in Cuba joins in a form of proselyte Pan-Africanism thought as religiously and historically founded, for Cuban priests it is rather of a form of "ritual Africanism" (rather than Pan-Africanism) that is at stake. In

order to discuss and shed light on these notions, which evoke a differentiated and eminently reflexive relation to the notion of "tradition" and "memory" - bound or not to the larger idea of an "African" Diaspora - this paper will attempt to situate what is at stake in these exchanges in both Cuban and Nigerian national contexts, marked by intrinsically different politico-religious dynamics.

Emma Gobin is an assistant professor in anthropology at Paris 8 University and researcher at LAVUE (UMR CNRS 7218). She studies Afro-Cuban religions, new spiritualities and contemporary processes of cultural circulation in Cuba. Among other publications, she has co-edited a special issue on Afro-Cuban religious practices (2013) and a special issue on the history of Cuban anthropology (2016). Conducting fieldwork in the island since 2002, she has also been trained in Yoruba studies and language and has conducted exploratory fieldworks in Benin and Lagos (2010).

Across the Straits and the Ocean: Cuban-American Connections with Africa

João Felipe Gonçalves

In 1974, the Cuban-American singer Celia Cruz took part – together with other international stars, like South Africans Hugh Masekela and Miriam Makeba – in “Zaire 74,” a major music festival held in Kinshasa, partly sponsored by President Mobutu, and intended to foster links between Africa and the New World’s African diaspora. In 1990, when Nelson Mandela attended a meeting in Miami, the Cuban-dominated City Commission refused to welcome him, and five Cuban-American mayors from Greater Miami wrote an angry letter of protest denouncing the South African leader’s support of Fidel Castro – an act for which they only apologized two years afterwards. In the twenty-first century, when Yoruba *orishas* have become the center of an increasingly global religion, Cuban religious leaders based in Miami often travel to and exchange information with Nigeria and Brazil to discover/invent – or rediscover/reinvent – knowledge and practices imagined as authentically African and as lost in the Caribbean island. Examining these and other phenomena as revealing examples of the complex and understudied relationship that Cuban-Americans and Cubans living in the US have had with Africa, this paper examines the interplay of political, cultural, and racialized imaginations that has shaped that relationship. Politically, the Cuban-American elite have often engaged with African issues by taking positions contrary to those of the Cuban government and by opposing its allies. Culturally, Cuban-Americans and Cubans migrants in the US have deepened and strengthened the Cuban tradition of locating in Africa the roots of several Cuban practices. Racially, US-based Cubans have had to partly adapt to North American forms of racial representations and identifications when creating their own novel connections to Africa. This paper argues that engagements with Africa have been central for the Cuban diaspora and that their study adds new complexity to the understanding of the relationship between Cubans and the African continent.

João Felipe Gonçalves is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology of the University de São Paulo (USP, Brazil). João Felipe Gonçalves holds a Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Chicago and an M.A. in Anthropology from Museu Nacional. His work focuses on nationalism, politics, and urban space, especially in Cuba and its diaspora.

Atlantic Dialogues:

Sound Correspondences and the Congolese Recreation of Afro-Cuban Music

Charlotte Grabli

The impact of Latin music on urban musical expressions was more momentous in Congo than anywhere else in Africa. In the early 1930s, Congolese people discovered Afro-Cuban music through a series of imported *son* records known as the G.V. series. In Leopoldville (the colonial name of Kinshasa), the significant etymology “Grands Vocalistes” (great singers) was the usual interpretation of the acronym “G.V.”. As a consequence of the success achieved by this music during the colonial period, Congolese musicians played cover versions of Cuban compositions in Spanish, and in doing so, contributed to their circulation in the form of a pidgin used among the youth. Indeed, besides the beauty of the Cuban musical performances, the African public found the musicality of Spanish particularly appealing. By the 1950s, this music and its African recreation, the Congolese rumba, became ubiquitous as public loudspeakers and phonographs played it all day long in the segregated area, projecting the inhabitants at an imaginary border “between ghetto and globe” (AbdouMaliq Simone 2001). Considering the recreation of Afro-Cuban music as the most remarkable strand of colonial-era African cosmopolitanism (White 2002, Shain 2002), an analysis “from below” of the cultural relations between Cuba and the Congo is useful to study the Atlantic imaginary invented in Africa. Rather than presenting the continent as a reserve of symbols that can be mobilized to define the diasporic “black cultures”, I will discuss musical exchanges between the Congolese and Afro-Cuban scenes which took the form of a “sound dialogue”.

Charlotte Grabli is completing her fourth year in the PhD program “History and Civilisations” from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris. She is working under the supervision of Myriam Cottias on a thesis entitled “An African Atlantic: musical trajectories, spaces of creation, and urban inventiveness inside the Johannesburg and Leopoldville segregated areas (1930-1960)”. Following fieldwork in Kinshasa, Lubumbashi and Johannesburg, she is currently writing her dissertation.

From 'Negro Brujo' to Cultural Patrimony:

Transnational Circulation of the 'Orisha Tradition' between Nigeria and Cuba

Nahayeilli B. Juárez Huet

The intensification of the circulation of things, people, commodities, symbols, and information at a global scale, which started during the last few decades of the 20th century, has also impacted the flow of African-American religions along with their symbolic and material universe. Although these flows are nothing new, it is hard to deny that their current speed, density, and intensity has generated transnational religious cartographies that were once unthinkable. By looking at the transnational circulation of the "Orisha tradition" between Nigeria and Cuba, this presentation shows how cultural patrimonialization of "Yoruba culture" has allowed Orisha religions- which explicitly claim such origins- to go from being regarded as atavisms of an "undesirable race" to being legitimized as cultural patrimony. Drawing from multi-sited ethnographic research in Cuba and Nigeria, I will explore how culture is transformed into a resource which is mobilized to generate

legitimacy in both of these contexts, while also shaping the religious organization and praxis of Orisha adherents. What contradictions and conflicts are engendered through these patrimonialization processes? What role do international cultural politics play in these processes? How is patrimonialization connected to the State and the market? How are flows affected by these processes?

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Diverse Discourses and Politics of Pan-Africanism: Comparing Cuba, Brazil, and Venezuela

Agustin Lao Montes

Post-revolutionary Cuban politics toward the African continent has been a subject of scholarship and political discussion. Cuban solidarity with national liberation movements in Africa was one of the pillars of tricontinentalism (the anti-colonial politics of the Bandung moment) in the 1960s-70s; and a meaningful factor toward the end of the apartheid regime. Cuba's policies toward the African continent has also been discussed in relation to a long tradition of Pan-Africanism in the country as well as in relation to racial politics after the revolution. Given its significance and endurance, it is a reference in policies toward Africa for two other Latin American countries who have developed important initiatives with Africa, namely Brazil and Venezuela. In this work, we compare the policies of Cuba, Brazil and Venezuela toward Africa from three perspectives: 1) What are the discourses about Africa and their meaning for each of the three countries?; 2) What has been the actual policies and their reception in specific African countries and in each of the three Latin American countries under discussion?; 3) How these governmental discourses and policies relate to different Pan-Africanist ideologies and politics discussed and debated by intellectuals and civil society actors in Cuba, Brazil, and Venezuela?

Agustin Lao Montes is a scholar in both Africana and Caribbean Studies and has done research in Cuba. He is a professor at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst where he teaches in the Sociology Department. He is a researcher in the Centre for Latin American & Caribbean Studies, and co-Director of the Graduate Certificate in African Diaspora Studies.

The Congo: First Crossroads of Cuban Influence in Africa?

Michel Luntumbue

Long before the Cuban intervention in Angola (1975) and its decisive contribution to the political emancipation of Southern Africa, what is now the Democratic Republic of Congo has been the testing ground for the geopolitical projection of Cuba in the heart of Africa. Four years after the assassination of Lumumba (1961), Ernesto Che Guevara was illegally crossing Lake Tanganyika (1965), in order to support the fighters of the National Council Liberation of Congo, in eastern Congo, then led by Gaston Soumialot, Christophe Gbenye and Laurent-Désiré Kabila. At the time, Havana considered Africa as the soft belly of the “Western imperial system” against which the young Cuban Revolution intended to fight. The Cuban inclination towards Africa also relied on identity considerations, which have to do with the African cultural footprint and presence in Cuba: Afro-Cuban (slaves, free blacks and mestizos) have constituted the bulk of “mambises”, the guerrillas of the independence wars of Cuba in the 19th century. Similarly, one of the Cuban syncretic currents, the worship of Palo Monte, is rooted in the Congo Basin and the north-western regions of Angola. After the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, the takeover of three-fourth of the Congolese territory by his supporters had strengthened the possibility of a Congolese revolution heralding a broader liberation movement. However, disorganization, rivalries between the Congolese leaders and an insufficient assessment of the balance of power regionally and internationally, finally defeated the guerrillas in eastern Congo. The revolutionaries supported by a Cuban expeditionary force were facing a broad coalition bringing together, around the regular Congolese army, the South African and Rhodesian mercenaries as well as anti-Castro survivors of the failed expedition in the Bay of Pigs. Despite this failure, a poorly evaluated posterity of this Cuban incursion in eastern Congo, still exists. Dozens of young Congolese of the Fizi-Baraka guerilla joined Cuba after the defeat. A Cuban-Congolese community is born from these former fighters in eastern Congo and has settled in Cuba. Their children, imbued with a “Cuban Panafricanism”, have sometimes chosen to return to DRC as doctors or executives when Laurent-Désiré Kabila took power in 1997. This poorly known historical trajectory perpetuates a certain influence and presence of Cuba, through the practice of language, family ties and exchanges with members of these groups who have stayed on the Caribbean island.

Michel Luntumbue has a degree in Political Science and International Relations (ULB) and is a specialist of Cuba. Since 2011, he manages various activities at GRIP (Information and Research Group on Peace and Security) related to research, training, and support to civil society organizations in at least three geographic zones: West Africa, Great Lakes region, and Equatorial Africa.

Disappearing Blackness: Transculturation and Fernando Ortiz's *Por la integración cubana de blancos y negros* (For a Cuban Integration of Whites and Blacks)

Marzia Milazzo

During the colonial era, race relations in Cuba, not unlike in Brazil, were defined by the concurrent attempt to get rid of the Black population through miscegenation and the invocation of racial mixture as alleged proof of racial harmony. Friar Alonso de Sandoval advocated whitening as a

solution to the 'Black problem' in Cuba already in 1627, while Cuban historian José Antonio Seco in the 19th century affirmed, "We have no other choice but to whiten, to whiten, to whiten, and so make ourselves respectable." This paper examines Fernando Ortiz's understudied essay *Por la integración cubana de blancos y negros* (1943) in light of Cuba's long history of celebrating Blackness while trying to assimilate Black people in practice. One of the most important anthropological contributions that have come out of Cuba is Ortiz's well-known concept of *transculturation* first theorized in *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y del azúcar* (*Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, 1940). At a time in which Cuba's national identity was constructed as European and Catholic, Ortiz innovatively introduced the African as a crucial element of Cuba's cultural, racial, and religious makeup. While the concept of *transculturation* continues to be considered counter-hegemonic, this paper argues that paying close attention to Ortiz's essay *Por la integración cubana...* alongside *Contrapunteo* demonstrates that his understanding of *transculturation* is not in conflict with assimilation. Although Ortiz presents *transculturation* as an innovative term that better describes exchange in Cuba than *acculturation*, *Por la integración cubana...* advocates for the loss of African racial and cultural elements and Black people's incorporation into a superior *mulatto* national identity. Rather than theorizing an egalitarian exchange that includes the acquisition of Black cultural elements by the white Cuban elite, Ortiz is thus preoccupied with Black people's assimilation into a utopian and superior synthesis that de facto replicates a whitening process.

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***Ecué Yamba Ó*, hermeneutical Juego by Alejo Carpentier** **Karo Moret Miranda**

Despite *Ecué Yamba Ó* being the first novel of Alejo Carpentier, it represented an advanced exercise of hermeneutics of *Afro-Caribbean BILDU*. In the first short texts, co-written with the Cuban musician Amadeo Roldan, he incorporated multiple cultural backgrounds and proposed to bring together the various cosmological universes present in the Caribbean. These early short texts such as *The Miracle of Anaquillé* or *Trip*, were a hermeneutic or dialectical exercise between literature and ballet; and became a real work of *Ars Combinatoria*, obtaining what Lessing had proposed as *Gesamtkunstwerk*, or total (work) art. In this text, I highlight the hermeneutic *game/juego* described by Carpentier in *Ecué Yamba Ó* that covers the three Atlantic coasts of Africa, America and Europe, and establishes a dialogue between them. Carpentier revives or appropriates biblical characters like Salome, John the

Baptist or Longina – the feminization of Longinus, the Roman soldier who pierced the side of Jesus on the cross - and all they rendered within the Cue family, which supposedly represents the essence of Afro-Cuban identity including a touch of voodoo. This hermeneutical dialogue between European classicism and Africa offers a new interpretation where different myths and traditions are deposited in the same character. Thus, Carpentier constructs his characters by giving them a biblical name or representing passages of the Bible in spite of their Afro-Caribbean background. The author of *Ecué Yamba'O* reaffirmed with his first novel that the classical view does not depend on a geographic or biological origin, but represents an universality.

Karina Moret Miranda, nacida en La Habana, Cuba, acabo sus estudios superiores en Espana. En la actualidad es doctoranda de Historia en la Universidad Pompeu Fabra en Barcelona y sus aeras de studio e investigacion son las relaciones entre Europa y los antiguos territories coloniales especialmente Africa y el Caribe. La tesis en la que trabaja se titula *Incorporating Averse. Racial and Hermeneutical integration in Cuba (18-19°)*. Bajo la direccióon de Josep Maria Fradera (Universidad Pompeu Fabra) y Alejandro de la Fuente (Harvard University), trabaja de manera interdisciplinar la religion y la economia, teniendo come base los estudios historicos sobre los afrodescendientes.

Hacer antropología en un contexto de conflicto armado.

La experiencia de la investigación multidisciplinaria acerca de la cuestión nacional en Angola

Pablo Rodríguez Ruiz

Durante los años 1985-1986, en medio del conflicto angolano y a solicitud de los gobiernos de Cuba y Angola, un grupo de investigadores cubanos y angolanos desarrollaron la investigación multidisciplinaria acerca de la cuestión nacional angolana. En ella participaron antropólogos, sociólogos, lingüistas, historiadores, politólogos y matemáticos, con el objetivo de explorar sobre el estado de integración de la nación angolana y la factibilidad de un proyecto socialista en aquel país. El autor formo parte del equipo de antropología. Basado en la experiencia personal y el testimonio de participantes, el autor propone rememorar aspectos metodológicos, organizativos y otras experiencias derivadas de dicha investigación.

Pablo Rodríguez Ruiz es investigador en antropología sociocultural, y jefe del departamento de antropología sociocultural del Instituto Cubano de Antropología (ICAN). Coordinador y profesor del diplomado sobre historia social de la etnicidad y la raza en Cuba (ICAN), profesor en la maestría en antropología sociocultural de la Universidad de la Habana, así como en otras instituciones cubanas. Miembro de varios grupos de expertos en Cuba. Trabaja actualmente sobre culturas del trabajo en las cadenas agro alimentarias en Cuba, después de haber desenvuelto en Cuba varias líneas de investigación tales como corrupción administrativa, marginalidad y pobreza, violencia criminal, mercado negro, etnicidad y relaciones raciales, y haber elaborado monografías sobre comunidades de la región del suroeste angolano (Nhaneca-humbi, Ovambo y Herero). Es autor de numerosos artículos y capítulos de libro, así como de "Relaciones raciales en Cuba. Estudios contemporáneos" (2012), y "Los marginales de las Alturas del Mirador. Un estudio de caso" (2012).

Cuban Health Collaboration in Africa.

The experience of the Health National School of Cuba and the Impact of Solidarity in the Formation of its Staff Culture of Work

Dr. José Luis Martín Romero

The paper focuses on the medical collaboration in Africa of an important Cuban institution: The Health National School (HNS). The HNS staff (Medicine doctors, psychologists, health technicians and so forth) has a long history of missions in Africa with a rich accumulated experience in several countries. The paper seeks to examine the different experiences of workers of all specialties from the point of view of the formation of their culture of work. The paper's objective is to provide foundations for wider research that would include other workers from other institutions who served at various moments in the history of Cuba and Africa; and also to compare the personal testimonies from different countries where those missions were implemented. The ultimate objective is to gather and analyze evidence on the ways in which solidarity became a component of the culture of work of Cubans in the recent decades.

José Luis Martín Romero, is since 2008 a senior researcher at the Centro de Estudios Demográficos de la Universidad de La Habana. Before, he was researcher for the Government of Havana (1977-1984), the Centro de Investigaciones Psicológicas y Sociológicas where he was Head of Department of Labor Studies between 1984 and 2004, and Principal Professor at the Escuela de Altos Estudios de Hotelería y Turismo (High Studies School of Hostage and Tourism) between 2004 and 2008. He has managed around 30 certified researches, he has more than 60 scientific articles and chapters in collective books in Germany, Italy, Spain, México, Puerto Rico y Argentina, and of course in Cuba. His recent publications are *Cultura del Trabajo, Población y Turismo: Impactos del reajuste de los 90* (2013) and *Población y Desarrollo Local en Santa Cruz del Norte* (2014). He has presented, organized or discussed papers in more than 50 congresses and conferences in Cuba and other countries; He represented Cuba in ALAST (Latin American Association of Sociology of Work) during ten years, and he was President of Organizer Budget in the fifth ALAST Congress in La Habana. He was awarded important prizes: Senior Scholarship CLACSO-Asdi in 2005; the Ministry Prize (and UH) for the outcome with better effects in the practice in 2012; the Ministry Prize for the best article in Social Sciences in 2013; the Medal for the thirty Anniversary of CIPS; the Prize of the Academia de Ciencias de Cuba in 2014 for the best book in Social Sciences.

The Cuban Presence in Equatorial Guinea from 1969 to Today: Motivations and Legacies

Delmas Tsafack

On 12 October 1968 Equatorial Guinea acceded to international sovereignty. Just after its independence, political and economic relations with Spain, the former colonial power, were not in good terms. In March 1969, the anti-Spanish protests provoked the departure of nearly 800 Spanish nationals. The reduction of Equatorial Guinea's exportations, due to the abandonment of plantations owned by Spaniards, and the fears of a coup fomented by Spain forced Equatorial Guinea to turn to the communist countries, including Cuba. Macías Nguema then in power in Equatorial Guinea gave

Cuba the role of a prime ally, with whom he established diplomatic relations in December 1972. When Cuba was isolated by the United States and its allies, the State maintained a stronghold on the scene of Equatorial Guinea. Hundreds of Cuban specialists are now working in the areas of education and health practice, radio and television, and in the areas of fisheries and environment. The Cuban and Spanish doctors and medical teachers are currently the bulk of the medical personnel in high standards hospitals created by Obiang Nguema in Malabo and Bata. Many agreements were signed between the two governments with the aim of strengthening bilateral relations.

This communication aims at analyzing the history of bilateral cooperation between Cuba and Equatorial Guinea since the independence of this Central African State. It focuses on the motivations of the Cuban presence in Equatorial Guinea, and on the quintessence of bilateral relations between the two countries. The paper is divided into two major sections. Firstly, it presents the motivations and actors of bilateral cooperation between the two states; secondly, it presents the axes of cooperation between both countries.

Delmas Tsafack is a PhD candidate and researcher in History and International Relations at the Department of History at the University of Dschang in Cameroon. His doctoral thesis is entitled "Equatorial Guinea versus the Cameroon-Gabon Pair in the Regional Integration Process in Central Africa from 1960 to 2012". His research interests are the history and regional policy of Equatorial Guinea, the foreign policy of small states, Regional integration and International Relations theories. He has participated in a dozen of international conferences and is a member of several scientific organizations like the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), the Cameroon History Society (CHS) and the International Political Science Association (IPSA). He is also a researcher at the Administrative, Social and Political Research Group (GRAPS) of the University of Yaoundé 2, and he published a number of articles on Equatorial Guinea.

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