

The Measure of a Revolution: Cuba 1959-2009

List of Abstracts

**Adell, Elena, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Foreign Languages Department,
University of North Carolina**

Los goliardos de El establo: acciones contraculturales y rol del intelectual. Durante los últimos años de la década de los ochenta se produce un interesante fenómeno que consiste en el vínculo entre artistas e intelectuales de diversos ámbitos. El afán es el de aunar estrategias con el fin de dar con múltiples discursos que logren descentralizar el oficial. De esta manera se produce una unión entre artistas plásticos y escritores. En esta ponencia, me propongo estudiar los productos que surgen de esta fusión, prestando especial atención a los miembros del grupo *El Establo*. Se trata de un grupo de artistas y escritores que se autodefinían como iconoclastas y que practicaban la llamada “poética del escándalo”. Fueron ellos los que desarrollaron las llamadas “establadas” o *happenings* que pretendían concienciar al ciudadano de los problemas más apremiantes de la realidad —muchos de estos encuentros tenían lugar en la conocida esquina entre 23 y G, irónicamente amparados, como dice la investigadora Margarita Mateo Palmer, en un costado por la Universidad de La Habana y en el otro por Casa de las Américas. Posteriormente sus “hazañas” quedaron registradas en textos, cuentos fundamentalmente, con los que se quería dar una cierta perpetuidad al trabajo realizado así como fusionarlo con el género literario para que alcanzara otro tipo de resonancia. Algunos de los representantes más conocidos de esta agrupación son Ricardo Arrieta, Raúl Aguiar y Ronaldo Menéndez. En este trabajo se hace un estudio de su obra así como del ejercicio de auto-representación que en ella llevan a cabo. Se debaten cuestiones relacionadas con el rol del intelectual, su responsabilidad y su tendencia a la (auto)mitificación, situando estas reflexiones en el contexto inmediatamente anterior al Periodo Especial. El estudio del trabajo llevado a cabo por estos artistas es fundamental para entender la trayectoria de la historia intelectual de la revolución así como la definición de lo marginal en lo que se refiere a la producción cultural.

The goliardic nature of the people of *El establo*: countercultural actions and considerations of the role of the intellectual on the verge of the Special Period.

During the eighties artists and intellectuals from different fields come together and unite in different projects. The goal is to produce a polyphonic discourse that could decentralize the official one. In this paper, my objective is to study the products that result from this effort, paying special attention to the members of the group that came to be known as *El Establo*. They were a group of plastic artists and writers who defined themselves as iconoclasts, practicing the so called “poética del escándalo” and locating themselves in the margins of the cultural production of the Revolution. They were responsible for several happenings the goal of which was to highlight the most important and persistent problems of Cuban society in the years that preceded the Special Period. Later on, during the nineties, some of these events were reflected on texts with which the authors wanted to give certain perpetuity to the efforts of these young artists. At the same time, a new resonance was sought after and achieved for these happenings / deeds when they were recorded using literary strategies. Some of the most representative authors of this group are Ricardo Arrieta, Ronaldo Menéndez and Raúl Aguiar. This paper analyses

questions related to the role of the intellectual, the interactions between the fields of power and culture, and the (de)mystification of the intellectual.

Alfonso, Maria Isabel, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Department of Modern Languages, St. Joseph's College

Narratives de una Cuba post-soviética: entre utopías y distopías / Narratives of a post-Soviet Cuba: between utopias and reality. The collapse of the Soviet Union caused not only a restructuring of Cuba's economic order but also the reorganization of Cuban cultural narratives that make up Cuba's cultural landscape. One of the fundamental elements of this process is the introduction of these products to the international market, which generates a series of narratives based on themes such *jineterismo*, eroticism, and ruins. In response to this phenomenon called "dirty realism", narratives on the island have vacillated between the production of a critical discourse that explicitly questions the ethics of this marketing, and the production of works that stray from that view of Cuban culture.

Additionally, there are two other parallel narratives. There are those who leave the island, and whether for personal reasons or as a way of marketing themselves, generate schisms and displaced critiques, thus gaining ground in the new cultural field they wish to join. Then there are those who leave but return to collaborate and renovate the island's cultural corps, through a rather neutral and collaborative discourse.

In this paper, I will examine these themes through some works of Karla Suárez, Agnieszka Hernández Díaz, Jorge Fonet, William Vivanco, and Descemer Bueno, among others. I hope to acknowledge and describe new Cuban cultural narratives that have evolved since the collapse of the Soviet Union, as well as analyze their place within this big narrative entrapped between utopia and reality.

Alvarado Beatriz E, Zunzunegui, Maria-Victoria, Beland, François, Bamvita, Jean-Marie, Groupe de Recherche Interdisciplinaire en Santé, Université de Montréal

Life course social and health conditions linked to frailty in older men and women in Havana, Cuba. Frailty is defined as a biologic syndrome of decreased reserve and resistance to stressors, resulting from cumulative declines across multiple physiologic systems, and causing vulnerability to adverse outcomes. This definition distinguishes frailty from comorbidity and disability. Frailty in fact may identify highly vulnerable persons for adverse health outcomes and increase utilization of health services. Markers of frailty include age-associated declines in lean body mass, strength, endurance, balance, walking performance, and low activity. Social conditions acting during the life span could explain the frailty syndrome. Our work addresses two specific hypotheses: 1) life-course social and health conditions are associated with frailty; and 2) differential exposure and/or vulnerability of women and men to life-course conditions may account for gender differences in frailty. Data originated from a cross-national survey of older

adults living in Havana, Cuba, were compared with data from four other LAC cities: Bridgetown, Sao Paulo, Mexico and Santiago de Chile. Our results show that 46% of women and 26% of men are considered as frail in Havana. We have observed that gender and early life conditions are significantly and consistently associated with frailty after 60 years of age in all five cities. Across cities, women and those who had experienced impoverished childhoods had higher frailty scores across cities. Lacking schooling, as well as having a manual occupation, being a housewife and experiencing perceived economic hardship later in life were related to higher levels of frailty. Our results have supported the hypothesis that disadvantages existing in early life and reproduced along the life course account for the physical frailty syndrome, in Havana as well as in the other cities. Our results support the hypothesis that women age with higher levels of frailty than men.

Alvarez Pérez, Adolfo & Pagliccia, Nino, Instituto Nacional de Higiene Epidemiología y Microbiología, La Habana

The Cuban Experience in Public Health. Does Political Will have a Role? The excellent achievements in population health in Cuba during the last 50 years have been widely recognized, particularly when observed in relation to the country's scarce economic resources. Researchers have sought to explain this "Cuban paradox" by focusing on a large array of public health factors including the healthcare system, health promotion activities, primary care action, and intersectoral action on health determinants. While these factors may constitute a necessary condition in order to obtain good health outcomes, it may not be a sufficient condition. The role of political will as a catalyst factor has been ignored. Only recently the international public health discourse is beginning to recognize the importance of "creating political will" in public health as a necessary factor. Interestingly, in Cuba political will and community participation have been very much part of the social context especially in public health.

This paper briefly reviews Cuba's healthcare achievements and then attempts to make a case for the role of political will as the catalyst factor in the Cuban case. The evolution of political will is examined in the Cuban context. The process that creates political will in Cuba is explored and described through the experience of decision-makers and community leaders. Initial hypotheses identify three main characteristics; political will must be: a) genuine, that is, must be void of ideology; b) consequent, that is, consistent with the national discourse on public health; and c) a shared State-Society responsibility, that is, the State acts jointly with the community.

Andaya, Elise, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Albany

Engendering the Future: Gender, Progress, and Modernity in Cuba. The social and economic re-organization of Cuban society after the fall of the Soviet Union has forced a

re-thinking of foundational socialist narratives. As is well-known, orthodox socialist narratives viewed the "uplift" of women, particularly their incorporation into the workforce, as central both to their emancipation and to the modernization of society. In Cuba, after almost fifty years of state attention to the "modernization" of women, many women readily argue that women have "progressed" while men have been left behind. Indeed, in 2004 women comprised some 63.3% of university graduates and some 66% of the certified labor force. In the post-Soviet period, moreover, Cuban social scientists evince a concern with Cuban masculinity, arguing that the upheavals of the Special Period have caused men to abandon their parental roles in the family, leave state employment for the more lucrative informal and black market economy, and abandon the island itself.

My research, based on 16 months of ethnographic fieldwork (2001-2005), as well as interviews with women, men, and Cuban academics on reproduction, kinship, and gender in the post-Soviet period thus suggests a new concern with the problem of producing men as properly socialized (and socialist) citizens in the post-Soviet era. In this paper, I consider the situation of women and family life in late-socialism. At the same time, I argue that socialism's infamous "woman problem" may be becoming the "man problem" in ways that reconfigure socialist narratives about gender, modernity, and progress in Cuba.

August, Arnold, Independent Writer and Lecturer, Montreal, Canada

The Functioning of the Cuban State at all Levels. The paper critically examines the Cuban state's functioning: the Municipal Council and within this echelon the lowest grass roots people's councils, the provincial assemblies, and the national assembly or parliament.

While the scope deals with the current situation in 2008/2009, the paper also provides an introductory historical context from the late 1950s to the present: 50 years of evolution, problems and changes.

The method is based on my most recent field research during 2007/2008. I will have attended and shall further be present at sessions of my case study Municipal Assembly, one of its People's Councils and the National Assembly. I am also carrying out dozens of frank interviews with local elected delegates and citizens as well as presidents of the municipal assembly and people's council. Special emphasis is being placed on the parliament: many open-ended and unrestricted interviews with deputies who are presidents or members of the parliament's permanent working commissions.

This field research is combined with the study of the opinions and facts provided by researchers within and outside Cuba. My main idea is thus to present a balanced and objective conclusion: the pros and cons of the current system. The deduction specifically deals with the following issue: the extent to which sovereignty really resides in the hands of the people at all state levels according to the Cuban constitution and the ideals presented over the last 50 years. The past, the present and the future success of the Cuban state/citizen relationship at all levels has depended and depends, among other points, on the extent to which this has and has not been accomplished.

Austin, David, co-founder of The Alfie Roberts Institute and faculty member, Concordia University's School and Community and Public Affairs. Montreal, Quebec

The Challenges of Revolution: The Alfie Roberts-Tim Hector Debate, 1966-1967. In the mid-1960s several Caribbean nationals formed the Montreal-based Caribbean Conference Committee (CCC). The CCC was arguably the single-most important catalyst for the Anglophone Caribbean New Left and its members influenced political developments across the Anglophone Caribbean, including the Grenada Revolution. From the outset, CCC members were avid supporters of the Cuban Revolution, and in the case of two of the group's former members – Tim Hector and Rosie Douglas– they would later play an important role in forging links between the Anglophone Caribbean and Cuba. During a 1966-1967 CCC internal discussion, Tim Hector and Alfie Roberts debated aspects of the Cuban Revolution. Drawing on the ideas of their mentor C.L.R. James along with F. Fanon, and Lenin, among others, while Hector raised questions about the level of mass participation in the Cuban Revolution, Roberts argued that Fidel Castro was taking steps to curb bureaucratic excess and to decentralized political power. Roberts also drew the editors of Monthly Review as well as Raya Dunayevskaya of News and Letters and Martin Glaberman of Facing Reality in Detroit into the debate, imploring them to pay closer attention to Cuba's discussion on bureaucracy and the challenges confronting the small socialist island surrounded by a sea of U.S. hostility. In teasing out the details of this debate, I will argue that it not only contributes to our understanding of Cuba's political evolution over the past fifty years, but also informs our understanding of the dynamics and exigencies of socialist struggle and revolutionary politics.

Azicri, Max Edinboro, Professor, Political Science and Criminal Justice Department, University of Pennsylvania

Cuba and Venezuela: The Continental Impact of a Revolutionary Alliance. The Cuban socialist government and the Venezuelan Bolivarian regime have established a collaborative and solidarity alliance that has had an impact beyond their borders, reaching regional politics and countries. The web of trade and technical service agreements (exchanging strategic commodities like oil and medical services and technical assistance) between Cuba and Venezuela became a model for regional exchanges through the Bolivarian Initiative for the Americas, ALBA. In opposition to the Free Trade of the Americas (FTAA), the Washington Consensus and neoliberalism, ALBA promotes hemispheric unity (championing Simon Bolivar's legacy of a united Latin America), and safeguarding the region from the influence and control exercised by the U.S., and financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund, IMF.

This paper will examine the institutional, political, and ideological foundations of the Cuba-Venezuela alliance (including the close relationship between Fidel Castro and Hugo Chávez), focusing on its broad regional impact, especially through programs like ALBA and other initiatives. The possible convergence between the extant regimes in Havana (socialism) and in Caracas (Bolivarianism), under the leadership of Presidents Raúl Castro and Hugo Chávez, will be discussed. Moving apparently in different directions, Raúl Castro's policies are retrenching the Cuban system from earlier state control levels, while Hugo Chávez is currently moving towards a 21st century socialism, having decreed the nationalization of several economic sectors. The nature of the regimes that could emerge from this change process, and its regional impact in Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and elsewhere, will be examined too.

Backer, Larry Catá, Professor of Law, Pennsylvania State University

Cuba and the Construction of Alternative Global Trade Systems: ALBA and Free Trade in the Americas. ALBA (Alternativa Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América), the command economy alternative to the free trade model of globalization, is one of the greatest and least understood contributions of Cuba to the current conversation about globalization and economic harmonization. Originally conceived as a means for forging a unified front against the United States by Cuba and Venezuela, the organization now includes Nicaragua, Honduras, Dominica, and Bolivia. ALBA is grounded in the notion that globalization cannot be left to the private sector but must be overseen by the state in order to maximize the welfare of its citizens. The purpose of this paper is to carefully examine ALBA as both a system of free trade and as a nexus point for legal and political resistance to economic globalization and legal internationalism sponsored by developed states. The paper starts with an examination of ALBA's ideology and institutionalization. It then examines ALBA as both trade organization and as political vehicle for confronting the power of developed states. The paper then compares the model of ALBA with that of traditional regional trade organizations, with a focus on the Free Trade Area of the Americas and the European Union. ALBA presents an ideological and functional alternative and challenge to transnational institutions built on the operating assumptions of economic globalization, and the developing convergence of public and private law. As such, it may represent one of Cuba's greatest triumphs and also its greatest challenge to the normative tenets of the current framework of economic globalization.

Bain, Mervyn, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Aberdeen

Havana and Moscow 1959-2009: the Enduring Relationship? This paper will examine the relationship between Havana and Moscow in the period from 1959 to 2009 and analyse the reasons and pressures which explain why it originally developed, lasted throughout

the Soviet era and after a dramatic downturn in the years 1992-1994 has continued to be of importance for both countries.

The reasons and pressures that were originally responsible for the appearance of what appeared at first due to both geographical distance and lack of a shared heritage an unlikely union will be outlined. Chief amongst these were Havana's desire to change its relationship with Washington, a more expansive global Soviet foreign policy and the Cold War setting in which these events took place. However, others that would underpin the relationship for the next 30 years very quickly augmented these original pressures. Moreover, throughout this period yet more appeared that would further cement its solid foundations.

Many of these pressures began to be questioned during the Gorbachev era due to the reform processes introduced in both countries but the disintegration of the Soviet Union that simultaneously ended Cuban-Soviet relations resulted in a number simply vanishing. This partly explains the downturn in relations from 1992 to 1994. However, others survived this "cataclysm" to impact on the relationship in the 1990s, which not only was never completely terminated but also began to improve as the decade progressed. This improvement is explained by amongst others a huge legacy from the Soviet era and the fact that remarkably some pressures from the Soviet era have re-emerged, although at a reduced level, to once again be significant. In addition to analysing the reasons and pressures that have been and continue to be crucial in Havana's relationship with Moscow some thoughts for possible future scenarios will also be given.

**Balaisis, Nicholas, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Communication and Culture,
York University**

Towards a Historiographic Understanding of Mobile Cinema in Cuba. The focus of my conference paper will address the role of history in the discursive articulation of the Cuban Revolution. In particular, I wish to discuss the role of cinema and cinema's history in Cuba and suggest how this history might have contributed to the broader historiographic project of the Cuban Revolution. To do this, I will first outline some of the ways that history has been employed in the service of the Cuban Revolution, describing the important discursive significance of history within the general rhetoric of the Cuban Revolution. I will then discuss the discourse around the mobile cinema campaign – the Revolution's attempt to bring cinema to the margins of Cuban society. I will then offer some ways of reading these discourses *historiographically*: as a particular narrative of Cuban history from the perspective of the Revolution. Following Hayden White's categorization of different historiographical modes, I will suggest that the "history" of mobile cinema is fundamentally *romantic*. This mode allows mobile cinema to serve an important discursive function: it both embodies the promises represented by revolutionary modernity (technological advancement, cultural literacy, etc.) while simultaneously preserving notions of authentic rural Cuban identity that the Revolution threatens to unsettle.

Barnet, Miguel, Vicepresident of the National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba (UNEAC)

The role of the Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba and its future direction. La presentación abordará algunos elementos sobre las características, peculiaridades y proyección futura de la Unión Nacional de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba (UNEAC), organización no gubernamental cubana que agrupa a los artistas e intelectuales de la Isla. Particular atención se brindará a cómo se vienen cumpliendo los acuerdos adoptados en el último congreso de esta organización, que marcó un importante momento en los debates que se suscitan en la sociedad cubana contemporánea.

The presentation will address some of the characteristics, particularities and future direction of the Unión Nacional de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba (UNEAC), the non-governmental organization that brings together artists and intellectuals of the island. Particular attention will be paid to the implementation of the resolutions adopted in the last congress of this organization, which marked an important moment in the debates that are occurring in contemporary Cuban society.

Becker, Hilary, Eric Sprott School of Business, Carleton University

Sustainable Tourism in Cuba. The early 1990's represented a critical time in the Cuban economy. The collapse of the Soviet Union created a need to fundamentally shift the economic policy of the government to establish means of receiving hard currency. The Ministry of Tourism (MINTUR) represented a key component of the new strategy which involved an opening of the closed Cuban economy to a market economy and allowed for new foreign direct investment into Cuba. The present paper will discuss the history of the decision process involved in this fundamental shift and the continued development to sustainability of the Cuban Tourism market in the Caribbean and Global Tourism markets.

The paper will focus on the project currently under way between the World Wildlife Fund, The Fundación Antonio Nunez del Hombre, Transat A.T., and MINTUR, which is addressing sustainable tourism through strategic sustainable tourism measures and the development of ecotourism products within four regions of Western Cuba, namely Varadero, Cienega de Zapata, Viñales and Las Terrazas. The paper will also address the use of Blue Ocean Strategy in the development process.

Belen Martin-Sevillano, Ana, Assistant Professor, Department of Spanish and Italian, Queen's University

Visual ideology. The crafting of the Nation in the Artwork. The theoretical basis for this paper rests in two well-known theories about the Nation: Benedict Anderson's view of

Nationalism as a whole ideological system that lies behind a cultural and a social structure, and Homi Bhabha's analysis of the Nation as a dynamic and renegotiable entity that acquires a different texture with any new generation that joins the community that shapes it. In this light, this paper will analyze how specific political projects (including that of the Revolution) have incorporated the ideology of Nationalism in Cuba, and how the artwork becomes the visual manifestation of this ideological discourse that runs from Cuba's wars for independence to the present. Together with literature, visual arts have been instrumental when forging national imaginaries, especially in societies with a high rate of illiteracy. Thus, the ideological use of the visual is carried out in two parallel, but distinct domains: the State and the Public Sphere. If the first makes use of visual means to construct a certain iconic image of itself, the second provides an alternative picture with a wide range of popular culture elements. By analyzing recognized Cuban artwork that originated in both realms, this paper will show how the Cuban Nation has been discussed and negotiated, as well as how its texture has developed, placing an especial emphasis in the Revolution period.

Beliso-De Jesús, Aisha M., Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Anthropology, Stanford University

A Genealogy of Santería: National Heritage and Transnational Circulation. Santería is currently recognized as an internationally practiced cult-religion that finds its origins in Cuba via Africa. Envisioning Santería as an African "retention" has been strategically useful in order to both celebrate it as a site of cultural heritage and black resistance, as well as produce economic revenue for both the state and individual Santeros through its hailing as a national Cuban product. However in this paper, I argue that this static perception of Santería, continues to reify problematic notions of tradition versus modernity, as well as erases past and current injustices that have occurred and continue to be enacted within and through ideas of Santería. Part of a larger paper, this work links three historically layered, interconnected, but distinct phenomena in order to understand the historical production of Santería as a discourse of power and knowledge in Cuba: I examine first, colonial violence and terror; second, anthropology of Santería; and third, current transnational circulations of religious tourism and media. Complicating the common assumption that envisions Santería as simply an "African retention" I argue that the co-productions and negotiations between "tradition" and "modernity," "Africa" and "the West," "race and sex" are constantly rearticulated in the everyday practices of Santería. Although these ideas do not automatically explain the historical practices and contemporary constructions of Santería, I argue that they must be critically interrogated in order to understand Santería. Using a Foucauldian genealogy (1977) which excavates the depths of truths and emphasizes discontinuities, this paper examines the ruptures and recuperations of Santería as a national discourse and transnational circulation in the management, disciplining and organizing of populations.

Benjamin-Alvarado, Jonathan & Petrow, Gregory, Office of Latino and Latin American Studies, University of Nebraska at Omaha

Stability, Transition and Regime Approval in Post-Fidel Cuba. Little quantitative analysis has been conducted to ascertain the extent to which the Cuban people approve of the current regime, and the extent to which those attitudes and perceptions will condition or influence the trajectory of stability or transition toward democratic governance in the post-Fidel environment. Utilizing Cuban public opinion data collected under the auspices of the Gallup World Poll©, we estimate a structural equation model to evaluate the possibility of Cuban regime stability and transition.

To that end we expect that the high levels of satisfaction with Cuba's current system of governance, and the on-going policy changes impacting personal liberties, may mitigate the demand for implementing a full transition to democracy. Specifically, we test the notion that a Cuban collective identity exists based in the egalitarian values of the Cuban revolution, and that this identity leads to regime support. While we allow that there may be a rise of expectations on behalf of the Cuban people for more changes – it does not necessarily imply a demand for regime change.

The policy implications of this analysis are significant. First, it may signal that if the regime possesses both the willingness and capacity to make changes sufficient enough so that it can satisfy and placate the Cuban people, we should expect little change in the system of governance. Second, this will impact both the scope and objectives of U.S. foreign policy vis-à-vis Cuba over the immediate and near term.

Berthier, Nancy, Université Paris-Est

Fidel Castro and the "mise en corps" (setting body) of discourse: the "iconic relationship". Since 1959, Fidel Castro's political speeches have become famous not only for their rhetoric, but for their "mise en corps" (voice, body language, movement, ritual and device representations, and the overall effect on an audience). The latter, based on an "iconic relationship" unique in contemporary political history, is captured in exemplary fashion in the 1960 Asamblea general, a film by Cuban director Tomas Gutierrez Alea, produced by ICAIC (Instituto Cubano de Arte e Industria Cinematográficos), itself created in 1959. In September 1960, the director captured one of the founding speeches of Fidel Castro, delivered at the first General Assembly of the People of Cuba (a speech better known as the First Declaration of Havana, La primera y segunda Declaración de La Habana, New York, Pathfinder, 2007) and, employing an edgy montage, succeeds in fifteen minutes to establish the major features of the "iconic relationship" which would characterize for several decades the "mise en corps" of the speeches of Fidel Castro.

Blue, Sarah A., Department of Geography, Northern Illinois University

International Solidarity as a Household Survival Mechanism?: International Missions, Remittances and Socio-Economic Equality. Medical diplomacy has been part of Cuba's international diplomacy since the inception of the Cuban Revolution. Cuba's use of health professionals as an export commodity is a strategy that has economic as well as symbolic returns. Cuba currently has tens of thousands of health professionals working in at least 68 countries around the world. While Cuban medical, disaster, and educational support missions have a decades-long history, Cuban missions have recently undergone a major expansion thanks to the financial support of Venezuela's Hugo Chavez. According to the Economist Intelligence Unit, non-tourism services exports--most of which is medical services--doubled (from US\$1.2 to US\$2.4 billion) from 2003 to 2005. Non-tourism services are now earning more hard currency for the Cuban economy than is tourism, which earned US\$2.3 billion (gross earnings) in 2005. At the same time, the dual economy in Cuba continues to provide a substantive incentive to work abroad as a means to access hard currency and domestic goods that are not available in Cuba. This paper explores the economic dimensions of Cuba's international missions at the household level in the context of unequal access to a dual economy. It emphasizes the varied motivations and individual sacrifices involved for individual Cuban workers. Cuban expansion of its international missions highlights the challenges faced by Cuban policy makers to exploit its human capital and promote positive international diplomacy while also providing sustainable economic options for Cuban professionals at home.

Bolender, Keith, Lecturer, School of Continuing Education, University of Toronto

Cuba's War Against Terrorism: A Society Under Siege. Since the earliest days of the Revolution, Cuba has suffered an estimated 5,000 terrorist attacks from counter-revolutionary organizations, the vast majority originating from Florida. The result has been the death of more than 4,000 civilians with thousands more injured. Incidents include the bombing of the Cubana Airlines in 1976, with the loss of 76 lives, the second worst act of air terrorism in the Americas. Cubans have suffered from hundreds of bombings, attacks on sugar cane and tobacco fields, biological warfare and the psychological terror of Operation Peter Pan which led parents to send more than 14,000 of their children out of country, often alone to an unknown fate in a foreign land. Dengue 2, introduced intentionally into Cuba in the early 1980s, caused the deaths of more than 100 children. In the 1990s terrorist acts targeted hotels and tourist facilities. Terrorist activities continue to this day. An examination of this largely unknown struggle, including the effect it has had on Cuban society as a consequence, will be explored by Keith Bolender, author of the forthcoming book, *Voices from the Other Side: An Oral History of Terrorism Against Cuba* (Editorial Jose Marti). Cuban society has had to devote precious resources to combat this war, and resultant government policies in order to ensure national security have often produced international condemnation of restriction of civil and human rights. Since the earliest days of the Revolution Cuba's war against terrorism has forced the government to adopt a siege mentality in order to protect itself, and its citizens. The paper will examine the results of the government's siege mentality in context to national policies and international relations. The paper will also consist of a

historical overview of this war on terrorism, and an in-depth assessment of its social, political and economic impact on Cuban society. In addition, focus will be placed on the influence the battle against terrorism has had on Cuba's policy making process towards the United States since the Revolution, and on the continuing antagonist relationship between the two countries.

Borroto López, Lino Tomás, Professor, Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLASCO)

1959-2009: Cuban Education, Development and Challenges. The educational process may be considered one of the most remarkable phenomena of Cuba's revolution. The paper will analyze the development of the Cuban educational system after 1959. It will evaluate the different moments and milestones in these 50 years from the literacy campaign to the highest degree of university education. Emphasis is done on programs and methods at Primary, Secondary, and High School levels. The paper will consider the author's experience of being the Principal at the Pedagogical Institute and will ponder the development and forthcoming challenges for the 21st Century.

Boudreault-Fournier, Alexandrine, Université de Montréal

The Reggaetón Craze: Cuban Youth in a Time of Change. At the beginning of the 2000s, reggaetón, a Caribbean phenomenon, became the most popular music genre among young Cubans, surpassing timba and Cuban salsa in some regions of the island such as in the province of Santiago de Cuba. This paper explores the various ideological referents implicated in the production of reggaetón, known for its scandalous and individualist nature. Indeed, the genre's peculiarities clash at the ideological level with most revolutionary principles. Yet, this paper explores this phenomenon outside of a resistance and contestation model. In addition, the paper highlights the meanings and dynamics attached to this music genre and develops what its extreme popularity can reveal about contemporary Cuban youth. From a discursive perspective for instance, the paper addresses how reggaetoneros –producers of reggaetón –articulate alternative nationalist and revolutionary sentiments. Interactions between reggaetoneros and local state representatives further shed light on how these young Cubans relate to revolutionary ideological principles. This paper is based on more than 15 months of fieldwork in Santiago de Cuba from 2005 to 2007.

Brenner, Philip, School of International Studies, American University & Castro Mariño, Soraya, Centro de Estudios sobre los Estados-Unidos, Universidad de La Habana

The Limits of "Confidence-Building": Negotiating Cuban-U.S. Points of Contention. Relations between Cuba and the United States grew increasingly tense during the two Bush Administrations. By the end of 2008, official contact between the two countries was very limited. Even scheduled periodic negotiations over immigration issues had been curtailed. Yet the current circumstances do not forecast the future, because earlier moments of hostility were relieved by negotiations between the two countries over specific disagreements that could be resolved.

With the expectation that similar negotiations could be possible in the future, this paper examines how ten points of contention (five Cuban and five U.S.) might be negotiated successfully, taking into account the goals of each country, and the domestic and international political considerations each might bring to the table. The five Cuban issues are: (1) Release the "Cuban Five" from prison, and return them to Cuba; (2) Adhere to the terms of the suspended 1972 anti-hijacking agreement, including the extradition of Luis Posada Carriles; (3) Relax travel restrictions on Cuban-Americans seeking to visit families in Cuba; (4) Remove cumbersome restrictions on Cuban purchases of U.S. food and medicines; (5) Develop a coordination plan for drug interdiction. The five U.S. issues are: (1) Release Cuban political prisoners; (2) Extradite U.S. fugitives living in Cuba; (3) Reduce travel restrictions for Cubans; (4) Cease the harassment of U.S. officials in Cuba; (5) Develop a plan to protect animal and plant-life in the Florida Straits from the consequences of oil drilling.

Success in these negotiations undoubtedly would help to reduce tension between the two countries, if for no other reason than they will have removed ten grievances. However, the paper concludes, for the negotiations to serve as confidence-building measures that might engender further rapprochement, the underlying basis for each country's lack of confidence in the other would need to be addressed and removed.

Bronfman, Alejandra, Department of History, University of British Columbia

Batista is Dead: Radio and Political Violence in 1950s Cuba. Historians of Cuba have used the 1950's as the platform from which to dive into the revolution. These histories have been concerned largely with finding ways to explain and analyze overwhelming support for the rebels from many sectors of society, or with individuals and their actions as they contributed (or not) to the day when everything changed, January 1st, 1959. This practice has provided many insights, telling one of the most compelling stories in Latin American history. But the 1950's might also be envisioned as a collection of consequences rather than a collection of causes, the successor rather than the predecessor. And in doing so what might emerge is an impression of shared understandings and political practices alongside the stark divisions so often said to characterize this moment in Cuban history. This paper will use one incident in 1957, the false broadcasts of Batista's assassination, to argue that all actors in this story shared an understanding of the importance of communications technologies and the flow of information. As much as anything else, the struggle between political opponents in 1950's Cuba was over the control of technologies of information.

Brotherton, P. Sean, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Yale University

Fueling la Revolución: Transactional Humanitarianism, Medical Diplomacy, and "the struggle for socialism" in 21st Cuba. This paper examines Cuba's recent export of medical doctors throughout the world for hard currency. Specifically, I focus on several case studies, including the Barrio Adentro (Inside the Barrio) program, where over 20,000 Cuban physicians are working in Venezuelan communities providing medical care in exchange for hard currency and subsidized petroleum, popularly known as "the oil-for-aid deal." I examine the Cuban state's recent mobilization of biomedicine as a technology of politics and the effective integration of medical expertise into its strategies of corporate governance under the banner of the "struggle for socialism". In doing so, I explore how the moral legitimacy of the state is both challenged and maintained by the Cuban government's foreign aid policies, commonly referred to as "international proletarianism."

Brown, Jonathan C., University of Texas at Austin

The Cuba Counterrevolution and Its Foreign Supporters, 1959-1965. This paper will explore the development of internal opposition to Fidel's consolidation of revolutionary power, its explosion into guerrilla warfare in the Escambray Mountains, its move offshore to other nations of the Caribbean Basin, and its impact on Inter-American relations in the early revolutionary period. Fidel's principal opposition did not arise from Batistiano exiles, although they did mount armed forays into Cuba in 1959, but from among his own allies and associates in the revolution against the Batista dictatorship. Among these opponents were members of the Directorio Revolucionario, la Resistencia Cívica, and even from within Castro's own Movimiento Revolucionario del 26 de Julio. Among the Caribbean powers that cooperated with anti-Castro combatants were the US, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and the Dominican Republic—three of these countries governed by less than democratic governments. The paper will be based on my research in the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson presidential archives, particularly in declassified CIA and National Security Council documents found there. Basically, the essay concludes that this struggle among the former revolutionaries in Cuba spilled over into the greater Caribbean Basin, contributing to the radicalization of the Castro regime while making US Latin American policy more reactionary.

Brundenius, Claes, Honorary Professor, Research Policy Institute, Lund University, Sweden

Revolutionary Cuba at 50: Growth with Equity Revisited. When the Cuban Revolution celebrated its first 25 years in 1984 I published a book with an appraisal of the Cuban achievements since the beginning of the revolution. The book had the – to some people - provoking title Revolutionary Cuba. The Challenge of Economic Growth with Equity (Brundenius, Westview Press, 1984). The book caused a heated controversy since not only did I claim that Cuba had done remarkably well in terms of satisfying basic needs (especially education and health) but also suggesting that Cuba was actually following the World Bank recipe from the 1970s: redistribution with growth (Chenery et al. Oxford 1974), with decreasing income gaps between rich and poor and without trading off growth. I showed that Cuba, after an initial turndown during the first decade of the revolution, was experiencing rather high sustained rates of growth between 1970 and 1985.

It turned out, however, and a bit ironical, that 1985 was the peak year of sustained economic growth in Cuba. After 1985, the Cuban economy entered into a phase of stagnation, and the situation, of course, did not get better after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Between 1990 and 1993, the Cuban economy, as measured by GDP, declined by 33%, initiating the so-called Special Period (that is still not officially declared terminated). On the other hand, Cuba has managed to maintain and expand the educational and health systems in spite of the crisis, and growth rates seem to be picking up steam again. So, with the revolution turning 50, it could be interesting to make a new appraisal of the Cuban performance, using more or less the same methodology as I did over 25 years ago.

Campos-Garcia, Alejandro, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Sociology, York University

Public Policy against Racism in Socialist Cuba: Past, Present and Future. This presentation seeks to analyze the role that the agenda and the policies of the Cuban Socialist State (1959-present) have played in the struggle and persistence of racism in Cuba. The following questions guided the research summarized in this paper: What have been the particularities of the Cuban agenda and policies in relation to racism from 1959 to the present? What have been the consequences of the state agenda and policies in the treatment of racism as a problem? What challenges related to racism will the Cuban state face in the future? In responding these questions, the presentation is structured in four parts. The first one describes the particularities that have characterized the state agenda related to racism as a public problem. The second part provides a historical background of state policies regarding racism. In the third section, I analyze the undesired results of the state policies against racism. Finally, I evaluate the racism-related challenges that the state should face in the future.

Cárdenas Medina, René, Professor, Department of Sociology, Universidad de La Habana

The Transforming Social Space of Religion in Cuba. This paper analyzes, from the perspective of Sociology of Religion, the transformation of Cuban social space of religion in the last half of this Century. The selected approach, will focus not only on religion, but on the wider society as well. The presentation will then consider the religious and social factors in the construction of an authentic -from the socio-historical and cultural concrete Cuban circumstances- religious Pluralism. Of course, the paper makes its flash back to a previous state of affairs on Cuban society's religious life. It's required because one of the theoretical arguments of the present paper rests on the impossibility of a genuine religious pluralism rooted out of an environment of real social justice. In doing so, the this paper explores the impact of social policies carried on by Cuban Revolution, after 1959, and on the achievement of an environment for genuine religious pluralism.

Caridad Cumaná, María, Fundación del Nuevo Cine Latinoamericano and Universidad de La Habana

Cuban Cinema of the ICAIC: From institutional production to digital democratization. The Cuban Institute of Art and Cinematographic Enterprise was created after the triumph of the Cuban Revolution. For nearly four decades, the cinematographic production in Cuba was under the auspices of this institution and, as such, it was also subjected to and controlled by it. In the 90s, the introduction of computers and digital cameras in Cuba led to the expansion of the process of cinematographic production to various other realms of public life. For example, to that of the Escuela Internacional de Cine y Televisión de San Antonio de los Baños EICTV (San Antonio de los Baños's International School of Cinema and Television) and to the faculty of Media and Communication at the Instituto Superior del Arte ISA (Superior (High) Institute for Art). This presentation will explore the diversity of aesthetic expression as well as the social and political impacts that the introduction of new media has within contemporary Cuba.

Carlson, David C., Assistant Professor, Department of History and Philosophy, University of Texas-Pan American

Centennial Re-Imagings: Foreign Participation in Cuba's Wars of Independence from Socialist Internationalism's Vantage-Point, 1868-1968 and 1895-1998. One of the most remarkable features of the Cuban Revolutionary state, 1959-2009, was its embarkation on missions of international solidarity with the de-colonizing Third World in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1966, Cuba's bold commitment to kindred struggles of national liberation, nationalism, and Marxist-Leninist ideological currents fostered the development, at the height of the Cold War, of OSPAAAL—the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and América Latina. Cuba's Wars of Independence against Spain—the Ten Years' War (1868-1878), Little War (1879-1880), and War of Independence (1895-1898)—became reconceptualized in the period as part of a nationalist quasi-Marxist

teleography that posited José Martí and the anticolonial movement of the late nineteenth century as the forerunners of the post-WWII national liberation movements. This paper examines how two centennials were remembered and marked during times of extraordinary change in Cuban society: the 1868-1968 cien años de lucha and the 1895-1998 Centenario de la Guerra de Independencia de Cuba. The first centennial occurred amid the consolidation of the Cuban Revolutionary state and centralization, the death of Ché Guevara in Bolivia, and during the height of the Vietnam War when revolutionary propaganda could refer to “Cuba and Vietnam in the forefront of the world proletariat’s struggle against imperialism.” The second centennial began during the post-socialist Special Period in Time of Peace, while Cubans struggled to resolve grave economic crisis in a dramatically different international system during which the collapse of the Socialist Bloc was likened to the rebel surrender at Zanjón in 1878 and Cuba’s stated revolutionary resolve to be “an eternal Baraguá” after Antonio Maceo’s refusal to surrender. The paper explores the continuities and changes in marking the nineteenth-century wars of independence during these two watershed periods of the revolutionary state. This is an individual paper, no panel has been organized, but I hope that it would “fit” with a panel on history, historiography, culture, and transnational issues of some kind.

Casamayor Cisneros, Odette, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Department of Modern & Classical Languages, University of Connecticut/Storrs

Revolution and Utopia in post-soviet Cuba: Interrogations and Answers from the works of Wendy Guerra and X Alfonso. In Wendy Guerra’s novel *Todos se van* (2006), the 1990s in Cuba are portrayed as times of complete abandonment by friends (who emigrate), relatives (who remain distant) and ideologies (which seem useless and anachronistic). The final scenes express a desire of finding equilibrium between movement (or change) and immobility. Can this oeuvre be read as a poetic answer to the sense of dereliction that affected young Cubans after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989? Is it possible to built Utopia in the current Cuban situation? On the other hand, young musician X Alfonso writes lyrics in which he clearly asks his generation for a re-invention of the concept of revolution. In his latest album, titled *RevoluXion* (2007), each song confirms the author’s will of promoting some change in the Cuban society. Are X Alfonso -and other artists included in the recent phenomenon known as the Cuban Alternative Music- presenting themselves as a “new brand of revolutionaries”? What are the characteristics of this “New Man” of the Post-soviet era?

Born in the 1970’s, both Guerra and Alfonso respond to the general uncertainty that appeared in Cuba after the collapse of the communist empire in East Europe. Through the analysis of their literary and musical works, in articulation with the interpretation of the concepts of Revolution, Utopia and Epics, my paper proposes an ethical-aesthetical study of the contemporary cultural expression in Cuba.

Castellanos, Natalie Kristine, Florida International College of Law

The Office of the Historian of the City of Havana: Promoting a Virtuous Cycle of Cultural Heritage Preservation. My paper focuses on the Office of the Historian of the City of Havana, an autonomous institution within the Cuban government. The Office of the Historian began with modest legal authority, but this authority has expanded to meet its increasingly complex mandate to safeguard Cuban cultural heritage. In response to its increase in legal authority, the Office's organizational structure has gained complexity yet remains efficient and flexible enough to adapt to changing social and economic conditions. The Office's evolving role can be traced from its initial duty of safeguarding cultural patrimony to its current task of stimulating tourist development in order to create a sustainable model of cultural preservation, one that may have applications beyond Cuba. The self-sufficient model reinvests tourism revenue into cultural restoration and social projects in Old Havana, thereby improving local infrastructure and further promoting tourism. The Office of the Historian has achieved much success in safeguarding Cuban cultural patrimony by promoting this virtuous cycle, and the organization's history, organizational structure and legal capacity attest to its resilience and evolving role in Cuba. My presentation reviews the Office's legal history and structure as well as evaluates its effects on economic and social conditions in Old Havana.

Castillo, Carmen, Oficina de la Vice-Rectoría, Universidad de La Habana
Panorámica de las relaciones académicas de la Universidad de La Habana e instituciones de educación superior de Estados Unidos y Canadá. En esta presentación se expondrá la historia de los intercambios académicos de la UH con instituciones educativas de Estados Unidos y Canadá, los resultados obtenidos y elementos comparativos entre la viabilidad y eficiencia en los resultados de la gestión en cada uno de estos dos países.

Panorama of the academic relations between the University of Havana and higher education institutes in the United States and Canada. This presentation will provide a historical overview of academic exchanges between the University of Havana and educational institutions in the United States and Canada, the results obtained and comparative elements between the viability and efficiency in terms of management in the case of each of the two countries.

Castro, Mariela, Principal, Centro Nacional de Educación Sexual (CENESEX)

An Approach Towards the Cuban Policy on Sex Education. The initiatives developed during the Cuban revolutionary process of the 60s and 70s for the equality of women's rights not only determined the substantial changes in the condition of women and men, but also the subsequent establishment of social policies which included the National Program for Sex Education, whose main benefits were focused on women, children, adolescents and young people. Nevertheless, the aspects related to sexual orientation and

identity found larger cultural resistance expressed also in politics and laws. These weak aspects of the National Program for Sex Education have achieved greater achievements in the beginning of the Third Millennium.

This paper is part of research made by the author and a team of collaborators, which is based on the several opinions surveyed in the Cuban population after making these proposals.

Chase, Michelle, Ph.D. Candidate, New York University

Women's Activism and the Politics of Maternalism in the Cuban Insurrection (1956-58).

During the final two years of the insurrection, especially in 1957, we find various examples of women engaging in what can be called "maternalist" politics – that is, using their moral weight as mothers to protest collectively and individually. In 1957 there were various public protests held by women, especially in Santiago. Additionally, some mothers of young men "martyred" in the struggle became individual activists, writing public letters, attending protests, and agitating against the Batista regime. In this paper I will examine these public protests and declarations to ask why "maternalism" became such a common and effective political language in this period. I will suggest that maternalist politics allowed some women – particularly from the urban middle classes – to position themselves as political agents in a way that was perceived as appropriate by their male peers. I will also argue that maternalism was something of a double-edged sword: it to some extent reinforced traditional gender imagery, by highlighting the role of grieving mothers and widows as the politically-innocent victims of state violence, while it also prompted women's increasingly militant activism in defense of life and family sanctity, with sometimes unexpected results.

Civeira Lopez, Francisca, Vicedecana, Facultad de Filosofía e Historia, Universidad de La Habana / Deputy Dean of the School of Philosophy, History and Sociology, University of Havana

Élites y Política en Cuba en los Cincuenta: El Lugar de Estados Unidos. Desde la ocupación militar de Cuba (1899-1902) y la instauración de la república de Cuba (1902), con el apéndice constitucional de la Enmienda Platt, se fue construyendo una manera de actuación por las élites políticas cubanas respecto a Estados Unidos: la gran potencia se había convertido en factor esencial en la política interna y, por tanto, su acción podía definir la permanencia o no de un equipo de Gobierno en Cuba. Esta manera dependiente de actuar en política se fue afianzando en la mentalidad más allá de esas propias élites. De hecho, la posición de Estados Unidos había resultado decisiva en momentos de crisis políticas domésticas. También en Estados Unidos se había generado, desde esta propia historia bilateral, un modo de percepción y actuación respecto a Cuba.

Estos elementos fueron muy importantes durante la década del cincuenta en Cuba, especialmente cuando la crisis política se fue haciendo irreversible. Los grupos de poder en Cuba reaccionaron como estaba ya establecido: Estados Unidos sería el gran factor de

decisión, mientras en la administración norteamericana también funcionó la manera ya probada y, aparentemente, segura de tratar las crisis cubanas. Sobre estas percepciones y su expresión concreta en los cincuenta trata esta ponencia.

Elites and Politics in Cuba during the 50s: The role of the U.S. Since the military occupation of the Cuban Island by the U.S. Government (1899-1902) and the establishment of the Republic of Cuba (1902) under a constitution that includes a U.S. Amendment as part of it a particular behaviour of the Cuban Elite was created VS the U.S. Government. Actually, the Great Power became an important factor in Cuban domestic policy, and so its action used to shape the kind of Cuban Government the Island may has. The dependence to act leaning on whatever the U.S. government though was very much embedded in the mentality of the Cuban elites and beyond. At the same time, the action of the U.S. government was decisive at particular moments of domestic crisis the young republic had. That was enforce by particular perceptions that the U.S. had towards Cuba at that time. The paper will analyze how in the 50's the aforementioned factors play an important role, particularly when the political crisis in Cuba at the end of that decade was irreversible. The power groups in Cuba reacted as usual: The U.S. Government again should solve the problem and the U.S. government at the same time was sure it could deal with that crisis following the idea of politics as usual.

Cole, Ken, Honorary Research Fellow, International Institute for the Study of Cuba, London Metropolitan University

The Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas and the Caribbean: The Institution of "ALBA" and the Process of "alba". José Martí (1885) warned that as the United States extends its control it would fall "...with that much more force upon our countries of America", and Simón Bolívar had already (1815) proposed a League of Latin American Nations "...united under a common government..." to prosecute regional interests and effect self-determination.

The exigencies of the post-1970s globalized world have seen a political sea-change in Latin America, and the collapse of the Soviet Union (1989-91) and the subsequent Special Period (1991-96) redefined the international relations of Cuba. This conjuncture, in concert with the Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela, have not only led to the "institution" of the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas and the Caribbean [ALBA] to internationally address regional interests, but also the "process" [alba] of an emerging Latin American consciousness, which constitutes the dawning of an era. Martí's warning and Bolívar's dream are being expressed as an awakening of the political imagination to create a social order to challenge the (capitalist) financial exigencies of a globalized world. The historical background and the inception of ALBA/alba are addressed in the context of the process of (regional) socialist development, and the institutional components of "ALBA" are understood as the vehicle through which "alba" is effected in Latin America.

Corrales, Javier, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Amherst College

The problem with Cuba's human capital development: the case of bicitaxis and the Internet. Most analysts agree that Cuba is a case of human capital development in the context of modest economic growth. Some analysts see this expansion of human capital as an impressive achievement, considering the island's limited economic resources. However, the puzzle remains: if Cuba has had such high levels of human capital development, why is growth performance so modest, given that human capital is typically associated with boosting growth? This paper seeks to answer this question by identifying the missing ingredient in Cuba's growth performance: well-developed property rights. By discussing Cuba's self-employment and Internet sectors, this paper seeks to show the extent to which property rights deficiencies act as a drag on sectoral growth.

Crahan, Margaret E., Distinguished Professor & Director, Kozmetsky Center for Excellence in Global Finance, St. Edward's University

Believers and Amphibians: Religion and Civil Society in Cuba, 1959-2009. The common wisdom concerning both religions and civil society in Cuba is that they were historically weak and therefore exercised little influence over the course of the Cuban revolution and more specifically over Cuban society from 1959-2009. This is a misperception of the nature of religious belief and motivation in Cuba. Surveys in both the 1950s and 1990s indicate that between 75-85% of Cubans believed in the divine, even if they were not noted for attending services, participating in religious groups, or expressing loyalty to one particular religion, but rather held synthetic beliefs. Nevertheless, religious values and norms historically have strongly influenced the behaviour of Cuban society, including attitudes towards civil society and the Cuban polity. Similarly, it has often been stated that civil society in Cuba traditionally was weak, while some have claimed that it barely exists today. This too is a mistake. Cuba had a high degree of associationalism beginning in the nineteenth century which continued well into the twentieth century and into the revolutionary period. Indeed, the demands of the revolution have attenuated certain aspects of associationalism and today Cuba has a complex set of formal and informal relational groups, networks, and movements that trespass across the borders of the state and the non-state sectors, so much so that they act as a specie of amphibian passing from one sphere to the other with ease. This paper analyzes the degree to which the predominant civil society paradigms need to be revised in order to take into account the functional permeability of state and non-state sectors in Cuba in order for Cubans to discharge, irrespective of their technical location within the state and non-state sectors, the traditional functions of civil society. The role of Cuban religions in providing the most pervasive institutional and identity based non-state national networks will also be analyzed in order to better understand the nature of civil society on the island today.

Daigle, Caralee, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, Queen's University

The Nuclear Threat or the Godless Communists: Canada and Cuba During and After the Missile Crisis of 1962. Canadians have always been proud of their connection and relationship with Cuba and the Cuban government. It has been, after all, a diplomatically unbroken relationship of more than six decades. The Canadian government and populace have often celebrated their relationship with Cuba and Cubans despite American pressure to the contrary and despite ideological differences, to great success in economic, political and academic exchange.

While the nature and consequences of this relationship have been studied at length by scholars, there remain some problems in this celebratory conceptualization of the depiction of the Canadian-Cuban relationship. For a brief period in October 1962, during the tense days of the October crisis, or as it is known in North America, the Cuban missile crisis, this relationship may have turned out dramatically different. Canadian public opinion, and certainly the official stance of the Canadian government of John G. Diefenbaker, swung between supporting Cuba in the shadow of the American nuclear machine and supporting the Americans in their fight against the godless Communists and the so-called threat to the entire North American continent. This paper will examine these two contradictory opinions, and the manner in which the Canadians came to support the Americans in the crisis, but not without considerable sympathy for Cuba, Cuban citizens, and the Cuban revolution. In so doing, this paper will re-examine the roots of the Canadian-Cuban diplomatic and working relationship.

Davey, Joe Daniel, Professor of Architecture, School of Architecture, Southern Illinois University

Cuban Architecture after the Revolution. Jose Marti, the most important intellectual figure in the Cuban struggle for independence understood that establishing a sense of national identity was an essential ideological component to creating a unified patriotic movement to liberate the island from Spanish domination. One of the important aspects of Marti's writings was his progressive view of race, which recognized African as well as Spanish contributions to a common Cuba culture. One exemplar of this union of cultures is the design and construction of the National Arts School just outside Havana wherein the Catalan Vault ("cohesive timber arch construction"), attributed to ancient vernacular practice rooted in the Mediterranean countries of North Africa, Spain, France, and Italy, is manifest. Ricardo Porro's design for the schools of Modern Dance and the Plastic Arts synthesize a strong feminine quality coupled with the mysteries of African religious rites creating a Cuban syncretism in spatial form. Paradoxical to Porro's design of the schools, which fell victim to state criticism for its hedonism, has been the neglect in the United States to provide due acknowledgement to the work of Rafael Guastavino's Cohesive Construction and the similar struggle of Hassan Fathy at New Gurna with the Egyptian government. One would conjecture that the employment of unique vault design and construction is on a sure path to confrontation. This paper examines the work of Ricardo Porro as it addressed Cubanidad through his own desire "to refute both architecture's and

my (his) own family's aristocratic past... to seek an expression of an architecture for the people and to delve into the eternal problems of the human condition."

Davidson, Mélanie Josée, M.A. Candidate, Department of Geography, Queen's University

"Beans are more important than Canons": Formal and Informal Responses to Food Shortages. Throughout the Revolutionary period, Cuba has had to face a number of episodes when food was in short supply because of the island's political, economic or environmental situation. Within only a few months of the Revolution, for example, Cuba had to cope with a number of food production and supply problems, which the new government sought to address by implementing price control policies, distribution programs (including the *libreta* ration system, still in place today) and agrarian reforms. Food security on the island became tenuous once more in the early years of the Special Period when an acute economic crisis followed the dismantlement of the Eastern Block and Soviet Union, and, more recently, following the destructive hurricanes Gustav and Ike. The food question has become of central importance for the Cuban administration, with President Raúl Castro (then leader of the Revolutionary Armed Forces) stating in 1995 that in terms of national security, "beans are more important than canons."

This paper will briefly review the causes and manifestations of food shortages in Cuba before exploring the formal responses adopted by the Cuban government in order to mitigate the impacts of food shortages on the Cuban population and in order to render the country and its citizens more self-reliant. The paper will also consider the equally important informal strategies adopted by families and individuals in response to these food shortages and to the shifting, and increasingly uncertain, food landscape.

Dawson, Megan, Anderson Graduate School of Management, University of New Mexico

The "New Mother": Making a Revolutionary Identity of Motherhood in Cuba. The role of women in Cuban society before 1959 resembled that of other women in patriarchal Latin American countries. There was a rigid division of sex roles that restricted women to la casa while men were allowed to roam la calle. The traditional Latin American view was that all women's primary role was reproduction and that this role had to be privileged and protected.

By January 1st, 1959, that had all began to change. The Fidel Castro led revolutionaries had defeated Batista and were moving into power throughout the country. The revolutionaries had adopted the Marxist position regarding the "Woman Question." Vilma Espín and Celia Sánchez were touted as heroes of the revolution. The successes of these women lead to the rapid growth of the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), an organization that has actively fought for the equality of women in Cuba. As women

began gaining economic and political citizenship due to the FMC's labors, they began exercising their rights as citizens through participation in the paid labor market.

Women would no longer be chained to housework and childrearing. In fact, mothers needed to be an integral part of the revolutionary process. A revolutionary identity for motherhood was being created that took her out of the home and into the work place. However, reshaping generations of traditional values could not happen without the structural changes to facilitate the transformation. To prove this, I will examine speeches Fidel Castro made and look at policies adopted by the revolutionary government such as the *Federacion de Mujeres Cubana's* educational campaigns, the use of *círculos infantiles*, changes to the Family Code, and the revised Maternity Law. These policies created a structure that facilitated a change in the traditional mores of motherhood. The new government not only accepted mothers who worked outside of the home for a wage, but supported the idea through its actions. In this essay, I argue that Castro's speeches and the programs and policies implemented in revolutionary Cuba meant to transform the traditional view of motherhood from home bound and non-productive to an integral part of production within the new Cuban society.

de Aragon, Uva, Associate Director, Cuban Research Institute, Florida International University

Coming Home: Cuba's Diaspora Long Journey. The 50th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution also marks the beginning of the largest diaspora on the island's history. The relationship between the Cuban government and those who leave the country to live overseas has been often confrontational and controversial, in spite of prevalent family ties among Cubans. Travel to Cuba, and legal restrictions regulating said travel, both from the Cuban and the U.S. government, have been at the core of this relationship. For almost two decades the Cuban government rarely allowed immigrants to return to visit. For their part, Cuban exiles, in their majority, vowed not to return until the regime was overthrown. They saw themselves as future liberators of their compatriots. Often, those who visited the country were considered traitors by other exiles. The negative political symbolism of traveling to Cuba was paradoxically tinted by an everlasting nostalgia. Today, one third of all Cubans have returned to visit their homeland. This paper will study, through different sources, including surveys and literary works, how the vision of returning to Cuba has evolved throughout the years for Cubans outside the island and inside.

DeSando, Michele, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Barbara

Getting things done in Cuba: how ways of participating in everyday life form the ideal revolutionary citizen

The Cuban revolution is, in part, a national development project and throughout the decades there have been various ways people have been expected to participate in this project. Thus, configurations of citizenship are deeply implicated in the needs of the revolution at any given moment. In this paper I explore the institutions, practices and policies which underpin the logic and process of citizenship. As with many states the Cuban state creates, or tries to, the types of citizens it needs. Citizenship is an ongoing, historically contingent process structured by the same processes that structure everyday life.

Cuban community workers use words like participation to mean a more participatory process of development. People must learn to diagnose and plan in order to help themselves and their community. Today's citizen must do what they can for themselves and their community before or instead of expecting the state to step in and fix things.

However people are differentially situated in terms of how they are able to participate. Some have resources to help them survive better than others, resulting in inequalities that are then justified by the new discourse regarding what it means to be a good citizen which is in turn fuelled by empowerment and development teachings. The idea of who is a good citizenship becomes a reflection of changing social realities and structures and a discursive way to describe emerging inequalities.

Practices we see today are rooted in the revolution's historic configuration of citizenship. Only in context can one understand how a state's plans for development affect relationships both between people and the state and with each other.

Di Lembo, Claire, Biological Sciences, University of Calgary

Healthcare in Cuba: A Success Story Despite Tremendous Challenges. In 1958, the Cuban revolutionary army, fighting to overthrow the Batista regime, pledged to provide Cuba—a small country with limited resources and an agriculturally based economy—with universal health care equal or superior to that found anywhere else in the world. The underdevelopment of Cuba's economy in addition to the near fifty year old American economic blockade against the island has specifically challenged this national goal of providing adequate healthcare to the Cuban people. Where a humanitarian tragedy might exist elsewhere under such trying conditions, a victory unfolded in Cuba. Operating under third world conditions on a shoestring annual per capita health expenditure, Cuba's healthcare system has managed to generate public health statistics on par with those of the World Health Organization's highest ranked countries (World Health Organization, 2007). This research project sought to identify the values, ideologies and organizational details that make this phenomenon of healthcare success in Cuba possible. Prior to the in-field research that this project included, a comprehensive review of the academic literature available on the Cuban medical system was conducted. This review expanded in the field to include articles published in Cuban medical journals, newspapers, books, information brochures, pamphlets and publications from Cuba's Ministry of Public Health. The literature review included information regarding Cuba's public health statistics, its health conferences, the medical research it conducts, its medical education

curriculum, its approaches to the diagnosis and treatment of various diseases and conditions and its collaborations with the international medical community. My in-field research involved living in the rural municipality of San Antonio de los Baños in the province of Havana for 2 ½ months during the summer of 2008, which gave me an intimate view into the crucial role that the community plays in Cuba's healthcare system. In spite of its compelling accomplishments, Cuban healthcare is severely challenged by aged equipment, scantily stocked hospitals and crumbling buildings. As onerous as it might be to be poor and sick in Cuba, patients can nevertheless trust that their treatment is a priority and that they won't be forgotten or lost in the system. The priority attributed by the Cuban government to human development and its dedication to disease prevention, community services, primary care and active citizen participation exemplifies the influence of ideological commitment on the provision of healthcare and challenges the assumption that such quality care requires extensive financial investment. The Cuban healthcare system hereby provides a model for other countries looking to improve their medical services within a cost-effective framework.

Díaz López, Cristina, Vice Rector of International Relations, Universidad de La Habana

Environmental Management For Sustainable Development In Cuba. Se presenta una visión de la situación ambiental cubana, sus logros y retos y se analiza el papel de las universidades en la creación de una conciencia ambiental en la ciudadanía.

This presentation will analyze the Cuban environmental situation. It will examine its strengths and challenges, and the important role played by universities in the creation of an environmentally conscious citizenship.

Domínguez García, Maria Isabel, Director, Center for Psychological and Sociological Research (CIPS)

Cuban Society: The Education in the generational dynamic. Based on sociological researcher, the paper analyzes the role of Education - as central point of the Cuban Social Policy - in the continuities and breakages of the generational succession during the last 50 years. The paper also outlines the challenges and perspectives of future educational strategies.

Dore, Elizabeth, Professor of Latin American Studies, Department of Modern Languages, University of Southampton

Cubans' Memories of Politics from Above and from Below. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall and capitalist transformation in China it has become a truism that socialism is inevitably and fatally flawed. Rather than taking the iniquity of socialism as an article of faith, this paper explores Cubans' views about the strengths and weaknesses of their country's socialist revolution.

Drawing on in-depth, life histories conducted from 2004 to 2008 with men and women across the island, I examine Cubans' memories of political orthodoxies and heresies from 1959 to the present. Understanding politics as the ways in which power is exercised and contested in the public sphere, the paper analyzes Cubans' views about the workings of the political system, and how it did and did not change over time. Within this framework, I underscore how men and women of different social strata, racial identities, and generations reassessed the politics of the past from the standpoint of present conditions.

Dubinsky, Karen, Professor, History Department, Queen's University

Saving Cuban Children, from Operation Peter Pan to Elián González. The clandestine "Operation Peter Pan", which removed fourteen thousand Cuban children to the U.S. immediately after the Revolution, highlights the cultural weight born by youth, especially in times of national stress. When we look deeper than simple "rescue" we can see this tale as one example of the symbolic power of children. When international conflicts – created by adults - are fought through and over the bodies of children, enormous but usually unacknowledged anxieties about children ensure that such conflicts will have a very long life. In this case, fourteen thousand phantom Peter Pan children returned with a vengeance forty years later in the very public body of Elián González, and once more the fate of an actual child served as a compelling metaphor for a fractured nation.

How did the Cuban revolution put children, specifically, "at risk?" In the aftermath of a crisis, such as a revolution, how is the individual child transformed into the national child, the concern of all? Using sources collected in Cuba and the US, I will explore the place of Peter Pan children in narratives of the revolution and in Cuban, and Cuban-American historical memory. I will highlight how the Peter Pan story was told as a Cold War escape narrative in the US, which invited not only sympathy but widespread popular participation. Finally I will explore how narratives of Peter Pan have re-emerged through the Elián González story, illustrating this with a visual tour of the two Elián museums, in Cárdenas and Miami.

Elvy, Joanne C., History Department, Algoma University

Notes from a Cuban Diary: We Believe in Our History. Reflections on the 1961 Literacy Campaign. With educational reform a high priority early in the Cuban Revolution, more than 271,000 citizens joined massive brigades in 1961 in a movement to eradicate illiteracy in Cuba within one year. Their 'students' numbered almost 1 million; those

previously denied access to schooling due to race, social class, gender, economic disparity and/or geographical isolation. Together, in their growing awareness of social inequities with the promise of a better life for all, solidarity amongst Cubans evolved as young and old from different social and racial backgrounds throughout the country exchanged knowledges and experiences, this ethical exhilaration, the fuelling of a dream.

More than half of those who volunteered for literacy brigades at that time were young women. The inclusion of women as active participants within this Revolutionary initiative prompted them to consider new ways of viewing their lives. This arts-informed presentation examines the transformation that occurred in women who reflect back upon their role as literacy *brigadistas* during a poignant moment early in Cuban Revolution; this, in relation to the challenges they have since faced during Cuba's evolutionary process as a nation, in connecting the past with current times, to contemplate the future.

Enjamio Expósito, Maria Sonia, Professor, Faculty of Philosophy and History, Universidad de La Habana

Democracy without elections? The presentation will overview the processes that occurred before 1974 with the new government institution: The Popular Institution. The period covered is between 1959 and 1974. I examine the strategies deployed in several regions throughout the island to maintain the participation of the Cuban people in decision making process. I look at these initiatives and how they impact the relationship between mass organization and leadership. Included in this discussion is the role of a political system constructed in the 1960's, as well as the problems of local and central government throughout this decade.

Enríquez, Laura J., Department of Sociology, University of California

Reacting to the Market: Small Farmers in the Economic Reshaping of Nicaragua and Cuba. The year 1990 was a turning point in both Nicaragua and Cuba. The Sandinistas' electoral loss that year forecast a shift in the government's reigning political economy, characterized by a rapid retreat from socialism. In Cuba, the economic crisis provoked by the COMECON's disintegration at that time forced the reconfiguration of socialism. The contrasting political economic orientations adopted thereafter by these two formerly allied governments resulted in the pursuit of distinct economic strategies. In Nicaragua, economic stabilization and structural adjustment (SA) were set in motion, with export production being prioritized. Domestically-oriented production was relegated to second place in government resource allocations. In agriculture this led to growing rural poverty and land concentration.

In Cuba, SA-like measures were implemented in several sectors of the economy, but not in others such as agriculture. Instead, farmers—particularly those producing food—were the select beneficiaries of the government's limited resources. Moreover, farms were downsized and smaller-scale production - and its producers - gained new

prominence in policy-making. Their relatively better off economic situation vis-à-vis most of the Cuban population was the outcome. This paper examines these two governments' differing political economic transitions, the impact policy shifts had on their small farmers, and the efforts by these same farmers to insure their own survival. As the Nicaraguan case shows, this sector was hard hit where a rapid retreat from socialism was undertaken. In contrast, it flourished, relatively-speaking, where socialism was reconfigured—as in the Cuban case. My study is set against the backdrop of Karl Polanyi's analysis of the spread of market relations, as well as the literature addressing the consequences of the transition from socialism experienced in China, Russia, and other countries, and the historic debate on the future of the peasantry.

Erikson, Daniel P., Senior Associate, U.S. Policy, Inter-American Dialogue

The Next Act in U.S.-Cuban Relations: “Après Bush, le Deluge?” Due in part to President George W. Bush's staunch commitment to maintaining the more than forty year old embargo, the United States government has tied itself into a Gordian knot that has left it ill prepared to do much except watch the Cuban transition as it unfolds at a distance. Bush's decisions on Cuba policy were motivated by an instinctive dislike of Fidel Castro, a deep friendship with many hard-line Cuban exiles, and the realities of Florida politics. In addition, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 resulted in a dramatic hardening of U.S. policy towards all countries deemed by the Bush administration to be rogue states. During President Bush's first term, Colin Powell was recruited into an effort to tighten the sanctions on Cuba prior to the 2004 election, while during his second term Condoleezza Rice declared Cuba to be an “outpost of tyranny” and allowed for the near-total breakdown on official interaction between the U.S. and Cuban governments. The two areas where regular official communication continues is at the monthly meetings between U.S. and Cuban military officers at the fence-line of the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base and between American and Cuban meteorologists for the purpose of hurricane tracking in the Caribbean. But the winds of change are clearly blowing through the debate on U.S.-Cuba policy during the presidential election year of 2008, with a substantial divide opening up between Republican presidential nominee John McCain and the Democratic challenger Barack Obama. McCain, a veteran and former prisoner of war, vows to hold a tough line on Cuba policy. Obama signaled that he would be open to engaging in dialogue with Raúl Castro and favors expanding travel to Cuba by Cuban-Americans and pursuing a policy of greater dialogue and contact. In addition, the politics of Cuba in Miami are undergoing a process of moderation and U.S. businesses are once again eyeing the possibility of greater trade and investment with Cuba. This paper will examine whether the U.S. embargo is likely to remain in place during the next U.S. presidential administration and assess whether there are domestic forces for change that will lead to a more open and flexible policy towards Cuba.

Erisman, Michael, Political Science Department, Indiana State University

Medical Aid And Cuba's Foreign Policy Interests. The paper will draw upon concepts and material incorporated into H. Michael Erisman and John M. Kirk, *Doctors And Diplomacy: The Politics Of Cuban Medical Aid Programs* (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming late 2008 or early 2009), with the primary emphasis being on an analytical rather than descriptive approach.

In order to introduce the topic and to provide some basic background information, a brief descriptive section will focus on: 1) surveying the extent of Cuba's overseas medical aid programs; and 2) comparing the scope of Cuba's programs to that of other countries and international organizations.

While recognizing that purely humanitarian considerations have had a major impact with regard to both motivating and shaping Cuba's medical aid efforts, the analytical elements dominating the paper will focus upon probing the relationship between these programs and the larger contours of Cuban foreign policy, the basic goal being to explore the nature and dynamics of the contribution(s) that Cuba's medical aid programs can make to the achievement of some of its key foreign policy interests (e.g., maximization of its effective sovereignty, the acquisition and utilization of "soft power", challenging Washington's neoliberal agenda, promoting greater South/South cooperation and integration, etc.).

Espina, Mayra Paula, Coordonadora del Grupo de Estudios de Desigualdades y Política Social, Centro de Investigaciones Psicológicas y Sociológicas (CIPS)

Cuban Social Policy and the Management of Inequalities. This paper will focus on the different moments and characteristics of Cuban Social Policy since the economic reforms of the 90's until now to try and evaluate the inequalities and the perspectives of trying to enforce strategies that promote equity. Special attention will be paid to the so-called "universal focused or directed policies" with an aim to close the gaps between classes, gender, and race.

Evans, Sterling, History Department, University of Oklahoma

Conservation in Cuba: The Revolution, Environmental Preservation, and the Development of Alejandro de Humboldt National Park. Parque Nacional Alejandro de Humboldt is situated in the eastern-most part of Cuba (in the province of Oriente). It is named in honour of the Prussian naturalist/scientist Alexander von Humboldt who explored the Caribbean and parts of Mexico and South America in the early years of the nineteenth century, and it is a tribute to the tropical marvels that are found there. Although von Humboldt never visited this exact area where the park is located, it represents an amazing biodiversity and protects a high level of floral and faunal endemism and the very rich tropical beauty of the region.

The Cuban government established the park in 2001, making it one of the newest parks in the Cuban conservation system. It is primarily a protected area for biological

conservation, but the government has also marketed it (along with Cuba's other natural areas) for a budding ecotourism business on the island.

"Conservation in Cuba" will seek to show how the development of Humboldt National Park represents a worthy case study of environmental protection in Cuba. The paper will provide background on the beginnings of conservation on the island soon after the Revolution of 1959, it will track changes caused by the country's "Special Period" relating to environmental preservation, and it will analyze some of the more recent developments in ecotourism. It will conclude with analysis on the question of whether Cuban conservation is "revolutionary."

Evenson, Debra, Attorney/Author,

Cuban Biotechnology: A Revolutionary Model for Development. From the early years of the Revolution, the government began to invest in the development of Cuba's capabilities in science and technology. The impetus was partly attributable to the US embargo that blocked Cuba's access not only to US technology but also medical supplies and other goods derived from that technology. It was also due in good measure to an audacious plan to make Cuba a source of new technology. Although the first substantial investments in developing a biotech industry capable of marketing medical products abroad and fulfilling the needs of the Cuban population were not made until the early 1990s, the foundations were being built throughout the prior decades when university and research centers focused on the production of a cadre of highly trained scientists devoted to research with practical application responsive to identified public need, rather than the "market".

Since the mid-1990s, Cuba's biotechnology institutions have produced a series of important breakthroughs, including the first meningitis B vaccine. Further, new products and genetic drug production capability make biotech Cuba's the third largest hard currency earner. The success of Cuba's Biotech industry reflects a different approach to management and research and development, one that is specifically socialist and revolutionary in the context of the developing world. It is an achievement of the Cuban Revolution that has enduring and multifaceted impact both for Cuban development and as a model for other developing economies. The paper will describe the origins and development of the Cuban biotech industry, explore the features that distinguish it from capitalist models, and analyze its significance both to the future of the Cuban economy and to other developing countries.

Facio, Elisa Linda, Department of Ethnic Studies, University of Colorado at Boulder

Jineteras: Race and Gender in Post-Soviet Cuba. This paper contributes to the development of Chicana Transnational Feminism(s) with an analysis of *jineterismo* or Cuban sex work in post-Soviet Cuba. The analytical framework deployed in this case study draws from Kim-Puri's conception of Transnational Feminist Sociology. Kim-Puri

note that feminist scholars conducting transnational feminist analyses have overlooked how gender and sexuality and the structures of state and nation are mutually constituted. Interestingly, there is little mention of how the concept of race influences state and nation structures. Thus, the following paper attempts to address this void in Kim-Puri's general arguments. Kim-Puri's discussion of feminist analyses of the state further argues transnational feminist studies are disconnected and disengaged geographically. However, Chicana transnational feminist analyses are inherently transnational via their legacy of colonization and U.S. neo-colonialism, thus creating analyses, which are connected and engaged geographically.

A Chicana Transnational Feminist analyses is used in providing a critical understanding of *jineterismo* or sex work in Havana beginning in 1990. The opening of foreign tourism and investments, the free circulation of dollars within the Cuban economy, and the establishment of market mechanisms indirectly conditioned the emergence of *jineterismo*. The phenomena of Cuban sex work is highlighted with a particular focus on the role of the state in their response to the contradictory nature of the resurfacing of a pre-revolutionary condition eradicated with the triumph of the Revolution and now once again operating as one of Cuba's major commodities in a country considered socialist.

Feinsilver, Julie M., Visiting Researcher, Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University

Fifty Years of Cuban Medical Diplomacy: From Idealism to Pragmatism. Medical diplomacy has been a cornerstone of Cuban foreign policy since the outset of the Revolution. It has helped Cuba garner symbolic capital (good will, influence and prestige) well beyond what would have been possible for a small, developing country; and has contributed to making Cuba a player on the world stage. In recent years, medical diplomacy has also been instrumental in providing considerable material capital (aid, credit and trade) to keep the Revolution afloat. This paper will examine why and how Cuba has conducted medical diplomacy over the past (almost) fifty years, the results of that effort, and the mix of idealism and pragmatism that has characterized this experience. A revolution can be measured by its actions to implement its ideals.

Fernandez, Nadine, Central New York Center, SUNY Empire State College

Race Relations in Revolutionary Cuba: The family. The Cuban family has been one of the nation's most resilient social institutions. Over the course of the revolution, scholars have documented how the family has weathered economic hardships, mass emigrations, and changes in gender roles and reproductive policies. But the family has also responded to, absorbed, assimilated and at times rejected the revolution's efforts to change race relations on the island. This paper employs a generational perspective to examine changing understandings of race relations and interracial relationships as seen through the

experience of Cuban families. The focus on the family offers a multi-generational view and affords us a window into the shifting perspectives on and understandings of blackness, whiteness and mestizaje over the decades of the revolution. This paper draws on narratives of interracial couples and their families to analyze race relations at the interpersonal level in the context of the revolution's agenda to foster greater racial integration, and to strive for a truly colorblind society. Different generations of Cubans experienced and understood the colorblind ideals of the revolution in varying ways. Within families these often conflicting meanings result in generational tensions that highlight both the advances and limitations of the revolution's efforts toward racial equality.

Fitzpatrick, Max Ashbrook, Ph.D. Student, Department of Sociology, University of New Mexico

Signs of Revolution: Outdoor Messaging in Cuba. Unlike the ubiquitous commercial advertisements found in the capitalist world, the visual landscape in Cuba contains thousands of billboards, posters, and murals that deliver political and social messages to the public. The messages of the moment are often determined by the domestic and international sociopolitical contexts. Outdoor signage in Cuba is an extremely "ephemeral" medium whose content frequently changes to respond "to the particular need of the hour". In her essay on Cuban political posters, Susan Sontag wrote that the Cuban state uses messaging in the public sphere for "ideological mobilization" in "periods of crisis."

Scholars have paid much attention to the Cuban poster output from the 1960s and 1970s, but little studied are billboards and murals in contemporary Cuban society. This paper draws from thousands of firsthand photographic documentation of Cuban signage that I collected over four trips to the island from 2006 to 2008. Employing time-series cross-sectional samples of Cuban propaganda, this paper tests the hypothesis that message content in Cuba is particularly influenced by present sociopolitical circumstances both foreign and domestic.

Through content analysis of images and placement of signs in their historical context, I identify how discourses found in propaganda have changed in response to contemporaneous situations facing the Cuban Revolution. Noting thematic shifts becomes especially important at this point in time, given Cuba's recent change in political leadership, development of new economic structures, and the state response to hurricane devastation.

Ford, Katherine, Assistant Professor of Hispanic Studies, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, East Carolina University

Conflicting Visions of Revolutionary Cuba in Mikhail Kalatozov's *Soy Cuba* and José Triana's *La noche de los asesinos*. The early 1960s in Cuba were a time of innovation and change. The film *Soy Cuba* (1964) from Mikhail Kalatazov and the play *La noche de*

los asesinos (1965) by José Triana represent seminal works of cultural production from these early years. The former, a film depicting Cuban life before the Revolution, received unparalleled support from the government. Kalatazov, an established and lauded Soviet film director, employed the services of various other Soviet artists, including the poet Yevgeny Yevtuschenko. Nevertheless, its reception both in Moscow and in Havana fell far short of its goals.

Triana's *La noche de los asesinos*, on the other hand, received tremendous praise in Cuba, winning the Casa de las Américas award in 1965. The play premiered in Cuba in 1966 before taking an extensive tour of Europe in 1967. Said to have been influenced in part by Genet's *The Maids*, it depicts three siblings who stage the murder of the parents.

Despite the differences in their creation and reception, both works demonstrate the new commitment of the revolutionary government to the arts. They also show its triumphs and shortcomings. Both return to the past to underline the distance that the Cuban people have traveled since the triumph of the Revolution in 1959. However, given the various differences (nationalities of those involved, official support, reception in Cuba and outside), we can see important divergences of the vision of what Cuba was at the moment and where it was heading. Whereas Kalatazov's *Soy Cuba* emphasizes the past injustices in order to contrast with a future that would eliminate classes difference, Triana's *La noche de los asesinos* returns to the 1950s to underline the role of circularity and repetition. This paper will analyze how these two seminal works put forth differing visions of Cuba's future.

Franklin, Jane, Independent Historian and Author

The Legitimization and Normalization of Terror. In Miami, terror has been legitimized by government and normalized by culture. The terror was engineered by the CIA with White House orders to train assassins and an invasion force to overthrow the Cuban government. When invasion didn't work, about 300 CIA agents like E. Howard Hunt, working from a CIA station at the University of Miami, trained thousands of Cuban émigrés. This deliberate creation of a right-wing covert force to supplement Washington's overt policy toward Cuba has manifestations and implications we must comprehend at this period of American history. Terrorists boast of their activities and are acclaimed as freedom fighters. Notorious terrorist Luis Posada parades as a Miami celebrity. This terror is directed not only at Cuba but also against U.S. institutions and individuals considered friendly to Cuba. If arrested at all, Cuban-American terrorists generally have received short sentences or none at all. An important exception is Eduardo Arocena, sentenced to life in 1984 because his assassination of a member of the Cuban United Nations delegation caused an international uproar. He was convicted of numerous crimes that included being a drug enforcer. But now the network of Miami terrorists has launched a campaign to persuade President Bush to pardon Arocena. Whether or not he is freed by January 20 (before this paper is written and presented), the attempt to lionize yet another major terrorist is part of the ongoing legitimization and normalization of terror, which is a necessary component of Washington's international –and domestic– strategy.

Frederik Meer, Laurie, Assistant Professor of Performance Studies, University of Maryland

Performing *Cubanía*: Voices from Guantánamo's Zones of Silence. *Campesinos* in rural Guantánamo claim that Havana is not *Cuba de verdad* for it is too cosmopolitan. The "real" Cuba, they claim, is in the countryside. Conversely, urban residents say Havana is the real Cuba and the rest is "just scenery." This debate extends to socialist artists and intellectuals who are responsible for official narratives of the nation – for both Cuban citizens and foreign tourists. In Guantánamo's "zones of silence" (isolated mountain regions), professional theatre groups perform *Cubanía* – attempting to define it anew after 1990 and to rescue its authentic cultural core from capitalist "contamination."

Rural people are symbolically important to the mythology of the Cuban Revolution and to the perception of the *pura cepa* (pure root) of Cuban culture, although in reality they are largely disregarded. While urban residents debate whether or not the Special Period is over in 2008, *campesinos* in the zones of silence joke that not even the Revolution has arrived, let alone the Special Period (and its supposed demise). Based on ethnographic research conducted in Cuba's outermost regions of *Oriente* with traveling theatre groups, this paper considers the uneasy relationship between center and periphery, cosmopolitan *Habanero* and rural folk, socialist modernity and cultural nostalgia, and examines the renegotiation of rural imagery in contemporary performance.

Friedman, Douglas, Director of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Department of Political Science, College of Charleston

Popular Education and Politics in Cuba: Centro Martin Luther King Jr. and the Gramscian Civil Society Ideal. This paper will examine the popular education methodology employed in community projects by the Centro Memorial Martin Luther King Jr. in Havana. The Center is a well known, but rarely examined non-governmental organization in Cuba. Interviews I conducted at the Center in 2006 indicated that the use of this methodology goes well beyond Paulo Freire's intent of empowering the powerless and intends to shape Cuban civil society as a Gramscian socialist civil society in contradiction to the conceptions held by the Cuban State or US influenced or led opposition. In summer 2008 I will observe several community projects that employ popular education methodology and interview participants for this paper. The proposed paper is an extension of my recent work examining the development of civil society organizations in Cuba and the Centro Memorial Martin Luther King Jr.

Gabilondo, José, Associate Professor, College of Law, Florida International University

Putting Restitution and Embargo Losses in Context: Towards Netting Political Risk Claims in Respect of Cuba. In the United States, an extensive literature has proposed restitution by Cuba for property expropriations that began in 1959. My paper addresses this literature on restitution by identifying two conditions that any effective claims settlement mechanism must satisfy to produce finality and equity. First, financial compensation may not adequately indemnify some exiles and emigrants for the psychic and cultural losses for which restitution may seem like a solution. So financial loss (and its restitution) must be put in a wider historical and psychic context of losses and gains (and, indeed, change in position generally) flowing from the Cuban Revolution. Second, any claims settlement in respect of Cuba must take into account the claims that Cuba may have against the U.S. for economic losses caused by the Cuban Assets Control Regulations and the U.S. embargo in general. Little authority exists in public international law for netting embargo losses against restitutionary claims, but the peculiar factors of the Cuban embargo may justify some administrative innovation. After all, the exceptional length and scope of the Cuban embargo has no precedent in modern public international law either.

At present, Cuba lacks the liquidity needed to fund settlement of any claims. The Cuban diaspora in the United States, however, might lend support to consolidated claims liquidation (in which restitutionary and embargo losses are netted) if framed properly. This would be the case if consolidated settlement could create an interest-convergence between different special interests with a shared interest in providing Cuba with settlement liquidity. These interests include current holders of certified claims, commercial firms and trade lobbies (e.g. sectoral groups or state chambers of commerce) interested in participating in the Cuban economy, the Cuban government, the United States government, and international organizations. Interest convergence would create demand for resolution of both financial and psychic claims in respect of Cuba, thereby removing an obstacle to the country's financial well-being.

García Alvarez, Anicia Esther, Director, Centro de Estudios de la Economía Cubana (CEEC), Universidad de La Habana

Cuba, 50 years of Economic and Social Development. The main goal of the paper is to provide evidence supporting the thesis of the link between economic and social progress in Cuba. In 1953, Fidel Castro outlined the objectives for the fight against dictatorship. These objectives have guided the goals of the economic strategy since this time. The structure of the paper is as follows: the main features of the Cuban economy in 1959, the 1959 -1989 phase of development strategy, the Cuban economy after 1990, and the subsequent reforms and advances made since 1990.

Garcia, Alyssa, Post-Doctoral Fellow, Africana Research Center, Pennsylvania State University

Difference Embodied: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Cultural Discourse of Sex-Work in Cuba. A major problem that exists in contemporary debates regarding sex-work in Cuba is the tendency to pose a simplistic binary opposition between pre-revolutionary prostitution before 1959 and Special Period jineterismo in the 1990s, obfuscating any discussion of related topics spanning the years in between these periods. This I argue, erases and/or denies the legacy of the Cuban State's discipline of women's bodies. My paper explores the quality of jineterismo as a continuous practice of State regulation of sex-work and women's bodies in Cuba. Despite the structural changes initiated by the Revolution, by situating jineterismo amidst Cuba's historical context, I illustrate the continuity of the disciplining of women's bodies by the Cuban State to argue that jineterismo in today's Cuba is not "new." I demonstrate the persistence of State forms of bodily regulation both ideologically and materially from the colonial and republic period, early Revolutionary campaigns, through contemporary Cuba. I argue that jineterismo is a legacy of these early periods, advocating for a reconsideration of jineterismo within a historical context. In particular I highlight how notions of morality and honor, dependent on particular invocations of race, gender, and sexuality, have fueled State regulatory projects before and after the Revolution in Cuba. I examine the ways Cuban women were/are pathologized and constructed as deviant and the way the Cuban State developed ways to police and control these "hazardous" bodies, both materially and discursively.

García, Joseph J., Latin American Studies Program, University of New Mexico

The Federation of Cuban Women and U.S. Feminist: The Problem of Essentialist U.S. Academic Research. The Cuban War for independence was a part of a movement to confront hegemonic imperialism. Understanding the importance of solidarity to Cuban independence was an effort to truly liberate "Our America."¹ With a strong understanding of the social implications and importance of social solidarity, Jose Marti understood social change. Through his efforts to promote an independent and socially integrated Cuba he stated that "the revolution desires complete freedom."² By complete freedom, Marti is describing the importance of moral individualism and its respect for individual dignity through justice and equality based on social solidarity. From this lesson Cuba after 1959 has held strong convictions against egoistic individualism. Entrusted with the responsibility resurrected from the Cuban Independence Movement, Cuban revolutionaries developed a firm understanding of the importance of unity that leads to social justice. This means that the Revolution at times must sacrifice personal freedom for the sake of collective morality. By transforming a society, the Revolution has developed institutions that enhance social capital through its greatest resource, the Cuban people.

¹ Marti, Jose, "Nuestro America," meaning the entire hemisphere as one America connected by a common set cultures and trajectories, <http://www.filosofia.cu/marti/mt06015.htm>.

² Marti, Jose, "The Revolution Desires Complete Freedom", Counterpunch, May 19, 2006. <http://www.counterpunch.org/marti05192006.html>

In this paper through a comparative analysis I will illuminate the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) approach to social development for social justice. In contrast to the FMC's mission and activism, United States (henceforth U.S.) feminist academics wrongly critique Cuba for promoting socialism rooted in patriarchy at the expense of women's rights. Moreover the Cult of the Individual will be used to illuminate the difference FMC objectives and the lack of objective research on the part of U.S. feminist academics. Thus, women play a vital role in supporting the Revolution by active participation in many sectors of society. Through the work of mass organizations like the FMC, there is an organized mission with a commitment to justice based on solidarity. In this paper, I show that contrary to the popular belief, U.S. feminist academics have failed to understand this radical method of promoting social change.

Garcia-Calderón, Myrna, Department of Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics, Syracuse University

Imagining Havana. In contemporary Cuba the representation of the city in documentaries and feature films produced during the Special Period has been particularly interesting and poignant in terms of how Havana is seen, lived, and imagined by Cuban and foreign filmmakers who capture the city through their lenses. Many of these films have portrayed the island through a variety of discourses: a paradise lost, a city frozen in time, a dystopic post-Cold War victim of the socialist state, and even a nostalgic space of a wide range of ideologies from that of exilic nostalgia to the difficult and continuous efforts of survival of the socialist state. Literary texts have also portrayed the ruins, the fragmentation, and the new questions brought about by the Special Period. One thing is certain, Cuba appears to fancy the gaze of not only the Western viewer and reader but of the world.

In this essay I analyze recent literary and filmic production that frames discourses on Havana within the discourse of memory. I concentrate on a series of questions regarding the many contestations of memory: How does one represent the geography of memory? How can one stop the elimination of a neighborhood or a community by resignifying it through literature and cinema? How can the multilayered ambivalence of the geography and history of our cities be thought of when even amidst constant change they tend to be identified with a previous order? What impact has the economic conquest of space and the urbanization of history had on the way we experience and study urban imaginaries? What do these texts tell us about spatializing otherness? What instruments do we use to read the proliferation of symbols of our urban spaces?, and finally, How are the complicated negotiations between culture and space, city and memory represented through literature and film?

My reflections include films such as *Cuba: Los años 50* (1998), *La Habana Hoy: 16 impresiones de una ciudad* (2001), *Cuba 111* (1995), *Malecón* (1995), *Suite Habana* (2004) and *Habana: Arte nuevo de hacer ruinas* (2007), with passing references to *Fresa y chocolate*, *Memorias del subdesarrollo* and earlier documentaries by Santiago Álvarez, amongst others. It also considers the works of writers such as Ena Lucía Portela, Abilio Estévez, Pedro Juan Gutiérrez, Antonio José Ponte, Anna Lidia Vega Serova, and Mylene Fernández Pintado.

Glass, Marvin, Adjunct Professor, Department of Philosophy, Carleton University

Capital Punishment in Cuba: A Moderate Moral Defense. From the moral point of view, a measure of a revolution is its humanitarian policies, or lack thereof. And for most liberals and radicals, one important test of a nation's humanity is its position on the death penalty. So it is not surprising that spirited discussion arose in these communities about the post-2000 arrests, trials and death sentences for three Cuban hijackers. The controversy began with lively e-mail exchanges and was followed by articles in a number of progressive magazines, including Counterpunch and The Nation in the U.S.A. and Canadian Dimension in Canada, the latter devoting an entire issue to this and related controversies. Many supporters of the Cuban Revolution, including notables such as Noam Chomsky, the late Edward Said, Cornell West, Howard Zinn and Rev. Lucius Walker, thoughtfully and sincerely believe the death penalty to be inhumane and unjustified under any circumstances. And so they issued statements, signed petitions and wrote articles condemning what they regarded as Cuban state inhumanity. Others, equally well-disposed to Cuban socialism and equally thoughtful and sincere, found the severity of such punishment morally defensible, in spite of conceding that all killing, state or otherwise, is prima facie wrong. In this paper, based primarily on the preceding sources as well as some mainstream philosophical literature about war, killing and self-defense, I defend a two-stage deterrence argument for the limited use of the death penalty in Cuba.

Goell, Edgar, Center for Future Research, Cairo-Heliopolis, Egypt

The Future of Sustainable Development in Cuba. Challenges, Obstacles, Potentials. With regards to "Sustainable Development" there have been considerable activities in Cuba. Several studies show that Cuba is on a progressive path. A major source for this assessment is Global Footprint Network which uses data from 150 countries. The experts correlate the UN Human Development Index for the social dimension of Sustainability and the Ecological Footprint for the ecological dimension, which relates to the per-capita consumption of basic resources as well as indicators like waste and emissions. Assessed with that complex concept Cuba is the only society where ecological and social dimensions are developed that far as to be defined as sustainable.

Based on these findings I will analyse underlying structures and factors for this positive result. There will be a differentiated discussion about Sustainable Development in Cuba and its shaping constellations and configurations which are supportive (constitution, laws, regulations, programs, campaigns, projects, education, media, ethics etc.). Yet, the high degree of sustainability is not only deliberately produced by institutions, but mainly a result of the relatively low level and the specific type of socio-economic development (motorization, housing, electrical equipment, moderate level of industrialisation, etc.).

There are several serious questions to reflect about Cuba's future and a more Sustainable Development, for continuing the path and improve it. One major topic is, whether the recent policies are sufficient, because some policies have only limited effects. Another topic is how Cuba can cope with the spread of the western consumerist – nonsustainable – lifestyle.

Gordy, Katherine A., Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, San Francisco State University

Justifying Economic Policy: The Dialectic of Pragmatism and Idealism in Discussions of the System of Planning and Management of the Economy. This paper examines how a variety of principles of Cuban socialism, including socio-economic equality, national independence and material prosperity, interacted in accounts of economic policy in the Cuban press during the second half of the 1970s and first half of the 1980s. This is a period of Cuban revolutionary history that is frequently characterized as almost entirely pragmatic accommodation to economic realities. I focus on articles in the larger periodicals such as Granma, Juventud Rebelde, and Bohemia that deal with the Soviet model of economic planning known as the System of Management and Planning of the Economy (SDPE), implemented between 1976 and 1986. I focus on the SDPE because, as I show in the paper, it represents clear evidence of the difficulty of categorizing Cuban economic policy according to strict typologies of pragmatism and idealism. The discussion illustrates the ways in which using the term “principle” allows us to see that even during this period of supposed pragmatism, defined as greater use of the market, discussions in the press always reflected an attempt to balance material with moral incentives and short-term with long-term goals. This has relevance for our general understanding of the relationship between ideology and policy in Cuba.

Gürcan, Efe Can, International Relations, Koç University, Turkey

Theory and Practice of the Cuban Revolutionary Agricultural Movement: Its relevance for the developing world. When considering the fact that 800 million people across the world are suffering from hunger, and especially with the rise of the food prices, this number is very likely to drastically increase in the near future, one should not underestimate the seriousness of the food security problem which in turn causes grave socio-political instabilities. On this issue, the theory and practice of the Cuban Revolution reflect a crucial relevance for the developing world. In an age which is identified with the so-called decline of role of states and end of socialism, the revolutionary agricultural experience of the Socialist Cuba seems to illuminate the future of the developing world as a whole, which is suffering from unilateralist neo-liberalism, uncompetitiveness, industrial underdevelopment and agricultural dependence, and threatened by the agro-speculations and agro-imperialism itself. The Cuban model of revolutionary popular agriculture based on city gardening and state supported decentralized anti-bureaucratic

grassroots movements, provides crucial hints to solve the ecological contradictions of capitalism, while revitalizing the sense of collectivity. As Clausen argues, the Cuban agricultural experience is not limited to a technological or a narrow agricultural transformation, but promotes a great social transformation. In addition, this transformation goes beyond the national borders with the revolutionary initiative of the Cuban people. Cuba carries the banner of the eco-socialist struggle, heading many summits on the food issue in Bolivarian Alternative for Latin America and the Caribbean, and both inspiring and assisting developing countries such as Venezuela and Bolivia. One could state that this feature of the Cuban experience reflects, on its own, its constant dynamism and importance for the developing world.

Flanigan, William H., Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota

Fifty Years of American Public Opinion toward Cuba, 1959-2009. This paper will revise and extend for another decade the analysis of our 1999 paper presented in Havana. The paper sets as a context some widely accepted generalizations about public opinion in the United States. It then examines the salience of Cuba as an object of public opinion over the five decades since the Cuban revolution, using several different indicators from the Gallup Poll and various media polls. The occasional spikes in public attention to Cuba over this period are examined and interpreted. The differences between the attitudes of the mass public in the United States and that of “opinion leaders” in regard to economic and diplomatic sanctions are explored. Finally, the evolving role of the Cuban American community in South Florida is discussed. The research will draw on the large archive of survey research data in the Roper Public Opinion Archive and, to a lesser extent, the data collection of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research.

Guerra, Alberto Roque, Medical Doctor, Centro Nacional de Educación Sexual (CENESEX), Cuban Ministry of Public Health (MINSAP)

Sexual Diversity in Cuba. A Revolution within The Revolution. Dramatic changes in the way of perceiving the different manifestations of sexual diversity by the Cuban population have been seen since the triumph of the Revolution. Machismo and homophobia have been present beside the successful elimination of other forms of discrimination during the last fifty years. However, during the last decade, Cubans have shown more tolerance toward sexual diversity.

Halber Suarez, Tania, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Victoria

Cuban Education and the Cuban Scientific Conception of the World. Science is central in Cuban education pedagogical theory, which is based on the Cuban Scientific Conception of the World (CSCW). The CSCW has its theoretical nucleus in the relation between thinking, being and the cognosociability of the world which situates practice at the center along with the fight to transform it (Reyes & Pairo, 228). Arising from that conception, Cuban social consciousness is tied to ideology and constitutes a system of knowledge. As such, it is closely related to nature, society and the relations of humans with the world that surrounds them.

Cuban Socialist pedagogy views schools as an important part of the formation of the conception of the world and allows the comprehension, assimilation and development of understanding and habits. More over, it also creates conditions for the formation of convictions that guides the conduct with the edification of healthy relationships amongst humans and with the more-than-human world. In other words, throughout Cuban pedagogy the Materialist Dialectical comprehension of Nature penetrates scholarly discourse.

This paper is part of a larger study in which I investigate how the CSCW is enacted in the Cuban high school curriculum in an attempt to further understand the connection between Cuban identity and how Cubans are "grown" to live with nature. More precisely, this communication examines the theoretical context within which the CSCW is situated. Drawing on the works of Jose Marti, Karl Marx and Cuban education texts, I discuss how Cuban curriculum frames an alternative to formal constricted participation in science and scientific literacy (Roth & Calabrese Barton 2004, 21). Key points are highlighted about what can be learned from the way science and scientific literacy is conceived in Cuba to revisit predominant perspectives in Canada.

Hamberg, Jill, Empire State College

Through the Prism of Time: 50 Years of Cuba's Housing and Urban Planning Policies. The devastation wrought by hurricanes Gustav and Ike in late summer 2008, together with that of brutally destructive storms earlier in the decade highlighted the still unresolved issue of housing in Cuba.

This paper will present an analytic discussion of Cuba's housing and urban and regional planning policies in each stage of the revolution since 1959. The focus will be on dilemmas faced by Cuban policy makers as well as debates among, and different perspectives held by, policymakers, professionals in the field, and the population.

Debates and dilemmas within the housing field in particular include those related to construction technology; architectural design, state versus self-building; new construction versus rehabilitation, maintenance and repair; construction labor; financing; access to materials and land; allocation of vacant units; legal issues such as ownership rights, succession, exchange, sales and renting; land use and land values, foreign investment and ownership of housing; historic preservation and popular participation.

In addition, broader themes include the relation of housing and urban planning policies to economic and investment policies, internal migration, emigration and other population trends, and the revolution's egalitarian ideology.

Hamilton, Carrie, Roehampton Roehampton University, UK

Sexual Evolutions: Re-considering Sexuality in Socialist Cuba. Academic and popular literature on sexuality in revolutionary Cuba focuses predominantly on two areas: 1) homophobia and male homosexuality, and 2) 'prostitution' and sex tourism. While histories of marginalized and repressed sexualities tell us much about the construction of sexuality, and in particular 'sexual others', in socialist Cuba, the privileging of histories of homophobia and sex work tends to reinforce notions of Cuban 'exceptionalism' and the image of an island of extremes (from sexual repression to excessive desire), while paying less attention to wider patterns in the history of sexuality.

This paper analyzes how revolutionary Cuba has been constructed as a land of sexual otherness and presents evidence of a more complex history of changes and continuities in sexual relations since 1959. It does so through an analysis of oral history interviews conducted as part of the Memories of the Cuban Revolution oral history project, based at the University of Southampton (UK) and CENESEX (Havana) and directed by Professor Elizabeth Dore. The argument of the paper is twofold: first, histories of homophobia and changes in patterns of sex work cannot be understood independently from other themes in the history of sexuality, including family and marriage patterns, youth sexualities, sexual education, reproduction and sexual violence. Secondly, narrators' stories of sexuality are intimately tied to wider themes in the social, cultural, political and economic history of Revolutionary Cuba, adding new dimensions to major areas of study: the consolidation of revolutionary leadership; relations between 'private' and 'public' ('the house' and 'the street'); economic crisis, including the housing shortage; and structural changes since the Special Period. By examining these themes in relation to one another, the paper proposes a reconsideration of the history of sexuality in revolutionary Cuba.

Hansing, Katrina, Associate Director, Cuban Research Institute, Florida International University

Cuba's Internationalism in Africa: Voices and Experiences from Above and Below. Since the 1960s Cuba has offered social assistance in the form of education, health, and technical aid to developing countries. As a result, over 140.000 Cuban professionals, including doctors, teachers, and engineers, agricultural and fishing experts etc., have served as so called 'proletarian internationalists' in over 150 countries on four continents. Despite recent global geo-political changes and Cuba's own economic crisis, its development aid has not ceased to exist.

The African Continent has by far been the largest recipient of Cuban aid. Since the 1960s more than 30.000 African students have studied and graduated in Cuba, whilst over 45.000 Cuban doctors and nurses and thousands of other professionals have worked

on various development projects on the Continent. Moreover, Cuba has and continues to build and staff numerous hospitals and medical schools in several African nations.

The proposed paper will examine the political, economic and social dimensions of Cuba's development programs in Africa. Based on anthropological research carried out in Cuba and Southern Africa, particular attention will however, be placed on the past and present, everyday lives and experiences of the Cuban aid workers who have or are currently carrying out internationalist missions on the African Continent.

Hernández Salván, Marta, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Department of Hispanic Studies, University of California Riverside

The Language that Matters: Poetics of Postrevolutionary Cuba. In this paper I show that the extent of the traumatic and contradictory impact of the Cuban Revolution, can only be interpreted with a close reading of poetic works by contemporary Cuban intellectuals, born and raised during the Revolution. Some of these writers are Antonio José Ponte, Rolando Sánchez Mejías, or Pedro Marqués de Armas. The works and *samizdats* of these poets have never been studied before because of their complexity, and I argue that these works belong to the first revolutionary generation that has an ethical investment in language. I think that the interpretation of their cultural production is key to understanding the traumatic loss of the revolutionary utopia, because they are the first generation whose work challenges the epistemological nature of the revolutionary project by looking at its language and rhetoric.

Hernández, Rafael,

The United States as a Domestic Factor in the Cuban Revolutionary Process. The United States has constituted a domestic factor in Cuban politics since the XXI century. As of 1959, the imperial state, along the antagonism toward Cuban-North American oligarchy, was the main independent variable of the pace of the Cuban revolution. Internal opposition regardless of its political origin, was articulated in a hegemonic plot traced by the North American organs of foreign policy. The new political system, the social and ideological order, and even the civic culture inherent to Cuban socialism, developed in the midst of this incessant conflict of power with the United States. In virtue of this conflict, there has been a political overload of problems such as democracy, freedom of speech, and civil society. On the other hand, inter- societal relations and the reproduction of North American cultural elements in Cuba constituted a bridge that may facilitate dialogue. These two dimensions intersect in a very complex manner.

Hippe, Janelle, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Sociology, Queen's University

Performance, Power, and Resistance: Theorizing the links between stigma, sexuality, and HIV/AIDS in Cuba. Since the first cases of HIV/AIDS were reported in the early 80s, Cuba has adopted aggressive and extensive public health measures to minimize the spread of HIV/AIDS. Ultimately, Cuba's HIV/AIDS prevention efforts have had considerable success; Cuba's current rate of HIV infection is among the lowest in the world. Yet despite this considerable success, many individuals in Cuba remain disproportionately vulnerable to HIV infection. Among the groups that have remained most vulnerable to HIV infection in Cuba are homosexual and bisexual men. Indeed, while the first detected cases of HIV/AIDS in Cuba occurred mostly among internationalists, today the majority of new HIV infections in Cuba occur among men who have sex with men. An important factor in the spread of HIV/AIDS among men who have sex with men in Cuba is the stigma that surrounds not only HIV, but also homosexual behavior. As experts working within Cuba report, HIV and sexuality-based stigma hinders educational efforts and deters individuals from getting tested and treated. Thus, one essential component of contemporary HIV/AIDS prevention efforts in Cuba involves reducing the stigma attached to both homosexuality and HIV/AIDS.

This paper reports on, and offers theoretical insight into, the challenge of reducing HIV and sexuality-related stigma in Cuba. First, I combine the results of my own exploratory interviews with a wider review of research on HIV/AIDS in Latin America to elaborate on the role of stigma in the spread of HIV/AIDS among men who have sex with men. Following this, I draw on the work of Erving Goffman, Michel Foucault, and Judith Butler to offer theoretical insight into the social-structural forces that underlie the stigma surrounding HIV/AIDS and homosexuality in Cuba. In a concluding section, I offer theoretically-grounded comments on the reduction of HIV and sexuality-based stigma both within and beyond the borders of Cuba.

Hodge, G.D., Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Missouri Kansas City

Revolutionary Youth and the New Economies of Consumption. Youth and young adults are often at the vanguard of movements for social and political change. With few exceptions, this has been true of Cuban youth throughout the revolutionary period. A contemporary twist on this historical pattern is that the current re-imagining of Cuba's identity and national values is occurring in the context of a globe in economic and cultural crises, in which the imperative to consume is even more urgent than it was a generation ago. The change that many of today's Cuban youth seek is more material than political, and tends toward more individualist than collective goals.

Young people in some economic sectors and geographic regions of the island often have greater access to material goods than do their parents or grandparents. The restructuring of the economy toward provision of services for external consumption (medical professionals, tourism, and cultural export) has led to an enormous influx of consumer goods through tourism, foreign workers, newly-wealthy cuentapropistas, and expanded access to external media images. Thus, the national economy geared toward foreign consumption may be resulting in a parallel cultural economy of materialism, a

new ethic of material competition, and a new basis for youth identity formation. To the extent to which they new economies of consumption promote values of material competition and radical individualism, they may well erode certain revolutionary values and even absent a radical political shift.

Holst, John, Associate Professor, Department of Leadership, Policy and Administration, University of St. Thomas

Ernesto Che Guevara, Global Social Justice, and Dispositions for Education. This paper identifies the following dispositions in the pedagogical and revolutionary theory and practice of Ernesto Che Guevara: internationalism/Bolivarianism, anti-imperialism, intrinsic motivation of love and empathy, discipline, honesty, self-criticality, flexibility in thinking, audacity, a willingness to sacrifice, a rejection of privilege, and an orientation toward service. The paper is based on a thematic analysis of the approximately 2000 pages of Guevara's works available in English-translation. These texts were read and analyzed chronologically for their pedagogical and dispositional content. For the purpose of triangulation, I used two other comparative sources on the dispositions present in Che's ideas and practice: what I consider to be the most important biographies and secondary sources on the educational and political thought and practice of Guevara in English and Spanish. I limit the exposition to what I consider to be the dispositions of most import. The paper argues that, given the growing polarization of wealth and poverty and environmental destruction facing humanity, Guevara's dispositions have increasing relevance for social justice-oriented education.

Hope, William, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Aestheticizing the Revolution: Five Decades of Cuban Cultural Policies. Ideological projects that are successful are also successful aesthetically. The extent to which people identify themselves as committed to political movements is intimately related to the values with which they organize and interpret their sensual perceptions of how the world is and how it might be. The arts, as powerfully affective means of communication that cut across different experiential domains, both draw from and actively shape aesthetic dispositions. From the early years of the Cuban Revolution through the hardships of the Special Period and into the 21st century, state support of the arts in Cuba has maintained an exceptionally strong discursive position. Indeed, at different moments of formulation, art has been conceived officially as a "weapon of the Revolution" and culture as a means of "perfecting socialism."

This paper examines the development, implementation, and reception of socialist cultural policies across the five decades of the Cuban Revolution. I provide a basic chronology to key moments of orientation in state policies regarding artistic production, and then present an overview of the structure of the Ministry of Culture with more

detailed discussion of the administration of music making. I conclude with a discussion of a group of musicians in Guantánamo and the strategies that they have employed to negotiate the shifting conditions of artistic production over the last ten years. I suggest that the paradoxes, contradictions, and achievements that constitute the opportunities and constraints of artistic production within the Cuban Revolution can be productively “measured” at the intersections of official cultural policies and the varied receptions of Cuban artists deeply committed to their expressive cultural practices.

Hosek, Jennifer Ruth, Assistant Professor, German Department, Queen’s University

Measures of Dark and Light: Siting Berlin and Havana in Contemporary Cinema. This paper will explore material and cinematic urban ruins, contested spaces that help define what is being called the spatial turn in cultural studies. More specifically, my contribution will analyze the significance and cultural representation of urban decay in post-1990 Berlin and Havana in the artist community Haus Schwarzenberg, Florian Borchmeyer's German documentary-style film *Die neue Kunst Ruinen zu bauen* (2007) and Fernando Pérez's Cuban documentary-style film *Suite Havana* (2003). I will demonstrate that in each of these cases contending notions of place, space and time shape the meanings of urban ruins and their inhabitants. Moreover, I will argue that these diverse interpretations of ruins articulate competing transnational politics. For instance, the principle of counter-gentrification that guides definitions of the Schwarzenberg ruins in Berlin's center speaks with *Suite Havana's* interpretation of the ruins of the Cuban capital as material enablers of spaces of present and future possibility. In contrast, the vision of ruins in *Die neue Kunst* aligns with recent scholarly and governmental narratives that cast urban destruction as a legitimating opportunity for global engagement originating from outside of these wastelands. Such discursive articulations across North-South axes highlight the transnational "glocal" politics of ruins. Triangulating between the urban places in Schwarzenberg, *Suite Havana*, and *Die neue Kunst*, this paper will articulate representations of urban space in time to differentiate ruin gazing as resistance against or collaboration with neo-imperial aspirations.

Huish, Robert, Postdoctoral Researcher, Université de Montréal

Cuba’s Latin American School of Medicine: Capacity Building as Counter Hegemony. Martin Luther King said that “of all the forms of inequality, injustice in health care is the most shocking and inhumane.” Today, despite the overwhelming quantity of attention and resources given towards global health, social inequality has never been worse as many in the global South remain perilously marginalized from the receipt of sustainable primary-care services.

Amidst this backdrop Cuba developed the Latin American School of Medicine (ELAM) as a response to the global South’s lagging supply of human resources for

health. The school has received 12,000 students from 30 different countries, including the United States. Every student receives a free, six-year medical education as part of a moral commitment to practice their skills in areas where they are most needed.

This paper explores how ELAM is building capacity to meet the needs of vulnerable communities in the global South, especially in regions that have endured structural adjustments to their public health sectors. This study finds that ELAM's institutional ethics are counter hegemonic to dominant neoliberal tendencies in health care service provision, but that only with appropriate social and political support will the ethic and skills of these graduates scale up into positive changes in community health. This paper offers insight into ELAM's institutional ethics, discusses the nature of public health care in the global South with attention given to Ecuador, and then explores the professional experiences of several Ecuadorian ELAM graduates.

This paper serves as a preliminary dialogue in understanding how ELAM impacts the accessibility of vulnerable populations to health-care providers in Ecuador. It demonstrates the strengths and challenges of ELAM graduates working in their own communities. The ELAM story shows that by investing in people it is possible to overcome neoliberal health-care hegemony, which has done a great deal to promote health-care inequality rather than to ensure social equity.

Janzen, Marike, Lecturer, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Kansas

Carpentier, *El siglo de las luces*, and the Revolutionary Messenger. Shortly after Castro's successful overthrow of Batista in 1959, the Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier returned to Havana from Venezuela. He carried with him the almost completed draft of the manuscript of *El siglo de las luces* (known in English as *Explosion in a Cathedral*), a novel centered on the historical figure Victor Hugues, who fomented slave revolt in the Caribbean during the late eighteenth century, but reinstated slavery once he became governor of Guadeloupe. Carpentier's first priority upon returning to Cuba, however, was not to publish the novel. What he did do was assume multiple leadership roles in the post-revolutionary Cuban literary field. His work in the state administration of culture, the national publishing house, the Union of artists and writers, and as a professor left him little time to write. It was only in 1963 that *El siglo de las luces* appeared in Cuba—after its debut in Mexico and France.

In my paper, I trace the complex relationship between Carpentier's novel, which offers a critical look at the relative trustworthiness of revolutionary messages, and his own work for the Cuban state as a messenger of revolutionary ideals. Scholars have been loathe to read *El siglo de las luces* as a *roman à clef* of the Cuban revolution, arguing that the work's relevance lies in the way it reflects on larger issues of Caribbean history and history-writing, and not in its connection to a specific historical event. I submit, however, that Carpentier's critical reflection on revolutionary messengers in *El siglo de las luces* represents his engagement with questions raised by his own work in Cuba as a premier spokesperson for revolutionary state goals, and an examination of the role of messenger-writer.

**Jiménez, Marguerite Rose, Doctoral Student, Department of Government,
American University**

Sex Education in Cuba's Fight against HIV/AIDS: New Opportunities for Cuba's Medical Internationalism? Before the first case of HIV/AIDS was diagnosed on the island in 1985, Cuba had already spent two years developing a highly sophisticated, multisectoral approach to research, treatment, disease surveillance, and education – designed to combat the disease upon arrival.

Although HIV/AIDS infection rates in Cuba have risen in recent years, at less than .1% they are still the lowest in the Americas. Cuba's low infection rates stand in stark contrast to other Caribbean nations, such as Haiti and the Bahamas, where infections rates are 20 to 30 times higher. There are many factors that help explain Cuba's unique HIV/AIDS status, among them is the Cuban approach to HIV/AIDS prevention which has consistently been interdisciplinary and avoided the pitfalls of the more vertical treatment/prevention approaches favored within U.S. health/education initiatives. The focus of this paper will be on the development of Cuba's so-called "bio-psycho-social approach" to HIV/AIDS, with sexual education and prevention strategies as the foundation. This paper will include a case study looking at rising HIV/AIDS rates in the U.S., to contrast Cuba's comprehensive approach to sexual education and its impact on HIV/AIDS and STDs, as opposed to the increasingly favored "abstinence only" programs dominating U.S. approaches both domestically and internationally. In the concluding section this paper will assess the possible replicability of Cuba's "bio-psycho-social approach" to education, prevention, and treatment, and the potential impact that successful (and even partial) replication could have on future global HIV/AIDS initiatives.

**Johnson, Candace, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University
of Guelph**

Pressure Within: Nationalism, Human Rights, and the Federation of Cuban Women. Cuba derives much of its national identity from its (fulfilled) commitments to social rights. Among these is the achievement of excellence in the areas of reproductive and maternal health, which is extraordinary given the country's level of development, current economic circumstances and persistence of traditional cultural norms. In this article it is argued that many of the gains in these areas can be attributed to Cuba's national woman's organization (the FMC) and the effectiveness of a distinct form of socialist feminism. Further, the success of the FMC can be explained by the coincidence of the enduring practical purposes of the revolution, the goals of nationalism, commitments to international socialism, and, perhaps most strikingly, human rights strategies employed by the organization. These strategies are aimed at the protection of women and the promotion of their interests and have enabled the organization to serve as an institution

for the formation and expression of a gender-based political agenda (which extends beyond Cuba to other countries in Latin America). The research presented in this article is the product of extensive fieldwork in Cuba and contributes to debates concerning Cuban politics and (global) feminist theory. It refutes the claim that the FMC has no autonomy and therefore no ability to effectively pressure the state for change.

**Jones, Lindy Anthony, Department of Modern Languages and Literatures,
University of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica**

Opening Up Towards Africa: Cuban Politics and the Poetry of Nancy Morejon. Africa has served as a site cultural reference and political fomentation for Cuba throughout its period of Revolution. The Castro-led Government has lent it support through military power and numerous other interventions to various African countries in their fight against oppressive colonial regimes. This support by the Revolution for Africa over the past decades has to a large extent coloured the works of various Cuban poets for whom Africa is a trope of black identity and consciousness. One such poet is Nancy Morejón

With the backdrop of the presumably discouragement of discursive exploration of certain issues of race and identity by the Revolution, Afro-Cuban poet Nancy Morejon, negotiated her poetic space among Cuban culture, to unearth a treatment of Africa (icons, cultural practice and a site of love, history and admiration) which corroborates the Cuban foreign policy towards Africa, and the black consciousness of the Diaspora. As Cuba opened up towards Africa so did Morejón's poetry.

Jooste, Rhayn, Independent Scholar, United Kingdom

Leo Brouwer and Cuban Hybridity: An insight into Cultural Osmosis. This work engages with the process of expanding cultural boundaries through *hybridity* in Cuba.

This is achieved by examining the negative concepts that surround the word hybridity, and by extension identity as well as the cultural history and politics of Cuba. Utilising contrasting selected examples of music that have innovated tradition in view to altering the perception of hybridity. Literary models, such as Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic*, Homi K. Bhabha's *Location of Culture* and Gustavo Pérez Firmat's *The Cuban Condition*, are employed to illuminate the conceptual ideas attached to this new hybridity. This will be exemplified in the Cuban guitarist Leo Brouwer, where the compositional influences developed through enculturation, will be extracted to examine the innovation of tradition.

This new perception utilises theoretical concepts, such as Fernando Ortiz's *transculturación* et al, to empower a positive outcome from the processes involved in forming a hybrid. This *hybrid* not only retains identity but also a sense of legitimisation. This development then becomes one of osmosis where the innovation of tradition is due to the politics of culture.

Ju, Angela, Department of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles

Race Constructions and Race Relations in Twenty First Century Cuba: Representations of Chinese-ness in Afro-Cuban Hip-Hop. This paper combines discourse analysis of two popular Afro-Cuban rap songs with insights into Cuba's history, domestic politics, and present-day relations with the People's Republic of China to detail the racialization of Chinese Cubans by their Afro-Cuban counterparts and to show how the lyrics of music performed by Afro-Cubans in Post-Soviet Cuba assert and define their own racial and national identity in addition to relations with Chinese Cubans, the other predominant non-white group in Cuban society. This paper draws specifically on two songs from the popular Afro-Cuban hip-hop group, the Orishas, namely "A Lo Cubano" and "Tumbando y Dando." In these songs, the members of the Orishas not only make their assertions and definitions of Black racial identity but they also racialize their Chinese Cuban counterparts as exotic or foreign in addition to defining them as integral to Cuba's national identity and as another non-white group that has been discriminated against in Cuban society.

Kapcia, Antoni, Centre for Research on Cuba, University of Nottingham

Beyond Fidel and beyond the 'monolith': the 'significant others' in the trajectory of the Cuban Revolution. With the transition to a Raúl-led Cuba having at last shifted the world's focus just a little from the figure of Fidel Castro (usually seen as the explanation of almost everything since 1959), but with the long-standing 'Fidel-centrism' now being replaced by a newer variant of 'Raúl-centrism' (in which the Revolution's whole character and future depends on him and his changes), this is perhaps an appropriate moment to look at the key actors within the overall Cuban leadership – political, economic, social, cultural – over the last 50 years, i.e. to examine those leaders apart from Fidel (or even Raúl or Che Guevara) who can be identified as having been key players at some point. Often these have played a significant role in specific areas of the Revolution's development, but occasionally their role or importance has survived the decades and the changes, but all of them can be seen to have behaved as more than ciphers, in ways that indicate some degree of autonomy of action, some degree of influence within the collective leadership, and some degree of lasting impact. To confirm this perspective, this issue will be examined within the framework of ideas of internal debate, group dynamics and cohesion and the identification of spaces and institutional autonomies within a system and a state which, it is argued, has often been characterised by its institutional weakness rather than by its supposedly monolithic character.

Kill, Victoria, Seattle University

Reading Politics and Cultural Literacies: Teaching Cuban and Cuban American Stories. My presentation looks at a range of Cuban and Cuban American literature, written or translated into English, to ask how we read and circulate in non-appropriative and non-reductive ways such stories that raise consciousness about the untranslatable realities of one another's histories and cultures. This is a challenge for all the stories of the world that we explore, and I argue that Cuba stories are marked in particularly interesting ways by sticky interstices of ideology on both the storytelling and story-reading sides. Cuban literature we bring into our classrooms, for instance, invariably faces an added dimension of falling into the hands of would-be judges and juries of the Cuban Revolution.

I teach in Seattle, in the Pacific Northwest, and my students seldom have lived experience with Cuba or Cubans, and generally know little about Cuban culture and history. Nonetheless, the storytellers in their lives have passed on to them versions of Fidel and Che legends, and they come to their course reading of Cuban stories with a range of positive or negative, often unnuanced, opinions about Cuba. They impress their politics (and their identity politics) on their reading in ways that present interesting challenges and opportunities. The wealth of complexities that Cuban and Cuban diasporic literature represents makes the de-simplification of the Cuban Revolution's narratives an interesting pursuit. In powerful ways, Cuban literature raise liminal issues of what creative writing can make known and knowable. Telling conversations result.

Kirk, John M., Dalhousie University

Canada-Cuba Relations under the Harper Government. The current Canadian government headed by Stephen Harper claims to have designed a dynamic new approach to Latin America. Free trade agreements Peru and Colombia were passed in 2008, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister have visited several countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, and in turn have been visited by Latin American dignitaries. The policy appears to be a dynamic one. Yet there is one area where the Canadian approach is stagnant—Ottawa's policy on Cuba.

The bilateral relationship between Ottawa and Havana has generally been positive for most of the last fifty years, with mutual advantages for both countries. Indeed Fidel Castro has termed them as exemplary for nations with such different political traditions.

There have been several very clear high points in the relationship (especially during the first Trudeau government and the early years of that of Jean Chrétien). But there have also been difficult periods—as seen during the governments of Lester Pearson and Brian Mulroney. The current Canadian government, headed by Stephen Harper, continues this latter tradition. While trade between the two countries remains constant (approximately \$1 billion annually), and Canadians remain the single largest group of tourists (more than 600,000 in 2008), there are significant political irritants that have arisen. These range from controversial U.N. votes and criticism of the Cuban human rights record to a deliberate ignoring of abuses at the U.S. base in Guantánamo and the treatment of a young Canadian prisoner, Omar Khadr.

Based upon government documents, interviews with Canadian and Cuban diplomatic staff, and archival material, this presentation studies some key events during the Harper years, showing how the relationship has deteriorated, and offering some ideas as to why this has occurred.

Kizima, Sergey A., Associate Professor and Ph.D. student, Department of Ideology and Political Science, Academy of Public Administration, Minsk, Belarus

Post-Cold War Foreign Policy of Cuba: Lessons and Perspectives. The paper analysis the development of foreign policy of Cuba during two last decades taken into broader global context with aim to find out its main peculiarities and perspectives. The answer to key question – if Cuba will develop in line with Western expectations on democracy standards – is undoubtedly “no”. Hopeless nineties, when Cuba stayed the only socialist country in the both Americas now are shadows of the past. Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua and some other Latin America countries are free to move this way thanks to the USA involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan that stayed this region without previous close attention of superpower. Russia’s clear decision to return at least part of its lost geopolitical positions resulted in behind-the-scene moves about Russian investments in Cuban economy and return of Russian military base. Some Russian politicians even propose to organize nuclear air base with ballistic missiles as Russian response to elements of American ballistic missile defense in Poland and Czech Republic. China’s powerful movement into Latin America also provides to Cuba additional geopolitical advantages due to ideological similarities and common disfavor for the USA foreign policy. Recently found oil fields and increase of energy generation capacities promises that Cuba will become independent from oil import soon. Some experts even predict that Cuba will be in position to start to export oil in several years. Coming into power more open to reforms Raul Castro means that previous out-dated model will be changed for Chinese-like when people of Cuba will start to enjoy all globalization benefits without profound changes into political regime. So we see a classic example of oil money, powerful allies and readiness to piecemeal reforms that promise long life for Cuban socialist model.

Klepak, Hal, Department of History, Royal Military College of Canada

The FAR as Servant of Evolving Cuban Foreign Policy (1959-2009). The Cuban Revolution has faced myriad foreign policy challenges, of a changing and highly varied nature, since its accession to power in January 1959. Many of these have involved ‘life or death’ struggles for the revolutionary experiment’s very survival and even more have in one way or another required military strength and strategies to see them through.

This paper will argue that the Revolution’s survival has been in large part the proof of the efficacy of the Cuban armed forces’ ability to respond to their part of the dealing with these challenges over the last half-century. It will do so by analysing the

series of demands placed on the FAR by the evolving foreign policy needs in the defence field.

Thus it will take the story from the Rebel Army's enormous involvement in the anchoring of the Revolution in 1959-60, through the challenge of largely US-inspired armed resistance at the Bay of Pigs and in the Escambray in the 1960s, internationalist roles in Latin American stretching over three decades, right through to the very 'special needs' produced for the FAR's attention in the Special Period of the 1990s. This overview will allow for overall conclusions on the flexibility and efficiency of the Cuban military in doing their part to ensure the survival of the Revolution through 50 years of threat.

Koller, Lauren L., Latin American Studies and Law, University of New Mexico

Crisis, Recovery, and Growth: Diversification of Cuban Health Care From the Special Period to Present Day. Is there more to Cuba than Castro? In evaluating the notable achievements of Cuba's current health care system, it is necessary to look beyond its leader and consider the myriad factors that have contributed to the health of the population. While there is extensive discourse on Cuba's universal social medicine and the health care policies enacted through the 1959 Revolution, a number of contemporary changes have since emerged, particularly as a result of the 1989 economic crisis. Though less studied and in continual development, this recent period is noteworthy in how it has informed the country's current health care policy and practice. Analyzing Cuba's contemporary health care dynamics from an internal perspective provides valuable insight into both the health care system itself and the population it serves.

This research highlights two distinct, yet complimentary phenomena that have emerged with renewed vigor during the economic crisis and sub-sequent Special Period: the "greening" of Cuba and the high-technology advancements in health care. Although both movements have helped make Cuban health care more self-sufficient and sustainable, the former was borne out of immediate necessity, while the latter was aimed primarily at prevention and advancement. These two practices are considered in terms of the broad policy changes enacted during the period as well as the individual practices that contributed to the island's resilience and recovery. The phenomena are also examined in the context of broader efforts to establish market-related autonomy and independence.

Kornbluh, Peter, Cuba Documentation Project, National Security Archive, George Washington University

Talking to Castro: Lessons from the Untold History of Dialogue with Cuba for the new U.S. Administration. Every U.S. president from Kennedy to Clinton engaged in some form of open or secret dialogue with the Castro government in Cuba. Several presidents attempted to secretly negotiate a substantive improvement and even normalization of relations. Their experience holds key lessons for a new U.S. administration committed to direct diplomacy with Cuba.

Kost, William E., Frankel & Kost, Springfield, Virgia

The Rise & Fall of Cuba's Sugar Sector. For most of its history, sugar was the primary force driving the Cuban economy. Following the revolution, Castro unsuccessfully attempted to diversify agricultural production away from Cuba's traditional sugar monoculture.

For decades afterwards, Cuba depended heavily on foreign investment and subsidies to support sugarcane production and the sugar industry. In the process, the Cuban sugar industry became a subsidized backbone of the economy. Once foreign subsidized support was withdrawn, the sector and the Cuban economy suffered and deteriorated.

In the 1990s, Cuba's sugar sector was particularly hard hit by the Soviet Bloc collapse. Cuba lost both its primary sugar export market and its imports of subsidized energy supplies and production inputs for producing sugarcane and sugar. This long term subsidization had insulated Cuba from world market competition and caused Cuba to become a low productivity, high cost producer. Cuba's situation continued to deteriorate throughout the 1990s.

In 2002, Castro announced a major downsizing and restructuring of the sugar sector in order to shift resources to desperately needed food production. Today Cuba is no longer a significant player in the world sugar market.

Given Cuba's current situation, what does the future hold for a Cuban sugar sector? Under what conditions could Cuba restore its sugar sector to its former position in the world sugar market? What role could Cuban rum play in that future? What role could sugarcane-derived ethanol play in that future? How dependent would a future Cuba sugar sector be on access to U.S. markets?

My presentation will flesh out the above history, as well as provide my answers to the above questions.

Laguardia Martínez, Jacqueline, Director, Cuban Book Observatory, Cuban Book Institute

The Cuban publishing industry since 1959. The publishing industry is one of the most important cultural industries today. Its relevance and dynamism is also perceived in Cuba: in the country the book market is the biggest domestic and formal market for cultural products and services. Fifty years of Cuban Revolution is a good pretext to examine the Cuban publishing industry, its development, achievements and challenges. Our purpose in this paper is to analyze the Cuban book production since 1959. We will identify dynamics, trends and failures, and finally, debate about its continuity and future.

Lamazares, Alexander, Assistant Professor, Bronx Community College of the City University of New York

Unpacking Feminist Consciousness: Representation and the Vanguard in Contemporary Cuban Visual Culture. In “The Infinite Island” (1999), Gerardo Mosquera, the leading Cuban art critic explains that one novelty in contemporary Cuban art production is that there are more women artists than ever before. He asserts that in Cuba, “a feminist consciousness does not exist, and the female artists usually reject the label by considering that such labeling confines them to a ghetto.” This paper argues against his generalization; the artists and activists explored in this study illustrate a wealth of women’s, gender, and queer issues that go well beyond what Mosquera identifies as “centrifugal feminism” (1999, 29). This paper argues that a strong, national feminist movement exists since the 1920s, and has played an influential role in revolutionary Cuba. Many women leaders have been in the forefront asserting women’s rights, racial and gender politics. In 1960, The Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) was founded when the revolution triumphed. Since then, the FMC has been a way of channeling the activity and enthusiasm of the masses of women into many tasks requiring their efforts.

This movement spanned from institutional spaces to intellectual circles to artistic manifestations. Among the vanguard in contemporary visual arts are artists María Magdalena Campos-Pons, Cirenaica Moreira, Rocío García, Ernesto Pujol, performance artists Alina Troyano (Carmelita Tropicana), Belkis Ayón, Tania Brugera, Ana Mendieta. Among the activists explored in this paper are Vilma Espín Castro and Mariela Castro. I am especially interested in addressing their work with women’s, gender, LGBT rights, and their evolving role in revolutionary Cuba. Finally, the artists and activists studied in this paper are just one example of how a feminist vanguard has led to an unprecedented role in the formation of a national feminist consciousness. Their work also sheds light on the every day life of Cuban women, gender and racial politics, sexuality and power, and the discourse of global feminism.

Landau, Saul, Professor Emeritus, California State University

The Cuban Revolution—Half a Century. Five Cuban intelligence agents sit in federal penitentiaries across the United States because they infiltrated anti-revolutionary groups in Miami intent on doing violence in Cuba. One can rant on about the perfidy of the US government – jailing the anti-terrorists and allowing the Miami terrorists to continue plotting. More importantly, because Washington acts predictably, the five men represent a long line of those who acted from an understanding of their roles in the long human historical drama.

When events occur that awaken the imagination of the curious and well-intentioned, they become historical milestones. The Cuban revolution did for radical youth of the 1950s what the Bolsheviks did for their ancestors. You could play a role in history and see the results. And they looked very good – in the early stages.

The more cautious Mensheviks and the more radical Bolsheviks agreed that it was absurd to think of building socialism in one country. In 1917 attempts to duplicate the overthrow of capitalism failed in Europe and socialism did develop in the largest land

mass in the world. The Soviet Union endured as a painfully inefficient state-directed economy and repressive society for some 70 years before it imploded.

In 1959, Cuban leaders echoed similar sentiments. A revolution on one island? Like their older Bolshy cousins, the guerrillas of the mountains and daring do of the underground had their actions rooted in a larger revolutionary context, one supplied by Bolivar, O'Higgins and the other Latin American liberators. Cuba began to "export" revolution – at least ideas -- to Caribbean islands and into the South and Central American countries as well.

By 1960, given the predictable response of Washington to any sort of disobedience, Cuba had taken its first steps to partnership with the no longer revolutionary Soviet Union. In doing so, its revolution got caught in the seamy fabric of the Cold War. Fidel learned of their "junior" status during the 1962 Missile Crisis when Soviet Premier Khrushchev neglected to inform Cuba's leader of his decision to withdraw the missiles. But what other major power would write a comprehensive insurance policy for the revolutionary island?

By the early 1970s, after failing to achieve a 10 million ton sugar harvest in 1970 to gain extra foreign currency, Cuba had little choice but to blend its economy into the larger COMECON. It adopted Soviet models in return for guaranteed aid and advantageous trade. And Cuba prospered in the 1970s. Its graduates returned with advanced degrees, its population became literate, skilled and healthy and its soldiers showed in Africa how a small island nation could play a strategic role in helping maintain the fragile independence of Angola. In 1975, by driving back both South African forces invading from the South and CIA-backed troops coming from the East, Cuba helped keep the MPLA in power. Twelve years later, Cuban troops helped liberate Namibia and South Africa by routing the apartheid army in the battles of Cuito Cuanavale – a history barely recognized even among scholars in the United States.

In the 1970s, Vietnam won its independence as did Laos. In Africa, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau joined Angola in freeing themselves from Portuguese rule. Nicaragua and then tiny Granada, joined the revolutionary coterie. But by the early 1980s the empire began to reverse revolutionary success, and the USSR began its steep decline toward oblivion.

The Sandinistas could not contain the US-backed contra forces and Granada's revolution decomposed in its own inner circles. The ultra left cabal that murdered Maurice Bishop, their leader, opened the door to a US invasion in 1982. By the mid 1980s, the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions had already begun to morph into capitalist economies run by Communist Parties claiming adherence to socialism.

Cuban socialism, however, refused to compromise its "basic principles: not allowing capitalist institutions.

Now, after almost fifty years, having survived the unflagging hostility of the world's most dangerous and most capitalist neighbor and Soviet collapse, Cuba's basic model continues; indeed, it underwent a smooth transition in February 2008, when its National Assembly chose Raul as the new President to replace a convalescing Fidel.

In the "special period" that followed the Soviet demise, Cubans had to violate basic ethical tenets in order to survive. By 1991, the state could no longer guarantee an adequate diet for all citizens, nor maintain other subsidies as Cuban foreign trade plunged by 70% and standards of living fell coincidentally. Buying and selling illegally to get

certain goods became daily behavior patterns, hardly a stimulant for maintaining high socialist morale.

Cuba legalized the dollar and adopted foreign tourism as its dubious money earner. As it did so, the gang of perpetually violent exiles attacked tourist sites and, in one of the hotel bombings, killed an Italian tourist-businessman.

Since the US government did nothing to stop the Florida-based terror attacks, Cuba sent its agents to Miami disguised as defectors (the five plus twelve others) to discover the attack plans of groups like Brothers to the Rescue and Alpha 66. Even after Cuba passed to the FBI material gathered by its infiltrators, the Bureau busted the sources – the five – not the perps. The men were convicted and sentenced to long terms.

When I ask even veteran lefties about the Cuban Five I get responses like “I think I heard their album” or “were they some basketball team?” But most know of the latest escapades of Bad and Angelina, Pairs and Brittney – thanks to our democratic media.

The media doesn't understand Cuba, nor does it try. Understandably, US public opinion remains murky on the subject. How did Fidel remain in power for nearly half a century? For one thing, the United States willingly imported his opposition and continues to do so. As Nelson Valdes presciently points out, current US policy directs its officials to cultivate dissidents in Cuba for the purpose of destabilizing the regime. But Washington then grants these supposed troublemakers visas to come permanently to the United States to join the exile ranks.

Washington shares with the violent exiles a common obsession focused on one person – which makes it difficult to think clearly. Note how the language promoting anti-Cuba laws has centered on “punishing Castro,” who didn't miss a meal or a conjugal opportunity as a result.

Facts rarely enter policy discussions. Without them, US behavior has not developed reality symptoms. Studied ignorance, never greater than over the last eight years, has contributed to vociferous rhetoric – scream at the top of your lungs and carry no stick; policies like limiting travel to Cuba for Cuban Americans that make little sense, except for the small hard line Cuban exile gang in south Florida whose families have left the island.

US ineptitude, however, does not solve Cuba's problems. Aging Cuban revolutionaries, no matter how frustrated by the vicissitudes of daily life, can boast about accomplishing their goals. Cuba won independence after numerous wars and uprisings since the 1860s. Cuba defended its revolution over fifty years against constant US aggression. Cuba established a system of social justice and rights – the right to eat, have housing, medical care, education, etc... As a kind of gravy over the meat of success, Cubans danced – and still mambo -- on the world stage, as liberators of parts of Africa, slayers of the Monroe Doctrine, purveyors of emergency medical teams that saved Pakistanis, Hondurans and many others from the aftereffects of natural disaster. Cuban doctors rescued the vision of countless third world people. Cuban artists, athletes and scientists have etched their names on the honor roles of talent throughout the world.

Those who do not land good jobs, despite possessing good education, high skill levels and good health, feel they deserve more. But good jobs in most third world countries are scarce. Over the last decade, I've met dozens of Cuban youths who shrug and claim: “I don't see much future for myself here.”

This represents among a certain sector of the population a sign of sagging moral. Cuba also faces a dramatic shortage of teachers – 8,000 officially – an agricultural system that forces the government to import more than 70% of its food to meet ration book commitments last year, and a wage structure that that doesn't always reflect productivity or fairness.

To offer younger generations that sense of optimism that frames the future as bright opportunity rather than dark uncertainty, Raúl Castro initiated a reform process, including democratizing the Party itself – including the need to reflect diverse opinions. “In 1994,” he said, “the most critical moment of the Special Period, considerable adjustments were made leading to the reduction and merging of institutions as well as to the redistribution of the tasks previously entrusted to some of them. However, these changes were undertaken with the rush imposed by the necessity to quickly adapt to a radically different, very hostile and extremely dangerous scenario.”

On July 11, and again on July 26 Raul promised to address the multiple issues that have gone unattended on the island. Cubans have lived through mighty drama in fifty years, much of it imposed by a vengeful neighbor. In the midst of attack and embargo, its government initiated and maintained inspiring programs that many third world countries applaud. Raul will need to mobilize younger Cubans in the task of discussing and solving Cuba's pressing problems. All signs show he intends to do just that. The oil revenues that will derive from the recently discovered reserves off Cuba's coast will help him provide for some of the material needs. But he will also need help from around the world to stem the imperial urge to punish the disobedient.

Lavoie, Sophie M., Assistant Professor, Department of Culture and Language Studies, University of New Brunswick

Childhood in the Revolution: *Silencios* by Karla Suárez and *Todos se van* by Wendy Guerra. Although the *Bildungsroman* is a genre that narrates the experiences of children transitioning into adulthood, when placed in the context of the Cuban Revolution, these narrations are rather exceptional and, consequently, lush with significance. This paper will present a comparative study of the novels *Silencios* by Karla Suárez and *Todos se van* by Wendy Guerra in light of their portrayal of the childhood of young girls in the 1980s in Cuba.

In her first novel, *Silencios* (Silences, 1999), Karla Suárez –born in 1969 and now living in Paris, introduces an unnamed young girl who slowly comes to recognize the difficulties of growing up in 1980s Cuba. Profound societal changes and a complex yet absent family provide a context for the girl's diverse experiences as everyone around her leaves. Seven years later, Wendy Guerra, a novelist from the same generation as Suárez (born in 1970 and still active in Cuba), published *Todos se van* (They All Leave, 2006), a novel written in the diary form in which a young girl, Nieve Guerra, narrates her experience in the first person. Published in Spain by different editorials, these two award-winning novels both portray explicit and often shocking violence towards the protagonists. Despite a seemingly similar genesis –childhood experiences, the novels are quite different in tone and style. Nevertheless, both reveal the inherent contradictions

found in the practical application of the tenets of the Cuban Revolution, especially with regard to woman's role in the Cuba of the "New Man". Furthermore, by broaching so-called "taboo subjects" like rape and child abuse, both the novelists and their protagonists generate a new strategy for a renewed questioning of the Revolution.

Lawless, Cecilia, Cornell University

Space and Place of Havana in Contemporary Literature. Havana is a city in transition with its buildings and people acting as harbingers of this process. Literature about the city such as Guitterez's *Havana Sucia* and Ponte's *The art of Making Ruins* reflect the decay and decadence of this urban site's entrance into the 21st century. In my paper I will focus on two films: "*Suite Havana*" by Fernando Pérez and Florian Borchmeyer, Matthias Hentschler's recent "*Havana: The Art of Making Ruins*" where I will analyse the role of space and place—two key terms in contemporary cultural studies—and their interconnection in the urban performance of identity. Havana in itself, as a city, is a protagonist of these films with a strong foundation already established in previous films of the past fifty years. Looking at such theoretical works as Gillian Rose's *Women and Space* and Guillian Bruno's *The Atlas of Emotion* this analysis will investigate, and to a certain extent, perform, certain spatial connections.

Lima, Michel, Department of History, University of Toronto

Protagonists of Change: Rebel Youth and Socialist Transformation in Early Revolutionary Cuba: 1959-1962. My paper examines one of the least studied and yet more significant youth organizations of early revolutionary Cuba, the Association of Rebel Youth. As the first juvenile association created by the revolutionary government the Rebel Youth played a pivotal role in the political socialization and ideological transformation of young people. It analyzes the political, social, economic and cultural impact of the Cuban Revolution on the more than 50,000 lower class youngsters from rural and urban areas across Cuba that integrated the Association of Rebel Youth. It explores how the revolution educated, socialized and turned large segments of young people from the poorest sectors into active members of the revolutionary process. Through an analysis of official discourses on youth and the process of political socialization, my study explores how Cuban youth developed as the principal focus of ideological change, and how youth support emerged as a key source of regime legitimacy. It argues that support from impoverished young people was crucial to the success and transformation of the Cuban Revolution during its formative period from 1959 until 1962. It contends that the radicalization of large segments of Cuba's Youth and their embrace of socialism, particularly among the unprivileged sectors outside Havana, occurred earlier and faster than other scholars have suggested. Methodologically, it presents youth as an agency of change, a cultural and socio-political category essential to understand the Cuban revolutionary process in the 1960s.

Liutkus, Linda Jane, Evaluation and Policy Manager, CESO-SACO

Sustainable Development and Social Exclusion: Cuba's National Environmental Strategy. At the dawn of the Cuban revolution, it was evident that not only were social and economic transformations needed in Cuba, but ecological reforms as well. The environmental state of the country in 1959 was based on unsustainable agriculture practices characterized by mismanagement of natural resources. As a result of a Strong National Environmental Strategy, the fifty years since the revolution has seen a number of ecological advances.

While it is widely accepted that this environmental progress has been very important, this research looks to explore the social dimensions of the country's environmental strategy and its impacts on rural communities.

This research will demonstrate that due to the nature of the Cuban National Environmental Strategy, the degree of social exclusion in Cuba rural areas is not as pronounced as it is in other Latin American countries. Within Cuba a rural-urban divide has become evident in recent years; however, as a result of progressive environmental strategies, social exclusion, a very real problem for rural communities, has been largely avoided.

The themes explored in this research are community participation, decision making processes as well as community development. Highlighting these concepts within the frameworks of sustainable development and social exclusion this research explores the issues of; energy, foodstuffs, employment and social services provision. The research shows how the Cuban revolution in ecological terms has been an example of; "offering not only a distinct concept of development, but also a unique model of development as well".

Lopez-Levy, Arturo, Ph.D. Candidate, Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver

Anything but Human Rights: U.S. policy toward Cuba (1996-2006). This paper analyzes the Human Rights dimension of U.S. policy through the case study of U.S. policy toward Cuba, especially during the decade between 1996 and 2006. It concludes that U.S. policy toward Cuba is not designed to further Human Rights. The paper evaluates U.S. policy toward Cuba by comparing and contrasting it with the principal theories and international norms of Human Rights and Human Rights Foreign policy (Donnelly, Forsythe, and Koh). It also compares U.S. policy toward Cuba with some concrete cases of U.S. policies in which Human Rights improvements occurred. In terms of methods and conceptions, the paper reviews the "all-or-nothing" approach and priorities of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (Libertad) Act of 1996 (Helms-Burton law) and its

implementation. The paper concludes that the Human Rights component of U.S. policy toward Cuba is minimal at best. U.S. policy toward Cuba was not conceived to improve Human Rights on the island but to appease domestic constituencies through an agenda of property claims and Cold War anti-communist symbolism.

Lord, Susan, Queen's University

Media Arts and the City: From Sara Gómez to OMNI Zona Franca.

Loss, Jacqueline, Associate Professor of Spanish, Department of Modern & Classical Languages, University of Connecticut/Storrs

The Last Matriushka? This presentation examines recent literary and visual representations of hybridity between Cuban men and Russian women and pays special attention to how “Soviet”-Cuban women represent themselves. In what ways do new feminist hybrid subjects coincide with as well as challenge revolutionary ideals? In particular, the writings and visual projects of Anna Lidia Vega Serova (b. 1968, Leningrad) and Polina Martínez Shvietsova (b.1976, Camagüey) will be considered. In *Anima Fatua* (Havana, 2008), the picaresque novel by Anna Lidia Vega Serova, the premiere Russian-Cuban writer, the principal character is, like the author, a bicultural subject whose experiences as an immigrant to Russia resonate with other narratives of immigration; however, they far from duplicate those of Cuban immigrants to the United States, to Spain, or for that matter, to other parts of the world. The exceptional diasporic condition exemplified by the life as the daughter of a divorced Russian woman and Afro-Cuban man who lands in Leningrad at the end of the 1970s foreshadows the geopolitical divorce between the Soviet Union and Cuba approximately one decade later. In Martínez Shvietsova's photographic Russian series and award-winning short stories, the writer/photographer challenges some of the most recognizable, but also intimate symbols of the most “ideological years” of the Cuban Revolution. In the photograph “Matriushki y símbolo de Volograd,” for instance, Martínez Shvietsova “contaminates” her hairless body with revolutionary paraphernalia. In her short stories including “Diecisiete abstractos de una agenda” (La Gaceta prize 2007) and “Skizein”(Decálogo del año cero) (Premio Iberoamericano de cuento Julio Cortázar 2008), Martínez Shvietsova deconstructs stories through an experimental style and through a subtle yet acerbic echo of history's failings. These new writings and images manifest an engaged theoretical feminism that creatively displays the flaws within authoritarian discourses.

Louis, Yvette, English Department, New Jersey City Univeristy

Oral History and Constructions of Racial MemoryAbstract:Oral History and Constructions of Racial Memory. In 1891, José Martí, Cuba's most prominent and

popular intellectual, wrote: “No hay odio de razas, porque no hay razas.” (There is no racial hatred because there are no races.) The Cuban revolution would later take up Martí’s call and revive his status as icon in its own campaign to eradicate racial inequality. Racial constructions are remarkably resistant, however, and rhetoric extolling a nation free of racial prejudice often does little to change racist paradigms, social practices, or the material conditions of blacks. Oral history provides a window into precisely how individuals were affected by and experienced race in their quotidian lives within these larger political systems. A black Cuban woman explains why she left Santiago for La Habana in the 1940s: “Habiamucha prioridad por la raza. Se eras blanco, no tenias problemas, pero si eras mulata o negra, te desgraciaste.” (There was too much racial prejudice. If you were white, you had it easy, but if you were brown or black, you had no hope.) Clearly, institutional racial practices have changed since the revolution. How do contemporary Cubans perceive and experience post-revolution racial constructions? The oral histories of Cubans of African descent living on the island in both the twentieth and twenty-first century as well as those living in exile highlight not only how national racial constructions are enacted upon the lives of individuals, but also reveal how racial constructions persist or change across historical and national boundaries.

Lundy, Colleen and Jennissen, Theresa, Professors, School of Social Work, Carleton University

Social Justice and Human Rights in Cuba. For close to 50 years, the Cuban people have been struggling to build a just and equitable society often under adverse and hostile conditions imposed externally by its closest neighbour, the USA. In this paper we focus on Cuba’s achievements in creating a just society that centres on the provision of quality health care and access to education for all as well as its major efforts at “green agriculture” to assist in the provision of food. Our discussion is set within the context of the American blockade and US efforts to undermine socialism in Cuba. In response to frequent criticisms that democracy and human rights do not exist in Cuba, we raise questions about how these terms are differentially defined and operationalized in western liberal democracies compared to nations aspiring to socialism. And we explore the challenges of advancing socialism in a world environment dominated by the private market model.

Macfarlane, Daniel, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, University of Ottawa

Diefenbaker, Kennedy, and the Cuban Missile Crisis: Historiography and Reappraisal. This paper will be both a historiographical review of Canadian-American relations during the Cuban missile crisis and a reappraisal of Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker’s approach to the crisis. The orthodox interpretation concerning the Canadian response to the Cuban missiles is that Diefenbaker ineptly managed the situation, in contrast to

American President John F. Kennedy. Conventional wisdom further holds that the frayed relationship between Diefenbaker and Kennedy was the determining factor in the former's handling of the crisis: the PM's decision to delay an order to put Canadian forces on alert, and an attempt to invoke the UN, stemmed from Diefenbaker's resentment of Kennedy.

However, revisionist and post-revisionist literature on Kennedy often labels the President's approach to the crisis as belligerent and unwise, which suggests the corollary argument that Diefenbaker's methods during the Cuban missile situation may have been appropriate, particularly from a Canadian perspective. Moreover, a number of arguments that can be marshaled in Diefenbaker's defence have appeared in the Canadian historiography but have not been joined and formed into a coherent argument.

Thus, an approach which avoids the traditional biases against Diefenbaker and reconceptualizes the historiography has the potential to offer a revisionist interpretation of Diefenbaker and the Cuban missile crisis: Diefenbaker's reluctance to follow Kennedy's line during the crisis, and the PM's appeal for UN involvement, did not stem from personal antipathy but from legitimate differences in foreign affairs strategies and Diefenbaker's genuine apprehension about Kennedy's strategy during the Cuban missile crisis.

Marie Bunck, Julie, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Louisville

Winning and Losing: Cuban Sports at a Crossroads. Since the 1959 Revolution the Cuban government had placed the development of sports at the center of its efforts to bring about sweeping cultural and structural transformation. Over the last nearly 50 years Cuban sports have developed remarkably on two levels. First, sports programs have provided to Cuban citizens broad opportunities to participate in sports on a regular basis. Second, Cuban efforts to develop athletes who would be highly competitive on the international level have succeeded. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Cuba enjoyed the reputation as an international sports power, and Cuban sports programs were routinely ranked among the world's top ten.

Today, many of revolutionary Cuba's greatest successes have faltered considerably. Health and education indicators increasingly reveal that Cubans are neither more educated nor healthier than citizens of several other Latin American countries.

Cuba's sports regime, however, has remained vigorous. On the domestic front, according to Cuba's National Statistics Office, nearly 4.4 million Cuban citizens regularly participated in some sports activity in 2007. Likewise, at the 2008 Olympics, Cuba placed twelfth earning a total of 24 medals, only one less than Japan. And yet, as training facilities deteriorate and resources dwindle, the performance of Cuban athletes at the international level has continually declined since the 1980s. The Cubans are winning and competing less than in decades past.

This paper explores the state of the Cuban sports regime. What factors might help to explain this slow but perceptible decline? A loss of interest on the part of the changing regime? defections? a marked improvement on the part of athletes in other developing

countries? Are sports as important today as a symbol of national power as they were two decades ago? What do the changes in Cuban sports tell us about the regime more generally? How well does the official sports ideology mesh with changing realities?

Martínez Reinoso, Milagros Elena, Oficina de la Vice-Rectoría, Universidad de La Habana

The External Protection of Cuba toward the Caribbean. I will present a vision of the external appearance of Cuba, how this vision is projected to the rest of the Caribbean, and how it has been developing in the twenty-first century. My emphasis will be on the complexities that this appearance of Cuba presents/displays at the present moment. Particular attention will also be given to the challenges of this projection, that at once is integral for Cuban foreign policy and the historical establishment and consolidation of relations in the region.

McCard, Victoria L., Professor of Spanish, North Georgia College and State University

Carnival with Choteo in Centro Habana. Since 1990 Cuba has marketed itself in Europe as a tropical paradise of sun, rum and sexy *mulatos*: a refuge from civilization, where visitors can indulge their primal (barbaric) urges. Like Carnival, a Cuban vacation can be an “topsy-turvy world” where the lower regions of the body rule over (overrule) the intellect (Mikhail Bakhtin), and middle-class (bourgeois) tourists “lower themselves” to satisfy their repressed curiosity about “the dirt” that goes on “down there” among the masses (Stallybrass and White).

Not surprisingly, Cubans have become a hot item internationally and Pedro Juan Gutiérrez capitalizes on this popularity in *Trilogía sucia de La Habana*, a text that offers up-close and personal scatological and pornographic snapshots of lumpenproletariat society to the armchair tourist. Calling himself a “revolcador de mierda” (104), Gutiérrez employs “dirty realism” (which Bakhtin called “grotesque realism”) to expose the most sordid outcomes of the deprivations of the Special Period: “Uno de los grandes temas de mis libros es que la pobreza es un círculo vicioso que aplasta al ser humano” (*Delaware Review of Latin American Studies*).

Poverty, however, is a theme in *Trilogía sucia de La Habana* that functions more as a target point on a hierarchy than as a vicious circle. Gutiérrez’s depiction of Centro Habana with its dirty/grotesque realism mocks and subverts the sensual image of Cuba and Cubans that fuels tourism; and it also mocks the bourgeois morality/mentality that propels visitors to the island and turns his readers into voyeurs. Similar to Carnival, which legitimizes for international tourists the momentary indulgence of the lower regions of the body while on holiday, the *choteo* is a uniquely Cuban leveling impulse that allows Gutiérrez to vent his energies against all hierarchy and authority (Mañach, qtd in Pérez Firmat) in a relentless assault of derision from the margins of society. In this

presentation, I will examine these two phenomena and how they complement each other as Pedro Juan Gutiérrez utilizes them to degrade both his characters and his readers as he brings them together on the lowest level of the social order.

McKay, Colonel John C., Retired, United States Marine Core (USMC)

U. S. Naval Base Guantánamo Bay, Humanitarian Relief, and U.S.-Cuban Negotiations, 1993-1996. Though a source of hostility towards the United States since Cuban independence in 1901 the presence of the U.S. Naval Base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, provided the site of a successful and laudatory humanitarian relief operation known as Operation *Sea Signal* during the 1993-1996 timeframe. The operation, directed and conducted under the aegis of Commander, Joint Task Force 160 (JTF-160), provided refuge and shelter for Cuban and Haitian migrants who had fled the political repression and economic deprivation of their homeland in 1993. The successful termination of Operation *Sea Signal* in 1996 pre-dated by five years the unsavory events that have since occurred at U.S. Naval Base, Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, with the advent of the so called war on terrorism. Of more lasting import is that the Commander JTF-160 was invested with the authority to negotiate regularly with military authorities of the current Cuban Government. The nature of these negotiations and the insight that was gained therein provide an augury of future U.S.-Cuba relations either within a political-transitional context during Raúl Castro's tenure or with a post-Castro Cuba. An examination of the negotiations as conducted by the author, the last Commanding Officer of JTF-160, illustrates the limitations and advantages of this avenue of addressing a much needed re-consideration, in a rapidly changing world, of the future of U.S.-Cuban relations.

Metz, Susan, Independent Researcher

Developing the Artist in Each of Us: Community Culture in the Cuban Social Project. Culture, in addition to education and health care, is esteemed, supported and controlled by the central government. This report explores the organization of the Ministry of Culture with particular attention to 'Community Culture'. A Casa de la Cultura in each of the 168 'Municipios' offers amateurs opportunities to develop their creativity through continued practice in the arts. The extensive network is organized and supervised through the National Council of Community Culture. During the 'Battle of Ideas', the Cuban government has been prioritizing the strengthening of these community cultural centers after the suffering of the 'Special Period.' Reviewing the recruitment, training, assignment and the evaluation of Instructors in the Arts who offer to workers, homemakers and students classes, workshops and competitions will help us to understand that producing not only world-class professional artists, but a cultured population has been one of the responsibilities accepted by the Revolution. We will explore the extent to which this goal is being fulfilled.

Milbrandt, Roger, Humanities Department, University of Alberta

Revolution and Critical Self-Reflection: Cuban Newspapers on the Eve of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. The capacity for self-criticism of Cuba's one-party state has frequently been a subject of concern, even among sympathetic Cubanists. In this paper, I wish to evaluate the capacity for self-criticism exhibited by Cuban newspapers in the three months preceding the fiftieth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. The public statements of leading political figures in Cuba, especially those of Fidel Castro, have generally been the point of departure for persons wishing to measure Revolutionary Cuba's capacity for self-criticism. Observers have also paid attention to debates in the National Assembly, publications of the Cuban press, theatre, cinema and to commentary occurring in the electronic media. Cuban newspapers, however, provide an especially useful site for a reflection on Cuba's capacity for self-criticism. They are widely read by a public accustomed to recognize the nuances and implications which are frequently the vehicle of critical observation. As well, their regularity and the permanence of the record they comprise makes them susceptible to quantitative analysis and comparison.

As I seek evidence of Cuba's present capacity for self-criticism, I will look primarily at the *Granma*, the official newspaper of the Communist Party of Cuba. I will also pay careful attention to *Juventud Rebelde* and *Trabajadores* which generally devote more space than the *Granma* to the discussion of day-to-day Cuban life and often contain implicit criticism of specific government programs. It is likely that the three months immediately preceding the fiftieth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution will be an especially useful period for such an analysis. While substantial self-congratulation about the achievements of the Cuban Revolution are inevitable, Cubans will be intensely concerned about the performance of the government in handling the exigencies resulting from the damage inflicted by recent hurricanes. As well, evaluations of the Revolution and commentary on the recovery from the hurricane will occur within the context of Raul Castro's relatively recent invitation for more open criticism.

Montes de Oca, Dannys, Curator, Wilfredo Lam Centre

Havana Bienal. Art and Culture Today. Local, Regional and Global.

**Morales Dominguez, Esteban Miguel, Center for Hemispheric and U.S. Studies,
Universidad de La Habana**

Dynamics of interracial relations in Cuba. The interracial relations in Cuba are the subject of ongoing debates on the Island. In spite of the policies established by the Cuban revolutionary Government from 1959, these struggles continue to exist and to be reproduced.

Morejón Hernandez, Nancy, Member of the Cuban Academy of Language and Director of the Center for Caribbean Studies, Casa de la Américas, La Habana

The Meaning of a Revolution like the Cuban Revolution. This presentation will incorporate a selected reading of my works that most vividly reflect the impact of the Cuban Revolution. Critiques of my work will be summarized along with my responses. This will be done to provide an overview of the myriad of expressive experiences that the Revolution effects.

Morita, Barbara, Physician Assistant, Disaster Medical Response,

Reaching Safety: Disaster Response in the US and Cuba. This paper will contrast the underpinnings of two disaster responses during the 2005 Hurricane season: Hurricane Katrina (29 August 2005) stranded thousands of individuals on highways, rooftops, at the Superdome and New Orleans Convention Center. From New Orleans an estimated 380,000 people evacuated before the storm leaving behind nearly 100,000. An estimated 1464 people lost their lives region wide. By contrast, as Hurricane Dennis approached on 8 July 2005, Cuba conducted an orderly evacuation of its citizens. In all 600,000 were evacuated, no one was left behind. Ten people died.

The paper provides historical and political background to disaster response under two contrasting political / economic systems. Two historical events greatly shaped disaster response planning in these two countries. Loss of life during Hurricane Flora (Cuba) in 1963 and the 2001 attack on the World Trade Center (US) set contrasting preparedness priorities. Mobilization of resources in a capitalist economy and socialist economy pose different challenges. Philosophical/ ideological underpinnings of consumerism and individual responsibility in the US in contrast to societal responsibility in Cuba impact both government planning and population response to evacuation orders.

The paper further looks at the evacuations themselves and additional factors that impacted the success of the disaster response. Those factors include late notice to the population vs. early mobilization, fragmented notification vs. extensive social networking, reaching safety based upon individual resources to evacuate vs. mobilization of the entire population and the major role that health care systems play in the care and survival of evacuees.

This paper was developed from first hand patient stories encountered in New Orleans during the Katrina evacuation, media research and field research in Havana, Cuba on evacuation and disaster response planning.

Morris, Andrea Easley, Assistant Professor, Louisiana State University

The Integration of the Marginal: Place and Cultural Identity in *Cuando la sangre se parece al fuego* and *De cierta manera*. This paper examines how the novel *Cuando la sangre se parece al fuego* (Manuel Cofiño, 1975) and the film *De cierta manera* (Sara Gómez, 1974) draw attention to the problematic nature of the integration of the so-called “marginal” sectors into the revolutionary process, a process that is complicated by the ties between culture and place. While on the surface, the novel and film seem to suggest that such complications are simply a residual effect that will change with time, through a variety of formal techniques they demonstrate the need for a deeper discussion of how revolutionary “rebuilding” (of places and people) might take into account cultural difference, allowing Afro-Cuban culture greater room to inform revolutionary culture. I explore the ways in which these works, whether implicitly or explicitly, question the revolutionary discourse on “the marginal” during the first two decades of the revolution. With regard to slum relocation and the approach to “integration,” I consider the influence of Oscar Lewis’s “culture of poverty” thesis. I also examine how the concept of marginality has developed historically in Cuba in a way that brings together race, space, and certain practices, as evidenced in one of Fernando Ortiz’s early studies, *El hampa afro cubana* (1906). Marginality is approached by both Cofiño and Gómez thematically and stylistically. In terms of style, sections of the novel and film that may be considered “marginal” to the central narratives of revolutionary transformation reveal the central role that Afro-Cuban religions have had in shaping the values of a large sector of the population.

Mucci, Melissa, Ph.D. Student, Policy Studies Department, Queen’s University

The US Trade Embargo on Cuba: Its Effects and its Future Role. This paper will focus the trade embargo imposed by the United States on Cuba that has been in effect since 1962. The trade embargo will be analyzed in order to determine what effects it has had on Cuba’s economy, the Cuban people, and relations between the United States and Cuba. The embargo has been modified a number of times since its initial creation. Its primary goal was not to punish Cuba, but to bring democracy to the Cuban people. This clearly has not happened. Many people argue the embargo should be lifted altogether. These people argue the Cuban people suffer the most from this embargo and since it is not achieving its primary goal, to bring democracy to the country, it should then be discontinued. These people also argue the embargo should be lifted since there is a new president in Cuba, Raul Castro, who some believe will enact significant positive changes in the country.

There are some misconceptions regarding the embargo, as well as misconceptions involving the ‘positive’ steps Raul Castro has initiated. This paper will argue that the embargo should not be lifted until there are more changes made by Raul Castro’s government. Positive and permanent changes need to be met before the embargo should be lifted. Positive changes need to be effected primarily in the area of human rights. Currently, the Cuban government has complete control over the Cuban economy, Cuban culture and religion. The government refuses to free political prisoners, to step down and hold free and fair elections, or to allow the Cuban people the opportunity to travel outside

of the island that has been a prison to them since Fidel Castro took power subsequent to the Cuban Revolution in 1959. Changes need to occur in order for the embargo to be re-evaluated and possibly lifted.

Muñoz Campos, Marta Rosa, Professor, Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLASCO)

Environmental Cuban Policy: The role of Environmental Education and Community Participation in this Environmental Policy. This paper will evaluate the nature of the National Environmental Strategy and the different ways it addresses the need for Popular Environmental Education to enlarge the capacity of the community participation in the decision making process as well as community development. The paper will examine how the community participation in rural areas of Cuba has been strengthened through Environmental Popular Education and natural resource management. The paper also analyzes the perspective and challenges of the Cuban Environmental Policy.

Murphy, Stanley J.,

Cuba-Related Litigation in U.S. Courts: Current Status and the Broader Effect on U.S. Law and U.S./Cuba Relations. The presentation will be a review of recent cases involving Cuba-related issues, their results or current status, and an analysis of their impact on U.S. law and U.S./Cuba relations. Selected cases may include:

- *Faculty Senate of Florida International University v. Roberts*
 - Challenge to Florida's statute prohibiting expenditure of funds by public universities to support faculty and student research involving travel to Cuba.
- *ABC Charters v. Bronson*
 - Suit to invalidate Florida's statute imposing additional financial conditions on travel agencies authorized to arrange travel between Miami and Cuba.
- *Emergency Coalition to Defend Educational Travel to Cuba, etc. v. U.S. Treas. Dept.*
 - Action contesting the 2004 amendments to U.S. Treasury Department regulations restricting academic travel to Cuba.
- *ACLU of Florida v. Miami-Dade County School Board*
 - Suit to enjoin the school board's removal of a children's book about Cuba (*¡Vamos a Cuba!*) from the school library.
- *Empresa Cubana Del Tabaco v. Culbro Corp.*
 - Action by a Cuban cigar manufacturer against a U.S. cigar company claiming injury to the COHIBA trademark.

The presentation will also address developments in these and other cases or regulatory actions occurring prior to the conference, and examine their broader impact. For instance, the doctrine of academic freedom has been a substantial issue in those cases

challenging limitations on academic funding and travel between the U.S. and Cuba. The effect of these restrictions on the academic community and the challenges to those restrictions on the legal contours of academic freedom will be examined.

Nadel, Joshua H., Assistant Professor, Department of History, North Carolina Central University

Cookbooks in Exile: Cuban Food, the Nation, and Images of Pre-Revolutionary Cuba. It is no stretch to say that food and the idea of the nation are linked from birth. What we eat is an every day, subconscious marker of our identity. As such, cuisine is also supremely political: what we eat, who we eat with, and how we eat are all tied to ideas about gender, identity, and the nation. Cuba is no different. Blanca Zacharías de Baralt wrote in 1931 that Cuban food represented both a “psychological aspect” of the nation and a “synthesis of its civilization.” Both within the country and without, food has been used to shape images of the ideal Cuba—a battleground for competing visions of *cubanidad*. Before the Revolution, recipes and cookbooks published on the island regularly promoted a bourgeois nationalism that sought to unite Cubans around the proverbial dinner table. In early 1959 these recipes changed, becoming, in the words of *Bohemia* food columnist Adriana Loredo, “recipes for the Revolution.” In this guise, the Revolution utilized recipes to reinforce new ideas of the nation, chief among them sacrifice, self-sufficiency, and indigenous dishes. Off the island, Cuban émigrés have promoted a cuisine that is at once nationalist—stressing its Cubanness—while at the same time reflective of Cuba’s pre-Revolutionary tastes. This paper will argue that cookbooks published in the Cuban community abroad use food, along with carefully crafted images and memories, to maintain an idealized vision of pre-1959 Cuba. Paradoxically, the Cuba that these cookbooks elicit no longer exists—if it ever did—save in the stomachs and minds of their authors.

Nasatir, Robert, Department of Foreign Languages, Father Ryan High School, Nashville

The Power and the Peril: Frank Delgado’s Childlike Imagination. During the 1980s, the second generation of the Nueva Trova, the Novísima Trova, began to take shape with the appearance of artists such as Santiago Feliú, Gerardo Alfonso, Frank Delgado, and Carlos Varela. As the Novísima Trova searched for its voice, it was logical that they embraced the symbol of the child. They were, after all, children of the revolution. Most artists of the Novísima Trova were born in the early 1960s, part the baby boom just after the triumph of the revolution. If anyone held a claim to the metaphor of the child, surely they did. Surprisingly, artists of the Novísima Trova use children sparingly, although to great effect. In fact, given their chronological place in the country’s history, and specifically the history of the Cuban revolution, it is puzzling that more artists of the Novísima Trova have not chosen to write first person lyrics from the point of view of a child. There is,

however, one notable exception. While the first generation of Cuba's Nueva Trova alluded to children in their songs, and while the child becomes a central metaphor of the nation during the Special Period for the second-generation Novísima Trova, what separates the songs of Frank Delgado from both generations is his use of the first-person point of view of a child. Three songs in particular—"Cuando te vi," "Carta de un niño cubano a Harry Potter," and "Carta a Santa Claus"—reveal the child's imagination to be a self-defense mechanism capable of simultaneously sustaining and undermining a child's, or a nation's, survival.

Nathan, Robert, Department of History, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Mambises de Hoy: History, Iconography, and the Politics of the Past in the Cuban Revolution, 1952-1962. The ability of the revolutionary government in Cuba to withstand five decades of political pressure and economic isolation has provoked no shortage of attention and explanation. Scholars have recognized the importance of nation and *patria* in the rhetoric of Cuban leaders, but have not adequately explored the origins of this revolutionary nationalism or the narrative logic and symbolism that gave it resonance.

This paper examines how the 26th of July Movement employed the history and iconography of the Cuban independence struggle as cultural currency. From the immediate aftermath of the Batista coup, Fidel Castro and the movement that developed under his leadership articulated a narrative of the national past that served as a framework through which to establish the legitimacy of armed mobilization and the purpose of revolutionary change. Over the course of the insurrection in the 1950s, the 26th of July Movement invoked the symbolic power of independence heroes like José Martí and Antonio Maceo to assert the illegitimacy of both the Batista regime and competing opposition groups.

Moreover, the connection of the anti-Batista struggle with the icons of the national past allowed the revolutionaries to historicize their own actions, simultaneously constructing and enacting a historical narrative that had as its necessary conclusion the triumph of the revolution as the fulfillment of Cuban independence. The historical narratives and iconography deployed during the insurrection became a vital source of legitimacy as the new government embarked upon its revolutionary project, and served as a new nationalist paradigm through which Cubans contemplated and confronted challenges to the revolution in the early 1960s and beyond.

Nicol, Heather, Department of Geography, Trent University

Coding Cuba: Foreign Policy, Popular Perception and Canada-Cuban Geopolitics. This paper uses a critical geopolitics approach to explore the landscape of current Canadian foreign policy towards Cuba. It is particularly concerned with understanding how Canadians view Cuba's place in the post 9/11 world order, the source of these

perceptions, and the ways in which such perceptions are constitutive of, or challenge hegemonic foreign policies and international relations paradigms.

In order to explore this topic, the paper examines the variety of contrasting discourses and geopolitical “spatializations” which have been used to encode Cuba by Canadians, and compares them with those which inform Canada’s current foreign policy framework. The paper then compares formal discourses articulated by the Canadian Government (vis-à-vis Cuba’s place within an international policy agenda), with the more popularized discourses of the Canadian media, newspaper editorials, travel documentaries and tourists to the island. The latter have not only helped to shape understandings and perceptions of Canada’s foreign policy, but have contributed to the reception of Canada’s foreign policy frameworks at the popular level.

Núñez-Sarmiento, Marta, Professor, Centre for Studies of International Migrations, University of La Habana

Cuban Development Strategies, Gender Relations and Migration Issues. Since 1959 Cuban development strategies have radically restructured gender relations. I have named this process a "top-bottom" "Bottom-Top" model for it has consisted of interactions among the flow of decisions to struggle against discrimination and inequalities designed at the higher power echelons and its permanent modifications due to the feedback coming from the grass roots of society. My paper will connect Cuban economic strategies, social policies and gender relations in the fields of labour and gender ideology along 50 years - focusing on the 90's and the first decade of the XXIst century. It will also refer to the ways in which these linkages have influenced migration issues.

O’Brien, Nina, Annenberg School for Communication, University of South Carolina

Visibility as Resistance: Transvestites and Homosexuals in Cuban Film and Culture. Close textual analysis of Cuban films, and scrutiny of the political-historical contexts of their production reveal that homosexuality and transvestitism are more dominant topics than would be commonly expected under a political structure and national film commission that has historically denied the rights of these groups. The high visibility of repressed minorities within a state-controlled media suggests a more complex picture of the practices of cultural and individual identity representation in Cuba than has previously been argued. The paper relates filmic expressions, particularly in the films *Fresa y Chocolate* (Alea and Tabio, 1994), *Mariposas en el Andiamo* (Bernaza and Gilpin, 1996) and *Before Night Falls* (Schnabel, 2000), to gains and reversals for homosexuals and transvestites in the political and social arena, and suggests that these films fulfill the stated revolutionary ideals for cinema as social education, even as they contradict explicit government policy on sexual and gender freedoms. The media and its practices and politics of representation serve an important ideological function in society, and this analysis provides a clearer picture of how cultural production both constitutes

and reflects social capital and human agency within Cuba, as well as demonstrates how the resulting contradictions are articulated from without, particularly by the United States.

Oxford, Lori, Western Carolina University

(Mal)entendidos, or Transvestites in literature and film. One of the stated goals of the Cuban Revolution was to eliminate barriers that maintained certain social groups on the margins of Cuban society. Although this lofty goal has yet to be achieved, even after nearly fifty years of revolution, great strides have been made to break up the hierarchies that kept women's status below that of the men and the status of Afro-Cubans below that of everyone else, even if many of these strides were merely symbolic. Ironically, though, it is during the revolutionary years that persecution of queers in Cuba reached a peak, since the revolutionary ideal, the *hombre nuevo*, represented the height of masculinity: a bearded "man's man," solemn, proud, and undeniably male. For this reason, any man whose identity challenged this ideal was taunted in the best of circumstances, and beaten or imprisoned in the worst.

Despite this special taboo (or perhaps because of it), the figure of the transvestite, the personage who most obviously refuses to fulfill scripted gender roles, seems to captivate the Cuban artistic imagination, as cross-dressers appear and re-appear throughout literature and film produced after the triumph of the Revolution. Writers such as Reinaldo Arenas, Leonardo Padura and Pedro Juan Gutiérrez, along with directors such as Arturo Soto Díaz and Fernando Pérez, have implemented transvestites in their works, sometimes as frivolous queens and at other times as noble and industrious citizens, thus exercising these figures as barometers of Cuban cultural attitudes towards the practice of transvestism.

In this study, I plan to examine the depiction of the transvestite in Cuban literature and film and, in so doing, treat questions dealing with the perceptions of this figure as a man, as a sexual(ized) being, and, perhaps most importantly, as a Cuban.

Pérez, Christina, Associate Professor of Sociology, Director, Study of Women and Gender Minor, Dominican University

Doctor-Patient Relationships in Cuban Primary Care. The Medico de la Familia (Family Doctor Program) is a specialized area of medicine in Cuba that was created in 1984. The main tasks of the family doctors and nurses are to prevent disease by monitoring the population and conducting vaccination and screening programs, to detect existing disease early on and facilitate rehabilitation, to implement health promotion and education programs to change health practices, and to conduct epidemiological studies and monitoring in their communities. This program is geared at ensuring very close contact between the doctors and the patients that will allow the doctor to monitor the patient's health. Through clinical consultations and everyday interactions the doctors and nurses gather information about their patients. They classify their patients by different risk

factors and diseases and then develop a follow up plan for each patient. They do this family by family, block by block, and building by building. This process is called dispensarización. The primary care doctor and nurse role in Cuba is very different from the "medical professional" in modern biomedicine. While the doctor-patient relationship developed in capitalist biomedical models is often characterized by separation and conflict, the relationship in the family doctor program is more reflective of integration. The doctors and nurses live in the community in order to have daily interactions with their patients. This paper analyzes and critiques the Cuban Family Doctor Program model and the relationships it creates.

Pérez, Gladys (Marel) García, Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba / National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba (UNEAC)

From Gladys to Marel: Memory and History. This paper discusses the participation of a young woman in the fight against the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, and her active role in the first years of the Cuban Revolution, in connection with the leaders of this process.

Perez, Mayra Heydrich, Professor, Faculty of Biology, Universidad de La Habana

International Education at Havana University: Experiences and perspectives. This paper overviews the development and challenges of the Cuban academic exchange with American universities. It also details the experience of semester programs with American students at Havana University. Included in this overview are: main highlights and difficulties and well as the past, present, and future of this academic relation.

Pérez Montalvo, Lourdes, Professor, Faculty of Philosophy and History, Universidad de La Habana

The Education: A different look. This presentation will detail the educational policies and practices that have taken place since the Cuban Revolution. Focus will be paid to higher education and how the demographics of participation have changed over the years. As well, a historical overview of the various pedagogy deployed within the University setting in Cuba will be examined and linked back to the objectives of the Revolution.

Pérez, Ricardo, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Work, Eastern Connecticut State

Sustainable Tourism Development and Environmental Policy in Cuba: Assessing its Results, Considering its Future. The development of Cuba's international tourism industry since the start of the Special Period has made tourism one of the leading economic sectors of the island and led noted environmental scholars to suggest that "if sustainable development practices were to characterize the new Cuban coastal tourism products, the potential that other Caribbean markets would competitively adopt environmentally progressive practices may be increased" (Lindeman, Tripp, Whittle, Moulaert-Quirós, & Stewart, 2003). The paper that I propose to present at "The Measure of a Revolution Conference" is based on ongoing field research in north Cuba where I explore the effects of Cuba's efforts since the early 1990s to develop an infrastructure of hotels, roads, and beach resorts on the environment in coastal areas. My presentation will seek to answer the following questions that have guided my research since 2004: 1) How is the idea of 'sustainable development' relevant to understand the recent experience with tourism development in Cuba?, 2) How effective has the reorganization of environmental policy been in the promotion of both tourism development and environmental conservation?, 3) Will tourism development be a long-term development plan or a temporary strategy to deal with the economic downfall ushered in by what Cuban officials refer to as the "Special Period?", and 4) Will environmental conservation still be a main aspect of the development strategy if international tourists continue to arrive in great numbers? I will argue that tourism development constitutes the best and most rapid, yet controversial, alternative for Cuba's reinsertion into global markets and will show that the island is rapidly becoming a model for sustainable tourism development and environmental conservation in the Caribbean

Port, Lukas, Faculty of Modern Languages, University of Nottingham

Understanding Cuba Beyond Ideological Bias. Cuba has a long tradition in international politics of a very divisive and polarizing 'issue'. Even people with little interest in politics often have an emotionally charged opinion on the country. This has caused a blind division between two main camps along traditional ideological lines on the left and right of the political spectrum. As a result, the country has been caught in a paralysing stalemate with little progress. The strong attitudes towards Cuba held by many people in different parts of the world has produced ignorance on both sides and resulted in general lack of unbiased perception, analysis and understanding. By revealing these biases on both sides, the country and the international community can start moving ahead to improve lives of ordinary Cubans. This paper will explore and create awareness of these biases on both the left and right of the political spectrum, and will suggest future focus on practical issues transcending ideological agendas by increased positive international cooperation between the opposing sides. This would help Cuba out of the current difficult situation. The most important tools for this exploration will be critical and rather non-ideological analysis of Cuba's modern history before and after the Cuban Revolution. A brief historical context will be presented in order to establish crucial understanding of the country and from where it has emerged to its 1959 Revolution. It will also explore the regional context, crucial for understanding the Cuban perspective as opposed to the

Western perspective. The important role of the Cold War on Cuba's political direction in modern history will be also examined.

Premat, Adriana, University of Western Ontario

Private plots and public land: Explorations of Governmentality in Havana, Cuba.

Drawing on ethnographic research conducted over a decade from 1997 to 2007 in Havana, Cuba, this paper applies Michel Foucault's insights on governmentality to the processes involved in the creation and transformation of urban agriculture sites in that city. Without denying the important function of the state in these processes, this paper highlights also the significant role played by a range of non-state actors, and interests, largely left out from most scholarly accounts of Cuba's recent agricultural developments. Specifically, this paper considers the motivations of individual citizens, as well as the work of internationally funded NGOs, which as some have argued, need to be taken into account in any nuanced analysis that acknowledges the import of transnational governmentality in the contemporary world. It is the contention of this paper that only through such a decentering of the state can one begin to understand the actual power dynamics at play in the recent re-configuration of the Cuban landscape and, by extension, appreciate the workings of governmentality in a country where, despite all pronouncements to the contrary, the socialist government has not only survived but has largely retained its ability to reproduce socialist ideology and reinforce its commitment to the social function of property in a sea of change

Pruessen, Ronald W., Department of History, University of Toronto

Island in the Stream: Cuba's Place in the Global Vision of the Eisenhower

Administration, 1953-1959. High-level U.S. policy makers like Dwight Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles developed an increasingly integrated view of the global arena during the 1950s – and a sweeping, ambitious perspective on the role they wished to play in that arena. They dealt with dramatic crises and what they saw as high priorities in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America and they shaped what they also saw as innovative policies involving decolonization, development, modernization, covert operations, and economic integration. This paper will consider the way Cuba figured into the grand U.S. vision of the 1950s: e.g., how increasing evidence of turmoil in the island caused (or did not cause) concern; how resulting action (or inaction) affects an assessment of the overall reputation of the Eisenhower administration for “pragmatic” and “liberal” policies (especially relative to European colonial powers); and how Washington policies figured into dynamics generating the Cuban Revolution.

Rampersad, Indira, Department of Behavioural Sciences, University of the West Indies, Trinidad

Down with the Embargo! Contentious Politics and the Anti-Embargo Movement in the United States. Ever since the imposition of a partial embargo on Cuba by the Eisenhower administration in 1960, more than one hundred organizations in the United States have been challenging the state on U.S. Cuba policy. Collectively, these organizations constitute a dynamic social movement which represents the crucible of a new contentious ferment triggered by an intriguing blend of international, national and sub-national impulses, ironically sparking intensified relations between the two nations, particularly in the post-Cold War era. Over time, the movement has invariably re-energized, reinvented, redefined and reconstituted itself to persistently reject and attempt to reform this state policy which restricts tourist, family, cultural and academic travel, limits remittances and prohibits free trade with Cuba.

This paper first recounts the story of these organizations from birth to the present: their history, goals, organizational structure, resources, size, leadership, strategies, tactics and activism. It then explores the impulses prompting individuals to join the movement and the impetus accounting for its sustained activism over the last three decades. Finally, it analyses the systemic, national and sub-national dynamics propelling their increased collective action in the post-Cold War era.

Reddy, M.C.Reddeppa, College of Education & Extension Studies, Sri Venkateswara University (India)

Revolution in Cuba: Its Measure on Rural Education. Literacy and education in Cuba is noteworthy – 95 per cent of the total population, 99.8 per cent of adults and 100 per cent of youth are literate. Since the revolution in Cuba, the literacy levels have soared due to different measures taken by the Cuban government. The government has introduced a comprehensive education system. All education in Cuba is free to its citizens. Further, special rural schools have been set up to cater for the rural communities. These schools are located amongst the local communities making it easier for children to receive their education while living at home. University Graduates in Cuba are expected to serve two years community service. Adult education is also offered elementary education, secondary course of worker education, worker-farmer faculty, language teaching and youth movement. The government is active in facilitating the incorporation of women into different spheres of life through special literacy, technical and other educational programs. Youth movement schools were established to promote the education of adolescent pupils. Teacher training schools are expected to study and research on educational subjects, active participation in literacy and scientific seminars. The circles and seminars are part of a governmental effort to make Cuban education an integrated and continuous process. The present paper describes different forms of education viz., informal or non-systematic education, adult education, women education, youth movement schools, circles and seminars, special rural schools etc., which are imparting

rural education in Cuba. The experiments, innovations in methods, structures and forms, which appear more revolutionary in the field of rural education, will be explained.

Riess, Barbara D., Associate Professor of Spanish, Department of Modern and Classical Languages, Allegheny College

Counting Women; Women Who Count. A Cultural Measure of “the revolution within the Revolution.” In his book, *Cuban Palimpsests* (Minnesota, 2005), Jorge Quiroga points out “how gendered the Cuban cultural space is after more than four decades of social experimentation.” His footnote implicitly refers to the oft-cited claim that one of the revolutionary “social experiment’s” fundamental achievements has been women’s integration into the public sphere. In a broader study of Cuban women’s narrative cultural production during the last five decades, I explore this tension through the lenses of history and literary analysis. Here, I would like to present my quantitative research on Cuban women’s cultural production.

I study women’s writing during the revolution by taking into account current feminist theory’s emphasis on local discursive practices and processes of gender signification. In Cuba, state imperatives for the aesthetic representations of the construction of the socialist society, networks of institutional cultural policies, and editorial practices locate(d) women artists in a specific enunciative space. Not unlike the Cuban state, and many sociological studies measuring the “revolution within the revolution,” I sketch a panorama of this space through a collection of numerical data.

Franco Moretti, in his recent book *Graphs, Maps and Trees*, suggests that literary categories for analysis, such as genre, when plotted in abstract models reveal an alternative literary history. I propose that using gender as an abstract category of cultural analysis can serve the same purpose. My interpretation of the data suggests that when analyzing women’s negotiations of the continually male-dominated sphere of literary cultural production, it is necessary to consider the official discourses’ variable use of gender constructions and values. Moreover, it reinforces the continued validity of gender as a category for analysis when “measuring” the historico-cultural changes of 50 years “of revolution” in Cuba.

Risech, Flavio, Associate Professor of Law and Ethnic Studies, School of Social Science, Hampshire College

"La maldita circunstancia del agua por todas partes": Island Nationalisms and Global Context in Cuba and Madagascar. Fernando Perez’s film *Madagascar*, a lyrical allegory on the Cuban condition in the periodo especial, suggests a closed set of possibilities for the future: either to persevere on this hermetic island of dire economic problems and bleak despair, or relocate, at least mentally, to another, mythic isle far from Cuba that is mostly a creation of a desperate imagination craving escape to anywhere-but-here. The film doesn’t offer easy resolution of the ambiguities it posits: whether the desire, voiced

near the conclusion by hundreds of Cubans standing on their wind-swept rooftops, for Madagascar, is for literally leaving their own island, or a less overt expression of the insufficiencies of Cuban nationalism to provide a sustainable sense of purpose and hope in the face of almost total economic collapse. Madagascar, the real one, is never characterized or referred to in any concrete way; its name conjures the exotic unknown and serves as synecdoche for a place that is different from Cuba and therefore necessarily better. My purpose in this work in progress is to offer a brief look at the real Madagascar, like Cuba an island nation with a history of colonial and neo-colonial domination and currently in the process of reinventing itself after decades of ideologically driven leadership, to position itself in the 21st century world economic order. Both countries have turned to mass tourism as their main economic engine, both possess highly desirable tourist “commodities”—their respective cultures and unique natural areas, and both are engaged in a process of opening themselves to the outside world in ways that will necessarily change them in myriad ways. The paper is not an attempt at comparative political analysis of these two island/nations but more of a meditation on how their condition as literal and metaphorical islands in the global stream influences their national identities.

Ritter, Archibald R. M., Distinguished Research Professor Emeritus, Department of Economics and School of International Affairs, Carleton University

Public Policy and Micro-Enterprise, Legal and Illegal, in Cuba. Public policy in Cuba towards micro-enterprise has been more restrictive than virtually any country in the world with the exception of perhaps only North Korea. The rationale for this approach has been political as well as economic, especially relating to equity issues. The results have been economically negative.

This paper will present a summary review of the 50 years of public policy relating to micro-enterprise. It will analyze the impacts of this policy approach on the living standards of the Cuban people. It will examine in particular the consequences of public policy for the flourishing of the underground economy and pervasive economic illegalities. The public policy approaches of a number of other Latin American countries (Mexico and Chile) will be summarized briefly and contrasted to that of Cuba. Finally, alternative approaches for Cuba are summarized and evaluated.

Rodríguez, Inés, Faculty of Philosophy and History, Universidad de La Habana

The Process of Erosion of the Patriarchal Culture of Domesticity. One of the most profound changes that have taken place in Cuba since January 1st, 1959, has been the essential transfiguration of the foundations of the patriarchal culture of domesticity. The Revolution became the precipitate to remove the unfair ordering that had forced women into subordination. This paper will discuss what has been done over 50 years of the Cuban Revolution to enhance gender equity and what still remains to be resolved.

Romero, Rolando J., Latina/Latino Studies Program, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

A Black Mother for the Exiled Nation. Cirilo Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés* had its origins as a short story (published first in 1839 in the literary journal *La Siempreviva*). That same year, Villaverde revised this simple twenty-five-page story into a 246-page novel published as a "First Volume" in Havana. Subsequently, Villaverde revised the novel, until he published the New York final version in 1882. Between the time of the publication of the first draft to the final version, Villaverde moved to the United States.

Arrested in Cuba on charges of conspiracy in October 1848, at the age of thirty six, he escaped to the US on April 1849, where he effectively lived until his death on October 20, 1894, eight days short of his 82nd birthday. *Cecilia Valdés* has traditionally been read as a Cuban novel, and thus forms part of the body of work, like that of José Martí or Félix Varela, that precedes but speaks the desire of the Cuban nation. Though it is possible to read the novel as a "national romance" the genealogy of the novel, nonetheless, also tells us that Villaverde was already influenced by the issue of slavery, that the long descriptions of abuse of the slaves at the hands of the masters, both in Havana and in the sugar plantation, is generated in discussions about slavery in the United States. As several critics have already pointed out, the topic of slavery, which was not present in the previous two versions of the novel, appears in the final version. It is as though, structurally, the narrative maps the exile: it moves from an emphasis on the dead-end relationship between Leonardo Gamboa and Cecilia, in the first part of the novel, to an emphasis on María de Regla, the slave who wet-nurses Criollos (Adela), Mulattos (Cecilia), and her own Black children. Thus, even though critics have read the character of Cecilia Valdés as the representative of the new hybrid Cuban nation, María de Regla, more accurately represents, speaks, and writes Villaverde's own exile.

Rueda de Vetter, María Alicia, Graduate Student, Northern Illinois University

The Influence of the Cuban Revolution on the Latinamerican Left: The Case of Chile.

This paper will investigate the influences the Cuban Revolution had on left organizations and parties in Chile, with an emphasis on revolutionary parties and organizations, such as the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR), the left wing of the Socialist Party and, more recently, on organizations that resisted the dictatorship, such as the Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez (FPMR). This will entail providing some historical background on the formation of the parties and organizations themselves, as well as showing evidence of the influences the Revolution might have had in their initial formation, as well as on their theoretical postulates and their lines of action. This paper will also address the nature of the relationship of the Cuban Revolution to other sectors of the Left in Chile, as well as the role the Revolution and its leaders played during the government of the Unidad Popular and after.

Finally, the paper will attempt to draw conclusions as to the extent of the Revolution's influence in Chilean political life, as one example of the stature the Cuban Revolution holds in Latin America.

Rushton, Mark Ronald, Ph.D., Development Studies, Autonomous University of Zacatecas, Mexico

FAR-Reaching Effect: The Role of the Cuban Military in National Development. One notable characteristic of the Cuban military when compared with its counterparts in other Latin American countries is its popular nature. "Popular" both in its deep integration with Cuban society in general, and "popular" in that it is both respected and appreciated: it is not a source fear and anxiety for the citizenry. This is remarkable when one considers the role of the military in Guatemala, Chile, Paraguay and other neighbouring states in which massacres and extra-judicial killings, repression and threats to government stability were the norm throughout the lifetime of Cuba's Revolution. Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces (Spanish acronym *FAR*) has, since the economic crisis of the early 1990s, served as an important component in the state's national development effort. While in many countries the military is called in for national emergencies (to help with post-natural disaster cleanup, engineering and logistical support, but typically to *maintain order*), in Cuba the military has assumed a key role in the development of the tourism industry and agricultural production. When a natural disaster occurs, Cuban troops are on the street - not to keep order, but to clear away fallen trees, make blocked roads passable, and lead the recovery process in cooperation with citizen's organizations and other state actors. This paper examines the unique role of the Cuban military in the context of Cuba's national development. It provides a survey of the international military relations existing between Cuba and its Latin American / Caribbean neighbours, contrasted with the character of those militaries under contemporary governments, and the historical ties between Latin American militaries and U.S. military "assistance."

Sacerio Gari, Enrique, Department of Spanish, Bryn Mawr College

El futuro en la punta de la lengua: el cine de Fernando Pérez. "Understanding the past and considering the future" could appropriately describe the development of the poetics and politics of Fernando Pérez's films. After a brief trace summarizing his major works, I analyze the symbolic system and sociopolitical crossroads that define Fernando Pérez's extraordinary contribution within the Revolution, reaffirming Cuba's long struggle for independence.

Sáez Carvajal, Fernando, Director of the Performing Arts and Academic Exchange Program, Ludwig Foundation of Cuba

The Ludwig Foundation of Cuba and its role in contemporary Cuban arts and Culture.

This paper will examine an approach to the emergence of the foundations in Cuba. This will include a look at the genesis of the Ludwig Foundation as well as its evolution and development in response to the swift and profound changes in the context of Cuban social, cultural and artistic environment.

Sánchez Egozcue, Jorge Mario, Professor, Centre for US Studies (CESEU), Universidad de La Habana

The Canada and US presence in the Cuban Economy. Canada and the U.S. have been two components of strategic significance in shaping the reconfiguration of Cuba's international economic insertion after the collapse of the socialist block in early 90's. Departing from different perspectives with regard to political relations with the island – isolation and punishment in one case, and some sort of engagement in the other- each country has acted with consistency to its own political and historical backgrounds.

Sanchez, Maria, Department of English and Modern Languages, Northern Caribbean University. Mandeville, Jamaica

The Impact of Cuban Immigration on Jamaica's Education. The mandate of the Language Education Policy of the Jamaican Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture, stating that “Spanish should be regarded as the official foreign language (and) therefore, all children should be exposed to the Spanish language”, resulted a blessing for Cuban immigrants into the island during the 1990's. These immigrants, most of which had left Cuba in search for an economic relief, found therefore a suitable channel to fulfil their purposes. Nevertheless, such attempt would have been futile without the considerable humanistic formation of most Cubans, which has allowed them to imprint a significant impact on Jamaica's education.

The migratory movement of the 1990's, however, is but one facet of the more engulfing Cuban immigration into Jamaica, which has conformed a multi-staged migratory movement deserving attention namely due to its impact on Jamaican history and culture in general, and education in particular. Despite the cultural differences between Cuba and Jamaica, Cuban immigrants have managed to adapt and survive in their adopted country, embracing the wealth of Jamaican culture, while at the same time exerting a direct influence in the educational field. The paper presents an analysis of the possible causes behind such facts, as well as their resulting factors.

The paper mainly refers to contemporary Cuban immigration into Jamaica, highlighting the role of this diverse community, which, despite its complexity has managed to impact Jamaican education, from the highest levels (Ministry of Education),

to universities, high schools and technical institutes such as HEART, as well as semi-private educational endeavours, such as those related to language teaching and arts.

Sánchez-Parodi Montoto, Ramón, Journalist and Writer, Centro de Estudios sobre Estados Unidos, Universidad de La Habana

The Regan Years. The paper covers the hostile policy of the US government towards Cuba between 1981 and 1989. The administration sponsorship of the anti-Cuban lobby efforts of the Cuban-American National Foundation; the role of the Santa Fe Group; the threats of Alexander Haig to attack Cuba as the "source" of the menace to US national security; the US-Cuba confrontation over Granada; the confronting roles of Cuba and the US regarding Angola; the independence of Namibia and the elimination of the apartheid regime in South Africa. The central argument is that the Regan Administration reversed the policy of the Carter Administration in favour of relations with Cuba.

Saney, Isaac, Black Studies, Dalhousie University & History Department, St-Mary's University

Homeland of Humanity: Internationalism and Cuban Socialism. While there is a growing literature and body of documentaries on the various internationalist missions of the Cuban Revolution there has been little discussion of internationalism's connection to the consolidation of the revolutionary project of independence and the construction of socialism. Most of the discussion of Cuba's internationalist foreign policy focuses on its impact in the international arena and function within the overall parameters of the island's foreign policy objectives. The emphasis has been on the external rather than the internal dimensions: internationalist missions, whether military or medical, are often treated as divorced from the domestic sphere. In short, Cuba's internationalism has been treated as epiphenomenal to the overall trajectory of the Cuban Revolution rather than as a central component. This paper explores the Cuban domestic dimension of internationalism, arguing that internationalist programs have always been dialectically linked to socialist development in Cuba, playing a critical function in consolidating socialist consciousness, especially during the Rectification Campaign of the 1980s and in the ability to successfully resist and preserve the Revolution during the economic crisis of the 1990s.

The ability of the Revolution to survive the unprecedented crisis of the 1990s is often seen as rooted solely in the historical legitimacy it had among Cuba's citizenry and polity as the vehicle for the realization and consummation of the historical aspirations for independence and an autochthonous nation-building project. Concomitantly, the Revolution was able to consolidate a broad political consensus to defend or, at least, not abandon the revolutionary project. Nevertheless, above and beyond the weight of history, this paper argues that the role of internationalism cannot be ignored nor underestimated. It was a reservoir of socialist values and revolutionary fervour that was drawn on during the Special Period, an important factor in explaining the resilience of the Revolution.

Sarduy, Pedro Perez, Caribbean Studies Centre, London Metropolitan University

“Loma y Machete”: The Symbolism of Race in Cuba Today. According to the 2002 census figures released late 2005, 65% of the population on the island of Cuba is white, 10% black, and 24,9% mulato or mixed. As a result, white Cubans have been saying “I told you, we're the majority”; others celebrate the growing mulato population. The 'one drop' rule obviously does not apply in this Caribbean nation, as blacks are becoming more of a minority. What does this mean? Are blacks being rendered invisible? To what extent has the revolution made a difference? To what extent is that difference true today? What is it like to be black Cuban? These are some key questions I'll address in my presentation.

Saunders, Tanya, Post-Doctoral Fellow, Africana Studies and Sociology, Lehigh University

All the Homosexuals Are Men and All the Women Are Straight: How Heteronormativity Excluded Women from Cuba's 'Sexual Revolution'. Since 2003, mainstream American newspapers, such as the New York Times and the LA Times, have published featured pieces about the "Sexual Revolution in Contemporary Cuba." The main argument of these pieces is that things have gotten so much better for Cuba's LGBT citizens, that one simply has to walk through central Havana, to see the large numbers of gays, men who have sex with men, and transvestis (gay men who pass as women) who overwhelm the streets of Central Havana. Such public displays of non-heteronormativity may be interpreted as the successful progression of Cuba's state led "Sexual Revolution," in which sexual citizenship has been expanded to a citizenship status that includes Cuba's sexual minorities. However, if one looks for women when perusing Havana's popular gay areas one wonders "Where are all the women?"... and in the case of black lesbians, "Where are all the black women? Aren't those born female included in Cuba's sexual revolution?" To this end, I analyze the social activism undertaken by the Havana-based, lesbian run organization called OREMI, whose key founding members were women of African descent. In this essay I address the following question: why has the Cuban State been unable to include all female born citizens in Cuba's sexual revolution? Through an analysis of OREMI's activism I show how for many black lesbians, the intersections of race, gender and sexuality has resulted a particularly intense form of social isolation. This essay draws from ethnography, archival and interview data collected between 1998-2006.

Scheye, Elaine, International Advisory Services, Academic Medical Centers & Affiliated Medical Clinics, Chicago

Healthcare and Biotechnology in Cuba. *The Measure of a Revolution, Cuba, 1959-2009*,

Understanding the Past, Considering the Future requires one to look at the origins of the Revolution, what it hoped to accomplish, measured against its accomplishments. To address these issues, the measure that will be used will center on Cuba's healthcare system and biotechnology sector.

Politics in healthcare matter. So does political will. The impact of political variables on Cuba's healthcare policy and health outcomes will be discussed. To fully understand Cuba's healthcare system and its developing biotechnology sector, included will be a discussion of its Constitutional guarantee of health care and education for all its citizens and its effects on healthcare outcomes, such as life expectancy and infant mortality rates. Comparisons and contrasts of Cuba's health care system and its biotechnology sector with countries that treat the two as market driven commodities will be drawn.

Of necessity, included in the discussion will be an analysis of the effects of the almost 50 year embargo (blockade) by the United States of trade with Cuba and whether it has deterred Cuba from achieving the intended goals of the Revolution and its health care system and biotechnology sector.

Finally, in consideration of the future, the issue of sustainability will be discussed. As Cuba continues to evolve, if Cuba moves toward the implementation of some market based reforms, will Cuba be able to sustain its achievements in its health care system and biotechnology sector?

Schultz, Lars, Professor of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Benevolent Domination: The Ideology of U.S. Policy toward Cuba. Washington's hostile post-Cold War policy toward Cuba is often explained as a function of domestic politics – as an effort to curry favor among Cuban-American voters and campaign contributors, most of whom live in Florida, which has the fourth-largest number of votes in the Electoral College. While not denying the significance of domestic politics, this paper argues that the bedrock of U.S. policy is an ideology of benevolent domination. Created at the time of the Spanish-Cuban-American War, this ideology was captured perfectly by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1907 when he explained that "I am seeking the very minimum of interference necessary to make them good," and it is seen today in the 2004 report of the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba.

Schultz, Rainer, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, Harvard University

Beyond the Classroom: Cuba's Educational Revolution, 1959-62. "And a communist society will never be possible if man is not educated to live in that society...For it is not only a question of economic development...it is also to a very important and fundamental degree a question of education." (Fidel Castro, 18.7.1966) The single most remarkable phenomenon of Cuba's revolution is its educational process. As Jorge Domínguez puts it,

“Cuba’s educational transformation was the revolutionary government’s most impressive achievement” (Domínguez 1993, 120). Similar to other socialist societies, education loomed large on the transformative agenda of the revolutionary’s leadership –as Fidel Castro famously put it, “Revolution and Education are almost synonymous” (Castro, 1961, 113) provoking deep, long-lasting changes in people’s lives. All the more remarkable that no comprehensive study to address this transformation in its ensemble has been undertaken to this day. While for other socialist societies more sophisticated studies on various aspects of education are abundant, publications on Cuba’s educational transformations are numerous, yet are too specialized to be able to grasp larger social changes and not based on critical archival research.

In my presentation, I will discuss the formation of Cuba’s socialist education during the first decade after the revolution based on previously unseen documents from Cuba’s Ministry of Education (MINED), the archive at the Museo de Alfabetización and other Cuban institutions. My goal is to analyze the role of education in the development of Cuba’s new economic order as well as for the establishment of a ‘socialist political hegemony’. I contend that the country’s educational transformation is a key prism for understanding the country’s broader transformative experiences during the national alphabetization campaign in 1961, its precursors and aftermath but also raise important questions about the foundations of Cuba’s educational program that converted the island into an exporter of ‘human capital’ and educational programs up to this day.

Schwartz, Stephanie, Postdoctoral Fellow, Bryn Mawr College

Manuel Piña: Appropriate Documents. In his 1996 installation (*De)constructions and Utopias (Tribute to Eduardo Muñoz)*, photographer Manuel Piña deployed a trope considered representative of much of contemporary Cuban aesthetic production: he recycled. Piña collected, printed, and reassembled the photographic negatives of the photographer Eduardo Muñoz. Muñoz’s subject was Cuba’s microbrigades, a state-sponsored cooperative building program, which according to Piña was “the last authentically utopian gesture of the revolution.” Like much of the revolution’s work, the popular program came to a halt in 1989, leaving the city of Havana more or less permanently under construction.

Simultaneously nostalgic and critical, Piña’s “deconstruction” of the revolution’s work points to what critics have described as the “post-utopian” character of Cuban art in the 1990s. Marked by a subtle but significant interrogation of the revolution’s promises and limits, “post-utopian” work seems to ask, to follow Fredric Jameson: has utopia, in the wake of the events of 1989, lost its social function? Piña’s work, I will argue, addresses this question by upending its terms. The object of his critique is not the regime or the state—“power” itself; it is governmental techniques, or power’s form. Appropriating and recycling documents of the revolution’s utopic aspirations, its commitment to basic human rights, Piña’s work squarely confronts—and simultaneously deconstructs—the social implications of photography’s claim to confirm that history. Since the 1960s (since Korda captured Che), that claim has been paramount.

Examining Piña's work from within the history of photography and photography's role in representing the revolution, my paper will position contemporary Cuban art within a pervasive—global—reassessment of the status of the historical document. Perhaps what is at stake here is not a forfeiture of utopia. Perhaps Cuban art in the 1990s sought to reclaim utopia—demonstrating that utopia, like history, is always incomplete.

**Serra, Ana, Associate Professor of Spanish and Latin American Studies,
Department of Language and Foreign Studies, American University**

Tales from Abroad. The Cuban Special Period Through Foreign Eyes. In the past few years some critics have called Cuba a sort of historical theme park, as the last remnant of a socialist state since the 1990s. The so-called boom of Cuban studies, both in terms of the amount of Cuban books published abroad and the development of an expanding field in criticism, has dealt with the complex situation of the Special Period in Cuba, where the reinforcement of revolutionary values coexists with signs of radical change.

With this background in mind, this paper looks at the representation of the Cuban Special Period in the novels of writers who live abroad, such as Teresa Dovalpage, Belén Gopegui and Rafael Argullol. These writers use the metaphor of love relationships between foreigners and Cubans to explore the changing perceptions among both groups. The novels examine issues of gender and sexuality, race and colonialism, and my analysis of the texts is contrasted with views on the Special Period by Cuban essayists such as Antonio José Ponte, Roberto Zurbano and Víctor Fowler Calzada.

**Sicotte, Maryline, Beatriz E Alvarado, Esther M León, Maria-Victoria Zunzunegui,
Groupe de Recherche Interdisciplinaire en Santé, Université de Montréal**

Social Networks and depressive symptoms among elderly women and men in Havana, Cuba. Social ties may benefit mental health because of their positive effects on health behaviours and psychological states, or by promoting access to a greater variety of types of support. Furthermore, social networks are particularly beneficial to mental health in the presence of stress. It is known that physical limitations and economic insecurity lie at the heart of a stress process that may lead to depression in elders. Social relations may buffer the effects of the stress caused by such negative life events and reduce the risk of depression. In Cuban society, we expect family relationships to be salient for the mental health of elderly adults, as observed in studies carried out in more traditional societies. Our objectives were to investigate how the characteristics of social networks varied by gender among elderly Cuban men and women residing in Havana. Information was gathered from a representative sample of the elderly population in Havana (n = 1905), as part of the SABE (Salud, Bienestar y Enuejecimiento) study. Our results indicate that the structural and functional characteristics of social networks among elderly Cuban reflect the values of traditional societies in terms of the roles expected of children and family in

the care of their elders. In Cuban elders, 89.2% had children and 60.5% of them lived with at least one of their offspring. Women who were or had been married, lived in an extended family, and enjoyed balanced exchanges with relatives and children reported less depressive symptoms. Men report less depressive symptoms if they were currently married, and did not live alone. Living with others (independent of the type of living arrangement), especially with their children, and a great diversity of links were important deterrents of depression in face of insufficient income for both women and men. In conclusion, we found that co-residency with children has proven to be a source of well-being for Cuban elders, especially when facing financial stress. Women may benefit more than men from these networks because of their poorer social circumstances or because of their greater involvement. Our findings suggest that in the face of the rapid ageing of the Cuban population (also observed in all Latin American populations) and the reduction of the fertility rates, policies that protect inter-generational transfers should be emphasized. However, the lack of efficacy of family networks to reduce the distress caused by physical disability underlines the necessity of programmes supporting Cuban families with disabled parents, i.e. home and community care.

Smith, Barbara Lynn, Rio Rancho Public Schools

Cuban Popular Education: One Descriptive Case Study. This research describes and analyzes the work being done by a large nongovernmental popular education program in Cuba, Colectivo de Investigación Educativa "Graciela Bustillos" ["Graciela Bustillos" Collective of Educational Research].

On the theoretical level, the study looks at one popular education program functioning within a socialist state and its work alongside the political and social structures of the country. The study also offers a historical and theoretical analysis of influences that impacted the development of the literature, curriculum, training and methodology used by the program.

Smith, Wayne, Senior Fellow and Adjunct Professor, John Hopkins University

Likely New Directions in U.S. Policy Toward Cuba. This paper will consider if, after 50 years of failed policy, the U.S. now seems to be trying something new, something more likely to produce positive results in its policy toward Cuba. I will briefly review the 50 years of failure leading up to the election of the new president in the U.S. (November 2008) and his inauguration (January 2009). I will then consider the new directions (if any) indicated by the new administration and discuss their prospects for success.

Sorolla Fernandez, Ileana, Director, Center for Studies of International Migrations, University of La Habana

The Cubans in the U.S. and their special immigration status: 50 years after. The permanent flows of Cuban immigrants in different historical moments to the U.S. and the evolution of the Cuban Society and the Cuban Miami Community during these 50 years have transformed the Cuban Community. This has threatened the sustainability of the Cuban Adjustment Act. At the same time, the present U.S. Administration has suspended the migration accords of 1994-1995 unilaterally. More recently, human smuggling has been raised as an issue. These issues are serious concerns of national security for both governments. It is suggested that accords between the two countries need to be re-established to deal with these problems.

Benson, Devyn Spence, Gaius Charles Bolin Fellow, Department of History / Africana Studies Program, Williams College

“Black, Poor, and a Teacher:” Conrado Benítez and the Role of Racial Politics in the Cuban Revolution, 1959-1961. My overall project shows how the post-1959 Cuban revolutionary government highlighted racial conflicts to undermine counterrevolutionary movements and solicit support from Afro-Cubans. Using a variety of sources, including Cuban newspapers, government speeches, and photographs, my dissertation reveals how the new leadership publicly discussed the problems facing people of color, an issue frequently silenced by Cuba’s accepted ideology of racial democracy. As with any government sponsored project, however, many Afro-Cubans interpreted the new racialized discourse in ways that went beyond official pronouncements. Thus, I analyze *testimonios* and oral histories from Afro-Cubans to uncover the ways people of color contributed to and challenged the new leadership’s claims over racial politics.

This particular paper examines the parameters of this discourse by focusing on the Literacy Campaign of 1961. I explore the rhetoric surrounding the death of a black volunteer teacher, Conrado Benítez, to reveal a shift in revolutionary discourses on race. Official sources celebrated Benítez as a martyr while labeling those responsible for his death racist counterrevolutionaries. Cuban leaders sought to downplay lingering racial tensions by using the image of an assassinated Afro-Cuban teacher as the figurehead in the campaign to eliminate illiteracy.

Spink, Erica, Sociology Department, Queen’s University

Solidarity Rock: Revolution Revisited. This paper will take a critical look at how (and whether) the Cuban music industry produces a particular way of knowing and portraying a 'Cuban identity'. I will explore some of the implications the mechanisms and processes of this knowledge construction of Cuban identity has on musical diversity within Cuba. I will investigate how what has come to be known as 'Cuban' music is managed,

manipulated, articulated, facilitated, and resisted through the interplay of roles and strategies between corporations, the Cuban government, and communities of musicians. I extend my critique to a growing movement within Cuba that has been marginalized; that of the rock n' roll, punk, and hip-hop sub-culture(s). In conclusion, I ask how the underground musical movement in Cuba can shed further critical light on the political economic debates on 'cultural production' in general, and relations of power and resistance in Cuba, in particular.

**Stock, Ann Marie, Associate Professor of Hispanic Studies and Film Studies,
Department of Modern Languages & Literatures, College of William and Mary**

Cuban Cinema Turns Fifty: Screening an Island in Transition. “You have arrived in the capital that belongs to all Cubans.” An image of a billboard displaying these words opens Buscándote Havana (Searching for You, Havana, 2006), a poignant documentary juxtaposing hope with harsh reality. This film explores the plight of Cubans who make their way from the eastern provinces to Havana—where they stay. Alina Rodríguez Abreu investigates the challenges faced by migrants seeking nothing more than a job and a place to live in order to improve their lives. With respect and rigor, the 20-something filmmaker portrays these transplanted *habaneros*, and reveals the precarious space they occupy. What results is a collective portrait of islanders living on the margins of their society, all the while seeking to be “at home” in Cuba during this time of accelerated change.

In emphasizing transition and transformation, upheaval and uncertainty, this film provides the point of departure for this essay. Buscándote Havana serves as a metaphor for a new generation of audiovisual artists. Cuba’s young aspiring filmmakers, like these migrants, are seeking to locate themselves. As they document their rapidly-changing reality, they explore what it means to be “Cuban” in the 21st century. All the while, they struggle to become “at home” in the world of Cuban cinema. As Cuban revolutionary cinema turns 50, it is fitting to focus on these emerging filmmakers. Like previous generations of Cuban cineastes, these new artists are wielding cameras to construct their nation. Unlike their industry predecessors, however, many of these artists work outside the ICAIC (Instituto Cubano de Arte e Industria Cinematográficos). Filming from the margins, they focus on persistent problems and question long-held truths. In provoking debates, they inserting themselves in the island’s cultural politics and contributing to its transformation.

This essay introduces this new generation of cineastes—adept at employing new technologies, capable of establishing alliances in and beyond Cuba, and prepared to *resolver* or make do. Inheritors of the revolution rather than its original architects, these filmmakers negotiate state structures while availing themselves of international opportunities. Their entrepreneurial spirit, penchant for artistic experimentation, and preoccupation with the disenfranchised in their midst have positioned them as leaders in Cuba’s rapidly-changing cultural sphere.

Strug, David L., Professor of Social Work, Wurzweiler School of Social Work, Yeshiva University

The Cuban Revolution: The Contribution of North Americans. Hundreds of North Americans from the US and Canada went to live and work in Cuba during the first decade of the revolution in support of this historic event. They worked in the arts, in education, in factory work, in health care, and in journalism. Their work helped to meet a need for professionals and technical advisers created by the exodus of large numbers of Cubans after the revolutionary triumph of 1959. Their contribution has not been described in the literature. This presentation discusses the experiences of 15 North Americans who went to live and work on the island after the revolution and who are representative of many others. It notes why they went, what they contributed to the revolution, and how their lives were changed by their work. This talk notes that North Americans traveled to Cuba to support the revolution for a variety of personal and professional reasons and made significant contributions as technical advisors and as other types of workers. Their experiences on the island heightened their social consciousness and political commitment. They learned political lessons that may be useful to today's progressive social activists. The data for this talk come from qualitative research and from interviews with North Americans that were conducted in the US, in Canada, and in Havana between April 2008-2009.

Stubbs, Jean, Caribbean Studies Centre, London Metropolitan University

'El Habano': The Havana cigar and the world it has shaped. My paper explores the central yet little explored link between migration and commodity production as major political upheavals in Cuba produced outmigration, creating Cuban communities and economies abroad, centred around 'El Habano', or premium Havana cigar - the luxury tobacco product for which Cuba is famous the world over, and which is also much imitated. For over a decade I have conducted research in the Canary Islands, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and the United States, as well as Brazil, Colombia and Mexico, and amassed a large body of material documenting a wider Havana cigar paradigm, whereby the seed, agricultural and industrial know-how, and human capital have been transplanted to replicate the quality product. My paper draws out the interconnections across time and territories, decentring Havana cigar history and exploring the conceptual implications for historicizing our understanding of contemporary Cuba.

Tahsin, Emine, Department of Economics, Istanbul University

Looking to future and considering the role of ALBA in Cuban Economy. In order to understand the basis of Cuban economy we need to define clearly the path of Cuban revolution. Cuban revolution under the conditions of US blockade provide transformation

of socialist society in many related titles. Considering the conditions of Cuban economy and society in 1959 it is possible to see the main differences and transformation process. The second thing that should be considered is “special period”. After the end of socialist block Cuban economy have to face some obstacles. Under given parameters, we will try to answer the basis of Cuban economy and give answers how Cuban economy handle the special period and the blockade.

Given these main stages of Cuban economy, this study aim to give answers to the role of ALBA, integration process, for the Cuban economy. Cuban revolution play an important role in the emergence of ALBA. Addition to this, ALBA have created externalities within the Cuban economy that also strength the continuity of Cuban revolution and also is one of the main tools that highlights the future changes in Cuban economy. In this study first of all the background of ALBA and the effects of ALBA to Cuban economy and Latin America as a whole will be answered. Considering the discussions of change in Cuban economy the basic needs of society the possible roles of ALBA will be discussed.

Tanka, Mirnali,

Currency Counterpoints: Social Practices of Money in 21st Century Cuba. “*Todo es dinero*” (“everything is money”) is a common refrain that I encountered in Havana. This phrase captures the significance of studying money in Cuba as an important and contested domain of meaning making and morality. The circulation of multiple currencies (Cuban Peso, Cuban Convertible Peso and US Dollar) is a crucial arena where anxieties over shifting semantic and cultural matrices are negotiated. This paper traces the continuities and discontinuities between official discourses, popular folklores and social practices of money in Cuba. It draws on economic anthropological theory and preliminary ethnographic dissertation fieldwork conducted among differentially positioned actors in Havana in the summers of 2007 and 2008.

Money does not exist in abstraction of its specific circumstances and the myriad ways in which people encounter and engage with money has to be historically, culturally and morally contextualized. Furthermore, the symbolic and material valences of particular currencies are dialogically determined in conversation with other currencies. This paper argues that the conceptualizations of different currencies in Cuba articulate liminal notions of morality, trust and autonomy. Representations of the efficacy or impotence of certain currencies are also intricately related to shifting perceptions of labor and leisure on the island. Finally, this paper also explores the ways in which the uses of various currencies as media of exchange and stores of value, express locally situated ambivalences toward the present Cuban social order, as well as speculations about Cuba’s changing global socio-economic linkages in a post-Fidel era.

Thompson, Frank, University of Michigan

Reconsidering Cuban Economic Performance in Retrospect. This paper updates and expands the author's article *Cuban Economic Performance in Retrospect* (RRPE 37(3), 2005) which examined the performance of the Cuban economy in the second half of the twentieth century. Since that article was prepared important new information has become available both in corrective revisions of statistical series for that period, e.g., by the OECD and the UNDP, and with the recent accessibility of some relevant official Cuban statistics (both published and not). The primary focus remains on levels and growth rates of per capita GDP, of which there are various estimates from different sources to be summarized and compared. But substantial consideration is given as well to the evolution of the Human Development Index (HDI) and even broader conceptions of human development for Cuba, especially in comparison with other Latin American and Caribbean countries. A final section of the paper will attempt to analyze the development of and prospects for the Cuban economy currently and, more speculatively, beyond, relying especially on the author's ongoing consultations with sources in Cuba, especially researchers at the Centro de Estudios de la Economía de Cuba (CEEC) at the University of Havana.

Valdés, Nelson P., Emeritus Professor, Sociology Department, University of New Mexico

Revolutionary Succession in Cuba: What Fidel Castro Could Teach Max Weber [and Others]. The paper will be a continuation of my work on the structural and cultural origins of charisma as well as the dynamics of charisma and revolutionary politics. The paper will concentrate on the period after July 2006. One central point that will be made: scholars have forgotten to discuss the process by which state and political power has been transferred and the role that a formerly charismatic leader has continued to play in the island. The paper will be theoretical, historical and analytical. It will review what has been written by different authors on Cuba's political and party systems since 2006.

Vega, Sara, Institute for Cinematographic Arts and Industry (ICAIC)

Soy Cuba, de cierta manera. El triunfo revolucionario en 1959 y la inmediata creación del Instituto Cubano del Arte e Industria Cinematográficos, (ICAIC), posibilitaron la aparición de un cine cubano diferente al producido hasta entonces y, al mismo tiempo, la exhibición de filmes de otras latitudes casi desconocidas por el público. Esta profunda transformación cultural trajo consigo una nueva manera de promocionar el cine mediante un movimiento de diseño gráfico en la cartelística que rápidamente marcó pautas en la esfera de las artes visuales en el país. Los carteles recién creados fueron conocidos de inmediato como los carteles del ICAIC, y llamaron la atención por utilizar una amplia gama cromática, por su impresión en serigrafía y por sus imaginativas propuestas conceptuales y formales. En muy corto tiempo modificaron la fisonomía de nuestras ciudades, edificios públicos y casas.

I Am Cuba, One Way or Another. The triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 and the subsequent creation of the Cuban Institute for Cinematographic Arts and Industry (ICAIC) made possible the creation of a new type of Cuban cinema that broke with past traditions while also facilitating the exhibition of foreign films previously unknown to the Cuban public. This profound cultural transformation also changed the way Cuban cinema was promoted and a new graphic movement of poster design (“cartelística”) led to a turning point for the field of visual arts in Cuba. The then new posters were immediately recognized as “the posters of ICAIC” and grabbed attention through their use of a broad chromatic spectrum, engravings and screen printing techniques and for their imaginative conceptual proposals and formats. In a very short period of time, the posters changed the look of the Cuban cities, their buildings and houses.

Venegas, Christina, Assistant Professor of Film and Media Studies, University of California Santa Barbara

Rethinking Citizenship Across Cuba's Digital Landscape. Digital culture in Cuba is a tangle of overlapping spheres of expression and experiences. These zones form interconnections made up of individuals, commerce, and the state. The resulting geography reveals the movement of capital, the power of stakeholders, and spaces of intimacy crafting a map of interrelated consciousness. As such, Cuba’s digital culture depends on local histories and characteristics, and responds to transnational exchanges and relays. By examining artifacts, like old Soviet Radar Base in the Cuban province of Lourdes, media infrastructures, popular adaptations of “inaccessible” channels of communication, and cross-media digital production, the talk explores questions about the nature and location of Cuba’s digital environments, and what they tell us about ways of living and learning that develop despite controls on information and activity.

Walker, William,

In the name of détente: Superpower Containment of Cuba, 1966-1976. Leading analysts have portrayed the U.S.S.R.’s invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 as a crucial turning point in Cuban foreign policy. Jorge I. Domínguez sees a restoration of hegemony in Fidel Castro’s depiction of Soviet aggression as “a bitter necessity.” James G. Blight and Philip Brenner largely concur, finding in the ostensible rapprochement persuasive evidence that revolutionary Cuba had come to accept Soviet leadership of the socialist camp. The analyses differ in that Blight and Brenner stress the desire by Cuba to make relations with the Soviet Union as reciprocal as possible.

My paper, based upon my reading of Soviet and U.S. policy toward Cuba from the mid-1960s through the mid-1970s, offers a different interpretation. As Moscow’s and Washington’s interests converged – in the name of détente – to contain Havana’s efforts to support revolution in the Third World, the Cuban government continued to oppose imperialism by either superpower. That Castro appeared to side with the Soviet Union in

his foreign policy after August 1968 was a tactical maneuver designed to create as much room to maneuver as possible for a small power like Cuba.

By the mid-1970s détente had not truly suppressed autonomy in Cuban foreign policy. Revolution in Angola, for example, seemed a propitious development in Havana while convincing leaders in Moscow and Washington of ongoing dangers to the global status quo. Yet as détente began to fall into disfavor among conservatives in the United States and was being called into question by hardliners in the Soviet Union, Cuba was re-evaluating how best to realize its strategic objectives. In that respect, Soviet-American containment succeeded. Given subsequent developments, most notably in Central America, this contentious triangular relationship put on display the limits of foreign policy for great and small powers alike.

**Weiss, Judith A., Professor, Department of Modern Languages and Literatures,
Mount Allison University**

Cuban drama: The anthology as compound eye, the compiler as mediator. This paper will examine a series of anthologies of Cuban plays, some edited inside Cuba, others outside, focusing on the thematic content, on the representation of Cuban identity and of the politics of *cubanidad* in its widest range of expression, from language and the family to the tragedy of displacement and fragmentation. Each compilation forms a unique whole, greater in a way than the sum of its parts: while each play usually addresses a specific issue and represents a limited aspect of Cuban reality, together they constitute a complex portrait of Cuba, in a counterpoint between particular junctures and cultural constants.

The compiler and editor of dramatic literature has the double responsibility of selecting works of artistic value and of being conscious of their thematic and ideological significance. In Cuba, the anthology has been a vehicle for publishing and disseminating plays whose success had been established in productions, as well as others that had not been so fortunate. In the island's cultural circles and in the context of cultural policies that are normally well-known, a compiler or anthologizer cannot plead ignorance or neutrality; they certainly could not in the seventies and the eighties, when only the cleverest metaphors and disguises could save works that contained even a hint of political criticism or ambiguity, nor could they in the nineties, when repercussions were less of a threat but the parameters, though fluid, were not entirely clear either. A similar problematic persisted until recently in the Cuban community abroad, where exiled writers were usually privileged over those who maintained some ties with the island, but more recent editions present a broader range of perspectives on Cuba.

Theatre and film have been bellwethers of Cuban attitudes and have often been on the cutting edge of public debate (such as the role of women and the family), daring on occasion to address race, youth alienation, and other issues burning through the nation's psyche. Theatre audiences respond to cues that might be barely perceptible to an outsider, and catharsis is contingent on the recognition of controversial topics or the successful airing of chronic problems. Themes run the gamut from the grotesque situation presented in *Manteca*, of raising a pig for slaughter in an apartment during the special period, to the frightful analogy offered by *Los equívocos morales* (which is technically a

historical play) between the siege of Santiago by the U.S. in 1898 and the quandary of the 1990's.

Whitfield, Esther, Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature, Brown University

War and post-war in literature and public speech, 1959-the present. This paper traces a Cuban language of war and its shifting articulations over time, in public speech and in literature. In the rhetoric of its leaders, Cuba has been at war for more than five decades, the guerrilla struggle of the 1950s making way for the subsequent decade's metaphorical militarization of collective life. The battles against vice and mobilizations of troops to combat illiteracy that characterized what Richard Fagen read as the transformation of political culture in Cuba permeate the language of public speech as they do the literature of the early 1960s. Novels by Jose Soler Puig (*Bertillón 166*, 1961) and Edmundo Desnoes (*El cataclismo*, 1965) demonstrate the extent to which literature concurs with public speech in invoking a war against public ills that is also manifestly a war against imperial interests.

Whitney, Robert, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of New Brunswick

I am not sure if I'd die for socialism, but I would die for the revolution": Or, How Knowing Cuban History before 1959 Helps us Measure the Revolution. All observers agree that since 1989 Cuba has gone through a profound social and economic crisis. Many would also argue Cuban society has experienced a political crisis: while socialism is still the ideology of state, there can be no doubt that after 1989 the gap between official political discourse and daily social and economic reality has disillusioned and depoliticised many people and undermined popular confidence in the socialist project. Certainly one of the results of this prolonged crisis has been that some Cubans who once supported the regime have completely lost faith in socialism and the revolution and they now openly reject both. But for the large majority of people the response to the crisis of socialism has not been so ideologically emphatic. For all of the political uncertainty and hardship over the past eighteen years, the response of most Cubans on the island to the crisis has not been to unequivocally reject "socialism" or to renounce "the revolution." The question then becomes: what do "socialism" and "the revolution" mean to Cubans? How has the meaning of socialism and revolution changed over the generations since 1959? What do these terms mean today? And, how does our understanding of Cuban history before 1959 help us answer these questions? This paper will attempt to answer these questions by reflecting on what the idea of "the revolution" has meant to Cubans both before and after 1959. The central argument of the paper is that one reason "the revolution" is still in power has as much to do with people's sense of Cuban history as

much as it does with the particular economic or political policies of the regime since 1959.

Wilhelm, Silvia, Executive Director, Puentes Cubanos, Cuban American Commission for Family Rights

The Cuban Community Abroad. “Don’t cry darling, you will be back in six months” Forty eight years ago I heard these words from my mother as she said goodbye to me at Jose Marti’s airport in Havana where I was boarding a plane to the United States. Stories like this one were repeated hundreds if not thousands of time as the first wave of Cubans “exiles” departed the island. During the next fifty years different waves of Cuban exiles/immigrants arrived in the United States but their stories and reasons for departing are both different and distinct.

For the purpose of this presentation I will group the Cuban community abroad in three distinct categories. The original “exiles”, or exilio historico, who emigrated during the 60s and 70s; the ones who left during the Mariel boat crisis and afterwards, which we can call the “balseros” and the next generation of Americans of Cuban descent, who even though not born in Cuba, are considered for the purpose of this talk Cuban Americans.

Popular belief holds on to the notion that this Cuban community living abroad in the United States has been holding US policy hostage for close to 50 years. Understanding the complexity of the different groups that make the Cuban community abroad and the new roles in this political process will help to better predict what their future impact will be on the course of the relationship between the two countries.

Wilkinson, Stephen, Assistant Director, International Institute for the Study of Cuba, London Metropolitan University

Just how special is ‘special’: The UK, Cuba and US relations 1958-2008. This paper surveys UK-Cuba relations from just prior to the triumph of the revolution up to the acquiescence of the UK, under the Brown government, to the EU’s ‘normalisation’ of its relationship with Havana in 2008. The paper argues that despite their so-called ‘Special’ relationship, the record shows that the UK has maintained an ambivalent attitude towards Washington’s policy of embargo and isolation. While recognising a US primacy of interest in the region London, under both Labour and Conservative governments, has followed an independent policy towards the island that at times has tested an otherwise close alliance. It concludes that the UK, along with its European partners, while ostensibly sharing the US’s desired goal of seeing the end of Communism on the island, have ironically helped to thwart this ambition and to some extent assured the revolution’s survival.

Wilson, Marisa, Ph.D. Candidate, Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology

The moral economy of provisioning in Cerro, Cuba. The way people access foodstuffs in Cuba is underwritten by cultural rules of national and local ‘moral economies.’ E.P. Thompson, who coined this analytical concept, saw the moral economy as ‘the marketing [or exchange or distribution] of food in time of dearth’ (Edelman 2005: 331, in reference to Thompson). In Cerro, the location of my ethnographic fieldwork from 2005-7, many of the rules for household provisioning accord with cultural ideas about ‘just’ forms of exchange. For instance, it is not seen as appropriate to accept a beer from a foreigner in public, as this would suggest that one is *jinetando* or ‘interested’ in tourists’ money, placing one’s self-interest in material items over collective interests in ascetic devotion to the revolution. Despite extreme scarcities of foodstuffs in the early 1990s, and continued difficulties in obtaining food in the present dual economy, Cubans are expected to continue to ‘fight’ towards revolutionary goals and ‘resist’ all manifestations of materialism and/or self-interest.

Such rules about provisioning for the household are related to the way the ideal person in Cuba – the Guevarian New Man (or Woman) of socialism – obtains goods: through reciprocity – working for the revolution and receiving food and other staple items *from* the revolution. In this paper, I will argue that this collective morality – the national moral economy – underlies many of the ways food is provisioned in Cuba on the ground. However, in the local moral economy, ‘illegally licit’ (Roitman 2005: 21) exchanges, such as rearing pigs for the sale of pork (‘all the world does this’) or obtaining items from those who have ‘grabbed’ them from their workplaces, make up a grey area that differs from the national moral economy but works within its interstices. Thus for Cerreños, there is a continuum from acceptable to unacceptable exchange activity, even in illegal transactions.

Wirtz, Kristina, Anthropology Department, Western Michigan University

Performing Afro-Cuba: Race and History in Religious Ritual and Folkloric Spectacle.

William Faulkner is often quoted for his lines: “The past is never dead. It’s not even past.” In the case of Cuban religious and folkloric performances, however, the colonial past is often reanimated in “muertos” who take possession of participants to personify imagined Africans, slaves, maroons, Haitians, and other subalterns of earlier epochs of Cuba’s history. What visions of history are served by this modality of embodied and performed historical memory? What other cultural work is accomplished in such performances, ubiquitous as they are in both private religious ceremonies and public folkloricized-religious spectacles? As Northrop Frye said of Shakespeare’s “MacBeth”: people don’t watch it to learn the history of Scotland but to see the drama of a man losing his soul to keep his kingdom (repeating the paraphrase in Denning 1996). Likewise, participants and audiences of spirit possession dramas tend to be focused on being entertained or on getting the advice and aid of the spirits, and the historical memory activated by such performances often operates at more tacit, though no less salient, levels. In this paper I suggest that Cubans find these muerto-performances riveting and “good to think with” because they are at once instantly recognizable and ambiguously multivalent

in their interpretability. This is because the muerto figure indexes both officially sanctioned historical understandings of the “transcultured” origins of Cuban national identity (Fidel’s ‘Afro-Latin nation’) and countervailing popular notions among Afro-Cubans of distinctive, racialized “sources of self-esteem” located in popular religion, cabildos, and traditional folklore groups as well as in memories of maroons and mambís. I examine these themes with examples from a range of performances in Santiago de Cuba. Muerto-performances, as an expression of popular or folk culture in Revolutionary Cuba, thus offer a window into examining the interpellation of Cuban racial and historical subjectivities.

Wright, Cynthia, School of Women's Studies, York University

Representing the Revolution: Canada, Cuba and the Politics of Cold War Containment. In recent years, scholarship on the Cold War in the Americas has called for new interpretive frameworks that would integrate approaches derived from, on the one hand, diplomatic history, international relations, and policy studies with, on the other, those drawing on social and cultural history. (Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spenser, eds., *In From the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War* [Duke, 2008]) Such scholarship has also called for renewed analysis of the politics of transnational public spheres and how Cold War east-west tensions were negotiated at the everyday level within the hemisphere. Using previously unexamined public and private archives, as well as media sources, this paper draws on such approaches to examine the impact of the Cuban Revolution on the formation of the left in Canada and on wider public debates on US imperialism, race, gender, citizenship, nationalism, internationalism and the contradictions and tensions of the Cold War settlement in Canada. The paper will further focus on internal left debates about the early direction of the Cuban Revolution and locate these debates within the context of the contemporary international left literature on the trajectory of the Cuban Revolution. Attention will be devoted to the complexities of the relationships formed between Canadian solidarity groups and representatives of the revolutionary Cuban state, whether in Canada or Cuba. While the primary focus of the paper will be on the Canada/Cuba/US triangle, and on the period of the very early 1960s with its rapid shifts in US and hemispheric policy, some attention will also be paid to the comparative Mexican and Caribbean context. The paper aims to contribute to the burgeoning literature on the social history of the Cold War in Canada and to Canada/Cuba relations but also to wider scholarly debates about the politics of the global sixties.

Wylie, Lana Lorraine, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, McMaster University

Differences of Perception: Canadian and American Approaches to Cuba. The international system has undergone a dramatic transformation in the past twenty years,

producing many changes in the way Canadians and Americans relate to the wider world. Yet, policy toward Cuba has remained relatively stable in both North American countries. The United States has isolated Cuba for half a century whereas Canada has chosen to engage with the island nation. The two approaches have survived everything from the demise of the Cold War in the early 1990s, through the 2003 crackdown on the dissident movement in Cuba, up to the gradual transfer of power from Fidel to Raúl Castro in 2008. How do we explain the survival of this long term difference in policies? In order to understand the roots of this divergence, this paper argues that we must delve into the role that perception and identity play in foreign policy decisions. This paper argues that both approaches have withstood these changes because policy toward Cuba has more to do with differences of perceptions linked to the Canadian and American identities than with what might be taking place internationally or in Cuba itself.

Zingale, Nancy H., Department of Political Science, University of St. Thomas

Fifty Years of American Public Opinion toward Cuba, 1959-2009. This paper will revise and extend for another decade the analysis of our 1999 paper presented in Havana. The paper sets as a context some widely accepted generalizations about public opinion in the United States. It then examines the salience of Cuba as an object of public opinion over the five decades since the Cuban revolution, using several different indicators from the Gallup Poll and various media polls. The occasional spikes in public attention to Cuba over this period are examined and interpreted. The differences between the attitudes of the mass public in the United States and that of “opinion leaders” in regard to economic and diplomatic sanctions are explored. Finally, the evolving role of the Cuban American community in South Florida is discussed. The research will draw on the large archive of survey research data in the Roper Public Opinion Archive and, to a lesser extent, the data collection of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research.
