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Race in the Sphere of Contemporary Cuban Art: A Culture of Resistance

Amanda Tesh
Interdisciplinary Studies
The University of North Carolina at Asheville
One University Heights
Asheville, North Carolina 28804 USA

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Agya Boakye-Boaten

Abstract

The evolution of Cuban cultural forms after the triumph of the Revolution of 1959 has brought to light a new dynamic potential for art. The ideologies regarding social relations presented by influentially radical intellectuals such as Karl Marx, José Martí, Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Tomás Gutiérrez Alea have all informed a new understanding of the importance and necessity of the artist to society. Strongly informed by the postmodern and postcolonial experiences, contemporary Cuban artists are exploring new forms of expression as they relate to issues of race and identity.

1. Introduction

The twentieth century has been a period of reconfiguration and reconstruction for many peoples, countries, and governments. As a response to post-colonialism, artists around the world—particularly artists from marginalized groups— have begun to (re)create, (re)present, and question their identities and positions in society. The negritude movement of Marcus Garvey and other Caribbean figures, Pan-Africanism and cultural solidarity have inspired artists, intellectuals, and people of the African diaspora to critically examine their collective histories, identities, and experiences. Manifest in various ways across the diaspora, this search for the "new Negro" simulated an appropriation of African and Modernist aesthetic techniques that allowed particular experiences and narratives of the diaspora to be communicated and realized in society through the means of visual art, music, and literature. The breadth of artistic forms employed by black artists is representative of the emergence of a whole new class of art largely informed and defined by the black experience. Richard J. Powell explains this recent inception of artistic production in the following way:

> …[I]t is clear that, rather than something singular and unrealistically all-inclusive, a "black aesthetic" is the name for a collection of philosophical theories about the arts of the African diaspora: an aesthetic grounded in the idea of a new, that is, a post-Emancipation and post-colonial, black identity which, from Jazz-Age Harlem and Montparnasse, to the "sound system" societies of west Kingston, south London, and south central Los Angeles, thrives in black communities where artistic creativity and performance are the basic cultural currencies.[1]

Such artistic endeavors to make known and (re)conceptualize black identities can be seen in Afro-American art as early as the late 19th century. However, in the case of Cuba, a debate or even a commentary on race was absent until about 1943 (and even then was short-lived and minimal in its immediate impact on society). The Revolution of 1959 in Cuba held great promise for Afro-Cubans, who had been excluded from politics and socially stigmatized for centuries. The new ideologies that emerged during and after the triumph of Castro promised a new egalitarian and inclusive environment in which Blacks would be able to construct, maintain, express, and incorporate their collective identities within the new Cuba. However, the fluctuations the regime experienced, however, with regard to national security and the economy, which limited the ability and freedom of the cultural sphere to produce and

discuss works related to any sort of administrative critique—including that of the persistent racism in society. This paper will argue that the need to access such a cultural space in order to make known the existence and experiences of Afro-Cubans can be viewed in light of the dynamic historical race relations within the country, which are referenced in contemporary Cuban art forms, as well as in light of certain ideologies born with the Revolution. The visual arts, along with cinema and music production over the past two decades have been extremely active in negotiating an identity as well as a place for Afro-Cubans in contemporary society.[2]

2. The Colonial Period and the Introduction of Slavery in Cuba

Historically, the identity of in Afro-Cubans has been only superficially recognized, as the color of one's skin was given more importance over other characteristics. The existence of a raced-base social system was solidified during the British occupation of the island in 1762. Before then, the Spanish had dominated the native indigenous population. Aside from being used as a source of cheap forced labor, many indigenous peoples were exposed to European diseases and killed, or opted for suicide in an effort to escape their suffering. By the time of the brief English occupation, few natives remained on the island. Britain saw in Cuba a lucrative business opportunity: sugar. The tropical climate and world demand, coupled with Britain's monopoly on the slave trade, initiated the cultivation of sugar plantations with a new guaranteed supply of cheap labor from Africa. Louis A. Pérez notes that "…[F]rom that time on the Cuban economy was shaped by the foreign need for sugar: slaves produced it for the world market and its bounteous surplus value was enjoyed by the local oligarchy and by imperialist interests."[3] Thus, the majority of African slaves who came to Cuba throughout the nineteenth century was used as cheap labor on the plantations and was always subjected to the fulfillment of colonial agendas.

The complete dependence of the Cuban economy on sugar production encouraged planters to produce as much product as possible with little or no labor costs. Constant beatings (employed to arouse fear) and malnutrition not only cut back the plantation owner's expenses, but also physically weakened a highly spiritual and resilient people who were capable of overturning the social organization (as proven with the Haitian Revolution in 1804). Pérez mentions that: "Approximately one-half of the total number of rural slaves [300,000-400,000] were engaged in sugar production"[4] and that "Perhaps as many as 75% of all slaves in Cuba were born in Africa. Most were males, many from the same cultural groups, imbued with strong military traditions—Carabalís and Lucumíes (Yorubans)."[5] Their similar cultural backgrounds provided slaves with a way to escape the oppression they encountered on the plantations. Also ethnically similar, these groups held emic knowledge of the cosmology, rituals, and other constituents of identity rooted in their African ancestry. This permitted the passing of such knowledge through time and space, still informing the generation of Afro-Cubans today of their cultural heritage.

Coming from self-sufficient societies, as well as maintaining and practicing African religious traditions that honor and give thanks to forest spirits, many slaves ran away into the mountains of eastern Cuba to establish their own free and self-sustaining communities. While this type of resistance was fueled by the utterly inhumane and degrading subjugation of their people, it was made even stronger through similar resistance movements unique to many Latin American nations in the African diaspora [i.e. Haiti, Brazil]. In the shelter of the eastern forests, communities could continue producing cultural objects such as staffs, sculptures, and masks that served to communicate ancient beliefs and cosmologies to new generations displaced from their historic homelands. Even those closer to urbanized centers (and thus, more centralized Spanish control) were able to continue worshipping—in their traditional African languages— their own deities under the guise of catholic saints. Eduardo Galeano notes this of transcultural aspect in various diasporic communities: "The voodoo gods in Haiti, Cuba's *bembé*, and Brazil's *umbanda* and *quimbanda* are more or less the same, despite the greater or smaller transfiguration that rites and original gods have undergone through American naturalization."[6] The spirit of resistance, then, is inherent in a people whose identity is made so strongly manifest in language, arts, and religious practices. Its pliability and resilience prevents Africans from forgetting their culture. The first generations of slaves invested creative energies (as survival skills) to adapt, assimilate, and protect their identities, even in the face of attempted annihilation and rupture of the roots of African identity by colonial powers.

This spirit of resistance did not go unnoticed by the elites. Slave rebellions were one of the most feared social and economic disturbances on the island, especially after Haiti gained its independence from France in 1804. How could the Spanish maintain their control, then, over the land [sugar plantations] and the capital it generated while being a racial minority? Under British control, Cuba implemented a caste system based on race. In this system, different "races" held various socioeconomic positions in society. This type of de-humanizing and demeaning hierarchical structure of society was not in the least unintentional. In occupying a land not natively their own, while attempting to assert control from across the Atlantic Ocean, the Spanish had to legitimize their rule over natives and slaves.

From an imperial perspective, it was thus necessary to devise ways to place and preserve themselves in positions of power and prestige. White colonizers, their families and Creole elites [those light-skinned descendants of Spanish colonizers who were born and raised on the island] had a privileged status from the very beginning. Under this racially divided system, whites monopolized the church, government, and military offices.[7] This signified that their political, social and economic rights were institutionalized and protected, unlike people of oppressed groups. The more "white blood" people had in their bodies—indeed, even in their lineage—the more privileged was the social status that became available to them.

It was perceived that upward social mobility was only attainable through such a mixture of "races." With whites at the one favorable extreme of this social order, slaves [Africans] occupied the despised "other" extreme. Thus, during the pre-Revolutionary period in Cuba (before 1959), there existed a few ways through which one could negotiate his or her place in society: either by marrying, having children with someone of lighter skin, or through purchasing their freedom—a process known as *coartación*. By the 16th century, African slaves held certain legal rights, and could negotiate their emancipation with their owners through paid installments. The process was geographically restrictive, however, as knowledge of such rights were confined to the cities and urbanized areas. Moreover, it favored Creole slaves as opposed to newly arrived slaves which further hindered its application.[8] Once the production of sugar took over the island in the 18th century, these means of emancipation had diminished, especially in the areas surrounding the plantations. The complexity of emancipation and its contingencies over time served to create a multidimensional identity crisis on the individual, communal and larger societal levels— a crisis that would eventually come to be critically analyzed by the postmodern artists in Cuba in various manners.

3. Steps towards Independence: The Influences of Martí and Marx

The domination of Cuba's internal and external affairs by the world market and its key players [Britain, the United States, France, and Spain], along with its strategic position in the Caribbean, created an atmosphere in which various social, political, and ideological ideas came into contact with one another. The autonomy of the Creoles (those of Spanish decent who were born in Cuba) on the island was undermined by, and always put after, Spain's interests. Many attempts were organized to declare independence from the crown, but all were unsuccessful. In order to mobilize an army large enough to fight for the liberation of the whole island, racial divisions had to be overcome. The manners in which people proposed to transcend such divisions varied greatly. Extremely influential in creating and uniting Cubans along a national line, the intellectual/writer José Martí and the General Antonio Maceo[9] professed a universal and encompassing idea of *lo cubano* (Cubanness), which was devoid of racial and class distinctions.

Martí was a modernist writer. Troubled by the situations in Latin America at the time, he ultimately reached a synthesis in his dilemma between art for art's sake and the need to be an active citizen through his descriptive images that serve as metaphorical references to contemporary sociopolitical and international events. Within this intrinsic web of literary components and symbols is also weaved a didactic rhetoric, which serves to diffuse ideas through literature as opposed to politics. Martí identified foreign economic, political, and cultural imperialism as the greatest threat to Cuba (specifically that coming from the United States). While his language is inclusive of all of Latin America, given the similar experiences of foreign domination and intervention, his writings particularly speak to his native Cuba as it was one of the last of Spain's colonies that remained under total control of the country—only Puerto Rico remained among its ranks as a colony. He believed that *Cuba Libre* would be a nation free from racism, one that would serve the needs of all Cubans.[10] In his essay *Our America* (1892), Martí writes in a style similar to that of Marx and Engel's *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), which incorporates collectivist rhetoric, questions, and pressing issues in a world defined by capitalistic growth. Written with a sense of urgency that alludes to the dangers of dominant [capitalist] economic organizations, the *Manifesto* presents with eloquence a vocabulary full of insight and meaning with respect to the roles of the government and its citizens. Marx and Engels write in a didactic manner in which the changes between simple and complex syntax gives the emotionally charged impression that the material is being presented in order to communicate that there exists no other option than for the proletariat to create a new socioeconomic system.

Martí draws many stylistic elements from *The Manifesto*. To start, the titles and language of the two works evoke a feeling of belonging to a society. In particular, one fragment from *The Communist Manifesto* entitled "Revolutionary Program and Strategy" and the title *Our America* illustrate the "collective objective," a collective which includes all classes and those oppressed by "the giants" (as Martí chooses to refer to imperial powers). Martí relates the risks of dependence to inaction through writing: "Whatever is left of that sleepy hometown in America must awaken."[11] This call to action contains traces of the influence of Marx's essays. It encourages citizens to take

an active role in securing their right to self-determination: in deciding the best future for the collective, by the collective. Both declare—in a direct manner by Marx and in a subtler and artistic manner by Martí—that all workers (i.e. Cubans) must rise up as a united nation to overthrow the concentration of economic power and, subsequently, the concentration of political power. Through syntax, punctuation, and imagery, the author(s) articulate(s) that this same awareness, or consciousness, is what an ideal society should possess. Martí uses many exclamations while giving form to the current situation of Cuba. He evokes the feelings of nativism and nationalism when he writes: "Let the heart's fires unfreeze all that is motionless in America, and let the country's natural blood surge and throb through its veins!"[12] He attempts to unite people across Cuba, despite racial and class differences, against the imperialism that has prevented their development as an autonomous nation. The conflicting descriptions of "the heart's fire" and "motionless America" illustrate the potential of Cubans entangled in a hierarchical society to change their positions within the nation as well as those in the international arena. The "fire of the heart" implies that Cubans know what makes them spiritually Cuban, and that the acceptance of their roots as a multiethnic and multiracial nation would empower them to change society to be inclusive of everyone's needs, not just those of the white elite.

While the nationalist discourse adopted by Martí does not explicitly address racial issues on any deep level in *Our America*, it does, however, leave a space in which others can speak openly about persisting social problems and the construction of a Black identity (such as Nicolás Guillén would do in the 1930s). Martí was keenly aware of the perils of racism, and makes reference in other places to the transcendence of race in the creation of the nation.[13] As Pérez states: "…[b]ut independence itself represented only a preliminary phase of a larger process, one in which Cubans would labor to eliminate socioeconomic injustice. 'In my view,' Martí wrote General Antonio Maceo in 1882, 'the solution to the Cuban problem is not a political one but a social one."[14] His acknowledgement of this actuality supports the idea that Martí was very conscious of the deep cleavages in Cuban society, but did not want to address those boundaries in depth as they could potentially divide Cubans even further at the time.

The subject of governance also arises in *Our America*. According to Martí, society needs to be supported by a government that is informed, proud of its roots, and which would represent and respect all peoples living in Cuba, replacing the familiar fear and exclusion of the Afro-Cuban population in politics that characterized the sentiments held by elites on the island. He explains the level of sovereignty that a republic should be able to achieve:

> To govern well, one must attend closely to the reality of the place that is governed. In America, the good ruler does not need to know how the German or French-man is governed, but what elements his own country is composed of and how [s/]he can marshal them so as to reach, by means and institutions born from the country itself, the desirable state in which every [wo]man knows him[/her] self and is active, and all [wo]men enjoy the abundance that Nature, for the good of all, has bestowed on the country they make fruitful by their labor they defend with their lives. The government must be born from the country. The spirit of the government must be the spirit of the country. The form of government must be in harmony with the country's natural constitution. The government is no more than equilibrium among the country's natural elements. (Allen)[15]

This ideal government would, then, acknowledge the majority of its population and their needs so that it can perform its function of providing and guiding all of its citizens to a better life, which included their *active* participation as citizens. His emphasis on the communal aspect of sharing resources of the country with its people is, again, an outcry against the imperialism (and the racist hierarchies it imposed) that Cuba had experienced and continued to experience as a colony. His constant reiteration of a collective, national identity suggests the absence of race and class in government policies and institutions. This essay has had a lasting impact on contemporary Cuban history. Published in 1891, the ideas of a nation free from imperialism, race, and class divisions were strong enough to unite all Cubans together to fight against the Spanish for their independence (which they gained in 1898). As we will also see below, Martí's ideal society is one that Fidel Castro calls upon again and aspires to materialize in the midst of the twentieth century. The history of struggles for the autonomy of Cuban citizens has had the effect of fostering a spirit of resistance and realization that a country can indeed alter and create their own future.

4. U.S. Interference in the Internal Affairs of Cuba

The intensive U.S. involvement in the Cuban movement for independence against Spain also intensified racist beliefs within the society. As sponsors for the war on behalf of Cuba's business elite [i.e. sugar producers], the United States felt entitled to intervene in the political making of the new republic. The U.S. envisioned Cuba as a

territory of its own, as they perceived Cubans to be unable to organize and represent themselves politically, socially, and economically, particularly due to the racial composition of the island and U.S. institutionalized racism). The United States occupied the island for a number of years, claiming that Cuba needed direction in managing their young nation. De la Fuente comments:

> Adding to this complex environment were North American ideas of race, which openly endorsed a consolidation of the color line and black's exclusion from the nation […] The American troops themselves introduced segregationist practices in the army and public services. When the occupational government departed in 1902, it left behind the Platt Amendment, which guaranteed the United States' continuing influence in Cuban affairs.[16]

Pérez also highlights the obvious imperial interest in Cuba (as Martí also emphasized) through the name the United States gave to the event: "So it was that the Cuban war for national liberation was transfigured into the "Spanish-American War", nomenclature that denied Cuban participation and presaged the next series of developments."[17] The ability of José Martí to construct a Cuban identity without racial distinctions and its widespread adaptation precipitated the mobilization of Cubans—the majority of whom were Afro-Cuban— to the front line battles. This noble act of national determinism provided an opportunity for blacks to hold higher positions in the army [General Antonio Maceo, for example] and prove themselves to be true civil participants in a national movement for liberation. The absence of Cubans in the title of the war, as it is known in the United States, denies recognition of Cuba's autonomy as an independent nation. Despite the *mestizaje* nationalist discourse and its high hopes of complete autonomy, and in spite of Martí's warnings against "the giants," previous elitist and racial ideologies were re-instated to society. This is especially evident in the 1901 proclamation of suffrage created under US supervision, which stated:

> …[P]ersons could vote only if they were male, twenty-one years of age or older, natives or Spaniards who had not explicitly declared their allegiance to the Crown of Spain, and residents in the municipalities for at least thirty days. In addition to these general requisites, voters had to be literate, had to own property worth $250 (American gold), or had to have served in the Liberation Army prior to July 18, 1898.[18]

This definition of a legal citizen with political power effectively excluded blacks and women from that realm of representation. The requirements of literacy and the holding of a certain amount of property successfully eliminated the amount of blacks who could vote. The legal proclamation of suffrage rendered all Cuban women and two-thirds of Cuban men unable to vote.[19] As a part of the backbone of a "new" republic, such ideas of suffrage only reinforced previous systems of white political and economic domination in Cuba, which had not changed since the occupation of the American army. Access to schools, especially in the eastern provinces, was poor and many black children, women and men were illiterate due to their lack of "privilege" to an education.

The vicious cycle of social inequalities imposed by institutionalized policies keeps a society perpetually unable to overcome those issues that divide it. De la Fuente explains this well in observing "Indeed, racism is a self-fulfilling prophecy: it denies opportunities to a certain group due to their alleged insufficiencies and vices, and in turn, lack of opportunities creates the very insufficiencies and vices initially used to justify exclusion."[20] In response to the low amount of representatives of the black population in government positions, the *Agrupación Independiente de Color* (later known as the *Partido Independiente de Color*) was founded in 1907 as an alternative means of voicing the demands of the black community. Their aim was to decrease racial discrimination in politics as well as society by having more Afro-Cubans voted into higher civic offices.[21] The party's effectiveness in eliminating racist policies and practices was undermined by the claim of other opposing parties that racism was not Cuban, and therefore that it was not appropriate to have a party defined along the lines of race. This rhetoric was employed to avoid addressing the persistent racism on both the political and societal levels. In response to these claims, writers such as Nicolás Guillén and Jesús Masdeu exposed the contradictions of the "failed ideals of racial egalitarianism" and neocolonial politics in the U.S., Haiti, and Cuba during the 1920s-30s.[22] Their writings were the foundations upon which Cuban *Negrismo* was formed and emphasized Afro-Cuban cultural elements such as *el son*. This time witnessed various Negritude movements in the western hemisphere, beginning the searches of self-discovery, self-definition, and liberation of blacks who had been displaced from their histories and cultural selves for generations. Celebrations of Afro-Cuban culture and its contributions to Cuban culture as a whole are expressed during this period, serving to communicate the concept and aspect of Cuban identity with society at large.

5. The Revolution of 1959

The triumph of the Revolution of 1959 signaled a true euphoric optimism among the Cuban masses. Fidel Castro and his followers invoked the ideas of Martí into their official revolutionary discourse; they called for an armed overthrow of the Batista government, which was dominated by foreign interests, refused to provide for all sectors of its society, and which discriminated along racial lines. Galeano states the following: "…[It wasn't an accident that] Fidel Castro recruited three-quarters of his *guerrilleros* from among the *campesinos*, the sugar workers; nor that Oriente province has throughout Cuba's history been the biggest source of both sugar and rebellion."[23] The nationalistic rhetoric of racial equality and fraternity, recalled from the writings and beliefs of José Martí, was effective in unifying yet again a new generation of Cubans searching for the right of self-determination and autonomy. The warnings against the imperialist interests and involvement on the island, in conjunction with the Marxist lens that the Revolution [and Martí] adopted, provided a base for ideological unity under the banner of oppression by a government that did not represent the interests of all of its citizens.

The large support invested in Castro by Afro-Cubans paid off in some ways after the Revolution. The government believed that education, cultural engagement, and greater economic security would change every individual's personal ideology. Post-Revolution, the access to water, highways, food, and medical care was guaranteed for everyone, including previously neglected sectors of society. The government was able to mobilize a successful literacy campaign, diversify agriculture production, and cut malnutrition. It also improved access to water, built highways in the interior of the country, and made medical care free.[24] The success of the Revolution in improving the quality and availability of basic needs, however, did not eradicate the problem of racism. In the eyes of the leaders in power, "…[they] had always contended that the struggle against racism involved at least two fronts: a legal one, in which discrimination would be penalized, and a cultural one, which entailed an education campaign to eradicate socially accepted ideas about race."[25] The definition of the cultural front as restricted *only* to education proved to be ineffective over time, as racism persisted into the 1990s. The Revolution had hoped, at most, that grave social problems such as racism would eradicate themselves without direct government intervention, as people would attain higher levels of education and, thus, a greater degree of consciousness. Due to this type of rationale within its official discourse, the Cuban government did not implement political policies that explicitly condemned racist acts. Instead, it focused on the improvement of access to basic resources like education, health, and economic opportunities in order to incorporate the Afro-Cuban population with other sectors of society as well as sent aid to Africa during the 60s and 70s.

Indeed, although the Revolution claimed to have eliminated racism, it did not allow a public social discussion on the issue, which ultimately impeded the nation from uprooting the unprogressive existence of racism in society. Tensions grew, as racism still existed in multiple dimensions of everyday life, especially for blacks. De la Fuente mentions the following concerning the rationalization that determined the conduct towards Afro-Cubans by others in their society: "It is, rather, a function of the pervasiveness of a racial ideology that portrays blacks as lazy, inefficient, dirty, ugly and prone to criminal activity."[26] Such pervasive popular beliefs explain the disproportionate demographic representation of Afro-Cubans in prison. Around 1986, the percentage of those who constituted the category of the "socially dangerous" was still excessive in such respects: "Non-whites represented a staggering 78% of all the individuals considered to be socially dangerous […] fully 84% of the socially dangerous subjects were between the ages of sixteen and thirty."[27] The stereotypes continued to be the categories to which Afro-Cubans were perceived and subsequently made to occupy. The long history of social divisions based on the color of one's skin during the colonial period, along with the racist sentiments that the occupying United States Army brought with them during the previous Republic all worked to maintain the stratification of the Cuban people. In light of this trajectory of Cuban history, these facts make it difficult to believe that racism—in all its manifestations—would disappear just three years after the triumph.

Immediately following the triumph of 1959, Cuba was attacked by the United States in both overt and covert operations. The prohibition against trade and economic activity with the island did not allow for the government to achieve its social promises to which it had aspired. The intent of the U.S. was to destabilize and de-localize the internal popular support and turn it against the regime. As Louis Pérez summarizes, "Defense of the nation became indistinguishable from defense of the Revolution and, in fact, at once accelerated and facilitated the centralization of power, curtailment of civil liberties, and elimination of opposition, all in the name of national security."[28] The censorship and repression of voices from the cultural sphere during the 1970s and 1980s was contingent upon the constant economic fluctuations. A debate over racism could not arise in such an environment, because to be "racist," or even to declare that racism existed, was considered to be counterrevolutionary and against Cuba's fundamental ideals.

6. Cuba and International Liberation Movements of the 1970s

The government turned a blind eye to persisting racist ideologies in Cuba; this can be viewed realistically as nothing more than an administrative act propelled by pragmatism. Racism did not pertain within the new social paradigm; leaders could not risk any type of internal dissent or threat to the cohesion of the public, which included the debate of racial tensions between whites, Afro-Cubans, and *mestizos*. This was the precarious situation in which the government and the Cuban people found themselves beginning in the early 1970s. Cuba, instead of combating racism on the island, focused its attention regarding this subject in its foreign policies—it channeled such efforts towards the international arena. It involved itself in the liberation movements of Africa as well as provided a place for exile to African-American intellectuals and activists of the Civil Rights movement occurring in the United States. These acts made an implicit statement of the government's support for confrontations and battles against social structures that discriminated through both racist and elitist discourses.[29]

In the same year that Cuba declared racism to be no longer present in its society, the regime sent expeditions to support guerrilla movements in Latin America and Africa.[30] Algeria, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and the ex-French Congo were countries in which Cuba intervened throughout the first twenty years of its existence. Their missions always centered on the liberation of a people from their colonial oppressors, as Cuba could immediately relate to such struggles.[31] This alignment with the marginalized on the continent from which many Cubans trace their ancestry indicates the government's intent of projecting an anti-racist image to the rest of the world. In the ex-French Congo, for example, "[…] the Cubans became a trusted military presence, for there was no danger of Cuba (unlike the West or the USSR) seeking local or regional dominance."[32] This unique aspect of transnationalism adds to Cuba another (inter) national dimension from which contemporary Cuban artists continue to draw and invoke as a means to respond to contemporary political/historical events.

While providing aid to movements in Africa, Cuba also provided asylum for African-American civil rights leaders. Many of these exiles were members of the Black Panther Party, a group that emphasized a sort of militant nationalism in response to institutionalized racism and repression, and which provided such things as armed protection, school lunch programs, etc. to the marginalized African-American ghettos in the United States. Many of its leaders were harassed throughout the period of the movement: "The FBI, in coordination with other enforcement agencies, waged a massive and in many ways illegal counter-intelligence effort throughout the decade to crush the Black movement."[33] Driven from their country on political exile, such intellectuals as Eldridge Cleaver, Huey P. Newton and Assata Shakur were welcomed onto the island. The idea and preservation of a racist-free nation was attractive to the African American radicals.[34] They left the United States for their attempts to combat racism, and entertained the belief that their work would be encouraged and supported by Cuba. The activists were attracted by the similarities between their own program and the new revolutionary government's program that focused on bettering the standard of living for all people regardless of race or income. Unfortunately, the intellectuals could not continue to criticize the United States' racism from within the country. Their speech was repressed and often discouraged by the pro-Soviet Cuban government because it did not want to provoke an attack from the U.S., nor did they want to provoke racist tensions already "swept under the rug" in Cuba.[35] More for politically pragmatic reasons, as well as that of national security, the regime invested its anti-racist rhetoric in its foreign policies and repressed any discussion of racism from arising on the grounds that to reflect on the reality of any sort of racial division is to be counterrevolutionary. The absence of a dialogue between1962-1990 among those who endorsed racism, those who believed that racism still existed, and those who did not resulted in growing tensions that could be felt and experienced daily.

7. The Arrival and Adaptation of Modernism

El Modernismo in Latin America spanned from about 1890 to the early 1930s.[36] The Modernist movement in general is seen as a break from traditional views of art forms and their roles in society. Latin American artists adopted cubist, surrealist, and impressionist techniques in their compositions. However, they transformed these formal techniques and used them to give visual form to presentations of Latin American realities and subjects related to the search of identity in a new visual language. In short, "The *Modernistas* had discovered their own popular traditions and landscapes, and they presented them in a new vernacular form based on a clever synthesis of Spanish, French, and Italian tendencies that paralleled Rubén Darío's *modernismo.*"[37] The use of symbolism and shallow space in two-dimensional works lent modern art in Latin America an advantage in establishing a contextualized, intimate aesthetic language capable of communicating to society at large. The artists of this movement recognized

the need for an art that would respond to the Latin American experience, and thus began to become more observant and critical of what constitutes their national/individual/ethnic/religious histories in the wakes of the struggles for independence of the 19th century.[38]

The work of the *modernistas* can be summarized as an investigation of cultural and national identity, as well as components that are indispensable to that identity. A painting entitled *La Jungla* (*The Jungle*) by Wifredo Lam (Fig. 1) is exemplary of the various syntheses of European vanguard techniques with local cultural context. He uses a mixture of cubist, surrealist and expressionist techniques in combination with the "…power of Caribbean lore and religion as a means of communication"[39] in order to resemanticize European modernists' preoccupation with African masks and other African "primitive" art forms by re-investing these forms with new meaning.[40] In this way, Lam's work develops the concept of art as having a social meaning, as he (re) presents cultural aspects of Cuban society in a new way to which Cuban people can relate. The figures in the painting are actually prostitutes depicted with elongated linear bodies morphed with animal attributes, such as a horse head. This blending of plant and human forms was a technique discovered with the development of the Negritude movement and its search for the components of an African identity, employed in visual art and literature in the opening of the 20th century.[41] This movement was important in commencing an active participation in the construction and identity of a "New Negro," through exploring, investigating, and analyzing those components of African heritage that are an essential and indisputable part of one's cultural identity. Viewed by some scholars as a necessary consequence of a particular Caribbean philosophy, one born of the historical trajectories and similar struggles endured by those nations,[42]its thoughts and observations spread from the French Caribbean throughout the hemisphere and to Africa as an assertion of the autonomy of blacks to define his/her own conception of themselves and the universal need to have these histories recognized as legitimate. It spawned thinkers of the diaspora, such as W.E.B. DuBois, to consider the psychological effects and implications of racial hierarchies. DuBois spoke of an idea of "double-consciousness"[43] that evolves in the self-perception of those with darker complexions, living within societies that deny the equality, humanity, and dignity of blacks. The transculturation that has taken place in these societies is ignored, and such ignorance rejects the identity, pride, and resilience that the African heritage has offered the cultures it has encountered. As John Peffer notes of the artists contemporary to this movement and their influence on contemporary art:

> Theirs was an art of the place-marking gesture, like the spot on the empty canvas that enables the painter to begin a composition. Over the past decade a younger generation of African diasporan artists, who have come to artistic maturity in the post-Cold War era, have been reaping what was sown by their predecessors—whether they are aware of it or not—and are questioning the very ground of subjectivity itself. (27)

The use of art has been central in contesting and reconfiguring the images of blacks in popular culture and history throughout the past century.

Painted during the same time as the Negritude movement, Lam's representation of Cuba in *The Jungle* can be read on multiple levels. On one hand, the prostitutes represent Cuba and its subjection to neocolonialism. On the other hand, with his decision to represent Cuba using African forms and iconography, he comments on the immense influence of African culture in the making of *lo cubano*. He speaks through a visual language imbued with Afro-Cuban cultural icons as well as popular ones, such as the ear of corn, which represents money. In painting the ear of corn hanging from one of the prostitute's ears, Lam comments on the overrunning of Cuban culture, economics, and politics by the "lure of money" that is inseparable from colonialism and neocolonialism. The artist also maintains the use of a shallow space in creating the spatial relationship of the painting, which evokes a sense of intimacy with the viewer. The prostitutes are situated within a dense jungle of palm fronds and sugar cane, representing, respectively, the sacred place of worship for Afro-Cuban deities juxtaposed with a profane place of servitude: the sugar plantations.[44] However, in Cuba, there are no tropical jungles. It is an environment that is reminiscent of the distanced African homeland of the diaspora, juxtaposing both past and present homelands of Afro-Cubans. The combination of these symbols is effective in communicating Lam's perceived position of society as being on the threshold of deciding between its African (authentic) roots and Westernization. Lam himself was involved in this conflict of identity, as he was the son of a Cantonese immigrant and a mulatta, whose mother "was a priestess in the chapter of Santa Barbara (Shangó), which still exists in the town, located in a region with a strong Afro-Cuban tradition." Cite BTF 124) His familiarity with the tenets of Afro-Cuban religions allowed him to give his subjects a deeper, more cohesive meaning as understood by Afro-Cubans themselves. He felt personally the exploitation of his country, and attempted to communicate its oppressive and destructive consequences, just as José Martí had done half a century ago. It is worth stating at length Lam's own remark regarding his interpretation of *The Jungle*:

> Rousseau, you know, painted the jungle. He does not condemn what happens in the jungle. I do. Look at my monsters and the gestures they make. The one on the right proffering its rump, obscene as a whore. Look, too, at the scissors in the upper right hand corner. My idea was to represent the spirit of the Negroes in the situation in which they were then. I have used poetry to show the reality of acceptance and protest.[45]

Lam was concerned for the future of Cuba. He relates the excessive tourism and its repercussions caused by neocolonial economic subjection to foreign powers with the figure on the right, "proffering its rump, obscene as a whore." He holds faith, however, in the protest and spirit of (Afro) Cubans to reject colonialism in its entirety, symbolized by the scissors imagined to sever the ties with the agonizing past of colonialism. Although *The Jungle* and his other works form the 1940s successfully present Cuban cultural forms of political resistance (such as metaphors combining African-based religious traditions and social criticisms) through a visual language of local symbols, his work loses—over the years—that connection which had made it so revolutionary at the time. Lam's concern with "Art for Art's sake" caused him to take little interest in accurately representing many African symbols. Robert Linsley remarks: "As his work became increasingly populated with motifs drawn from Santeria, it also lost its connection with its social context. This process became especially pronounced after the Cuban Revolution, when Lam's Negritude became more a matter of the mystifications of the Black myth and African religions and less one of revolutionary self-definition."[46] Although Lam chose to explore Afro-Cuban themes, his rendering and synthesis of those themes fail to initiate a sustained, sincere discussion of the distinct components that surround Afro-Cuban culture and its place in the larger society within which it exists. However, his belief that "a true picture has the power to set the imagination to work"[47] is proven to be true, as these paintings are seen to be the building blocks upon which Afro-Cuban themes were developed and expressed in contemporary art.

8. Intersections of Post-Revolutionary Ideologies and Art

How then, did art come to be the method in which Afro-Cuban experiences and racist sentiments were expressed and discussed? How did artists come to assume a socially influential and essential role in the contemporary Cuban cultural sphere? I believe that the answer lies in the fountain of new ideas concerning the conception of reality, which surfaced with the institutionalization of the Revolution, as well as in the new ways in which the relationship between the individual and the collective were perceived. One new ideology proposed in the initial years of the new Cuba was the essay "El hombre nuevo" or "The New Being" (1964) written by Ernesto "Che" Guevara. This essay proposes that the quality of society should depend (more heavily and directly) upon the individual; [s]he would create, support, and sustain a more conscientious and equitable social system. That is to say, the Revolution aspired to change the society from within—they wanted an *organic* revolution in which the identities associated with being *lo cubano* would be discussed and incorporated into a newly formed identity that would be shaped by the ideologies present in post-revolutionary Cuba.

In his essay, Guevara underlines the importance and purpose of the individual within the young and newly developed framework of social relations. From his perspective, the individual is a fundamental factor in the realization and sustentation of (the government's) socialist ideals. He explains the complexity that exists in the relationship between the individual and the masses, defining this complexity as such: "[a] close dialectical unity that exists between the individual and the mass, in which both are interrelated, and the mass, as a whole composed of individuals, is in turn interrelated with the leader[s]."[48] Keeping this in mind, the Cuban people now faced an emerging question: how to have a conversation amongst themselves about what their priorities and epistemological understandings should be after the Revolution? Guevara offers the following concerning the manner in which the people would be taught and informed of the concept of such ideological construction:

> Socialism is young and makes mistakes. We revolutionaries many times lack the knowledge and the necessary intellectual audacity to face the task of the development of the new human being by methods distinct from the conventional ones, and the conventional methods suffer from the influence of the society that created them. (Bonachea)[49]

It is in these lines that Guevara highlights the importance of the intellectual: his confession that "Socialism is young and makes mistakes" alludes to the responsibility of the intellectual to criticize the various stages of socialism

experienced in order to help improve and strengthen it in its Cuban context. At the same time, however, the intellectual is seen as being responsible for educating and communicating to the people those new revolutionary ideas so that they would understand [and support] the functions of and ideology behind their government. Guevara allocated to intellectuals such as artists, writers, and those in academia this duty of educating the people, a process in which "…[wo]men acquire more awareness every day of the need to incorporate themselves into society, and, at the same time, of their importance as motors of that society."[50] Regarding this idea of "auto-education" of individuals, Guevara comments on the cultural mediums through which everyone can be exposed to and active in the process of construction of their new society. It is in this context where probably the most important social role comes into play. He articulates: "On the one hand, society acts with its direct and indirect education; and on the other, the individual submits his[/her] self to a conscious process of self-education."[51] This auto-education relies on the quality of cultural material, its accessibility, and the freedom of expression in the cultural sphere, thereby allowing intellectuals to communicate to the masses information with which they can relate or which is pertinent to their lives. Contemporary Cuban artists have excelled in this aspect, as their incubation in a postmodern, revolutionary socialist society has given new meaning and aim to the involvement of various populations in their own autonomous cultural production.

9. Didactic

Tomás Gutiérrez Alea, a Cuban filmmaker and writer who was contemporary with the Revolution and Guevara, took this responsibility of the intellectual and added to it his own artistic/intellectual understanding of the culture surrounding artistic productions. He wrote a book entitled *The Viewer's Dialectic*, in which he observes:

> …[a] collective art because it combined diverse individuals' experience and because it drew nourishment from artistic practice in other media as a function of a new art, a specifically different art, which became definitely accepted as such. It was destined for the masses, and popular, because it expressed the interests, aspirations and values of broad sectors of the population which at the same time were carrying history onward. (Martin)[52]

This comment is telling of the expectation that Alea has for art, encompassing practically all the responsibilities that Guevara had proposed for the intellectual. He perceives cinema to be the most apt in achieving these ends, as it can incorporate various individual experiences through characters within the plot, and also because the films can be constructed using popular cultural icons and histories, creating an intimacy with audiences throughout the island. In the time surrounding the triumph of the Revolution—as well as throughout its whole existence—there were many emotions and disparate memories about what had happened in the country. Everyone held a different opinion and experience concerning various aspects of the new social structure, but not all of these experiences were able to penetrate into the social conscious. In the same book, Alea develops and expands upon the idea of a collective art by emphasizing the need for a "popular cinema" that would be able to access the conscious of the masses, strike a chord of resonance within them, and generate questions and reflections related to the content of the films. For this reason, especially with respect to his feeling of the necessity of historical responsibility, he opted to emphasize the idea of "Collective Art." He notes:

> That is, [the creation of cultural products] which may attain mass diffusion and which manipulate expressive resources that have a certain effectiveness [not only to entertain and inform, but also to shape taste, intellectual judgment and states of consciousness.] If [artists] assume their own social and historical responsibilities, they will come face to face with the inevitable need to promote the theoretical development of their artistic production.[53]

Alea believes that collective art functions to embrace all of the memories and experiences that exist in the society and places them within the context of an aesthetic dialogue. Through this concept and his aspiration of creating an active spectator (which is directly and intricately related to Guevara's new active citizen), Alea proposes that artists work in order to complete these objectives. According to him, *reflection* and *analysis of experience* is necessary in growing and extending the knowledge of individuals. Reflection and analysis are in fact processes that require the active and interactive participation of those in society, which in turn functions as a tactic in that auto-education of the individual. This type of critical introspection is characteristic of postmodern art, which, as viewed in the Cuban

context, signifies the internalization of a new identity by the intellectual/artist. His incorporation of the "social-historical responsibility" of the artists is the one thing that Alea adds to the definitions of Guevara. Although he specifically refers to cinema as being a popular art, the requisites he assigns this type of social (izing) art can be seen in other art forms as well, such as in the visual and hip-hop movements of contemporary Cuba.

From the above observations of Guevara and Alea, we can extract three characteristics that are inherent to the new conception of art in Cuba: the development and use of unconventional ways of communicating and diffusing ideas; the use of images and cultural icons that pertain specifically to Cuba; and the ability to transmit emotions, [cultural] information and other ideas related to the Cuban identity. Theoretically and ideologically, these proscriptions appear to construct a strong, secure place in the cultural sphere for artists and intellectuals to contest and express whatever experiences or insights they have. Curiously, these liberties were not granted to intellectuals for quite some time in Cuba.

10. The Shift towards Postmodernism [within the Cuban Context]

As Barnitz notes of the modernists, "It was left to this new generation to establish the linguistic and visual codes that were to be the basis of later [postmodern] art."[54] These (limited) initial opportunities to incorporate Afro-Cuban themes in artistic production unfortunately disappeared from the Cuban art corpus until the 1990s. Indeed, the postmodern artworks in Cuba did explore new forms of visual (re) presentation, emphasizing the collective and support for the Revolution as its dominant subject matter of the 60s and 70s. Also during this period were the confrontations between intellectuals and the government over the autonomy and role of the intellectual in society. Due to these debates, along with more stable economic support from the Soviet Union, the 1980s experienced a growing space in which new levels of free expression were permitted. The dogmatism and support for the Revolution as the main themes of art diminished, and many artists adopted a postmodern discourse to explore other themes whose representation had previously been repressed and censored. The progression of modernism to postmodernism (which is congruous with decolonization) throughout the century has come to characterize the contemporary visual language. As Canclini lucidly describes, "[Postmodernity is not] a discontinuity or rupture with modernization but rather [it is] the reorganization of its internal forces and its relationship with tradition."[55] Postmodernism provided a new aesthetic approach to address and (re)present social and historical realities. The effects of post colonialism and the rejection of previous (colonial) conceptions of identity and social relations are subjects that contemporary artists continue to evaluate. Postmodern thought stressed the contestation of metanarratives and their objective conceptions of history, memory, and identity [a metanarrative is a theory that attempts to give a totalizing, comprehensive account to historical events, experiences, as well as social and cultural phenomena based on the appeal to universal truth or values]. Thus, the decentralization of power and knowledge that accompanied post colonialism also facilitated the rise of postmodernism, as more individual experiences that contest such all-encompassing narratives became manifest in the arts (visual arts, literature, film, etc).

The idea of "individual memory" challenged the concept of a chronological and objective narration of time and events, and in its place introduced the fragmentation of history and all of the perspectives that emerge from such an understanding of multiple realities. These realities were expressed through this new visual language that employed layering techniques of images, materials, collage, and parody, which were useful in portraying the fragmentation of realities, their contingencies and the fluidity of the concept of identity as artists responded to questions outside of art.[56] This "re-narration" is explained by Mas'md Zavarzadeh in the following way: "To renarrate is to activate the 'other' and thus to destabilize and show the contingency of the 'existing'. Renarration as a reading strategy, then, is a political act that calls attention to the construction of the real and furthermore opens up a space for contesting the existing."[57] The activation of the participation of the "other" in the cultural sphere is something that signifies the postcolonial era and the subsequent de-colonization [and de-monopolization] of culture, a project that contemporary Afro-Cuban artists continue to work with in their careers today.

The conditions of emigration combined with a greater degree of free expression fostered a new generation of *critically engaged* artists. These recently emerging artists developed a contemporary way of representing and understanding racism and racial identity. Artists arrived at a new expression of Afro-Cuban iconographies, including those with characteristics of African cosmologies and religious traditions, such as those of the Yoruba. Along with this new visual language came a change in the method of displaying and presenting artworks in exhibitions. Themes that relate to the direct experiences of Afro-Cubans are finally beginning to be incorporated into the artistic/intellectual (Cuban) discourse and are subsequently displayed as visual affirmations of existing realities.

Through this particular discourse, artists focused on emphasizing the right of the intellectual or artist to exercise their *derecho a desvincularse*, or the right to detach themselves from society in creating their works.[58] Along with this detachment came themes of individual memory and introspection. The influence of this movement was a central component in the development of new aesthetic discourses and subjects of postmodern artworks themselves. Its values and questions aided in the re-claiming of the cultural field in both a postmodernist, post-Cold War[59] and postcolonial environment.

11. *El Periodo Especial* and the Rise of the Contemporary Artists

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, an economic recession occurred that is named *el periodo especial* (the Special Period). Up to that point, Cuba had experienced several waves of emigration. Initially, those who opposed the Revolution and its socio-economic projects fled to Florida and were welcomed by the U.S. Following this initial wave, successive emigrations occurred as entrepreneurs' businesses were nationalized (it is worth noting that the majority of these emigrants were light skinned, as they were the population who held the most political and economic influence on the island). As the Soviet Union had provided the majority of Cuba's resources throughout the 80s, the fall of the Berlin Wall inhibited Cuba from obtaining basic resources on the island. During this time, the bourgeois artists who had remained up until then moved in order to find more income and to escape the daily struggles provoked by the depression. Thus, the Cuban cultural sphere was reshaped and bestowed upon a new generation. This particular re-claiming of the cultural field was initiated by the recent flight of the bourgeois: "The process of reducing social inequalities was accelerated by the massive flight of the upper and middle-upper sections of Cuban society, those who had enjoyed a privileged position in pre-revolutionary society in terms of wealth, education and status."[60] These events created a widening space for the memories and experiences of the periphery—blacks, women, African religious traditions, etc— to come to the center of the production of culture. This aperture was refilled, out of necessity, with young artists—many of whom belonged to those marginalized sectors of society. Pérez notes, "By the mid 1980s, more than half the population had been born after the triumph of the Revolution,"[61] a fact that indicates the success of the Revolution along with the influences of preceding intellectuals and artists in creating a *revolutionary* environment— one in which the active conscious is allowed to grow. These contemporary artists assumed and continued the investigations of identity, memory and history from a new ideological and generational perspective. They:

> …[B[egan to reconsider problems of identity faced by the post-modern subject, in which the periphery (i.e., we Cubans) calls into question the dominant hegemony of the center (i.e., the West)—understood not just as "capitalism," but as the international canonical authority. (Castillo)[62]

The re-location of cultural producers, along with the shift in content and aspirations of the artists, gave way to the appearance of themes related to race in art. A product of multiple intersections, the young (Afro) Cuban artists embody the role of the intellectual as proscribed by Guevara and Alea; they invent new techniques to commence a socio-cultural dialogue between Cubans on issues, such as the recognition of the existence of racism, that penetrate all facets of society.

Castillo also writes the following concerning the role that these artists have undertaken: "In other words, racism may have been officially abolished, but it has not been eliminated. The verb 'to abolish' shows up in legal terminology. The verb 'to eliminate' acts in the physical-psychological-social realm."[63] The responsibility of eliminating racism, then, is a role that the artists have taken upon themselves and which they exercise in various ways as prominent actors in the cultural sphere. They offer to society an insight as to their own personal experiences and interpretations with respect to race. The questions of identity that arose out of the rupture with colonialism influenced the evolution of contemporary art in many areas of the postcolonial world. Okwui Enwezor comments on the complexity of identity in explaining:

> Identity represents, therefore, not merely a token of cultural affirmation, a simple category of differencing, a baggage of ethnic profiling, identification, and classification within the rationalities of modern ideals of citizenship and belonging. It illuminates the cultural and political frameworks around which the critical contents of modern and contemporary culture are formulated and built.[64]

The complexity of the concept of identity and how to depict individual experiences can be seen within contemporary Cuban artistic discourses, including visual art as well as those in other media such as music and film. They employ symbols and subject matter which serves to illuminate and scrutinize cultural and political frameworks. Ana Belén Sevillano expresses, "Therefore, the art of the Nineties attempts to bring the private to the public."[65] This art expresses the myriad that exists of experiences related to Cuban identity and racism, as well as how those experiences are realized within the various intersections of diverse cultural and political waves. Due to the absence of a debate in which the public would be *actively* involved, the artists "developed strategies for disaggregating the stereotypes of 'blackness' as not just a racial category, but as a vital attitude, as culture, as a social entity…they made their viewers see that black themes exist."[66] In bringing to public attention the difficulties of racist experiences caused by prevalent negative stereotypes, they challenge other Cubans to reflect upon their own beliefs in light of the knowledge of another's experience.

As our constructions of reality are based only on experiences, the realities experienced by those with colored skin are markedly different than those of whites. In his book *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, Yi-Fu Tuan mentions the following: "Experience thus implies the ability to learn from what one has undergone. To experience is to learn; it means acting on the given and creating out of the given. The given cannot be known in itself. What can be known is a reality that is a construct of experience, a creation of feeling and thought."[67] The particularity of experience, then, is one in which artists have a unique advantage communicating with the public. Indeed, a plethora of experiences would emerge from the recesses of Cuban society's past and present memories as artists engaged with racial themes.

As the 1990s fluctuated with the difficulties of the Special Period, it also experienced the rise of tensions between races. With a space of free expression now becoming available to the previously marginalized, artists could directly address the resurgence of racist sentiments and stereotypes under the depressed economic atmosphere. The declining respect for the Revolution led to the resurgence of racist sentiments in the public sphere. Issues such as police repression, racial profiling, the growing income gap marked by race and representation in the media became more aggressive and apparent in everyday life. Stereotypes such as the overly sexual black male, the overly sexual and eroticized exotic female, the "black criminal," and the Black as an insignificant citizen tinged everyday interactions. De la Fuente notes that, "According to several surveys conducted in the island in the mid-1990s, most whites believe that blacks and whites do not share the same values, decency and intelligence."[68] Many artists directly contest such archaic assumptions and use visual symbols that connote "the other-ization" of part of the Cuban population. Despite common beliefs that they are inferior, Afro-Cubans recognize and understand their contribution to the Cuban identity. This awareness is key to the way in which artists approach their work.

12. (Re) presentations of Experience

The social consequences inherent in a history based on the exploitation of majority populations of color under colonialism are brought to light in the contemporary global art world. The hegemonic control of culture by Occidental[69] centers repressed the (re) presentation of those voices that were not in accord with their views and values by emphasizing and exhibiting other artists who fit within their paradigm. Enwezor mentions, "If, on the one hand, colonial modernity once consolidated its power in order to discipline, dominate, and dismiss its subjects, postcolonial modernity, on the other hand, challenges and disperses that power."[70] This younger generation of Afro-Cuban artists work to reinforce their legitimacy as intellectuals, artists, and citizens. The introduction of their innovative renditions of history and society has the effect of "de-colonizing" culture through artistic means, authenticating the value of the contemporary Cuban aesthetic as critically and intellectually informed. Another tool in the decolonization of culture is seen in the new methods of presenting art to the public that have developed across the contemporary world. The creation of exhibitions surrounding national and transnational themes, along with the inclusion of more and more artists and artistic styles, has the effect of de-localizing the "canonical power" of [Occidental] art institutions.[71] These new aspects of presentation bring into play multiple levels through which more voices of society can be interpreted and understood. The imagined divide between "enlightened" centers of "high" art and "inferior" centers of "popular" art are proven to be ephemeral, as the particularities of societies in long processes of decolonization deconstruct and reconstruct their identities and relationships with one another and internationally through visual language.[72]

A new aspect of re-narration within the developing artistic discourses was the re-conceptualization of display. Many incorporated multiple media in one piece, utilizing the physical space in its entirety as a central component of the work. These installations heighten and accentuate the aspect of experience, which emphasizes the objective of

the artists to simulate an interaction with and/or reaction from society. As viewers walk through the works, they experience the place created heterogeneously. This type of constructed intimacy facilitates an understanding of the individuality of experience, as everyone responds on different levels emotionally and sensorially to facets of the piece. An example of this form's extensively conscious construction and attention to the experiential is Manuel Arenas' *Artificial Breathing* (Fig. 2). This installation in *Queloides* included aluminum, acrylic, ice, stainless steel, gold leaf, digital inkjet prints, leather and hair. Arenas "…sought to challenge the 'you must be' imposed by the hegemonic discourse of whiteness,"[73] reconfiguring the definition of identity to embrace more elements than solely the color of his skin. One of the walls in this installation incorporates the title of a popular American drawing advocating the abolition of slavery; it reads: "Am I not a Man and a Brother?" visually serving to lead the eye to a picture on the floor of the backside of a black man. The question proposes a new conception of identity as something that transcends race. Arenas comments that man is universal, and employs the term "brother" as a representation of that abstract bond of familiarity between those who live and experience similar situations together (a reference to the experience of being Cuban). He critically and intellectually organizes the space, placing objects and words within a neatly contrived empty white space. This artistic decision comments on the denial of Afro-Cuban contributions to culture and society through presenting visually the image of "the black" in the white (colonial) consciousness, in which those of African descent were deemed to be in need of restraint. The picture of black skin pinched with clothespins stands for the pain and indignation of stereotypes that represent blackness as something negative. Also situated in the room on an opposite wall is a dog bowl which reads *negrito* (little negro), symbolizing the fictitious insignificance of blacks by employing the diminutive *–ito* to represent the lower place that blacks are presumed to occupy. He further represents the pejorative view that society still holds of blacks by choosing to write *negrito* on a dog bowl, connoting the inhumanness and animality believed to be inherent in that population. As Caridad Blanco de la Cruz writes, "By revealing the problem and showing himself as someone affected by it, he brings a documental quality to his work, which is inclusive evidence of his legitimate desire for harmony between the individual and society."[74] The exposition of both images and experience in this contemporary investigation of postmodern questions adds another dimension to both the meaning and significance of such artistic endeavors to the ethical and cultural progression of society.

13. Discussions of the Postcolonial Experience and the "Colored" Body

The postcolonial experience also propelled the adoption and development of an art that would express themes and subjects representative of the multiplicity of intersections between the national/international relations and individual (artists') relation to these intersections. The fruition of these aesthetic and philosophical inquiries can be seen in such exhibitions as *Queloides* (a name which refers itself to the long lasting wounds that racism still inflicts on the Afro-Cuban population). It was organized and exhibited to directly address racism from a postcolonial, postmodern vantage point:

> The representation of something that is 'missing' implies that the majority of the works and artists in *Queloides* develop an openly postmodern poetic strategy, in which the cannibalism of images, or the imitations of past and present styles, the appropriation or the switching of content from other areas or environments of representation, mark or influence the look of a good number of the works. (Matos)[75]

What was missing from the cultural dialogue in Cuba was a representation of Afro-Cuban experiences, which differed from person to person. The diversity of interpretations of and reaction to experiences is shown in a work by Alexis Esquivel, entitled: "Comparative Study of the Ethnic Composition in the Art Sector" (Fig. 3). This collaborative work is a parody of the absurd obsession with *el blanqueamiento*, or the idea that the whiter a person is, the better and more deserving s/he were of privilege. The forms that were completed mimicked those previous official colonial documents that were taken to be actual affirmations of one's identity, in which one was made to mark their race or ethnicity. The manner in which each artist responds to the questions on the form reveals the ambiguity and senselessness in attempting to confine humans to racially defined categories. For example, Ariez Diago marks an "X" for every category on the list, including those of "Negro color teléfono" [Telephone-color black] and "Negro azul" [Blue-black]; Elio Rodríguez types a parody on his form [without marking any category] on the purity of his African ancestry, just as white males would have highlighted in order to indicate their higher and more powerful position in society. Alexis Esquivel himself draws a ladder using the blanks as rungs, a blatant reference to the hierarchical stratification of society and the perceived social mobility one could obtain through total

gradual assimilation with whites. The diversity of responses holds one thing in common: that identity consists in much more than a single category. The work communicates the autonomy of the [black] artists to profess their own identities as social and intellectual motors in society. Through creating such a parody, Esquivel generates a direct conversation between Cuba's past and its current situation, forcing others not to forget the way in which Afro-Cubans have always been—and continue to be— stigmatized through formal and informal means.

This new of intimacy between works and viewers is also portrayed in photographs. René Peña discusses racism through his photographs and focus on the body. He uses his own body as the subject in his work, emphasizing his personal experiences and ideas about racism. David Mateo notes that: "The revival of practices such as the portrait and self-portrait in Cuban photography began in the early 1990s and opened multiple possibilities for an allegorical incursion into the area of personal tribulations."[76] As the primary site of experience and the primary site of interaction between the physical and psychological, others attempt to define the body just as much as one defines one's own body. Peña arrests this ideological discourse within his aesthetic one, especially evident in his *Man Made Materials Series* (Fig. 4). In it, parts of the human body are photographed from an extremely close range, showing the details of the skin, teeth, feet, breast and hand. This close examination of the black body is not only visually compelling, but also encourages Cubans to examine their assumptions/ stereotypes/ experiences of the black body more carefully and in a different light. The theme of humanness offered by these images forces the viewers to see "black" on an individual level, as opposed to the abstracted and superficially constructed collective identity of Afro-Cubans based only on the color of their skin. He also makes a statement concerning the dangers of commonly held stereotypes in his photo *Untitled* (1994) (Fig. 5). Stereotypes such as the overly sexual black male, the overly sexual and "exotic" female, the black criminal and "the black" as a less valued citizen of society. The knife symbolizes the danger of these beliefs, not only to others, but also to the individuals themselves who are stigmatized based on such assumptions.

On the other end of the spectrum of these various discourses lay those of transnational preeminence. The displacement caused by the trans-Atlantic slave trade is one point of departure in perceiving history and identity as a compilation and synthesis of external and internal forces. Some artists such as Esquivel respond to the historical aspect of this diaspora as well as to contemporary events taking place in the world involving peoples of the larger African diaspora. In his painting *Smile you won!* (Fig. 6), Esquivel pictorially represents the continuing battle against racism in other contemporary contexts as well. The image is a response to the election of Barack Obama as U.S. President, which the artist interprets as a decisive victory in the struggle to eliminate racism. A symbol alluding to this is the collaged image of the Arc de Triomphe of Paris that gave tribute to the conquests of Napoleon. The two figures that appear in front of the arc are depicted abstractly as combinations of equal yet opposite amounts of black and white coloring. They are shown in the act of boxing, which (re) presents the idea of "race" being tossed up into the air, as being in a state of violent transformation and movement. At the same time, however, the bodies of each are of one solid color; the areas in which they convene actually merge together and are void of differentiation. It is interesting to see the continuous observation of transnational movements and happenings that Cuban artists are able to interact with outside a strictly Cuban context. Esquivel's painting is a commemoration of the Black Power movement from the 70s in which Cuba also participated (if only minimally and on an individual basis). His emphasis on the election of the first Afro-American president asserts the power of blacks as being equal to that of whites, and serves as an encouraging piece to the continuation of efforts to extinguish racism in society.

14. Expressions of Afro-Cuban Religions in Contemporary Art

The range of subjects presented from the contemporary locus of epistemology allows for the emergence of such personal and spiritual themes as that of religion. The historical importance of traditional African religions to Afro-Cuban culture is a theme that had previously been repressed, as the colonial institutions attempted to eradicate the practices through assimilation and force. However, rituals and other religious practices underwent periods of secrecy in order to preserve traditions, epistemology, cultural principles, and to avoid persecution. As Robert Linsley notes: "Voodoo, or in its Cuban fom Santeria, is the survival in the New World of a pre-Christian, pre-colonial African vision of the universe. Its complete lack of morality, of the Christian dualism of good and evil, made it especially appealing to the Surrealists. It also represents a tradition of political resistance."[77] In the contemporary Cuban cultural sphere, these Afro-Cuban religions have experienced a revival, adding to the debates and conversations on race and the Afro-Cuban contributions to society.[78] The African diaspora in Cuba has reconfigured traditional African belief systems and their interpretations of Christianity as a survival response to oppression. One contemporary artist who addresses this amalgamation of historical forces is Belkis Ayón. One of her points of departure in approaching the subject was her focus on the secret Abakuá society and the (African)

feminine character of Sikán to address themes of marginalization, absence-presence, and transcendence.[79] She chooses to represent the sect as "…an African cultural contribution deeply rooted and present in Cuban culture."[80] She incorporates aspects of the societies' myths into an aesthetic language, consolidating both valuable cultural information and the concept of transcendence in the pictorial frame. Her (re) presentations of Afro-Cuban religious symbols is more reflective of their actual uses and presentations within the societies and religious followers than those presentations that Lam had painted in the 40s. Her accuracy in (re) presenting the symbols in their authentic cultural context gives the works a greater societal value in the diffusion of Afro-Cuban themes and ideas to new audiences.

Many Afro-Cubans trace their roots back to the Yoruba, an ethnic group originally located in the southern coastal areas of Nigeria and Benin. It is from the Yoruba that the Abakuá society in Cuba derives. The cosmology of the Yoruba is based on the worship of various spirits and the sacredness of nature. The spirituality of the forest is a central tenet of its belief system, and its importance can be read in some of the scenes created by Ayón, in which she depicts the secret society within the elements of the forest. The following are characteristic of the Yoruba cosmology and play an important role in the interpretation of her artworks. Sacrifice plays a central role in the cosmology of the Yoruba, paying homage to the forest spirits that provide, sustain, and destroy life. The theme of sacrifice is conveyed through her inclusion of animals such as goats and roosters in her images. Secondly, a serpent appears in her artworks alongside these other animals, but not as a victim of sacrificial offering. In Yoruba mythology, the serpent is a messenger of the deities and appears here as a representation of that connection between the spirits and humans. Thirdly, "The radiance of the eyes, the magnification of gaze, reflects àshe, the brightness of the spirit;"[81] this radiance is emphasized in the conception of the works; in many it is communicated through contrasting black figures with white eyes and vise versa, allowing their awareness and attentiveness to dominate the piece and captivate the attention of the viewer (see fig. 7).

Although race is not explicitly distinguished, the completely black or white figures allude to the transcendence of race in the spiritual realm. Afro-Cubans constitute the majority of—if not all—the members of the Abakuá society; Ayón's choice to represent these members in her work while in a type of liminal state rejects the idea of categorizing people on the basis of "race." Categorization as based on exterior physical qualities is absent in her renditions of those in the spiritual state—the relationships of the formal aspects of the artwork communicate harmony based on a sense of unity but also of individuality. Her work seems to be an embodiment of the realization proposed by Che Guevara: that the "new human being" would realize his/her individual place in society while also realizing that there must exist a genuine socio-political harmony in order to advance that society in a sustainable fashion. Her inclusion and representation of Afro-Cuban cosmologies places them as legitimate realities in the Cuban experience, instead of as distant exotic myths. Her synthesis of icons, images, and history from both sides of the diasporic experience offer an insight to and struggles and creativity of the process of transculturation.

The idea of transcendence is further investigated in the synthesis of two separate religious traditions and their new investment(s) of meaning. Robert Thompson observes that, "What is more, especially in Cuba and Brazil, New World Yoruba were introduced to the cult of Roman Catholic saints, learned their attributes, and worked out a series of parallelisms linking Christian figures and powers to the forces of their ancient deities."[82] Along with other artists, Ayón acknowledges the fusion of African traditions with those of Christianity and illustrates this relation in her images: particularly in the image *Untitled [Sikan, Nasako, and the Holy Spirit]* (Fig. 8). Here, two figures are represented in the same liminal framework with a mixture of symbols from both religious traditions. The material of the clothes drawn connotes an African aesthetic tradition that relies heavily on patterning and lines, while the dove symbolizing the Holy Spirit in Christian thought is placed in between the two figures. She also seems to distinguish those figures with a Christian association by employing a visual technique used in early Byzantine depictions of Christ, which placed a halo around the heads of holy characters. In this work, the dove and the figure on the viewer's right are shown with halos, while the figure in the back appears to gaze intently at the viewer as if to propose an assessment of the new depiction of figures using Christian iconographic imagery within a new Afro-Cuban context.

15. Conclusion

Contemporary Cuban artists have all learned something from the turbulent past of their nation. The position that they have come to occupy is a direct result of the developments of postmodern and postcolonial thought, sociopolitical thought, the aesthetic, and all the relations that exist between them. Through their art, new themes and points of departure for myriad discussions about memory, identity and authenticity are placed in the hands of

society. The boldness and unique aesthetic discourse(s) encourage contemplation on the part of the viewer, engaging people in various experiences through the visual narratives and perspectives of the artists. According to Enwezor, this visual incoherence—as a discourse—is that which defines the impact of post-colonialism and postmodernism on the aesthetic. He reveals: "Rather, this incoherence, far from being nonsense, is what is proper to contemporary art and therefore one of its salutary features, as it exposes the fault line that describes the interaction between former centers and peripheries, or the shifting, tenuous borders between the mainstream and the margin."[83] The Cuban Revolution and the confrontations it experienced with society aided in creating a culture that would be properly revolutionary [that is, it would destroy old unequal, ineffectual social structures and in its place create new social relations]. A consequence of decades of cultural debates over the role and autonomy of artists, the cultural sphere that the contemporary artists have inherited is necessarily revolutionary, in that it fosters and protects a culture of resistance, which prevents certain perspectives from becoming too dominant in representation. Within this atmosphere, the marginalized could begin to reclaim and recreate their identities and incorporate them in the new definition of *lo cubano*. The Afro-Cuban artists act as social motors in the modern context, as they are active participants in the construction of their culture, society, and most importantly, their own identities. These dialogues are the ways in which an equal and socially recognized *place* is being deliberated and brought to attention in contemporary Cuban society. The artists do not allow the collective memory to forget that the profusion of voices and incidents of the past are fundamental in their consideration of the creation of the future.

Figure 1. Wifredo Lam *The Jungle*, 1943 Gouache on paper

Figure 2. Manuel Arenas *Artificial Breathing*, 2010, Installation, aluminum, acrylic, ice, stainless steel, gold leaf, digital inkjet prints, leather, hair

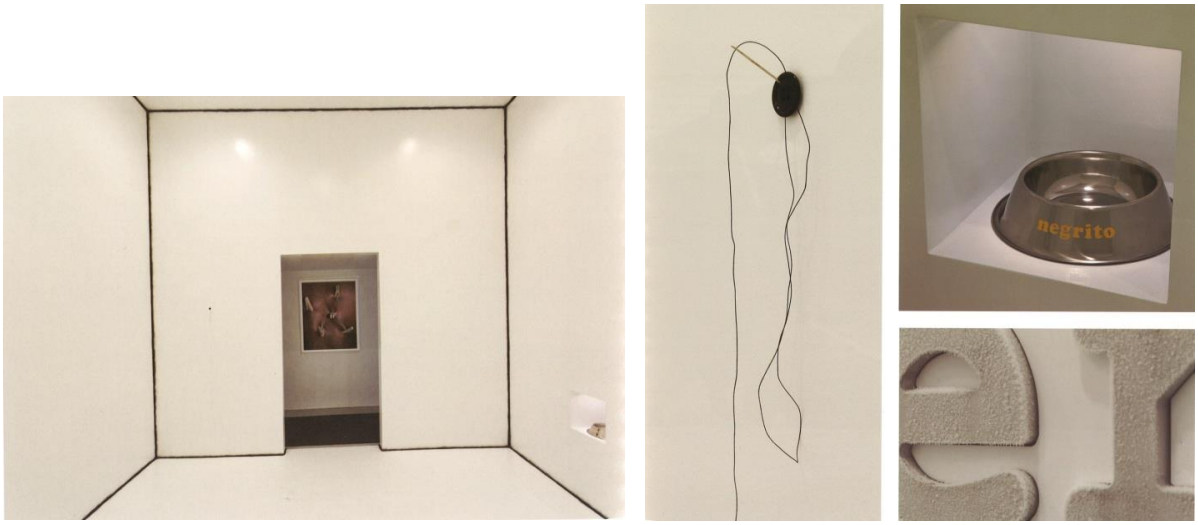

Figure 2a. Detail of different components of installation

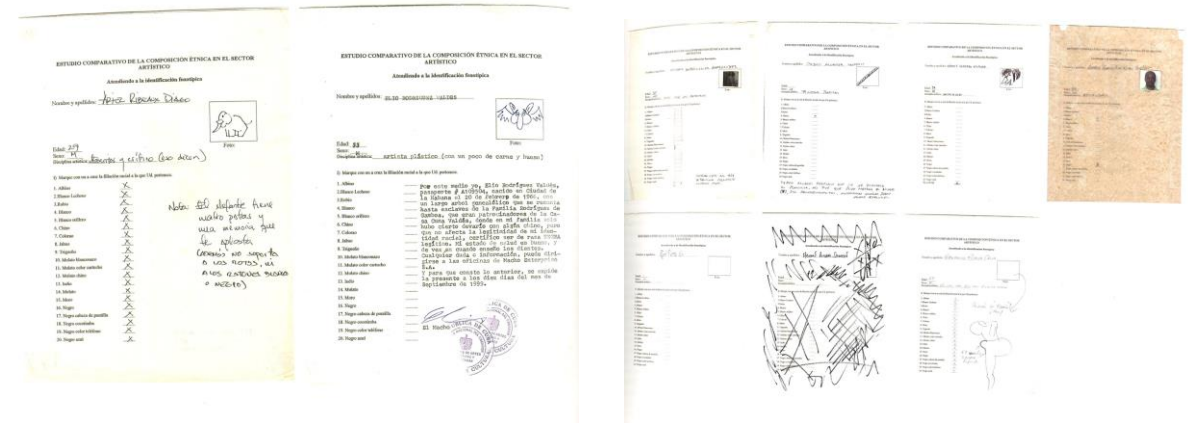

Figure 3. Alexis Esquivel, *Comparative Study of the Ethnic Composition of the Art Sector* Forms mocking the racial categorization of artists participating in *Queloides* 1999

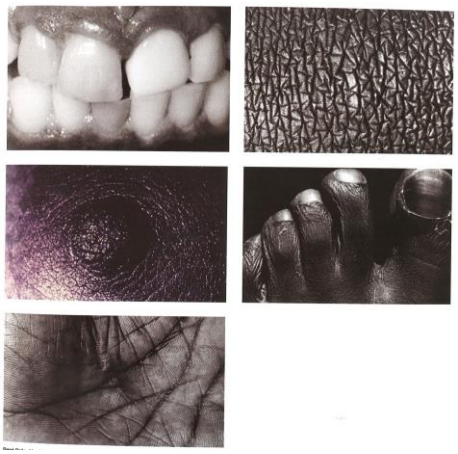

Figure 4. René Peña *Man Made Series*, 1998-2000
Gelatin silver print

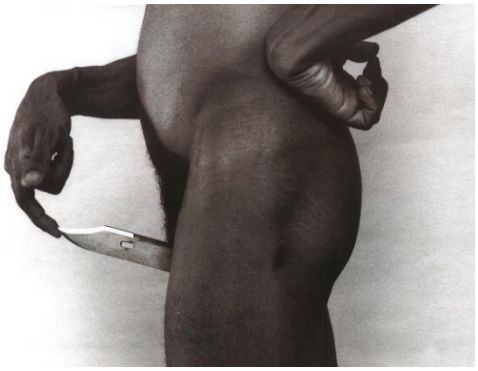

Figure 5. René Peña *Untitled*, 1994,
Gelatin silver print

Figure 6. Alexis Esquivel *Smile you won*!, 2010, Acrylic on canvas

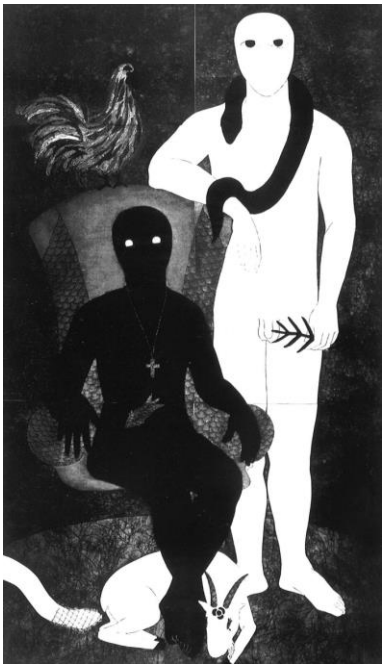

Figure 7. Belkis Ayón, *The Consecration*, 1991, Collagraph, 119.3 x 90.5 inches

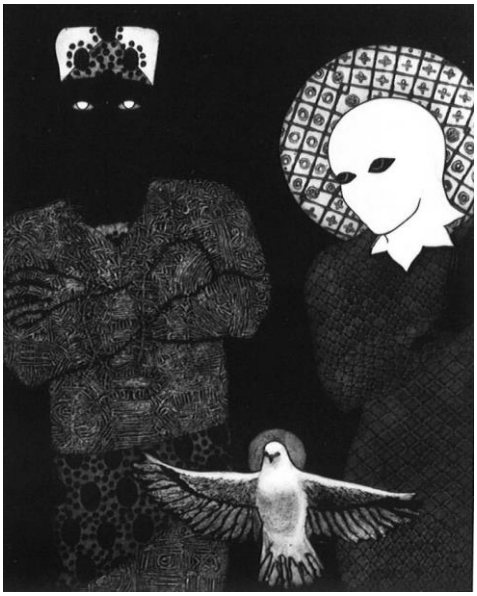

Figure 8. Belkis Ayón, *Untitled [Sikan, Nasako, and the Holy Spirit]*, 1993, Collagraph, 35 x 28 inches

16. Notes

1 Richard J. Powell, *Black Art and Culture in the 20th Century*, (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1997): 15.

2 Alejandro de la Fuente, "The New Afro-Cuban Cultural Movement and the Debate on Race in Contemporary Cuba," *Journal of Latin American Studies* Vol. 40 (2008): 697.

3 Louis A. Pérez, *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution (4th ed.)*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 67.

4 Ibid., 71.

5 Ibid., 73.

6 Eduardo Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1997), 86.

7 Pérez, *Cuba*, 67.

8 Pérez, *Cuba*, 49-50.

9 Maceo was a free man of color who joined the cause for independence. His activism and passion were based on the aforementioned *mestizaje* nationalist discourse, which celebrated the mixture of races that characterized Cuba. For Maceo, the emancipation of slaves on the island was equivalent to and inseparable from the liberation of the island.

10 Ibid.,109.

11 Esther Allen, ed. *José Martí: Selected Writings*, (New York: Penguin Books Ltd, 2002), 288.

12 Ibid., 294.

13 Martí has stated: "El hombre no tiene ningún derecho especial porque pertenezca a una raza u otra: digase hombre, y ya se dicen todos los derechos…No hay odio de razas, porque no hay razas…Todo lo que divide a los hombres, todo lo que los especifica, aparta o acorrala, es un pecado contra la humanidad." Antonio Maceo is also quoted in professing the idea of a raceless Cuba in noting: "La Revolución no tiene color." Jorge and Isabel Castellanos, *Cultura Afrocubana I: El negro en Cuba 1492-1844*, (Barcelona: Editorial Vosgos, 1988): 7.

14 Pérez, *Cuba*, 109.

15 Ibid., 290.

16 Fuente, *A Nation for All*, 53.

17 Pérez, *Cuba*, 137.

18 Ibid., 57.

19 Pérez, *Cuba*, 140.

20 Fuente, *A Nation for All*, 329.

21 Pérez, *Cuba*, 167.

22 David Luis-Brown, *Waves of Decolonization: Discourses of Race and Hemispheric Citizenship in Cuba, Mexico and the United States,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 199.

23 Galeano, *Open Veins*, 74.

24 Galeano, *Open Veins*, 75-76.

25 Fuente, *A Nation for All*, 280.

26 Fuente, *A Nation for All*, 315.

27 Ibid.

28 Pérez, *Cuba*, 246.

29 Ibid., 287.

30 Clive Foss, "Cuba's African Adventures," *History Today* Vol. 60 (March 2010): 2.

31 Ibid., 7.

32 Ibid., 3.

33 Ruth Reiten, "Cuba, the Black Panther Party and the US Black Movement in the 1960s: Issues of Security," (*New Political Science* 21.2, 1999), 223.

34 Peniel Joseph, "Where Blackness is Bright in Cuba: Africa and Black Liberation During the Age of Civil Rights," (*New Formations* 45, 2002), 117.

35 Ibid., 225.

36 This refers to the period of Modernism in painting and art.

37 Jacqueline Barnitz. *Twentieth-Century Art of Latin America*, (University of Texas Press, 2001), 41.

38 Ibid., 14.

39 Ibid., 121.

40 Mosquera, Gerardo. "Modernism from Afro-America: Wifredo Lam." In *Beyond the Fantastic: Contemporary art criticism from Latin America*, Ed. Gerardo Mosquera, (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996): 123-124.

41Robert Linsley, "Wifredo Lam: Painter of Negritude," *Art History* Vol. 11 (1988): 530.

42 García, Félix Valdés. "El discurso de Caliban, o de la filosofía en el Caribe." Caribbean Studies Vol. 37, No. 1 (Jan.-Jun. 2009): 196.

43 Peffer, John. "The diaspora as object." In: *Looking Both Ways. Art of the Contemporary African Diaspora*. New York: Museum for African Art, 2003. Page 25

44 Ibid.

45 Linsley, *Wifredo Lam*, 532.

46 Ibid., 539.

47 Ibid., 531.

48 Rolando E. Bonachea and Nelson Valdes, *Che: Selected Works of Ernesto Guevara,* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press), 157.

49 Ibid., 165.

50 Bonachea, *Che*, 160-161.

51 Ibid., 158.

52 Michael T. Martin, *New Latin American Cinema: Theory, Practices and Transcontinental Articulations*, Vol. 1. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997), 113.

53 Ibid., 110.

54 Barnitz, *Twentieth Century Art of Latin America*, 41.

55 Néstor García Canclini, "Modernity after Postmodernity," *Beyond the Fantastic: Contemporary Art Criticism from Latin America,* Ed. Gerardo Mosquera, (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996): 46.

56 Canclini, "Modernity after Postmodernity."

57 Mas'md Zavarzadeh, *Seeing Films Politically,* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), 91.

58 Elena Adell, "Representaciones del intelectual cubano (1986-1995): Memoria, identidad y "performance," (Diss. The University of Georgia, 2005).

59 The Cold War had created a general dichotomy in which everything was categorized: the division of "communist" and "capitalist" was one which artists attempt to break with, as it is inadequate in defining the complexities of history and identity.

60 Alejandro de la Fuente, "The New Afro-Cuban Cultural Movement and the Debate on Race in Contemporary Cuba," *Journal of Latin American Studies* vol. 40 (2008): 713.

61 Pérez, *Cuba*, 278.

62 Omar Pascual Castillo, "Fleeting Anecdotes and Stories of Escape From Slavery," in *Queloides: Race and Racism in Contemporary Cuban Art*. Ed. Alejandro de la Fuente, (Pittsburgh: Mattress Factory, 2010), 47.

63 Ibid., 45.

64 Okwui Enwezor, "Place-Making or in the "Wrong Place": Contemporary Art and the Postcolonial Condition," in *Diaspora, Memory, Place: David Hammons, Maria Magdalena Campos-Pons, Pamela Z.* Ed. Salah M. Hassan and Cheryl Finley, (NY: Prestel, 2008), 122.

65 Ana Belén Martín Sevillano, *Sociedad civil y arte en Cuba: cuento y artes plásticas en el cambio de siglo (1980-2000*), (Editorial verbum, 2010), 138. My translation.

66 Castillo, "Fleeting Anecdotes," 51.

67 Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 9.

68 Fuente, "The New Afro-Cuban Cultural Movement," 716.

69 By Occidental, I am referring to the West, as a cultural and economic entity.

70 Owenzor, "Place-Making," 112.

71 An example of this is the biennial form of exhibition-making which:

[…] emerged as the preeminent global forum for organizing the multiple positions of contemporary artistic practice. Biennials, especially those occurring outside Europe and North America, such as the influential and unabashedly ideological Havana Biennial, confronted and attacked the premise of the earlier modernist dichotomy that divided the world civilizationally: between enlightened cultural centers and inferior deculturalized peripheries, between progressive avant-garde mainstreams and atomized, stagnated margins, between modern artists and ethnic bricoleurs. (Owenzor)71

72 Nelly Richard, "Postmodern Decentrednesses and Cultural Periphery: The Disalignments and Realignments of Cultural Power," in *Beyond the Fantastic: Contemporary Art Criticism from Latin America,* Ed. Gerardo Mosquera, (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996), 260-269.

73 Caridad Blanco de la Cruz, "Manuel Arenas," in *Queloides: Race and Racism in Contemporary Cuban Art*, Ed. Alejandro de la Fuente, (Pittsburgh: Mattress Factory, 2010), 82.

74 Ibid., 84.

75 Dennys Matos, "Racism: Parody and Postcommunism," in *Queloides: Race and Racism in Contemporary Cuban Art*, edited by Alejandro de la Fuente (Pittsburgh: Mattress Factory, 2010), 62.

76 David Mateo, "René Peña: The Duplicity of the Performer," in *Queloides: Race and Racism in Contemporary Cuban Art*, (Pittsburgh: Mattress Factory, 2010), 132.

77 Linsley, *Wifredo Lam*, 534.

78 Fuente, "The New Afro-Cuban Cultural Movement," 709.

79 Dannys Montes Oca de Moreda, "Transcendent Belkis Ayón," *Queloides: Race and Racism in Contemporary Cuban Art*, (Pittsburgh: Mattress Factory, 2010), 92.

80 Ibid.

81 Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African & Afro-American Art & Philosophy*, (1983), 9.

82 Ibid.

83 Owenzor, "Place-Making," 115.

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