

**Cultural Maps, Networks and Flows: The History and Impact of the Havana Biennale 1984  
to the present**

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# **Cultural Maps, Networks and Flows: The History and Impact of the Havana Biennale**

**1984 to the present**

Miguel I. Rojas-Sotelo, PhD

University of Pittsburgh, 2009

Since 1984 the Havana Biennale has been known as “the Tri-continental art event,” presenting artists from Latin America, Africa, and Asia. It also has intensely debated the nature of recent and contemporary art from a Third World or Global South perspective. The Biennale is a product of Cuba’s fruition since the Revolution of 1959. The Wifredo Lam Center, created in 1983, has organized the Biennial since its inception.

This dissertation proposes that at the heart of the Biennale has been an alternative cosmopolitanism (that became an existential internationalism during the “contemporary” moment) embraced by a group of local cultural agents, critics, philosophers, art historians, and also supported by a network of peers around the world. It examines the role Armando Hart Dávalos, Minister of Culture of Cuba (1976-1997), who played a key figure in the development of a solid cultural policy, one which produced the Havana Biennale as a cultural project based on an explicit “Third World” consciousness. It explores the role of critics and curators Gerardo Mosquera and Nelson Herrera Ysla, key members of the founding group of the Biennale. Subsequently, it examines how the work of Lillian Llanes, director of the Lam Center and of the Biennale (1983-1999), shaped the event in structural and conceptual terms. Finally, it examines the most recent developments and projections for the future.

Using primary material, interviews, and field work research, the study focuses on the conceptual, contextual, and historical structure that supports the Biennale. It presents from several optics the views and world-view of the agents involved from the inside (curators and collaborators), as well as, from an art-world perspective through an account of the nine editions. Using the Havana Biennale as case study this work goes to disentangle and reveal the socio-political and intellectual debates taking place in the conformation of what is call today global art. In addition, recognizes the potentiality of alternative thinking and cultural subjectivity in the Global South.

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## PREFACE

When I traveled to Cuba for the first time I realized that an alternative culture was possible. I briefly experienced the burdens of *el período especial*, and at the same time I saw the determination of the people of Cuba. I am grateful for that experience because it showed me that with few resources it is possible to do great things. After the years, I have been traveling to Cuba and witnessing the changes, from the alucinogenous slenderness of eating rice and beans of the *Habaneros*, who riding their Chinese bikes moved across the city, to the rhythm of the walk of the volatile *jineteras*, the secrecy of a *paladar* where I enjoyed a full meal (in times of shortage), to the extravagance of tourist culture where hotels feed tourist like pigs and plazas are full of stereotypical Caribbean subjects, and objects, for the sake of travelers and the state that fills its mouth saying that in Cuba nothing happens. But beyond that, I am grateful to the group that have worked for years (against all storms and droughts) to keep the Biennale alive. Whenever they are, in their research trips, in the exhibition venues, in classrooms, restaurants, forums, or as new exiles, they take pride in saying that they are part of the Biennale. For offering support, but more important a smile and their time and knowledge every time I saw them to, Ibis, Hilda, Margarita, Nelson, José Manuel, and Dannys I am grateful. Magali Espinoza and Lillian Llanes had become supporters of our efforts in Colombia to create ties and networks of work and solidarity, to them and to Ruben del Valle for being supportive and graceful during my visits to the Island, thanks. My good Cuban-American-Mexican intellectual and artist friend Raúl Ferrera Balanquet has also

informed me, from a *marielito* (an exile of the 1980s) point of view the insights of a culture that looked so promising in the 1960s and how during the 1970s could reproduce the worst of a totalitarian rule in a tropical island. To the Cuban and Caribbean people, my gratitude.

I am indebted to the work of scholars whose interests resides in Cuban art and third world art, in especial I am thankful to Luis Camnitzer for his energy and openness for sharing his thoughts and insightful comments about the Biennale; to Rachel Weiss for her passion and sustained work to promote (from a critical stand) the virtues and failures of the enterprise; to the editorial team of *Universes of Universe* for their restless work informing about the visual arts outside the mainstream (now part of it); to Gerardo Mosquera for his clarity, honesty, and impressive capacity of looking at art and artists as agent(s) of history.

For his patience and immeasurable help and assistance in the conception, writing and editing of this text I thank Terry Smith, advisor and friend in trips around the world of art. To Barbara McCloskey, Hermann Herlinghaus, and Okwui Enwezor my gratitude for showing me ways to think outside the boundaries, to discover what was behind the apparent, and to reaffirm my convictions as to the social, aesthetic, and political dimension of our work. On the same list I have to name John Beverly, Shalini Puri, Gissepina Mechia, and Elizabeth Monasterios for their constant support in my side adventures and work during the years in Pittsburgh. To John Frecione (and the people at CLAS) for their support and kindness towards my thoughts and actions and to Martha Mantilla an accomplice in the communication journeys through the Americas and the local level my appreciation.

For her endless optimism, support, and love; for being the light out of the tunnel, the air in the cave, and the guide in the journey; for her unrestricted compassion and sharp intelligence,

I am grateful and madly in love to my companion and wife, Dalia Patino Echeverri.

## INTRODUCTION

“The Havana Biennale is a collective curatorial project in which it is difficult to subtract ourselves from the context where we operate locally and globally... We are neither preoccupied with the issues that are in fashion in Europe, Japan, or the United States, nor privilege the practice of installation, post-conceptual, or minimal art in their many variations.

We are interested in searching for ways to give more public accessibility and more clarity in the purpose of an exhibition, and to bestow an open reflection over our past and present, as ways to counteract the illness that our memory and history comprise. We want to be part of the contemporary intellectual space, to locate ourselves in the universe of artistic practice, and join the venture of others who are contributing to the understanding of what we are.”

Nelson Herrera Ysla<sup>1</sup>

“Cultural Maps, Networks, and Flows” explores the history, structure, methods, and practices of the group of critics, curators, and artists, who develop the Havana Biennale (1983-2008). The Biennale is one of a group of cultural mega-events that has projected Cuba’s interest in being at the center of world affairs. The purpose is to explore the debates taking place around the issue of alternative cosmopolitan modernisms prior to and after the Second World War in the South (Latin America and Cuba in particular), to answer the question of whether these debates and practices have contributed to a redefinition of the network of “global art” today.

This work is not about contemporary Cuban Art, which several scholars have addressed in their research and discussions over the past decade. For example, on the international front, the ground breaking work of Luis Camnitzer brought attention to Cuban artists and materialized the utopian island in the book *New Art of Cuba* (1994). The work of Kevin Power and Rachel Weiss, among others, through their reporting on the Havana Biennale and new Cuban art, is highly regarded also as relevant and insightful.<sup>2</sup> New anthologies of writings coming from Cuba have gained momentum recently.<sup>3</sup>

Despite these scholarly works, there has not been a study that explores the contextual, philosophical, and historical issues surrounding the creation and development of the Havana Biennale, its functioning and impact in global terms. This work addresses the methodological approach of the Havana Biennale towards the larger picture of “global art,” its interaction with

the art world, and its discussions on artistic and cultural subjectivity in the Third World. It is also a work on the possibilities of cultural policy in the Third World; as Angela McRobbie argues, “Cultural policy is the missing agenda of cultural studies” given that it offers a program for social change.<sup>4</sup> It seeks to highlight an event that has never received the recognition it deserves from main stream history, major art publications, and the art media. Although there have been some reports in the major art magazines, they have been intermittent and superficial when compared to the coverage of other art Biennials closer to their geo-political and economic interests.<sup>5</sup> For example, in recent discussions of the global significance of art events in 1989, Havana is not mentioned, despite the fact that it had proportionately more artists coming from elsewhere (250 from 54 countries) than any other event at the time, even more, comparatively, than much discussed *Magiciens de la Terre* (100 artists from 50 Countries.)<sup>6</sup>

This work is an initial exploration that attempts to fill that gap. More broadly, it seeks to promote and make visible what is (was) called Third World Art. However, this is not a fully comparative study; it does not explore how other events function or how international biennials and world art exhibitions came into being. It situates Havana within a timeframe in which a number of international art biennials have emerged and takes into account the fact that many of these events have reacted to particular historical, political, cultural, and economic agendas. Most art biennials respond to the national question as it relates to their specific international and global interests. They try to position local production and to promote local and regional (as well as international) cultural markets. The official, political, and economic dimensions of these events are unquestionable, and must be acknowledged.

As suggested by Stuart Cunningham, “many people trained in cultural studies would see their primary role as being critical of the dominant political, economic and social order. When

cultural theorists do turn to questions of policy, our command metaphors of resistance and opposition predispose us to view the policy making process as inevitably compromised, incomplete and inadequate.”<sup>7</sup> This work follows George Yudice’s assertion of finding a “Third Way;” this work attempts to sidestep the relationship of art to state and market domination.<sup>8</sup>

The Havana Biennale uses the international circuit of exhibitions model, heir of the model of the 19<sup>th</sup> century World Exhibition, and hopes to be part of the expanded and fragmented (postmodern and postcolonial) main-stream artworld that looks at contemporary art as a planetary phenomena. It has become a place of negotiation between disputing stylistic and theoretical adversaries. Individual artists, as well as collective and group efforts, are visible in the ephemera of its *mise en scène* and, as any prototypical modern place; it is a site of conflict, a contact-zone.

This work is organized in three parts and six chapters, as follows.

Chapters 1 and 2 explore the Cuban historical experience of producing a singular cultural policy. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Cuba went from being a Spanish colony to becoming a U.S.-controlled territory. The 1898 independence campaign was a fiasco and the call for an independent and proud *mestizo* nation, embodied in José Martí’s “Nuestra America,” was postponed for more than half a century. What the Cuban revolution of 1959 brought to Cuba was not only the possibility of being truly independent but also the possibility of harvesting the intellectual and cultural seeds planted by the anti-imperialist feelings of the previous two generations. For a region that faced colonization, internal-colonization, and the neocolonialism fostered by the Creole-elites that assumed the foundation of the new nation as a private enterprise, the Cuban Revolution was a utopian dream come true.

However, for Cuba, independence did not come easily. Alliances formed between the elite exiles and some factions of the U.S. government produced a counter-revolution that obliged the new nation to enlist itself within the tutelage of the Second World. The tiny island ended up playing a key role in the Cold War and placed Cuba within the scope of area studies, born out of the communist threat in the West. Western scholars, from a post-Marxist perspective, in what Patrick Diggins calls the “nihilistic ego-face of the new left,” have been caught up in nostalgic interpretations.<sup>9</sup> Recently, even film makers such as Oliver Stone had been interested again in the figure of Fidel Castro.<sup>10</sup> The cultural policy founded on Castro’s 1961 speech (*Palabras a los intelectuales / A Word to the Intellectuals*) transformed the cultural production of the Island, and the work of Armando Hart Dávalos became fundamental to the advance of a cultural system in Cuba. By 1976, a new Cuban constitution created the current cultural system and a Ministry of Culture arose to promote, guide, and control the multiple manifestations of the arts and culture in the island nation (with Hart Dávalos as head). Cuba, as a Western nation had the firm purpose of being part of the concert of nations that promoted Western values as universal (but also as ideology).<sup>11</sup> Paradoxically, today a shallow understanding of culture and tourism are two of the axes that support the nation after the fall of the Soviets.

Cuba’s double character, that of being a port and a platform from which many ideas have been launched after being appropriated, digested, reshaped, and endorsed by its intellectuals, scientists, and artists, has made of Cuba a quintessential place for understanding postmodernism and post-colonialism in Latin America. Its Caribbean position, within the flows of the white and black Atlantic, had produced a vastness of cultural and artistic transformations where trade and cultural exchange exists.<sup>12</sup> This double condition was more clearly evident during the Revolution when Cuba became the spiritual and, in some cases, the material leader for other radical

movements in the region (in Latin America and also in Africa and South East Asia), giving the Cubans the identity of being pioneers. This “big brother” syndrome is clearly evident in Cuba’s participation in the early stages of the Bandung Conference and the consecutive actions taken by the “non-aligned” nations to establish a Third World consciousness and culture that could participate throughout institutions, such as the United Nations, in the international arena. Cuban scholars, writers, and artists have been trained and exposed to a harsh but also nurturing environment that has made them, to a degree, the meta-intellectuals of the Third World. At the same time, however, the influence of Soviet ideologies and practices was considerable.<sup>13</sup> Such a double standard of being independent and non-aligned while at the same time being dependant on a new imperial force shows also the duality and contradictory nature of the Revolutionary regime and its institutions.<sup>14</sup> The visual arts were also caught up in such waters; they shaped the New Cuban art generation of the 1980s. The Havana Biennale was born out this conundrum.

Today, Cuban identity is still trapped in a double standard, and also has to deal with the changing environment of the global order (or disorder). Cubans on the island, and in the Diaspora, work to solve the puzzle.<sup>15</sup>

Chapters 3 and 4 (part two) of this work, present the voices of the Wifredo Lam Center specialists and some Havana Biennale collaborators, in order to study the emergence of the Cuban curator as agent in the global art circuit.<sup>16</sup> In a form of a *chronotope* the text breaks the story and introduces the voices of agents involved in the development of the Biennale. It explores how they locate and map local, regional, and international production for the Biennale, and their conception of Third World Art, through their practice and the conditions that made their work possible. The critical and theoretical production of these agents is related to the creative environment of other individuals and groups that they discover through research trips, or

that arise during the exchange of ideas that take place in the Biennale itself. In the case of Havana, much attention has been paid to Cuban artists, and to try to map a country that adjusts itself to match the changing global conditions through the work of individual artists. Most of the intellectual production in reports, notes, and essays presents a singular view of a global phenomenon. While criticism coming from the outside (mostly the Anglo Press) are based on suspicions of corruption and mismanagement by the official institutions that, like the Wifredo Lam Center (under the governance of the Ministry of Culture), organize these events. On the other hand, the local press is mostly informative and celebratory.<sup>17</sup>

Chapter 4 evaluates the Lam Center and the Havana Biennale performance in factual terms, and looks at the structure behind the spectacle that supports it. This task is particularly challenging since the Biennale is part of a larger cultural and political project embedded in the revolutionary ideals that support modern Cuba. In addition, it became part of the larger circuit of what defined the contemporary in artistic production in the aftermath of the postmodern debate. Today, the Havana Biennial is (still) a singular event in the midst of dozens like it. As a mega-event, it does not, however, reflect to the structure of others. With limited resources, it has been organized by a small group of people who are the product of the first generation of the Cuban revolution. What is central about its role in shaping what we know as contemporary art today is the fact that they have recognized the vacuum with respect to the artistic production of the so-called “Third World” at a moment in time at which in the centers of the art world, New York and Paris, the same debate was taking place.<sup>18</sup>

Part three resumes the historical approach. Chapter 5 reviews the nine editions of the Havana Biennale, presenting the most representative debates, exhibitions, and developments.



Founded in late 1983, the Center –named after Wifredo Lam – established a vision of an art event. The first edition of the Biennale, organized by the office of Visual Arts and Design of the Ministry of Culture in 1984, brought close to 800 artists from 37 countries, mostly from Latin America, but also from Eastern Europe, the Caribbean, the U.S., and Asia. The Biennale responded to the necessity of establishing a space of encounter and celebration of, first, Latin American art, to open later the space for the Third World. It followed the model of cultural institutions such as *Casa de las Americas* and the ICAIC (Cuban Institute for the Industry of Cinematographic Arts), that had been successful since the early 1960s. The theoretical event was based on a revision of the scholarly work around the figure of Wifredo Lam, bringing panelists from Latin America, Europe, and the United States. That year, the Venice Biennale, the Biennial of São Paulo, and the controversial *Primitivism in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, also took place.

With the second Havana Biennale in 1986, the fully operational Lam Center took over the event and invited more than 700 artists from 54 countries. Opening up a space of visibility for the art produced in the South and calling for special attention to the Caribbean the Biennale promoted the region’s intellectual and artistic achievements. The solo exhibitions, curated shows, theoretical events, workshops, and forums organized around the Biennale set a tone for future editions. Cuba was also facing the inevitable collapse of the Second World and the financial crisis was envisaged by the organization. The Lam Center went on to establish a path illustrated in Gerardo Mosquera’s article “El Tercer Mundo hará la cultura occidental” (The Third World will Make Western Culture) published in the Magazine *Cultura en Revolution* in a special number for the 1986 Biennale.<sup>19</sup>

From that point on, the Havana Biennale would focus not only on constituting itself as a place of encounter, a port, bringing hundreds of artists and scholars, but also as a platform from which a third way of visual experience (and thinking) would be possible. This platform was one that challenged the two poles of intellectual production at the time, and introduced a series of debates underlining what contemporary should be, or at least what it could do to allow others to be recognized by the institutional system. Nonetheless, Havana has always been contradictory. At first, the Biennale tried to survey the South in a sort of self-archaeology, very much in the fashion of the West. Later on, it understood that surveys imply the creation of new taxonomies, not exempt of hierarchies, a phantom which they have been fighting ever since. This, perhaps, makes clear the fact that Cuba is not free from its colonial past, it is in an unfinished process of decolonization and adjusting to the ever changing conditions.

The question that emerged was: How were the theses on modernity, modernism, postmodernity, postmodernism, and the postcolonial to be used by Third World artists and intellectuals in the constitution of a new space of practices and visibility?

During the third Biennale, held in 1989, and in the context of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the upcoming global turn in the economic and political model, Havana addressed the topic of “Tradition versus Contemporaneity.” The Biennale sparked many of the debates of the moment in the art world. Cuban curator and co-founder of the Biennale, Gerardo Mosquera took a leading role in the international discussions on anthropology and otherness in the art world, while Nelson Herrera (also co-founder) pushed for the inclusion of architecture and popular arts in a more horizontal view of art. Both were supported by Lillian Llanes (director of the Lam Center and the Biennale for ten years) who, from a more orthodox view, understood the intensity of the positions that the art world was facing at the time, and wanted to produce an event that

contributed to the function of art in society. With the decline of the formalist agenda and during a post-conceptual turn towards relational and site-specific aesthetics, the materialization of the installation as accepted art-form occurred; photography and performance art became highly relevant expressions for contemporary art production.

The year 1989 is also a time marker: the fall of the Soviet empire and the emergence of what was came to be called “globalization.” It is also when the concept of the curator-as-explorer emerged in the contemporary art world, registering what James Clifford had observed and Hal Foster was soon to label as the “artist-as-ethnographer” paradigm.<sup>20</sup> Havana’s initial intuition would become a rule, a path, and later a formula applied by the nascent curatorial team (another of the innovations of the Havana Biennale). The third Biennale worked around this conceptual and political problem to select the artists in the exhibitions and the theoretical events parallel to it. It countered with artists from fifty four countries and two academic debates addressing not only the visual arts but also architecture and environment in the Third World.

The 1990s were for many members of the now globalized world a moment of triumph and celebration; for many others, mostly in the outskirts of the global circuit of mega cities, and for most of the so-called Third World (now renamed the Global South), it was the arrival of a new menace: economic and cultural globalization. For Cuba it was the time of the *período especial* (especial period) in which the economy collapsed, producing an energy, food, and public services crisis. It was the decade of the *balseiros*; hundreds of thousands fled the famine and the economic catastrophe (paralleling the flocks of people moving East-West and North-South for similar of diverse reasons). Yet the island survived, and the Havana Biennale has endured, reinventing itself continuously.

The theses (on modernity, postmodernity, and the postcolonial) were finally addressed directly in 1991, applying the concept of syncretism.<sup>21</sup> It was used to stress Western features that were at the same time integrated by the communities of the new world under colonial policies. Here we find the real root of the Havana Biennale, one that recognizes its polysemic and mimetic character, but, always, under circumstances of uneven power relations. That was clear in the fourth edition when organized under the topic “The Challenge to Colonialism”. If *Magiciens de la Terre* responded as an antithesis of the *L’Exposition Coloniale* of 1931, the 1991 Havana Biennale responded to the 1989 French exhibition. The participation of countries from Africa and the Middle East (and Asia) increased, and cultural critics from those regions also actively participated. In recognizing a new trend of colonial power, Havana celebrated the five hundred years of Columbus’ arrival to the Americas. However, the first Gulf War shadowed the events of the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary. In Havana severe criticism of *Magiciens de la Terre* as *occidentalist* on the part of panelists in the Biennale was echoed in the reports published in magazines around the globe.<sup>22</sup> Since then Havana has become a peregrination site to see the upcoming of Third World Art and its agents.

The Biennale was aware of the problems inherited in establishing merely ethnographic approaches; they emulated the work of some Brazilian anthropologists and by adopting a non-colonialist approach, one that went beyond the academic (institutional) to reach an ethnic-real base for working with cultural manifestations.<sup>23</sup> Ethnologists emerging from *candomblé* are called “observant participants.” The term, which inverts the classical concept of critical distance and, instead, produces a sense of proximity, became part of the Havana work model.<sup>24</sup>

After Mosquera’s departure in 1991, the observant-participant approach was taken to the extreme by the curatorial team, notably in 1994. The fifth Havana Biennale was based on an

open-ended series of conceptual cores proposed by the young team of curators resulting from research journeys and a scholarly debate that took place during the previous years. The exhibition “Art, Society, and Reflection” consisted of five curatorial projects addressing: power and marginalization, migration, hybridization, the environment, and the individual. In the middle of the worst economic crisis Cuba had faced, the Biennale put a show of more than 300 artists from 54 countries that for the first time came from all over the world, making the Biennale an event of real global scope. The definition of Third World Art was at stake and the realignment of the social conditions during globalization was recognized by the curators and participants in the event. The fifth Havana Biennale also opened up the event to a real international audience; tourism followed the new economic policies established by the Cuban government in 1994 to counterbalance the burdens of the special period and the restrictions of the economic embargo, and made of Havana one of the favorite destinations for increasing numbers of cultural tourists coming from the globalized world.<sup>25</sup>

Simultaneously, 1994 marks the time of the creation of many of the new international biennials that started populating the network of cosmopolitan cities in the 1990s.

The sixth (1997) and seventh (2000) editions were developed under the same structure. The possibility of having international sponsorship, and participation of nonprofit global agencies (the Ludwig Forum, UNESCO which offered an international prize in 1997, and the Prince Claus Fund, among others) motivated the organization to include artists from the developed world, a fact that has been openly criticized in the South. The Lam Center expressed its conviction that in times of globalization the Third World inhabits in the First one – and vice-versa. Nonetheless, the Biennale has been struggling to cope with the new self-financing model, which has made its schedule and its selection process more irregular. “The Individual and

Memory,” in 1997, functioned as theme producing a nostalgic *tour de force* across the unfinished project of modernity at the end of the century.

With a new director (after the legendary Lillian Llanes resigned in 1999), the 2000 Biennale worked under the theme of communication, “Closer to Each Other.” Increasing production problems rendered the Biennale not as compelling when compared to the many high-tech and well financed exhibitions happening around the globe. Nonetheless, the high profile of Cuban art on the market, a parallel exhibition devoted to the renaissance of cities (starting with Havana’s own renovation project), and the return of a solid international theoretical event, were helpful in sustaining the event.

The new century has brought new challenges to the organization. The burgeoning bi- and tri-ennial landscape took away the past fascination with Havana’s exceptionality. The aftermath of 9-11 has also affected Cuba’s relationship with the U.S. and the European Union. The inclusion of Cuba in the “axis of evil” list by the Bush administration in the U.S., and some of the measures taken by the Cuban government, lead to a withdrawal of economic support by international agencies, making the financial burden even more pressing. The eighth Havana Biennale (“Art Together with Life,” 2003), and the ninth edition (“Dynamics of Urban Culture,” 2006) were affected by such problems.<sup>26</sup> Nonetheless, the Wifredo Lam Center has continued its efforts in promoting the work of artists living in dire conditions and has renewed the theoretical discussions in well organized events called forums, which take place in Havana at each Biennale.<sup>27</sup> The tenth edition celebrated twenty-five years of the Biennale and intended to re-engage the event to its spiritual core and origin; art, politics, and the South.

The conclusion of this dissertation explores how today the inclusion of the arts coming from the margins of the art world (in geographical, theoretical, and artistic terms) is by no means

fundamental to the understanding of the art of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. After Documenta11 of 2002, which recognized the artistic production of the “postcolonial constellation” (in words of Okwui Enwezor), some critics have argued that there is little that Havana can do for the art of the so-called Global South.<sup>28</sup> Nonetheless, the global reach of Documenta cannot be compared with the humble, but nevertheless extraordinary effort made by Havana over the decades since 1984.

The 3,300 visual artists (and more than ten thousand art works), from more than eighty countries (not including the especial projects, community-based workshops, artistic laboratories, forums, etc.) who have participated in the ten editions of the Havana Biennale are the best evidence of its incommensurability. The discussions and the always stimulating (and critical) debates taking place in Havana attest to its singularity, and remind us of the distortions and narrow views we, as outsiders, have of the world. Havana is still a work in progress, as the Cuban nation is (with inevitable echoes in today’s Latin American culture and politics), not a model for proven truths but for creating an open field for knowledge and a collective form of experience.

## **PART ONE**



## 1.0 ANOTHER STORY

“I’m a writer obsessed with remembering, with remembering the past of America above all and above all that of Latin America, intimate land condemned to amnesia.” Eduardo Galeano

This chapter summarizes the contextual, social, historical, and artistic environment in Havana city, from 1959 -1984, prior to the creation of the Havana Biennale. It focuses on how the revolutionary government developed a set of cultural policies that shaped artistic production thus consolidating an art system by the 1980s. It addresses the work of Cold War Cuban intellectuals that was at the base of the new internationalism of Cuba, the crisis they faced, and the emergence of a new culture imperative during the late 1970s and 1980s. The chapter explores, also, some of the theories on *Third-Worldism* produced during this period, especially those that introduce notions on alternative histories. A general history chart and a timeline of major events related to the cultural dimension of Cuba can be found in the appendix.

### 1.1 THE HAVANA CONNECTION

Before the revolution Cuba was a playground for wealthy European and American travelers in search of tropical luxury and glamour. In part because of its geographical and historical position the island had created a unique visual style that combined elements of European art nouveau, art deco, and modernism, then later on Las Vegas style kitsch, with a distinctly Caribbean sensibility. On gaining its independence from Spain in 1898, Cuba emerged out of the Spanish-American War, as a vast business opportunity for American entrepreneurs.

The U.S. occupation lasted only few years (1899-1902), and nominal independence was granted on May 20, 1902. However, Cuba remained under American influence for the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It became a haven for revelers avoiding U.S. prohibitions against alcohol, horseback racing, gambling, boxing, etc; Cuba was a free port, and personified the opportunity for uncensored leisure. By the second decade of the twentieth century tourism had become one of the main industries (after tobacco and sugar) on the island. The visual imagery created for such purposes was characterized by a Caribbean sensibility: “tropical colors, jovial patterns, and other graphic traits...as art deco. This international decorative style of the 1920 and 1930s was typified by sunburst, pastel hues, and stark geometry.”<sup>29</sup> The presence of Cuba not only in advertisements for tourism (that paradoxically used the motto “Free Cuba”), but also from the 1930s in movies, music, and literature made Cuba look as interesting as it was exotic. A large bourgeoisie with ties to Europe and the U.S. emerged. Jazz bars in Havana had the same image as the Jazz bars in New York, book shops and libraries were full of English bestsellers, and cafes became multilingual. These years brought to Cuba the most famous members of the new popular culture (film makers, writers, musicians, film stars, and politicians) in search of luxury vacations and sometimes work. Their presence was inscribed in the architecture of hotels and mansions around the new districts of Havana and Varadero.<sup>30</sup> During the 1940s and 1950s Havana was visited by a number of architects, for instance Harrison & Abramowitz, Richard Neutra, Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, Joseph Albers, Welton Beckett, José Luis Sert, and Paul Lester Winer. They gave lectures and contributed to some urban and architectural projects in the city, for example, the American Embassy (Harrison & Abramowitz, 1952), the *Bacardí* Building in Santiago de Cuba (Mies van der Rohe, 1957), The Schulthess House (Richard Neutra, 1958), and the *Plan Director de la Habana* (Sert, Wiener, and Schulz, 1955-58).<sup>31</sup> By the late 1940s the

increasing use of English in everyday life produced a considerable reaction not only among academics, writers, and scholars. Desires for a distinctive Cuban identity gathered strength among the population. Combined with increasing opposition to the country's president, Fulgencio Batista, whose corrupt regime was strongly supported by the United States, Cubans set out on a mission of political and cultural transformation that would bring the radical *Cubanization* of the island after the revolution. It would transform everyday life and establish a new cultural dynamic.

In an interview conducted in Havana on April 2006, Nelson Herrera Ysla (architect, curator and art critic) comments on the post-revolutionary years in the city:

Havana was a magnificent place, it felt like the center of the world during those years, the 1960s. Here we had all the progressive ideas, all the left parties together. The humanists and more advanced intellectuals visited Havana. The city became a meeting point. Besides, it brought together the spirit of the internationalism of the 1950s with the utopian flavor of the recent revolution. We lived in that limbo between an oppressive (but luxurious) past and a future that looked extraordinary to the peoples of the South; besides, a radical *Tercermundismo* (Third-worldism) infected everything. A rare mix between Celia Cruz, Roland Barthes, H.M. Enzensberger, Frantz Fanon, and Che Guevara flowed in the air... During those years José Lezama Lima, Alejo Carpentier, Wifredo Lam, and Fernando Ortíz were alive. In fact, most of the Cuban intelligentsia, artists, writers, play writers, film makers, were alive and producing. People like Alejo Carpentier used to talk with such wisdom about anything, Cuban music, architecture, etc., that is unforgettable. With exception of some such as Wifredo Lam who was living in Paris, all of them were in Cuba. At the same time here existed some sort of intellectual darkness in some spheres of Cuban culture; in drama José Triana and Virgilio Piñera; and Cabrera Infante's film notes and critiques, and indeed his book *Tres Tristes Tigres* that became a movie in 1968 produced by Raúl Ruíz. The whole city was impregnated with this aroma; you were able to find those people in any corner... Later the emergence of the *Nueva Trova Cubana* and the *Nuevo Cine Latinoamericano* brought new rhythms, lyrics, and images to the revolutionary imaginary for the entire continent. Films such as *Memorias del Subdesarrollo* (Tomas Gutierrez Alea, 1968), *Lucia* (Humberto Solas, 1968) *La Primera carga del Machete* (Manuel Octavio Gómez, 1969) emphasized this. The world as a whole was presented to us through the now famous documentaries of Santiago Álvarez and the TV news reels produced by the ICAIC that established an ethical and aesthetic relationship with the world.<sup>32</sup>

Several international events took place after the consolidation of the Republic. In 1963 the 7th Congress of the International Union of Architects brought the most important architects

to the city. The debates were about the revalidation of the international style (since the topic was Architecture in Underdeveloped Countries), and raised a special interest in Japanese “brutalism”.

With the advent of the revolution, the *jet-set* of Cuban architects had left the country and the mode of commissioning of architectural business had changed. A new generation of architects was born out of this: Fernando Salinas, Raúl González Romero, Juan Tosca, Ricardo Porro, Andrés Garrudo, Antonio Quintana, Mario Girona, and Hugo Dacosta, Vicente Lanz, among others, initiated a new constructive style. In 1963 Cuba received, for the very first time, important economic support by the Soviet Union because of hurricane Flora, which had devastated several towns in the Western provinces.<sup>33</sup> The Soviets established a prefabrication plant that was able to produce up to 1,700 house-units per year. It was installed in Santiago de Cuba, becoming the first revolutionary urban complex following Soviet rules of service-population; *Distrito José Martí* was built for seventy-two thousand people.<sup>34</sup> Fernando Salinas, Enrique De Jongh, Julio Dean, Edmundo Azze, Orlando Cárdenas, and other Cuban architects projected new uses, designs, and models out of the plant to fit the realities of the tropical climate. Transparencies and sections were developed and informed in part by the International Style. They become the signature of the new Cuban architecture, in part functioning against the monumentality of the Soviet architecture brought and supported by Khrushchev during the initial years of the revolution. A symbolic piece of architecture made for the 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of the IUA was the Cuban Pavilion (Juan Campos, 1962-3). It, and the later *Copelia* building, would become the axis of the new cultural order in the City, changing the center from *Habana Vieja* to the *Vedado* sector.



Localization of Cuba in the World, in the Caribbean basin, and Havana City.

Figure 1. Havana City in the World map

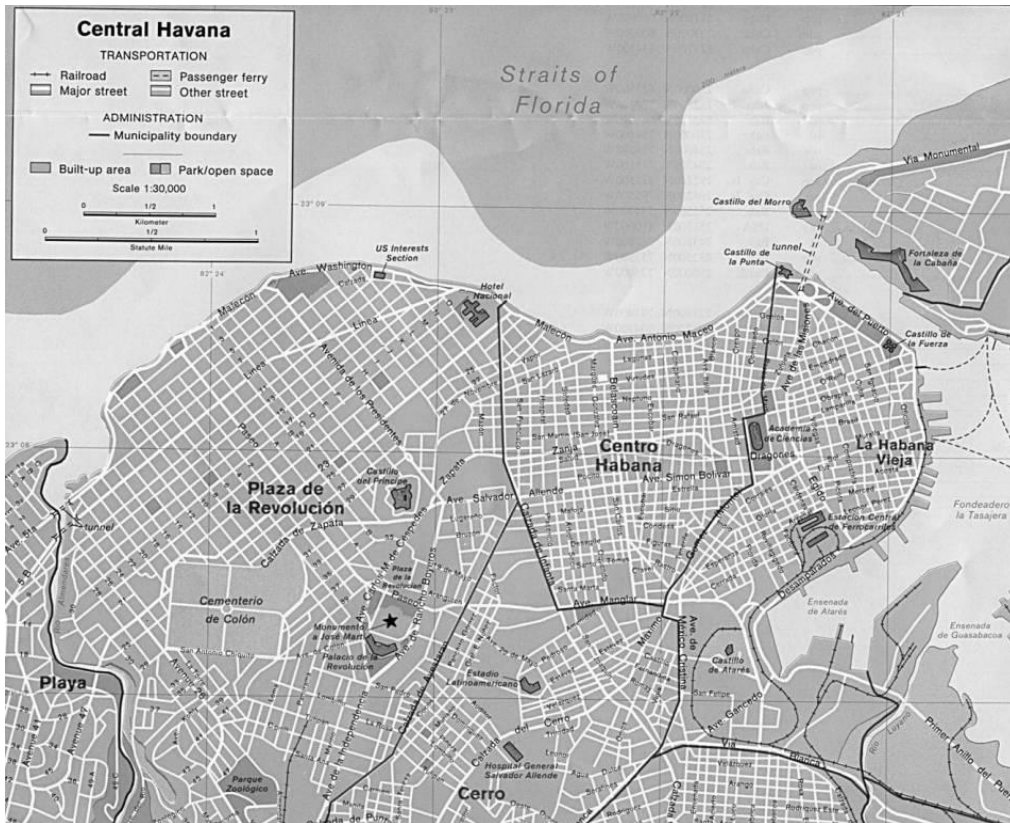


Figure 2. Havana city map

The presence of people from many areas and disciplines made of Havana a port and platform of interchange, a node in the network of cities entering the global era. The 1967 *Mai Salon* in Havana organized by Wifredo Lam and the 1968 UNESCO International Congress of Culture, among other events, were part of this international and cosmopolitan dimension of Havana. Ysla comments:

In 1967 the Paris May Salon would be exhibited in the Cuban Pavilion in Vedado. It was a weird thing to bring the entire exhibition more than 8.2000 kilometers away, a national symbol of France -as the Salon was- to Havana. That represented a lot, not only for Cuban artists but also for Cuban culture. In 1968 the International Congress of Culture took place in Havana, it brought the most radical and progressive of the liberal and leftist thought to the city. Those initial years, I believe, were fundamental. The diversity of positions coming from different cultural sectors made us 'citizens of the world'. It was like living in the center of the universe.<sup>35</sup>

The busy cultural agenda included the Festival on New Latin American Cinema that started in late 1970s; the Latin American Theater festival that started in 1980; the Literary Fairs and Meetings (that would be the predecessor to the Book Fairs of the 1990s); the *Cultura and Desarrollo* Symposiums (heirs of the World Congress of Culture of 68), etc. Havana was by this time an alternative center of cultural life working against the economic blockade established by the US in 1962 as a result of the missile crisis. The Cuban Revolution was greatly admired in some countries of the old world, in Latin America, Africa, and the Far East. In France for example, the revolution was highly regarded. André Breton and later Jean Paul Sartre visited the island (in the 1950s and 60s) and published their observations. Sartre wrote a long essay which gave accounts of the changes taking place not only in urban, but also in rural, Cuba. Sartre was by no means critical of what he saw, especially the prospect of the emergence of an authoritarian regime. During his visit Sartre defined Castro's revolutionary government as a "direct and concrete democracy. the revolutionary rulers converse directly with the people, thus establishing a direct and permanent bond between the will of the great majority of the people and the

government minority ..."<sup>36</sup> During the 1960s important political, ideological, and intellectual figures from Europe visited the Island, seeking a pact of support, a brotherhood broken when Castro sealed the final alliance with the Soviet Union. By the 1980s, over 25% of the Cuban Gross National Product came from the Soviet Union.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, the good relationship Cuba maintained with the intellectual worlds of Latin America, Africa, and Asia produced a tri-continental world-view.

## **1.2 ON THIRD WORLD CULTURE**

Before and after the Cuban Revolution, there was a larger debate taking place in terms of the participation of the so-called "Third World" in global politics, economy and culture.<sup>38</sup> After the revolution, Cuba was at the center of such debate because of its symbolic leadership in the region and because its position in the Non-Align Movement (NAM) during the 1970s and 80s. If some had lamented the failure of the NAM because its lack of regional cohesion after the first and second Bandung conferences, Cuba became a center, a port, a place to rethink geopolitical relationships at some distance from the conflicts of the Cold War. Under the leadership of Cuba, the organization's purpose, as stated in the Havana Declaration of 1979, was to ensure "the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, Zionism, racism and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics".<sup>39</sup> At that moment the NAM countries represented nearly two-thirds of the United Nation's members and comprised 55% of the world population. In 1979 Cuba, which had participated since the first non-aligned meeting in Belgrade (1961), fostered a

new impetus in the movement.<sup>40</sup> The island and Havana city in particular was at once center, margin, harbor, and platform. The debates had implications in all levels; Cuban cultural policy became an example for the Third World. However, it is important to note that the cultural debate in Cuba has a long tradition; figures such as José Martí, Fernando Ortiz, Alejo Carpentier, José Lezama-Lima, Nicolás Guillén, José Marinello, Antonio Benítez Rojo, the same Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, as well as Wifredo Lam, among others, are part of it. The debates were translated into institutions, plans, and programs, resulting in particular cultural and artistic practices. This view would later inspire events such as the Havana Biennale.

At the time, there were a number of exiles living in Havana and Santiago de Cuba, especially those arriving from Chile (after the 1973 coup), Argentina, Venezuela, and Brazil (because their own political realities) as well as professors, industrial trainers, and some dissidents from the Soviet block. They found shelter in Havana (in particular settling in the new urban developments such as *Distrito Alamar* and *Distrito José Martí*). Tourism was banned as elitist and imperialist and Havana became a port for intellectuals, political figures, artists, and dissenting voices from the West. Nonetheless, it would return, the old infrastructure would be renewed starting in late 1970s as part of a larger project on cultural tourism and later supported by UNESCO's decree naming *Habana Vieja* (Old Havana) on the list of world patrimony sites in 1982. During the 1990s (the so-called especial period) almost the entire Cuban economy would be based on tourism again. These people would find in Cuba a place to think their territories in a different way. The critical distance needed to see their conflicts in an open field of possibility was in part what the island offered to them. For many, Cuba became their homes, for others just a safe port to rest and establish new networks for action.



Young Cuban scholars were also departing and returning from the eastern block (in some cases from Western Europe and the Middle East), after graduating from technical and humanistic programs particularly in Moscow, Kiev, Warsaw, and Berlin (some others would travel to Mexico to get degrees in Latin American issues). Aesthetician and critic Magali Espinoza undertook a PhD in Marxist Aesthetics in Kiev in 1982. Other scholars like Orlando Suarez Tajonea, head of the aesthetics department of the *ISA*, had studied in Moscow years before. “The fact of being trained in such a tradition and at the same time being completely foreigners helped us to look for the most heterodox and extreme sources. We used to read Ilyenkov and Kovni, as well as western authors such as Derrida, and the poststructuralist who were marginalized in Russia.”<sup>41</sup> The socio-cultural atmosphere and the political structure of the country generated a series of institutions that revolutionized the way Cubans were educated (among them the system of art schools). Many critics have argued that such a structure produced a new Cuban subject and in extension the so-called, New Cuban Art. Margarita Sánchez Prieto, curator of the Lam Center, remembers the role of the events organized by *Casa de la Américas* during the period in which Lesbia Vent Dumois worked as the artistic director.

I remember not only the exhibitions but also the academic events and contests where artists and critics of Latin America assisted. I meet Argentinean artists León Ferrari, Julio Gamarra, Julio le Parc, among others. The award for photographic essays and graphics brought to us people like Ecuadorian photographer Martín Chambí, Mexican Graciela Iturbide, and the Brazilian members of the *cinema novo*. In addition *Casa* increased its art collection exponentially during those years, giving us a great base of empirical and visual knowledge.<sup>42</sup>

Former Minister of Culture of Cuba, Armando Hart Dávalos in late 1980s had argued that.

We aspire to universality. The bankruptcy of the imperialist and bourgeoisie cultural project is based on their ignorance. They tried to dominate the rest of the world, denying an equal integration with the international cultural movement. With dreadful regional and colonialist criterion it is not possible to represent the cultural being of the peoples of the West... We are also, geographically and culturally, in the West. But we do not close our

borders, on the contrary. We fight our cultural battles on the principles that inspire Western culture and on its aspirations and vocation of universality.<sup>43</sup>

On the issue of universality, the early subjectivity of Third World thinking looked for an inclusion of the particular histories or people into major narratives where to find niches to affirm one's participation in the modern world. Thomas McEvelley makes a reference to the international art survey exhibitions that were popping up all over the Third World during those years. He affirms:

Other shows are not merely non-Western geographically but take place within more distinctly non-Western cultures. Several have begun quite recently--1984 was a pivotal year. These exhibitions' inaccessibility to the vast majority of Western critics, and the truly daunting difficulty of getting information about them in the West (some of the biennials I discuss here I was unable to see, and I write on them from their catalogues, themselves hard to find), are part of their story, and part of their paradox.<sup>44</sup>

McEvelley recognizes that the institution of the international juried show may be a Western phenomenon, "but the Third World biennials are sprouting with or without Western attention; clearly they have audiences and cultural functions of their own, quite independently of their resemblance to Western art practice." On the other hand, McEvelley notes that many of those exhibitions, although taking place in countries of the Non-Aligned axis, often were committed to the project of becoming "modern," or Modernist in a classical sense.

The New Delhi Triennials, the Cairo Biennials, and the Bantu Biennales (usually held in Libreville, Gabon), for example, largely eschew historical regional styles; there is little that looks "Egyptian" or "Islamic" in the Cairo shows, little "Indian" in New Delhi. There is an implication, rather, of a community of taste adjusted to Western tendencies of a couple of generations ago, when the West's idea of internationalism was still founded on an assumption of Modernist universals.<sup>45</sup>

### 1.3 WRITING ANOTHER STORY

The Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers of 1983, according to the Decree No. 113 of the same year, stipulated the following:

Because: Wifredo Lam is considered one of the greatest artists of the 20 century and because he made art work of international projection and reach, endowed with the most precious aesthetic value, as well as because it constitutes a plastic expression from the deepest of our culture.

Because: It is convenient to create a Center that holds his name and that would contribute to the appreciation, signification, and relevance of his legacy and work.

Because: The future Center has to be conceived as an institution in charge also of organizing activities on the field of visual arts, in the national and international level, in order to make relevant the value of what identifies in this sphere of the arts the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Finally, the center will help (in junction with the art system) the development of artistic creation, as well as the aesthetic enjoyment for all strata of our society.

Because: The Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers in use of its faculty given by law, decree:

1. To create the Wifredo Lam Center, under the administration of the Ministry of Culture.
2. The Center will have as attributions and functions:
  - a. To promote the study and promotion of Lam's work as a universal expression of contemporary art.
  - b. To promote internationally the art work of artists from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, as well as of artists that struggle for cultural identity and that are related to those territories.
  - c. To endorse international activities in the field of visual arts in order to develop and establish cultural ties.
  - d. To facilitate the development of the visual arts in Cuba and to promote the contemporary manifestations of Cuban contemporary artists of most significance.
  - e. To offer services of specialized information about contemporary art, artists, critics, and researchers.
  - f. To enrich the cultural patrimony of the country through the creation of a permanent collection of visual arts and the systematic exchange of artistic and cultural documentation.
  - g. To present periodically national and international events related to visual arts and to give artistic recognition in form of grants and prizes.
  - h. To promote a broader interest in the visual arts to the society through didactic and artistic activities and the use of mass communication.

Signed in March 30, 1983 by: **Armando Hart Dávalos** (Minister of Culture) **Fidel Castro Ruz** (President of the Council of Ministers) and **Osmany Cienfuegos Gorriarán** (Secretary of the Council of Ministers)<sup>46</sup>

This decree clearly set out the goals and scope of the Wifredo Lam Center and planted the seed for the establishment of the Biennial as the core of its activities. For the nascent Art Center and for the Havana Biennale, Wifredo Lam became a motif and, because of his mixed ethnicity, a symbolic figure connecting three cultures (Africa, America, and Asia).<sup>47</sup> But why was the Center created? Only to honor the life and work of Lam, who had not lived in Cuba since the late 1940s? How did the political and cultural environment of the island give birth to that institution? Why did the Council of Ministers take culture so seriously? What were the forces behind this fact and who were the people supporting the creation of such an institution?

Lam died in Paris on September 11, 1982. His death is central to the creation of such an institution. The Cuban Minister of Culture Armando Hart Dávalos toured Europe and East Europe in late 1982. There he inaugurated an exhibition on Cuban Art and Spanish Culture at the *Museo del Prado* in Madrid, and a retrospective of Lam's work, prepared in part by the artist himself early that year—before his own death. It is possible that pledges were made by members of the international community during this trip. One of the paintings in the exhibition that most touched the Cuban Minister was “*Tercer Mundo*” (*Third World*), painted by Lam in one of his visits to the island in 1966.<sup>48</sup> Hart Dávalos might well have seen in Lam an ideal figure for elevating the cultural status of Cuba in the world. Later the Minister visited France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Russia.

Hart Dávalos (born 1930) studied to be a lawyer at the University of Havana. While there, he became politically active, becoming member of the communist youth; he would soon join Fidel Castro and Che Guevara in their fight against Batista, meeting them in the *Sierra Maestra*, to found the 26 July Movement.<sup>49</sup> As Castro and Che Guevara were leading the guerrilla warfare from the country side, Hart Dávalos became one of the main organizers of the

movement in the cities. He was captured by Batista's forces in January 1958 and sent to *Los Pinos*, a Prison Island where he spent some time before the triumph of the revolution. Upon the success of the revolution Hart Dávalos was appointed the first Minister of Education of new Cuba (1959-1965), and later served as Minister of Culture (1976-1997), as well as a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Cuba. From his position on the Council of Ministers Hart Dávalos initiated the most remarkable policies in education and culture. As Minister of Education, he led the now famous Cuban 'Literacy Campaign' that lifted the country to the apex of literacy rates in the world.<sup>50</sup> Anti-Cuban critics, however, describe it as follows: "Castro's much vaunted anti-illiteracy campaign was used to glorify his regime and to indoctrinate children, teenagers, and adults with adoration of the state and the 'cult of personality' a la Stalin."<sup>51</sup>

During the initial years of the revolution the official institutionalization of culture stifled independent cultural production, yet some independent groups had emerged, producing a degree of cultural debate on the island. Actually, the first twenty years of the revolution saw a complex, often contradictory series of changes in cultural policy. Who was in charge of defining Cuban Culture? Was it those big names returning to the Island, such as writer Alejo Carpentier or intellectual and philosopher Juan Marinello, or the new generation of revolutionary thinkers who were part of the revolutionary struggle, Hard Dávalos among them?

A number of different emphases were pursued in the quest to find the "real soul" of Cuban culture. These became the basis for contemporary Cuban culture and for events such as the Havana Biennale.

## 1.4 ON THE CUBAN SITUATION

It is possible to distinguish five periods of cultural development in Cuba since the 1959 revolution. This section will describe the first three.

For almost a decade after the victory of the Revolution and the subsequent counter-revolutionary struggle, political confusion reigned: celebratory and contradictory cultural policies occurred side by side. Institutions such as *Casa de las Americas*, the ICAIC (*Instituto Cubano de Artes e Industrias Cinematográficas*), and the CNC (*Consejo Nacional de Cultura*), in addition to other less-official spaces, had to respond to the new challenges caused by the cessation of private patronage, that, until 1959, was the only one in the country.<sup>52</sup> After the revolution, Carlos Franqui assembled a group of young and rebellious writers in order to bring Cuban Culture up-to-date, developing a cultural supplement for the newly newspaper *Revolución*, called *Lunes de Revolución* (among them Cabrera Infante, Severo Sarduy, and Eugenio Florit). The group was dissolved by internal tensions and the increasingly democratization and Cubanization of culture in mid 1960s. At that point, the group was attacked for being elitist and self-referential in an environment of clear socialist radicalization. Many of his members, who were exiles before 1959, would exile themselves again.<sup>53</sup>

*Casa de las Américas* was established in a modernist building in the *Vedado* sector of Havana by the 26 July Movement leader Haydée Santamaría, following Che Guevara's call for bridging the cultures of Latin America. *Casa* opened in April 1959, according to its functions; “*Casa* had been concerned with the defense of the unity of the peoples of Latin America, and the authentic evolution of their true identity. Its activities include the fields of literature, plastic arts, music, publishing, theatre and other forms of artistic, intellectual, and cultural expression.”<sup>54</sup> What is interesting is that *Casa* did not have models from which to learn. It became an institution

that promoted, from the ground up, Latin American Culture (in an open sense), Cuban participation as active part of the Region (even beyond its Antillean and Caribbean condition), and that vehemently defended the use of Spanish as unifier for the region's cultural identity.<sup>55</sup>

*Casa's* events and publications have become a path to follow in the diverse aspects of its cultural enterprise.<sup>56</sup> The *Casa Prize*, the magazines, the photographic and graphic contests, the intellectual encounters and symposia, and its collection and related events on Latin American art are undoubtedly a corner stone of many of the events developed in Cuba. As we will see, it was to become a key model for the Havana Biennale that had recognized its leading role and ways of operating.

*ICAIC* was set up under the Revolutionary Government's Law of 24 March 1959, "the first Revolutionary Law on an ideological-cultural activity; in the law it is stipulated that 'cinema is an art'."<sup>57</sup> The functions for the institute were defined in the law as follows: "to enrich and broaden the field of action of Cuban culture by introducing into it a new medium of artistic expression; and to form a public more complex and sophisticated, and consequently better able to judge, more demanding and active, and therefore more revolutionary."<sup>58</sup> *ICAIC* was managed by Alfredo Guevara, a former socialist activist and colleague of Castro. It rapidly became central and autonomous, enjoyed a good budget because its closeness to the regime. It still publishes a magazine, the *Cuban Film Review*, editing 50 issues in the first decade, and 14 books of theoretical and documentary nature.<sup>59</sup>

Among the other institutions created was the *CNC* (*Consejo Nacional de Cultura / Council on National Culture*). Although the Council was the first to promote the unification of cultural policy it was under tight control by former leaders of the *PSP* (*Partido Socialista Popular/ Socialist Popular Party*), especially by Joaquín Ordoqui and Edith García Buchaca, who

were closer to socialist realism.<sup>60</sup> The *UNEAC* (*Unión Nacional de Escritores y Artistas Cubanos* / National Union of Writers and Cuban Artists) emerged to counteract the power of the *CNC*, with Nicolas Guillén as president, Lezama Lima and Carpentier as vice-presidents, and Fernandez Retamar as secretary. Soon it became a parallel institution, active in producing journals and publications and in some cases challenging *Casa* and the *CNC*'s proclaims. For example; the journal *Unión* (under Carpentier, Fernandez Retamar, and Guillén) and the *Gaceta de Cuba* had helped film makers to challenge dogmatism (of the *CNC*) in 1965.<sup>61</sup>

This first phase of the cultural process would be settled by Fidel himself in his “*Palabras a los Intelectuales*” (Words to Intellectuals) pronounced in June 1961 after a series of meetings discussing artistic freedom and the role of artists and intellectuals in the revolution. This discourse would taint the cultural policy of the time, in particular these words:

The problem under discussion here, and that we are attacking, is the problem of freedom of expression for writers and artists... The Revolution has to understand that reality, and for instance it has to act in order to give artists and intellectuals that are not genuine revolutionaries, within the Revolution a field to work and to create, and that their creative spirit, although they are not revolutionary writers and artist, has opportunity and freedom of expression within the Revolution. That means, that within the Revolution everything; against the Revolution, nothing. Against it nothing because the Revolution has its rights and the first right of the Revolution is to exist; therefore, in the face of the Revolution's right to be and to exist, no-one.<sup>62</sup>

This affirmation, that shows the core inner contradiction of the Cuban cultural policy, would establish an official tone against any independent, counter-revolutionary proposal as well as the right of non-revolutionary artists to practice their art. In the discourse Castro, also, talked about the creation of national art schools and a network of cultural trainers and teachers that, like the ones in the literacy campaign, would transformed the cultural landscape of Cuba.

*La Escuela Nacional de Arte* (The National School of Art) opened in 1962. Almost simultaneously, *El Taller Experimental de Gráfica* (the Experimental Graphics Workshop) was



created to support the film and propaganda machine. It became one of the most advanced places for visual experimentation during the 1960s and 1970s. In 1979 the *Palacio Nacional de Bellas Artes* (National Museum) organized the exhibition “Cartel Cubano de la Revolución” (Cuban Posters of the Revolution), underlining the importance of graphic design.<sup>63</sup> The National School started graduating artists in 1967, shaping the future generations. Later it would be converted in the *ISA (Instituto Superior de Arte / Superior Arts Institute)*. The *San Alejandro* academy would survive as the place to train artists in more traditional modes.<sup>64</sup> The national salon of art was opened to all artists on the island. *La Galería Havana* was revived to show the most advanced visual arts of the time. In 1963 it organized the exhibition “*Expresión Abstracta*” (Abstract Expression) following the same vanguard interest of the *Grupo de los Once* (Group of Eleven) lead by Raúl Martínez and Servando Cabrera. The group was formed before the revolution and was influenced by Mexican and Soviet monumentality, as well as abstract expressionism. It edited a publication, *Gaceta de Bellas Artes*, thanks to the *Club Cubano de Bellas Artes*. Its articles and comments stressed the social responsibility of public art.<sup>65</sup>

The second period, the so-called “*los años Grises*” (the ‘Grey Years’), covers most of the 1970s.<sup>66</sup> It was a time of stagnation because of state-control and cultural repression. Cultural production was reduced to a series of official names composed of the most radical factions of the communist party and backed up by the institutions. By the mid-1970s the new cultural institutions had created a system that constituted the revolution’s idea of culture. Publishing was centralized in 1967 by the *Instituto Cubano del Libro*. Copyright was abolished in April that year, in part to challenge capitalism’s control of intellectual freedom and to make Cuban writers more dependants on the system, but also to publish non-Cuban authors without paying royalties to international publishing houses. This assisted in spreading knowledge across the new,

horizontal education system. It indicated a break of cultural dependency on European and American models and a rising interest in Eastern European ones (early Soviet in particular). However, by the early 1970s, this interest shifted. Emerging out of awareness by the cultural and intellectual community of the increasing Soviet revisionism introduced by the state, a notion of cultural decolonization (rooted initially in radical nationalism) emerged. It then moved towards a new internationalism in the form of Third-World militancy. In part, the recent death of Che Guevara in Bolivia (October 9, 1967) and the reprinting of his texts would stir up his legacy. Che had promoted a constant experimentation (on-going revolution), regional integration, and counter colonial struggle (anti-imperialism).

New magazines emerged under this perspective. Apart of the famous *Tricontinental*, a magazine produced by OSPAAAL (Organization of Solidarity of the People of Asia, Africa, and Latin America), which in its multilingual edition (Spanish, English, French, sometime in Middle Eastern Languages) became the forum for the Non Aligned movement and the Cuban voice as new leading member. From its foundation, during the 1966 Tricontinental Conference, *Tricontinental* magazine had produced series of propaganda posters that were folded up and placed inside each copy. The magazine has a particular connection with the emergence of the Third Cinema; a manifesto published in 1969 by *Tricontinental* became the launching text of the movement.<sup>67</sup>



Figure 3. Inserted in *Tricontinental*. ICAIC (tenth anniversary), poster by Alfredo Rostgaard, 1969



Figure 4. 1<sup>st</sup> OSPAAL conference, Havana January 16, 1966

The covers of the magazine and the many posters produced out of it since 1966 attest for the changing styles of the time. The design and posters were made by offset or silk-screen techniques creating stylistically a signature that connected the Russian avant-garde, pop art, and local versions of both. Other magazines and cultural publications were, also, important in the transferring of information to the cultural realm, among them: *El Caimán Barbudo* as cultural supplement of *Juventud Revelde* (1966); *Pensamiento Critico*, and *Revolución y Cultura* (both 1968). These magazines introduced much of the critical thought coming from the Third World. Experimental (and economic) design accompanied the layout and printing of texts by thinkers that such as Gramsci, Benjamin, Derrida, and members of the new left, with a clear anti-imperialist tone, those enlightened the Cuban emergent intellectual world helping to develop a critical Cuban writing in the arts and culture.

Nevertheless, this period would also be marked by the creation of the *UMAP* (*Unidades Militares para la Ayuda de Producción* /Military Units to Aid Production) infamous camps for antirevolutionary misfits.<sup>68</sup> They were aimed at integrating into society those regards as “less productive” members: Afro-Cubans, gay, lesbians, drug addicts, religious practitioners, rockers, and the culturally divergent. These “rehabilitation centers” mark the darkest point of cultural development during the entire revolutionary process.<sup>69</sup> In order to control the echo of the May’ 68 cultural and political uprising in Europe and elsewhere that indeed had impacted the island, as well as the increasing impact of American popular culture, a ‘black list’ was created. Initially the regime had embraced the rebellious spirit, the anti-capitalist and highly critical attitudes, of the 1968 generation. Soon, however, it was regarded as degenerate, imperialist, and as a symbol of decrepit European and American culture.



Figure 5. Cover and content page for the Magazine *Pensamiento Crítico* (No. 42, Jun. 1970)

The same occurred with Jazz. In the first instance it was embraced, even the *CNC* had created the *Orquesta Cubana de Música Moderna* where musicians (Afro-Cubans in particular) were able to “Cubanize” the genre. All of a sudden, in late 1960 and early 1970s, people were sent to jail, books, and records were taken out from music shops, bookshelves, and libraries. Nonetheless, youth culture would find some outlet of expression, a valve within the stagnant environment. For example, the “Nueva Trova Cubana” (a kind of protest song) would mix pop rhythms and old *décimas* or *trovas* linked to folk music.<sup>70</sup>

In the mid-1970s through the late 1980s a third period took shape. It was a time of great cultural achievement, of the ideological revival of Third-World cultural politics, and the golden age of Cuban visual arts. With the creation of the Ministry of Culture in 1976 and the establishment of a new and fresh cultural system, the now mature intellectual world could participate actively again.<sup>71</sup> Armando Hart Dávalos was selected to lead it. He recognized the damage done during the past years and took a series of steps to change the highly politicized cultural sphere.

In order to establish a direct dialog with the artistic community, Hart Dávalos reduced bureaucratization, centralizing in the Ministry the constitution and application of overall cultural policy. He rehabilitated the names of those who were affected by the repression. He created the *Centro de Estudios Martianos* (Center of José Martí Studies) under the direction of Roberto Fernandez Retamar and Antonio Benítez Rojo recovered his post in the Institute of Caribbean Studies in *Casa de las Américas*.<sup>72</sup> In 1979 the “black list” ended, many of the intellectuals and artists in prisons were freed and allowed to leave the country. The cultural system changed and a complex set of institutions were established, that recognized the diversity and complexity of the Cuban culture.<sup>73</sup>

The new cultural system would replicate itself on the local, regional and national levels, helping to establish microcosms of participation and production in order to constitute their own idea of what a national-contemporary culture was. The fact that Cuba reached almost full literacy in the 1960s and that the early network of cultural trainers had worked well fostered recognition of the diversity of Cuban culture.<sup>74</sup> The system would be founded entirely by the socialist state.

The financing of culture is the crucial factor of any cultural policy. And this financing in turn depends on economic development; this development determines the objective limit of the available resources... This means that the financing policy, even in profitable areas of culture (such as cinema) has been the intrinsic needs of cultural development.... Cuba is practically the only developing socialist country to have mobilized all available resources - financial and others- with a view to achieving the maximum educational and cultural objective.<sup>75</sup>

The consolidation of the “cultural system” under Hart Dávalos would soften the indignation and suspicion felt by the cultural world about the fixed and repressive state control of the past decade (see diagram in chapter 4). The intense cultural exchange during those years, the participation of Cuba in liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America had produced a different world view and a southern consciousness would soon bear cultural fruits. Paradoxically, Cuba was recovering from the hard policies of social control and community building when the *Mariel* episode -during which 125,2000 Cubans left the island, mainly in boats- occurred.<sup>76</sup>

During the 1980s the new Cuban art scene flourished. Part of the new strategy was the recognition of Cuba’s leadership in certain issues for the world in development and its role in international affairs. One of the most important art institutions created was ISA (*Instituto Superior de Arte / Superior Art Institute*) in 1976. It has produced the most important artists since then.<sup>77</sup> A generation of painters and sculptors who had grown up with the revolution came of age. “In Cuba, the 1980s, after *Mariel*, have become a myth, an age of renaissance that began with art and spread to everything else.”<sup>78</sup> In January of 1981, partly organized and fully

supported (institutionally and conceptually) by Gerardo Mosquera, a group of artists took Havana by storm with an exhibition called *Volumen Uno*.<sup>79</sup> It became a movement that redefined Cuban visual culture. “For the first time since 1959, art had an existence and a meaning independent of official discourse. While the media and the schools remained under strict government control, the visual arts began to provoke, to question the status quo.”<sup>80</sup> This exhibition would set the new tone for visual arts in the country and would situate the new protagonists in the arts scene, with a particular intervention of Gerardo Mosquera.<sup>81</sup>

A couple of years earlier, Mosquera (a young writer and critic at the service of the new Ministry of Culture) had worked with Jaime Saruski in the compilation of the new Cuban cultural policy for the 1978 world Culture conference organized by UNESCO.<sup>82</sup> It would be Mosquera’s first international work and would situate him not only in relation to the art world but in a wider sphere, cultural policy, popular culture, and art management. A new generation of writers, critics, and academics was emerging and using the system, in particular journals and magazines, to launch new initiatives. Simultaneously, they were embedded in a systematic revision of Cuban popular (folk and peasant) culture.<sup>83</sup>

It was during this period that events such as the Havana Biennial were created. It is uncertain who envisioned the Biennial in the first place. According to Nelson Herrera Ysla, founder member and active curator of the Lam Center, “the idea of establishing the Wifredo Lam Center and the Biennial came forward in a meeting between Lam’s widow and Fidel Castro, in the presence of Hart Dávalos and other members of the Culture community.”<sup>84</sup> The widow was in Havana in December 1982, bringing Lam’s ashes home after his death in Paris. A Directorate of Plastic Arts and Design had been created as part of the Ministry of Culture in 1976, under Beatriz Aulet’s direction. Gerardo Mosquera, José Veigás, and Nelson Herrera Ysla worked



there as specialists. “It seems that during the meeting the idea of the art center and the biennial was discussed. The Biennial’s character was also defined; a space for ‘third world’ artists, and in part following the new set of artistic events taking place in Havana”. These included the Latin American Theater Festival, the already famous *Festival del Nuevo Cine Latino Americano* (New Latin American Film Festival), in addition to *Casa de la Américas’* international program. Herrera Ysla remembered: “Immediately, under Aulet’s direction and with support of other cultural institutions, we started to work for the first Biennial.”<sup>85</sup> Marcia Leiseca, Vice-Minister of Culture supported the event in its totality. A few months later Lillian Llanes would be called in from the *ISA* to structure and form the Wifredo Lam Center and to take over the Havana Biennale.

Since then, we can discern a fourth and fifth moments, covering the 1980s through the fall of the Eastern Bloc and the 1990s to today. These subsume the radical changes taking place not only in political terms, division of the world into new blocs, but also because of the opening of the economy to the flux of global capitalism during the especial period. A new social and cultural landscape has emerged out of these two periods that, due to their proximity, are rather difficult to differentiate completely. Nonetheless, both are characterized by discernible changes in cultural policy and artistic practice, and are treated in depth in subsequent chapters.

## 1.5 CONCLUSION

It is clear is that the historical development of the first two and a half decades of the revolution was the seeding ground for events such as the Havana Biennale. What is a stake here is the necessity to reveal the conceptual-contextual and historical structure that supports the

Biennale (in political and aesthetic dimensions). It is particularly challenging since the biennale is part of a larger cultural and political project embedded in the revolutionary ideals supporting modern Cuba. It is one of its institutions (with all their virtues, vices, and problems). In addition, it became part of a larger question; what defines the limit between the modern and the contemporary in artistic production during the postmodern debate and the so-called postcolonial era in these regions of the world? In the case of the Havana Biennale, the challenges have been not only ideological and conceptual, but also political and material. The 1980s was a moment of the celebration of difference, working in the terms of the postmodern debate. Paradoxically, Cuba was recovering from the hard policies of social control and community building (product of their relationship with Communist Russia) that in part ended in the *Mariel* episode. The art education system as well as the organization of the biennale coincides with an interest in positioning the country in the international sphere –after the support of guerrilla movements, the pro-Cuba committees of the seventies, and *Mariel*. The new political strategy lead by the Ministry of Culture promoted a new internationalism in which art and culture were central. The generations of Cuban artists participating actively during those years would be the seed of the new Cuban Art that would be central to the Havana Biennial. In addition, the boom in terms of market value of Latin American art helped to locate many of them in the international circuit.<sup>86</sup>

The art market had reinvented itself after the so-called “cultural wars” when artists decided not to produce an art to be part of any commercial transaction during and after 1968 (conceptual and minimal artist in particular would end in performance and radical feminist, queer, and multicultural action-activists as well), besides the world was becoming increasingly smaller. The emergence of postmodernism, and simultaneously a postcolonial critique would be attacked by the re-organization of the art market in form of New-Expressionism

(*transvanguardia* in Europe) in major art centers (New York, Paris, Milan, and Berlin). With the introduction of Russian conceptual artists, Latin American artists, and later African (and more recently the Far East contingent) ones into this market, they will boost its global reach. In a sense, the 1980s were the seed for the reconfiguration of the world art system and the constitution of the first real phase of contemporary art. The fall of the Soviet block and its effects on the art world, and in particular Cuba, would add to the trend that will be analyzed in the following chapter.

## **2.0 SITUATING THE HAVANA BIENNALE**

This chapter analyzes the role of Havana as center of the debates on Latin Americanism in the arts and introduces a discussion of the constitution of a Postcolonial consciousness for the visual arts in Cuba during the 1980s. Additionally, it presents the facts surrounding the creation of the Havana Biennale, recognizing the work of critics, artists, publications, and institutions. In this way it will be possible to link Cuban art and thought with the wider spectrum of what was produced in the region at the time. Finally, it describes how the founding of the Ministry of Culture and the cultural institutions (art academies and the system of visual arts) lead to a number of events and exhibitions that made possible the emergence of the Havana Biennale.

### **2.1 IN THE HAZE OF THE SIXTIES**

If we are to move beyond Eurocentric theoretical paradigms and devise one specific to the topic of this research, we need to relocate the particular relationship between state and state-culture with respect to the cultural industry and the real artistic production resulting from the revolutionary project.

In Cuba in the 1980s, the revolutionary years of the 1960s became a phantom, and the older days of glory were diluted by skepticism. The exporting of the Revolution had achieved certain success in Africa and to a lesser extent Asia. In Latin America, however, it had stalled -

by early 1980s many of the revolutionary movements had been disbanded (and their members in exile, incarcerated, or executed) and the countries in the Southern Cone were under military dictatorships (Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Uruguay). The “thaw” period in the Soviet Bloc deeply affected Cuban economy, starting in early 1980s; the grey years left a deep scar on the cultural establishment and produced a constant suspicion in some groups in the region. Finally, in 1978-79, the Sandinistas in Nicaragua brought to light to the revolutionary ideals initiated in Cuba.<sup>87</sup> Soon they replicated the benefits of the “literacy program” developed in Cuba. And the creation of a Ministry of Culture in Nicaragua, under Ernesto Cardenal’s direction, with the conceptual guidance of Brazilian revolutionary educator Paulo Freire, would change the face of the small Central American country (at least for some time). Cubans felt as victorious as the Nicaraguans.

Certainly, culture has been an asset for the political and social construction of revolutionary Cuba. It is clear that the arts have become a primary site for the constitution of subjectivity and citizenship on the island. The control over TV, radio, and press plus the official restraints on body-politics, in addition to the economic blockage had displaced the production of subjectivity mostly to the realm of art. As Sujatha Fernandez puts it: “while the arts may help to generate new public spaces for debate and dialog, these spaces also constitute an important means by which the Cuban state redraws the parameters of its hegemonic project.”<sup>88</sup> On the same lines, David Craven noted that, “the Cuban Revolution, with its interventionist rather than reflectionist view of culture, affirms the Brechtian belief that art is not a mirror of material reality, but rather is a hammer with which to help construct this material reality.”<sup>89</sup> And we should add to his position that the hammer called art is continually in need of ideological refinement as the number of its user’s increase. In addition, in the 1980s Cuban art played an

important role transforming itself in a source of economic income and social status, and its relationship with cultural tourism and the art market has to be taken into account when studying contemporary Cuba.

The political decision made by the Revolutionary Cuban government during the 1960s aimed to erase the gap between classes (and races) and to end the dependence on its economic venture, pushed it onto another. It would mark the politics of culture during this period. Castro, in his 1961 speech "*Palabras a los Intelectuales*" defined the two main characteristics of revolutionary art: First, it should be produced for the great exploited masses of the people, and second, artists should have the future in mind while producing for their contemporaries.<sup>90</sup> In the same order of ideas, it is important to underline why Cuban art was not controlled fully by the state (excluding during the grey years). Che's notion of a "new person" created by the Revolution is the result not only of the transformation of the material conditions, but also occurs because of the advancement of culture in all regards.<sup>91</sup> His vision of art would illuminate the ideas of an artistic practice that would not be servant of the state. Che was critical of the socialist-realist formula, being at the same time aware of the irrelevance of an art based exclusively on individual concerns. "Che then made an eloquent plea for state policies that would create neither 'docile servants of official thought,' as in the Soviet Union under Stalin, or artists who 'merely pursue freedom' as in the case of the United States and Europe."<sup>92</sup>

This haze of the sixties had, also, built a cultural shell that protected the initial forces that would form the Cuban cultural policy of the 1980s. They were reinforced by the new Cuban Constitution of 1977 that had advanced decentralization as a new "democratic" model; based on the centrality of workplace and in a local-direct democracy that converges with, but is not reducible to, national decision-making process. In the arts the creation of a national system that

replicates itself on the local level established a parallel net of institutions spreading the benefits of the model. The refusal by the Ministry of Culture to regulate artistic production through any revolutionary style and the “openness” (although always under scrutiny) to various ideological tendencies within state institutions, as well as within the party, have proved important for the health of the cultural universe in the country.

This new approach to culture, fully supported by the state, in financial terms, presupposed an empowerment on the part of the artists and intellectuals. In addition, the new internationalism and the awareness of a postcolonial subjectivity in times of postmodernism, in part generated by the crisis of the Soviet bloc and the release of policies by the U.S. under the Ford and Carter administrations, would prompt a universalistic approach. It supported Cuban participation in arts and culture in international venues and in particular strengthening ties, at first, with Latin America, and later, with the world in development.

But, how do events such as the Havana Biennale, being part of an institutional web, recognize the centrality of an art produced outside the centers of the Art World? Which were the markers for such a vision? And how did they assume the challenges, and which problems did they face?

By the early 1980s, “contemporary Cuban art began to return to cosmopolitan settings such as the Venice Biennale, and the São Paulo Biennale. Just as consequential in this respect was the increasingly influential elaboration of a cultural paradigm by artists, critics, and curators that privilege the peripheries.”<sup>93</sup> The insertion of the Cuban culture into global markets brought new challenges and contradictions. The packing and repacking of its revolutionary history in form of old patrimonial objects (with the initial works of renovation of Old Havana), new visual representations and icons (Che portraits, the red star in a tropical island, the Cuban flag, tobacco

with the sickle and the hammer, etc.), and popular culture products (music, graphic design, and tourism in a retro-fashion) is also the result of such phase (the haze of the sixties) bringing new challenges and opportunities.

Cuban intellectuals, critics, and artists were interested in understanding and later exporting the first generation of real Revolutionary Artists. In order to do that, they needed not only artistic events (such as the Havana Biennale) but also theoretical constructs to support them. The events would become a battlefield over strategies of visibility, not only for Cuban artists but also for intellectuals. Luis Camnitzer stated that the Biennale not only “became the undisputed platform from which the international success of the eighties generation could be launched;”<sup>94</sup> but also a debating call for critics, curators, and artists from other regions of the world. A theoretical construct would allow building up a discourse that will accompanied the Biennale from its beginning.

Awareness of theoretical constructs such as poststructuralist and postmodern theories would led to the introduction and reading of new authors. Internationalism would also help to establish a third world consciousness that would bring out a postcolonial discourse responding to the local realities, the embargo and the new conditions of globalization after the Soviet era.

## **2.2 ON THE CONSTITUTION OF A DE-(POST) COLONIAL DISCOURSE IN THE MIDST OF A POSTMODERN ONE IN CUBA (1889-1983)**

“Our relation with art is one of consumers of what is produced by the metropolis. Therefore, the cultural dependency forces us to live a deferred appropriation. Our art is the result of what other cultures did, instead of a production is a reproduction.”

Nestor García Canclini<sup>95</sup>



Can it be proposed that Cuba lead a postcolonial cultural revolution in the time of post-modernity? If that is the case, how did it happen?

The debates around Postcolonialism started in the 1960s. The founding works are considered those writings by Gandhi and the African nationalists both in the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>96</sup> Later writing by Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961); Che Guevara, *Colonialism is Doomed* (1964); Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (1965); Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967); Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism* (1970); Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (1972); Terry Smith, "The Provincialism Problem" (1974) and the most famous Edward Said's, *Orientalism* (1978) brought attention to the issue. Recently cultural critics have been working on the concepts of *postmodern* and the *postcolonial* in Latin America; the contemporary inhabits in the modern.<sup>97</sup> The debate is open since the term "Postcolonial" has been used, and re-used, to define the cultural practices of the newly independent territories during, and shortly after, War World II (especially in India, Africa, and South East Asia).

Because of "the many Latin Americas that exist, there are diverse postmodern, postcolonial, as well as globalized worlds in Latin America."<sup>98</sup> Alfonso del Toro has argued how the term postcoloniality, as well as postmodernity and more recently globalization are problematic in the Latin American historical and epistemological context. The provenance of the term postcolonial (which is said to be US-UK born) had to be disentangled of its potentiality of explanation. What is relevant is its "re-codification inside of a geopolitical context of application," which determines its legitimating power, not its birth place. As a matter of fact, del Toro has demonstrated how for many Latin American thinkers the terms postmodern and the postcolonial are equated to the term modernity.<sup>99</sup>

On the other hand, the term globalization (or the global), had its own genealogy in the region. It is product of the debates of the postmodern and postcolonial which was characterized by its nomadic and deterritorialized nature, by processes of diffusion and flux.

Nevertheless, since the arrival of the Cuban Revolution intellectuals working on the consolidation of a theoretical frame for a new Cuban thought have brought forward the notion of neocolonialism and decolonization as part of the rhetoric of the Revolution to fight internal and external forces undermining the enterprise.

In the case of the Havana Biennale, an anti-imperialist and counter-colonial discourse has been present. In 1989 the Havana Biennale worked on the issue of “Tradition versus Contemporaneity” in the Third World and later in 1991 on “The Challenge to Colonization.” These two editions of the Biennale will be treated in subsequent chapters. Prior to that it is essential to set out the historical debates taking place on the island; this will help to locate a particular postcolonial discourse from Latin America, which we will show to be alternative to the one taking place in the intellectual centers of the West.<sup>100</sup>

In modern Cuba, Fernando Ortiz (following José Martí) established the conceptual base on which the characteristics of the national question were defined. His works on ethnology, ethnography, music, history, and sociology called for a dialectical understanding of what he called “*transculturation*.” Ortiz defined it as the result of the constant influence and interaction between two or more cultural components in a social group. These components tend to integrate a third group, new and independent. Its characteristics could be traced to the preceding cultures; however, neither one nor the other would be prevalent. That is why in the definition of national identity, *mestizaje* (hybridization) and nation (in Latin America and the Caribbean) are inseparable categories.<sup>101</sup> For example, in his “*Contrapunteo Cubano: Tabaco y Azucar*” (Cuban

Counterpoints: Tobacco and Sugar), Ortiz argued that the modernity of Cuba was based on the market of desire rather than on reason. Tobacco, a native plant of the Americas, and sugar, since early in colonial times, became symbols of *Cubanidad* (*Cubaness*), and later on transformed into industrial crops for the popular consumption. Other products in the region such as cocoa, rubber, banana, petroleum, and more recently marihuana, opium, and cocaine are entangled in the colonial axis.<sup>102</sup> Sugar was brought to America by Columbus from the Canary Islands, and connected to plantation practices very early on (due to increasing demand for it in Europe).<sup>103</sup> Tobacco was related to tradition and used as part of rituals, therapy, and social entertainment (it became highly appreciated in the West later on). Tobacco created an attachment to land, because the crop takes long time to activate and needs constant work, creating a certain ritual relation with earth. Sugar needed intense labor during the various parts of the process, leaving therefore time to create an intra-culture. In a sense, both products are traversed by fetishism and cannot be treated as mere commodities. These characteristics made of tobacco and sugar the best example of *transculturation*; both became internalized, fusing ancient and modern Cuban culture together.<sup>104</sup>

By the mid 1800s most of the region had obtained its independence, only Cuba and Puerto Rico had not. As argued by Andres Bello in his poem “*La agricultura de la zona torrida*” (The Agriculture of the Torrid Zone), agriculture would become not only the wellspring of cultural independence (for Latin America at large), used to pay the debts of the independence wars (in the case of Cuba contracted with the United States after 1898), but also as the material source of economic prosperity. However, this led to the constitution of a “Creole-elite” that managed the agro-business, denying at the same time technological and political advancement.<sup>105</sup> The region was constrained to sell its produce in exchange for manufactured

goods. To build a new subjectivity from labor-force was impossible, since autonomy was not likely against the control of the new Creole State. Mary Louis Pratt informs us how class produced a set of racial limitations “in the aesthetic (as in the political) realm, the unquiet American multitudes could not be dealt with.”<sup>106</sup> Culture was also under the control of the Creole-elites who used to look to the centers of Western artistic production as models of civilization. Pratt calls it the “Euroamerican cultural logic” where the Creole project reinvented Latin America through people such as Alexander von Humboldt and the Euro-American writers and intellectuals of the time.<sup>107</sup> The *fetishization* of nature would become a way to extend the practices of forced labor (the basis of all capitalism); especially to the peoples of African descent, in the analysis of García Canclini, the Creole-elites established a model of internal colonialism and economic dependence lasting for more than a century.<sup>108</sup>

In postmodern times, in a Cold War setting, the postcolonial would emerge in the form of anti-imperialism and a radical *Thirdworldism* (this is quite distinct from the form it took in India, Africa, or Asia). In the cultural environment of Cuba of the early 1980s a powerful discourse would connect a series of events. Cuban isolation after the post missile-crisis led to a revision involving a furious searching for national identity; they found a series of facts that were disturbing not only for their own identity, but also for the consolidation of a Latin American one. During the independence wars in Latin America, Simón Bolívar envisaged the constitution of a great, unified group of nations “La Gran Colombia.” Seventy years later José Martí would call for “Nuestra América” (Our America). Today, echoes of this call are being in use by Hugo Chavez.

For decades, Cuban magazines, such as *Pensamiento Crítico*, published articles by well known international socialist thinkers which underlined the same concerns and created a larger

understanding of the changing conditions of the time. For example, *Pensamiento Crítico* republished Harry Magdoff’s article “The Age of Imperialism” that had appeared initially in the *Monthly Review* in September, 1968.<sup>109</sup>



Figure 6. Cover page and article page of magazine *Pensamiento Crítico* (No. 32, Jun. 1969)

## 2.2.1 Visual Arts and De/Postcolonial Discourse

For sixteen years, Orlando Suarez Suarez, founder of “El Taller Experimental de Gráfica” (The Experimental Graphics Workshop), and a team of collaborators in the Art Department at Havana University, and later as part of the research group on aesthetics as professor at the Instituto Superior de Arte (ISA), worked on a study about neocolonialism and the visual arts in Latin America. In 1984 he started to put together a book titled *La Jaula Invisible: Neocolonialismo y Plástica Latinoamericana* (The Invisible Cage: Neocolonialism and Latin

American art), which was published in 1986. The title comes from Che Guevara's "new man" metaphor. The Invisible Cage is what Guevara announced the *new man* had to break to be free.

The book cover presents a photograph of the Rockefeller Center's Tower in New York City, in a vertical perspective, framed by Lee Oscar Lawrie's "Atlas".<sup>110</sup> The book's thesis, in a clear critical tone asks and answers how "Latin American and Caribbean culture have been an object of manipulation and penetration (by U.S imperialism) in order to surmount them into the international canon."<sup>111</sup> In a multidisciplinary undertaking, the author presents historic and statistical facts covering twentieth century U.S. domination in economics and culture across the region, emphasizing its effects on art production, circulation, and consumption.

During the late nineteenth century, the United States, thanks to the consolidation of its territory (after the Civil War, the Spanish American, and Mexican American wars) and the concentration and centralization of production, emerged as the new colonial power in the region.<sup>112</sup> Tied relationships between the new economic elites and the government would lead to an expansionist venture. Because of U.S. intervention in the independence process in the Caribbean (Cuba and Puerto Rico), the region became a laboratory to install new forms of control, that are not quite colonialist but neocolonialist. The Neocolonial enterprise would use a local government that, thanks to friendly presidents (or military generals), would assume the unbearable administrative, political, and military costs of a colony.<sup>113</sup> In order to establish such a project a supranational entity had to be created. As a result of this strategy, in 1889 a meeting in Washington D.C gave birth to the first Pan-American Conference, which would become the organ to expand the new agenda. The Monroe Doctrine became the bases, origin, and essence of U.S. neocolonialism.<sup>114</sup>

Pan-Americanism emerged as instrument of neocolonial domination. It was based on the notion of “manifest destiny,” which Jefferson, Monroe, and Henry Clay conceived in the mid nineteenth century. The Monroe doctrine, written in 1823, was established to create U.S. hegemony in the Caribbean and South America.<sup>115</sup> It was during the Washington conference, in October 2, 1889 when James Blaine, Secretary of State during presidents Garfield and Harrison, created a series of agencies part of the Pan-American conference: the International Union of American Republics and the Commercial Office of the American Republics, both under control of the U.S. Secretary of State. Simultaneously, a Monetary Conference took place. José Martí (living in New York during those days) regarded the conference as “dangerous to the countries south of the Rio Bravo.”<sup>116</sup> Martí foresaw the hegemonic desires of the U.S., regardless of the stated good intentions of the organization that based its objectives on geographic proximity, the equivalence of political models and institutions, economic cooperation and interests, and the tendency towards democracy and internationalism; the Pan-American Union became an organ of economic, politic, cultural, and social control in the region. “In Latin America, the rising power of the Agro-Creole elite, and its liberal greed, established the right conditions to become the ‘petite partner’ of the emergent North American and British imperialism,” pushing the region to a state of dependence in economic, political, technological, and cultural terms.<sup>117</sup>

Simón Bolívar had understood this during the 1820s, and had called for a regional unity.<sup>118</sup> What united the region (culture, language, history, and a common threat) was more relevant for Bolívar and Martí than what the Pan-American Union offered as the establishment of the new power.<sup>119</sup>

Paradoxically, in cultural terms the Pan-American Union, from the fifth conference on (held in Chile in 1923), would place an important weight on education. First, however, it was

important to instruct and train those that would take control over the new economic interests in the region. Second, as a result of the emerging cultural importance of the United States, after War World I -because of the influx of exiles arriving from Europe, a series of cultural institutions and a number of subsidies were created, most of them administered by the newly established American Foundations and by American Embassies in the region.

Secretary of State Elihu Root (under the Theodore Roosevelt administration) toured Latin America in 1906, and then became president of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace in 1908. The Foundation would work on developing educational projects in Latin America.<sup>120</sup> In 1913 the Foundation sent Robert Bacon in a second tour of the region; Bacon was Root's substitute as the Secretary of State and the one who completed the business of Panama between the U.S. and Colombia in 1912.<sup>121</sup>

Other cultural and educative institutions created at the time, which have been actively working in the region since then are the Rockefeller Foundation and the Guggenheim Foundation. The Rockefeller Foundation was created in 1913 and initially invested resources in researching a cure for Malaria in Latin America (and later on in Africa) because of their interest in exploiting oil reserves and their initial involvement in the Panama Canal construction.<sup>122</sup> In recent decades the foundation has increased its participation in the arts and culture of the region with a scholarship and grants program. On the other hand, the Guggenheim Foundation, founded in 1925, early on established a student exchange program with artists and scientists from Latin America.<sup>123</sup> Through their foundations these corporations introduced similar programs that have built for themselves a good image as transnational citizens helping to circulate the "American way of life" in the region.<sup>124</sup> At the same time, the companies that control the foundations have direct contact with subjects of the countries in which they continue to have economic interests,



investments, and active business. In most cases, they have received special treatment by governments and administrations. The benefits of such exchanges have been important in developmental issues. However, collateral problems emerged; the constitution of monopolies in the exploitation and commercialization of natural resources, the massive migration of social capital, imposition of cultural canons, and the transformation of cultural identity, among other problems. These organizations would establish contacts with individuals and organizations to maintain exchange and fluid information using what anthropologists call native informants.

The Third United Nations Conference on Trade and Development occurred in Santiago (Chile) in 1972. Cuba's delegates denounced the fact that between 1962 and 1966 some 60,2000 highly educated professionals migrated to the U.S. Among those, 12,261 were from Latin America.<sup>125</sup> The Institute for International Education (IIE), created by Root as president of the Carnegie Foundation in 1919, managed resources to educate cheaply subjects from the Pan-American Union members using governmental and other private foundations and institutional resources. In the height of the Cold War, IIE designed programs to counter the "Axis propaganda threat," and began its cooperation with some agencies of the U.S. Department of State through large-scale Latin American exchanges.<sup>126</sup>

During the sixth Pan-American Conference held in Havana (1928), education was a major topic. The activities of the Office of Intellectual Cooperation, founded in 1924, increased. The official objective was to collaborate in the relationship between intellectuals and institutions of the member countries (by that time 21) in order to cut the cultural dependency on European models. The Pan-American Union intended to neutralize the influence of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, one of the five organizations of the League of Nations created in 1922.<sup>127</sup> The League's idea was to establish autonomous (and paired) commissions to

discuss issues related to international diplomacy in a purely horizontal structure. It would bring to the international table debates on the politics of the moment (the raising power of Nazi Germany, Spanish, and Italian ultra-nationalism, for example). In contrast, the Pan-American Office wanted to keep its discussions as apolitical as possible. They functioned in mere technical and administrative terms. As a result of this policy, the (non political) Inter-American Artists and Writers Association was established in Cuba in 1938. A year later (1939) a number of bi-national Cultural Institutes were created. The new Cultural Institutes, 20 in total, became centers of cultural diffusion and bilateral cooperation; the Argentine-American, the Cuban-American, the Colombo-American centers, among others, thereby reducing the discussions to U.S.-Country-to-Country relations into mere cultural exchange. It would be important to study in more depth the role played by these inter-American institutions and their impact on contemporary culture in Latin America.<sup>128</sup>

During the seventh Pan-American Conference (1933) in Montevideo, Uruguay, a plan was approved to be conducted by the Educational Institute for the History of the American Republics. The Institute would examine the teaching of history in the member countries. The objective was to “eliminate from school texts, any non-friendly appreciation towards another member nation that could engender hate among nations.”<sup>129</sup> If the initial argument tried to keep a sustainable peace in the region, after a convoluted century, the rewriting of history resulting from this directive produced a deep distortion; taking out from school-texts important facts that could provoke reaction towards neocolonialism. In the visual arts (not across the whole spectrum of the region but in an important segment) it fuelled the production of images related to national and regional identity and later armed struggle. In the cases of the Mexican *muralismo*, Central and

South America *indigenismo* and *costumbrismo*, these sought for a fair representation of local histories.<sup>130</sup>

Later conferences built on the educational directive in the same terms. With the outbreak of World War II and its aftermath, the Pan American Union changed its focus towards a fervid anticommunist endeavor, changing its name and structure. In 1948, the Pan American Union gave birth to the Organization of American States (OAS). On April 9, the Ninth International Conference of American Countries was held in Bogotá; Colombian President Mariano Ospina Pérez was present at a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State, General George Marshall. According to historians that day is the starting point of the Colombian modern history of violence and marks a new chapter in U.S. – Latin American relations. The assassination of the presidential candidate for the Liberal party, Jorge Eliecer Gaitán, the same day of the installation of the meeting, resulted in a near revolution known as *El Bogotazo*.<sup>131</sup>

Later on, many of the social movements in the region would test the new organization. OAS became the extended arm of U.S. foreign policy during the height of the Cold War. A new policy called “Alliance for Progress” was established by J. F. Kennedy replacing the “Marshall Plan,” which had itself replaced the “Good Neighbor” policy of F. D. Roosevelt. The creation of the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) and USIS (United States Information Service), in late 1940s, and controlled by the State Department in order to gather intelligence about the influence of foreign governments in the region, in junction with American cultural foundations, used the net of American embassies and cultural centers in the region. This effort became a pervasive foreign policy during the 1960s, 70s, and 80s.<sup>132</sup>

### 2.2.2 A New Face

After WWII, the United States emerged as the largest economy of the world with an interest of consolidating that power, not only in military, economic, or politic terms but also in cultural ones. The particularities of the country had lead to such growth, creating organic monopolies in which the most important families participated. Many became, also, art collectors and benefactors. Some created and sustained important art institutions in the U.S. and beyond – and are still doing so. Art museums and cultural institutions in the States are part of an equation were family, market-economy, connoisseurship, and foreign policy are entangled. In the best modern fashion the consolidation of an art system took place using more than one dimension of society.

The art business, which was secured in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries out of the consolidation of the bourgeoisie society and the flow of capital, would give birth to auction Houses. Sotheby's -later Sotheby's Park Bennett (1744) and Christie's (1766) became cartels of the art world. By early 1920s these and others like Wildenstein & Co. opened their branches in New York. French merchants, such as Paul Durrand-Ruel, traded impressionist art to the new magnates of America. Kahnweiler, the Rosenberg brothers, and Ambroise Vollard famous European dealers sold paintings (during their life in Paris and then in exile) to the new collectors, eager to have a piece of the modern vanguards.<sup>133</sup>

The consolidation of the art work as capital investment (which helped to save fortunes during the depression of the 1930s), and its introduction to the flow of the market, in addition to the creation of art institutions such as The Museum of Modern Art in New York (by the Rockefeller family, 1929), the Whitney Museum of American Art (by the Vanderbilt Whitney

family, 1930), the Seattle Art Museum (by the Fuller family, 1933), and the Guggenheim Museum (by Salomon Guggenheim, 1937) among others, established a new cultural imperative.

By the end of World War II, New York became the new art center. Serge Guilbaut has described how “New York stole the idea of Modern Art” using the same strategies and model Paris had used; publications, critics, collectors, museums, galleries, dealers, artists, etc.<sup>134</sup> Guilbaut looked at the complicated, intertwining relationship among art, politics, and ideology in the consolidation of the New York school. He explored the changing New York and Paris art scenes of the Cold War period, the rejection by artists of political ideology, and the co-opting by part of left-wing writers and politicians. The same policies were in place in Latin America. The institutionalization of a formalist agenda on the visual arts (in form of Abstract expressionism, or a local version of it) wrapped up the phenomenon, taking away the political content out of the realm of art.

### **2.2.3 A New Body**

With the creation of the OAS, replacing the Pan-American Union, a new cultural organ was born, the Inter-American Cultural Council. It was created to attend cultural policy for the American States. It was part of three technical agencies comprising the OAS.<sup>135</sup> As part of the Cultural Council an Office of Intellectual Cooperation, a Visual Arts division was also formed to attend the specifics. OAS followed the spirit of the Pan-American Union and asserted the role of culture as “not only an end in itself, but also a medium -used by the Inter American system- to reach and affirm new goals and conquests in the political and spiritual order.”<sup>136</sup> The quote is interesting because at first glance it evidences the interest and understanding of the organ with respect to culture. At the same time, it connects culture and politics in an environment that

increasingly tries to separate them. In 1954 the OAS celebrated the Tenth Pan-American conference where the delegates adopted the “Declaration for Inter-American Cultural Relations” and the “*Carta Cultural Americana*” (The American Cultural Constitution).<sup>137</sup> These documents exhorted culture and tell “artists to paint democratically in a world of democracy.” In other words, they allow a political dimension of art. However, both were framed by what the new cannon and the official art institutions in the U.S. dictated.

In December 1952 Alfred H. Barr Jr. had written his “Is Modern Art Communist?” in which he discusses, at the same level, the attacks on modern art made in Nazi Germany and by the Soviet State.<sup>138</sup> It is important to mention that it was Barr Jr., in 1946, who recommended José Gómez Sicre, a Cuban art dealer and critic, to be head of the Visual Arts Division part of the Office of Intellectual Cooperation of the OAS.<sup>139</sup> Gómez Sicre became a powerful figure in the art of the region. He worked for more than three decades in that position creating a fundamental source of information about (what he believed was) Latin American Art.<sup>140</sup> In 1960, the OAS opened an Art Gallery, which 26 years later would become the Latin American Museum of Contemporary Art in Washington, *El Museo de las Americas*.<sup>141</sup>



**Figure 7. Organization of American States OAS (at its rear, El Museo de las Americas), Washington D.C.**

Gomez Sicre had a major role in the creation of the idea of contemporary Latin American Art, an issue that is still in debate. His participation and collaboration in the now historical “Salones ESSO de Jóvenes Artistas” (ESSO Exhibitions for Young Artists) demonstrate the partnership between the OAS and multinational corporations. In this case ESSO, a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Co. owned, in part, by the Rockefeller group, had also an important role in the development of a generation of artists with clear U.S. influences in Latin America. As well, it helped greatly to reinforce the role Nelson Rockefeller had not only in MOMA but in the politics and economies of the region. The ESSO Salons would launch a new generation of Latin American artists that from the 1960s on are part of the history of Contemporary Latin American Art. The absence of Cuban art in this narrative is notorious since Cuba was expelled from the OAS in 1962 after the Missile Crisis.

The ESSO project, thanks to OAS Visual Arts Division, featured eighteen national exhibitions in 1965. Gómez Sicre, who referred to this time as “*the period ESSO of Latin American art,*” was juror in all of them. Using National Cultural institutions and local informants, a call for artists got more than 3,2000 entries. One of the objectives was to establish a Latin American Art Collection for Standard Oil, in addition to that at MoMA, which Nelson Rockefeller’s had built. Argentinean-Colombia critic Marta Traba recognized the impressive survey that placed its eyes not only on traditional art centers but also on small countries, “those far away from any cultural route such as Bolivia, the Central American nations, and the Antilles.”<sup>142</sup>

The prizes consisted on, the national level, US\$700 for painting and sculpture, and for the Inter-American exhibition that took place in Washington, US\$1,2000 plus tickets and hotel for the winners to visit the opening event.<sup>143</sup> The jurors in the Inter-American event in Washington were Alfred H. Barr Jr., Director of MoMA; Gustave von Groschwits, Director of the Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh; and Thomas Messer, Director of the Guggenheim Museum, New York.

Another interesting precedent for the intervention and shifting interest towards U.S. culture was the exhibition titled “MAGNET: New York”. It was put together in September 1964 by the IAFA (Inter-American Foundation for the Arts) in order to bring attention to the art of Latin America in New York City. The institute was created at a meeting that took place in the Bahamas in 1962.<sup>144</sup> Its objective was to come into terms with the raising ideologies crossing the arts from both sides of the continent.<sup>145</sup> The exhibition showed the work of 28 Latin American artists living in New York. In the introduction to the catalog Robert Wool, director of the agency, affirmed, “Currently, Latin American artist are magnetized by New York as they used to be by



Paris.”<sup>146</sup> The exhibition was curated by Stanton Loomis Catlin, director of the art gallery at Yale University at the time; Thomas M. Messer from the Guggenheim Museum; and Ida E. Rubin, IAFA visual arts director.<sup>147</sup>

Many other exhibitions took place in the U.S. during the Cold War years. Most of them organized through the OAS, IAFA (later the Americas Society, founded by David Rockefeller in 1965), and university galleries (in the peak of Area Studies dedicated to Latin America). That is the case of “Art of Latin America after Independence” in 1967, curated by Stanton L. Catlin (Yale) and Terence Grieder’s (University of Texas). Private Galleries, like Bonino in N.Y.C., and art events, supported by the Museum of Modern Art and with participation of the new system of Museums of modern art in the region.<sup>148</sup>

After the consolidation of an image more recognizable and malleable for the American audiences and with help of regional institutions working under a controlled system, the next logical step was the consolidation of the market.<sup>149</sup> A Latin American art market was a question of strategy. In 1979, thanks to the contacts between the Rockefellers and Sotheby’s, the latter started what is called the Week of Latin American Art. The first auction was a great sensation, record prizes were reached by two of Diego Rivera’s portraits; Wifredo Lam’s *Egwe Orisi, la hierba de los dioses* (Ceux de la Porte Battante, 1945) reached a top price also. According to the director of painting of Sotheby’s, Mary-Anne Martin, “Latin American Art is becoming a sensation”; she explained that the affluence of some Latin American collectors (from Mexico and Venezuela in particular) made the auction a success. Among the 500 buyers was David Rockefeller.<sup>150</sup>

Mary-Anne Martin, founder of Sotheby’s Latin American Paintings Department, in her essay titled “The Latin American Market Comes of Age,” notes that “twenty-one years ago the

Latin American art market didn't exist.”<sup>151</sup> She recounts that first auction (at which one Frida Kahlo painting was bought for a mere \$19,2000) because the minimal interest among non-Latin buyers. After a series of prominent shows in the late 1980s, the public began to turn its attention to Latin American art. To illustrate this, Martin traces the development of the market for works by Frida Kahlo, Wifredo Lam, and Rufino Tamayo showing how renewed attention to Latin American artists among both Latin and non-Latin collectors had pushed the demand for paintings and sketches by these and other seminal artists through six and seven digit figures. A new generation of collectors, Martin asserts, thanks to the work of Area Studies in Universities, created a new generation of scholarship on Latin American placing a high premium on art, which was unsold outside (and even inside) of Latin America itself a generation ago.<sup>152</sup> Finally the art of the region had responded to the investments made by private-capital during the previous decades.

#### **2.2.4 Out of the Cage (the Cuban response)**

Nonetheless, the major question remains; what does de-postcolonial subjectivity mean in the Americas? After more than a century of the independence from Spain and Portugal, many of the same forces are still in place in many dimensions of the social, political, economic, and cultural life of the region.

By the 1980s the Cuban intellectual community understood the deep implications of the economic and cultural models imposed by the Pan-American Union (and the OAS). If Cubans wanted to establish an alternative path for Latin America’s cultural development in visual arts, they had to find one that could be shared with others in the region. Using the early work of sociologist Nestor García Canclini, Cuban art theoreticians and critics recognized a way to do it.

In 1975, *Casa de las Américas* magazine printed Nestor García Canclini's his long essay, "Para una teoría de la socialización del arte Latinoamericano."<sup>153</sup> In the essay he offered a reading of the socio-cultural implications of U.S. imperialism within the region.

Canclini reviewed the "universal aesthetic paradigm," looking at the implementation of the ideology of art for art's sake in the subcontinent. He argued that it is evident that a regional Art History cannot be constructed.<sup>154</sup> He underlined the fact that Art History had placed too-much attention on "art pieces and the life of individuals," that the new ideology in culture was sustained on the notion of a weak individuality. It had been demonstrated as false by the implementation of forces controlling the production, circulation, and demand of culture (he used Adorno and Hockheimer's *Dialectic of Enlightenment* as theoretical base for his studies, and then he applied empirical research).

If we consider that the aesthetic, as object of study, is the process that includes artists, art works, mediators, and audiences. The history of art will be, then, the history of the relations between those components, and its transformations from culture to culture. In sum, the history of certain relations between practices, its aesthetic dimension and the condition of production, in addition to the social projects one looks to surpass these conditions.<sup>155</sup>

Using Garcia Canclini's early work, in addition to the new readings of their own intellectuals working at the time, Cuban scholars arrived at the conclusion that the supposed individuality on which the model (of modern art and the ideology of Art for Art's Sake) was based had failed. The same socio-economic process that gave individualism space to be, took it away when the new international canon was introduced (they refer to Abstract Expressionism and the formalist agenda).<sup>156</sup> Standardization neutralized the role art could play in society. It emerges from the new economic and cultural model, where art and the artist are under the dictatorship of the market and framed under a "cinematic, visual, and mass-media model thanks to the monopoly of production and circulation of goods and services."<sup>157</sup> In addition, it erases

individuality, establishing a common ground where institutions and individuals were under control without knowing it.

Other important contributors to Cuban intellectual awareness (besides the obligatory readings of Marxist-Leninist literature coming from the Eastern Bloc) were the work of Marta Traba and later Juan Acha. Traba showed how Latin American Art was under a “third wave of colonization” (the first two were Spanish and French). She stated that “this third invasion has new characteristics, not only it is about exporting aesthetic forms, facts, and principles but also of being a magnet for artists. The inner-circle of Latin American artists is already living in the United States and/or planning an exhibition in New York City” (Marta Traba refers to the MAGNET exhibition when discussing the ESSO exhibitions).<sup>158</sup> With respect to the ESSO exhibitions, in one of the selective exhibits in Venezuela (1965), she argued that “it is necessary to review, objectively, the current artistic production of Latin America. It seems to me, based on the art pieces in display, that young Latin American art is showing dangerous levels of mimicry and loss of identity.”<sup>159</sup>

Marta Traba had founded, with Gloria Zea (ex-wife of painter Fernando Botero) the Museum of Modern Art Bogotá in 1963. Paradoxically, she was a close ally of private support for the arts. In her book, *Dos Decadas Vulnerables de las Arte Plásticas Latinoamericanas. 1950-1970 (Two Vulnerable Decades for Latin American Visual Arts. 1950-1970)*, written in 1973, she affirmed:

There are not the artists from the U.S, not even their critics or museums, whom had dominated us. There are the cultural manipulators that need easy subjects with open paths to absorb the dissident artist. The homogenization of Latin American art during these two decades (1950-1970) is not, unfortunately, an homage to the great inventive spirit of U.S. artists; it is only, and sadly, a “following (closing) rank” around the cultural manipulators.<sup>160</sup>

## 2.3 IN CULTURAL TERMS

“When in December 1976 I assumed the responsibility to create the Ministry of Culture, with a group of civil employees we undertook the task of organizing a network of cultural institutions and, especially, artistic, within the system of the economy of the country. I realized fully the importance, and enormous complexity that the cultural (spiritual) production has as a source of economic wealth.” Armando Hart Dávalos<sup>161</sup>

By popular culture in the late 1970s, Cuban officials, meant film and music. In fact, Alfredo Guevara’s discourse on film during the 1976 Party Congress, that would be the bases for the new Cuban constitution and trigger for the creation of the Ministry of Culture, focused on ICAIC’s continuing political and cultural importance. Guevara would become Cuba’s UNESCO ambassador from 1980-85. In the national press he proudly reported ICAIC’s 1959-76 production of seventy-one full-length films, and more than five hundred fifty documentary films, etc., as national patrimony and as part of the process of “decolonization”.<sup>162</sup> Writers of the Latin American “Boom” (Gabriel García Márquez, Carlos Fuentes, Mario Vargas Llosa, Julio Cortazar, and José Donoso among others), traveled back and forth to Cuba -a sign that culture played a major role in raising consciousness of decolonization. There were also an outpouring of publications such as *Casa de las Américas magazine*, and the cultural journals *Bohemia*, *Criterios*, *Albur*, *Revolución y Cultura*, *Juventud Rebelde*, *El Caimán Barburdo* and *Pensamiento Crítico* etc., that brought to Cuba a flow of new ideas and contemporary debates, not only in literary but also in cultural and visual criticism.<sup>163</sup>

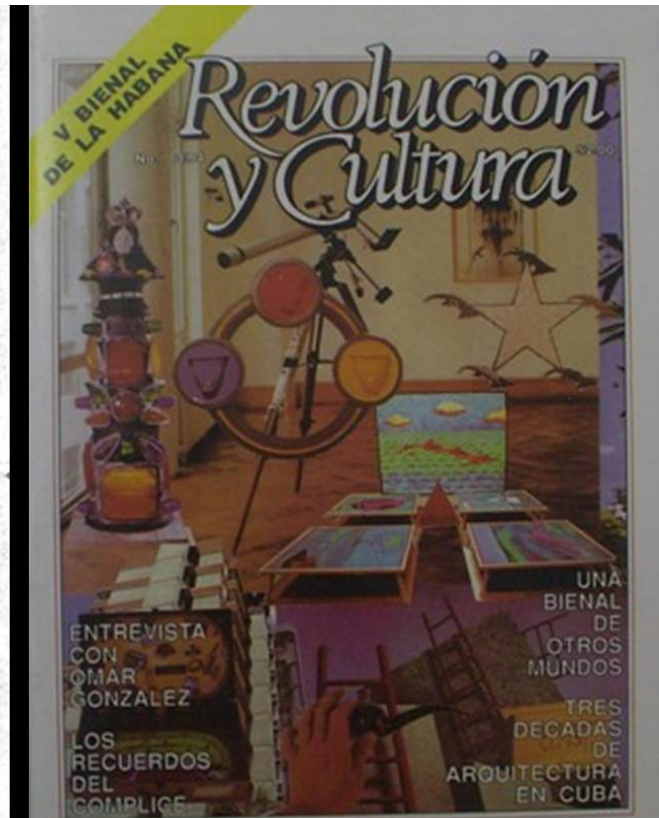


Figure 8. *El Caimán Barbudo* & *Revolución y Cultura*

### 2.3.1 Fluid Thought: Cultural criticism in Cuba at the time

Art criticism also rose exponentially and Cuba witnessed the re-appropriation, expropriation, and transit of two generations of thinkers. A great number of publications became training grounds and battle fields for important cultural debates, where young writers had the possibility to express alternative concepts outside of the cultural establishment. The development of a new Cuban criticism in literature, visual arts, architecture, design, theatre, cinema, aesthetics, and popular culture emerged from these journals; international and local events became a platform for debate.<sup>164</sup>

During the decade of the 1980s, a new generation of art critics, born out the Revolution, was taking over the places of the best known. Following Fernando Ortiz' legacy, they exercised an open and wider practice of writing from art reviews to cultural criticism, fashion and design, theory, and political commentary. Among those active in the period were Desiderio Navarro (philosophy), José Veigas (art); Roberto Segre (architecture and urbanism), Angel Rivero (film), Jaime Saruski (literature and popular culture); Alejandro Alonso (art), Manuel Lopez Oliva (art), Salvador Bueno (literature, folk, and pop culture), Adelaida de Juan (art history), Marta Arjona (patrimony, architecture, culture, and art), Gerardo Mosquera (art, literature, and popular culture); Jorge de la Fuente (philosophy, photography, and art), Rufo Caballero (art, theory), Rafael Lopez Ramos (art), and Nelson Herrera Ysla (architecture, design, and art). At first, they followed Lezama Lima, Cabrera Infante, Guillén, Fernandez Retamar, Benítez Rojo, and Portuondo's work, but soon departed from formulas of literary criticism by introducing popular culture and moving in the direction of cultural studies (informed by the work of people such as Nestor García Canclini and Jesús Martín Barbero), postmodern thinking, and with a clear counter colonial (anti-imperialist) discourse (in the fashion of the new cultural anthropology).

This group has been fundamental to the constitution of critical thinking in the 1980s and had an important impact on the cultural production of the 1990s. In *Déjame que te Cuente. Antología de la crítica en los 80s /Let Me Tell You. Anthology of 1980s criticism* (2002) the authors, Margarita Gonzalez, Tania Parson, and José Veigas, collected texts from 28 critics in order to “show the diversity of tendencies that meet then.”<sup>165</sup> The book evidences the dramatic changes that the art critical practice underwent during the decade. The artistic momentum in the island is manifested through the articles that emphasized the work of the generation of artists who participated in the now historical exhibition *Volumen Uno*.<sup>166</sup> In fact the publication starts

with three articles on the issue, two by Gerardo Mosquera and one by Angel Tomás, discussing the emergence of a generation and the new artistic practice. In “Seis Nuevos Pintores” (Six New Painters) and “Volumen Uno” (published as texts for the catalogs of the exhibitions with the same title), Mosquera announces the abandonment of formalist formulas and the upcoming of a generation that “está abierta al futuro” (is open to the future), and that “regarding the results, their importance is that there is a feeling of new air impregnated with the aroma of fresh paint vital, experimental, and idealist enthusiasm. Welcome.”<sup>167</sup> On the other hand, Tomás makes a more thorough analysis in his article “Desafió en San Rafael ¿Inicio de una ruta o retorno al pasado?” (San Rafael’s Challenge: A new route or the return to the past?) this was published in *El Caimán Barbudo*. The text mentions the street in which the exhibition took place, San Rafael, and the artist’s medium-age (25 years). In addition, it introduces a series of comments on the state of Cuban artistic practice at the time and underlines the experimental dimension of the artists in the exhibition. For the author this is a complex issue since “this aesthetic attitude could signal the danger of taking as direction the presuppositions made by the ‘vanguards’ promoted and manipulated by the Metropolis.”<sup>168</sup> At the same time he calls for a vote of confidence, comparing the new group with “el grupo de los once” (the Eleven Group) that in the 1950s helped to actualize Cuban painting.



**Figure 9.** Cover of *Déjame que te Cuente. Antología de la crítica en los 80s* (2002)



These articles, written in the first part of the 1980s, would establish that, indeed, a third generation of Cuban artists was coming to age. The first generation they refer to is that of Wifredo Lam's and the ones whom embraced modernism (among others, Amelia Peláez, Rene Portocarrero, and Victor Manuel). The second generation is constituted by the Eleven Group (Raúl Martínez, Sandú Darié, Salvador Corratgé, Luis Martínez Pedro, Loló Soldevilla, Pedro de Oraá, Sandra Eiriz and Servando Cabrera Moreno among others). Both generations brought international aesthetic influences to the fore (the first one modernism, the second lyrical abstraction) and developed a *transcultural* Cuban style. For critics, such as Rufo Caballero "for Luis Camnitzer those were the Cuban Renaissance; for Mosquera a movement of renovation; in my opinion (they are) the fifth movement in the history of the Cuban art of twentieth century after three generations of vanguard artists before 1959 and the fertile reverberation of the 60s."<sup>169</sup>

It is also important to mention the selection of texts by some non-Cuban authors in the same volume, such as Lucy Lipard, John Bentley Mayss, and Luis Camnitzer. Lucy Lipard had traveled to Cuba (a result of her friendship with artist Ana Mendieta) twice during early 1980s. In her piece "Made in United States: Art from Cuba" published in *Art in America* in 1986, she observes the specifics that made of the three Cuban artists under discussion (part of an exchange program organized by Camnitzer) universal enough to be accepted in the U.S., and leave a space to doubt and be amused by what the audience (she counts as part of it) cannot grasp from its cultural specificities.<sup>170</sup>

Publications concerning cultural matters were frequent in Cuba, and often acutely perceptive. However, in the visual arts, few general books were published. Mostly it was reviews, some catalogs, and critical essays addressing in particular the history of Revolutionary

art.<sup>171</sup> Finally, in 1983, Gerardo Mosquera published his *Exploraciones en la Plástica Cubana* (*Explorations in Cuban Visual Arts*) in which he sets the tone for a new art criticism and historicity.<sup>172</sup> The book is a compilation of articles from his publications in *Revolución y Cultura*, *Bohemia*, *Granma*, and in catalogs and brochures for solo and group exhibitions. It is interesting to note the way Mosquera builds up an intercultural structure and how a new set of issues are raised when “exploring” Cuban art. The term exploration shows his interests in anthropology and ethnology that bursts into his discourse in several levels. Travel logs, critical history, iconologies, formalist analysis, monographic report, and poetry. An interest in cultural anthropology, popular culture (it is better to say local culture), and Marxism where the socio-economic context is woven in as part of a complex but engaging narrative, beginning from pre-Hispanic, indigenous, primitive times and then jumping (literarily) to late modern and contemporary artists. For Mosquera it was clear that a critical discourse had to set itself within the local (but also have a universal objective). He places importance on oral traditions, popular imaginary, ritual practices, customs, and traditions. At the same time, he brings (in waves of comments and quotes) notes from anthropologists, sociologies, writers, critics, and to a lesser degree art historians. However, it is clear that he had a deep knowledge of the history of art, and not only of Western art history but also North American and indeed, Soviet Modern and contemporary art.<sup>173</sup>

The first part of the book is, as he puts it, an “exploration to the deepest past” in which he seems amused by the abstract sophistication of the long extinct native indigenous people of the island. This interest was also shared by Ana Mendieta, who traveled to Cuba in 1981 searching for the essence of her Cuban identity in something beyond the politics of the time, going to the

ancient, to what was erased, the residues of ancient cultures in the caves of Jaruco near Havana; and puts them (Mosquera and Mendieta) on the same plateau.

However, Mosquera draws attention to the formal characteristics of this type of art, and connects it to universal values. These abstract forms, he believe, have a ritual dimension that brings out from the silence of the past a powerful force. They could establish a new platform to understand Cuban identity. On one hand, in the case of Mendieta, her individuality is at stake; on the other, Mosquera's work addresses the local-lost in a context of the national becoming a universal (or at least Tri-Continental) identity.<sup>174</sup>

Later in the book Mosquera jumps to the present, for him the mid-to-late 1970s. It is clear how his experiences working in the Visual Arts Division at the Ministry of Culture shaped his work and writing (since many of the essays featured were written for exhibitions organized for the Visual Arts Division). His monographic reports go beyond the classificatory and surveying purposes and describe the human dimension of the artist in each study.<sup>175</sup> Short essays on art genres such as photography are directed towards the documentary value of the medium, and his comments on landscape and portraiture underline the social and historical relevance of the genres.<sup>176</sup> In this section he publishes one of his most important and celebrated interviews with Wifredo Lam titled, "Mi pintura es un acto de descolonizacion" (My Painting is an Act of Decolonization).<sup>177</sup> In the last section "Expedición al Futuro" (Expedition to the Future) Mosquera establishes a generational battle that would take place in the 1980s. He states that the future belongs to the youth, and argues that "some young artists, that we will visit, are so far more important that many of the old generation."<sup>178</sup>

Publications like this would follow and featuring not only artists but also critics and debates that would come to age taking by storm the Cuban and later the Third-World art scene.

Soon after, new names would join in making the debates rich in new thinking. Poststructuralist, Postmodern, and Postcolonial criticism would inform the work of Guadalupe Alvarez, Antonio Eligio (Tonel), Madeline Izquierdo, Iván de la Nuéz, Eugenio Valdez Figueroa, Osvaldo Sánchez, and Magali Espinosa, and subsequently the younger curators and critics of the Lam Center -Margarita Sánchez, Ibis Hernandez, Hilda M. Rodríguez, José Manuel Noceda, and Dannys Montes de Oca among others. In the next chapters we will have the opportunity to introduce their work and critical contribution.

### **2.3.2 Fluid Action: art exhibitions influence and impact**

With the creation of the Ministry of Culture in 1976, many exhibitions started to take place in Cuba and abroad. They set the tone for what was happening in the country just before the opening of the First Havana Biennale. They attest to the return of Cuban artists to the Venice and São Paulo Biennials, and the many international shows taking place in Latin America. They are important sources of information not only about new tendencies in art, styles, fashions and customs, but also in terms of structural models to follow in the creation of local exhibitions.

As major antecedents, some of the previous attempts to imagine a common identity in Cuba, then in the Americas, and later the Third World are worth mentioning.

In 1940 the National Institute of Visual Arts (part of the Ministry of Education) and La Universidad de la Havana, organized three major shows: “Escuelas Europeas” (European Schools) in February, 1940; “El Arte en Cuba: su evolución en la obra de algunos artistas” (Cuban Art: Evolution in the work of some artists) in April, 1940; and “300 Años de Arte en Cuba” (300 Years of Cuban Art) in July, 1940. The curators for those exhibitions were the artist Domingo Ravenet and the critic Guy Pérez Cisneros.<sup>179</sup> In 1941 the institute, pushing the *Agenda*

of *Modern Art*, organized the “Exposición de Arte Contemporáneo” (Exhibition of Contemporary Art) in November, 1941 as part of the events on the inter-American Conference on Intellectual Cooperation taking place in Havana the same year. Modernist art was winning the battle against academic practices, for instance in 1943 Alfred Barr Jr. visited the island on his Latin American tour. He attended to a meeting where the major topic in discussion was the cosmopolitan dimension of Cuban art and the international style of the school of Paris.<sup>180</sup> Barr finished his Latin American trip bringing with him some 300 pieces from the region. In March 31, 1943 he opened the exhibition “Latin American Art in the Museum of Modern Art collection”. As noted above, Barr had established contact in Cuba with young critic and gallery manager José Gómez Sicre, by the time director of *Galería de Prado* in Havana. In his trip, Barr had promised Gómez Sicre an exhibition on “Modern Cuban Painters” that would take place in MoMA in April 1944. It would shape the generation of the “Eleven Group” establishing a formalist agenda in the Island before the Revolution.

International Biennales were held (with some regularity) in Latin America during those decades, but with the exception of São Paulo (1953) none of them survived. Among others: The *Bienal Interamericana* in Mexico, organized by INBA (1958); La *Bienal Americana de Arte* organized by Kaiser Auto Industries in Cordova, Argentina (1962); *La Bienal de Medellín*, organized by Coltejer, a textile company (with international character from 1968-80); The *Salon Internacional Armando Reverón* in Venezuela, organized by the Fina Gómez Foundation (with biennial character during the 1960s); and three graphic art events taking place in Santiago (Chile), Puerto Rico, and Cali (Colombia); the *Bienal Americana de Grabado* (1963); *Bienal Internacional de Grabado* (1972); and the *Bienal Americana de Artes Gráficas* (1973) subsequently, among others.

It is worth mentioning, also, academic events that emphasized the identity of Latin America and its cultural autonomy. In 1981 *El Foro de Arte Contemporáneo de Méjico* / the Contemporary Art Forum organized in Mexico City was devoted to, “Latin American Visual Arts and Identity.” The event discussed under the postmodern critique the identity of the arts of the region. For Cuba, Lesbia Vent Dumois (Director of Visual Arts from *Casa de las Américas*) and the artist Flavio Garciandía (from *Volumen Uno*) attended. The same year Garciandía won the first prize for drawing in the IV Bienal Americana de Artes Gráficas in Cali, Colombia.<sup>181</sup>

Exhibitions taking place in Havana during the 1980s were also fundamental to the circulation of knowledge on the new artistic scene, and for establishing a collective consciousness on the role of the visual in the new cultural policy, building a group (a community of interest), and carrying the project further. Some galleries and cultural centers, prior the opening of the first Havana Biennale, became important as platforms for new artists. *Galería L* (Gallery L) and the *Centro de Arte Internacional* (International Art Center) opened in 1980. These were spaces of debate. In 1980 Gallery L organized the Salon Nacional de Artes Plásticas -Escuelas de arte (Nacional Salon -for Art Schools), and the Internacional Art Center opened the 1<sup>er</sup> Salón Nacional de Pintura y Escultura Carlos Enríquez (1<sup>st</sup> National Salon of Painting and Sculpture Carlos Enríquez), the Salón de Artes Plásticas de la UNEAC (UNEAC’s Visual Arts Salon) presented an exhibition featuring the first promotion from the ISA. The same year the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes (the Nacional Museum of Fine Arts) organized its VIII Salón Nacional Juvenil de Artes Plásticas (the 8<sup>th</sup> National Salon of Visual Arts for youngsters).

In 1981 three new art spaces (re) opened, *Galería Habana* (Havana Gallery); *Centro de Arte 23 y 12* (Art Center 23 and 12); and *Centro Provincial de Artes Plásticas* (Provincial Center for Visual Arts), which would played an important role in recognizing new talents. In addition,

the former Hilton Hotel, now named Hotel Habana Libre, allowed young curators to use some of its spaces as galleries. Mosquera, Garciandía, and Veigas organized an exhibition titled “Jóvenes Artistas: Retrospectiva” (Retrospective of Young Artists). The National Museum of Fine Arts featured the work of American post-conceptualist Roger Welch with an exhibition titled “Escultura subconsciente” (Subconscious Sculpture), this artist would influence the young generation of Cuban artists who were interested in international movements.<sup>182</sup> 1981 was a particularly intense year with respect to the new generation of Cuban artists. It is the year of *Volumen Uno*; other exhibitions such as “Sano y Sabroso” (Healthy and Juicy) in Centro de Arte 23 y 12 featured the same group of *Volumen Uno* just months after their break-through show. Later that year seven out of the eleven artists of *Volumen Uno* participated in a collective performance against the fabrication of the neutron-bomb in Old Havana. Artists such as Antonio Eligio (Tonel), who then was working as a cartoonist, would have their first chance in the world of art (today he is also an important critic). The exhibition “Humor, Línea y Concepto” (Humor, Line, and Concept) in Gallery L introduced this kind of practice into the Cuban main-stream.

Internationally, thanks to Ana Mendieta and Luis Camnitzer, the artists in residence program at Westbeth Gallery in New York City featured the work of ten Cuban artists in the exhibition titled “First Look: 10 young artists from today’s Cuba” in November that year. It opened a new era of art exhibitions of Cuban artists in the United States, a link that broke more than twenty years of isolation. Other international exhibitions organized by the Cuban government were circulating aspects of the new Cuban art during early 1980s. “Cuban Posters, Drawings, and Graphics” toured India in 1980-81 (Lalit Kala Gallery, New Delhi); “Art from Cuba” was exhibited in the T.V Tower Gallery in the G.D.R.; “The Generation of the Real Hope” toured Eastern Europe (Prague and Budapest), among other places.

In June of that year Gerardo Mosquera presented his book *Trece artistas jóvenes* (*Thirteen Young Artists*) with an exhibition in Galería Habana featuring artists from *Volumen Uno*. In 1982 the Havana Gallery exhibited works by José Bedia, Gustavo Pérez Monzón, Ricardo Rodríguez Brey, and Rubén Torres Llorca in an exhibition titled 4 (Four); in addition it featured the exhibition “Vereda Tropical” by Flavio Garciandía (first of a series). Another space that became important was the Casa de la Cultura Plaza (Culture House) in Plaza featuring work by Bedia (his *Crónicas Americanas*, first of a series), Rogelio López Marín, Francisco Elso (his famous exhibition “Tierra, Maíz, Vida”), and the first solo exhibition by Marta María Perez Bravo. Centro de Arte 23 y 12 featured the exhibition “Generación de la Esperanza” (Generation of Hope) and the first exhibition by the collective 4x4 (Gustavo Acosta, Moisés Finalé, José Franco, and Carlos Alberto García). Later that year the collective would exhibit at Gallery L.

Exhibitions in New York, “Los novísimos Cubanos,” (The New Cubans) was held at the Signs Gallery and in Mexico “Pintura Joven Cubana” (Young Cuban Painting) at Gallery Rafael Cortés circulated the new art production, increasing the interest and opening a market for new Cuban art.

In 1983 the Latin American Gallery of *Casa de las Américas* invited Luís Camnitzer to exhibit his work and to participate in a series of talks on conceptual art.<sup>183</sup> Havana Gallery featured the work of a new collective “Hexágono” (Consuelo Castañeda, Humberto Castro, Sebastián Elizondo, Antonio Eligio, Abigail García, and María Elena Morera). Another collective, with support of Armando Hart Dávalos, organized an art-event in a factory (“Arte en la Fábrica”) to introduce workers to the new art-practices. And, also, took place the first Encounter of Art Historians and Critics where Mosquera presented his book *Exploraciones en la plástica Cubana*.



In 1984 new names were included in the program for local galleries; the most important artists, however, were eagerly working to answer the international call-for-artists to participate in the first Havana Biennale. The Biennale took place in the National Museum of Fine Arts and the Cuban Pavilion from May 22 to July 9.<sup>184</sup>

## 2.4 THE FIRST HAVANA BIENNALE

“By the projection of Wifredo Lam’s work and by the sources that nourished his figure - the Center that bears his name summons the artists who forge the authentic contemporary image of a world that has undertaken the reconquest of its own identity. In this first opportunity, the call is confined to the visual artists from Our America. In the future, there will be also with us those of Asia and Africa.”

Wifredo Lam Center<sup>185</sup>

The catalog of the first Havana Biennale begins with these simple but visionary words. The exhibition opened on May 22, 1984, simultaneously in the Museum of Fine Arts and the Cuban Pavilion in Havana city. It was organized by Beatriz Aulet, director of plastic arts and design office of the Ministry of Culture, and produced by a group of specialists from the Ministry. Among them were Gerardo Mosquera, Nelson Herrera Ysla, and José Veigas with assistance of Leticia Cordero and others.

The short text that introduces the Biennale also underlines how “victims of the powerful mechanisms of the market, the so-called Third-World artists, have struggled to gain a space in the metropolitan centers; isolated and without the possibility to confront each other.”<sup>186</sup> The Biennale organizers understood the lack of circulation and recognition of the vital art in the region. In opposition to OAS views, they believed that the only way to establish a real counter-

cultural response to cultural imperialism was by creating a common ground where an autonomous identity could be forged not for individuals but for the region at large. They recognized cultural dependency as the enemy to confront, and suggested a way to overcome it. According to them, it is through recognition, by “knowing each other better,” through understanding between artists and the people (the public or the audience) that a subject comes to age.<sup>187</sup> The preface ends by noting the modesty of their approach, but at the same time, their commitment and audacity to continue. It makes clear that under the ideal of connecting Third World artists to the people, they will make possible a dialog, the same dialog that had nurtured the many cultures and the one nation that believes in art (the text refers to Cuba). The preface ends “because, as art, it had been struggling over and over for just the right of being in the world.”<sup>188</sup>



Figure 10. Cover catalog (depicting the Cuban Pavilion), 1<sup>st</sup> Havana Biennale

Poet Eliseo Diego (president of the UNEAC at the time), wrote the introduction for the catalog. In it Diego, using an official tone, recognizes the work of Wifredo Lam as a great Revolutionary artist and, perhaps, the most important Cuban artist ever. He expressed gratitude to the more than seven hundred artists participating and underlines the multiplicity of styles and tendencies that give a glimpse into the creativity and world views of artists around the region. He emphasized the cultural fusion, the *transcultural* dimension of the Americas, referring to Guillén's use of the term *mestizaje*, "where the strength of Latin America and the Caribbean inhabits, and from where the region could offer hope to the convulsive humanity of the time."<sup>189</sup> He remembered the work of the Mexican Muralists that included artists in the construction of a new society. He argued that the Cuban Constitution, drawing from this experience, recognizes the same spirit. Diego emphasized the fact that photography is participating at the same level than the rest of the arts, introducing a testimonial dimension to the exhibition. Finally, he envisioned the role the Havana Biennale would have, not only in recognizing new names (young artists) but also in connecting what is disconnected. In creating a net, as the Cuban Revolution had intended by itself, in order to reintegrate what was dispersed (and here he mentions the future presence of African and Asian artists) by the colonial forces of the new imperialist adventure.<sup>190</sup>

According to Nelson Herrera Ysla, "the idea of establishing the Wifredo Lam Center and the Biennial came forward during a meeting between Lam's widow and Fidel Castro, in the presence of Hart Dávalos and other members of the cultural community. It seems that during the meeting the idea was discussed. The Biennial's character was also defined; a space for 'Third-World' artists, in part following the new set of artistic events taking place in Havana."<sup>191</sup> These included the Latin American Theater Festival (1980), the already famous *Festival del Nuevo*

*Cine Latino Americano* (1979), in addition to *Casa de la Américas'* international program. Herrera Ysla recalls: "Immediately, under Aulet's direction and with support of other cultural institutions, we started to work for the first Biennial."<sup>192</sup> Marcia Leiseca, Vice-Minister of Culture supported the event in its totality. A few months later Lillian Llanes would be called in from her work at *ISA* to structure and form the Wifredo Lam Center as the academic and research center for contemporary art and to oversee the planning of the Havana Biennale.

The First Havana Biennale was organized entirely under the Ministry of Culture's Visual Arts Direction. It was envisioned as an international survey exhibition and conceived as a mega event that reacted to, but also mimicked, the bourgeois legacy of the world-expo and the art-fair model, but which could become a force for the art produced outside the North-European axis. In its first edition, it called artists from Latin America and the Caribbean, and invited few others from North America, Asia (Japan), and also from East Europe (Poland, and Czechoslovakia). Using initially the data base and link of institutions such as *Casa de las Américas*, and with help from critics, artists, and art historians from Latin America it brought together some eight hundred artists (715 in competition) and more than two thousand art works. The format was a survey-contest covering all artistic genres such as painting, sculpture, drawing, graphic art, and photography.

As a survey, it also offered a number of awards and mentions. The winners of prizes were: Arnold Belkin, (México), José Gamarra y Carmelo Arden Quin, (Uruguay), Branca de Oliveira y Alirio Palacios (Venezuela), Carlos Alonso (Argentina), Fernell Franco, (Colombia), Gustavo Acosta y Rogelio López Marín (Cuba). A thorough discussion on some of these works will appear in chapter 5.



**Figure 11. Arnold Belkin, “Betrayal and Death of Zapata.” Portable Mural (detail), 1982**

In addition to the competitive section, four exhibitions were assembled, presenting to the Cuban audience the work of Venezuelan Jacobo Borges, Ecuadorian Oswaldo Guayasamín, Chilean Roberto Matta, and Mexican Francisco Toledo. Parallel to the event a symposium dedicated to the life and work of Wifredo Lam was organized. It invited scholars working, internationally, on Wifredo Lam’s legacy.

Gerardo Mosquera, Nelson Herrera Ysla, and José Veigas (in a lesser role) under the direction of Beatriz Aulet, are noteworthy the founders of the Havana Biennale. The first edition closed in late July and the returning of the works took several months to complete. It is during that moment that the Wifredo Lam Center would become operative. Later that year Mosquera and Herrera Ysla would join Lillian Llanes at the nascent art center.

The first Havana Biennale also underlined its collective spirit. When looking for the names of the organizers in the Catalog and related material published around the Biennale, no names are mentioned. Credits to the museographer, Fernando O’Reilly (Architect) with the assistance of Hector Veitía, Rodolfo López, and Juan Betancourt were given. The organizational

committee (The direction of Plastic Arts and Design of the Ministry of Culture) expressed gratitude also to a series of institutions and people mostly from Latin America and Europe (France and Spain in particular) but not mention themselves.

In the same year, events such as the XVIII São Paulo Biennial occurred, and ARCO 84 (the Ibero-American Art Fair founded in 1981) celebrated its third staging in the Cristal Palace in Madrid. The Museum of Modern Art, in New York, was also reopened that year after a major expansion on its now traditional locale in 53<sup>rd</sup> Street. In May 17, 1984 a week before the opening of the Havana Biennale MoMA opened the exhibition titled, *International Survey of Recent Painting and Sculpture*, curated by Kynaston McShine; later that year it would open the controversial “*Primitivism*” in *20th Century Art. Affinities of the Tribal and the Modern* organized by William Rubin, the successor of Alfred H. Barr as chief curator. Artists such as Robert Mapplethorpe were succeeding raising contentious issues in the art centers of the U.S. Identity politics and postmodernism that made their entry through philosophy and architectural projects had become central to discourse and practice.

## 2.5 CONCLUSION

The Havana Biennale is the product of the debates on identity politics, decolonization, postmodernity, as well as major geopolitical changes in relation to the U.S. and the Eastern Bloc, during late 1970s and early 1980s, and which were fully deployed in the 1990s. As well, it is an extension of the political and ideological debates that took place not only in Cuba, but also in Latin America, Africa, and Asia during the post Second World War years. It has responded to and generated dialog among equals, at the same time promoting and recognizing diversity and

difference. The consciousness of an emergent artistic culture, parallel to but critical of the mainstream, was cultivated in the first part of the 20th century, above all by the avant-garde movements of the early 20th century. By the 1960s variants of it were occurring throughout the South. Cuban critic Osvaldo Sánchez says of the Cuban art production during the period: “We lived the copy as the sublime operation; we built our heritage on opportunistic license, Neither Cartesian logos, Yankee pragmatism or modernist epistemologies succeeded in dominating the ritual dimension of our praxis.”<sup>193</sup>

## **PART TWO**



### 3.0 PORT/PIER – MAPS – ROUTES – NETWORKS

This world map of radial nuclei and unplugged areas causes intense currents in search of connection. The global orbit structurally generates the Diaspora. The inherent contradiction is reproduced in the centers' control toward immigrants: they fear them as much as they need them.

Gerardo Mosquera<sup>194</sup>

This chapter describes the work model of the Wifredo Lam Center, its paradigmatic practice, and the process of developing the center's conception of Third-World art. It also functions as a *chronotopi* of the nine enactments of the event, presenting an archeology from the inside out using primary material and interviews.

Note. This section is informed by a series of interviews that took place during 2003, 2006, and 2007. The interviews were conducted with members (active or retired) of the core group of curators and collaborators working within the Wifredo Lam Center for Contemporary Art. Some occurred during the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Biennale in 2003 and 2006, in Havana City, others in Barcelona, Madrid, Merida (MX), New York, Rome, and Pittsburgh during the same period. Each subject is identified by his/her name; the complete transcription will be attached as an appendix.

Additionally, a series of charts and maps have been produced in order to visualize the discussions, trajectories, debates, artists, curators, and institutions involved in the Biennale's history. Short discussions of some of the 'land-mark' artists in each edition will also be presented (if relevant). Above all, an exploration of the academic, empirical, and conceptual dimensions that informed and illuminated the group's inner work will be central to the present chapter.

### 3.1 THE WIFREDO LAM CENTER

Dedicated to and named after the great Cuban surrealist painter, this cultural center, exhibition venue, and research institution was founded in February 28, 1983. Currently it is located at San Ignacio No. 22, the corner of Empedrado Street at the east side of the Plaza de la Catedral de la Habana in the Old Havana district declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1982. The Lam Center is housed in an 18th-century building (Casa del Obispo Penalver). The Wifredo Lam Center for Contemporary Art is a cultural institution dedicated to the study, research and promotion of contemporary visual arts from developing countries in Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Caribbean. The building has spacious exhibition rooms, a library, a video library, an internal patio, and areas for other cultural activities.



**Figure 12. The Wifredo Lam Center.** (left to right) Cathedral Plaza, external view, courtyard

The Havana Biennale is the Center's main project. Since the event was first held in 1984 and throughout its many editions (ten by 2009), it has become a privileged meeting place for those interested in contemporary art from Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. More than three thousand artists and over ten thousand art works, mostly from the Third World, have been exhibited. A large number of critics, museum directors, merchants, editors of art magazines and collectors from all over the world have met in Havana during the nine editions to exchange thoughts and positions on the state of art and culture at the time.

For the founding members, the Wifredo Lam Center was an opportunity to build an institution from the bottom up. At the same time, it became an institution that would train a new generation of cultural agents. Remarkably, it began without an organizational structure; as part of the cultural system, it had to find its place and start relating itself to the larger cultural policies and institutions. It began from the activity of one person, Lillian Llanes, who searched for a group of collaborators and, in a short time, formed a collective with a clear vision of what had to be done to make real the objectives established by the official decree that brought the Center into legal existence. The Lam Center also is one of the steps taken by the Ministry of Culture in order to develop a system that was intended to put Cuba on the international map as the cultural vanguard in the region, not only in Latin America, but also in the Third World and beyond.

The figure shows how the Ministry of Culture functions as an administrative center where national directions (under the Minister and four Vice Ministers instruction), national councils (one for each artistic area), and related institutions (such as the Casa de la Américas, the National Museum of Fine Arts, the National Theater, etc.), function in relation to each other and in concordance with other institutions under the management of the Ministry of Education. That is the case of the Instituto Superior de Arte (ISA) and the national and provincial art schools. The system is mirrored in the provinces and localities, which on a regional and local scale reenact the same structure.

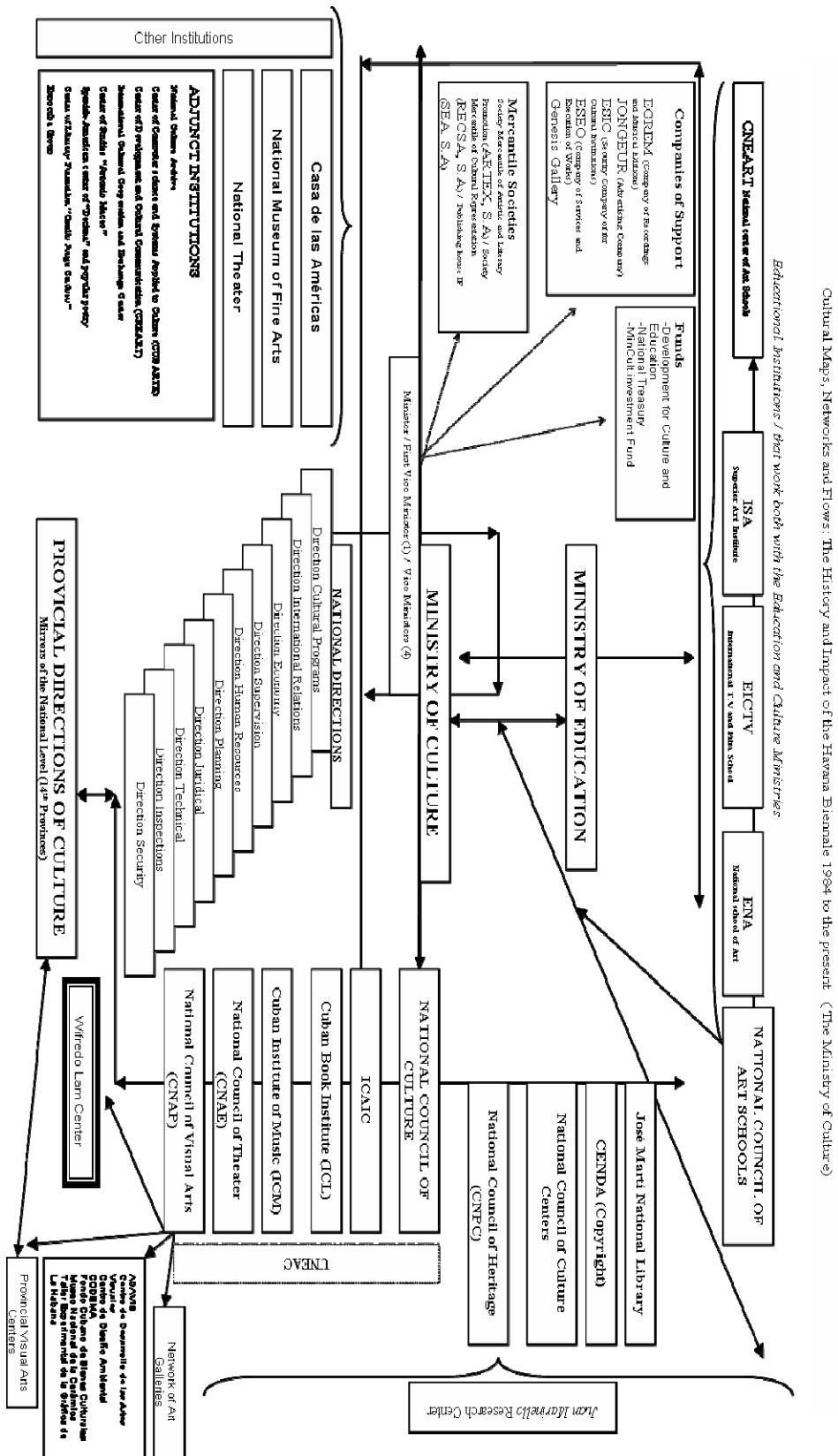


Figure 13. The Cuban Ministry of Culture structure

### **3.1.1 The Lam Center Organizational Model**

Currently the Lam Center is under the direction of the CNAP (Consejo Nacional de las Artes Plásticas). CNAP is an organ of the Ministry of Culture at the executive level, defining cultural policy for the visual arts of the island. The Wifredo Lam Center is an institution supported and fully funded by the Cuban state. However, like other cultural institutions, such as Casa de las Américas, for example, the Lam Center has enjoyed a certain degree of independence in the way it functions (thanks to Llanes' direction). Other institutions, such as the Provincial Center for the Arts, the National Salon (now Salon de Arte Contemporáneo), and the network of art galleries, are more integrated into the system.

The Lam Center did not begin with a clear organizational structure, budget, physical setting, or employees. That is why the First Havana Biennale was organized directly by the Ministry of Culture's Visual Arts and Design Office. In order to fulfill the functions the Lam Center was charged with at the moment of its official creation in February, 1983, it had to start building itself up from scratch. As noted in the first chapter, its functions are as follows:

- a. To promote the study and promotion of Lam's work as a universal expression of contemporary art.
- b. To promote internationally the art work of artists from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, as well as of artists that struggle for cultural identity and that are related to those territories.
- c. To endorse international activities in the field of visual arts in order to develop and establish cultural ties.
- d. To facilitate the development of the visual arts in Cuba and to promote the contemporary manifestations of Cuban contemporary artists of most significance.
- e. To offer services of specialized information about contemporary art, artists, critics, and researchers.
- f. To enrich the cultural patrimony of the country through the creation of a permanent collection of visual arts and the systematic exchange of artistic and cultural documentation.
- g. To present periodically national and international events related to visual arts and to give artistic recognition in form of grants and prizes.
- h. To promote a broader interest in the visual arts to the society through didactic and artistic activities and the use of mass communication.

**Figure 14. List of “attributions and functions” of the Wifredo Lam Center at its creation**

Several months after its creation, in March 1984, Llilian Llanes was appointed by Marcia Leiseca (the powerful Vice-Minister of Culture at the time) as director of the new institution.<sup>195</sup> Llanes, an art historian by training, had been working at the University of Havana and later in the ISA. An academic and civil servant, she subsequently became the administrative force and conceptual leader of the Lam center. As artistic director and curator she is internationally recognized as the person “who has probably built the largest biennial with the least means, Llilian Llanes has pitted faith and imagination against scarcity.”<sup>196</sup> Llanes served as the director of the Lam Center from 1984 to 1999.

The Center soon became an alternative venue for research and work for local artists and scholars who were not well acquainted with the international circuit. While it went almost completely unnoticed in Europe and the U.S., it was an extremely popular institution locally and in the region. It soon became an artistic laboratory where Llanes' vision for the Center (and the Biennale) as a scholarly and artistic venue would be accomplished. In conjunction with the Cuban Ministry of Culture, it constructed a discourse based on the collective experience of marginalized artists affected by underdevelopment. At the same time they intended to establish a

high quality institution to research, promote, and exhibit the work of regional and Third World artists.<sup>197</sup>

Because of Llanes' experience as an active member of the Revolution, and as a university professor and cultural administrator, she had a vision of what the Lam Center and the Havana Biennale would be like and what it might achieve. As a visual laboratory diametrically opposed to the dominant U.S.-European model, it was focused on not only mapping the production of art coming from the Third World through research and exhibitions, but also on placing their work throughout the international circuit. Llanes had to establish a team that could cover all points from the list of 'attributions and functions' for the new art center. That initial vision evolved in almost a curatorial rhetoric, based on Llanes' anti-imperialistic worldview and shared by Mosquera and Herrera Ysla at the time. It also was influenced in many ways by the postmodern impulse to de-centre the art world and its hegemonic history.

To make real such an institution, Llanes worked to establish a cultural center that had to deal with: (a) research (about Wifredo Lam and Third World art); (b) exhibitions (local and international); (c) documentation and archival material; (d) international relationships (to make the Biennale part of a larger circuit); (e) communication and publications; (f) education (to connect the Cuban public with contemporary art); and (g) an administrative dimension to support their activities and actions. She initially discarded the idea of starting an art collection since it was clear that for some time they would not have a physical space to store a growing collection. The initial and most important part of the whole equation was to assemble a group of people who were adequately prepared, but also open minded and malleable. This meant young and inexperienced, but also enthusiastic and ready to join the enterprise.

Without the problems of a centralized and official (hierarchical) model, the Lam Center has experienced a series of transformations which has made it in practice an organic, highly flexible and adaptable institution. The changing conditions in Cuba, in addition to the external pressures (economic, political, and cultural), as well as the volatility of the art world – all these have acted upon it.

The figure shows the two key phases of the development of the Lam Center. The first half, pictures the approach from its creation in 1983 to the first crisis in 1991 when Gerardo Mosquera left the Center (reading it from bottom to top). It also depicts the location of the Center with respect to the system (see previous figure). The second phase is expressed in a merely horizontal organizational model, in which a central figure (the director) becomes just a coordinator of the actions taken by the rest of the team. These phases in the evolution of the Lam Center will be explained further in the next section and also in the one titled “Unpacking the Biennale” at the end of this chapter.



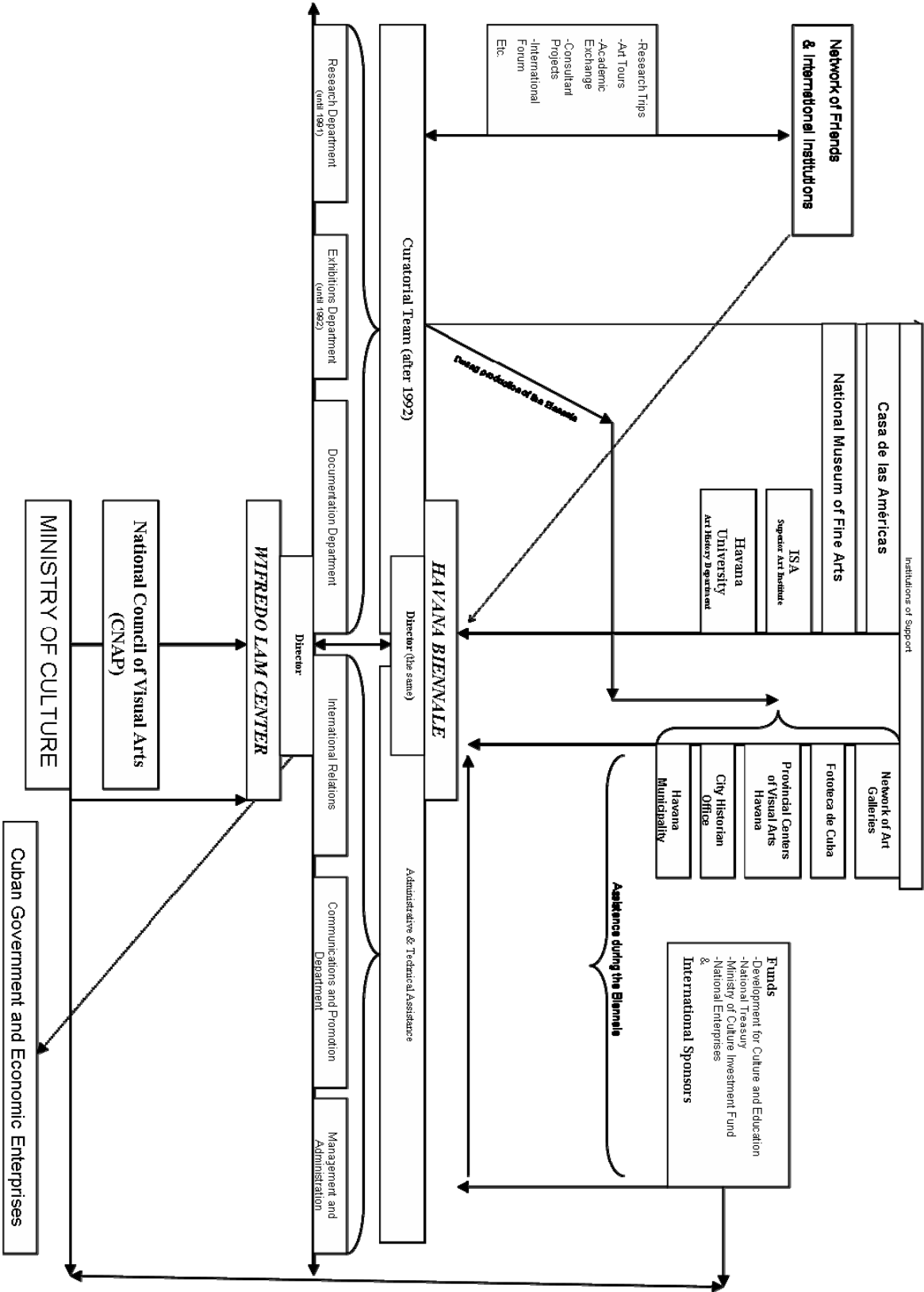


Figure 15. Wifredo Lam Center Structure

### 3.2 TIME CAPSULES

Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of a *chronotopy* can help, to some extent, to understand the Havana Biennale as an intricate tangle of ideas, peoples, art works, historical contexts, environments, political agendas, etc. The Russian literary theorist first introduced the concept in a posthumously published study of the novel, where he sets out to disentangle different connections between time and space in this literary genre. *Chronotopy* is a neologism in which both dimensions are regarded as symmetrical and absolutely interdependent. The experience of time and space are unconditionally connected and –at least from a theoretical point of view- demand to be treated as equivalent analytical concepts. They constitute the observation grid by means of which cultural products – in the case of Bakhtin mainly literature or more precisely, the novel- can relate to the cultural context within which they are produced as well as perceived.

The particularity of a *chronotopic* analysis is the fact that it does not privilege time or space, they are interdependent and they should be studied in this manner. If this is true we could argue that Chronotopes become almost landmarks in time and space, something like a monument for future reference. Chronotopes are symbols or forces, operating to shape communities and the image of them.<sup>198</sup>

The following material has to be treated and read as a chronotopy, its intent is to open a time capsule via interviews of the agents involved in the development of the Havana Biennale, in which individual experience is crossed by time and space. The Havana Biennale then becomes a landmark for future reference in the art world of the Global South. It is not the only one, but is one of the most relevant when analyzing cultural contexts in detail.

### 3.3 A PERSONAL ARCHEOLOGY OF THE LAM CENTER

“In the search of a true universality where everyone may have their own space, the Center decided to promote a more thorough understanding of the artistic values in developing countries, to advance a close integration among artists, critics, and researchers based on their common interest and on the defense of their art, culture and existence and, at the same time, to attract all those interested in a truly universal art everywhere in the world.”

Liliana Llanes<sup>199</sup>

Members of the Center recall how they were invited to be part of the newly created Lam Center. It is necessary to give them voice in order to understand this institution not as a machine that produces certain products (a Biennale, catalogs, symposia and other exhibitions), but as a body of experiential flows and connections that emerged in a particular historical window and physical place that would help us to disentangle what James D. Helbert calls the age of “global art”.<sup>200</sup>

In this section, five of the members recruited by Llanes during the first years of the Biennale recount their experiences. They comment on their initial approach to the Center, their training and background, as well as some facts that help to set the organizational structure of the institution during its gestation and development into a fully operational mode.

**JOSE MANUEL NOCEDA.** (Art Historian, at the Lam Center since November 1984) “I was invited by my advisor, after graduation, to teach an architectural course at Havana University. That was in 1984, when simultaneously Liliana Llanes contacted me to work in the newly founded Wifredo Lam Center. She had been a professor at Havana University and she knew me, so the invitation was tempting. I had just graduated and I knew after talking to her that the new center would have a research nucleus and that it would be, maybe, the only one of its class in the region. That would allow young art historians like me to work as researchers. Besides, it would be in charge of organizing the Havana Biennale, which I had visited that year. I did not think twice, and accepted. I went directly to work at the end of the first Havana Biennale.”<sup>201</sup>

**SILVIA MEDINA DE MIRANDA.** (Philologist, at the Lam Center 1984 to 1991) “Luisa Campuzano was my advisor at Havana University; she was a good friend of Liliana Llanes, who

had recently been appointed Director of the Lam Center. In a meeting between Campuzano and Llanes, the first commented that I could be a good candidate to work in the newly created Lam Center. Campuzano also told Llanes also that I was a believer (practicing Catholic), and she did not have any problem with that; I think that was important to clarify that, since in Cuba by the time there was a complete separation between church and the state. Besides, the Lam Center was established to be an international institution which would have to be in contact with people from all over the world and any attachment to something that was not part of the project could be against the candidate.

After an interview in which Llanes explained to me the emphasis on visual arts that the Lam Center would have, and the fact that she was planning to incorporate a more rigorous approach to the visual arts, which (according to her) were at the time a little “disorganized”. To do research in the area, Llanes needed people coming from other disciplines and that factored into her decision to have me there. It was precisely that, to bring methods from the classics to the visual arts. For me it was like entering a new universe, however, I told her that I was interested. I started to work with José Manuel Noceda on December the third, 1984.”

**IBIS HERNANDEZ ABASCAL.** (Art Historian, at the Lam Center since December 1984) “I graduated in 1982 and immediately thereafter I started having my family. In 1983 the Wifredo Lam Center was created. It started as a collective of specialists taking care of the first Havana Biennale, which was organized under Beatriz Aulet, director of the visual arts office of the Ministry of Culture. In mid 1984, I was contacted by Leticia Cordero, a former classmate and college friend; she already was working in the Ministry of Culture during the organization of the Biennale, and later would integrate the newly formed Lam Center.<sup>202</sup> She introduced me to Lillian Llanes who had recently been appointed director. By November that year, I was working on the return of the works of the first Biennale. It was organized entirely by Jose Veigás, Gerardo Mosquera, and Nelson Herrera. Our first office was located in the building occupied by the magazine *Revolución y Cultura* in Old Havana. Later in September 1985, the Wifredo Lam Center would have its first physical space.

That is why, in the words of Lillian Llanes, the ones that worked before September, 1985, are considered the founders of the Wifredo Lam Center for Contemporary Art. By that time the group consisted of José Manuel Noceda, Nelson Herrera Ysla, Silvia María Medina de Miranda, Leticia Cordero, Gerardo Mosquera (who had an important role in the vision of the Biennale), Juan Blanco (who was in charge of customs and international relations), José Manuel Varela (the founder of our library), among others.”

**MARGARITA SANCHEZ PRIETO.** (Art Historian, at the Lam Center since October 1985) “We, in the Casa de las Americas, where I used to work, did not have a direct relationship with the First Havana Biennale and the people working initially at the Wifredo Lam Center. Nonetheless, we knew some of the people that started to work there -José Noceda, Silvia Medina, and Ibis Hernandez in particular, because they used to come to the Casa asking for information, directories, materials and the like. They did not have office space in those days and used to work in a building, I do not recall now where. They worked with Lillian Llanes, the founder and director of the Center. Later on, when I found out about the official opening of the Wifredo Lam Center for Contemporary Art in 1985, at a physical location, I decided to apply. The Center had to deal with Latin American art. That was clear from the First Havana Biennale. Besides, the Center would be located in Old Havana, which for me was an important thing since

I was a new mother. A former professor from the University introduced me to Llilian Llanes. She had expressed her interest in having a very young team, just graduates from Art History or related areas. However, she made an exception with me since I was coming from the Casa de las Américas. Llilian is a very demanding person not only in personal and in administrative terms, but she also has a rigorous academic mind. She proposed that I would work in the area of communications, but I expressed my interest to work in research. Finally, she accepted, and I started in October 1985 in the newly restored house in Old Havana where the Lam Center was located for some years.”

**HILDA MARIA RODRIGUEZ.** (Art Historian and Artist, at the Lam Center from 1986-2004. Director 2001-2004) “During the Second Havana Biennale in 1986, the Provincial Center for Visual Art participated actively in many parallel events. Collaboration has been one of the Biennale’s strategies, it is part of the Biennale’s spirit, and many institutions come to join the efforts of the Lam Center. As part of the general structure, the Provincial Center worked on the collateral exhibitions and on the academic event. I participated in the organization of some of the Cuban exhibitions that took place during that Biennale and in some of the discussions around the international exhibitions that would take place during the event. We inserted ourselves into the structure of the Biennale; we were part of it.

Since my research interests matched those of the Lam Center, and Llilian Llanes had the opportunity to know me in action when working for the Provincial Center, I was accepted to work with them in 1989. At the beginning, the Biennale was a survey and a competitive event for the art produced in the Third World.”

### **3.3.1.1 Training and background**

What Llilian Llanes was looking for in the new members of the Lam center was a solid background and training in Art History or related areas, with emphasis on research and, if possible, knowledge of contemporary art. In this section, the agents recall their experiences as art history majors at the Universidad de la Habana; it also functions as an image of the ways scholarly education took place in Cuba during the late 1970s and 1980s.

**JOSE MANUEL NOCEDA.** “I started my education in philosophy at the Marxist-Leninist Department of Philosophy at the Havana University in 1976. At the end of the first academic year I shifted to the Department of Arts and Letters and changed my major to Art History. This change was not fortuitous, the philosophy department asked for something I could not give at the time. With a group of friends from philosophy we made the decision. My interest in literature and arts made the transition easier.

My parents used to be good readers, but without a particular orientation though. They read works on a wide range of issues, and specially literature, not only Latin-American but also universal. We did not have any connection with the intellectual world at the time, since my parents were accountants immersed in the work of economics. However, today I find a link with my childhood, my interest in literature, and world issues.

Being at school, I realized the limitations of studying art history in a university in Cuba. Nonetheless, we numbered an impressive group of professors; Doctors Rosario Novoa, Adelaida de Juan, Mario Rodríguez Alemán, and Luz Merino Acosta, among others. They led the teaching of art history in those years, and had developed a general bibliography for all students, with materials they found available from all over the world for the classes they taught. They had a profound knowledge and a large experience in the teaching of art. They dissect the concepts with a simplicity and efficiency rarely found in a professor nowadays.

Indeed, the curriculum emphasized historiography and iconography. We did have some classes on form and design as our bases for reading art, complementing the more historicist approach. I would like to add, that the focus in those times was on the history of Western art, rather than on a wider or particular perspective. Actually, we received really good training in Western art from antiquity to the 1960s, even the 1970s. We had some classes on pre-Columbian art, but the emphasis was always Europe and later the U.S.

I had the advantage, with that group of friends that jumped from philosophy, of having received training in the history of science and Western thought. At the moment of studying aesthetics, for example, we realized that the names were the same ones we had already studied but now with a especial emphasis. In an unconscious way, I had previous training that allowed me to see things from a wider angle.

I have always been more interested in history than in the practice of art in contemporary times, so I have asked myself repeatedly how I have been able to work for so many years in an institution that deals with contemporary art. On the other hand, I do have an interest in architecture. My undergraduate thesis was a critical and theoretical treatise on Cuban modern architecture.”

**SILVIA MEDINA DE MIRANDA.** “I graduated from Classic Literature and Philology at Havana University in 1983. I had the fortune of having Luisa Campuzano as advisor.<sup>203</sup> I am proud of being a philologist since it taught me to approach problems in a general way. As a matter of fact, Lillian Llanes had a plan in mind when she asked me to work for the Lam Center; she intended to establish an open archive starting with the material produced by the first Havana Biennale. The material was entrusted to us, and who better to be in charge of it than me? My skills as a philologist were important for the nascent Center; it was like building an institution from the documental dimension. The artist’s curriculum vitae, the critical texts, the administrative papers, etc., had to be organized in such a way that was useful for the future institution. For me, it was a challenge since the material was coming from the Ministry of Culture’s Office of Visual Arts and Design and would become the basis for the next Havana Biennale.”

**IBIS HERNANDEZ ABASCAL.** “I was born in Havana province, in a tobacco town called Santiago de las Vegas. My family has Spanish and African components; my grand-grandmother Altagracia, from my father’s side, was a free-black (*negra liberta*). The rest of the family traveled from the Canary Islands and Spain to the Americas during the colonial period. During the Mexican-American war, my maternal grandfather traveled from Mexico to Cuba and became the first judge in Santiago de las Vegas in the newly constituted Republic of Cuba in 1902. My parents were workers in the tobacco and textile industry. My mother used to be a “despalilladora” (striper), those who clean the tobacco leaves. Later, at the time of the Revolution, she became a civil servant at the Ministry of Education. My father used to work in

the textile industry. After the Revolution, he studied and became a food technician specializing in the citrus industry. Like many Cubans, he was also a musician, and had a vocation for education. At the triumph of the Revolution, he was already 42 years old and used to say that “thanks to the Revolution, we will all have the opportunity of a better education.” He went into the study of history, politics, and Marxism; he took me down that road. Certainly, he was a poor man, but he had a conviction that education could transform us all.

I studied music since I was very little, maybe that helped me to choose Art History when the time came. I studied in the Department of Art History at Havana University. In perspective, I remember my professors who were in charge of delivering materials and bibliographies. I recall how small the bibliography was comparing it with the work we do here at the Lam Center. Nevertheless, they had a real vocation for education; Adelaida de Juárez, Carlos Riña, and Rosario Novoa, among others, were my teachers. They made a great effort because of the precariousness of the working conditions that we have always had, not only here, but all over the Third World. I talk about resources, technologies, and materials. Against the odds, we had access to hundreds of images in each class, thanks to the outdated slide projector. We used texts prepared by our professors for each course, and we explore the great Spanish collections and encyclopedias. Because of our proximity to the department of history and philosophy, a theoretical component was always present. In addition, a rigorous training in dialectical materialism, the political economy of capitalism and socialism, and scientific communism was part of the curriculum. During those years we studied all subjects from the perspective of Marxist-Leninist texts and authors.”

**MARGARITA SANCHEZ PRIETO.** “I was born in Havana City. I got my undergraduate degree in Art History from Havana University. I studied in the 1970s there; professor Adelaida de Juárez was my mentor in the Art History Department. She also was my teacher in contemporary art. I do not have a post-graduate degree in advanced contemporary aesthetic matters, however, I have studied for various graduate certificates. My practice as a researcher and curator, for more than twenty years constitutes my credentials. I have been in charge of the contemporary art from Latin America, in particular the Souther Cone (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile).

During my training it was Adelaida de Juárez who was most acquainted with the collection of contemporary art and the activities developed by the Casa de las Américas. In addition, she used to be a prestigious art critic and member of the AICA (International Art Critics Association). With respect to pre-Columbian art, my professor was Bibiana Acosta, a devoted scholar and researcher. At the beginning, I was not that deeply interested in the visual arts as I was more interested in film and drama. Actually, I opted for these two areas as part of my specialization during my time at the university; unfortunately, the department did not have enough resources, or professors, or materials to be invested in that area. I chose Latin American contemporary art as my concentration during the last part of my professional training. It used to be possible during the 1970s at the university to opt for specialization. However, some time after that the department of Art History was separated from the faculty of Philosophy and Letters. That gave the department a certain autonomy; that is why they decided to introduced a series of specializations for us to choose from: General Art, Cuban Art, Film Studies, Latin American Art, and Performance Studies, only two survived, General Art and Latin American Art.

Elena Serrano, who used to be a professor in the department, was finishing a Master’s degree in Mexico, and, with Adelaida de Juárez, put together general and specific bibliographies for the entire department. It was a compilation with an emphasis on Latin American art and its

participation in the avant-garde. It was the first time Latin American and Cuban art had space in the curricula at the Art History level in Cuba. This compilation was the first attempt to show art from a new vantage point, using the work of the Mexican Muralists, the *Machete* collective, the *Madi* group, among others. It intended to shift the attention from a Euro-American centrism to a multi-centered one. They, Serrano and Juan, are the ones who finally took over the sub-specialty of Latin American art in the department.

I remember that the idea of alternative histories did not exist in art history at that time. That would have been to deny the centrality of New York in the contemporary world. Another thing that helped us to navigate these new waters was a course called “Panorama Cultural Cubano” (Cuban Cultural Panorama); in it we discussed the history of the island from the colonial times to the present. For example, the architecture developed by the Spaniards to control the population and to defend their colonies was one of the cases we studied. By the way, we have just there, outside, the best examples, to our delight. This course helped us to develop an interest in empirical research; it showed me the importance of interaction with the object of study. In a sense, all this pushed me to specialize in Latin American Art, the proximity to the artists and art works made me chose it. During the 1970s, the Mexican Muralist movement had a renaissance in Cuba; our own poster art of that decade is a direct result of that interest.

To comprehend the production of Latin American art it is necessary to have direct contact with artists, environments, art pieces, and collections. The best place to have that opportunity was at that moment the Casa de la Américas. I started to work at the Casa after I graduated, I had contact with the collection and the artists coming to exhibit or give lectures. I worked there for three years as a specialist supporting the exhibitions, assembling exhibits, giving general assistance, and curatorial work –marginally. Lesbia Vent Dumois was for several years the senior curator at the Casa, I do recall not only the great exhibits she organized, but we also had the opportunity to talk with artists such as Leon Ferrari, Julio Gamarra and Julio Le Parc, among other important figures that used to visit us. The academic events and the contests were important also. The Latin American Photographic Essay Award organized by Casa used to be central. Thanks to it, I had the opportunity to meet artists from all over the region: Martín Chambí from Ecuador, Graciela Iturbide, Sebastian Salgado and the great Brazilian photographers working at the time, and the people supported by the Photography National Council in Mexico used to visit us all the time. It was great visual and personal training for us working there. In addition, the art collection at Casa brought in new pieces and many issues were discussed by scholars, establishing an important area for the study of photography. The strength in what Casa used to organize was the fact that always the emphasis was on the artists themselves. It happened during the ‘golden years’ of the institution, the early 1980s. In fact, Casa became the place where important exhibitions originated; for example, *Volumen Uno* had several previous meetings that took place at Casa. Other exhibitions such as “Al Lado Carrasco” displayed at the Habana Libre Hotel (former the Hilton Hotel), among others, were planned within Casa’s reach and through its aintervention. It was a magical moment for Cuban art.”

**HILDA MARIA RODRIGUEZ.** “My academic training started at an early age since my family had an interest in music. I was in dance and music classes since I was a child, later I started to go to art classes also. After high school, I choose art history for my career. I also had an interest in theoretical issues, which is why I took the exams at the ISA in a new program that would be called Criticism and Art Theory. Only fourteen students passed the exams. This was too few, so ISA decided not to start the program since Havana University was already offering art history,



and had introduced a set of reforms recently. So we were sent to that program at the university. At the same time, I wanted to be an artist, however, it was not recommended at the time to be in two programs simultaneously. I graduated in 1982 from Art History, and applied right away to the San Alejandro Academy, where I finished my second program in Studio Art in 1986. San Alejandro is a traditional art academy, and during my training at San Alejandro I worked as a volunteer at the Provincial Center for Visual Arts and Design, where I finally was appointed Director some time after graduation. I worked there until 1989 and became very aware of the administrative dimension of culture, and in particular in the visual arts.<sup>204</sup> Because of my interest in theory and praxis, I decided to apply for a position at the Wifredo Lam Center for Contemporary Art, where I was accepted that year.

During my work at the Provincial Center for Visual Arts, I had the opportunity to organize several events. Among them was the Havana City Art Salon, which used to be a competitive event. That Salon was part of the network of events that promoted visual arts and that had a direct relationship with the National Salon created by UNEAC in 1960; it would later become the National Contemporary Art Exhibition. The Havana City Salon had as its objective to recognize and promote the artists living in Havana. After 1995 it became a curatorial project (as we would say today), a laboratory to address different issues and/or art practices taking place in Havana during those years.”<sup>205</sup>



**Figure 16. Wifredo Lam Center's curatorial team**

In the photo (left to right). Nelson Herrera Ysla, José Manuel Noceda, Ibis Hernández Abascal, Margarita Sánchez Prieto, Hilda Mária Rodríguez (retired), and Dannys Montes de Oca.

### 3.3.1.2 Organizational model and team-work

The curators comment on the process of conformation of the group and the inner dynamics coordinated by Llanes. They recall the division of tasks and the way the first structure of the Lam Center came into being.

**JOSE MANUEL NOCEDA.** “In November (1983), just at the closing of the Biennale, we had the task of returning the art pieces that had been part of that first ambitious edition, thousands of works from all over the region. That was my first contact, face-to-face, with the world of contemporary art. I recall my earlier experience visiting the Biennale, it was impressive. It had been a monumental event and I felt I was in an environment that I had never experience before. As a novice art historian, it was a dream come true. I had never been in front of such an array of aesthetic diversity of visual and poetic narratives. In addition, the presence of many well-known and emerging artists coming from Latin America, the Caribbean, and beyond was something never seen before in Cuba. It was a great coincidence and I felt fortunate to have the opportunity.

At the beginning the Lam Center did not have a physical location. We were like nomads. And to make things more complicated, I had this fixation with historiography and the analytical, and those were contradictory times. Our leader, Lillian Llanes, knew about our anxieties. Actually, she was the chair of my thesis committee and she understood my interests. At that moment, without any resources or office space, she proposed that I take over Wifredo Lam research.<sup>206</sup> I knew little about him and his *oeuvre* at the time because he had been not located fully in the cannon of modern art. For instance, his work was almost absent in the courses we took at the university at the time. Lam used to be an uncomfortable figure for the history of art, because he did not fit anywhere very well. He was marginalized in courses on universal modern art or just mentioned for his participation in the surrealist vanguard after the 1920s. But his treatment remained superficial and shallow in the curriculum and in the major texts. Only in our course on Cuban modern art was some attention was given to his work, I remember that we discussed the participation of Cuban artists in “modernismo” in the arts using his work; it was during a presentation by two fellow students with the materials available then.

The challenge I faced at the moment of being assigned to do research on his life and work has been significant for my carrier. In that moment at the Wifredo Lam Center and in my task as a researcher of Lam’s work we had started to interact with many institutions locally in order to get as much information as possible about Lam and to build a bibliography that allowed us to document his life and work fully. I had the opportunity later in 1988 to work on the task while on a fellowship at the Georges Pompidou Center in Paris; it is a task that continues today.

As you know, the Lam Center exists under two postulates. First, to give more visibility to the work and legacy of the Cuban master Wifredo Lam, not only among Cubans but also for the rest of the world; and second, to investigate, promote, and reveal the art produced in the Third World, in particular, through the organization of the Havana Biennale. At first, I saw myself committed to making concrete the first postulate and to working on the research. Thanks to the vision of the director Dr. Lillian Llanes Godoy, who was adept at integrating a strong work-team, the two tasks were eventually discharged. She also counted with the expertise of Gerardo Mosquera and Nelson Herrera Ysla from the office of visual art at the Ministry of Culture. In reality, they were the founders of the Havana Biennale having worked actively on the

organization of the first one. Besides them and me, Silvia Medina de Miranda, a philologist, was brought onto the team; progressively Ibis Hernandez Abascal, Magda Elián González Mora, Leticia Cordero, and Margarita Sánchez Prieto, among others, completed the initial group.”

**SILVIA MEDINA DE MIRANDA.** “The Lam Center, at first, was merely a table on which José Noceda and I worked. And since it was not big enough, Lillian Llanes thought that it would be better to send Noceda, who had an interest in historical research, to investigate Lam’s life and work around Havana, based on what was delivered in the First Biennale. Since that moment he would be in charge of that area of the Center’s work. The few people who worked for the Center were working in the attic of the building in which the magazine *Revolución y Cultura* functioned. The material coming from the Ministry of Culture arrived there; it had all the information regarding the first Havana Biennale. Several boxes contained not only information about those who had participated, but also of those who did not make the cut and many that sent their material after the due date.

At that time other ‘girls’ arrived, Noceda was the only man for some time, and had to perform many tasks that were not supposed to be part of his job description. Ibis Hernández, Leticia Cordero, and Magda Elián González (who were classmates in the art history department) joined us. They were close friends, having the same training and interest. At that moment Lillian decided to divide the work of the group. The second Biennale was coming and it was important to put everyone to work on specific areas. The documentation area was created then, with Ibis Hernandez and I as the team. Then Gerardo Mosquera and Nelson Herrera arrived. They came with all the background and experience after organizing the first Biennale; in addition, they were already very active as researchers and authors.

When we finished the organization of the initial material, we started to establish contacts with institutions in the country and in the region in order to have an influx of information. We created format letters for museums, cultural institutions, embassies, art critics, curators, artists, etc., that would allow us to create and maintain a network of support for the Biennale. We utilized certain material that came from the Ministry of Culture, but I could say that it was limited and insufficient for the Lam Center’s aspirations. This work, in addition to the bibliographical search we launched across Havana’s libraries, documental centers, and institutions with respect to what was contemporary art, was highly valuable in my own experience. It is important to remember that at the time we did not have computers, search engines, or web browsers; everything was made by hand. We used shoe-boxes for our reference cards; each card was a descriptive entry showing the author, origin, and a basic description of the content of the material. In that way we were later able to find a particular article, catalog, or book of interest.

By late 1985 we moved again, this time to a newly renovated house in Alameda de Paula in Old Havana. We worked on the second floor of the Juan Marinello Center, where the whole group, finally, could work together. The Lam Center was divided then into departments; Mosquera led the research department and worked with José Noceda and Margarita Sánchez, who came from the Casa de la Américas. Nelson Herrera coordinated the exhibition department and worked with Magda Elián González. Ibis Hernandez and I worked in the documentation department and Leticia Cordero in publications close to us. An international relations department was also created.

Before having contact with institutions from all over the world, and thanks to Cuba’s position in Latin America, we established strong partnerships with countries in the region. Later,

through our diplomatic network, we sent out mail in different languages advertising our objectives, goals, and activities. We thought that it would not work; however, we started to get responses from all over the planet. We received catalogs, books, magazines, brochures, artists' materials, letters; it was unbelievable. We paid close attention to the magazines since they often had a directory of contacts at the end which was relevant for us at the time. I had the opportunity of processing most of that material. We were starting a map of the world that had not existed until then."



**Figure 17. Centro Juan Marinello, Old Havana. Cuba**

Located in Alameda de Paula, this place housed the Lam Center from 1985 to 1993

**IBIS HERNANDEZ ABASCAL.** "At the moment of my first interview with Lillian Llanes, she gave me a series of sketches on which she had typed the Wifredo Lam Center project. 'Read them and give me your comments in few minutes,' she told me. Those pieces of paper had her thoughts on the objectives, activities, and tasks of the institution.<sup>207</sup> Those papers gave me a clear idea that if the Biennale was an important moment among the objectives of the institution, her interest was not only in developing an international event for the visual arts, but also in establishing a place for research on Third World art and that as a result of this, it periodically would publish its findings. That was for her the Havana Biennale. I think that that was why, in the organic structure of the Lam Center, an archive, information center, and library were contemplated. This is what I started to structure. That was the task Dr. Llanes gave me. It had as its purpose to create a body of material about contemporary art, particularly on the artistic production of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. From the beginning we had to be creative and we worked really hard to establish the archive, library, and information resource that the Lam Center has today after more than twenty years of existence.

The tri-continental dimension of the life and work of Wifredo Lam, I am sure, is the spiritual force that moves the Center. His oeuvre encapsulates components of geographies and cultures from these continents. Gerardo Mosquera and José Manuel Noceda have written extensively about it in their work on Lam and beyond."

**MARGARITA SANCHEZ PRIETO.** "Upon my arrival at the Lam Center, I joined the research department, which was composed then of Gerardo Mosquera and José Manuel Noceda. Immediately, we started to work with Nelson Herrera, who was responsible for the exhibitions, for the organization of the second Havana Biennale in 1986.

I assisted Mosquera for the academic event, co-organized by Noceda. The topic was Caribbean Art and Culture. There were many important figures to work with, Maurice Xavier from the Ecole de Art de la Martinique and Edouard Glissant, among others. Being a really important region of the world, the Caribbean was obscure; that Havana Biennale was organized to fill in that lacuna of information and knowledge about its visual and cultural production. The Biennale invited a group of artists and scholars to represent the region, and also issues an open call to artists to participate. We did not have every single artist and intellectual from the region, but we had participation from many nations and island territories; Guyana, Guadalupe, Martinique, Jamaica, Haiti, etc. Organizing the Biennale was a highly valuable experience for all of us.”

**HILDA MARIA RODRIGUEZ.** “The Biennale always has been nurtured by the collaboration of people and institutions from Latin America and the Third World. Initially it came into being thanks to institutions with a presence in Havana and through our diplomatic agencies in the world, but later through a network of solidarity. Our most important antecedent is Casa de las Américas, one of the pioneer institutions in showing Latin American art in a new way. Our idea, promoted by Llanes, was based on the necessity of knowing the materials we will face from the inside-out rather than from the exterior. In order to distance ourselves from the Euro-centric and hegemonic discourses that used to govern art we have to interact with it in a new way. Because of my experience in administrative issues, I worked in the area of communications and education, organizing events for the public, students, artists and visitors. Nonetheless, I had the opportunity to participate in some of the major discussions, and I observed how the decisions were made. At that point, the curatorial decisions were made by Lillian Llanes, Nelson Herrera and Gerardo Mosquera. However, that ended in 1989, when the Havana Biennale became a curatorial project. I did not participate as curator on that occasion -as a matter of fact, ‘curator’ was not a term we used then, and have not until very recently. We did not participate on the selection of artists until the Fifth Biennale; that marks the shift in the way the Lam Center assumed its work. The core group at the moment counted with; Sergio López, Ibis Hernandez, Magda González, Silvia Medina, Leticia Cordero, and José Manuel Noceda, among others.”

With the exception of Mosquera and Herrera Ysla, the team shared not only a generational view, as full members of the Cuban venture –being Children of the Revolution, but also shared a similar ontogenesis and training. All studied at the University of Havana, and came from the Department of Art History (with one exception). It is important to note that being accepted in an undergraduate program at University of Havana for a career in the humanities after the 1971 “Educación y Cultura” Congress became quite difficult. During the Congress, Castro had asserted that the nation needed more people with technical and agro-industrial

backgrounds; in fact, some factions of the Communist Party argued against the bourgeois and Western character of the humanities.<sup>208</sup>

Inaugurated in 1774, Havana University is still the largest institution of higher education in Cuba. After 1971 it had to change its policy with respect to the number of seats for the humanities, and a reform took place in such areas. Some programs were eliminated; others were fused (that was the case for the program in criticism at ISA). A demanding exam was also issued in order to limit the number of students admitted to undergraduate programs. Only the best were accepted.

### **3.4 THE WORK MODEL CURATOR-INVESTIGATOR-TRAVELER**

The Havana Biennale work model has become famous in contemporary curatorial practice. For a small operation, keeping a distance from other mega events such as the Biennials of Venice, São Paulo or Documenta, the Havana Biennale has set high standards for its work since its creation. But what became distinctive about its curatorial practice is the result of a process that took almost ten years to come to fruition.

Mosquera and Herrera Ysla's participation in the process is relevant. From 1985 to 1990 Mosquera led the Department of Research at the Wifredo Lam Center, and also simultaneously began to curate international exhibitions of Cuban and Latin American artists. Herrera Ysla, on the other hand, was in charge of exhibitions and promotion; he also participated in the selection of artists and the general assembly of the project, including preparing the catalog. Mosquera's international connections, in addition to his deep knowledge of Latin American, Caribbean, and

African contemporary art, helped him to start a solo career around the fourth Biennale. Herrera Ysla stayed, and became the director after Llanes resignation in 1999.

Changes came during the first crisis that the Lam Center faced. It occurred during the late 1980s and early 1990s when many artists of the generation of the 1980s migrated, this was the time when Gerardo Mosquera, a key player during the first Biennales, left. Rachel Weiss has stated that when Gerardo Mosquera left, the “restless eclecticism, enthusiasm, and iconoclasm he had brought to the project were also gone.”<sup>209</sup> She, however, acknowledges the professionalism of the Lam Center for assuming responsibility and continuing the event with high standards.

Mosquera’s departure may also may have been connected to a clash between an individual consciousness and the almighty and by the time, highly bureaucratic state. In addition, the “período especial” (the desperate euphemism used to describe the economic crisis that has prevailed since the fall of the Soviet Union), motivated Mosquera’s departure.

Since the beginning of the special period, things have become increasingly difficult. The Museum of Fine Arts in Havana is closed indefinitely and the maintenance of the national collection is being neglected. Casa de las Américas has fallen into bureaucratic paralysis. There are frequent instances of censorship and we have lost many of our best teachers. For my own part, I no longer receive official invitations to anything. I am considered a dissident.<sup>210</sup>

Since 1991 the curatorial and critical work of Mosquera has been located outside of the country.<sup>211</sup> Cuban historian Alejandro de la Fuente argues that this was the last phase of the possibility of achieving “Una Nación Para Todos” (A Nation for All). This was a key factor in the opening of the economy, a traumatic incursion into globalization that was accompanied by massive migration, not only by artists and intellectuals but also common people during the first years of the 1990s (it is an emigration that continues today).

As well as being a time of scarcity and uncertainty, the special period brought back the old phantoms of class and racial division back to haunt the country. Phenomena such as

“jineterismo” (a Cuban word for female and male street prostitution), and the emerging informal economy (a survival economy), became widespread not only among poor blacks and “mulatos,” but also the white population.<sup>212</sup> A rectification period in the Cuban economy had started in 1986 as a result of the Third Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, which had foreseen in the limited yet real market economy implanted during the period 1971-1985, a menace against social equality.<sup>213</sup> The Congress decided to promote centralization in the job market, revitalizing the mobility of masses and voluntary jobs. “That was the situation when the Soviet Union collapsed, the Cuban economy entered in a severe depression.”<sup>214</sup> The IDP (Income Distribution Percentage) fell almost 40%, strongly affecting racial and social equality. Actually, in 1993 in the middle of the crisis, the Cuban government was obliged to introduce a series of measures oriented toward increasing productivity: the legalization of the American dollar to drive humanitarian help from families living abroad, foreign investment that would boost the tourist economy, the liberalization of the agricultural market creating cooperatives and free associations, and a certain liberalization of job creation with the result of the emergence of small business, and for instance a new business class. With the increasing connectivity, free movement of capital, awareness of the world and boom in cultural and eco-tourism accompanying globalization, there is at the same time an increasing divide among social groups, inequality, urban growth and internal migration. The later was under control in Cuba before, nowadays it is possible even to find small rings of poor areas around the cities. There is also migration (that for Cubans has been a life and death matter), political instability and repression, as well as poorly redistribution of wealth among her citizens. On top of these factors, the reinforcement of the U.S. economic embargo has further constricted Cuba’s participation in the global market, making it a painful punishment rather than a medicine to enter the “free world.”<sup>215</sup>



Mosquera's departure was obviously a controversial and problematic issue for the Biennale, but it was faced with stoicism and dignity on the part of the collective in Havana. In the middle of probably the most complex moment, individually and collectively, the members of the Revolutionary project, in addition they had to face the loss of one of the more important elements of the Biennale itself. Mosquera, besides his knowledge and enthusiasm, was (is) a tremendous public figure. His splendid personality (talkative but humble, easy going and charming) was always at the service of the institution and the event. But in those times of uncertainty, mass migration, scarcity, and even physical hunger, the state strengthened its grip over society. At first it allowed migration, welcoming 'remesas' (money sent by Cubans abroad). Later, however, the Cuban regime assumed a stringent position when the crisis unfolded. Cubans were as isolated as ever, but completely alone as never before. For people such as Mosquera and the artists of the 1980s (most of the members of *Volumen Uno*), the future had looked promising. They had been traveling the world as a result of the interest in their work; the same had happened during the 'thaw period' with the conceptual group coming from the Soviet bloc in the early 1980s, many of whom had migrated to the U.S. or Europe, for example, Vitaly Komar and Alexander Melamid, Ilya and Emilia Kabakov. These artists were harvesting the rewards and their success in exhibitions taking place in the U.S., Germany, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Spain, Japan, etc.<sup>216</sup>



**Figure 18. Gerardo Mosquera (August, 2006)**

In Cuba until recently, all spaces of exhibition were official, and although this situation might suggest a monolithic control, the attempt has ended in plurality: this almighty purpose can be cracked by virtue of its own stretching, as the imperial language, Latin spoiled in romances. Who wants total control only a few can grasp, especially when it is in opposition to such a widespread horizontal and powerful resistance as that of the contemporary Cuban culture.

Such critical culture has been born out of the crevices of power, by transforming stone into vital force, as weeds and also trees do when growing in the fissures of Old Havana.<sup>217</sup>

The world was eager to see the generation of Cuban Revolutionary artists in action. Unfortunately, things were not easy for them at home. Mexican-based cultural critic Osvaldo Sánchez, who forms part of that generation of cultural exiles, notes that the authorities “proved themselves incapable of distinguishing between the sincerity of a critical comment (present in a work of art) and the causes of the disaster. They could not grasp that the political acerbity expressed by the young was one last legitimizing gesture toward the Revolution as a genuine participatory process.”<sup>218</sup> Indeed, what Cuba’s revolutionary children have continually done is to test, in the words Gerardo Mosquera (who still lives in Havana), “how far the bounds of the permissible will stretch in a society in which the function of criticism has not yet been defined.”<sup>219</sup>

Mosquera concedes that state intervention and the routine discomforts of daily existence do not necessarily equal diluted political agendas or compromised quality when it comes to cultural activity. To take one example, Mosquera discusses the work of the collective DUPP (Por Una Práctica Pedagógica / for a pedagogic practice), led in those times by ISA professor Rene Francisco Rodríguez with the participation of students at the art institute who were producing pieces, performances, and happenings as insertions into everyday life. Mosquera maintained that they are all beneficiaries of Cuba's free system of higher education. He also recognized and argued that “there is the Centro Wifredo Lam, the host organization of the Havana Biennial, which maintains an active program focused on non-Western art, and the Ludwig Foundation of Cuba, established in 1995 for the protection and promotion of experimental, non-market-oriented Cuban art, among other institutions.”<sup>220</sup>

Referring to DUPP, Mosquera argues that “their work is more engaged with everyday reality than that of the older, internationally successful generation who led a nomadic life-style and has an export mentality.” Mosquera is himself a victim of the situation he describes. He was raised in the midst of the internationalism of the Revolution and has become a nomad in the art world.<sup>221</sup>



**Figure 19. The DUPP collective in 1997 and 1998**

Dupp's coordinator Rene Francisco Rodríguez (in circle), photos during the intervention in “la época”, a shopping center in Old Havana in 1998

Today Gerardo Mosquera serves as Adjunct Curator at the New Museum of Contemporary Art in New York and advisor at the Rijksakademie van Beeldenden Kunsten in Amsterdam; he has been curator and co-curator of important exhibitions and biennials such as the Second Johannesburg Biennale in 1998, more recently “Multiple City: Art>Panama” in 2003 and the Liverpool Biennial in 2006. He also is the author of books such as *Beyond the Fantastic* (2000), which became the first scholarly text on art criticism and theory for contemporary Latin American art edited and published in English, and he writes constantly for magazines and specialized publications. He is also a member of the advisory boards of several art journals.<sup>222</sup>

At the moment of Mosquera’s departure and in the midst of the most complex economic, political, and humanitarian crisis that ever existed in Cuba, the collective at the Lam Center reacted by embracing the responsibility and by distancing themselves from the burden of the “especial period” and, in an almost monastic manner, devoted themselves to a collective, scholarly practice as a way of dealing with the art and the problems of the new complex world then in formation. The result of such a decision, as delusional as it may have seemed, would be the Fifth Biennale 1994, entitled *Art, Society, Reflection* -the Biennale that was recognized by the critics at the time and subsequently as the most successful to date.

The process started in 1989 with the introduction of a conceptual problem, and evolved until it took form in the intricate multi-layered Biennale of 1994. That is the course that is going to be traced in the remainder of the chapter.

### **3.4.1 The Work Model and the Spirit of the Biennale**

“The circumstances have made us flexible. I would say that our work is not a model or method; it is a practice. We always say that a criterion for truth is based on the thesis of our work as a practice. I think that one does not have to reject any method, but

rather to juxtapose them, one over the other accordingly to the circumstances, and use everything in order to fulfill our purpose.”

Ibis Hernandez Abascal

### 3.4.1.1 <1989> Rethinking models

The Havana Biennale, as laboratory for the art of the Third World, found a place to develop a curatorial approach that could be parallel to the innovations made by Harald Szeeman in the late 1960s and 70s. 1989 has become a marker in recent history, in politics as well as in arts. Exhibitions such as the most celebrated and debated *Magiciens de la Terre*, in Paris and others such as *The Other Story* which was an exhibition held at the Hayward and known as the first exhibition for the work of Black British artists in the UK; among others have become markers in the constitution of the emergent “post-colonial constellation, global south, global art phenomenon.”<sup>223</sup> The Havana Biennale has to be taken into account in the discourse when writing the new histories of art. In this section, the curators of the Lam Center discuss such a proposition.

**Nelson Herrera Ysla.** (Architect, at the Lam Center since 1983. Director 1999-2002) “We had asked ourselves, how has the Western art World responded to its history and conception? How has it come to terms with the mass-culture? And we answered, perhaps through the creation of events such as the Venice Biennale. That mega-exhibition has incorporated the forces of the modern into the usual formula of the ‘new.’ Without major transcendence, I might say, and always around the inner debates, the soap-operas and misfortunes of the art world. Unfortunately, the West is not interested any more in developing a critical tradition; it is only interested in events, buildings, and institutions. It has supported on a great scale powerful apparatuses of capture, able to reach any place on the globe. Its interest is in its own maintenance. The one of the modern project, with its constant innovation cycles, restrains itself from going further; a capture machine so that it confines and digests all, without really processing it anymore.

Paris is one of those cities that used to function as a capture machine; it could also be the place to develop an experience or an institution (a counter-one) around the so-called Third World. Paris is a cosmopolitan city which peoples from every corner of the colonized world pass through and keep arriving and leaving. But now we see how French culture has created the so-called *vali* or *les citté*, subjects that live in diasporic-spheres, coming from France’s former colonies, a subclass that is ready to act (violently if necessary). Paris could be the place to initiate such an artistic, curatorial, and intellectual movement, but they are not interested now. We had to do it instead, in Havana. From the Third Havana Biennale on, we realized that the only fruitful route to take, and take it without limits, was that one.

In the last decades we have been trying to do something. However, we are not fully there yet. In five or ten years it is not possible to know, to understand African or South East Asian art. At least one-fifth of the world population lives there, how is it possible to even suggest we have done it all? At every moment things are changing, there are renovations, flows, new forms of expression, etc. When we invite a handful of artists, let's say from Trinidad and Tobago or Madagascar, there is not possible to say that we know them all.

Since the beginning, we have kept clear the fact that we are just starting to look at certain things, that it is impossible to know that we know little. We only know that we know a little, but we have the will and passion for this work, and slowly but surely we are discovering and understanding, what allows us to reveal more consistently what is important. Meanwhile we are still finding things, works of art that amazed us.

After we finished that third Biennale in 1989, we had gathered a great amount of material. The Wifredo Lam Center had been created five years prior, so we already had information and friends around the World. Thanks to the help from our friends and the reputation we built in past biennales, we started to receive a flow of information, not only from important institutions such as the Pompidou Center in Paris and the Smithsonian Institute in the U.S. but also from institutions in Africa and Asia which were sending us their materials via our embassies and consular posts. They knew that we were eager for such information. From the beginning, it was not only textual or documentary, but also visual and graphic. The first thing we did was to process it: artists' dossier's, slides, videos, catalogs, books, magazines, printouts, films, etc. We used to sit around a big table, all of us, and classified the material according with our interest and necessities. From all these oceans of information, we selected artists, art pieces, signs of new practices –both individual and collective, popular arts that would be, eventually, part of a future Havana Biennale. In those initial explorations we found, for example, interesting artists from Africa. I remember one from Morocco named Belkahia, of whom we did not know anything. His work looked promising, so we had to contact him. We had to go over all the documentation and material to try to find contact info for his work studio, gallery, cultural institution, and city anything that could lead us to him. The material could be part of a recent number of the African Arts magazine, or be featured in a pamphlet from the Pompidou, from the Arab Institute in London or Paris, or coming as part of a remission from some embassy or some place in the world.

At that moment and because of the peculiarities of our job, the group of researchers started to organize their work into areas. At that time there were not definitions in terms of geographical areas to cover, or particular artistic practices, so we worked collectively. Mosquera used to be the head of that group. Each researcher had to present, to all members of the Lam Center, a research report every six months; the report not only covered artists and art pieces, but also contextual information. Some were taking more interest in certain areas, Latin America, Africa, or Asia. I would say that the division was an organic process. If one of us had more experience or had traveled before to some place, that did indeed help. I initially did not participate fully in the process since I was responsible for the exhibitions and the promotion of the Biennale.”



Figure 20. Logo for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Havana Biennale

**JOSE MANUEL NOCEDA.** “The role of the young art historians hired to work at the Lam Center, initially was relatively limited, especially during the first three biennales. It remained that way until, I would say, the fourth one. During that time the Lam Center’s organizational structure consisted of four departments: Research, Exhibitions, International Relations, and Documentation. In my case, I used to work under Gerardo Mosquera, who coordinated the Research Department. My role during the Second and Third Havana Biennales focused on the development and organization of the academic forums that were part of the larger scope of the event. The exhibition, as a physical space, was the responsibility of Nelson Herrera and his team. Everything was coordinated by our General Director Lillian Llanes Godoy, with the close participation of Mosquera. The academic events were designed and managed by our department.

It was during the Third Biennale (1989), when the topic ‘Tradition and Contemporaneity’ was used. It was an intelligent and relevant decision since it was the first Biennale organized around a conceptual problem. That year was very complex for the history of the Third World. The differences were flourishing in all their intensity; the desperation for the disappearance of the Second World was imminent – yes, the end was near. The Biennale started its preparations at least two years in advance, which means that in 1987 we were already discussing what was going on in the world at the time. A series of problems were emerging in the art world with respect to issues such as ‘the other,’ from a wide range of perspectives. The politics of difference and multiculturalism in the cultural discourse (in particular in the U.S.) were also topics of discussion at the time. These topics were relevant to seeing the challenges and contradictions that Third World art was facing with the new formation of a global scene. We began to work from the points of convergence and dissent present in the notions, ‘tradition and contemporaneity.’ I remember that during the theoretical events we had the privilege of inviting important thinkers such as Juan Acha, Federico Moráis, and Pierre Restany. The debates between Latin American and European intellectuals used to be centered on the Eurocentric world views versus alternative ones. Restany used to see the Havana Biennale as a big ‘bazaar’; he could not understand the profundity of the project we were immersed in at that moment. Later, he would change his mind. In 1989, we purposely set in motion dialogs between popular objects and expressions of the so-called ‘high-cultural’. African toys made with scrap metal and wires, Chinese kites, and colorful wooden Bolivar figures sculpted and assembled made by so-called artisans were displayed with installations, paintings, and sculptures. They shared the same spaces and the same level in the hierarchy of the curatorial and museographer.

1989 was the year such problems were worked through from different contexts, the exhibition *Magiciens de la Terre* organized by Hubert Martin at the Georges Pompidou Center that in a sense responded to the *Primitivism* show at MoMA in 1984 are testimonies of the same discussions taking place in those centers. These events, from their own vantage points, contexts, and interests, were responding to the same issues that we were responding to. They are good

examples that typify the problems facing artists and institutions all over the World in the changing conditions of the moment. The encounters and dis-encounters, the dichotomies and contradictions with respect to these dimensions (the traditional and the contemporary), were at stake. Federico Moráis and Juan Acha's Third World modernism versus the dominant version of Greenberg or Pierre Restany, who by the way had a genuine interest in the primitive, was part of that discussion also. Our theoretical interest pushed us into bringing to the table many other scholars that could help us disentangle such issues. Among others, we counted Mirko Lauer (Perú), Ery Camara (Senegal), Geeta Kapur (India), Guy Brett (U.K), and Nestor García Canclini (Mexico-Argentina).

Our work became possible thanks to the experience accumulated over the years. We had participated in the organization of the Second, Third, and Fourth Biennales, we knew the challenges and the material, and we had managed artists, art pieces, critics, and exhibitions, our objects and subjects of work. We were completely embedded in the structure that we assumed as a group in an almost an organic way (after the departure of Mosquera). At the time, the term 'curator' was not in usage, we were researchers, who also worked on administrative and organizational issues, and on what was needed for the realization of our goals. The assignment of geographical areas to the members of the team was the result of affinities they felt, or out of the necessity to cover a particular region of the world.

At the time, Lillian Llanes had established a 'diagnostic study' about the contemporary scene in each region. In that way, we were able to familiarize ourselves with the object of study and to refined our research methodology when sharing our findings with the rest of the team. The evaluation system used to be scholarly, collective, and harsh. We had to defend our diagnosis, evaluations, and general research in front of everyone. A debate followed, which used to be the first step before having any contact with the art works, artists, and/or cultural agents. You will be surprised when taking with the other members of the team at the knowledgeable there was with respect to their college's work. The constant feedback enriched our own work; the participation of the others was also a key factor. Simultaneously, a long directory of institutions, academies, schools, museums, galleries, agents, critics, curators, artists, and a database of pieces, practices, objects, etc., was built. It used to be very important to identify the leading institutions or galleries, and the names and positions of important people in each country. Our work thus was investigative not administrative, although it was used to do public relations and to make international contacts."

**IBIS HERNANDEZ ABASCAL.** "At first I worked in documentation. Lillian Llanes thought that I was a good subject for that area. As a matter of fact, I have always thought that that was the future of the institution; actually it has been its nucleus and source of information. When we were working on *Revolución y Cultura*, Silvia Media and I were in charge of that area. We used to have a couple of shelving racks with some books and catalogs on contemporary art and a few magazines, in addition to a few monographic studies on some key figures. Then we developed an efficient exchange program. At that time in Cuba the editorial industry was thriving and books were really cheap. There were few publications on the visual arts, but we could exchange used books in the social sciences, literature, essays, and political thought.

At first we used the directories from the National Theater, managed by Maria Lascayo. We were growing fast thanks to the advice of Casa de las Américas, which was our fundamental source of contact with people and institutions in Latin America. Later on, we wrote to the



magazines and institutions directly and they gave us names and contact information about those artist and critics we were looking for. We also asked the authors directly for their major texts and publications. It was a successful strategy that was producing results rapidly and consistently.

There was no information in Cuba about Third World art, at least not in the systematic form we needed and were starting to gather. Actually, I can say that by that time (the mid 1980s) there was not a single place in the world that was consistently and systematically collecting such information. One of our missions was to discuss and defend the existence of a form of contemporary Third World art, from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. There were only a handful of primitive and folkloric practices (exotic) that were considered at the time. I believe that until that moment they were not important for art biennials and documentas, nor were they even part of the literature on the visual arts. On the other hand, we did consider that such a thing existed, that was our belief, and that is why we had to start doing serious research in order to implement a thesis that could give visibility to that art. We had to come up with a thesis that was able to establish a discursive space for the diversity of what was being produced in all regions.

That was how the Havana Biennale coincided with the exhibition *Magiciens de la Terre* in 1989. Like the exhibition in Paris, we also had been working on that thesis, which had been settled on in December, 1986, after the end of the Second Havana Biennale. In order to have such an event in 1989, which we announced as having 'Tradition & Contemporaneity' as its theme, we worked in advance on the thinking of intellectuals such as Nestor García Canclini, Juan Acha, and Rita Eder which had passed through the Biennale in their first versions. They had influenced our way of seeing the world. Other authors and thinkers such as Nelly Richard, Lucy Lippard, Pierre Restany, Pierre Bodiver, Louis Sims had also been in Havana during that period. In fact, many of them had come to find in Havana what was de-contextualized or fragmented, or simply did not exist at other international events. Perhaps our position in 1989 reinforced that stereotype. Today the dichotomy is widely discussed. The local versus the global, the popular versus the erudite, the public versus the private, etc., I believe that at that juncture the Biennale touched and made visible certain fundamental points in that discussion.

The circumstances have made us flexible. I would say that our work is not a model or method, it is a practice. We always say that a criterion for truth is based on the thesis of our work as a practice. I think that one does not have to reject any method, rather juxtapose them, one over the other, according to the circumstances, and use everything in order to fulfill our purposes. The curatorial team continues with the process of researching and doing fieldwork, when we can, in order to be updated in a reflective way. Always with the idea of establishing an aesthetic discourse that is tuned to contemporary production, not only under international standards but also from an internal view that helps us to autonomously find answers to the concepts and questions.

To arrive at a conceptual matrix there are many paths. For example, in different moments of the Biennale, we have had art works that have been important, becoming like guides. Some become the conceptual base for the next Biennale. For example, I remember some pieces of Paolo Gasparini in the Fifth Biennale, his work was inserted in the exhibition we called *Entornos y Circunstancias* (Surroundings and Circumstances). That exhibit talked about the Third World physical (real) context, with the intention of locating new geo-political areas as conceptual spaces, while at the same time showing the social and cultural surroundings. But Gasparini's work, in addition, talked about a memory and history in a very particular way. From that one individual, in his pieces, we found images of Frida Kalho and Che Guevara intertwined with his own images. Those pieces led us to think about memory, pushed us to read again Chantal

Mouffle's take on the issue, and even to decide that the next topic for the Havana Biennale would be 'memory', but in a completely new way."



Figure 21. Paolo Gasparini, "El Cuerpo del Che" (fragment). 1994

**MARGARITA SANCHEZ PRIETO.** "Before arriving at the Lam Center I had written little, since my work at the Casa de la Américas was always limited to technical assistance. However, at the Lam Center it was central to produce intellectually, from an investigative point of view. At first, the idea was to produce a series of value and theoretical judgments in addition to acquiring as much visual, historical, and theoretical information as possible from Latin America and the Caribbean, and to expand our scope to the Third World. It did not matter who was in charge of what, the idea was that all the members of the team had to have information about all the areas of research. The information we gathered used to be expanded by the invitation we sent to experts, cultural critics, curators, etc., from many disciplines such as sociology, cultural criticism, economy, and politics. The first years at the Lam Center were highly instructive. Simultaneously, we assisted in every single event related to our work, and in particular, the ones related to the reassessment of Cuban art. It was then that I began to write about art, especially about the Cuban scene.

By the Third Havana Biennale, we worked on the issue of 'Tradición y Contemporaneidad (Tradition and Contemporaneity). It came to us organically. The Lam Center's name comes from a paradigmatic figure in the modern art movement. Wifredo Lam, his father was Chinese, his mother 'mulata' (mostly black), and his god-mother was Montonica Wilson, a black *santero* priestess, and he was born on a Caribbean island and had studied in Europe (Spain and France). He was a total hybrid. In his person he united three continents. I say we came into this in an organic way because it was possible during those years to know the world in such complexity, that was in part why we were there for. Cuba was leading the non-aligned movement (NAM) during the 1980s and that gave us the opportunity to ask the right questions. To ask about those segregated areas of the world we did not have any contact with before. To me personally, the challenge was Asia and the Arab world rather than Africa. I had grown up as a white Catholic; however, we had the opportunity to know the syncretism of African cultures, because of Lam and because of our own racial and cultural composition as society.

That is how we started to make contacts. We faced all kinds of problems; communication was difficult between the African countries and us. We arrived in Kinshasa, Zaire, or Benin, into the capitals and small towns also, and we found artistic production of the first order. Some galleries used the problem of communication to benefit from it. If, for Latin America, we already

had contacts, we turned completely towards Africa and Asia. Distance and language was the wall to overcome. All of us took language courses during those years. Mosquera and Herrera began contacting people and institutions; later the entire team expanded the network and the research work increased exponentially.

At first we worked in departments; Research, Exhibitions, Documentation, etc., always working together at the moment of the Biennale. In 1991 Research and Exhibition were fused, as a result of Gerardo Mosquera's departure. The figure of the specialist-researcher (curator-researcher) emerged then. From that moment on, all of us got into a work-action-production mode. Each was given a responsibility; the world was divided by areas. There was a distribution of responsibilities, at first I thought I had to deal with the Caribbean, however, I got the Southern Cone. I have to clarify that the distribution did not mean that we were isolated from the rest of the areas.

First, there is a research work in which we get acquainted with the area and create documentation about it. Later we travel, accordingly to the resources we have (thanks to the Ministry of Culture budget and our friends in many parts of the world). After the field work, we bring a proposal for the production of the Biennale. In that way, it is possible to recognize not only the artistic scene but also the social, historical, and economic context. We embedded ourselves in our research area, we travel and try to live the cultural experience, and then we have to extricate ourselves from it in order to start a general selection. By the end, we have to know all the artists on the list and we have to interact with many of them... coming from many regions of the world, during the assembly of the exhibitions and the Biennale itself.

The Havana Biennale establishes a space for the contemporary artist as an object of study, to emphasize that artistic and intellectual production that has affinity with a certain conceptual discourse. I cannot forget the pieces of Rogelio Polesello, a group of display cabinets containing religious icons. He presented pop icons, such as Mickey Mouse, much in the fashion of the German artist Josephine Meckseper. To imbricate art works and physical space is a challenge; in the Biennale 'Tradition and Contemporaneity' we showed how art is in dialog with the building process of new nation states. As in the case of many African artists or in the case of artists from the Middle East who work with calligraphy to address the role of women in the Arab culture, some of these artists subsequently have become central to the world of art.<sup>224</sup>

That possibility is given after the end of the idea of a 'Second World'. Cuba was living what we called the 'special period' and at the same time it was embedded in the adventure of connecting the members of so-called Third World art. The Biennale is primarily an ideological event that establishes an aesthetical and visual dimension."



Figure 22. Rogelio Polesello, "Trama diagonal -lupalente- prisma" (from the series icon-abstract),

1975

**HILDA MARIA RODRIGUEZ.** "It was just after the Fourth Biennale that the geography of the Lam Center changed. From the moment the group of curator-researchers formed, we have been responsible for organizing the Biennale from 1994 to today. The Director, Lillian Llanes, decided that each of us would become a systematic thinker and a specialist in one of the different areas of the world. That means that from 1990 to 1994 we had an arduous period of preparation. During that time would take place the initial research journeys and we experienced many challenges; at the same time we met important artists, curators, critics, and cultural agents around the world. Our work became more complex because now we were also ambassadors of Cuba, the Lam Center, and the Biennale itself. In order to promote our work, the Lam Center organized a series of international theoretical events featuring the participation of important critics and researchers. In between biennales, we also had to continue with the schedule of national and international exhibitions and the research that was focused on Lam's *oeuvre*. This issue surfaced as a result of the necessity of organizing an event that took care, in a modest but systematic way too, of the work of artists from the so-called Third World. *Les Magiciens de la Terre* had occurred in 1989; that exhibition had settled a series of curatorial issues and how to present the work of artists who work outside of the mainstream. That exhibition left conceptual vacuums and de-contextualized much of the art displayed there. However, it helped to start an international debate that opened up spaces to talk and show Third World art. We had been doing this since 1984 and for the direction of the Lam Center it was an opportunity to embrace more deeply our commitment to with the art of those regions. That is in part why the Biennale abandoned its competitive model. How is it possible to reward artistic practices from Africa, Asia, or Latin America produced under such different conditions? How do symbolic and poetic productions respond to particular cultural values?"

With the constitution of the documentation area and a system to have a flow of material coming from those territories (and the first diagnostic and exploratory journeys), an objective was defined. It called for the constitution of a group of specialists who would become acquainted with the artistic practices of those territories. Thanks to the trips, we could exchange experiences

and ideas with the artists and cultural agents; we were able to establish contacts with institutions and intellectuals, etc. I did not choose my area of research, which is Asia. The Director of the Lam Center based on our necessities and the strengths of some of our members decided that. For me it was a huge challenge but at the same time it was a great opportunity, I believe this has to do with the “mística” of the Biennale. We already had contacts with Latin America and we were building a good network in Africa, but Asia was different. Some time before some of our people had had the opportunity to travel to the region, but for me it was a big challenge. Not only the languages (where a challenge), but also the cultural gap that separate us from them. My task was to penetrate that universe and be able to transmit it to my colleagues. I believe that is the spiritual force that moves us. Beyond shallow and touristy views, our work began (in practice) to transcend the professional level; it is an ethical stand. How do we understand what happens in such places? The idea was not only to know about the artistic practices, but also to understand the different spheres that constituted their cultural life. That is the ‘spirit’ that gives us the opportunity to see in broader terms, the same that helps us to transmit rigorously what is happening in artistic terms.”

### **3.4.1.2 The Fourth Biennale, a breaking point**

**JOSE MANUEL NOCEDA.** “I had co-organized the academic events for the 1986 (on the Caribbean) and 1989 (Tradition and Contemporaneity) Biennales and for the Fourth Biennale in 1991, I organized the event solo. It was focused on the challenges of the new colonial forces and brought postcolonial theory to the fore, *ad-portas* of the celebrations of the five hundred years of European presence in the Americas. Unfortunately, after that biennale, other models were used for the theoretical event, some more successful, other less fortunate. We concentrated on the artistic content, and worked really hard on developing that aspect. After 1991, however, we did not continue to attract the great thinkers that used to come to Havana for the Biennale, rather, the Lam Center organized a series of meetings with young intellectual figures in-between each biennale. The theoretical event was resuscitated in 2000, and in particular thanks to the appointment of Dannys Montes de Oca as coordinator for the 2003 and 2006 forums.

In my case the Director (Liliana Llanes) asked me to assume responsibility for Central America and the Caribbean around 1991, what we call the ‘cuenca del caribe’ (the Caribbean basin), a geopolitical and cultural area with very particular and multiple characteristics. The idea, then, was to denote, identify, and define its cultural accents. At first, I was fascinated with the insularity (the archipelago) of the region, leaving aside the continental part. I had to explore authors such as Pierre Chadis, Manuel Moreno Friginals, and Adelaida de Juárez, who had started the study of the contemporary art of the region. Writers from Martinique such as Edouard Glissant, Rene Louis, and Aimé Césaire, in addition to intellectuals like Franz Fanon with an interest in history and politics, were part of my initial readings. This diversity was what helped me to understand better the visual dimension of the region. In contrast, my work with Lam was more historical; the idea there was to track, document, define, and describe the phenomenon of the visual arts based on my knowledge of the history of art of the region. With the time I extended my research to the continent, using initially the work of Alejo Carpentier and finishing with the work of contemporary authors such as Antonio Benitez Rojo and others.”

**IBIS HERNANDEZ ABASCAL.** “At the end of that Fourth Biennale, and looking towards the fifth one in 1994, many of those who had been working in the different instances and areas of the

Lam Center, started to work with a different profile. Among these, Magda Elián Gonzalez and Eugenio Valdez Figueroa worked with Nelson Herrera in promotion and exhibitions, as well as Margarita Sánchez Prieto, José Manuel Noceda, and Hilda María Rodríguez who used to work with Gerardo Mosquera, besides me from documentation. They were the one who had worked the longest (around seven years at the institution) and by decision of Lillian Llanes. She felt that the Lam needed a group that, having acquired maturity thanks to the previous biennales, focused just on research and curatorial issues for the Havana biennales as well as for the Lam Center. Thus, the research and curatorial teams were consolidated. The specialists, as we were called, had to be trained to be experts (through research) in the areas of interest to the Lam Center. That was central and basic for the consolidation of the general project of the institution. Llanes decided that we had to divide the world, and with new eyes we began to explore each region in depth. Some of us decided to work on Latin America (North, Central and Caribbean, Andean Region, Brazil, and the Southern Cone), others on North Africa, South Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East. The division responded perhaps to geo-political areas already defined. We believed that they were basically the result of the view of the Center. In that fashion, Margarita Sánchez Prieto has worked the Southern Cone, with exception of Brazil. José Manuel Noceda works on Central America and the Caribbean; Silvia Medina used to work on the Andean Region; and me Brazil and Mexico (later, because of Silvia's departure, I had to assume the Andean Region also). Magda Elián Gonzalez and Eugenio Valdez worked on Africa; Hilda María Rodríguez and Juan Antonio Molina (new at the moment) worked on continental and insular Asia; Lourdes Castillo (who started to work with us in 1991) worked on North Africa and the Middle East; and Nelson Herrera worked as a meta-curator and general coordinator, taking care of whatever we could not."

By 1993 the Wifredo Lam Center was fully operational, covering several areas of the world and using the building that has become a signature of the Havana Biennale, in which a collection was accumulating (1,250 pieces at the time, according to the records). The cultural supplement *Bohemia* published in November 1993 an article in which it presented the newly relocated Lam Center. In it Lillian Llanes talks about the dream of an institution, which by the time was becoming a major destination for the art of the Third World.

LLILIAN LLANES GODOY: "In the future we will have an open sculptural yard, which will create an ambiance for meditation... We will invite famous artists to produce works in a garden design by the Cuban architect Quintana. It will be ready when the country is completely recovered.

In the long run, we will be a fully self-financed operation, selling contemporary art, publications, models, and gifts (in our shop), etc, directed toward international tourism. We will create the Lam Center's Society of Friends to enegize the collection and for the acquisition of new pieces –which won't be only the result of donations. We will ask enterprises to help in this regard. Our galleries will prove that even if the Third World is economically poor, our spirit is rich. We will also embrace new technologies to teach contemporary art, using sophisticated

techniques (like video art) to make more accessible wonderfully original pieces of art made in places like the Amazon.”<sup>225</sup>

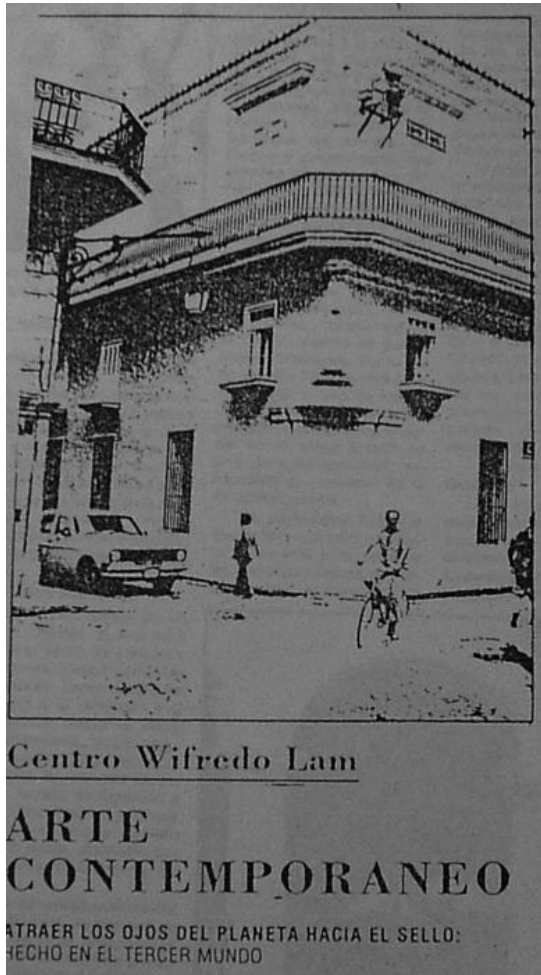
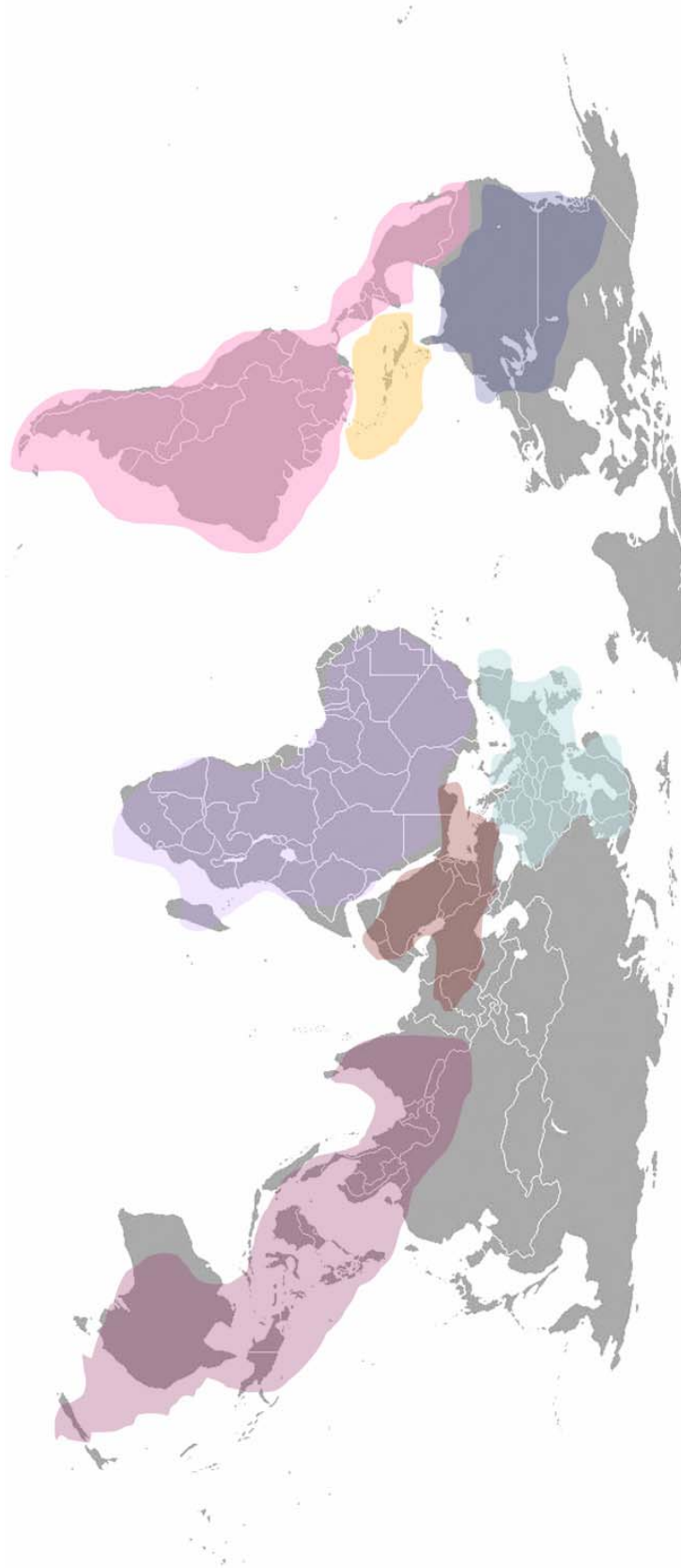


Figure 23. The Lam Center featured in *Bohemia*, November 11, 1993. The Lam Center today



**Figure 24. Division of research areas, Havana Biennale**



### 3.4.1.3 Research Journeys, “the world in us”

“This ‘mística’ is a psychological condition that in part is a parallel form that operates as a vital work tool, and that allows (in Córdoba, Argentina as well as in Reykjavik) the Havana Biennale to be respected and highly estimated. When the Wifredo Lam Center decides to send someone to places which any other curators, even the local ones that usually live in the capitals or cosmopolitan centers, do not go it is because that spirit is in practice and action”

Nelson Herrera Ysla

**NELSON HERRERA YSLA.** “Everything comes from a scholarly work, starting at the table; what we see prior and catches our interest and attention is the first step. After that, we program trips to the places, and make contact with the curators, critics, artists, and institutions. We inform them about our interest and thanks to that, we get more information which helps us to make progress and at the same time alleviate costs, time, and effort. With the possibility of traveling, what we call ‘research journeys’ we corroborate the initial thesis, and incorporate new names into the lists that we will discuss ‘collectively’ later on. The journey is a confrontation and/or confirmation of our initial findings and ideas back in Havana. The cultural and psychological shock is important, for example; when arriving alone in Jakarta to visit a group of artists living 650 kilometers away from the capital as representative of the Havana Biennale, one does not have any idea of the impact that causes to that community of artists (as it causes to you too), and the repercussions it has on the cultural institutions of that country. They feel respected, and recognized for their cultural value. When one arrives in Bangkok or Calcutta and tells them you are coming from Havana, Cuba, at first they look at you as an extra-terrestrial and later they feel so extraordinarily pleased that your presence and work there becomes extraordinary rich. In the end one does not know how to take all the material gathered; the level of respect we offer by going there to try to understand their work and life and what you get from them is fundamental. When the researcher arrives in a small city, let’s say Cali (Colombia), San Luís Potosí, or Cochabamba (both in Bolivia), he/she shows genuine interest in the work of the artists and for the art scene in general –thanks to the previous knowledge of it, of course. The artistic community feels respected and astonished, and gives as much as they can in terms of information and support for that person and the institution. That practice has generated what we called the “mística” (the spirit) of the Havana Biennale.

This ‘mística’ is a psychological condition that in part is a parallel form that operates as a vital work tool, and that permits (in Córdoba, Argentina as well as in Reykjavik) the Havana Biennale to be respected and highly estimated. When the Wifredo Lam Center decides to send someone to places which any other curators, even the local ones that live in that country’s capitals or cosmopolitan centers, do not go, it is because that spirit is alive in practice and action. It is well known that some French curators do not go to Lille or Nice to visit artists, but a Cuban curator for sure will go there. That has helped also with the constitution of networks of support and solidarity. This point has proven important, because most of the time when a curator travels people expect the arrival of a sort of ‘royal’ figure associated with events such as the Documenta or the Venice Biennale. They usually stay at the best hotels, call two or three relevant critics and curators, share a luxurious dinner, and come up with a list of ten or twenty of the ‘most important artists of the country.’ In the end, the artists on the list feel flattered and life goes on. But what if

(and let's use as an example Brazil) the curator not only contacts the critics and curators, in this case living in Rio and São Paulo (Aracy Amaral, Federico Moráis, and Paulo Herkenhoff for example), who provide the names anyway, but also goes and visits the artist's studios in the major urban centers, not only those artists who live in the best neighborhoods, and then goes to the small urban centers too, e.g. Curitiba, Salvador Bahía, and Tenerife. That is much more relevant for an artist, to be treated with respect by the curator. Both would learn about an event such as the Havana Biennale together, rather than being part of a list of 'noble' curators who stayed during a weekend in the country and came up with a list deciding who is going to represent the nation in a particular mega-event.

During all these years we have confirmed this effect, over and over again. That is one of the motivations to keep doing what we do. Even with the small budget we have for research travels, we try to stretch it as much as we can, every time, we go to more than one city, one more country, one more artist. We have sacrificed our well being (a hotel or a good dinner) to be there. We have created networks of solidarity; we stay at friend's houses, gaining one more town, one more studio to visit. All in order to maintain that spirit that has given us that "other curatorial view," the one that nurtures the 'mística' of the Havana Biennale."

**HILDA MARIA RODRIGUEZ.** "There is an important period that comes prior the research journeys, and it has to begin with bibliographic work. Our documentation center has played a key role in keeping us current, with catalogs, magazines, books, reports, interviews, etc. It was created immediately after the Lam Center opened its doors, and thanks to the collaboration of artists, scholars, critics, and cultural institutions around the world. They send us their material and information as a result of the work of people such as Ibis Hernandez and Silvia Medina de Miranda, they were in charge of organizing, processing, and cataloguing that info. They took the time to produce reference cards, to comment on and circulate the latest exhibitions, art events, fairs, etc., among the Lam members. That has helped not only the curators but also the art students and faculty who come to the Lam Center and use the facilities.

I can argue that it was what we were able to see through the documentation that the research journey came into being. They would constitute the weaving nail that has maintained our network. Besides, thanks to it we were able to be attuned to with the most current questions and debates that have helped us to reach our goals.

Before the trip, the first thing we do is to study, think, and reflect, to explore and evaluate the artistic manifestations that correspond to with our conceptual interests. From there to the final product is a complex process. The second step is to arrange the trip, an administrative dimension comes in here, and later the direct encounter with the context and with the artists and works can expand the conceptual horizon. We will face challenges to our interests and changes in our general plans and sometime these can change the whole spirit of the project. The third phase takes place back in Havana, where all the members of the group get together and discuss, horizontally, collectively, and in a scholarly manner, the material we have gather. There is a moment of definition, when the list of artists, projects, parallel events, etc., are defined.

After that, the really hard work begins. Contacting artists, institutions, defining the venues, permits, production, work teams, etc., that for months in advance, absorbs all our time. It is during this time that person-to-person contact with the artists takes place; we discuss with them, through letters, phones calls, faxes, and now e-mails, the creative process of each particular project, the pieces involved, the technical specificities and the like. It is during this

time when contradiction and disillusionment happens; we realize many times that what we wanted to be part of the Biennale is impossible to bring about.

It was during 1991 and 1992 that the first trips took place; my first trip to Asia was in 1993. It was an exceptional opportunity to visit China and India, actually I only went to China, and Nelson Herrera, who had more experience, visited India. Fortunately, we put together a good collective of Chinese artists that time. It was a difficult situation since the new Chinese scene was already huge. We compromised our curatorial decision making process by inviting critics and curators to be part of it. I traveled to Beijing, Shang-hai, among other cities. From the Second Biennale Chinese art has been present; in 1986 we had a wonderful display of Chinese kites and other expressions of Chinese popular culture. We had a vision but we did not have the knowledge. That was the moment of the famous 1989 *Modernist Exhibition* in Beijing. A moment in which curators and artists had fled the country for persecution. We had some official contacts with the National Museum and the National Academy in Beijing. For me it was an exhausting trip because of the lack of knowledge and information we had. In the end we organized an important exhibition with artists from China, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and India. I have to make that my participation in the final cut was limited because my knowledge was also limited at the time of the 'Art and Society' Biennale in 1994."

**JOSE MANUEL NOCEDA.** "The context of the Caribbean is special. My first research journey was in 1993. I traveled to a group of small islands that were part of the Dutch enterprise in the region -Aruba and Curacao. In the case of Aruba, there was a very little information because it is one of the most isolated territories of the Caribbean. Upon my arrival I encountered a country in which a modern tradition in art was not completely defined. However, I found a small group of artists working eagerly; some of them had studied abroad in some of the Dutch academies in Amsterdam and they were doing interesting work, applying the problematic of the country in their explorations. The issue of national identity and the self were part of their work during that time. There was not a cultural establishment or institution, and they lacked even an academy and basic infrastructure was lacking as well as gallery space and museums were almost non-existent. But it was possible to find groups working, discussing, as if they were anywhere in the world. After that, I was invited to participate in the Second Caribbean and Central American Biennale, an event that since then has created a circuit and a forum for the art of the region. Indeed, previously I had worked in what we call the table-research; in addition I had collected interviews, bibliographies, documentation, something that all of us had started doing years earlier."

**IBIS HERNANDEZ ABASCAL.** "My first research trip was to Mexico. When I arrived there my mission was more than doing curatorial work and come up with a list of names. The idea was to gather as much information as I could, to bring it over to our collective table. I would be the first filter of those works that did not fit the conceptual discourse we proposed for that Biennale. We had proposed a series of issues that we believed were in place on the new global stage - migrations, the environment, cultural appropriations and crossings, the postmodern self, among others- affecting the aesthetic and symbolic registers of the art produced in our regions.

I arrived in Mexico City with that mission. Fortunately, we already had a good relationship with institutions such as the Carrillo Gil Museum, directed by Silvia Pandolfi at the time. I worked with Raúl Tostado, Edgardo Banado, José Reinoso (aka Manfred) and others, who introduced me to collectives such as Temístocles (they were at the time young artists

making radical work). The INBA (National Institute of Fine Arts) directed by Nidia Molina gave us information that led me to a universe of new artists. The gallery circuit was very intense at the time, in particular the Galería Arte Contemporáneo, The Nina Menocal Gallery and the UMR space, among others. I had the opportunity to meet historian and critic Raquel Tibol, who taught me a lot when reading her books and papers over time. That research journey lasted 45 days and took me to Guadalajara, Tijuana, Puebla, Merida, and Mexico City. The idea was to create a network of communication and contacts which would permit mutual collaboration. Thanks to that network that has nodes everywhere in the Third World and beyond (even in Europe and the U.S., but specially in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and especially in Latin America), the Havana Biennale has been possible.

We use *Cubana Airlines* flights which bring us to certain places, but after that it is all up to us. It is important to clarify that we travel with very little money, since the Lam Center has a really small budget. For example, when arriving to Bogotá we do not have the resources to travel to Medellín, Cali, Pereira, or Bucaramanga. We have to rely on our friends (people and institutions) that understand the role the Havana Biennale has played in world art. We also have that network of affection which has been growing through time. Perhaps that is the most important thing to have when working in an event like this, affection. Other institutions have become important for us, for example, the Universidad de Antioquia in Medellín, Colombia, has helped a lot, giving us the opportunity to teach as international professors and paying us accordingly. Events such as the Regional Exhibitions of Art in Colombia invited us all in 1997-98 to travel around the country to give lectures and serve as jurors for events, which helped us a lot in a moment of financial exigency in Cuba. All the information and experiences we have gathered are an asset for the Havana Biennale.”

**MARGARITA SANCHEZ PRIETO.** “My first research trip as curator for the Lam Center was to Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile. The second one was to Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile; those were exhausting trips not only physically but also emotionally. Previously, at the end of the 1980s I had traveled to Venezuela and Colombia. In 1991, I went to Holland, where the famous exhibition *America: The Bride of the Sun* had taken place. I went with Lillian Llanes, taking an exhibition for the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the encounter of worlds.

The research trips are intense every time; you have to make sense of the cultural universe of each country and region, always working under adverse conditions (economically in particular). This has been an additional challenge. There is an eagerness to understand the cultural doings and whereabouts in wide terms. For example, Chile is a very complex place, crossed by a history of repression and self indulgence, while Argentina is closer to the Western model, being more white and academic regardless of its diversity. If *Transvanguardia* (Neo-Expressionism) is in fashion in Italy, then in Buenos Aires almost simultaneously, one way or the other, they would invite Aquile Bonito Oliva to introduce and present it. That is why Argentina has characters such as Leon Ferrari, working with pop-art from very early on. That is how it used to be in Argentina; now, after the crisis of 2001, it is different. Chile, on the other hand, is more semiotic and dense in terms of theory and praxis; much more complex; perhaps its recent history and their politico-cultural environment are part of it.”

**EUGENIO VALDES FIGUEROA** “In 1993, Magda González and I traveled to Africa. In Dakar (Senegal) we met African art critics for the first time. Before we had approached African art from Euro-American perspectives, but not anymore, for example, after meeting Ery Camara, a

critic and museographer graduated in Mexico, but who cannot work in his country because of the difficult economic situation there. He is highly critical of the way African art is treated by Western curators and institutions. We witnessed a debate between Camara and André Magrin, one of the curators of the exhibition *L'Magiciens de la Terre* (also responsible for the exhibitions *Africa Today* and *Explores*, both traveled the U.S. and Europe). They discussed, for example, why Africa was (still is) absent from the market-boom of African art in the West."<sup>226</sup>

**MAGDA ELIAN GONZALEZ.** "I want to talk about our experience in the 1993 Dakar Biennial. It gave us the opportunity to contact and met new people. In addition, we realized how the Senegalese Biennial at Dakar had been able to bring artists, critics, institutions and museums not only from the region, but also from Europe and the U.S., since its creation in 1966 (but more steadily since 1992, when it opened up to the international circuit). We were surprised at their knowledge of the Havana Biennale and the expectation the 1994 edition engendered."<sup>227</sup>



Figure 25. Magda Elián González and Eugenio Valdés Figueroa. *Bohemia*, 1993

In 1993, the two curators (González and Valdés Figueroa) traveled to six African countries (Senegal, Ghana, Nigeria, Mozambique, Congo, and Zimbabwe) in search of artists for the 1994 Havana Biennale. Ethiopian artist Zaruhum Yentingeta won the 1993 Dakar Biennial in Senegal and he had been invited to the 1989 Havana Biennale. That year the curators from the Lam Center had interviewed and worked with many African artists, critics, and curators. That is the case for Izek Kingelez (Zaire) who in the words of Magda E. Gonzalez, “mixes different visual and architectural codes, making models for utopian cities where he projects his ideas about what a city might be. From his utopian vision, a new African man emerges, one that participates in the enlightened program. Kingelez does not shut the doors on the possibility; he calls for a fight where Africa has a right to dream, even under the worst conditions”<sup>228</sup>

#### **3.4.1.4 The Fifth Biennale, special period and maturity**

**JOSE MANUEL NOCEDA.** “It was during the Fifth Biennale (1994) that we achieved complete control over the list of artists and art pieces on display. For the very first time we had not only a voice but also a vote in the definition of the event. That would constitute at the same time the concretization of our work model. However, at the same time we were in a limiting situation; we were losing people at the Lam Center (as was the case everywhere else in the country). The dismissal of Silvia Medina pushed Ibis Hernandez to take over two new regions. She was responsible for Mexico and Latino Art, with all its manifestations of border art and Latino culture in the North, and suddenly she had to deal with Colombia and Brazil too. Those countries were almost universes in themselves; they were not events that were connected neither geographically nor culturally.

That diversity of realities gave us the possibility of risking a new event, proposing several topics and artists that we considered had to be in the Biennale that year. In fact, we, the curator-researchers, had disagreed with some display solutions used by other events like ours. There the participation was determined by national pavilions, national or regional representations, by continent, genre, racial and gender divides, etc., instead of creating ‘zones of contact’ and ‘fluidity’ where dialog and encounter were possible. This Biennale started from working with the different geographical areas, then we came up with a series of exchanges, cross lines, and leaps, to finish with the decision to make five separate exhibitions, completely independent of one another but related in spirit. That decision, to use five sub-topics, was assumed by pairs of curators; the challenge was much greater but the result was superior. I worked with Antonio Molina and we had under us an international group of artists that emphasized self-referential practices, working with their own identities. The title of our exhibition was *The Periphery of the Postmodern*. If some argue that the final result was fragmented, it was not only because of space

problems since we used for the first time several venues and alternative spaces in Havana City (many of the old colonial houses in the historic district) and we adapted the fortresses of La Cabaña and El Morro as exhibition venues. But the fragmentation also arose from the conceptual universe in exploration. The spaces and the multiple views on the conceptual problems are now the signature of the Havana Biennale. The museography was a challenge too, to resolve such an exhibition in the middle of the ‘special period’ with a very limited budget was another test, that added up to the hard conditions. Administratively it was a monster, since we had to assume all the spaces were real “white cubes.” That was what we had imposed on ourselves that time.

In retrospect, undertaking such an effort during the worst moment of our recent history as a country, the fall of Eastern Europe, the new global economy, our own blockage (cultural and economic), our own corruption... Nonetheless, we celebrated one of the most ambitious Havana biennales of our history, that Fifth Biennale is for us a paradigmatic event. There were more than two hundred artists distributed among five exhibitions, across the entire city. It was a challenge indeed. We remember that biennale as the most special of all, with solid works of art by many artists from around the world. And by Cubans such as Kcho (Alexis Leyva), who showed his now famous “*Regata*”, which became the signature of that biennale. Art proposals of exceptional treatment, sincerity, and courage from artists dealing with the themes were exhibited and debated. Pierre Restany, one of our friends, but a fierce critic as well, said that the Fifth Biennale marks the maturity of the event.”



Figure 26. Kcho, “La Regata.” Installation, 1994 (El País, Madrid, p.35, SPAIN, May 15, 1994)

**HILDA MARIA RODRIGUEZ.** “In 1994, the whole team participated in the decisions of our own peer-review process. Thanks to that process, in 1994 the Biennale took a multi-dimensional structure, each one addressing and connecting to other topics. Migration, marginalization, social and environmental problems, cultural interweaving where popular (kitsch) and high culture met, dreams and individual obsessions were very important for the discourse of art and representative of our own cultures.

Those aspects helped us to make our work concrete. We had to separate each approach and design for the unconventional venues, deciding which would work better. We assembled shows with pieces coming from every region of the Third World. In order to do that, we established work teams (pairs). I had the opportunity and fortune to work with Eugenio Valdez Figueroa on the exhibitions *La Otra Orilla* (The Other Shore) and *Espacios Fragmentados* (Fragmented Spaces) that took place in El Morro and La Cabaña fortresses. We studied each artist and project in depth in order to build the guidelines for the exhibition. In that way we were able to address the issues at stake systematically. We faced a universe of concepts and problems that materialized when the artists and art works arrived. Indeed, what we always remember are the physical and financial burdens and the harsh conditions that we and the artists, no matter where they come from, faced during that year.”

**MARGARITA SANCHEZ PRIETO.** “For the Fifth Biennale we worked in teams for the assemblage of the exhibitions; this has become a signature for the events that followed. I worked with Ibis Hernandez on an exhibition we called *Apropiaciones y Entrecruzamientos Culturales* (Appropriations and Cultural Interweaving). That was a really interesting *mise en scene* in which hybrid works in terms of symbolic, media, and market-driven forces were in play. Artists were drawing nurture from mass-media interacting with iconic and traditional images and popular merchandise. We worked with texts produced by important intellectuals such as Jesús Martín Barbero and Nestor García Canclini, who gave us theoretical light to assume the complex interweaving present in the works with which we were dealing. For example, wood blocks that could work as printout for the currency of certain African countries in the 1970s. Those pieces among other were challenging to any intellectual reading made under purely Western methods - artists understand icons as part of the market of contemporary life. It was a very broad Biennale thematically, theoretically and museographically speaking. Pieces by Fernando Arias Gaviria (from Colombia) and Carlos Capelán (from Uruguay) became encrusted in the hard spaces of the fortresses of La Cabaña and el Morro. There were five big exhibitions extended across the city. The exhibition titled ‘*Arte y Mercado*’ (Art and Market) in the Santa Clara Convent, thanks to the artists’ following the curatorial decision was a great show also. There were great installations with a powerful presence in the space that produced a sort of aura. The academic events were not well put together (our mistake). However, we counted the presence of intellectuals such as Pierre Restany, Néstor García Canclini, and Shifra Goldman.



Instancia de [unclear] Bernal de la Habana.  
 PALMEROS DE CRITICA. Y Bernal de la Habana.

**LISTADO POR TALLERES:**

**Taller**

Taller vivo sobre  
 la Bienal de la  
 Habana.

Definiciones de  
 Identidad

Lo universal y  
 su redefinición

Desarrollo de  
 Cerezo del  
 Valle  
 Anís  
 Universidad del Valle

Coleccionismo  
 Público y Privado

- Ricardo Rodríguez Bayo → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Serbia Vent Donois → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Alejandro Gómez → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Nelson Richard → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Luis Camnitzeg → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Pierre Restany → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
~~Guillermo~~  
 María Palma → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
~~Barbara~~ → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Juan Carlos → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Mandim el Attar → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Serg de Baere → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Nelson Aguilar → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Eduardo Serrano → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Eduardo Sumariva → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Mary Carmen Ramirez → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Sebastian López → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Apinan Poshinanda → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
~~Barbara~~ → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
~~Barbara~~ → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Radha Abramo → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Olivio Tavares → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Emerin Garcia → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Milan Komacic → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Carlos Jiménez → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Talat Shahin → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Dere Ashton → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Remo → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Rudi Fuchs → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Basneed Arseen → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 David Elliot → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Andrea Rose → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Angel Kalensons → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Roberto Guevara → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
~~Tal~~ → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Jacqueline d' Amencouat → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Gloria Zea → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Klaus Steinmetz → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Maria Corral → Cuba - *Artista plástico*  
 Waldo Rasmussen → Cuba - *Artista plástico*
- Chile  
 E.U.A  
 Francia  
 México  
 República Dominicana  
 Alemania  
 Bélgica  
 Brasil  
 Colombia  
 España  
 E.U.A  
 Holanda  
 Tailandia  
 Ecuador  
 Brasil  
 Brasil  
 Canadá  
 Chile  
 Colombia  
 España  
 U.S.A  
 Francia  
 Holanda  
 Inglaterra  
 Inglaterra  
 Inglaterra  
 Uruguay  
 Venezuela  
 Bélgica  
 Colombia  
 Costa Rica  
 España  
 E.U.A

Figure 27. Work sheet for the parallel events, 5th Havana Biennale (1994)

It is important to underline the role the Havana Biennale played at that moment. It became an event for the art of regions not covered before, starting with Latin America. We started with our region, to promote the great masters of our time, later extending the coverage to the rest of the Third World to establish a global dialog in an open field of practices and interests. When the Biennale canceled the contest-representational model, this opened up the possibility to guide a reading toward those regions that were completely obscure, to locate coordinates on a map that would help us to know and understand those territories. We say that ‘tradition and contemporaneity’ are still two coordinates to guide the sight. It was necessary to shut down the grip of participation to guide the public and ourselves so that each time was more demanding. Many of the pieces we knew were supported by their context and traditions, but were not part of one or another Biennale because of a rigorous, and many times painful, process of selection by part of the curatorial body through a horizontal and consensual decision-making process.

The Fifth Biennale marked our maturity, in terms of ideas, the aesthetic interest and the extra-artistic was looking to project itself into the world of the contemporary discussion in arts and culture. Quality, poetry, and *factura* (among other issues) were entangled; the social and cultural contexts for us were one. That Fifth Biennale occurred when Cuba, all alone without moral or economic support, faced outrages of energy, oil, food supply, the *balseiro* phenomenon, external pressures, the blockade, etc., which causes a series of problems in our economy and in everyday life in general. During that time, in contrast, the Lam Center reached its apex in research terms and in international recognition. Finally, we had the possibility of fusing the artistic with the coverage of the Third World with the curatorial topics of the moment for our territories and the globalized world at the time. Simultaneously, we were responding to local and regional problems. From our own reality, phenomena such as HIV (as in the case of Fernando Arias), migration, mass-media, new-liberalism, global communication and the market, etc., were treated systematically. That is why we consider that Biennale as a cult event for us. It was the one in which the ‘spirit’ (again the term ‘mística’) of the Havana Biennale is most clearly seen. Everywhere in the art displayed, the artists, the discussions, the problems -all were aligned in one discussion, a collective one that took place that year.”

The figure presents Fernando Arias’ work titled “Sero/(0)-Positivo”, a major installation involving a larger-than-life image of a nude man (a photographic self-portrait) covered with a transparent layer of thousands of anonymous blood cells - some healthy, others infected with the AIDS virus. The artist had worked with his mother, a microbiologist working in hospitals in his country and in awareness campaigns (also addressing his own-gay condition). The resulting sanctuary-like work, illuminated with UV light, was presented in one of the niches in the Morro fortress (a good curatorial decision), creating an atmosphere for reflection on our ethical responsibilities in contemporary society.

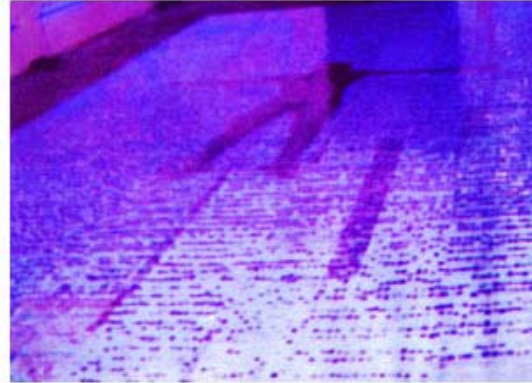


Figure 28. Fernando Arias, “Seropositivo.” Installation, 1994

### 3.4.1.5 New challenges and crisis, revision and regression

**HILDA MARIA RODRIGUEZ.** “After many trips and more reading and research it was in 1997 that I finally felt I had more control, and I felt more proficient over the artistic production of my region of focus, regardless of its size and complexity. I think we did a good job of bringing the most progressive and radical artists from South East Asia for our Seventh Biennale titled *El Individuo y su Memoria* (the Individual and His Memory).

My most important contacts in the region were in the Philippines, Manila principally; in Indonesia, Bandung, which had a long relationship with Havana and Jakarta also; In Thailand and India we have great relationships with artists, curators, critics and institutions. That is the case of Geeta Kapur, one of our most important contacts and a good friend of the Biennale. Malaysia has been more difficult as a whole; however, we do have artists coming consistently to our events. This variety of contacts allows us not only to recognize the most important artists coming out those territories, but also to identify the younger ones operating in alternate and parallel circuits -sometimes working underground. The Havana Biennale is known for giving space to emerging artists, to allow less well known artists to show their work, which has given a certain aura to the Biennale. The idea is not to bring the ‘best of the best,’ since they already have their own place in the international circuit. Our task is to offer an alternative viewpoint from a real knowledge of what is going on through the work of less well known artists, sometimes the ones that have been put aside by the official circuit.”

**IBIS HERNANDEZ ABASCAL** “At the time, another issue became apparent. It was the arrival of the new millennium. It was at the center of the debate, launching revisionist agendas

everywhere. The Biennale decided then to revise, in a sense, the issue of memory from several perspectives. From the individual, the familial, the social, the cultural and historical, in other words, to revise it in an organic way while being at the same time flexible. That is how a selection of artists is made on a reflexive line, it supposes discussion and debate in order to find its artistic feasibility, since it is necessary to evaluate if there is an artistic practice that supports the discursive line.

Another example, the Ninth Biennale, takes again a topic that was worked on during the Seventh Biennale. In 2000 the issue under discussion was '*Más cerca el uno del otro*' (Closer to Each Other) and its foundation was based on communication from multiple vantage points. During the ninth version the focal point was the city, not only from the issue of public space but also from the interaction among populations and groups that inhabit the social tissue in relation with the city itself. We called it '*Dinámicas de la Cultura Urbana*' (Dynamics of Urban Culture) as in the works of Mónica Nador, the collective Barrio San Isidro, Gustavo Artigaz, Bijarí, among others. The idea was also to de-structure our previous model of work. To really take the Biennale out to the public space -not in rhetorical terms but in real terms. In order to do that we needed to put together a series of artistic projects that based their practices on participation and interaction, with an ephemeral and trans-disciplinary character. Indeed, we did not make it... We asked ourselves how to make it happen, this was a recurrent fear in our previous discussions and we were not happy with the result. Events such as InSITE Mexico-U.S. counts on important budgets that allow them to bring artists to interact with and understand the context of the city (in this case two cities, San Diego and Tijuana), its inhabitants, problems, etc., to make the projects go deep into the real and not only to produce shallow positions with respect to what it means to intervene. We tried to find artistic projects that could create new dynamics, new senses beyond our own questions in that Biennale. Our vision for the event failed, we did not make it..."

Note: During the interviews, the members of the Wifredo Lam Center declined to speak on the record about some cases. For example, the pieces by Lam that were stolen during a parallel exhibition during the early editions or the facts surrounded the Eight Biennale in which major sponsor institutions decided to suspend their financial assistance. The cases of the seventh and eight biennales will be discussed in depth in the following chapters.

### **3.4.1.6 New Generations and Proxy Wars**

For other collaborators on the biennales, the work method has constituted the core of the activities that give personality to the Lam Center's inner life. Dannys Montes de Oca has been working for the Lam Center since 2000, organizing the theoretical events parallel to the

Biennale; she has been part of the curatorial team of the Lam Center since 2007. She is a curator herself, being the first one to curate the new Cuban Contemporary Art Salon in 1994, when it became a curatorial project instead of a competitive show. She has won several awards in curatorial and art criticism on the Island and has collaborated more actively as part of the new generation of international Cuban art curators in the definition of the future of the Havana Biennale.

**DANNYS MONTES DE OCA.** (Art Historian, critic and curator. At the Lam Center since 2003.) “The Biennale has its own methodology that started long ago. The curator-researchers travel, when they have the chance, to their areas of specialization, exploring new practices and visiting the most relevant artists in search of works that match the conceptual dimension that is the topic for the following biennale. During that exploration they face many risks because they find promising works and artists; unfortunately, when they are placed in the space of the Biennale some do not achieve the desired level. The Havana Biennale is an event produced with limited resources; compared to others like it, it is a ‘poor’ event. Small events in many places of the world can count on more economic support than this biennale. Now, even the research trips are at risk. Between what is planned and what really happens, there is a big gap filled with problems and frustrations. For example, for the 2006 Biennale (number eight) the trips to Africa did not happen. They did everything they could to generate contacts and search the material available through documentation, the internet, on-line magazines, web pages, institutions, curators, art critics, etc; something similar happened with Asia. This fact accounts for the absence of a strong presence of African and Asian artists in Havana that year.

Nonetheless, from the methodological standpoint there is important to recount how they work. I can say that it is a completely horizontal process; there is not an individual personality that overshadows the other members of the group. From the selection of the conceptual topic, the choice of works, to the assemblage of the exhibition there are not individuals, only a collective will and consciousness. There is a voluntary renouncement of individuality, where the geographical areas do not determine any focus. The final result is a horizontal landscape of diverse local and regional accents. That gives the biennale the possibility of exchanging ideas and knowledge that in other ways would be part of their own individual experience. The same method is used now in the design of the academic event. In 2003 the model was different; art critics, curators, and specialists moderated the panels. But for 2006, the curator-researchers returned to the table, and they were important for the success of the event. They were always giving feedback, from the introductions to the most theoretical presentations. This helped to establish a context for the panels from their own knowledge and view of the Biennale’s topic and their views on global art. Thus it is possible to generate a real dialog otherwise difficult since their experience is subsumed in the exhibition.

Certainly, their critical stand before the world art system has been the most relevant action they have taken. The Biennale’s curators are a cohesive and knowledgeable group, highly critical with respect to their work too. They are not ‘curator-artists’ as many practitioners are today; they do not treat their practice as a definition of style. They are not happy with the result

of the last biennales. As spectacle, the Havana Biennale cannot fulfill expectation, it is still a work in progress, bringing people from all over the world, and increasing its presence among the Cuban public. What is true is that it is facing difficulties. However, it has to keep going, the team knows what is not working and that gives it a positive future perspective. They know they cannot abandon their rigorous practice. The other fifty-percent is the financial, the economics of the event. We have to be optimists, for many of us the most important part is the process and work ethic; that is what marks the difference with respect to many other events.”

This auto-critical attitude is noticed when discussing the problems in recent editions of the Biennale with members of the curatorial team. Although, they detect a series of problems which go beyond the administrative aspects of the organization (budget, venues, lack of direction, gaps in production, etc.), cases of censure and intervention are part of these also. They are more concerned with how artistic practice has changed during the last decade. With respect to the future of the event after the crisis of the last two biennales, Ibis Hernández notes:

Going back in time, I would say that the sixth Biennial, in 1997, sent the first intermittent signals about the necessity to rethink the structure of the event. Incipient attempts at transformation have taken place in the successive editions with only partial results, achievements and errors. The ninth edition rang the alarm like no other, emphasizing the urgent and vital necessity of renovation. For this, it will be essential to contemplate not only aspects concerning the structure and the regularity of the model, but to review its intentions and projection according to the complexity of the changes that have taken place in the world-wide geopolitical map, the national and international artistic scene, and the demands and operating exigencies of new means, languages and ways of operationalization. All these must be considered without losing sight of the restrictions that the accomplishment of an international biennale implies from our own here and now. This is the challenge. Through the years we have received very objective criticism –which we always receive gratefully– as well as judgments that suggest a superficial approach to the art of the regions that the Biennale focuses on, and an ignorance or underestimation of the conditions under which it takes place. The present circumstances are not the same ones that caused the eruption of the event in 1984, as the interests to mediate are not the same either. To project utopias never was the most difficult thing to do; the greatest challenge lies in making their materialization viable. Thus any criticism or suggestion is welcome.<sup>229</sup>

On the other hand, Margarita Sánchez Prieto is more positive about the success achieved at the last two biennales and argues that:

The gathering of an ample representation of international works on various subject-related topics, local works, some projects (created) on the spot, ‘living’ experiences of our urban culture and the ultra-modern achievements of an architect of world-wide recognition as

Jean Nouvel, is the best way of attaining an unbiased selection, encompassing the the diversity of urban cultures, their interconnections, their common aspects and their contrasts. Once again the Biennial established its stance through the curatorial selection, in spite of the precariousness of some projects, the excess of bi-dimensional works and the disproportionate, respectively inappropriate, space given to some topics that conspiring against the artistic level of the event and blurred its general reading. Although the above explained difficulties made it impossible to develop a curatorial work that would be more invasive of the urban space, it is nevertheless true that this biennale increased its public attendance thanks to an unprecedented effort at diffusion in the local media. The laudable effort of designing and editing the catalog, by a team at the institution –a task not being carried out in Cuba since the Third Biennale, is another success.

The same can be said about the theoretical symposium *Forum Idea* 2006. Attended by key figures of international thought, and (lesser or non-internationally renowned) lecturers, who from their respective fields and perspectives contributed with substantial reflections on the analysis of contemporary transnational, regional and local experiences on the subject. There is much to be said about the various lectures of the program, but I would like to at least highlight those dealing with instructive proposals of discourses contrary to the hegemonic narratives, both on known artistic typologies and on art works of recent production.

The operation of situating on a plane of equality the axis of “north and south”, and with it their respective problems and utopias or, which is the same, the equal recognition of works from our regions with those originating in the First World on the subject, would be the strategy that would sustain the thesis of this biennale. In this sense, we have achieved our goal.<sup>230</sup>

To face the proxy art-wars, it could be productive to go back to the beginning of the global issue in art, and recall what Lillian Llanes said, in 1992, about it. It becomes important after a decade and a half of the new global order to slow down and reflect on the forces in place then and now. How are information technologies and global networks challenging old structures of art production and consumption? Is the market co-opting solidarity among artists and institutions across the new routes of art today? Is it supporting or just integrating new subjects in the mix?

An effort should be made to clarify what goes on globally in art. We are faced with a great diversity of art centers. It would be useless to deny or ignore this, but I must admit that developing a complete picture of what goes on in art world-wide is really difficult. We have many means available to learn about what goes on in Europe and North America, where the leading art magazines are published, the most prestigious museums are located, and the most renowned events take place, but what can we do to learn about Third World artists? Save for rare exceptions, there are no contemporary art museums in their countries that can afford to collect works by their own national, let alone regional or provincial, artists. We certainly cannot count on a system of attractive, internationally-distributed magazines to "sell" their

products. Commercial activity has only just begun for these artists, but a demand for the work which would be capable of supporting its development is non-existent.<sup>231</sup>



**Figure 29. Lilian Llanes by Antonio Zaya in 1993**

### **3.5 UNPACKING THE BIENNALE HISTORY**

When discussing a possible history of the Havana Biennale, and according to Juan Manuel Noceda, there are three fundamental moments in the event: a conventional survey, a transitional phase, and a research-based event (which is still functioning). However, considering recent shifts it is possible to introduce two more to add to the first three (a global triennial, and a state of suspension). The phases are elaborated bellow.





**Figure 30. Opening of the Second Biennale in the Cuban Pavilion, 1986**  
(Lilian Llanes at the far right)

**1. A conventional survey (1984-1986).** The Havana Biennale was born without a strict curatorial process in place. Actually, there were four biennales in which (semi) open calls for artists were made, and two that offered awards –based on a competitive model. At that point the Lam Center was supported by institutions and peoples with an in-depth knowledge of the art produced in the three continents in focus, its institutions, and events. The first biennales were also supported by friends of Cuba and thanks to the relationships established in the past with art critics, theoreticians, art historians, artists, among other people. The first two biennales (1984 and 1986) were surveys. Panoramic, and in a sense classificatory, they primarily presented, especially, art from Latin America and the Caribbean. They were organized under a competitive

model that honored artists according to artistic practice and the specificity of the medium. This first moment was inspired by long running exhibitions such as the Venice Biennial and by the more local manifestations, such as the São Paulo Biennial. It was by following these models that the Lam Center was able to establish a status among institutions, initially in the region and later in the Third World. Thanks to the material gathered during the first two biennales, an active networking through Cuban embassies and emissaries around the planet, Third World participation was active from the third staging on.

This qualitative jump was possible, thanks in part to Cuba's position in the non-aligned movement during the 1980s, its support of the African cause as well as solidarity with the freedom movements in South East Asia, and by some explorations made by Mosquera, Herrera Ysla, and Lillian Llanes during the initial years of the event.

**2. Transitional phase (1989-1991).** By the Third Biennale (1989), the presence of scholars such as Geeta Kapur, Federico Morais, Juan Acha, Aly Sinon, Roberto Segre, Sergio Magalhaes, Rashid M. Diab and Pierre Restany, among others, debating an integrated view from the Third World, would corroborate this as the turning point.<sup>232</sup>

However, this second stage was transitional. It started with the decision to cancel the competition (1989) and would last to the end of the Fourth Biennale (1991). Since then, the event has become a topical one in which a conceptual problem determined the curatorial decisions as to what would compose the exhibitions and academic events. The first topic explored was "Tradition and Contemporaneity," (1989) the second one was "The Challenge of Neo-Colonialism" (1991). According to Noceda, the shift would restructure the Lam Center and generate certain frictions within it, since it did not emerge from the research area necessarily. The shift happened just before Mosquera's departure in 1991, and it would determine a new

practice: the creation of a team of curator-researchers (los especialistas / the specialists) of the Lam Center. It would be driven by a scholarly style of research work directed by Llanes and informed, initially, by Mosquera's academic interests.

**3. Research-based biennales (1994-2000).** In 1994 the introduction of a new element for the conception and concretion of the Havana Biennale would bear fruit. The Biennale, affected by the departure of Mosquera in 1991 and many artists from the 1980s generation (during the 'special period'), turned completely to research as the basis for building the biennale.<sup>233</sup> It conferred authority on the group of researchers and established a horizontal decision-making process. The curator-researchers started to examine in detail and through complex ways the different regions of the world. They have been taking an active part in the selection, organization, and assemblage of each biennale ever since. From that moment on the Lam Center turned to a complex yet systematic machine that is nurtured by documentation, exchange, research journeys, academic events, and symposia. The Biennale itself became a diacritical way of working, which became the precedent feeding forward into the next event, reinforcing the network of support. That third phase, according to Noceda, lasted from the Fifth to the Ninth Biennale.

Nelson Herrera wrote about the structural change that took place around 1991-94, stating that:

From the Third Havana Biennale (1989) and resulting from a serious analysis of the granting of prizes within a too diverse panorama, multiple, heterogeneous, and based on different material and social circumstances in each region and within specific countries, it was decided to eliminate this competitive character. Then (it was possible) to step into a confrontation where (we could) reflect the democratic and much more plural world in which we are living.

At the same time, it was decided that each edition would be structured around a conceptual object, identified previously by the curatorial team through investigation, and which figured as a topic of interest within the international debate on contemporary art. This has permitted us to confront a variety of approaches and points of view, as well as to identify

strategies and resources use by the artists to project different angles on the proposed subject. Since then, the academic events and the exhibitions have summoned the analysis and the theoretical discussion, in agreement with the curatorial peculiarities of each Biennial.<sup>234</sup>

The third moment also attests to the many partnerships the Biennale started in order to expand its reach and counter-balance the economic burden of the ‘special period’. To name only a few, there was Peter Ludwig’s interest in promoting (and collecting) Cuban art; Antonio Zaya’s support through the Centro Atlántico de Arte Moderno CAAM (Atlantic Center of Modern Art) in the Canary Islands, and his participation and involvement in the fifth, sixth, and seventh biennales (as editor of the 1994, 2000, and 2003 catalogs and as consultant curator during that time); the Prince Claus Fund, AFAA (French association of artistic action), and the HIVOS Foundation sponsorships, among others.<sup>235</sup>

**4. Global Triennial (2000-2004).** This perspective followed after the resignation of the long-term director Lillian Llanes in 1999 (due to personal matters). The situation in the island nation had changed considerably and the uncertainty of producing the Biennale increased each year. After the sixth edition (1997), a lack of funding and interest on the part of the Cuban state made things difficult. Herrera had expressed, with a degree of reserve, the challenges they faced,

Near already the arrival of the new century -and the third millennium of the history of the humanity- we celebrated the Seventh Havana Biennale in 1997, the event for the second time, became every three years. The difficult economic conditions and an extremely delicate international context caused by the changes produced in the extinct socialist bloc did not allow an ordered systematization of the event. Being a small biennale, it sees propitious for the revision and re-reading of what happened to each one of our societies, to seek a better understanding of the present and an effective projection of the future. The curatorial team, considered it opportune to stimulate a reflection about “the individual and his/her memory.”<sup>236</sup>

Following Llanes’ resignation, the Center, apparently did not enter into crisis. Rather, there was a smooth transition in which one of the senior curators (Nelson Herrera Ysla) took over the direction of the institution and the Biennale kept functioning as before. Indeed, the

curatorial team lamented her departure, as it was Llanes who really structured and maintained the Biennale as a functioning event during the most complex times of the early 1990s. Collateral issues had emerged, some in relation to the financial dimension of the event and others concerning the commercial character of Cuban art, for which some blame her resignation (Llanes commented in 1997 that if the Biennale became an art fair, she would rather close it / it could cause her resignation). However, these matters had been present since the creation of the event. Other issues such as the validity of the Biennale in a global context, where the discussions about North-South, Center-Periphery, Dependence-Independence, and the very notion of a Third World were in question, could have affected her decision.<sup>237</sup>

Llilian Llanes was also the one who had a complex administrative and artistic vision, besides her talent and excellent public relations, which had established a strong network of friends and collaborators around the world. These, in a sense, had made the Biennale possible from its beginning. Yet that network had weakened recently. A generational change in addition to a new world view – a global one, had challenged old networks and created new ones. Hilda María Rodríguez, who became Vice-Director in 1999, recalls the second crisis.

The first thing we did was to evaluate the situation we had at the moment of the departure of Llilian Llanes. For more than fifteen years, the Biennale had built a space for the art of the Third World and we could not let that end. The direction of the Lam Center was assumed by Nelson Herrera Ysla, and I assumed the Vice-Direction. We started to work under the same structure we already had; we believed that was the correct way to do things. We kept the same goals and objectives established for the next biennale, number seven, to be held in 2000 and which we discussed with Llilian Llanes before her departure. The conceptual topic selected to guide the Biennale was related to communication and non-communication in the global world. We titled the Biennale '*Uno más cerca del otro*' (One Closer to Each Other). At the time, Herrera and I had not only our responsibilities as research-curators but also the administrative ones we had acquired. That implicated a double dimension, which I believed complemented each other: the administrative, financial (in local and international terms), in addition, to the selection, definition, assemblage, and maintenance of the Biennale as well. Recently, I had to leave my work as curator. I miss the direct contact with artists and art works, the randomness of our conversations and solutions to the problems on the field when working

on an exhibition. Those things, that are part of our work as curators in our territories, in the Third World, a term that may be outdated but that in a practical sense is still valid.<sup>238</sup>

Rodriguez would become director of the Lam Center in 2002 (lasting to 2004) and the following Havana Biennale, number eight, under the topic “*Art within Life*” in 2003. During her tenure, the financial crisis deepened because of the end of funding by international agencies. A group of artists also boycotted the Biennale and did not attend. Simultaneously, the impact of Documenta 11 (2002) over the discourse on postcolonial art and the confirmation of a global art scene, also affected also what Havana planned that year.

**5. State of suspension (2005-).** A decision made by the CNAP in early 2005 to appoint a new director for the Wifredo Lam Center, after the resignation of Hilda María Rodríguez for health related problems, and just before the opening of the Ninth Biennale “*The Dynamics of the Urban Culture*” (2006), produced a series of reactions inside and outside of the Biennale itself. Coming from outside the Lam Center and the curatorial team, although a close ally and collaborator in previous editions, Rubén del Valle Lantarón (a young cultural official) arrived from the upper ranks of the Ministry of Culture, where he had worked for two decades on cultural policy.<sup>239</sup> He is also an art historian, from a younger generation than the rest of the team. He was supposed to bring new impetus to the event. His tenure has been directed at improving the image of the Biennale among Cubans, as well as at reconnecting the event to the general cultural policy of the state. The first objective seemed to be accomplished; the Ninth Biennale put great effort into creating a media strategy – through TV, radio, and newspapers – creating an appetite for contemporary art among the population of Havana and neighboring regions. The production of newsreels and notes for national TV and the edition of a publication, in the form of a newspaper for free distribution, in addition to taking full control of the Biennale’s catalog,

were strong steps in that direction. However, there are no independent statistics on the number of visitors to the exhibition venues.<sup>240</sup> The second objective was clearly accomplished. For some time the Biennale had functioned as a loose cannon, because of its autonomy and in a sense distance from the institutional apparatus. Now it is part of the major official cultural events in the Island. A new moment has started. That was experience during the twenty fifth anniversary of the event (the tenth edition), which became a complete spectacle.

Structural changes taking place in Cuba as a result of the transfer of power from Fidel Castro to his brother Raúl Castro in July-August 2006, could impact it also, aggravating or improving the general crisis of the Biennale. The Ministry of Culture continues promoting events that are part of a cultural policy that is related to cultural tourism and the creation of wealth through cultural production, architectural heritage, and tradition (the next section will expand on this issue).

In 2007 del Valle Lantarón was called to become the head of the Consejo Nacional de Artes Plásticas at the Ministry of Culture. Nonetheless, del Valle Lantarón kept the direction of the Tenth Havana Biennale, 2009 and appointed a new director for the Lam Center, Jorge Antonio Fernández Torres. The biennale celebrated also its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary.

#### **4.0 ON THE CONCEPT OF (THIRD WORLD / GLOBAL SOUTH)**

##### **CONTEMPORARY ART: THE HAVANA PERSPECTIVE**

“A worker in Cuba, for example, working in sugar cane, had more in common with a sugar cane worker in Brazil than a Cuban tobacco worker, who was working a few kilometers away from him. This means that it is not the men who make the product but the product, which forms the man. I also worked with steel workers in France and the Ukraine and they were the same workers, there was no difference between them. They behaved like steel workers, they had the faces of steel workers and in their workplace they behaved the same way. So, it was the steel that formed the workers.”  
Sebastian Salgado<sup>241</sup>

A definition of contemporary art, one which is still in formation, was not part of what the members of the Lam Center were looking at and/or working for at first. In the best Marxist tradition, they used conventional definitions to explain a particular artistic production in relation to its socio-economic and historical context. However, they found this definition fell short with respect to what they were facing. As a universal concept, art was a Western construct, a product of its history, in relation to the former colonized world; art (as a concept) did not include the pervasive imbalances and the asymmetrical relations established by the colonial era that at the time were still present in the mainstream of art theory and art history. Working from a postmodern platform and with a postcolonial mentality, Mosquera, Herrera, Llanes and the team were facing new theoretical challenges. To define contemporary art in a new dimension, one which included those who had been excluded, they had to introduce new issues and authors into their discussions. Those authors were available -as Magali Espinoza will further explain in this section- “in a rich environment where several worlds collide, the insularity of Cuba is just a mirage, it always has been traversed by many streams of ideas, languages, races, and



interests.”<sup>242</sup> A structural understanding of art informed their approach: the Lam Center had a task, and was doing what was necessary to achieve it.

A definition of art came together with their perspective on the Third World, and then came to a definition of Third World contemporary art. First, it is necessary to explore how the curatorial team used the term “Third World.” In 1992, in a special number of the magazine *Third Text* dedicated to Cuba (and in particular to the Biennale), Lillian Llanes comments on their understanding of the Third World and contemporary Third World art:

It is a fact that the term (Third World) was used for the first time in 1955 during the Bandung Conference, and that it emerges in specific historical circumstances; it is also true that its use now has become generalized. However, it identified a common interest among countries which, irrespective of their geographical locations, their differences in cultural heritage, religion, political systems, economic structures or developmental level, faced serious problems (with few possibilities of solving them) arising from the system of relations imposed by the highly industrialized countries in the aftermath of colonialism; that is, the underdevelopment and economic dependence of neo-colonialism. This is the meaning of ‘Third World’... and despite its limitations, we shall continue to use the term for lack of a better one.

As a result of the extraordinary fusion of peoples and cultures in the history of the Third World, many people currently believe that it has great cultural wealth and variety, and has a market interest in re-asserting its own traditions while striving for universality. Out of the conviction that contemporary Third World art and artists are contributing to global art, emerged the idea of creating in Havana a space which would favor the dissemination of their work and encourage discussion on the problems of contemporary art, especially those of the Third World.<sup>243</sup>

Herrera Ysla in his 2003 book *Coordenadas de Arte Contemporáneo* (Coordinates of Contemporary Art) insists that, “We are not obsessed with being recognized, something that almost always comes from abroad, manipulated, and directed towards interests that support the *status quo* of the contemporary art world (a concept, by the way, unclear).”<sup>244</sup> At the same time he makes clear that Third World artists are trapped within the global system, which governs what is considered contemporary art. The inner contradiction of the modern now is extended to the

contemporary. It is not possible to exist without a mirror image, which makes possible a consciousness of oneself. Herrera Ysla continues:

The Havana Biennale is a collective curatorial project in which it is difficult to subtract ourselves from the context where we operate locally and globally. We are now navigating in the current that is stronger each day and which has as its center the figure of the curator, the new intercultural guru, a figure that privileges not individual pieces but the way they fit into his/her narrative. We are neither preoccupied with the issues that are in fashion in Europe, Japan, or the United States, nor privilege the practice of installation art, post-conceptual, or minimal art in their many variations.

We are interested in searching for ways to give more public accessibility, more clarity in the purpose of an exhibition, and to bestow an open reflection upon our past and present, as ways to counteract the illness that our memory and history comprise. We want to be part of the contemporary intellectual space, to locate ourselves in the universe of artistic practice, and join the venture of others who are contributing to the understanding of what we are.<sup>245</sup>



**Figure 31. Cover of Nelson Herrera Ysla's book *Coordinates of Contemporary Art*, 2004**  
Author interviewing Mr. Nelson Herrera Ysla at the Wifredo Lam Center. Havana, April 2006.

In that respect, contemporary art exists in a sphere between the main current of history, its multiple subsidiary streams which follows certain interests, and a reflexive, parallel, and alternate historical dimension that aims to reach an understanding of what it is to live in contemporary times without distancing itself from those particular historical forces.

When confronted with the question of what contemporary art means, members of the curatorial team responded elusively. For example, Ibis Hernandez said:

In the documentation area at the Lam Center, we used to do a quarterly bulletin in which a series of bibliographical entries introduced issues related to the visual arts. We distributed this document not only around the Center, but we also sent it to all the members of UNEAC. It was a very important work, since we developed analytical cards with reference to the content of the most important international magazines of the time: *Artforum*, *Art in America*, *Arte in Colombia* (later *Art Nexus*), *Lápiz*, and the *African Art Review*, among others. The Bulletin helped to rethink ideas and gave them input through the referential cards organized by topic, author, tendency, media, publication, etc. During those years (1984-1989), I was involved in this work, which kept me away from the discussions that people such as Lilian Llanes, Gerardo Mosquera and his research team, and Nelson Herrera had between themselves. However, I am sure that the discussions were based, in part, on what we were producing from the documentation area. I recall that for the Third Biennale in 1989, a forum titled “Por la defensa de un arte contemporáneo para el tercer mundo” (for the defense of a Third World contemporary art) was organized. During one of the previous discussions about the definition of the topic for that biennale, the question arose as to whether the Havana Biennale had to maintain its competitive model. The parameters under which we had rewarded one art piece over another one were discussed. For example, how should we honor an artist such as Oioquibi Fanabe from Nigeria who used to work as ‘bogolan’ artist driving ancestral and contemporary images and practices into his work, or the ‘tinga-tinga’ school of painting in Kinshasa, or the extremely sophisticated Chinese kites, simultaneously with the work of artists such as Luis Camnitzer who was practicing international conceptualism?

All these practices were sharing the same gallery space and recognition by the Havana Biennale. How could we evaluate this, under which parameters? Did we have to look at all these expressions through the eyes of the West?

We had to make a shift and to find a new space for discussion. In part, that discussion helped to terminate the competitive model. In that sense, yes, we were discussing a possible definition of contemporary art, but it was in the direction of inclusion. We decided not to distinguish the production from the popular (sometimes called kitsch), the expressions tied to living cultures, giving them space among the more conventional manifestations from the art world established by the West, and in which we were trained. In that way we were establishing a new contemporary symbolic production. It was an act of decolonization in our own practice.<sup>246</sup>

Responding to the same question, Margarita Sánchez Prieto recalled the way the definition of contemporary art was debated during the third Havana Biennale.

We started from the bottom up. I remember how, during the 1989 Biennale the notion of the contemporary was central, even talking about African art, which was part of the agenda. Our library had more materials that treated African art from a traditional rather than a contemporary point of view; it had (as everywhere else) an ethnographic flavor. There was that

prejudice when recognizing the production coming from Africa as anthropological and ethnographic. That old vision in which even for us, African art was traditional, because its own colonial history made us ask about the diversity of cultural forms that were present before our own colonial experience. A series of aspects showed how different the coordinates of artistic production were in those territories, even in our own. The processes of acculturation, the type of urban development, the colonial axis (the French, the British, the Portuguese, or Spanish), and the way art was produced today were clear signs of how to work.

The concept of the 'contemporary' (as the actual) was a key to reviewing those regions. I remember our first incursions into those places; the most senior curators were the ones who ventured first. On the Eastern front, the work of José Luis Ayala in the Department of International Relations was important to establish our first contacts with Asia Minor and the Middle East.

We knew of the existence of artists in those territories, that even those artists working on traditional media were making important works in our approach. It was a 'virgin' area of research, which was completely unknown in this part of the world. We have an advantage with Latin America: Casa de las Américas -founded in 1959 on Che's initiative as a bridge for the subcontinent- had established that idea, to unite us using our communalities. Culture and language were the two forces behind it. We were looking for a space that could open a dialog under a certain problem or phenomena. That was the way Cuba had been doing it since the Revolution. Besides, there was no single space for the artistic production from the so-called Third World countries. That is why the Havana Biennale became a powerful space to show the production of artists that did not have spaces of representation, spaces for their work.<sup>247</sup>

The younger generation of Cuban curators looks at the phenomenon from a different perspective. It is relevant to underscore how, for Curators working in Cuba, the global age had cut back the former cosmopolitanism of Havana and, for instance, the internationalism of their institutional practice (rescuing individuals such as Mosquera or de la Nuéz). Comparing it with the fluid exchange that happened during the 1980s with the Non-Aligned Group of Nations. Simultaneously, awareness of the lack of regional and local criticism, which was common during the postmodern period, had produced revisionist agendas that could center the discussion at a theoretical level, which is necessary in areas of the world that do not have time to build critical distance through constant documenting, reading, and re-reading of their histories. For example Dannys Montes de Oca affirms that:

Today our position has changed again. It is difficult to have access and direct communication with the Third World, since for us it is not easy to assist at events such as

Documenta or the Arco Fair in Europe, we are less likely to go to visit any country of the Third World. The situation is not like it was in the 1970s and 80s, for example; there is not a single thinker such as Marko Lauer producing texts such as his famous “Arte y Artesanía” (Art and Craft). The absence of figures such as Nestor García Canclini (in the Biennale and Cuba for more than a decade) is symptomatic of a change in the practice of thinking to and from the Third World. Many important thinkers are retired, or are too expensive to invite to events such as the Havana Biennale. Or they simply are not interested in coming. I think that the global market has co-opted thought. Latin American thinkers and intellectuals are under pressure; we do not see much about them anymore and what we see is homogeneous and hegemonic. Today, every action is connected to a particular view, to a local or regional event and functions toward specific interests. Exhibitions, blockbusters, curatorial symposia, big art fairs, etc., they are not like before. We used to give, not asking for anything in return.<sup>248</sup>

In 1995, Gerardo Mosquera, from a global perspective, looked at the phenomena in new ways. Critical distance has been difficult for the members of the Lam Center to achieve, for Mosquera, his condition as an internal exile gave him the possibility to look at the problem in a more complex way. In his text for the Marco Polo Conference in Berlin (on April 11 and 12, 1995 at the House of World Cultures) in which a group of the new breed of ‘global curators’ met, Mosquera stated that:

Yet we cannot simply think of globalization in the sense of a transterritorial orbit with contacts in all directions. It does not consist of an effective interconnection of the entire planet mediated by a webbed link of communications and exchanges. Rather, it deals with a radical system spread from more diversified and different sized centers of power toward their multiple and highly diversified economic zones. This fabric is laid out on the North-South axis. Globalization has advanced little in the periphery, because it globalized from and for the centers. Such a structure implies the existence of large zones of silence disconnected from one another or only connected indirectly by way of the neo-metropolises...

In the middle of these complex confrontations is defined the use of the concept “art of the South.” This has more to do with the geography of power than with a physical geography. The concept itself is the axis of the debates and negotiations to which I have referred. It can act as a ghetto, a check for the multicultural quota system and cultural correctness, or even as the space for a new exoticism. Nevertheless, it can additionally function as a notion of solidarity between the excluded, in their critique and action in the face of power.<sup>249</sup>

Mosquera problematizes the issue of “Third World” art subjectivity and draws attention to a series of new forces that are less positive. He calls for a better understanding of

“globalization” as a new and often negative imperative. “I do not think it is plausible to look for a difference *per se* in Third World art opposite to other contemporary practices. The differences will originate from the use that each author, movement, or culture makes of art, which may be conditioned by *Weltanschauung*, values, strategies, interests, cultural patrons, themes, and particular techniques.”<sup>250</sup> Resistance to the emergent art, to its illegitimate origin and its peripheral condition, might restrict its capacity to join the mainstream. However, the first half of the first decade of the global age brought a surprise for the non-believers in such a possibility. Mosquera puts it in these terms:

As contemporary art, it forms part of the universalization of the Western concept and practice of art as a self-sufficient activity based on “disinterested” contemplation and driven to the production of very specialized aesthetic-symbolic messages. It is, therefore, a colonial product. However, as I recently heard Jimmy Durham say, -Does any contemporary experience exist that isn't?- Western art is also a colonial product, only from the other side.<sup>251</sup>

#### **4.1.1 Third World Collapse, Third World Art Victory. The Global South.**

To locate, to map, to identify, correlates with one of the modern imperatives: to know in order to classify, organized, collect, and to possess. This is the logic of a colonizing power. But what happens when, from the periphery, the possessed and collected tries to know and understand? One uses what one knows, what has been learned in the process, to locate, to map and to identify. That is, in part, what the Havana Biennale has been doing all this time.

That inner contradiction, based on a crude reading of Marxist theory, has produced a series of misinterpretations of what the Biennale means and how far it can go. Manuel López Oliva puts it this way: “From its second instantiation in 1986, the Havana Biennale has been based on the theory of the ‘Three Worlds’ (which in its many variants has been used by Maoist rhetoric, the UNESCO programs, and by many countries and individuals). It looks contradictory

in a sense, since it poses ‘First World’ perspectives on the so-called ‘Third World’.”<sup>252</sup> The Biennale, therefore, replicates a way of seeing things in fragments, not in complex relationships.

In the magazine *Revolución y Cultura* (July–September, 1986) Mosquera presented an article titled “El Tercer Mundo hará la cultura occidental” (The Third World Will Make Western Culture), in which he comments on the identity problems of the former colonial territories. He argues that it has been impossible to create an identity from the inside, due to the historical circumstance in which the Third World has been placed. Due to the fact that it entered into “capitalism by force,” the Third World did not develop a production system and was confined to provide raw material and cheap labor, which meant that industrialization and freedom of thought did not occur. Third World countries became the exploited nations of the new bourgeois order. In addition, the local past was erased by the colonial enterprise; the original histories of those territories were displaced and replaced by Western perspectives on history. That imposition has created categories such as the modern and the traditional, connecting cultures to capitalism and pre-capitalism (the civilized and the primitive). Mosquera also commented on the issue of “Western Internationalism,” one that establishes cultural, economic, and political centers from where Eurocentric views and nowadays American exceptionalism spread.

According to Mosquera, in such a situation the art produced in the Third World is worthy only of being displayed in airports and in bazaars where souvenirs are sold. In the best case, it could be labeled as exotic and sold by the piece in workshops, art and crafts galleries, and ethnographic museums. For the visual arts, Mosquera explains, the antinomies of being a bad metropolitan (because it is not original) and at the same time being local and primitive is a common ground for the artists of the Third World. It has produced a *lingua-franca* that is the most “contemporaneous” of all languages. The contradictions are solved by the fact that the

peoples of the Third World have been living in both worlds and have synthesized them and unified them into one. What Mosquera recommends is not to produce (art) in the language of the West, not even to produce it in native languages. He maintains that, “The Western culture was imposed on us, now we have to evolve it. As the barbarians reinvented the Christian Faith, we Latin Americans, Africans, and Asians have to remake Western Culture.”<sup>253</sup>

Manuel López Oliva, along with other members of the Lam Center, also recognized that the very notion of Third World was no longer applicable. Since the fall of the socialist bloc, it was inaccurate to define the world using such terms. He suggests that now “the so-called Third World has moved to replace the Second one, which demands a conceptual and operative re-definition when using the term.” Actually, López Oliva argues that the Havana Biennale understood this matter early, and since 1994 has integrated artists not only coming from the former Third World but also the ones that work in environments where dire, stagnant, and dangerous, situations frame their production. The acknowledgment of a world that is more horizontal but at the same time pervasively unequal has transformed the world map, new coordinates mark the journey. “Poverty, ethnicity, migration, marginalization, de-integration, identity struggle, war, environmental debacle, etc., are some of the topics that led the Havana Biennale to have such an imprecise configuration. It becomes a “mosaic of inharmonic and amorphous images in the labyrinth of world art.”<sup>254</sup>

López Oliva argues that the “Poor Biennale” (as many call it) has been known and used by other more affluent ones; in other words, Havana has influenced them. For example, he cites Nelson Aguilar, former curator for the São Paulo Biennial (1994-96), saying that Havana and Istanbul had played a role in the way São Paulo was dealing with art that could not be classified in traditional genres, the ones using unconventional supports.<sup>255</sup> At the same time, López Oliva



notes that since 1996 the Venice Biennial “seems to have taken Havana into account, without saying it. When, in its exhibition spaces, creations coming from poor regions mix-up with elements of the technological landscape coming from the rich world. They also manifested the production of Africa, Asia, and Latin America... it seems that there is affinity, when a selection of the Fifth Havana Biennale in 1994-5 traveled to Germany supported by the controversial Ludwig Foundation.”<sup>256</sup> There, López Oliva notes how this art suffered from being seen as having come from “beyond the ocean,” an impression created by the minor role it had in the Venice Biennial. At the time Aquile Bonito Oliva had called it a product of the new “transnational culture” and as a sign of a “spirit of unity” of the times present in Venice from that edition on. Three exhibitions, all of them selections from the Havana Biennale - one in 1990 under the title *Kuba OK* and two in 1994 and 1997 - were supported by the German chocolate magnate Peter Ludwig. They helped to establish a new image of the contemporary art being produced in Cuba. Many others exhibitions joined the flock of what is now called the Global South. Today residence programs, tour exhibitions, cultural partnerships, and financial support in especial by European agencies such as Prince Claus Funds and HIVOS are important sponsors for events in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, supporting the routes and networks of new global events. They are also confined to certain limited notions of what is to be accepted in the global art scene.<sup>257</sup>

Lilian Llanes had envisaged these new conditions for Third World art. During a presentation for the Milan Triennale of 1996 (under the topic, *Identità e differenza, Integrazione e pluralità nelle forme del nostro tempo, Le culture tra effimero e duraturo*) she discussed the issue. As part of a group of intellectuals (mostly working on Third World issues), Llanes

addressed the new planetary conditions of production and the challenges of the artists working outside the Euro-American axes.<sup>258</sup>

Though there are great differences among Third World countries, there undoubtedly are a great number of artists who work hard, whose spirituality is not destroyed in spite of the environmental decay surrounding them. On the other hand, the poverty around them leads an increasing number of artists -like many other sectors of our peoples in quest of a 'Promised Land'- to migrate as minorities to richer lands. These artists carry with them the specific problems of the Third World; when they move to highly developed countries, their works express some of these issues together with the new problems caused by their relationship to their new context. They sometimes succeed in penetrating and integrating with the system, and then come to be considered part of their new country's national art, which is also considered "universal." This is more difficult for others who simply may not want to integrate deeply. Many of them, whether resident or not in their new countries, have contributed greatly to developing a new awareness of the great social unbalances of today's world, and towards a new dimension of international contemporary art.<sup>259</sup>

Today we live in a world in which in any exhibition an important percentage of the participants have to be from (not necessarily to live in) the former Third World. It signals a kind of a victory for those who started back and were positioned in the early stages of the new order. Perhaps, it is just how the system reproduces itself to adapt to the new global conditions. The new conceptual construction has then a geographic mark, the South. But it is the Global South because it inhabits anywhere and can be found everywhere.<sup>260</sup>

## 4.2 ON THIRD WORLD CURATORS

"The Third World is not a reality but an ideology."  
Hannah Arendt<sup>261</sup>

The label "curator" is a conflicted term when defining the practice of an art professional in the West. Its etymology suggests an official agent to an independent entrepreneur, in areas that range from business to medicine. What could be expected of the term "curator" when applied to

countries outside the First World? It is common to find the term as part of the lexicon related to people working in the arts, and in particular in contemporary art. The term is not only used in relation to visual art events, but also for professionals in libraries, museums, galleries, film and music festivals throughout the world.

It was Harald Szeemann who became the paradigmatic curator for contemporary art. His exhibitions “*When Attitudes Become Form*” (1969) and Documenta V (1972) under the title “*Befragung der Realität – Bildwelten heute*” (Questioning Reality – Pictorial worlds today) are now part of the mythology of the art world.<sup>262</sup> Szeeman believed that, “the organizers of exhibitions are ambivalent figures. In fact, they are autonomous when working back-stage of big events, but also - in a sense - they are conditioned by the many tasks they have to perform. As administrators, they negotiate and mediate, promoting and managing their own images. They have the power to chose, designate, and set value.”<sup>263</sup> The term “power” has to be used with caution, in this context argues Szeeman, since “power” here means above all “to make things possible for others.” Another European curator who has had a great impact on the profession is Hans-Ulrich Obrist, who works as a mediator, making it possible for artists to propose and develop projects in which they work together (curator and artists, just artists, or artists and the public) and with support of editorial houses and museums in local contexts. He insists that a curator exists in a middle-space, in a vacuum, “when catalyzing, the curator has to disappear at a given moment.”<sup>264</sup> He also believed that a curator has to help, to catapult artistic propositions into the public sphere, because an exhibition has to have a disruptive effect.

Latin American curators are now part of the global network: Paulo Herkenhoff, Carlos Basualdo, José Carlos Mariategui, Nelson Aguilar, Victor Zamudio Taylor, Cuauhtemoc Medina, and José Ignacio Roca, among others. For example Roca states that, “a curatorial project

can be defined as a series of parameters that allow ideas that are taking place in the artistic arena, by an individual or a group, to get together in order to build a new set of definitions that give meaning by association, juxtaposition, and accumulation, and to open up a field of meaning for isolated art works.”<sup>265</sup>

Actually, there are many discussions concerning the role, characteristics, and function of a curator and a curatorial project. Some use metaphors to define a curatorial project, for example: the exhibition as a map, in which respect John Tagg has written: “Each exhibition is like a map. It not only separates, defines, and describes a particular place underlining its principal features or omitting and simplifying others, but also represents a territory in accordance with a method or projection: a set of conventions and rules under which the map is built.”<sup>266</sup>

Others argue that a curator is a sort of meta-artist. The same Szeemann once defined his work as that of an artist, comparing the art-works in an exhibition to colors in a palette. Many examples come to mind, Robert Storr being the most compelling one. Contemporary artists in the region such as Francis Alys and Raul Ferrera Balanquet, are also open about the issue. On the matter, Julian Stallabras points out that:

Curating has always been an odd mix of the professional and the aesthetic; if it is dominated by artists in contemporary shows, that makes a certain sense for it is only to play up the aesthetic side to the exclusion of specialist knowledge: Damien Hirst has said that for him there is no difference between making work and curating. Artists’ curatorial qualifications are of a primary order, and artists’ selections and arrangements have a weight just because of who they are. ... With high art it is rather more difficult since this kind of critical dismantling has been continuing for decades, and it is hard to know with what level of reference we are dealing: is a work referring to something else or to itself, to rhetoric or reference, or to some still further recursion? (For example) A shop which Tracey Emin and Sarah Lucas ran in 1993 to sell art-junk, most notoriously ashtrays with photographs of Damien Hirst stuck to the bottom (stub out your fag on the face of that celebrated lover of cigarettes) was in one sense a powerful curatorial statement about commerce, but it was also an actual shop which made and sold stuff, and, as Emin says, they lived off it for six months.<sup>267</sup>

#### 4.2.1.1 The Cuban Curator

Nelson Herrera Ysla defines the Cuban curator working at the Wifredo Lam Center as:

A person, who is ready to go through whatever it takes in order to get what he or she has decided to accomplish; he/she is a person who believes deeply in the project, a person with faith, and deep conviction, because our work has a spiritual dimension, a cultural, and a moral purpose beyond its function and usage. For example, on one occasion visiting Africa, Eugenio Valdes Figueroa and Magda González were stopped by a group of armed people at a point between Lagos and Lubumbashi in Nigeria. The two curators were put on the dirt and menaced with assault weapons pointed at their heads. They did not know what was going on, since the driver had abandoned them. What is the value of a life in that circumstance, in that part of the world? Finally, they were released after being robbed; fortunately they left the place unharmed. They kept with the plan to visit the artists; that is the kind of Cuban curator I am taking about. In Bogotá I was invited to visit an artist. The people who drove me, put me in a truck with dark glasses and full of weapons, they used radios to communicate and had told me to prepare a statement if we were stopped on the way. I did; the fact was that I did not know to whom I should address the statement, to the guerrillas, to the paramilitaries, the narcos, the military? It is hard for people coming out of Havana to think about these issues when preparing the Biennale. Sometimes, we do not have enough money to go to a Hotel, as in Tunisia and Delhi, and we have stayed in garages, or shared a bedroom with the guy in charge of the Cuban Embassy; those are nice experiences and we do not make dramas about it. In fact, many of our little adventures have helped us to understand better how things are. Behind our work as curators there is an ethic; it is a moral issue that also supports the Havana Biennale. The Biennale is based largely on those practices, a practice that had put us close to our object of study and to other human beings. The work we do helps to understand us better as individuals and to know each other better. Beyond the frame, the painting, the image, and the object there are people and us... The problem in not knowing everything, what is happening in Costa Rica or Panama, is an advantage; the important issue is to know and understand their culture and their people. Because art is a way of knowledge, it is not only the objects of aesthetic enjoyment that feed our spirit. What interests us is what is behind the work of art itself.<sup>268</sup>

After twenty-five years of work in the organization of the Biennale the modesty shown by some of the members of the Lam Center is remarkable. Ibis Hernandez Abascal comments on her experience as curator for the Havana Biennale:

When I arrived to Mexico in 1992, I told them that I was a specialist in documentation working for the Wifredo Lam Center. I informed them that I was collecting information that would serve to select the artists for the next Havana Biennale. I knew about the responsibility of such a task, and I was acquainted with the discussions taking place at the time around the term curating. In some way I knew that I was working along those lines, at the same time I knew that my work was only a fragment in a chain of facts and people that make the Biennale possible. Today, I am part of a group that is called the Havana Curators. However, I consider

myself only a part of something that is bigger than me, someone who gathers information and puts it in the service of an idea, an event, and the institution.

I am concerned about our archive and documentation center because it does not have the necessary resources to maintain the material collected, nor the means to digitalize the visual collection. It has a great amount of information. I would like to work in that direction where is possible to have an impact, producing reference and annotated material not only for Cubans but for the Third World.

The stardom and success of some curators is suspicious; I prefer to be part of a team, with the risks that it carries. I understand that the responsibility for an event such as the Havana Biennale is not shared among us, actually the selection is not always accomplished with 100% agreement. Sometimes we do not understand deeply the conceptual line in which we are working. At other times, the concept is not completely defined, that is the case of the Ninth Biennale. We do not reach our own expectations or the ones of the art world. Besides, we faced economic problems that made complex the decision to bring or drop important artists of collectives. That was the case with multidisciplinary groups such as NORTEC from Tijuana, which clearly was able to make an important statement on the dynamics of contemporary urban centers. It would be relevant to have the option to show what is happening in a border city, where a new urban culture intertwines. Unfortunately, they did not find support and we also could not provide it. Then, it is necessary to rework the model of the Havana Biennale to meet the demands of new artistic practices that go beyond the traditional spaces of the museum, gallery, and even the physical space of the city to new spacio-temporal arrangements. That is a challenge for curators and events such as the Biennale.<sup>269</sup>

Margarita Sánchez Prieto argues that a curatorial practice is more related to an intellectual rather than an administrative dimension.

We have a strong dialog with curators from Latin America. For example, I share ideas and concepts with an intellectual group in the South. Perhaps we do not agree on every single issue as museographers and the way art has to be displayed. Nonetheless, when I go to the Southern Cone and establish collaborations or debates with curators such as Marcelo Pacheco and Ticio Escobar, who are well trained and with a long experience, the dialog is fluid. We agree on how the representation system is in place; and we agree that in Latin America the historical, social, economic, and cultural context is very important. I am a curator trained in such ways, with a great influence on the contextual and temporal. In terms of display, as museographer that is part of being a curator in the Third World, I like the post-industrial model where the gallery space is full of content, where a psychological dimension is present, framing what is exhibited. I dislike the great white cube and pristine museum model.

Becoming a curator is not an easy task, I am grateful to my colleagues at the Lam Center, especially Lillian Llanes, who brought me here and created an environment of constant education, dialog, and debate, particularly during those first years. I had the opportunity to travel with her and I noticed her vast visual and conceptual knowledge, not only with respect to “Third World art”, but also World Art.

In theoretical terms, people such as Ticio Escobar, Néstor García Canclini, Nelly Richard, Shifra Goldman, and Luis Camnitzer have influenced me; the work of Dan Cameron

and Ivo Mesquita have also informed my own practice. In addition to the work of artists whose writings give important clues to understand their work and the work of others, Carlos Capelán (who functions as curator-artist) helps us a lot to foresee what can be done. Writings by diverse authors, historians and critics such as Rudy Fox, Rosa Martínez, Santiago Olmos, and Pierre Restany, among others are relevant for me too.

Today with the digital turn, a curator has to embrace new technologies. However, in Cuba as in many regions of the world, economic and structural problems put us behind. The cost of generating digital images here is high, only rarely in the case of Cuba has our art market helped to produce such images. Actually, many are produced abroad for exhibitions sponsored by foreign institutions or as part of international commissions (that is the case of the digital production of collectives such as Los Carpinteros).

The Internet has been impacting our art. It is well known that Cuba is in a difficult situation because of its proximity to an imperial power. Nonetheless, our voice and interests through the use and appropriation of such technologies are significant. Coming out from under the cultural and entertainment industry (Hollywood), to use those resources in counter-hegemonic ways is imperative. For the last ten years, I have been writing about the importance of generating counter-discourses that coming from the South relate themselves to the North and the cultural centers.<sup>270</sup>

Global curators such as Gerardo Mosquera have their own trajectories. After his departure from the Lam Center, Mosquera undertook a series of projects outside Cuba which established his reputation as a global curator. In April, 1995, Mosquera participated in a seminar organized by Gerhard Haupt and Bernd M. Scherer in the House of World Cultures in Berlin. The event (called *The Marco Polo Syndrome: Problems of intercultural communication in art theory and curatorial practice*) was designed to bring a group of thinkers, critics, artists, and curators to discuss the state of curatorial practice in contemporary art and culture at the time. After the symposium, the magazine *Neue Bildende Kunst* presented the edited papers of the symposium, as well as further contributions to the topic.<sup>271</sup> Mosquera's essay was entitled, "The World of Differences. Notes on Art, Globalization and Periphery;" it explores his entrance as a curator on the global scene.

Mosquera sets out to define the new era after 1989, the time of globalization, and situates the work of artists and curators coming from the South in the equation poscolonialism/postmodernity=ethno (global) art. He states:

The major interest that the centers experience toward the art of the periphery is a result of the globalization processes, demographics, and decolonization. The global world is also, paradoxically, the world of differences. This has become more internationally visible thanks to communication-media and has simultaneously expanded within the centers themselves.<sup>272</sup>

Mosquera understands well that the postmodern critique was a question of reordering the status quo, introducing minor voices in the cacophony of the global. He understands how the ethno-cultural debate has become a political space of power struggles on the symbolic as much as on social levels.

These are revealed by assimilation, tokenism, and the rearticulating of hegemonies, the affirmation of difference, and the critique of power, among other tensions. When the incentive to pluralism is a basic feature of postmodernity, the implicit decentralizations remain under the control of the centers that 'self-decenter' in a lampesussian strategy of change, in order for everything to remain the same.<sup>273</sup>

Mosquera understood the threat of falling into the trap of new-exoticism common during the postmodern moment. He believed in the circulation of the artistic production in the axis North-South-North. The examples that he uses are the standard ones with respect to the participation of 'minor' cultures in the high cultural spheres. Jazz, the embracing of European modernity in the arts and culture, the mimicking of economic and political systems, etc., but what was relevant for him at that moment was to use globalization to reach the disfranchised in order to show to a larger audience the artistic production coming from both sides of the axis. He notes:

This pluralization would not only benefit the South; it would be enrichment for everyone. But furthermore, what we call the international art circuit only reaches a reduced part of the world's population. It is necessary to pay attention to the problem of abandoned publics that constitute the majority of humanity. The difficult steps in this direction will bring transformations in the present format of art circulation, and even of the art itself by aspiring to a larger and active participation of communities, linked with education, interaction with vernacular culture, the use of mass-media, etc. Perhaps it seems a bit utopian to attempt to take on the correction of this problem. But it is, at a minimum, important to know where the problem is.<sup>274</sup>



In the local context young curators such as Dannys Montes de Oca remembers how in mid-1990s, the shift in the artistic practice in Cuba transformed curatorial practice and the participation of Cuban artists not only in the Biennale but also in the international context. The work of young curators and critics was important in helping identify the changes and to promote the process.

In 1994, I assisted in a number of exhibitions during that staging of the Biennale and its collateral exhibitions. It was interesting to see how at such moments, during what we called the ‘special period’ (a terrible moment in which scarcity, hunger, and poverty were rampant) something was happening when visiting the exhibitions. At that moment critics Madeline Izquierdo and Lupe Alvarez had already talked about some sort of returning to the aesthetic paradigm, as in contradiction to the 1980s decade when art was establishing itself at the same level of the mass-media, addressing social and political issues in a proactive way. I was a little skeptical about what they were saying, however, I worked on an exhibition that tried to prove the thesis. I choose a group of artists that were mastering technique, something that referred to the “faktura” of the piece. I wanted to underline that issue to test the supposition that an aesthetic paradigm was striking back at Cuban art production. But I was interested not only in traditional art practices but also in the recuperation of traditional material practices in Cuban culture. Carpentry, plastering, weaving, and intensive manual labor, to address the issue of the market, a dimension that was new for us after many years; I called it “survival cultural practices” and wrote a text that presented the group. Fourteen artists, who were distant from the social and political discourse, who were cleaning and sanitizing their work in order to address the opening of the market in the island. That was my first contact with this group of artists of the generation of the 1990s (which Mosquera had called “la mala hierba”). After a year working with them, I presented the project to a call made by the Centro de Desarrollo de las Artes Visuales (Center for the Development of Visual Arts) which was organizing the first Contemporary Art Salon. The projects were presented before a committee of the UNEAC and both institutions sponsored the exhibition. I was lucky and won the right to assemble my project.<sup>275</sup>

For Cuban art historians and critics, the year 1994 marks the beginning of a new space for developing and establishing new figures in the Cuban scene. Because of her exhibition proposal, Montes de Oca was invited to participate in a theoretical panel organized by the Lam Center in 1995, to discuss her approach with a number of international curators such as Edward Sullivan, David Mateo, Manuel González, and Jose Ignacio Roca. Later she became coordinator

for the 2003 and 2006 theoretical event at the Havana Biennale. Today she is a member of the curatorial staff at the Lam Center.

Other Cuban curators that had participated in the Havana Biennale are now working outside Cuba. For example, Osvaldo Sánchez collaborated during the early stages of the Biennale; he has been a curator in Mexico for more than a decade, as Director of the Carrillo Gil Museum, and the Rufino Tamayo Museum for Contemporary Art. Today he is the artistic director of InSITE (the relevant San Diego-Tijuana art project). As curator (and critic and columnist for the newspaper *Reforma*) he sees advantages working in the periphery; he considers First World institutions too conservative. Sánchez notes that:

They are conservative, and I don't think museums should be conservative. They become that way because of distorted priorities, worrying too much about packaging. They should be more of a stage for current art practices. Institutions are more fluid in Mexico. There's more of a chance to change things. Contemporary art is less institutionalized. They'll let some 25-year-old create a show. I could be a museum curator and write (as a critic), which wouldn't happen here. This helps institutions to breathe, though the situation has fragility too. It's all part of my experience somehow. As an immigrant, I think I carry borders within me.<sup>276</sup>

Sánchez was one of four curators who assembled inSITE2000 and was editor of the publication of that version. Now he oversees all aspects of inSITE, along with having major curatorial duties. His outlook, shaped by his years in the Cuban and Mexican art arena, seems to dovetail with that of the inSite directors and Board.

Iván de la Nuéz collaborated during the second and third Biennales; he was Professor at the Havana University from where he promoted postmodern thought in Cuba during the late 1980s. Today, he works in Spain as the Director of *La Virreina*, Barcelona's Institute of Culture visual arts center. Additionally, de la Nuéz writes for *Babelia*, the cultural supplement of *El País* (a major newspaper in Spain).

The first research-curator who left the team was Silvia Medina de Miranda, who moved out of Cuba in 1993 to pursue a new life in Venezuela and later in Spain.

When arriving in Venezuela and before my work at the Sala Mendoza in Venezuela, one of the leading spaces for contemporary art in the country, thanks to my previous experience at the Lam Center, Venezuelan artists opened their houses for me. Many of them who had participated in the Biennale and whom I had met before helped me during my first months in that country. Finally, I started to work at the Mendoza Art Center. Initially, (I worked) in the library that used to have an exhibition project room that was not in use at the time. Coming from what we called colloquially “cultural Cuban guerrilla war”, i.e. from the Havana Biennale, the new challenge was not as great as it could be. The Lam Center’s school was important because we learned how to work with few resources – actually, I passed from having a bike to having a car, which was a great advance. If the Biennale has influenced my work, giving me an excellent visual knowledge, impetus, vitality, and theoretical training, the Mendoza gave me the possibility to use and explore it in an autonomous manner. I knew the Mendoza’s status before, since I used to get the materials of artists and institutions when working at the documentary section in Havana. My first opening was a success. I showed work by Cuban photographers Ramón Grandal and Tito Alvarez, among others. For ten years and with help of my artist friends, I organized many exhibitions. With Ariél Jiménez, Director of the center, we recuperated the presence of ceramics and graphic work for the gallery. Sala Mendoza used to be important for its support of the “arts of fire,” to the point of converting Venezuela into the capital of such practices in Latin America. For years, Venezuela organized the prestigious “Bienal Barro de América” (an international ceramic and fire-related art event).

Ceramics and crafts were embraced by us during those years, I remember using topics from the debate on “tradition and contemporaneity” in our discussions, texts, and exhibitions. I also kept collaborating with the Lam Center. I was not able to travel to Cuba because of the restrictions on exiles; however, I worked the selections from Venezuela for the Fifth Biennale in 1994. I always have been working with and for Cuba and the Lam Center.

At the departure of Ariél Jiménez of Sala Mendoza, Cecilia Fajardo, a great critic and curator, arrived; she was finishing her doctoral dissertation on Bedia and Capelán and I was able to help her since I was acquainted with their work and had met them both in Havana. We had a great connection and empathy. With her, and her international spirit thanks to her childhood in the U.K, I developed the international project of Sala Mendoza that at the time was only showing local and some Latin American artists. I organized a series of exhibitions, keeping track of ceramics and work on paper in the gallery space I rescued from the library. At the same time, the library started collecting documents on contemporary art. I recall using information gathered during the international symposium on Art Magazines we put together for the Third Biennale. As curator I have always been connecting stories.

After many years in Venezuela, I moved to Spain where I have been working as an independent curator and gallery manager in Madrid and Barcelona. I keep in contact with the Lam Center, sending materials of artists I believe are of interest and names for the theoretical events and collateral exhibitions.<sup>277</sup>

Other former members of the Lam Center include Magda E. González, who worked there for more than a decade, and now works as an independent curator organizing exhibitions in Cuba, North America, and Europe since 2000. That is also the case of Eugenio Valdez Figueroa, who used to research Africa for the Fourth and Fifth Biennales. With the creation of the Ludwig Center for Contemporary Art in 1994-5 in Havana, he moved toward the promotion of Cuban artist abroad. Today lives and works in Cuba and Brazil, for the Daros Foundation, promoting Latin American artists, organizing exhibitions and writing for international magazines.

### **4.3 THE ROLE OF THE ACADEMY: ART CRITICISM, THEORY, AND THE ARTIST**

“Our work was in tune with the most advanced thinkers of the moment to the extent that art theory was juxtaposed to contemporary thought and artistic practice. It was because of that rigorous approach in theoretical and artistic praxis and the close relationship among artists, critics, and scholars that the visual arts became the vanguard within Cuban culture.”  
Magali Espinoza

Magali Espinoza has been a long-standing collaborator of the Havana Biennale. Formerly a professor at the University of Havana and ISA, from mid-1970s to the late 1990s, she has been active in the discussions and debates about the New Cuban art and the generations following. She notes how Cuban artists and cultural agents have interacted with major art theories and concepts, especially during the last three decades, a period when what was called New Cuban Art emerged. She works particularly with the 1980s generation. Recently Espinoza has become an independent scholar and cultural consultant, focusing her interest also on the 1990s generation, the so call “mala hierba” (weed generation), a title given by Gerardo Mosquera to refer to those artists (the generation following the 1980s) that as wild weeds grew out of any

crevice and fissure in the system.<sup>278</sup> Espinoza comments on issues such as the influence of postmodern and postcolonial theories on the framework of the Marxist-Leninist Cuban theoretical model. She explains how before the era of glasnost and perestroika, Cuban intellectuals (usually trained in the Soviet bloc) appropriated not only the official rhetoric, but also intermingled with the progressive thinking of the time. Simultaneously, she comments on how the dissidents, artists and scholars in exile (resulting in the migration of a large part of the generation of the 1980s), the Cuban art market, and the new socio-economic context have all affected and transformed Cuban thought, art practices and thus its events such as the Havana Biennale.

At the moment of the exodus of many of the artists of the 1980s generation (some of whom had fought the Biennale from abroad, in part because it moved the market for Cuban art back to the island), the country was going through deep changes in its economic, social, and political structures. Actually, new rules with respect to travel in and out of Cuba and the changing regulations with the U.S. have affected the art market. By 1993 the dollar was legalized to control the contraband, a control market of goods and services emerged. Art was caught in-between.

Today, Havana City is full of art galleries. Many are managed by, or have as their name, Cuban artists living in Cuba (Kcho, Los Carpinteros, Roberto Fabello galleries, etc). This has created a class division among artists. It is evidence of a global business class in with which contemporary and commercial visual artists from all denominations are aligned.

**MAGALI ESPINOZA.** Unfortunately, private galleries do not have a real calendar of exhibitions; additionally, they do not have a presence in the public sphere. Galería Habana, for example, that for long time did a consistent and important job, is now under siege by the

proliferation of many art spaces in the city. (However, it was used consistently by Tania Brugera during the Tenth Havana Biennale, March-April, 2009)

Undoubtedly, the market is important (for the survival of our artists); what is not working here is that it is taking attention away from the most advanced and interesting of our art production; it exists without a program. Today, artists have become part of the system, a circuit approved and supervised by the state -since it is also very profitable. The thing is that the state has, supposedly, to promote the development of our art. The 1980s was a moment in which coherent cultural policy and cultural institutions were established in a complex system of support, in fact the ISA and in a sense the Havana Biennale were founded out of that model.

I was professor at the philosophy department of the Havana University from 1974 to 1987, the year that I moved to ISA to be part of an exciting project. The Art Institute was founded in 1976 by the Ministry of Culture, and while we delivered the most orthodox Marxist theory, the pedagogic model was without a doubt Western. I worked there from 1987 to 1997. What is important here is to understand that the Revolution created extraordinary institutional structures that are still a model for Latin America and the Third World.

As pioneers, these structures are important, however, in their implementation and functionality they have had many irregularities. Those problems have deeply affected the core thinking of Marxists aesthetics with respect to what has to be done in the Third World. Here Cultural Studies and Visual Studies, for example, are not part of the academia. They have been developed by independent specialists close to the world of art and with proximity to ISA rather than to the University. That is the case of Gerardo Mosquera, Guadalupe Alvarez, and me. During the late 1980s and early 1990s we developed a curriculum in aesthetics that put together aesthetic traditional thought, the sociology of art, anthropology, and folk studies. Today we realize that it was clearly working in a framework of Cultural Studies.

The aesthetic that used to be taught at the University was the Kantian one. The first curriculum designed for the visual arts, after arduous work, started in 1992. It explored topics related to the postmodern discourse, popular culture, aesthetic values, and media specificity. It departed from the international tradition based on the use of the object, in order to go toward the study of society. Actually, at ISA we in the Aesthetic Department were working with the Art History Department. The work of Gerardo Mosquera as curator and art critic, without being a theoretician *per se*, became a reference for the study Cuban and Caribbean art. I explored that issue in a book I edited with Kevin Powell entitled, 'Pensamiento Crítico en el Arte Cubano' (Critical Thought in Cuban Art, 2006), which is a collection of essays. The idea was to establish a dialog among a series of texts and authors that were part of that moment in our art.

It is worth mentioning that in 1979 at Havana University the Department for the teaching of Marxist-Leninist Theory was created. Historical materialism and dialectics was the core of our training; with other young scholars at the time, Jorge de la Fuente and Madeline Izquierdo, we created the aesthetic bases for teaching of new artists, art historians, and critics at the Havana University. We used to use Eastern and Western authors such as Stefan Morawski, Moses Samuel Louis-Cagan, and postmodern thinkers such as Peter Berger, Jurgen Habermas, Jacques Derrida, and even Fredric Jameson. Postcolonial theory as it is known in the West would enter later on, during the mid 1990s. People such as Desiderio Navarro, founder and editor of the magazine *Cristerios*, would be fundamental in this purpose.

It was a particular and special phenomenon. While an institutional net existed, it was a phenomena created by individuals. Here nothing exists outside the institutions; here we did not have alternative spaces, since we were the alternative.

Two institutions have become really important for our own art world. They have created contacts between worlds; they are the Casa de las Américas and the Havana Biennale. Thanks to these institutions, and let's talk about the role the Lam Center has played thanks to the Biennale. Thanks to it, we have had the opportunity to encounter, first the work and thought of the most advanced Latin American artists, art critics, curators, and visual theorists, and second, to contrast that with our Eastern Marxist-Leninist formation. Many of us had traveled to the East to be trained. I did my doctorate in the Soviet Union between 1982 and 87; I graduated from the University of Kiev. Orlando Suarez Tajonea, head of the Aesthetics Department at ISA, studied in Moscow. In other words, the fact of being trained in such a tradition, being foreign to it at the same time, helped us to look for the most heterodox. We used to read Evald Ilyenkov and Kovni, two authors that were banned and marginalized in the Soviet Union at the time; at the same time we grew up reading José Martí, Fernando Ortíz, and Benitez Rojo, etc.<sup>279</sup>

We were able to do what was forbidden to the Soviet people, since we were outsiders. We worked under Western values one way or the other, while Cuba had closed the possibility to work with Sartre, for example, the rest of the Western theoretical line was present at ISA. What is interesting was the fact that ISA, being an art school, was more concerned with conceptualization than with art practice per se (the presence of people such as Luis Camnitzer was important). We based our work on the comprehension of the history of knowledge, not its analysis and interpretation, since we were training artists, not philosophers. That is why theory plays an important role in the artistic practice in Cuba from the 1980s on. The 'new Cuban art' was a process that was nurtured and reached maturity in that decade. It did not start as an ideological movement; however, the art practice became an ideological proposition, it acquired consciousness through time. Art criticism and aesthetic discourse played an important role also in the process of self-recognition. The work of Mosquera and many art critics of the time, such as the artist-critic Antonio Eligio aka- Tonel, Iván de la Nuéz, Lupe Álvarez, and Madeline Izquierdo are relevant also. Many came from history and philosophy, as was the case of Wilfredo Prieto and Gustavo Pita, who founded the magazine *Albur* and established a relationship among disciplines and people that were trained in the Soviet Union. *Albur* became a model for cultural studies. It was directed by Iván González Cruz, and its artisan character merged people from all areas: artists, poets, philosophers, sociologists, and aestheticians, among others. *Albur* published original translations from Eastern European texts that were highly relevant for the aesthetics of the time. It circulated in the second part of the 1980s for four years.



Figure 32. Covers of the magazine *Albur* (late 1980s - early 1990s)

Cultural and art magazines have had a fundamental role in the development of contemporary Cuban thought. Magazines such as *Pensamiento Crítico*, *Albur*, *Criterios*, and *Lo Que Venga* (with only two editions) have helped artistic and theoretical practice over time. On the other hand, during its ten years of publication, the magazine *Arte Cubano*, which is an official organ, has shown an irregular content. Perhaps, it is because of the particular historical circumstances it had to deal with.

Many of those magazines do not exist anymore, for example, *Albur* was substituted by *Credo*, now published in Spain. These magazines put together not only the local and international critical thought, but also particular artistic productions. The core of all this was ISA.



Figure 33. Covers magazine of *Arte Cubano* (2004-2006)

#### 4.3.1.1 Artistic practice and cultural theory

It is clear that the theoretical strength of the Cuban scene was informed by its own history, in which a colonial and postcolonial awareness played an important role during the early and mid 1900s, and later by a series of individuals who, thanks the Revolution, were able to



exchange ideas at symposia in Cuba and through academic training not only in Eastern Europe but also in Latin America (in some cases in China and some countries of Western Europe). Simultaneously, a number of magazines and cultural publications that, while supported by the state were not necessarily official, became forums for new ideas. Through them it was possible to circulate and update the flow of ideas and concepts coming from East and West. Cuban artists were influenced by this flow; the Havana Biennale was nurtured by their influx and by the people and thought carried by them. Since the beginning, the Biennale presented not only conventional art in Western terms but also radical-to-the-edge notions and proposals. As a result of the environment, the Biennale ventured to show popular manifestations such as the Chinese kites, wood carvings and assemblages from Africa and Latin America next to installations, photography, and performance art. This cultural universe had indeed a conceptual background in the theories of the time.

Cultural studies became central in the discussions that affected the curriculum at ISA and finally in the work of Cuban artists. From mid-1980s the presence of foreign perspectives (such as Luis Camnitzer, Javier González, and the various visits of José Luis Brea, among other thinkers) at the institute created a forum for debates about cultural studies and even introduced an edge into visual studies. Postcolonial thought arrived to support such debates: ISA faculty started to study it in addition to Latin American postcolonial theory and the subaltern group of scholars created at the beginning of the 1990s, authors such as Said, Spivak, Bhabha, Appadurai, among others.<sup>280</sup>

In that context, the second Biennale (1986) became focused on the Caribbean. It evolved an Atlantic connection that was addressed during the Fourth Biennale (1991), where the topic of neo-colonialism would close a cycle. The Third Biennale (1989) explored the topic of “Tradition

and Contemporaneity” bringing together for the first time artists from three continents. This led to the Fifth Biennale (1994) which became the first international one, opening the event to new theoretical explorations in a global context where the post-colonial would surface.

The Caribbean as a place for generation of new cultures would be central also in the work of Gerardo Mosquera, who, informed by Antonio Benitez Rojo and Edouard Glissant’s archipelago concept, would expand his reach, becoming then the first global Cuban curator. It was the Caribbean where many theories of resistance and action materialized; from the Haitian Revolution to the writings of Martí, Fanon, and the music of Bob Marley, there was a space for Cultural Studies to develop, and where many Latin Americans found also a foundation. The work of Stuart Hall, coming from Jamaica, has been central within the British school, while others such as Paul Gilroy and his concept of the “Black Atlantic” have followed. For the Havana Biennale, the pretext to put all these notions together in the 1980s was the postmodern response to regional identity and positioning. In early 1990s it was the proximity of the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the encounter of the new world and the old world and the emergence of the postmodern debate which were relevant for the voice of the difference.

**MAGALI ESPINOZA.** In Cuba there is a recognition that the artistic praxis and cultural theory are more advanced than social theory, at least in the past two decades. The social and philosophical discourses are weak; meanwhile the cultural and artistic have grown. It is interesting to see how the art history departments are doing much better than the philosophy departments on the island. It was different during the 1970s. It is also worrisome to see how classes on the history of philosophy and science have been taken out of the curricula and are being replaced by classes on contemporary thought, regarding historical and cultural contexts. During the 1980s we were able, at the ISA, to divide and give relative weight to every historical moment in our classes on the history of knowledge, taking care and being distant also from the dominant Marxists rhetoric of the time. We were able to teach one entire semester on the history of contemporary thought, something that was unheard of in the country. Our work was in tuned with the most advanced thinkers of the moment to the extent that art theory was juxtaposed to contemporary thought and artistic practice. It was because of that rigorous

approach in theoretical and artistic praxis and the close relationship among artists, critics, scholars that the visual arts became the vanguard within Cuban culture.

It is only when looking at the most important cultural festivals in the country that we noticed the strength the visual arts have over the rest of expression, in theory and praxis. Even the famous Festival for the New Latin American Cinema does not organize theoretical events, the literary fairs and encounters are more of social than critical (with exception of those organized by the Casa de las Américas). During the 1970s we counted with a rigorous group of play writers and directors but even it cannot be compared with the visual arts. Individuals and collectives have been coming to Cuba from areas such as philosophy, sociology, art history, art theory, etc., to debate about visual culture and the contemporary art of the island and the Global South for more than twenty years now.

That theoretical strength has contributed to the Havana Biennale becoming the central forum for discussion and debate in the region. While the Biennale has been irregular in content and performance, this it is because of the historical and economic context affecting it. It is also clear that the Biennale has become a mediator for all these possibilities. Structured on a rigorous, almost scholarly model, the Biennale in its second phase corresponds to research projects in which the theoretical, historical, and empirical are brought together. At the same time, it has become a node in a larger network where the local, regional, and global gather.

According to Espinoza, the new Cuban art movement did not have a manifesto. "It has built its own consciousness in its artistic practice." She argues that its consciousness did not come first, as in the avant-garde movements such as Surrealism or even Suprematism. The Revolution created spaces for art that allowed the confluence of such dynamics. In addition, it allowed the possibility of bringing artistic practice, art education, promotion, and the market closer together. It is the Revolution which creates this movement, but it is the movement which establishes a consciousness that modulates its products according to a critical production and evaluation of the process. Artists considered themselves not only part of the process but its critical consciousness. It is indeed a contradictory process that allows the movement to evolve. However, it reached its apex when the fall of the Soviet bloc led to the 'special period' and the

global age arose. That is when many artists and intellectuals decided to leave. They were the basis of the movement, so their departure led to a moment of crisis in the Cuban scene.

In sum, the new Cuban art of the 1980s, and what followed, was an organic phenomenon that originated from a critical consciousness and a cultural policy established by the Ministry of Culture during the late 1970s. These produced a rich context where proximity to among each other, and the quick appreciation of their work in the West, made their artistic and intellectual production appealing to new audiences. However, there was an exhaustion of that consciousness during the first half of the 1990s. The fact of the migration of the members of the generation of *Volumen Uno* and the estrangement of figures such as Gerardo Mosquera and Osvaldo Sánchez produced a change in the local scene.<sup>281</sup> In the international context, Mosquera organized exhibitions that exposed that generation to the new glo-cal (global and local at the same time) scene. That was the case for exhibitions such as *Los Hijos de Guillermo Tell* (The Sons of William Tell, 1991) and *Ante America* (Regarding America, 1993-94), which played an important role in the placement of not only Cuban artists but other individual artists who were participating in the Biennale and whom Mosquera knew quite well.<sup>282</sup>

**MAGALI ESPINOZA.** Gerardo Mosquera organized these exhibitions. We have to remember that he was the theoretical inspiration for the movement. He was the one that from an art critical perspective understood the impact of such production. Many of us, much younger maybe, did not understand the repercussions that the movement would have on Cuba and the rest of Latin America. In addition, he showed a path to follow that was hard to understand at first. Art students nowadays receive all this information as part of their training. We did not have the same fortune back then, we had to build it ourselves. Many of the artists and thinkers who were active during the late 1980s migrated. They are still thinking of Cuba from a diasporic position that is the case of Iván de la Nuéz in Spain, Osvaldo Sánchez, and Rafael Rojas in Mexico, in addition to a number of artists that made up that group.

This new Diaspora is less reactionary than the first one. This one has lived the Revolutionary project and is the offspring of its venture; they think Cuban with cold feet and talk about the process in productive ways, always from a critical stance. During the 1990s the arts

changed from an open social commentary to a more intimate approach, where art is at the center of the artistic praxis rather than a vehicle for social critique.

It is my personal opinion that there is a group of artists who continue with the first critical posture, although it is today centered in a personal perspective. The Frankfurt School teaches us that in order to generate a positive critique it is necessary to have critical distance. I believe that some Cuban artists keep that distance today in their personal projects -that is the case of Tania Brugera and Rene Francisco.

There is another group of young theorists which are working from the inside out, and from the 1980 new Cuban art. They include Andrés Issac and Jesús Sánchez who do so from a thematic perspective, not in the historical and chronological fashion as we used to assume the phenomenon. The results of these new observations give us new entrees to our particular universe. Elvia Rosas edited the first document on the subject and filled a vacuum. Many of us are following this trend.

In 1999 Luis Camnitzer edited his book *New Cuban Art*. However, it has not circulated in Cuba; in fact, it is a book with many inaccuracies. He is an artist and thinker who played a very important role in the development of our artists, mainly with respect to international conceptualism. He helped us to discover neo-expressionism, and has helped to circulate information and artists for many years.

During the 1980s, the movement had a capacity for self-consciousness, but in the 1990s it has weakened; it did not disappear but it changed. Today, artists do not work in terms of a movement; they work to make comments at the interior of the art practice itself. It is full of cynicism, concealed metaphors, if you want. There is a new ethic among the new Cuban artists.

There is a new attitude that talks about what contemporary art is today, and a group that follows the previous generation with a strong critical consciousness. There is another group that is close to them, but who have a certain pessimism, some talk about a crisis. I believe that each artistic process has its own internal dynamics. At the beginning, during the 1980s, the discussions happened inside the Havana Biennale. Nowadays the discussion takes place more outside it, especially, on the periphery of the Biennale, however, it happens because of the Biennale. That is why the Cuban case is contradictory. It is the institution which promotes the great events, recognizing the vitality of our culture. At the same time, it created its double, one that consumes it from within, draining it of sense.

Havana Biennale's theoretical base

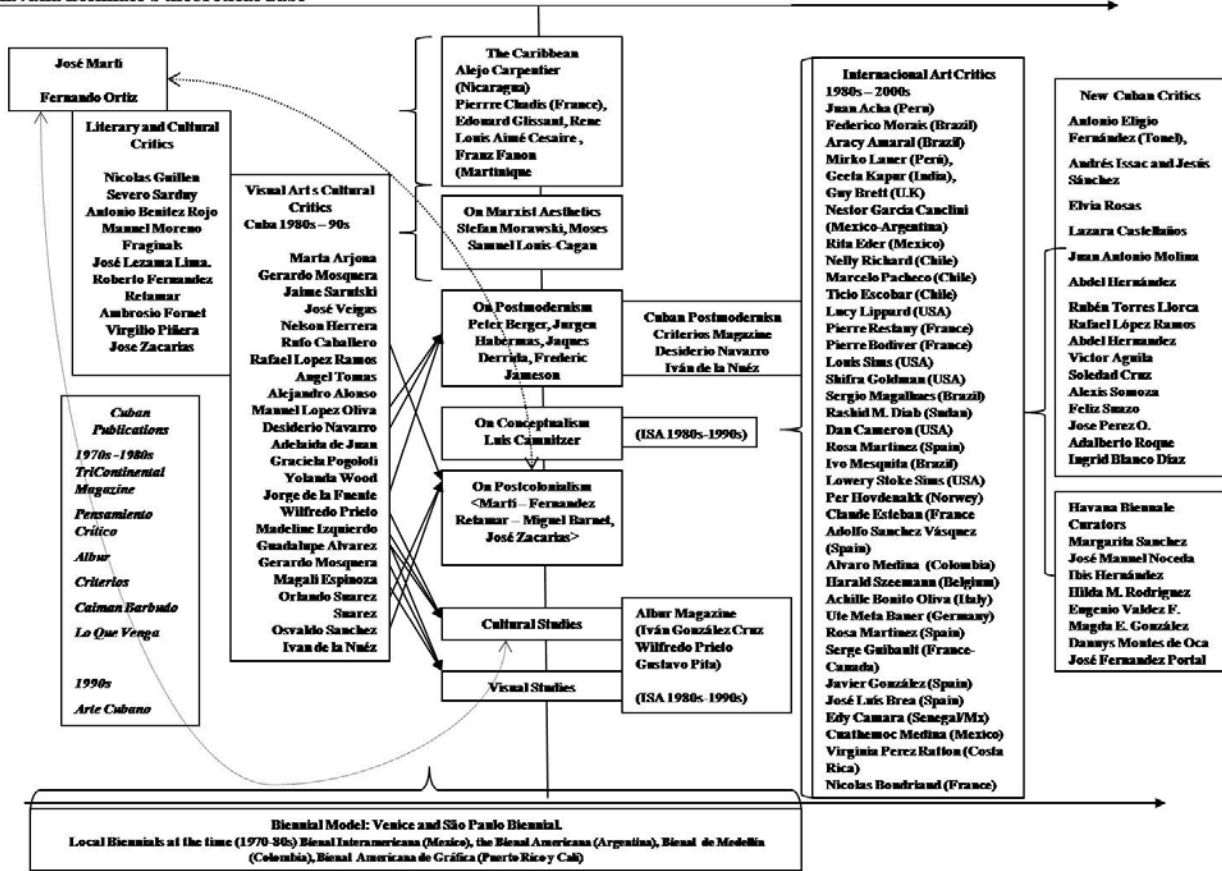


Figure 34. Theoretical base

#### 4.4 A GENDER DIMENSION?

The Revolution brought to the fore the work of several women, who since the 1960s have participated actively in the administrative but especially in the cultural dimension of Cuban life. Among them were/are the writers Olga Andreu, María Maya Surduts and Wanda Garatti; officials in cultural institutions such as Vicentina Antuña (the National Council of Culture), Edith García Buchaca (the Partido Socialista Popular / Socialist Popular Party liaison to the Council), Marta Arjona (PSP member, head of visual arts at the Council, and artist), Haydeé

Santamaría (head of the Casa de las Américas and wife of Armando Hardt Dávalos), Celia Sánchez (Castro's mistress and confidant), Alicia Alonso (Director of the National Ballet), Marcia Leyseca (Vice Minister of Culture and later Vice President of the Casa de las Américas), and Beatriz Aulet (former Director of Visual Arts at the Ministry of Culture).<sup>283</sup> The Lam Center follows the same dynamic. While for the people working there it does not seem to be an important issue, it demonstrates a degree of success in terms of the defeat of the gender divide in a society when all others in the Caribbean basin and Latin America had serious problems with respect to the participation of women in public life.

This poster published by OSPAAAL (as an insert for the *Tricontinental* magazine) shows the role of women on security, industrial, and rural work. Fidel Castro's speech during the *Cultura and Desarrollo* Conference in 1971 proposed to the Cuban people an emphasis on such areas of development when Cuba changed its economy in a series of five years plans (in the fashion of the Soviets in the late 1920s). It was produced under the sponsorship of the Federation of Cuban Women (Federación de Mujeres Cubanas, FMC), which was founded in August, 1960, to promote gender equality and the full integration of women into the economic, political, social and cultural life of Cuba. The similarities with the images of this type produced by the Soviets on the building of a revolutionary Russia are remarkable.<sup>284</sup>



Figure 35. Two Basic Tasks: Production and Defense, 1973



Looking at the history of the Havana Biennale, it is clear that the participation of female administrators, researcher-curators, academics, scholars, and artists has been prominent. The curatorial team consists, overwhelmingly, of female rather than male curators. It is true that during the first phase of the Biennale (1984-1991) the key decisions were made by Lillian Llanes, Mosquera, and Herrera Ysla. But soon, the work was divided and the decision making process included the whole team in a horizontal and gender-blind way. Hilda María Rodríguez, Vice-Director (1999-2000) and later Director of the Lam Center (2001-2004), comments:

I do not think we had a predisposition with respect to the presence of women in the Biennale. If it exists, it has happened organically. I believe that it is the result of a social policy rather than an agenda within the Biennale itself. It is a coincidence that the direction of the Lam Center has been, for nineteen out of its twenty-three years, under a female. What is clear is the fact that in Cuba the gender divide does not exist as pervasively as in other countries. Here the capacity women have to deal with any issue is well known. In addition, the presence of female artists in the Biennale, almost 35% - has been a product of their work, not ours. We only recognized a trend in artistic production; I do not think there is any sort of bias with respect to them. Nonetheless, I believe there is a lack of balance between gender productions (which is still lower in female artists even today). It is necessary to have a consciousness of their presence. We understand that there is a prejudice in some parts of the world toward female artistic production. We have not pushed any agenda. Perhaps, it is because we are the result of this Revolution in which at least, rhetorically, that issue is not so visible here. We do not apply any mathematical formula for female participation, nor do we do that for countries, ethnicities, or other genders.<sup>285</sup>

It is worth mentioning that Lillian Llanes was the first and only director of an international biennial for many years. Catherine David was the first woman to direct the prestigious Documenta in 1997 and it was not until the 51<sup>st</sup> Venice Biennale, in 2005, that female curators were appointed. Actually, Rosa Martínez and María del Corral invited Lillian Llanes to be a jury member for the national pavilions in Venice. Geeta Kapur was also invited to be a jury member for the international exhibitions. In this sense the Cuban standard has been extended to other regions. In Latin America, the presence of female administrators, art historians, art critics, and curators is a common phenomenon. Perhaps it is the result of the colonial experience where

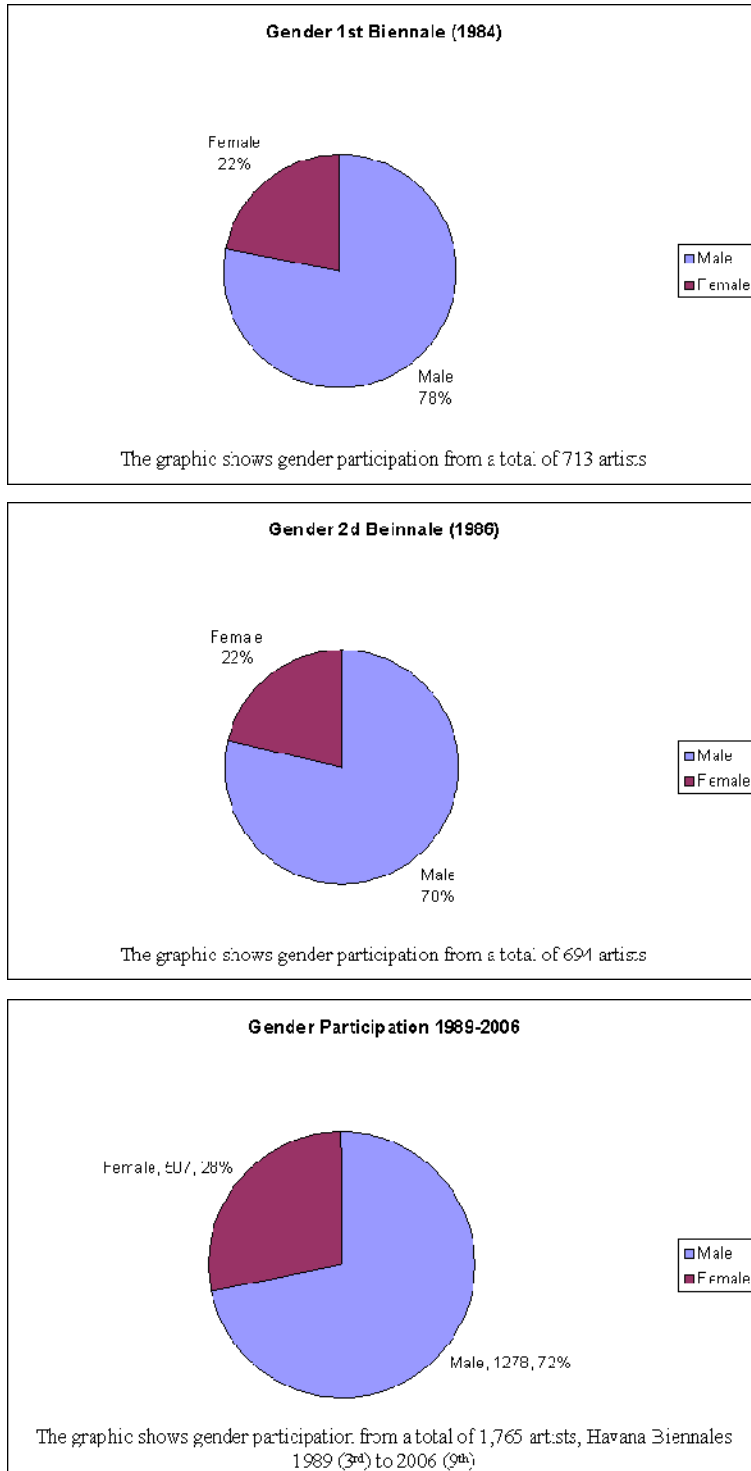
the arts and culture were associated with leisure for the elites and detached from the political realm, where men had a privileged position. Female participation in the arts was accepted in the past, it is now reinforced by the feminist movement that impacted the art world in the 1970s.

Academics have also been part of the event in terms of female presence. Cuban figures such as art historians Adelaida de Juárez, Graciela Pogoloti, Yolanda Wood, etc., and more recently Magali Espinoza, Madeline Izquierdo, and Lupe Alvarez, have had a great impact on the development of critics, curators, and artists in Cuba and, and by extension on the theory and history of Cuban art. The participation of scholars from Latin America, such as Rita Eder (Mexico), Aracy Amaral (Brazil) and Nelly Richards (Chile) among others, in addition to other international figures such as Geeta Kapur (India), Rosa Martinez (Spain), Rhana Davemport (Australia), and Rachel Weiss (USA), etc., has been important, as has the interest and support of feminist scholars such as Lucy Lippard during the early years of the Biennale. At the core of the female presence, however, is the powerful production of Cuban female artists such as Ana Mendieta, Consuelo Calderon, Marta María Perez Bravo, Belkis Ayón, Sandra Ceballos, Sidel Brito, Carmen Cabrera, Tania Brugera, etc.

Nonetheless, a close observation of the artists participating in the Biennale, in general terms, demonstrates that the number of women do not reach 40%. A comparative study of all biennials events would be important, to measure the Havana Biennale against the changes that the art world presents in terms of gender representation after the feminist and gender revolutions of the 1970s and 1980s. The data in the case of the Havana Biennale only represents the open policy with respect to gender issues in the political practices of the Island.

This diagrams show how the presence of female artists in the Biennale has been increasing from the first and second Biennales with only 22% of female participation. From 1989

(the coming of the global age) to 2006 – Biennales 3 to 9 - the number has increase up to 28% total, an increase of six percentange points.



**Figure 36. Gender participation in the Havana Biennale**

## 4.5 ON NETWORKING

Right from the beginning, the Havana Biennale was based on the revolutionary vision of building international solidarity and promoting the socialist movement worldwide. At the same time, it originated in what Cuban scholar Desiderio Navarro calls “the sharing worldviews of Wifredo Lam and Nicolas Guillén,” which, he suggests, are based on the idea of a cosmic unity.<sup>286</sup> Gerardo Mosquera, when discussing the life and work of Wifredo Lam, has also built on this idea. Mosquera, in a text published in relation to an exhibition of Lam’s work for the 23<sup>rd</sup> São Paulo Biennial (1996), argued that this universal-view is the reason why Lam’s representations are anti-taxonomic.<sup>287</sup> Such an approach breaks the bipolar, oppositional way of thinking, which supposedly has condemned Latin America’s own modernization to always falling short of its ideals. Making a reference to the modernist debate, Mosquera adds that, although Lam’s Africa comes from Paris - as did that of the other modernists - it becomes the representation of a different cultural experience. Possibly connected to a Caribbean subjectivity, it was embraced by some of the surrealists (including Breton), and appears within the “Negritude” movement articulated in the work of Caribbean intellectuals such as Aimé Césaire, Eduard Glissant, and Antonio Benitez Rojo (and is even present in the writings of Franz Fanon). The moderns looked at the primitive trying to distance themselves from their own cultural framework, in order to have a critical response to it; they wanted to transform their experiences of living in the Europe of the great wars and find a new pure state in the tropics. Lam, on the other hand, reaffirmed his paradigmatic condition, approaching his Afro-Cuban-Chinese background. Mosquera, a modernist critic himself, insisted that Lam’s goal was to build his identity from the inside, and represent the ethos of such a culture in the form of a new kind of internationalism within modernism.

Nevertheless, it is clear that co-optation menaces all cultural action based on syncretism - the failure of the politics of identity is an example. Syncretism is, for many of the cultural critics of Latin America, our way to be in the world.<sup>288</sup> For others, it is the simplest definition of Latin America's postmodernism. The challenge is to see who retains control of the changes and articulations.<sup>289</sup> Mosquera, like the others involved in structuring the Biennale, knew the problems of establishing merely ethnographic approaches. That is why they became "participant observers", a practice that inverts the classical concept of critical distance, and what is derived from the term *candomblé* in the work of Brazilian anthropologists.<sup>290</sup> This notion reverses the way the Frankfurt School understood positive criticism based on such "critical distance", establishing zones of contact where knowledge is produced in a new fashion. If the Havana Biennale could be defined under this approach, one of proximity and participation, it could be understood, at least initially, in terms of the concept of syncretism. "There is no real syncretism in the linking of non contradicting antagonisms; syncretism is a strategy of participation, a resignification and pluralization against hegemony."<sup>291</sup> Syncretism, in this sense, was used to stress Western features that were at the same time integrated by the communities of the new world under colonial policies. Here we find the real subtext of the event, one that recognizes its polysemic and mimetic character, but always under circumstances of uneven power relations with respect to the art world. The Havana Biennale is still a biennale in the best Western tradition of the world expos and cabinets of curiosities, but organized and located outside it.<sup>292</sup>

The double isolation (insularity and blockade) of Cuba led to social convulsion and conceptual challenges; the fact that it is part of the Caribbean tends to unite the region through proximity and shared cultural identity. Edouard Glissant and Antonio Benitez-Rojo consider the region paradigmatic.<sup>293</sup> For Mosquera the Caribbean is a universe - an idea of *mestizaje*,

diversity, *transculturation*, porosity, migrations, and open interchange. For Nelson Herrera and Roberto Segre, Havana, is the Western City *par excellence*; it is a node, a social and physical lab in the cosmic network. Like many peoples of the Caribbean, Cuban subjects could not maintain their ethnic purity due to the transoceanic gap (the middle passage). Africans and their descendants participated actively in the processes of *creolization* and mixture, becoming sources of the new cultures and nationalities in the Americas. As explained by Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic*, many areas were kept necessarily opaque in a sort of modernity of catastrophe. Now, however, they are visible through popular culture.<sup>294</sup> After the first two staging's of the Biennale, its organizers understood and embraced the popular versus the individual. The Havana Biennale started opening up its own space. "Kitsch" was not a Greenberg term to define bad taste anymore.<sup>295</sup> It was now embraced by the Biennale as one of its battle flags. Luis Camnitzer posed it in these terms:

Kitsch is not only "made in the U.S.A." - it has also become an intrinsic part of Cuban culture as a byproduct of colonization, the "ersatz" both popularly accepted and generated as one of the responses to imposed culture. Despite the concern of the government for what some see as a debasement of culture, there has been no organized drive to eliminate kitsch. It has been syncretized in artifacts used in the Afro-Cuban rituals of Santería, appropriated and revitalized in some folk art and anonymous contributions, or used as an inspiration for high-culture products. It is also an occasional and accidental byproduct of recycling.<sup>296</sup>

Networking also has another dimension, one connected to the flow of capital and people through the routes of the globalized economy. The Biennale has generated a market scene and a flow of peoples. This has been widely discussed in reports and articles, which in many cases attack the Biennale as an economic platform for Cuban artists, and by extension the Cuban state. As it will be shown bellow, it cannot be denied that there has been a good business not only for certain Cubans, but also for collectors and institutions outside of Cuba. In the case of Cuba,

Cuban-Americans who were allowed to go back (during one of the windows of relaxation of the blockade), to visit or invest, have positioned themselves to open up the Cuban art market

The real legacy and asset for its own future is the network created around it. The Biennale not only connected the Cuban cultural establishment with the larger art world, it did not only situate the Biennale in the global picture, but it went beyond.

#### **4.5.1 The Question of Solidarity**

A striking feature of each staging of the Biennale is the degree to which it recognized the collaborative dimension of the project. In every single one of the nine catalogs it is possible to find a long list of names of individuals, collectives, and institutions that have collaborated in one way or another with the Biennale. This collaborative dimension is emphasized by the institution and the curatorial practice itself.

Nelson Herrera Ysla comments on the network of institutions and peoples that supports the efforts of the small group that develops each event.

We structured a network of public relationships, very tight, that has helped us to exchange material help, or at least, get attention from big art centers and institutions of the art world that otherwise would not pay attention to us. At the same time, that has made of us some sort of global agents, with a certain status that for Cubans would be difficult to reach in other ways. These networks help us to interact with institutions such as the Arab Institute in Paris, The Asian Studies Center in the West Coast in the United States, the National Gallery in Kingston; The Museum of Fine Arts in Caracas; the Ministry of Culture in Colombia, etc. These relationships are fundamental to getting information, access to art works, resources, partnerships, etc.

Writing constantly to art critics such as Alvaro Medina or Damian Bayon (both living in Paris during the 1980s) helped us at the beginning to open our eyes with respect to what was happening in the major centers. The Latin America Diaspora of artists, critics, intellectuals, and writers also has been essential.

However, we try to base our work on the production of local knowledge, local critics, curators, writers, researchers, cultural officials, and artists who work to understand their own production locally or even their production in the context of the globe. Those visions are always welcome.<sup>297</sup>

Hilda María Rodríguez comments on the issue:

Solidarity is why we have been able to do and achieve so many things. Friends from everywhere make possible the Biennale, the theoretical event, the catalog, etc. Thanks to the will of many who have helped us to produce not only the publications but also exhibitions, we share the same views and walk the same paths. The Havana Biennale is much more than a complex event, it is more than an issue of interest, it is a collective will.

Regardless of its quality and its crisis, the Biennale has called upon many people and institutions. At the same time, it has addressed many troubling situations, raising a potentiality that, in the end, is why it happens. It is in this conundrum of people, things, time, and space that the Biennale thrives. Thanks to the network we have developed, which expands every time, we bring new artists and invite new institutions to be part of this adventure. Thanks also to a series of individuals who believe in the Biennale project, we have been able to have a great amount of artistic material, allowing us to have a complex and open understanding of what art is today. Although we cannot remove ourselves to that world of art promotion and circulation, we have the privilege of access to information from multiple sources ever since the creation of the Lam Center. Thanks to our dedication, study, communication, and overall respect toward others we have been able to do the Havana Biennale. It is because of the will of curators, gallery agents, art critics, cultural agents and officials, and, most important, the participation of the artists, that this Biennale is possible. Tolerance, acceptance and understanding for our particular conditions also have contributed to the success of this event. Any biennale is an expensive event, we could talk about events that have in their budgets millions of dollars. The Havana Biennale has never had more than tens of thousands, maybe a couple of hundred thousand, in its pocket. Other forces come into play when the Biennale needs them the most.

It is true that the Havana Biennale is part of Cuban cultural policy; however, regardless of the many individuals interested in doing it, our own reality many times has been an obstacle to doing what we are called to do. Nonetheless, people like us who have spent their lives working, researching, promoting, and circulating the symbolic production of Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, are behind the Havana Biennale. Many know that what we all have done here is important. Our attitudes and thoughts correspond to those of the people of the territories of the Third World. That is why we have invested all in traveling, meeting, studying, inviting and organizing a forum for their artistic and theoretical work. They are there for us, just as we are here for them; they have accompanied us in this time travel.

After the Ninth Biennale it is time to evaluate its functioning again and see if there is a new direction, another path to follow. The Biennale does not work as a recipe, in fact, there are so many possibilities, and actually there are as many art projects it has not shown as the ones it has been able to show. Only the ones working inside its organization can attest to this. What is true is that as a cultural project the Biennale is under logistic, material, political, and cultural prejudices and floods; additionally, it has been under a material crisis for a long time.<sup>298</sup>

The next figures are intended to map the connections the Wifredo Lam Center had created over the years in the developing of the Havana Biennale. It has established a network



of support and interaction with individuals, groups, and institutions outside Cuba, which functions as the bones and flesh of the Havana Biennale. More than two-hundred institutions and almost a thousand people around the world have interacted with the members of the Havana Biennale during the research phase (not counting the more than three thousand artists participating), the exploratory journeys and the Biennale itself. The data for this map was gathered from interviews conducted with members of the Wifredo Lam Center and using the credit pages and articles, of the nine editions of the event. Note that some lines are stronger, they underline the continuous flow of communication, as well as the exchange taking place between institutions. Thinner lines show connections that support a particular Biennale or exchanges that did not last. As complex as the visual model looks, it does not reflect the travels or the multiple interactions the Wifredo Lam Center has been involved in during the two and a half decades of work developing the event. It would be necessary to produce maps for each area of the world, in order to have a clear picture of the complex interweaving along the years of the Biennale.<sup>299</sup>

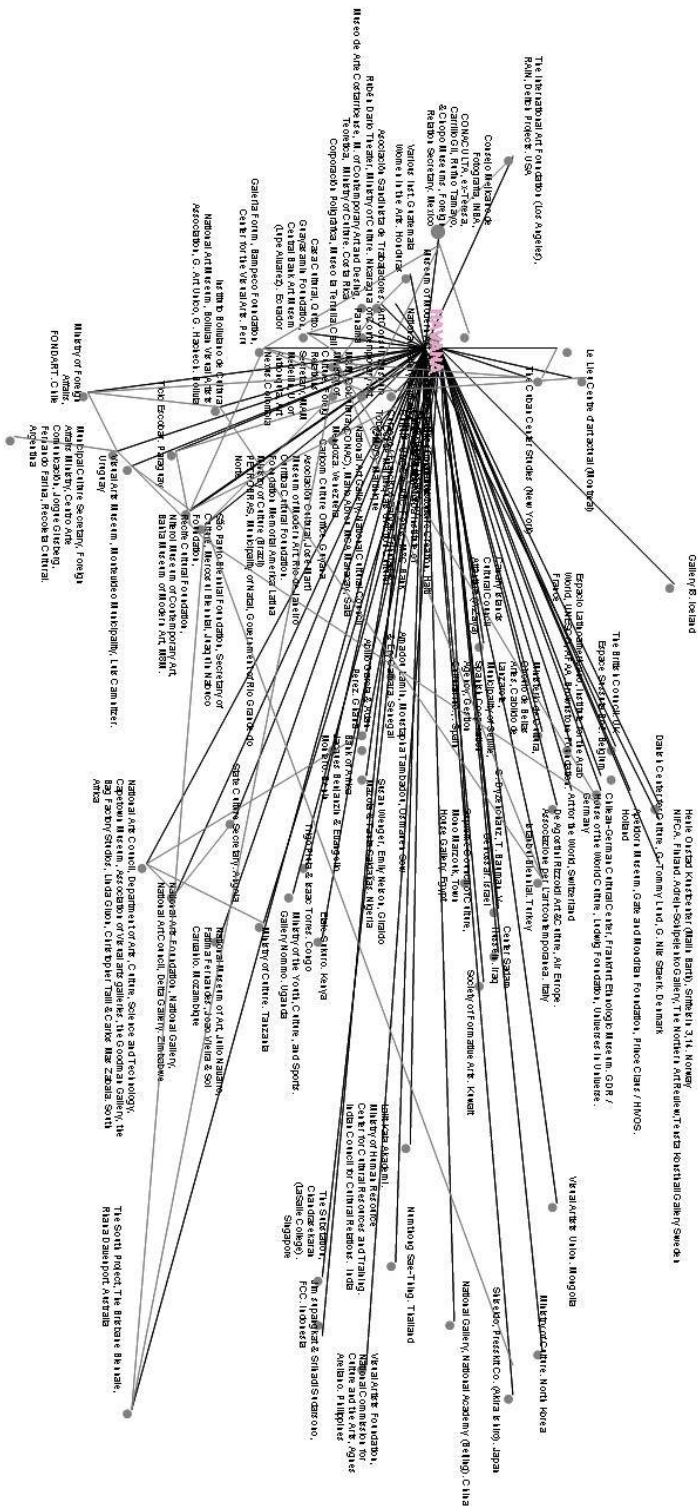


Figure 37. Network of Institutional and individual nodes (1984-2007)

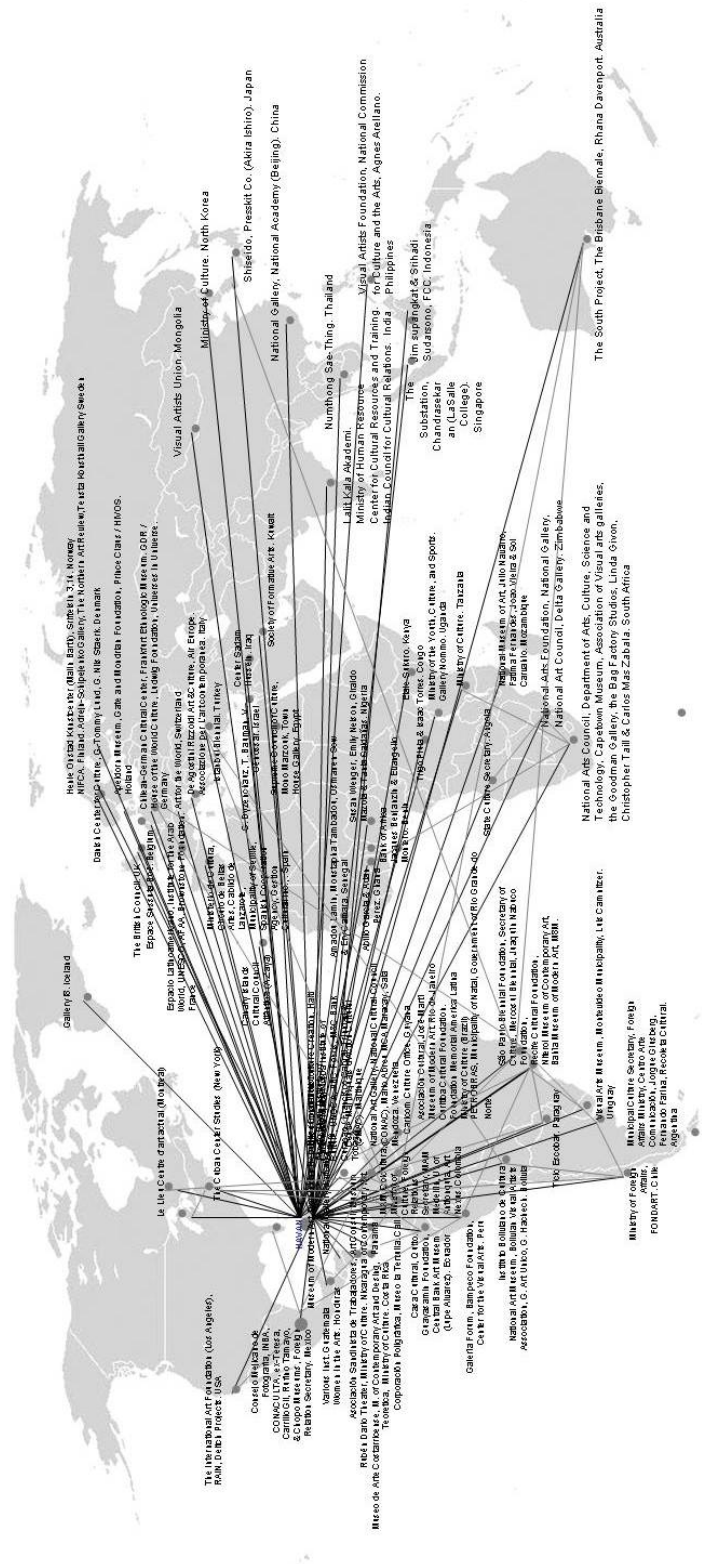


Figure 38. Network of Institutional and individual nodes (with map)

**Friends (by the curatorial team):** Federico Moraes (Brazil), Aracy Amaral (Brazil), Geeta Kapur (India), Antonio Zaya, (Spain) D. Luis Carmizter (Uruguay –USA), Eduardo Galeano (Uruguay), Pierre Restany (France) D. Leonor Amarante (Brazil), Orlando Brito (Canary Islands), Maria F. Irujo (Mexico), Marcos Lora (Dominican Republic), Ahmed Nawar (Egypt) 88-89, Rachel Weiss (USA), Joan Duran (Belize), Michael Toss (Germany) Director of the House of World Culture, Berlin, Jean Gonzalez (France), Linda Gwon (South Africa), Peter Minshall (Trinidad y Tobago), Achille Bonito Oliva (Italy), Julio Le Parc (Argentina-France), Valerie Malangatana (Mozambique), Rensid Korarind (Algeria), Nestor Garcia Canciani (Mexico-Australia), Rosina Gomez Baeza (Spain) Director Arco Art Fair, **1st Biennale:** Asociación Cultural, José Martí, Brazil (Sao Paulo), Asociación Sandomista de Trabajadores, Nicaragua (Managua), Consejo Mexicano de Fotografía, (Mexico City), Corporación Poligráfica, Colombia (Cali), Dirección de Artes Plásticas, INBA, Mexico (Mexico City), Espacio Latinoamericano, France (Paris), Galeria de Arte Nacional, Venezuela (Caracas), Galeria Forum, Peru (Lima), Grupo Ateconul, Panama (Panama City), Instituto Boliviano de Cultura, Bolivia (La Paz), Ministerio de Cultura, Spain, Museo de Arte Costarricense, Costa Rica (San José) / People: Carlos Alonso, Aracy Amaral, Enrique Aral, Monique Elin, Jacobo Borges (Ven), Pilar Bustos (Col), Luis Carrizter (Uruguay), Manuel Espinoza, Gonzram Guantes, Neto (Brazil), Oswaldo Guayasamín (Ecuador), Marcelo Krass, Lou Lam, Silvano Lora, Antonio Mantovani, Roberto Matia (Chile), Arthur Luiz Piza, Francisco Toledo (Mexico) **2nd Biennale:** National Council of Culture, Venezuela, Supreme Council of Culture, Egypt, Latin American Space, France, Bampoco Foundation, Peru, Sao Paulo Biennial Foundation, Brazil, National Gallery, Venezuela, Visual Artists Foundation, Philippines, Bolivian Institute of Culture, Bolivia, Puerto Rican Institute of Culture, Puerto Rico, IMBA, Mexico, Latit Kala Akademi, India, Ministry of Human Resources, India, Costa Rican Art Museum, Costa Rica, MAM Bogotá, Colombia, National Art Museum, Bolivia, Visual Arts Museum, Uruguay, National Arts Foundation, Zimbabwe, Ministry of Culture, Nicaragua, Caricom Culture Office, Guyana, State Culture Secretary, Angola, Municipal Culture Secretary, GDR, Visual Artists Union, Mongolia, Frankfurt Ethnologic Museum, GDR, Ministry of Culture, Center Saidam Hussein, Irak, National Art Gallery, Venezuela, INBA, Mexico, Latit Kala Akademi, India, Chilean-German Cultural Center, GDR, Visual Artists Union, Mongolia, Frankfurt Ethnologic Museum, GDR, Ministry of Culture, North Korea, Carrillo Gil Museum, Mexico, **4th Biennale:** Centro Arte Comunicación, Argentina, Bolman Visual Artists Association, Bolivia, Galeria Arte Uno, Bolivia, Galeria Hechicht, Bolivia, Bolivian Institute of Culture, Bolivia, Ministry of Culture, Costa Rica, Costa Rican Art Museum, Costa Rica, Cultural House, Quito, Ecuador, Guaymasin Foundation, Ecuador, Cultural Center of the Philippines, Philippines, Institute for the Arab World, France, Center for Cultural Resources and Training, India, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, India, Centre Madhriqians d'Action Cultural (OMAC), Martinique, INBA, Visual Arts Direction, Mexico, Foreign Relations Secretary, Mexico, Ministry of Culture, Tanzania, Ministry of the Youth, Culture and Sports, Uganda, National Gallery, Nigeria, National Culture Council, Venezuela, **5th Biennale:** Ludwvig Foundation, Germany, Centro Arte y Comunicación (Jorge Gilsberg), Fabela Leberghil, Argentina, Andean Institute of Culture, Andia, Museum and Historic Society, Barbados, Jacques Benjamins & Erangelio Montero, Benin, Sao Paulo Secretary of Culture, Brazil, Colcultura, Colombia, Art Nexus (Celia Stehn de Ehrnbergler), Colombia, Ingo Prula & Isaac Torres, Congo, Ceart Art Project, Curacao, The International Art Foundation (Los Angeles), USA, The Cuban Center Studies (New York), USA, Philippine Institute Center, Philippines, Jan Paltas, France, Abilio Garcia & Adan Perez, Ghana, Apeldorn Museum, Holland, Jim supang art & Sthadi Sudarsono, Indonesia, The British Council, UK, Eate Sukuro, Kenya, IMBA, Mexico, Carrillo Gil Museum, Mexico, Foreign Relations Ministry, Cultural Affairs Secretary, Mexico, Julio Navarro, Fatima Fernandes, Joao Vieira, & Sol Carvalho, Mozambique, Susan Wenger, Emily Nelson, Graldo Mazola & Tania Saldarñas, Nigeria, Museum of Modern Art, Dominican Republic, Amadou Lamin, Moustapha Tambaoud & Ety Camara, Senegal, Linda Gwon, Christopher Tallil & Carlos Mas Zabala, South Africa, Nurnthong Sae-Thing, Thailand, Francisco Cabral, Trinidad & Tobago, UNESCO, CONAFC, Venezuela, **6th Biennale:** Association Française d'Action Artistique (l'AFAA), France, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France, Shiseido, Japan, ELFOIL Carales, Presskit Co. (Akira Ishiro), Japan, Gran Caribe, Hotel Group, (Spain), Vega de la Reina, (Spain), Ministry of Culture, Brazil, Colcultura, Colombia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chile, IMBA, Mexico, The British Council, UK, CONAFC, Venezuela, Photo 18, Groupe Erik, France, Bank of Africa, Benin, OAC (Jorge Gilsberg), Fernando Fariña, Argentina, Cultural Institute, Andia, Union of Organizacionan Cultural Andiano Andia, Espace Sussuta,Boe, Belgium, Curitiba Cultural Foundation, Brazil, Museum of Modern Art, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, La Tertulia Museum, Cali, Colombia, Jenny Villa Gallery, Colombia, Virginia Perez-Ratton, Costa Rica, Guayasamin Foundation, Ecuador, Agnes Aveliano, Philippines, Foundation Culture Creation, Haiti, FCC, Indonesia, National Gallery, Jamaica, Ruben Dario, National Theater, Nicaragua, Panama National Institute of Culture, Panama, Tico Escobar, Paraguay, Luis Lama, Carlos Runcia Tanaka, Peru, Oshramen Sow, Roucrand, Senegal, Montevideo Municipal Intendance, Uruguay, CONAFC, Venezuela, Mario Ayeu, Contramoran Art Museum (Maraca), Venezuela, **7th Biennale:** Prince Claus Fund, Holland, HIVOS Foundation, Holland, Art for the World, Switzerland, l'AFAA, France, Foundation Memorial de Arica Latina, Brazil, Ministry of Culture, Brazil, Sao Paulo State Government, Secretary of Culture, Brazil, De Agostini Rizzoli Art and Culture, Italy, Air Europe, Italy, General Travel, Andia, Mercosul Biennial Foundation, Brazil, Ministry of Culture, Colombia, Maduro & Durán's Bank, Curacao, Allan Edmunds, USA, Canary Island, Education and Culture Council, Spain, Air France, France, Gate Foundation, Holland, Mujeres en las Artes, Honduras, The British Council, UK, Grazia Dyzenthausz, Taty Bauman, Varda Genossar, Israel, Associazione per L'Arte Contemporanea, Italy, CONACULTA, INBA, Mexican Institute for International Cooperation, Mexico, X'Teresa Arte Actual, Mexico, Chopo Museum, Mexico, La Paraderia, Mexico, Saira Mendoza, Venezuela, **8th Biennale:** Perobhas, Brazil, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Colombia, Circulo de Bellas Artes, Spain, Cabildo de Lanzarote, Spain, MERCOSUR Biennial, Brazil, Juanjo Nabuco Foundation, Brazil, Peñic Cultural Foundation, Brazil, Aloisio Magalhães Museum of Modern Art, Brazil, Niteroi Museum of Contemporary Art, Brazil, Galeria Museum of Modern Art, Brazil, Memorial de la America Latina, Brazil, Le Lieu Centre d'ART Actuel, Montreal, Canada, Ministry of Culture, Colombia, Antioquia University, Arts Department, Colombia, Museum of Modern Art, Medellín, Colombia, Mona Marzouk, Town House Gallery, Egypt, Government of Canary Islands, Spain, Piet Mondrian Foundation, Holland, Luis Lama, Peru, Unverses in Universe, Germany, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Argentina, Ruth Benzacar, Gallery, Argentina, Cultural Affairs Direction, Chile, TEOR/Arca, Costa Rica, Museum of Contemporary Art and Design, Costa Rica, Arte Vision, Curacao, Danish Center for Culture and Development, Denmark, Gallery Torrey Lund, Denmark, Gallery Nils Staerk, Denmark, Museum of the Central Bank (Luis Alvarez), Ecuador, Dutch Projects, USA, National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), Philippines, Philippine Cultural Center, Philippines, NIPCA, Finland, AFPA, Florence Artists, France, Various people, Guatemala, Various people, India, (Gleery B), Iceland, Living Art Museum, Iceland, Various people, Martinique, Various institutions, Peru, Various institutions, people, Puerto Rico, Museum of Modern Art, Dominican Republic, The Substation Center, Chandrasekaran (LaSalle College), Singapore, Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, South Africa, Cape Town Museum, South Africa, National Arts Council, South Africa, Association of Visual Arts Galleries, South Africa, The Goodman Gallery, South Africa, Kolla Xinisteris Gallery, South Africa, The Nordic Art Review, Sweden, Adrien-Schepienko Gallery, Sweden, Tensla Konsthall Gallery, Sweden, Various people, Thailand, Charlotte Elias, Trinidad & Tobago, Istanbul Biennial, Turkey, Various people, Venezuela, National Arts Council, Zimbabwe, National Gallery, Zimbabwe, Delta Gallery, Zimbabwe. **9th Biennale:** Euro Business Market, Spain, Brownstone Foundation, France, Circulo de Bellas Artes, Spain, Government of Canary Islands, Spain, Ayuntamiento de Dos Hermanas, Sevilla, Spain, Recoleta Cultural Center, Argentina, Cultural Affairs General Direction, Argentina, Foundation Insight for the Arts, Andia, UNOCCA, Andia, Pirs Bernhard, Culturfonds, Neelanderse Artlen, Andia, MBM (8th of May Movement), Brazil, Ministry of Culture, Brazil, Petróbras, Brazil, Government of Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil, FONDARF, Chile, Cultural Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chile, Spanish International Cooperation Agency, Spain, Empresa de Gestión Cultural, Spain, Brito Herreros S.L, Spain, IAFADA, France, INBA, Mexico, CINCA, Mexico, Smeisen 3,14, Norway, The British Council, UK, Ministry of Culture, Venezuela, Santo Domingo Museum of Modern Art, Dominican Republic, -Various people, Germany, Various institutions, people, Argentina, Among others.

**Figure 39. The Network of Institutional and individual nodes**  
**The global network (names)**

#### 4.6 THE BIENNALE AND CULTURAL TOURISM

Has the Havana Biennale become a tourist destination? Is the biennial model a direct heir of the World Expo, meant to become a site of trade and display of power? During an interview with Abel Prieto, the Cuban Minister of Culture who followed Armando Hart Dávalos (after resigning his position in 1996), he states that: “We do not *demonize* the market.”<sup>300</sup> He argues that one of the dilemmas for the artists of the South in the contemporary cultural world is the way in which the legitimizing cultural circuit is attached to the market for art. “I believe that the Havana Biennale, as well as the Havana Book Fair and other cultural events like these in Cuba, Latin America and in countries like ours, are trying to consolidate other legitimating circuits outside the ones established by the hegemonic countries.”<sup>301</sup> Prieto considers that cultural marketing and cultural economy are tools to promote and develop cultural production and the well being of artists and their communities.

What is important, according to the Minister, is “not to compromise, which could undermine the way cultural policy is written.”<sup>302</sup> What is important to him is to protect new production and the spaces of experimentation and training, such as the system of art education in Cuba established at the beginning of the Revolution, reinforced during the late 1970s, and updated in 2003. Before 2003 there were only three art schools (ISA, San Alejandro, and the University of Havana) while today there are seventeen new provincial art schools. They graduate around three-hundred new art professionals each year. These “art professionals” work not only as visual artists in the local and international scene, they also work in the cultural industry at large, as graphic, stage, and industrial designers, in the protection of the cultural heritage, or as craftsmen and educators in the school system, etc.<sup>303</sup>



**Figure 40. Abel Prieto, Cuban Minister of Culture**

To maintain the flow of new professional artists in the broken economy of the Island there have been changes in the general system that permit some individual business and the development of a larger sector of service industries (tourism in particular) in which these new graduates have a place to grow.

During the late 1970s, Cuban officials realized that the tourist infrastructure was suffering as a result of abandoning a system that it believed was bourgeois and degenerate. Measures were taken then in order to stabilize and maintain it. By late 1980s, the economic pressures of the decaying Soviet Bloc created a stimulus to start re-building and up-dating the old hotels and tourist infrastructure, as well as the colonial heritage. In an article entitled, “Art,

Emigration and Tourism: works by Cuban artists in last spring's Fifth Havana Biennial” foreshadowed the country's current massive exodus of boat people. It was published in *Art in America* in 1994, in it Kurt Hollander stated: “Perhaps the best example of the new Cuban pragmatism is the tourist industry. For the last couple of years, tourist development has been seen by the government as the principal hope for economic revitalization.”<sup>304</sup>

According to Cuban statistics, as early as 1993 tourism generated \$700 million, several times the income derived from the sugar harvest. A wave of investors and foreign capital arrived following a package of "free-market incentives to invest in the island, including majority ownership of many of the hotels and resorts that are being constructed all over Havana and along the beaches, most of them aimed at the luxury trade. The new proprietors and management teams are not being held to any labor restrictions and can thus fire workers, a first in Cuban revolutionary history.”<sup>305</sup> This became relevant for the Cuban economy because it represents the only real area for investment that could attract external capital and create wealth in the short term. “The 1997 Cuban Economic Resolution spells out the necessity to develop hard currency-earning sectors of the economy to finance other important activities, making explicit the role tourism could play in the country's economic future.”<sup>306</sup> According to the projections, to achieve this the administration set a goal: to attract more than two million tourists by the year 2000 in order to earn more than US\$2,600 million from the tourist trade. Tourism in Cuba, in ten years of sustained development, has been converted into the most dynamic sector of the Cuban economy.

By the end of the 1990s, 43% of the balance of payments was met by tourism. Tourism had gone from being an incidental source of income to becoming a structural factor in the Cuban economy. It is rare that such change in the economic structure has occurred with such success and in such a short time. A decade and a half ago the statistics suggested that “the sugar industry

provided between 70 and 75% of the income of the balance of payments, while the tourist sector accounted for only 6%. Cuban Tourism Minister (an appointment created in 1994) Ibrahim Ferradaz observed that ‘in the last ten years, the sector multiplied its gross income eight-fold; the number of visitors multiplied by five, the number of rooms in tourist establishments tripled, and the number of jobs in the tourist sector doubled.’<sup>307</sup> This achievement can be attributed to the flexibility and adaptability to conditions that the regime has shown since the mid 1970s.<sup>308</sup>

In 1994, “Fidel (Castro) outlined a set of economic measures, including an immediate crackdown on *macetas*, those people who stockpile houses, cars and appliances, or who accumulate large sums of money.”<sup>309</sup> Artists were also affected by the measure since all bank accounts over 10,2000 pesos (around US\$3,2000 at the time) were appropriated if the owner could not demonstrate that the money was legal. That meant that the money was not coming in the form of remittances (‘remesas,’ money sent by relatives in the U.S.), or as part of an illegal market (actually, any trading in foreign currency for decades was forbidden) such as selling of products or having a small business such as a family restaurant, the so-called *Paladares*. Artists involved in the trading of their work on one-to-one bases were also affected by the measure. A tax levied on any cultural activity that produced revenues as high as 60%.<sup>310</sup>

Nonetheless, the new measures brought new investors to Cuba, enjoying privileges and ownership over their investments. These investors come from Spain, Germany, Canada and other First World countries as well as in partnership with Cuban exiles interested in investing in the tourist industry. “In the official newspaper *Granma*, the only ads are those for tourist hotels and resorts, while in every issue there are at least one or two articles on new joint ventures. Such recent developments have generated a system of tourist apartheid in Cuba: privileged enclaves



within an otherwise impoverished island, wherein most of the hotels, the resorts, several beaches and the majority of international restaurants are for tourists only.”<sup>311</sup>

The 1994 economic measures also open the country for the art market. Art entrepreneurs such as Cuban exile Manuel E. Gonzalez (former director of the art program at the Chase Manhattan Bank in New York City) who during his tenure continued David Rockefeller’s tradition of collecting Latin American art (with particular interest in the Cuban scene) returned to Havana to invest in art during the late 1990s. According to Gonzalez, he taught the organizers of the Havana Biennale basic financial management skills, “my role was peculiar, it was like Capitalism 101 –how to underwrite an exhibition, because they had no idea... how to get the whole thing underwritten either by cash contribution from embassies and corporations or by trade between hotels in Havana and the Biennale.”<sup>312</sup> Cuban art became a commodity for the global art market from the Fourth Biennale onwards. The number of reported American visitors grew from dozens in the Third and Fourth Biennale to few thousands during the Seventh and Eighth Biennales, and with them a local market emerged. In addition, serious collectors also have conquered Cuban land. The Ludwig Foundation was the first, in 1990 supported the famous *Cuba OK*, exhibition that traveled to Germany, later it would co-sponsor the 1994 Biennale, and finally in late 1994 it opened a branch of the Foundation in Havana. Today, it promotes contemporary Cuban Art and has become an agent for European audiences and institutions.

The Ludwig Foundation for Art and International Understanding was established by Peter Ludwig (the German chocolate industrialist and art collector) in 1983. It was created with the income from the sale of 144 illuminated manuscripts from his collection to the J. Paul Getty Museum in California (for an estimated price of forty to sixty million dollars). A scandal arose since the city of Cologne (Germany) expected Ludwig to donate the manuscripts to the city

museum. “The first task of the Foundation was the promotion of art from the GDR, the Soviet Union, and later Bulgaria, all countries where Peter Ludwig has or is suspected of trying to establish a favorable climate for his chocolate business.”<sup>313</sup> Ludwig, who died in 1996, used to negotiate his acquisitions with the state art trading agencies, in the case of Cuba, with the Fondo de Bienes Cubanos. Prices then were not fixed by artists or agents but by bureaucrats and officials without knowledge of art value.<sup>314</sup>

As shown in a recent documentary piece on the Cuban art market, produce by independent film maker Natasha del Toro, entitled *Rough Cut: Cuba: The Art Revolution* (Frontline World, PBS on view, September 14, 2006), the success of the art market is based on the notion that:

Cubans with artistic talent are handpicked and sent to extremely rigorous schools that are fully subsidized by the Cuban government. Only the best make it to graduation. But even those who don't make it through get a solid - and free - art education along the way, which is probably why you find such good street art in Cuba. Although there are great artists throughout Latin America, the travel embargo makes Cuban art scarce and consequently more exotic. This drives up demand - at least for Americans.<sup>315</sup>

The documentary focused on the work of Los Carpinteros (Marcos Castillo and Dagoberto Rodríguez), and explains how the new, Cuban art market emerged from the ‘special period’. The documentary does not go into the success of the 1980s generation. It mentions the 1994 Havana Biennale as the center from which the new generations of Cuban artists have achieved international recognition and became part of the boom in the tourist industry. In the film, Dan Cameron (Curator of the New Museum of Contemporary Art, New York) comments: “There was this kind of frenzy in the terms of buying up Cuban art. Before you left Cuba, what you did was to cast a roll of several dozen of hundred dollars, and you just kept that in you pocket, and you just pulled of a couple of hundreds here and there when you entered the studios

of an artist you thought was doing, you know, good work.”<sup>316</sup> In another sequence Noel Smith, curator for Latin American art for Christie’s auction house explains how a sculpture of Los Carpinteros can reach US\$40,2000 to US\$60,2000 and a large drawing is in the range of US\$20,2000 to US\$25,2000. Pieces by the collective are part of the collection at the Museum of Modern Art in New York and many art museums in the United States and Europe.

The Cuban government was challenged to balance tourism against its other social goals since tourism has its own dynamic connected to economic and leisure activities in the Western World. “The existence of high and low seasons keeps the sector from operating efficiently. Vice-President Carlos Lage (who was forced to resign in March, 2009) has referred to this problem, pointing out that it increases the costs of operation and reduces profits. This seasonality has been caused, in part, by the image of Cuba as a land of sun and beaches, instead of as a diversified country with many natural and cultural attractions.”<sup>317</sup> However, the close alliance of every productive and major sector, including culture, with the newly created Ministry of Tourism (1994) has established a variety of events covering the entire calendar. Thus there are cultural events spread throughout the year. Actually, the Havana Biennale is supposed to be held always during March and April (every two or three years), and connected to other events, such as the Havana Film Festival, which is always at the end of the year (the film festival is closed to celebrating its 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary and ICAIC its 50<sup>th</sup> as the first cultural institution of the Revolution).

According to ICOMOS (International Council of Monuments and Sites), cultural tourism is “that form of tourism whose object is, among other aims, the discovery of monuments and sites. It exerts on these last a very positive effect insofar as it contributes - to satisfy its own ends - to their maintenance and protection. This form of tourism justifies, in fact, the efforts which

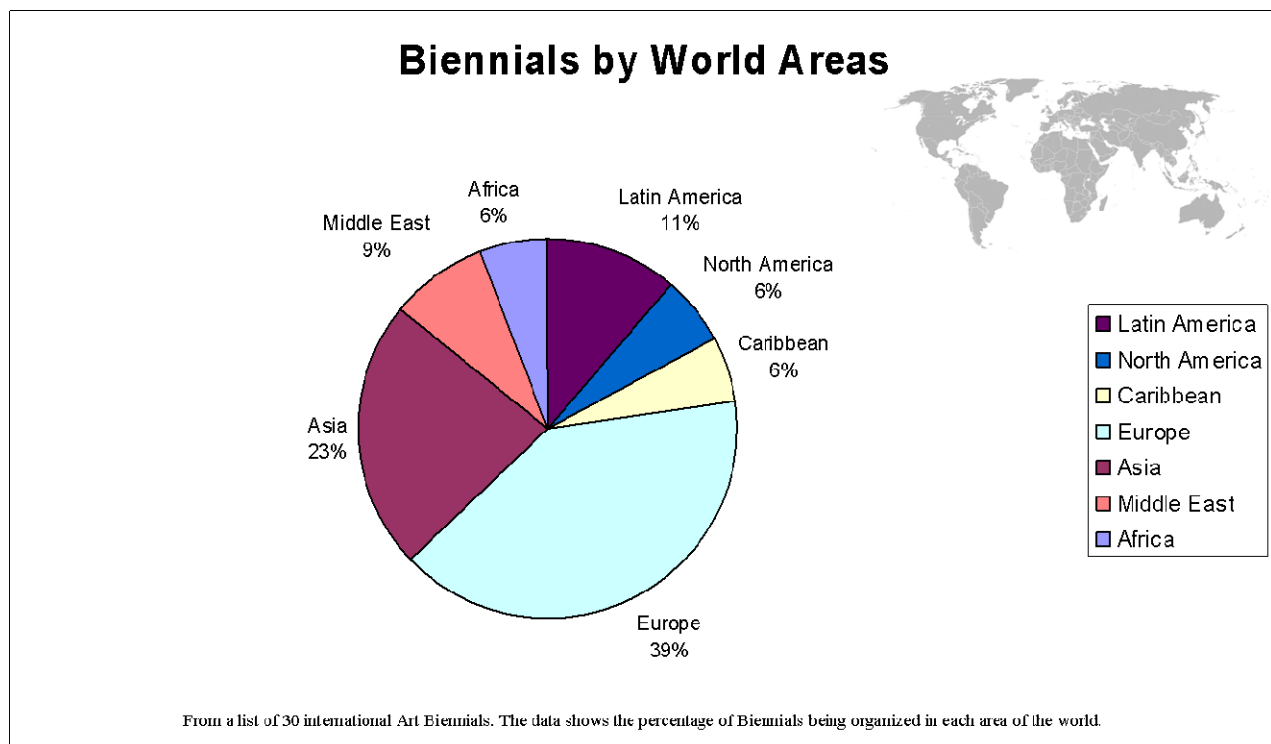
said maintenance and protection demand of the human community because of the socio-cultural and economic benefits which they bestow on all the populations concerned.”<sup>318</sup> More broadly, cultural tourism is defined as concerned with a country or region's culture, especially its architecture, history, environment, and arts. It focuses on traditional communities who have diverse customs and social practices, or other types/forms of culture. It includes tourism in urban areas, in particular cities with historic and cultural value, or large cities where cultural facilities such as museums and theatres are available. That is the case for large art events such as art biennials and art fairs, which are connected to the historical presence of the World Expo and World Fairs, mobilizing great numbers of people during the spectacles of the modern era. It is clear that cultural tourists spend substantially more than standard tourists do.<sup>319</sup> Tourists that classify themselves as “cultural tourists” as in the case of Americans traveling abroad, and in particular to countries such as Cuba, seem to have a significantly higher income than the average tourist and to spend more money on local products than the average tourist.<sup>320</sup>

The biennial phenomenon is connected to the establishment of a circuit of global cities that put in motion global capital and, for instance, international cultural tourism. That is why Havana, being located slightly off the main routes of the art world, is so attractive for the ever expanding flow of capital and tourism. During the 1990s, dozens of new biennales were established. This world-wide growth in biennales has provided the most obvious evidence of the radical changes which have been taking place in the global economies of contemporary art practice since the collapse of the Eastern Bloc. Commenting on the issue, John Byrne argues:

Globalization has, as in many other areas of social relations and endeavor, both homogenized and fragmented engagements with and responses to the “art world.” This has led to a kind of new, postmodern “International Style” of works which, despite their differing quality, simply appear to be the same in any kind of location. In response to the blandness of such “airport art,” many Biennials have recently sought to encourage a direct “engagement” with the “cultural specifics” of their location... However, in spite of this polarization of the

contemporary art world into the glibly general and the impossibly specific, many artists have begun to produce works which are intentionally “de-centered” - dispersed over time, space and location - simultaneously denying the possibility of their works post-biennial absorption into a globalize economy of commodified art objects and further de-stabilizing the traditional relationship between artist and artwork.”<sup>321</sup>

It is difficult to track art biennials, since many just reach few editions before disappearing. Specialized publications list from of a couple dozen to five hundred of such events around the world. They are almost always connected to the emergence of new urban centers; it is believed that is true particularly in the World in Development.<sup>322</sup>



**Figure 41. Distribution of Art Biennials by World Areas**

The figure presents a visual distribution of biennials around the world. As of 2008, from a list of thirty international established events (with more than three editions each), it is clear that the phenomenon is still a Western one with an increasing Asian growth, especially during the last decade.

Usually, a biennial is a survey of a large group of artists coming from several countries or regions who contribute a few works each to an exhibition that uses a museum, a group of museums, galleries, or a different venue adapted for the purpose. The most important of all is the Venice Biennale (1895), which created an inner city for the display of works in the fashion of a World Expo (nations had to buy the right to being displayed and build a national pavilion). For many years, the biennial was part of an agenda of the nation building process, based on the Western nation-state model. Today the biennial has followers and detractors and there it is possible to find several models which are interacting in simultaneity, always changing our understanding of what art is (in part they are based on the novelty and originality forces established by modernity). Hans Belting has commented how:

There are cultural spaces, where the so-called history of art cannot end because, from our perspective, it (art history) has not happened yet.... That has not changed, even though we are confronted with contemporary art of non-Western origin, for which new biennials are mounted, from Istanbul to Sydney and Seoul.... An art “outside of” ordinary art history, thus also outside of the Western art scene, could be encountered in forms which one does not identify as art, just because they negate our concept of art -forms that one wants to understand too quickly with Western aesthetics, which will only lead to misunderstanding.<sup>323</sup>

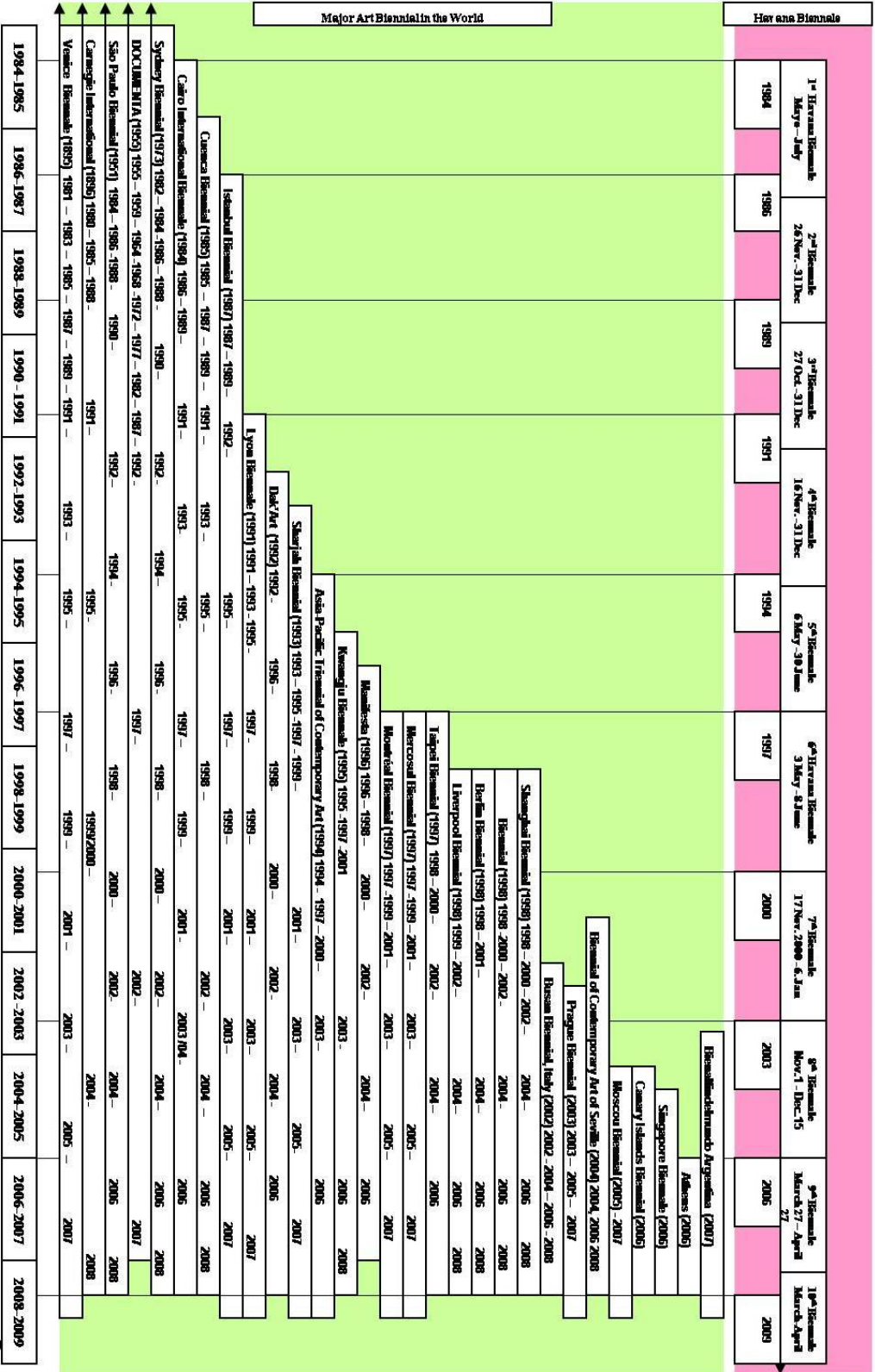
It is also relevant to add that the contemporary biennial phenomenon started at the moment in which authors such as Belting and Danto were publishing their famous theories on the “end of art” (Hans Belting, *Das Ende der Kunstgeschichte / The End of Art History* and Arthur Danto’s article “The End of Art” both in 1984) - the year of the first Havana Biennale.

Art biennials are today in competition to become victors for the contemporary art world in their regions, to attract as many tourists, collectors and investors as possible – many times overriding the canon of art history. It is relevant to study the evolutionary path of such events. On the one hand, Venice is perhaps the exemplar of the “biennial as prize distribution, artworld validation” model, which has changed little since its creation in 1895. At the other end of the

spectrum lies the new “biennial as art infrastructure,” which deals with positioning of new cultural centers and/or urban renovation – even though they are outside the mainstream. There are the Asian and Middle Eastern biennials, like in the case of the Sharjah Biennial in Dubai, and the Asia Pacific Triennial in Brisbane, which are using their events as a way to build cultural institutions with world-class collections in Asian, Middle Eastern and international art. Others such as the Liverpool Biennial tend to be more concerned with urban renovation and local histories.<sup>324</sup> The rest of the biennials lie somewhere in between these two extremes, since many of these events are tied to urban renewal and/or infrastructure updates in the mega cities of the globalized world. The Havana Biennale is located somewhere in the center of the spectrum, where it addresses both sides. Biennials then become a quasi brand like event, “every country thinks they need one, but very few have a distinctive enough offering to bring to the world.”<sup>325</sup> In summary, all are still entangled in discourses of internationalism and cosmopolitanism.

The figure intends to map the emergence of international art biennials in the past two and one-half decades using as the starting year 1984. The Havana Biennale (on top) functions as a time line, to compare the periodicity of events and their juxtaposition in annual calendars. Of thirty international biennials listed, only four were created before 1984. Many important events such as the Cairo Biennial, the Medellín Biennial, the Paris Biennale (in existence before 1984) or the Biennial at Johannesburg (which counted only two editions) are not listed because they are not functioning today. Other national (or local) biennials, such as the Whitney Biennial, are also not in the list. The Senegalese Biennial at Dakar started in 1966 as a local event, it was not until 1992 that it became an international (Pan-African) biennial; it is listed from 1992 on.

Cultural Maps, Networks and Flows: The History and Impact of the Havana Biennale 1984 to the present (Biennials 1984 - 2008)



The graphic shows biennials (30) in operation. The point of departure is 1984 (Havana's birth year). Finished biennials such as Johannesburg, Paris, or Medelin, in addition to other national biennials, such as The Whitney, are not counted.

Figure 42. Current Biennials





**Figure 43. Cultural Tourism in Havana**

The Havana Biennale exemplifies such a phenomenon, and from the mid-1990s it has become another destination for cultural tourists. The changes experienced by the event have been remarkable during the second half of that decade and so too are the new challenges of today. It can be connected also to the optimism of global markets, the loosening of the grip of the U.S. Blockade during the second term of the Clinton Administration, as a result of the support by part of the United Nations in ending such blockade, and the reanimation and opening of Cuban policy and economy with respect to ownership, foreign investment, travel, and social control. However, in the article “Havana, Biennial, Tourism: The Spectacle of Utopia” written by Dermis P. León and published by the *Art Journal* in 2001, the author, a Cuban exile, expresses her concern about the changes the Biennale has experienced during the years of globalization.

When I returned to Cuba to see the 1997 Biennial, I became aware of dramatic changes that were transforming Cuban society. A new Habana Vieja (Old Havana), the historical center of the city, had reemerged through restoration, and displaced the experience of marginality and abandonment that I had known as a child growing up in the city... These changes were reflected in the Biennale itself. Along with contemporary Cuban art, whose profile was continuing to rise internationally, the Biennale itself had become a tourist attraction. Its exhibitions and parallel independent events now encompassed more districts of the city, such

as El Vedado. And for the first time, entrance to these exhibitions had to be purchased. Without a doubt, the Biennale had discovered that it could be more than ‘an alternative space for the familiarization of that artistic production so rarely seen by and spread among the main international scenes.’ It had discovered that it could be a force for cultural tourism. In the 2000 Biennale, for instance, foreign visitors had the opportunity to select, and pay for in dollars, a variety of ticket packages that granted them access to exhibitions, activities, and publications.<sup>326</sup>

The author visited the Biennale from her new home, New York City, and explains that a sudden interest had risen among art goers and the inner circle of the art world in the city to experience maybe the last of the Havana Biennales. Besides, Cuban art was in the best shape in terms of investment, according to the number of pieces being collected by institutions in the U.S. and by private collectors. The 2000 Biennale was in addition an art spectacle when a group of MoMA officials, and with them a number of American collectors stepped into the Wifredo Lam asking for guidance to buy pieces for MoMA’s collection. Nelson Herrera directed them to the Casa de las Américas which was holding the first Cuban Art Open Auction, with the aim of building a new section for the Children’s Hospital at Havana city.

León also recognizes how:

The administrators of the Biennale understand that in order to survive in the precarious Cuban economy, which is now subject to the rhythm of the international markets, it is necessary for its art to address global themes, spiced with a hint of local exoticism. Cuba no longer has the same leadership role in Third World culture or the economic resources that it had in the 1980s. In the era of Istanbul, Johannesburg, Kwangju, and the countless other biennials that keep critics, curators, and artists hopping from plane to plane always seeking novelty, the Havana Biennial must offer something more than Third World art. The novelty it has offered thus far is a ‘critical’ Cuban art that calls the concept of a socialist utopia into question. And of course Havana itself is an attraction, softly radiating the exoticism of an old city emerging from the ruins.<sup>327</sup>

The Ministry of Culture, along with many other institutions in Cuba, has realized that the only way to keep going with the amount of events they organize, is to establish a new direction in terms of economic viability. That is why changes in the administrative dimension of the

institutional part of the system has taken place recently. Rubén del Valle Lantarón became the first director of the Wifredo Lam Center who has not come from the core group created by Llanes in the 1980s and 90s. Del Valle Lantarón's profile is more one of a cultural official who experiences the connection between art and the market.

**RUBEN DEL VALLE LANTARON.** (Art historian, cultural officer. Director of the Lam Center 2005-2007, Director 10<sup>th</sup> Biennale) “My professional carrier has been developed in the Ministry of Culture. I have worked in management, administration, promotion, and circulation of the arts. I started in the Cuban Book Institute, as Assistant Director, director of publications, and later as Sirector of the editorial Gente Nueva. I worked there with Manuel González who was president of the CNAP, Vice Minister of Culture, and Vice-President of Cuban radio and television. His sensibility, intelligence, and patience with me were fundamental in my training... During the late 1980s and the first part of the 1990s, we had a great editorial production. However, the ‘special period’ hit us hard, and our development was seriously challenged. In 1994, new laws were established that brought a series of changes of a social and ideological order. A new wave of thought came to challenge the establishment and a new flow of publications brought new perspectives on the economy, religion, civil society, participation, and democracy. The arts participated also in such debates.

New events such as the Havana Book Fair were transformed from a local event into one of an international order. That event became the cornerstone for a new cultural policy that embraces cultural industry and cultural tourism. In the Cuban state, production and commercialization are one. In the editorial Gente Nueva, we grew from twelve titles to a seventy titles per year; and from two-thousand to one-hundred thousand units each. The Havana Book Fair is not longer an event only for the intellectual community; it offers spaces for everyone. Working there gave me the possibility of understanding the new direction that we have to take in the cultural sphere...

What I learned from those experiences was that cultural promotion is essential to developing any artistic practice. Later, I was sent to the CNAP as Vice-President and being there I was ask to help during the Eighth Havana Biennale. In that opportunity I have had the chance to learn about the event's production, that it is a heavy burden. Additionally, I interacted with the team, whom I did not know before. I noticed how these curators, who are world-class, were not fixed to a hierarchy or intellectual constructs. They work in all dimensions of the event; I discovered the ‘mística’ of the Havana Biennale. I never thought I would work with and for them as Director of the Lam Center for the Ninth Biennale.”<sup>328</sup>



**Figure 44. Rubén del Valle Lantarón**

The Ministry of Culture needed an agent who could integrate the new model of promotion and self-sufficiency on a new scale. The work of the director is to orchestrate local, national and international resources to make an event like the Biennale a success story. To do that in the Cuban context is not an easy task. After the dropping of financial support by the European agencies in 2003 - in particular by the Prince Claus Fund for Culture and Development, HIVOS (Humanist Institute for Co-operation with Developing Countries), and AFAA (Association Française d'Action Artistique) which is associated with political and human rights issues, the Biennale was in jeopardy. “According to official announcements, the biennale was saved because the Cuban government stepped in with 156,2000 U.S. dollars from its own funds, supposedly the entire budget.”<sup>329</sup>

The new environment of work has not changed since then and for the Ninth Havana Biennale external financial support was not available. The only item financed by a European institution was the Catalog, del Valle recalls:

The rest of the Biennale is produced with one million pesos, which covers the costs of the Lam Center, and its seventy-three employees. For the Biennale the Ministry supplies an extra 230 people, workers from different cultural institutions, all covered by the CNAP. The budget for the Ninth Biennale was 150,2000 US Dollars (\$150,2000 CUC), what is insignificant compared to any other event of such a nature in the art world. How do we supply the rest? Well, we call all our friends in Cuba and abroad, Havana becomes a great community where affect is trafficked. Lillian Llanes used to say, 'You can have all the money you want, but without spirit that's nothing.' That is our great resource, love, passion, and affection.<sup>330</sup>

For the Tenth Biennale the financial changed significantly, in addition to the annual budget the Ministry of Culture gave &164,2000 CUC (U.S.\$ 200,2000), in addition the Agencia de Cooperación Española through a series of other cultural institutions gave, according to official sources, around \$250,2000 euros. The 2009 editions, which also celebrated the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary was indeed an spectacle. Cultural tourist from Europe and North America assisted again in the thousands, and Cuban art was high in the market agenda. As a global phenomenon, art and tourism are connected for the good or the bad. Gutierrez and Gancedo in a study on Cuba and tourism, concur.

Cuba is not looking at tourism as some sort of short-term solution that exploits people's curiosity about the island. Nor does it see tourism as "a necessary evil" in the heart of a socialist society, explanations sometimes given by those confused about the impressive dynamism of the Cuban tourist sector. Tourism in Cuba is a strategic development associated with creating a new concept of sustainable tourism from the vantage point of its ecological, economic, cultural, and social dimensions.<sup>331</sup>

Art biennials are today part of the expanding economy of cultural tourism. From that perspective biennials demand spectacle, investment, and of course, size. Most of them are part of urban plans and/or political and cultural agendas pursuing more than the altruistic dimension of art promotion. These events are grandiloquent by nature and include a dimension of political participation and economic support (by public and private funds). So, size does matter in a biennial, downsizing is a difficult task for the usual and obvious reasons; it affects visibility, funding and prestige.

The case of the Havana Biennale is just a chapter of that story that is consolidating new routes and paths for the art produced not only in the cultural centers and the traditional set of countries of the developed world – one that enables the flows of cultural agents to cross the crevices and interstices of the hegemonic circuits constituting what is now call Global Art.



**Figure 45. The Tenth Havana Biennale. An spectacle.**

#### **4.7 ON CUBAN ARTISTS AND CUBAN ART**

Today it is possible to find many books, essays, articles, and catalogs exploring the phenomenon of Cuban Art and its participation in the new global scene. To cite just some, Luis Camnitzer's *New Art of Cuba* (1994), Kevin Power's *While Cuba Waits* (1999), and Holly Block's *Art Cuba* (2001), explore in several ways the rise of the various generations of Cuban

artists since the late 1970s to mid-1990s. Cuban art is now included in important collections and by extension, in mainstream narratives. Some others texts are forthcoming, addressing different aspects of the Cuban artistic production in the past three decades.<sup>332</sup> There are also dozens of exhibition catalogs that present long and short essays on different artists and some aspects of the art practice on the island, the most important of which is *Revolution of Forms: Cuba's forgotten art schools* by John Loomis (1999). In addition, there are collections of essays published in Cuba about different aspects of art and critical theory during specific moments on time. Some of them were produced directly from the Lam Center.<sup>333</sup>

Those volumes provide a useful context for the main purpose of this study: to examine the institutional, collective, and individual practice of the people involved with the Havana Biennale, above all, the members of the Wifredo Lam Center, in order to explicate the unique nature and achievements of the Biennale.

Gerardo Mosquera, discussing the presence of Cuban Art in the global scene argued that:

The peripheries took European modernism but almost always used it as a means rather than an end. Modernism was put to function for a particular agenda concentrated on the construction of identities and social and cultural criticism. In Latin America, modernism's role is notable in this sense and in the negotiation of the heterogeneity of its societies. Latin American modernism adopted popular culture and the contradictions of a fragmented modernity. Wifredo Lam, for example, was the first visual artist who intended to take advantage of modernism as a space to affirm and communicate Afro-American meanings.

The peripheries' appropriation of modernism, more than completing its particular agenda, signified a pluralization and complexization of Modernism itself. The saxophone can be a metaphor for this. It is the modern pr, as an unexpected vehicle paradigmatic of the Afro-North-American sensibility.<sup>334</sup>

Mosquera situates this debate on modernism in marginal art, in terms of the postmodern critique, which has been examined by others before. Among them, Thomas McEvelly in his now famous essay "Doctor Lawyer Indian Chief: 'Primitivism' in 20th Century Art' at the Museum of Modern Art in 1984," published in *Artforum* in 1984. There were early critiques, such as Terry

Smith's "The Provincialism Problem," in *Artforum* in 1974, which addressing the same issue. This confrontation with the high church of modernism (the Museum of Modern Art) and one of the most powerful men in the art world, established a new group that would support the creation of globalism in art. Articles like "Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief" became landmarks and models for future critiques of Eurocentric practices in art history, curatorship, and art criticism. They set out the concerns of the critic interested in implementing a postcolonial globalism in art practice. McEvilley's lecture "History, Quality, Globalism" (1995), like his article titled "Arrivederci, Venice: The Third World Biennials." points out to the new centers where this globalism was most likely to be practiced in curatorial and creative efforts. After the publication of this historical article in *Art in America*, on the first South African and Estonian biennials, other pieces followed, opening up space for debate and critical discussion.<sup>335</sup>

Mosquera argues that the expansion of Third World artistic practice could not only helped to break Western monism, but also could yield structural changes.

A notable case is the so-called new Cuban art. Indebted to the widely available free artistic teaching and the social dynamic of the country, young people of all social groups were trained as 'cultured' artists and simultaneously continued links with their ways of origin. In their work is produced a construction of the avant-garde from the popular. It is not the vernacular participating in the 'cultured', rather it is making it in a manner qualitatively different. It is evidenced by artists who structure their work based on the Afro-Cuban cosmology of their family context, a cosmology which they actively embody. This entire phenomenon encompasses a change in meaning. José Bedia, for example, would be doing post-modern Congo art.<sup>336</sup>

Mosquera refers to the more global and in a sense main-stream aspects of Cuban art in relation to the new art history, which was itself a product of the postmodern critique.

For former curators of the Havana Biennale such as Hilda María Rodríguez, the event in itself has been important, however, Rodríguez sees the phenomena in relation to Cuban cultural policy and environment from the late 1970s on.



For the Cuban artist, the Biennale has been important. The presence of Cuban art has also been important for the Biennale. An exchange has taken place, however it is relevant to mention that the Biennale was designed not just for Cuban artists and Cuban Art; its structure always has been directed to the artists of the so-called Third World. The São Paulo Biennale, is connected to the modern tradition and is linked to the creation of the Museum of Modern art in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro and to the promotion and creation of Brazilian art and its inclusion into the main stream. What happened in Venice and São Paulo made us think that Cuban artists should indeed be present in several ways in the event, but not be at the center of it.

That is an explanation for the emergence of the collateral and parallel exhibitions that after 1994 became major attractions during the Biennale. The interest shown by foreign critics and later curators would change the balance of the Cuban representation in the Biennale at the time of its opening up to other artists, during the second part of the 1990s. These exhibitions are where Cuban artists have a space to consolidate their work -outside of the Cuban circuit. They are a place of confrontation, and also a place of contingency and divergence for those that cannot be part of them for one reason or another. The conceptual trends also reach these exhibitions; they are not necessarily organized by the central group but many times they have to respond to the main theme, or at least have been recognized by the institution (the Lam Center, CNAP, Ministry of Culture) as part of the Biennale universe.

It is undeniable that Cuban artists have benefited and Cuban art has become better positioned but not only because of the Havana Biennale. The Biennale is just a circumstance among the complexity of the Cuban cultural scene, and because of the way the art world has responded to it. For those who have participated, it has been a platform; at the same time it had been a portal for new practices, debates and friendships. All these will work to launch the ones to come.

Many have come to see, participate, collaborate, and interact. That happens in the Biennale itself. As a matter of fact, a number of new events have been created and happened since 1989. Many have mimicked Havana's model. Because of its pertinence, the model has been repeated and copied, opening spaces for Cuban and Third World artists who have helped in the consolidation of the global scene.<sup>337</sup>

The positioning of Cuban art and artists in the global scene is the result of a series of facts. It is worth mentioning the role of art education in Cuba. The creation of the system of art schools and its continuity through time are part of the phenomenon. In addition, the international participation of Cuban artists and the local art events have played a role too. It is clear that the protagonists here are the artists who have matured during the process; they are now part of the system, feeding back to the art schools and art events. It has been an endogenous process for the artists and their social environment. It is true that for Cuba, the symbolic dimension is important and that artists have been treated with care, in spite of Cuba's stringencies and its isolation at

some moments in its recent history. Perhaps that fact has influenced the nurturing of a symbolic production where the Cuban reality is present at all times. In addition, it seems that there is little confrontation between generations. If a younger artist has things to say, there are no preconditions excluding him from the main scene. This openness has generated a constant renovation, injecting new blood and quality into the system. In Cuba there are many artistic manifestations that are worthy of exploration with or without the Biennale. Cuban art is a permanent laboratory that invites all to inspect it.

For younger members of the Lam Center, those less tied to the archeology of the event, the Biennale is part of the Cuban cultural-scape, where it has an important role promoting the new generation of Cuban and international artists.

Dannys Montes de Oca, a researcher active in the Cuban art scene as a critic and curator notes that, with respect to contemporary Cuban production art:

I could argue that the ‘art market’ is not a national, but an international phenomenon. Cuba has been part of the international modernist avant-garde since the 1920s and connected to international modernism since the 1970s. Our art has always had an ideological, dimension locating it in the front line in Latin America. Comparing Cuban Art with that of the Socialist Bloc, ours was called elitist. There was no way to compare it with the one produced in the 1980s. Today there is a group of artists with an ethical stand and a radial sense that makes them work in social and political terms. However, there is another group that has been homogenized and that can be considered avant-garde, along with those who are not. We are in a moment of total confusion. Important art spaces are now displaying works that before could not be shown there. Today there is a jet-set that is confused and lives along with the real avant-garde.

Perhaps this is a moment of total obsolescence and plurality, the moment of an opening up of practices before the market. That is the sense which I point to the term “homogenized.” A place where many things live along with others and where competition (between those more sophisticated in terms of conceptualization and others that are only experimenting with certain aspects of past vanguards) is taking place. Those are the ones I do not consider worth exploring.<sup>338</sup>

On the same lines, Magali Espinoza comments that:

Nonetheless, there is a solid group of artists with a strong self-critical consciousness. There are other groups that orbit the first one, and there is a pessimistic tendency that talks

about a crisis in Cuban art. I believe that each artistic process has its own internal dynamics. The 1980s were a moment of intense production in Cuba. Now, in the debates taking place in and out the Biennale and especially outside it, many are questioning the role of the event in the Cuban scene. Today there is a group of artists that continues with the precepts of what Cuban art is and has been. They include Ana Lia Amaya, José A. Vincench, Saidel Britto, Douglas Perez, Pedro Alvarez, and Luis Gomez.<sup>339</sup>

It is important to underline how the visual arts became a state issue central to the cultural discourse on the Island during the 1990s, largely because of the distribution and exhibition of Cuban art in international circuits. This was possible thanks to the relaxation of the embargo rules for the arts passed by the U.S. Congress in 1988. Art could be traded under the label “information materials.” According to Sandra Levinson (Director of the Cuban Art Space at the Center for Cuban Studies in New York City), “the official description of ‘informational’ materials, did not include original Cuban art.”<sup>340</sup> With the support of critic Alex Rosenberg and managed by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee the Center brought a suit against the U.S. Treasury asking that the sale of Cuban art in the U.S. be legalized. Its success allowed curators, collectors, and artists to start a productive relationship, going back and forth. Later, when the Cuban government permitted the use of dollars for economic exchange in 1993, this again created a spiral of transactions. In that way Cuban artist became assets to the Cuban state, and they did not have to leave the island in order to benefit from this new trade.<sup>341</sup>

The Biennale has been at the center of the Cuban art scene since its creation in 1984. It is not possible to talk about new Cuban art without also mentioning the role the Biennale has played.

## **PART THREE**

## 5.0 MAPPING THE WORLD

“Foreigners who came to Cuba in the 1960s to taste the exotic fruit of the Revolution didn’t talk about what was happening. Instead they fantasized a ‘what should be’ that was basically a paternalist and neo-colonial design, making us raw material for the West’s cyclical demand for Utopias.” Osvaldo Sánchez<sup>342</sup>

This chapter describes the nine editions of the Havana Biennale. It also continues the *chronotopi*, presenting an image from the outside and using as its source the press releases, reports, on-line chronicles, and published articles in the international and regional art press on the Biennale.

Basic statistical information about each edition, dates, venues, number of artists, countries, academic events, and parallel events, provide data on the coverage and reach of the event. Some of the key artists in each biennial will be discussed (if relevant) but the focus is, above all, an exploration of the academic debates and impact of the event on the international art world. A series of graphics have been developed to present a qualitative and synthetic image of the Biennale. Figure 44 and 45 summarize the Havana Biennale’s history; the first one presents information on the conceptual themes and symposia, following by a synthetic description of the curatorial projects, curators, and participants in the academic events. Additional graphs (sometimes in couples to establish a comparative and evolutionary process) present the percentages of countries, per world area, participating in each edition. Maps of the city are provided to locate the venues used actively for the Biennale through its history. A comprehensive list of the artists, countries of origin, areas of the world, and biennial in which each participated is attached as an appendix to this work.

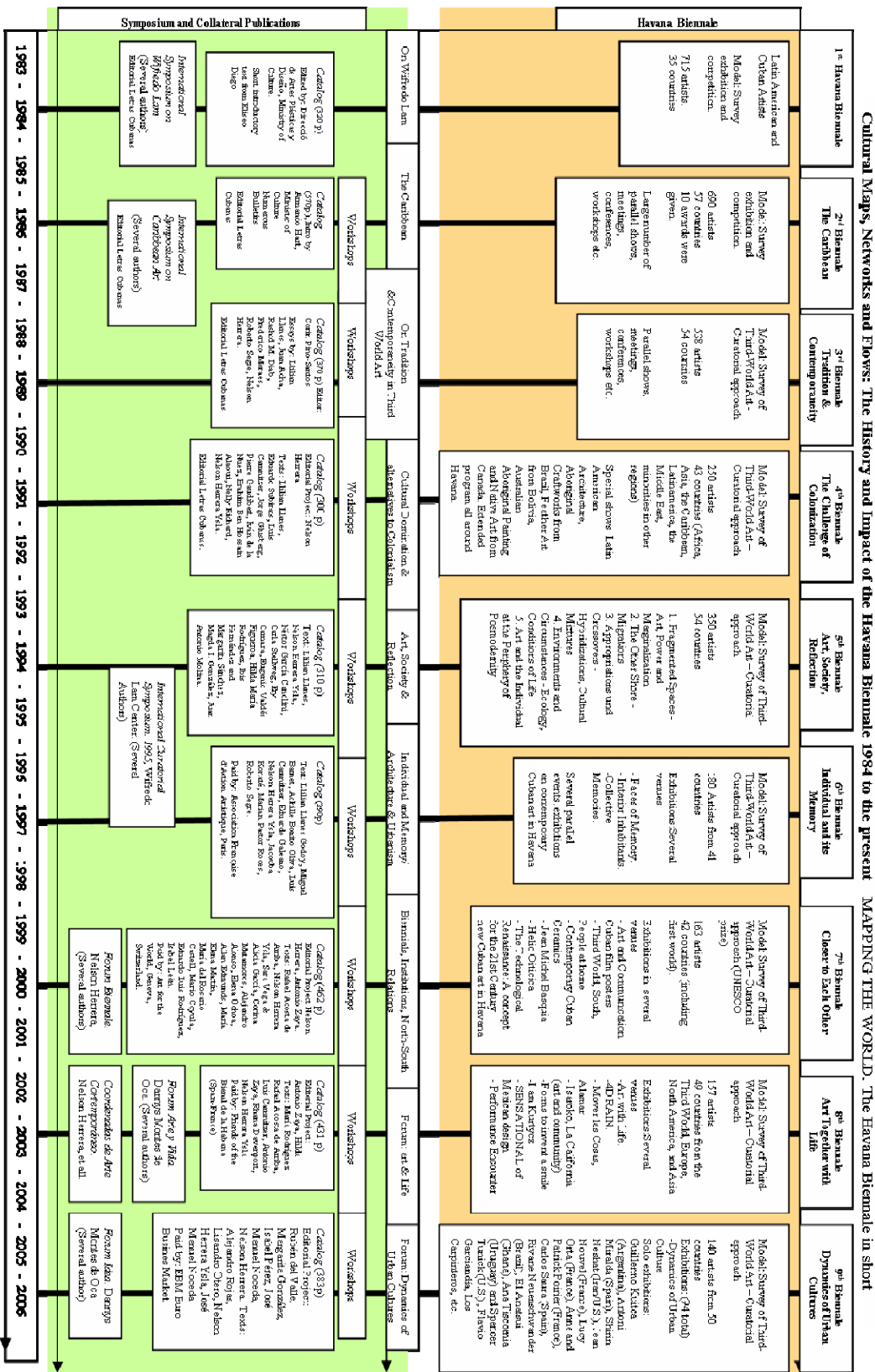


Figure 46. The Havana Biennale, general information and symposia



Cultural Maps, Networks and Flows: The History and Impact of the Havana Biennale 1984 to the present (COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING)

1 <sup>st</sup> Havana Biennale: May - July (1984)	2 <sup>nd</sup> Biennale: 26 Nov - 31 Dec (1989)	3 <sup>rd</sup> Biennale: 27 Oct - 31 Dec (1989)	4 <sup>th</sup> Biennale: 16 Nov - 31 Dec (1991)	5 <sup>th</sup> Biennale: 6 May - 30 June (1994)	6 <sup>th</sup> Havana Biennale: 3 May - 8 June (1997)	7 <sup>th</sup> Biennale: 17 Nov 2000 - 6 Jan (2000)	8 <sup>th</sup> Biennale: Nov 1 - Dec 15 (2003)	9 <sup>th</sup> Biennale: March 27 - April 27 (2006)
Argentina Austria Bolivia Brazil Canada Chile Colombia Costa Rica Cuba Czech Republic Dominican Republic Ecuador El Salvador France Germany Guatemala Guyana Haiti Jamaica Mexico Nicaragua Panama Peru Poland Portugal Puerto Rico Romania Spain Sweden Switzerland USA Venezuela	Algeria Argentina Australia Austria Bahrain Bangladesh Brazil Canada Cameroon Chile Colombia Congo Costa Rica Cuba Dominican Republic Ecuador El Salvador Egypt Ethiopia France Germany Ghana Guatemala Guyana Haiti Honduras India Indonesia Iran Israel Italy Japan Korea Kuwait Lebanon Libya Malaysia Maldives Mali Mauritius Mexico Morocco Mozambique Nicaragua Nigeria North Korea Pakistan Panama Paraguay Peru Philippines Puerto Rico Qatar Saudi Arabia Singapore South Africa Sri Lanka Sudan Thailand Trinidad & Tobago Tunisia Uruguay Vietnam Zambia Zimbabwe	Algeria Argentina Australia Austria Bahrain Bangladesh Brazil Canada Cameroon Chile Colombia Congo Costa Rica Cuba Dominican Republic Ecuador El Salvador Egypt Ethiopia France Germany Ghana Guatemala Guyana Haiti Honduras India Indonesia Iran Israel Italy Japan Korea Kuwait Lebanon Libya Malaysia Maldives Mali Mauritius Mexico Morocco Mozambique Nicaragua Nigeria North Korea Pakistan Panama Paraguay Peru Philippines Puerto Rico Qatar Saudi Arabia Singapore South Africa Sri Lanka Sudan Thailand Trinidad & Tobago Tunisia Uruguay Vietnam Zambia Zimbabwe	Algeria Argentina Australia Austria Bahrain Bangladesh Brazil Canada Cameroon Chile Colombia Congo Costa Rica Cuba Dominican Republic Ecuador El Salvador Egypt Ethiopia France Germany Ghana Guatemala Guyana Haiti Honduras India Indonesia Iran Israel Italy Japan Korea Kuwait Lebanon Libya Malaysia Maldives Mali Mauritius Mexico Morocco Mozambique Nicaragua Nigeria North Korea Pakistan Panama Paraguay Peru Philippines Puerto Rico Qatar Saudi Arabia Singapore South Africa Sri Lanka Sudan Thailand Trinidad & Tobago Tunisia Uruguay Vietnam Zambia Zimbabwe	Algeria Argentina Australia Austria Bahrain Bangladesh Brazil Canada Cameroon Chile Colombia Congo Costa Rica Cuba Dominican Republic Ecuador El Salvador Egypt Ethiopia France Germany Ghana Guatemala Guyana Haiti Honduras India Indonesia Iran Israel Italy Japan Korea Kuwait Lebanon Libya Malaysia Maldives Mali Mauritius Mexico Morocco Mozambique Nicaragua Nigeria North Korea Pakistan Panama Paraguay Peru Philippines Puerto Rico Qatar Saudi Arabia Singapore South Africa Sri Lanka Sudan Thailand Trinidad & Tobago Tunisia Uruguay Vietnam Zambia Zimbabwe	Algeria Argentina Australia Austria Bahrain Bangladesh Brazil Canada Cameroon Chile Colombia Congo Costa Rica Cuba Dominican Republic Ecuador El Salvador Egypt Ethiopia France Germany Ghana Guatemala Guyana Haiti Honduras India Indonesia Iran Israel Italy Japan Korea Kuwait Lebanon Libya Malaysia Maldives Mali Mauritius Mexico Morocco Mozambique Nicaragua Nigeria North Korea Pakistan Panama Paraguay Peru Philippines Puerto Rico Qatar Saudi Arabia Singapore South Africa Sri Lanka Sudan Thailand Trinidad & Tobago Tunisia Uruguay Vietnam Zambia Zimbabwe	Argentina Australia Austria Bahrain Bangladesh Brazil Canada Cameroon Chile Colombia Congo Costa Rica Cuba Dominican Republic Ecuador El Salvador Egypt Ethiopia France Germany Ghana Guatemala Guyana Haiti Honduras India Indonesia Iran Israel Italy Japan Korea Kuwait Lebanon Libya Malaysia Maldives Mali Mauritius Mexico Morocco Mozambique Nicaragua Nigeria North Korea Pakistan Panama Paraguay Peru Philippines Puerto Rico Qatar Saudi Arabia Singapore South Africa Sri Lanka Sudan Thailand Trinidad & Tobago Tunisia Uruguay Vietnam Zambia Zimbabwe	Argentina Australia Austria Bahrain Bangladesh Brazil Canada Cameroon Chile Colombia Congo Costa Rica Cuba Dominican Republic Ecuador El Salvador Egypt Ethiopia France Germany Ghana Guatemala Guyana Haiti Honduras India Indonesia Iran Israel Italy Japan Korea Kuwait Lebanon Libya Malaysia Maldives Mali Mauritius Mexico Morocco Mozambique Nicaragua Nigeria North Korea Pakistan Panama Paraguay Peru Philippines Puerto Rico Qatar Saudi Arabia Singapore South Africa Sri Lanka Sudan Thailand Trinidad & Tobago Tunisia Uruguay Vietnam Zambia Zimbabwe	Argentina Germany Austria Bahrain Bangladesh Brazil Canada Cameroon Chile Colombia Congo Costa Rica Cuba Dominican Republic Ecuador El Salvador Egypt Ethiopia France Germany Ghana Guatemala Guyana Haiti Honduras India Indonesia Iran Israel Italy Japan Korea Kuwait Lebanon Libya Malaysia Maldives Mali Mauritius Mexico Morocco Mozambique Nicaragua Nigeria North Korea Pakistan Panama Paraguay Peru Philippines Puerto Rico Qatar Saudi Arabia Singapore South Africa Sri Lanka Sudan Thailand Trinidad & Tobago Tunisia Uruguay Vietnam Zambia Zimbabwe

Figure 48. Total countries participating, 1984 - 2006





Figure 49. Havana Biennale exhibition venues (map)

## 5.1 THIRD WORLD ART

“The Havana Biennale sought to provide Latin American artists with an alternative arena where isolation could be broken down and where, through exchange and comparison, a collective dynamic might emerge.” Luis Camnitzer (*Art in America*, December 1984)

### **First Havana Biennale** / Dates: May-June, 1984

Artists: 715 artists and about 2.2000 works. 35 countries participated.

Prizes: Wifredo Lam Prize. Arnold Belkin, Mexico  
Painting: Joaquín Torres García Prize. Carmelo Arden Quin, Uruguay  
Mention. José Carrasquel, Venezuela  
Candido Portinari Prize. José Gamarra, Uruguay  
Mention. Ana Eckell, Argentina  
Orozco-Rivera-Siqueiros Prize. Carlos Alonso, Argentina  
Mention. Adolfo Patiño, Mexico  
Emilio Petoruti Prize. Horacio García Rossi, Argentina  
Mention. Fernando Barata, Brasil  
Drawing: Flavio de Carvalho Prize. Alirio Palacios, Venezuela  
Mention. Ever Astudillo, Colombia  
Armando Reveron Prize. Roberto Fabelo, Cuba  
Mention. Aníbal Ortiz Pozo, Chile  
Graphic Art: José Guadalupe Posada Prize. Branco de Oliveira, Brasil  
Mention. Balthazar Armas, Venezuela  
Antonio Berni Prize. Omar Rayo, Colombia  
Mention. León Ferrari, Argentina  
Photography: Martín Chambí Prize. Fernell Franco, Colombia  
Mention. Fernando Chaves, Brasil  
Tina Modotti Prize. Rogelio López Marín, Cuba  
Mention. Calos Rivodó, Venezuela

### Especial Mentions

Elsa Morales, Venezuela  
Orlando Sobalvarro, Nicaragua  
Grupo Solidarte (Mexico – El Salvador)

### National Prizes:

Painting: Amelia Peláez Prize. Tomás Sánchez  
Mention. Eduardo Rubén García  
Drawing: Rafael Blanco Prize. Gustavo Acosta  
Mention. Antonio Eligio (Tonel)  
Graphic Art: Francisco Javier Báez Prize. Gilberto Frómata  
Mention. Pablo Borges  
Photography: José Tabío Prize. Mario García Joya  
Mention. Mario Díaz Leyva

Jury: Mariano Rodríguez (painter), President Casa de las Américas. Cuba  
Aracy Amaral (art critic), Director Museum of Modern Art Sao Paulo University. Brazil  
Marta Arjona (ceramist), Director National Patrimony, Ministry of Culture. Cuba  
Manuel Espinoza (painter) Art Critic, Venezuela

Julio Le Parc (kinetic artist), Espacio Latinoamericano. Argentina  
Pedro Meyer (photographer), Organizer Latin American photographic colloquium, Mexico  
Juan Antonio Roda (graphic artist), Colombian consul in Barcelona. Colombia

Exhibitions:

- Competitive Exhibition
- El Verbo de América (America's Language). Roberto Mata. 23 & M Gallery
- Jacobo Borge Retrospective (1936-1984). National Museum
- Catecismo para los indios remisos I-IX (Catechism for indigenous conscientious objectors I-IX). Francisco Toledo, Casa de las Américas
- Wifredo Lam. National Museum

Academic Event: *International Conference on Wifredo Lam*

Participants: Jose Ayllon, Lowery Strokes Sims, Claude Esteban, Per Hovdenarkk, Roberto Segre, Adelaida de Juan, Jorge Glusberg, Segio Maghallaes, Rogelio Salmona, Ali Sinon, Fruto Vivas, Badi-Banga Ne Mwine, Rashid M. Diab, Koho Fosu, Geeta Kapur, Mirko Lauer, Manuel López Oliva, Pierre Restany, Alvaro Medina, Desiderio Navarro, Graziella Pogolotti, Adolfo Sánchez Vásquez.

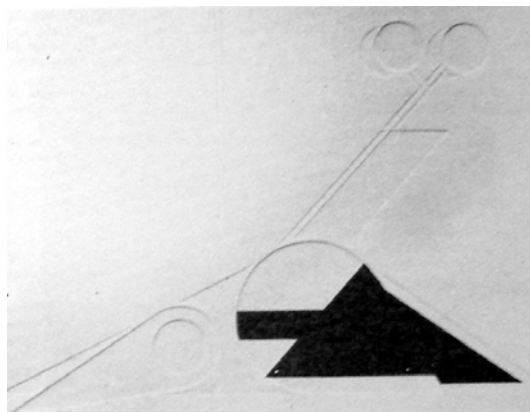
Positioning and visibility were the bottom line for the first Havana Biennale. Displaying closed to approximately two thousand works from almost eight hundred artists was an extraordinarily ambitious undertaking. In comparison, the 1984 edition of the Venice Biennale, under the topic "*Arte e Arti: La storia e il presente*" (Art and the Arts: History and the Present) consisted of two large exhibitions on current artistic practices, set up in the *Giardini*, showing approximately one hundred artists. The main satellite exhibition hosted in the Palazzo Grassi, was dedicated to The Arts in Vienna from the Secession to the fall of the Habsburg Empire.<sup>343</sup> The 17<sup>th</sup> São Paulo Biennial of 1983 was still struggling to find a model for itself. With almost two hundred artists, it grouped them by analogy and country of origin. Forty-six countries participated. It also presented two of a series of exhibitions on Brazilian Art.<sup>344</sup> Other events such as the Sydney Biennial (which started in 1973), with five previous exhibitions, presented sixty-six of the most important Western artists of the moment from twenty countries, including a small but relevant group from Latin America.<sup>345</sup> What is most striking is how the Havana Biennale emerged in a moment of great tension in cultural policy in Cuba, yet at the same time it emerged from what some would call the crisis of modernity or the post modern moment.<sup>346</sup> The

initial model chosen for the Biennale was similar to such precedents as the Venice and São Paulo biennials, and was based on the idea of a big survey of the new art been recently produced. What was distinct was its focus on the Third World. It did not, however, want to be a counter-biennial but one that looked at the production of the “other” in a new way. The awards given were not only trying to recognize the diversity of production taking place in the region but also to indicate a sort of deviance from the Eurocentric hegemonic path. Designating the prizes with the names of important Latin American artists was intended to acknowledge local artist who had set a tone of independence and originality.<sup>347</sup>



**Figure 50. Logo 1st Havana Biennale, media and visitors in the Cuban Pavilion, 1984**

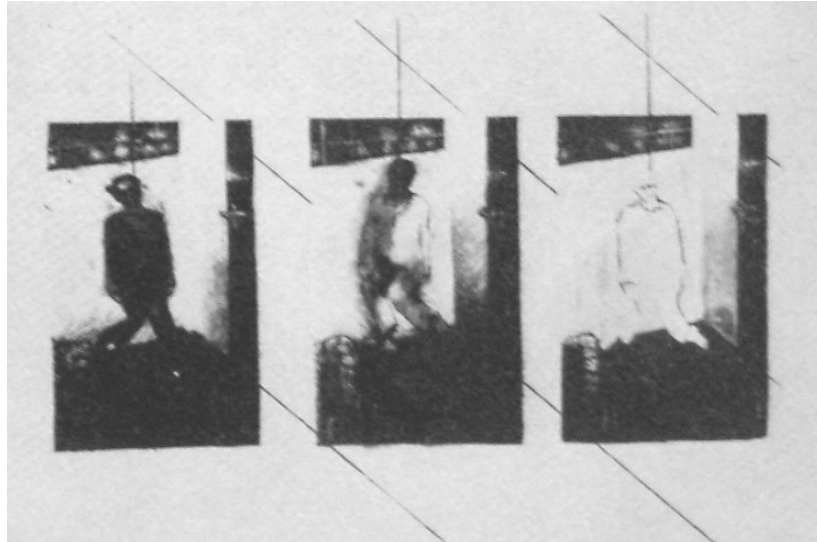
The visual was at the center, in a context in which the echoes of North American aestheticism were resonating strongly, especially because of its recognition in the art world and success in the art market. For example, the prize named after Joaquín Torres-García (the famous Uruguayan constructive artist) was given to Carmelo Arden Quin, the son of immigrants from Eastern Europe, who worked as an avant-garde artist in Argentina, connecting his work to the major stream of international abstractionism. The same happened with the prizes named after Emilio Petoruti and Antonio Berni, given to the Argentinean Horacio García Rossi for his series “luz-color” (Light-Color series) and to Colombian graphic artist Omar Rayo for his series of abstract monochrome intaglios.



**Figure 51. Omar Rayo, “Idea fija 1.” Intaglio, 1975**

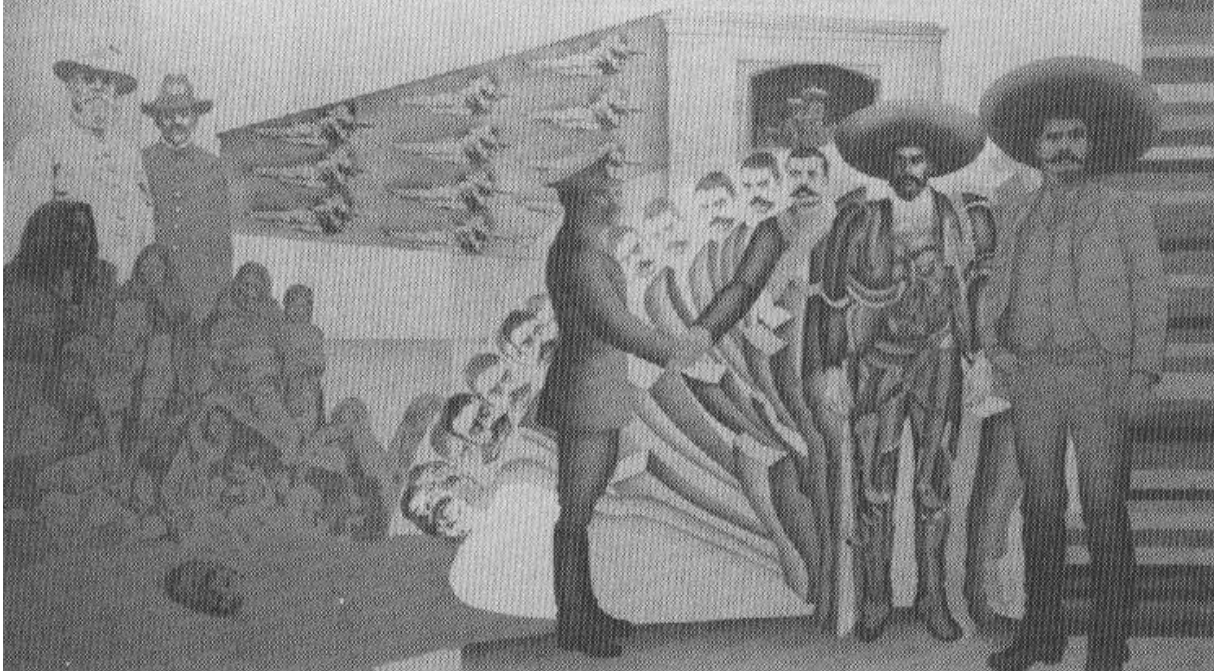
On the other hand, José Gamarra won the Candido Portinari prize with one of his figurative paintings titled “La tentación de Hernán Cortés” (Hernan Cortes’ Temptation), completed in 1981, in which the depiction of several historical characters and moments takes place in an a-historical place, the jungle, a clear postmodern imaginary in which simultaneity of historical and physical times and spaces is present. The political was also present in the array of awards given to Argentinean Carlos Alonso’s series of paintings (*Manos anónimas / Anonymous Hands*, 1983) depicting a series of scenes of military torture during the apex of the military dictatorship in Argentina. In Brazilian artist Branca de Oliveira’s etchings showing scenes of

hanged people in secluded spaces, it is not possible to discern if the subjects depicted are prisoners or just desperate people committing suicide during one of the Brazilian military regimes.



**Figure 52. Branca de Oliveira, “Agora e na hora de nossa morte amén.” Etching, 1982**

The Revolutionary image was also central during this first Biennale; at least three awards went to artists depicting an aspect of the revolutionary imaginary of the Americas. The Cubans Gilberto Frómata and Mario García Joya used images of the Cuban Revolution and José Martí in their works, respectively. Both were photo-montages with a clear propagandistic tone. The Wifredo Lam Prize, the most important, went to Mexican artist Arnold Belkin and his work “Traición y muerte de Zapata” (Treason and Death of Zapata) made in 1981, which in a proto-pop style depicts a scene of the iconic image of Zapata which repeats itself several times. In the background, it is possible to see two American troopers stepping on a representation of the People.



**Figure 53. Arnold Belkin, “Traición y muerte de Zapata.” Painting, 1981**  
(Betrayal and Death of Zapata), grand prize. Acrylic on canvas, 94 by 160 inches.

It is worth mentioning the publication of a parallel volume, sometime after the Biennale, which includes several of the academic presentations that took place during the International Symposium on Wifredo Lam. It is a summary of the diverse views that scholars of Lam’s work produced for the event. The volume is, in that sense, multi-focal and includes pieces by the American art historian Lowery Stoke Sims, who at the time was curator of contemporary art at the Metropolitan Museum in New York City, the French poet and art critic Claude Esteban, professor at the Sorbonne in Paris, the Norwegian art historian Per Hovdenakk, curator of the Kunst Henie Onstad in Oslo, the Spanish Marxist philosopher Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez, a highly influential thinker for Latin America at the time of the Revolutions of the 1960s who by that time was living in Mexico, the Colombian art critic Alvaro Medina (working in Paris as a specialist in Latin American art for UNESCO), and the Cubans Adelaida de Juárez, Manuel Lopez Oliva, Desiderio Navarro, and Graziella Pogolotti.<sup>348</sup>

According to Lam Center records, many art critics, scholars, and curators from around the world, especially Africa, the Middle East and Asia Minor, assisted with the publication. Among them were Ali Simon (Senegal), Badi-Banga Ne Mwine (Congo), Rashid M. Diab (Sudan), Kojo Fosu (East Africa – Nigeria), and Geeta Kapur (India), who responded to the call and attended the meeting.

That first Biennale became a celebration and demonstration that a new platform could be established, one that decentered the attention from major art venues and one that was, early on, responding in practice to some of the theoretical theses on identity politics, postmodern aesthetics, and postcolonial thought. The ones following it would build a space for art, artists, critics, curators, and topics that they did not have one before. The Havana Biennale also would become model, after grounding its own functioning, for other events during the 1990s.

In December 1984, Luis Camnitzer published an article in *Art in America* titled “The First Biennial of Latin America.” It was the first article on contemporary Cuban art published by the magazine and his first in a series of articles on the issue. In it, Camnitzer argues that the Havana Biennale is “probably the most ambitious exhibition of Latin American art ever presented.”<sup>349</sup> This is correct, as exhibitions preceding it were smaller scale group exhibitions, developed as part of diplomatic agendas or embedded in a national discourse.<sup>350</sup> The author also situates the Havana Biennale in the context of North American, noting that it was opened in May 25, 1984, just “a week after the unveiling of the renovated and expanded Museum of Modern Art in New York,” with an exhibition titled *International Survey of Recent Painting and Sculpture* which opened on the 17th of the same month.<sup>351</sup> He also situates it in the middle of the debates about Euro-American versus Third World views, arguing that not only did they have a date in



common, but they also shared, oddly, their objectives; “to bring light to the differences between metropolitan and colonial values, needs and ways of judging.”<sup>352</sup>



Figure 54. *Art in America*, December 1984

In discussing the blockbuster exhibition at MoMA, Camnitzer comments on the rising power of curators such as Kynaston McShine, appointed by William Rubin (the new Chief Curator at MoMA) to curate the exhibition. The author calls McShine “a mechanical pope” who by choosing 165 artists (72 Americans, and only one artist from Latin America) defined the state of the arts at the moment. Camnitzer also mentions the Georges Pompidou Center in Paris (founded in 1977) and certain movements in the arts happening in Germany and Italy (the neo-avant garde) as responses to U.S. cultural imperialism at the moment of the postmodern debates and about de-centering and relativizing main narratives.

The awareness of a colonial discourse present in Camnitzer's article is noteworthy. This could be the result of his recent visits to Cuba and the impact it had upon him, or just the experience of growing up in Uruguay (Camnitzer was born in Germany, grew up in Uruguay and later migrated to the U.S.). In one interview with Camnitzer, he made it clear that publishing the article in *Art in America* was not an act of assimilation but one of independence, taking into account the whole of the complex relationships experienced in colonialism.

At the time I was keenly aware and fearful of the dangers of co-option. I figured that I'd better spell it out in the report, to save both the Bienal and myself. It meant that neither of us desired to be "accepted" by what *Art in America* represented. It was fitting that the report appeared in what somebody called "the ghetto section," that is, not among the feature articles (in spite of its length). The Bienal started very independent and talking "locally" to the periphery. It was not a call to the mainstream saying 'Hey, we are here too and you haven't looked at us until now.' I didn't want the report to imply that this was the mission; the report was to be nothing more than a report and a clear staking out of the territory. I should add that somebody else had been invited to write about the Bienal and that person backed out for fear of retaliation in the U.S. on residence issues. I just filled the void. That was my first published writing in the U.S. In terms of the independence of the Bienal from its model, I fear that that has lessened with time.<sup>353</sup>

Indeed, at the moment of analyzing the Biennale, Camnitzer applied international and validating terms, such as quality and economic success (both ruled mostly by the market). He emphasizes that not even an event such as the Havana Biennale could refrain from such judgments, since the event itself was caught in such rhetoric (well inserted into the national and regional perspectives). The author mentions as examples how the history of Latin America has been written by the work of artists such as Torres-García, Lam, and Matta (whose work some argue was derivative from major European movements). At the same time, Camnitzer comments on the biennial structure arguing that it follows Venice's "validating model," and elitist legacy. He comments that a biennial pops-up wherever ever a local bourgeoisie wants to confirm its cultural and economic status (nationally, regionally, or internationally). In Latin America, this is

clear in some cases, e.g. the São Paulo and Medellín biennials. The first survived, the second was a failure because of its exaggerated dimensions and ambition. Others, such as the Bi-dimensional Biennial in Cali (Colombia) were more successful, scaling down their reach and balanced in its possibilities and resources. Eventually, the Cali Biennial would die out as a result of Colombia's inner conflicts during late 1980s.

After the initial remarks, which set a tone for the whole article, Camnitzer discusses the event itself. He mentions the five exhibitions accompanying the Biennale. These were devoted to Wifredo Lam (Cuba) and Oswaldo Guayasamin (Ecuador) at the National Museum; Roberto Matta (Chile) at the Hotel Habana Libre; and Francisco Toledo (Mexico) and Jacobo Borges (Venezuela) at Casa de la Américas. These exhibitions framed the event in a Latin American setting. Camnitzer notes how works were “hung according to formal criteria rather than national origin.”<sup>354</sup> Discussing the prizes, Camnitzer comments on how “the jury was sympathetic to art with explicit social content; paradoxically, most members of the jury actually lean towards a modernist aesthetic (including the Argentinean kinetic artist Le Parc).” On the issue of representation, the author, comments on how different countries employed different selection criteria which were connected to their relations with Cuba. As a result, it was all but impossible to compare the production of different countries; “extra-aesthetic factors were sufficiently strong to slant the result.”<sup>355</sup>

Camnitzer also comments on the role Cuba had in the arts continentally speaking, and how the event passed without attention in the Western cultural press, more for political rather than aesthetic reasons. He underlines the reception among Cubans, which according to him went in masse to the opening days (44,2000 in the first week) and how the local press covered the event in a celebratory tone.<sup>356</sup> That would be repeated during the nine editions of the event, with

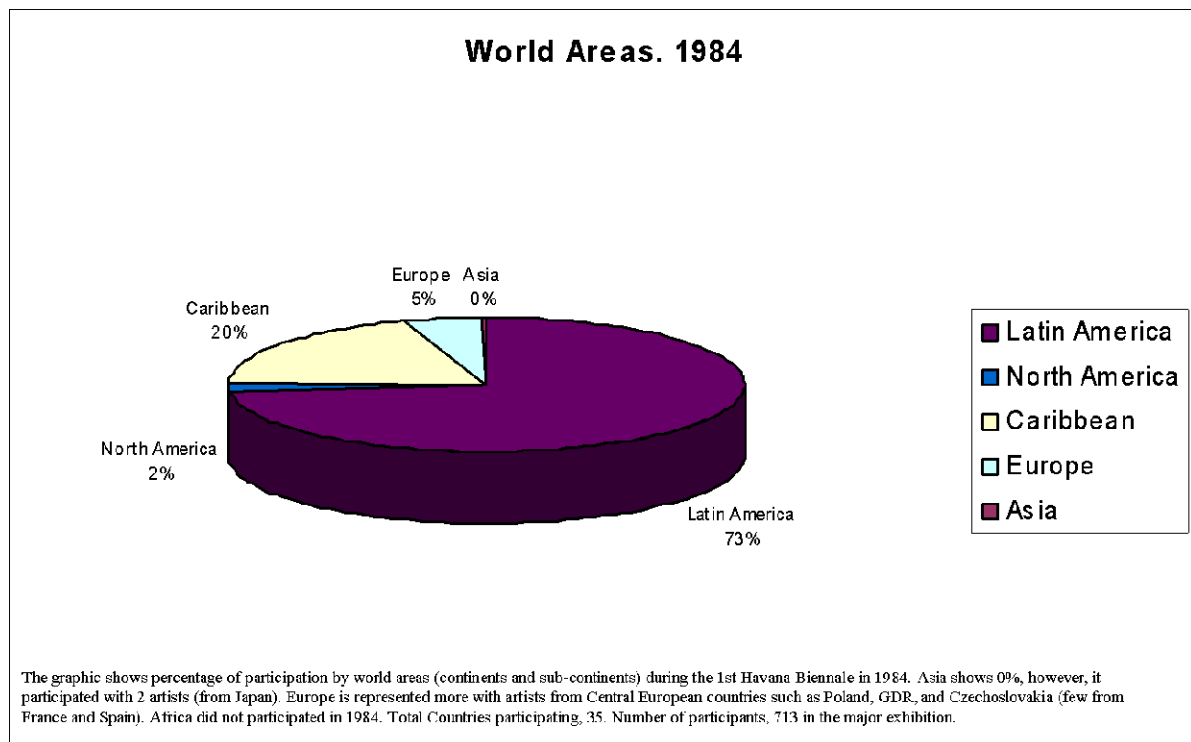
some exceptions. The broad scope of the exhibition did not allow Camnitzer to make individual judgments on single artists, but to show the heterogeneity of artistic production in the region. The author explains how other biennials of such stature would produce (in statistical terms) an image of what the Latin American cultural identity would look like.

On the Cuban front, Camnitzer makes a comparative reading, “one of the most important contributions of postwar art in the U.S. had been its concern with presentation: size, finish, ‘aesthetic-packaging’ of the work of art. Of all the work in the Biennial, the Cuban entries seemed to handle this esthetic most successfully.” He refers to the work of José Bedia, in his painting “Twelve Knives;” and Flavio Garcíandía’s kitsch installation titled “Swan Lake” (1983); Arturo Cuenca’s “Objeto, Análisis, Síntesis” (which derived from a conceptual exercise) was most appealing to Camnitzer, as well as Leandro Soto’s “January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1983” (a mixed media work using memorabilia and a photo of Castro carrying a boy wearing Revolutionary gear but in the fashion of Cornell and/or Rauschenberg).

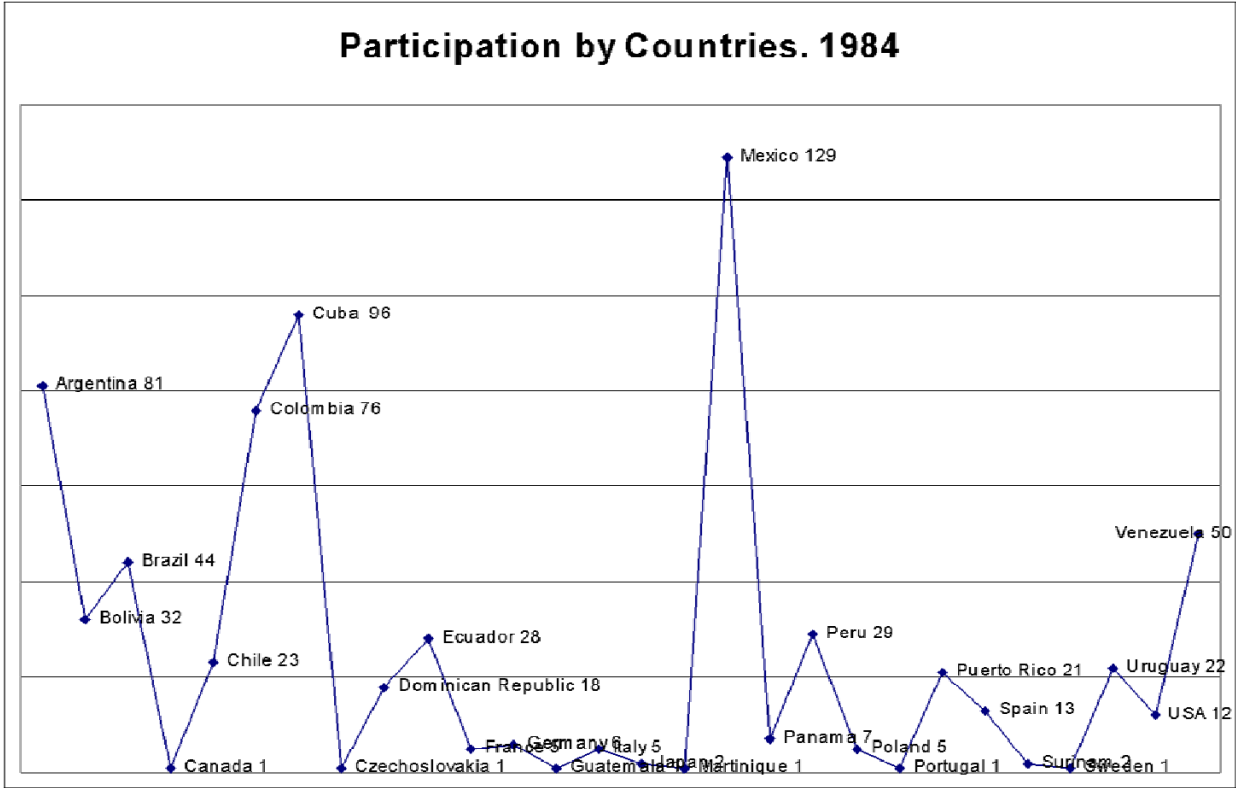
On the regional front, the author mentions the colonial character of Latin American art and the potential that a biennial like this could have. Camnitzer notes that artistic experimentation in Argentina during the 1960s was finally producing results. The derivative, argues Camnitzer, can become a signature. The author mentions a group of young Latin American artists who could become part of a new constellation: Carlos Capelán (Uruguay), Oscar Muñoz (Colombia), Gracia Barrios and José Balmés (Chile), Luis Zilvetti (Bolivia), Barros Sellán (Ecuador), Marcia Grostein (Brazil), Clever Lara and José Gamarra (Uruguay), Alvaro Barrios (Colombia), Ricardo Rodríguez Brey and José Elso Padilla (Cuba), Luis Jimenez (Latino USA), Juan Sánchez (Puerto Rico), Cesar Paternostro and Luis Felipe Noé (Argentina).

Camnitzer ends his report affirming that “with the initial clarity of its simple aims, the Biennale may over time be able to remove the spurious label that moves the Latin American market, promoting something new, unknown, but badly needed... It may well turn out to be the socio-artistic event of greatest importance in the history of Latin America since the wars of independence.”<sup>357</sup>

The figures bellow present the composition of the Biennale in terms of participating countries (by world areas). These data reveals the Cuban scope and reach of the event, as well as the capacity of establishing a network of support for the Biennale itself. The participation of Latin America during the first (and second) Biennale was overwhelming. (The next set of graphs will be posted in pairs, establishing comparative readings to inform the reader of the changing composition during the history of the event).



**Figure 55. Participation by world areas in the first Havana Biennale, 1984**



The graphic shows the number of artists participating (by number and country of origin during the 1st Havana Biennale in 1984. (713 artists in the main exhibition from 35 countries)

**Figure 56. Participation by countries in the first Havana Biennale**

## 5.2 ON CARIBBEAN ART

“...the Caribbean is not a common archipelago, but a meta-archipelago...and as meta-archipelago it has the virtue of having neither a boundary nor a center. Thus the Caribbean flows outward past the limits of its own sea with a vengeance and... May be found on the outskirts of Bombay, near the murmuring shores of Gambia...at a Balinese Temple, in an old Bristol pub...in a windmill beside the Zuider Zee, at a cafe in a barrio of Manhattan...”

Antonio Benítez-Rojo. <sup>358</sup>

**Second Havana Biennale** / Dates: November 26 - December 31, 1986.  
Artists: 690 artists from 57 countries, more than 2.400 art works.

Prizes: José Bedia (Cuba)  
Carlos Capelán (Uruguay)  
Alberto Chissano (Mozambique)  
Joven Chowdhury (India)  
Lani Maestro (Philippines)  
Manuel Mendive (Cuba)  
Antonio Ole (Angola)  
Marta Palau (Mexico)  
José Tola (Peru)

Mentions.

Juan Francisco Elso (Cuba)  
Marina Gutiérrez (Puerto Rico – USA)  
Dagnoko Nene Tima (Mali)  
Tomás Sánchez (Cuba)

Jury: Ida Rodríguez Prampolini (Mexican art critic); Luis Camnitzer (Uruguayan artist); Jagmohan Chopra (Indian scholar); Balente Malangatana Ngwenya (Painter from Mozambique); Antonio Segui (Argentinean artist); Adelaida de Juan (Cuban Art Historian).

Exhibitions:

- Competitive Exhibition, National Museum of Art
- Nja Mahdaoui (Tunisia), 23 & 12 Galleries
- Indian Contemporary Art, Provincial Center for Visual Arts and Design
- Por encima del bloqueo (Over the Blockage), Obrapía House
- Latin American Masters (60 artists), National Museum of Art.
- Amelia Peláez, National Museum of Art
- Hervé Télémaque (Haiti), Casa de las Américas
- Edgar Negret (Colombia), Casa de las Américas
- Oscar Niemeyer (Brasil), Castillo de la Real Fuerza
- Solentianame Painting (Nicaragua), National Endowment for the Arts
- Baya (Argelia), Arab House
- Valente Malangatana (Mozambique), African House

- International Art Magazines, Segundo Cabo Palace
- Retrospective Exhibition of Atelier Arcay, Havana Gallery
- May Salon, National Theater, Havana

Academic Event: *International Conference on Caribbean Art*

Participants: Juan Acha, Horace Alexander Banbury, Tamara Blanes Martin, Christian Bracy, Rita Eder, Zuzanne Garrigués, Rober Farris Thompson, Roberto Segre, Yolanda Word Pujols, Adelaida de Juan, Oyewunmi Fagbenro, Gustavo Nakle, Hermanos Saíz Association. It took place in the convention center of Havana.

Other Academic Events: The National Endowment for the Arts of Cuba organized a gallery event and a Serigraphy convention, Casa de las Américas organized an event with Art Critics from the Americas, and in the National Museum took place a meeting of Directors of Museums of Art from Latin America and the Caribbean.

Workshops: Serigraphy (Rene Portocarrero's studio), Graphics (Experimental Graphics workshop of Havana), Textile art (with Marta Palau at the Museum of Decorative Arts), Julio Le Parc workshop (Guama-Codema Vedado), Mural Painting Restoration (National Center of Conservation and Museology).

The Second Biennale became a laboratory that would be the foundation for the future of the event in several ways. Nearly 700 artists from 56 countries participated. By having an area of focus (the Caribbean), it gathered a group of international scholars working on the issue who would contribute to an open view of the complex phenomena of the Caribbean. At that time, the Caribbean was becoming a center for a series of interesting explorations from the perspective of cultural studies. According to Stuart Hall, “Caribbean” is not only a root word, “Caribbean” is also a “route” word – it can offer ways to travel; a path in practices of self-articulation.<sup>359</sup> The presence of scholars such as American art historian Robert Ferris Thomson, who at the time was one of the most important historians of Caribbean art (and later on African art), brought a mainstream perspective to the problem of the Caribbean to the scholarly production of Cuban and Latin American scholars, see the scholarship (e.g. Adelaida de Juan and Mexican art historian Ida Rodriguez). Indeed, these methods would help to shape the future work of Juan Manuel Noceda, who at that time, was not only working with the material gathered during the First Biennale on Lam, but also was deeply involved in the organization of the theoretical events for the 1986 Biennale.



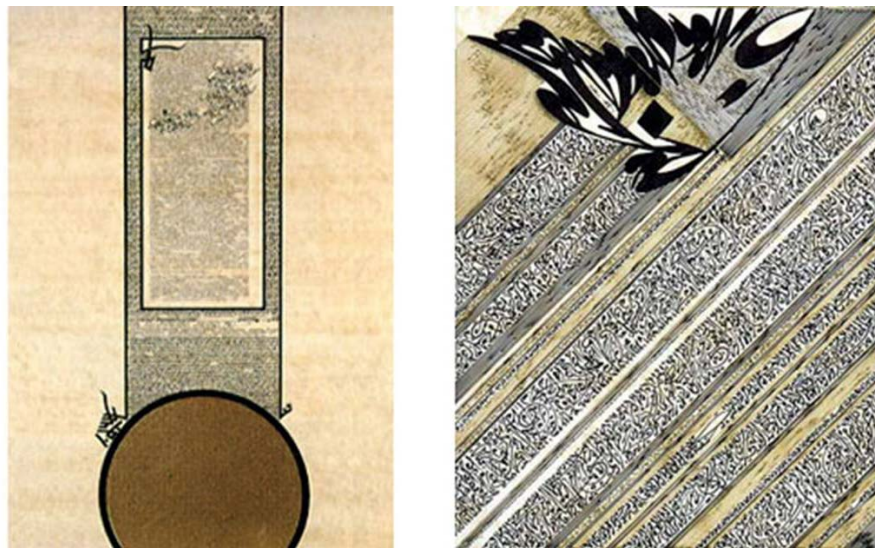


**Figure 57. The Caribbean**

The Second Biennale also became also a place of encounter and networking for the art not only of Latin America and the Caribbean, the focus territory, but also a place of exchange, networking, and a social gathering of people interested in the art coming from the Third World. The Biennale extended its reach to the countries of Africa, the Middle East, and to a lesser degree, Asia. It did so with the assistance of critics, curators, and cultural reporters from three continents.

The Biennale became a forum to differentiate common elements and visual expressions attached to Western structures and, at the same time, to find similarities in a number of societies and cultures united by a shared history of colonialism, in this particular case the Caribbean, but more broadly in the Third World. It is important to emphasize that among the array of exhibitions the Biennale developed and introduced the art of countries such as Tunisia and India,

in addition to others from the Middle East and Africa, with a solo exhibition by calligrapher and visual artist Nja Mahdaoui, who regards text as an intricate part of the composition in Muslim aesthetics. Calligraphy in Muslim art is a source of beauty and a sign of wisdom, being careful to balance its use as both language and visual form. Mahdaoui creates a rhythmic, even melodic flow wherein the attention to line required in calligraphic work unites forms and colors. India contributed a collective exhibition that took place at the Provincial Center for Visual Arts and Design, Algerian artist Baya Mahieddine also participated with an exhibition at Arab House; and Mozambique was represented by Valente Malangatana.



**Figure 58. Nja Mahdaoui, "Composition." Ink on paper, 1982**

These exhibitions contrasted with the ones of ‘modern’ regional artists such as the Haitian artist Hervé Télémaque, Cuban painter Amelia Peláez, Colombian sculpture artist Edgar Negret, Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer, and the huge exhibition with works by 60 Latin American ‘masters’, where the most important active artists were present. All this was curated by the Wifredo Lam Center (in particular Gerardo Mosquera and Lillian Llanes), with the support of the critics and institutions of the countries of origin of the artists.<sup>360</sup>

The entire city of Havana had to deal with the Biennale since many spaces, galleries and museums were used to host the amount of events that took place during the months of November and December of 1986. That spirit would mark the next enactments of the Biennale so that by the fifth one it would, literally, take over the entire city of Havana.<sup>361</sup>



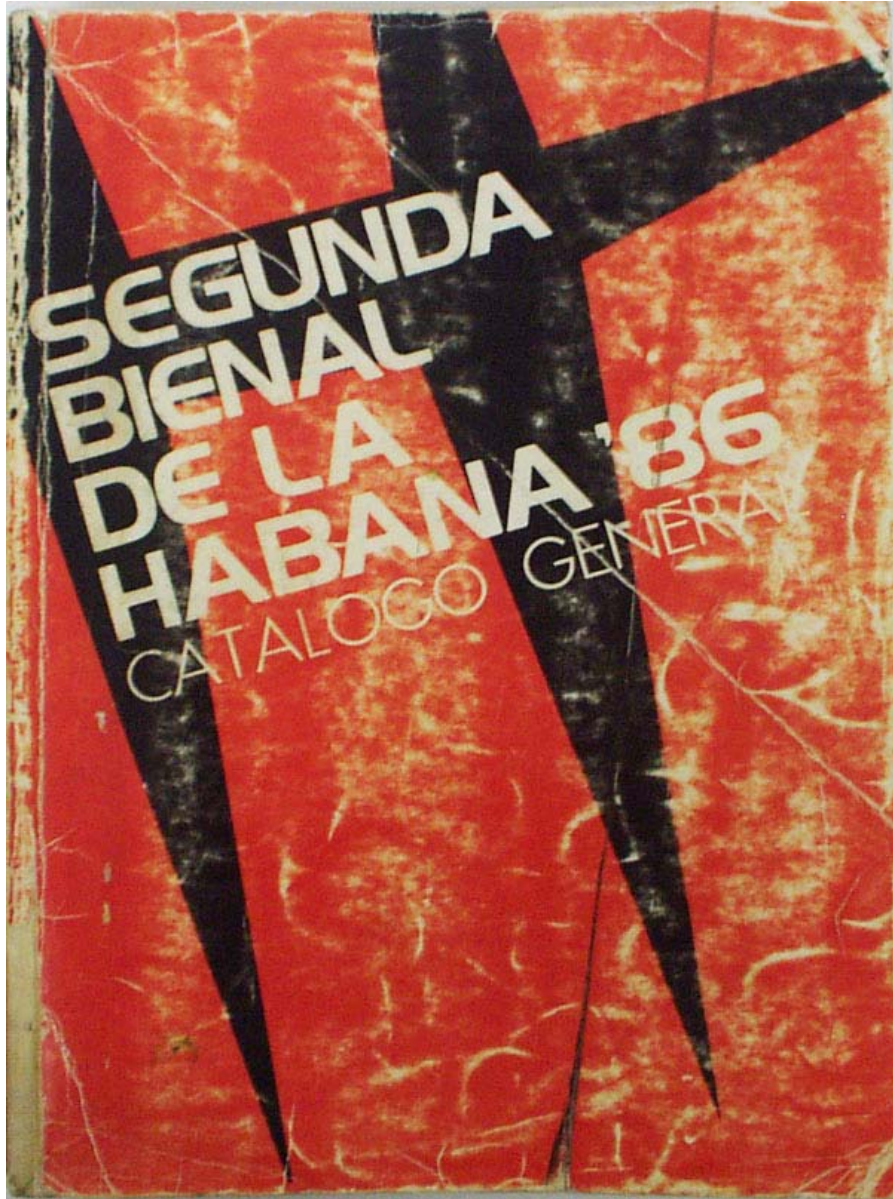
**Figure 59. Lillian Llanes (center) during one of the openings**

These developments occurred despite the complex economic conditions Cuba was facing at the time. The administration had centralized the Cuban economy during the period 1982-1987 to combat the shortage of funding coming from the Soviets.<sup>362</sup> In the introduction to the catalog, Armando Hart Dávalos was confident that the sacrifices made at the time would be rewarded later. The minister proclaimed that “the challenge the Third World has to face is universality and contemporaneity. Our problem is not to confront the universalization of cultural phenomena triggered by the increasing communication flow. Our problem is to end the fabrication of such ‘universal culture’ created without our participation and implanted hegemonically.”<sup>363</sup> The

minister understood the dimension of the event, stating “until today this is the biggest exhibition of the visual arts coming from the Third World.”<sup>364</sup> He concluded by arguing that at the time the great challenge was to move from cultural survival to cultural decolonization.

The second installment of the Biennale maintained its competitive character and issued an international call for artists to participate. The Wifredo Lam Center offered prizes (10) of two thousand dollars each to Masterful Lani (Philippines), Antonio Ole (Angola), Marta Palau (Mexico) and José Bedia (Cuba).

The International Conference on Caribbean Art took place and produced a publication that elaborated the issues discussed during the event.<sup>365</sup> Among the participants were Juan Acha (Peru), Horace Alexander Banbury (Jamaica), Tamara Blanes Martin (Cuba), Christian Bracy (France), Rita Eder (Mexico), Zuzanne Garrigués (U.S.), Robert Farris Thompson (U.S.), Rosa Luisa Márquez (Puerto Rico), Antonio Martorell (Puerto Rico), Roberto Segre (Cuba), Denis Williams (Guyana), Yolanda Word Pujols (Cuba), Adelaida de Juan (Cuba), Oyewunmi Fagbenro (Nigeria), Maurice Xavier (Martinique), Gustavo Nakle (Brazil-Uruguay), Lazara Mendez (Cuba), Gerardo Mosquera (Cuba), Jorge Tamargo González (Cuba), and Carlos Vanegas Fornias (Cuba). It took place in the Havana Convention Center.



**Figure 60. Cover catalog 2nd Havana Biennale, 1986**

A series of articles in the catalog and the academic publication summarize the contents of the event and the debates around Caribbean art. In an introductory essay, Juan Acha explores and compares Latin America and Caribbean cultural identity and argues that cultural identity “belongs to our fantasies, desires, and good intentions”.<sup>366</sup> Acha cites Walter Benjamin’s “The Work of Art in the Age of its Mechanical Reproducibility” (published in Spanish by Taurus, the famous Spanish editorial house and translated by Jesús Aguirre in 1973). Acha notes that for

many communities, art does not have an exhibitionary character but a ritual one. Following Benjamin, he argues that this leads to the emergence of the “autonomy of the art work as spectacle. Autonomy that differs from the one we found in the highly mediated production of images on today’s world”.<sup>367</sup> Acha also comments on the de-colonial condition of the Caribbean, the fact that the newly formed nation-states are reproducing Western models, and lamented that there is not a clear way to introduce what is really at the center of the cultural production into the narrative of the nation-state. Using Adelaida de Juan’s studies on Caribbean art (published in Mexico during the late 1970s), Acha offers three models of Caribbean art at the time: the Cuban model, following Wifredo Lam’s path; the Haitian model, based on the exoticization of the self and the primitive and the naive character of their work; and the Jamaican model in which political and religious ideology mixed, shaping a mobile and flexible cultural production (e.g. the Rastafarian aesthetics).

Cuban scholar Yolanda Wood emphasizes the multiple historical times inhabiting the Caribbean and supports her view by reference to the work of Moissej S. Kagan’s on the dialectical dimension of cultures, their particular and general dimensions. She takes on the issue and sets out an historical overview of the different colonial forces that had manufactured a particular Caribbean culture.

Rita Eder, on the other hand, uses Nestor García Canclini’s approach and emphasizes the colonial legacy of the region. The Mexican historian states how internal and external colonialism is still pervasively and transversally acting upon the development of any national or regional project – be they economic, political, or cultural- in the Caribbean.

Renowned American art historian Robert Farris Thompson also participated in the conference and authorized the publication of the second chapter of his book *Flash of the Spirit:*

*African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (1983) for the compilation. His work explores the presence of African religion and culture in America and had become a cornerstone for scholars of Atlantic and Black studies. The text focuses on the connections between the native culture of the Congo (or Kilongo people) and modern cultural practices in the Americas. For example, he comments on the popular usage of terms such as “funk” that in the native language means “bad smell,” which in reality refers to the aroma of old people. Farris Thompson explains that being in the presence of the elders, a transmission of knowledge takes place. Among jazz musicians the term makes reference to a return to home, to the roots.<sup>368</sup> Farris Thompson draws the lines of connection between the cultures of African descent in the Americas (North America and the Caribbean) in a rigorous manner. The scholarship deployed in his presentation, as well as in the essay, was an important revelation to the Lam Center team about the way scholarly research might be undertaken. Certainly, Farris Thompson embraced the recently emerged school of the social history of art and applied it on his own work.

Gerardo Mosquera’s essay “África dentro de la Plástica Caribeña” (Africa inside the Visual Arts of the Caribbean) explores the work of contemporary Caribbean, and in particular, Cuban artists. Mosquera emphasizes the fact that it is not necessary to be of African descent to use its legacy. His thesis is informed by Fernando Ortiz’ *transcultural* process in which an exchange of cultural values takes place, and where (and he refers specifically to Latin America) *mestizaje* has been the result, instead of a process of acculturation, integration, and/or segregation. He underlines the fact that there is a diverse range of cultural experiences in the region that have to be studied exhaustively. He notes that visual artists were recognized by the establishment, such as Wifredo Lam himself. He praises Jean-Michele Basquiat’s fusions between graffiti, public space, and high art and also mentions other names of artists who function

on the borderline between popular culture and high culture, as in the case of Haitian artists Hector Hyppolite, André Pierre, and Kapo.<sup>369</sup>

The Second Havana Biennale also included a large number of African artists in its exhibitions. The magazine *African Arts*, established in California (at UCLA) by Farris Thompson and others, published a note underlining the participation of that group. African scholar John Povey, co-founder and director of the prominent magazine, wrote a note titled “Segunda Bienal de la Habana.” In it he makes reference to how the entire city of Havana “seemed to be at the service of the occasion... there were numerous galleries and theaters that presented works from a wide spectrum of artists and from regions rarely available to American audiences. The number of exhibitions and performances was astounding. Several were of special interest to readers of *African Arts*.”<sup>370</sup>

The best way to report on Povey’s outstanding knowledge of African visual arts is to quote at length his notes on the exhibition.

“Some of the African artists were quite familiar; others were less well known. My stays in Togo had not alerted me to the work of Do Mesrine, but Ghana was represented by the established painter Saka Acquaye. The Tanzanian presentation included the inevitable Makonde carvings and paintings that indicated that the influence of Tingatinga long survives him... Amir Nour of Sudan contributed new work: heavy geometric bronzes. Zambia was represented by Henry Tayali’s prints. Ethiopia submitted work by Worku Goshu. Zimbabwe offered only two Shona carvings and included the work of Helen Lieros.

Certainly, the most original contributions came from those embattled states, Angola and Mozambique. Alfonso Massongui produced haunting, simplified forms in cast metal, while Antonio Ele, working with acrylics, received one of the several first prizes for his painting *Animal Herido*. Mozambique offered brightly colored works by Berina Lopez that were near caricature and strong in impact. Another prize winner was Alberto Chissano for his sculpture *Donde voy a deja mis orlocos elegantes...* The quantity was all but overwhelming, particularly in view of the wide range of quality and styles, which precluded ready generalizations. Examined in juxtaposition with the presentations from more exotic and differentiated cultures the works by Latin American artists seemed visibly European.”<sup>371</sup>





installations of indeterminate structure and intention. These were flavored with the fashionable proclamations of political grievance that were more vigorously contentious than visually convincing.

Upstairs the galleries were hung with pictures from many countries, including fifteen from the African continent. Some of the African artists were quite familiar; others were less well known. My stays in Togo had not alerted me to the work of Do Mesrine, but Ghana was represented by the established painter Saka Acquaye. The Tanzanian presentation included the inevitable Makonde carvings and paintings that indicated that the influence of Tingatinga long survives him. If there is repetition in the borrowing, at least the source is so innovative and delightful that it remains fully enjoyable even at one remove. Amir Nour of Sudan contributed new work: heavy geometric bronzes. Zambia was represented by Henry Tayali's prints. Ethiopia submitted work by Worku Goshu. Zimbabwe offered only two Shona carvings and included the work of Helen Lieros.

Certainly the most original contributions came from those embattled states, Angola and Mozambique. Afonso Massongui produced haunting, simplified forms in cast metal, while Antonio Ole, working with acrylics, received one of the several first prizes for his painting *Animal herido*. Mozambique offered brightly colored works by Bertina Lopes that were near caricature and strong in impact. Another prizewinner was Alberto Chissano for his sculpture *Dónde voy a dejar mis orlocos elegantes*. Its highly stylized form was somewhat reminiscent of the stone birds of Great Zimbabwe. The quantity was all but overwhelming, particularly in view of the wide range of quality and styles, which precluded ready generalizations. Examined in juxtaposition with the presentations from more exotic and differentiated cultures, the works by Latin American artists seemed visibly European.

Outside the main exhibition there were three important specialized shows of African material. Casa de Africa hosted a retrospective of the work of Malangatana Ngwenya of Mozambique. Though much is in Europe,

providentially he had retained a selection of his painting that could be shown on this occasion. It was sufficient to detail the development of his remarkable talent up to the time when, falling afoul of the revolutionary regime, he was for a period exiled and silenced. The extraordinary thing about Malangatana's work is the variety that exists within so specific a style. No one can fail to recognize one of his paintings: those circular faces that writhe into patterns, the wide-open eyes, aghast as if at some horror that constantly affronts them. Yet there is no duplication but rather the reiteration of a particular vision that examines the world through the images imposed on the canvas. In some complex manner, the vision of his characters becomes the personal experience of the painter. The sequence spanned the period from his early experiments to the year of his exile. Ironically, only now has the revolutionary government recognized his distinction, seeing that the respect in which he is held redounds to their reputation. Malangatana is to spend some time in Sweden, where there will at last be opportunity to return to the creative work denied him for years. The results could be impressive indeed.

In another section of Casa de Africa was a show of contemporary Nigerian art prepared by F.I. Osague. Many of the names will seem familiar enough from features in *African Arts*:



Fakeye, Emokpae, Enwonwu, Ogundele, Onobrakpeya, and Wangboje. In a sense these are the classical artists of modern Nigeria, once pioneers and now the established figures. This is understandable because the works were derived from the collection of the Nigerian National Gallery of Modern Art, which intends to establish a comprehensive history that emphasizes the importance of artistic continuity. Other countries — Zimbabwe and Tanzania for example — display some of their artists in their national museums, but this is the first attempt in Africa to provide a specific location for such modern art.

In actual fact the National Gallery exists as a concept and a collection rather than as an edifice. The enterprise began originally with the inheritance of 60 pieces from the offices of *Nigeria Magazine*. Since then, under the direction of Osague, the Federal Government has purchased a further 250 pieces. In the heady oil-rich days, plans were made for a suitable building. Alas, there were hinderances — the rapid sequence of governments, the plans for the resiting of the capital at Abuja — but the concept remains established, and temporary space in the foyer of the National Theatre in Lagos allows some display and reminds one



DÓNDE VOY A DEJAR MIS ORLOCOS ELEGANTES  
ALBERTO CHISSANO, MOZAMBIQUE

ANIMAL HERIDO  
ANTONIO OLE, ANGOLA

Figure 61. John Povey, "Segunda Bienal de la Habana" *African Arts*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (May, 1987) p. 83

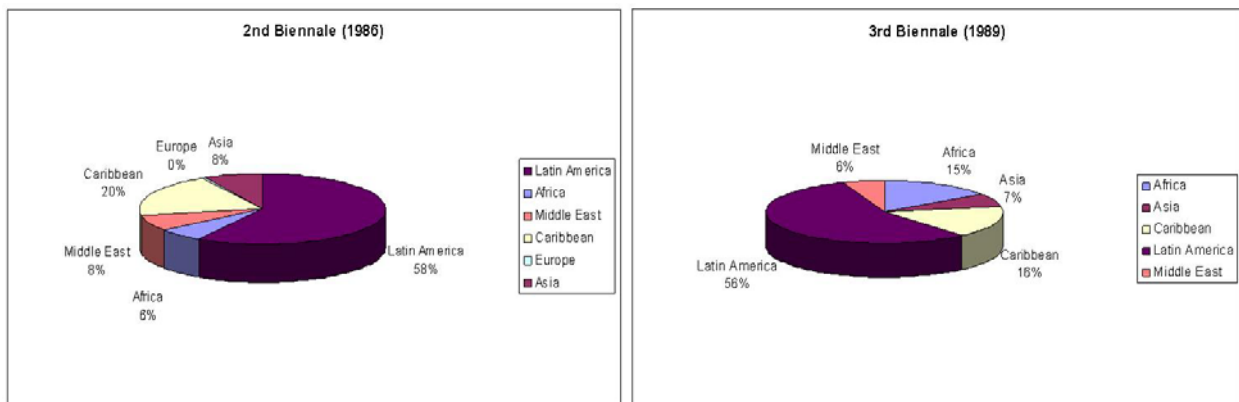
This last statement is significant, since one of the subtexts of the Biennale was to bring awareness to the work of the art produced in the Third World, in particular the Cuban and Latin American art to international awareness. For UCLA professor Povey this was striking, since issues such as the politics of difference were being widely debated in the American academy.

In addition, he mentions the parallel exhibitions taking place in the Casa de Africa (The African House), where Malangatana Ngwenya of Mozambique had an important selection of works. Povey notes the curatorial work recognized by the Lam Center and produced by F.I Osague, who brought a group of modern Nigerian artists to the Biennale. These included: Fakeye, Emokpae, Enwonwu, Ogundele, Onobrakpeya, and Wangboje (the last one considered a modern master in his country). Working for the Nigerian government, Osague set out to establish a consistent narrative of modern art for Nigeria, something that other countries such as Tanzania and Zimbabwe were also following. Finally, Povey makes a remark on the work of Tunisian artist Nja Mahdaoui, after commenting on the delineation problems of the continental geography in Africa. A certain fragmented identity between North and South in Africa has restrained the continent from achieving Kwame Nkruma's project of Pan-Africanism. This is an issue brought to the table in contemporary times by Libyan leader Omar Kaddafi and other African leaders.<sup>372</sup> Nonetheless, Povey comments on the detailed calligraphy that creates designs richly delineated in gold and red on black backgrounds; which "become both verbal statement and pure form, a remarkable tour de force of artistic precision and visual organization."<sup>373</sup>

The were artists from other countries: India, Jogen Chowdhury and Vivan Sundaram; Irak Haifa Zangana; Uruguay, Carlos Capelán; Mexico Alberto Gironela, Martha Palau, Arnold Belkin; Panama, Alfaro Brooke; Argentina, Julio le Parc and Liliana Porter; Brazil, Alex Fleming, Siron Franco, and Cildo Meireles; Chile, Cecilia Vicuña and Juan Downey; and

Venezuela, Carlos Cruz Diez and Alejandro Otero, among others. Placing them beside emerging names established a generational transition. This was clearly true in the exhibition of work by sixty of the most prominent Latin American artists at the time. It became an important introduction to the legacy of the art of the region to new generations of artists from Cuba.

Other academic events held during the Biennale were: a Serigraphy Convention organized by the National Endowment for the Arts of Cuba and an event with art critics from the Americas organized by the Casa de las Américas. Additionally, a meeting of directors of museums of art from Latin America and the Caribbean took place at the National Museum of Fine Arts, headed by Lillian Llanes.



**Figure 62. Participation world areas at the 2nd and 3rd Havana biennales**

It is clear that Latin America is at the center of the Biennale (keeping its percentages around half). Africa grew from none to 15% by the third edition. Asia and the Middle East were proportionally represented during the second and third and will continue in the same range for percentages for the duration of the event.

### 5.3 ON MODERNITY, TRADITION, AND CONTEMPORARY ART

**Third Havana Biennale** / Dates: October 27 - December 31, 1989.

Artists: 538 artists from 54 countries, more than 850 artworks. (No Prizes)

Exhibitions:

- Tres Mundos / Three Worlds
- José Bedia (Cuba)
- Roberto Diago (Cuba)
- Eduardo Ramírez Villamizar (Colombia)
- Ahmed Nawar (Egypt)
- Calligraphy in Contemporary Arab Painting
- Antonio Ole (Cuba)
- Victor Teixeira (Angola)
- Roberto Fabelo (Cuba)
- Latin American Textile
- Cuban Lithography
- Bolívar's Wooden Carves
- Mexican Dolls
- African assembled Toys
- Humor Tradition
- Chilean Censured Photos
- We Love Paraguay
- Messages from South Africa
- Sebastian Salgado (Brazil)
- Graciela Iturbide (Mexico)
- Jose Tola (Peru)
- ISA's Art Students Exhibition

Academic Events: Open Debate. *Tradition and Contemporaneity in the Third World* (National Museum)

Participants: Roberto Segre (Cuba), Jorge Glusberg (Argentina), Segio Maghallaes (Brazil), Rogelio Salmons (Colombia), Ali Sinon (Burkina Faso), Fruto Vivas (Venezuela).

*Tradition and Contemporaneity in Third World Visual Arts*

Participants: Badi-Banga Ne Mwine (Zaire), Rashid M. Diab (Sudan), Kojo Fosu (Nigeria), Geeta Kapur (India), Mirko Lauer (Peru), Juan Acha (Peru), Federico Moraes (Brazil), Pierre Restany (France), Graciela Pogolotti (Cuba).

Other Academic Events: International Lithographic Artists Encounter, Experimental Graphics Workshop of Havana. International Silk-Screen Encounter (at Rene Portocarrero's Studio).

Workshops: Adire, by Oyewunmi Fagbenro (traditional African textile techniques). Urban Architectural Solutions, at several urban spaces in Havana; Architecture-Projects (at the Malecon) organized by the Hermanos Saíz Association; ceramic workshop by Gustavo Nakle; new photographic techniques, papier-mâché, and Latin American Textiles.

1989 was indeed an intriguing year; the events prior and during the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall confirmed the arrival of a new world order. Cuba and the Havana Biennale were not exempt from such changes. The art world was also being reconfigured. The crisis of the museum as institution had worsened, not only because of the new artistic practices, but also because of the financial crisis of 1987. New markets and interests connected to the postmodern critique of the late 1970s had brought to awareness the art produced in the Third World. Twenty years earlier, exhibitions such as “When Attitudes Become Form” (organized by Harald Szeemann in the Kunsthalle in Berne) and others following it pioneered new approaches in which open projects changed the gallery space and the function of the artist (now as producer) transforming them into mediators, The museum itself became a laboratory of creation.<sup>374</sup> The fluxus movement, conceptual art, the situationist international, and new collectives introduced critical views in which the participation of a multitude of disciplines enriched the aesthetic debate.



Figure 63. Cover catalog 3rd Havana Biennale, 1989

In the catalog's preface, Lillian Llanes (Director of the Centro Wifredo Lam) explained the factors that led the Third Biennale to change its previous model. First, she defines what she calls "international hegemonic culture" as the force that homogenizes cultural production in the Third World. This force attaches the label of "popular" (or folkloric) to an artistic practice or product coming from the peripheries of modernity. This art acts under asymmetries of power, or colonial conditions. By 1989, however, the prospect of transforming the status quo, and the establishment of a real new "Economic Global order" and "Universal Culture" through Third World awareness and action, had become real. That new order is supported by the revolution in telecommunications that, if used wisely, could create a mirror image to the imperialist project. The text comments on how the Lam Center, modestly, has been working to put together an archive of cultural production that could present a clearer image of what Third World art and culture looks like.<sup>375</sup>

Llanes goes on to comment on the practical changes the Biennale suffered. An evaluation of the first two events left issues open for discussion; the competitive dimension, she observes, was important because of "mobilization and promotion; however, it establishes critical orientations losing its value in a process in which a more complex and integral model for the Biennale was developed."<sup>376</sup> The exhibitions had to guide, critically, through a visual journey to achieve a first level of analysis; the workshops would create exchange and enrichment among participants; and the academic debates would become the necessary space for critical and theoretical creativity among participants.

The Biennale had to turn its energy towards the dialectical, tense and problematic relationship between "tradition and contemporaneity" in the Third World. Llanes emphasizes that "our interest was to break up the structure through the recognition of what is really ours. To

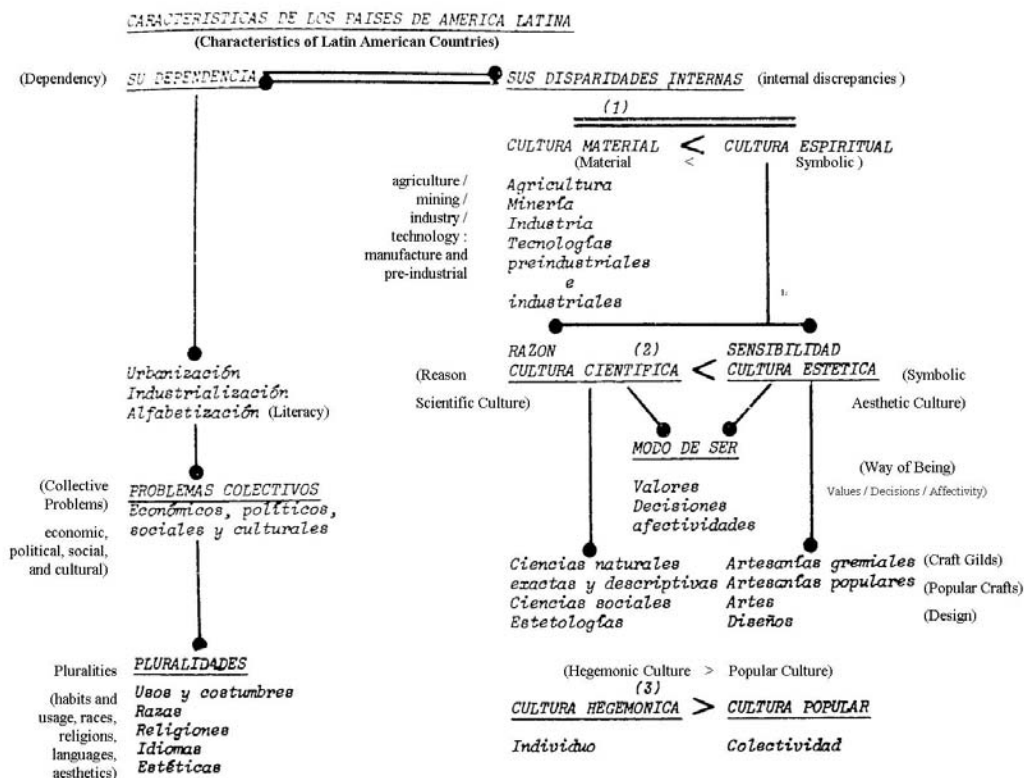
identify those traditions that are the result of the interactions between history, mestizaje, and the interaction with the natural environment and the geography; all of those are entangled in a web of particular socio, economic, cultural, political, and historical processes and the art that responds to it.”<sup>377</sup>

The question that Llanes wanted to underline and that the Biennale wanted to answer was: “Do or do not our artistic practices have to express themselves through a language and medium that responds to contemporary codes in concordance with the world we live in and with our tendency to go from the local to the global?” In that dichotomy, in the inner contradictions of the Biennale -following a dialectical structure, to be for or to be against- the Third Havana Biennale started the most promising journey. To attempt, always with its humble voice, to address issues of real relevance for the art being produced in the Third World, at the moment of the emergence of the global, in the rise of unipolar world, in the aftermath of the Cold War, in the decade of the 1990s.

“Tradition and Contemporaneity” became the concepts that would entangle the contingency of the debates that were taking place not only in Havana but on a larger scale, in a world in transformation. 1989 has become recognized as the year that established the end of the bi-polar phase of modernity into a uni-polar stage in which global capital (and the emergence of what Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt have called Empire) was transforming the economic and the cultural face of the planet. Tradition and Contemporaneity became concepts that represented the debates around the simultaneity of historical times in a world that was, apparently, unifying under the flag of globalization.<sup>378</sup>

Peruvian critic Juan Acha in the opening essay for the catalog and the academic volume (that on this occasion could not be produced as a book, just as a transcription due to the always

precarious economic conditions) states with respect to the concepts in play that “It is true that all these deductions and conclusions are generalizations, products of the Western Culture. Those take us away from concrete realities, if you want; they are amputated deductions (truths) of Eurocentric illusions.”<sup>379</sup> Acha points to the basic stages that define Western culture and imposes its several moments on the present of Latin America. He would like to speak for the Third World, but finds an obstacle, the difference and the particular of the historical experiences in the several regions that compose such socio-economic construction. He concludes that Latin America’s problems are not scientific but political, because all come down to the same word “dependency”. Acha argues that Third World plurality (social, economic, and racial diversity) is not the problem. They would be solved with basic education that would bring acceptance to such differences -the created, enforced, and voluntary differences all at once. Acha says “our identity is plural, no matter if it is the collective or the individual.”<sup>380</sup>





MECANISMOS CULTURALES DE AMERICA LATINA (Cultural Mechanisms in Latin America)

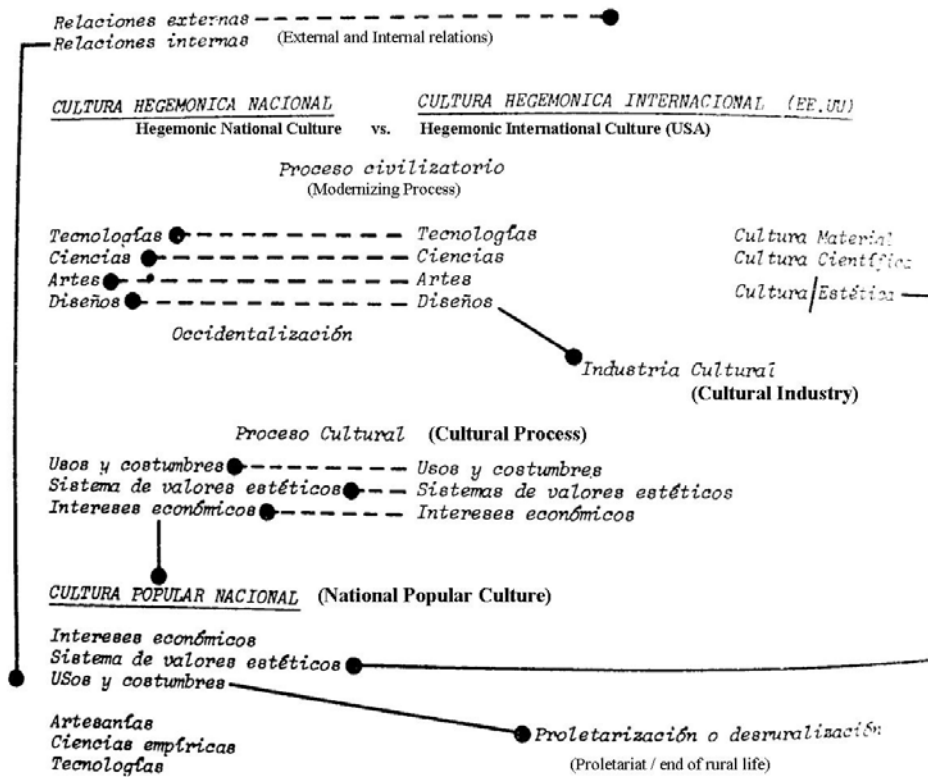
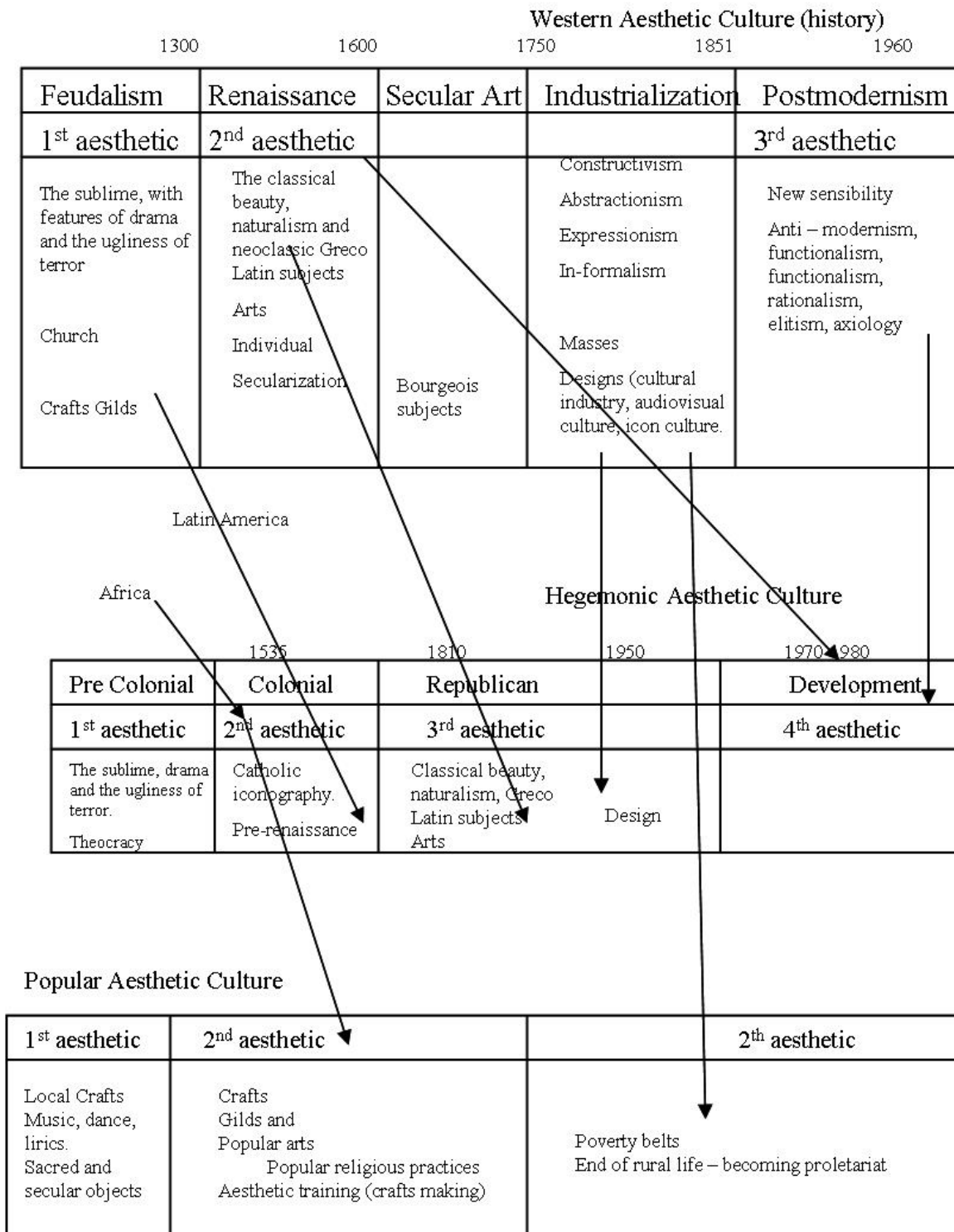


Figure 64. Juan Acha's chart, 3<sup>rd</sup> Havana Biennale. 1989

According to Acha, Latin America shows two aesthetic cultures at once: the hegemonic, Western one of Renaissance origin, and the popular with its religious base of thought. Extending these to the Third World, Acha argues that these aesthetics also are present in a sort of simultaneity of historical times. It is possible to find what he calls “feudal craftsmanship, renaissance arts, and modern design” corresponding to an evolutionary development in today’s Third World.<sup>381</sup> Finally, Acha insists that the popular is subjugated to the hegemonic aesthetics by a purely economic interest which maintains that the first one is attached to pre-capitalist systems of production. When needed, the popular -informed by the cultural industry and the mass media, controlled by the hegemonic aesthetic- becomes a tool giving birth to nationalisms and xenophobia.



**Figure 65. Juan Acha's chart (my translation)**

For Acha, a conventional Marxist scholar, what the Third World has to do is to recognize its stage of development in order to evolve from a pre-capitalist or pre-modern stage to a universal stage beyond the hegemonic aesthetic. In others words, it should move beyond capitalism to a socialistic stage, in which post-modernism would inform the transition thanks to its exaltation of the local. Acha, nonetheless, criticized postmodernism because of its anti-rationalist take and its reservations about meta-narrative.

To Sergio Magalhaes, a Brazilian architect, the dichotomy of tradition and contemporaneity is informed by history and space. As Brazil has engaged in the discourses of the West, its modernization has been connected to modern traditions. However, its space is one 'out side history'. He brings the example of Brasilia, a city of the future built in the middle of the Brazilian plateau, surrounded by a jungle. The necessity to think in teleological terms, in the way progress and development do, is a modern legacy. Simultaneously, Magalhaes explores the notion of culture, as the result of the mixture of various groups living in the territory -but with an undoubtedly Iberian label. This label is a contradictory one, since it produces wealth out of 'adventures of colonialism' and not through work (in contradiction to the Anglo-Saxon work ethic). In additon, Brazil was one of the countries of the region that did not abolish slavery until late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Culture and work, then, are entangled in the dialectic of master and slave, an unequal power relationship in which the cultured word is extricated from the popular, and were work is associated with exploitation and misery. Additionally, if being contemporary does not also bring social change, there is a sense that the future is not going to be better. Then there are misunderstandings, or better, a realization of what the modern project was. Magalhaes uses Walter Benjamin's figure of the *angelus novus* to illustrate this point. Modernization and alienation are related and here the author mentions that Brazilian cities are a good example. Rio

de Janeiro was built as an Iberian city. Institutions were located at the center, and as in a chess board game the city grew in a reticule. Following Haussmann's modernization of Paris, Rio de Janeiro was up-dated from 1903 to 1909. The ripping out of the city did not take away the colonial legacy. The industrial elites of the time wanted a real symbol for the country, something that could bring attention to their cosmopolitan values. That is how Brasilia came into being. Magalhaes argues that "the alienated search for being contemporary was paradoxical: we have to be there before them, before the model itself..." The problem is that the model has not taken into account the interests of the great majority of Brazilians, as it has not taken into account the great majority of the peoples of the world.<sup>382</sup>

In the same collection of texts, Venezuelan architect Fruto Vivas mentions how any culture has its double, a counterculture. He goes on to explain how tradition and contemporaneity exist side by side. His essay addresses the multiple ways in which culture and counterculture are not only simultaneous but also related. Vivas, who founded the architectural school at the Universidad Andrés Bello in Caracas during the 1960s, always had an interest on vernacular forms and materials, taking the dichotomy very seriously. For him, it is part of the Western model of thought that has created the two sides. In an historical fashion he recounts several cases in which 'modern' cultures have changed or taken over by 'traditional' ones and how new hybrids come to solve particular problems. He argues that it is in architecture where the possibility of local knowledge and the conditions of hegemonic dominance can be traced more accurately. He comments on the generation of architects working during the 1970s and 80s and how they finally were able to distance themselves from the international style and came up with a new discourse that valued traditional pre-Columbian architecture, materials, and techniques. They included among others: Rogelio Salmona (Colombia), Juvenal Baraco (Peru), Oscar

Niemayer, Eolo Maia (from Brazil), and Carlos R. Villanueva (Venezuela). At the same time, Vivas mentions the many counter-cultural thinkers who are the seed of the new contemporaneity of the region: Simon Rodriguez, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, and Jose Martí (active during late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries), and others such as Franz Fanon and Eduardo Galeano, who recognized the value of tradition and had produced some of the most remarkable texts informing and creating a Third World subjectivity from Latin America.

To close the volume, Roberto Segre, the most important architectural critic in Cuba at the time, puts forward a series of questions that addresses directly the concepts at work. Is tradition just historical ballast or a seed for the future? As an architectural historian, Segre comments on the relevance of the modernist avant-gardes that addressed the issue: Vasconcelos during the Mexican Revolution; de Andrade during the ‘semana de arte moderna’ in Brazil; the ‘minorista’ group in Cuba, etc. However, Segre argues that it is not only a movement from the inside-out but also from the outside-in. The presence of multinational corporations in the Third World, the ones in charge of exploiting the natural resources such as the United Fruit Co., in Central and South America, others planting and producing sugar in the Caribbean, metals in Peru, Bolivia, Chile, cattle and cereals in Argentina, coffee in Brazil, etc., have brought a particular culture (with its own architecture), implanting new forms, materials, and techniques and transforming the vernacular ones. This fact, in addition to the immigration of a labor force from some European countries during the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the growth of the urban centers, diversified the population and brought the international styles that were in play. After some decades, Segre states, they mixed with the local ones.

Segre understands the dichotomy of the terms tradition and contemporaneity, as a two-fold issue. For some, they are only related to modernization or the *Westernization* of the Third

World; for others such as Habermas, Subirats or Maldonado, modernization is the only way to bring about equality; it is through emancipation (which they confuse with modernization) that those excluded can participate. For him the process has to take into account the whole spectrum of society. Tradition and contemporaneity must be attached to a process of democratization. Not as the decision of a demiurge that designs the social, political, and physical space, “but out of a collective life able to integrate popular creativity as a poetic that works as an integral synthesis for the people of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.”<sup>383</sup>

The struggle to maintain the institution began with the Third edition of the Biennale. Without a doubt 1989 has become a landmark for the emerging globalizing project. The Third Havana Biennale was caught in the middle of such phenomena, opening a year late; it was supposed to open in 1988 and since then it has not had a regular schedule. It saw not only its budget cut in half, but also witnessed the ideological defeat of the Second World.

Since the beginning, the Biennale had inherited much from the old fashioned, mainstream model for such international art events. Calling it the ‘anti-biennale’ paradoxically emphasizes its proximity to the hegemonic model. The socialist character of Cuba made the fact less apparent, yet it was ruled by ranking (the prizes) and cultural representation (the countries) just like any other international event. It can be said that like Cuba itself, the Biennale was living an inner contradiction (and it is still doing so). Think of groups of (international) jurors evaluating what they considered contemporary and folk-art at the same level, given what we know of their training and experience. Valuing the art from the perspective of individual prestige and market success could be contradicting the real objective of the Biennale. Many artists were rejected, and numbers of art works addressing the real problems of the everyday life in the Third World

received no attention at all. That contradiction finally would be faced at the moment of the fall of the Second World and the failure of the Socialist bloc.

Luis Camnitzer, in a piece published in the leftist art magazine *Third Text*, explains how “This Third Biennial did away with prizes and classifications. Artists were selected more rigorously than in the past and were allowed a bigger representation. The notion of a ‘central exhibition’ was further diluted -a process already started in the Second Biennial- through the scheduling of many parallel shows, panel discussions, lectures and workshops led by artists.”<sup>384</sup>

Camnitzer compares the Biennale to the blockbuster exhibition “*Magiciens de la Terre*”, organized by the Pompidou Center in Paris the same year. He argues that the Parisian exhibition was an attempt to open the doors of hegemonic art to the Third World in order to find parameters for common measurement. Camnitzer notes that only the Nigerian painter Seven Twins participated in both Havana and Paris; meanwhile the Cuban artist José Bedia, also in Paris, had a special exhibition in Havana but was not part of the central exhibition titled *Three Worlds*. On the other hand, Alfredo Jaar (Chile) was also invited to both events, declining to participate in Havana for lack of resources. Camnitzer comments on how an event such as *Magiciens* is one of a kind and that the comparison is more odious than important in the sense that the mega-exhibition addressed and brought “otherness” to the mainstream of contemporary art becoming also a place to define the “other” instead of allowing it to identify and define itself without the orchestration of a fancy institution and big budgets.

Camnitzer’s article is also a useful report on the most interesting pieces and exhibitions in Havana. He praises the efforts by the Biennale coordinators to put forth a series of works that could go beyond notions of nation-state and territory. At the same time, many works were exploring combined problems, following the designated topic. The largest contingent was still

Latin American, this time exploring the connections between pre-Columbian and contemporary culture. Argentinean Cesar Paternostro's paintings were based on Inca designs and Latin American Constructivism; Alejandro Fogel's landscapes with allusion to pyramids were build from within the canvas; Peruvian Esther Vainstein's *adobe* sculptures also recalled pyramids; Colombian sculptor Eduardo Ramírez Villamizar (with a solo exhibition) presented the most rigorous body of artistic work on the issue; Mexican Marta Palau's and Cuban Leandro Soto's contributions were informed by pre-Columbian myths and fables rather than formal dimensions. Camnitzer argues that "the nexus between the different cultures is yet waiting to be transcended by something beyond exercises in poetic archeology." He condemns the formal approach that he believes takes away subjectivity and the capacity to define a common identity.<sup>385</sup>

The topic of the event also helped to address such issues from suggested perspectives. The inclusion of wired toys, masks, and assemblages from several African countries informed viewers about practices that would not normally be taken seriously by the art world. Actually these works would be at the center of new definitions of African contemporary art, a label that was only under construction at the time. The author argues how "toy cars from Mozambique and Guinea Conakry and popular Bolivar wood carvings from Venezuela all had their own artistic stature."<sup>386</sup>

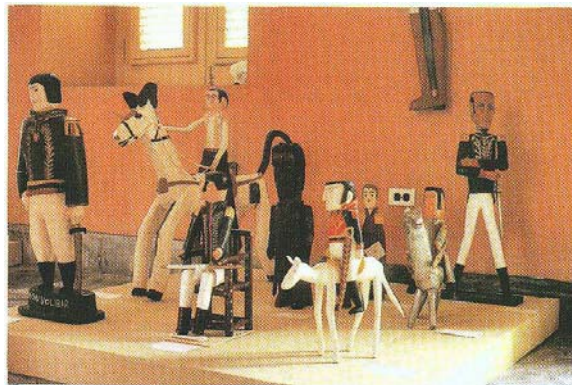


Figure 66. Bolivar's wooden carvings (Venezuela). 1989



Carnival masks from Guinea Bissau were also included. National groups which were participating showed some consistency. The Philippine contingent, composed of Santiago Bose, Raymond Maliwat, and Roberto Feleo, addressed mythical, popular, religious, and folkloric forms, materials, and colors, relating them to local political struggles. Camnitzer describes what he defines as “peripheral (and) with a greater honesty than in preceding biennials,” referring to the work of artists such as Vietnamese Dnag Xuan Hoa’s romantic modern abstractionism, militant avowals in the case of Palestinian Shamia Halabi, antique references in the temperas by Mongolian Tse Dabaajun and Ethiopian Solomon Belachew. Other artists in the same category but addressing violence through a collection of memorabilia were the British black-artist Shaheen Merali (who presented a group of social-realistic scenes of strikers), Ecuadorian Marco Alvarado and Egyptian Reda Abd Salam.

As in the previous Biennales, photography played an important role. Two exhibitions by the exceptional artist Sebastian Salgado (working at the time for Magnum) depicted the life of Brazilian gold mine workers. Mexican Graciela Iturbide used the camera as a tool of individual communicational connection, establishing nearness and intimate relationships with her subjects and objects of work. Another photographer, Brazilian Miguel Rio Branco, presented a small photograph of an Amazon woman wearing jewels on her wounded skin, side by side with an enormous installation by young Cuban artist Adriano Buergo, who used urban debris to insinuate order among the chaos. Camnitzer notes that the carefully staged works made the Biennale an absorbing visual experience.<sup>387</sup>



**Figure 67. Miguel Rio Blanco, “Monalisa.” 1974 and Sebastián Salgado, “Gold Mine Workers.” 1988**

The Cuban group was also relevant since they were creating art in the midst of a series of new rules and political scandals that led to the firing of Marcia Leiseca, Vice-Minister of Culture in charge of the visual arts. The reason for her dismissal was her delay removing some works from an exhibition which were seen as politically offensive.<sup>388</sup> That is why, perhaps, the Biennale decided to group the most problematic Cuban pieces and artists in an exhibition titled *The Tradition of Humor in Cuban Art*. It showed works by Rafael Blanco (19885-1955) and Eduardo Abela (1891-1965) as well as guerrilla artists such as ‘Chago’ (Santiago Armada), the art director of the guerrilla movement in Sierra Maestra during the Revolution, and contemporary young Cuban artists such as Tonel. Camnitzer argues that the exhibition interrupted the circulation of the *Three World’s* exhibition, focusing on the historical presence of humor and sarcasm in Cuban art, noticing that grouping “these artists in a humoristic ghetto had the danger of diminishing their artistic value, converting their work into a joke or, more seriously, of defusing its political aggressiveness.”<sup>389</sup> Perhaps, however, this was the only way for a critical message to avoid censorship.

Camnitzer also reports on some Cuban artists, who according to him were the most powerful in the Third Biennale. Glexis Novoa (b. 1964) with an installation titled “Etapa Práctica” (Pragmatic Era) 1989, juxtaposed several canvases distilling Stalinist aesthetics in an individual alphabet that, with some code-breaking effort, could spell some of the ground breaking sentences of the Revolution (Patria o Muerte, Hasta la Victoria Siempre, PCC, etc.). Scatological paintings in the installation titled “Filosofía Popular” (Popular Philosophy) by Carlos Rodríguez Cárdenas also made comments on the Cuban situation by using popular idioms such as “el mundo no es una mierda” (the world is not a shit), an idea illustrated literally in a pellet form. These and many other small paintings, mimicking popular images, informed on the conditions of living on the island at the time. Other artists commented on Western hegemonic art and culture. For example, Ciro Quintana entered a painting-installation that in a collage fashion mixed several ‘Western’ styles (such as abstract expressionist and pop art brushstrokes and images). Small characters in the painting made sarcastic comments about them.

Flavio Garcíandía, at the apex of his production, was shown in the main exhibition along with the international contingent. Ramón Moya, a folk artist from Guantanamo, showed work influenced by Santería and *Vudu*. Artists such as Steve Kappeta from Zambia who in a similar way (but more aesthetically pleasing works according to Camnitzer) represented what is called in Cuba spontaneous art (by naïve or non-trained artists).

Finally, the author mentions the work of Brazilian Juraci Dorea who also represented Brazil in the 1988 Venice Biennial. His work titled *Project Earth*, originally developed in 1980, was “largely site-specific and exists in an exchange with its environment. Between Venice and Havana Dorea’s work suffered interesting changes. In Venice it was exhibited as ‘sculpture,’ constructions of branches and hides looking like tepees and surrounded by semi-dried aromatic,

bovine excrement. While documentation was represented, it was reduced to a secondary role... In Havana the project was solely represented by a large documentary panel. By no means was this a substitute for the project, informative and humble, it still was direct and faithful to the original spirit.”<sup>390</sup> The work was made with participation of people of the Northeast of Brazil (the poorest region in the country), and it invited interaction from the viewing public. It was composed of natural materials such as wood branches, fibers, and skin (veil) that was supposed to be cut to make sandals for each visitor. In Venice this process did not have much local resonance. In Havana, however, the documentation of these processes was at least taken seriously.<sup>391</sup>



**Figure 68. Juraci Dorea, “Earth Project.” Photo documentation, 1980**

*Arte in Colombia* published a especial number (No. 43, February 1990) on the Third Havana Biennale. It included articles by Camnitzer, interviews with Pierre Restany, Federico Morais and Gerardo Mosquera, and a report by Leslie Judd Anlander.

In the Spanish version of the same article, published in *Arte en Colombia* (later *Art Nexus*), Camnitzer expanded his report by commenting on some of the parallel shows such as the ones organized by Casa de las Américas. One on Contemporary Graphic Art from Latin America (Casa’s collection at the time included more than 2,2000 works), and another on textile art; the latter was written with the participation of international artists from the Caribbean (Hervé Telemaque), Spain (Rafael Canogar), Tunisia (Nja Mahdaoni), Japan (Shigeo Fakuda), and the

United States (Robert Rauschenberg), in addition to artists from Latin America and Cuba. Several fashion shows were organized, showing the textiles in use by models. The Biennale complemented its calendar with especial exhibitions presenting solo shows of some of the winners of the previous Biennale: José Bedia (Cuba), Antonio Olé (Angola), and José Tola (Peru).

In his interview, Pierre Restany offers a comparison between *Magiciens de la Terre* and the Havana Biennale. He proposes that *Magiciens*, directed by Jean-Hubert Martin, was a show that based its conception on a reduced art production. The traditional and the conceptual, exhibited side by side, were presented from an anthropological and cultural perspective. Restany notes that it is complicated since a power struggle emerges when reducing contemporary art, which is attached to a system of production and a market, to a mere anthropological category. He argues that, on the other hand, the show underlined the necessity of ritual in contemporary society. How could a parallel be traced on both sides of the cultural divide? He calls for using tools from the social sciences to interpret the particularities of both phenomena. He maintains that *Magiciens* did not work through to the end of the issue, it generated confusion instead. Nevertheless, because it raised an issue that resonates today, it marks a key date in the history of contemporary art.

The Third Havana Biennale was caught in a dilemma, acutely noted by Restany. He congratulates the Havana team because of their investigative spirit and their intention to find a new way to treat art, which he calls “vital anthropology.”<sup>392</sup> Nonetheless, there is a contradiction, according to Restany, between the first floor of the exhibition (were pieces that explored the fetish, the baroque, and the sacred within everyday culture that goes well with what

is qualitatively called ‘Third World aesthetics’) and the rest of the exhibition. Restany notes the “active Third World criteria” used for works chosen for the first floor.<sup>393</sup>

Restany talks about a qualitative *differance*, a difference that has to be dealt with. On one side there were works well made, aesthetically speaking, while on the other there were works that addressed certain Third World quality. Restany declares it is as “paradoxical and contradictory.” For him, it is a problem that has to be worked out by the Biennale in future editions. Similarly, in his statement during the academic event he noted:

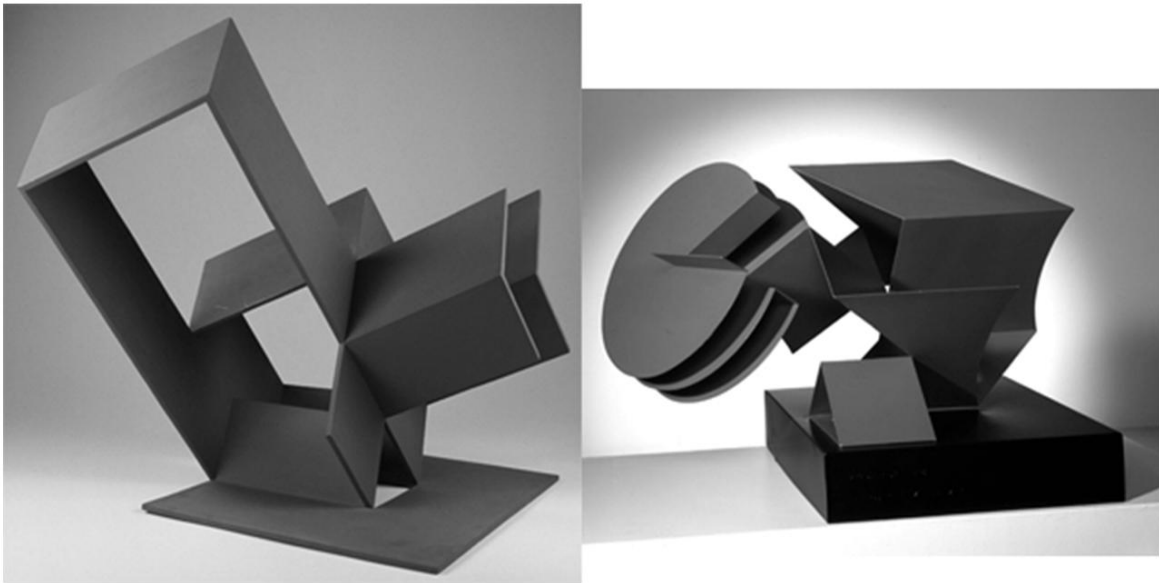
The Third World is connected to the difficulties of being in the world where identity formation is in trouble. This problem is not exclusive to Latin America, South East Asia, the Middle East, or Africa... I found this problem in many parts of the world that are not part of what is called Third World. For example, how is it possible to be a contemporary artist in Ireland? When living within a British economic, political, and military rule; but at the same time showing fidelity to Celtic tradition and roots? Some Japanese artists, being part of the technological and economic powers, chose to work with mediums and methods derived from Eastern traditions. What about those working under mediums and methods of the West? ... These problems are close to the ones the Third World suffers. Then, I believe that – in the midst of what can be a world map of countries with problematic identities - we should rethink the operative concept of Third World and start creating new selections that show more clearly contemporary reality.<sup>394</sup>

The same issue is taken up by Gerardo Mosquera in his interview in the magazine. He explains that the events are not really comparable, since they are different in nature. Mosquera sees *Magiciens* as:

An exhibition made out of a clear curatorial concept. It proposes one hundred “artists” as the synthesis of what is going on today. They have talked of the “first global exhibition”. On the other hand, Havana is just a more flexible and open space. Our exhibition was just trying to see some responses to the topic we selected as the curatorial route. Its conception is de-centralized and we put together a series of different exhibitions –that go from personal shows as in the case of Ramírez Villamizar to group shows, as like the one on African toys. It is an open concept that tries to address and underline some aspects of living in the Third World.<sup>395</sup>

Additionally, Mosquera talks about the Lam Center, and states that part of its objective is to address such an issue not in a single event but through all the activities it organizes. He

underlines the fact that while their work is dogged by a lack of resources (a problem that *Magiciens* did not have), the Biennale remains an opportunity to open a space to establish dialog and encounters where cultured and non-cultured agents meet, debate, and find common positions to address particular problems.



**Figure 69.** Eduardo Ramírez Villamizar, “Construcción en rojo” (1969) and “Caracol rojo” (1978)

Leslie Judd Ahlander also produced a report for *Arte en Colombia* titled “La Biental amplía su panorama” (The Biennale Opens Up). She comments on how many exhibitions took place parallel to the main exhibition. The author reports on her favorite artists in the display; among the Cubans she prefers Manuel Mendive’s installation “La Luz” (The Light), that used a series of objects derived from Yoruba rituals as part of the *Santería* tradition. José Franco Codinach used a leopard (linear) design to cover not only his graphic work but also his installation title “Cobras and Leopardos somos todos” (We Are All Snakes and Leopards). Without sourcing her claim, she states that Francisco Cabral (from Trinidad & Tobago), whose assemblages of every-day materials were part of fantastic thrones, was the most popular artist with the general public. She celebrates the installations by the Mexican artists Milburgo Treviño

Chávez and Rosa María Robles –in both works large format works were also highly decorated with popular and mythological allusions. These included the highly finished figurative sculptures by Sami Mohammah (Kuwait), the textile work by Bolivian artist Inés Córdova, and the conceptual proposals by Eugenio Dittborn (Chile) and Juraci Dorea (Brazil).

To Anlander, the selection system appears propagandistic. She believes that there are many artists who are as good as those participating in the Biennale but who were not chosen. She names Latin American artists working, living, and/or exhibiting in the U.S. such as José Luis Cuevas (Mexico), Roberto Matta (Chile), Mauricio Lasansky (Argentina), Antonio Frasconi (Uruguay), Jesús Soto, Carlos Cruz Diez, and Jacobo Borges (Venezuela), Alejandro Obregón and Fernando Botero (Colombia). In addition, she notes that only two Americans (or artists living in the U.S.) - one of Philippine origin and another Mexican-American - were part of the official list, as well as one British (black) artist. Carlos Villa (Philippine-American) had a piece which used James Clifford's definition of Third World (from his book *The Predicament of Culture*).<sup>396</sup> It introduced an issue the members of the Lam Center were well aware of, the changing of the world order. The piece, a foam board accompanied with a floating silhouette made out of feathers followed/threatened by spears and knives stated: "*El Tercer Mundo se caracteriza por la riqueza y diversidad de sus expresiones en los que están presentes el interés por la reafirmación de sus raíces y una vocación de universalidad como resultado de la extraordinaria mezcla de pueblos y culturas*" ("The Third World is characterized by its richness and diversity of expression. In those there is an interest in reinforcing cultural roots and a vocation for universality that is the result of the mixing of peoples and cultures.") At the end of her essay, Anlander also quotes Clifford: "The Third World is composed of people who are marginalized –or feel that they are marginalized- or silenced in the Western World." She asks, if



that is true, why were not African American artists invited to the Biennale? She finishes by calling for a more humanist rather than a political approach to the event.<sup>397</sup>

These remarks were common at the time, when an awareness of the global came into being. This image presents the way art magazines, such as *Art in America*, tackled the issue after 1989. World coverage became customary for such publications and a percentage of what had to be published, showing the, purportedly, openness of the art world.



Figure 70. Cover of *Art in America* visualizing the new global order (July 1989)

## 5.4 COLONIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM

**Fourth Havana Biennale** / Dates: November 16 - December 31, 1991.

Main Theme: The Challenge to Colonization

Artists: 250 artists from 43 countries.

No Prizes

Exhibitions:

- Art that Challenges: Art from three Continents - National Museum of Fine Arts
- Correcaminos. Eugenio Dittborn (Chile). Morro Fortress
- Wifredo Lam: Unknown. Casa de las Americas
- Weifang Art. Morro Fortress
- Bogolan. Art roots. Morro Fortress
- Dias de Guardar: 13 Photographers. Real Fuerza Castle
- Images of Our World (photographs from three continents). Morro Fortress
- Canadian Indigenous. Real Fuerza Castle
- Rogelio Marín. Photographer (Cuba). Morro Fortress
- Luiz Paulo Baravelli (Brazil). Morro Fortress
- Luis Camnitzer: The utopian and his perseverance. Morro Fortress
- Salome. Rachid Koraichi (Algiers). Morro Fortress
- Pedro Teran. The kingdom of Manoa (Venezuela). Imago Gallery, Havana Theater
- Zerihun Yetmgeta (Ethiopia). Morro Fortress
- Mestizo Popular Culture. In Casa de las Americas
- Arte Nativa Aplicada (Brazil) Morro Fortress

Academic Event: *Cultural Domination and Alternatives to Colonization*

Participants: Guy Brett, Ticio Escobar, Alberto Petrina, Gerardo Mosquera, Luis Camnitzer, David Craven, Rigo Vásquez, Jay Murphy, Coco Fusco, Ramón Gutierrez, Ibrahim Ben Hossain Alaoui, Roberto Segre, Cristián Fernández Cox, Iván de la Nuéz, Nelly Richard, Jorge Glusberg, among others.

Other Academic Events: Theory and Criticism Encounter, Alejo Carpentier Auditorium. Havana Theater

The 1990s was for Cuba the time of *El periodo especial* (the special period) in which the economy collapsed as a consequence of the end of Soviet subsidies. The end of the Cold War for many members of the now “global” world, the U.S. and Europe in particular, was a moment of triumph and celebration.<sup>398</sup> For many others, mostly on the outskirts of the global circuit of megalopolises, it signaled the arrival of a new epidemic: free trade and global control. In Cuba, energy, food, basic public services, and commodities have been in shortage ever since. It was the

decade of the *balseros*, hundred of thousands who fled the famine and the catastrophe of an economy without a safety net. In Florida, ninety miles from the island, many celebrated the fall of the regime and received the new exiles with open arms. Indeed, they thought the time had come to return and reclaim what they believed was theirs.

The previous Biennale had defined a topic of concern, a major advance, for this edition it would be in consonance with the celebration of the five-hundred anniversary of the encounter of the worlds. The Biennale had found its own dynamic that had separated the team into research areas in order to focus on the task of putting together another edition. After some years of interaction and training, the “foundational group” was transformed by Llanes’ vision. It had to prove that the Biennale, even without Mosquera, could produce results. This group of people was clearly responding to the historical context facing them. At the time, the Biennale was already recognized on the global stage of artistic mega-events. The previous edition had established a line of comparison with William Rubin and Kirk Varnedoe’s *Primitivism in Twentieth Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern* (MoMA, 1984) and Jean-Hubert Martin’s *Les Magiciens de la Terre* (Pompidou Center, 1989).<sup>399</sup> It had demonstrated that the Havana Biennale deserved to be compared with the world’s other major exhibitions. To maintain this position, the Biennale had to introduce a series of new debates underlining what art should be -or at least what it could be.

Some of the texts published in the catalog addressed such issues. In the “Introducción al Arte Contemporáneo Árabe” (Introduction to Arab Contemporary Art), Ibrahim Ben Hossain Alaoui stated that the divide East-West and the orientalist view that was brought into the mainstream of art history at the same time challenged and normalized Middle Eastern art historical narratives.<sup>400</sup> Ben Hossain comments on how early attempts at producing a Pan-Arab

art historical subjectivity were well on their way, from 1971 with the constitution of the Pan-Arab Artists Association and the 1972 Al Wassiti Art Festival in Bagdad (the first of many art biennials in the region), to the first Arab Biennial in Bagdad in 1974 and the following one in Rabat in 1976.<sup>401</sup>

Bringing forward issues such as that of alternative narratives and peripheral art history writing made the Biennale the center of attention in international publications such as *Third Text*.<sup>402</sup> The magazine, directed to study the perspectives on contemporary art and culture from the Third World, produce a especial issue presenting several articles and essays on the Havana Biennale. In that volume, nine authors elaborated on several aspects of the event and the artworks, architecture, film, music and culture around the topic “The Challenge to Colonization,” the Biennale’s organizing concept. The opening remarks are by Lillian Llanes followed by an article by Guy Brett comparing Havana, Venice, and São Paulo. Ticio Escobar wrote on Identity and Myth; Alberto Petrina introduced issues surrounding Cuban Revolutionary architecture, Gerardo Mosquera developed further his work on Wifredo Lam and Third World art subjectivity, Luis Camnitzer sent his paper from the conference on neo-colonialism in Third World art; David Craven elaborated the history of the arts during the Cuban Revolution (leading to his future book *Art and Revolution in Latin America*, 2002), Rigo Vázquez (from a musicological point of view) talks about the “nueva trova Cubana” as the written poetry of contemporary Cuba; Jay Murphy interviewed several young Cuban visual artists to present a critical view on the cultural policies during the special period; and Coco Fusco commented on the complications of organizing the first exhibition with Cuban artists in the Unites States in the late 1980s.



**Figure 71. Cover of *Third Text*, No. 20 (autumn 1992)**

Lilian Llanes begins her text by explaining why the concept of Third World art was still in use at the Biennale, arguing that “historically, research conducted in Third World Countries has been directed toward their traditional arts or the monuments of their ancient cultures... In these circumstances, the search for a better knowledge of what is happening today in Third World fine arts is a challenge and a commitment for all those who are involved in art or culture in general in those countries. It is not surprising to see an increasing number of institutions, magazines, and workshops dealing with these problems, and contributing to the satisfaction of the need for information and for communication and exchange among artists in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East, so that they may find their rightful place within global art.”<sup>403</sup> Llanes states that even the term “Third World” is part of certain rhetoric, one that is still in use because the globe is under a system of relations imposed by the industrialized nations in the aftermath of colonialism (the neo-colonial system of exchange-production-consumption), which has generated economic and cultural dependence.

Llanes celebrates the fact that there are ‘already some voices, even if isolated, defending the need to examine the characteristics of present contemporary art with a truly universal scope

and to assess adequately those artistic values emerging from outside the well-known poles of art.”<sup>404</sup> The Fourth Biennale, after the evolution that the event had experienced, selected a topic that emerged out of the ever-present conditions and consequences of postcolonial and/or neocolonial relationships. According to Llanes the idea was to explore “actual artistic production” under such conditions and to foresee the future achievements of such production in a critical environment. A clearly dialectic attitude is taken by the institution in order to address such a complex issue, that of the colonial versus the neo-colonial at the beginning of the new conditions of economic and political globalization.

British critic Guy Brett discusses his own situation as a “tourist-critic” being overwhelmed by his first visit to Havana (a theme that will be present again and again in discussions of the Biennale). He seemed surprised at finding the array of sophistication and popular culture, all in one place (odd for a critic who had traveled and written about Brazil many times before). Nonetheless, Brett went on to compare -in terms of size, scale of works exhibited, organizational complexity, and supporting program- the Havana Biennial with other major international exhibitions such as the Venice and São Paulo Biennales, large surveys like the Quinquennial Documenta at Kassel in Germany, and the recent *Magiciens de la Terre* in Paris. Overall, he found that it compared favorably.<sup>405</sup>

Brett argues that events such as Venice are part of the now Euro-North American-Japanese axis, where institutions have emerged to establish an official account of contemporary art. The official discourse is connected to a reinforcement of the national in a fluctuating entanglement with internationalism. On the other hand, there are events such as the São Paulo Biennial, which is based on the association between industrialism and nationalism (the fact that the biennial was created by industrialist Francisco Matarazzo in 1951 in a period of economic

optimism and prosperity is an indicator of such a connection). Its main interest has been placement, to locate Brazil and its cultural production, always in relation to the West, into the world map of cultural and economic power. Not only on the local but also on the international level, the Biennial followed past regional rivalries (in the fashion of Rotterdam and Amsterdam in Holland) for national positioning (along with Rio de Janeiro the former capital of the Portuguese Empire). Brett comments on how the artistic decisions - for example of inviting international artists for solo or special shows (Picasso's *Guernica* in 1953, the participation of the British Council in selecting artists for them, and Anselm Kiefer's case in 1987) have been connected to political and economic interests within Brazil and Latin America as a whole. Simultaneously, the presence of artists coming from Third World countries into São Paulo corresponds to a certain interest in becoming the mediator-representative and/or Western-agent for those countries. Brett mentions the necessity of more research in the area. Its contested history, attached to dictatorships and some marginal history of resistance (on the part of some Brazilian and international artists and critics) is contradictory, yet important. Brett goes on to affirm that "the perennial problem of the São Paulo Biennial has been that it has never extracted an intelligent exhibition policy from the issues already dealt with in the work of Brazil's most independent artists and theorists." I would argue that it did, some years after Brett's comments, in 1998 during the 24<sup>th</sup> Biennial when Paulo Herkenhoff was artistic director and an historical review on the anthropophagic dimension of Brazilian art (and by extension Third World art) was systematically produced, studied, debated, and displayed.<sup>406</sup> But it would not be until 2006 that the Brazilian mega-exhibition really changed the model of national representations to be fully a curated (multi-curated) project.<sup>407</sup>

Brett continues, commenting on how Documenta included for the first time in 1992 works by a number of artists whose origins were outside the first world. That fact made the German event, (as David Hammons, the U.S. artist in the Biennale, argued, “a success”).<sup>408</sup> Brett also mentions also *Magiceins de la Terre*; it “put together practitioners working at different points on the global map, but in different cultural, religious, sociological and aesthetic contexts, without articulating those differences. By taking folk, shamanistic, popular, and village artists out of an anthropological category, the organizers thought they would be correcting a Western prejudice and hierarchal system of classification... The irony was that in the event this neutralized both bodies of work, both forms of ‘magic’.”<sup>409</sup> In comparison, Havana is the only biennial exhibition that includes popular and professional art side by side, an important accomplishment since it establishes a South-to-South connection, something that is much harder to achieve than the usual North-South ones, just because economic and political conditions are desperate in such regions.

Havana has become, argues Brett, a “forum” in the art world, one where Third World art is not longer exotic or primitive. It is a clear demonstration of what he calls “trans-peripheral” exchange, open to artist from Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, the Middle East, and ethnic minorities within First World countries (black and Palestinian British in particular for that edition of the Biennale).

Like many other visitors, Brett listed some negative aspects, which the Biennale shares with all other mega-shows. It had become a monstrous event that is almost impossible to digest in one visit. Because of its financial problems, it lacked direction, documentation and guidance. The Biennale, without intending to do so, established market niches for new art, and emerging hierarchies for regional or individual practitioners. Additionally, it suffers from misuse by the



kind of politics of representation at stake when asking for support from official entities and or from institutions in other countries in the Third World. The positive points that Brett notes were that the Biennale moved toward multidisciplinary approaches and its intellectual activity and production in relation to critical conditions. Brett imagines that such a lively intellectual debate could become the major asset for upcoming installments of the event.

In his final notes he introduces the work of Indian scholar Ashis Nandy on the inadequacy of Western studies of mass culture (such as those produced by the Frankfurt School) when applied to non-Western situations.<sup>410</sup> Context could illuminate the “whole relationship between secular, scientific, rational Marxism and the religious and ethical system of *Santeria*, what one hears talked about on every side in Cuba” argues Brett.<sup>411</sup> He believes that new pathways are to be found in the work of artists in such entanglements, and that it is worthwhile for the world to look critically but openly at their proposition.

In Camnitzer’s contribution to the magazine (a transcription of his participation in the theoretical event for the Biennale), it is interesting to note his sharp criticism of the role of postmodern thought in Third World subjectivity at the time. He states that, “pluralism is no more than an instrument to achieve a seamless and dependent absorption of those readings into the hegemonic context... Pluralism helps peripheral artists to smooth the sharp barbs of bad communication and to make the exotic –that area of initial incomprehension– an acceptable artistic commonplace that will further pad out the notion of absolute values.”<sup>412</sup> It is not only that flattening of differences, but also a sort of depoliticization. “It is depoliticization through the contextual change of the work, through the corruption of the artist, or through the trivialization of the politics themselves.”<sup>413</sup> And that is a product of the establishment of market niches for any

type of production, which according to Camnitzer, will ultimately neutralize and formalize a counter possibility.

One of the last contributions to the magazine is a text by Jay Murphy, a New York based critic. The author conducted a series of interviews with some of the younger generation of Cuban artists. He asked them about the recent migration of the 1980s generation and the measures taken by the Ministry of Culture and the Establishment during the first years of the special period. His text titled “The Young and Restless in Habana”; he also re-published the report, with a few small changes, titled “Testing Limits” in *Art in America*, October 1992. Murphy mentions the firing of Marcia Leiseca, the Vice-Minister of Culture, over the scandal produced by the display of a group of portraits depicting Fidel Castro made by Eduardo Ponjuán and René Francisco. Murphy argues that the series of exhibitions in the *Castillo de la Fuerza* and the 1989 scandal marks the triumph of the post-1985 generation.<sup>414</sup> A critical position was present in the art at the time, connected to the general situation of unrest in the country in addition to the reaction by that part of the government that, instead of harvesting the possibilities of a new generation decided to suffocate any attempt by collectives or individuals to pursue further attacks (ideological or artistic). Mosquera himself had been critical of the measures. This situation would, in part, result in his departure from the Lam Center and the Biennale altogether.

Murphy evaluates the participation of new Cuban artists in the context of the Fourth Biennale. He shows how Lazaro Saavedra’s work was dismantled before the opening since, being an artist typical of the 1980s generation, his work was contextual and confrontational. Saavedra decided to ridicule himself publicly as an artist leaving the country on an international grant. The exhibition “Arte Cubano Actual”, a parallel event to the Biennale, did not open

simultaneously, but a couple of weeks later. It featured work by Ponjuán-Francisco, Consuelo Castañeda, Tonel, and members of the ABTV.<sup>415</sup>

Social space was part of the concern of the artists who participated in the Biennale. According to Murphy, this was a condition of choosing the Cuban artists, because of their less confrontational aesthetic. Dario Blanco's paintings titled "Espacios de Silencio" (Silent Spaces) and Eduardo García's works both used urban metaphors (roof tops, urban grids, disappearing stairways, devastated tiles, and asymmetrical geometry) and commented on the melancholy and nostalgia present at the time. Antonio Echavarría's copies of architectural 'copies', the Havana Capitol, and many Baroque buildings, comment on the appropriation (physical and intellectual) by part of the discourses of colonial and postcolonial (postmodern) aesthetics. A show by ISA students also demonstrated a certain energy that differed from the 80s generation and pointed to a new aesthetic paradigm.<sup>416</sup> Murphy underlines the work of other artists during the Biennale, Yaquelin Abdala (on female subjectivity); the young Kcho (Alexis Leyva), a provincial artist that, at twenty-one years of age presented some of the most striking pieces in the Biennale. Murphy locates him between Juan Francisco Elso, José Bedia, and Ana Mendieta. Murphy was one of the critics who pushed for Kcho's international recognition. Another artist mentioned in his report is Barbaro Mijares Puig and his piece "Tres igual uno" (Three Equal One), a large assemblage of paintings that used primitive, Third World, and First World historical references to address the simultaneity of the present (an interesting illustration of Walter Benjamin's famous image of the angel of history). Finally, the author praises the collective works by Ponjuán and Francisco and the parallel exhibition by ABTV titled "Juntos y Adelante" (Together and Further) that, using hyperrealism and deriving their images from the media (in particular the official newspaper *Granma*), and copying Soviet posters and graphic design styles (a signature of

Cuban art at the time), pointed to a return to the image and abandoned objects. Those works exemplify a return to an individual production that would characterized the new generation of Cuban artists, who were well informed, well trained, and determined to continue being critical, satirical and sharp.

*Art Nexus* (formerly *Art in Colombia*) is a magazine deeply interested in the art production of the region. It had been a platform of contemporary debates on the Americas since the early 1980s and has since become one of the most important art magazines in the region. Reporting in it on the Fourth Biennale, Luis Camnitzer states that, on the one hand, it achieved what seemed difficult -locating itself in the international calendar of international events, identifying artists that would be otherwise unknown. On the other hand, “the Biennale has become a display for Cuban artists and in general Cuban art, but that the art production on the Island is decreasing and/or in crisis.”<sup>417</sup> He makes reference to the terrible living conditions at the time, yet also notes too the inventive humor of the Cuban artists. Camnitzer comments on how these difficult conditions pressured the Lam Center to make a more severe selection, which had the effect of increasing the quality of the Biennale. At the same time, he notes how the use of the old fortresses (La Cabaña and el Morro) and another structure in the city for exhibitions gave more space for each project.

He emphasizes some of the parallel exhibitions and academic events. Among them were: a solo exhibition by Chilean artist Eugenio Dittborn of his air-mail-art projects; another of the Cuban photographer “Gori.” And an architectural exhibition with works by Luis Barragán (Mexico) and Carlos Villanueva (Venezuela) that were good companions to the central exhibition. Projects such as Alejandro Aguilera’s sculptural work “Flores para Camilo” (Flower for Camilo) that, in a satirical and sharp way reworks the concept of the monument in the best

Cuban tradition of the 1980s was also in tune with the overall topic. However, a different spirit is noticed in the rest of the Cuban artists selected; they “seem disconnected from each other.” For Camnitzer this was a symptom of a problem in Cuban artistic production: they are indeed “really good individual artists; it is the cultural dynamic which is in trouble.”<sup>418</sup> According to the author, a group of painters trained in ISA and other art schools were making the cut. Lázaro García (1968) paints in a realistic manner appropriating several pictorial styles from the history of Western art and introducing disturbing characters that comments on the actuality of the country. Nestor Arena (1967) and Marcos Castillo (1967) do the same, twisting conceptual art into their own pictorial games. Fernando Rodriguez created a blind partner who dictates what he does; the artist then produced a series of “naïve” works of excellent quality. According to Camnitzer what was happening was “an inner-referentiality”, where the relationship between masterpiece, master, and student did not maintain its normal structure. Additionally, the economic success of the previous generation had established greater interest in what artists were producing at the time.

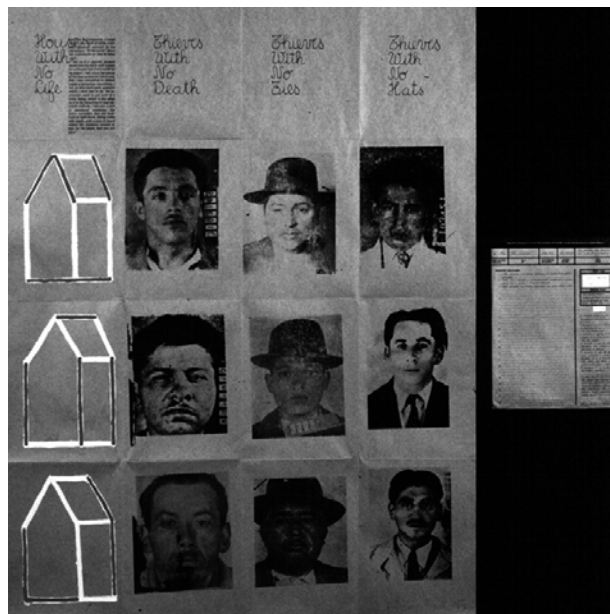


Figure 72. Eugenio Dittborn, Para vestir (aeropostal painting. No. 56)

Going in depth into the Biennale's concept "The Challenge to Colonization and Neo Colonization," Camnitzer mentions the works of Enrique Jaramillo (Colombia), who produced a set of large weapons made out of discarded wood and junk, creating an ambiance of decay. Carlos Irazarry (Puerto Rico) presented a mural made out of small drawings which he produced during his four years of imprisonment in the US.<sup>419</sup> The mural depicted a series of portraits of modern American patriots, Teddy Roosevelt, Andrew Carnegie, Peggy Guggenheim, among others, accompanied by their own biographies. The title of the piece "Los Capitalistas" (The Capitalists) points to the topic of the Biennale. Chilean artists Carlos Altamirano, Brugnoldi and Errazuriz, as well as Gonzalo Díaz, were of interest to the author for their particular conceptual production. Venezuelan Antonio Lazo's suspended mattresses and Brazilians Marcos Chaves and Valeska Soares were mentioned as part of an *art-povera* style, pervasive in certain countries, addressing space and material (as architectures of poverty). Installation was the technique used by many, comments Camnitzer, obscuring the work of more subtle artists. Indonesian Iene Ambar produced enormous sculptures; their poetical presence seemed almost trivial, but, as Camnitzer notes ironically, "in a biennial, size matters." The author finishes his report by commenting on how postmodern aesthetics, which were under furious attack in the West could accurately designate many of the works present in the exhibitions. But in contrast to the so-called "consumption of eclecticism in the West, it would be better to talk about of an eclecticism of survival" when describing postmodernism in the Third World.<sup>420</sup>

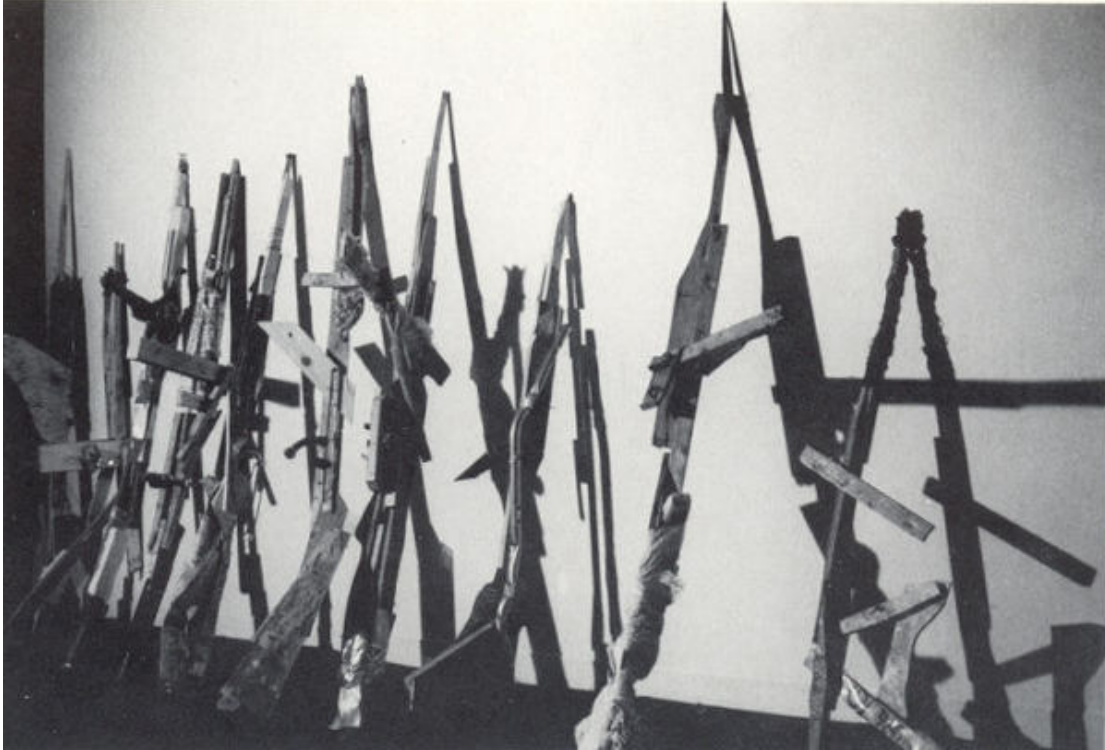


Figure 73. Enrique Jaramillo, “Si no mueren no juego.” Installation, 1989-1991

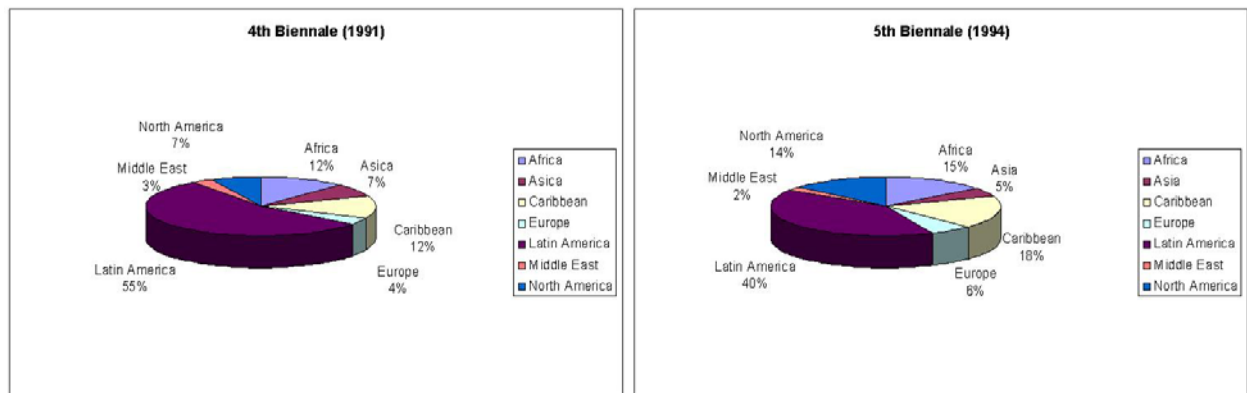


Figure 74. Participation world areas 4th and 5th Havana Biennale

Participation by world areas reaches stability by the fourth and fifth editions. The North American contingent of artist increased as the Biennale got attention in the U.S. and the market for Cuban art became apparent. The 14% in 1995 will not be reached in future editions of the Biennale.

## 5.5 MULTIPLE REALITIES

*“This year's Havana Biennial V (May 6-June 30) generated more attention in the U.S. and Europe than any previous one. Given Latin America's new high-powered commercial galleries, sophisticated contemporary art museums and big-budget art collectors, and given the continuing economic recession in the European and U.S. art markets, Latin American artists have gained unprecedented international stature in the last few years. As a result, the Havana Biennial, a showcase of current Latin American art, the first look at a new generation of Cuban artists, and the most important gathering of artists of the Third World, has become an important event for the First World art scene.” Kurt Hollander<sup>421</sup>*

**Fifth Havana Biennale** / Dates: May 6 - June 30, 1994

Main theme: Arte, Sociedad, Reflexión (Art, Society, Reflection)

About 350 artists, 54 countries.

### **Exhibitions**

1. Fragmented Spaces - Art, Power and Marginalization. La Cabaña Fortress
2. The Other Shore – Migrations. El Morro Fortress
3. Appropriations and Crossovers - Hybridizations, Cultural Mixtures. Simon Bolivar House, CENCREM, Obrapía House, Mexican House
4. Environments and Circumstances - Ecology, Conditions of Life. National Museum, Fine Arts Palace
5. Art and the Individual at the Periphery of Postmodernity- Individual and Collective Obsessions. Wifredo Lam Center, Museum of Education, Craftsmanship Museum, Segundo Cabo Palace, Colonial Art Museum, Imago Gallery

**Academic Events:** International conference about the topics of the Biennial.

Other Academic Events: First International Encounter of Visual Arts Students, ISA. International Symposium on Ceramic Art at the Real Fuerza Castle. III International Sculpture Symposium: Form, Sun, Sand, Guardalavaca Beach, Holguin. V International Silk Screen Encounter - Rene Portocarrero's Studio.

Workshops: With participation by the represented artists; with the critics and art theorists invited; On Photography; Graphics; Workshop on Identity; On Public and Private Collections; On art – culture – commodities; On the redefinition of the universal condition of art.

Catalog: 310 pages, color and black & white pictures. Essays and texts on particular topics by Lillian Llanes, Nelson Herrera Ysla, Néstor García Canclini, Carla Stellweg, Ery Camara, Eugenio Valdés Figueroa, Hilda María Rodríguez, Ibis Hernandez and Margarita Sánchez, Magda I. González, Juan Antonio Molina. (Spanish)

A selection from the Biennial was exhibited at the Ludwig Forum for International Art in Aachen/Germany in September 1994 (catalog in German) Catalog and official documentation, Centro Wifredo Lam. Habana



The economic debacle and political isolation at the beginning of the era of global markets obliged the leadership of the country to open up their economy and introduce a series of social experiments (allowing private property and small business, as well as allowing the flow of foreign currency, especially that coming from Miami). Another layer of blockade from the U.S., the Cuban Democratic Act known as the Torricelli Bill, was introduced. In the arts, the so-called crisis of Cuban art had also produced a new "new Cuban art" (called by Mosquera the *mala yerba* / weed generation). It was defined by its distancing from the political and a retake on the aesthetic paradigm, in a sense connected to the nascent art market for Cuban art (part of the larger "global art" circuit). The artists of the new era circulate (more and less) freely around the mega events of the global cities of the world -in the way Saskia Sassen had argued for the creation of transnational citizens in the global stage.<sup>422</sup> Cuban artists were already part of this flow; the generation of the 1980s was living mostly abroad. They paved the way for the new generation who saw in individuality and object-based art a solution to their own inner crisis. They have been denounced for cynicism, extreme formalism, and even for complacency.<sup>423</sup>

But the truth is that these generations of global artists, and especially the Cubans constituted an important part of the new networks of creativity that thrive in the world of art. The opening of a branch of the Ludwig Foundation in Havana as a consequence of the interest on the part of German collector Peter Ludwig in Cuban art, created a direct path from Cuba to Europe (provoking interest in the international market).<sup>424</sup> The paradigmatic Cuban curator-investigator had also emerged. Gerardo Mosquera and others did not rely only on a cult of personality; they are the result of a formal and para-scholarly education. In the case of the Lam Center curators, they come from a specific social and artistic context supported by the apparent stability of the socialist system and from their continuous traveling and exchanging of information, including

interaction with artists, curators, critics, etc., during and previous to each Biennale. The curatorial team of the Havana Biennale had renounced individuality in order to reach their main objective. They achieved maturity by traveling, translating, and in many cases, being part of an expanded field of practices and artistic scenes taking place in the Third World and beyond.

In the introductory remarks for the catalog, Lilian Llanes comments on the change of tone that took place for this Biennale. She underlines the rethinking of the Third World as a concept, and the opening of the Biennale to a larger scope of issues in order to offer a reading of the contemporary society in new terms. The inclusion of the curator-investigators as part of the whole process of the conception of the event is also clear. Finally, Llanes calls again for a systematic participation of artists in the international arena, reinforcing a new reading of the ‘state of affairs’ in the early stages of globalization. Universality, conviviality, tolerance, and respect have to be the values of a new global society; nonetheless her stance toward the global market for art is strongly critical. Llanes denounces its voracity and inconvenience when establishing new readings of contemporary art and art history narratives.<sup>425</sup>



**Figure 75. Cover catalog 5th Havana Biennale, 1994**

The curators-researchers (*especialistas*, in Llanes' words) were fully operational in the event and took control over the exhibitions at stake. Nelson Herrera Ysla functioned as Vice-Director and coordinated the exhibitions from a macro perspective. In his introductory text he summarizes the history of the Biennale as a space for artists coming from the so-called "world in development" and reaches for the point of complete universality.

In the same order of ideas, it is relevant to note the views of one of the curators who comments on the position of the Fifth Biennale, as it relates to others. Hilda María Rodríguez states:

"1994 is an important moment for the Havana Biennale project, it was finally settled. The first and second function as its establishment, the third and fourth demonstrated that a different project was possible, the fifth we called 'the moment of putting everything on the game board'... For me, this Biennale marks that moment. Several orbits were developed in relation to the conceptual structure. The idea was to use such orbits to talk about what was happening in the world at the time. We got rid of the central exhibition and developed five shows, which addressed the questions we posed. Artists and art pieces approached them from several perspectives. If the Third Biennale introduced the curatorial project, it was the Fifth that materialized such a proposition. I do not want to say that the selection of artists and projects was perfect, the fact was that we did have lacunae, but at least we were addressing sharply (and on a big scale) the problems we thought were the ones afflicting the world at the time.

The current conditions of art production, where art interacts with society, pushed us to used non-conventional venues and establish a collaborative work with the artists. In fact, bringing the Biennale to the fortresses of La Cabaña and El Morro was an achievement, but we went beyond this and decided to use the city itself. In those spaces we had the possibility to invite artists to interact with the architecture on a whole new level. We suffered many problems in terms of production, however, that decision added another feature to the Biennale; the historical weight of such places put the exhibitions in motion and in relation the city and the city's history. That is now part of the spirit of the Biennale."<sup>426</sup>

As reported by the Biennale, and confirmed by the press reports, out of 171 participants 140 assisted in installing their own work; "the result was an exhibit with a better set-up than ever before and with a high degree of interpersonal exchange -one of the aims of the Biennale. Added to that was the presence of over 400 foreign art-related visitors..."<sup>427</sup> Many reports, articles, and

press pieces were published around the world on the Fifth Havana Biennale. However, as Rachel Weiss noted on the leftist web-site <leftmatrix.com>:

I have written an extended (article) pertaining to the treatment of the past Fifth Havana Biennale by the art and news media in the U.S. I wrote this paper after having been fortunate enough to have been present at the past 3 Biennales and witnessing upon my return to the States, coverage, which, especially for the past two Biennales [#s 4 & 5], has been narrowly placed within the dominant discourse created and promoted the United States government. In particular, the articles appearing in *Art in America* (and we know the 'America' referred to here rarely includes the "Americas") "covering" the last two Biennales discuss only in the briefest of passages the intent of the Biennale, such as: the thematic concepts; the broad participation of artists from the Americas, Africa, Asia, and those diasporic artists living in Europe and the U.S.; or the creation of and discussions occurring within the various forums which took place during the Biennales - forums which brought together some of the most important critics and historians from throughout the Third World, to present papers and discuss related issues.<sup>428</sup>

Weiss was not the only one denouncing this situation. In his regular review of the Biennale Luis Camnitzer began by unmasking the rumors that were launched to reduce attendance to the Biennale, those citing the economic burdens and the supposedly censored ambience.<sup>429</sup> Then he goes to offer an in-depth report of the state of the event, recognizing that, "the biennial proved its institutional stability and definitive place in the configuration of international biennials".<sup>430</sup> He adds, "From being an eccentricity of the underdeveloped sector, it became the other side of the coin, a side without which a coin doesn't exist. This passage from experimental to maturity was confirmed and cemented in the Fifth Biennale."<sup>431</sup>

The Biennale had become not only a regular event in the international schedule but also an object of interest on the part of the international critical and cultural apparatus. Camnitzer also recognized that there was a big change when comparing the event with its previous installments, "One could say that the Biennale itself became object oriented. The accent was on the exhibits while previously there had been an effort to give primacy to panel discussions, practical

workshops and less orthodox spectacles like flying Chinese kites. This one, in a mammoth expansion through a multitude of buildings, underlined the consumption of the work of art.”<sup>432</sup>

In addition, the Fifth Biennale invited the participation of artists outside the Third World to a degree that drew the attention of critics such as Betty Klausner and Kurt Hollander of *Art in America*. In Klausner’s report in the October (1994) issue of the magazine entitled “U.S. contingent in Havana - U.S. artists represented in the Havana Biennial V,” the author describes how the Biennale functioned in conditions of scarcity and underlines certain accomplishments. Klausner wrote, “Cuba is desperate. People are hungry. The gorgeous Spanish colonial buildings, with their arcades, balconies, ceramic and elegant iron railings, are decaying. In the center of Old Havana, opposite the Plaza Hotel, where I stayed, a few crumbling walls of a collapsed structure remains. Throughout the city vacant buildings survive, but as I passed their fancy facades and looked up, I saw sky instead of ceilings.”<sup>433</sup> As a visitor from the United States, Klausner sees how “Only the hotels and a few public buildings look freshly painted and cared for. Tourism earns coveted dollars for the government. So the hotels Nacional, Inglaterra and Habana Libre, and all the glitzy joint-venture tourist hotels two hours away in Varadero, offer efficient plumbing, full-time electricity and air-conditioning, CNN, new telephones in each room, and all the *Cuba libres* or *mojitos* you can drink. You expect these comforts in a luxury hotel. But not now, in Cuba during the continuing ‘special period’ of deprivation which has adults surviving on 900 calories a day.”<sup>434</sup>

After such a description, which was not far from the truth, the article emphasizes the participation of artists from the United States. The writer recalls the exhibition that took place parallel to the event in 1986, an exhibition called “Over the Blockade” in which some important American artist participated.<sup>435</sup> Klausner comments on how Havana had focused, almost

exclusively, on showing art from the Third World countries, however, “This year, under the rubric ‘Art, Society and Reflection,’ the policy was broadened, and American artists were invited to participate. In previous Biennials, some foreign artists living in the U.S. and some uninvited U.S. artists squeezed in under special circumstances... But this year, according to Llanes, marked the first official U.S. inclusion. The rationale was that the issues in the forefront of the Biennial - migration, marginalization, the environment and the like - are universal; Third World concerns are not limited to underdeveloped places.”<sup>436</sup>

The issue is significant regarding the re-conceptualization of the term “Third World.” The re-organization of the world after the collapse of the Second World and the increasing mobilization of massive amounts of people from the southern (and Eastern) regions of the planet to the centers of economic and cultural hegemony made clear that the inclusion of artists addressing the collapse of the First and Third world was appropriate. As suggested by Maria de Herrera, cultural affairs administrator from Santa Monica, Calif., who accompanied a large contingent of invited West Coast artists: “Cuba now identifies us as becoming more Third World. Our minorities are underserved and don't have the benefits of living in an industrial nation.”<sup>437</sup> This quote is consonant with the work of theorists such as Homi Bhabha, Arjun Appadurai, and James Clifford who by that time were producing some of the most relevant texts on displacement and the constitution of “diasporic public spaces” in the global cities of today.<sup>438</sup>

Klausner named the 1994 Biennale “the miracle,” not only because of the exhibition itself, but also because of the innovative use of alternative venues and the fact that the Wifredo Lam Center had a new renovated home in Old Havana. Klausner comments that Lillian Llanes “Director of both the Biennial and the Lam Center, had indeed performed seemingly impossible feats. Amid scarcity, daily hardships and national bankruptcy, aided by local and international

cohorts, she created a handsome, functional exhibition space for the Lam Center - and another Biennial... Llanes managed to organize an exhibition representing 48 countries and 288 artists without a working photocopier. Lack of phone connections and irregular mail service made communication and planning difficult. This was a Biennial on a shoestring, and the limitations showed.”<sup>439</sup> The author comments on Llanes’ visit to the U.S. during the previous years to participate in academic debates and biennial forums on the East and West Coasts and her whereabouts contacting artists and curators in Los Angeles and New York. She points out how resistance on the part of some curators and galleries made things complicated, “curator Lizetta LeFalle-Collins proposed three artists, although ultimately only Sandra Row participated (showing self-portraits and manipulated computer clip-art of women in offices, work that commented on sexism and racism in our society), the others withdrawing because of uncertainties about exhibition conditions. A few American galleries dissuaded their artists from participating.”<sup>440</sup>

A total of eighteen U.S. artists, in addition to twelve international artists living in the U.S. at the time participated in the Biennale. That makes almost ten percent of the total participating in the event that year. For Klausner, if the Americans were exhibited as a group, their presence would have been more apparent, however, the conceptual and physical structure of the Biennale did not group nationals together. Additionally, there were more than a dozen venues used by the Biennale spread throughout the city.

A national perspective is also evident in other reports. In the *New York Times* it was noted that “ Most of the art on view at the Fifth Havana Biennial would not have been out of place at last year's Whitney Biennial: it is both uneven in quality and highly political in content. Pride of place, filling the entry hall of Cuba's Museo Nacional, goes to a 100-foot-long

photomontage by the New York artist Michael Lebron lambasting the owners of Coors beer for supporting right-wing causes. The work was conceived for a billboard at Pennsylvania Station in New York, but after Amtrak officials refused to display it, it made its debut here in a wholly different context.”<sup>441</sup>



Figure 76. Michael Z. Wise, "Tweaking the Beard of the Maximum Leader." *New York Times* (Sunday) June 12, 1994, Section H, p. 35-36

### 5.5.1 Exodus, Boats, and Boat-People (*balsas* and *balseros*)

A serious issue brought up by many critics, one which appeared in many reports and press notes, was the humanitarian crisis of Cuban immigrants that the art took as one of its axes



of production. The exodus of Cuban artists during the first half of the 1990s had put the issue on the creative landscape. James Clifford in his *Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, uses the figure of travel to define different modes of dwelling and displacement, as well as for trajectories and identities, storytelling, and theorizing in a postcolonial world of global contacts. He defines travel as “a range of practices for situating the self in a space or spaces grown too large, a form both of exploration and discipline. Our culture (the global one) is a traveling culture.”<sup>442</sup> Clifford, an anthropologist, looks at museums and biennials as “contact zones” and travel as forms of dwelling. Contact Zones, according to Mary Louis Pratt, are “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination, like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermath as they are lived out today across the globe.”<sup>443</sup>

Clifford argues that travel and contacts are crucial sites for an unfinished modernity. It is necessary to de-essentialize culture to understand it as a place of contingency and heterogeneity. He uses the metaphor of roots and routes. Museums, argues Clifford, are the bourgeois places for excellence, the sites of cultural performance and display. They are conservative, Eurocentric institutions that function as commodifiers of culture (the image of the relentless collector comes to mind). However, new border cultures have gained centrality, have established new maps and are introducing new histories. That is the case of the Havana Biennale.

Diaspora subverts nationalities, and creates instead non-absolutist forms of citizenship, where translation becomes the navigation tool to negotiate between multiple roots and routes historically. Clifford argues that, instead of maps, a path to navigate the complexities of contemporary culture is needed. To evoke the simultaneity of the historical time it is necessary to work on the borderland of academic action. Clifford states that contemporary culture is a work of

translation, a work in progress. It creates a border, a limit and contact-zone where ethnographers, curators, and native informants are travelers or dwellers that establish a relationship, a site of encounter. Museums and art events such as biennials have to be something like, in Clifford's terms, "travel stations."<sup>444</sup>

Following that logic, Klausner reports on the exhibition *La otra orilla* (The Other Shore), "a metaphor for migration, focused on the trauma of departure from one's country and the ensuing strain of encountering another culture. It included the work of (American artists) Juan Sánchez, Pacita Abad, Mo Bahr, Ik-Joong Kang, Antonio Martorell and Yong Soon Min."<sup>445</sup>

In the same issue of *Art in America*, another report presented a review mainly of Cuban artists participating at the Biennale. Kurt Hollander titles his piece "Art, emigration and tourism: works by Cuban artists in last spring's fifth Havana Biennial foreshadowed the country's current massive exodus of boat people."<sup>446</sup> The author points out several of the issues facing not only Cuban artists but the Cuban people at large. Hollander emphasizes that the Cuban artists represented and explored themes of exile, dislocation and migration.

The author discusses, in some depth, the migration factor in light of the new tourist industry and how it has affected the quality of art production in Cuba.<sup>447</sup> Of the exhibition *The Other Shore*, he states, "The idea was to bring together artists from all over the world to address how the massive migrations of the 20th century have transformed not just (the) cultural debate but cultures themselves. Unfortunately, the artists from Cuba's 'other shore' (that is, Miami) were nowhere to be seen... Even though among them are some of Cuba's best, such as Carlos Cardenas, José Bedia and Consuelo Castaneda."<sup>448</sup> He noted that Fidel Castro organized a meeting early that year to start creating some commercial and cultural exchanges with Cubans living abroad (especially in the U.S.).

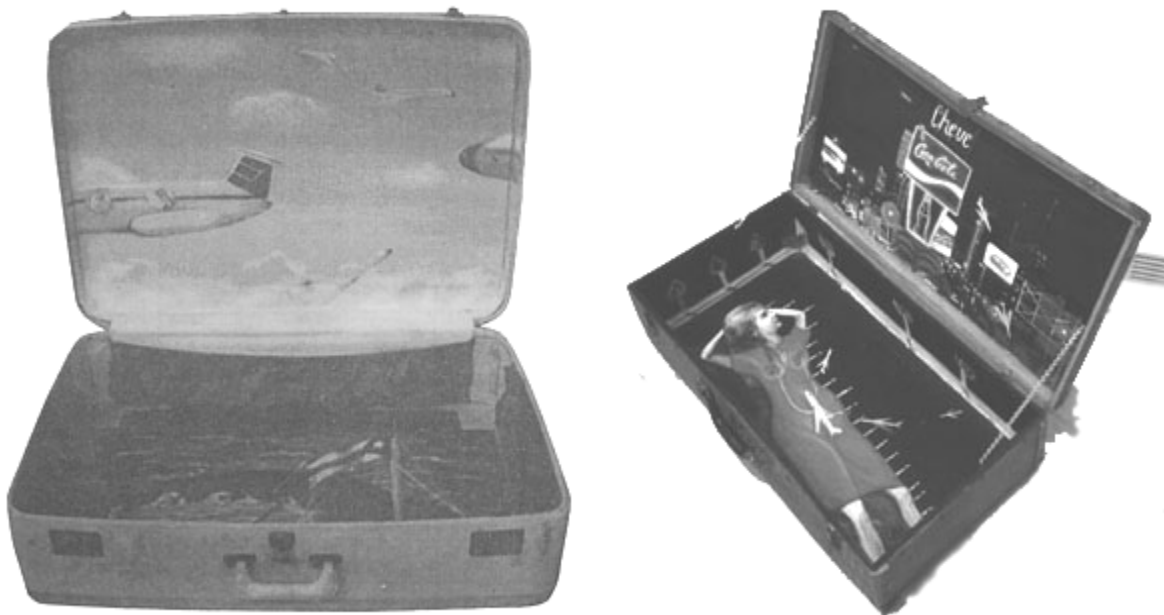
Migration, trade, and tourism were at the center of this edition of the event (and future ones) in a moment in which a reorganization of the world was taking place.<sup>449</sup> Cubans were witnessing how one by one countries of the former “Soviet bloc” were falling and transforming their political and economic systems. The nascent European Union was ready to absorb the strongest ones and help the transformation of the weak, but willing, ones.

The migration phenomenon was central in many important works made by the new generation of Cuban artists.<sup>450</sup> Hollander constructs a time-line and description of the boat and boat-people as a major theme in contemporary Cuban art. He starts with Carlos Cardenas, a Cuban émigré not included in the Biennial. He describes Cardenas’ 1991 paintings (he titled the painting “Monumento a los caídos” (Monument to Those Who Have Fallen) in which dozens of balsas (boats) are piled on top of each other with a skeleton figure traced inside each, transforming the boats into floating coffins. Ever since, the balsa has become the most common image in Cuban art. He then introduces the work of Kcho (Alexis Leyva) who would become the symbol for the Fifth Biennale and for the Cuban art in the mid and late 1990s as the heir of the 1980s generation; “for the Biennial, he made *Regata*, an installation at the Morro of dozens of tiny rafts created out of toys, shoes, sandals, driftwood and other objects. Kcho was also included in the exhibition of three Cubans at Galería Habana (Tonel and Ibrahim Miranda were the others). There he presented several installations, including one of a piano with oars, and one of oars made of crutches.”<sup>451</sup>

Another artist who used the iconographic image of boats was Tania Brugera, who created a series of works alluding to the art of Ana Mendieta; her idea was to make it seem as if Mendieta were still alive. The Mendieta-like work was a performance in which she reclines in a boat, and performs an exercise to try to become the boat (following Mendieta’s ‘becoming’

exercises in nature). In the same group of new Cuban artists, Hollander discusses the work of Sandra Ramos, who was by the time was a recent graduate of ISA. Her series titled “Migrations” (she showed No. III at the Morro fortress) was a group of 10 suitcases painted on the inside with scenes of migrant baltersos. Hollander describes some:

In one, a man floating in a boat is painted in the bottom part of the suitcase, while his dream of luxurious consumer items (yachts, cars, cameras, whiskey) appears in the top. Another depicts the island of Cuba, in the shape of a whale, as a balsa on the stormy seas, while in the upper compartment Cuban-Air planes fill the clear skies. In another, a man and a woman float in the night sea, surrounded by mines, while a U.S. flag waves up above, as if this were a game which is won by reaching the flag.<sup>452</sup>



**Figure 77. Sandra Ramos, Untitled, 1994 (From the series Migraciones / Migrations)**  
Oil on suitcase 49.5 x 64 x 34cm - 19-1/2 x 25-1/4 x 13-1/4"

Hollander comments, not only on the new works such as in the case of Kcho's La Regata, but also on the work of other artists such as Rolando Rojas (a professor at ISA) and Ricardo Brey (from the 80s generation) who also used a boat as the central image in their work.



**Figure 78. Alexis Leyva (Kcho), "La Regata." Installation, 1994**



**Figure 79. Manuel Piña, From the series "Waters of the Waste Land", 1992-1994**

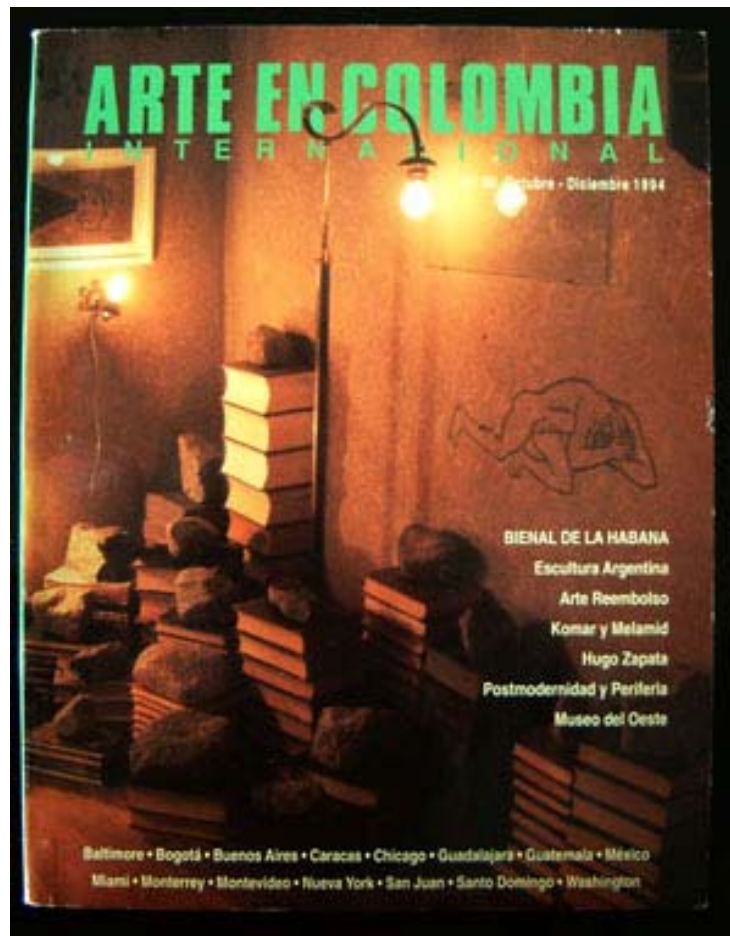
Other artists such as Manuel Piña, a photographer developed an advertisement campaign titled *Aguas Baldias* (Empty Waters) which are billboard size photos of a black man diving into the ocean. Manuel Piña has been more interested in the historical and psychological implications of migration rather than the political and economic ones, commenting on the intrinsic relationship between Cuba, as an island, and the ocean.

Hollander explores beyond the Cuban contingent at the Biennale and narrates how *The Other Shore* exhibition included 18 artists and was set in a Caribbean context. He notes how the

inclusion of the Dominican artist Marco Lora Read was relevant. “The artist previously made crude dugout boats on wheels; for the Biennial he wove inner tubes into tent-like forms that with their evocation of temporary shelters and dislocation, conjured up thoughts of the forced movement of Africans to the West Indies, the huts used by the slaves in their new surroundings, and the boats used by their descendants to get to the U.S. from the Caribbean.”<sup>453</sup>

Migration gave pace to cultural tourism in Hollander’s view and argues on the issue, argues that the major locations of the Biennial's exhibitions were also tourist sites. He cites the ones located in Old Havana, such as the Museo de Bellas Artes and the Lam Center, the Morro and Cabana fortresses, “which, because of their architecture and history and a spectacular view of Old Havana, attract busloads of tourists throughout the year - as well as the Cathedral Plaza, the Crafts Palace and even the famous restaurant *La Bodeguita del Medio*. These latter are located in Old Havana, the city's historic center, an area which has undergone commercial restoration and gentrification but is also one of the poorest neighborhoods in the city.”<sup>454</sup> It is relevant to underline how any foreign view of Havana (at least for the first time) produces such reactions. By that time, Cuban artists also addressed the issue tourism, market, and cultural subjectivity; a series of watercolors by Pedro Alvarez titled “Advertisement of the End of History,” are cited by the author, in which vintage 1950s cars are equated with Cuban ideology. The nostalgic render, made them more attractive to foreign collectors. The art market as part of the phenomena of cultural tourism was also part of the installation by Eduardo Ponjuán and Rene Francisco titled *Sueño, Arte y Mercado* (Dream, Art and Market). The installation of paintings showed portraits of Peter Ludwig and his curator Dr. Wolfgang Becker. “-Ludwig before a sprawling Tom Wasselman pop art nude and a window that opens onto Havana Bay. With fragile figures made of paint tubes seated in peasant chairs, Francisco and Ponjuán make an inventory of

Cuban artist's problems – their lack of materials, their dependence on foreign collectors and glossy international art magazines to establish credibility at home...”<sup>455</sup>



**Figure 80. Cover magazine *Arte en Colombia* (*Art Nexus*, No. 22 Oct. – Dec. 1994) on the 5th Havana Biennale**

Not unexpectedly, sarcasm and satire were part of the Cuban representations. Prints by Abel Barroso (a student at ISA at the time) in a series titled “Carpeta de grabados para resistir y vencer” (Portfolio of Prints for Resisting and Overcoming) takes on tourism and the Cuban flesh trade, “with near-naked women and dollar bills temptingly floating in the air. A series of painted wood reliefs by Fernando Rodriguez (also an ISA student) comments directly on several issues relevant to the Biennial and tourism in general. Rodriguez depicts an invented character named Francisco de la Cal, an older black man who fought in the Revolution and later went blind.

Francisco supposedly relates to the artist his dream of the wedding day of Fidel and the Virgin of Charity (the patron saint of Cuba).”<sup>456</sup> Hollander also brings into his account members of the new generation of Cuban artists: notably, Los Carpinteros (The Carpenters), a collective composed of three sculptor/painters, Alexander Arrechea, Dagoberto Rodriguez and Marco Castillo.<sup>457</sup>

Most of the reports (certainly the ones produced outside Cuba) commented on the cases of censure. In Hollander’s article “censure demonstrates how the regime looks at what is exhibited very carefully,” on the other hand Camnitzer believes that the two reported cases were “conjectural and that responded to curatorial decisions rather than to a political (or ideological) intervention.” The first case was related to one of a series of works produced by Mexican photographer Lourdes Groubet (who had participated actively in past biennales). Her work, produced in collaboration with the sociologist Nestor García Canclini, on the border culture Tijuana-San Diego was celebrated; however, a second one depicting Cuban exiles living in Mexico (accompanied by lengthy testimonies) had to be relocated to avoid conflicting interests for the organizers of the event.<sup>458</sup> The second case, Ecuadorian Marcos Alvarado’s photo-installation titled “*Las Mejias y sus hijas viendo los hombres que van al cinema mientras el diablo se rie*” (The Mejias and Their Daughters Watching the Men Who Go to Movies While the Devil Laughs) was withdrawn by the artist after the Director, Lillian Llanes, removed some of the most clearly pornographic images.<sup>459</sup>

Finally, Hollander comments on Peter Ludwig’s cash donation to the Biennial and his creation of an art foundation in his name “that gives grants to artists. Ludwig’s intervention in the Cuban art world (he also bought heavily in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe before the fall of Communism there) exploits unequal development and hard-currency advantages. In



November of last year, Cuban artists created work especially to show to Ludwig, in hopes of sales. The self-censorship involved when creating for exhibition in Cuban galleries was absent, and consequently the work was more daring in its critique of Fidel and the situation in Cuba.”<sup>460</sup>

Among international artist who were recognized for their work in this biennale are some of the 1990s generation of Latin American artists. Among them: Abraham Cruzvillegas and Nestor Quinones (Mexico); Tunga (Brazil); Fernando Arias (Colombia); Francis Alys (Belgium-Mexico); Jose Antonio Hernandez-Diez (Venezuela); Nadin Ospina (Colombia); Carlos Capelán (Uruguay); Victor Grippo (Argentina); Mónica Girón (Argentina); and Rosana Fuertes (Argentina). Other international artists mentioned in various reports were Mallos and Amadou Diallo (Senegal) and Miguel Mágo (Philippines).<sup>461</sup>

The Fifth Havana Biennale became paradigmatic of the Biennale as a whole. Simultaneously, it showed the contradictions of an event that had become, on the one hand, a forum for the peripheries, and on the other hand had been integrated into the hegemonic circuit. The problem it now faced was how to avoid becoming an alternative event for the First World, and thus a peripheral event without repercussions on the narratives of global art.



Figure 81. Luis Camnitzer's article on the 5th Havana Biennale



Figure 82. Coverage 5th Havana Biennale (Germany)

Thanks in part to the Havana Biennale, the global art market paid attention to the peripheral artists. In turn, starting with the Cubans, they became aware of this and used the Biennale as a marketing niche. The cultural institutions in the country (as a result of the new economic policies in place) found in the Biennale a useful way to retrieve economic gains. “State art sales for hard currency rose to over half a million dollars last year (1993) from little more than \$20,2000 a decade ago, according to the Fondo Cubano de Bienes Culturales, the body handling the transactions.”<sup>462</sup> In becoming a successful international event, the Biennale also faced the benefits (and losses) of mercantile operations. But the Biennale (in fact) has been in crisis throughout its history. The Fifth Biennale was also the first time that an official group of collectors, curators and critics from the National Association of Artist's Organizations (NAAO) traveled to the event. The sumptuous catalogue, on the level of any produced by world mega-exhibitions, was provided by Spain thanks to the interest of Antonio Zaya. Spain is the island's largest partner in tourist development. “The commercialization and touristization of the Fifth Biennial was not lost on the organizers or the artists however. In fact, both were painfully aware of the cultural contradictions inherent in the theory and practice of the event. A number of artists and groups produced work that scrutinized the effect of tourism and the market on the event.”<sup>463</sup> Lillian Llanes threatened to boycott a Sixth Biennial if it became a shopping-mall for Cuban artists. The Lam Center’s position pointed to the growing tension between the organizers and the Ministry of Culture, that at the time was accommodating its policies to meet the new challenges of the time (actually Hart Dávalos would step away from his post in 1997 leaving the place to people more qualified in managing cultural markets).

Luis Camnitzer summarized the challenges facing the Biennale in the near future:

“The Biennial has become of cultural value to the Third World and probably should be assisted financially by UNESCO in order to maintain its independence from market pressures

and possible ideological changes. It would be a cultural disaster if the Havana Biennale were to cease or change its laboratory character because of Cuba's economic crisis. The Biennale has carved a historical niche in the decade of its existence. It should not be allowed to become history.”<sup>464</sup>

In addition to the reports quoted in this section there were a series of articles published by the Curators of the Lam Center in magazines such as *Atlántica* (Canary Islands –Spain), *Lapiz* (Spain), *Heterogenésis* (Tecktomatorp, Sweden), and the local and regional press. Both magazines as well as other local publications would continue publishing articles by the curatorial team for some time to come, thereby expanding Havana's reach and network. *Atlántica* and *Heterogenesis* became major forums for their work. Because both were produced in Europe, this also helped to affirm the international reach of the event and strengthened ties with future sponsors.<sup>465</sup>



**Figure 83. Atlántica and Heterogenésis' magazines on the 5th Biennale**

## 5.6 ON MEMORY AND RUINS

**Sixth Havana Biennale** / Dates: May 8 – June 8, 1997

Main Theme: The Individual and His Memory

180 Artists from 41 countries

Exhibitions:

- Faces of Memory. El Morro Fortress
- Interior Inhabitants. La Cabaña Fortress
- Collective Memories. Wifredo Lam Center, Simon Bolivar House, CENCREM, Obrapía House, Mexican House, La Casona, Education Museum, Colonial Art Museum, Provincial Centre for the Visual Arts and Design, Alejo Carpentier Center, African House, Arab House.

Academic Event: Open Panel, Curators, artists and public (at the gallery spaces). Several meetings between artists and curators took place, some of which were in the three exhibition areas, and with participants from specific world-regions. A few artists spoke about their own work. Wifredo Lam: Open Panel at Alejo Carpentier Center.

Artists' Symposia, Workshops: 2nd International Symposium for Small-Format Ceramics, Rakú 97; Serigraphy-Workshop and Exhibit "Para Quebrar los Moldes"; Workshop for Ephemeral Sculpture "Art-Individual-Nature," Soroa Complex

Parallel Events:

Performances: Manuel Mendive, Cuba (Cathedral Plaza); César Martínez, Mexico (Hotel Sevilla); Flavio Pons, Brazil (Centro Lam); Carlos Garaicoa, Cuba (Old-Havana); Casas & Lemebel, Chile (Centro Lam) Chandrasekaran, Singapore (Casa de Asia); Arahmaiani, Indonesia (Casa de Asia); Mike Parr, Australia (Castillo del Morro).

Roundtable Discussions, Lectures & Podium Discussions: The Salon of Cuban Art; Latin American Art; Contemporary African Art

Lectures (themes): Contemporary Art of Trinidad-Tobago, Central America, and Puerto Rico; New Art from Scandinavia; Murals of the Nicaraguan Revolution; Street Art in Jamaica; Danish Photography; Photography and Violence; the Exhibit Women Beyond Borders; Globalization and Fragmentation in Today's World; Taxonomy of Post-Remembrance; the Body as a Place of Memory.

In addition a Video Program took place, several screenings about art, as well as artists' videos in the Centro Cultural Cinematográfico Yara.

Group Exhibitions:

*Realidades Virtuales* (Virtual Realities): Rubén Alpízar, Pedro Alvarez, Abel Barroso, Luis E. Camejo, Omar Copperi, Max Delgado, Osvaldo Díaz, Eduardo Garaicoa, Inés Garrido, Douglas Pérez, Félix E. Pérez, Bernardo Prieto, Juan Carlos Rivero, Elio Rodríguez, Lazaro Saavedra, Jorge L. Santana, José A. Toirac. Pabellón Cuba, Vedado.

*Una miseria temporal* (A Temporary Misery): Eduardo Aparicios, Sandra Ceballos, Ernesto Leal, Ezequiel Suárez. Espacio Aglutinador.

*Zona Vedada* (Preserved Zone): Abel Barroso, Los Carpinteros, Ibrahim Miranda, Sandra Ramos, Fernando Rodríguez, Osvaldo Yero. Guests: Thomas Glassford, Angel R. Ríos, Federico Uribe. Private house in the Vedado Quarter.

Individual exhibitions (by Cuban artists)

Tania Brugera: *El Peso de la Culpa* (The Burden of Guilt). Performance at the house of the artist.

Los Carpinteros: *Viejos métodos para nuevas deudas* (Old Methods for New Debts). San Francisco de Asís Abbey in Old-Havana.

Raúl Cordero: *New Paintings*. Apartment of the artist.

José Alberto Figueroa: *Proyecto Habana* (Havana Project). Private Restaurant, La Guarida.

Tonel: *Segundo autorretrato como intelectual orgánico /Otro homenaje a Gramsci* (Second Self-portrait as Organic Intellectual - a Further Homage à Gramsci). Ludwig Foundation in Cuba  
Osvaldo Yero: *Al rescate de la fauna* (To the Rescue of the Fauna) Gallery Teodoro Ramos Blanco, Cerro.

After achieving maturity during the Fifth Biennale, the event took on a new aspect. The Sixth became the consolidation of the curatorial project. The many curatorial trips and contacts the Biennale had arranged during the first part of the decade had produced a complex network of friends and supporters throughout the world. Even in the United States an active community was taking into account what the small collective in Cuba was doing. As Rachel Weiss puts it in her piece on the sixth installment, “as new areas log on to the global contemporary circuit, a biennial can magnetize a location, drawing in attention, ideas and works from faraway places and aligning them with the local reality.”<sup>466</sup> Several exhibitions, parallel events, and new art galleries (most of them illegal or paralegal with the support of art centers such as Ludwig) emerged in Havana. Art subsumed in the new tourist economy (indulging sex tourism, drug consumption, alcohol, parallel transportation, illegal business, the black market, etc.) where scarcity and abundance were both pervasive and contradictory.



**Figure 84. Private (illegal) taxi drivers, common in Havana during the 1990s.**



**Figure 85. Cover catalog, Sixth Havana Biennale, 1997**

For some newcomers to the Biennale, the event continued to be critical of the nature of contemporary society. In particular, the Cuban artists using the Biennale as a platform were able to comment, with their usual acidity and sarcasm, on the collapsing official structure of the now global economy. In a lengthy report by the editorial team of *Universes in Universe: Worlds of Art* (the German-Argentinean collective working to promote art beyond the West), it is clear how attention to the Biennale went beyond the official selection, taking special notice of the troublesome but vital Cuban scene.<sup>467</sup> “As with all previous Biennials, this year too had numerous parallel exhibitions on Cuban art. What was new this year was that an astounding number of artists showed their works outside of institutional structures.”<sup>468</sup> Initially, officials attempted to prohibit these private initiatives. In order to avoid scandal during the event that at the time was drawing thousands of visitors from Europe, Canada, Latin America, and for the

second time in great numbers from the United States, they desisted. Some exhibitions actually received support from abroad as well as from Cuban and other institutions.

The approaching turn of the century, and the end of the millennium made the Biennale a place of peregrination. It became one of the best attended events in the art calendar that year. Weiss noted, “Havana’s ascendance into the big time, there was a strong representation of top people from upcoming international exhibitions in Johannesburg, São Paulo, Istanbul, Kwangju, and Pittsburgh.”<sup>469</sup> And not only curators, but academics, collectors, students, gallery owners and goers, etc., were present.

Organized under the banner of “The Individual and Memory” the event took on almost a sepia-tone, due to the widespread presence of memorabilia and photography (in particular personal and familial album-like images). The theme, memory, brought some criticism since it had been used as a counter argument to some more relevant concepts such as history. Herrera Ysla’s text in the catalog makes reference to social memory rather than individual longing; he refers to this dimension as a “transnational notion of cultural memory,” making the concept open and not closed to nostalgia and melancholy. Nonetheless, a nostalgic aura surrounded the official sites of exhibition, which did not include the National Museum of Art (under renovation until 2003). The colonial architecture - not only of the fortresses but also of the many houses in the Old Havana district – created a more diffused tone and made the navigation more intricate. If this was an unavoidable situation, walking through the Biennale became a tourist adventure, as if one were time-traveling through the city. It helped some artists that, by going to Havana, they could take good care of their pieces, thus using the situation to their advantage, while for others the physicality of the spaces was overwhelming. A large percentage of the works in the exhibitions just faded away from the visitor’s memory.





**Figure 86. Some photo installations in the Cabaña galleries, 1997**



**Figure 87. Visitors navigating the Sixth Biennale**



### 6th Havana Biennale

Venues in Old Havana:

A. Historical Center

1. Centro Wifredo Lam
2. Fundación Alejo Carpentier
3. Museo de la Educación
4. Museo de Arte Colonial
5. Palacio del Segundo Cabo
6. Casa de los Arabes
7. Casa de Asia
8. Casa Benito Juárez
9. Casa Guayasamín
10. Casa de la Obrapia
11. Casa de África
12. Casa Simón Bolívar
13. Centro de Desarrollo de las Arte Visuales
14. Fototeca de Cuba
15. Fondo Cubano de Bienes Culturales
16. Centro Provincial de Artes Plásticas y Diseño
17. CENCREM (Ex-Convento de Santa Clara)

B. Castillo del Morro

C. Fortaleza de la Cabaña



**Figure 88. Venues 6th Havana Biennale**



**Figure 89. The Plaza Vieja (three venues)**

In one of a series of reports published by Universe in Universes -which translates almost all its contents into German, English, and Spanish - Colombian art critic Fernando Valencia wrote:

“It is necessary to state as introduction, that the quality of the current Biennial leaves much to be desired. Three factors have been decisive for the existence of an endless number of works of no interest: 1. Theme: ‘The Individual and Memory’ was favored for works without elaboration that fell within the obvious: fading portraits, evanescent atmospheres, and, in general, remissions to the past literally confronted, without the transformative strategies inherent in artistic production. 2. A precarious third-world rhetoric proliferated with the use of poor materials, discarded items, and obvious elements that in an attempt to prioritize the problems of identity from determined regions (Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean), on the contrary created an open concession to the clichéd idea of ‘how they think of us’ from the centers. 3. With the facade of political art, a visual and expressive mediocrity is being legitimized that could create a worrisome image for future biennials since this type of art work is not transcendent like artistic facts and is outlined like political ideas.”<sup>470</sup>

On the first point it is relevant to quote a fragment of the introductory text used by the Lam Center on the issue of the selection of the theme for the Biennale.

“For many people, one of the most serious problems man has had to cope with during this second half of the century is the loss of memory used as a point of reference to act upon society in order to change and improve it. A sort of amnesia is promoted as a means of avoiding the main problems. The traditional questions such as: where do we come from? Who are we? What is our fate? seem to have lost all validity in a world which is alienated by a vague notion of future. To live in contemporary society means coping with a present full of violence, drug addiction, discrimination and intolerance leading towards a future of privation and uncertainty.

Memory, the place where man has traditionally found the roots of his own identity, is being threatened by the homogenization of an image, designed and projected by mass media and communication multinationals which attempt to make universal those paradigms created in the centers of power. The most sophisticated means of contemporary technology are used to advocate for so-called ‘internationalization’; one of their most recent creations is the Internet, which is far out of reach for developing countries, since they are not able to feed these media with their own information.

Even within this context, memory is able to forge identity and to build up dignity and a sense of belonging, either by going into a recent personal, family or communal history, or by looking into the culture to which the individual feels attached as a member of a spiritual community.”<sup>471</sup>

As a response the selection brought a series of artists who would use low tech approaches, starting with French art-star Christian Boltanski (1944) and producing a particular

hue in the exhibitions, creating at the same time what Valencia calls the “third world syndrome” where a materiality takes over content. Valencias’ second point is also raised by Weiss when citing the presence of art professionals “whose time is spend patrolling the precincts of Kassel and Venice, it was, ‘Third World shit,’ in the harrumphing words of one visiting German curator.”<sup>472</sup> The third point, political art, was embodied in the Biennale’s means and ends. It cannot be extricated from its structure, which, while it has changed over the years, keeps its spirit of confrontation with the elites of the art world and culture very much alive (even in its contradictory desire to be part of them). Valencia explains how for some artists such as Kcho, the topic was just right, since he fits the topic, yet is an extension of the 80s generation, not only in terms of materials (recyclable), format (installation), but also conceptually (with an ‘apparent’ critical stance). Additionally, he argues that “Kcho's work does not accede to the ‘mainstream’ within the parameters of ‘universal history’; it makes his own path, creating a possibility described by Hans Belting as the ‘new geography of art history.’”<sup>473</sup> Kcho’s international fame, launched after his participation in the Fourth and Fifth Biennales and the invitation by the Sydney Biennial, made him a highly visible figure for the international audience. That year, Kcho had also reached the North American market with a solo exhibition at the Barbara Goldstone Galley in New York City.

Kcho’s piece at the Biennale was a kind of monument, a tower of junk (boat, shacks and related materials) that echoed not only famous obelisks such as the Washington Monument but also Tatlin’s Monument for the Third International. Trembling, standing in a high ceiled space in el Morro Fortress, *In My Mind* (1995-97), according to Valencia, connects the best of the Cuban contemporary traditions and establishes a path towards the so-called “new geography.”



Figure 90. Kcho, “In My Mind.” Installation, 1997

Valencia also comments on some performances, in particular the work of the Chilean Collective *Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis* (Mares of the Apocalypse), an overtly political duet of gay activists (Pedro Lemebel and Francisco Casas) who “offered through their action in the courtyard of the Centro Wifredo Lam, a unique mix of private attitudes with public implications. “That is to say, an art that entails politics although personal, in order to in this manner initiate attitudes openly political, to no longer denounce, but to generate reflection over the despicable acts of the Chilean dictatorship and the archetypal ‘sequin’ we have named ‘neoliberalism.’”<sup>474</sup> The duo, formed in 1987, represents the marginalized and oppressed voice of the minorities. As

victims of the dictatorship, these self-confessed homosexuals and frustrated socialists produced a conference-performance of tragicomic anecdotes concerning their cavalcade through the political and artistic history of Chile. They raised a major issue in Cuba, as gay rights were at the bottom of the political agenda during the early stages of the Revolution.



**Figure 91. Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis (Francisco Casas y Pedro Lemebel). Video-performance, 1994**

Performers have always been part of the Biennale. In an interview conducted by Gerhard Haupt for *Universes in Universe*, Gerardo Mosquera comments on Tania Bruguera's performance. "(It) was especially noteworthy, not only from an artistic point of view. In one of the more run-down and overpopulated quarters of Old-Havana, she opened her house to the street and gave an impressive performance in which she ate Cuban soil for 45 minutes straight. Her audience included Biennial visitors from across the globe, as well as people from the street and from the bar across the way."<sup>475</sup> This performance also marked the inauguration of a new project by Tania Bruguera, consisting of the establishment of an artistic space, "Tejadillo 214", which operates as a venue for conceptual works and performances within a double kind of cultural project - showing the experiences of Cuban artists, and bringing to Cuba foreign artists to share with the well educated, inquisitive, and respectful local public. For the opening, Bruguera presented her "El Peso de la Culpa" (Burden of Guilt) performance using as stage a Cuban flag made out of human hair. Bruguera also invited Coco Fusco to be a counterpart in the

event. Neither artist was invited to be in the Biennale. In the back of the house, Fusco, an exiled Cuban artist who lives in New York, interpreted her dead grandmother “under a white sheet along with her few personal belongings, with the light of black neon above. A text at the entrance illustrated a family anecdote according to which her grandmother had left her native town to go first to Havana and later to the United States, until, just before her death, she decided to travel to Barcelona, Spain, and thus abandon the arduous life of exile.”<sup>476</sup> Fusco also went to Havana to report on the Biennale, where she found alternative galleries such as *Espacio Aglutinador* (the Melting Pot, run by artists Sandra Ceballos and Ezequiel Suarez) showing not only radical Cuban artist but the work of exiled Cuban Artists.<sup>477</sup>



**Figure 92. Tania Bruguera, "El peso de la culpa" (The Burden of Guilt). Performance, 1997**

The Biennale itself was inaugurated with a performance organized by Cuban artist Manuel Mendive, entitled “The Gods and Ancestors, the Good Man and the Bad Man.” Using dozens of performers, the mobile performance-installation depicted the Yoruba Olympus. Each formal element was associated with Afro-Cuban religion. The almost carnivalesque procession moved around the Historic District in Havana.

Brazilian artist Flavio Pons gave several performances. Despite the lack of connection between the actions, there was a repeated use of painting, not just as color, but as a means of writing. Pons' work is collaborative, always including more people. His final presentation included the participation of children from an elementary school in Havana.<sup>478</sup>

Curiously, Carlos Garaicoa (Cuba), an installation artist, presented a performance. The 'happening' consisted of the counterpart to the Japanese Garden he presented within a Museum location. This time it was the Cuban Garden, an area of ruins recovered from Havana itself and which had been subtly modified by him. Rubbish and waste materials and urban junk provided a perfect setting for a reflection on memory, the past and the sense of ruin which Garaicoa conjured up. Photographs of the place appeared as a frieze on the walls of the site, heightening the area of the garden and the city as a whole - a perfect place to think about memory.<sup>479</sup>

Two Asian performers also presented their work. Arahmaiani (Indonesia) used an almost choreographed action to express her rejection of violence. Chandrasekarana (Singapore) kept his public waiting in the street, alongside several empty boxes which, in various languages, referred to the theme of waiting.<sup>480</sup> These examples indicate that the Biennale was looking towards Asian art, not necessarily Chinese but South East Asian art. Artists from the Philippines, Reamillo and Juliet (the second from a British background), Agnes Arellano, and Alfredo Juan Aquilizán presented installation works on issues such as media pervasiveness, contemporary religion, and the recycling culture. They were adequate counterparts of the best known Latin American and African artists also presenting installation works (the favorite genre for mega events). Other artists such as Suzann Victor (Singapore) and Navin Rawanchaikul addressed sex tourism. Indian artist Vivan Sundaram presented a series of works ("Grandfather's coat with photographs of Grandmother's Aunt and Mother," 1996) dealing with personal stories and their translation



into larger narratives. Latin American artists of Asian origin, such as Peruvian Eduardo Tokeshi (“The Room of the Rescue,” 1996) and Colombian Pablo Van Wong (From the series “Obrepción con Decoración”), deriving from collectivism and Eastern trade dealt with images of violence and the production of textile and clothes.<sup>481</sup> Finally, the presence of Japanese photographer Tokihiro Sato, with a series of phantom photographs taken on-site, brought for the first time an artist from that island nation.<sup>482</sup>



**Figure 93. Tokihiro Sato, from the series “Photo Respiration.” Large exposure photos, 1997**

“Installation Biennial” was the title of Eduardo Costa’s article published in *Art in America*. This was his first of many contributions to the magazine on issues related to Cuban art and artists and their constant presence in North America. In the fashion of a travel story, Costa offers an account of the venues and major installation works, which for him are the “dominant form throughout the exhibition.”<sup>483</sup> Among other artists mentioned are: Roberto Huancaya (Peru), Whitfield Lovell (U.S.), Pepon Osorio (Puerto Rico), Ignacio Iturria (Uruguay), and Braco Dimitrijevic (Former Yugoslavia)

The presence of other African artist was also noted: Romuald Hazoumé (Benin) with his now widely known remakes of African masks; Owusu Ankomah (Ghana), Sokari Douglas Camp (Nigeria), Pascale Marthine Tayou and Bili Bidjocka (Cameroon) and their discourse, quietly chaotic and saturated with Cameroon nationalism and Pan Africanism, including references to rebel armies through camouflage fabric, soccer, nature, and politics; Amadou Gayé, Bouma

Medoune Seye, and Djibril Sy (from Senegal), Wilma Cruise, Penny Siopis, Moshekwa Langa (with two fascinating installation-pieces creating geographic-maps-models made out of thread, paper, scrap metal and another with milk and light), and William Kentridge with an on-site video installation taking elements from his animation-films into real space (from South Africa). These artists functioned as mediators of a truly tri-continental art exhibition.



**Figure 94. Romuald Hazoumé (Benin) & Owusu Ankomah (Ghana) installations, 1997**



**Figure 95. Moshekwa Langa, “The Permanent Unfixed Image.” In-situ installation, 1997**

At the same time the Biennale was helping to position new names, it became a regular site for the international mega-exhibition goers. Unfortunately, the forums and academic events where the most important art critics and thinkers from Latin America, Africa, and Asia debated Third World and Southern subjectivity, art, and culture – a glory of past Biennales – they were not as well developed as they used to be.

### **5.6.1 Cuban Presence and Alternative Inner-worlds**

It is interesting to see how the Biennale became a place of contingency for alternative artists (inside Cuba) who had to find parallel spaces (studios, living rooms, and illegal restaurants “paladares”) to show their work outside and at-the-side of the Biennale. In earlier editions, the Cuban artists in the Biennial had become the symbolic legacy of the Revolution. But for this edition of the event, Cuban artists in the official exhibition became one of a series of signs that depicted the past and present reality of the Cuban Revolution.

In this sense the Biennale had become just another element in the strategy aimed at constructing a legitimizing discourse of what Cuba offers in terms of its social revolution. Since 1994, new policies on tourism, cultural tourism, and infrastructure were set in place to counter the effects of the special period. Cuba presented itself, in its Cubaness, as a locale for the consumption of foreign tourists. Thus, the “double alternative” artists (those not selected to represent Cuba, yet who showed in the alternative Biennale) became the focus of interest for external viewers. It is obvious in the majority of the reports of the Sixth Havana Biennale that alternative exhibitions (unofficial or para-official) were seen as a kind of *Salon de Refuses* in the best modernist style.

This unofficial staging of the Biennale, or what tourist-theorists would call the “back-region-staging” is also worth deeper analysis. “Throughout Havana, artist's homes and studios, paladar cafes, and alternative galleries, were appropriated by Cuban artists and curators who established satellite exhibitions.”<sup>484</sup> These backstage exhibits seemed to present the visitor with the “most authentic” Cuban experience, not only because they were to one side of the official navigation of the event (though many of them were located nearby), but also because they supposedly showed the more charged, critical and ironic work. They promised a sense of solidarity with the artists, and constituted a counter-information network about art in Cuba. If the Biennale is considered an alternative to mainstream artistic production, then the border exhibitions represent a double alternative and therefore, a place of independent reflection, and in a sense, of counter-spectacle.



**Figure 96. San Carlos de la Cabaña Fortress. General view**

**Figure 97. The San Carlos de la Cabaña Fortress (1774), a military compound becomes a gallery**

By the sixth Biennale this military infrastructure became the front stage of the exhibition. Its barracks and halls were transformed (for every edition) into gallery spaces.

On this edition of the Biennale Gerardo Mosquera affirms:

“The fact that artists took this initiative really says something, because that hints at a more independent, more active attitude. Authoritarian regimes are always afraid that the people will get used to a feeling of independence. In these artists' private exhibits, I see the signs of a definite awakening of Cuban society, a search for a way out of the institutional framework. What's interesting is that there was no declaration in the sense of ‘Galleries of the Rejected.’ The artists simply wanted to show their work to foreign visitors. Nevertheless, all unofficial events which weren't in private homes were forbidden by the Ministry of Culture. What goes on in a private residence can hardly be forbidden. That illustrates the fear which the Cuban state has of these initiatives.”<sup>485</sup>

There was, however, a lot of pressure brought to bear on those who exhibited work at their homes. When Tania Bruguera ended her performance, she was visited by the police. Luckily, she had previously obtained official permission for a celebration, so there wasn't anything they could do. Although the exhibition ‘Zona Vedada’ was in the end officially supported by the Ludwig-Foundation in Cuba, the artists were continually hassled by the police. Finally, they were forbidden to hold any activities in the temporary exhibition rooms. Without a doubt, some of the most interesting works of the Biennial were to be seen in this exhibition.”<sup>486</sup>



**Figure 98. "Zona Vedada" exhibition. Entrance of los Carpinteros gallery. 1997**

A crowd of young Cubans, foreign curators and neighbors circulated into and through such places. During the opening of *Espacio Aglutinador*, copies of “*Perra*”, a gay magazine edited by visiting Cuban American artist Eduardo Aparicio, were distributed (something that could have had negative consequences a decade before). The exhibit included Aparicio's photos of Miami Cuban drag queens. “By exhibiting works by Cubans in the U.S., the *Espacio Aglutinador* is breaking with what was, until very recently, an official policy of denying access to visual arts venues to exiles and their children, as Aparicio left Cuba in 1969. He says he shares many views with his peers who stayed. In Miami, he frequently meets with Cuban artists of the 1980s generation, who left the island in the early 1990s, escaping a wave of censorship and a debilitated economy.”<sup>487</sup>

As the policy of the Biennale the Cuban participation has to be balanced (in numerical terms) with respect to the general number of artists participating (in regional and national terms). Among the artists representing the island some were well known and others completely unknown, as it was the policy of the Biennale to open space for the newer generations. For example Lázaro Saavedra’s “*Sepultados por el Olvido*” (Cast into Oblivion) was highly troublesome. The installation of rows of white marble, un-engraved tombstones led into a temple-like chamber and continued to form a pile of rubble out of which protrude various limbs. It was located in the Cabaña Fortress in a place which used to be used as an execution pavilion (during the Spanish era and also during the early stages of the Revolution). Coco Fusco, in an interview for a Radio Latino USA., asked Saavedra about the piece, trying to push a political answer, however Saavedra “insists that his piece is a memorial to all those who have been erased by history.”<sup>488</sup>

On the same issue, Gerhard Haupt asks Mosquera about the ongoing critical attitude of many Cuban artists and he replies, “that’s always been there. There was actually the danger that this critical attitude could become a sort of trademark to be used to make oneself more interesting to collectors and the international press.”<sup>489</sup>

Typical of many foreign reports is one written by Satoru Nagoya, a freelance journalist from Japan, who talks about the participation of Japan at the Biennale. “President Akira Ishino of Press Kit Co., the corporation which supported the Biennial from Japan, and related guests were to pay a visit to Director Llanes of the Lam Center, (and ) I accompanied the group. According to the Director, Fidel Castro, Cuba’s supreme leader, has never visited this Biennial.”<sup>490</sup> In his “A Journal on the 6th Biennial of Havana,” Nagoya comments on the hardships of the socialist regime and how art is used no more than as a tool of politics. After making a tour of the venues and commenting on his difficulties as tourist, Nagoya comments on the work of Cuban painter Juan Grillo:

His works were oil paintings filled with the spirit of social criticism, using U.S. dollar bills as a motif. Since his technique was solid, they were convincing. It was cynical that one rarely encounters a work like this that has true communication power, at the Biennial. We were served Cuba Libre using the precious cola, and we enjoyed a conversation with the painter and other artists who were present. We reached a consensus that “the Biennial, which neglects plasticity and is biased towards works focusing on messages, is prone to being used politically.” Probably because of their opposition to the American economic blockade, the Biennial attempts to gain support from the Third World, however, an incorrect system cannot be justified.<sup>491</sup>

Nagoya ends with a prophesy: “Some people seem to say that, it is ten more years of endurance (until Castro passes away).” In his final day in Havana, on May 9<sup>th</sup> (Friday), the entry reads, “In the morning, paying the bill amounting to an average of about ten years’ salary of a Cuban, I checked out of the hotel. After eleven in the morning, I departed for the Jose Martí International Airport to go to Mexico City. After a flight of approximately two hours and a half, I

arrived at the Benito Juarez International Airport in Mexico City. There were an abundance of commodities, and an air filled with life. How happy I was to return to the ‘free world’.”<sup>492</sup>

On the other hand, Japanese-Peruvian artists Eduardo Tokeshi’s “El Cuarto de Rescate” (Rescue Room), presented a two-fold reality: colonial and postmodern. The dual iconography (religion – consumption) is placed between the radical ends of playfulness and ambiguity, which enriches a work that tends increasingly to become a kind of emblem of lost illusions and collective obsessions. Tokeshi’s work raises specific requirements that give prevalence to the vacuum where empty, and highly decorated, dresses (of an invisible man) recall the apotheosis of the usage of ex-votos in Latin-American art and recalls the time of powerful “caudillos” (political leaders), and the impossibility of political change by peaceful means.

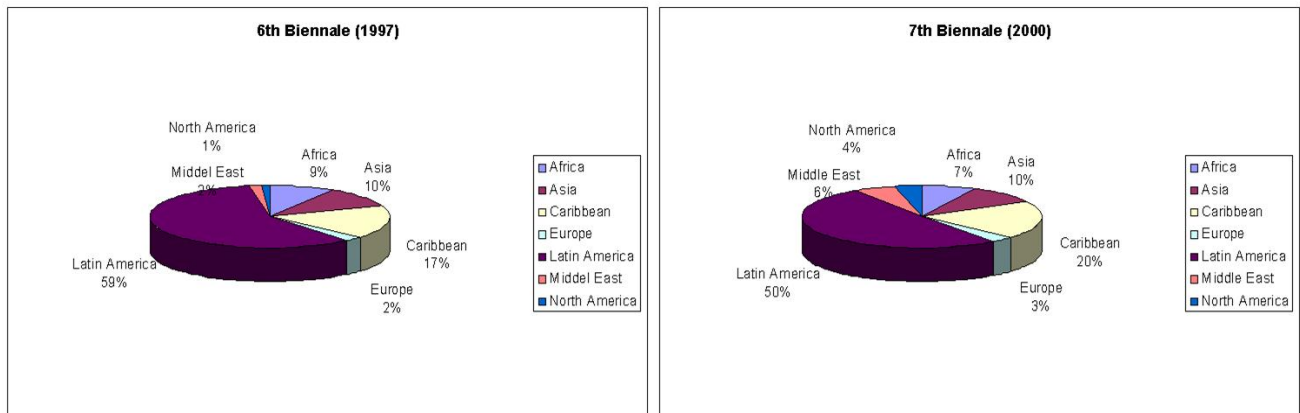


**Figure 99. Eduardo Tokeshi, “El Cuarto del Rescate.” Installation, 1996**

Comparison with well established mega-exhibitions is instructive. In 1997, Documenta X, directed by Catherine David, also took place. This exhibition had an apparent commitment to



politics and a revisionist approach to photography. Here there were few non Euro-American artists in the exhibitions, which led to harsh criticism. Nonetheless, the event was well received for its interdisciplinary achievement and open debate. The 47th Art Exhibition of the Venice Biennial, curated by Germano Celant, revolved around the topic "Futuro, Presente, Passato" (Future, Present, Past), in which three generations of artists between 1967 and 1997 met. In total, the Exhibition hosted 58 participating countries. Golden Lions went to Marina Abramovic and Gerhard Richter. It also was criticized for the poor representation of Latin American Art, and Third World artists in general; the lack of coherence and arbitrary quality of the Biennale were discussed. Luis Camnitzer wrote an article (published in *Art Nexus*) in which he describes the various pavilions and singled out the Austrian exhibit in particular for challenging the Biennale as an institution and simultaneously asserting historical recognition.<sup>493</sup>



**Figure 100. Participation world areas Sixth and Seventh Havana Biennales**

The charts show the increasing participation by European and North American artists, making clear the growing interest by the West in the Havana Biennale.

## 5.7 OPEN CONTEMPORARY ART AND THE POST-PRODUCTION DEVIATION: COMMUNITY, TECHNOLOGY, COMMUNICATION

“This biennial, like the three others that have been inaugurated since the collapse of European socialism in 1989, represents a Cuba even more unaccompanied than ever in its political position in the world. The demeanor of the event seems to reflect these circumstances, no longer able to muster the optimism and fierce determination that was its early signature.”

Rachel Weiss<sup>494</sup>

**Seventh Havana Biennale** / Dates: November 17, 2000 - January 6, 2001

Main Theme: Uno más cerca del otro (Closer to Each Other)

Artists, 163 from 42 countries

Exhibitions:

- Art and Communication. Cuban film posters
- Third World, South, People at home
- Contemporary Cuban Ceramics
- Jean Michel Basquiat: Fiction and Reality
- Helio Oiticica
- The Technological Renaissance: A concept for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

Academic Event: Round Table: *Biennials, Institutions, North-South-Relations*

Sunday, November 19th, 2000. Location: Hotel Parque Central

In collaboration with the Goethe-Institute. Direction: Bernd M. Scherer, Director of the Goethe-Institute in Mexico City

Participants: Ute Meta Bauer (Germany), Nelson Herrera Ysla (Cuba), Manuel López Oliva (Cuba), David Mateo (Cuba), Cuauhtémoc Medina (Mexico), Wendy Navarro (Cuba), Elida Salazar (Venezuela), Gabriela Salgado (Argentina-Great Britain), Bernd M. Scherer (Mexico), Harald Szeemann (Switzerland), Roberto Valcarcel (Bolivia), Jorge Villacorta (Peru), Yolanda Wood (Cuba), José Luís Brea (Spain), Gerhard Haupt and Pat Binder (Germany / Argentina), Diana Domínguez (Brazil), Serge Guibault (Canada), Rhana Devenport (Australia), Rosa Martínez (Spain), Guy Sioui Durand (Canadá)

Performatic Experience. Magali Espinoza, Tania Bruguera (Cuba), Krisnamurti (Indonesia), Francis Alÿs (Mexico), Peter Minshall (Trinidad-Tobago).

Art and Technology: Fabian Wagmister (Argentina), George Schöllhammer (Austria), Adad Hannah (Canada), Miguel González (Colombia), Kevin E. Consey (USA)

Architecture: Exhibitions and forums on Cuban Architecture Exhibitions

- The Preservation of the Historic City. Coordination: María Elena Martín (Architect)<sup>495</sup>
- The Transformation of the Contemporary City. Location: Grupo para el Desarrollo Integral de la Ciudad
- The Havana of the Future. Location: Dirección Provincial de Planificación Física
- National Activity in Architecture. Location: UNAICC (Unión Nacional de Arquitectos e Ingenieros de la Construcción de Cuba). Location: Faculty for Architecture, ISPJAE

Latin American Architecture Exhibitions:

- Experimental City: Proposals for the Preservation of Quarters and Other Similar Projects (Venezuela). Locations: Galería Imago, Gran Teatro de Havana
- Project for the Historic Park of Guayaquil (Ecuador). Location: Consejo de la Administración Municipal de la Habana Vieja
- Project for the Comprehensive Preservation of Santa Ana de Velasco-Chiquitos (Bolivia - Cuba). Location: Centro Literario y Cultural Leonor Pérez
- Arquitetura. Arte. Cidade (Brazil). Location: Ministerio de Finanzas y Precios

Workshops: On urban revival of Havana, with the participation of architects, designers and artists as well as students of these disciplines. Developed in three locations, La Rampa, from Malecón to Calle J; the Malecón from Calle 23 to Prado; Avenida de Rancho Boyeros, from Calzada del Cerro to Avenida Van Troi.

Meetings: Three international meetings will be held in conjunction with the Biennial: Architecture and Urbanism; Students of Architecture, Art and Design; Theory and Criticism.<sup>496</sup>

During the year 2000, as the island survived new economic and political measures adopted by some countries to isolate it further, the Havana Biennale also survived. The seventh edition of the Biennale was intended to reflect communication and dialogue among human beings in the midst of global economic projects and the re-emergence of ethnic, religious and cultural distinctions, which seemed to increasingly accentuate the differences among the various communities and nations of the world.

At the same time the Biennale faced one of its more important internal challenges, the departure of Lillian Llanes who, with little explanation, left the direction of the Wifredo Lam Center and the Biennale altogether.<sup>497</sup> Nelson Herrera Ysla, a veteran curator and co-founder of the Biennale, was called in to take control of the direction of the center and the biennial itself. In his introductory text for the event he does not mention this issue; rather, he goes back to the origins of the Biennale, bringing it again under a strong Third World language. Underlining the conceptual motivation of the Biennale, Herrera Ysla states,

Given the differences existing among rich and poor nations, these levels of intercommunication do not develop equitably. In today's world hundreds of millions of persons still lack the necessary means to exercise what seems to be a universal right. Furthermore, all the progress made in computers, microprocessor and information technology has not been able to bring individuals closer as was thought at first, since, paradoxically, having computerized and digitalized equipment even in our homes has not led us to establish closer contacts with

other people; on the contrary, in many cases it has led to isolation and immobility in order not to part for a single moment from that guiding line which “communicates” us and is an inseparable part of many lives, perhaps depriving us of the traditional sources of exchange that have always made it possible to stay closer, to talk face to face, to understand one another better. Many men and women today suffer from the information and communication syndrome, which is only a new face for the loneliness syndrome.<sup>498</sup>

The argument here is that Western societies have been subjected to so much development that they have ended in an underdevelopment of personal relations. Herrera Ysla calls it a “contemporary paradox,” pointing out how these modern means of communication that should effectively contribute to establish fair relations among individuals, among different communities, and nations are not doing so. “Artists who live in rich countries and artists who live in poor countries alike have felt the nearness of that abyss, because art has not escaped that feeling of loneliness that rarefies the current atmosphere, and today experience the urge to break those barriers and lay down bridges, resorting to finding new ways and means that will make for a better rapprochement among humans.”<sup>499</sup>



Figure 101. Cover catalog 7th Havana Biennale, 2000

According to the curatorial team, artists from everywhere are reconstructing traditional forms and models of communication. This could reveal better ways to understand each other “and coexist in an atmosphere of respect and peace which is so necessary in order to overcome, once and for all, the persistent intolerance that has gradually consolidated into one of the main evils of this 20th Century and threatens to extend timelessly to the 21st Century, with its inevitable sequels of ethnic, cultural, and religious conflicts that oftentimes lead to war.”<sup>500</sup>

For this installment, despite counting on important international co-sponsors such as HIVOS, Fundação Memorial da America Latina, the Prince Claus Fund, among others (which were proudly shown in the catalog and all print materials), the Lam Center recognized that it was unable to support many artists and their projects. Despite existing in a world of abundance (2000 marked the highest point of success of economic globalization in the West), echoes from the era of scarcity were still resonating after one decade after the fall of the Soviet Bloc.<sup>501</sup>

In order to show that without Lillian Llanes the event would function perfectly, the Biennale organized and co-organized several events simultaneously: two important exhibitions, one with drawings by U.S. artist Jean Michele Basquiat (underlining his Caribbean-Latino origin) and another on the work of pioneer Brazilian artist Helio Oiticica. A large academic event on the Biennial phenomenon was co-organized by Bernd M. Scherer, Director of the Goethe Institute in Mexico City. It included some of the most important names among international curators: Harald Szeemann (recently appointed director of the Venice Biennale), Ute Meta Bauer (from Documenta), and Rosa Martinez (a future Venice Biennale director) alongside academics such as Serge Guibault from Canada and José Luís Brea from Spain. Additionally, the Biennale brought the city of Havana and many other renewal experiences into dialog in an alternative Architecture Biennale-type event. All this would maintain Havana’s prominence on the map of

international events for that year. The expenses in terms of lodging and food were high. This was a price the organization and the Ministry of Culture were able to pay regardless of what artists had to do to bring their work to Havana. Rachel Weiss makes this point when describing the event as “a palimpsest of globalization, ripping apart at the seams where solidarity and commerce intersect...” The economics of the Biennale as reported at the time were stark; the official budget was “U.S.\$ 121,2000, a minuscule amount by international standards but hefty by Cuban ones... This precarious financial situation must take at least part of the blame for the chaotic nature of this biennial, and especially its technical problems.”<sup>502</sup>



**Figure 102. The Three Kings of the Morro Castle (1610), and Nadin Ospina's "El paseante." Soft sculpture, 2000**

Becoming a mega event to try to answer all criticism made in the past was almost a fixation for Herrera Ysla at the time. The first factor was to retake leadership in the region. How? By bringing a topic for artists that was directed towards a critical stand against the modern project. Communication, technology, isolation, and development have been at the center of such debates; but at the same time, space had to be there to negotiate on an increasingly global stage. On this issue, the work of Nadin Ospina on view at the entrance of El Morro Castle became a symbol. In an interview conducted by the team of *Universes in Universe* (which conducted a major coverage of the Biennale), Colombian artist Nadin Ospina stated:

The models for my work are small pre-Columbian figures from Colombia's central coffee region. They are ceramic objects often found in old graves, which have become a popular symbol in Colombia for the pre-Hispanic culture. They are reproduced very frequently and are sold to tourists at such souvenir markets as this one here at the Morro. And so they have become pieces which are easily recognized, and besides that they have a strong sculptural form which I find very interesting. I saw that they have monumentality - even in a small format - and for just this reason I chose them as a point of departure.<sup>503</sup>

The second factor was to address the reduction in academic production during previous editions, which used to make the Biennale the center of art thinking for Latin America and an active participant in building Third World subjectivity. As a result, the curatorial team was called upon to be more aggressive in publishing articles in international magazines in participating in academic events on their own areas of expertise, in order to position their views and imprint their opinions on global discourse, all based on their expertise in the different areas covered traditionally by the Biennale.<sup>504</sup> A final factor was to show that even in a biennial-saturated world, Havana was able to maintain its position an alternative to the large and new art events emerging everywhere.

The seventh Biennale included architecture and urbanism as artistic manifestations in the exhibitions, conferences and workshops. Renowned specialists from Cuba as well as from abroad were invited to communicate their experiences of interaction with the city. Havana has been always at the center of the Biennale and its presence has always been part of any comment about the event. For the Seventh Biennale, and possibly as a result of Herrera Ysla's interest as new director (being himself an architect), the city was part of many parallel exhibitions and discussions.<sup>505</sup> It made of the Biennale three events, one addressing a topic (communication and non-communication at the end of the century), another academic (debating the biennial phenomenon), and finally one addressing issues such as the restoration of historic places, the renewal of urban-centers, and the design of public spaces in the midst of international debates on

the cities at the end of the century and responding to the revitalization of downtown areas, a part of the real state boom in major cities in the global network.



**Figure 103. Havana's Cityscape**

This edition of the Biennale brought hordes of participants, artists, academics, curators, collectors, buyers, and visitors, to Havana's newly renovated hotel and tourist infrastructure. Old Havana was under major renovation, signaling perhaps that the country was finally coming out of the special period. The art market for Cuban art was at its highest and the first of a hotly debated series of contemporary art auctions took place under the auspices of cultural agents in the country, and many from outside. Officials, collectors, and curators from the Museum of Modern Art in New York arrived at the Biennale, ready to buy in bulk.<sup>506</sup> Additionally, the whole curatorial team for the Documenta11 also visited the Biennale, scouting for new artists.

Several art critics and journalists covered the event, which was widely published in major art magazines and news papers. Nico Israel, a frequent contributor for *Artforum*, gives a glimpse into the Biennale with a cinematic reference. In his article "VII Bienal de la Habana," Israel combines Wim Wenders's *Buena Vista Social Club*'s "charming decrepitude" with Julian Schnabel's "grotesque prison house" style of *Before Night Falls* when describing his own experience of the city. The critic also mentions Copola's *The Godfather* and Kurosawa's *Throne of Blood* during his descriptions and discussions of certain works. Unfortunately, his view is the shallowest among the many critical pieces published, and only brings some light to a topic discussed during the Theoretical Event, arguing that much of which focused on globalization (and its discontents). "Rosa Martinez (who co-curated Venice, curated SITE Santa Fe, and is currently attempting to mount a biennial in Kathmandu, Nepal), spoke about the potential for



biennials to make genuine connections among people of different nations and cultures. Others (like Edy Camara, a Senegal-born critic who lives in Mexico) decried the biennialization of the art world, comparing it to economic globalization under Western domination or the homogenizing effects of ‘world music.’”<sup>507</sup>

With the suggestive title “Sweet Dreams (Seventh Havana Biennial Exhibition, Cuba)” *Art in America* also covered the event. The article written by Grady T. Turner describes the work of some artists, among them many established international figures (Susan Hiller from the U.K., William Kentridge from South Africa, and Annette Messager from France), participation American artists (Jennifer Allora and Albert Chong, himself Jamaican born), the Cubans, and a handful of other names. Like other reviewers, Turner’s comments on the Cuban situation are superficial, mentioning the aftermath of the Elián González case and how for Americans, like himself, it was striking to see the amount of work that could be read as political or critical of the regime in the Biennale. Commenting on the mural sized photographs by Jennifer Allora and Guillermo Calzadilla (U.S.-Cuba/Puerto Rico), which depicted young couples staring at the ocean, he answers his question stating, “Habaneros appreciate the multiple interpretations of the photographs. Perhaps the man and women were contemplating escape; perhaps they were simply admiring the sea; perhaps they were lonely and would find one other along the Malecon. Locals comfortably harbor many contradictory ideas about life, about politics, about art- that undermine any easy stereotypes of Cuba.”<sup>508</sup> Noting that the Biennale had become one of the most significant art events in the hemisphere, he explains that: “This has been true since the Fifth Biennial of 1994, when the legalization of the dollar encouraged U.S. critics, collectors and curators to join colleagues from the Caribbean and Central and South America. Word spread that there was something unique in Havana: the Biennial’s emphasis on emerging artists from

developing countries has introduced U.S. viewers to art that might otherwise have gone unnoticed in North America.”<sup>509</sup> What else can be expected from a magazine that believes that what is not in its pages does not deserve to be part of the art world? Turner turns to the topic of the event, arguing that it “was a bit ironic as a theme for this Tower of Babel, it was all the more so because of the restrictions and complications faced by several artists.”<sup>510</sup> Nonetheless, Turner’s article is informative about the amount of work displayed in the Biennale. Dividing it into four sections the author organizes a journey across the Biennial’s complexities. The first addresses general issues, the second one the Cuban scene, the third one the international component, and a final one the alternative scene and parallel events.<sup>511</sup>

In a similar manner, Walter Robinson, editor of the online magazine *Artnet*, mentions the many visitors attending the Biennale from New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and London and the echo of Cuban art in the mainstream. He also underlines the striking image of Havana, as city spectacle, where “still more astonishing is the total absence of advertisements, television and other manifestations of American pop culture. Christina Aguilera? Who? Music and songs are everywhere, but (they) don’t come from Uncle Sam. The people are poor but educated, and their iconic hero is a bearded, bespectacled macho intellectual – Che. It’s as if Fidel’s revolution has proven one thing: privation does not have to equal squalor.”<sup>512</sup> He then mentions the work of Kcho, who is “part of the Cuban elite, who earns the equivalent of a year’s salary for an average Cuban from the sale of a single work.”<sup>513</sup> Following his narrative comments on the work of Los Carpinteros, who won the UNESCO Prize for this year’s Biennale (the prize was given only that one time). Their work, called “Ciudad Transportable” (Portable City), consisted of a number of model-tents of prototypical revolutionary buildings a factory, a jail, an apartment complex, a lighthouse (paradoxically the work was produced in California). The young Carpinteros,

(Alexander Arrechea, Marco Antonio Castillo, and Dagoberto Rodríguez) according to Robinson had a busy schedule, exhibiting in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Spain that year. He comments also on the work of Tania Bruguera, and the young artist Belkis Ayón (who died under mysterious circumstances, her work was exhibited at the Galería Habana). “Her powerful works have reported been bought by New York collectors, including Peter Norton and the Museum of Modern Art.”<sup>514</sup>



**Figure 104. Los Carpinteros, “Transportable City.” Installation, 2000**

Robinson mentions the special auction of Cuban contemporary art held in the Casa de las Americas to benefit the Children’s Hospital of Havana (the oncology wing). Organized by Cuban authorities and the Austin-based U.S.-Latin American Medical Aid Foundation, the auction sold around 40 works for, approximately, U.S.\$150,200.<sup>515</sup> Finally, the author mentions several relevant artists such as William Kentridge among others, “who are already players on the international stage... (Kentridge) who projected his animated film *Procession* in one of the vaults in the Morro Castle” had become another recognizable figure in the Biennale.<sup>516</sup>



**Figure 105. William Kentridge, "Shadow Procession." Animation, 2000**

Dermis Leon, a Cuban curator living in the U.S., explains in her report titled “Havana, Biennial, tourism: The spectacle of utopia” for the *Art Journal* that, “The blockade mentality, the result of a political and economic reality, has fostered a lack of communication between the United States and Cuba since 1959, which in turn has contributed to the mythologization of each in the eyes of the other.”<sup>517</sup> This in addition to the boom of traveling to Cuba as a result of some relaxation of the containment policies by the Clinton administration towards the embargo, which filled the planes with Americans, arriving to see the Biennale. “The rumor that ‘everyone’ in the New York contemporary-art world was going to Havana made me think that an extraordinary change was taking shape in Cuba's relationship to the United States, and I felt it was important to witness the public legitimation of the Biennial by U.S. art institutions.”<sup>518</sup> Furthermore, León recognizes that,

Havana was placed as an obligatory point on the map of international art events. This has fostered a curatorial model not centered on the star figure of the curator, but rather on a research team. Specialized curators select the participating artists, who in turn are accepted or rejected by the entire team--a process designed to minimize judgments motivated by nationalistic sentiments. Without a doubt, the success of the Biennial has changed the balance of power in the international art world by focusing critical attention away from the dominant cultural centers toward the periphery. It has stimulated the opening of other biennials in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, thus reaffirming Cuba's position as a cultural leader within the Third World. Indeed, from the beginning, the Biennial has had its own political agenda; specifically, it has operated as a forum for the discourse of otherness, center, and periphery. Cuban art

criticism of the 1980s and early 1990s functioned as a sort of peripheral discourse within the international celebration of the Biennial.<sup>519</sup>

After accepting its prominence on the global scene, León addresses the issue of Cultural Tourism and places the event as part of Cuba's policies to attack the special period. "The administrators of the Biennial understand that in order to survive in the precarious Cuban economy, which is now subject to the rhythm of the international markets, it is necessary for its art to address global themes, spiced with a hint of local exoticism." She argues that Cuba no longer has the same leadership role in Third World culture nor the economic resources, which it had in the 1980s. And she asserts that "In the era of Istanbul, Johannesburg, Kwangju, and the countless other biennials that keep critics, curators, and artists hopping from plane to plane always seeking novelty, the Havana Biennial must offer something more than Third World art."<sup>520</sup>

In a different tone, Australian critic and artist Penelope Richardson writes an almost literary review for *Third Text*. In her report Richardson underlines the many Havanas that exist in simultaneity (the nostalgic, the tourist, the modern-socialist or revolutionary city, etc.) and points to some of the alternative events taking place that have become part of the cultural landscape during each edition of the Biennale. "Esta es su Casa Vicenta" became a major 'alternative' spot during the Biennale; "what looked like an abandoned, burnt out French style villa turned out to be Vicenta's house, and site for the most popular fringe exhibition of the Bienal."<sup>521</sup> Then she goes on to describe some of the most impressive works addressing the topic of the Biennale; Galería DUPP's installation "1, 2, 3 Probando" (1, 2, 3 Testing)" exhibited in the Morro Fortress became the Biennale signature.<sup>522</sup> A project made by the collective (led by Rene Francisco) produced dozens of large scale 1950s style microphones, in cast iron already oxidized, to be located along the sandstone walls of the fortress. "The fort becomes metaphor for the control and

containment, for the flow of goods and ideas in and out of Havana... They face both inwards, the viewer becoming the orator, and outwards, Castro's endless speeches, and as a metaphor for communication in Cuba."<sup>523</sup> Microphones were also used by Surinamese artist Remy Jungerman in his installation titled "Flattened Toad Force 3. Nobody is Protected."



**Figure 106. Galería DUPP, "1,2,3 probando." Installation, 2000**

Subsequently, Richardson commented on some of the more powerful works (in her view) in the Biennale. Esterio Segura (Cuba) follows, his installation "Donde el Silencio Produce Tornados" (Where Silence Produces Storms) sets a subject, a wax model, in a dark room surrounded by airplane models of all sorts, "the sleeping protagonist lies on top of mounds of bamboo birdcages, while hundreds of small planes line the roof above him."<sup>524</sup> Tania Bruguera's latest performance, *Untitled*, also was the object of controversy. It used one of the dark cavernous rooms at La Cabaña fortress. "Naked men stand inside a cavernous stone warehouse carpeted with crushed sugar cane, letting off a pungent odor as it ferments. High in the ceiling, at the center of the space, a small black and white TV had been suspended. It showed a silent video of Castro delivering his marathon speeches, showing his heart, kissing children waving to his people -statesman, politician, God."<sup>525</sup> The men performed everyday labor tasks, underlining a slave-master relationship -people and leader. After the opening the performance that was on the program for a second presentation was cancelled. Another work reported by Richardson is Abel Barroso's "Café Internet del Tercer Mundo" (Third World Internet Café), "in which all the

computers and associated technology are made out of wood blocks carved with messages then hammered together in a crude folkloric style; he questions the inclusivity of the global economic environment.”<sup>526</sup> Finally she comments on the work of Carlos Estevez (Cuba) whose “Botellas al Mar” (Messages in a Bottle) use a well known device to address isolation and a desire for communication.



**Figure 107. Esterio Segura, "Donde el Silencio Produce Tornados." Installation, 2000**

The interest of American scholars in Chicago, thanks to the work of Rachel Weiss (who lives and works there), has increased during the last editions of the Biennale. In a note published in the magazine *Afterimage*, Gregory Sholette (Associate Professor at the Art Institute of Chicago), an artist and activist himself, comments on how “battalions of art tourists unloading

like occupation troops from buses and cabs onto the bluff overlooking downtown Havana.”<sup>527</sup> In his text “Affirmation of the Curatorial Class – Seventh Havana Biennial Art Exhibition”, the author comments on how the event has undoubtedly played an important role in the art world. He notes “at the same time it became one more occasion for the affirmation of the curatorial class: the transnational detachment of specialized professionals who manage the global spectacle called contemporary art... While there is still something different about the Bienal de la Habana when compared to other global festivals –more artists of color from the southern hemisphere are represented– the same aura of exotica provides a particular status within the larger cultural tourist landscape. The significance of his special position is not lost on the Cuban artistic community.”<sup>528</sup> Nonetheless, his report is based almost exclusively on Cuban artists. He mentions the Galería DUPP, Esterio Segura, Abel Barroso, Raúl Cordero, and the collaborative team of Jennifer Allora and Guillermo Calzadilla. Cordero showed his works from the series “Hello/Goodbye (La experiencia Las Vegas – Varadero), making an ironic reading of the Biennale as a place of purely market driven forces. Allora and Calzadilla showed a series of large photos which worked as a public project, from the series “Seeing Otherwise”, depicting a young man and woman (of African origin) facing away from the viewer and into a body of water where the sitting sun was just off-screen. “The images were digitally modified to seem as if the sun-set were in the subject’s perspective rather than in the photographer-viewer perspective, adding (a) certain impossibility to the image.”<sup>529</sup>





**Figure 108. Jennifer Allora & Guillermo Calzadilla, from the series “Seeing Otherwise.” 2000**

Sholette also addresses artists working in video, film, and digitally manipulated images and/or prints. Spanish artist Antoni Muntadas’ video installation underlines the pervasiveness of the mass-media and the society of spectacle (with a spectacular video-installation at the same time, which suffered from the constant blackouts of Havana). South African William Kentridge brought a touching piece in which a long carnival of shadow images (using old theatrical techniques) tells the story of the sufferings of blacks in colonial territories. Another South African, Jane Alexander’s “uncanny sienna-toned photographs from the series ‘African Adventure: Cape of Good Hope’... showing third-world locations, was disturbed by(the) inexplicable presence of children mutating into animals that stare at the viewer as if saying ‘are we not human?’ They actually made me wince.”<sup>530</sup> Colombian video artists José Alejandro Restrepo (who in the report appears as two artists) presented his video-installation “*Iconofilia*” (from his series titled *Iconomía*, 1998-2000). It is a group of short video segments that start with the line, “Good morning sweet images, I want to see more...” Sholette continues:

Over the course of an hour the piece offers stories *a la carte* about the eye. Some appear to be news clips or appropriated T.V. programs, while others are documentary footage possibly shot by the artist himself. Among the shorts is a scene from a Colombian soap opera in which a bandaged woman falls in love with her handsome surgeon after he restores her

sight... This is followed by spectral images of Mary and Jesus that appear in the bottom of coffee cups, on stained walls and even in the reflections of ice cream vendor's cart. The final startling but morbid episode is about a woman who proceeds to take several frame shop employees hostage after she discovers they have lost her family photograph. It concludes with the distraught woman shooting herself in the head.<sup>531</sup>



**Figure 109. José Alejandro Restrepo, “Iconophilia” (from the series *Iconomía 1998-2000*). Video installation, 2000**

Sholette also writes about the alternative events that happened in Havana and his reaction before the changing economy and the massive transformation of the city.

In a similar note, Valerie Cassel writes a report for the magazine *NKA*.<sup>532</sup> She admits she has a tourist's perspective, since it is not possible for a person like her to break away from her position as a cultural spectator in that environment. Again, she records a fascination with the city, the fading utopianism of the event, and the number of venues in play that “dissolves into a montage of narratives; it is, as well, an exercise in how each artist attempts to articulate, if not reconcile, his or her unique experience of the historical and utopian.”<sup>533</sup> Although, *NKA* is a

journal on African Contemporary Art, Cassel's article did not refer, particularly, to the work of African artists alone. While the images do present a visual report on some of the African participants (Jane Alexander, Albert Chong, Bruna Truffa, Godfried Donkor, Willem Boshoff, and Peter Minshall), the text focused on different aspects and artists in the exhibition. The author mentions the work of the Colombian collective "Grafito" that "proved significant because they provided evidence that places, streets, and buildings once existed. The rubbings of cement sidewalks and buildings became a communal process involving members of the group and the general public at each site." Their work was indeed more connected to the architectural dimension of the event than to the issue of communication.<sup>534</sup> She also mentions British artist Susan Hillers, Brazilian Rosana Monnerat, Uruguayan Nelbia Romero, Pakistani Nalani Malani, Argentinean Miguel Angel Rios, and the Cuban collective los Carpinteros. Her descriptions are rather shallow and do not address major issues related to the topics debated during the event. However, as an exercise of inclusion of alternative topics in the journal, it makes an important point signaling *NKA*'s move towards the postcolonial in a wider perspective.

Without a doubt, the most critical and thorough report for the seventh edition of the Havana Biennale was produced by Rachel Weiss and published in *Art Nexus*. The veteran visitor to the Biennial -her first trip was in late 1980 -when it was impacted by the appearance of the city and the force of the Cuban art scene at the beginning of the special period. Weiss makes the most accurate and critical comments on the event. She starts by connecting the fashionable "Buenavista Social Club Syndrome," in which the nostalgia for the utopian times is embedded and repackaged in films, posters, photos, and even in the cars that still run on the island, with the success of the Biennale in terms of international attention. They become the phantoms of loose dreams, nostalgic objects for the Western tourist. The exotic and erotic of Cuban culture has

become the best attraction for the increasing cultural tourism at the Biennale in recent years.<sup>535</sup> The Biennale uses, as Herrera Ysla insists, the simultaneity of historical times “where prehistory and the Internet coexist” to disengage from technology and to address two other dimensions (architecture and counter-digital culture or collectivism), the bases of the curatorial project underlying the event, according to Weiss’ reading of Herrera’s text. She also notes that the new tourist economy has evolved into a place in “which class divisions read clearly –between Cubans and foreigners, and between those who are inside and those left out of the new dollar economy.”<sup>536</sup> She argues that Cuban artists (the successful ones) are members of an elite that is comparable to that of the military in the country. That has pushed some groups to criticize the Biennale and the art practice of some artists in satirical ways; the music band (composed of Cuban visual artists) *Rock Campesino* (Peasant Rock) played a version of the famous “Guantanamera” in the opening at Havana Gallery (for the Belkis Ayón exhibition). Repeating several times the main lyric they tried to create the same sensation that popular Cuban music does as background sound in any tourist place.

Weiss describes the work of some of the participants, starting with Mexican Gustavo Artigas’ project for the opening of the Biennale. Artigas is known for the use of people in his works, in this case, “En el aire” (On the Air), invited children to play with a flurry of Styrofoam toy airplanes in Plaza Vieja (planes and boats are still recurrent icons in Cuban art). This collaborative and participatory dimension was present throughout the event, from the *parangoles* used by Cuban subjects during the Biennale opening, to the events related to Helio Oiticica’s exhibition. Weiss complains that this project was about resistance to a dictatorial regime, titled originally ‘Más allá del espacio’ (Beyond Space) and how in Havana it became just a puppet. Mexican-Canadian artist Rafaél Lozano-Helmer’s work titled “33 Questions Per Minute:

Relational Architectures 05” used a number of LCD screens to produced concrete poetry through interaction with a keyboard where people were allowed to write anything they wanted, while Santiago Sierra’s (not in the official list) “Le invito a tomar un trago” (I Invite You to Have a Drink) was in the *Espacio Aglutinador* gallery. Sierra is also known for paying people to participate in his works.<sup>537</sup> Another action that used the same strategy was “Familia Obrera” (Worker Family) by veteran Argentinean artist Oscar Bonny. It was initially presented in 1968 when Bonny paid the double of the salary of a working Father, who sat with his family in a gallery in Buenos Aires. Bony wanted to address the class-specificity of the art world and the inequalities of the elitist society at the time. The project “was initially approved but later amended by the biennial, at issue was the question of who would select the family to be hired for the work; while the initial arrangement was apparently that Bonny would make the selection (since it was the crux of the work), eventually it was decided by the biennial that they would be the selectors.”<sup>538</sup> In a press-release days before the opening, Bonny declared his project terminated.



**Figure 110. Vicenta Borja's house, a place for alternative art**

Commenting on the Cuban scene, Weiss sounds irritated. She states that the Cuban artists seem in a state of “self-cannibalization.” The sarcasm and sharpness are no more than a stylisticy

façade, as in the case of Los Carpinteros, Kcho (with his repetitive boats), and Esterio Segura (with his pretentious existentialism). She exempts the work by Galería DUPP, only because of their connections to the paintings of Antonia Eriz, a female Cuban painter who used to use microphones in her work, alluding to demagoguery and rhetoric. She stopped working in the 1960s for political reasons and dedicated her life to education in the CDR (Committees for the Defense of the Revolution). “With its reference to Eiriz, DUPP’s work seemed a clear test of the allowable limits of expression, and in that sense is similar to the installation/performance by Tania Bruguera.”<sup>539</sup> The work by the Cuban collective Gabinete Ordo Amoris (Francis Acea and Diango Hernández) titled “Un día como cualquier otro” (A Day Like Any Other Day) presented a series of objects-replicas that comes directly from the special period, creativity at its extreme that at the same time recalls the scarcity and moribund situation of the country from a purely aesthetic perspective. Weiss did not go on depth about the alternative exhibitions, saying that they were no more than “simply additional venues, rather than presenting an alternative position (with the exception of some works at “Esta es su casa Vicenta” and the *Espacio Aglutinador* project titled “Permanecer: nuestra colectiva” – To Stay: our collective).<sup>540</sup>

Besides the controversies around the works of Bruguera and Bonny, another issue arose during the academic presentations when invited members (Cuauhtémoc Medina, Virginia Pérez Rattón, José Luis Brea, and Santiago Olmo) asked about the misrepresentation of Cuban intellectuals in the Theoretical Event (which included many important international names). In particular they asked for Gerardo Mosquera, Orlando Hernandez, and Desiderio Navarro, all relevant intellectuals in the development of Cuban art theory and criticism and the Biennale in particular, since the early 1980s. Director Nelson Herrera Ysla called for a private response to

these public questions. Weiss ends her report in that tone, asking for public answers from an event that historically has debated relevant issues in an open and public way.<sup>541</sup>

It is relevant to also mention the participation of Nigerian artists Ude Ike and Olu Oguibe (Oguibe presented paintings of his “Women of Substance. A Canon in Progress”) and, for the first time, of Israeli artists (Eliezer Sonnenschein Guy Raz, Efrat Benni, and David Reeb) alongside Palestinian (Dweik Youssef), Egyptian (Mona Marzouk), and Arab Emirates artists (Ibrahim Mohammed Ahmed, Kazem Mohamed, and Sherif Hassan).<sup>542</sup>



**Figure 111. Olu Oguibe, “Women of Substance. A Canon in Progress,” Installation, 2000**

## 5.8 ART WITHIN LIFE

**Eighth Havana Biennale** / Dates: 1 Nov. - 15 Dec. 2003

Main Theme: Arte con la Vida (Art within Life)

157 artists from 49 countries from the Third World, Europe, North America, and Australia

Exhibitions:

- Arte con la Vida (Art with Life). Several venues
- 4D RAIN. Pabellón Cuba
- Mover las Cosas, Alamar
- Isaroko, La California (art and community)
- Maneras de inventarse una sonrisa (Forms to invent a smile)
- Soy Kurtycz (I am Kurtycz)
- SENSASIONAL del Diseño Mexicano (SENSATIONAL of Mexican design)
- Encuentro de Performance (Performance Encounter)

Academic Event: *Forum Arte-Vida (Forum Art-Life)*

Participants: Leonor Amarante (Brazil), Paul Ardenne (France), Nicolas Bourriadu (France), Justo Pastor Mellado (Chile), Ricardo Basbaum (Brazil), Bill Burns (Canada), Fernando Castro (Spain), Jessica Cusick (USA), Laura Mora (Mexico), Rhana Davenport (Australia), Moacir dos Anjos (Brazil), Magali Espinosa (Cuba), Bastien Gilbert (Canada), Shifra Goldman (USA), José Miguel González Casanova (Mexico), Heidi Grundman (Austria), Yuko Hasegawa (Japan), Julia Herzberg (USA), Pablo Helgera (Mexico-USA), Annete Hurtig (Canada), Geeta Kapur (India), Arshiya Lokhandwala (India), Richard Martell (Canada), Rosa Martinez (Spain), Michelle Marxuach (Puerto Rico), Soledad Novoa Donoso (Chile), Kevin Power (Spain), Ricardo Ribenboim (Brasil), Ricardo Rivadeneira (Colombia), Diana Salavarieta (Colombia), Guillermo Santamarina (Mexico), Guy Siou Durand (Canada), Eugenio Valdés (Cuba), Keith Wallace (Canada).

In the aftermath of September 11, 2001, the Eighth Havana Biennale occurred during a time of increasing and relentless schizophrenia and of politically engendered fear. There also was a noticeable closing of the ideological debates between left-right and South-North, an the increasing impact of extreme religious-right perspectives, in which terrorism and counter-terrorism reigned. Indeed Cuba, from the beginning of this new stage in its history, was proclaimed to be part of the so-called “axis of evil,” a denomination that U.S. President Georges W. Bush used with the hope of starting a global conflict that would place his weak administration at the center of the global order. This effort was, for a time, successful.<sup>543</sup>



This environment reinforced the economic embargo and set American political associates against Cuba (the European Union in particular). The Biennale again opened late, but it finally did, in 2003. As well, Havana also faced other challenges. The Biennale had to deal with the recent success of Documenta11 (directed by Okwui Enwezor), the open-model of the 50th Venice Biennale directed by Francesco Bonami, and the increasing emergence of new biennials.<sup>544</sup> On the local level, Nelson Herrera Ysla ceased to be director in a move that was explained as a successive rotation of the direction of the Lam Center and the Biennale among the senior curators of the Lam Center. However, it seems that there were other factors involved in the replacement. The volatile environment led the Cuban government to be further restrictive with its own citizens, and to restrain individual liberties by taking harsh action against those trying to leave or to criticize the regime from within.<sup>545</sup> As a result the major supporters of the Biennale in 2003, the Netherland-based organizations HIVOS (Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries) and the Prince Claus Funds, withdrew their support as did AFAA (Association Française d'Action Artistique). The Prince Claus Funds had contributed 90,2000 U.S. Dollars to the previous biennial, which was also supported by HIVOS. According to a statement by the organizers, the two foundations together were responsible for 70% of external support for the Seventh Havana Biennale. They argued that the Lam Center and its officials (the curators in particular) did not distance themselves sufficiently from or criticize the recent measures taken by the Cuban government. The press release was sent to the art world. As a consequence a group of artists invited to participate also refused to send their works. An opening statement by the President of the biennial's board, published in the exhibition catalogue, condemns the withdrawal of funding as “part of the wave of hostile actions carried out by the European Union against Cuba.”<sup>546</sup>

Uruguayan artist and critic Luis Camnitzer wrote in his contribution to the catalogue that rather than partake in the system that defines art at a given moment, the Havana Biennale has traditionally aimed to underline the ethical context within which that definition occurs. “Inscribing the exhibition into a discourse that favors moral judgments over aesthetic ones, and local authenticity over global intelligibility, Camnitzer iterates a position often assumed by ‘peripheral’ biennials that claim an advantage derived from geographical (and economic) marginality.”<sup>547</sup>



Figure 112. Cover catalog 8th Havana Biennale, 2003

Nonetheless, the 2003 Biennale has to be recalled as one of the most open in terms of its curatorial approach. The core members were joined by a group of artist-curators from Austria and Germany, who usually work on the U.S. West Coast, called RAIN. In addition to Hilda María Rodríguez (Director of the Eighth Biennale), Nelson Herrera Ysla, José Manuel Noceda, Ibis Hernandez Abascal, Margarita Sánchez Prieto, Eugenio Valdés (who joined again the team as liaison with RAIN), other names such as José Fernandez Portal (working at the Lam Center since 1999), Siggi Hofer (Italy-Austria), Susi Jirkuff (Austria), Lisa Schmidt-Colinet (Austria), Alex Schmoeger (Austria), and Florian Zeyfang (Germany) all participated in that year's selection process. This fact marks a curatorial advance and at the same time a generational shift in the Lam Center (young curators from Havana University and ISA had started to join and work as assistant curators).<sup>548</sup>

For this installment, titled "Art and Life," the Biennale attempted to maintain its ethical prerogative while trying to align itself with historically mainstream art and with what was left of the Revolution. Camnitzer, while not among the exhibition's curators, went on to provide lucid guidance as to how the exhibition's theme might be understood: "If Art and Life as title of this Eighth Biennial pretends to be more than a purely anecdotic theme, the selection of the phrase revives two main hopes that go hand-in-hand: the blockade of the temptations of mercantilist artistic tourism, and the maintenance of a forum for discussion of the ethical contexts that to such great extent go beyond the mere making of objects." Camnitzer confronts the most paradoxical aspects of contemporary art in Cuba. Because art in Cuba is less policed than other goods (it's not embargoed either), artistic production has become a tempting prospect toward participating in the world market.<sup>549</sup>

Terry Smith wrote a review for *NKA*, noting that millions of dollars were spent on Matthew Barney's *Cremaster* exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum in New York City, while Uruguayan artist Martin Sastre's trilogy "The Iberoamerican Legend" cannibalize images, including a parody of Barney, in an economy of scarcity and turmoil.<sup>550</sup> After setting a tone (political, economic, physical, and theoretical) Smith goes on to name some of the artists featured in the many exhibition venues. Among others, he singles out the collective RAIN and Fabiana Barros' (Brazil) "Fiteiro Cultural," pieces that according to Smith were connected to the main topic since they were located in public spaces and involved public interaction. On the exhibition itself "an array of art from outside the main center and the new artworld nexus-points. Art that is primarily about public specific to its conditions of creation, or that emerged from exchange and encounter with them."<sup>551</sup> That is the case in Brazilian artist Siron Franco's installation "Intolerancia" (Intolerance), where figures are stuffed, suggesting workers or peasants bodies piled across after a massacre. Similarly, the large project by Mauricio Dias and Walter Riedweg (Brazil-Germany) titled "Devocionalia" in which street children in a testimonial manner share their experiences; the children cast their feet and hands in ex-votos that as phantoms, haunt our dreams. Fernando Arias' (Colombia) austere video piece titled "Infidelity" works as a dialectic of violence, abuse, and the sexual and master-servant relationship. There is a double image of a young black soldier (guerrilla fighter, mercenary) who shoots a weapon directly at the viewer while a penis wearing a piercing ejaculates in reverse. Smith also discusses the work of Iranian artist Gazhel, who in her self-ethnographic (comical indeed) short videos, managed to parody Islamic dress codes in a clear Third World style of conceptual art. Smith also comments on the works by Australian Patricia Piccinini, Nigerian Otobong Nkanga, and

Ousmane Ndiaye (Dago) that used photography (and space in the case of Nkanga) to create tensions between time, place, and being.<sup>552</sup>

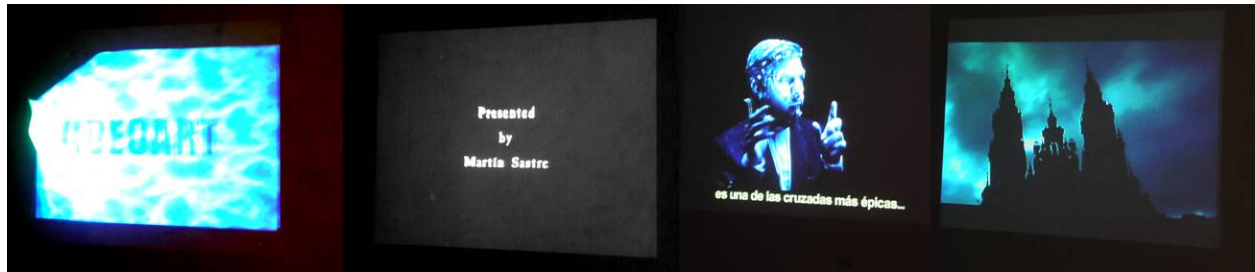


Figure 113. Martin Sastre, "The Iberoamerican Legend." Video, 2002

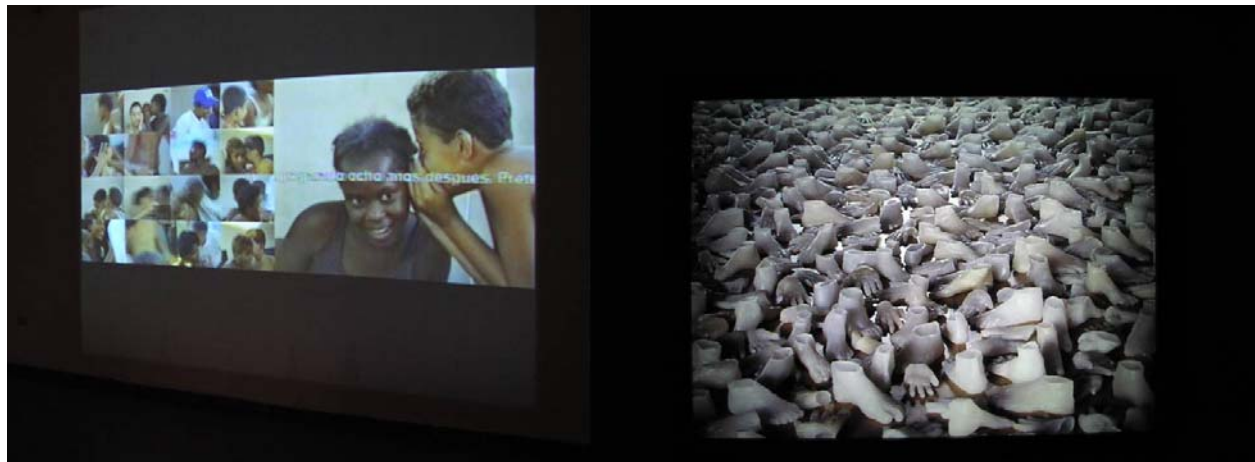
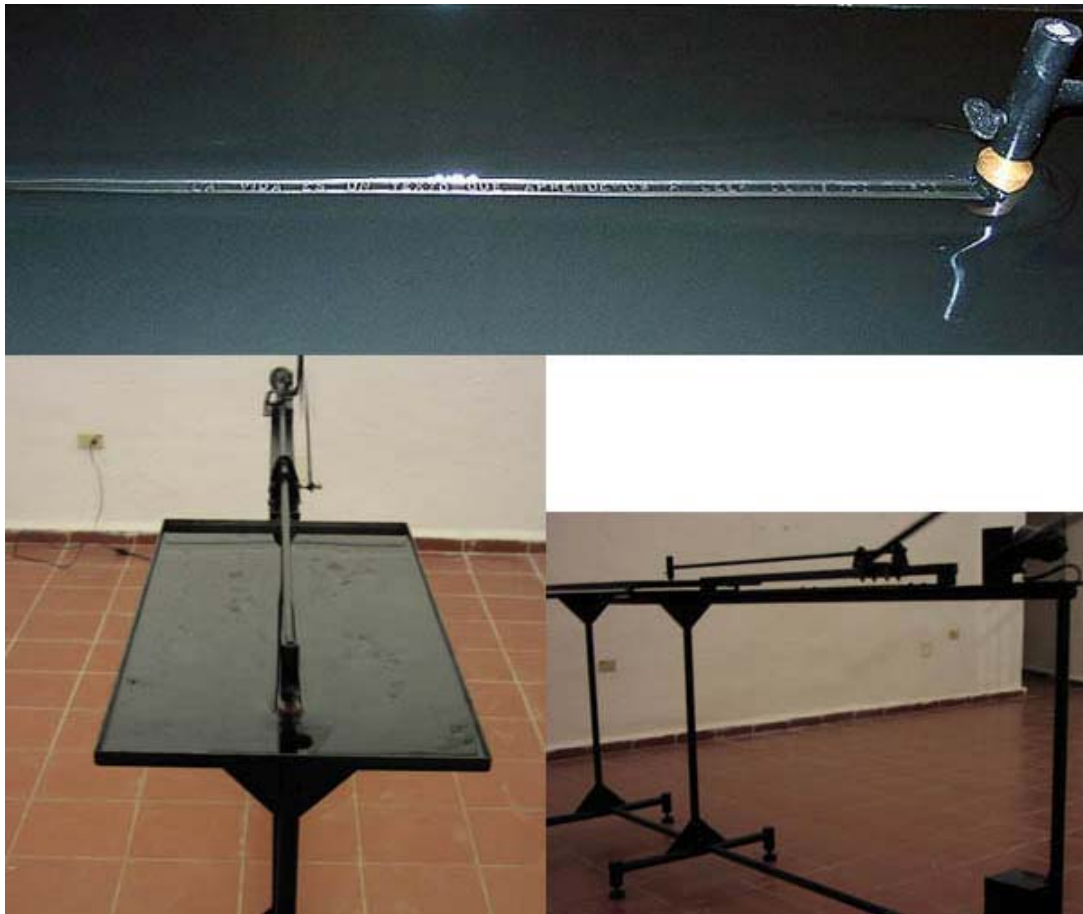


Figure 114. Mauricio Dias & Walter Riedweg, "Devotionalia." Installation, 1995-2003



**Figure 115. Otobong Nkanga, “Sustain Suture.” Performance - installation, 2003**

Smith is also intrigued by the work of Cuban brothers Yoan and Ivan Capote (former members of Galería DUPP) who presented individual works for the Biennale. Both work in the best conceptual-Cuban way, sharp but clean comments and a masterly use of resources. Yoan comments on mass-media and related topics with his sculptural TV-set cages. But it is Ivan’s machine that attracts Smith, “like a stripped-down Tinguely, the small motor of which drove a looped belt that pushed a rod bearing a sink plug at its point across a tray carrying a thin layer of viscous sump oil. At each push the plug would clear a narrow space and mark the base of the tray, as if beginning to form a letter. Immediately the oil would flow back in... The title of this work is, indeed, *Dyslexia*. And it takes just one step to see this as a metaphor for social amnesia, a disease of epidemic proportions throughout the world.”<sup>553</sup>



**Figure 116. Ivan Capote, “Dyslexia.” Mechanical sculpture, 2003**

With the same subtle but powerful aesthetic and self-reflexive effect, Smith comments on works by Brazilian Pazé and Uruguayan Marco Maggi. Both artists use simple materials, Pazé plastic straws and Maggi’s sheets of white paper comment on the fragility of artistic creation. Through their sculptural and multimedia practices, these artists established lines of flight to particular art historical moments (the avant-garde), and combat the neutral, yet charged, spaces of the exhibition.

Smith also addresses more directly the work of some of the new Cuban artists, where kitsch (Ramirez and Velasco), junk (Mariño, Prieto), and revolutionary rhetoric (Bruguera) excel. Tania Bruguera was not part of the official list of participants but appeared in an individual exhibition (as did Rene Francisco) at the Museo Nacional, recently reopened. On a

platform, her piece “Autobiografía” was an installation in which a microphone stands alone. In the background pre-recorded slogans by Fidel played (Hasta la Victoria Siempre!, Vencer o Morir!, Libertad o Muerte, etc.). The sound increased when the spectator stepped into the speaker’s place. A trigger of historical and personal memory; the piece creates echoes of a revolution on the threshold of disappearance. Smith connects the piece to a painting by Antonia Eriz “Una Tribuna para la Paz Democrática” (A Tribune for a Democratic Peace) made in 1969, as one of the last pieces produced by a Cuban artist that had strongly impacted the new generation of Cuban artists.



Figure 117. Tania Bruguera, "Autobiography." Installation, sound track, and publication, 2003

An article written by Christian Rattemeyer, curator at *Artists Space* in New York and a frequent contributor to *Artforum*, underlines the participation of the collective RAIN, “founded several years ago in Los Angeles... (which) curated the space within the Pabellon Cuba. For their project, 4D, they invited twenty-three artists and groups to engage the history and cultural significance of the venue... For its part, RAIN traversed the pavilion with monumental



scaffolding akin to those used in the renovation of buildings all over Cuba, and placed works in small open booths, recesses, and corridors. The exhibited works often engaged similarly liminal spaces or threshold zones, such as the border between San Diego and Tijuana (Grupo Torolab) or the concrete bunkers left behind in Albania (Bunker Research Group). The German collective AnArchitektur's publications about such projects as nuclear bomb shelters, World War II army test sites, and the architecture of Guantanamo Bay; Nils Norman's designs for the radical reuse of public space and Gulsun Karamustafa's video about a group of Turkish women who were sentenced to prison by their government all tied in with the research- and documentation-based aesthetic of RAIN's exhibition. A nightly series of concerts, performances, and talks turned the pavilion into the unofficial center of the entire event.”<sup>554</sup> That kind of projects and the venue itself, an architectural icon –the Cuban Pavilion, altered with the parasite structure and signaled a new direction in curatorial approaches to the event. It can be compared to the “utopia station” curated by Molly Nesbit, Hans Ulrich Obrist and Rirkrit Tiravanija for the 50<sup>th</sup> Venice Biennale. However, as Rattemeyer comments, “Havana’s life was more luminous and fresh than the carton type station in the Venice project.”<sup>555</sup>



**Figure 118. RAIN in the Cuban pavilion (Vedado)**

The correspondence between “art and life” seemed to be confined to an array of works that engaged with aspects of everyday living, such as domestic environments. A group of table dinners (the one by Zeeger Reyers was impressive), transportation related works and traffic (Dominique Zinkpé, Betsabé Romero, Suboth Gupta, Nicola Constantino), faith-based works

(Alfonso Suarez), media and self representation (Luis García Zapatero, Gazhel, Pablo Helgera Soap Opera Institute, and Jayce Salloum collection of videos of everyday life in the Middle East were astonishing), and domestic and political violence (Luis Barba and Libia Posada's prosthetics lab brought the worst of the Colombia conflict to the fore), among others. Some of the events taking place in the Cuban pavilion (Bijari from Brazil in particular), and more relevant in peripheral neighborhoods such as in the California and Alamar districts gained preponderance because they acted in consequence with the spirit of the event. Interaction, exchange, and a playful –horizontal interaction established a subtle possibility of addressing new audiences and topics. Cuban, Mexican, and Brazilian artist participated in the workshops, performances, and happenings in California. The housing project was rebuilt under the auspices of the Union of Writers and Artists during the mid-1990s. Manuel Mendive, Eduardo Roca, Juan Roberto Diago (who is going to be transformed by the experience) from Cuban and Fabiana Barros and Betsabé Romero (Brazil and Mexico respectively) participated.

Rattemeyer argues that only a few artists attempted to interact directly with the living conditions of Havana or their own city or country of origin. That was the case of the Havana-based artists' group Department of Public Interventions, which staged several events in public places in Cuba's capital. Departamento de Intervenciones Públicas, working on the same spirit as DUPP, produced 30 days of action in the cityscape.<sup>556</sup>

Another article that comments on the collaborative projects around Havana during the eight Biennale was written by Janis Demkiw and Jenifer Pappararo for the *C: International Contemporary Art Magazine*, and was titled “The 8th Havana Biennial: two perspectives on two collaborations.” It emphasizes the collectives, RAIN and in particular the Departamento de Intervenciones Públicas (DIP. Dept. of Public Interventions) with their piece titled “ACTION

EXPERIENCE: 30 DAYS”. They ask how a small collective of students using a small wooden house in the thick of residential Buenavista became headquarters for some of the most compelling work happening in Havana.

The players are The Department of Public Interventions (Dpto. de Intervenciones Publicas, aka DIP), a collective of young artists who met at ISA in 2001. DIP wants to create a space in Cuba for public art. Working outside institutions is no small feat in a country so heavily policed and bureaucratized... With an economy of means and the adaptability necessary for working in the public sphere, DIP develops simple, understated manipulations of the relationships between people in space. What might happen, for example, if 50 chairs were inexplicably left in a public park? (50 Sillas, Alvarez/Leyva, 2001)...

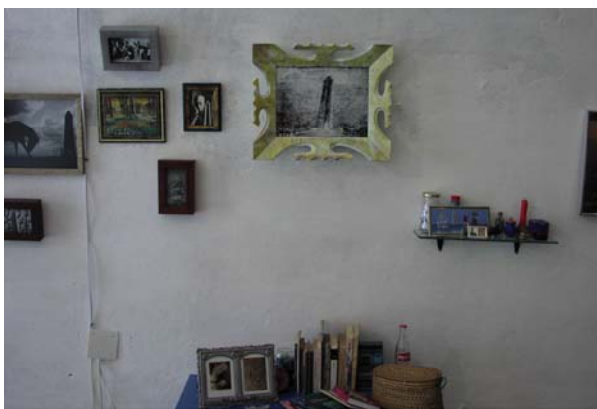
Ultimately, they saw their project as an intervention into the biennial itself. The exertions required to achieve official admittance included fabricating an exaggerated even fictionalized account of their own history. Once accepted, DIP posted an international call-for-artists to propose public interventions for the event, inviting over 50 participants from Germany, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Ireland, the Virgin Islands, Mexico, Switzerland and Cuba.”<sup>557</sup>



Figure 119. Departamento de Intervenciones Públicas DIP, “30 days of intervention.” Brochure, 2003

“Art within Life” for Cuban artists Nelson Ramirez de Arellano and Ludmila Velazco looks like a postcard on a coffee table. In the form of a photo album and a series of postcards titled, *Absolut Revolution*, the couple places their own images alongside figures from history. The Cuban revolutionary landscape functions as background for the dreams and hopes of the young couple. Sarcasm and anti-idealism mingle in their work. “Crossbreeding revolutionary

symbolism, popular objects, and icons of avant-garde art history, the artists effectively vacate these signifiers and ironically undermine their heroic histories. The protagonist in *Absolut Revolution* is a monument to Cuban writer and independence fighter Jose Marti, a well-known feature of the Havana cityscape and a favorite backdrop for Castro's early public addresses. Inserting an image of the monument into iconic photographs--from Rodchenko's mother to Man Ray's *Violin d'Ingres* and August Sander's *peasants in their Sunday best*--the artists inscribe the multilayered revolutionary history of Cuba into the tradition of avant-garde Western art.”<sup>558</sup> In the introductory text for the 2003 Biennale, Nelson Herrera Ysla also connects the Biennale topic to a revision of the Russian Avant-Garde, where utopia and reality meet.



**Figure 120. Nelson Ramirez & Liudmila Velazco, “Absolut Revolution.” Installation, 2003**

Rattemeyer also comments on other projects that equally engaged with the spectrum of Cuba's complex and layered history. “Panama-born and England-based artist Humberto Velez

continued his practice of collaborating with local musicians by writing and producing a song together with the Havana-based all-female band Krystal. Presented twice during the opening weekend, the concert camouflaged itself as an unofficial or clandestine event. Based on a poem Velez found in an old diary discovered in the former Panama Canal Zone Company headquarters, *Una canción para la bienal* (Por que el amor no existe) (A Song for the Biennial [Because Love Does Not Exist], 2003) combined elements of traditional Cuban music and Panamanian reggae with broader cultural references. While Krystal recalls ‘girl bands’ popular in Cuba in the first half of the century, Velez produced costumes for the performers based on Cuban couture from the late 60s and early 70s that merged bold tropical colors and patterns with designs inspired by Courreges.”<sup>559</sup> Mixing the cultural and artistic heritage of both countries, Velez's performances/public concerts retained the character of public/official events, not art. It is customary for the Biennale to use this type of work that frames the possibilities of art in connection to the people. Street performances also have a carnivalesque dimension common in Caribbean culture and artistic practice. They also make a call for “missed utopian moments by referencing a time in Cuban history when revolutionary optimism coincided with a highly developed culture that was both distinctly local in its vernacular and thoroughly international in its scope and ambition.”<sup>560</sup>



**Figure 121. Roi Vara (Finland), "Espiral." Performance in the Cuban Pavilion, 2003**

The Cuban participation has always held a special place in reports on the Biennale. Rattemayer comments on the work of some of the youngest artists. He gives special attention to the work of two new female Cuban artists, Lisset Castillo and Glenda Leon. Castillo's photographs function as aerial views of a nonexistent infrastructure. The city is her concern, and comparing it with other major urban centers becomes an obsession for the young artist. Indeed, she finds no comparison whatsoever, and then builds fantastic images out of sand and other materials. Leon's short video piece titled "*Destino*" (Destiny) uses a frontal static shot of a street in which old cars pass through, cars like those that are still running in Havana, the ones that had created a signature for the city. Suddenly the color and shape of them produce an alternative narrative, and groupings, tensions, and even stories emerge. Fantasy unfolds when in the last scene, a red car (an old Lada) makes a u-turn to follow another red car... Leon's video is a short, sweet and fantastic love story with poetic resonances. *Apolitico*, 2001-2003, by Wilfredo consisted of over thirty national flags on flagpoles, displayed on the front wall of La Cabaña. They were reminiscent of trade fairs, political conferences, or international hotels and were manufactured by the official workshop that produces all flags in Cuba. Replacing their

appropriate colors with a grayscale, Prieto changed their designs, evoking a ghostly presence and in some cases, the interchangeability of national banners (France, Italy, Mexico). Prieto aims to re-create the national flag of every country recognized by the United Nations, symbolically uniting the world, albeit in black-and-white.<sup>561</sup>



**Figure 122. Wilfredo Prieto, “Apolítico.” Installation, 2003**

Other reports, such as the one published by *Art Nexus* by Julia Herzberg addresses other relevant issues. She explores a larger range of artist participating at the event. Herzberg distinguishes a series of subtopics criss-crossing the event, “political discourse, world events, issues of identity, consumerism, travel/nomadic/territorial uprooting, and ecology”, among others.<sup>562</sup> In an open way the author describes and connects works and artists, always offering a contextual reading of their practices. Kaarina Kaikkonen (Finland), using old men’s jackets to form the shape of a boat, commenting on the country’s long naval and fishing traditions and the collective effort behind it. Navoj Altaf (India) presented a video installation where the blue ocean water of the Indian Sea becomes red, referring to the blood spilled during the Hindu-Muslim riots in the State of Gujarat in India in 2002. During the incident thousands of Muslims were killed by Hindu fundamentalists who retaliated after a group of unknown persons, alleged by the Gujarat government to be Muslims, set fire to a train carrying Hindu religious pilgrims. The pilgrims were returning from Ayodha where a sixteenth-century mosque had been almost destroyed by Hindu extremists ten years ago.<sup>563</sup> One background sound is the lamentation of a

Muslim child. Dario Oleaga (Santo Domingo) memorializes the 265 people who died in an American Airlines flight (No. 587 going to Santo Domingo in October, 2001); they had been forgotten in the aftermath of 9-11. In his installation titled “Y los sueños, sueños son: Pasaporte al cielo” (Dreams are dreams: Passport to heaven) pillows (in the shape of a plane) and photos submerged in water and frozen produced a state of transcendence. Gabriel Valansi (Argentina) presented an installation of three panels that used images of the bombings of Kabul and Bagdad during 2003, taking them for mass media coverage. The work comments on the supposed neutrality of news-reporting and the use of communication-technology in the wars of the new century.



**Figure 123. Kaarina Kaikkonen, "Way." Installation, 2000- 2003**





**Figure 124. Navjot Altaf, "Between Memory and History." Video, sound, installation. 2001 - 2003**

Commenting on the social body, the author mentions, among others: Puerto Rican Rosa Irigoyen's video installation entitled "Nail Project" depicting the unusual subject of fingernail decoration (a common practice among Caribbean women), and equating it to tattooing or piercing as markers of gender, ethnicity, and social acceptance. The photographs and videos show even disturbing images of decorated nails piercing human and animal skin; the video pieces titled "Nailing On, Nailing During, and Nailing Off" create a sense of dignity and the intricate process of decoration. American artist Alejandro Díaz following pop and minimalist traditions, produces an installation titled "I Cuba." Borrowing the format and style of the famous slogan "I Love N.Y" Díaz produce a disturbing yet familiar comment on what Cuba has become. As a Cuban American, the artist also plays with the dissatisfactions of both places, making sharp

comments on the two. Alma Quinto from the Philippines addresses rape and fear, the artist “whose head and gaze (were covered) with the words ‘Stop Rape,’ was dressed in a gown pieced together with stories written by young girls about their tribulations.”<sup>564</sup>



**Figure 125. Alejandro Díaz, "I Cuba." Installation, 2003**

For the 2000 Biennale the theoretical event had recovered some of its previous light; for the 2003 symposia it came into full swing again. The Forum addressed from theoretical, as well as current curatorial practices, the relevante issues, however, the exhibition itself remained largely disconnected from the debates. This can be explained by the fact that the organizers of the theoretical event where not involved in the discussions about the selection of the artists participating in the Biennale. Nonetheless, after almost ten years the theoretical event was taken care of, the Lam Center set up a team lead by Dannys Montes de Oca and assisted by group of young scholars (some students) from the Department of Art History at Havana University. The discussions took place at the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in the Cuban section and the Department of Arts and Letters at Havana University. The forum produced a volume that was

presented simultaneously with the event, following the same path Herrera Ysla did in his Biennale in 2000. The documents published are a thorough account of the diversity of topics the forum addressed, from historical perspectives (Paul Ardenne, Ricard Ribenboin, Geeta Kapur), to social engagement (Jose González, Bastian Gilbert, Rosa Martinez, Jessica Cusick, Laura de la Mora), and theoretical developments (Annette Hurtig, Magaly Espinosa, Nicolas Bourriaud, Shifra Goldman), among others.<sup>565</sup>

## 5.9 URBAN COLLAPSE, PANTHOM BIENNALE

“Walking around the magnificent Fortress of San Carlos de la Cabaña, I became so depressed. I just looked around, trying to breathe and evoke the Bienal de la Havana’s past, when we did so much with practically nothing.”

Magda Elián Gonzalez<sup>566</sup>

“We are walking along that self-reflection path because we are not pleased with the outcomes that apparently seem to fulfill some of our expectations (not in recent biennials at least). Both the international context and difficult local conditions delay a rigorous control over each of the steps to take, particularly in such winding and complex roads as ‘art paths’ are.”

Ibis Hernandez Abascal<sup>567</sup>

“For the first time in the event’s history, the Cuban artists did not steal the show—or created an anti-capitalist zone of cultural solidarity or any of those previous ideas that are tinged with antiquity and uselessness. The biennial is not looking at Cuba. It’s not about Cuba any more, it just happens there. It is an art show in its middle age, enough of an institution to have clear orders and borders but without enough money or vision to accomplish much within these.”

Rachel Weiss<sup>568</sup>

**Ninth Havana Biennale** / Dates: 27 March - 27 April 2006

Main Theme: Dinámicas de la Cultura Urbana (Dynamics of Urban Cultures)

Artists, 99 from 37 countries (140 from 50 countries in total events)

Exhibitions: (94)

-Dinamicas de la Cultura Urbana (Dynamics of Urban Culture).

Solo exhibitions: Guillermo Kuitca (Argentina), Antoni Miralda (Spain), Shirin Neshat (Iran/U.S.), Jean Nouvel (France), Lucy Orta (France), Anne and Patrick Poirier (France), Carlos Saura (Spain), Rivane Neuenschwander (Brazil), El Anatsui (Ghana), Ana Tiscornia (Uruguay) and Spencer Tunick (U.S.)

Academic Event: *Forum Idea 2006*

Participants: Dannys Mostes de Oca (Cuban organizer), Jorge Albán (Costa Rica), Celia María Antonacci Ramos (Brazil), Joaquín Barrientos (Mexico), Nicolas Bourriaud (France), José Luis Brea (Spain), Mary Jane Carroll (Canada), Lucrecia Cippitelli (Italy), Amparo Chantada (Dominican Republic), Tereza de Arruda (Brazil), Magaly Espinosa (Cuba), Fernando Farina (Argentina), Hervé Fisher (Canada), Rodolfo Kronfle Chambers (Ecuador), Jacqueline Lacasa (Uruguay), Juan Llaverías Arasa (Spain), Susan Lord (Canada), Janine Marchessault (Canada), Richard Martel (Canada), Raúl Ferrera Balanquet (Cuba-Mexico), Santiago Olmo (Spain), Carlos Ossa (Chile), Vera M. Pallamin (Brazil), Gabriela Salgado (Argentina-UK), Guy Sioui Durand (Canada), Humberto Velez (Panama), and Zuleiva Vivas (Venezuela).

A series of measures that revoked the policies of reengagement established by the Clinton administration (see the time line attached as appendix) during the mid and late 1990s had created a new scenario in the political and social relationship between the U.S. and Cuba. A propaganda machine had started also as preparation for the possible departure of Fidel Castro from power (he actually stepped out in July, 2006, for a health-related problem, Castro relinquished his right to be President in February, 2008, leaving his brother Raúl Castro in power after the local 2008 elections). In 2004 the American Embassy in Havana (Office of Interests they called it, which works under a Swiss license) started a campaign. Using their building, located on the Malecon between Old Havana and the District of Vedado, they broadcast messages against the regime through a LED screen located in the upper story windows. The Cuban response, a memorial for the “Martyrs” of the Revolution, was installed in front of the American building to block, symbolically, the view of the messages and to send another (probably one of unity among individuality). Big black flags with a white star on the center stand on strong flagpoles like a forest, undulating freely and producing a stormy sound –due to the Caribbean ocean wind, creating a resilient experience. The flags, however, have an interesting precursor in the contemporary art scene of the island. As noted, in 2003 the young artist Wilfredo Prieto presented “*Apolitico*”, a piece that became one of the land marks of that biennial, now in the Daros collection in Germany.<sup>569</sup> Not even Prieto himself has commented on the relationship between the two.<sup>570</sup> A propaganda battle had been initiated, and the Biennale was caught in the middle of it.



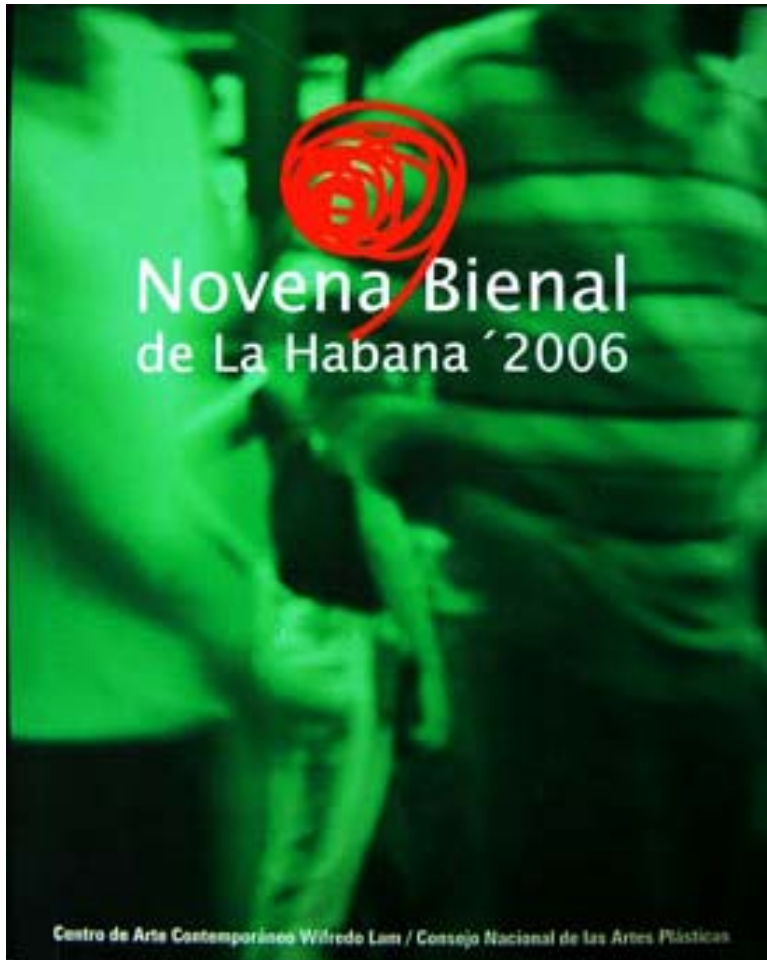
**Figure 126. Propaganda war in the Havana's Malecon**

The Ninth Havana Biennale took place in Havana City (and beyond) during the months of March to May, 2006, under the banner “Dinámicas de la Cultura Urbana” (the Dynamics of Urban Culture). The organizers, probably, decided to continue with one of the topics that had been addressed in the past three installments (the last one). Perhaps they did this because of the unsustainability and near collapse of the curatorial model, the same that had produced such important results in the past. The leaderless Lam Center has not really recovered since the departure of Lillian Llanes. She had autonomy and a direct line to some senior officials in the government, making things workable even during the more complex moments of the special

period. Since 1999, the Lam Center and the Biennale have had three directors (two senior curators, Nelson Herrera Ysla and Hilda María Rodríguez, and for the ninth installment a new agent coming from the Ministry of Culture, Ruben del Valle Lantarón). The lack of resources did not allow the team to do field study; in addition, the contemporary art world has changed dramatically in the last five years and the Biennale's isolation from the rest of the world does not help. A return to reification (painting in particular) and a slow movement towards conservative aestheticism has been transforming the official landscape of the art world during the new century.<sup>571</sup>

In trying to cope with the history, size, and quality of the event, size apparently won. Despite being one of the smallest Havana Biennales, it included 99 artists from 37 countries, plus the parallel events that put the number of artists to 140, from 50 nations. The city map published in flyers and programs showed the wide-spread reach of the event across Havana. This fact was underlined by Herrera Ysla in his introductory text for the Biennale, and used also in a parallel news-style publication titled *Habana Urbana* (printed 50,2000 copies, with free distribution across the city). Herrera's text was titled "Havana the Biggest Gallery in the World;" according to official information there were 94 exhibitions total, 50 of them solo exhibitions, and more than 30 public interventions during the event.

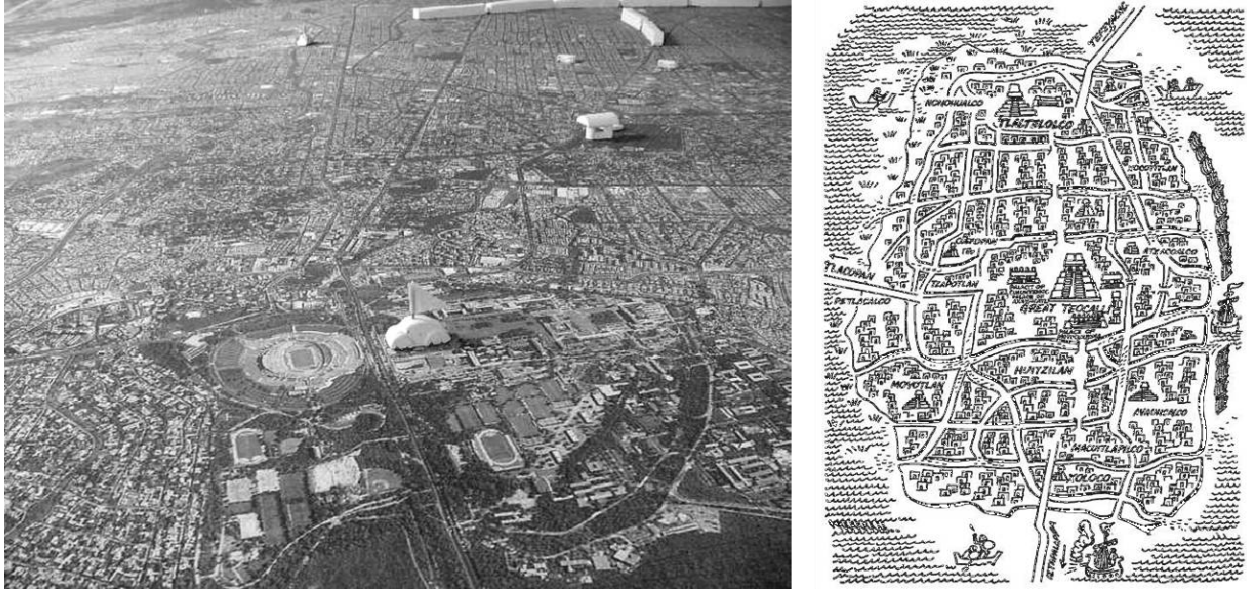
This time the Biennale was more proactive in reaching the Cuban public than the international one, which dropped from thousands to few hundreds (almost none were Americans) affecting greatly the Cuban art market.



**Figure 127. Cover catalog 9th Havana Biennale, 2006**

In order to cover the curatorial gaps, in their current format and reality, the event recognized not only artists but also collectives, solo exhibitions, and even curatorial projects not curated by the Lam Center's team. That was the case for "AGUA-WASSER" (Water) a selection of an exhibition that took place in Mexico City in 2003. Fifteen artists from Germany and Mexico participated in the project, which look at the history and culture of the city, build over what used to be a giant system of lakes, islands, and wetlands. A map of Tenochtitlan shows the former cartography of today's Mexico City and was used by the artists to recall Mexico City's former "balance with nature".<sup>572</sup>





**Figure 128. Agua-Waser. Collective project in Mexico City (2003). Model and map, 2006**

Participating artist: Miguel Calderón / Arcángel Constantini / Minerva Cuevas / Iván Edeza / Helen Escobedo / Thomas Glassford / Christian Jankowski / Anette Kuhn / César Martínez / Valeska Peschke / Betsabée Romero / Peter Strauss / Frank Thiel / Diego Toledo

Another collective project product of the Biennale open structure was “Territorio São Paulo” (Sao Paulo Territory), which intended to connect a group of collectives working on social issues in one of São Paulo’s old buildings (appropriated by the artists). ARNSTV, Bijari, Catadores de Histórias, Cía Cachorra, C.O.B.I.A, Contra Filé, among other groups were virtually present in a niche gallery at the Cabaña Fortress in Cuba. Unfortunately, communication (via fax) did not work and the idea was no more than that, a good idea, not even the documentation arrived to give a sense of what happened with the collectives supporting social movements.

Other artists decided to live in Cuba for short periods of time in order to produce work in actual connection to the city and its people. The more adventurous lived for months; this was the case of Ricardo Herrera from Colombia. His work became a sort of ‘pimp my ride’ event (the TV show that repaired and customized cars on the U.S. West coast) in which he rebuilt and intervened more than 30 bikes. At the beginning of the special period hundreds of thousands of

bikes were imported from China (given as a gift to the Cuban people) to fill the vacuum in fuel and as a mode of transportation. Once the years passed they have been wornout and many times put aside as an image of a period the Cubans do not want to remember.



**Figure 129. Alvaro Ricardo Herrera, “Mecánico de Bicicletas.” Participatory Project, 2006.**

A collective named CUBABRASIL that first took off in 2003 during that earlier event also was invited in the 2006 installment. Artists from Brazil, Cuba, and Germany joined forces in this project. They have produced uncounted street paintings, several large scale murals, many workshops, art and video installations in the streets of Havana and Pinar del Rio. They also worked as a network, inviting artists from other collectives. That was the case of the BerlinBeamBoys group that produced a series of “Video Guerilleros” (guerrilla videos) projecting images on the facades of buildings. The actions led to several operations with arrests and questioning by the secret state police. For example, an action took place in a busy street in old Havana on April 9<sup>th</sup>, 2006 near a pier where three Cubans where arrested for hijacking a ship in order to leave the country in February, 2003. They were intercepted, sentenced and later executed in an incident that had international repercussions in Cuba and on the Biennale. When leaving the building six police cars waited. Three members of the CUBABRASIL collective were arrested and questioned on suspicion of contra-revolutionary activities.



**Figure 130. Berlin Beam Boys and Cubabrasil, Urban Projections. 2006.**

Another German collective working with Cuban artists undertaking public interventions, which were more poetic and neutral, was the *Black Hole Factory* that mixed sound, images, and technology, approaching the city from new perspectives and interacting and exchanging with the local scene (and also leaving a trace for new media-artists through their collaboration and horizontal work).



**Figure 131. Black Hole Factory, “Taking Walls.” 2006**

“Taking Walls” is a collage merging historical facts with surreal imagery collected in and around a specific site. Live video and images extracted from a database of historical information are compiled by the artists and projected directly back onto the surface of these historic structures. The music is based on field recordings and live generated sounds in a real-time composition. Images: (top) Cine Yara in La Rampa, Vedado; (bottom left) La Cabaña Castle; (right) Hotel Habana Libre (former Hilton Hotel), Vedado. The project was made in cooperation with Sigi Torinus (USA) and José Seoane (Cuba).

OMNI-Zona Franca, a collective that used to insert its activities into the everyday life and which had received some attention during 2003, was also invited. The collective fuses poetry, performance, installation, rap, and conga into a total work of art. Omni's members have been working together for over a decade. They define themselves as a group of action with a socio-communitarian projection. The collective started as a society of organic-poets surrounding the figure of writer-poet Juan Carlos Flores in the district of Alamar, seven miles from Havana. The district was one of the first housing projects of the Revolution. Its aim was to foster an ideal community of workers. The demographic composition of the district has marked the eclectic production of this collective (their members do not have professional training); exiles from South America, Eastern Europe, and Africa went to live there, establishing an extended network of friends and family. *Omni* is the prefix of the terms, omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence. *Zona-Franca* means Free-Trade-Zone (alluding to the condition of Havana as a city-port). These features connect their work, a spiritual dimension that goes beyond the material scarcity of their everyday experience. The use of poetry is central to their work; the word is their medium, the body the support. Recently they have been working in collaboration with artists from thirty countries in a sort of creative network. Thanks to that interaction, they have acquired equipment (video cameras, computers and open source software) that helps to develop further their communitarian enterprise. During the Biennale they presented more than twenty performances, as well as action-events, two curatorial projects, poetry readings, video projections (in collaboration with other groups), workshops, and a theatre-play; always using Alamar as epicenter, its infrastructure and community.



**Figure 132. OMNI-Zona Franca, series of actions and screenings in Alamar. 2006**

Among other artists working in similar ways was Margarita Pineda from Colombia, who traveled and lived in Havana for a month to interact with people in the streets. Her work “Mapas Mentales” (Mental Maps) are documents of personal stories and the environment of Cubans. She exchanged used shirts for new ones and in a face-to-face conversation, the subject told her about the physical activities and schedule across the city. After that Pineda inscribed such conversations into paths in maps that were later stitched (by her) to the shirts. At the end of the exhibition, she returned the shirts to the people she interviewed. A video shows the interviews, the movements throughout the city, and the maps produced during this interaction. Other artists such as Guiliano Montijo (Brazil), the youngest artist in the Biennale, assembled pieces of recyclable materials to build games that resemble arcades and amusement parks, but now they are made of wood, cardboard, wire, plastic lids, etc, for the inhabitants of the many inner cities and poor neighbors of those cities in the development belt.

The French team of Anne and Patrick Poirier announced in a written statement that “we prefer, whenever possible, to reside in the place, to meet with the inhabitants, to watch their way of life, their landscape, their cities, their environment, their architecture, their memory, their industries, etc.” Their inclusion provided a sense of the historical trajectory of this genre, that was a major part of the curatorial concept for the present installment. The couple used sugar as their material to build a precarious model of a utopian city in the whiteness of the white gallery

at the San Francisco Convent. The gallery became a centerpiece of parallel and official exhibitions of the Biennale.



**Figure 133. Margarita Pineda, “Mental Maps.” Participatory project, 2006**

By Cuban standards these insertions into the city’s life were common. Collectives during the 1980s use to create ambiguous spaces where art and the city mingled.<sup>573</sup> Rene Francisco, although he was not officially part of the biennial that year, created work that was a corner-stone to the dynamics of urban culture. Francisco is a teacher in Havana at the Instituto Superior de Arte (ISA) and is well known for his collaboration with Ponjuán. One of his current and enduring projects “Galería DUPP” (for a pragmatic education) was an experiment which he and his students have undertaken outside the classroom. Many important new artists had come out of it. After creating the work, they took it to the streets for exhibition and mounted round-the-clock showings of the works, often in the windows of shops and along the malecón in Havana. In this way they are reaching very large audiences and extending the classroom in ways that promote horizontal learning and teaching.

In his latest trilogy project Rene Francisco identified a problem in a community (The Romerillo Neighborhood, a poor area close to the ISA) and surveyed the inhabitants, asking what they want to improve (in aesthetic and social terms). The community recognized the elderly (female in particular) as the most needy. Francisco and his team worked with them to find what they can do for the old women. The two works already completed by Francisco are “La Casa de Rosa” (2003) and “El Patio de Nin” 2005. What they did was to rebuild the social spaces of the two poorhouses where these elderly women live. This social and artistic experience connected artists and community to work toward a common objective. Francisco showed photo and video documentation of his project “El patio de Nin,” using as screen the side of Rosa’s house. It was also presented in a market show at the Miramar Trade Center. Rachel Weiss commented: “viewed on gleaming flat-screen TVs—an extraordinary luxury in Cuba—the project’s humility underwent a kind of conversion. In the context of a biennial packed with evidence of social remedies—art of repainting and reclamation and repair—René Francisco’s project stood out as a masterwork, the result of a technique and persona honed carefully over the years and presented in exquisite detail.”<sup>574</sup>



**Figure 134. René Francisco Rodríguez, “La Casa de Rosa” & “El Patio de Nin.” Video-projection at Romerillo’s neighborhood, 2006**

The Collective Caja Lúdica (Fun Box) from Guatemala was in charge of opening the Biennale (unfortunately they could not make it to Havana). The collective is actually a cultural-NGO that works with street children and youth from the poor neighborhoods in Guatemala. In a carnival-style procession, the collective celebrates culture, tradition, and identity. Their street demonstrations are famous because there are balance and fusion dances, theater, and a public spectacle in which a major narrative comes into being. The carnival style parade underlines the problems the communities (youngsters in particular) they work with face in the changing policies and increasing urbanization of the county.

Colombian Jaime Avila also works with youths and the city; he shows the struggle for space in the *favelas*, *communas*, and outskirts of the cities of the Global South. His series of “Metros Cuadrados” (Square-Meters), a measure of space and status, makes connections with the minimalists of the 1970s and the brutality of the abstract expressionists. Juxtaposing the objects, which are cubes (made of smaller cubes) prepared from aerial photographs taken by Avila in his travels in Latin America, he gives workshops to youth in different cities in the region. Avila also photograph street-youth (the so-called *gamins* or *desechables /un-recycled* in his country), under the series title “Cuarto Mundo” (Fourth World). He presents the images as in a fashion show, they are placed in the transitory space of spectacle in the cities of the South.<sup>575</sup> Brazilian Eduardo Srur presented his counter-mediatic work titled “Attack.” He performs and documents (using a jacket with the logo MIDIA) actions that are subversive assaults against billboards of fashion ‘goddesses’ and products where the new canon of beauty is advertised on a mass scale. The bombing (with color) of such images, creates another image (and an artistic practice connected to abstract expressionism and neo-realism) that navigates between the legal and illegal. A concrete



statement on the media-saturated world and the city as market place (not as a museum), the physical and organic body versus the material and the social body are central in his work.

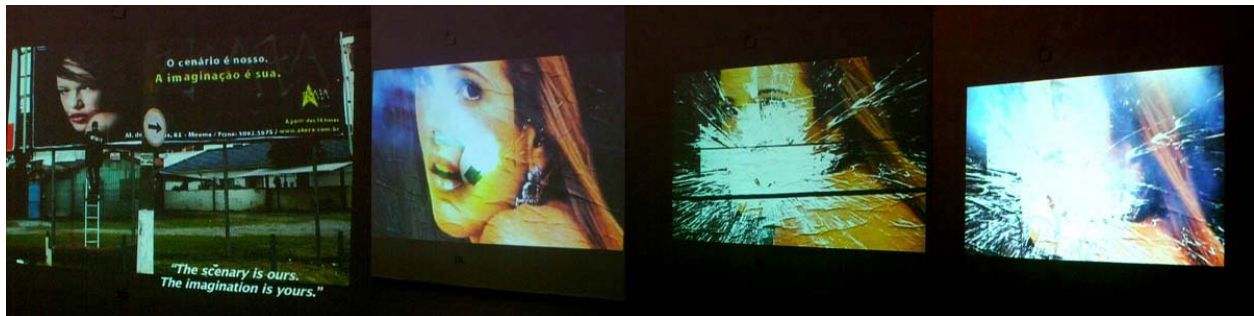


Figure 135. Eduardo Srur, “Attack.” Action-documentation, 2004-6

Rachel Weiss summarizes, from her perspective, the 2006 edition.

“The Ninth Havana Biennial was a mystifying event, complicated by disorganization and rumors of problems. Shows did not open, artists and their works did not arrive, and projects did not materialize. These difficulties were variously attributed to illness and staff changes in the biennial leadership, storm damage to exhibition facilities, and the recurring budgetary constraints that have made the biennial an ever-precarious proposition. The production values of the catalog, however, were the highest yet and the text was translated into English for the first time... The biennial has become an established and routine event. It has become a large exhibition of artworks.”<sup>576</sup>

Weiss is one of the most critical figures with respect to the Biennale, usually accurate when comparing the different moments of the event. She has been visiting Cuba for more than two decades and has built a career out of writing and showing Cuban art (among other things). Writing on the relationship between the event and the city, she recognizes that it remained polite. “The intermediary spaces—both physical and performance—that existed for some years have been fully incorporated and digested by the exhibition apparatus. The collateral projects were all sanctioned by the biennial office, or they evaporated.” The author brought also the issue of the alleged crisis in Cuban art, arguing that “few artists showed work in their own homes. Much of the energy of past biennials related to the question of politics, or of Cuba as a central concern, but this biennial clearly wished to engage itself otherwise.”<sup>577</sup>

An interminable procession of photographs occupied the walls of La Cabaña's galleries, many of them tracing the congestion, deterioration, and disorder of an urban environment. Among others described by Weiss are, the aerial views of an unnamed metropolis, staggering in its enormity and anonymity, by Dimitris Tzoublekis from Greece; images of archetypal broken African streets lined with buses, by Akindobe Akinbiyi from Nigeria; and multiple-exposure views giving form to the invisible electronic networks coursing across the urban "Netropolis," by Michel Najjar from Germany.



**Figure 136. Michel Najjar, "Netropolis" (Shanghai, Tokio, Berlin). Composite image, 2006**

Architecture has always been part of the Biennale. Weiss also refers to one of the interesting works that brought historical revisions and issues of conservation in architectural history to the fore –e.i. the archival project, titled "Arquivo Brasilia" (Brasilia Archive), by Brazilian couple Lina Kim and Michael Wesely. It consisted of thousands of digitally restored images (from a total of around 100,2000) from badly deteriorated negatives of urban plans and

housing developments that led to the building of the utopian Brasilia. In doing so, the artists “concentrated on images of the people who built Brasilia and who clearly were not destined to be its inhabitants. The result emphasized the sense that Brasilia’s utopianism had yielded an eerily evacuated urbanism.”<sup>578</sup>

Weiss also cites unrealized projects, for example, one by former Wifredo Lam Center curator Magda Elián González titled “Pacemaker.” According to her, it was reduced in status from an “exhibition” to a “project” and then cancelled by the authorities—after it was approved and rejected by three separate venues—for reasons that were never evident. According to the curators at the Lam Center, the shortage of resources made alternative projects impossible to realize, starting with many by the artists on the official list. That is perhaps why González treated the Biennale so negatively in her combined article with Canadian curator and critic David Moos. González states:

“Over the course of its last three editions, the Bienal de la Habana just plummeted. Each new edition has been worse than its precedent. Why? For innumerable reasons, I assume. The state apparatus’ control of every project is certainly a factor. So are financial restrictions. Professional qualifications also figure prominently. With the exception of prestigious curators like Ibis Hernandez Abascal and José Manuel Noceda Fernández, most of the staff at the Wifredo Lam Art Centre is less than adequately qualified.”<sup>579</sup>

González seems horrified with the results of this edition and in the report published by *Art Papers* comments, “I was just talking with my former-colleagues at the Wifredo Lam Centre. I asked them who selected the artists. Why such terrible museography? Why so many empty spaces? They could not provide any logical answers, beyond the fact that the art institution follows strict rules whereby ‘parallel projects can’t be exhibited in the same series of official exhibitions.’”<sup>580</sup> This is interesting, since she was presenting an independent project to be displayed with the Biennale using official resources. In the same tone Moss, the co-author of the

piece, goes on to compare the sophistication and robust work of Kcho with the “inspired but insipid, romantic dreaming about metropolitan reality” of the Biennale.<sup>581</sup>

Both González and Weiss praise some of the works shown parallel to the Biennale. While Weiss finds *Los Carpinteros*' piece at Galería Habana unworthy because of its repetitive and boring quality (a model of the Morro Lighthouse) titled “Faro Tumbao” (Falling Lighthouse), González states that the “light of the tumbled beacon was still functioning in the darkened gallery. It is a beautiful metaphor that pays homage to the Cuban people and to artist’s enduring vitality.” Two projects at the Museo Nacional (Cuban Section) responded to the well known critical capacity of Cuban art. The first was the collective mural orchestrated by Flavio Garcíandía (a Cuban living in Mexico for more than ten years). “Auge o decadencia del arte Cubano” (Rise and Decadence of Cuban Art) was a twenty-meter-long canvas painted with stripes, with colors determined by roughly 150 Cuban artists of various generations and tendencies, from a palette of options that Garcíandía provided. The second, titled “El Museo Tomado” (Taken Museum) showed video pieces by Tania Bruguera (*La Isla en Peso* /Island’s Weight), Lázaro Saavedra (*Síndrome de Sospecha* /Suspicion Syndrome), and José Toirac (*Tengo* / I Have). Garcíandía’s extravagant project underscored its deep cynicism. “The final phase of Cuban art, it seemed to be saying, consists of this—it is nothing, a non-piece. Bringing everyone together felt not like an act of reclamation but rather a swan song.”<sup>582</sup> The video section that lasted just a few days (because of the cost of renting equipment in Havana) addressed several issues, Saavedra’s video showed images of his own eyes in a quarter-frame of the screen, suspiciously peering up, down and across at themselves in the other quadrants. Toirac’s video used sign-language to recreate black poet Nicolás Guillén’s famous piece “Juan con nada ayer, Juan con todo hoy” (I, Juan with nothing only yesterday, and today with

everything). Weiss comments on how taking the speech from the well-known ode makes the piece one of the sharpest commentaries in the Biennale.

González and Weiss agree that alternative spaces still function as niches for remarkable work (less in the case of Weiss, who argues that the vitality is gone). *La Huella Múltiple*, a project by the artists Abel Barroso, Ibrahim Miranda, and Sandra Ramos, organized an exhibition celebrating their ten years of working together at the Convento de San Francisco de Asís. Acting as living history, the exhibition included a display of artists' books made over the years by the writer Orlando Hernandez in collaboration with a list of artists that reads like an abbreviated history of the period. "The project invites leading artists to do an intervention that takes printmaking to a higher level."<sup>583</sup> *Espacio Aglutinador* also presented a small exhibition with pieces by Sandra Ceballos (the director of the space) and other young artists without major coverage.

A work that enjoyed much attention was Wilfredo Prieto's "Grease, Soap, Banana." The piece was presented at the gigantic gallery at Convento de Santa Clara (know also as CENCREM). Paradoxically, his work consisted of "the most minimal operation possible"; it was just a grease spot, a bar of soap, and a banana placed in the middle of the gallery's floor. It was exhibited parallel to an exhibition that became the blockbuster of the Biennial. An intervention project that called together hundreds of artists to work on old refrigerators, "Manual de Instrucciones" (Instructions Manual), shared the same space.<sup>584</sup> The show was so attractive (becoming popular even in Miami's exile community due to the coverage by CNN and the Miami Herald) that Prieto's project because it happened without being noticed; it consisted of two phases (in Phase One, the banana was intact, and in Phase Two, which depended on a spectator for its realization, the banana was squashed and the spectator slipped).

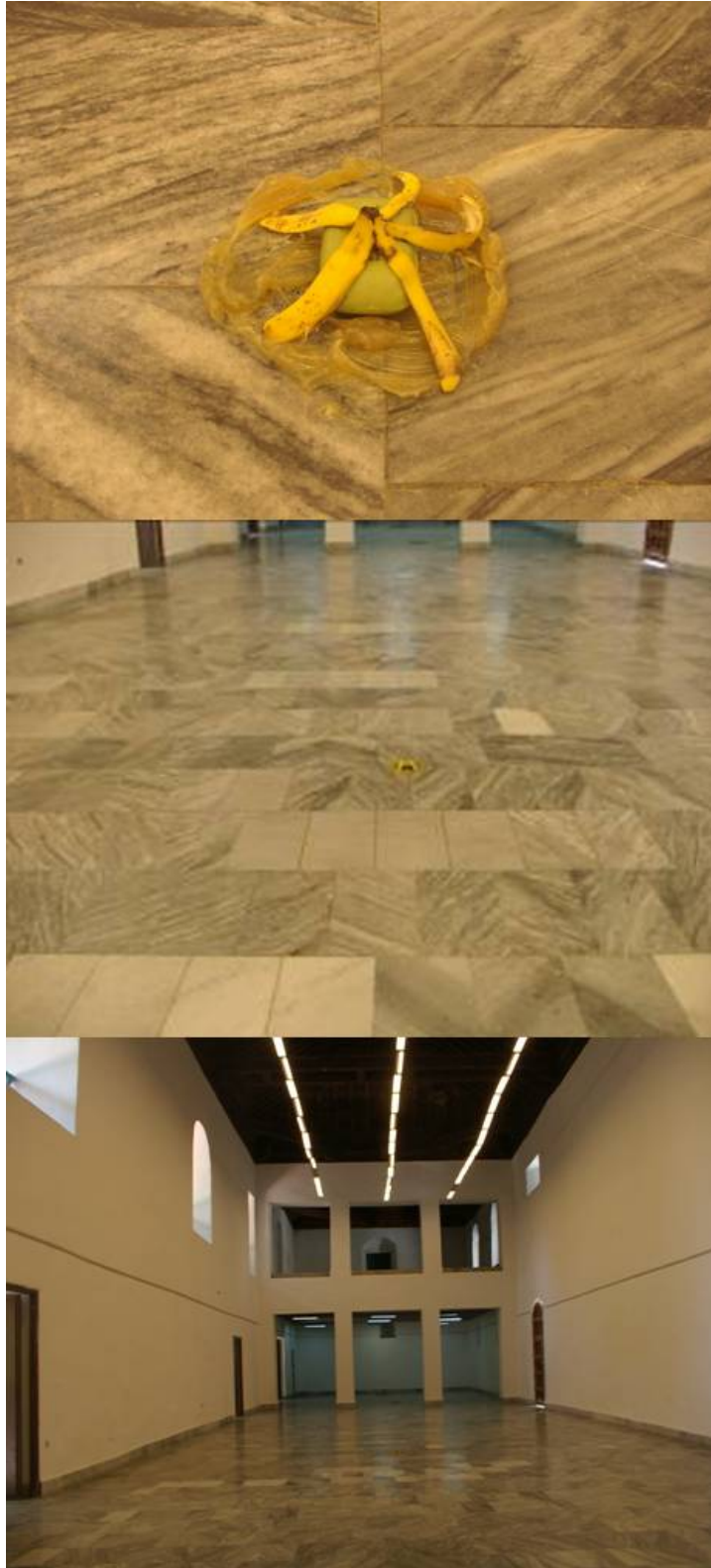


Figure 137. Wilfredo Prieto, "Grease, Soap, Banana." Minimal installation, 2006

Among the avalanche of poor work and abundant digital photography, a group of works stood out. Roberto Stephenson's (Haiti) photographs alluded to the current situation of his country. Torn apart by political unrest, Haiti is still in a limbo-state/ the phantasmagoria of the past hunts the nation. Stephenson's images mix the forces of the modern city, the media, dump sites, and empty streets with faces reflecting the uncertain future of his people. The North Front Project from Belize presented an installation composed of a series of photographs, videos and objects reflecting the social impact of disenfranchised groups in that Caribbean nation. Its Afro-citizens have been pushed to the edges of society; they find refuge in alcohol and drugs and live at dark. The installation compares them with street dogs and establishes a touching connection among the subjects portrayed. Young Cuban photographer Alejandro Gonzalez documented the night life in the streets of Havana. Since the crisis in the 90s, a series of subcultures have emerged, some of them out of the tourist -riven machine, such as prostitution at all levels, the drug trade, and addiction all mixed up in a cocktail of international tourism and a busy night life. Despite that, alcohol has never been banned; public consumption of it was prosecuted previously. Gonzalez not only documents the sites but the types, fashions and behavior (gothic - rockers, rappers, gay, punks, etc.), allowing a direct contact with individual features in a society treated and constructed as "equal". Oscar Bonilla (Uruguay) followed this anthropological trend (more as an archeologist than as an ethnographer) and registered a certain style in graffiti. The subversive aspect of the graffiti talks about the city and its messages, assembling them in a sort of meta-text almost as in an ancient Egyptian style as cryptology. Bonilla underlined the subtext or unconsciousness of global urban cultures.



Figure 138. Roberto Stephenson, *Untitled*. Digital print, 2006.

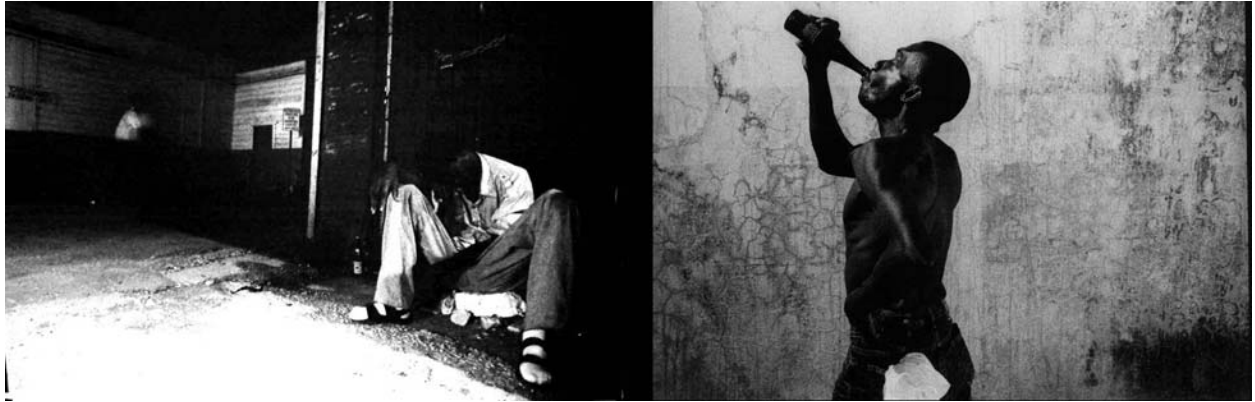


Figure 139. *The North Front Street Project* (collective). Photos by Richard Holder, Installation, 2006



Figure 140. Alejandro González, "1:47 a.m., 25 de junio del 2005, Vedado", etc. Lambda print, 2005-06





Figure 141. Oscar Bonilla, "Puntos de Fuga." Photographs, 2006

Senegalese artist Doust creates a world that comes from his observations of the development of urban life in Africa. His gouaches are imprinted with a sensitivity and brightness rarely found. His video-animations are made with pieces of paper on a sandy beach. In a day of work, Doust created a city out of small pieces of paper, first a village –but and at the end of the day the grown city is washed away by the rising ocean. The crumpling image of a Third World city, with a sound-track made especially for the piece, works as an apocalyptic but poetical vision. Popular culture, history, religiosity, and the market are fused in digital photographs by Bolivian artist Raquel Schwartz. She presented the multiple faces of a society that debates its cultural identity in a project of reconciliation between tradition and contemporaneity in the midst of a convulsed political process. Miguel Alvear's photos are devoted to the same issue. Trained

as film maker, the Ecuadorian artist displayed images that work as still-frames from baroque-soap operas or postmodern revisions of colonial art.

The exhibition venues were also full of images of city-scapes, showing and commenting on how the city is almost a syndrome in the art world. It has been outlined in a masterful way by critics and writers throughout the centuries, like Baudelaire and Benjamin on Paris (or in the novel *The Perfume* by Patrick Suskind), Alejo Carpentier's Havana in his "Century of Lights", or Naguib Mafuz's Cairo in the "Alley of Miracles", or Lisbon in José de Saramago's "The Death of Ricardo Rei," among others. Many cityscapes were present during this biennial. These are some of them. Spanish artist Jordi Colomer's moving city-models were performatic and playful embodiments of urban centers of the global net (Barcelona, Brasília, Bucarest, Osaka) in his series titled "Anarquitekton." The FA+ collective (Ingrid Falk and Gustavo Aguerre) applied gold leaf to little filth spots on the streets of Old Havana. Cuban Carlos Fernández Montes de Oca produced t-shirts and baseball-cups reading "El arte purifica" that were worn by men walking the streets with garbage cans and brooms. Dolores Cáceres, from Argentina, presented darkened metal plates in which she tells a dramatic chronology of her country from the 60's up to the present. Each piece, which may be read while the spectators sit on chairs with printed maps of the streets in Buenos Aires, coincided with her childhood and growing up times, and which she entitled "Dolores de Argentina" (Pains of Argentina), the title makes a double reference, biographical and historical simultaneously. Alejandro Ramírez' video of Costa Rica's national anthem, in which the lyrics are made out of graffiti interventions in the capital city, San José, worked on new constructions of citizenship in the global age. Cuban Roberto Diago demonstrated the precariousness of housing in the neighborhoods and cities of the island by means of an installation that consisted of replicas of slums on a reduced scale. Urban growth by

displacement from rural areas is a sign of the harsh times Cuba has suffered. Its social, cultural and economic consequences are striking the major cities, in particular Havana, that has a population of more than 2 million people (more than 20% of the total population of Cuba). This work comes out of his participation in the California workshops during the Eight Biennale. Liu Guanyung, a Chinese artist based in Germany, displayed in a joyful way the new night experiences that certain cities of his gigantic Asian country experience today, due to a delirious mixture of outdoor meals, tai chi, improvised musicians, dancers, and magicians, all mixed in the same street for the joy and curiosity of passers-by and occasional consumers. The Passer By Museum (in the tradition of Duchamp, Broodthaders, and the Street Museum, etc..) of María Alós and Nicolás Dumit (México and the Dominican Republic) created a temporary pedestrian museum at various points in the city, by placing a dismountable booth that would welcome inside it all those things that pedestrians wanted to donate, so as to form a future collection of personal belongings (in Havana, it was not successful, since the material conditions are still dire). Chilean Pablo Guevara placed a series of small images in several venues, showing watchtowers (like the ones that still exist in several Chilean cities) to remind viewers of the presence of surveillance over all movement.

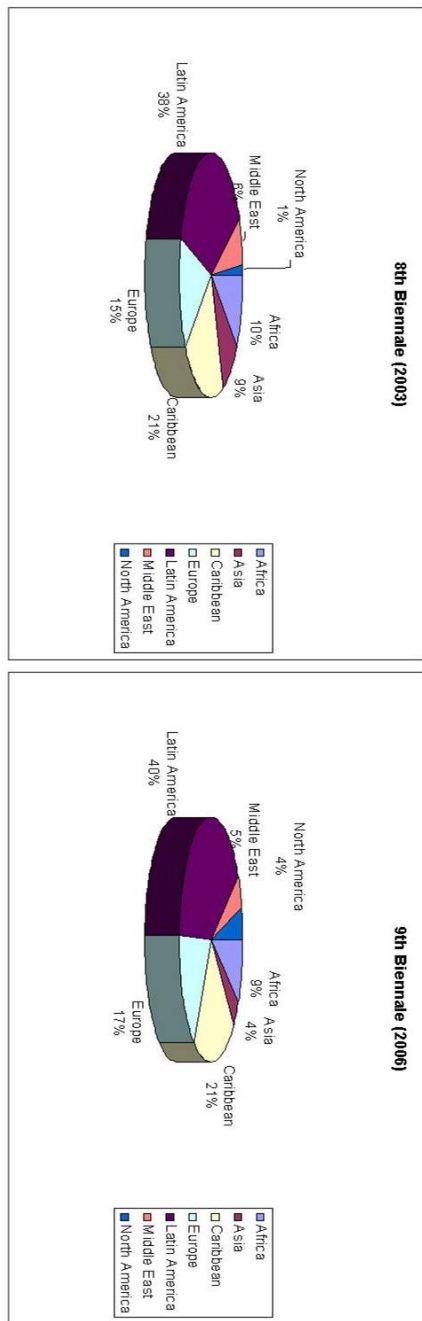
Approximately seventy artists from various countries (invited and not) participated in urban intervention projects. As in the case of Jamainitas, Cuban artists José Fuster transformed his house and the entire area into a sculpture park. The train station near Old Havana was also taken by art students and the few street vendors (always persecuted by the police) were asked to interact with travelers. Fashion workshops and shows took place in several places, in particular in the Cuban Pavilion and the central train station; they look more like a fairs than art exhibitions.



**Figure 142. Fashion workshops and related events in the Cuban Pavilion**

Carey Lovelace also wrote a note for *Artnet* titled “Art amid the Rubble.” In it Lovelace describes an apocalyptic view of Havana, the Castro regime (he actually calls the Cuban President something of an installation artist because of the monument in front of the U.S. embassy), and the Biennale.<sup>585</sup> Lovelace argues that, “things indeed felt disturbingly quiet” and when referring to the absence of collectors (something that she connects with the new restrictions on event humanitarian trips) and Americans in general during the opening, observes that “maybe all those well-heeled museum groups and flavor-of-the-month collectors who could have come if they really, really tried had known something that we hadn’t (where they at the Sotheby’s auction of Chinese art?)”.<sup>586</sup>

The Swedish magazine *Heterogenésis* also published a complete report of the Biennale in its Fall edition of 2006. In it, the curators of the event made an evaluation of their work and the general performance of the Biennale (in 2003 and 2006). The self critical tone used by curators envisaged radical changes for the future of the Biennale, its reach and impact on contemporary art and culture.<sup>587</sup>



**Figure 143. Participation by World areas Havana Biennale 1997 – 2006**

The support by European agencies is attested to in the increasing participation of artists coming from Northern Europe which increased from 5% in the First Biennale, to 6% in the Fifth, to 17% by the last edition. Asian and Middle Eastern artists have a constant percentage of participation (around 4 to 6 percent for Asian and 3 to 5 percent for Middle Eastern). Africa has decreased from a high of 15% in the Fifth to a low of 9% in the last edition. The peak of North American artists was reached during the fifth, dropping from a 14% to a 4% by the ninth. Latin America and the Caribbean have maintained a constant proportion of participation.

## 6.0 CONCLUSION

“Biennial Exhibitions do not have to resemble one another; do not have to be similar so as to complement a universal referential framework that increasingly shows its internal differences: They have to build their own voices around them, and contribute to the universal culture that should be everybody’s heritage based on them.”

Nelson Herrera Ysla

Incidents such as those mentioned at different points of this review of the nine editions of the Biennale, which invariably lead to rumors around how the Biennale handled difficult situations, create a climate of suspicion and mistrust. The problem is that these incidents can be magnified to become the whole picture of an event that remains necessary in an increasingly homogenous world of art. The banner of the “global” and the planetary artist can eclipse the important questions that need to be addressed from a critical and peripheral view. A critical distance is important, even if it comes with an ingredient of subversive and sometimes vague rhetoric. The Havana Biennale implies the establishment of micro-politics, where a bunch of human relations are supported in micro-utopias, which produced an image of how the world may look like. It was the Biennale’s early task and objective to generate an alternative with the global conversation because the voice of the “other” did not have a place in the centers of power that defined the nature of contemporary art, centers that governed the production, reception, consumption, and significance of innovative culture.

This fact underlines the contradictory stand that the event took on from its inception. Ideas of modernity and modernism, of postmodernity and postmodernism, and the postcolonial were used by Third World artist and intellectuals in the constitution of new spaces and practices of visibility. At first, the event tried to survey the South in a sort of self-ethnography, very much in the fashion of the West, as a mirror albeit in reverse. Apparently, the curators understood the implication of the creation of new taxonomies, and that they were not exempt from hierarchies. They have been fighting this challenge ever since. From national representations to regional perspectives to global pictures, they have changed the route several times but the problem persists. This implies that Cuba is not free from its colonial past and continues to build knowledge in the shadow of modernity. The curators understand the achievements of the revolutionary process of 1959; like all Cubans they know that the struggle for the decolonization of the mind is a long-term battle. Since their fight for independence, and later for the revolutionary process, the early alliance with the now extinct Second World and from its leadership of the non-aligned Cuba has become a prime target for the different forces at play.<sup>588</sup>

Dan Cameron has argued that “the Biennale meant by the time, for the Cuban Government, a tool to present a reading, a look at Cuba that was especially favorable to the idea of cultural development and cultural progressiveness.” The Biennale has opened up a forum for that possibility, and it is still in the state of pure potentiality (in Deulezian terms), virtuality is its double and the real is its objective. The work of art still needs a place to confront openly the horizon of its ideas, ideologies, histories, and stories. The Havana Biennale has opened a door towards that new field of knowledge and practice in which honest exchanges have taken place, although sometimes, when made in isolation and under pressure, they seem ever elaborate or unimportant. The Biennale, like many other such exhibitions, is a space for open dialogue that

has been and still is as necessary today as it was in the beginning. Nonetheless, the Biennale suffers the same problems as those other mega-shows. Without taking into account the “ideological” dimension behind it, it is a sprawling event, as argued by Guy Brett “impossible to digest in one visit.” Often, it has required more direction, documentation, and guidance. The Biennale, also, without intending to, establishes market niches for new art and emerging hierarchies for regional or individual practitioners. Additionally, it suffers from misuse by the kind of politics of representation at stake when asking for support from official entities and/or institutions in similar countries in the Third World.

Luis Camnitzer evaluates the Havana Biennale in these terms. On the positive side, the Biennale has been: “Creating a forum for artists who find it difficult to enter the mainstream; stressing the intellectual exchange among the participating and with Cuban artists in general by giving prominence to courses, symposia, and public events at a par or over the exhibition itself; breaking down the effects the U.S. blockade had on art; and helping to create a cultural self-awareness to the periphery at large over nation-state chauvinist constraints.”

He notes also that, “the process reached a peak with the 3rd and 4th biennials and reached a plateau with the 5th.” Camnitzer have not seen the following biennials, but from his participation, connections, and interaction with artists, curators, and scholars he concludes that “the Biennale has gone down hill.” This is explained by him, partially, and not in order of importance: “The difficulty for the Cuban population to access the dispersed exhibition spaces due to poor transportation; The consequent transformation of the Biennale into an event for foreign art tourists; the proliferation of other biennials on the periphery that followed the Havana model and made Havana somewhat obsolete; The change of the art scene in Havana favoring the capitalist model of the individualist self-promoting artist.” Camnitzer affirms that the Biennale



evolved into a showcase to appeal collectors and critics, rather than continue its cultural formation task. He concludes adding, “the tiredness of the biennial model internationally.”<sup>589</sup>

Therefore, while many of the initial concepts that informed the creation of the Biennale are still valid and relevant, among them: Space – Location – Locale. Neither Cuba nor the institution has been able to maintain them on the same level as time has changed the rules of the artworld and the Cuba itself.

The Biennale’s contradictory nature (its ups and downs, its adjustments and flexibility, because of the changing political, economic, and aesthetic circumstances) is proof of how relevant it is as a space of confrontation. The active role of the event not only in artistic issues, but in raising academic interest in the art of the South and its counter-historical narratives, as well as its disentanglement from the artworld – by its conscious pushing for a relational aesthetic right from the beginning, which has brought to light the work of artists from Latin America, Africa, and Asia – are perhaps the only way to reconcile such inner contradictions. Is that contradiction that the postcolonial world (including contemporary Latin America) suffers, one that makes it pre and postmodern at the same time; a contradiction that had produced some of the most interesting art in recent decades. The re-narration of the many histories of the Global South and the confrontation with the contemporary conditions of production makes of the Biennale a space of possibility, not of definition. The necessity of a new imperative and a new moral and ethical constitution for an art event that was born in a clearly polarized world and that evolved to be part of the mainstream is just an echo of what can be accomplished with the tenacity and activist perspectives of individuals, collectives, and institutions that have supported, and accompanied the Biennial in its more than twenty-five years of existence.



**Figure 144. Pascale Marthine Tayou (Cameroon). In-situ installations, 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Havana Biennale, 1997 - 2006**

These pieces by Tayou, suggest an artist attempting to reconcile local traditions with global ones. Their ritualistic tone seems echoed in the use of space as a performatic of movement, adaptation, and placement (of local found objects and personal memorabilia). His work is a reflection of his nomadic life as an African artist who travels the world. Globalism, nationalism, and localism are topics often present in his installations.

As noted in the introduction, some critics have argued that, after the accomplishments of Documenta11, there is little that Havana can do for the art of the so-called Global South. Nonetheless, the symbolic centrality and the global impact of Documenta makes a comparison with the humble, but extraordinary efforts made by Havana quite unfair. Documenta11 recognized the artistic production of the “postcolonial constellation” (a term used by Okwui Enwezor) during the second half of the 1990s and presented it to the global audience in Kassel in 2002 (platform five of the event).<sup>590</sup> It also brought to the fore what other local, regional, and international events, such as those in São Paulo, Cairo, Dakar, Istanbul, Johannesburg, etc., have done for the global circuit in recent decades. Today the assertion of the inclusion of the arts coming from the margins of the art world (in geographical, theoretical, and artistic terms) is fundamental to the understanding of the art of the 21st century.

We might grasp the achievements of events such as the Havana Biennale more clearly if we compare it to the much celebrated Documenta11 for the sake of historical inflection on contemporary art history. The curatorial discourse around Documenta11 was strongly set against all forms of simplistic antinomies, responding also clearly to the reductive focus of other events in the past, such as *Primitivism* and *Magiciens* (among others). Enwezor’s take on the issue, in part informed by his open mind and collaborative spirit, challenged *Magiciens* and other views based on the notion of critical-distance, preferring a “world of proximities.” It is possible to argue that Enwezor has been influenced by people (working in Latin American art) such as Gerardo Mosquera, with whom he worked for the second Johannesburg Biennial in 1998, and by his interaction with other young curators such as Carlos Basualdo and Octavio Zaya – twin brother of Antonio Zaya, important collaborator in Havana since 1994 – who introduced him to artists such as Lam, Oiticica, Clark, Getino, and Solanas, in addition to the new contingent of

contemporary artists coming out in the 1990s from the region.<sup>591</sup> In shaping his view of Latin American and Caribbean art, Enwezor had been informed by an important faction of postcolonial art and theoretical production. In 1996, Mosquera argued for the anti-taxonomic universality of Lam's oeuvre working from a Third World perspective. This approach breaks the bipolar, oppositional way of thinking which supposedly has condemned Latin America and, by extension, Africa's modernization to a back seat in the progression of the mainstream narrative. While events such as *Magiciens de la terre* legitimized its curatorial choices through a cult of individual expression following modern canons, the Havana Biennale and later Documenta11 sought to give voice to the multitude. In the introductory text for Documenta11, Enwezor advocates an "anthropology of proximity," probably informed by Havana as presented earlier in this text. Enwezor has been called a reformer in curatorial practice for his propositions in Johannesburg (Trade Routes: History and Geography, October – December 1997) and Documenta11 (June – September 2002), as well as in his many exhibitions, publications, and cultural projects. It is possible to argue that Havana's methodology of the curator-scholar, curator-traveler, curatorial-collective, and open-laboratory (that has followed the wandering of hybrid producers along these years) was important in some definitions of Documenta11. What many critics contended regarding Documenta11 was how its low discourses – regarding identity politics, basic products, and dire aesthetics attempted to destroy the "quality" and "materiality" of the work of art.<sup>592</sup> These concerns informed criticisms of the literalist approach and taxonomic impulses of artists in Documenta 11 such as On Kawara, Dieter Roth, Hanne Darboven, and Joelle Tuerlinck. "They also undermined the efficacy of Yinka Shonibare's installation, in which he exchanged a sophisticated critique of Victorian claims of racial and cultural purity for a melodramatic focus on explicit scenes of Victorian debauchery."<sup>593</sup> Documenta11 got rid of

provenance, professional training, and sophistication of technique (without risking quality) for content, discourse, and substance, something Havana has always done.

The idea of setting the exhibition in a series of five platforms promoted the paradigm of a multi-center event and the curator as explorer. Havana had done the same when participating as an institution in the consolidation of events in Africa, Central America, the Caribbean, and South America during and after consolidating its network of friends and support around the world. In Documenta11, the first four platforms were interdisciplinary critical explorations of art, politics, and society (and took place on four continents). The fifth platform was the exhibition itself in Kassel. Havana has always been a place of inter- and multi-disciplinary debates where discussions are not necessarily based on the specificities of art but in the conditions of life, and, by extension, the cultural production of the areas of the world in question. The exhibitions since 1989 have been characterized by the same dialogues and debates.

In 2002, Documenta11 addressed at the core the crucial discussion on the problematic sense of totality delivered in modern exhibitions, blockbusters, and art biennials (the image of a black box contesting the history of the white, pristine, space of art was widely discussed). Havana had shown in its no less problematic and sometimes gratuitous fragmentation of the exhibition complex the dissemination of artists and spectators around and across Havana city, and sometime across the shores of the Caribbean and Florida's Keys, obstructing any sense of totality. That impossibility of grasping the whole is deliberately produced, on the one hand, to demonstrate a sort of world view; on the other, as a response to an overwhelming production that cannot possibly be contained in a single event. As noted by Rasheed Araeen, spite of its radical attempts to rethink the discourse of contemporary art, Documenta11 did not succeed in disrupting the West's drive for global hegemony – the same happens with the Havana Biennale.

“Its interrogation of the possibility of avant-garde action was criticized as a very conservative and institutional interpretation of contemporary culture, one that emphasized precisely the occidental paradigms that Documenta11 targeted in its counter narrative.”<sup>594</sup>

The Havana Biennale as part of the new Cuban economy helped establish a market for new art, producing emerging hierarchies for regional or individual practitioners. Today it is trying to regain its past strength as a space of resistance. Perhaps to contest or complete what Enwezor’s “The Unhomely: Phantom scenes in global society,” his exhibition for the 2006 Seville Biennial (BIACS2) attempted. On the issue Luis Camnitzer notes:

The (Havana) Biennale has tried to maintain politicized topics (and I have contributed essays for some of the catalogues), but generally speaking I think the issue of politics in art is much more complex than a topic, a title or the narrative content of a piece. All this would be a long discussion that escapes these questions. What always was remarkable in the Havana Biennial is its lack of dogmatism or directives to the artists. The art exhibited was always determined by the artist and there probably is as much formalist stuff in the Biennale as there is anywhere else. The Biennale always was a showcase and not a pamphlet. The critique I may be performing is toward the use and function of the showcase format.<sup>595</sup>



**Figure 145. Las Cartujas convent, site for the BIACS2 (Seville, Spain). Discussion about the biennial in 2006**

**(Enwezor at the center of the table)**

Has the Havana Biennale been responding to the changing conditions of art production in the so-called Global South, or, as some argue, is it just a platform for Cuban artists for the global market? How can it improve its reach of new art (if needed)? Camnitzer notes:

Again, I should not give an uninformed answer here. My possibly irresponsible impression is that there is a need to rigorously analyze the mission of the Bienal and find a new format to revitalize it. Liverpool decided that the function of its Biennial is not to compete with others, but to look at the city and reactivate an urban center that was dying after the port was reorganized by the container traffic. The Bienal do Mercosul in Porto Alegre decided to address the local public and become a pedagogical tool instead of continuing the fetishism of objects. I don't know if Havana took stock and redesigned itself sufficiently...

More than before, I do believe in the local function of both artists and exhibitions. The global notion favors people that can travel and further affirms the affluent middleclass as public and generator of values. The first five Biennales seemed to discard that narrow public and sponsor an affirmation of cultural identity that in turn helped resist hegemonic values. I do believe that both Liverpool and Porto Alegre are starting to deal with this and they may provide the alternative to the mega-gallery. Networks today are not any more reduced to geography; they are what I call infographic. The biennials, if they want to really do something, have to identify their networks and take responsibility for their choices.<sup>596</sup>

The tenth edition, which will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation, has called for a new meeting in Havana in 2009 under the banner of “Integration and Resistance in the Global Age.” In light of the new conditions of life on the planet, the Biennale fights back with a call for a political and ethical position of the Global South with respect to the homogenizing forces acting now on a planetary scale.<sup>597</sup>

## **6.1 LAST WORD. TENTH HAVANA BIENNALE**

From March 27<sup>th</sup> to April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2009 the Havana Biennale returned to celebrate its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary. On this occasion the event has been called together under the curatorial theme “Integration and Resistance in the Global Era”. Up to 300 artists from 44 countries were present and the event returned to its most glorious days. If size matters, the 2009 edition spoke lauder to

its critics, unfortunately it also opened the space to see through its crevices to notice how it has come back to the spectacular rather than the insightful. With the return of politics as usual in Cuba (the Castro brothers more stringent than ever in which has been call the retro-revolution).<sup>598</sup> Spaces for dissent are still scarce in the Island and Internet has become a forum in which bloggers find ways to says what they think. During one of the opening events of the Biennale a performance was schedule in the Lam Center, a double feature: Tania Brugera and Guillermo Gomez-Peña would perform 'live' for the big crowd gather in Havana (among them Gerardo Mosquera).

On Monday March 30, 2009 an open microphone (and echo of Brugera's 2003 piece) was settle in the central patio of the Lam Center. In a sort of public exercise of her "Catedra de Conducta" (featured in the Biennale in Galería Habana) was ready to start. The first to come to speak was Yoani Sanchez, the most important blogger of Cuba (her blog *Generacion Y* has been ranked in the top 10<sup>th</sup> of the New York Times). A day after her public (physical) declaration she wrote "An unforgettable night yesterday at the Wifredo Lam Center, thanks to the performance artist Tania Bruguera. A podium with microphones, in front of an enormous red curtain, formed part of the interactive installation in the central courtyard. Everyone who wanted to could use the podium to deliver—in just one minute—any rousing speech they pleased. As microphones are rare, certainly I never met up with any in my time as a Young Pioneer reciting patriotic verses; I took the opportunity of the occasion. Advised ahead of time by friends in the know, I prepared a speech on freedom of expression, censorship, blogs, and that elusive tool that is the Internet".<sup>599</sup>

In front of the lenses of national television and several dozen of international video cameras protecting 'free speech' many Cubans and foreign guests called for Freedom and



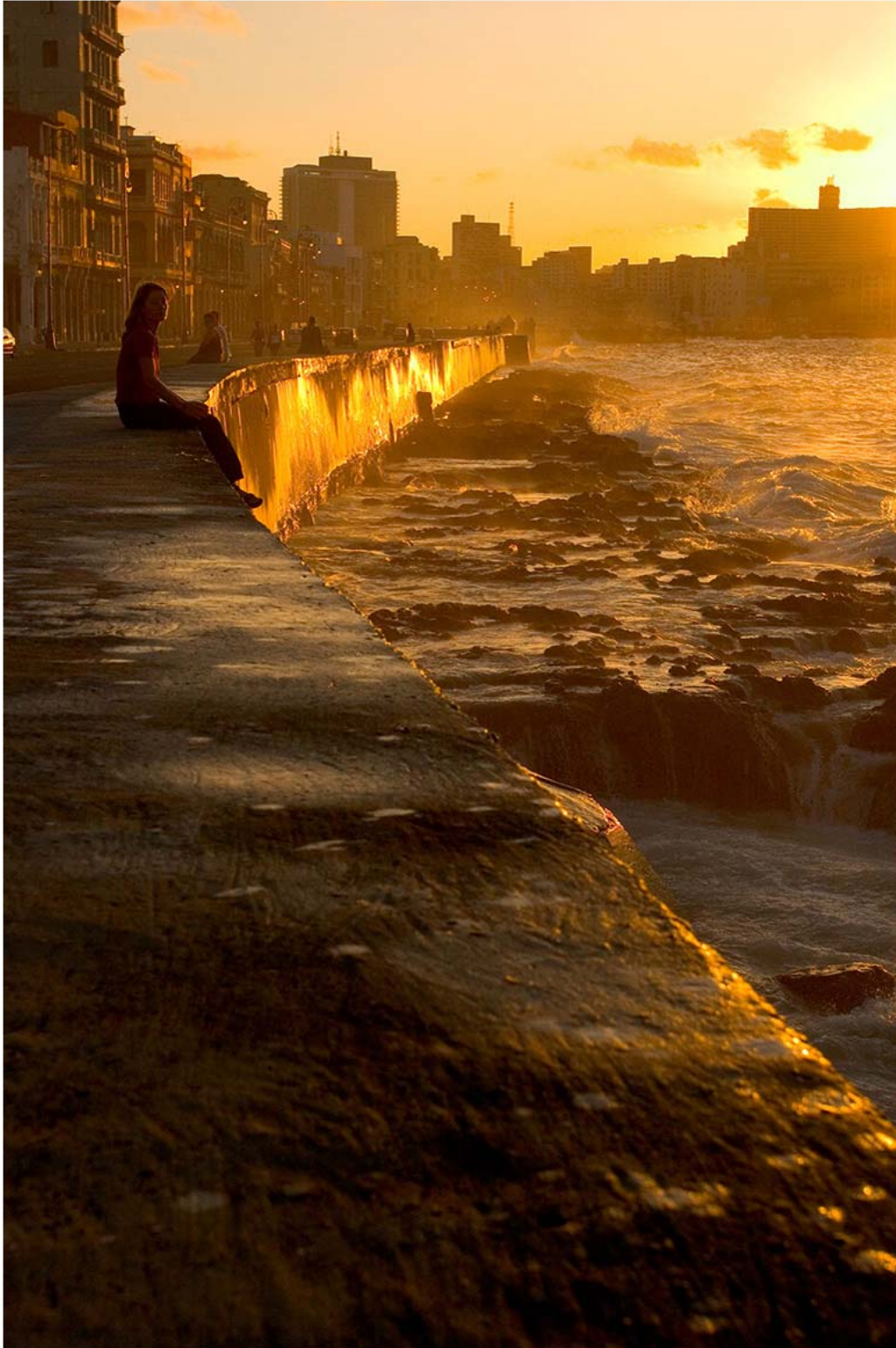
Democracy, a white dove was placed in the shoulders of every speaker reminding the one that landed on Fidel's shoulders fifty years ago. Simultaneously, Gomez-Peña was performing his counter-colonial piece with less attention in the following room.<sup>600</sup>



**Figure 146. March 30th, 2009. Center Wifredo Lam, Performance by Tania Brugera, from her series "El susurro de Tatlin". (Bottom: Rachel Weiss and Gerardo Mosquera)**

Grandiloquence, an important budget, several sponsors (mostly from Spain -which has economic interest in the Island), thousands of visitors (from Europe and the U.S.), several

important intellectuals and artists invited, high quality publications, and a surprising production for the many exhibitions, gave the event an aura of permanence. However, for the ones that know the Biennale's history it was another attempt to install it into an official cultural policy. In addition, with the topic of the year "Integration and Resistance in the Global Era", it was more a contradictory stand than a real radical departure from the Euro-American (Western) models of cultural and political practice that the event and its organizers has always promoted.<sup>601</sup> For sure this anniversary edition accomplished what Nelson Herrera called, "Havana the largest gallery in the world".



**Figure 147. Malecon in Havana City**

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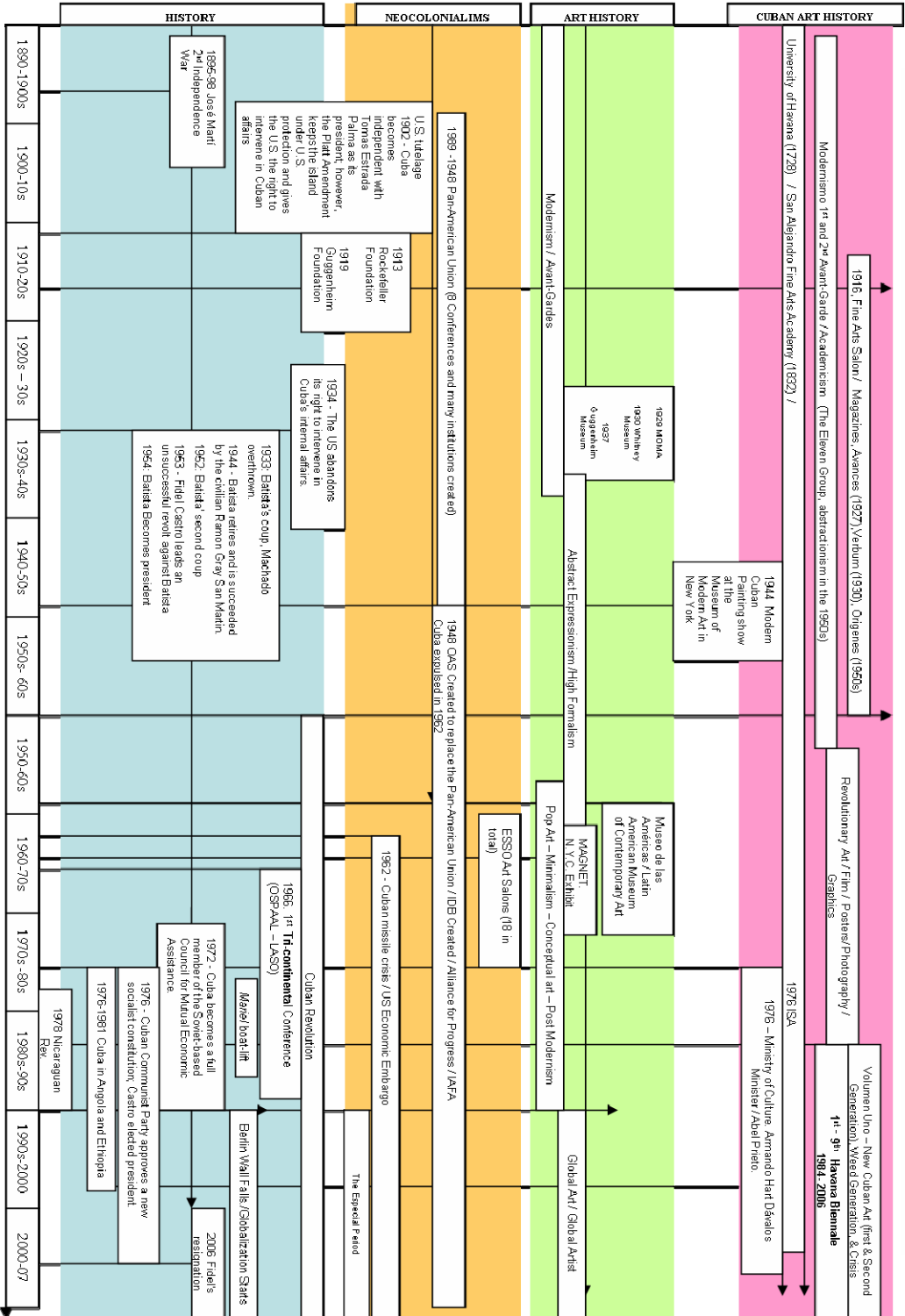
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Figure 143. my chart  
Figure 144. my photos  
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WLC = Wifredo Lam Center archives

## **APPENDIX**

Cultural Maps, Networks and Flows: The History and Impact of the Havana Biennale 1984 to the present (General History)





1960s  
1970s  
1980s  
1990s  
2000

1960: Castro takes power  
 April 1962: Castro meets US Vice President Richard Nixon as an unofficial visit to Washington. Nixon acknowledges that the US had no choice but to try to "contain" the leftist leader in the "right direction".  
 1960: All US embassies in Cuba are nationalized without compensation; US leaders of diplomatic relations with Havana and impose a trade embargo in response to Castro's reforms. Secretary of State Dean Rusk's Deputy Prime Minister Alexander M. Haig visits Havana. The visit results in a basic agreement in which the Soviet Union will purchase 5 million tons of sugar over a five-year period. The Soviets will also supply Cuba with credit, oil, petroleum products, wheat, iron, fertilizer and machinery. Included is \$100 million in credit at 2% interest.  
 1961: The CIA begins to make plans to assassinate Castro as part of Operation Mongoose. At least five plans to kill the Cuban leader were drawn up between 1961 and 1963: NBC's Robin Day telecasts Castro; 1961 - US sponsors invasion at Bay of Pigs; Castro proclaims Cuba a communist state and begins to ally itself with the USSR.  
 1962 - Cuban missile crisis. USSR deploys nuclear missiles on the island. The US realized photos of Soviet nuclear missile sites in Cuba - triggering a crisis, which led to the two superpowers to the brink of nuclear war. It was subsequently resolved when the USSR agreed to remove the missiles in return for the withdrawal of US nuclear missiles from Turkey January 22. Under U.S. encouragement, the Organization of American States (OAS) suspends Cuban membership. February 4, Castro responds to Cuba's expulsion from the OAS with the Second Declaration of Havana, calling upon the people of Latin America to rise up against imperialism and decadence. "The duty of a revolutionary is to make the revolution." February 7. President Kennedy declares the partial trade restrictions imposed by Eisenhower to be a ban on all trade with Cuba, except for non-essential sale of food and medicines.  
 1966 - Cuba's role political party renamed the Cuban Communist Party.  
 1966 - January 3-16. Cuba hosts the first Afro-Cuban Conference from which are founded the Organization for Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL) and the Organization for Latin American Solidarity (ALOSI).  
 1972 - Cuba becomes a full member of the Soviet-based Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Involvement in Africa  
 1976 - Cuban Communist Party appoints a new socialist constitution; Castro elected president.  
 1976-81 - Cuba sends troops to help Angola's incoming MPLA military and joint onslaught by South Africa, (Apartheid) and the FRELIMO, later, to help the Ethiopian regime defeat the Eritrean and Somali.  
 1980. January. Ronald Reagan is inaugurated as U.S. president, and initiates the most hostile policy against Cuba since the invasion at Bay of Pigs. Despite occasional signals from Cuba, the new U.S. administration announces a tightening of the embargo.  
 1980 - Arrest ~25,000 Cubans, many of them released eventually, flee to the US (Miami Beach).  
 1982 - Cuba, together with other Latin American states, gives Argentina more support in dispute with Britain over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands.  
 1982 - April 10. The Reagan Administration reestablishes the travel ban, prohibits U.S. citizens from spending money in Cuba, and allows the 1977 fishing vessel to leave.  
 1983 - October 26. The U.S. launches Operation Solidarity, supplies the island and establishes a provisional government. Of the 794 Cubans on the island, 639 were construction workers and 43 were military personnel. Invading troops capture 942 Cubans, 812, and wounded 67.  
 1984 - 1st Havana Biennale (Latin America)  
 1984 - May 14. The U.S. Department of Defense reports that it will spend \$43 million to rebuild Guantanamo Naval Base. December 14, Cuba and the U.S. reach an agreement on an immigration program under which 2,740 refugees (Marielitos) are allowed to Cuba, and the U.S. agrees to permit the immigration of 20,000 Cubans annually. (In fact, only about 2,000 applicants per year are allowed.)  
 1986 - May 20. RADIO MARTÍ begins to broadcast news and information from the U.S. to Cuba. (In protest of these broadcasts, Cuba cancels the existing immigration agreement with the U.S.) October 4. U.S. President Ronald Reagan bans travel to the U.S. by Cuban government officials or their representatives, which includes most students, scholars, and artists.  
 1990 - 2nd Havana Biennale (The Caribbean)  
 1989 - Cuba agrees to withdraw from Angola following an agreement with South Africa.  
 1989 - 3rd Havana Biennale (Tradition versus Modernity/ The Third-World)  
 Sneaking into the USSR  
 1990 - March 25. IV MARI, an anti-Castro, U.S.-funded radio station is launched. The signal is jammed by the Cuban government. June 1. The Cuban Ministry of Air and Defense is blamed for shooting down a plane flying in Cuba. October. The U.S. Congress passes the Madsen Amendment, which prohibits all trade with Cuba by subsidiaries of U.S. companies located outside the U.S., and proposes conditions or cessation of aid to any country that buys war or other products from Cuba.  
 1991 - 4th Havana Biennale (Colonialism and Neo-colonialism)  
 1991 - Soviet military advisors leave Cuba following the collapse of the USSR.  
 1992 - October 16. U.S. Congress passes the Cuban Democracy Act, prohibiting U.S. companies from trading with Cuba, travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens, and family reunification to Cuba. The law allows private groups to deliver food and medicines to Cuba. (At this time, 70% of Cuba's trade with U.S. relied on companies in food and medicine.) October 23. President Bush signs the Cuban Democracy Act into law. Congressman Ted Studd says that it will send down Cuba "within weeks."  
 1993 - The US tightens its embargo, while introducing some market reforms in order to stem the deterioration of its economy. These include the legalization of the US dollar, the transformation of many state farms into semi-autonomous cooperatives, and the legalization of limited individual private enterprise.  
 1994 - 5th Havana Biennale (Art, Society, Reflection). Cuba signs an agreement with the US agreeing to which the US agrees to admit 20,000 Cubans a year in return for Cuba halting the exodus of refugees.  
 1995: US trade embargo (known as the Helms-Bricker Act) rules permanent in response to Cuba's shooting down of two US aircraft operated by Miami-based Cuban airlines. October 26. For the 3rd year in a row, the United Nations General Assembly votes for a measure to end the U.S. Embargo of Cuba. The vote is 101-0, with 90 abstentions, and only Israel votes with the U.S.  
 1997 - 6th Havana Biennale (The Individual and the Masses)  
 1998: The US eases restrictions on the sending of money to relatives by Cuban Americans.  
 1999 - Pope John Paul II visits Cuba.  
 1999 - November 6. A UN General Assembly on the need to end the U.S. embargo against Cuba. The vote is 145 in favor and 2 against (U.S. and Israel), 6th time that the resolution is passed.  
 2000 - 7th Havana Biennale (Dear to Each Other). October - US House of Representatives approves the sale of food and medicines to Cuba.  
 2000 December - Russian President Vladimir Putin visits Cuba and signs accord aimed at boosting bilateral ties.  
 2001 October - Cuba criticizes Russia's decision to shut down the Lemnitzer cable-telescope on the island, called "a special gift" to US President George W. Bush ahead of a meeting between the two.  
 2001 December - US supports food to Cuba for the first time in more than 40 years after a request from the Cuban government to help it cope with the aftermath of Hurricane Michelle.  
 2002 January - Prisoners taken during US-led action in Afghanistan are sent into Guantanamo Bay for interrogation as al-Qaeda suspects.  
 2002 January - Russia's last military base in Cuba, at Lourdes, closes down.  
 2002 April - Diplomatic crisis after U.N. Human Rights Commission again criticizes Cuba's rights record.  
 2002 May - US Under Secretary of State John Bolton accuses Cuba of trying to develop biological weapons, adding the country to Washington's list of "states of concern".  
 2002 May - Former US president Jimmy Carter makes a goodwill visit a landing of side visits occur, in response to U.S. allegations about biological weapons. Carter is the first former or serving US president to visit.  
 2002 June - National Assembly amends the constitution to rule socialist system of government permanent and irrevocable.  
 2003 - 8th Havana Biennale (Art within Life). Cuba begins Communist Cuba  
 2003 March-April - Crackdown on dissidents' denies international condemnation; seventy-five people arrested for hours of up to 20 years; three members attacked a ferry in an attempt to reach the US are executed.  
 2003 October: US President George Bush announces fresh measures designed to hasten the end of communist rule in Cuba, including releasing a travel embargo to the island, cracking down on illegal cash transfers, and a new moral information campaign aimed at Cuba. A new body, the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba, is created.  
 2004 April - UN Human Rights Committee condemns Cuba over its rights record. Cuban foreign minister denounces resolution - which passed by simple vote - as "unilateral".  
 2004 May - US sanctions restrict 35-Cuba family visits and cash remittances from expatriates.  
 2004 October - President Castro announces ban on transactions in US dollar, and imposes 10% tax on dollar-pass remittances.  
 2005 January - Havana says it is remaining diplomatic contacts with the EU, issues in 2005 May. Around 200 dissidents hold a public meeting, said by organizers to be the first such gathering since the 1959 revolution.  
 2005 July: US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice announces the creation of a new post to help "accelerate the demise" of the Castro regime in Cuba. Cathie McCarty, a veteran Republican Party activist, is appointed as the Cuba transition co-ordinator.  
 2006 February - Propaganda war in Havana as President Castro unveils a monument which betrays the view of ill-fated messages - some of them about human rights - displayed on the US mission building.  
 2006 - 9th Havana Biennale (Dynamics of the Urban Culture). July - President Fidel Castro undergoes gastric bypass and temporarily hands over control of the government to his brother, Raul.  
 2006 July. The US Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba issues a report on 9/06 that it supports Cuba's opposition to the deployment of US aid to a transitional government to be given.  
 2006 December - Fidel Castro's failure to appear at a parade to mark the 60th anniversary of his return to Cuba from exile prompts renewed speculation about his future.  
 December 2006: The largest delegation from the US Congress to visit Cuba since the 1960 revolution goes to Havana. Jeff Flake, a Republican congressman heading the 10-member bipartisan delegation, said he wants to launch a "new era in US-Cuba relations", but the group is denied a meeting with Raul Castro.

Cultural Maps, Networks and Flows: The History and Impact of the Havana Biennale 1984 to the present (Time line)

## LIST OF ARTISTS HAVANA BIENNALE 1984 – 2006

NAME	COUNTRY	YEAR
Cáceres, Dolores	Argentina	2006
Cartele - Silberman, Gastón - Mendieta, Machi & Seimandi, Esteban	Argentina	2006
González y Sinzinger	Argentina	2006
Maguid, Rosalía	Argentina	2006
Messing, Laura	Argentina	2006
Molina, Mariano	Argentina	2006
Siquier, Pablo	Argentina	2006
Strada, Elisa	Argentina	2006
Dubrovsky, Irene	Argentina	2006
Juan, Andrea	Argentina	2006
Kuitca, Guillermo	Argentina	2006
Oduber, Ryan	Aruba	2006
Steidinger, Anja	Aruba	2006
Glick, Rodney	Australia	2006
Rudd, Cameron	Australia	2006
Voevodin, Lynnette	Australia	2006
Cal, Santiago - Holder, Richard	Belize	2006
Musa, Yasser	Belize	2006
North Front Street Project	Belize	2006
Gaba, Meschac	Benin	2006
Schwartz, Raquel	Bolivia	2006
Narda, Fabiola	Bolivia	2006
Arquivo Brasília - Kim , Lina & Wesely, Michael	Brazil	2006
Canella, Rogério	Brazil	2006
Colectivo Hoztilzinhos	Brazil	2006
Guaraci, Gabriel	Brazil	2006
Guedes, José	Brazil	2006
Marcelle, Cinthia	Brazil	2006
Montijo, Giuliano	Brazil	2006
Neuenschwander, Rivane	Brazil	2006
Santos, Eder	Brazil	2006
Srur, Eduardo	Brazil	2006
A Revolução Não Será Televisada	Brazil	2006
Bambozzi, Lucas	Brazil	2006
BijaRi	Brazil	2006
C.O.B.A.I.A	Brazil	2006
Contra File	Brazil	2006
Coringa	Brazil	2006

Elegante	Brazil	2006
Esqueleto Coletivo	Brazil	2006
Marcelus	Brazil	2006
Olivetti, Maines	Brazil	2006
Os Gemeos - Pandolfo, Otavio & Gustavo	Brazil	2006
Pandolfo, Nina Carina	Brazil	2006
Territorio São Paulo	Brazil	2006
TrancaRua	Brazil	2006
Tayou, Pascale Martine	Cameron	2006
BGL	Canada	2006
Duchesneau, Mario	Canada	2006
Sáez, César	Canada	2006
Becerra, Yenniferth	Chile	2006
Fierro, Claudia del	Chile	2006
Rivera, Pablo	Chile	2006
Rosenfeld, Lotti	Chile	2006
Guangyund, Liu	China	2006
Xuan, Kan	China	2006
Avila, Jaime	Colombia	2006
Herrera, Álvaro Ricardo	Colombia	2006
Pineda, Margarita	Colombia	2006
Matute, Andres	Colombia	2006
Magama, Michele	Congo	2006
Barrantes, Errol	Costa Rica	2006
Ramírez, Alejandro	Costa Rica	2006
Solano, Karla	Costa Rica	2006
Abascal, Pedro	Cuba	2006
Acevedo, Carlos	Cuba	2006
Alvarez, Franklin	Cuba	2006
Cabrera Pérez, Adolfo	Cuba	2006
Camejo, Luis Enrique	Cuba	2006
Catellañanos, Yasser	Cuba	2006
Cordero, Raúl	Cuba	2006
del Dago, Duvier	Cuba	2006
Diago, Roberto	Cuba	2006
Escalona Carrillo, David	Cuba	2006
Fernández Montes de Oca, Carlos	Cuba	2006
García, Eduardo Rubén	Cuba	2006
González, Alejandro	Cuba	2006
Hechavarría, Edgar	Cuba	2006
Julian González, Nilo	Cuba	2006
Martínez, Joel	Cuba	2006
Mena, Rigoberto	Cuba	2006
Miranda, Ibrahim	Cuba	2006
Omni Zona Franco	Cuba	2006
Pachecho del Monte, Amaury	Cuba	2006
Pérez González, Jorge	Cuba	2006
Pérez Merino, Luis Eligio	Cuba	2006
Ponjúan, Eduardo	Cuba	2006
Ramírez, Guillermo	Cuba	2006
Reyes Rodríguez, Oliver	Cuba	2006
Serrano, Ramón	Cuba	2006

Soto Kessel, Natividad	Cuba	2006
Tamayo, Reynerio	Cuba	2006
Valdéz Dilla, Damian	Cuba	2006
Vidal, Gonzalo	Cuba	2006
CUBABRASIL	Cuba-Brazil-Germany	2006
Díaz, Polibio	Dominican Republic	2006
El Museo Peatonal - Estévez, Nicolas	Dominican Republic	2006
Vilorio Villanueva, Limber	Dominican Republic	2006
Alvear, Miguel	Ecuador	2006
El-Gowely, Hany	Egipt	2006
Reda, Hamdy	Egipt	2006
Vega, Simon	El Salvador	2006
Nouvel, Jean	France	2006
Poirier, Anne & Patrick	France	2006
BerlinBeamBoys - Petersen Christoph & Peters, Torge	Germany	2006
Black Hole Factory	Germany	2006
Glassford, Thomas	Germany	2006
Jankowski, Christian	Germany	2006
Kuhn, Anette	Germany	2006
Naijar, Michel	Germany	2006
Ottjorg, A.C	Germany	2006
Peschke, Valeska	Germany	2006
Stone	Germany	2006
Strauss, Peter	Germany	2006
Thiel, Frank	Germany	2006
Toledo, Diego	Germany	2006
Anausui, El	Ghana	2006
Flecha, Olivia	Great Britain	2006
Orta, Lucy	Great Britain-France	2006
Tsoublekas, Dimitris	Grece	2006
Caja Lúcida	Guatemala	2006
Paz, Alejandro	Guatemala	2006
Stephenson, Roberto	Haiti	2006
Gupta, Shilpa	India	2006
Tallur N.L	India	2006
Neshat, Shirin	Iran-USA	2006
Rinn, Rivka	Israel	2006
Galliano, Daniele	Italy	2006
Ogi: no Knauss - Conti, Manuela - Lancuba, Michele - Tripodi, Lorenzo Leki, Ananias Dago	Italy	2006
Simpson, Dionne	Ivory Coast	2006
Ideta, Goh	Jamaica	2006
Saade, Amal	Japan	2006
Andrionomearisoa, Joel	Lebanon	2006
Calderón, Miguel	Madagascar	2006
Constantini, Arcangel	Mexico	2006
Cuevas, Minerva	Mexico	2006
Edeza, Iván	Mexico	2006
Escobedo, Helen	Mexico	2006
Martinez, Cesar	Mexico	2006
Romero, Betsabe	Mexico	2006
Agua - Waser	México	2006

Colectivo Tercerunquinto	México	2006
El Museo Peatonal - Alós, María	México	2006
Hernández, Jonathan	México	2006
Moris	México	2006
Nortec (no participate)	México	2006
Zamora, Héctor	México	2006
Agua - Waser	Mexico-Germany	2006
Mabunda, Goncalo	Mozambique	2006
Akinbiyi, Akinbode	Nigeria	2006
Dilomprizulike	Nigeria	2006
Berge, Kjetill Ingvar	Norway	2006
Carson, Gillian	Norway	2006
Tolaas, Sissel	Norway	2006
Viskum, Morten	Norway	2006
Fajardo, Eric R.	Panama	2006
Harker, Jonathan	Panama	2006
Lozano, Iván	Perú	2006
Miranda, Andrea	Perú	2006
Zegarra, Santi	Perú	2006
Rosado Sijo, Chemi	Puerto Rico	2006
Fosso, Samuel	Republic of Central Africa	2006
Fainaru, Belu-Simion	Romania	2006
Douts - N'doye, Mahamadou	Senegal	2006
Khoury, Mony	Siria	2006
Botes, Conrad	South Africa	2006
Langa, Moshekwa	South Africa	2006
Trinity Sessions - Hobbs, Stephen & Neustetter, Marcus	South Africa	2006
Van Veurig, Mocke & Collins, Theresa	South Africa	2006
Williamson, Sue	South Africa	2006
Ballesteros, Joel	Spain	2006
Brito, Segio	Spain	2006
Camarasa, Javier	Spain	2006
Colomer, Jordi	Spain	2006
Martinez, Angela - Quiles, Daniel (Anavia)	Spain	2006
Miralda, Antoni	Spain	2006
Pérez, Joel - García Pérez, Elena e Iván	Spain	2006
Saura, Carlos	Spain	2006
FA+ - Falk Ingrid - Aguerre, Gustavo	Sweden	2006
Hadeed, Abigail	Trinidadad & Tobago	2006
Kazma, Omer Ali	Turkey	2006
Sahinler, Fuat	Turkey	2006
Sahinler, Murat	Turkey	2006
Bonilla, Oscar	Uruguay	2006
Lacasa, Jacqueline	Uruguay	2006
Rosales, Juliana	Uruguay	2006
Tiscornia, Ana	Uruguay	2006
Coco 14 - Gualtieri, Robert	USA	2006
Kez 5 - Sánchez, Nestor	USA	2006
Leong, Sze Tsung	USA	2006
Mico - Ramírez, Jaime	USA	2006
Tunick, Spencer	USA	2006
Ciudad Video	Various	2006

Castro Oroztegui, Jaime	Venezuela	2006
Maneiro, Sara	Venezuela	2006
Navarro, Maggy & Bonadies, Angela	Venezuela	2006
Rojas, Carlos Germán	Venezuela	2006
Kotzé, John	Zimbabwe	2006
Behar, Roberto	Argentina	2003
Costantino, Nicola	Argentina	2003
Madanes, Edgardo	Argentina	2003
Marcaccio, Fabián	Argentina	2003
Marquardt, Rosario	Argentina	2003
Orta, Jorge	Argentina	2003
Rivas, Silvia	Argentina	2003
Taller La Estampa	Argentina	2003
Valansi, Gabriel	Argentina	2003
Piccinini, Patricia	Australia	2003
Walsh, Craig	Australia	2003
Müller, Ariane	Austria	2003
Nimmerfall, Karina	Austria	2003
Gilvano, Swasey	Belize	2003
Yasser, Musa,	Belize	2003
Dominique, Zinkpe	Benin	2003
Bezerra, José Patrício	Brazil	2003
Campo, Guaraci Gabriel	Brazil	2003
Chelpa Ferro	Brazil	2003
Dias, Mauricio	Brazil	2003
Franco, Siron	Brazil	2003
Grupo Bijarí	Brazil	2003
Lima, Daniel	Brazil	2003
Lopes, Jarbas	Brazil	2003
Neto, Ernesto	Brazil	2003
Pazé	Brazil	2003
Riedweg, Walter	Brazil	2003
Smith, Courtney	Brazil	2003
Salloum, Jayce	Canada	2003
Castillo, Juan	Chile	2003
Correa, Claudio	Chile	2003
Hamilton, Patrick	Chile	2003
Preece, Sebastián	Chile	2003
Ping, Qiu	China	2003
Arias Gaviria, Fernando	Colombia	2003
Castaño, Alejandro	Colombia	2003
Grupo Nómada	Colombia	2003
Macià, Oswaldo	Colombia	2003
MMJ	Colombia	2003
Olano, Beatriz	Colombia	2003
Posada, Libia	Colombia	2003
Quintero, Guillermo	Colombia	2003
Suárez, Alfonso	Colombia	2003
Herrero, Federico	Costa Rica	2003
Capetillo, Geysell	Cuba	2003
Capote, Iván	Cuba	2003
Capote, Yoan	Cuba	2003

Castillo, Liset	Cuba	2003
Colectivo Enema	Cuba	2003
Departamento de Intervenciones Públicas	Cuba	2003
García, Aimée	Cuba	2003
Guerra, Alexander	Cuba	2003
Hernández, Diango	Cuba	2003
León, Glenda	Cuba	2003
Mariño, Armando	Cuba	2003
Pino, Alain	Cuba	2003
Prieto, Wilfredo	Cuba	2003
Ramírez, Nelson	Cuba	2003
Ríos, Ángel Ricardo	Cuba	2003
Rumbaut, Adrián	Cuba	2003
Santana, Jorge Luis	Cuba	2003
Sardiñas, David	Cuba	2003
Velazco, Liudmila	Cuba	2003
Vincench, José Ángel	Cuba	2003
Oleaga, Darío	Dominican Republic	2003
Paiewonsky, Raquel	Dominican Republic	2003
Pineda, Jorge	Dominican Republic	2003
Artes No Decorativas S.A.	Ecuador	2003
Abla, Mohamed	Egypt	2003
Naim, Sabah	Egypt	2003
Kaikkonen, Kaarina	Finland	2003
Levêque, Claude	France	2003
AnArchitektur	Germany	2003
Griffiths, Helga	Germany	2003
Hopf, Judith	Germany	2003
Meyer, Jens J.	Germany	2003
Pesh, Katrin	Germany	2003
Theoretical TV	Germany	2003
James, Gareth	Great Britain	2003
Norman, Nils	Great Britain	2003
Tegala, Simon	Great Britain	2003
Escobar, Darío	Guatemala	2003
Altaf, Navjot	India	2003
Gupta, Subodh	India	2003
Open Circle	India	2003
Ghazel	Iran	2003
Grupo A12	Italy	2003
Koko-Bi, Jems Robert	Ivory Coast	2003
Ward, Nari	Jamaica	2003
Attard, Norbert Francis	Malta	2003
Breleur, Ernest	Martinique	2003
Alejo, Mauricio	Mexico	2003
Grupo Torolab	Mexico	2003
Guzik, Ariel	Mexico	2003
Helguera, Pablo	Mexico	2003
Moszka, Richard	Mexico	2003
Romero, Betsabé	Mexico	2003
Smith, Melanie	Mexico	2003
Basto, Luis	Mozambique	2003

Ferreira, José	Mozambique	2003
Reyers, Zeger	Netherlands	2003
Nkanga, Otobong	Nigeria	2003
Udemba, Emeka	Nigeria	2003
Araujo, Gustavo	Panama	2003
Vélez, Humberto	Panama	2003
Ceuppens, Christian	Paraguay	2003
González Brun, Adriana	Paraguay	2003
Migliorisi, Ricardo	Paraguay	2003
García Zapatero, Luis	Peru	2003
Santiesteban, Emilio	Peru	2003
Quinto, Alma	Philippines	2003
Irigoyen, Rosa	Puerto Rico	2003
Juhasz-Alvarado, Charles	Puerto Rico	2003
Morales, Arnaldo	Puerto Rico	2003
Rivera, Carlos	Puerto Rico	2003
Ndiaye, Ousmane (Dago)	Senegal	2003
Kaur, Noni	Singapore	2003
Amaler-Raviv, Arlene	South Africa	2003
Mthethwa, Zwelethu	South Africa	2003
Nhlengethwa, Sam	South Africa	2003
Place, Rodney	South Africa	2003
Yudelman, Dale	South Africa	2003
Arni-Olafsson, Oláfur	Spain	2003
Barba, Lluís	Spain	2003
Martín, José A.	Spain	2003
Pérez, Libia	Spain	2003
Sicilia, Javier	Spain	2003
Torrens, Néstor	Spain	2003
Barros, Fabiana de	Switzerland-Brasil	2003
Sailer, Yute	Taiwan-Austria	2003
Kunavichayanont, Sutee	Thailand	2003
Kusolwong, Surasi	Thailand	2003
Oranniwesna, Nipan	Thailand	2003
Phaosavasdi, Kamol	Thailand	2003
Altay, Can	Turkey	2003
Karamustafa, Gülsun	Turkey	2003
Oda Projesi	Turkey	2003
Senturk, Levent	Turkey	2003
Tenger, Hale	Turkey	2003
Turkylmaz, Müriüvvet	Turkey	2003
Maggi, Marco	Uruguay	2003
Sastre, Martin	Uruguay	2003
Díaz, Alejandro	USA	2003
González, Nan	Venezuela	2003
López, José Luis	Venezuela	2003
Monteagudo, Mariana	Venezuela	2003
Brazier, David	Zimbabwe	2003
Dondo, Calvin	Zimbabwe	2003
Gutsa, Tapfuma	Zimbabwe	2003
Aslán, Nora	Argentina	2000
Banfi, Enrique	Argentina	2000



Barreda, Fabiana	Argentina	2000
Bony, Oscar (cancelled)	Argentina	2000
Erllich, Leandro (lives USA)	Argentina	2000
Ferrari, León	Argentina	2000
Grupo Escombros	Argentina	2000
Macchi, Jorge	Argentina	2000
Pearl, Silvana	Argentina	2000
Porter, Liliana (Lives USA)	Argentina	2000
Ríos, Miguel Angel	Argentina	2000
Romano, Gustavo	Argentina	2000
Romero, Juan Carlos	Argentina	2000
Sacco, Graciela	Argentina	2000
Werthein, Judi (Lives USA)	Argentina	2000
Abath, Cirilio Julien (Ciro)	Aruba	2000
Martínez, Alida	Bolivia	2000
Bambozzi, Lucas	Brazil	2000
Carvalho, Valia	Brazil	2000
Cassaró, Franklin	Brazil	2000
Climachauska, Paulo	Brazil	2000
Costi, Rochelle	Brazil	2000
Domingues, Diana	Brazil	2000
Furlong, Patricia	Brazil	2000
Leimer, Jac	Brazil	2000
Menna Barreto, Jorge	Brazil	2000
Monnerat, Rosana	Brazil	2000
Nador, Mónica	Brazil	2000
Omar, Arthur	Brazil	2000
Paes Leme, Shirley	Brazil	2000
Ribenboim, Ricardo	Brazil	2000
Tavares, Ana María	Brazil	2000
Zerbini, Luiz	Brazil	2000
Kabjo, Godfried (Goody Leyé)	Cameroon	2000
MPah Dooh, Joel Claude	Cameroon	2000
Cabezas, Rodrigo	Chile	2000
Galería Metropolitana (Luis Alarcon, Ana María Saavedra)	Chile	2000
García, María Francisca	Chile	2000
Goic, Andrea	Chile	2000
Mezza, Gonzalo	Chile	2000
Salinas, Carolina	Chile	2000
Silva, Cristian	Chile	2000
Truffa, Bruna	Chile	2000
Zamudio, Enrique	Chile	2000
Arango, Ana María	Colombia	2000
Blanco, Carlos	Colombia	2000
Cifuentes, Adolfo	Colombia	2000
Echeverri, Clemencia	Colombia	2000
Facundo, Rodrigo	Colombia	2000
Gaviria, Alejandra	Colombia	2000
González, Beatriz (did not participate)	Colombia	2000
Grupo Grafito	Colombia	2000
Iregui, Jaime (Espacio Vacío)	Colombia	2000
Medina, María Angélica	Colombia	2000

Posada Velez, Gloria María	Colombia	2000
Uribe, Carlos	Colombia	2000
Arrieta, Pedro	Costa Rica	2000
Asociación Incorpore	Costa Rica	2000
Cardona, Alexander	Costa Rica	2000
Chanto Quesada, Sila	Costa Rica	2000
Irwin, Drew	Costa Rica	2000
Jiménez, Marisel	Costa Rica	2000
Siliezar, Adolfo	Costa Rica	2000
Abdalá, Yaquelin (lives in the Netherlands)	Cuba	2000
Arrechea, Alexandre	Cuba	2000
Barroso, Abel	Cuba	2000
Betancourt, Juan	Cuba	2000
Bruguera, Tania	Cuba	2000
Castellanos, Marlon	Cuba	2000
Castillo, Marco A.	Cuba	2000
Choy, José Antonio	Cuba	2000
Cordero, Raúl	Cuba	2000
Estévez, Carlos	Cuba	2000
Fernández, Antonio Eligio (TONEL)	Cuba	2000
Gabinete Ordo Amoris	Cuba	2000
Galería Dupp	Cuba	2000
García, Juan	Cuba	2000
Gómez Fresquet, José (Frémez)	Cuba	2000
Gómez, Luis	Cuba	2000
Los Carpinteros	Cuba	2000
Pérez, William	Cuba	2000
Rodríguez, Dagoberto	Cuba	2000
Segura, Esterio	Cuba	2000
Volta, Páris	Cuba	2000
Zumbado Retana, Manuel	Cuba	2000
Carrilho, Nelson (lives in the Netherlands)	Curaçao	2000
Spijkstra, Ellen Francien (lives in the Netherlands)	Curaçao	2000
Marzouk, Mona	Egypt	2000
Fleischer, Alain	France	2000
Messenger, Annette	France	2000
Raynaud, Jean Pierre	France	2000
Donkor, Godfried	Ghana	2000
Hiller, Susan	Great Britain	2000
López, Anibal	Guatemala	2000
Solares, Diana Lisette de	Guatemala	2000
Prezeau, Barbara	Haiti	2000
Aguilar Pinel, Regina María	Honduras	2000
Chhachhi, Sheba	India	2000
Dube, Anita	India	2000
Kallat, Jitish	India	2000
Malani, Nalini	India	2000
Parekh, Manisha	India	2000
Bagja Dermawan, Irwan (Iweng)	Indonesia	2000
Dono, Heri	Indonesia	2000
Murti, Krisna	Indonesia	2000
Bauman, Tuly	Israel	2000

Efrat, Benni (lives in Belgium)	Israel	2000
Raz, Guy	Israel	2000
Reeb, David	Israel	2000
Sonnenschein, Eliezer	Israel	2000
Jonás, Anomán	Ivory Coast	2000
Chong, Albert (lives in USA)	Jamaica	2000
Iwai, Shigeaki (lives in Netherlands)	Japan	2000
Burke, Alex (Lives in France)	Martinique	2000
Guodin-Thebia, Serge	Martinique	2000
Alys, Francis (lives in Belgium)	Mexico	2000
Artigas, Gustavo	Mexico	2000
Bliesner, Jim (USA)	Mexico	2000
Camacho, Luz (lives in the USA)	Mexico	2000
Gómez-Peña, Guillermo (not participate - lives USA)	Mexico	2000
González Casanova, José Miguel	Mexico	2000
Grupo RevArte (Mexico/USA)	Mexico	2000
Gutiérrez, Rubén	Mexico	2000
Hammond, James R. (USA)	Mexico	2000
Herrera, Ana María	Mexico	2000
López Aranda, Julieta (lives USA)	Mexico	2000
Lozano-Hemmer, Rafael (lives Canada)	Mexico	2000
Martínez, César	Mexico	2000
Poeter, Irma Sofía	Mexico	2000
Ramírez (Erre), Marcos	Mexico	2000
Suter, Gerardo	Mexico	2000
Toledo, Diego	Mexico	2000
Zacarías, Alejandro	Mexico	2000
Belli, Patricia (Lives USA)	Nicaragua	2000
Oguiibe, Olu (Lives USA)	Nigeria	2000
Udé, Iké	Nigeria	2000
Barrail, Pedro	Paraguay	2000
Casarino, Claudia	Paraguay	2000
González Brun, Adriana	Paraguay	2000
González, Mónica	Paraguay	2000
Salerno, Osvaldo	Paraguay	2000
McCarthy, Anamaría	Peru	2000
Aquilizan, Alfredo	Philippines	2000
Aquilizan, Isabel	Philippines	2000
Gómez Hildawa, Sid	Philippines	2000
Pilapil, Impy	Philippines	2000
Solito, Aúraeus	Philippines	2000
Tence Ruíz, José	Philippines	2000
Yee Jr, Luis (Junyee)	Philippines	2000
Allora, Jennifer (Born USA)	Puerto Rico	2000
Calzadilla, Guillermo (born Cuba)	Puerto Rico	2000
Cruz, José A.	Puerto Rico	2000
Otero, Néstor	Puerto Rico	2000
Rivera, Dhara	Puerto Rico	2000
Salabarrías, Aaron I.	Puerto Rico	2000
Suárez, Jaime	Puerto Rico	2000
Beng-Thi, Jack Damien	Réunion	2000
Cissé, Soly	Senegal	2000
Dibá, Viyé	Senegal	2000

Lo, Ndary Mbathio	Senegal	2000
Seidy, Mamady	Senegal	2000
Heng Liang Ngim, Amanda	Singapore	2000
Alexander, Jane	South Africa	2000
Boshoff, Willem	South Africa	2000
Brand, Kevin	South Africa	2000
Brice, Lisa	South Africa	2000
Marcos, Angel	Spain	2000
Muntadas, Antoni	Spain	2000
Kentridge, William	Surinam	2000
Cozier, Christopher	Trinidad & Tobago	2000
Jungerman, Remy (lives in Netherlands)	Trinidad & Tobago	2000
Dweik, Youssef	United Arab Emirates	2000
Ibrahim, Mohammed Ahmed	United Arab Emirates	2000
Kazem, Mohamed	United Arab Emirates	2000
Minshall, Peter	United Arab Emirates	2000
Sharif, Hassan	United Arab Emirates	2000
Bassi, Javier	Uruguay	2000
Cibils, Osvaldo	Uruguay	2000
Lanzarini, Ricardo	Uruguay	2000
Padín, Clemente	Uruguay	2000
Romero, Nelbia	Uruguay	2000
Uribe, Pablo	Uruguay	2000
Ben-Tré, Howard	USA	2000
Bliesner, Jim	USA	2000
Camacho, Luz (Mexico, lives in the USA)	USA	2000
Hammond, James R.	USA	2000
Herrera, Ana María (Mexico)	USA	2000
Poeter, Irma Soffa (Mexico)	USA	2000
Zacarías, Alejandro (Mexico)	USA	2000
Azcárate, Emilia	Venezuela	2000
Balteo, Alessandro	Venezuela	2000
Benaim, Ricardo	Venezuela	2000
Molina Pantin, Luis	Venezuela	2000
Perma, Claudio	Venezuela	2000
Viera, Conny (Lives in the USA)	Venezuela	2000
Koraichi, Rachid	Algeirs	1997
Alvim, Fernando	Angola	1997
Ole, Antonio	Angola	1997
Aranovich, Claudia	Argentina	1997
Benedit, Luis	Argentina	1997
Binder, Pat	Argentina	1997
Bony, Oscar	Argentina	1997
Conte, Guillermo	Argentina	1997
Del Río, Claudia	Argentina	1997
Fernández, Roberto	Argentina	1997
Gallardo, Carlos	Argentina	1997
García, Daniel	Argentina	1997
Katz, Leandro	Argentina	1997
Kuki, Benski	Argentina	1997
López, Marcos	Argentina	1997
Medici, Eduardo	Argentina	1997
Moujan, Marcela	Argentina	1997

Niveiro, Luis	Argentina	1997
Ontiveros, Daniel	Argentina	1997
Portillos, Alfredo	Argentina	1997
Ríos, Miguel Angel	Argentina	1997
Sacco, Graciela	Argentina	1997
Schuffer, Diana	Argentina	1997
Stolkiner, Raúl	Argentina	1997
Weber, Martín	Argentina	1997
Heyleger, Glenda	Aruba	1997
López, Elvis	Aruba	1997
Muyale, Osaira	Aruba	1997
Parr, Mike	Australia	1997
Hazoumé, Romuald	Benin	1997
Mateo, Sol	Bolivia	1997
Ugalde, Gastón	Bolivia	1997
Antunes, Arnaldo	Brazil	1997
Barreto, Lia Mena	Brazil	1997
Costi, Rochelle	Brazil	1997
De Mello, Vicente	Brazil	1997
Flemming, Alex	Brazil	1997
Freiberger, Angela	Brazil	1997
Geiger, Ana Bella	Brazil	1997
Ghomes, Rogerio	Brazil	1997
Goulart, Claudio	Brazil	1997
Kogut, Sandra	Brazil	1997
Longo, Dora	Brazil	1997
Moraes, Nina	Brazil	1997
Musatti, Jeanette	Brazil	1997
Neves, Eustaquio	Brazil	1997
Palazyán, Rosana	Brazil	1997
Pons, Flavio	Brazil	1997
Rennó, Rosangela	Brazil	1997
Rufino, José	Brazil	1997
Saggese, Antonio	Brazil	1997
Trope, Paula	Brazil	1997
Viriato, Edilson	Brazil	1997
Xavier, Marcia	Brazil	1997
Betote, Bill Akwa	Cameron	1997
Bidjocka, Billy	Cameron	1997
Tayou, Pascal Martín	Cameron	1997
Altamirano, Carlos	Chile	1997
Casas, Francisco	Chile	1997
Duclos, Arturo	Chile	1997
Frigerio, Ismael	Chile	1997
Jarpa, Voluspa	Chile	1997
Lemebel, Pedro	Chile	1997
Oñate, Macarena	Chile	1997
Szdyłowski, Ian	Chile	1997
Arbeláez, Edith	Colombia	1997
Bravo, Patricia	Colombia	1997
Laignelet, Victor	Colombia	1997
Martínez Cañas, Germán	Colombia	1997

Morelos, Delcy	Colombia	1997
Múniera, Ana Claudia	Colombia	1997
Muñoz, Oscar	Colombia	1997
Pradilla, Eduardo	Colombia	1997
Robledo, Víctor	Colombia	1997
Van Wong, Pablo	Colombia	1997
Monge, Priscilla	Costa Rica	1997
Alom, Juan Carlos	Cuba	1997
Bejarano, Agustín	Cuba	1997
Brito, Yamilys	Cuba	1997
Estévez, Carlos	Cuba	1997
Fors, José Manuel	Cuba	1997
Garaicoa, Carlos	Cuba	1997
Irigoyen, Rosa	Cuba	1997
Jiménez, Lidzie Alvisa	Cuba	1997
Leyva, Alexis (Kcho)	Cuba	1997
Mariño, Armando	Cuba	1997
Mendive, Manuel	Cuba	1997
Pacheco, Ramón	Cuba	1997
Peña, René	Cuba	1997
Ponjuan, Eduardo	Cuba	1997
Pujol, Ernesto	Cuba	1997
Rodríguez, René Francisco	Cuba	1997
Saavedra, Lázaro	Cuba	1997
Toirac, José Angel	Cuba	1997
Ramírez, Belkis	Dominican Republic	1997
Tolentino, Inés	Dominican Republic	1997
Chiriboga, Lucía	Ecuador	1997
Jaramillo, Jenny	Ecuador	1997
Paredes, Luis	El Salvador	1997
Boltanski, Christian	France	1997
Ankomah, Owusu	Ghana	1997
Woodrow, Bill	Great Britain	1997
González Palma, Luis	Guatemala	1997
Benjamín, Mario	Haiti	1997
Duval Carrié, Edouard	Haiti	1997
Biswas, Sutapa	India	1997
Sundaram, Vivan	India	1997
Adipurnomo, Nindityo	Indonesia	1997
Arahmaiani	Indonesia	1997
Manik, Andar	Indonesia	1997
Marintan, Sirait	Indonesia	1997
Suwage, Agust	Indonesia	1997
Boxer, David	Jamaica	1997
Facey, Laura	Jamaica	1997
Morrison, Petrona	Jamaica	1997
Sato, Tokihiro	Japan	1997
Latamie, Marc	Maritinique	1997
Almeida, Lourdes	México	1997
Anderson, Laura	México	1997
Martínez, César	México	1997
Parceró, Tatiana	México	1997

Ramírez, Marcos	México	1997
Rodríguez del Paso, Joaquín	México	1997
Serrano, Teresa	México	1997
Yovanovich, Vida	México	1997
Belkahia, Farid	Morocco	1997
Ennadre, Touhami	Morocco	1997
Camp, Sokari Douglas	Nigeria	1997
Salerno, Osvaldo	Paraguay	1997
Spatuzza, Carlos	Paraguay	1997
Yaluk, Karina	Paraguay	1997
Bedoya, Juan E.	Peru	1997
De la Torre, Milagros	Peru	1997
Huarcaya, Roberto	Peru	1997
MacCarthy, Ana María	Peru	1997
Paredes, Cecilia	Peru	1997
Piazza, María Cecilia	Peru	1997
Tokeshi, Eduardo	Peru	1997
Torres, Susana	Peru	1997
Aquilizan, Alfredo	Philippines	1997
Arellano, Agnes	Philippines	1997
Reamillo & Juliet	Philippines	1997
Irigoyen, Rosa	Puerto Rico	1997
Osorio, Pepón	Puerto Rico	1997
Vázquez, Victor	Puerto Rico	1997
Ben Thi, Jack	Réunion	1997
Gayé, Amadou	Senegal	1997
Seye, Bouma Medoune	Senegal	1997
Sy, Djibril	Senegal	1997
Chandrasekaran	Singapore	1997
Victor, Suzann	Singapore	1997
Weng, Lee	Singapore	1997
Cruise, Wilma	South Africa	1997
Kentridge, William	South Africa	1997
Langa, Moshekwa	South Africa	1997
Siopis, Penny	South Africa	1997
Roig, Bernardí	Spain	1997
Jugerman, Remy	Surinam	1997
Rawanchaikul, Navin	Thailand	1997
Driss, Hichem	Tunes	1997
Conde, Pablo	Uruguay	1997
Goldwasser, Gerardo	Uruguay	1997
Iturria, Ignacio	Uruguay	1997
Lanzarini, Ricardo	Uruguay	1997
Soto, Jorge Francisco	Uruguay	1997
Vila, Ernesto	Uruguay	1997
Zinno, Alvaro	Uruguay	1997
Lowell, Whitfield	USA	1997
Welch, Roger	USA	1997
Álvarez, Esso	Venezuela	1997
Apóstol, Alexander	Venezuela	1997
Bárcenas, Eduardo	Venezuela	1997
Fiallo, Gloria	Venezuela	1997

Machado, Oscar	Venezuela	1997
Moreno, Edgar	Venezuela	1997
Moya, Antonio	Venezuela	1997
Szinetar, Vasco	Venezuela	1997
Talmor, Lihie	Venezuela	1997
Dimitrijevic, Braco	Yugoslavia(Ex)	1997
Ben Yahia, Samta	Algiers	1994
Bazán, Sergio	Argentina	1994
Benski, Kuki	Argentina	1994
Binder, Pat	Argentina	1994
Boullosa, Marcelo	Argentina	1994
Dietzsche, Duna	Argentina	1994
Dragota, Susana	Argentina	1994
Ferrari, Leon	Argentina	1994
Fortuny, Hugo	Argentina	1994
Freistav, Luís	Argentina	1994
Fuertes, Rosana	Argentina	1994
García Uriburu, Nicolás	Argentina	1994
Girón, Mónica	Argentina	1994
Grippio, Victor	Argentina	1994
Herrero, Alicia	Argentina	1994
Iommi, Enio	Argentina	1994
Moujoubi, Akila	Argentina	1994
Ontiveros, Daniel	Argentina	1994
Paez, Walter	Argentina	1994
Pont, Fernando	Argentina	1994
Puente, Osvaldo	Argentina	1994
Romano, Tulio	Argentina	1994
Kupieri, Stan	Aruba	1994
López, Elm	Aruba	1994
Martínez, Alida	Aruba	1994
Bumside, Stanley	Bahamas	1994
Akyem, Ras	Barbados	1994
Davis, Annalee	Benin	1994
Ishi Butcher, Ras	Bolivia	1994
Aguessi-Vognon, Pierre	Brazil	1994
Baltar, Brígida	Brazil	1994
Barrao	Brazil	1994
Borges, José Francisco	Brazil	1994
Cipis, Marcelo	Brazil	1994
Cunha, Chico	Brazil	1994
Fana, Francisco	Brazil	1994
Freire, Jadir & Guimaraes, Rossana	Brazil	1994
Lui Ernesto	Brazil	1994
Magalhaes Sergio	Brazil	1994
Mourao, Tunga	Brazil	1994
Pinto, Sabino	Brazil	1994
Pons, Flavio	Brazil	1994
Renno, Rosangela	Brazil	1994
Rio Branco, Miguel	Brazil	1994
Silveira, Regina	Brazil	1994
Soglo Lucien, Seraphin	Brazil	1994



Tucci, Sandra	Brazil	1994
Urban, Joao	Brazil	1994
Ngetchopa, Jean-Baptiste	Cameron	1994
Berlanga, Miguel Angel	Canada	1994
Bordier, Marion	Canada	1994
Mansilla Miranda, José	Canada	1994
Díaz, Gonzalo	Chile	1994
Errázuriz, Paz	Chile	1994
Rojas, Eduard	Chile	1994
Vargas, Eugenia	Chile	1994
Arias Gaviria, Fernando	Colombia	1994
Botero, Germán	Colombia	1994
Castro, Luz Elena	Colombia	1994
Echevarri, Andrea	Colombia	1994
Facundo, Rodrigo	Colombia	1994
Herrán, Juan Fernando	Colombia	1994
Martínez Cañas, Germán	Colombia	1994
Mayer, Becky	Colombia	1994
Ospina, Nadín	Colombia	1994
Restrepo, José Alejandro	Colombia	1994
Rodríguez, Ofelia	Colombia	1994
Uribe, Carlos	Colombia	1994
Alvarado, Marco	Costa Rica	1994
Astorga, Leda	Costa Rica	1994
González, Leonel	Costa Rica	1994
Rodríguez del Paso, Joaquín	Costa Rica	1994
Stagno, Bruno	Costa Rica	1994
Urbina, Florencia	Costa Rica	1994
Zumbado, Manuel	Costa Rica	1994
Aguilera, Carlos René	Cuba	1994
Álvarez, Pedro	Cuba	1994
Arrechea, Alexander	Cuba	1994
Barroso, Abel	Cuba	1994
Bruguera, Tania	Cuba	1994
Castillo, Marco	Cuba	1994
Fernández, Antonio Eligio (Tonel)	Cuba	1994
Garaicoa, Carlos García, Eduardo Rubén	Cuba	1994
Leyva, Alexis (Kcho)	Cuba	1994
Martínez, Raúl	Cuba	1994
Piña, Manuel	Cuba	1994
Ponjuán, Eduardo	Cuba	1994
Ramos, Sandra	Cuba	1994
Rodríguez Brey, Ricardo	Cuba	1994
Rodríguez Falcón, Fernando	Cuba	1994
Rodríguez, Dagoberto	Cuba	1994
Rodríguez, Rene Francisco	Cuba	1994
Rojas, Rolando	Cuba	1994
Segura, Esterio	Cuba	1994
Yero, Osvaldo	Cuba	1994
Kirindongo, Yubi	Curaçao	1994
Cuevas, Alonso	Dominican Republic	1994
Hernández, Mariano	Dominican Republic	1994

Imbert, Oscar	Dominican Republic	1994
López, Martín	Dominican Republic	1994
Lora Read, Marcos	Dominican Republic	1994
Recío, Raul	Dominican Republic	1994
Varela, Fernando	Dominican Republic	1994
El Anatsui	Ghana	1994
Araeen, Rasheed	Great Britain	1994
Gupta, Sunil	Great Britain	1994
Hatoum, Mona	Great Britain	1994
Himid, Lubaina	Great Britain	1994
Jantjes, Gavin	Great Britain	1994
Kumari, Chila	Great Britain	1994
Patti, Symrath	Great Britain	1994
Piper, Keith	Great Britain	1994
Alet, Thierry	Guadalupe	1994
González Palma, Luís	Guatemala	1994
Ang, Tiong	Holland	1994
De Rooy, Félix	Holland	1994
Essarnba, Angele Etoundi	Holland	1994
Goulart, Claudio	Holland	1994
Semah, Joseph	Holland	1994
Varkevisser, Emst	Holland	1994
Padilla, Ezequiel	Honduras	1994
Christiano, Dadang	Indonesia	1994
Supria, Dede Eri	Indonesia	1994
Deghati, Manoocher	Iran	1994
Deghati, Reza	Iran	1994
Efrat, Benni	Israel	1994
Brown, Everaldo	Jamaica	1994
Cookhome, Robert A	Jamaica	1994
Spiro, Tina	Jamaica	1994
Mbuno, Kivuthi	Kenya	1994
Sukuro, Etale	Kenya	1994
Daou, Annabel	Lebanon	1994
Aguirre, Carlos	Mexico	1994
Castillo, Mónica	Mexico	1994
Cauduro, Rafael	Mexico	1994
Cruz-Villegas, Abraham	Mexico	1994
Ehrenberg, Felipe	Mexico	1994
Escobedo, Hellen	Mexico	1994
Garza, Javier de la	Mexico	1994
Gonzalez Lobo, Carlos	Mexico	1994
Grobet, Lourdes	Mexico	1994
Gutiérrez, Yolanda	Mexico	1994
Nuñez, Dulce María	Mexico	1994
Quiñones, Néstor	Mexico	1994
Fernández, Fatima	Mozambique	1994
Gbadegesin, Sangodare	Nigeria	1994
Jawando, Olaseni	Nigeria	1994
Nelson, Emily	Nigeria	1994
Centurion, Feliciano	Paraguay	1994
Migliorisi, Ricardo	Paraguay	1994

Castilla B., Jorge	Peru	1994
Runcie-Tanaka, Carlos	Peru	1994
Areilano, Agnes	Philippines	1994
Cuizón, Noel	Philippines	1994
Miguel Mago, Félix	Philippines	1994
Villanueva, Roberto	Philippines	1994
Hernández, Anaida	Puerto Rico	1994
Irizarry, Carlos	Puerto Rico	1994
Pérez, Enoc	Puerto Rico	1994
Vázquez, Victor	Puerto Rico	1994
Ben-Thi, Jack	Reunion	1994
Diallo, Amadou Mallos	Senegal	1994
Sarnb, Issa	Senegal	1994
Goba, John	Sierra Leone	1994
Alexander, Jane	South Africa	1994
Bester, Willie	South Africa	1994
Catherine, Norman	South Africa	1994
Cheifitz, Jann	South Africa	1994
Cruise, Wilma	South Africa	1994
Crump, Alan	South Africa	1994
Germond, Graeme	South Africa	1994
Hatting, Michael	South Africa	1994
Kendell Geers, Peter	South Africa	1994
Koloane, David	South Africa	1994
Murray, Bret	South Africa	1994
Nhlengethwa, Sam	South Africa	1994
Schutz, Peter	South Africa	1994
Segogela, Johannes	South Africa	1994
Sihiali, Durant	South Africa	1994
Siopis, Penny	South Africa	1994
Williamson, Sue	South Africa	1994
Kim, Yongtai	South Korea	1994
Park, Buldong	South Korea	1994
Boonma, Montien	Thailand	1994
Lertchaiprasert, Kamin	Thailand	1994
Watuya, Niti	Thailand	1994
Sokemawou, Komi	Togo	1994
Cozier, Christopher	Trinidad & Tobago	1994
Avsar, Vahap	Turkey	1994
Capelán, Carlos	Uruguay	1994
Romero, Nelbia	Uruguay	1994
Sagradini, Mario	Uruguay	1994
Soto, Jorge Francisco	Uruguay	1994
Atkinson, Karen	USA	1994
Bereal, Ed	USA	1994
Cheng, Carl	USA	1994
Chin, Mel	USA	1994
Chong, Albert	USA	1994
Coleman, Johnny	USA	1994
Glazer Danay, Richard	USA	1994
Lebron, Michael	USA	1994
Millar, Robert	USA	1994

Outterbrige, John	USA	1994
Saar, Alison	USA	1994
Saar, Betye	USA	1994
Saar, Lesley	USA	1994
Sánchez, Juan	USA	1994
Troeller, Linda	USA	1994
Williams, Pat	USA	1994
Abad, Pacita	USA (residents)	1994
Bahc, Mo	USA (residents)	1994
Bessouet, Norma	USA (residents)	1994
Cardillo, Rimer	USA (residents)	1994
Cardoso, María Fernanda (col)	USA (residents)	1994
Chu, Ken	USA (residents)	1994
Damast, Elba	USA (residents)	1994
Hongtu, Bang	USA (residents)	1994
Kang, Ik-Joong	USA (residents)	1994
Martorell, Antonio	USA (residents)	1994
Osorio, Pepon (Puerto Rico)	USA (residents)	1994
Soon Min, Yong	USA (residents)	1994
Toral, Tabo	USA (residents)	1994
Baroni, Rafaela	Venezuela	1994
Becerra, Milton	Venezuela	1994
Benain Ricardo	Venezuela	1994
Fuenmayor, Hector	Venezuela	1994
Garrido, Nelson	Venezuela	1994
Gasparini, Paolo	Venezuela	1994
Hernández Diez, José Antonio	Venezuela	1994
Irazábal, Victor Hugo	Venezuela	1994
Obregón, Roberto Talmor, Lihe	Venezuela	1994
Kingelez, Bodys Isek	Zaire	1994
Bickle, Berry	Zimbabwe	1994
Musorowembudzi, Morgan	Zimbabwe	1994
ANDRADE, ZAN	Angola	1991
BEN BELLA, MAJHOUB	Angola	1991
KORAICHI, RACHID	Angola	1991
MALEK, SALAH	Angola	1991
MOUHOUBI, AKILA	Angola	1991
ARANOVICH, CLAUDIA	Argentina	1991
BEDEL, JACQUES	Argentina	1991
BEDOYA, FERNANDO	Argentina	1991
BENEDIT, LUIS	Argentina	1991
CAUSA, MARIA ALEJANDRA	Argentina	1991
ELIA, ROBERTO	Argentina	1991
FRAIRE, CRISTINA	Argentina	1991
GLUSBERG, JORGE	Argentina	1991
GRIPPO, VICTOR	Argentina	1991
IGLESIAS, EDUARDO	Argentina	1991
KUROPWA, ALEJANDRO	Argentina	1991
LANDEM, PATRICIA	Argentina	1991
MALER, LEOPOLDO	Argentina	1991
PAEZ, OSCAR	Argentina	1991
PEREZ BECERRA, ALEJANDRO	Argentina	1991

PORTILLOS, ALFREDO	Argentina	1991
SAGASTIZABAL, TULIO	Argentina	1991
SCHNITMAN, JORGE	Argentina	1991
SIQUIER, PABLO	Argentina	1991
STOLKINER, R.	Argentina	1991
TESTA, CLORINDO	Argentina	1991
CHAKRADORTY, HASHI	Bangladesh	1991
RAHMAN, WAKI LUR	Bangladesh	1991
SARWAR-E-KAVIR, GOLAM	Bangladesh	1991
GAHOU, KOFFI	Benin	1991
VALCARCEL, ROBERTO	Bolivia	1991
AMARAL, ZULMIRA	Brazil	1991
ANDRE, MARCUS	Brazil	1991
BARAVELLI, LUIZ PAULO	Brazil	1991
BENEDICTO, NAIR	Brazil	1991
BRITO, CYNTHIA	Brazil	1991
CHAVES, MARCUS	Brazil	1991
CIPIS, MARCELO	Brazil	1991
CYTRYNOWICZ, SALOMON	Brazil	1991
FELIX, NELSON	Brazil	1991
FINGERMAN, SERGIO	Brazil	1991
FRANCO, SIRON	Brazil	1991
KOLUMBAN, HESS	Brazil	1991
LAMBRETH, KARIM	Brazil	1991
MARCHEZI, FULVIA	Brazil	1991
MARTINS, DELFIM	Brazil	1991
REZENDE, GUSTAVO	Brazil	1991
ROCHA, ADRIANA	Brazil	1991
SIMONETTI, MAURICIO	Brazil	1991
SOARES, VALESKA	Brazil	1991
VALENTIM, RUBEM	Brazil	1991
VILLANOVA ARTIGAS, JUAN BAUTISTA	Brazil	1991
BELANGER, LANCE	Canada	1991
BELMORE, REBECA	Canada	1991
CISNEROS, DOMINGO	Canada	1991
DAVID, JOSEPH	Canada	1991
MARTEL, RICHARD	Canada	1991
NOGANOSH, RON	Canada	1991
POITRAS, EDWARD	Canada	1991
ALTAMIRANO, CARLOS	Chile	1991
BRUGNOLI, FRANCISCO	Chile	1991
DAVILA, JUAN	Chile	1991
DIAZ, GONZALO	Chile	1991
DITTBORN, EUGENIO	Chile	1991
DUCLÓS, ARTURO	Chile	1991
ERRAZURIZ, VIRGINIA	Chile	1991
GONZALEZ, NURY	Chile	1991
SORO, MARIO	Chile	1991
ZAMUDIO, ENRIQUE	Chile	1991
Various artists	China	1991
CARDOSO, MARIA FERNANDA	Colombia	1991
CASTELLANOS, JAIME	Colombia	1991

COMBARIZA, MARTHA	Colombia	1991
HINCAPIE, MARIA TERESA	Colombia	1991
JARAMILLO, ENRIQUE	Colombia	1991
LIZARAZO, ANGELA	Colombia	1991
POSADA, JULIAN	Colombia	1991
SALCEDO, DORIS	Colombia	1991
URIBE, RAMON	Colombia	1991
ZAPATA, HUGO	Colombia	1991
ZAPATA, LUIS FERNANDO	Colombia	1991
JIMENEZ DEREDIA, JORGE	Costa Rica	1991
ROJAS, JOSE MIGUEL	Costa Rica	1991
STANLEY, RODOLFO	Costa Rica	1991
ACOSTA, GUSTAVO	Cuba	1991
AGUILERA, ALEJANDRO	Cuba	1991
AYON, BELKIS	Cuba	1991
BETANCOURT, WALTER	Cuba	1991
CAMPOS, MAGDALENA	Cuba	1991
CASTRO, HUMBERTO	Cuba	1991
FINALE ALDECOA, MOISES	Cuba	1991
GARCIA, LAZARO	Cuba	1991
GOMEZ, LUIS	Cuba	1991
GONZALEZ DE ARMAS, JESUS	Cuba	1991
JOVERT, JOEL	Cuba	1991
LAM, WIFREDO	Cuba	1991
LOPEZ MARIN, ROGELIO	Cuba	1991
LOZANO, EDUARDO	Cuba	1991
LUNA, CARLOS	Cuba	1991
MIRANDA, IBRAHIM	Cuba	1991
MIYARES, BARBARO	Cuba	1991
PEREZ, MARTA MARIA	Cuba	1991
RODRIGUEZ, RAUL	Cuba	1991
CAPELLAN, TONY	Dominican Republic	1991
CUEVAS, ALONSO	Dominican Republic	1991
DESANGLES, JESUS	Dominican Republic	1991
GUADALUPE, ANTONIO	Dominican Republic	1991
LORA, MARCOS	Dominican Republic	1991
MEJIA, RADHAMES	Dominican Republic	1991
ULLOA, VICTOR	Dominican Republic	1991
CARDOSO, PABLO	Ecuador	1991
JACOME, RAMIRO	Ecuador	1991
ROMAN, NELSON	Ecuador	1991
AL WESHAHY, ABDEL HADY	Egypt	1991
DUNGA CABANGIS, JOSE MARIA	Ethiopia	1991
EPISTOLA FERRARIS, NELSON E.	Ethiopia	1991
JUNYEE	Ethiopia	1991
MAGTIBAY, WILLIAM B.	Ethiopia	1991
YEMTGETA. ZERIHUN	Ethiopia	1991
TIAN-SIO-PO, THIERRY	French Guyana	1991
GLOVER, ABLADE	Ghana	1991
AAREEN, RASHEED	Great Britain	1991
ADRUS, SAID	Great Britain	1991
BOYCE, SONIA	Great Britain	1991

HATOUM, MONA	Great Britain	1991
JANAH, SUNIL	Great Britain	1991
PATTI, SYMRATH	Great Britain	1991
PHAOPHNIT, VONG	Great Britain	1991
PIPER, KEITH	Great Britain	1991
POLLARD, INGRID	Great Britain	1991
ROVELAS, MICHEL	Guadalupe	1991
BARRIOS, MOISES	Guatemala	1991
DIAZ, LUIS	Guatemala	1991
CORREA, CHARLES	India	1991
DEVRAJ, DAKOJI	India	1991
GUJRAL, SATISH	India	1991
HUSAIN, M.F.	India	1991
JANAH, SUNIL	India	1991
KHANNA, KRISHEN	India	1991
RIMZON, N.N.	India	1991
SUBRAMANYAN, K.G.	India	1991
SUNDARAM, VIVAN	India	1991
SWAMINATHAN, J.	India	1991
AMBAR, IENE	Indonesia	1991
AZZAWI, DIA	Iraq	1991
STITA, MOHAMED A.	Libia	1991
PIYADASA, REDZA	Malasia	1991
SHAN MUGHALINGAM, NIRMALA	Malasia	1991
Various artists	Mali	1991
HELENON, SERGE	Martinique	1991
LAOUCHEZ, LOUIS	Martinique	1991
ACEVES NAVARRO, GILBERTO	Mexico	1991
ALVAREZ BRAVO, LOLA	Mexico	1991
ALVAREZ BRAVO, MANUEL	Mexico	1991
ANDRADE, YOLANDA	Mexico	1991
ANGUIA, RICARDO	Mexico	1991
BARRAGAN, LUIS	Mexico	1991
CRUZ, MARCOS ANTONIO	Mexico	1991
CUELLAR, ROGELIO	Mexico	1991
DONIZ, RAFAEL	Mexico	1991
ESCALERA, JANITZIO	Mexico	1991
GARAY, ANDRES	Mexico	1991
GARCIA, HECTOR	Mexico	1991
GROBET, LOURDES	Mexico	1991
HARTZ, FRIDA	Mexico	1991
HERNANDEZ, SERGIO	Mexico	1991
ITURBIDE, GRACIELA	Mexico	1991
LOPEZ, NACHO	Mexico	1991
MARTINEZ, JOSE ESTEBAN	Mexico	1991
MATA, FRANCISCO	Mexico	1991
MAYA, LUCIA	Mexico	1991
ORTIZ MONASTERIO, PABLO	Mexico	1991
RUBINSTEIN MALAMUD, MAURICIO	Mexico	1991
SALCEDO, JORGE	Mexico	1991
VALTIERRA, PEDRO	Mexico	1991
VILLASENOR, ELENA	Mexico	1991

YOVANOVICH, VIDA .	Mexico	1991
ZENIL, NAHUN	Mexico	1991
BELKAHIA, FARID	Morroco	1991
KACIMI, MOHAMED	Morroco	1991
CHISSANO, ALBERTO	Mozambique	1991
MARTINS, ISABEL	Mozambique	1991
EL ANATSUI	Nigeria	1991
UTOMI EKPEI, PIUS	Nigeria	1991
MIAN IRANI,ASKANI	Pakistan	1991
URENA RAMOS, ARISTIDES	Panama	1991
CASARI ISASI, ALBERTO	Peru	1991
CASTRO, FERNANDO	Peru	1991
DEUSTUA, JORGE	Peru	1991
FANTOZZI, ROBERTO	Peru	1991
PACHECO, JUAN	Peru	1991
RUNCIE TANAKA, CARLOS	Peru	1991
TOKESHI, EDUARDO	Peru	1991
WIESSE, RICARDO	Peru	1991
YAKER, MOICO	Peru	1991
HERNANDEZ CRUZ, LUIS	Puerto Rico	1991
IRRIZARRIZ, CARLOS	Puerto Rico	1991
PEREZ, ENOC	Puerto Rico	1991
QUIJANO, NICK	Puerto Rico	1991
SUAREZ, JAIME	Puerto Rico	1991
DIME, MOUSTAPHA	Senegal	1991
TRAORE, BABACAR	Senegal	1991
FITZGERALD, BABETTE	South Africa	1991
SEBIDI, HELLEN	South Africa	1991
WILLIAMSON, SUE	South Africa	1991
APICHATKRIENKRAI, WIJIT	Thailand	1991
KOMI, SOKEMAWOU	Togo	1991
CABRAL, FRANCISCO	Trinidad and Tobago	1991
EL KAMEL, RAFIK	Tunes	1991
TRIKI, GOUIDER	Tunes	1991
BATEGGAZORE, MIGUEL	Uruguay	1991
CAMNITZER, LUIS	Uruguay	1991
DIAZ VALDEZ, WILFREDO	Uruguay	1991
FERNANDEZ, GUSTAVO	Uruguay	1991
ISARRUALDE, MARCELO	Uruguay	1991
ITURRIA, IGNACIO	Uruguay	1991
LOPEZ LAGE, FERNANDO	Uruguay	1991
NANTES, HUGO	Uruguay	1991
PELAYO, JOSE MARIA	Uruguay	1991
RAMOS, NELSON	Uruguay	1991
DAWESTASHY, ESMAT	USA	1991
EMMANUEL, CRISTINA	USA	1991
HEDAYAH, SAID	USA	1991
HENEIN, ADAM	USA	1991
HENRY, CARYL	USA	1991
KANO, BETTY	USA	1991
LONGVAL, GLORIA.	USA	1991
SOON MIN, YONG	USA	1991



VILLA, CARLOS	USA	1991
WASHINGTON, BISA	USA	1991
BECERRA, MILTON	Venezuela	1991
CABRUJAS, MARTA	Venezuela	1991
GASPARINI, PAOLO	Venezuela	1991
LAZO, ANTONIO	Venezuela	1991
MACHADO, OSCAR	Venezuela	1991
MAESTRE, GUSTAVO	Venezuela	1991
MENDOZA, CARLOS	Venezuela	1991
MORENO, EDGARD	Venezuela	1991
MOYA, ANTONIO	Venezuela	1991
TERAN, PEDRO	Venezuela	1991
VILLANUEVA, CARLOS RAUL	Venezuela	1991
ZERPA, CARLOS	Venezuela	1991
AKUDA, FANIZANI	Zimbabwe	1991
BICKLE, BERRY	Zimbabwe	1991
GUTSA, TAPFUMA	Zimbabwe	1991
JACK, RICHARD	Zimbabwe	1991
LIEROS, HELEN	Zimbabwe	1991
MARIGA, JORAM	Zimbabwe	1991
NYANHONGO, AGNES	Zimbabwe	1991
WILLIAMS, STEPEHN	Zimbabwe	1991
BENYAHIA, Samta	Algiers	1989
CHOUKRI, Mesli	Algiers	1989
KARIM, Sergoua	Algiers	1989
KORAICHI, Rachid	Algiers	1989
LARBI, Arezki	Algiers	1989
MARTINEZ, Denis	Algiers	1989
SILEM, Ali	Algiers	1989
TEIXEIRA, Victor (Viteix)	Algiers	1989
ZAN ANDRADE, José	Algiers	1989
OLE, Antonio	Angola	1989
ALTAMIRANDA, Rodolfo E.	Argentina	1989
ASLAN, Nora	Argentina	1989
BIRRI, Fernando	Argentina	1989
BONGLIANI, Beatriz	Argentina	1989
BUJALTER, Mimi	Argentina	1989
CADELLI, Luis A.	Argentina	1989
CAPATACO SANJURJO, Daniel	Argentina	1989
CORREAS, Nora	Argentina	1989
CORUJEIRA, Alejandro	Argentina	1989
CUTULI, Gracia	Argentina	1989
DOMPE, Hernán	Argentina	1989
FARCO, Raúl	Argentina	1989
FERNANDEZ, Mario Alberto	Argentina	1989
FOGEL, Alejandro	Argentina	1989
FUNES, María Lujan	Argentina	1989
GOMEZ, Norberto	Argentina	1989
GRINBERG, Liliana	Argentina	1989
GUTIERREZ MARX, Graciela	Argentina	1989
HERMIDA, Graciela	Argentina	1989
HERRADA, María	Argentina	1989

INIESTA, Nora	Argentina	1989
LOMBARDO, Susana	Argentina	1989
MATSCHKE, Lutz	Argentina	1989
MAUDERLI, Alfredo	Argentina	1989
NEGROTTI, Luis	Argentina	1989
NICORA, Julio	Argentina	1989
NIEDERMAIER, Alejandra	Argentina	1989
ORTA, Jorge	Argentina	1989
PATERNOSTO, César	Argentina	1989
PAZ, Hilda	Argentina	1989
POLESELLO, Rogelio	Argentina	1989
PUENTE, Alejandro	Argentina	1989
ROMERO, Juan Carlos	Argentina	1989
RUBINSON, Rut	Argentina	1989
SACHS, Tana	Argentina	1989
SEGURA, Carola	Argentina	1989
SIELBURGER, Silvia	Argentina	1989
SIGWALD, Pablo	Argentina	1989
SIGWALD, Vicky	Argentina	1989
TESTA, Clorindo	Argentina	1989
VIGO, Eduardo	Argentina	1989
VIGO, Tania	Argentina	1989
WALL, Joan	Argentina	1989
ABAYI, Philippe Victorien	Benin	1989
CORDOVA, Inés	Bolivia	1989
MEDEIROS ANAYA, Gustavo	Bolivia	1989
ROJAS LAM, Hugo	Bolivia	1989
UGALDE CASTRO, Gastón	Bolivia	1989
VALCARCEL, Roberto	Bolivia	1989
ZILVETI, Luís	Bolivia	1989
ALMEIDA, Marcio	Brazil	1989
BONI LICHT, Amari	Brazil	1989
BREVIAN, Maria Elena	Brazil	1989
BRITO, Bartolomeu	Brazil	1989
BRITTO, Estevan	Brazil	1989
BRUSCKY, Paulo	Brazil	1989
BURGER, Marita	Brazil	1989
CAMPOS GRILLO, Rubén	Brazil	1989
CAPISTRANO, Franklin	Brazil	1989
CAVALCANTI LUNDGREU, Dilza	Brazil	1989
CERZO, Celso Diniz Braga	Brazil	1989
CROCCO, Heloisa	Brazil	1989
DE ARAUJO, A	Brazil	1989
DIVOZ, Carlos	Brazil	1989
DOREA, Juraci	Brazil	1989
FABRE, Eleonora	Brazil	1989
GORINI, Berenice	Brazil	1989
HARTER, Eugenia	Brazil	1989
HUNGRIA, Clemente	Brazil	1989
LEDA MACEDO, María	Brazil	1989
LOURO, Maria Tereza	Brazil	1989
MAGNO, Montez	Brazil	1989

MIRANDA, Lenir de	Brazil	1989
MOELLER, Sonia	Brazil	1989
NASSAR, Enmanuel	Brazil	1989
NOBREGA, Alexandre	Brazil	1989
NOROGRANDO, Ana María	Brazil	1989
PARODI, Pierluigi	Brazil	1989
PETRY, Andre	Brazil	1989
POTEIRO, Antonio	Brazil	1989
PRADO, Gilberto	Brazil	1989
RIO BUNCO, Miguel	Brazil	1989
SALGADO, Sebastian	Brazil	1989
SCALDAFERRI, Sante	Brazil	1989
SILVA, Falves	Brazil	1989
SILVA, Tarcisio	Brazil	1989
VALENTIM, Rubén	Brazil	1989
VASCONCELLOS, Bia	Brazil	1989
GNILE, Tiaho	Burkina Faso	1989
OUEDRAOGO, Noufou	Burkina Faso	1989
ALTAMIRANO VALENZUELA, Carlos	Chile	1989
BALMES, José	Chile	1989
BERCHENKO, Gregorio	Chile	1989
CAMPO, Julieta	Chile	1989
CERDA, Rogelio	Chile	1989
CHARLIN, Ivón	Chile	1989
DAVILA, René	Chile	1989
DEISLER, Guillermo	Chile	1989
DIAZ ESPINOSA, Eduardo	Chile	1989
DIAZ, Gladys	Chile	1989
DITTBORN, Eugenio	Chile	1989
ERRAZURIZ, Paz	Chile	1989
ESCOBAR, Manuel	Chile	1989
GEWOLB MAYANZ, Nancy	Chile	1989
HOPPE, Álvaro	Chile	1989
HUGHES, Helen	Chile	1989
JANISZAWSKI, Jorge	Chile	1989
KUHN SEPULVEDA, Jorge	Chile	1989
LARREA, Miguel Ángel	Chile	1989
MENESES, Pedro	Chile	1989
MONTES DE OCA, Carlos	Chile	1989
NAVARRO, E. Luís	Chile	1989
OLHAGARAY, César	Chile	1989
ORELLANA, Fernando	Chile	1989
SILVA CASTERON, Osvaldo	Chile	1989
STAY, Patricio	Chile	1989
TELLEZ, Eugenio	Chile	1989
TRIVIEO, Jorge	Chile	1989
UGARTE, Marco	Chile	1989
VEGA, N. Luis	Chile	1989
WEINSTEIN, Luís	Chile	1989
YRARRAZAVA, Carolina	Chile	1989
ALARCON, Ezequiel	Colombia	1989
AZOUT, Lydia	Colombia	1989

GRANADA, Carlos	Colombia	1989
GRAU, Enrique	Colombia	1989
LLANO GARCIA, María	Colombia	1989
LUNA MATIZ, Luís	Colombia	1989
MIRANDA, Olivia	Colombia	1989
OSPINA, Nadin	Colombia	1989
RAMIREZ VILLAMIZAR, Eduardo	Colombia	1989
RAMIREZ ZAPATA, Marta	Colombia	1989
RENDON, Fabian	Colombia	1989
RESTREPO, Tulio	Colombia	1989
RUEDA, Ana María	Colombia	1989
TELLO MURILLO, Walter Orlando	Colombia	1989
BELLA	Congo	1989
BOKOTAKA, Cyrille	Congo	1989
CRISPIN, Jean	Congo	1989
ELENGA	Congo	1989
HOKI, Francois	Congo	1989
ITOVA, Jean	Congo	1989
MANGONANDZA, Sylvestre	Congo	1989
MPO, Yerly	Congo	1989
NGAOUKA, Daniel	Congo	1989
NTOTA	Congo	1989
ONDONGO, Nicholas	Congo	1989
POTO-POTO, Escuela de	Congo	1989
TAGUA, Maurice	Congo	1989
WAMASSOUMOUNA	Congo	1989
ZIGOMA, Jacques	Congo	1989
APUY, Otto	Costa Rica	1989
FABA LOPEZ, Rolando	Costa Rica	1989
LIZANO DUARTE, Roberto	Costa Rica	1989
MORENO BLANCO, Alberto	Costa Rica	1989
ORTIZ STRADTMANN, Paulina	Costa Rica	1989
SOLIS, Otton	Costa Rica	1989
AGUILAR LABRADA, Roger S.	Cuba	1989
AGUILERA GONZALEZ, Alejandro	Cuba	1989
BEDIA, José	Cuba	1989
BLANCO, Othon	Cuba	1989
BORBONET, Tomás	Cuba	1989
BORGES DELGADO, Pablo	Cuba	1989
BUERGO, Adriano	Cuba	1989
CABRERA HERNANDEZ, Luís	Cuba	1989
CANET, Antonio	Cuba	1989
CARBALLO PEREZ, Oscar	Cuba	1989
CASTRO GARCIA, Umberto	Cuba	1989
CEBALLOS OBAYA, Sandra	Cuba	1989
CONTINO PEREZ, José M.	Cuba	1989
CUE GONZALEZ, Alejandro	Cuba	1989
DIAGO, Roberto	Cuba	1989
DIAZ LEYVA, Mario	Cuba	1989
EIRIZ, Antonia	Cuba	1989
ESSON, Tomás	Cuba	1989
FABELO PEREZ, Roberto	Cuba	1989

FERNANDEZ, Antonio Eligio	Cuba	1989
FORS, José Manuel	Cuba	1989
FRANCO CODINACH, José	Cuba	1989
GALLARDO, Mario	Cuba	1989
GARCIA DIAZ, Osneldo	Cuba	1989
GARCIA PEÑA, Ernesto	Cuba	1989
GARCIA, Victor Manuel	Cuba	1989
GARCIANDIA, Flavio	Cuba	1989
GOMEZ FRESQUET, José	Cuba	1989
GONZALEZ DE ARMAS, Jesús	Cuba	1989
GONZALEZ MORALES, Rolando Paciel	Cuba	1989
GUTIERREZ, Pedro Juan	Cuba	1989
HERNANDEZ VALDES, Manuel	Cuba	1989
JIMENO, Isabel	Cuba	1989
JRISTOVA, Bojidara (Dara)	Cuba	1989
LAM MARIMON, Augusto O.	Cuba	1989
LEAL JIMENEZ, César	Cuba	1989
LOPEZ DIAZ, Minerva	Cuba	1989
MARTINEZ BLANCO, Enrique	Cuba	1989
MENDIVE HOYOS, Manuel	Cuba	1989
MORALES AJUBEL, Alberto	Cuba	1989
MOYA HERNANDEZ, Ramón	Cuba	1989
NOVOA VIAN, Glexis	Cuba	1989
NUEZ ROBAINA, Rene de la	Cuba	1989
NUEZ, Gilberto de la	Cuba	1989
PEÑA, Umberto	Cuba	1989
PEREZ, Martha Maria	Cuba	1989
POSADA, José Luís	Cuba	1989
QUERT ALVAREZ, Pablo	Cuba	1989
QUINTANA, Ciro	Cuba	1989
RAMIREZ ROQUE, Angel	Cuba	1989
RIO, Zaida del	Cuba	1989
ROCA ZALAZAR, Eduardo	Cuba	1989
RODRIGUEZ BREY, Ricardo	Cuba	1989
RODRIGUEZ CARDENAS, Carlos	Cuba	1989
RODRIGUEZ OLAZABAL, Santiago	Cuba	1989
RODRIGUEZ PEREZ, Bienvenido Alberto	Cuba	1989
RONDA RIVERO, Félix Vicente	Cuba	1989
SAAVEDRA GONZALEZ, Lázaro	Cuba	1989
SANCHEZ REQUEIRO, Tomás	Cuba	1989
SIMANCA TIRADO, Osmani	Cuba	1989
SOSABRAVO, Alfredo	Cuba	1989
SOTO ORTIZ, Leandro	Cuba	1989
TAMAYO, Madelin	Cuba	1989
TORRES LLORCA, Rubén	Cuba	1989
TORRES, José Omar	Cuba	1989
URIBAZO GARRIDO, Carlos R.	Cuba	1989
VALDES, Luis Miguel	Cuba	1989
VENT DUMOIS, Lesbia	Cuba	1989
VIDAL, Antonio	Cuba	1989
VILLAR ALEMAN, Carlos Julio (Carlucho)	Cuba	1989
VILLAR, Juan Pablo	Cuba	1989
ZARZA, Rafael	Cuba	1989

BATISTA, Domingo	Dominican Republic	1989
LOPEZ REYES, Martin José	Dominican Republic	1989
PIMENTEL, Thimo	Dominican Republic	1989
SANGIOVANNI, Carlos	Dominican Republic	1989
SOTO DE GUTIERREZ, Jacqueline	Dominican Republic	1989
ALVARADO LOPEZ, Marco Antonio	Ecuador	1989
BENITEZ A., Cecilia	Ecuador	1989
CARRASCO, Victoria	Ecuador	1989
CUESTA CAPUTI, Francisco	Ecuador	1989
GARCIA CAPUTI, Mariela	Ecuador	1989
PROAÑO, Francisco	Ecuador	1989
EL GHEBALI, Hussein	Egypt	1989
EL RAZZAZ, Mostafa	Egypt	1989
FARGALI, Abdel Hafiz	Egypt	1989
FOUAD SELIM, Ahmed	Egypt	1989
MANOSUR, Sabry	Egypt	1989
MOHAMED NADA, Hamed	Egypt	1989
NAWAR, Ahmed	Egypt	1989
REDA ABD SALAM, Mohamed	Egypt	1989
SALAM EID, Abdel	Egypt	1989
SHEHATA, Farouk	Egypt	1989
WAHBA, Ahmed Abdul	Egypt	1989
WAHBA, Farouk	Egypt	1989
WECHAH, Abd-Hadi	Egypt	1989
ROMEO GALDAMEZ, Jesús	El Salvador	1989
IELASHEW, Solomon	Ethiopia	1989
GLOVER, Ablade	Ghana	1989
BERRY, Arakima	Guinea	1989
CAMARA, Mohamed	Guinea	1989
CAMARA, Ousmane	Guinea	1989
DIALLO, Rabiaka	Guinea	1989
GOUMAH, Mamadou:	Guinea	1989
KABA, Kabinet	Guinea	1989
OFORI-DUODU, Seth Asiedu	Guinea	1989
SANKON, Mamadouba	Guinea	1989
SOUMAH, Ansouname	Guinea	1989
SURENA, Monique Athenaise	Guinea	1989
LOCKE, Do	Guyana	1989
ALVARADO JUAREZ, Francisco	Honduras	1989
AHHILLAR, J. K.	India	1989
BHASKARAN, R. B.	India	1989
CHANDRASHEKARA, C.	India	1989
CHOYAL, P. N.	India	1989
CHOYAL, Shail	India	1989
DAS, Sunil	India	1989
DENGLE, Diwakar	India	1989
DHUMAL, Rini (Dasgupta)	India	1989
DUTTA RAY, Shymal	India	1989
KUMAR, Anil	India	1989
MISTRY, C. D.	India	1989
REDDY, Den	India	1989
VIDYA SANKAR STHAPATHY, S. G. Thiry	India	1989

AL ALI, Salah	Iraq	1989
AL-SAID, Shakir Hassan	Iraq	1989
AZZAWI, Dia	Iraq	1989
ABDUL RASOUL, Salam Ibrahim	Kuwait	1989
KHAZAAL, Hameed Ismael	Kuwait	1989
HATOUM, Mona	Lebanon	1989
BADRAN, Samira	Libia	1989
CHOONG, Kam-Kow	Malasia	1989
MAMADOU, Diane	Mali	1989
HAMID, Moulferdi	Martinique	1989
JERAMA, Alain	Martinique	1989
NIVOR BERTIN, Rigobert	Martinique	1989
FRANCOIS, Sergio	Martinique	1989
AGUILAR, José Luis	Mexico	1989
ALFIN, Alberto	Mexico	1989
ALMEIDA, Lourdes	Mexico	1989
ANAYA, Yosi	Mexico	1989
BELKIN, Arnold	Mexico	1989
BOURCART, Karine	Mexico	1989
BRISAC, Tessa	Mexico	1989
CARMONA, Estrella	Mexico	1989
CASTRO LEBERO, José	Mexico	1989
CASTRO LEÑERO, José	Mexico	1989
DIAZ FLORES, Antonio	Mexico	1989
DONDE, Olga	Mexico	1989
ESCOBEDO, Helen	Mexico	1989
ESPINOSA, César	Mexico	1989
FERNANDEZ, Claudia	Mexico	1989
FIGUEROA, María Eugenia	Mexico	1989
FIGUEROA, Tolita	Mexico	1989
FLORES, Aaron	Mexico	1989
GARCIA CAMNIZAREZ, René	Mexico	1989
GERRI, Lejtik	Mexico	1989
GROBET, Lourdes	Mexico	1989
GRUNER, Silvia	Mexico	1989
GUERRERO, Arturo	Mexico	1989
GUTIERREZ, Marcela	Mexico	1989
HASBACH, Patricia	Mexico	1989
HELLION, Martha	Mexico	1989
ICAZA, Silvia	Mexico	1989
ITURBIDE, Graciela	Mexico	1989
JURADO, Carlos	Mexico	1989
KEMCHS, Arturo	Mexico	1989
KRAUZE BROID, Perla	Mexico	1989
L. DE SANTACRUZ, Maria Clara	Mexico	1989
LAM, Magali	Mexico	1989
LARA, Marisa	Mexico	1989
LAVILLE, Joy	Mexico	1989
LEÑERO, Vicente	Mexico	1989
LINARES, Androna	Mexico	1989
LOPEZ CASTRO, R	Mexico	1989
MALDONADO, Efrén	Mexico	1989

MARROQUIN, Rosa Luz	Mexico	1989
MATA ROSAS, Francisco	Mexico	1989
MERCADO, Olinca	Mexico	1989
MONROY, Guillermo	Mexico	1989
MORAN, Teresa	Mexico	1989
MURGIA, Veronica	Mexico	1989
MURRIETA, Rosa Ofelia	Mexico	1989
NARANJO, Rogelio	Mexico	1989
OCHARAN, Leticia	Mexico	1989
PALAU, Martha	Mexico	1989
PATÍÑO, Adolfo	Mexico	1989
PEREZ DIAZ, Enrique	Mexico	1989
RABEL, Fanny	Mexico	1989
RAMIREZ, Noemi	Mexico	1989
RANGEL FAZ, Merio	Mexico	1989
RIPPEY, Carla	Mexico	1989
ROBLES, Rosa María	Mexico	1989
ROJO, Vicente	Mexico	1989
ROVNES, Flora	Mexico	1989
SALAZAR SILVA, Leonor	Mexico	1989
SANDOVAL, Mauricio	Mexico	1989
SUTER, Gerardo	Mexico	1989
TAMAYO, Julia	Mexico	1989
TELLEZ, Othon	Mexico	1989
TEMIN, Josefina	Mexico	1989
TOLEDO, Francisco	Mexico	1989
TREVIÑO CHAVEZ, Milburgo	Mexico	1989
TURNBULL, Roberto	Mexico	1989
BELKAHIA, Farid	Morocco	1989
BOUJAMAOUI, Moustapha	Morocco	1989
KACIMI, Mohamed	Morocco	1989
RABI, Abdelkebir	Morocco	1989
AMBELICOLA, Nkabala	Mozambique	1989
NKATUNGA, Rafael Namangue	Mozambique	1989
TOMAS, Celestino	Mozambique	1989
VALINGUE, Miguel	Mozambique	1989
BELLI, Patricia	Nicaragua	1989
MORALES ALONSO, Luís	Nicaragua	1989
QUINTANILLA, Raúl	Nicaragua	1989
BURAIMOH, Jimoh	Nigeria	1989
FAKEYE, Olabisi	Nigeria	1989
ONOBRAKPEYA, Bruce	Nigeria	1989
OSHIGA, Olajide Ifakite	Nigeria	1989
SEVEN SEVEN, Twins	Nigeria	1989
CHANG, Li	North Korea	1989
CHE ZU, Li	North Korea	1989
CHONG YO, Zong	North Korea	1989
HA TEK, Che	North Korea	1989
IN JUAN, Kim	North Korea	1989
POM JA, Zim	North Korea	1989
SOK IO, Lik	North Korea	1989
YONG CHUN, Juang	North Korea	1989



YONG ZUN, Juang	North Korea	1989
ZONG CHOL, Jam	North Korea	1989
ZONG SAN, Pak	North Korea	1989
HALABY, Samia A.	Palestine	1989
CONTRERAS, Rubén	Panama	1989
MONTILLA, Manuel	Panama	1989
EIELSON, Jorge Eduardo	Peru	1989
MINKA, Grupo	Peru	1989
NN, Taller RUNCIE TANAKA, Carlos	Peru	1989
TOLA, José	Peru	1989
VAINSTEIN, Esther	Peru	1989
BOSE, Santiago	Philippines	1989
FAJARDO, Brenda	Philippines	1989
FELEO, Roberto	Philippines	1989
MALIWAT, Raymon	Philippines	1989
QUIJANO TORRES, Nick	Puerto Rico	1989
ROCHE RABELL, Arnaldo	Puerto Rico	1989
SOBRINO, Carmelo	Puerto Rico	1989
AHMED, Youssef	Qatar	1989
BAH, Chernor	Sierra Leone	1989
HARDING, John	Sierra Leone	1989
YEO CHEW HONG, Thor	Singapore	1989
BUDAZA, Hamilton k.	South Africa	1989
CLARKE, Peter	South Africa	1989
GUMEDE, Smart	South Africa	1989
HLEZA, Austin	South Africa	1989
KOLOANE, David	South Africa	1989
MANDINI, Billy	South Africa	1989
MAUTLOA, Kagiso Patrick	South Africa	1989
MBATHA, Azarina	South Africa	1989
MBATHA, Derrick	South Africa	1989
MOGANO, P. David	South Africa	1989
MSIMANGO, George	South Africa	1989
MUAFANGEJO, John	South Africa	1989
NLENETHWA, Sam	South Africa	1989
RAKGOATHE, Dan	South Africa	1989
SELEPE, Sydney	South Africa	1989
SHILAKOE, Cyprian	South Africa	1989
SHILALI, Durant	South Africa	1989
SIBIYA, Lucky	South Africa	1989
SIHLALI, Durant	South Africa	1989
TANKI	South Africa	1989
ULU, Vuminkosi	South Africa	1989
ZIQUBU, Ephrain	South Africa	1989
BUDDHISIR KEERTHISE, Sinhalege	Sri Lanka	1989
DIAB, Ahmed Rashid	Sudan	1989
ASSANANCHALEE, Kamol	Thailand	1989
HANONNART, Kiattisak	Thailand	1989
CABRAL, Francisco	Trinidad & Tobago	1989
E MAHDAOUI, Nja	Tunes	1989
KHAMSA CHEDLY, Bel	Tunes	1989
ACOSTA BENTOS, Eduardo	Uruguay	1989

AHLIG, Ingrid	Uruguay	1989
AROZTEGUI, Ernesto	Uruguay	1989
BARRAGAN, Rosa	Uruguay	1989
BATTEGAZZORE, Miguel Angel	Uruguay	1989
BERNITT, Silke	Uruguay	1989
BETTOSINI, Maria Mercedes	Uruguay	1989
CARBALLO, Jorge	Uruguay	1989
CASABO, Cristina	Uruguay	1989
CASTELLI, Sonia	Uruguay	1989
DE AGOSTO CASTRO, Jorge	Uruguay	1989
DE PAULA, Raúl	Uruguay	1989
DELFINO, Nilad	Uruguay	1989
DIAMIANI, Jorge	Uruguay	1989
ECHENIQUE, Jorge	Uruguay	1989
GUASCUE, Ana	Uruguay	1989
GUIDALI MANDIROL, Dora	Uruguay	1989
LADRA, Antonio	Uruguay	1989
NAKLE, Gustavo	Uruguay	1989
OGGERO, Beatriz	Uruguay	1989
OLIVERA, Dilma	Uruguay	1989
PADIN, Clemente	Uruguay	1989
PEREIRA MUÑIZ, Juan Eduardo	Uruguay	1989
SANCHEZ VERA, Magali	Uruguay	1989
SANTOS, Osmar	Uruguay	1989
SOTO, Jorge Francisco	Uruguay	1989
UBILLA, Alicia	Uruguay	1989
VEIROI, Marta	Uruguay	1989
VERA, Felicia	Uruguay	1989
ALVARADO, Hernán	Venezuela	1989
ARVELO, Solange	Venezuela	1989
BARON, Luis	Venezuela	1989
BARONI DE CABEZAS, Rafael	Venezuela	1989
BASTIDAS, Lorena	Venezuela	1989
BEJARANO ESCALANTE, Gilberto Ali	Venezuela	1989
BELANDRIA, José	Venezuela	1989
BERMUDEZ, Henry	Venezuela	1989
BONILLA, Chuncho	Venezuela	1989
CASTRO, Carmen	Venezuela	1989
CASTRO, Jacqueline	Venezuela	1989
ELDA LA CRUZ, Mari	Venezuela	1989
ERASO, Gonzalo	Venezuela	1989
FERRAZ, Alberto	Venezuela	1989
GARCIA SOTO, Roseliano	Venezuela	1989
GARCIA, Checarman	Venezuela	1989
HERRERA, Zulay	Venezuela	1989
LEON, Ernesto	Venezuela	1989
LEON, Luis Adrián	Venezuela	1989
LOBATON, José Eugenio	Venezuela	1989
MARQUEZ, José	Venezuela	1989
MATHEUS GONZALEZ, Jesús	Venezuela	1989
MEDINA, Maria Yolanda	Venezuela	1989
MENDEZ, Juan Ali	Venezuela	1989

MOLINA, Francisca	Venezuela	1989
MONTILLA, Agustín	Venezuela	1989
MORENO, José de los Santos	Venezuela	1989
MORENO, Olinto	Venezuela	1989
MORENO, Orangel Antonio	Venezuela	1989
MORENO, Ramon Antonio	Venezuela	1989
MOYA, Antonio	Venezuela	1989
MUNDARAY, Ismael	Venezuela	1989
NUÑEZ MATOS, Isidro	Venezuela	1989
OGAZ, Damaso	Venezuela	1989
PARRA, Edison	Venezuela	1989
PEÑA, José Gregorio	Venezuela	1989
PEREZ, Solita de	Venezuela	1989
QUINTERO, Nerio	Venezuela	1989
RODRIGUEZ, Jesús	Venezuela	1989
RODRIGUEZ, José	Venezuela	1989
ROMERO, Elena	Venezuela	1989
SANCHEZ, Lucio	Venezuela	1989
SERSA ZVAB, Vladimir	Venezuela	1989
TERAN, Nabor	Venezuela	1989
TORRAS, Maria Teresa	Venezuela	1989
ZERZA, Carlos	Venezuela	1989
HUAN, Do	Vietnam	1989
KIM DANG, Hoang	Vietnam	1989
PHAN, Do	Vietnam	1989
TRUC SON, Ly	Vietnam	1989
XUAN HOA, Dang	Vietnam	1989
BENGA, Nzau	Zaire	1989
KALENGA, Kingambi	Zaire	1989
MAYALA, Bayangu	Zaire	1989
MOSENGO, Moke	Zaire	1989
NBIMBA, Samba Wa	Zaire	1989
NDOSIMAU, Nsingi	Zaire	1989
NTOKO, Vuza	Zaire	1989
NTUMBA, Kamanda	Zaire	1989
TAMBA, Ndeme	Zaire	1989
MUKOMBERANGWA, Nicholas	Zimbabwe	1989
Neon	Germany	2006
Sampta Ben, Yahia	Algiers	1986
Dias, Fehat	Algiers	1986
Mohamed, Khadda	Algiers	1986
Ali, Silem	Algiers	1986
Luzolano Dombaxi, Joao De Deus	Angola	1986
Alfonso, Massangui	Angola	1986
Antonio, Ole	Angola	1986
Francisco Domingo, Van-Dunem	Angola	1986
Victor, Teixeira (Vietix)	Angola	1986
Antoro, Octavio	Argentina	1986
Aslan, Nora	Argentina	1986
Bengoechea, Miguel Ange	Argentina	1986
Borio, Mario	Argentina	1986
Brook, Federico	Argentina	1986

Caloi, L. Carlos	Argentina	1986
Cantamesa, Pedro F.	Argentina	1986
Castaña, Blas	Argentina	1986
Corral, Ines	Argentina	1986
Cuello, Felix	Argentina	1986
Cutuli, Gracia	Argentina	1986
Delmonte, Alberto	Argentina	1986
Demarco, Hugo	Argentina	1986
Diestefano, Juan Carlos	Argentina	1986
Echevarrieta, Alfredo	Argentina	1986
Eckell, Ana	Argentina	1986
Fontanarrosa, Roberto	Argentina	1986
Fratlicelli, Onofe Roque	Argentina	1986
Guifree, Hector	Argentina	1986
Gutero, Juan Jose	Argentina	1986
Jabienski, Gabriel	Argentina	1986
Jozami, Daniela	Argentina	1986
Bessouet, Norma	Argentina	1986
Kosice, Gyula	Argentina	1986
Krasnopolski, Guillermo	Argentina	1986
Logomarsino, Hugo	Argentina	1986
Lasser, Juan Carlos	Argentina	1986
Lopez, Marcos	Argentina	1986
Lipa Burd, Ibrahim	Argentina	1986
Machado, Mauro	Argentina	1986
Manarini, Martha	Argentina	1986
Mantegani, Roger	Argentina	1986
Marcon, Maria Cristina	Argentina	1986
Marcos, Alejandro	Argentina	1986
Martinez, Cristina	Argentina	1986
Medici, Eduardo	Argentina	1986
Mlynazewicz, Ariel	Argentina	1986
Monastirsky, Oscar	Argentina	1986
Nigro, Adolfo	Argentina	1986
Orensanz, Marie	Argentina	1986
Pesce, Ernesto	Argentina	1986
Pino, Felipe	Argentina	1986
Pont Verges, Pedro	Argentina	1986
Porter, Liliana	Argentina	1986
Quiroga, Victor Hugo	Argentina	1986
Reynoso, Cristobal	Argentina	1986
Rosas, Roberto	Argentina	1986
Salvatierra, Enrique	Argentina	1986
Santamarina, Alejandro	Argentina	1986
Sapia, Armando	Argentina	1986
Scafati, Luis	Argentina	1986
Smonje, Oscar	Argentina	1986
Schemper, Alicia	Argentina	1986
Sulic, Susana	Argentina	1986
Tejon, Eduardo	Argentina	1986
Tomatis, Sergio	Argentina	1986
Trigos, Silvana	Argentina	1986

Vieytes, Zaira	Argentina	1986
Zabala, Horacio	Argentina	1986
Paternostro, Cesar	Argentina	1986
Ferrari, Leon	Argentina	1986
Garcia Rossi, Horacio	Argentina	1986
Segui, Antonio	Argentina	1986
Tomasello, Luis	Argentina	1986
Demirjian, Jorge	Argentina	1986
Grant, Matilde	Argentina	1986
Lavado, Juaquin (Quino)	Argentina	1986
Gucemas, Nelson	Argentina	1986
Duran Benet, Joan	Belice	1986
Alza Alvarez, Benedicto	Bolivia	1986
Angeles Lopez, David	Bolivia	1986
Argedas Villanueva, Magda	Bolivia	1986
Fabri Crespo, Maria de los Angeles	Bolivia	1986
Fernandez Paton, Javier	Bolivia	1986
Pata, Alfredo de la	Bolivia	1986
Lara Torres, Gustavo	Bolivia	1986
Madeiras Anaya, Gustavo	Bolivia	1986
Medizabal Pelaez, Jimmy	Bolivia	1986
Pedraza Rivero, Herminio	Bolivia	1986
Rojas Lara, Hugo	Bolivia	1986
Secretan de Carrazo, Francine	Bolivia	1986
Torres Pabon, Maria	Bolivia	1986
Ugalde Castro, Gaston	Bolivia	1986
Valdez Fuentes, Carlos	Bolivia	1986
Villazon Vega, Carmen	Bolivia	1986
Alvez, Maria Teresa	Brazil	1986
Andrade, Alecio	Brazil	1986
Beer, Maria Luisa	Brazil	1986
Calasans Neto, Jose Julio	Brazil	1986
Camara Filho, Joao	Brazil	1986
Carpanezzi, Cezira	Brazil	1986
Carrion de Brito, Carlos	Brazil	1986
Carvalho, Josely	Brazil	1986
Souza, Iganacio de	Brazil	1986
Cravo Neto, Mario	Brazil	1986
Esmeraldo, Servulo	Brazil	1986
Facaha Faria,s, Luis	Brazil	1986
Firno, Walter	Brazil	1986
Flemming, Alex	Brazil	1986
Franco, Siron	Brazil	1986
Golman-Belz, Sara	Brazil	1986
Gomes Garces, Paulo	Brazil	1986
Grimspon, Esther	Brazil	1986
Grostein, Marcia	Brazil	1986
Guto Lacaz, Mario	Brazil	1986
Ianelli, Thomaz	Brazil	1986
Coutinho, Laerte	Brazil	1986
Maritins, Aldemir	Brazil	1986
Nemar, Jose A	Brazil	1986

Ostrower, Fayga	Brazil	1986
Penteado, Darcy	Brazil	1986
Pinhero, Oscar	Brazil	1986
Quadros, Ana Letycia	Brazil	1986
Rodrigues, Inacio	Brazil	1986
Rossi, Joao	Brazil	1986
Salvador, Gilberto	Brazil	1986
Scliar, Carlos	Brazil	1986
Senise Portella, Daniel	Brazil	1986
Tozzi, Claudio	Brazil	1986
Vallauri, Alex	Brazil	1986
Campos Vasconcellos, Cassio	Brazil	1986
Zaragoza, Jose	Brazil	1986
Katz, Renina	Brazil	1986
Ohtake, Tomie	Brazil	1986
Oliveira, Branca de	Brazil	1986
Pinto de Moraes, Glauco	Brazil	1986
Piza, Arthur Luiz	Brazil	1986
Araujo, Octavio	Brazil	1986
Bonomi, Maria	Brazil	1986
Mascaro, Cristiano	Brazil	1986
Meireles, Cildo	Brazil	1986
Quedraogo, Brinqui Julien	Burkina Fazo	1986
Sawadogo, Raya	Burkina Fazo	1986
Kenfak, Pascal	Camerun	1986
Sayou, Samuel	Camerun	1986
Israel, Patricia	Chile	1986
Kleiner Haas, Lea	Chile	1986
Mariaca Cardozo, Maria	Chile	1986
Maturana Piña, Carlos	Chile	1986
Medina Guzman, Claudio	Chile	1986
Murua, Mario	Chile	1986
Ortizpozo, Anibal	Chile	1986
Parra, Catalina	Chile	1986
Peña Muñoz, Osvaldo	Chile	1986
Dominguez, Irene	Chile	1986
Salvatierra, Luis	Chile	1986
Sepulveda Rosales, Pedro Miguel	Chile	1986
Soza Bustos, Sergio	Chile	1986
Vicuña, Cecilia	Chile	1986
Armas, Ximena	Chile	1986
Balmer Barrios, Concepcion	Chile	1986
Benmayor, Samy	Chile	1986
Berroeta, Eduardo	Chile	1986
Downey, Juan	Chile	1986
Errazuriz, Paz	Chile	1986
Ferreiro, L	Chile	1986
Figeroa L., Patricia	Chile	1986
Garreauld Spencer, Eduardo	Chile	1986
Harmecker Cerda, Ines	Chile	1986
Irrazabal, Mario	Chile	1986
Alcantara, Pedro	Colombia	1986

Astudillo, Ever	Colombia	1986
Azout, Lidia	Colombia	1986
Barrera, Antonio	Colombia	1986
Barrios, Alvaro	Colombia	1986
Bernal, Adolfo	Colombia	1986
Caicedo, Carlos	Colombia	1986
Cajellas V., Rodrigo	Colombia	1986
Castles, John	Colombia	1986
Echeverri, Rafael	Colombia	1986
Garcia Botero, Maria Elena	Colombia	1986
Gomez, Consuelo	Colombia	1986
Gonzalez Ceron, Oscar	Colombia	1986
Hernandez, Claudia	Colombia	1986
Hoyos, Ana Mercedes	Colombia	1986
Hoyos, Carlos Enrique	Colombia	1986
Jaramillo, Lorenzo	Colombia	1986
Lis Galindo, Maria Fernanda	Colombia	1986
Loochkart, Angel	Colombia	1986
Munera B., Jorge Mario	Colombia	1986
Mayer, Becky	Colombia	1986
Ortiz, Jorge	Colombia	1986
Ospina, Vicky	Colombia	1986
Panizza, Ricardo Rafael	Colombia	1986
Paz, Luis	Colombia	1986
Restrepo, Raul Fernando	Colombia	1986
Roda, Juan Antonio	Colombia	1986
Rojas O., Miguel A	Colombia	1986
Rueda, Ana Maria	Colombia	1986
Sanin, Fanny	Colombia	1986
Uribe Duque, Alberto	Colombia	1986
Valbuena, Alberto	Colombia	1986
Velasquez, Camilo	Colombia	1986
Velez, Martha Elena	Colombia	1986
Vellojin, Manolo	Colombia	1986
Vieco, Maria Teresa	Colombia	1986
Villegas, Nelson	Colombia	1986
Zalamea Traba, Gustavo	Colombia	1986
Zapata, Hugo	Colombia	1986
Franco, Fernell	Colombia	1986
Rayo, Omar	Colombia	1986
Rojas, Carlos	Colombia	1986
Cogollo, Heriberto	Colombia	1986
Gomez, Maria Clara	Colombia	1986
Gongora, Leonel	Colombia	1986
Obregon, Alejandro	Colombia	1986
Mokoko, Emile	Congo	1986
Mouanga Nkodia, Bernard	Congo	1986
Quassa, Philippe	Congo	1986
Arrieta Salazar, Pedro	Costa Rica	1986
Braci Ramelli, Alvaro	Costa Rica	1986
Carballo Jimenez, Fernando	Costa Rica	1986
Castro, Fernando	Costa Rica	1986

Espinoza Morales, Rudy	Costa Rica	1986
Faba, Rolando	Costa Rica	1986
Herrera Martinez, Fabio	Costa Rica	1986
Moreno Blanco, Alfredo	Costa Rica	1986
Prado Vargas, Mariano	Costa Rica	1986
Siliezar Solano, Adolfo	Costa Rica	1986
Rojas Gonzalez, Miguel	Costa Rica	1986
Solis Quiroz, Rafael	Costa Rica	1986
Torrijano Chacon, Eduardo	Costa Rica	1986
Acosta, Gustavo	Cuba	1986
Alfaro, Angel	Cuba	1986
Ajubel, Alberto	Cuba	1986
Bedia, Jose	Cuba	1986
Benitez, Adigio	Cuba	1986
Carballo Perez, Oscar	Cuba	1986
Villar Aleman, Carlos	Cuba	1986
Castañeda, Consuelo	Cuba	1986
Castro, Humberto	Cuba	1986
Contino, Jose	Cuba	1986
Cuenca, Arturo	Cuba	1986
Muños Bach, Eduardo	Cuba	1986
Mendive, Manuel	Cuba	1986
Garcia Joya, Mario	Cuba	1986
Haya, Maria Eugenia	Cuba	1986
Lopez Dias, Minerva	Cuba	1986
Lara Franquis, Tomas	Cuba	1986
Llerendoso, Joel Jovert	Cuba	1986
Jay Matamoros, Ruperto	Cuba	1986
Martinez Grandal, Ramon	Cuba	1986
Diaz Pelaez, Jose Antonio	Cuba	1986
Hernandez Valdez, Manuel	Cuba	1986
Nuez, Gilberto de la	Cuba	1986
Gonzalez Delgado, Jose Ramon	Cuba	1986
Garciandia, Flavio	Cuba	1986
Garcia Diaz, Osneldo	Cuba	1986
Frometa, Gilberto	Cuba	1986
Perez, Jorge	Cuba	1986
Franco Codinach, Jose Miguel	Cuba	1986
Willar Aleman, Juan Pablo	Cuba	1986
Fors, Jose Manuel	Cuba	1986
Fong Garcia, Flora	Cuba	1986
Elso Padilla, Juan Francisco	Cuba	1986
Dominguez Cedeño, Nelson	Cuba	1986
Gonzalez, Carlos	Cuba	1986
Posada Medio, Jose Luis	Cuba	1986
Proenza Almaguer, Cosme	Cuba	1986
Quert Alvarez, Pablo	Cuba	1986
Rafat, Jose	Cuba	1986
Ramirez Roque, Angel M	Cuba	1986
Tamayo Zamora, Israel	Cuba	1986
Rio Castro, Zaida del	Cuba	1986
Oses, Pedro	Cuba	1986



Rodriguez Brey, Ricardo	Cuba	1986
Romero Cardona, Rigoberto	Cuba	1986
Sanchez, Tomas	Cuba	1986
Sosabravo, Alfredo	Cuba	1986
Gonzalez Alvarez, Jose	Cuba	1986
Nuez Robaina, Rene de la	Cuba	1986
Villa Soberon, Jose	Cuba	1986
Soto Ortiz, Leandro	Cuba	1986
Torres Lorca, Ruben	Cuba	1986
Valdez B., Julia	Cuba	1986
Fernandez, Antonio Eligio (Tonel)	Cuba	1986
Norniela Angel	Cuba	1986
Darie Llaver, Sandu	Cuba	1986
Fabelo, Roberto	Cuba	1986
Girona, Julio	Cuba	1986
Gonzalez Puig, Ernesto	Cuba	1986
Longa, Rita	Cuba	1986
Lopez Marin, Rogelio	Cuba	1986
Martinez, Raul	Cuba	1986
Martinez, Pedro Luis	Cuba	1986
Rodriguez, Mariano	Cuba	1986
Cañas Boix, Ivan	Cuba	1986
Corral Varella, Raul	Cuba	1986
Gomez Fesquet, Jose	Cuba	1986
Garcia, Manuel	Cuba	1986
Bass, Alberto	Dominican Republic	1986
Diaz, Polibio	Dominican Republic	1986
Lora, Silvano	Dominican Republic	1986
Oviedo, Ramon	Dominican Republic	1986
Constante Parra, Theo	Ecuador	1986
Montesinos Vial, Ricardo	Ecuador	1986
Luziriaga, Camilo	Ecuador	1986
Aguirre, Marcelo	Ecuador	1986
Jacome D., Ramiro	Ecuador	1986
Solis Guerrero, Mario	Ecuador	1986
Iza-Silva, Washington	Ecuador	1986
Guitierrez Moscoso, Judit	Ecuador	1986
Gilbert de Blomberg, Araceli	Ecuador	1986
Galecio Tarnto, Galo	Ecuador	1986
Florez M., Pilar	Ecuador	1986
Endara Crow, Gonzalo	Ecuador	1986
Bustos, Pilar	Ecuador	1986
Bueno, Mauricio	Ecuador	1986
Tabara, Enrique	Ecuador	1986
Abdel Moitie, Mustafa	Egypt	1986
El-Sotoi, Ahmed	Egypt	1986
Taja El-Shimy, Awadallah	Egypt	1986
El-Sheikh, Maamoun	Egypt	1986
Azmy, Ahmed	Egypt	1986
Abdel Aty, Mahamoud	Egypt	1986
El Nashar, Abdel-Rahman	Egypt	1986
Athanasios, Sabry Nashed	Egypt	1986

Abdalah, Ismail	Egypt	1986
Hazen Fathallah, Mohammed	Egypt	1986
Mokthar Ahmed, Abdel Kader	Egypt	1986
Salaam, Reda Abdel	Egypt	1986
Romeo Galdamez, Jesus	El Salvador	1986
Huezo, Roberto	El Salvador	1986
Minero, Camilo	El Salvador	1986
Quintanilla, Rene	El Salvador	1986
Reyes, Julio	El Salvador	1986
Caña, Carlos	El Salvador	1986
Yetmgeta, Zerihum	Ethiopia	1986
Goshu, Worku	Ethiopia	1986
Henrich, Annemarie	Germany	1986
Anky-Golloh, Emmanuel	Ghana	1986
Acquaye, Saka	Ghana	1986
Glover, Ablade	Ghana	1986
Kofi-Broni, Kingsley	Ghana	1986
Ofosu- Appeah, Franklin	Ghana	1986
Bartimeus, Albert Osabu	Ghana	1986
Gane, Romain	Guadalupe	1986
Apolinaire Salevor, Alain	Guadalupe	1986
Abularach, Rodolfo	Guatemala	1986
Barrios Carrillo, Estuardo	Guatemala	1986
Cabrera, Roberto	Guatemala	1986
Izquierdo, Cesar	Guatemala	1986
Greaves, Stanley	Guyana	1986
Thompson, Angold	Guyana	1986
Etzer, Charles	Haiti	1986
Alvarado Juarez, Francisco	Honduras	1986
Chowdhury, Jogen	India	1986
Das, Jatiln	India	1986
Das Gupta, Dharmanarayan	India	1986
Giri, G.Y.	India	1986
Kambli, H.R	India	1986
Katt, Latinka	India	1986
Kraul, Brushan	India	1986
Kumar, Vinnet	India	1986
Kumar Das, Swapan	India	1986
Malani, Nalini	India	1986
Mukherjee, Mrinalini	India	1986
Parekh, Manu	India	1986
Patwardhan, Sidhir	India	1986
Prasanna, Shuva	India	1986
Shaw, Lalu Prosad	India	1986
Puri, M. K	India	1986
Rabadia, Jayanti	India	1986
Rai, Narendra	India	1986
Ramachandran, A	India	1986
Patel, Vinod Ray	India	1986
Rowittiya, Rekha	India	1986
Chowdhury, Sarbari Roy	India	1986
Shinde, Deepak	India	1986

Sinh, Arpita	India	1986
Soni, Sutaider,	India	1986
Sud, Anupam	India	1986
Sudarm, Vivan	India	1986
Swaroop, Jyoti	India	1986
Tiwari, Vasundhara	India	1986
Vasude, S.G	India	1986
Batla, Ramesh Vedhan	India	1986
Khakkar, Bhupen	India	1986
Bawa, Manjit	India	1986
Broota, Rameshwar	India	1986
Caur, Arpana	India	1986
Harakiyohadi, Eddie	Indonesia	1986
Khorsad, Marzieh	Iran	1986
Samadia, Sifollah	Iran	1986
Shahoroodi, Afshin	Iran	1986
Ziaire, Aligholi	Iran	1986
Al-Albidi, Amir	Iran	1986
Hamouddid, Jamail	Iran	1986
Zangana, Haifa	Iraq	1986
Cookhorne, Robert	Jamaica	1986
Boxer, David	Jamaica	1986
Brown, Everal	Jamaica	1986
Geoge, Milton	Jamaica	1986
Jonhson, Estrianna	Jamaica	1986
Watson, Osmond	Jamaica	1986
Abdul Reda, Ahmad	Kuwait	1986
Abdulla Amin, Nisreen	Kuwait	1986
Al-Qattan, Khalifa	Kuwait	1986
Al-Shaikh Akeel, Mohamad	Kuwait	1986
Al-radwan, Mahmeed	Kuwait	1986
Aziz Arty, Abdul	Kuwait	1986
Hussain Baqer, Abdul Reda	Kuwait	1986
Chazzal, Hameed	Kuwait	1986
Musaid Al-Behariri, Mohammad	Kuwait	1986
Qamber Qassin, Mohammad	Kuwait	1986
Yassin, Kaseem	Kuwait	1986
Charara, Adrian	Lebanon	1986
Kamai, Hazan	Lebanon	1986
Zaituni, Mufid	Lebanon	1986
Unithan, Dolly	Malasia	1986
Diabate, Ismalia	Mali	1986
Konate, Abdoulaye	Mali	1986
Moutakari Haidara, Mahomed	Mali	1986
Nene Thiam, Dagnoko	Mali	1986
Anicet, Victor	Martinique	1986
Breleur, Ernest	Martinique	1986
Guedon, Henri	Martinique	1986
Charles-Eduard, Francois	Martinique	1986
Nivor, Bertain	Martinique	1986
Anzures Torres, Javier	Mexico	1986
Barba, Faustino	Mexico	1986

Bostelmann, Enrique	Mexico	1986
Castro L., Alberto	Mexico	1986
Casto L., Jose	Mexico	1986
Doniz Lechon, Rafael	Mexico	1986
Escobedo, Elen	Mexico	1986
Flores, Helio	Mexico	1986
Garcia, Hector	Mexico	1986
Garcia, Fernando	Mexico	1986
Gironella, Alberto	Mexico	1986
Grobet, Lourdes	Mexico	1986
Guardado, Ismael	Mexico	1986
Hendriz, Jan	Mexico	1986
Hernandez Martinez, Sergio	Mexico	1986
Herrera, Raul	Mexico	1986
Iturbe, Mercedes	Mexico	1986
Iturbe, Graciela	Mexico	1986
Kaminer, Saul	Mexico	1986
Macotella, Gabriel	Mexico	1986
Marroquin, Rosa	Mexico	1986
Morales, Rowena	Mexico	1986
Naranjo U., Humberto	Mexico	1986
Naranjo U., Rogelio	Mexico	1986
Neyra Torres, Jose Luis	Mexico	1986
Palau, Martha	Mexico	1986
Ramirez, Nohemi	Mexico	1986
Rio Garcia, Eduardo del	Mexico	1986
Rocha Palacios, Ricardo	Mexico	1986
Carbajar, Enrique	Mexico	1986
Soriano, Juan	Mexico	1986
Toledo, Francisco	Mexico	1986
Valdez, Remigio	Mexico	1986
Velasquez, Hugo	Mexico	1986
Vanegas Perez, German	Mexico	1986
Von Gutten, Roger	Mexico	1986
Zalce, Alfredo	Mexico	1986
Belkin, Arnold	Mexico	1986
Felguerez, Manuel	Mexico	1986
Flores Olea, Victor	Mexico	1986
Meyer, Pedro	Mexico	1986
Orlando, Felipe	Mexico	1986
Rojo, Vicente	Mexico	1986
Silva, Federico	Mexico	1986
Urueta, Cordelia	Mexico	1986
Patiño, Adolfo	Mexico	1986
Chaibia, Tallal	Morroco	1986
Chichorro, Robert	Mozambique	1986
Chissano, Alberto	Mozambique	1986
Lopes, Bertina	Mozambique	1986
Bateta Gonzalez, Pablo	Nicaragua	1986
castllon, Rafael	Nicaragua	1986
Cerrato, Boaneges	Nicaragua	1986
Gallo, Maria	Nicaragua	1986

Guillen Rodriguez, Arnoldo	Nicaragua	1986
Montenegro Altamirano, Carlos	Nicaragua	1986
Medina, Efre	Nicaragua	1986
Moore, George	Nicaragua	1986
Moreira, Gonzalo	Nicaragua	1986
Nuñez, Denis	Nicaragua	1986
Rodriguez M, Oscar	Nicaragua	1986
Rojas Martinez, Cecilia	Nicaragua	1986
Saenz, Leoncio	Nicaragua	1986
Saravia, Fernando	Nicaragua	1986
Sobalvarro, Orlando	Nicaragua	1986
Urbina Rivas, Luis	Nicaragua	1986
Vanegas Rosales, Leonel	Nicaragua	1986
Rivas Alfaro, Juan	Nicaragua	1986
Aguilar Ponce, Luis	Panama	1986
Arias, Susana	Panama	1986
Arias Peña, Estanislao	Panama	1986
Augustine, Aduardo	Panama	1986
Brooke, Alfaro	Panama	1986
Obaldia, Isabel de	Panama	1986
Grimonet Bertrand, Andre	Panama	1986
Icaza Hansen, Teresa	Panama	1986
Jaime de Greitas, Ricardo	Panama	1986
Rodriguez, Justino	Panama	1986
Rodriguez Porcelli, Raul	Panama	1986
Toral, Tabo	Panama	1986
Trujillo, Guillermo	Panama	1986
Acevedo Fernandez, Juan	Peru	1986
Amigo, Alina	Peru	1986
Dominguez Hernandez, Carlos	Peru	1986
Fantozzi, Roberto	Peru	1986
Guzman, Alberto	Peru	1986
Hamann, Johanna	Peru	1986
Laske Rosa, Siegfried	Peru	1986
Lee, Leslie	Peru	1986
Lopez Merino, Patricia	Peru	1986
Llona, Ramiro	Peru	1986
Montenegro, Carlos Alfredo	Peru	1986
Chavez-Fernandez	Peru	1986
Oliva, Felix	Peru	1986
Pastorelli, Juan	Peru	1986
Quintanilla, Alberto	Peru	1986
Shinky, Venancio	Peru	1986
Tola, Jose	Peru	1986
Tovar Semanez, Carlos	Peru	1986
Velarde de la Piedra, Salvador	Peru	1986
Vertiz, Martha	Peru	1986
Vidal Henderson, Mariel	Peru	1986
Braun, Herman	Peru	1986
Gorospe Villanueva, Ben Hur	Philipines	1986
Blanco, Jose	Philipines	1986
Baldemor, Manuel	Philipines	1986

Caratig, Norberto	Philipines	1986
Delacruz, Fil P.	Philipines	1986
Drilon, Rock	Philipines	1986
Baens Santos, Pablo	Philipines	1986
Joya, Jose	Philipines	1986
Abad, Pacita	Philipines	1986
Maestro, Lani	Philipines	1986
Ordenario Garcia, Danilo	Philipines	1986
Paz Contreras, Reynato	Philipines	1986
Reyes Miranda, Nemesio	Philipines	1986
Veneracion y Santos, Roy	Philipines	1986
Baldemor, Wilfredo	Philipines	1986
Aboy, Ramon	Puerto Rico	1986
Alfonso, Luis	Puerto Rico	1986
Baez, Myrna	Puerto Rico	1986
Betancout, John	Puerto Rico	1986
Blanco, Sylvia	Puerto Rico	1986
Cabrera, Yvette	Puerto Rico	1986
Collazo, Carlos	Puerto Rico	1986
Colo, Papo	Puerto Rico	1986
Cordero-Mercado, Felix	Puerto Rico	1986
Dimas, Marcos	Puerto Rico	1986
Espinoza, Susana	Puerto Rico	1986
Fantanez, Carmelo	Puerto Rico	1986
Gaztambide Geigel, Jose	Puerto Rico	1986
Gotay, Consuelo	Puerto Rico	1986
Gutierrez, Marina	Puerto Rico	1986
Herrero, Susana	Puerto Rico	1986
Irizarry, Marcos	Puerto Rico	1986
Maldonado Reyes, Wilma	Puerto Rico	1986
Marcial Lopez, Carlos	Puerto Rico	1986
Martorell, Antonio	Puerto Rico	1986
Medin, Frieda	Puerto Rico	1986
Mendez C., Hector	Puerto Rico	1986
Mestey, Oscar	Puerto Rico	1986
Morgado, Victor	Puerto Rico	1986
Navia, Antonio	Puerto Rico	1986
Ordoñez, Maria Antonia	Puerto Rico	1986
Perez, Martha	Puerto Rico	1986
Quijano, Nick	Puerto Rico	1986
Rivera, Rafael	Puerto Rico	1986
Roche, Arnaldo	Puerto Rico	1986
Rodriguez, Cecila	Puerto Rico	1986
Romano, Jaime	Puerto Rico	1986
Sastre, Melquiades	Puerto Rico	1986
Tamborin, Nelson	Puerto Rico	1986
Sanchez, Juan	Puerto Rico	1986
Suarez, Jaime	Puerto Rico	1986
Ballester, Diogenes	Puerto Rico	1986
N'Dan, Genevieve	Senegal	1986
N'Doye, Assne	Senegal	1986
Brioche, Julien	Seychelles	1986

Luc, Marc Leonard	Seychelles	1986
Peter, Pierre-Louis	Seychelles	1986
Leon Lois, Wilma	Seychelles	1986
Woodcok, Andre	Seychelles	1986
Al-Bacha, Assam	Siria	1986
Maudaress, Gateh	Siria	1986
Nabaa, Nazir	Siria	1986
Khaled, Ali Salim	Siria	1986
Zayat, Elias	Siria	1986
Fuente, Manuel de la	Spain	1986
Dharmasri, Albert	Sri Lanka	1986
Satath, Sella	Sri Lanka	1986
Winstan Suludagoda, L.W.	Sri Lanka	1986
Nour, Amir	Sudan	1986
Mesrine, Do	Togo	1986
Ainsworth Harris, Carlisle	Trinidad & Tobago	1986
Chen, Willi	Trinidad & Tobago	1986
Iton, Morris Michael	Trinidad & Tobago	1986
Ben Saad, Hammadi	Tunes	1986
Vida, Habib	Tunes	1986
El Mahjoub, Jabeur	Tunes	1986
Hjeri, Ahmed	Tunes	1986
Karray, Raouf	Tunes	1986
Khechine, Abderrazak	Tunes	1986
Labbane, Heidi	Tunes	1986
Jean-Loup, Ange	Tunes	1986
Turki, Heidi	Tunes	1986
Barea, Calos Alfonso	Uruguay	1986
Gejar Traibel, Alfonso	Uruguay	1986
Cabrera, German	Uruguay	1986
Caffera Baru, Carlos	Uruguay	1986
Cardillo, Rimer	Uruguay	1986
Duarte, Elvira	Uruguay	1986
Mines, Diana	Uruguay	1986
Novoa, Leopoldo	Uruguay	1986
Romero, Nelbia	Uruguay	1986
Romeron, Nelson	Uruguay	1986
Sagradini, Mario	Uruguay	1986
Salcosvky Luciani, Ana	Uruguay	1986
Sartore Fraga, Hugo	Uruguay	1986
Seveso Freire, Carlos	Uruguay	1986
Arden Quin, Carmelo	Uruguay	1986
Camnitzer, Luis	Uruguay	1986
Franconi, Antonio	Uruguay	1986
Armas, Enrico	Venezuela	1986
Armas Barrios, Baltazar	Venezuela	1986
Arvelaiz, Maria	Venezuela	1986
Arria, Cristina	Venezuela	1986
Baez, Pedro	Venezuela	1986
Barreto, Pedro	Venezuela	1986
Brito, Luis	Venezuela	1986
Carraquel, Jose Arcadio	enezuela	1986

Carrillo Gil, Francisco	Venezuela	1986
Cepeda, Ender	Venezuela	1986
Cisneros, Frank	Venezuela	1986
Colmenarez, Asdrubal	Venezuela	1986
Contreras, Romulo	Venezuela	1986
Este, Gaudi	Venezuela	1986
Fonseca, Edgar	Venezuela	1986
Gabaldon, Teresa	Venezuela	1986
George, Felix	Venezuela	1986
Gomez, Diego	Venezuela	1986
Guerrero, Jose Luis	Venezuela	1986
Hernandez, Enrique	Venezuela	1986
Herrera, Felipe	Venezuela	1986
Huerta, Saul	Venezuela	1986
Hung, Francisco	Venezuela	1986
Jonis Isaac, Pedro	Venezuela	1986
Mendez, Cosuelo	Venezuela	1986
Lobo Sosa, Emiro	Venezuela	1986
Morales, Elsa	Venezuela	1986
Morales, Jose Martin	Venezuela	1986
Moya, Antonio	Venezuela	1986
Nuñez, Isidro	Venezuela	1986
Pachecho Rivas, Isidro	Venezuela	1986
Paez, Jose Miguel	Venezuela	1986
Palacios, Dulce	Venezuela	1986
Pantin, Ana	Venezuela	1986
Parada, Belen	Venezuela	1986
Peña, Rolando	Venezuela	1986
Pujol, Adrian	Venezuela	1986
Salas, Jorge	Venezuela	1986
Sanchez de Leal, Beatriz	Venezuela	1986
Sarmiento, Diego	Venezuela	1986
Silvestro, Domenico	Venezuela	1986
Szinetar, Vasco	Venezuela	1986
Tagliafico, Pedro	Venezuela	1986
Teran, Pedro	Venezuela	1986
Torras, Maria Teresa	Venezuela	1986
Yanes, Oswaldo	Venezuela	1986
Hackshaw y Gonzalez, Jeniffer & Maria Luisa	Venezuela	1986
Nam, Yeni	Venezuela	1986
Zerep, Jorge	Venezuela	1986
Zepa, Carlos	Venezuela	1986
Cruz Diez, Carlos	Venezuela	1986
Otero, Alejandro	Venezuela	1986
Palacios, Alirio	Venezuela	1986
M'Puanga Liyolo, Limbe	Zaire	1986
Tayali, Henry	Zambia	1986
Lieros, H	Zimbabwe	1986
Muli, J	Zimbabwe	1986
Nkomo, T	Zimbabwe	1986
Manyka, D	Zimbabwe	1986
Munyaradzi, H	Zimbabwe	1986



Thompson, H	Zimbabwe	1986
Mukarobgwa	Zimbabwe	1986
Mushambi, L	Zimbabwe	1986
AMOROSO BOELCKE, Nicolas Alberto	Argentina	1984
ARA MONTI, Carlos	Argentina	1984
ARTETA, Melita	Argentina	1984
BARBOZA, Justo D.	Argentina	1984
BEER, Maria Luisa	Argentina	1984
BERTANI, Ernesto	Argentina	1984
BETETA GONZALEZ, Pablo	Argentina	1984
BIELINSKI, Claudia	Argentina	1984
BOBBIO, Pablo	Argentina	1984
CAILLET, Danielle	Argentina	1984
CANEVARO, Walter	Argentina	1984
CANOVAS, Fernando	Argentina	1984
CARMONA, Carlos Alberto	Argentina	1984
CARPANI, Ricardo R	Argentina	1984
CATTOLICA, Hector	Argentina	1984
COLOMBRES, Ignacio	Argentina	1984
CROVO, Hilda Esther	Argentina	1984
D'ARIENZO, Miguel Alfredo	Argentina	1984
DAVIDOVICH, Jaime	Argentina	1984
DEBAIROSOURA, Luis	Argentina	1984
DOBARRO, Nora	Argentina	1984
DOFFO, Juan	Argentina	1984
DOMINGUEZ SALAZAR, Luia	Argentina	1984
DOWNEY, Juan	Argentina	1984
DRUCAROFF, Hugo	Argentina	1984
DUBO'S, Pauline	Argentina	1984
ECKELL, Ana	Argentina	1984
ESTEBAN, Pascual Carlos	Argentina	1984
FERRARI, Leon	Argentina	1984
FRASCONI, Antonio	Argentina	1984
GARCIA ROSSI, Horacio	Argentina	1984
GIUSIANO, Eduardo	Argentina	1984
GONZALEZ VEGA, Sergio	Argentina	1984
GORRIARENA, Carlos Horacio	Argentina	1984
GRINBERG, Mario	Argentina	1984
HOCHBAUN, Nora	Argentina	1984
HOLZER, Arturo	Argentina	1984
JONOUIERES, Eduardo	Argentina	1984
LANGONE, Carlos	Argentina	1984
LANTERO, Charles	Argentina	1984
LUDUENA, Jorge Mario	Argentina	1984
MANARINI, Martha	Argentina	1984
MARCIAL LOPEZ, Carlos Alberto	Argentina	1984
MARCHISIO MEDINA, Gabriel	Argentina	1984
MARTINEZ, Cristina	Argentina	1984
MARTINEZ VvelS, Anabel	Argentina	1984
MENDEZ GUERRERO, Manuel	Argentina	1984
NOE, Luis Felipe	Argentina	1984
OBELAR, Pablo	Argentina	1984

OJEDA, Julio	Argentina	1984
PAEZ, Roberto	Argentina	1984
PAGES PFEIFFER, Beatriz	Argentina	1984
PATERNOSTO, Cesar	Argentina	1984
PAZ, Julio Guillsrmo	Argentina	1984
PEREIRA, Carlos Hugo	Argentina	1984
PLANK, Alfredo	Argentina	1984
PONCE, Raiil Antonio	Argentina	1984
PORTER, Liliana	Argentina	1984
POUSA, Maria	Argentina	1984
RAFFO, Susana	Argentina	1984
RE, Carlos Alberto	Argentina	1984
REY, Flora	Argentina	1984
RIVEIRO, Ernesto	Argentina	1984
RUIZ, Francisco	Argentina	1984
SANTA MARIA, Marino	Argentina	1984
SAUL, Victor	Argentina	1984
SAUNIER, Hector	Argentina	1984
SCHNEIDER, Maria (Maria Elisa Maggtora de Schneidar)	Argentina	1984
SCHWARTZ, Marcia	Argentina	1984
SESSANO, Carlos	Argentina	1984
SICARDI, Cristina	Argentina	1984
SIMPSON, Mario	Argentina	1984
SOBISCH, Enrique	Argentina	1984
STROCEN, Stefan	Argentina	1984
SUTER, Gerardo	Argentina	1984
SZMULEWICZ, Pablo	Argentina	1984
TOMASELLO, Luis	Argentina	1984
TORRES, Jorge Oscar	Argentina	1984
VAÑARSKY, Jack	Argentina	1984
VEGA, Ines	Argentina	1984
WALTER, Ines María	Argentina	1984
TOMASELLI CIRNE LIMA, Marta	Austria	1984
ADRIAZOLA GUILLEN, Carlos	Bolivia	1984
ANGLES LOPEZ, David	Bolivia	1984
AQUIM DE SANTALLA, Rosario	Bolivia	1984
ARANDIA QUIROGA, Edgar	Bolivia	1984
ARNAL, Enrique	Bolivia	1984
ARUQUIPA CHAMBI, Max	Bolivia	1984
AVILA, Julio Efrain	Bolivia	1984
BARRAGAN ROCHA, J. Dan	Bolivia	1984
BAYRO CORROCHANO, Mauricio	Bolivia	1984
BELTRAN, Norha	Bolivia	1984
CARDOSO SUBIETA, Aldo	Bolivia	1984
FERNANDEZ FERNANDEZ, Carlos	Bolivia	1984
JORDAN CORDOVA, Cesar	Bolivia	1984
MAMANI, Juan	Bolivia	1984
MEDINA .MENDIETA, Alberto	Bolivia	1984
MORALES BARRERA, Diego	Bolivia	1984
OBLITAS MONROY, Angel	Bolivia	1984
ORTUNO, Efrain	Bolivia	1984
OSTRIA, Jose	Bolivia	1984

PENALOZA ROCHA, Silvia	Bolivia	1984
PEREZ ALCALA, Ricardo	Bolivia	1984
PORTUGAL, Pedro	Bolivia	1984
ROJAS ARISPE, Vladimir	Bolivia	1984
ROJAS LARA, Hugo	Bolivia	1984
ROMERO GONZALEZ, Walter Solon	Bolivia	1984
SALGLIEIRO MONTOYA, Javier	Bolivia	1984
SANTALLA BARRIENTOS, David	Bolivia	1984
VALCARCEL, Roberto	Bolivia	1984
VARGAS PEREZ, David	Bolivia	1984
VELASCO RECKEWEG, Arturo	Bolivia	1984
ZILVETI, Luis	Bolivia	1984
ALEGRIA, Ana Luiza	Brazil	1984
AMARAL, Antonio Henrique	Brazil	1984
ANDRADE, Alecio de	Brazil	1984
BARATA, Fernando	Brazil	1984
BETTIOL, Zoravia	Brazil	1984
BINA FONYAT, Jose	Brazil	1984
BIRNFELD ROHNELT, Marlo Alberto	Brazil	1984
BRUSCKY, Paulo	Brazil	1984
CABOT, Roberto de Fonseca	Brazil	1984
CALDAS JUNIOR, Waltercio	Brazil	1984
CAMARGO, Tito	Brazil	1984
CASTHANO, Eduardo	Brazil	1984
CATUNDA, Leda	Brazil	1984
COZZOLINO, Giro	Brazil	1984
CRAVO NETO, Mario	Brazil	1984
CHAVES BARCELLOS, Vera	Brazil	1984
DAIBERT, Arlindo	Brazil	1984
DARDOT, Liliane	Brazil	1984
DENIZART, Hugo	Brazil	1984
DOMINGUES, Diana M. G.	Brazil	1984
ESPINDOLA Miranda, Humberto	Brazil	1984
FELIZARDO, Luis Carlos	Brazil	1984
FINGERMANN, Sergio	Brazil	1984
GERCHMAN, Rubens	Brazil	1984
GRANATO, Ivald	Brazil	1984
GRINSPUN, Ester	Brazil	1984
GROSTEIN, Marcia	Brazil	1984
GUANAES NETTO, Gontran	Brazil	1984
HUDINILSON JR (Urbano Hudinilson Junior)	Brazil	1984
KURTZ, Milton 1	Brazil	1984
MACHADO, Loris	Brazil	1984
MANINHO(Roberto Cerne Fernandez de Abreu Filho)	Brazil	1984
MOURA, Lidice (Lidice Romano de Moural	Brazil	1984
OLIVEIRA, Branca de	Brazil	1984
PAPPALARDO, Arnaldo	Brazil	1984
PINHEIRO GUIMARAES, Pedro	Brazil	1984
PIZA, Arthur Luis	Brazil	1984
ROTH, Otavio	Brazil	1984
SARUBBI, Valdir	Brazil	1984
SCHILLER, Beatriz	Brazil	1984

SILVA, Marcio da	Brazil	1984
SILVEIRA, Regina	Brazil	1984
TAVARES, Ana Maria	Brazil	1984
TOZZI, Claudio	Brazil	1984
BELKIN, Arnold	Canada-Mexico	1984
AZOCAR, Jaime	Chile	1984
BARRIOS, Gracia	Chile	1984
BERNAL PONCE, Juan	Chile	1984
BERROETA REYES, Eduardo	Chile	1984
CARVAJAL ALTAMIRANO, Eduardo Luis	Chile	1984
CHUAOUI JAHIATT, Soledad	Chile	1984
DIAZ BRAVO, Mariano	Chile	1984
DONIZ LECHON, Rafael	Chile	1984
FERREIRO, Antonia	Chile	1984
HERNANDEZ CASTILLO, Francisco Javier	Chile	1984
LABBE, Lautaro	Chile	1984
LOREDO, Humberto	Chile	1984
MARTINEZ ALVARADO, Jose Mario	Chile	1984
NUNEZ, Guillermo	Chile	1984
PALACIOS MELLEA, Sergio Ivan	Chile	1984
PELI (Julio C. Zuniga Valenzuela)	Chile	1984
RIVERA SCOTT, Hugo	Chile	1984
SILVA ROJAS, Carmen	Chile	1984
TELLEZ MARTINEZ, Eugenio	Chile	1984
TORAL, Mario y	Chile	1984
TRIVINO, Jorge	Chile	1984
VERA, Adolfo	Chile	1984
YOUNG, Jean-Louis	Chile	1984
ALCANTARA, Pedro	Colombia	1984
ALFONSO RAMIREZ, Luis	Colombia	1984
ASTUDILLO DELGADO, Ever	Colombia	1984
BARFIOS, Alvaro	Colombia	1984
BOTERO, Olga de	Colombia	1984
CABALLERO, Luis	Colombia	1984
CAICEDO, Fanny	Colombia	1984
CASTRO CAMPOS, Hector	Colombia	1984
CERON CORREA, Gilberto	Colombia	1984
COGOLLO, Heriberto	Colombia	1984
CORTES, Maria Cristina	Colombia	1984
DUNCAN, Gloria de	Colombia	1984
ELJAIK, Abdu	Colombia	1984
ESPARZA MEJIA, Eduardo Emilio	Colombia	1984
ESTRADA, Manuel	Colombia	1984
GALVIZ ORTIZ, Maria Esther	Colombia	1984
GARCIA BOTERO, Maria Elena	Colombia	1984
GARCIA PAGANESSI, Ligia	Colombia	1984
GONZALEZ, Beatriz	Colombia	1984
GONZALEZ FERNANDEZ, Francisco	Colombia	1984
GRANADA, Carlos	Colombia	1984
GUTIERREZ SILVA, Saul	Colombia	1984
HERNANDEZ, Manuel	Colombia	1984
JARAMILLO, Luciano	Colombia	1984

JARAMILLO JARAMILLO, Jorge	Colombia	1984
JARAMILLO TRUJILLO, Cosme	Colombia	1984
JARAMILLO VAZQUEZ, Oscar	Colombia	1984
LEON, Phanor	Colombia	1984
LOOCHKARTT, Angel	Colombia	1984
MALDONADO RODRIGUEZ, Fernando	Colombia	1984
MARIN VIECO, Alvaro	Colombia	1984
MAZUERA GOMEZ, Diego	Colombia	1984
MIRANDA HERNANDEZ, Olivia	Colombia	1984
MOLINOS, Rosario	Colombia	1984
MONSALVE PINO, Margarita Maria	Colombia	1984
MONSALVE PINO, Oscar	Colombia	1984
MUNOZ, Oscar	Colombia	1984
PAZ, Luis	Colombia	1984
PELAEZ GALEANO, Luis Fernando	Colombia	1984
PINZON BARRERA, Betty	Colombia	1984
POSADA CANO, Gonzalo	Colombia	1984
POSADA CORREA, Julian Eduardo	Colombia	1984
POTES VARGAS, Ricardo	Colombia	1984
POUPARD, Gloria	Colombia	1984
PRIETO LEON, Alberto	Colombia	1984
QUIJANO ACERO, Alfonso	Colombia	1984
RAMIREZ OCAMPO, Juliana	Colombia	1984
RAYO, Omar	Colombia	1984
RIVEROS SALCEDO, Jorge	Colombia	1984
ROCCA LYNN, Francisco	Colombia	1984
ROORIGUEZ, Marta	Colombia	1984
RODRIGUEZ AMAYA, Fabio Alberto	Colombia	1984
ROJAS, Hernando	Colombia	1984
SALCEDO, Helio	Colombia	1984
SILVA BAUTISTA, Edgar	Colombia	1984
SUAREZ BAYONA, Gabriel	Colombia	1984
TAKEHISA, Nobu	Colombia	1984
TAPIAS GIL, Victor Manuel	Colombia	1984
TEJADA, Lucy	Colombia	1984
TEJADA SAENZ, Hernando	Colombia	1984
URIBE, Gloria	Colombia	1984
VALBUENA, Alvaro	Colombia	1984
VALENCIA DE MORENO, Stella	Colombia	1984
VALENCIA ECHEVARRY, Henri	Colombia	1984
VALLEJO JARAMILLO, Maria C	Colombia	1984
VELASCO GUARDIAS, Josefín	Colombia	1984
VELASQUEZ, Rodolfo	Colombia	1984
VELEZ MEJIA, Guillermo	Colombia	1984
VILLEGAS NARANJO, Nelson	Colombia	1984
VITERI, Alicia	Colombia	1984
ZALAMEA TRABA, Gustavo	Colombia	1984
ZIRO, Edilberto Sierra Rodriguez	Colombia	1984
APUY SIRIAS, Otto	Costa Rica	1984
LIZANO DUARTE, Jose Roberto	Costa Rica	1984
LOPEZ ESCARRE, Jose Luis	Costa Rica	1984
ROJAS GONZALEZ, Jose Miguel	Costa Rica	1984
ACOSTA PEREZ, Gustavo	Cuba	1984

AGUILAR LABRADA, Roger	Cuba	1984
ALFARO ECHEVARRIA, Angel	Cuba	1984
ALIS PUERTA, Rene	Cuba	1984
ALVAREZ RIOS, Roberto	Cuba	1984
BARRETO SARDINA, Concha	Cuba	1984
BEDIA VALDES, Jose	Cuba	1984
BENITEZ JIMENO, Adigio	Cuba	1984
BORGES DELGADO, Pablo	Cuba	1984
CABRERA HERNANDEZ, Luis	Cuba	1984
CARAS BOIX, Ivan	Cuba	1984
CAROL YANIZ, Alberto Jorge	Cuba	1984
CASTAMEDA CASTELLANOS, Consuelo	Cuba	1984
CASTELLANOS, Toa	Cuba	1984
CASTELLANOS LOPEZ, Manuel	Cuba	1984
CASTRO GARCIA, Humberto	Cuba	1984
CONTRERAS, Carlos	Cuba	1984
CORRALES (Paul Corral Varela)	Cuba	1984
CRUZ BOIX, Carlos	Cuba	1984
CUENCA SIGARRETA, Arturo	Cuba	1984
CHOCO (Eduardo Roca Salazar)	Cuba	1984
DIAZ LEYVA, Mario Rene	Cuba	1984
DOMINGUEZ, Irene	Cuba	1984
ELSO PADILLA, Juan Francisco	Cuba	1984
FABELO PEREZ, Roberto	Cuba	1984
FEJOO RODRIGUEZ, Samuel	Cuba	1984
FERNANDEZ NOGUERA, Ernesto	Cuba	1984
FERRER MORTIMOR, Mario M.	Cuba	1984
FIGUEROA DANIEL, Jose Alberto	Cuba	1984
FINALE ALDECOA, Moises de los Santos	Cuba	1984
FONG GARCIA, Flora	Cuba	1984
FONSECA CERVINO, Ever	Cuba	1984
FRANCO CODINACH, Jose Miguel	Cuba	1984
FREMEZ (Jose Gomez Fresquet)	Cuba	1984
FROMETA FERNANDEZ, Gilberto	Cuba	1984
GALLARDO MUNOZ, Mario	Cuba	1984
GARCIA FAYAT, Abigail	Cuba	1984
GARCIA HERRERA, Eduardo Ruben	Cuba	1984
GARCIA PEMA, Ernesto	Cuba	1984
GARCIANDIA ORAA, Flavio	Cuba	1984
GIRONA FERNANDEZ, Julio	Cuba	1984
GONZALEZ IGLESIAS, Carmelo	Cuba	1984
GONZALEZ PLUG, Ernesto	Cuba	1984
GORY (Rogelio Lopez Marin)	Cuba	1984
GRANDAL (Ramon Martinez Grandal) 115	Cuba	1984
JAM IS BERNAL, Fayad	Cuba	1984
JAN (Juan Pablo Villar Aleman)	Cuba	1984
JAY MATAMOROS, Ruperto	Cuba	1984
KORDA (Alberto Diaz Gutierrez)	Cuba	1984
LEAL JIMENEZ, Cesar	Cuba	1984
LOBAINA BORGES, Miguel Angel	Cuba	1984
LOPEZ DIAZ, Minerva	Cuba	1984
LOPEZ MARTINEZ, Nelida	Cuba	1984
LOPEZ-NUSSA, Leonel	Cuba	1984

LOPEZ OLIVA, Manuel	Cuba	1984
MARTINEZ, Mayra A.	Cuba	1984
MARTINEZ GONZALEZ, Raul	Cuba	1984
MARTINEZ PEDRO, Luis Dario	Cuba	1984
MARUCHA (Maria Eugenia Haya)	Cuba	1984
MAYITO (Mario Garcia Joya)	Cuba	1984
MENDIETA OTI, Ana	Cuba	1984
MENDIVE HOYO, Manuel	Cuba	1984
MENINDEZ GONZALEZ, Aldo Dario	Cuba	1984
MILIAN PONS, Raul	Cuba	1984
MOREIRA BENCOMO, Juan	Cuba	1984
OCHOA NODAL, Ernesto	Cuba	1984
OLIVA RODRIGUEZ, Pedro Pablo	Cuba	1984
OROZCO VEGA, Raimundo	Cuba	1984
ORTIZ BORRELL, Benito	Cuba	1984
PANDOLFI GIL, Roberto	Cuba	1984
PANECA CANO, Francisco Rafael	Cuba	1984
PELAEZ, Jose A.	Cuba	1984
PEREZ MONZON, Gustavo	Cuba	1984
PEREZ TRIANA, Enrique	Cuba	1984
PIROLE (Luis M. Fernandez)	Cuba	1984
PORTOCARRERO VILLIERS, René	Cuba	1984
OUERT ALVAREZ, Pablo Paul	Cuba	1984
RAMIREZ ROQUE, Angel M.	Cuba	1984
RIO CASTRO, Zayda	Cuba	1984
RODRIGUEZ ALVAREZ, Mariano	Cuba	1984
RODRIGUEZ BREY, Ricardo	Cuba	1984
RODRIGUEZ TOLEDO, Tomas	Cuba	1984
SALAS FREIRE, Osvaldo	Cuba	1984
SANCHEZ REOUERO, Tomas	Cuba	1984
SANTOSERPA, Raul Santos Serpal	Cuba	1984
SIRGO HALLER, Otto	Cuba	1984
SOSABRAVO, Alfredo	Cuba	1984
SOTO ORTIZ, Leandro	Cuba	1984
TITO ALVAREZ (Jose Gonzalez Alvarez)	Cuba	1984
TONEL (Antonio Eligio Fernaridez Rodriguez)	Cuba	1984
TORRES LLORCA, Ruben	Cuba	1984
VALDES BORRERO, Julia Emilia	Cuba	1984
VALDES MORALES, Luis Miguel	Cuba	1984
VENT DUMOIS, Lesbia	Cuba	1984
VIDAL HERNANDEZ, Juan José	Cuba	1984
LESCAY MERENCIO, Alberto	Cuba	1984
NEUMAN, Giti	Czechoslovakia	1984
DANICEL (Danilo de los Santos)	Dominican Republic	1984
ALVAREZ ENCARNACION, Rafael	Dominican Republic	1984
BIDO, Candido	Dominican Republic	1984
BONNELLY, Johnny	Dominican Republic	1984
GARCIA CORDERO, Jose R.	Dominican Republic	1984
GUADALUPE, Antonio E.	Dominican Republic	1984
KUMA (Ignacio Rincon Valverde)	Dominican Republic	1984
LORA, Silvano	Dominican Republic	1984
MARELLA, Tete	Dominican Republic	1984
MERCADER, Jose	Dominican Republic	1984

NOVA, Luis	Dominican Republic	1984
NUNEZ, Elsa	Dominican Republic	1984
OVIEDO HERASME, Ramon	Dominican Republic	1984
PELLERANO, Soucy de	Dominican Republic	1984
PIANTINI GUZMAN, Adolfo	Dominican Republic	1984
PIMENTEL, Vicente	Dominican Republic	1984
SANGUIOVANNI, Carlos	Dominican Republic	1984
YARYURA BONETI, Camilo	Dominican Republic	1984
ANDRADE FAINI, C h a r	Ecuador	1984
BUENO, Mauricio	Ecuador	1984
BUSTOS ROMALEROUX, Pilar	Ecuador	1984
CAMPO, Antonio del	Ecuador	1984
CARRANZA SALAZAR, Cesar Gustavo	Ecuador	1984
CARRASCO ARTEAGA, Edgar	Ecuador	1984
CIFUENTES NAVARRO, Hugo	Ecuador	1984
CHAUVET, Marcel	Ecuador	1984
DIAZ NAVARRETE, Guido	Ecuador	1984
ENDARA CROW, Gonzalo	Ecuador	1984
GARCIA DE MANRIQUE, Mariella	Ecuador	1984
GILBERT DE BLOMBERG, Araceli	Ecuador	1984
GUTIERREZ MOSCOSO, Hilda Judith	Ecuador	1984
JACOME DURANGO, Ramiro	Ecuador	1984
LUZURIAGA ARIAS, Camilo	Ecuador	1984
MALDONADO AGUAYO, Estuardo	Ecuador	1984
MORENO HEREOIA, Oswaldo	Ecuador	1984
MAURIEL BRAVO, Luis Guillermo	Ecuador	1984
PAREDES MADRID, Napoleon	Ecuador	1984
QUINTANA D., Eduardo F.	Ecuador	1984
ROMAN CHACON, Nelson	Ecuador	1984
TEJADA ZAMBRANO, Leonardo	Ecuador	1984
ZAPATA, Jaime	Ecuador	1984
ZUÑIGA ALBAN, Herman	Ecuador	1984
CORTEZ LARA, Adolfo Eduardo	El Salvador	1984
GALDAMEZ ESCOBAR, Jesus Romeo	El Salvador	1984
MINERO, Camilo	El Salvador	1984
RUIZ, Roberto	El Salvador	1984
ALVARADO, Antonio	France	1984
BAGOT, Vargas de	France	1984
CHAVES, Fernando	France	1984
FEUILLET, Claude	France	1984
PREUX LERNAU, Pedro Pablo	France	1984
BESS COURVCISIER, Ruth	Germany	1984
COSTA, Olga	Germany	1984
COWRIE, Christa	Germany	1984
HANFESTENGEL, Renata Von	Germany	1984
RICHTER, Luisa K.	Germany	1984
CAMNITZER, Luis	Germany- Uruguay	1984
ROJAS AZURDIA, Elmar Renis	Guatemala	1984
GREAVES, Stanley	Guyana	1984
MOORE, Philip Alphonso	Guyana	1984
CARRETA, Anna	Italy	1984
MAIOLINO, Anna Maria	Italy	1984



SALVATORE, Rafael	Italy	1984
OHTAKE, Tomie	Japan	1984
SHIRO, Flavio	Japan	1984
LATAMIE, Marc	Martinique	1984
ACEVES NAVARRO, Gilberto	Mexico	1984
ACOSTA FALCON, Leo	Mexico	1984
AGUILAR LLANO, Jorge Pablo de	Mexico	1984
ALAMILLA NUÑEZ, Miguel Allgel	Mexico	1984
ALMEIDA, Lourdes	Mexico	1984
ANDRADE, Yolanda	Mexico	1984
ANGUIA BECERRIL, Ricardo	Mexico	1984
ANGULO COSIO, Anibal	Mexico	1984
ARGUDIN ALLERECA, Luis Jesus	Mexico	1984
ASCENCIO MATEOS, Pedro	Mexico	1984
AVILA SOEERANES, Osker	Mexico	1984
BLANCO, Lazaro	Mexico	1984
BODEK, Adrian	Mexico	1984
BOSTELMANN, Enrique	Mexico	1984
CAMPOS MORALES, Susana	Mexico	1984
CANTU, Gerardo	Mexico	1984
CARDENAS FONSECA, Eduardo Martin	Mexico	1984
CARRION SAMANIEGO, Hector Enrique	Mexico	1984
CASTANEDA, Juan	Mexico	1984
CASTRO LENERO, Alberto	Mexico	1984
CASTRO LENERO, Francisco	Mexico	1984
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CASTRO LENERO, Miguel	Mexico	1984
CERDA, Kary	Mexico	1984
COEN, Arnaldo	Mexico	1984
COHEN DABAH, Eduardo	Mexico	1984
CONTRERAS DE OTEYZA ,Carlos	Mexico	1984
CORA, Vladimir	Mexico	1984
COSSIO POMAR, Angel	Mexico	1984
CRUZ RODRIGUEZ, Aaron	Mexico	1984
CUELLAR RAMIREZ, Rogelio	Mexico	1984
CUEVAS, Jose Luis	Mexico	1984
CHAPOU VIDEGARAY, Claudia	Mexico	1984
CHAVES MORADO, Jose	Mexico	1984
CHEN CHARPENTIER, Gilberto	Mexico	1984
DIAZ VAZQUEZ, Mario	Mexico	1984
DIMAYUGA, Joaquin	Mexico	1984
DOMPE, Hernan	Mexico	1984
DONIS, Roberto	Mexico	1984
EHRENBERG, Felipe	Mexico	1984
ESCOBEDO, Helen	Mexico	1984
ESTRADA, Enrique	Mexico	1984
FELGLTEREZ, Manuel	Mexico	1984
FERNANDEZ ALONSO, Marisol	Mexico	1984
FIGUEROA FLORES, Gabriel	Mexico	1984
FLORES SANCHEZ, Fernando	Mexico	1984
FRAUSTO FLORES, Gloria	Mexico	1984
GALAN ROMO, Julio	Mexico	1984

GARCIA, Hector	Mexico	1984
GARCIA ESTRADA, Carlos	Mexico	1984
GARCIA PONCE, Fernando	Mexico	1984
GARDUNO YANEZ, Flor	Mexico	1984
GONZALEZ RODRIGUEZ, Gregorio	Mexico	1984
GROBET, Lourdes	Mexico	1984
GUARDADO, Ismael M.	Mexico	1984
GUIJOSA AGUIRRE, Vicente Julio	Mexico	1984
GUTIERREZ GOMEZ, Luis Jesús	Mexico	1984
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GUZMAN VELAZQUEZ, Victor Javier	Mexico	1984
HERNANDEZ AMEZCUA, Jose Antonio	Mexico	1984
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HERNANDEZ VARGAS, Jose Antonio	Mexico	1984
HERRERA, Radi	Mexico	1984
HERSUA	Mexico	1984
HINOJOSA CORDOVA, Oliverio	Mexico	1984
HINOJOSA HINOJOSA, Javier	Mexico	1984
ITURBE ARGUELLES, Mercedes	Mexico	1984
ITURBIDE, Graciela	Mexico	1984
JABER, Elfas	Mexico	1984
JIMENEZ VERNIS, Sarah	Mexico	1984
JUAREZ DOMINGUEZ, Martin	Mexico	1984
JURADO DELMAR, Carlos	Mexico	1984
KALB, Leticia	Mexico	1984
KENT MARQUEZ, Daniel William	Mexico	1984
LABASTIDA CASTRO, Pablo	Mexico	1984
LACH SCHOENFELDO, David	Mexico	1984
LAMOYI, Marcos Tulio	Mexico	1984
LEAL PERNANDEZ, Felipe	Mexico	1984
LECONA DIAZ, Fausto	Mexico	1984
LOPEZ CORTES, Eloy Tarcisio	Mexico	1984
LUNA LOYO, Eugenio	Mexico	1984
MACOTELA, Gabriel	Mexico	1984
MACIEL, Leonel	Mexico	1984
MARTINEZ ALVAREZ, Jose de Jesus	Mexico	1984
MENDICUTI NAVARRO, Teresa	Mexico	1984
MINOR ARRIAGA, Flor	Mexico	1984
MORA SANCHEZ, Raul	Mexico	1984
MORAN, Teresa	Mexico	1984
NECOECHEA GRACIA, Oscar	Mexico	1984
NEYRA TORRES, Jose Luis	Mexico	1984
NUNEZ, Dulce Maria	Mexico	1984
NUNEZ GUERRA, Mario	Mexico	1984
OCHARAN, Leticia	Mexico	1984
OLACHEA BOUCSIEGUEZ, Jose Carlos	Mexico	1984
ORLANDO GARCIA, Felipe	Mexico	1984
OROZCO RIVERA, Mario	Mexico	1984
PALACIOS FLORES, Irma	Mexico	1984
PAVON DE FREYRIA, Herminia	Mexico	1984
PEREA DE LA CABADA, Rafael	Mexico	1984
PEREZ CUEVAS, Segundo Gerardo	Mexico	1984
QUINTEROS, Adolfo	Mexico	1984

RAMIREZ JUAREZ, Arturo	Mexico	1984
RANGEL FAZ, Mario F.	Mexico	1984
REAL DE LEON, Roberto	Mexico	1984
RIESTRA ORTIZ, Adolfo	Mexico	1984
RIVERA VELAZQUEZ, Mariano	Mexico	1984
ROCHA PALACIOS, Ricardo	Mexico	1984
RODRIGLEZ ENRIOUEZ, Oscar	Mexico	1984
RODRIGUEZ HERRERA, Jose Francisco	Mexico	1984
ROMERO DUARTE, Benjamin	Mexico	1984
SANCHEZ - LAUREL ZUNIGA, Herlinda	Mexico	1984
SANDOVAL AVILA, Mauricio Antonio	Mexico	1984
SAURET RANGEL, Nunik	Mexico	1984
SERRANO GUERRERO, Saul	Mexico	1984
SESMA SANCHEZ, Raymundo	Mexico	1984
SIERRA, Susana	Mexico	1984
SIGAL, KIRSH, Isaac	Mexico	1984
SILVA, Federico	Mexico	1984
SOTO CURIEL, Guillermo	Mexico	1984
TAMARIZ, Eduardo	Mexico	1984
TAMES BATHA, Fernando	Mexico	1984
TOLEDO, Francisco	Mexico	1984
TOLEDO CROW, Diego	Mexico	1984
VALTIERRA R., Pedro	Mexico	1984
VALLE PERALTA, Guillermo	Mexico	1984
VIDAL BONIFAZ, Carlos Alberto	Mexico	1984
YAVOVICH, Vida	Mexico	1984
ZALATHIEL VARGAS Perez	Mexico	1984
ZENIL, Nahum Bernabe	Mexico	1984
AROSTEGUI REAL, Alejandro	Nicaragua	1984
BEER, June	Nicaragua	1984
GORDILLO CASTELLON, Ena	Nicaragua	1984
SOBALVARRO MENA, Orlando	Nicaragua	1984
URBINA RIVAS, Luis	Nicaragua	1984
VANEGAS ROSALES, Leonel	Nicaragua	1984
VOLG, Hilda	Nicaragua	1984
AGUILAR PONCE, Luis	Panama	1984
AGUSTINE, Eduardo	Panama	1984
ARIAS PEÑA, Etanislao	Panama	1984
ELETA, Sandra	Panama	1984
ICAZA HANSEN, Teresa	Panama	1984
MONTILLA, Manuel E.	Panama	1984
RIVERA DEGRACIA, Adonai	Panama	1984
VELASQUEZ HERRERA, Julián	Panama	1984
ALBERT, Teresa	Peru	1984
ANGULO LAFOSSE, Lucy	Peru	1984
ARIAS VERA, Luis Alberto	Peru	1984
BRAUN, Herman	Peru	1984
CACERES MOREANO, Romulo	Peru	1984
CAJAHUARINGA, Milner	Peru	1984
GUILLEN MARCOS, Heraclito Franklin	Peru	1984
HASTING Y MUJICA, M.	Peru	1984
JIMENEZ LOPEZ, Gilberto	Peru	1984

OLIVA, Felix	Peru	1984
PAZOS PARRO, Luis Hernan	Peru	1984
POLANCO CARVAJAL, Carlos Enrique	Peru	1984
QUINTANILLA, Alberto	Peru	1984
RAMOS GALVEZ, Jose Carlos	Peru	1984
RODRIGUEZ HUACHIN, Herbert	Peru	1984
RODRIGUEZ-LARRAIN BALTA, Emilio	Peru	1984
VAINSTEIN GABEL, Esther	Peru	1984
VALLADARES FALEN, Juan	Peru	1984
WIESSE REBAGLATI, Ricardo	Peru	1984
WILLIAMS DIAZ, Armando	Peru	1984
YAYA, Daniel	Peru	1984
JATIVA-DIVILE, Carmen Polonia	Poland	1984
KRAJCBERG, Frans	Poland	1984
MORAWITZ, Gabriela	Poland	1984
RABEL, Fanny	Poland	1984
URBACH, Jose	Poland	1984
BARRIO, Artur	Portugal	1984
ALICEA, Jose R.	Puerto Rico	1984
ALONSO MERCADO, Luis E.	Puerto Rico	1984
BAEZ, Myrna	Puerto Rico	1984
BERNAL, Isabel	Puerto Rico	1984
CAJIGA LUGO, LUIS German	Puerto Rico	1984
CORDOBA AMY, Mayra Luz	Puerto Rico	1984
CRUZ VILLANUEVA, Miguel Angel	Puerto Rico	1984
FERNANDEZ ZAVALA, Margarita	Puerto Rico	1984
GOTAY, Consuelo	Puerto Rico	1984
GUZMAN VELEZ, Ramon	Puerto Rico	1984
HOMAR GELABERT, Lorenzo	Puerto Rico	1984
IRIZARRY, Marcos	Puerto Rico	1984
LANDING GORDON, Haydee	Puerto Rico	1984
LEON CASTRO, Pedro	Puerto Rico	1984
MAISONET RAMOS, Luis	Puerto Rico	1984
MALDONADO SERRANO, Antonio	Puerto Rico	1984
MARTORELL, Antonio	Puerto Rico	1984
MERGAL LOPEZ, Isaura	Puerto Rico	1984
MORAZA BORRELL, Alfonso Antonio	Puerto Rico	1984
PASTRANA FUENTES, Yolanda	Puerto Rico	1984
ROSA CASTELLANO, Jose	Puerto Rico	1984
DARIE LAVER, Sandu	Romania	1984
BALMES, Jose	Spain	1984
GARCIA, Wilfredo	Spain	1984
MARA, Oscar Cesar	Spain	1984
MARCOS, Jesus	Spain	1984
MEYER, Pedro	Spain	1984
MORENO CAPDEVILA, Francisco	Spain	1984
NOVOA, Leopoldo	Spain	1984
PALAU BOSCH, Marta	Spain	1984
PEREZ, Mary Carmen	Spain	1984
POSADA MEDIO, Jose Luis	Spain	1984
PUJOL, Adrian	Spain	1984
RIO BRANCO (Miguel da Silva Paranhos)	Spain	1984
CRETON, Franklin	Surinam	1984

TOSARI, Rene D.	Surinam	1984
SJGLANDER, Waldemar	Sweden	1984
AMEAL PEREZ, Jorge 22	Uruguay	1984
ARDEN - QUIN, Carmelo	Uruguay	1984
BERGALLO, Armando	Uruguay	1984
BOLIVAR, Bolivar Gaudin	Uruguay	1984
CAPELAN, Carlos	Uruguay	1984
CARROZZINO, Jorge	Uruguay	1984
COLLINS FIGUEREDO, Eduardo Daniel	Uruguay	1984
CONTRERAS DE OTEYZA, Carlos	Uruguay	1984
CRUZ, Pedro da	Uruguay	1984
DARNET, Eugenio	Uruguay	1984
FERRANDO FERREIRA, Jorge Federico	Uruguay	1984
FONSECA, Gonzalo	Uruguay	1984
GAMARRA, Jose	Uruguay	1984
GONZALEZ, Leonilda	Uruguay	1984
EL GRUPO (Jorge Ameal, Eduardo Collina, Carlos Contreras, Adrian Perez)	Uruguay	1984
HERNANDEZ RIOS, Anhelio	Uruguay	1984
LEITES COSSIO, Nelson	Uruguay	1984
LIARD BAS, Jose L.	Uruguay	1984
PALLEIRO PALLEIRO, Carlos Miguel	Uruguay	1984
PEREZ, Adrian	Uruguay	1984
RODRIGUEZ SALDARINI, Carlos	Uruguay	1984
VILCHE, Hector	Uruguay	1984
ARMIJO, Richerd R.	USA	1984
DAVILA, Jose Antonio	USA	1984
ESCOBAR ALMOGUERA, Maria Mercedes	USA	1984
HUTCHINSON DE SALCEDO, Claudia	USA	1984
MAGGI HOLLANDS, Jacqueline	USA	1984
MALIO MAZZINI, Elda di	USA	1984
MOSIO, Jacqueline	USA	1984
RADFORD, Robert	USA	1984
RIOS BRITO, Jesse de los	USA	1984
RIPPEY, Caria	USA	1984
SANCHEZ, Juan	USA	1984
ABREU, Mario	Venezuela	1984
ARAUJO, Herhan	Venezuela	1984
ARMAS BARRIOS, Balthazar	Venezuela	1984
ARNAL, Luis	Venezuela	1984
ARTEAGA RODRIGUEZ, Jorge	Venezuela	1984
ARVELAIZ GORDON, Maria	Venezuela	1984
BECERRA, Zulay	Venezuela	1984
BETANCOURT, Jose de los Santos	Venezuela	1984
BRACHO, Gabriel	Venezuela	1984
CAMPOS TORTOLERO, Rafael	Venezuela	1984
CARRASQUEL VILERA, Jose Arcadio	Venezuela	1984
CARRENO RODRIGUEZ, Omar R	Venezuela	1984
CISNEROS R. RIVAS, Frank	Venezuela	1984
COLMENAREZ, Asdrubal	Venezuela	1984
CRUZ DIEZ, Carlos	Venezuela	1984
DEBOURG, Narciso	Venezuela	1984
DOMINGUEZ CEDENO, Nelson	Venezuela	1984
FEBRES CORDIDO, Humberto	Venezuela	1984

FERNANDEZ-LUNARDI, Antonio	Venezuela	1984
GARCIA CASTRO, Alvaro A.	Venezuela	1984
GERMAN ROJAS, Carlos	Venezuela	1984
GRUPO CONFRONTACION (Eneko, Ortizpozo, Peli, Mary Carmen Pérez, Gilberto, Ramirez, Edmundo Vargas)	Venezuela	1984
GUEVARA MORENO, Luis	Venezuela	1984
HERAS, Eneko las	Venezuela	1984
HERNANDEZ D'JESUS, Enrique	Venezuela	1984
HERRERA, Octavio	Venezuela	1984
HERRERA RIVAS, Felipe	Venezuela	1984
LEON ZAPATA, Pedro	Venezuela	1984
LOPEZ, Abel Nairn	Venezuela	1984
MATTATIA, Doris	Venezuela	1984
MENDE, Consuelo	Venezuela	1984
MENESES, Gladys	Venezuela	1984
MORALES, Elsa	Venezuela	1984
MORALES RUJANO, Jose Martin	Venezuela	1984
NUNEZ MATOS, Isidro Eduardo	Venezuela	1984
PALACIOS, Luisa	Venezuela	1984
PAOLINI VALDERRAMA, Juan	Venezuela	1984
PEREZ, Regulo	Venezuela	1984
PIZZANI CAMPINS, Jorge Eliecer y Milton Becerra	Venezuela	1984
QUILICI, Pancho	Venezuela	1984
OUINONES, Azalea	Venezuela	1984
RAMIREZ, Gilberto	Venezuela	1984
RAVELO, Juvenal	Venezuela	1984
REY (Reyes, Anibal Olivares)	Venezuela	1984
RIVODO, Carlos	Venezuela	1984
SARMIENTO CARDOSO, Diego	Venezuela	1984
SUBERO, Osvaldo	Venezuela	1984
SZINETAR GABALDON, Vasco	Venezuela	1984
TORO, Alejandro	Venezuela	1984
VARGAS, Edmundo	Venezuela	1984
ZERPA SCHWARZEMBERG, Carlos A	Venezuela	1984

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*Universe in Universe: Worlds of Art*. < <http://universes-in-universe.de>>

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Nelson Herrera Ysla, "Comunicación en tiempos difíciles: Uno más cerca del otro" (Communication in difficult times: Closer to each other). In Nelson Herrera Ysla, eds., *Coordenadas de arte contemporáneo* (Coordinates in Contemporary Art). Havana: Arte Cubano Editions, 2003. p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Kevin Power has recently published a book in partnership with Magaly Espinosa titled, "El nuevo arte cubano: Antología de textos críticos (2007). Rachel Weiss has recently stated that she is working on a book about the Cuban art in the 1990s. (She had recently published two articles on Cuban art, one in particular on the Biennale.) See Rachel Weiss, "Visions, Valves, and Vestiges: The Curdled Victories of the Bienal De la Habana," *Art Journal*, Vol. 66, 2007. p. 10-27.

<sup>3</sup> More or less critical of the official establishment and regime, these publications give an account of the various intellectual movements taking place on the island during the past three decades. Among others, Gerardo Mosquera, *Exploraciones en la plástica cubana* (1983);..., *Contracandela ensayos sobre kitsch, identidad, arte abstracto y otros temas calientes*; Margarita González, Tania Parson, and José Veigas, *Déjame que te Cuente. Antología de la crítica en los 80s* (2002); Nelson Herrera, *Coordenadas de Arte Contemporáneo* (2003); Adelaida de Juan, *Abriendo Ventanas: Textos críticos* (2006); Luz Merino Acosta, *Graziella Pogolotti; experiencia de la crítica* (2003), among others.

<sup>4</sup> Angela McRobbie, "All the World's a Stage, Screen or Magazine: when culture is the logic of late capitalism" *Media, Culture & Society* Vol.18, No. 2 (1996), p. 335-342.

<sup>5</sup> Magazines such as *Flash Art*, whose motto is "internationalism", did not cover the Havana Biennale until 1997 (and in a very deceptive and reductive way) while actively covering (and helping to create) other Biennials in proximity to Europe and the U.S. *Artforum* has published only a handful of reports on Cuban art (1986 and 1991) and only after 1997 on the Biennale, while publishing massively and repeatedly on other similar surveys. *Art in America* has published more systematic reports with emphasis on American and Cuban artists, but has remained silent about the participation of artists from the rest of the world areas represented. A common denominator of many of the reports is the absence of the idea of alternative cosmopolitanism and Global Art from the bottom up; it seems that the discussions on Global Art only takes place from the art centers and its institutions (such as the magazines).

<sup>6</sup> Jean Hubert Martin's endeavor with *Magiciens de la Terre* was to replace the current cosmopolitan rationale of the international art scene with a planetary paradigm that would no longer allow Western exhibitions to systematically ignore 80 percent of the surface of the globe. Many articles at the time of the Biennale had intentions of comparing the two, but they were not, however, that successful. See: Pía Barragán, "III Bienal de la Habana. La Bienal del Tercer Mundo. Entrevista a Pierre Restany." *Arte en Colombia*. No 43, (February, 1990), p.56-57; Guy Brett, "Venice, Paris, Kassel, São Paulo and Habana" *Third Text*, No. 20 (autumn, 1992), p. 13-22. Recent articles and essays obscure Havana's participation in the debate. See for example: Johanne Lamoureux, "From form to platform: The politics of representation and the representation of politics" *Art Journal*, Spring, 2005. p. 65-73.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham finishes the argument stating that "these people are then called to the bar of an abstrusely formulated critical idealism." I hope to have a different fate. Stuart Cunningham, *Framing Culture: criticisms and policy in Australia* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992). p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Toby Miller & George Yudice, *Cultural Policy* (London, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002). p. 32.

<sup>9</sup> John Patrick Diggins, *The Rise and Fall of the American Left* (London & New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992). p. 40.

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<sup>10</sup> Stone worked during 2003-4, thanks to a contract with HBO, on two documentaries on Fidel Castro's life just before surrendering power to his brother in July-August 2006. The first one, titled *Comandante*, was banned for being soft on the Cuban leader; the second, titled *Looking for Fidel*, was broadcast in April 2004.

<sup>11</sup> The many speeches given by Cuban Minister of Culture Armando Hart Dávalos provide evidence of this intention.

<sup>12</sup> This has been studied by Caribbean scholars such as Antonio Benitez Rojo, Fernando Retamar, and Edward Glissant, and British Scholars such as Stuart Hall (of Jamaican descent) and Paul Gilroy among others.

<sup>13</sup> It is necessary to note the participation of the Soviets in economic and political, but also, cultural and academic affairs during the first decades of the Revolution.

<sup>14</sup> Accepting the intromission of the Soviets produced proximity with the North East creating an exceptional space for contingency and emergency, and a critical understanding of the imperial aspirations of the Soviet-Union on the part of Cubans studying in the USSR.

<sup>15</sup> Many scholars have studied such phenomena, and the survival of the regime demonstrates this, not without being stigmatized in the process.

<sup>16</sup> What has come to be called the era of the Curatorial Class, an issue explored recently to exhaustion in articles, notes, essays, and books, to cite some: Brian O'Doherty, *Museums in Crisis* (1972); Douglas Crimp, *On the Museum's Ruins* (1993); Nelson W. Aldrich, *Old Money: The Mythology of Wealth in America* (1996); Charlie Finch et al., *Most Art Sucks: Five Years of Coagula* (1996); Gregory Sholette, "Affirmation of the Curatorial Class" *Afterimage*, Vol. 28, (Summer, 2001); Tim Griffin, "Global Tendencies: Globalism and large-scale exhibitions" *Art Forum*, 42.3, (November, 2003), Paul Werner, *Museum, Inc.: Inside the Global Art World* (2005); among others.

<sup>17</sup> For that reason it is not mentioned systematically in this work.

<sup>18</sup> This research presents, in different moments, the discussions around issues such as primitivism, kitsch, art brute, otherness, marginalization, colonialism, in-communication, the city, creative networks, among others taking place inside the Lam Center.

<sup>19</sup> The article is fully revised in Chapter 4 in the section on "Third World Art". Gerardo Mosquera, "El Tercer Mundo hará la cultura occidental" *Revolución y Cultura* (July-Sep. 1986). p. 39-47.

<sup>20</sup> Hal Foster, "The Artist as Ethnographer," *The Return of the Real* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996). p.171-203.

<sup>21</sup> "There is no real syncretism in the linking of non-contradicting antagonisms; syncretism is a strategy of participation, a resignification and pluralization against hegemony." Gerardo Mosquera, "Wifredo Lam" *23<sup>rd</sup> São Paulo Biennial Catalog*. São Paulo: Fundação Bienal do São Paulo, 1996.

<sup>22</sup> The most blatant example of that curatorial blindness in *Magiciens* could be found in the much-denounced asymmetric neighboring of works by Richard Long and by the Yuendumu community. Long's mud drawing was the focal point of the Grande Halle. It dominated the entire room, but more dramatically it loomed over the sand drawings performed by the aboriginal people from the Yuendumu community, which were set at its foot like some cast shadow or discarded double, thus revealing the ideological bias and formal automatisms of the curatorial gesture. See revision of the Third and Fourth Havana Biennales, chapter five.

<sup>23</sup> Certainly, it is clear how co-optation menaces all cultural action based on syncretism. The challenge is to see who retains control of the changes and articulations. Ticio Escobar, *El mito del arte y el mito del pueblo: cuestiones sobre arte popular* (Asunción, Paraguay: R. Peroni Ediciones, 1987 Asunción: 1986). p. 119-131.

<sup>24</sup> The Lam Center team followed the work of Latin American anthropologists and critics, such as Ticio Escobar, Sérgio Figueiredo Ferreti, and Nestor García Canclini, and international ones such as James Clifford and Michael Taussig on these issues. Brazilian anthropologist Figueiredo Ferreti will compile his work years later in his *Repensando o Sincretismo* (São Paulo: EDUSP. Fialho, Livia Alexandra, 1995).

<sup>25</sup> Supporters such as Luis Camnitzer had called UNESCO, or a group of Third World nations, to take on the adventure during the 1991 biennale. Luis Camnitzer, "Cuarta Bienal de la Habana" *Arte en Colombia*. No. 43 (February, 1990), 61-67.

<sup>26</sup> In comparison with, for example, the 2003 Venice Biennale that counted on a budget of five and a half million U.S. dollars or Documenta 11 that was backed by eleven million and the one hundred-fifty thousand that Havana Biennale had in his last two editions made it impossible to compete in scope or exhibitions/productions. Numbers taken from: Tim Griffin, "Global Tendencies: Globalism and Large-scale Exhibition. (Panel discussion)" *Artforum International*, No. 42.3 (November, 2003). P. 152-163.

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<sup>27</sup> The theoretical forums have become an important venue for new thinkers from around the world. They attest the generational shift taking place on art theory and criticism as well as the global scope of the theoretical enterprise today.

<sup>28</sup> The theme has surrounded the last two editions of the Biennale. Discontent with the performance of the event and the pressing global conditions had made of such comment, if well not published explicitly, a real burden on the Biennale, which tries to maintain its centrality in the discussions on global art and the participation of the Global South on it.

<sup>29</sup> Vicki Gold Levi & Steven Heller, *Cuba Style: Graphics from the golden age of design* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002). p.11

<sup>30</sup> Luis Camnitzer, narrating his experience of his first visit to Havana in the 1980s expresses how “*Kitsch was omnipresent, partially because I was staying in the Hotel Riviera. The hotel is a Meyer Lansky’s -North American Mafia monument- built in 1957, continually restored by the Cubans to maintain its original look. As a synthesizing symbol, the hotel offers a staircase in the lobby that stops halfway toward the ceiling with no apparent function beyond being itself. It is still used today by just-married couples to pose for their wedding pictures.*” Luis Camnitzer, *New Art of Cuba*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994). Introduction

<sup>31</sup> Joseph L. Scarpaci, Roberto Segre, Mario Coyula, *Havana: two faces of the Antillean metropolis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.) p. 80.

<sup>32</sup> The author interviews Nelson Herrera Ysla in April and October 2006. All translations from Spanish are mine otherwise it will be explicit

<sup>33</sup> The reports of the official Cuban statistics for the period 1962 to 1987 on the global social product (GSP), suggests that overall the Cuban economy performed extremely well, growing at an average rate of 5.9% per year from 1962 to 1987. However, the limitations of Cuban macroeconomic statistics produced by revolutionary Cuban cannot be compared with those produced in other countries in the region. Many things have been said about Cuban economics but as Jorge F. Pérez-Lopez puts it “Two different views of the economy of contemporary Cuba continue to coexist. One portrays, largely unaffected by inflation, providing full employment for its citizens... a leader in the region. A competing view depicts the Cuban economy as stagnant, inefficient, burdened by repressed inflation and severe underemployment... These two views are obviously colored by ideology and politics.” Jorge F. Pérez-Lopez, “Bringing the Cuban Economy Into Focus: Conceptual and empirical challenges” *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (1991), p. 7-53.

<sup>34</sup> Roberto Segre, *La vivienda en Cuba: República y revolución*. (La Habana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales, 1984).

<sup>35</sup> The author and Herrera Ysla, Havana city April 2006

<sup>36</sup> However critical or visionary Sartre makes, also, remarks on the literacy programs and the cinema mobiles that transformed Cuban education and culture during the first years of the revolution. Jean-Paul Sartre, *On Cuba* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1961).

<sup>37</sup> Yuri Pavlov, *Soviet-Cuban Alliance 1959-1991*. (Miami: University of Miami -North-South Center, Transaction Publishers, 1994).

<sup>38</sup> The origin of the Non-aligned movement can be traced to a conference hosted in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955. The prior year in Colombo (Sri Lanka), Indian Prime Minister Nehru had stated in a meeting with the Chinese Prime Minister, what would become the five pillars of the non-aligned countries: Respect to Sovereignty, non aggression, non interference, equality, and peaceful co-existence. The purpose of the organization as stated in the *Havana Declaration of 1979* is to ensure “the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries.” The founding fathers of the NAM are: Nehru of India, Tito of Yugoslavia, Sukarno of Indonesia, Nasser of Egypt, and Nkrumah of Ghana. The first official Non-Aligned Movement Summit was held in Belgrade, September of 1961, thanks to Josip Broz Tito. The meeting counted with participation of the five founders and with participation of Fidel Castro of Cuba, in addition to 21 other countries from Africa and Asia and Cyprus.

<sup>39</sup> Fragment of Fidel Castro’s speech to the UN on his position as chairman of the nonaligned countries movement at the United Nations, 12 October 1979, after the September meeting of the non-aligned, the Sixth Summit, in Havana. “*We are 95 countries from all the continents representing the vast majority of humanity. We are united by determination to defend cooperation among our countries, free national and social development, sovereignty, security, equality and self-determination. We are associated in the endeavor to change the current system of international relations based on injustice, inequality and oppression. We act on international policy as a global independent factor. Gathered in Havana (for the sixth summit), the movement has just reaffirmed its principles and confirmed its objectives. The non-aligned countries insist that it is necessary to eliminate the abysmal inequality that*



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separates developed and developing countries. We therefore struggle to eliminate the poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy that hundreds of millions of human beings are still experiencing. We want a new world order based on justice, equality and peace to replace the unfair and unequal system that prevails today under which, according to the proclamation in the Havana declaration, wealth continues to be concentrated in the hands of a few powers whose economies, based on waste, are maintained thanks to the exploitation of workers and to the transfer and plundering of natural and other resources of countries in Africa, Latin American and other regions of the world. For this reason we agreed in Havana to reaffirm that the quintessence of the non-alignment policy, in accordance with its original principles and fundamental nature, is the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, racism, including Zionism... Since their founding, the non-aligned countries have considered that the principles of peaceful coexistence must be the cornerstone of international relations, that they constitute the foundation for strengthening international peace and security, reducing tension and extending this process to all regions of the world and to all aspects of relations. And they must be applied universally in relations between states." Havana Domestic Service (in Spanish) 1533 GMT 12 Oct 79, "Text of speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro to the 34<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly, in his position as chairman of the non-aligned countries" as in Jan 5, 2007 <http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/cb/cuba/castro/1979/19791012>

<sup>40</sup> The movement lost credibility beginning in the late 1960s when it was seen by critics to have become dominated by states allied to the Soviet Union, the so-called Soviet imperialism of post WW II. Many questioned how countries in outright alliance with the Soviet Union such as Cuba could claim to be non-aligned. The movement divided against itself over the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. However, the 1979 meeting in Havana saw the movement discussing the merits of a "natural alliance" with the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of Fidel Castro, the Summit discussed the concept of an anti-imperialist alliance with the Soviets. Castro sustained in the 34<sup>th</sup> UN General Assembly, "...as the Sixth Summit meeting has stated. The socialist countries did not contribute to the plundering of the world nor are they responsible for the phenomenon of underdevelopment. However, they understand and assume the obligation of helping to overcome it because of the nature of their social system in which international solidarity is a premise... I have not come here as the prophet of revolution. I have not come to request or express the desire for violent upheaval in the world. I am here to talk of peace and cooperation among nations. I am here to warn that either injustice or inequalities are solved peacefully and wisely, or the future is going to be apocalyptic... Enough of the illusion that the world's problems can be solved with nuclear weapons... Let us say farewell to arms and concentrate in a civilized manner on the most urgent problems of our time. This is the responsibility and most sacred duty of every statesman in the world. Furthermore, this is an indispensable requirement for mankind's survival." During the Sixth Conference of the NAM, Prime Minister Michael Manley of Jamaica praised Fidel Castro as "humane" and credited him for strengthening the forces committed to the struggle against imperialism in the Western Hemisphere. The final declaration also condemned the Camp David peace accords as an abandonment of the cause of the Arab peoples and an act of complicity with the continued occupation of Arab territories; the focus then was decolonization and development. Hans Köchler (ed.), *The Principles of Non-Alignment. The Non-aligned Countries in the Eighties. Results and Perspectives* (London: Third World Centre, 1982.)

<sup>41</sup> Author conversation with Cuban philosopher Magali Espinoza, Havana, May 2006

<sup>42</sup> Author conversation with Cuban curator Margarita Sánchez Prieto, Havana, April 2006

<sup>43</sup> Armando Hart Dávalos, *Arte, Política Cultural, Comunicación y Nueva Sociedad / Art, Cultural Policy, Communication, and New Society* (Lima: Ed. Causachun, 1989.). p. 27.

<sup>44</sup> Thomas McEvilley, "Arrivederci Venice: the Third World Biennials –reviews of Third World international art survey exhibitions." *ArtForum*, No.32.3 (November, 1993). p. 114.

<sup>45</sup> "But if works in the indigenous traditions are not apt to be seen, neither are the Western Modernist works that lie in the background: many of the works seem to be Third World embodiments of classical Modernism, with admixtures of regional points of view." *Ibid.* McEvilley, p. 115.

<sup>46</sup> República de Cuba, Ministerio de Cultura, *Principales Leyes y disposiciones relacionadas con la cultura y artes y la enseñanza artística*, Tomo II. (Havana: Gaceta Oficial de Cuba, 1984). p. 121.

<sup>47</sup> Lam's mixed-ethnicity as Cuban-Chinese (Spanish, Afro-Caribbean and Chinese) and multicultural training have been broadly studied; see: José Manuel Noceda, et al., *Wifredo Lam: La cosecha de un Brujo / Wifredo Lam: The harvest of a magician* (Havana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 2002).

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<sup>48</sup> Lam did not live in Cuba since 1942, however he returned with some frequency. According to the bibliographical notes in Jose Manuel Noceda's monographic work on Lam, in 1966 coming from France Lam paints *Tercer Mundo*, in celebration for the debates taking place in Cuba at the time. Ibid. Noceda, p. 340.

<sup>49</sup> The 26<sup>th</sup> of July Movement is the name selected by Castro and Guevara to commemorate an attack on the Santiago army barracks on July 26, 1953. The movement began formally in 1955 when Castro went to Mexico to form a disciplined guerrilla force. The leaders of the movement remaining in Cuba to carry out sabotage and political activities were Frank País, Armando Hart, and Enrique Oltuski. At this time the movement espoused a reform program that included distribution of land to peasants, nationalization of public services, industrialization, and mass education. After Castro's victory, the 26th of July Movement was integrated into the *Organizaciones Revolucionarias Integradas* in 1961. "26th of July Movement" *Encyclopedia Britannica*. 2007. Britannica Concise Encyclopedia. As in: January 2, 2007 <<http://concise.britannica.com/ebc/article-9073949/26th-of-July-Movement>>.

<sup>50</sup> The literacy campaign is considered the first and most symbolic of the programs of the revolutionary government. In the fall of 1960, during a record-setting, five-hour speech at the United Nations, Castro announced, "Cuba will be the first country of America that, after a few months, will be able to say it does not have one illiterate person." At the time, about a quarter of Cuba's population of roughly 4 million was illiterate. Most of them lived in the countryside. This reality was something the organizers of the campaign hoped would bridge the gulf between city and country. In few months thousands of brigades of students bolstered the island's 35,2000 teachers. Nearly 270,2000 teachers and students fanned out across the country armed with two lesson books and a lantern to teach by at night. The campaign ended in November 1961, Cuba's illiteracy rate had been slashed from 20 percent at the start of the year to just 4 percent. Luisa Campo Gallardo, the museum of Cuban Literacy director, argues that "complete literacy was unattainable because of 50,2000 Jamaican and Haitian immigrants on the island, plus the fact that some older Cubans, like her own grandmother, didn't want to learn to read and write." Nonetheless, a literacy rate of 96 percent put Cuba at the level of 'highly developed countries' as Japan, France, the Soviet Union, and Switzerland. Armando Hart Dávalos has published a series of books, among others: *Del trabajo cultural* (1978); *Cambiar las reglas del juego* (1983), *Cultura en Revolución* (1985); *Arte, Política Cultural, Comunicación y Nueva Sociedad* (1989); *Cubanía, cultura y política* (1993); *Hacia una dimensión cultural del desarrollo* (1996); *Cuba: Raíces del Presente* (1999); *Cultura para el desarrollo: El desafío del siglo XXI* (2001).

<sup>51</sup> "The system was designated to militarize the mentality of children. For example, in teaching the alphabet, the letter 'F' was introduced with 'el Fusil (the gun) de Fidel Fue (was) a la Sierra.' The letter 'R' was treated thus: 'Raul el faRo' (Raul Castro, beacon, bearer of light). 'CH' was the pretext for constructing the following phrase: 'Los MuCHaCHos y muCHaCHas quieren muCHO al CHE' (The boys and girls like Che Guevara very much)." Sam Dolgoff, *The Cuban Revolution: A Critical Perspective* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1976). p. 106

<sup>52</sup> One of the most active groups before the revolution was *Orígenes* -led by José Lezama Lima in the late 1940s and 50s (famous for their connection to Spanish poet Juan Ramón Jiménez). *Orígenes* had published a series of ephemeral journals and twenty three books, all of them remarkable in literary and poetry value. The enterprise was led by Lezama Lima and supported economically by Rodríguez Feo's sugar Money. Other writers of the group were, Lorenzo García Vega, Mariano Rodríguez, Guy Pérez, and Fina García Marruz. Other publications before the revolution were *Revista Avance* that shocked Havana provincial taste by publishing foreign writers in the 1950s, it became later on *Ciclón*. *Orígenes* and *Avance* were two major contributions to the avant-garde position of Cuban literature in the Spanish speaking world during the 1940s and 50s. Antoni Kapcia, *Havana: The making of Cuban Culture* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2005). p. 95-97.

<sup>53</sup> The group became almost a cultural phenomenon. It was able to issue the most radical international thinking of the period, publishing some books by new and radical writers and poets. It, even, had a TV spot (*Lunes en TV*) in which promoted world culture. If well *Lunes* was published with the blessing of the state, it felt in disgrace for tensions inside and with official institutions. Some of its members went to exile in mid 1960s, among others Guillermo Cabrera Infante, Lydia Cabrera, Eugenio Florit, and Severo Sarduy. Lisandro Otero, *Llover Sobre Mojado. Memorias de un intelectual Cubano* (Mexico: Planeta, 1999). p.76.

<sup>54</sup> Jaime Saruski & Gerardo Mosquera, *La Política Cultural de Cuba* (Paris: Unesco, 1978). p. 29.

<sup>55</sup> Haydée Santamaría (1922-1980) was one of the co-founders of the 26 of July Movement. She participated as guerrilla fighter in Sierra Maestra and before in the "Cuartel Moncada" take over. She was not the only woman, but one of the most important with Celia Sánchez (1920-1980), and Melba Hernandez among others. In September 4 1958 is created in Sierra Maestra the "Mariana Grajales" female platoon of the rebel army. After the triumph of the revolution, Haydée opened *Casa de la Américas*, an institution to bring the most important intellectuals, writers, and

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artists of the time. After some time, Casa turned its interest on Creole languages and had promoted Caribbean and Antillean writers and artists. It happened under the direction of Antonio Benítez Rojo in the Caribbean Institute of Casa.

<sup>56</sup> The *Revista Casa de las Américas* since 1960 had counted with the most prominent of the region's writers, it was directed by Santamaría until 1965 and later by Roberto Fernández Retamar becoming the Revolution's leading cultural forum. Other magazines such as; *Boletín de Música*, published from 1970 and *Conjunto*, directed to the performing arts community from 1964, in addition to catalogs and books of exhibitions and symposia are part of the wide spectrum of its bibliography.

<sup>57</sup> Lisandro Otero & Francisco Martínez H, *Cultural Policy in Cuba* (Paris: Unesco, 1972). p. 38.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. Otero & Martínez, p. 39.

<sup>59</sup> The creation of the *Cinemateca de Cuba* in 1961, under the direction of Hector García Mesa would become a forum for debate about film and its revolutionary power. The New Latin American Cinema would be in part being born out of these discussions, and later with the relationship with film makers and producers from Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, and so on. Between 1960 and 1968 ICAIC produced: 44 long films, 204 documentaries, 77 cartoons, 94 People's Encyclopedia (for the literacy campaign), and 435 installments of the *Latin American Film News Reel*. With the development of mobile-cinemas it screened 363.163 films to almost 40 million spectators. It worked with film makers from Viet-Nam (films *Hanoi* and *Martes 13*), Laos (*La Guerra Olvidada*), and several countries in Africa. In cooperation with Latin American film makers it had produced documentaries on guerrilla struggle, resistance, and reportage on student movements. During the 1960s and 1970s Cuban films won several prizes in film festivals around the world. Among others: Cannes, Biarritz, Mexico, and Budapest from. See Michael Chanan, *The Cuban Image: Cinema and cultural politics in Cuba* (London: British Film Institute, 1985). p. 44-45 & 102.

<sup>60</sup> The CNC was under the ministry of education and counted with a Research Center to publish Cuban authors, almost always in debate with the most progressive vies of those of *Lunes*. Its authority was enhanced after 1963 to organize, direct, coordinate, all cultural activity nationally and locally, and to rescue national culture. Instituto de Literatura y Lingüística de Cuba, M. García (ed.), *Diccionario de la Literatura Cubana* (Havana: Letras Cubanas, 1980). p. 231.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. Kapcia, p. 135.

<sup>62</sup> "El problema que aquí se ha estado discutiendo y vamos a abordar, es el problema de la libertad de los escritores y de los artistas para expresarse... La Revolución tiene que comprender esa realidad y, por lo tanto, debe actuar de manera que todo ese sector de artistas y de intelectuales que no sean genuinamente revolucionarios, encuentre dentro de la Revolución un campo donde trabajar y crear y que su espíritu creador, aun cuando no sean escritores o artistas revolucionarios, tenga oportunidad y libertad para expresarse, dentro de la Revolución. Esto significa que dentro de la Revolución, todo; contra la Revolución nada. Contra la Revolución nada, porque la Revolución tiene también sus derechos y el primer derecho de la Revolución es el derecho a existir y frente al derecho de la Revolución de ser y de existir, nadie." Fidel Castro, *Palabras a los intelectuales*. June 1961. Complete text of the discourse can be accessed from: <http://www.cubarte.cult.cu/fidel/6.html>

<sup>63</sup> Poster art became highly appreciated. Exhibitions in 1966 (in the Cuban Pavilion) and 1969 (1er Salón de Carteles) would show the most advance of the visual vocabulary. A complex mix of pop and op art, photo montage and deco style was trying to find a Cuban identity. Poster and politics were connected and both part of the everyday life of Cubans during those initial years of revolution. In conversation with Amparo León in Madrid 2006, she made her Doctorate dissertation on the issue. See also: Jorge Vega, *El Cartel Cubano de Cine*. (Havana: Letras Cubanas, 1996). In particular the article written by Adelaida de Juan, "La belleza de todos los días: Notas sobre diseño gráfico." p. 26-36.

<sup>64</sup> The *Escuela de Arte de San Alejandro*, located in the *Convento de San Agustín* was created by French painter Jean Baptiste Vermy in 1819, under the *Real Sociedad*. The academy followed European Models. Guillermo Sánchez Martínez, "Comienzos del Arte Escenográfico en Cuba" in Ana Cairo Ballester, *Letras. La Cultura en Cuba* (Havana: Ed. Pueblo y Educación, 1987). p. 405.

<sup>65</sup> Painters and visual artists were well aware of the developments in places such as Mexico and Uruguay. Because of the flux of intellectuals, artists, and exiles from the East were also aware of the Russian Avant-Garde, the proximity to the United States brought developments taking place in New York as well. Phillip Brenner, et al., *The Cuba Reader: The making of a revolutionary society* (New York: Grove Press, 1988). p. 487-98.

<sup>66</sup> Ambrosio Fornet and Norberto Codina Boeras, editor of *La Gaceta de Cuba* have called the five years before 1970 "Cuban culture's gray years." See: A. Fornet, "El intelectual en la Revolución" (1980); A. de la Fuente, *Una*

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*Nación para todo: Raza, desigualdad y política en Cuba* (2002); J. Franco, *The Decline and fall of the Lettered City. Latin America in the Cold War* (2002); A. Kapcia, *Havana: The making of Cuban culture* (2005); and J. Buckwalter-Arias, "Reinscribing the Aesthetic: Cuban Narrative and Post-Soviet Cultural Politics" *PMLA* Vol. 120, No. 2 (March 2005). p. 362–374.

<sup>67</sup> Third Cinema decries neocolonialism, the capitalist system, and the Hollywood model of cinema as mere entertainment to make money. The manifesto "Towards a Third Cinema," was written in the late 1960s by Argentine filmmakers Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, members of the Grupo Cine Liberación. It was Published in 1969 in *Tricontinental*, "Towards a Third Cinema" started by a quote of anti-colonialist writer Frantz Fanon: "...we must discuss, we must invent..." The distribution of posters in *Tricontinental* established a reputation for Cuban design in the 1970s; it was stopped, along with its publication in early 1990s, due to ink shortages and financial trouble during the special period. *Tricontinental* began to be printed again in 1995. In 2000, the decision was made to begin to reprint posters. The magazine is distributed around the world, and at its height, 87 countries received *Tricontinental*, and there were more than 100,2000 subscribers, mostly students. At one time, it was very common for posters from issues of *Tricontinental* to be posted on the walls of student community centres around the world.

<sup>68</sup> Not only "weirdoes," gays, and religious practitioners (Catholics and Christians), but also important writers and artists were censored; the work of Virgilio Piñeira, José Lezama Lima, Antonio Benítez Rojo, René Ariza (a playwright), Eduardo Herrera (of the *Caimán Barbudo*), and Reynaldo Arenas was prohibited, taken out of circulation, ban, and some sent to the camps.

<sup>69</sup> If Cuba does not have a document like the 1934 "On the Reconstruction of Literary and Art Organizations," it has many documents produced by the institution in control of cultural policy. The *UNEAC* cannot be compared with The Union of Soviet Writers that by early 1930s established the new cultural policy at the Congress of Socialist Writers in the Soviet Union. Although, many things have been said on the way artists had to comply with the new rules to avoid punishment, it cannot be paralleled to the Gulag labor camps in Siberia. Artists who strayed from the official line were put aside, insolated, and in few cases punished. A famous case, writer Reinaldo Arenas who migrated in early 1980s to the US in what is known as the *Mariel* period. In 1980, under international pressure, the Cuban government opened the port city of *Mariel* to any Cuban who wanted to leave for the United States. The Cuban American community mobilized to help, and within days, a massive flotilla of private yachts, merchant ships, and fishing boats arrived in *Mariel* to bring Cubans to Florida. In the six months the port remained open; more than 125,2000 Cubans were delivered to the U.S. These immigrants, known as the *Marielitos*, were much less affluent than previous generations had been. Many of them had been stigmatized and few thousands incarcerated in Cuba and then in the US because their "behavior" (gender wise or else). See: Reinaldo Arenas, *Antes que anochezca*. (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1992). The film produced by Julian Schnabel, *Before Night Falls* (2000) elaborates on Arenas memoirs. Other books assume the phenomenon in its social, economic, and politic complexity. See: Alejandro Portes & Rubén G. Rumbaut, *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

<sup>70</sup> The *Nueva Trova Cubana* would become a Latin American phenomenon in the 1970s, in addition to other protest song genres such as the Andean Music and figures like Victor Jara and Violeta Parra. Big names for Cuba and the region would emerge in these years: Silvio Rodríguez, Pablo Milanés, Martín Rojas, Roberto Novo, and groups like, *Los Mocada* and *Manguaré*.

<sup>71</sup> The creation of the Ministry of Culture was part of a reorganization of the central government in a moment of re-thinking its ties with the Soviet Union and to respond to the general radicalization of the policies, in terms of military participation in liberation struggles in Africa and Latin America. It has been said that the new model, embedded in the Cuban Constitution of 1976, would be a mix between communalist Russia and French democracy, where a decentralization would be embrace always within the control of a strong central policy making machine.

<sup>72</sup> Antonio Benítez Rojo (1931-2005) had worked before in Casa and lost his post during the "grey years". He had worked in the *Centro de Investigaciones Literarias* from 1970-1974. He returned to work in the Editorial Department (1976-1980) and the *Centro de Estudios del Caribe / Caribbean Studies Center* (1979-1980) before leaving Cuba for the United States.

<sup>73</sup> See a diagram in chapter four.

<sup>74</sup> The identification and rescue of folklore as the bases of any national style or identity would move the system to establish a vibrant dialogue between disciplines and the old cultural barrier (hi-lo). For example, the national ballet (highly Western in style and training) had to recognize and introduce the rich popular culture, during decades it has being acclaimed by world audiences. The network of *Casas de Cultura* (cultural centers), reading circles, libraries,

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museums, art galleries, etc., became an example for any third world country. Armando Hart Dávalos, *Arte, Política Cultural, Comunicación y Nueva Sociedad / Art, Cultural Policy, Communication, and New Society* (Lima: Ed. Causachun, 1989). p.18.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. Jaime Saruski & Gerardo Mosquera, p. 24.

<sup>76</sup> The *Mariel* episode, know also as the *Mariel* boatlift was a mass deportation and displacement of Cubans who departed from the city port of *Mariel*, north of Cuba, for the United States. Between April 15 and October 31, 1980 the Cuban government allowed anyone willing to leave the island to do so as a result of various facts; the take-over of the Ecuadorian embassy in Havana, around 1.500 people would entered it and ask for political asylum. The government used it as a means to get rid of the 'undesirables' of the society, such as criminals, homosexuals, misfits, cultural diverges, and mental patients. Around 125.2000 Cubans leave during the episode.

<sup>77</sup> *ISA* opened on September 1st 1976, using the much debated installations of the National Art Schools located in a former Country Club in Havana West. For an in-depth discussion about the debates around the art schools until 1976 see. John A. Loomis, *Cuba's forgotten Art Schools. Revolution of Form* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999). Especially chapters 4 and 6.

<sup>78</sup> Gerardo Mosquera, "An Indescribable Adventure: The new Cuban art" in *Transition*, Vol. 10.3 (2001). P. 124-133.

<sup>79</sup> Among the artists participating in *Volumen Uno* are performer Leandro Soto, conceptualist Gustavo Pérez Monzón, and painter José Bedia. Ana Mendieta happened to be in Cuba realizing her "carvings" in Jaruco Park outside Havana thanks to a Guggenheim fellowship and the release of tensions between the countries in early 1980s under the Carter administration. She assisted to the exhibition and introduced the young generation to "Marxist" minimal artist Carl Andre in a trip in 1982. Cuban painter Jose Bedia remembers meeting Andre on this trip. In that sense *Volumen Uno* became a landmark debut of the first generation of artists educated under the revolution. Other American artists traveled to Havana in trips organized by Mendieta. She, as a member of an artist exchange organized by the Cuban Cultural Circle, brought painters Rudolf Baranik and May Stevens in May 1982. Bedia regards Mendieta as part of the first rapprochement between Latin and Anglo artists, eager to act as a connector among the various art communities to which she belonged. See: "Forum: Art in Cuba." *Artforum* 21. No. 4 (December 1982) and Laura Roulet, "Ana Mendieta and Carl Andre: Duet of leaf and Stone." *Art Journal* (Fall 2004). p. 80-99.

<sup>80</sup> Luis Camnitzer explores in detail the role of the generation of *Volumen Uno* in the first chapter of his book "New Art of Cuba". In the introduction he narrates his experience of traveling to Havana for the first time in 1981. "*I went to the 'First Meeting of Latin American Intellectuals' in 1981. What I remember most about that trip is kitsch, recycling, and the new art generation... The new art generation was so impressive primarily because it was just that, a generation, formed by people educated after the Revolution, with no pre-revolutionary memories. Its members met regularly to discuss art-making problems in Cuba and their own work. A critic, Gerardo Mosquera, joined and provided them with a theoretical framework for their art. They were all under thirty, some still students, and well informed about both socialist and capitalist art and aesthetics. While sharing common concerns, they were developing distinct individual languages and showed a refreshing openness in their approaches. My ties with this group were strengthened in subsequent trips and later when three of the artists came to my college for a four-month artist-in-residence program.*" Camnitzer, *New Art of Cuba*. Intro and chapter 1.

<sup>81</sup> It is important to mention that Mosquera was part of the Ministry of Culture. As a civil servant he made part of the office of Plastic Arts since 1978. He is going to be one of the main subjects in the development of the first period of the Havana Biennale.

<sup>82</sup> Cuba was an active participant of the World Conferences organized by Unesco. It can be said that in part the success of Cuban cultural policy is associated to its openness with respect to meetings like these. If well Cuba sometimes acted against its own resolutions, as in the case of the Universal Copyright Convention of 1952 and the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1970). In other opportunities being central to the discussions and debates as in the case of the Declaration of Principles on International Cultural Cooperation of 1966, the Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1972, the UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice of 1978, the Recommendation concerning the Status of the Artist of 1980, and the Recommendation on Safeguarding Traditional and Popular Culture of 1989. Most importantly, the work of Mosquera and Saruski would be studied and distributed in the World Conference on Cultural Policies, MONDIACULT that took place in Mexico City, 1982.

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<sup>83</sup> Both tendencies can be seen in the articles written by Mosquera and the new generation of critics; Jaime Saruski, José Veigas, and Nelson Herrera among them, in magazines such as: *El Caimán Barbudo*, *Pensamiento Crítico*, and *Cultura y Revolución*. This issue is treated in depth in the second chapter.

<sup>84</sup> In conversation with Nelson Herrera Ysla, Havana, December 12, 2006.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> As explore by Sebastian Edwards, in “The Economics of Latin American Art: Creativity Patterns and Rates of Return”. The author uses two sources to determine the health of Latin American art market, the Leonard's Price Index of Latin American Art at Auction and Sotheby's (which pioneered Latin American art auctions in 1979), Christie's started later on. Sebastian Edwards, “The Economics of Latin American Art: Creativity Patterns and Rates of Return”. *Economía* 4.2 (2004), p. 1-35.

<sup>87</sup> A good description of the Cuban participation in the Sandinista affair can be found in Jorge Catañeda's *Utopia Unarmed*. In the book he comments on the role of the America Department of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, or the Ministry of Revolution, managed by Manuel Piñero. Piñero's participation in many of the revolutionary movements of Latin America during the 1960s and 70s is well known. He fell in disgrace after the coup in Chile that marked the end of arm Revolution in the region. “But by, 1978 it suddenly seemed that the Nicaraguan rebels might actually beat Somoza, and the armed struggle in Latin America returned to the fore. So did Piñero, albeit under different circumstances... Cuba served as a conduit between the Sandinistas and other revolutionary organizations. It supplied the Sandinistas with intelligence, communications, arms, and personal security for many of the FSLN's leaders. Towards the end of the war, it even provided the ‘equipment’ to launch a Sandinista Air Force, which played a minor but symbolic role.” In 1982 Manuel Piñero in his discourse “La crisis actual del imperialismo y los procesos revolucionarios de la América Latina y el Caribe” had said, “*Arms are indispensable for the triumph of any liberating revolution in the continent, and, more important, to preserve its continuity and full realization.*” See. Jorge Catañeda, *Utopia Unarmed. The Latin American Left after the Cold War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994). p. 59-61.

<sup>88</sup> Sujatha Fernández, *Cuba Represent! Cuban arts, state power, and the making of new revolutionary cultures* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2006). p. 9.

<sup>89</sup> David Craven, “Cultural Democracy in Cuba and Nicaragua during the 1980s” *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (summer, 1990), p. 100-119.

<sup>90</sup> “*De la misma manera debemos propiciar las condiciones necesarias para que todos esos bienes culturales lleguen al pueblo. No quiere decir eso que el artista tenga que sacrificar el valor de sus creaciones, y que necesariamente tenga que sacrificar su calidad. Quiere decir que tenemos que luchar en todos los sentidos para que el creador produzca para el pueblo y el pueblo a su vez eleve su nivel cultural a fin de acercarse también a los creadores... Creo que ese principio no contradice las aspiraciones de ningún artista; y mucho menos si se tiene en cuenta que los hombres deben crear para sus contemporáneos.*” “In the same way, we must produce the necessary conditions so that all those cultural goods arrive to the people. That does not mean that the artist must sacrifice the value of his creations, or sacrifice its quality. It means that we have to struggle to allow the creator to produce for the people. In that sense the people can raise its cultural level and can reach a creative state... I believe that this principle does not contradict the aspirations of any artist. Less if it is certain that men (artists) must create for their contemporaries.” Fidel Castro, *Palabras a los intelectuales*

<sup>91</sup> “En nuestro caso, la educación directa adquiere una importancia mucho mayor. La explicación es convincente porque es verdadera; no precisa de subterfugios. Se ejerce a través del aparato educativo del Estado en función de la cultura general, técnica e ideológica, por medio de organismos tales como el Ministerio de Educación y el aparato de divulgación del Partido. La educación prende en las masas y la nueva actitud preconizada tiende a convertirse en hábito; la masa la va haciendo suya y presiona a quienes no se han educado todavía. Esta es la forma indirecta de educar a las masas, tan poderosa como aquella otra. Pero el proceso es consciente; el individuo recibe continuamente el impacto del nuevo poder social y percibe que no está completamente adecuado a él. Bajo el influjo de la presión que supone la educación indirecta, trata de acomodarse a una situación que siente justa y cuya propia falta de desarrollo le ha impedido hacerlo hasta ahora. Se autoeduca. En este período de construcción del socialismo podemos ver el *hombre nuevo* que va naciendo. Su imagen no está todavía acabada; no podría estarlo nunca ya que el proceso marcha paralelo al desarrollo de formas económicas nuevas. Descontando aquellos cuya falta de educación los hace tender el camino solitario, a la autosatisfacción de sus ambiciones, los hay que aun dentro de este nuevo panorama de marcha conjunta, tienen tendencia a caminar aislados de la masa que acompañan. Lo importante es que los hombres van adquiriendo cada día más conciencia de la necesidad de su incorporación a la sociedad y, al

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mismo tiempo, de su importancia como motores de la misma.” Texto dirigido a Carlos Quijano, semanario *Marcha*, Montevideo, 12 de marzo de 1965. Ernesto Che Guevara, “El socialismo y el hombre en Cuba.” In: Ernesto Guevara, *Escritos y Discursos. Vol 8.* (Havana: Ed. Social Sciences - Ministry of Culture, 1977). p. 268.

<sup>92</sup> “Let us not attempt, from the pontifical throne of realism-at-any-cost, to condemn all the art forms which have evolved since the first half of the nineteenth century, for we would then fall into the Proudhonian mistake of returning to the past, of putting a straight-jacket on the artists expression of the person who is being born and is in the process of making himself or herself... The probabilities that important artists will appear will be greater to the degree that the field of culture and the possibilities for expression are broadened.” Ernesto Guevara, *Escritos y Discursos. Vol 8.* (Havana: Ed. Social Sciences - Ministry of Culture, 1977). Quote in: Craven. p. 102.

<sup>93</sup> Antonio Eligio (Tonel), “A Tree from Many Shores: Cuban art in movement” *Art Journal*, Winter 1998. p. 62-73.

<sup>94</sup> Luis Camnitzer, “La Habana: un imán que nuestro arte necesita” in *Granma*, Havana, February 15, 1987. p.7.

<sup>95</sup> “Nuestra relación con el arte es la de consumidores de lo producido por las metrópolis y (por tanto) la dependencia cultural nos obliga a vivir una relación de apropiación diferida: nuestro arte es el resultado de lo que otras culturas hicieron, en vez de una producción es una reproducción.” Néstor García Canclini, *Arte Popular y Sociedad* (Mexico: Grijalbo, 1977). p. 135-146.

<sup>96</sup> See Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford and Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

<sup>97</sup> About the issue of post-modernity and postcoloniality in Latin America see: Carlos Rincón “Modernidad Periférica y el desafío de lo postmoderno”; Anibal Quijano, “La Colonialidad del Poder y la Experiencia Cultural Latinoamericana” (1998); John Beverly, Michael Aronna & José Oviedo, *The Postmodernism Debate in Latin America* (1995); Santiago Colas, “Latin American Postcolonial Ideologies” (1995). These texts present a vision from the region in which geography, history, and theory entangle. Rincón’s work functions in relation to European currents of thought where Modernity is the byproduct of European colonialism and the industrial revolution and Latin America raises from its Western roots, Rincón using the novel as center for his discussion explains how Latin American culture is the result of its geo-political specificity with respect to the hegemonic one. Quijano’s “Colonialidad del Poder” explores from a historical perspective the development of the concept of race, and how it has produced series of practices of governmentality and production of subjectivity which had stagnated the whole region, nonetheless producing a wide range of cultural production. Beverly and Arona expand the notion and make a case on the multiple faces and applications that cultural theory has on the cultural production of the region and its application on multidisciplinary studies. Colas and others such as the Toro brothers also have worked the issue from a more philosophical and theoretical perspective.

<sup>98</sup> Alfonso del Toro, “Más allá de la 'postmodernidad', 'postcolonialidad' y 'globalización': hacia una teoría de la hibridez” ‘Estrategias de la 'postmodernidad' y la 'postcolonialidad' en Latinoamérica. *Hibridez' y 'Globalización'*. (Frankfurt: DFG-Projekt, Theorie und Kritik der Kultur und Literatur, Bd. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert. 2006). p. 9.

<sup>99</sup> del Toro goes to the bases of Latin American contemporary thought underlining how for Nestor García Canclini, Jose Joaquín Bruner, Jesús Martín Barbero, among others, as well as for more recent academics such as Carlos Rincón, Fernando del Toro, and Herman Herlinghaus the terms are one way or the other related to the unfinished project of modernity in the region. Alfonso del Toro, “Más allá de la 'postmodernidad', 'postcolonialidad' y 'globalización': hacia una teoría de la hibridez” ‘Estrategias de la 'postmodernidad' y la 'postcolonialidad' en Latinoamérica. *Hibridez' y 'Globalización'*. (Frankfurt: DFG-Projekt, Theorie und Kritik der Kultur und Literatur, Bd. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert. 2006). p. 9-36.

<sup>100</sup> The debate in Latin America has been recently fueled by the revision of the so-called Alternative, Peripheral, or Heterogeneous Modernity of Latin America. Postcolonial has not only been considered as an historical category but also a discursive dimension. In that regard new exchanges, interactions, complicities emerge giving to the discourse new tones and relevancy. For an introductory discussion refer to: Alfonso del Toro, “La Postcolonialidad en Latino América en la Era de la Globalización. Cambio de paradigma en el pensamiento teórico-cultural Latinoamericano?” In Alfonso and Fernando de Toro, *El Debate de la Postcolonialidad en Latinoamérica. Una Postmodernidad periférica o cambio de paradigma en el pensamiento Latinoamericano* (Frankfurt: Vervuert, 1999). p. 31-77.

<sup>101</sup> For Ortiz “la nacionalidad supone un crisol de razas y una cultura mestiza” (Nationality supposes a crucible of races and a racially mixed culture). Fernando Ortiz, *Contrapunteo Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar*, Prologo de Malinowski /*Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (Havana: Consejo Nacional de Cultura, 1964). p. 102.

<sup>102</sup> Bolivian anthropologist Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui has sustained that sugar is the drug of capitalism (making people obsessive and obese) and alcohol is the drug of colonialism (used as a tool of control – indigenous peoples

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have low tolerance to alcohol); meanwhile tobacco, marihuana, and coca are (were) ritual drugs of liberation for indigenous cultures, now part of global rings of traffic connected to regional wars and globalization. Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, "Las Fronteras de la Coca. Epistemologías coloniales y circuitos alternativos de la hoja de coca." Unpublished text. 2003.

<sup>103</sup> The first production of sugar from sugar-cane took place in India. Alexander the Great's companions reported seeing "honey produced without the intervention of bees" and it remained exotic in Europe until the Arabs started cultivating it in Sicily and Spain. Only after the Crusades did it begin to rival honey as a sweetener in Europe. The Spanish began cultivating sugar-cane in the West Indies in 1506 (and in Cuba in 1523). The Portuguese first cultivated sugar-cane in Brazil in 1532. The process of making sugar by evaporating juice from sugarcane developed in India around 500 BC. Sugarcane is a tropical grass, probably originated in New Guinea. During prehistoric times its culture spread throughout the Pacific Islands and into India. By 200 BC producers in China had begun to grow it too. Westerners learned of sugarcane in the course of military expeditions into India. Nearchos, one of Alexander the Great's commanders, described it as "a reed that gives honey without bees". The Sanskrit word for "sugar" (sharkara), also means "gravel". Similarly, the Chinese use the term "gravel sugar." A. C. Hannah & Donald Space, *The International Sugar Trade* (New York: J. Wiley, 1997). Introduction

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, p. 87-90.

<sup>105</sup> By 1550, approximately 3,200 small mills were built in the New World creating an unprecedented demand for cast iron gears, levers, axles and other implements. Specialist trades in mold making and iron casting were inevitably created in Europe by the expansion of sugar. Sugar mill construction is the missing link of the technological skills needed for the Industrial Revolution that is recognized as beginning in the first part of the 1600s.

<sup>106</sup> Mary Louis Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel writing and transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992). p. 173.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid. p. 174.

<sup>108</sup> García Canclini's more important books are: *Arte popular y sociedad en América Latina* (México: Grijalbo, 1977); *La producción simbólica. Teoría y método en sociología del arte* (México: Siglo XXI, 1979); *Las culturas populares en el capitalismo* (México: Nueva Imagen, 1982); *¿De qué estamos hablando cuando hablamos de lo popular?* (Montevideo: CLAEH, 1986); *Cultura transnacional y culturas populares* /ed. con R. Roncagliolo (Lima: Ipal, 1988); *Culturas híbridas. Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad* (México: Grijalbo, 1990); *Cultura y Comunicación: entre lo global y lo local* (La Plata: Ediciones de Periodismo y Comunicación, 1997); *Culturas Híbridas Estratégias para entrar e sair da Modernidade* (2ª ed. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 1998); *Las industrias culturales en la integración latinoamericana* /con Carlos Moneta (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1999); *La globalización imaginada* (Barcelona: Paidós, 1999); *Imaginario Urbanos* (2ª ed., Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1999); *Consumidores e cidadãos. Conflitos multiculturais da globalizacao* (Rio de Janeiro: Ed. UFRJ, 4. ed., 1999); *Latinoamericanos buscando lugar en este siglo* (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2002).

<sup>109</sup> Henry Samuel Magdoff (1913 - 2006), was for years the co-editor of the Marxist publication, *Monthly Review*. A prominent American socialist commentator and analyst, Magdoff held several administrative positions in government during the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Later in his life he was accused of being a spy for the Soviets, he was never indicted. *The Age of Imperialism* would become his first book published in 1969. *Pensamiento Crítico*, No. 43 (June, 1970). p. 7.

<sup>110</sup> Lee Oscar Lawrie (1877 - 1963) was one of the United States' foremost architectural sculptors and a key figure in the American art deco scene preceding World War II. His work includes the details on the Nebraska State Capitol building and many of the architectural sculptures at New York City's Rockefeller Center.

<sup>111</sup> This section uses many of Suarez observations comparing them with contemporary sources in order to assess his arguments and neutralized the "cold war" rhetoric of the book. Orlando Suarez Suarez, *La Jaula Invisible. Neocolonialismo y plástica Latinoamericana /The Invisible Cage. Neocolonialism and Latin American visual arts* (Havana: Ed. Ciencias Sociales, 1986). The quote is from his introduction, p 8.

<sup>112</sup> For a contemporary revision of U.S history on the issue, see: Gretchen Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire* (Duke University Press, 2005). Besides, small economic groups would become monopolies. Industrialist such as Havemeyer, Carnegie, and Rockefeller controlled sugar, steel, and oil respectfully. Morgan, Rockefeller, and Mellon would become major financial institutions. And others would control the nascent industry of automobiles (Ford). All of them would have interest in the arts and their activities in this front would impact greatly the art world. See. Frances Weitzenhoffer, *The Havemeyers: Impressionism Comes to America* (New York: Harry N. Abrahams Publishers, 1986).

<sup>113</sup> Ibid. Suarez Suarez, p. 13.



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<sup>114</sup> The Monroe Doctrine dictated in mid 19<sup>th</sup> century asserted the right of the U.S. to intervene in Latin America as its natural extension. In 1904, U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt added the Roosevelt Corollary when intervening in Panama and the West Indies; this was the largest extension that has ever been added to the Monroe Doctrine. The Corollary would be dismantled in the 1930s. However another would replace it, The Good Neighbor policy. “The minstrel shows not only accompanies colonization, it becomes a site of bloodless and landless victory” Gretchen Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire*. Duke University Press, 2005. p. 80.

<sup>115</sup> See a thoughtful exploration in: Sergio Guerra & Alberto Prieto, *Estados Unidos contra América Latina: dos siglos de agresiones* (Havana: Colección- Nuestros Países. Casa de las Américas, 1978).

<sup>116</sup> José A. Benítez, “Martí, Estados Unidos y América Latina” *Granma*, January 12, 1983.

<sup>117</sup> Ricaurte Soler, “José Martí, Bolívarismo y anti-imperialismo” *Casa del las Américas* (magazine) N.138 (Havana, May-July 1983) p. 41.

<sup>118</sup> Since 1815 in Jamaica, Bolívar had said: “How beautiful would be that the Isthmus of Panama were for us what Corinto was once for the Greeks... Hopefully we will have the fortune to install a Congress just like it.” What Bolívar envisioned was the understanding between all new nations, the unit of the Continent, “...to form a new, single nation with all the new nations.” In June 22, 1826 the Congress of Panama would intend to settle Bolívar’s old dream. The Congress was attended by New Granada, Venezuela, and Ecuador (as Grancolombian countries), Guatemala, Mexico and Peru. United provinces of Central America, Chile and Buenos Aires did not attend because of internal problems. Bolivia did not arrive in time to the summit and Great Britain sent an observer. Unfortunately, the congress did not arrive to a good conclusion either. After it, Latin American congresses took place in Lima (1847 and 48) and Chile (1863 and 64) trying to prevent the facts happening in the Caribbean with William Blake (that had named himself president of Nicaragua) and what was happening in Mexico (with Napoleon III and later with the U.S). See: Simón Bolívar, *Escritos fundamentales* Caracas: Monte Ávila, 1998. Gordon Cornel-Smith, *El Sistema Inter-Americano* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1971). p. 58-59.

<sup>119</sup> The Pan-American Union was the secretariat of the Union of American Republics from 1910 to 1948. The Union of American Republics succeeded the International Union of American States (1890–1910) and preceded the Organization of American States (funded in 1948). The International Union of American States was founded following the first International Conference of American States in Washington, D.C. (2 October 1889–19 April 1890), attended by representatives from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, and of course, the United States. From 1890 to 1910 the International Union of American States more or less operated as a branch of, and was based in, the U.S. Department of State. It was recognized as the Union of American Republics in a meeting in Buenos Aires in 1910, with the Pan-American Union as its secretariat. The organization was moved to the new Pan-American Union Building on Constitution Avenue and 17th Street NW in Washington, D.C. Following the formative meeting in Buenos Aires, Argentina, the Pan-American Union organized inter-American conferences in Santiago, Chile, in 1923; Havana, Cuba, in 1928; Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1933; and Lima, Peru, in 1938. The Pan-American Union also organized the meeting in Bogota, Colombia, in 1948 that led to the founding of the Organization of American States (OAS). In 1951 the Pan-American Union was officially renamed the Secretariat of the OAS. See. Mark T Gilderhus, *Pan American Visions: Woodrow Wilson in the Western Hemisphere, 1913–1921* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986).

<sup>120</sup> During his tenure as president, he founded the International Institute of Education –IIE.

<sup>121</sup> Bacon visited Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, and Panama (as Secretary of State during 1909-12, he obtained the advice and consent of the Senate for the Canal treaties of 1909 with Colombia and Panama) as the representative of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His mission, to broad and raise the interest and also the cooperation of the leaders of the region in furthering the purposes of the U.S. “Mr. Bacon’s trip marks one of the steps toward the development of closer cultural and intellectual ties with the countries of South America.” L.S.R. in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 63 (Jan 16, 1916), p. 298. See also: Robert Bacon, *For Better Relations with our Latin American Neighbors* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1915).

<sup>122</sup> By 1870, Rockefeller helped found the Standard Oil Company. Over a forty-year period, Rockefeller built Standard Oil into the largest and most profitable company in the world, with important fields in Latin America (Mexico and Venezuela in particular) and became the world's richest man. The close relationship between prevailing economic, political, and military priorities and the thrust of the Foundation's work in the field of malaria is explained

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in several documents. In spite of its relatively small financial investment in malaria research and eradication, the Rockefeller Foundation was able to reap enormous benefits from its work in this area. Not only was the Foundation able to increase the profit margins of the Rockefeller empire by ameliorating some of the dire economic consequences of malaria, but also it was able to use its participation to penetrate the public health field and consolidate the hegemony of scientific medicine. It has been also discussed the Rockefeller Foundation's attention to the malaria problem reflected more than mere philanthropic concern. See: Saúl Franco-Agudelo, "The Rockefeller Foundation's antimalarial program in Latin America: donating or dominating?" *Internat. J. Health Services* 13 (1983), Marcos Cueto Ed., *Missionaries of Science: The Rockefeller Foundation and Latin America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

<sup>123</sup> See: The Guggenheim Foundations objectives. As in: <http://www.gf.org/guggs.html>

<sup>124</sup> According to the World Bank, foundations are divided in six categories: Private, Family, Operating, Independent, Corporate, and Public foundations. Private Foundations are nonprofit organizations whose funds come from one source, whether it is an individual, a family, or a corporation. Family Foundations receive endowments from individuals or families. Family foundations show measurable donor or donor-family involvement, especially through participation on the foundation's board of directors (e.g. Turner Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund). Operating Foundations are private foundations that use the bulk of their resources to provide charitable services or run charitable programs of their own (e.g. J. Paul Getty Trust). Independent Foundation is in the form of an endowment, and even though wealthy families start many private independent foundations, no family members control the grant making. Because of their endowments, they are focused primarily on grant making and generally do not actively raise funds or seek public financial support. Their boards of directors often consist of people who are eminent in the fields of interest to the foundation. Of the largest private foundations in the United States, most are independent foundations, although they may have begun as family foundations (e.g. Ford, Rockefeller and MacArthur Foundations). Corporate Foundations or company-sponsored foundations are entities through which a corporation organizes and channels its philanthropic giving. The company-sponsored foundation is a separate, legal organization (501c3) subject to the same rules and regulations as other private foundations. Most corporate foundations maintain close ties with the donor company and the board of directors includes company executives (e.g. Bank of America Foundation, American Express Foundation). Public Foundations are legally classified as "public charities," public foundations are publicly supported nonprofit organizations and receive assets from multiple sources. They can be funded by contributions from individuals, corporations, governmental units, private foundations and fees for service. A public foundation must continue to seek money from diverse sources in order to retain its public status (e.g. Asia Foundation, UN Foundation, Vancouver Community Foundation). According to the World Bank directory this is a list of foundations that work with the Bank in projects, by October 2006, of interest in Latin America. Alcoa Foundation, Association Francois-Xavier Bagnoud, AVINA Foundation, Bernard Van Leer Foundation, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Blue Moon Fund, Citigroup Foundation, Clinton Foundation, Coca-Cola Foundation, Diageo Foundation, Earth University Foundation, Exxon-Mobile Foundation, Ford Foundation, Fundação Oriente, Fundação Assistência Médica Internacional (AMIs), Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Fundação Luso-Americana para o Desenvolvimento, Fundação Passos Canavarro, Fundación ONCE, Fundación Santillana, Fundación Banco Bilbao Vizcaya, Fundación MAPFRE, Galapagos Conservation Trust, GE Foundation, Global Fund for Children, Global Fund for Women, Global Greengrants Fund, Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, Ilidio Pinho Foundation, International Youth Foundation, Inter-American Foundation, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Levi Strauss Foundation, Open Society Institute & Soros Foundations Network, Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), Pfizer, Inc., Rabobank Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Rockefeller Foundation, Schwab Foundation, Shell Foundation, Tinker Foundation, United Nations Foundation, VolkswagenStiftung, W. K. Kellogg Foundation, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, World Childhood Foundation. Source: World Bank Web Page <http://web.worldbank.org/> Others corporations with regional interest and foundations working in the cultural field are, ESSO, Philip Morris, British American Tobacco, Jonnie Walker. More on this topic see. Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006).

<sup>125</sup> Of the 12,261: 4,481 were medical doctors and dentists; 3,114 nurses; 3,201 engineers; 1,158 scientist (mathematicians, biologists, and chemists); and 307 social scientists and artists. According to José A. Benitez, only in 1970 some 35,200 professionals abandoned the region to settle in the US. Most of them needed to replace or to be drafted in the Vietnam War. *Ibid.* Suarez Suarez, p. 25.

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<sup>126</sup> IIE was established in 1919, in the aftermath of World War I, by Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, Elihu Root, former Secretary of State and president of the Carnegie Foundation, and Stephen Duggan, Sr., Professor of Political Science at the College of the City of New York and IIE's first President. They believed that there could be no lasting peace without greater understanding between nations and that international educational exchange formed the strongest basis for fostering such understanding. The Institute was created to act as a catalyst for educational exchange. It met a real need for a central point of contact and source of information both for U.S. higher education and for foreign nations interested in establishing educational relations with the United States. IIE began organized student exchanges with several European governments as well as faculty and teacher exchanges. IIE President Stephen Duggan persuaded the government to create nonimmigrant student visas, bypassing post-war quotas set in the Immigration Act of 1921. During the 1930s the Institute established the Emergency Committee to Aid Displaced German Scholars, helping to find lectureships for these refugee scholars. IIE also assisted those fleeing from Spanish and Italian fascism. Expanding its activities outside Europe, IIE opened the first exchanges with the Soviet Union and Latin America. After the Second World War, the Institute was instrumental in establishing what it now NAFSA: Association of International Educators, the professional association of those who work for international education on campus. IIE also arranged for more than 4,200 U.S. students to study and work on reconstruction projects at devastated European universities. In 1946, the Institute began its administration of the graduate student component of the Fulbright Program. In the fifties, IIE became increasingly involved with assisting the developing world, managing programs concerned with public administration, food research, family planning, and other development-related fields for the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The flow of foreign students to the United States nearly doubled during this decade. IIE began producing on an annual basis statistical data on the foreign student population in the U.S. The Fulbright Program had expanded greatly. During the 1960s the Institute established overseas offices in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to meet growing needs for information about U.S. higher education. Donor-supported Educational Services were likewise expanded to meet the increasing demand for information on international education. In the seventies IIE undertook administration of the Venezuelan Government's "Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho" Scholarship Program which assisted nearly 4,200 promising young Venezuelans, many from disadvantaged backgrounds, to study in the United States in fields related to national development. IIE also assumed responsibility for a portion of the USIA International Visitor Program. IIE began administering the ITT International Fellowship Program, which for 17 years was an exemplary model of corporate involvement in international educational exchange. In 1978-79, IIE joined with the White House and USIA in planning the innovative Hubert H. Humphrey North-South Fellowships. The end of the decade also saw the beginnings of the South African Education Program, designed to prepare black South Africans for a post-apartheid future. The Institute began managing short-term, hands-on professional development projects and internships, largely through the administration of projects for USAIDs, and further extended its reach into Africa and Southeast Asia opening offices in Jakarta, Zimbabwe, Sri Lanka and Cairo. Innovative programs in journalism and human rights were added to the IIE roster. Taking advantage of improving relations with Communist governments, IIE developed the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Student Exchange Program in cooperation with the Soviet State Committee for Public Education and extended its educational advising services in the People's Republic of China. The International Education Information Center was opened at New York headquarters. Enrichment programs designed to introduce foreign students to American society and culture were developed. IIE also expanded its services for scientific and technical development, establishing the Department of Science and Technology, which currently manages USAID's worldwide Energy Training Project. Marking a significant commitment on the Institute's part to strengthening services in support of international cultural exchange, IIE merged with Arts International, Inc.(AI), bringing together IIE's worldwide outreach and program management experience with AI's information resources and assistance provided to arts professionals. The Institute celebrates 85 years of excellence in educating future leaders from the United States and around the world. IIE is initiating programs for leaders, managers, professors, and students in formerly Communist countries to learn about market economics and democratic institutions. Worldwide, IIE is working with policy makers and scientists to address the immensely complex task of solving environmental problems. As in: <[www.iie.org/Content/NavigationMenu/About\\_IIE1/Mission\\_and\\_Profile/History/History.htm](http://www.iie.org/Content/NavigationMenu/About_IIE1/Mission_and_Profile/History/History.htm)>

<sup>127</sup> It was until 1926 called Commission not Institute. After the end of World War II it would become UNESCO.

<sup>128</sup> The U.S Information Agency (USIA), has various precedents: Between 1939 and 1945, after the start of World War II in Europe, President Franklin Roosevelt established several agencies to counter the effects of Axis propaganda. One of the first is the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA), formed in 1940 to counteract German and Italian propaganda in Latin America. Nelson Rockefeller is CIAA's coordinator of

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commercial and cultural affairs between the U.S. and American Republics (exchange of persons, libraries, and binational centers). In 1941 several low-powered, commercially owned and operated transmitters are leased to the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs to broadcast to Latin America. In August 3, 1953 President Eisenhower creates the United States Information Agency (USIA) under Reorganization Plan No. 8, as authorized by the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948. The new agency encompasses all the information programs, including Voice of America (its largest element), previously in the Department of State, except for the educational exchange programs, which remain there (under Fulbright and the Rockefeller's control). Theodore Streibert is appointed the first USIA Director (1953-1956); he reported to the President through the National Security Council and receives complete, day-to-day guidance on U.S. foreign policy from the Secretary of State. In September 1961, The Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act (Fulbright-Hays Act; Public Law 87-256) consolidated various U.S. international educational and cultural exchanges, including the translation of books and periodicals and U.S. representation in international fairs and expositions, and established government operation of cultural and education centers abroad. By the end of the year, a Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs is established in the Department of State under an Assistant Secretary. See: Holly Cowan Shulman, *The Voice of America: Propaganda and Democracy, 1941-1945*. Madison, (WI: Wisconsin University Press, 1990), and Dizard Jr. Wilson P., *Inventing Public Diplomacy: The Story of the US Information Agency*. (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Renner, 2004).

<sup>129</sup> The article states that "The governments represented in the Seventh International Conference of American States, considering: That it is necessary to complement the political and juridical organization of peace with the moral disarmament of peoples, by means of the revision of text books in use in the several countries..." In a final note the delegation of the United States present apologies for not introducing the changes in their curriculum because of "United States differs form that in other counties of the America in that it lies entirely outside the sphere of activity of the Federal Government and is supported and administrated by the State and municipal authorities and by private institutions and individuals." Convention on the Teaching of History *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 28, No. 2, Supplement: Official Documents (April, 1934), p. 71-74.

<sup>130</sup> We find important counter examples in the introduction of local subjects in the work Mexican mural painters after the revolution, the indigenous rhetoric and visual promotion in the texts of Jose Carlos Mariategui in Peru, and the use of native icons during the arm struggle in Central and South America. In the Cuban case the example was the suppression of the real role that the U.S played during the Cuban independence of 1898 and the pos-independence control over the country that according to Fidel Castro in his early speeches was not historically accurate in school texts. They would change after the upcoming of the Revolution. Ibid. Suarez Suarez, p. 23.

<sup>131</sup> The murder was never resolved. Some theories point out in direction of international interests, the candidate was leftist, and had been the attorney who represented union workers (and police involved) against the United Fruit Co. that was under investigation for the killing of an undetermined number of banana workers in 1928. Arturo Alape, writer and researcher, is who worked for more than three decades in the issue. See: Arturo Alape, *El Bogotazo: Memorias del olvido* (Havana: Casa de las Américas, 1983); and his last work, *El Cadáver Insepulto* (Bogotá: Editorial Planeta Colombiana, 2005).

<sup>132</sup> Since World War II they have been coordinated efforts to create a central intelligence organism. Even before Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt was concerned about American intelligence deficiencies. He asked New York lawyer William J. Donovan to draft a plan for an intelligence service. The Office of Strategic Services was established in June 1942 with a mandate to collect and analyze strategic information required to conduct special operations not assigned to other agencies. During the War, the OSS supplied policy makers with essential facts and intelligence estimates playing an important role in directly aiding military campaigns. Since the early 1930s the FBI had been responsible for intelligence work in Latin America, and the military services protected their areas of responsibility. The 1947 National Security Act created the CIA charging it with coordinating the nation's intelligence activities and correlating, evaluating and disseminating intelligence which affects national security. It followed Donovan's directions and plan; it envisaged a powerful, centralized civilian agency would have coordinated all the intelligence services. He also proposed that this agency have authority to conduct "subversive operations abroad," but "no police or law enforcement functions, either at home or abroad." See "Factbook on Intelligence" *Central Intelligence Agency* (December 1992), p 4-5.

<sup>133</sup> See: Maurice Rheims, *35 Centuries of Art Collecting and Collectors from Midas to Paul Getty* New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1st edition, 1961. And Laura de Coppet, Alan Jones, *The Art Dealers: the powers behind the scene tell how the art world really works* (New York: C.N. Potter, 1984); Nancy Einreihof, *The American Art*

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*Museum. Elitism and Democracy* (London, New York: Leicester University Press, 1997) (in particular) chapter 7, "Capitalism and the American art museum: an analysis of the corporate influence" p.124-149.

<sup>134</sup> Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983).

<sup>135</sup> The other two were the Socio-Economic Council and the Juridical Council. After some time other councils have been created.

<sup>136</sup> Fragment from the text "La OEA y la Cultura" (OAS and Culture) published in a booklet produced by the Department of Cultural Affairs, OAS Washington, 1962.

<sup>137</sup> *Conferencias Internacionales Americanas*. Segundo suplemento 1945-1954, p. 289-294.

<sup>138</sup> Alfred Barr, former director of MOMA wrote a piece entitled "Is Modern Art Communist?" for the New York Times Magazine, noted the tragic irony of myopic censorship in what was supposed to be a free society, and in particular how the Soviet Union itself had labeled abstract art as decadent formalism in the early 1920s. This is the moment in which the new ideology would take place, in the U.S the collective pressure on abstraction, combined with the intimidating investigative activities of HUAC and manipulative politicking of McCarthy, made almost impossible for the federal government to fund exhibitions of Abstract Expressionist artworks. In 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall announced that tax money would no longer go to support modern art through the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC). In October 1953, A. H. Berding similarly announced that, since the United States Information Agency (USIA) was responsible for representing American culture abroad, nonrepresentational works would no longer receive federal support.

<sup>139</sup> Gomez Sicre was born in Cuba and educated at the University of Havana. He advised Alfred H. Barr, Jr., in the preparation of the 1944 Museum of Modern Art exhibition Modern Cuban Painters. He studied art history at both New York University and Columbia University. Alejandro Anreus, "Jose Gomez Sicre and the 'idea' of Latin American Art" *Art Journal*, Vol. 64 (winter, 2005). p. 86.

<sup>140</sup> As a matter of fact, Gomez Sicre was able to increase the interest of the OAS in Art, through the development of a Visual Arts Archive that by 1960 had more than 3,2000 entries. The exhibition program increased also from an insignificant number of shows during the 1950s, always attached to "good will" by part of ambassadors or high officials, to a 20 exhibitions planned in advance in 1960.

<sup>141</sup> In 1960 the collection had pieces by 46 artist from 15 countries. Among others: Argentina- Miguel Diomedes, Sara Grilo, Emilio Pettoruti, Lajos Szalay, and Mario Pucciarelli; Bolivia- Maria Luisa Pacheco; Brazil- Roberto Burle-Marx, Marcelo Grassmann, and Aldemar Martins; Chile- Pablo Buchard, and Roberto Matta; Colombia- Enrique Grau, Alejandro Obregon, and Eduardo Ramirez Villamizar; Cuba- Wifredo Lam, Rene Portocarrero, Rau Milián, Amelia Pelaez, Hugo Consuegra, and Jorge Camacho; Ecuador- Oswaldo Guayasamin; Guatemala- Rodolfo Abularach, Carlos Merida, and Roberto Ossaye; Haiti- George Liataud; Honduras- Jose Antonio Velasquez; Mexico- Jose Luis Cuevas, Manuel Felgueres, Alberto Gironella, and Diego Rivera; Panama- Alberto Dutary, Ciro Oduber, and Roger Muntanola; Peru- Joaquin Roca-Rey, Fernando de Szyszlo, and Armando Villegas; Uruguay- Pedro Figari, Carlos Paez Vilaro, and Rafael Barradas; Venezuela- Elsa Gramcko, Angel Hurtado, Alejandro Otero, and Oswaldo Vigas. Jose Gomez Sicre, *La Union Panamericana al Servicio de las Artes Visuales en America* Washington, 1960. (Booklet of the Museo de las Américas).

<sup>142</sup> Marta Traba, *Dos décadas vulnerables de las artes plásticas Latinoamericanas, 1950-1970 / Two Vulnerable Decades of Latin American Art, 1950-1970* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1973). p. 70.

<sup>143</sup> 59 artists were awarded in the national exhibitions. They became automatically in the vanguard of Latin American art for two decades. They are: Argentina – Felipe Aldama, Ary Brizzi, Victor Chab, and Rogelio Polesello; Brazil- Mauricio Salguero, Alberto Teixeira, Yukata Toyota, and Nicolas Vlavianos; Colombia- Fernando Botero, Feliza Burztny, Francisco Cardona, Alvaro Herran, and Nirma Zarate; Costa Rica- Lola Fernandez and Carlos Moya-Barahona; Chile- Gracia Barrios, Sergio Castillo, Juan Egenau-Moore, and Guillermo Nunez; Salvador- Carlos Canas and Victor Manuel Rodríguez; Guatemala- Rodolfo Abularach, Roberto Gonzalez, and Efraim Recinos; Haiti- Lionel Deroncourt, Maria Jose Cardere, and Montes Mericier; Honduras- Gelasio Jiménez and Arturo Luna; Mexico- Lilia Carrillo, Guillermo Castano, Fenando Garcia Ponce, and Oliver Seguin; Nicaragua- Silvio Miranda and Ricardo Sobalvarro; Panama- Antonio Alvarado and Guillermo Trujillo; Paraguay- Carlos Colombino, Hemann Guggiari, and Lothe Schulz; Peru- Roberto Guzman, Manuel Pereira, Fernando de Szyszlo, and Daniel Yaya; Puerto Rico- Olga Albiazu, Tomas Batista, Rafael Ferrer, and Luis Hernandez Cruz; Dominican Republic- Candido Bido, Gilberto Fernandez, and Domingo Liz; Uruguay- Ernesto Cristiani, Hermenegildo Sabat, and Ruisdael Suarez; Venezuela- Edgardo Guinard, Francisco Hung, Humberto Jaime-Sánchez, and Victor Varela.

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The winners in the Inter-American exhibition were: Painting, Rogelio Polesello from Argentina; in sculpture, Hermann Guggiari from Panama. *Salón ESSO de Artistas Jóvenes* (catalog) (Washington: Pan-American Union, 1965).

<sup>144</sup> A second and a third meetings were held in Chichén Itzá, Mexico (1964) and Puerto Azul, Venezuela (1967). IAFA director Robert Wool, was a former correspondent for *Look* who had traveled extensively in Latin America.

<sup>145</sup> The Inter-American Foundation for the Arts (IAFA) later became the Center for Inter-American Relations (CIAR) and, more recently, the Americas Society. "The Rockefeller Foundation and family alike were actively involved in this process: family members founded and directed the IAFA and CIAR, while the Foundation also provided translation subsidies and other grants. The Ford Foundation likewise was instrumental in promoting Spanish American literature in the U.S. (as well as abroad: it was one of the later sponsors of *Mundo Nuevo*, a Paris-based journal edited by Rodríguez Monegal that was critical in disseminating Boom works and criticism from 1966 to 1968). It patronized journals, launched an Intercultural Publications Program, and funded professorships at prestigious universities. Literary competitions of the early 1960s such as the Premio *Life* en español and the William Faulkner Foundation's Ibero-American Novel Award were similarly designed to encourage the production, translation, and visibility of Spanish American fiction in the U.S." Deborah N. Cohn, "A Tale of Two Translation Programs Politics, the Market, and Rockefeller Funding for Latin American Literature in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s." *Latin American Research Review* 41.2 (2006), p. 139-164.

<sup>146</sup> Twenty-two out of the 28 artists had moved to New York during the Cold War years, the rest of them the same year of the exhibit. Robert M. Wool, in the introduction to the catalog for *Magnet: New York* (September 21 - October 10), Bonino Gallery, New York.

<sup>147</sup> In a recent interview Catlin discusses his affiliation with the army during WWII, spying on German and Japanese activity in Chile while he taught North American art at the University of Chile, and his efforts to preserve art works from damage during the war. He mentions his work for the Museum of Modern Art, particularly his contribution to their exhibit of "mixed American art" in Mexico and the "odd" reaction of Mexican critics to the exhibition. He discusses the evolution of modern art in Latin America and speaks on the rebirth of Latin American art and culture in the 19th and 20th centuries, its presence in North America, and its surrealist and picaresque qualities. Series of Oral History Interviews, *Smithsonian Archives of American Art*. <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/oralhistories>

<sup>148</sup> For more information about it see: *Contemporary Latin American Artists: Exhibitions at the Organization of American States, 1941-1964*, compiled and edited by Annick Sanjurjo (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1997), the former archivist for the Museum of Contemporary Latin American Art at the Organization of American States in Washington, D.C., is the second volume of a two-volume reference work documenting all the OAS exhibitions of Latin American artists from 1941 to 1985; my text "Our Space is Our Time" (2006) that explores the effects of Area Studies in the construction of an accurate Art History for Latin America; "The Bizarre: Constructions of a parallel world" (2004) that describes the history of the Sao Paulo Biennale and the Museums of Modern Art in Rio and Sao Paulo; and my series of charts (in progress 2002) on 20th century Latin American Art (2002-2008).

<sup>149</sup> In October 1976 the Latin American Museum for Contemporary Art was open. In 1979 two meetings were held, one in Oaxaca and another in Villa de Leyva (Mexico and Colombia) with directors of the art museums of the region. The meetings were organized by Jose Gomez Sicre (OAS); Waldo Ramussen (MOMA); and Roger D. Stone (CIR) the objective was to establish a pact to circulate exhibition across a system that would group the museums. The name of the network was called UMLAC (Union de Museos de Latinoamerica y el Caribe).

<sup>150</sup> From an Associated Press release describing the success of the first Latin American auction at New York Sotheby's. AP, October 18, 1979. New York. "Along with many other businesses at the time, Sotheby's chose this period of rapid growth to "go public." The share issue in 1977 was oversubscribed 26 times, and within 18 months the value of a share had more than doubled. The early 1980s, a period of market and corporate uncertainty, was followed in 1983 by the acquisition of Sotheby's by businessman A. Alfred Taubman and a small group of investors. Led by Michael Ainslie, Sotheby's once again became a private company. At the same time, the art market was revitalized by several important sales that set the stage for the series of auctions at Sotheby's which have entered the history books for their drama, their prices and for the way they captured the public's imagination." Fragment from a "History of Sotheby's" by Sotheby's Marketing Information brochure.

<sup>151</sup> See the foreword for Latin American Art at Auction. Susan Theran, *Leonard's Price Index of Latin American Art at Auction* (Newton, MA: Auction, Index Inc., 1999).

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.* Theran, introduction.

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- <sup>153</sup> Néstor García Canclini, "Para una teoría de la socialización del Arte Latinoamericano" (For a Theory of Socialization of Latin American Art) *Casa de las Américas*, no. 89 (March-April, 1975), p. 99-119.
- <sup>154</sup> Néstor García Canclini, *Arte Popular y Sociedad* (Mexico: Grijalbo, 1977). p. 135-146.
- <sup>155</sup> "Si consideramos el objeto de estudio de la estética, es el proceso que abarca a los artistas, las obras, los intermediarios y el público. La historia del arte será la historia de las relaciones entre esos componentes, sus transformaciones de una cultura a otra: en suma, la historia de una cierta relación entre la práctica estética, sus condiciones de producción y los proyectos sociales en los que se busca superar dichas condiciones." Ibid. García Canclini, *Arte Popular*, p. 144.
- <sup>156</sup> Ibid. Suarez Suarez, p. 65.
- <sup>157</sup> Ibid, 65-66 and 98.
- <sup>158</sup> Marta Traba, *Dos décadas vulnerables de las artes plásticas Latinoamericanas, 1950-1970 / Two Vulnerable Decades of Latin American Art, 1950-1970* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1973). p. 120.
- <sup>159</sup> A discussion took place around the ESSO Exhibition in Venezuela in 1965. Marta Traba, "Tres días de controversia" (Three Days of Controversy) *Revista Nacional de Cultura*, Caracas, no. 71 (Sep-Oct. 1965)
- <sup>160</sup> Ibid. Traba, *Dos décadas*, p. 121.
- <sup>161</sup> "Cuando en diciembre 1976 asumí la responsabilidad de crear el Ministerio de Cultura y junto a un grupo de funcionarios emprendimos la tarea de organizar una basta red de instituciones culturales y, especialmente, artísticas, dentro del sistema de la economía del país, adquirí plena conciencia de la importancia y enorme complejidad que tenía el echo de que la producción espiritual (cultural) era fuente de riquezas económicas." Armando Hart Dávalos, "Cultura y Desarrollo: El desafío de nuestros tiempos" Opening speech for the Cultura y Desarrollo Summit, ISA Havana, June 14th 2000. *Cultural para el Desarrollo. Deafio para el siglo XXI* (Havana: Ed. Social Sciences, 2001). p. 134 -148.
- <sup>162</sup> Ibid. Kacpia, p. 172.
- <sup>163</sup> Other publications in which a new thought is found are the *Tricontinental Magazine*, the newspaper *Granma* and cultural supplement for the UNEAC among others.
- <sup>164</sup> In addition to the already mentioned other publications were; *Albur*, *Bastión*, *5 de Septiembre*, *Conceptos*, *Cuba Internacional*, *El Militante Comunista*, *Granma*, *Huellas*, *La Nueva Gaceta*, *Naranja Dulce*, *Opina*, *Quehacer*, *Sierra Maestra*, *Signos*, *Temas*, *Trabajadores*, *Tribuna de la Habana*, *Unión*, *Universidad de la Habana*, and 26, all functioning and publishin, some with problems, during the 1980s.
- <sup>165</sup> The book presents 43 articles written by 28 authors (among them three non-Cuban, Lucy Lippard, Luis Camnitzer, and John Brantley Mays). It uses 26 bibliographical sources in Cuba and during the research reviewed publications from 16 countries -that had published on Cuban art during the 1980s. Margarita González, Tania Parson, and José Veigas, *Dejame que te Cuente. Antología de la crítica en los 80s / Let Me Tell You. Critical antology of the 1980s* (Havana: Arte Cubano Ed., 2002).
- <sup>166</sup> The exhibition took place in the newly open *Centro de Arte Internacional*, in San Rafael Street. With participation of, Tomas Sánchez, Flavio Garcíandía, Rogelio López Marín, José Bedia, Ricardo Rodríguez Brey, Juan Francisco Elso, Gustavo Pérez Monzón, Israel León, Lisandro Soto, Rubén Torres Llorca, and José M. Fors. It opened in January 14, 1981.
- <sup>167</sup> Gerardo Mosquera, "Volumen Uno" Introduction to the Catalog *Volumen Uno*. Ibid. González, Partson & Veigas, p. 18-20.
- <sup>168</sup> "Esta actitud estética puede entrañar el peligro de tomar como orientación los derroteros trazados por la 'vanguardias' promovidas y manipuladas en las metrópolis." Angel Tomás, "Desafió en San Rafael. ¿Inicio de una ruta o retorno al pasado?" (San Rafael's Challenge: A new route or the return to the past? *El Caimán Barbudo*, no. 159 (Havana, March 1981). Ibid. González, Partson & Veigas, p. 22.
- <sup>169</sup> (Los 80 son) "el renacimiento Cubano para Luís Camnitzer, todo un movimiento de renovación para Mosquera, a mi juicio el quinto movimiento miliar en la historia de la plástica Cubana del siglo XX, luego de las tres generaciones de vanguardia antes del 59 y de la fértil reverberación de los 60." Rufo Caballero, "La década prodigiosa" *El Caimán Barbudo*, No. 263 (July, 1990). Quoted in: González, Partson & Veigas, p. 12-15.
- <sup>170</sup> The article appeared in *Art in America*, which have shown some interest on the Cuban scene. Luis Camnitzer would publish the first report covering the Havana Biennale in 1984 also in *Art in America*. Lucy Lippard, "Made in U.S.A: Art from Cuba" *Art in America* (April, 1986), p. 27 - 35. See also. Lucy Lippard's *Overlay: Contemporary Art and the Art of Prehistory* (1983), *Get the Message?: A Decade Of Art For Social Change* (1984)

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<sup>171</sup> Among others, Adelaida de Juan, *Las artes plásticas* (1968), *Pintura y grabado coloniales cubanos: contribución a su estudio* (1974), *En la galería latinoamericana* (1979), *Historia de Cuba. Las artes plásticas en Cuba*, (1980); *Caricatura de la República* (1981), *Conferencia-texto para la asignatura: Pintura y diseño gráfico de la Revolución 1959-1979* (1983), *Pintura cubana; toma y variaciones*, (1980); Orlando Suarez Suarez, *La Jaula Invisible* (1984); Manuel López Oliva, *El arte y los artistas* (1986). It was until 1987 when Luis Camnitzer (a non-Cuban) started to write a synthetic history of the new art that a real interest to tell what was happening took shape. It is thanks to Camnitzer's *New Art of Cuba* (1994) when the Cuban art of the 1980s and its Revolutionary history came into being for English readers. I have to acknowledge his work since it has given light to many of the initial thought in this research. See: Luis Camnitzer, *New Art of Cuba* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).

<sup>172</sup> Gerardo Mosquera, *Exploraciones en la Plástica Cubana* (Havana: Ed. Letras Cubanas, 1983).

<sup>173</sup> In one of the most interesting pieces of the book "Martí y Arte Abstracto" (Martí and Abstract Art), Mosquera makes a theoretical and historical approach to abstractionism, using as corner stone Martí's "ensayos sobre arte y literatura" (republished in Havana in 1976). The essay is a vehement defense of abstract art that had been until late 1970s under attack, during the 'grey years' and by the introduction of Soviet photorealism, and event American pop-art. It bring an array of non Cuban authors and artists such as Arnold Hauser, Boris Suchkov, Sidney Filkelstein, Levi Strauss, S.L. Rubenstein, and U.S. abstract artists such as Noland, Pollock, Motherwell, Kline, Rothko, Still, Newman, Kelly, and Louis. This section, in certain way, is the core of the book dividing it in two halves. Ibid. Mosquera, *Exploraciones*, p. 315-355.

<sup>174</sup> See "La gruta de las pinturas silenciosas" and "El arte abstracto de los aborígenes preagroalfareros cubanos." Ibid. Mosquera, *Exploraciones*, p.17-32.

<sup>175</sup> Such as in "Servando Cabrera Moreno: toda la pintura" (p. 87) and "Manuel Mendive y la evolución de su pintura" (p. 232). Ibid. Mosquera, *Exploraciones*.

<sup>176</sup> In photography see his "35 con la 35" (p. 214); in landscape and portraiture see "Acerca del paisaje y el retrato", Tomás Sánchez miró al paisaje Cubano" (p. 379). Ibid. Mosquera, *Exploraciones*.

<sup>177</sup> This section also has conversations and free essays on artists active in the 1970s. "Mi pintura es un acto de descolonización" (My Painting is and Act of Decolonization" (p.179). Ibid. Mosquera, *Exploraciones*.

<sup>178</sup> His text "Diez Nuevos Pintores" (p. 416) was an introductory text for a catalog of and exhibition that did not happen in 1980, one year later *Volumen Uno* took place (with eleven artists). The texts on Flavio Garcíandía y José Bedia are the evidence of his support to the new generation. See "La Pintura 'trascendentalita' de Flavio Garcíandía" (p. 450) and "Crónicas Americanas de José Bedia" (p. 460). Ibid. Mosquera, *Exploraciones*.

<sup>179</sup> Both, Ravenet (1905-1969) and Pérez Cisneros (1915-1953) were very active during the 1940s. Ravenet was a modern painter trained in Havana and later in Europe; Pérez Cisneros was an art critic and scholar (he wrote an scholarly volume on the history of Cuban art from XVI to late IXX century as part of his doctoral degree in 1942) then became a diplomat, better remember by his role in the "universal declaration of the right of men" during the 1948 UN meeting in Paris. They curated some of the most important art exhibitions of the Republican period. Among those exhibitions; *La Mujer a través del Arte* (1937), *El Arte en Cuba*, *300 Años de Arte en Cuba*, *Arte Cubano Contemporáneo* (1940), and the *Exposición de Cartografía, Urbanismo, Fotografía, y Grabados antiguos de Cuba*. All reached a wide audience and put the visual arts on the cultural map of Cuba. The ones on Colonial art were the first surveys on the subject, concretely acknowledging that Cuba had a tradition of colonial art worthy of scholarly and public attention. Most of them were accompanied by informative catalogues, which, as pointed by the same Guy Pérez Cisneros, "constituted for a long time the only library on Cuban art." Guy Pérez Cisneros, "La obra del pintor Ravenet," *Arquitectura* No. 132 (Havana Jun., 1944), p. 255.

<sup>180</sup> In the meeting also participated, Guy Pérez Cisneros, David Alfaro Siqueiros, Mario Carreño among others. See Guy Pérez Cisneros, "Pintura y escultura en 1943" *Anuario Cultural de Cuba*, 1944; Mario Carreño, "La plástica Cubana de hoy" *Universidad de la Habana*, (Sep-Oct 1952); David Alfaro Sequeiros, "Carta abierta a los pintores y escultores de Cuba" in Raquel Tibol, *David Alfaro Sequeiros y su obra* (Mexico: Ed. Empresa, 1969). A note on the meeting appears in *Museum of Modern Art Bulletin*, No. 5, (New York, April 5, 1944).

<sup>181</sup> Ibid. Gonzalez, Parsons, & Veigas, p. 285.

<sup>182</sup> Later on the work of Luis Camnitzer in exhibitions and as visiting professor in ISA would establish a real interest in conceptual art.

<sup>183</sup> This is going to be the first of a series of trips and work with Cuban artists during the 1980s. Camnitzer is considered the father of conceptual art in Latin America, but especially in Cuba. He worked for a short period as a visitor professor in ISA and was an active consultant for three Havana Biennales.



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<sup>184</sup> See a complete list of exhibitions that took place in Cuba, or related to the new Cuban art of the 1980s in: Gonzalez, Parsons, & Veigas, p. 283-305.

<sup>185</sup> “Por la proyección de su obra y por las Fuentes que la nutrieron la figura de Wifredo Lam –a través del Centro que lleva su nombre ha convocado a los artistas que forjan la imagen auténtica y contemporánea de un mundo que ha emprendido la reconquista de su propia identidad. En esta primera oportunidad, el llamado se ha circunscrito a los artistas plásticos de Nuestra América. En el futuro, estarán también con nosotros los de Asia y África.” From the preface for the First Havana Biennale catalog. Centro Wifredo Lam, Dirección de Artes Plásticas y Diseño, *Ira Bienal de la Habana* (Havana: Ministerio de Cultura, 1984).

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.* *Ira Bienal*.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.* *Ira Bienal*.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.* *Ira Bienal*.

<sup>189</sup> Eliseo Diego, “Presentación” *Catalog, First Havana Biennale* (Havana: Ministry of Culture, 1984). p. 10.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.* Diego, p. 11.

<sup>191</sup> In conversation with Nelson Herrera Ysla, Havana, April 12, 2006.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>193</sup> Osvaldo Sánchez, *Kuba o.k., Arte Actual de Cuba* Dusseldorf: Kunsthalle, 1990. P. 21. Osvaldo Sánchez has written about the 80s generation with a critical stand on the phenomenon. He considers a paradox the art produced which “was due undoubtedly to a loss of faith, the spiritual ruin of revolutionary thinking” and the official discourse of the time. Osvaldo Sánchez, *La isla posible* (Barcelona: Ed. Destino, 1995). p.105.

<sup>194</sup> Gerardo Mosquera, “The World of Differences. Notes on Art, Globalization and Periphery” *Neue Bildende Kunst* 4/5 (1995)

<sup>195</sup> Marcia Leiseca, wife of Osmani Cienfuegos, brother of Camilo Cienfuegos -a hero of the revolution- and secretary of the Council of Ministers at the moment of the creation of the Lam Center, became for the 1970s and 80s generation, in her position as vice-minister of culture, supporter of musicians (case of Silvio Rodríguez), artists, critics, and curators. For example, she was able to support the “conflictive exhibits,” in particular the ones that took place in the Castillo de la Real Fuerza. Actually, she was removed from the vice-ministry for and scandal with some of the exhibitions in question that depicted “not friendly” according to some of the more reactionary members of the cultural world. Short after, Leiseca returned to the cultural life as vice-president of Casa de las Américas, institution that used to be directed by her friend and colleague Aideé Santamaría (who died in 1980). Both shared a bourgeois background and enjoyed, because of their involvement during and after the Revolution, the consent of the regime. More in Jay Murphy, “Report from Havana: Testing the limits” *Art in America* Vol. 80, No. 10 (October, 1992), p. 65.

<sup>196</sup> These words present Llanes in a symposium organized by the Australian non-profit cultural organization “The South Project” in 2002. As in: [www.thesouthproject.org](http://www.thesouthproject.org). Llanes is currently writing her memoirs of the six Havana Biennales she participated. It will be published by the seal Arte Cubano in 2010.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.* South Project.

<sup>198</sup> The Russian philologist and literary philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin used the term chronotope to designate the spatio-temporal matrix which governs the base condition of all narratives and other linguistic acts. The term itself can be literally translated as “time-space.” Other scholars such as Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist state that the chronotope is a unit of analysis for studying language according to the ratio and characteristics of the temporal and spatial categories represented in that language. To this extent, a chronotope is both a cognitive concept and a narrative feature of language. Specific chronotopes could correspond to genres or could represent particular worldviews or ideologies. See Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, translated by Caryl Emerson & Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

<sup>199</sup> Llanes, Lillian, “La Bienal de la Habana” *Third Text* No.20 (Autumn 1992). p. 5-12.

<sup>200</sup> “This is not principally an academic or art-historical issue. By the mid 1990s, the international or global art show has become the prodigious exhibitionary mode of Western ‘national’ museums. Exhibiting art from the colonized or postcolonial world, displaying the work of the marginalized of the minority, dis-interring forgotten, forlorn ‘pasts’ - such curatorial projects end up supporting the centrality of the Western museum. Parallelisms suggest that there is an equidistant moment between cultures, and where better to stage it – who could better stage it? - That in the great metropolitan centers of the West. The promise of coequality with regard to space and representation may well be kept; the choice of worlds of art from ‘other’ cultures may well be catholic and non-canonical. All this may make ‘global art’ more readily available to the embrace of multicultural aesthetics of a meticulous archival study.... Sites

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of cultural difference too easily become part of the globalizing West's thirsts for its own ethnicity, for citation and simulacral echoes from Elsewhere." James D. Helbert, "Visual Culture Visual Studies" in Robert S. Nelson & Richard Shiff, eds., *Critical Terms for Art History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003). p. 449.

<sup>201</sup> Jose Manuel Noceda, born in September 24, 1959 in a little town called San Martin in the Matanzas province, Cuba.

<sup>202</sup> Currently Leticia Cordero works for the UNEAC and the Nicolás Guillén Foundation. The UNEAC is a social, cultural, and professional non-governmental organization with status II (two) in the Social Council of the United Nations. It is an autonomous and juridical entity that groups voluntarily following the notion of artistic excellence Cuban writers and artists in general. The UNEAC organizes the Cuban National Salon that has been taking place since 1969. This event, with a series of other of local interest, became central for the contemporary production of visual arts until the opening of the Biennale. .

<sup>203</sup> Luisa Campuzano, university professor in the area of Classic Literatures. Founder and director of the Women's Studies program at Casa de las Américas in Havana, as well as Professor of Literature at the Universidad de la Habana. Her distinguished list of publications on Latin American culture and history includes, most recently, a book on magical realist *Alejo Carpentier, Carpentier entonces y ahora* (1997) and the two-volume edited collection, *Mujeres latinoamericanas: siglos XVI al XIX*, published jointly in Havana and Mexico City. She is currently researching a book on Cuban women travelers to the U.S.

<sup>204</sup> This experience is going to take her to be the director of the Lam Center for the 8<sup>th</sup> Havana Biennale in 2003.

<sup>205</sup> Hilda M. Rodriguez was born in Havana, 1960.

<sup>206</sup> As a matter of fact, José Manuel Noceda is one of the most prolific authors on Wifredo Lam. He has published extensible on his work, life, and related topics.

<sup>207</sup> Ibis Hernandez used to be uncharged of the library and the documentation center, we tried to find the pieces of paper in the archives of the Lam Center; later on I went to the national archives to see if they were part of the administrative documents there, unfortunately I was not able to find them.

<sup>208</sup> The congress was inaugurated in April 23, 1971 and lasted a week (April 30). In it 1,700 delegates participated and raised their opinions on how to improve the Cuban education at the time. The documents produced there, in addition to what the political elite had brought to the table, became educational policies for the years to come, until the creation of the Ministry of Education (Law 1306, 1976) out of the new Cuban constitution in 1976. See. "Congreso Nacional de Educación y Cultura." *Bohemia* No. 18 (April, 1971) p. 56-57, and "Se clausura el Congreso Nacional de Educación y Cultura." *Granma*, La Habana, 1 de mayo de 1971.

<sup>209</sup> Rachel Weiss, "Visions, Valves, and Vestiges: The Curdled Victories of the Bienal de la Habana" *Art Journal* Vol 66, No. 1 (Spring 2007). p. 11-26.

<sup>210</sup> Clare Carolin, "Report from Havana" *Artnet* reviews, 1999. As in: <[www.artnet.com/magazine\\_pre2000/reviews/carolin/carolin11-16-99.asp](http://www.artnet.com/magazine_pre2000/reviews/carolin/carolin11-16-99.asp)>

<sup>211</sup> Starting with two important tour exhibitions: Los Hijos de Guillermo Tell (1990-91) and AnteAmérica (1992), which was co-curated by Carolina Ponce de León and Rachel Weiss.

<sup>212</sup> Many articles and papers have been written about the issue. For more information see: Elisa Facio, "Jineterismo during the Special Period" *Global Development Studies*, No. 3-4 (Winter 1998-Spring 1999). p. 57-78; David Forrest, "Prostitution and the New Cuban Internationalism" In: Frances Cleaver, ed., *Making Men Matter: Men, Masculinities and Gender Relations in Development* (London: Zed Books, 2001); and Julia O'Connell Davidson, *Prostitution, Power, and Freedom* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

<sup>213</sup> Alejandro de la Fuente, *Una nación para todos: Raza, desigualdad y política en Cuba. 1900-2000* (Madrid: Colibrí ed., 2000).

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.* de la Fuente, p. 434.

<sup>215</sup> More about Cuba's challenges during the period can be found in: Damián J. Fernández, *Cuban Studies Since the Revolution* (Gainesville: Florida International University, 1992); Graciela Chailloux, Rosa López Ocegüera, Silvio Baró Herrera, *Globalization and Cuba-U.S. Conflict* (Havana: Editorial José Martí, 1999); and Andrea Colantonio, Robert B. Potter, "Urban Tourism And Development in the Socialist State: Havana During the 'special Period'" (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2006).

<sup>216</sup> I refer to some of these exhibitons in chapter two.

<sup>217</sup> Gerardo Mosquera, "Dos Heterodoxos." text for the exhibition booklet of Ezequiel Suárez y Angel Delgado in Galería Khalo. 1994.

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<sup>218</sup> Osvaldo Sánchez, "Soñar con la espiral de Tatlin/Dreaming of Tatlin's Spiral," *Poliester: Pintura y No Pintura* No. 4 (1993), p. 15.

<sup>219</sup> Gerardo Mosquera, "Los Hijos de Guillermo Tell / The Children of William Tell," *Poliester: Pintura y No Pintura* No. 4 (1993), p. 21.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid. Report from Havana.

<sup>221</sup> At the moment of the interview Mosquera was organizing a series of events: a survey of work by the Brazilian artist Cildo Meireles co-curated with Dan Cameron at the New Museum (Nov. 19, 1999-Mar. 5, 2000); a group show, "No es Solo lo que Ves" ("It's Not Just What You See") of work by artists such as Felix Gonzalez-Torres and Mona Hatoum, "all of whom in some sense perverted the course of Minimalism" at Madrid's Museo Centro de Arte Reina Sofia in December; and a number of publications, including contributions to the second volume of *Cream*, the "contemporary art exhibition in a book" scheduled for publication by Phaidon in October 2000. Ibid. Report from Havana.

<sup>222</sup> Recently he had curated: *States of Exchange*, London, 2008; *Border Jam*, Montevideo, 2007; *Transpacific*, Santiago, 2007; *Liverpool Biennial International*, 2006 (with Manray Hsu); *Cordially Invited* (with Maria Hlavajova), Utrecht, 2004; *Panorama of Brazilian Art*, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Recife, Vigo, 2003; *MultipleCity* (with Adrienne Samos), Panama, 2003; "Perverted Minimalism, Madrid's Museo Centro de Arte Reina Sofia in December in 2000; in addition to edit and write for a number of international publications.

<sup>223</sup> "...critical reviewers of *The Other Story* who are of 'non-western' origin, notably Homi Bhabha and Sutapa Biswas, both in some ways echo the views of Sewell and Fuller. For example, Bhabha makes the point that the art of *The Other Story* is 'not very good.' Sewell makes the claim that the art is 'not good enough' and Fuller also attacks the work by saying that it has 'little if any aesthetic or artistic value.' This seems rather strong evidence then that the work shown in *The Other Story* was of limited quality. On the other hand, by what standards were the works of art judged? They were judged on rules and principles governed by a European or western art tradition. Therefore, the works of *The Other Story* will inevitably fall short of Sewell and Fuller's criteria." To see the entire discussion about issues of quality versus pertinency rose in the paper of Philip Lawrence-Hoyte and in response to the marginal work on this exhibition by writers such as, Babha, Sewll, Araeen, fuller, among others, see: Philip Lawrence-Hoyte, "The Oter Strory (1989)" *Q-Art London*. The London student-artist and writers' website. Accessed from <http://www.q-artlondon.com/>

<sup>224</sup> Margarita Sánchez refers to Shirin Neshat that had participated in 1989 and African artists such as the Nigerian Twins Seven Seven always treated as a craftsman who participated in 1989 and Beninese artist Romuald Azoume in 1997.

<sup>225</sup> Azucena Placencia, "El Centro Wilfredo Lam: Arte Contemporáneo" *Bohemia*, November 11, 1993, p.16-18.

<sup>226</sup> "Valoraciones, V Bienal de la Habana. Espacio Africano" in *Bohemia*, Cultural Magazine of the news paper *Granma* (March 9, 1993). p. 62.

<sup>227</sup> My parenthesis, Ibid. Valoraciones, p. 62.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid. Valoraciones, p. 66.

<sup>229</sup> Ibis Hernández Abascal, "On Resouces and Methods" *Heterogenésis* (Sweden) No. 55-56 (October, 2006), p. 32.

<sup>230</sup> Margarita Sánchez Prieto, "Concerning the Ninth Havana Biennale" *Heterogenésis* (Sweden) No. 55-56 (October, 2006). p. 12.

<sup>231</sup> Text presented in the second edition of *Generazione delle Immagini*, a series of conferences held at the Milan Triennale, Llanes contribution participated in the event titled "Sguardi Planetari" (Planetary Outlooks). It is a reflection on the fragmented and complex international art panorama. Lillian Llanes, "Polarization or Universalization of Art" (manuscript) Havana, 1992. Published by *Undo.Net* Network for Contemporary Art, Milan. As in: <[www.undo.net/cgi-bin/openframe.pl?x=/facts/Eng/elianes.htm](http://www.undo.net/cgi-bin/openframe.pl?x=/facts/Eng/elianes.htm)>

<sup>232</sup> Geeta Kapur presented her paper title: "Tradition and Modernity in Third World Fine Art" during the Third Havana Biennale in 1989.

<sup>233</sup> As a matter of fact, the CNAP asked not to include any Cuban artists not living in Cuba to be official participant of the Fifth Havana Biennale. After many discussions the Lam Center had to comply with the order and decided that no Cuban artists that had participated before in the Biennale would be able to participate in the 1994 staging of the event. It brought criticisms by part of the international press and the artists that had immigrated during the 'especial period'. Many of them famous by the time, in part because of the Biennale, became highly critical of the event itself and had brought an ill image among certain circles in the United States. See: Pedro de la Hoz, "Nuestro desafío no puede ser imitar el pasado sino adelantarnos al futuro" *Arco Noticias* 10 (Especial Arco'98. January, 1998). p. 2-6.

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<sup>234</sup> Nelson Herrera Ysla, "La Historia de la Bienal de la Habana" (The History of the Havana Biennale). As in: <[www.cubanet.com](http://www.cubanet.com)>

<sup>235</sup> Peter Ludwig, a chocolate industrialist and philanthropist, collected roughly 50,000 artworks and valuable pieces of craftsmanship, ranging from pre-Columbian sculpture to medieval manuscripts to paintings by Picasso. Also collected Pop Art, Russian avant-garde paintings and artworks that had been made under repressive governments in Cuba and elsewhere, including the more than 100 Cuban artworks that he bought in the early 1990's. "His other philanthropies in the art world included establishing a foundation to nurture the arts in Cuba, where he helped to subsidize the Fifth Havana Biennial art exhibition in 1994." Eric Pace, "Peter Ludwig, 71, German Art Collector, Dies" *The New York Times*, Arts. July 23, 1996. Antonio Zaya worked in creating a network of artists and curators that went from the Canaries, to the Mediterranean, to the Caribbean, to the Americas to Africa. He was editor of the magazine *Atlantica* for more than twenty years, curated and edited many shows, catalog and books on Canary, Caribbean, African, and Latin American art. He was also a poet, an art critic, a painter and a performer. Antonio died on September 2007; his twin brother of Octavio Zaya (also curator) survives him.

<sup>236</sup> Press release seventh Havana Biennale. Havana: Wifredo Lam Center, 1997.

<sup>237</sup> This point will be treated more deeply in chapter five.

<sup>238</sup> My interview with Hilda María Rodríguez, Havana, April, 2006.

<sup>239</sup> Rubén de Valle started his career as cultural agent being president of the Hermanos Saíz during the 1980s, later worked as assistant for the director of the Literature office at the Ministry of Culture. He helped to create and organize the Havana Book Fair, one of the most important cultural events in Cuba today. As member of the official elite he was appointed director of the Lam Center in 2005 to manage the ninth Biennale.

<sup>240</sup> During the four weeks of my visit to Havana during the ninth Biennale I was surprised for the few visitors, national and international to the event if comparing it with previous editions I had attended to.

<sup>241</sup> Brazilian photographer Sebastián Salgado commenting in his traveling exhibition in the Czech Republic, titled "Workers." Transcription of a note by Radio Prague. Dita Asiedu, Sebastiao Salgado's "Workers" tour Czech Republic by train (Radio Prague). 02-05-2005. Available from: <[www.radio.cz/en/article/66050](http://www.radio.cz/en/article/66050)>

<sup>242</sup> My interview with Magali Espinoza, Havana, April 2006.

<sup>243</sup> Llanes, Lillian, 'La Bienal de la Habana', *Third Text* No.20 (Autumn 1992). p. 9.

<sup>244</sup> Nelson Herrera Ysla, "Comunicación en tiempos difíciles: Uno más cerca del otro" (Communication in Difficult Times: Closer to each other). In Nelson Herrera Ysla, eds., *Coordenadas de arte contemporáneo /Coordinates in Contemporary Art* (Havana: Arte Cubano Editions, 2003). p. 22.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid. Herrera Ysla, p. 23.

<sup>246</sup> My interview with Ibis Hernandez Abascal, Havana, April 2006.

<sup>247</sup> My interview with Margarita Sanchez Prieto, Havana, April, 2006.

<sup>248</sup> My interview with Dannys Montes de Oca, Havana, April 2006 and Merida, June 2007.

<sup>249</sup> The conference was organized by Gerhard Haupt, in collaboration with Bernd M. Scherer for the Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin. The presenters were: Nelson Aguilar, Hans Belting, Carlos Capelán, Catherine David, Lorna Ferguson, Sebastián López, Jean-Hubert Martin, Gerardo Mosquera, Valerie Smith, among others. Gerardo Mosquera, "The World of Differences. Notes about art, globalization, and periphery" *Neue Bildende Kunst* No. 4/5, Berlin (1995). The text can be found in: <<http://universes-in-universe.de/magazin/marco-polo/e-mosquera.htm>>

<sup>250</sup> Ibid. The World of Differences.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid. The World of Differences.

<sup>252</sup> Manuel López Oliva, "Una bienal de otros mundos" *Arco Noticias* 10 (Especial Arco'98. January, 1998), p. 49-52.

<sup>253</sup> "In order to act in the word, we cannot sing in Kikongo, although we are still using, writing, reading, and singing in it. It is not productive to sing in French either; we have to 'make' French, to reinvent French, or at least to participate creatively in its inner cords in order to help the evolution of it." Gerardo Mosquera, "El Tercer Mundo hará la cultura occidental" *Revolución y Cultura* (July-Sep. 1986), p. 39-47.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid. López Oliva, p.51.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid. López Oliva, p.52.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid. López Oliva.

<sup>257</sup> The Prince Claus Fund for Culture and Development and HIVOS (Humanist Institute for Co-operation with Developing Countries), both from the Netherlands, as well as the AFAA (Association Française d'Action Artistique) dropped their financial support for the 2003 Havana Biennale. It happen after 75 members of the opposition were

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sentenced to long prison terms (up to 28 years) and 3 ferry hijackers were sentenced to immediate execution in April (2003), “the European Union sent a memorandum to the Cuban government on 5 June, in which it expressed itself as being ‘deeply worried’ about the violations of human rights and demanded the release of the political prisoners... Fidel Castro was so angered over this that he repeatedly and fiercely attacked the European Union in the period following, for instance in his speech on 26 July 2003 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the storming of the Moncada barracks he brought the issue. The Prince Claus Fund contributed 90,2000 US Dollars to the previous biennial, which was also supported by HIVOS. According to a statement by the organizers, the two foundations together were responsible for 70% of external support for the 7th Havana Biennial. Pat Binder and Gerhard Haupt, 8<sup>th</sup> Havana Biennale. *Universe in Universe: Worlds of Art* On line service for contemporary Art from the Third World. As in: <<http://universes-in-universe.de/car/habana/bien8/english.htm>>

<sup>258</sup> Among other participants were, Viktor Misiano (Russia), Paulo Venancio (Brazil), Andrés Serrano (Spain), Rasheed Araeen (Pakistan-UK), Fumio Nanjo (Japan), Yongwoo Lee (Korea), and Michael Sorkin (U.S.)

<sup>259</sup> Lillian Llanes, “Polarization or Universalization of Art” manuscript for a conference in Milan titled “Generazioni de la imagine: La squadra planetaria,” written in Havana in 1992. Published in *Undo.Net* Network for Contemporary Art, Milan. As in: <<http://www.undo.net/cgi-bin/openframe.pl?x=facts/Eng/elianes.htm>>

<sup>260</sup> Global South is another term in debate. In academic circles, the countries of the former Third World are known as the Global South, the developing countries, and the under-developed countries, as well as the disadvantage nations among other apelatives. Economists refer to these nations as the "Two-thirds World" and "The South" referring to the two-third not economically developed under capitalism. International agencies call them developing countries, but the term is disapproved by activists that argue that the term implies that industrialization is progressive. More on the topic is scattered presented in the edited text of the conference titled “Cultures of Globalization.” Frederic Jameson & Masao Miyoshi, eds., *The Cultures of Globalization* (Durham, London: University of Duke Press, 1998). An interesting discussion can be found also in: Pramod K. Mishra, “The Fall of the Empire or the Rise of the Global South?” *Rethinking Marxism*, Vol.13, No. 3 & 4 (September 2001), p. 95 – 99.

<sup>261</sup> Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970). p. 21.

<sup>262</sup> Szeemann invented the modern-day Großausstellung (“great exhibition”), in which the artworks are tied to a central concept and are assembled into new and often surprising interrelationships. His over 200 exhibitions were distinguished by a great abundance of material and a broad range of themes. Subversivness, alternative lifestyles and the Gesamtkunstwerk (“total artwork”) coming from Wagner's concept of a work which spans all the arts which his own exhibitions, in a certain sense, were also indebted. See: L'Ecole du Magasin International Curatorial Training Program, L'Ecole session 16 (2006-2007). Topic: Harald Szeemann, archive, and curatorial practice. A book would be edited as part of the 9<sup>th</sup> Lyon Biennale (Sep. 2007). As in: <<http://www.ecolemagasin.com/session16>>

<sup>263</sup> Harald Szeemann, *Ecrire les expositions* (Brussels: La lettre volée, 1996). p. 40.

<sup>264</sup> Robert Fleck, “If it's Tuesday, Interview with Hans-Ulrich Obrist” *Artforum* (May, 1995), p. 112.

<sup>265</sup> José Ignacio Roca was member curatorial team for the 2006 São Paulo Bienal and jury member in the 2007 Venice Biennale. José Ignacio Roca, “Curaduría Crítica” *Columna de Arena*, No. 10 (Sep. 1999). As in: <<http://universes-in-universe.de/columna>>

<sup>266</sup> John Tagg, “A Socialist Perspective on Photographic Practice” Three perspectives on photography, Hayward Gallery, Londres, 1979. Cited in Ferguson, Greenberg, Nairne, “Mapping international Exhibitions” in *Curating* (London: The contemporary art museum and beyond, Academy Editions, 1997). p. 30.

<sup>267</sup> Julian Stallabrass, “Artist-curators and the new British art” *Art and Design* Vol. 12, No. 1-2 (January-February 1997), p. 78-81.

<sup>268</sup> My interviews with Nelson Herrera Ysla, Havana, April 2006.

<sup>269</sup> My Interview with Ibis Hernandez Abascal, Havana, April 2006.

<sup>270</sup> My Interview with Margarita Sánchez Prieto, Havana, April 2006.

<sup>271</sup> *The Marco Polo Syndrome: an international symposium*, 11 and 12 April 1995. Organized by: Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin; Idea, concept, and direction Gerhard Haupt in collaboration with Bernd M. Scherer, HKW. Participants: Nelson Aguilar, Hans Belting, Carlos Capelán, Catherine David, Lorna Ferguson, Sebastián López, Jean-Hubert Martin, Gerardo Mosquera, Valerie Smith. Statement and works of artists: Pat Binder, Zvi Goldstein, Marina Abramovic, Sharif Waked, Rasheed Araeen. A photographic essay on Mexico by Ulrich Wüst illustrates the first section of the issue magazine. In collaboration with: Lateinamerika-Forum Berlin, German section of the International Association of Art Critics (AICA), art magazine *neue bildende kunst*. More information and reproduction of the text by participants can be found in: *Neue Bildende Kunst* 4-5 (1995).

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<sup>272</sup> Ibid, *The World of Differences*.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> My interview with Dannys Montes de Oca, Havana, April 2006.

<sup>276</sup> Sánchez departed Cuba in 1989 and nationalized Mexican in 1998, now lives in San Diego. Commenting on his experience as curator and Artistic Director of InSITE, "I'm open to complications. I'm attracted to doing things that offer a new experience," says Sánchez. "I see these interventions have a chance to do something where I can learn a lot, where I can be inspired even as I get crazy and tired." Robert L. Pincus, "Transborder exhibition aims to redefine relationship between art and public" *The San Diego Union Tribune*. August 21, 2005.

<sup>277</sup> My interview with Silvia Medina de Miranda, Barcelona, November 2006.

<sup>278</sup> In several articles Mosquera made the comment on how instead of being a temporal phenomenon, the New Cuban art has produced subsequent generations of artists that can be clearly identify. The 1990s generation has been described by the name "weed."

<sup>279</sup> Evald Ilyenkov was born in Smolensk in 1924. He started his studies at the Institute of History, Philosophy and Literature in the University of Moscow. After the World War he continued his studies and defended in 1953 his candidate thesis on the questions of dialectical logic in Marx's economic works. From 1953 to his untimely death in 1979 he worked at the Institute of Philosophy in the Academy of Science of the Soviet Union. His work was highly critical of the state of things in the Soviet Union in the 1960s and 70s. His views on the development of human personality continued the great tradition of cognitive psychology in the Soviet Union. One can understand that his independent views gave emphasis and a voice to ideas that were not very fashionable in the Soviet philosophy in the 1970s but make him a most interesting object of study among contemporary philosophers and psychologists in the West. See, Vesa Oittinen, ed., *Evald Ilyenkov's Philosophy Revisited* (Helsinki: Kikumora Publications, 2000).

<sup>280</sup> The project was modeled after a group of South Asian scholars, "the Subaltern Studies Group," led by Ranajit Guha, founded in 1980. It based its interest on discussions on the political discourse and the theories of colonialism and postcolonialism. The "Latin American Subaltern Studies Group" was founded in 1993 by five scholars, John Beverley, Robert Carr, Jose Rabasa, Ileana Rodriguez, and Javier Sanjines. Citing the trend of democratization in Latin America, the collective saw a need to re-examine the "concepts of pluralistic societies and the conditions of subalternity within these societies" (Latin American Subaltern Studies Group 110), they founded an academic collective that was simultaneously an academic and political project, seeking both a paradigm of post-coloniality rooted in subalternity. See: John Beverley, *Subalternity and Representation: Arguments in Cultural Theory* (Post-Contemporary Interventions) (Durham: Duke Press, 1999); Rodriguez "Is there a Need for Subaltern Studies?" p. 58; Rodriguez "Is There a Need for Subaltern Studies?" p. 44. Among the Asian group were: Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (who helped the Latin Americans when working in Pittsburgh); Gayan Prakash and Ranajit Guha among others. See: Ranajit Guha (Editor), *A Subaltern Studies Reader, 1986-1995* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

<sup>281</sup> Espinoza argues that it is shown in exhibitions like the ones taking place at the end of the 1980s, some of them censured. The exhibition series at the Castillo de la Fuerza and the Baseball game organized by some artists and critics, among other performances and happenings are indicators of such transition.

<sup>282</sup> Los Hijos de Guillermo Tell took place in Caracas (Alejandro Otero Museum) and Bogotá (Luis Angel Arango Galleries), in 1991. Ante América became the passport for Mosquera as international curator, organized by Carolina Ponce de León, Rachel Weiss, and Mosquera the exhibitions started in Bogotá, traveling to Venezuela, and finally the United States during 1992-4. See, Thomas McEvelley, "Ante-America" *ArtForum* (Jan, 1994), p. 91.

<sup>283</sup> Some of these figures fell into disgrace, García Buchaca faced a political trial and died in 1979 after 15 years of house arrest; Olga Andreu and Aideé Santamaría committed suicide; María Maya Surduts left for France and became a leader in the women's movement; Wanda Garatti returned to Italy after being expelled in 1974. Marta Arjona, Selma Díaz, and Marcia Leyseca, after some problems remain highly regarded as cultural figures in Cuba.

<sup>284</sup> Russian and Soviet posters from the twentieth century cover a wide range of social, political, historical and artistic topics. Soviet government supported poster campaigns that showed Russian women hard manual work. On the topic see: Cathy Porter, *Women in Revolutionary Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) especially chapter 4; Gregory James Massell, *The surrogate proletariat: Moslem women and revolutionary strategies in Soviet Central Asia 1919-1929* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); Victoria E. Bonnell, *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

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- <sup>285</sup> My interview with Hilda María Rodríguez, Havana, April 2006.
- <sup>286</sup> Desiderio Navarro, "Lam y Guillén: mundos comunicantes", in *Sobre Wifredo Lam* (Habana, 1986), p. 138-163; and "Leer a Lam" in his *Ejercicios del Criterio* (Habana, 1988), p. 151-168.
- <sup>287</sup> Gerardo Mosquera, "Wifredo Lam" *23<sup>rd</sup> Sao Paulo Biennial - Catalog* (São Paulo: Fundação Bienal do São Paulo, 1996). On-line version of the text in: < <http://www1.uol.com.br/bienal/23bienal/especial/iela.htm>>
- <sup>288</sup> Ortiz called it transcultural, Guillén used *mestizaje*, García Canclini hybridization, and even Camnitzer called it Spanglish.
- <sup>289</sup> Ticio Escobar, *El mito del arte y el mito del pueblo* (Asunción: R. Peroni Ed. & El Museo del Barrio, 1986). p. 119-131.
- <sup>290</sup> Mosquera quotes a work by a Brazilian anthropologist working in developing new ethnographies in the fashion of Eunice Durham's work. He mentions: Sérgio Figueiredo Ferreti, *Repensando o Sincretismo* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 1995).
- <sup>291</sup> Ibid, 23<sup>rd</sup> São Paulo Biennale.
- <sup>292</sup> Actually, syncretism is more associated with certain Afro-American religions, that according to a narrative of a harmonious synthesis, veils the character of these religions as African or Indigenous to adapt them to the new context.
- <sup>293</sup> Edward Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*. Charlottesville: Virginia University Press, 1999, 1-37. Antonio Benítez-Rojo's *Repeating Island* (1992) /see Heller, Ben A. "Landscape, Femininity, and Caribbean Discourse" *MLN* – Vol.111, No. 2 (March 1996), p. 391-416.
- <sup>294</sup> Gilroy argues for a modernity broad enough in scope not simply to include the marginal positions of slaves, but to put the "ungentle" aspects of slavery and terror as crucial and systematic enough to understand them at the heart of modernity, itself: "A preoccupation with the striking doubleness that results from this unique position-- in an expanded West but not completely of it-- is a definitive characteristic of the intellectual history of the black Atlantic." Paul Gilroy, *Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1994). p. 58.
- <sup>295</sup> Clement Greenberg's article "Avant-Garde and Kitsch" claimed that avant-garde and modernist art was a means to resist the "dumbing down" of culture caused by consumerism embodied in Kitsch. Greenberg termed this 'kitsch', a word that his essay popularized in the 1950s. "Kitsch is mechanical and operates by formulas. Kitsch is vicarious experience and faked sensations. Kitsch changes according to style, but remains always the same. Kitsch is the epitome of all that is spurious in the life of our times." Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," *Art and Culture*, 1968. p. 11. It was first published in the *Partisan Review* Vol. 6.5, fall 1939. p. 34-39.
- <sup>296</sup> "Recycling was present in everything from food to buildings... This policy, while making economical sense, sacrifices the development of an official architectural language. New government buildings are variations of the international style nicely spiced with tropical vegetation and, mostly, respectful of the human scale. Fascist wedding-cake style buildings constructed in honor of Batista's glory are now used for socially useful functions such as hospitals... The problem does not exist because of a lack of awareness but because of a scarcity of funds. It creates a critical situation that has been discussed by several Cuban architects. Between food and buildings I should mention the contributions of the ANIR (Asociación Nacional de Innovadores y Racionalizadores, or the National Association of Innovators and Rationalizers), a group designed to find alternative solutions for those technological products no longer available because of the U.S. blockade. When an institution needed hinges to build silkscreen drying racks, this group designed them by bending pieces of scrap aluminum that turn around nails. The whole printing industry was saved by ANIR, which was able to keep the presses functional by recreating missing and broken pieces. The paper industry was also reconstructed following this drive for a degree of self-sufficiency, and a process for paper-making was developed using 80 percent bagasse (cane remnants from the sugar production) content." Luis Camnitzer, *New Art of Cuba* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).
- <sup>297</sup> My interview with Nelson Herrera Ysla, Havana April and online conversation on December 2006.
- <sup>298</sup> My interview with Hilda María Rodríguez, Havana, April 2006.
- <sup>299</sup> I apologize for omissions on this chart. There are many people and institutions that are part of this research that do not appear in the credit pages of the catalogs published by the Biennale.
- <sup>300</sup> My interview with Abel Prieto, Cuban Minister of Culture. April 2006.
- <sup>301</sup> Ibid. Prieto.
- <sup>302</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>303</sup> Abel Prieto recognizes that in the last decade Cuban art has been a source of income for the Country and that a cultural economic policy has to be in place to re-assign any kind of income that the arts bring to the Cuban cultural world.

<sup>304</sup> Kurt Hollander, "Art, Emigration and Tourism: works by Cuban artists in last spring's fifth Havana Biennial foreshadowed the country's current massive exodus of boat people. (Report from Cuba)" *Art in America* Vol. 82 No. 10 (October, 1994). p. 41-47.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid. Hollander, p. 42.

<sup>306</sup> Orlando Gutiérrez Castillo & N. Gancedo Gaspar, "Tourist Development for the Cuban Economy" *ReVista Harvard Review of Latin America*, (winter, 2002), p. 203.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid. Gutierrez & Gancedo, p. 207.

<sup>308</sup> More on tourism in Cuba can be found in: Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island: tourism and temptation in Cuba* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997) and Peter C. Ripley, *Conversations with Cuba* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999).

<sup>309</sup> Ibid. Hollander, p. 41.

<sup>310</sup> During my years working in the Ministry of Culture of Colombia (1995-2001), we invited Cuban scholars and curators to inform our debates on art theory and to serve as jurors for competitive events in the country. At the time we were told that from their honoraries, 60% was taken as tax by part of the Cuban government.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid. Hollander, p. 42.

<sup>312</sup> Sujatha Fernández' interview with Manuel Gonzalez in: Sujatha Fernández, *Cuba Represent! Cuban arts, state power, and the making of new Revolutionary cultures* (Durham-London: Duke University Press, 2005). p. 144.

<sup>313</sup> Hans Haacke, *October*, Vol. 30. (autumn, 1984), p. 9-16. p. 12.

<sup>314</sup> Peter Ludwig collected also Pop Art, Russian avant-garde paintings and Cuban contemporary art. His collection, estimated in 50,2000 pieces included more than 100 Cuban artworks that he bought in the early 1990's. Later his foundation would acquire many hundreds more. "The Ludwigs donated or made long-term loans of artworks from their collection to many cities in Germany and elsewhere. Over the years, more than a score of museums in various countries have come to display works that the Ludwigs had acquired. The city of Cologne built and, in 1986, opened a museum bearing their name near the Cologne cathedral after Mr. Ludwig had given the city more than 300 American and European artworks from the 1960's. The Ludwigs later gave Cologne scores of works by Picasso, which led to the construction of another museum. Mr. Ludwig, who held a doctorate in art history, also played an important role in the founding of art museums in Budapest and in Coblenz, Germany, where he was born. His other philanthropies in the art world included establishing a foundation to nurture the arts in Cuba, where he helped to subsidize the Fifth Havana Biennial art exhibition in 1994." Eric Pace, "Peter Ludwig, 71, "German Art Collector, Dies" *The New York Times*, July 23, 1996.

<sup>315</sup> Interview with the producer, Natasha del Toro on her documentary: *Rough Cut: Cuba: The Art Revolution*. Frontline World, PBS on view, September 14, 2006.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid.

<sup>317</sup> History, architecture, music, film, and art are just a few of the areas that can provide added value for the development of a more integrated, sustainable, and sophisticated assortment of tourist offerings. Gutiérrez & Gancedo, p. 208.

<sup>318</sup> From the 1976 ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Tourism. ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Cultural Tourism is one of 16 international scientific committees of the International Council on Monuments and Sites part of UNESCO. In the 2005 meeting a panel discussion on the cultural tourism of art fairs and biennials took place including among other participants, Larry Rinder and Saul Ostrow.

<sup>319</sup> To see a research that evaluates the impact of cultural tourism in small cities in Europe. See: Bellini, Elena, Gasparino, Ugo, Del Corpo, Barbara and Malizia, William, "Impact of Cultural Tourism Upon Urban Economies: An Econometric Exercise" (September 2007). *Social Science Research Network*, FEEM Working Paper No. 85.2007 Available at: <<http://ssrn.com/abstract=1011975>>

<sup>320</sup> "Recent literature is full of reports indicating that cultural tourism is growing and that cultural tourists spend more, stay longer, and tend to stay at hotels rather than campgrounds or with friends/family more than do 'general' tourists. Consequently, these tourists would be deemed 'desirable' in terms of the economic contribution to the state or a region." Gail A. Vander Stoep, "Changes of Estimating and Using Economic Impact for Cultural Tourism" Manuscript for the Proceedings of the *2004 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium* GTR-NE-326. Michigan State University. p. 109-116.



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<sup>321</sup> See: John Byrne, "Contemporary Art and Globalisation: Biennials and the Emergence of the De-Centred Artist" *International Journal of the Humanities*, Volume 3, Issue 1, pp.169-172.

<sup>322</sup> That is the case of Shanghai, Gwangju, Singapore, Taipei, Cairo, Athens, Auckland, Seville, Dakar, Cuenca, Istanbul, Prague, Sharjah, etc. See my chart with a list of Biennials in the world.

<sup>323</sup> Hans Belting, "Contradiction and Criticism" In: Annette W. Balkema & Herk Slager, eds., *The Archive of Development* (Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi Editions, 1998). p. 25-26.

<sup>324</sup> Other biennial that falls into this model is the Liverpool Biennial in its efforts to regenerate the city. See a thoughtful discussion on the issue in: Hammad Nasar, "Sharjah Biennial: Less Oil More Courage" for *Art world Salon*, a blog in contemporary art. As in Tuesday April 17, 2007, <<

<http://www.artworldsalon.com/blog/2007/04/17/sharjah-biennial-less-oil-more-courage/>>>

<sup>325</sup> Nasar asks the question of "Infrastructure for whom?" he comments how the majority of its population in the Arab Emirates is expatriate - an astounding 78 percent. "And a large percentage of this is composed of male immigrant labor from the Asian subcontinent, living with limited rights and virtually no voice. In fact, most of the technical teams in the Museum, and the laborers in the Sharjah Expo Centre, where larger-scale installations are housed, came from the North West Frontier Province in Pakistan." Continuing with his discussion on the artists participating in the Biennial who addressed the issue were, "Dan Perjovschi's finely weighted cartoons, and a collaborative project between e-Xplo (Erin McGonigle, Heimo Lattner, and Rene Gabri) and Ayreen Anastas in the form of public sound installations (also produced as a CD) of migrant workers singing or reciting poetry in their mother tongues. Of the more than 80 artists present, just one (Ranjani Shettar) came from the subcontinent, and precisely zero from China. And while I would hate to argue for a UN model for international art events, I was disappointed to see that Sharjah's version of "international" seemed to look mostly westwards." Ibid. *Art world Salon*.

<sup>326</sup> Dermis P. León, Havana, Biennial, Tourism: The Spectacle of Utopia. *Art Journal* Vol. 60, No. 4 (winter, 2001), p. 71.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid. León, p. 72.

<sup>328</sup> My interview with Rubén del Valle Lantarón, Director of Visual Arts. Ministry of Culture, Cuba, Havana, April 2006.

<sup>329</sup> The Prince Claus Fund contributed 90,000 US Dollars to the Seventh biennial, which was also supported by HIVOS. According to a statement by the organizers, the two foundations together were responsible for 70% of external support for the 7th Havana Biennial. The support was dropped after 75 members of the opposition were sentenced to long prison terms (up to 28 years) and 3 ferry hijackers were sentenced to immediate execution in April 2003. The European Union sent a memorandum to the Cuban government on 5 June, in which it expressed itself as being "deeply worried" about the violations of human rights and demanded the release of the political prisoners and publish a document limiting the participation of EU institutions in Cultural Events. Pat Binder and Gerhard Haupt, "8<sup>th</sup> Havana Biennale" *Universe in Universe: Worlds of Art* On line service contemporary Art from the Third World < <http://universes-in-universe.de/car/habana/bien8/english.htm>>

<sup>330</sup> My interview with Rubén del Valle Lantarón, Havana, April 2006.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid. Gutiérrez & Gancedo, p. 208.

<sup>332</sup> During the writing stage of this work Kevin Power and Magali Espinoza published their book *Nuevo Arte Cubano*. Rachel Weiss in an article on the Havana Biennale published by the *Art Journal* (Spring 2007) has expressed the forthcoming of her book on Cuban Art of the 1990s, she is working for a volume on the Third Havana Biennale in 1989. Lillian Llanes is also working in her memoirs of the six editions she worked as Director.

<sup>333</sup> To name two of them; Nelson Herrera Ysla, *Ojo con el Arte* (Havana-Bogotá: Letras Cubanas, 2004) and Nelson Herrera Ed. *Coordenadas de Arte Contemporáneo* (Havana: Arte Cubano Ediciones and Wifredo Lam Center, 2003).

<sup>334</sup> Gerardo Mosquera, "The World of Differences. Notes on Art, Globalization and Periphery" *Neue Bildende Kunst* 4/5 (1995).

<sup>335</sup> Terry Smith, "The Provincialism Problem", *Artforum* (Sept. 1974), p.54-59; Thomas McEvelley, "Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief: 'Primitivism' in 20th-Century Art at the Museum of Modern Art in 1984," *Artforum* No. 23.3 (1984), p. 54-61; McEvelley, "Arrivederci, Venice: The Third World Biennials" *Artforum* No. 32.3 (Nov 1993), p. 114-118; Thomas McEvelley, "History, Quality, Globalism, II," Skopje, Macedonia: Museum of Contemporary Art, January, 1995. For more on the work of McEvelley see. Thomas McEvelley, G. Roger Denson, *Capacity: History, the World, and the Self in Contemporary Art and Criticism* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

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<sup>336</sup> Ibid. The World of Differences.

<sup>337</sup> My Interview with Hilda María Rodríguez, Havana, April 2006.

<sup>338</sup> My interview with Dannys Montes de Oca, Havana, April 2006 and Merida, June 2007.

<sup>339</sup> My interview with Magali Espinoza, Havana, May 2006.

<sup>340</sup> Sugatha Fernández, *Cuba Represent! Cuban arts, state power, and the making of new Revolutionary cultures* (Durham-London: Duke University Press). p. 143.

<sup>341</sup> According to Fernández, “New state-managed galleries sold Cuban artwork to foreign buyers for dollars; the artists receive up to 70% of the sale price and the remainder was retained by the state. Ibid. Fernández, p. 143.

<sup>342</sup> Osvaldo Sánchez, “The Children of Utopia” *Third Text* Vol. 7 (summer, 1989), p. 40.

<sup>343</sup> Enzo Di Martino, *The history of the Venice Biennale: 1895- 2005 visual arts, architecture, cinema, dance, music, theatre* (Venezia: Papiro Arte, 2005). p. 143.

<sup>344</sup> “A partir da XVII Bienal las obras pasaron a ser agrupadas pelo sistema da analogía de linguagem e não por países, seguindo metodologia proposta por Walter Zanini. In 1981 the XVI. En 1983 - A XVII Bienal manteve a mesma estrutura da anterior. Sua grande conquista foi ter 50% do orçamento pago pela iniciativa privada. Além de exposições de artistas nacionais e estrangeiros houve, ainda, duas grandes mostras de arte plúmria brasileira.” From the 16<sup>th</sup> Bienal art-woks would start be grouping by analogy and country of origin. Following a method proposed by Walter Zanini. In 1983 the 17<sup>th</sup> Biennial kept the same structure. Its major achievement is to get 50 percent of its funding from private institutions. Besides the exhibitions by Brazilian and foreing artists, the event presented two big exhibitions of Brazilian Painting. Fundação Bienal de São Paulo, As in: <[www1.uol.com.br/bienal/23bienal/pbienal.htm](http://www1.uol.com.br/bienal/23bienal/pbienal.htm)>.

<sup>345</sup> Leon Paroissien the Artistic Director of the 1984 Biennale of Sydney stated that, “The theme of the Fifth Biennale of Sydney was my response to a succession of international exhibitions I had seen in Europe: The ‘Aperto’ section of the 1980 Venice Biennale (shown in the Magazzini del Sale), Westkunst in Köln in 1981, and in 1982, the Venice Biennale, Documenta, and Zeitgeist, a major international survey shown in the recently restored Martin Gropius Baud in Berlin, in the same year. Common to these exhibitions was a focus on the resurgence of figuration, with an emphasis especially on so-called Neo-expressionist painting. Bill Wright’s 1982 Biennale of Sydney surveyed for Australian audiences many of the newly prominent artists spanning expressionist and other figurative tendencies, and I found myself questioning the category labels being applied to work that was quite dissimilar in its intent.” It counted with the presence of Latin American artists such as: Antonio Dias, Gonzalo Díaz, Cildo Meireles, and Eugenio Dittborn and super stars such as Joseph Beuys, Tony Crag, Juan Davila, Marlene Dumas, Hans Hacker, Jenny Holier, Anselm Kiefer, Mike Kelley, Art & Language, Cindy Sherman, among others. Access from: <http://www.biennaleofsydney.com.au/history>

<sup>346</sup> In his text for the exhibition “While Cuba Waits”, Kevin Power analyzes the production of Cuban artists during the 1990s and argues that they are the real representatives of the postmodern condition of the 1980s. His inputs have an interesting perspective since he build on the work of Gerardo Mosquera and Osvaldo Sánchez who are clearly major figures in the dissemination of the Cuban scene from the 1980s on. Kevin Power, *While Cuba Waits, Art from the nineties* (Santa Monica, CA: Smart Art Press, 1999).

<sup>347</sup> The prizes were named alter Latin American artist that had established an international awareness of the art produced in the region. In doing that the organizers wanted to rein scribe Latin American art into the main narrative of art history.

<sup>348</sup> Centro Wifredo Lam, *Sobre Wifredo Lam. Ponencias de la Conferencia Internacional Ira Bienal de la Habana* (Havana: Letras Cubanas Ed., 1986).

<sup>349</sup> Luis Camnitzer, “Report from Havana: The First Biennial of Latin American” *Art, Art in America*, Vol. 72. No. 11 (December, 1984), p. 41-50.

<sup>350</sup> See chapter two for more information on the issue.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid. Report from, p. 41. The Exhibition was opened in May 17, and curated by W. Rubin successor of Alfred H. Barr. “It would have been quite correct, I think, to suggest that blockbuster exhibitions of this sort have converted the museums that embrace them into agencies of mass culture, for something less easily categorized—a cultural development that has not yet been defined or described—resulted from this planned introduction of huge new crowds into museums hitherto largely devoid of them. But if the blockbuster exhibition did not transform the museum into a branch of mass culture, it nonetheless brought us a fairly radical change in the museum-going public. It created, in effect, a new public which, while lacking both the knowledge and the sensibility to be found in the elite art public, must all the same be differentiated from the mass public that seeks its principal cultural gratifications in

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television and other commercial entertainments, professional sports events, and similar mass-market enterprises, and takes no interest whatever in the experience of high art.” For more information about the re-opening of the MoMa in 1984 see. Hilton Kramer, “MOMA Reopen” *New Criterion* -special summer issue on the occasion of The Museum of Modern Art’s reopening in 1984. (Summer, 1984).

<sup>352</sup> Camnitzer brings the fact that an institution such as MoMa has been defined with the help of metropolitan millionaires on his board of directors, colonial millionaires on its international council, access to embassies and international circulation through the State Department. All these aspects helped in the definition of a closed version of internationalism and world-art, and their implantation as universal value versus marginal ones. *Ibid.* Report from, p. 42.

<sup>353</sup> My online interview with Luis Camnitzer, January 2008

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid.* Report from, p. 43.

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid.* Report from, p. 43.

<sup>356</sup> Press releases reporting on the number of artists, exhibitions, and pieces appeared constantly in *Granma* and other publications during the first weeks of the Biennale, some photos with general views also. However, very few, if any, critical approaches to the Biennale were published. What is remarkable is the impact the event had on art students, scholars, and practitioner artists. The discussions were lively and productive in studios, class rooms, and the public artistic sphere.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.* Report from, p. 49.

<sup>358</sup> Antonio Benitez Rojo, “Introduction,” *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective*, trans. James Maraniss (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2nd ed., 2001). p. 4.

<sup>359</sup> At the time other scholars such Paul Gilroy were working from the same perspective and even beyond the territory in question. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

<sup>360</sup> See list of artists in the exhibition in a document attached at the end of the text.

<sup>361</sup> Evidence of the amount of events can be found in the opening pages of the catalog of this edition of the Biennale.

<sup>362</sup> Many variables, such as excessive military spending, nationalism, rigid centralization, and so on, were in play during those years. The United States were growing at speed rate and was introducing changes into the economy that was becoming less contingent to state regulation, which produce –at least initially great wealth. It appears that Soviet Russia was not able to create a culture adequately permeable to the dynamics of an ongoing science-fed technological flow and the corruption of the central planning was out of control.

<sup>363</sup> Armando Hart Dávalos, “Presentación. Segunda Bial de la Habana” *Segunda Bial de la Habana. Catalog* (Havana: Centro Poligráfico Alfredo López, Ministerio de Cultura, 1986). p. 13-15.

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.* p.15.

<sup>365</sup> Again the publication was posterior to the event. Centro Wifredo Lam, *Plástica del Caribe: Ponencias de la conferencia internacional II Bial de la Habana* (Havana: Letras Cubanas Ed., 1989).

<sup>366</sup> Juan Acha, “Reafirmación Caribeña y sus requerimientos estéticos y artísticos” in *Plástica del Caribe: Ponencias de la conferencia internacional II Bial de la Habana* (Havana: Letras Cubanas Ed., 1989). p.13.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.* p. 19.

<sup>368</sup> Robert Farris Thompson, “El Signo de los Cuatro Momentos del Sol: el arte y la religion Kongo en América” in *Plástica del Caribe: Ponencias de la conferencia internacional II Bial de la Habana* (Havana: Letras Cubanas Ed., 1989). p. 83-114.

<sup>369</sup> Gerardo Mosquera, Africa Dentro de la Plástica Caribeña (Africa in the Visual Arts of the Caribbean) in *Plástica del Caribe: Ponencias de la conferencia internacional II Bial de la Habana* (Havana: Letras Cubanas Ed., 1989). p.137-164.

<sup>370</sup> John Povey, “Segunda Bial de la Habana” *African Arts*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (May, 1987), p. 82-84.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid.* p. 83.

<sup>372</sup> Kwame Nkrumah, 1909-1972 became the first prime minister and later president of Ghana. He was born in Nkroful in what was then the British-ruled Gold Coast, the son of a goldsmith. A firm believer in African liberation, Nkrumah pursued a radical pan-African policy, playing a key role in the formation of the Organization of African Unity in 1963. As head of government, he was less successful however, and as time passed he was accused of forming a dictatorship. Nkrumah was the motivating force behind the movement for independence of Ghana, then British West Africa, and its first president when it became independent in 1957. His numerous writings address Africa's political destiny. In 1964 he formed a one-party state, with himself as president for life, and was accused of

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actively promoting a cult of his own personality. Overthrown by the military in 1966, with the help of western backing, he spent his last years in exile, dying in Bucharest, Romania, on April 27, 1972. His legacy and dream of a "United States of African" still remains a goal among many.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid. Povey, p. 84.

<sup>374</sup> For an interesting discussion about contemporary exhibitions see: Jena Marc Poinot, "Large Exhibitions" in Reesa Greemberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, Sandy Nairne, *Thinking About Exhibitions* (London & New York: Routledge, 1996). p. 50-52.

<sup>375</sup> Lillian Llanes, "Presentación" *Tercera Bienal de la Habana '89. Catalogo* (Havana: Letras Cubanas Ed., 1989). p.15.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid. p. 16.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid. p. 17.

<sup>378</sup> See Michael Hardt & Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

<sup>379</sup> Juan Acha, "Introduction. Tradición y Contemporaneidad en el ambiente del tercer mundo: Su descripción y sus tres problemas principales" in *Debate Abierto Tradición y Contemporaneidad en el Ambiente del Tercer Mundo* (Havana: Centro Wifredo Lam, 1989).

<sup>380</sup> Ibid. p. 7.

<sup>381</sup> Acha sets historical periods for each manifestation: Feudal craftsmanship from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries; renaissance aesthetics from 13<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries; and the modern design starting in the 18<sup>th</sup> century to today. Ibid. p. 5.

<sup>382</sup> Sergio Magalhaes, "Tradición y contemporaneidad en el ambiente del tercer mundo." *Debate Abierto Tradición y Contemporaneidad en el Ambiente del Tercer Mundo* (Havana: Centro Wifredo Lam, 1989). P. 27.

<sup>383</sup> Roberto Segre, "Angustia y Esperanza en le Fin del Milenio: Pasado, presente y futuro del 'Tercer Ambiente'" *Debate Abierto Tradición y Contemporaneidad en el Ambiente del Tercer Mundo* (Havana: Centro Wifredo Lam, 1989). p. 72.

<sup>384</sup> Luis Camnitzer, "The Third Biennial of Havana" *Third Text* No. 10 (Spring 1990), p. 79 – 93.

<sup>385</sup> Ibid. p. 89.

<sup>386</sup> Ibid. p. 83.

<sup>387</sup> Luis Camnitzer, "Un laboratorio vivo: La Habana, Cuba". *Arte En Colombia* No. 43 (Feb 1990), p. 64.

<sup>388</sup> The exhibition was by artists Eduardo Ponjuán and Rene Francisco Rodríguez in the Castillo de la Real Fuerza in September of 1989. They had produced a series of paintings using the image of Castro with an ambivalent meaning. After the incident, Leiseca was appointed Vice-President of Casa de las Américas. Ibid. Camnitzer, Third Biennial, p. 86.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid. p.83-85.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid. p. 84.

<sup>391</sup> Dorea's *Earth Project* was developed initially in 1980 and went on for ten months in the Bahia region at the North East of Brazil, a cattle region. His initial intention was to establish a space of dialog and communication for the peoples of that region that at the time was suffering of lack of identity; issue that for the artist was central in coming into terms with their social and cultural reality. Dorea's work is connected to the trend in contemporary art in which art becomes a social healer – a trend with special presence in Brazil- allowing participants to establish spaces of discussion and connection were creativity and physical experience produces a social catharsis. Kátia Maria Bastos, "Percepção Estética: um diálogo no Sertão." *Revista Digital Art&*. Vol. II. No.01 (April, 2004). Accessed from: <<<http://www.revista.art.br/site-numero-01/trabalhos/pagina/06.htm>>>

<sup>392</sup> Pía Barragán, "III Bienal de la Habana. La Bienal del Tercer Mundo. Entrevista a Pierre Restany." *Arte en Colombia*. No. 43 (February, 1990), p. 56.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid. p. 57.

<sup>394</sup> Restany's participation in the academic event was central for the changes the Biennial would experience by its fifth installment. The multi-focal exhibition in 1994 would be called by Restany as the apex of the Havana Biennale.

<sup>395</sup> Interview with Gerardo Mosquera. *Arte en Colombia*. No. 43 (February, 1990), p. 59.

<sup>396</sup> James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

<sup>397</sup> Leslie Judd Ahlander, "La Bienal amplía su panorama" *Arte en Colombia*, No. 43 (February, 1990), p. 71.

<sup>398</sup> The end of history was a theme explored during those years. In particular by neoconservatives such as Francis Fukuyama, in his book *The End of History and the Last Man*. Fukuyama argued that the progression of human

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history as a struggle between ideologies is finished, with the world settling on liberal democracy after the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Fukuyama predicted the eventual global triumph of political and economic liberalism. "What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such... That is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government." Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992).

<sup>399</sup> It is necessary to refer also to the exhibition *World Cultures and Modern art*, presented in Munich on the occasion of the 1972 Olympics.

<sup>400</sup> Ben Hossain mentions Gros and Girodote on Egypt and Delacroix depictions of Morocco, or the founding of the art academy of Cairo in 1908 as signs of participation in the modern narrative. Brahim Ben Hossain Alaoui, "Introducción al Arte Contemporáneo Árabe" *Cuarta Bienal de la Habana. Catálogo* (Havana: Letras Cubanas, 1991). p. 32-38.

<sup>401</sup> The author of the text makes a complete exercise of writing history in Western term, even establishing a series of aesthetic valuations attached to Western tradition, but also rescuing others such as the ones developed by the Iraqi collective led by Ahakir Hassan Al Said and called "the only dimension of art inspired by letters" which fuses Muslim aesthetics and formal aesthetics. This fact would be illustrated in exhibitions brought to Havana by the Lam Center. Something remarkable about his text is the fact that even from the 1950s it seems exist an 'interarab' identity where in development, artists from the region were in constant flux and exchange. Brahim Ben Hossain Alaoui, "Introducción al Arte Contemporáneo Árabe" *Cuarta Bienal de la Habana. Catálogo*. (Havana: Letras Cubanas, 1991). p. 35.

<sup>402</sup> According to the editorial note, "the initial idea was to publish a selection of papers and reviews of the various exhibitions that took place during the Biennale, due we lacked the resources to realize this ambition. However, once the idea of this issue became known, we began to receive material which went beyond our original intention, and the issue developed its own momentum." The Editor, *Third Text*, No. 20 (autumn, 1992), Foreword.

<sup>403</sup> Lillian Llanes, "La Bienal de la Habana" *Third Text*, No. 20 (Autumn, 1992). p. 5-7.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.* p. 7.

<sup>405</sup> Guy Brett, "Venice, Paris, Kassel, São Paulo and Habana" *Third Text*, No. 20 (autumn, 1992), p. 13-22.

<sup>406</sup> For more about the 24<sup>th</sup> São Paulo biennial see my text. *The Bizarre: constructions in parallel worlds* (2004).

<sup>407</sup> The 27<sup>th</sup> São Paulo Biennial was curated by Lisette Lagnado and her curatorial team, consisting of Adriano Pedrosa, Cristina Freire, José Roca and Rosa Martínez, as well as Jochen Volz as guest curator. It presented 118 international participants under the concept "Como viver junto" (How to Live Together). Topic inspired by Roland Barthes' lecture series "Comment vivre ensemble", which he presented at the Collège de France in 1967-77. For the first time the Biennial abandoned its model of national representations. Compiled from a press release of the biennial, *27<sup>th</sup> São Paulo Biennial*, October – December, 2006.

<sup>408</sup> Since then Documenta had integrated a more global perspective, the 1997 Documenta directed by Catherine David was not only historical, was global. The 2002 Documenta under Okwui Enwezor artistic direction addressed the post-colonial constellation. The 2007 installment made a revision on the role of feminist theory and practice in contemporary art going back to the 1960s and 1970s.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.* 17

<sup>410</sup> Some of Nandis's work during the time address the reductive way Western studies look at popular culture. See: *The Tao of Cricket: On Games of Destiny and the Destiny of Games*. New Delhi; New York: Viking, 1989. New Delhi; New York: Penguin, 1989. *Science, Hegemony and Violence: A Requiem for Modernity*. Ed. Ashis Nandy. Tokyo, Japan: United Nations University, 1988. Delhi: Oxford UP, 1990. *Traditions, Tyranny, and Utopias: Essays in the Politics of Awareness*. Delhi; New York: Oxford UP, 1987. New York: Oxford UP, 1992. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*. Delhi: Oxford UP, 1983. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1988.

<sup>411</sup> Brett, Brett, p. 22.

<sup>412</sup> Luis Camnitzer, "Art, Politics, and the Evil Eye" *Third Text* No. 20 (autumn, 1992), p. 72-73.

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid.* p. 73.

<sup>414</sup> Jay Murphy, "Testing the Limits" *Art in America* Vol. 80, Issue 10 (October 1992), p.65-69.

<sup>415</sup> The ABTV group stands by the initials of his members, Tanya Angulo, Juan Ballester, José Toirac, Elena Villazón. The group was supposed to follow Pon Juan and Francisco exhibition at the Castillo de la Fuerza. It did not happen. After it the group started to organized exhibitions in Cuba and Mexico. Finally many of its members

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emigrated themselves. Some of the activities of the group are describe by Camnitzer in his *New Art of Cuba*. p. 188-90.

<sup>416</sup> Murphy quotes Mosquera on the ISA exhibition, "You can smell the power, the passion, the ideas... There is a lot of energy among young artists. They keep appearing... It will continue even if the government puts fences here and there." Ibid. Murphy, p. 122.

<sup>417</sup> Camnitzer tells how a Cuban officer said "Well, first we got rid of Spain, later we liberated ourselves from United States; now we were able to get rid of the USRR." Also comments on how a "yunk" culture has developed in the middle of the special period. Later in his book, *New Art of Cuba* (1994), Camnitzer would open his narrative telling stories about his trips to Cuban in early 1980s and the ANIR (Asociación Nacional de Innovadores y Racionalizadores) a group designed to find solutions to those technological products no longer available because the conditions of the island; something that has been also present, and is still, in the artistic practices of Cuba. Luis Camnitzer, "IV Bienal de la Habana" *Art Nexus*, No. 4 (May, 1992), p. 106.

<sup>418</sup> Ibid. p. 107.

<sup>419</sup> Irazarry in a trip from Puerto Rico to the U.S. had written a piece demanding President Carter to release Lolita Lebrón (a Puerto Rican patriot condemn to life in prison for treason and terrorism), the note he gave it to the pilot of the plane. The artist was taken by the police; he argued that it was a conceptual game, since he already had done a press conference announcing that if President Ford visited the island he will call his private army. Irazarry was sentenced to six years of prison (for terrorists attempt), he spend four of them locked up.

<sup>420</sup> Ibid. Camnitzer, *Art Nexus*, p.109.

<sup>421</sup> "This latest Biennial was of special interest due to the fear (or hope, in certain quarters) that, with the seemingly imminent falls of Fidel Castro, this will be the last Biennial of Revolutionary Cuba." Ibid. p. 41.

<sup>422</sup> Sassen's work focus on the upcoming of the global city, the leading sociologist was one of the first scholars interested in such issue. Today "global city" or world city is a concept addressed from geography and urban studies and rests on the idea of cultural and economic entities created in globalization. One of the most complexes of these entities is the "global city," whereby the linkages binding a city have a direct and tangible effect on global affairs through more than socio-economic means, with influence in terms of culture, or politics. "Global city", as opposed to megacity, is thought to have been first coined by Saskia Sassen in reference to London, New York and Tokyo in her 1991 work *The Global City*. The phenomenon is now studied in depth by Globalization and World Cities Study Group and Network based at the geography department of Loughborough University (UK), which aims to provide a categorization and ranking of world cities. Saskia Sassen, *The global city: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

<sup>423</sup> Many concur in saying that Cuban artists are among the best trained artists, because of their education and support by the state, in addition to their participation in global circuits of contemporary art. Scholars such as Gerardo Mosquera and Magali Espinoza had worked on such issues. See chapter 4.

<sup>424</sup> In fact, rumors about the Biennale lost of independence spread because the German industrialist and collector Peter Ludwig had given 25,2000 Marks (17,2000 U.S. dollars) to the event that year.

<sup>425</sup> Lillian Llanes, Introducción, *V Bienal de la Habana. Catalog*. (Gran Canaria: Centro de Arte Contemporáneo, 1994).

<sup>426</sup> My interview with Hilda María Rodríguez, Havana, April 2006.

<sup>427</sup> Luis Camnitzer, "The Fifth Biennial of Havana" *Third Text*, No. 28-29 (autumn/winter, 1994), p.149.

<sup>428</sup> Weiss continues, "The writers for Art in America and the New York Times 'chose' to discuss the Cuban artists whose work appears to challenge 'the state (Cuba).' This contextualizing of the Biennial clearly conforms (and helps sensationalize) the dominant prevailing political discourse in the U.S. The article titles clearly establish the limited 'interest' and intent of the writers." She cites two articles in particular: "Report from Havana: Testing the Limits; Tweaking the Beard of the Maximum Leader; and Report from Cuba: Art Emigration and Tourism." In addition, she invites readers to compare the next articles. Ashton, Dore. "Havana, 1986" *Arts Magazine*, February, 1987, pp. 38-39. Ashton, Dore. "Fifth Havana Biennial." *Artforum*, October 1994, p. 110. Baranik, Rudolf, et al. "Report from Havana: Cuba Conversation." (Participants: Rudolf Baranik, Luis Camnitzer, Eva Cockcroft, Douglas Crimp, Lucy Lippard), *Art in America*, March 1987, p. 21-29. Camnitzer, Luis. "Report from Havana: First Biennial of Latin America." *Art in America*, December 1984, p. 41-49. Hollander, Kurt. "Report from Cuba: Art Emigration and Tourism." *Art in America*. October, 1994, p. 41-47. Murphy, Jay. "Report from Havana: Testing the Limits." *Art in America*. October, 1992, p. 65-68. Weiss, Rachael. "Magicians of the Real World." *High Performance Magazine*. Summer 1990, p. 16-17. Wise, Michael Z. "Tweaking the Beard of the Maximum Leader." *New York Times*. June

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12, 1994, Section H, pp. 35-36. In <leftmatrix.com>. All articles have been revised, however, since the objective of this work is not on Cuban Art and its representation on the international press the discussion is only relevant when they report on the Biennale in specific terms.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid. Luis Camnitzer, "The Fifth Biennial of Havana," p. 147.

<sup>430</sup> Ibid. p. 149.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid. p. 150.

<sup>432</sup> Ibid. p. 150.

<sup>433</sup> Betty Klausner, "U.S. contingent in Havana - U.S. artists represented in the Havana Biennial V - Report from Cuba" *Art in America*, Vol. 82, No. 10 (Oct, 1994), p. 42-46.

<sup>434</sup> Ibid. p. 43.

<sup>435</sup> "For example, in the Second Biennial, over sixty U.S. artists, including such well-known names as Vito Acconci, Barbara Kruger, Adrian Piper and Leon Golub, were shown in Havana in an adjunct exhibition called 'Over the Blockade.'" Ibid. p. 44.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid. p. 43.

<sup>437</sup> Ibid. p. 44.

<sup>438</sup> For more information on this topic see, Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (1996); James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (1997); and Homi Bhabha's *Nation and Narration* (editor), 1990 and *The Location of Culture* (1994).

<sup>439</sup> "Materials for installations were scarce, gallery walls left unpainted and lighting was dim. Cuba did not assume shipping, insurance or artists' travel costs. Some invited artists, such as the Colombian-born, San Francisco-based sculptor Maria Fernanda Cardoso, could not participate because of lack of governmental or private funding. Other artists, due to logistics and expense, were unable to show the kind of work that best represents them." Ibid. Klausner, p. 45.

<sup>440</sup> Ibid, p. 45.

<sup>441</sup> Michael Z. Wise, "Tweaking the Beard of the Maximum Leader." *New York Times*. June 12, 1994, Section H, p. 35-36.

<sup>442</sup> My parenthesis, in: James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997). p. 33.

<sup>443</sup> Mary Louis Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992). p. 4.

<sup>444</sup> Ibid. Clifford, *Routes*, p. 343.

<sup>445</sup> For example, Kang showed an installation of hundreds of little square paintings, drawings and woodblocks that he made as he rode the New York subways to work. Ibid. Klausner, p.46.

<sup>446</sup> Kurt Hollander, originally from New York City, lived in Mexico City for the more than a decade. He was the editor of *Poliester*, a contemporary art magazine of the Americas (which closed in 2006). He is a frequent contributor to *Art in America*, as well as other magazines throughout the continent. He co-curated the show entitled "Así Esta La Cosa" for the Centro Cultural/Arte Contemporáneo in 1997, a mega-exhibition of installation and object art in Latin America. Kurt Hollander, "Art, emigration and tourism: works by Cuban artists in last spring's fifth Havana Biennial foreshadowed the country's current massive exodus of boat people" *Art in America*; Vol. 82, No. 10 (October 1994), p. 41-47.

<sup>447</sup> "The flip side of the issue of tourism is emigration from the island. It is a troubling phenomenon for the Cuban government and well known abroad. At present, about one million Cubans live outside the island, the majority in the U.S. In 1962, the U.S. stopped issuing visas to Cubans, forcing all who wanted to emigrate to the U.S. to leave the island illegally and petition for political-refugee status upon arrival. In 1984 the U.S. signed an agreement with Cuba to provide 20,2000 resident visas and 3,2000 tourist visas for Cubans each year. However, the U.S. has given out barely a thousand visas a year since then, so Cubans must still seek extralegal means to emigrate. According to the U.S. government, the risk the Cubans undertake in emigrating illegally proves that the emigration is of a political nature, and each refugee is seen as a vote against socialism (although this concept is not applied to Haiti and the Dominican Republic, or to the thousands of Mexicans who cross the U.S. border illegally each day, who are judged to be economic émigrés)." Ibid. p. 42.

<sup>448</sup> "More than 100 Cuban artists have lived abroad (either temporarily or permanently) in the last four years. From the late '80s to the early '90s, Mexico was home to the largest group, functioning as a middle ground between Cuba and the United States geographically, economically and politically. Cuban artists living in Mexico didn't have to

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renounce their citizenship and could continue to show their work in Cuba while being free agents in the international art world. In May 1993, worried about a new, large-scale Cuban emigration and pressured by the U.S. during trade talks, the Mexican government refused to renew visas to Cubans living in Mexico and made it nearly impossible for others to obtain new visas. As a result, of the several dozen Cuban artists living in Mexico, a few returned to Cuba while the great majority sought asylum in the States, where they were assured of receiving a hero's welcome in Miami, which almost always includes exhibitions in art galleries there. This emigration represented the exodus of an entire generation of artists, those who came of age in the '80s" Ibid. p. 43.

<sup>449</sup> "In April of this year, one month before the Biennial, Fidel held a conference titled "Nation and Emigration," with more than 200 expatriate Cubans in attendance. This conference represented the first official visit since 1978 of Cubans living in the United States, although thousands of Cubans not involved in "counterrevolutionary activities" come each year to visit their families or as tourists. The conference aimed to establish closer relations with moderate groups in Miami and to make it easier for those in Miami to visit their families, as well as to open up investment possibilities for Cubans living elsewhere." Ibid. p. 42.

<sup>450</sup> "At the 'Nation and Emigration' conference, Roberto Robaina, former president of the Communist Youth and now number-three man in the political scene, called the balseros 'deserters.' That created an outcry among Miami Cubans, who see them as Heros. Some balsas that survived the crossing have been preserved with the intention of establishing a foundation and erecting a museum for them; they've already been the focus of an exhibition at the Fredric Snitzer Gallery." Ibid. Hollander, p. 41.

<sup>451</sup> Kcho's previous works, such as oars made out of machetes and palm trees (the national tree), followed the anthropological fine of the '80s vanguard artist Elso, with popular materials and Santeria overtones, while his new work seems more streamlined, more literal in its references to balsas. Ibid. p. 44.

<sup>452</sup> Ibid. p. 44.

<sup>453</sup> Ibid. p. 45.

<sup>454</sup> "Admission to all the exhibitions of the Biennial cost \$100 for foreigners (this steep fee was inconsistently applied) and 100 pesos for Cubans. (Although the official rate of exchange is one to one, \$1 can get you 100 pesos on the street, while \$3 represents a month's salary for many Cubans.)" Ibid. p. 43.

<sup>455</sup> Jay Murphy, "The Young and Relentless in Havana Revisited" *Third Text*, No. 28-29 (Autumn/Winter, 1994), p. 161.

<sup>456</sup> "In the piece from the series that was exhibited in the Crafts Palace, Buying Crafts, Fidel and the Virgin, after getting married, go to the Crafts Palace to buy tourist souvenirs. In other works, they visit the Morro and eat in the *Bodeguita del Medio*. The curatorial decision to place these works in the sites represented sharpened the ironic interplay. In fact, the piece representing the *Bodeguita del Medio* was removed by the restaurant managers. Reportedly they didn't object to the depiction of Fidel (usually a somewhat delicate matter) but to the fact that he and the Virgin appeared to be eating the corpse of Francisco de la Cal." Ibid. Hollander, p. 45.

<sup>457</sup> "Los Carpinteros "exhibited in the Museo de Arte Colonial, which is located in the Cathedral Plaza, the works consist of oil paintings framed by large wooden constructions of different shapes (for example, a mirror with a vanity table attached, or a fireplace). The works comment ironically on tourism and privilege, especially the piece titled (in English) Havana Country Club, which shows the artists golfing in tall grass with wooden sticks, with the country club in the background. Another piece, Marquilla Cigarrera Cubana (Cuban Brand Cigars), which shows two primitive-looking, semi-naked, cigar-smoking men inside a luxurious museum with huge paintings on the walls, wryly comments on museums and their intended public. The high-quality wood used for these pieces was obtained semi-legally from a nearby forest (The Carpenters had permission to cut down one of the two trees they used), and the material undoubtedly increases the value (and the irony) of the work" Ibid. p. 45.

<sup>458</sup> It consisted of "photo-portraits of and interviews with Cubans living in Mexico. The Cubans were not named; the portraits, often distorted beyond recognition, were presented alongside excerpts from the interviews... Some subjects were identified as artists, and their comments on Cuba and the Cuban art world, at times quite critical, led Llanes, the director of the Biennial, to have the work taken down during the opening of the exhibition in the Morro. Afterwards, in a meeting organized at the Lam Center at the request of the artist, Llanes claimed that the Morro was under military command and that the work might upset authorities there. She showed it at the Center, where she is in charge." Ibid. p. 45.

<sup>459</sup> The magazine where the images were taken was *Playboy*, which is forbidden in Cuba. The work was allocated in the Museum of Education, where children are the most important audience. After a couple of days and complains by the Museum personnel, the curators (with authorization of Lillian Llanes) removed it. Nonetheless, sex images were



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used by many artist in the Biennale, as Camnitzer pointed out in his *Third Text* piece (1994) “Although the arguments given were about content, it is clear that the curators’ concept of quality was more important given the amount of sex displayed in the rest of the Biennial.” It seems that the debate could be based on the foggy area of freedom of expression (by an artist) versus the right of the organizers to maintain a concept.

<sup>460</sup> Ibid. Hollander, p. 44.

<sup>461</sup> Cruzvillegas piece consisted of images and texts on Cuban-Mexican relations hung upon the walls and a dozen or so rolls of toilet paper placed around the floor; Quinones made a wall-high installation of small crosses and other objects. Tunga took several boxes of Cuban cigars (compliments of a Cuban tobacco store in the mall) and twisted a couple of them into what looked like crossed fingers. Some viewer took a few crosses from Quinones’s installation, and the guards in the Crafts Palace became so worried about other potential thefts (especially the cigars and toilet paper, luxury items for Cubans) that they closed off the exhibition to all except those with Biennial credentials. Arias’ work title “0-Positivo” was a major installation involving a larger-than-life photograph of the artist covered with a transparent layer of thousands of anonymous blood cells - some healthy, others infected (with the AIDS virus), and illuminated in UV light. The resulting sanctuary-like atmosphere created a space for considered reflection on our ethical responsibilities; it was presented in one of the niches in the Morro fortress. Alys brought a pair of shoes he had covered with magnets, and wore them on several long walks throughout Old Havana. They accumulated garbage, which he preserved in labeled bags. He also wore a sandwich board to which he attached documentation - a city map marked with routes, Polaroid photos of the shoes at various sites, magazine clippings and photos of other oddities. The performance piece afforded Alys a different perspective on the city, as most foreigners tend to stick close to the protected paths (reinforced by reports that several Biennial visitors were mugged) and to the taxis and chartered buses that are offered to them alone. Hernandez-Diez brought with him to Cuba a broken skateboard, which he took to the streets. He videotaped several kids from Old Havana standing on the useless item. It could be seen as representing the broken dreams and the frustration of the youth in the city (although some kids have hand-made wooden scooters). This piece also parallels the broken-down state of transportation. Ibid. p. 46.

<sup>462</sup> In 1991, the United States Treasury Department exempted Cuban paintings and drawings from the 30-year-old trade embargo after American artists, dealers and art critics complained that it hindered the free flow of ideas. The exemption has helped promote interest in Cuban art in the United States, creating a climate the Havana Government hopes to exploit to encourage unofficial contacts.” Michael Z. Wise, “Tweaking the Beard of the Maximum Leader.” *New York Times*. June 12, 1994, Section H, p. 35-36.

<sup>463</sup> More than one observer, in fact, remarked on the growing lack of autonomy between the Biennial and the Cuban tourist industry. Noted in John Wineland “The Havana Biennale as Tourist Discourse” manuscript for a conference titled TOURIST PRODUCTIONS CONFERENCE. New York University, April, 1998.

<sup>464</sup> He also makes the comment in his article published in *Art Nexus* (Spanish-English version) No. 22 (November 1994). Luis Camnitzer, “The Fifth Havana Biennial” *Third Text* No. 28-29 (autumn/winter, 1994), p. 154.

<sup>465</sup> *Atlántica revista de arte y pensamiento contemporáneo*, directed by Antonio Zaya and published by the Centro of Modern Art of the Grand Canary Island in Spain edited and sponsored the Catalog. Several articles were featured in *Atlántica*, No. 6-8 (Spring and Fall, 1994), among them; Lillian Llanes, “Desde la Habana, ordenando mis ideas.” Nelson Herrera Ysla, “Arte, sociedad y bienal de la Habana.” Eugenio Valdés Figueroa, “La crisis de la crisis. Ideología y marginalidad.” Hilda María Rodríguez Enríquez, “La otra orilla.” And Reynaldo González, “La cultura cubana con sabor a fresa y chocolate.” *Heterogenesis, Tdiskrift for visuell konst* (Visual arts magazine - Sweden), No. 8-9 (Oct. 1994) was dedicated to the fifth Havana Biennale. Edited by Ximena Narea in Spanish and Swedish, the volumen presented texts by Lillian Llanes, “Aproximación a la quinta Bienal de la Habana;” Ximena Narea, “Introducción a la Bienal de la Habana;” and by Swedish art historian and critic Oscar Hemmer, “Una ponderosa manifestación de la fuerza Latinoamericana” published also in the Swedish newspaper *Sudsvenska Dagbladet*.

<sup>466</sup> Rachel Weiss, “Sixth Havana Biennial” *Art Nexus* No. 26 (October, 1997).

<sup>467</sup> *Universes in Universe: Worlds of art* is a non-commercial information system on the visual arts of Africa, Latin America, and Asia (including Middle East) within the context of international art processes. It has been on the Internet since February 1997 and is financed by the efforts of the editors, subsidies, and recently by sponsor advertisements (recently the German Government is supporting the endeavor). The site contains an ongoing (commented) survey of the art of these regions, open forum, email listing, informational services, collaborations, links, etc. The site is directed by curator and critic Gerhard Haupt (Germany) and artist Pat Binder (Argentina). It is

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possible to see excellent coverage of the sixth and seventh Biennales. The site includes a short history of the event and many features. Accessed from: <<http://www.universes-in-universe.de>>

<sup>468</sup> Pat Binder and Gerhard Haupt, "6th Havana Biennale. The Cuban Art Scene" *Universe in Universe: Worlds of Art* On line service contemporary Art from the Third World <<http://universes-in-universe.de/car/habana/bien8/english.htm>>

<sup>469</sup> Rachel Weiss, "Sixth Havana Biennial," *Art Nexus* No. 26 (October-December, 1997), p. 70-76.

<sup>470</sup> Luis Fernando Valencia, "La Bienal de la Habana." *universe in universes* on the Sixth Havana Biennale. As in: <<http://universes-in-universe.de>>

<sup>471</sup> From a text published in English by the Wifredo Lam Center.

<sup>472</sup> Ibid. Weiss, p. 72.

<sup>473</sup> Belting argues that contemporary art has burst out of the frame that art history had built for it, he calls for an entirely new approach to thinking and writing about art. When taking about the rise of global and minority art and its consequences for Western art history, installation and video art, and the troubled institution of the art museum he comments on the emerging new "geographies for the history of art." See chapter 8. *Global Art and Minorities: A New Geography of Art History*. Hans Belting, *Art History After Modernism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

<sup>474</sup> Ibid. Valencia.

<sup>475</sup> In "El peso de la culpa" / The Weight of Guilt, Bruguera awaited at the entrance to her house opposite to a Cuban flag which she had made with human hair (in the fashion of Chinese artist Gu Wenda); she was barefoot and dressing a body of a lamb around her chest (a traditional sacrifice, offering in Santería practices). There was a pot of Cuban earth in front of her, along with a deep plate of water and salt. In an almost mechanical act of submission and resignation, she mixed in her hands a small amount of earth with the tearful water, raised it to her mouth, chewed and then swallowed it. Gerhard Haupt, "Interview with Gerardo Mosquera on the Sixth Havana Biennale," *Universe in Universes*. Accessed from: <[http://universes-in-universe.de/car/havanna/opinion/e\\_mosqu.htm](http://universes-in-universe.de/car/havanna/opinion/e_mosqu.htm)>

<sup>476</sup> Alejandra Pozo, "Bodies of artists in full action Performances at and around the Sixth Havana Biennial" *Art Nexus* No. 26 (October-December, 1997), p. 77- 81.

<sup>477</sup> "In the back of the house I create a memorial to my grandmother, who, after spending most of her life trying to leave her birthplace in search of a better life, decided that she didn't want to die in the US and fled to Spain, since she was unable to return to Cuba. For this performance I am the corpse, on view in the style of a traditional Catholic wake, draped in a white shroud, and lit only by rows of tiny candles and a single black light. As I lay there, one little boy from the neighborhood genuflects before asking someone if I might actually be dead. The next day, people in the street congratulate us, and the bartenders from across the way wave and thank us for bringing them extra business. Receiving such a warm response from neighbors is one of the small pleasures that offset the difficulties of working with scant resources. Once again, I'm reminded that it's the infectious energy and enthusiasm of the Cuban artists and audiences that makes Havana's art scene so extraordinary." Coco Fusco. Critic, curator, artist from Cuba; lives in New York. See a manuscript of a piece done for Radio Latino USA in *Universes in Universe*.

<sup>478</sup> Other performances during the Biennale: Manuel Mendive, Cuba (ending in Cathedral Plaza), César Martínez, Mexico (Hotel Sevilla), Flavio Pons, Brazil (Centro Lam), Carlos Garaicoa, Cuba (Old-Havana), Casas & Lemebel, Chile (Centro Lam), Chandrasekaran, Singapore (Casa de Asia), Arahmaiani, Indonesia (Casa de Asia), and Mike Parr, Australia (Castillo del Morro). Pons work ended when the children crushed paper hearths they were waiving and holding in front of the audience.

<sup>479</sup> Ibid. Pozo, p. 77.

<sup>480</sup> Against a white circle and background music, Arahmaiani performed a dance with plastic toys, mostly war figures Ibid. "The work of this original artist is based on atman, one of the fundamental concepts of Hindu philosophy which for Chandra represents 'the innermost nucleus of a constant flow of life and creative energy'. At the same time, Chandra appeared dressed like a beggar and covered (including his face) with rags. After settling down inside one of the boxes, he adopted the posture of a beggar with his hand extended, waiting for alms. Someone in the public offered him a coin which he raised to his mouth through the only available orifice in his rags. From this point on other generous members of the public also offered him scraps of food, until the moment when Chandra dragged himself to the other side of the space and began to vomit up all that he had ingurgitated. Back in the box and in the same position, the story was repeated until Chandra ended his action and waved to the public." Ibid. Pozo, p. 78.

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<sup>481</sup> Tokeshi presented a series of jackets manufactured by commission and transformed by the artist. Van Wong, commissioned to elder women in Colombia to embroider images of massacres in Colombia, they were accompanied by tubes of tread as military (and/or paramilitary) honors.

<sup>482</sup> During the exposure of the photos, the artists placed mirrors in different positions and reflected the light into the camera. Taken with extremely long exposure time (1 - 2 hours) the image do not allow any live being to be fixed creating phantom images where the artists plays at the two sides of the camera. The title of the pieces is, Photo-Respiración, 1997 transparent large-format photos, 1996. Sato traveled previously to Havana and shot a series of photos which he printed in large formats and installed in a house close to the Old Plaza.

<sup>483</sup> Eduardo Costa, "Report from Havana: The Installation Biennial." *Art in America* No. 86, issue 3 (March, 1998), p. 51-57.

<sup>484</sup> John Wineland in a paper discussing the Biennale as a tourist discourse argues that in those alternative spaces "the 'really risky' work is on display and there is always a 'threat' of the Cuban officials shutting down the gathering. And as Los Angeles gallery director, Ana Iturralde explained, art world 'insiders' show up in droves." John Wineland, "The Havana Biennale as Tourist Discourse" manuscript for a conference titled TOURIST PRODUCTIONS CONFERENCE. New York University, April, 1998. Wineland quotes and article by Mark Shapiro, "A Hot Art Scene Brings the World to Havana's Door" published in the online review, *salon.com* <<http://www.salon.com/june97/wanderlust/cuba970603.html>> and Edward Gomez, "An Art World Emerges into the Cuban Sun," *New York Times*, May 25, 1997.

<sup>485</sup> Gerhard Haupt, "Interview with Gerardo Mosquera on the Sixth Havana Biennale" *Universe in Universes*. Accessed from: <[http://universes-in-universe.de/car/havanna/opinion/e\\_mosqu.htm](http://universes-in-universe.de/car/havanna/opinion/e_mosqu.htm)>

<sup>486</sup> Ibid.

<sup>487</sup> Coco Fusco "Manuscript for a piece done for Radio Latino USA" *Universe in Universes*. Accessed from: <<http://universes-in-universe.de/car/havanna/opinion/>>

<sup>488</sup> "I run into Saavedra at another exhibition of Cuban art at the El Pabellon Cubano and ask him if he chose that place in la Cabaña because it was where political prisoners faced firing squads until the late 1970's." Ibid. Fusco.

<sup>489</sup> "But a lot of serious artists, like Tania Bruguera, Lázaro Saavedra or Fernando Rodríguez, have always had criticism as part of their work and their personal position. That was evident in the work of Lázaro in La Cabaña. Maybe it's the relationship to the specific place, and the very emotional reflection on a theme which is taboo in Cuba, which is so interesting. His installation was in a vault in which, until not too long ago, firing squad executions took place." Ibid. G Haupt. Interview with Gerardo Mosquera.

<sup>490</sup> Satorou Nagoya, "A Journal on the 6th Biennial of Havana" *Network Museum & Magazine Project*, Japan. Access from: <[http://www.dnp.co.jp/museum/nmp/nmp\\_b/watch/Jun17-s\\_e.html#1](http://www.dnp.co.jp/museum/nmp/nmp_b/watch/Jun17-s_e.html#1)>

<sup>491</sup> Ibid.

<sup>492</sup> Ibid.

<sup>493</sup> In other related publications articles and notes were present depicting one of various aspects of the event. See: Rachel Weiss, "Bodies of Artists in full action: Performances at and around the Sixth Havana Biennial, Centro de Arte Contemporáneo Wilfredo Lam, La Habana, Cuba" *Art Nexus* No. 36 (May, 2000). Gerardo Mosquera, "Sobre religión y nuevo arte cubano" *Atlántica*, N. 13, (spring, 1996). Margarita Sánchez Prieto, "Cultura y realidad histórica en la plástica chilena contemporánea." *Atlántica*, N. 13, (spring, 1996). Ibis Hernández Abascal, "Visión del arte mexicano actual." *Atlántica*, N. 13, (spring, 1996). Eugenio Valdés Figueroa, "Reciclando la Modernidad." *Atlántica*, N. 13, (spring, 1996). Nelson Herrera Ysla, "Desafío y provocaciones de los artistas jóvenes en Cuba." *Atlántica*, N. 13, (spring, 1996). In addition the report made for the editorial team of *Universe in Universe*, "6th Biennial of Havana: Opinions, reviews, interviews" *universe in universe*, accessed from: [Unverses-in-universe.de/car/havanna/e\\_opin.htm](http://universes-in-universe.de/car/havanna/e_opin.htm) that count with participation by: Coco Fusco. Jorge S. Helft Collector, curator, President of the San Telmo Foundation; lives in Buenos Aires. Gerardo Mosquera Art historian, critic, curator; lives in Havana. Luis Fernando Valencia Art critic, theorist; lives in Medellín. Zuleiva Vivas Curator, Director for Visual Arts at CELARG; lives in Caracas. Lee Wen, "Bananas in Havana" in *Happening!*. Edward M. Gomez, "An Art World Emerging into the Cuban Sun." *New York Times*, online-version of LatinoLink. Allan Parachini and Barbara Pepe, "Images of Memory." A 27-minute Real Audio-Video documenting the Sixth Havana Biennial and related Cuban cultural politics. Beate Cegielska, "Sexta Bienal de la Habana." *TAPETA*, Poland. Among others.

<sup>494</sup> Rachel Weiss, "The Orbit of the 7<sup>th</sup> Havana Biennial Planet Buenavista" *Art Nexus*, No. 39. (February, 2001), p. 51-58.

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<sup>495</sup> This exhibition worked as a tribute to architectural restoration of the past 40 years. It functioned as chronology that emphasizes the historical moments in the restoration of Havana's cultural legacy. In addition, restoration work in the historic and urban centers of the country's important cities was presented, for example in Santiago de Cuba, Trinidad, Cienfuegos and Santa Clara. The exhibition was located at the Oficina del Historiador de la Ciudad.

<sup>496</sup> Additionally, a series of academic events were organized by several institutions to be part of the larger spectrum of the Biennale. Among others: UNAICC (Unión Nacional de Arquitectos e Ingenieros de la Construcción de Cuba) - Biennial of the Visual Arts. November - December 2000. Fourth Ibero-American Conference of Woman Architects and Engineers, October 18 - 20, 2000. International Symposium for Architecture and the Building and Construction Industry at the Service of the Environment, November 15 - 17, 2000 (in Camagüey). UNEAC (Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba) - Havana 2000. Design, Culture and City. November 15 - 17, 2000. Facultad de Arquitectura de La Habana - International Seminar for the Education of Architecture, September 2000. Dirección Provincial de Planificación Física - Ibero-American Seminar for Urban Planning and Execution, November 6 - 9, 2000. All the information taken from the press release and the Catalog produced by the Centro de Arte Contemporáneo Wifredo Lam in August 2000.

<sup>497</sup> Llanes has explained that personal and contextual issues made her leave the Lam Center and the Biennale. The death of her husband during the previous year plus the impossibility of retaking control of the event in the midst of new policies of cultural tourism, among others, seem the most plausible. It is important to mention how by the end of the fifth Biennale she had sustained that if the Havana Biennale would become a market niche for Cuban and contemporary Third World Art she would just cancelled it. As any event such as this, one person not constitutes the event nor can one person (with exception of Castro in this case) decide on the faith of it. Nonetheless, her departure had produced a would that is still open in the Biennale.

<sup>498</sup> Nelson Herrera Ysla, *Comunicación en tiempos difíciles: Uno más cerca del otro /Communication in Difficult Times: One closer to each other* *Seventh Havana Biennale. Catalog*. (Madrid: Art of the World Press, 2000)

<sup>499</sup> *Ibid.* p.25.

<sup>500</sup> *Ibid.* p. 26.

<sup>501</sup> "the expenses for making and transporting the works that will be exhibited will be paid by the invited artists or their sponsoring institutions after coordinating it with the Biennial production team, as a way to contribute to the success of this event that has been able to keep up because of its importance and transcendence in addressing significant problems of humankind and its contemporary culture." From a press release published by the Wifredo Lam Center in May, 2000.

<sup>502</sup> Weiss continues, "Other problems, however, seemed simply the product of disorganization, incorrect site mapping, missing or uninformative labels, less than rudimentary museology, works by the same artist scattered across multiple sites, with no apparent logic and an uneven curatorial vision." She underlines how these facts affect badly the reputation of the event in a world of increasing professionalization among art agents, museographer, curators, and the like. *Ibid.* Weiss, *The Orbit*, p. 51.

<sup>503</sup> I was present at the moment of the interview which was conducted by Patt Binder for *Universes in Universe: Worlds of Art*.

<sup>504</sup> The magazines *Atlantica International*, *Art Nexus*, *Polyester*, and *Third Text*, among others became venues for their writing pieces.

<sup>505</sup> Herrera Ysla had always been interested in including not only contemporary art, but also visual production from many realms (design, popular cultures, and architecture).

<sup>506</sup> I was present at the Wifredo Lam Center when the MoMa visitors arrived. A contradictory behavior took the people present at that moment. Joy for being recognized by that institution and at the same time suspicion because the predicament of previous years was fulfilling, have the Biennale become a shopping mall for Third World Art? Or, was just the platform for a newly global art market? What is true is the fact that during that edition major transactions with Cuban art took place. MoMa bought its first group of works to add to its drawing collection, managed at the time by Venezuelan curator Luis Perez Oramas.

<sup>507</sup> Nico Israel, "VII Habana Bienal" *Art Forum*. Vol. 39, Issue 6 (February, 2001), p. 147.

<sup>508</sup> Grady T. Turner, "Sweet Dreams. (seventh Havana Biennial exhibition, Cuba) *Art in America* Vol. 89, No. 10 (October, 2001), p. 72-76.

<sup>509</sup> *Ibid.* 74.

<sup>510</sup> *Ibid.* 74.

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<sup>511</sup> Turner's article makes short descriptions on several artists; from Cuba, Tania Bruguera, Esterio Segura, Carlos Estevez, Abel Barroso, Galería DUPP, Los Carpinteros, and Raúl Cordero. Among the internationals, Mexicans Gustavo Artigas, Julieta Lopez Aranda, and Rubén Gutierrez; from the Philippines, Alfredo Alquizan and María Gaudinez working in group and Isidro Gomez Hildawa; Argentinean Leandro Erlich and Judi Werthein; and members of the architectural firm 3-RW from Norway. Turner also comments on the work of Mexican-Canadian Rafael Lozano-Hemmer and the video program curated by Euridice Arratia showing the work of American artist Guy Richards Smit.

<sup>512</sup> Ibid. Robinson.

<sup>513</sup> Ibid. Robinson.

<sup>514</sup> Other artists mention in Robinson report are: Esterio Segura schedule to show his sculptures at P.P.O.W, Carlos Estevez, Galería DUPP, and Gabinete Ordo Amoris. The Israeli Eliezer Sonennschien is mention for his laud work, giving away certificates for "being the best artists in the contest." Bolivian Valia Carvalho is mention for interrupting Havana city scapes with her own images dressing fancy cotles or using techo-gadgets. Africans Jane Alexander and William Kentridge as well as Frech Annette Messenger and British Susan Hiller are also mention.

<sup>515</sup> "A large painting by José Bedia went for \$19,2000, a Tomas Sánchez drawing sold for \$10,2000, an early print by Carlos Alfonzo was nabbed for \$4,2000 – and the Museum of Modern Art apparently bought a suite of small drawings by the young artist José Toirac (showing martyrs of the Revolution, done in red wine) for \$9,500." Ibid.

<sup>516</sup> Walter Robinson, "Havana: Art capital" *Artnet* an on-line magazine on contemporary art. Accessed from: <<http://www.artnet.com/Magazine/reviews/robinson/robinson11-22-00.asp>>

<sup>517</sup> Dermis P. Leon, "Havana, Biennial, tourism: The spectacle of utopia" *Art Journal*, No.69 (December, 2001), p. 68-73.

<sup>518</sup> "In addition, I was interested in seeing the first Biennial in many years not overseen by the Havana-based curator Lillian Llanes Godoy, who had served as the event's artistic director since 1984." Ibid. p. 69.

<sup>519</sup> Ibid. p. 70.

<sup>520</sup> "The novelty it has offered thus far is a 'critical' Cuban art that calls the concept of socialist utopia into question. And of course Havana itself is an attraction, softly radiating the exoticism of an old city emerging from ruins." Ibid. p. 72.

<sup>521</sup> The house was managed by Vicenta, an old Cuban lady that have lived there for more than 50 years. Cuban curator Patricia Ruíz convinced the old lady to grant some rooms for Cuban artists to exhibit there. Angel Delgado (artist who had been in prison for some of his works), Alberto Casado, and Ezequiel Suarez among others participated. Penelope Richardson, "Varieties of Havana: The 7<sup>th</sup> Habana Bienal" *Third Text*, No. 55 (summer, 2001), p. 99-102.

<sup>522</sup> Galería DUPP was comprised by René Francisco Rodríguez, Bebely Mojena, Yoan Capote, Iván Capote, Inti Hernandez, Juan Reiveron, David Sariñas, Omar & Duvier, Ruslán Torres, Alexander Guerra, Mayimbe, Wifredo Prieto, James Bonachea, and Glenda Leon.

<sup>523</sup> Ibid. 100.

<sup>524</sup> Richardson adds, "The voices individual in the Revolutionary City who receives no reprieve, even when he sleeps and dreams." Ibid. p. 100.

<sup>525</sup> Ibid. 101.

<sup>526</sup> Ibid. 102.

<sup>527</sup> Gregory Sholette, "Affirmation of the Curatorial Class – Seventh Havana Biennial Art Exhibition" *Afterimage*, Volume 28, No. 5 (March / April 2001), p. 7-10.

<sup>528</sup> Ibid. 7.

<sup>529</sup> Ibid. 7.

<sup>530</sup> Ibid. 7.

<sup>531</sup> Ibid. 8.

<sup>532</sup> Valerie Cassel, "The Havana Biennale" *NKA Journal or Contemporary African Art*, No. 15 (Winter, 2001)

<sup>533</sup> Ibid. 16.

<sup>534</sup> Actually, Cassel calls the collective "Graphical" and not "Grafito" as they are named. Ibid. p. 17.

<sup>535</sup> "According to Herrera Ysla, there were about 2,2000 foreign visitors this time, and according to rumor 1,500 of them were from the US, mostly in groups organized by powerhouse museums like MoMA, LA MoCA and SF MoMA." Ibid. Weiss, *The Orbit*, p. 53.

<sup>536</sup> Ibid. Weiss, *The Orbit*, p. 54.

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<sup>537</sup> In this case Santiago Sierra hired three people to lie hidden in coffin-like boxes on the roof terrace (of Sandra Ramos gallery). “These were used as benches by the guests, who were not told that the boxes contained people...” Weiss make reference to what Cubans do now in order to get some extra-money. What was impossible to think 15 years ago. Ibid. Weiss, *The Orbit*, p. 57.

<sup>538</sup> Ibid. Weiss, *The Orbit*, p. 57.

<sup>539</sup> She comments on Bruguera’s work and goes on attack the same symptoms of a regime that is tired of its own discourse.

<sup>540</sup> In particular a video by Ezequiel Rodriguez (Espacio Aglutinador co-founder and co-manager) at Vicenta’s house and Sandra Ramos exhibition at Espacio Aglutinador that Weiss recognizes as one of the most important art spaces in the Contemporary Cuban scene.

<sup>541</sup> Weiss has always had an interest in the work of female artists, and in her report comments on the works of Graciela Sacco (Argentina), Nelbia Romero (Uruguay), María Helena González (Cuba-USA), Teresa Margolles (Mexico, participating out-side the Biennale), and the unavoidable Cuban performance artist Tania Bruguera. She makes reference, also, to the work of Francis Alys (Mexico-Belgium), Willem Boshoff (South Africa), José A. Restrepo (Colombia), and Nadin Ospina (Colombia).

<sup>542</sup> In a parallel note, *Art Nexus* did not publish a report on the Biennale; it printed a note sent by the Lam Center that works in official terms as a press release. Centro de Arte Contemporáneo Wilfredo Lam, “7th Havana Bienal” *ArtNexus* No.36 (May, 2000). Another group of texts were published parallel to the Biennale by members of the Wilfredo Lam Center. Most of them did not talk about the Biennale, but about their own research on the areas of exploration of the center. It is interesting to see how a construction of ‘other histories’ is trying to take place from these texts. Since the scope of this work does not explore such issues in-depth it just mentions some of the articles published. Among others: Hilda M<sup>a</sup> Rodríguez Enríquez, “Los tigres, entre la modernidad, el slogan y la ficción” *Atlántica*, N. 22, winter 1999; Hilda M<sup>a</sup> Rodríguez Enríquez, “Del arte contemporáneo Indonesio”. *Atlántica*, N. 22, winter 1999; Hilda M<sup>a</sup> Rodríguez Enríquez, “La naturaleza, lo mítico-religioso y lo político en las orientaciones del arte de las Filipinas.” *Atlántica*, N. 22, winter 1999; José Manuel Noceda, “El dilema de la contemporaneidad en el arte del Caribe.” *Atlántica*, N. 22, winter 1999; José Manuel Noceda, “El arte del Caribe y la alegoría del Elegguá.” *Atlántica*, N. 22, winter 1999; Wendy Navarro, “La mirada femenina en el arte cubano contemporáneo.” *Atlántica*, N. 22, winter 1999; Gerardo Mosquera, “Aimée García.” *Atlántica*, N. 16, winter 1999; Clara Muñoz, Entrevista con Nelson Herrera Ysla. *Atlántica*, N. 28. Invierno, 2001.

<sup>543</sup> Adding to the original countries mentioned by George W. Bush during his “State of the Union Address” in early 2002, “The United States has added Cuba, Libya and Syria to the nations it claims are deliberately seeking to obtain chemical or biological weapons. In a speech entitled ‘Beyond the Axis of Evil’, US Under Secretary of State, John Bolton said that the three nations could be grouped with other so-called ‘rogue states’ - Iraq, Iran and North Korea - in actively attempting to develop weapons of mass destruction.” Monday, March 6<sup>th</sup>, 2002. BBC News

<sup>544</sup> Bonami conceived the international show of the 50th Venice Biennial as a complex of 10 exhibitions by different curators. “Fault Lines: Contemporary African Art and Shifting Landscapes” curated by Gilane Tawardos, produced by the Forum for African Arts; “Z.O.U. - Zone of Urgency” curated by Hou Hanru; “The Structure of Survival” curated by Carlos Basualdo; “Contemporary Arab Representations” curated by Catherine David; “The Everyday Altered” curated by Gabriel Orozco; “Utopia Station” curated by Molly Nesbit, Hans Ulrich Obrist and Rirkrit Tiravanija; “Individual Systems” curated by Igor Zabel; “The Zone” (Young Italian artists) curated by Massimiliano Gioni; “Italian Pavilion” curated by Francesco Bonami and Daniel Birnbaum; “Dreams and Conflicts” (Sogni e Conflitti - La dittatura dello spettatore); “Clandestines;” and the “International exhibition,” 50th Venice Biennial curated by the artistic director Francesco Bonami.

<sup>545</sup> During late 2002 and early 2003, 75 members of the opposition were sentenced to long prison terms (up to 28 years) and 3 ferry hijackers were sentenced to execution in April that year. The European Union sent a memorandum to the Cuban government in early June in which expressed itself as being “deeply worried” about the violations of human rights and demanded the release of the political prisoners. As a response, Castro pronounced a bitter speech in which condemned European historical colonialism, neo-colonialism, and exploitation and decided to renounce to any humanitarian help that conditioned Cuba.

<sup>546</sup> For more about the discussion see. Pat Binder and Gerhard Haupt, “8<sup>th</sup> Habana Bienal. 2003.” *Universe in Universe*. Accessed from: <<http://www.universes-in-universe.de/car/habana/bien8/english.htm>>

<sup>547</sup> Christian Rattemeyer, “VIII Bienal de Habana: various venues” *Art Forum* Vol.42, Issue 6 (Feb, 2004), p. 146.

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- <sup>548</sup> Dalila López, Rosa Juampere, Marylin Sampera, Angel Carlos Fernández, Lucie Chjampagnac were assistant curators for this installment of the Biennale.
- <sup>549</sup> Ibid. Rattemeyer, p. 146.
- <sup>550</sup> Terry Smith & Miguel Rojas, "Iberoamericana: The 8<sup>th</sup> Bienal de la Habana, 'El Arte con la Vida,' Havana, Cuba November 2003." *NKA*, Issue 19 (2004), p. 64-69.
- <sup>551</sup> Ibid. 65.
- <sup>552</sup> Piccinini with a series of digital altered photographs were normalizes the presence of alien-like pets with Australian middle class life. Nkanga's installation connects real space and individual subjectivity, the hair of the artists (present in a photo) is nail-through walls and halls and into buildings. Dago's images of nude young Africans covered in mud, comments on tradition, nature, and culture.
- <sup>553</sup> Ibid. 66.
- <sup>554</sup> Ibid. Rattemeyer, p. 47.
- <sup>555</sup> That is interesting that the Utopia Station's major support has been granted by AFAA (Association Française Action Artistique). Others supports: Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF), IASPIS, British Council, Ministry of Culture of Slovakia. The Utopia Station had begun in the Utopia Seminar at part of the graduate program in visual arts (IUAV, University of Venice) and in Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York, It continued at the Theater am Turm, Frankfurt, for the program Public Life.
- <sup>556</sup> Others such as "Mauricio Dias and Walter Riedweg's video Devotionalia, 1995-2003, documented a project for which the artists worked with inner-city youths in Rio de Janeiro, producing plaster casts of hands and feet to learn about creativity and regain a sense of self; and Mexican-born artist Pablo Helguera presented Instituto de la Telenovela: Fase Habana (El Derecho de Nacer) (Soap Opera Institute: Havana Phase [The Right to Be Born]), 2003, a long-term research project about the impact of the telenovela on Latin American culture." Ibid. Rattemeyer, p. 47.
- <sup>557</sup> The Department of Public Interventions: Fidel E. Alvarez Causil, Analia Amaya Garcia, Douglas Arguelles Cruz, Abel Barreto Olivera. Humberto Diaz Perez, Heidi Garcia Gonzalez, Tatiana Mesa Pajan, Maria Victoria Portelles de la Nuez, Ruslan Torres Leyva, Jorge Wellesley-Bourke Marin; all Students of ISA at the time. Janis Demkiw and Jenifer Papararo, "The 8th Havana Biennial: two perspectives on two collaborations." *C: International Contemporary Art Magazine*, No. 79-80 (winter, 2004). More about the project, participants and what happened during the Biennale see: Ramón Cabrera Salort, "Un proyecto que creció al compartir" *ArteAmerica* (on line magazine) accessed from: <<http://www.arteamerica.cu/8/dossier/salort.htm>>
- <sup>558</sup> Ibid. Rattemeyer, p. 47.
- <sup>559</sup> Ibid. Rattemeyer, p. 48.
- <sup>560</sup> Ibid. Rattemeyer, p. 48.
- <sup>561</sup> Prieto's second work titled, *Avalanche*, 2003, also functions as a minimalist formal exercise, though it's colorful in its details. It consists of a single line of spheres that increase in diameter from the size of a pea to that of a yellow Coco taxi (a three-wheel motor scooter commonly found on the streets of Havana).. "Professional and perfectly versed in the vocabularies of global contemporary art, these young Cuban artists seem eager to participate in the international art market. Castillo lives in the Netherlands, Leon is a critic in addition to being an artist, and Prieto's flags have already sold to the Daros Latin America Collection in Switzerland." Ibid. p. 49.
- <sup>562</sup> Julia Herzberg, "Bienal de la Habana." *Art Nexus*, No. 52 (April, 2004), p. 88-92. Online version, accessed from: <[www.artnexus.com/servlet/NewsDetail?documentid=13523](http://www.artnexus.com/servlet/NewsDetail?documentid=13523)>
- <sup>563</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>564</sup> Ibid. Other texts also explore aspects of the Biennale, but were not published for it particularly. Among them, Lillian Llanes, 'Parque de Argentina.' *Atlántica*, N. 27, Fall 2000; Nelson Herrera Ysla, "Una cierta movida en Latinoamérica" *Atlántica*, N. 27, Fall 2000 (which is going to become part of his book *Coordenadas de Arte Contemporáneo* later in 2003); Magda González-Mora, Vivencias de incomunicación. *Atlántica* N.36, 2003. Isabel Maria Perez communications assistant for the Lam Center also publish a note on the event titled, "Havana's Biennial: The persistence of the multitle" and published in *Cubanow*, April 11, 2006, a web-site that document Cuba's more important cultural events.
- <sup>565</sup> See Dannys Montes de Oca, Dayamick Cisneros, ed. *Evento Teórico Forum Arte y Vida* Havana: Centro Wifredo Lam, 2003.
- <sup>566</sup> David Moss & Magda González-Mora, "Of Architectural Metaphors and Time Traps: Contemporary Cuban Culture" *Artpaper* (September-October, 2006), p. 38-44.

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<sup>567</sup> My interview with Ibis Hernandez Abascal, Havana April, 2006.

<sup>568</sup> Rachel Weiss, "Havana Biennial" *Art Nexus* No. 61 (Jun 2006). Online version, accessed from: <  
<http://www.artnexus.com/servlet/NewsDetail?documentid=16670>>

<sup>569</sup> Rachell Weiss, on the same issue, argues. "The Havana Biennial is a fully governmental operation. So it is only appropriate that the best installation in the city that week was one authored by two governments, those of Cuba and the U.S. Back in January, the staff of the U.S. Interests Section—which is the functional equivalent of an embassy in the absence of diplomatic relations between the two nations—set up a gigantic LED display on the façade of its headquarters and began transmitting propaganda in favor of U.S. "democracy" and against the Cuban "dictatorship." By the time the biennial opened in March, the Cuban government had installed a forest of black flags atop giant flagpoles—it was said these were memorials to the Cuban heroes who have fallen "at the hands of American terrorism against Cuba"—that almost totally obscured the streaming, red LED messages. Some artists claimed, perhaps jokingly, that the idea came from artists, from Jenny Holzer for the Americans and from Wilfredo Prieto—whose work in the last biennial was a baldly cynical stand of black, white, and grey flags titled *Apolítico*—for the Cubans" Rachel Weiss, "Havana Biennial" *Art Nexus* No. 61 (Jun 2006). Some other people commented in the "war on/with artists" making comments on how it looked a battle between Jenny Holzer Vs. Wilfredo Prieto.

<sup>570</sup> I asked personally but he declined to comment about it.

<sup>571</sup> Recently the debates have been centered in the return of modernism, the end of postmodernity, and the impossibility of postcolonialism as new stage. The discussions around globalization, global art, and a universal art history are in course. See: James Elkins, *Is Art History Global?* (Chicago-New York: Art Institute of Chicago - Routledge, 2006).

<sup>572</sup> Among the participants, Miguel Calderón, Arcángel Constantini, Minerva Cuevas, Iván Edeza, Helen Escobedo, Thomas Glassford, Christian Jankowski, Anette Kuhn, César Martínez, Valeska Peschke, Betsabé Romero, Peter Strauss, Frank Thiel, Diego Toledo, and coordinated by Edgardo Ganado Kim.

<sup>573</sup> Since 1986, the work of Consuelo Castañeda and Humberto Castro (dressing as penises and spraying milk to the passersbyers) marked the beginning of a series of collectives acting in diverse spaces of the city. Grupo Art Calle, Grupo Puré (with Lazaro Saavedra), Grupo Imán, Grupo Provisional (with Carlos Rodríguez and Glexis Novoa), ABTV during the late 1980s and early 90s. And later other groups such as DUPP, Arte y Conducta, and Grupo de Intervenciones Publicas. Some artists have been part of those for long time, among others René Francisco Rodríguez, Tania Bruguera, and Lazaro Saavedra.

<sup>574</sup> This gesture of generosity to an old woman with so few possibilities in life became somewhat paradoxical when presented as an artwork, commented Weiss. On the other hand, Lázaro Saavedra had sent email announcements for the project "Techo pa' lo guajiro," (roofs for the blacks) a proposal from a collective named Robin Hood, of recent creation. It intended to help "campesino families in the Peralta batey and other zones of Jagüey who still remain without roofs since Hurricane Wilma;" following, in a sense Francisco's model the collective composed of young artists and economists started an investigation to understand how resources are distributed, additionally, revealed the artistic qualities of nylon (plastic) in the optic of the popular imagination peasants. No further information surfaced during the biennial about the project. Ibid. Weiss, Havana Biennial, 2006.

<sup>575</sup> The subtitle of the piece is "La vida es una pasarela" (Life is a Catwalk), making reference to the fashion industry and the ephemeral of life in the streets of poor urban centers.

<sup>576</sup> Ibid. Weiss, Havana Biennial, 2006.

<sup>577</sup> Ibid. Weiss, Havana Biennial, 2006.

<sup>578</sup> Ibid. Weiss, Havana Biennial, 2006.

<sup>579</sup> David Moss & Magda González-Mora, "Of Architectural Metaphors and Time Traps: Contemporary Cuban Culture" *Artpaper* (September-October, 2006), p. 40.

<sup>580</sup> My parenthesis, Ibid. p.41.

<sup>581</sup> In the article González tells the story of how they were able to visit Kcho's house-studio (a consular house) in a fancy area of Havana where he has assistance, service, friends, and a large space to display and work in his pieces. Apparently Moss was captivated by the charm and straightforwardness of Kcho (who clearly plays with the system), and most surprising by his recent work. Ibid. p. 42.

<sup>582</sup> The project generated considerable discussion among artists, some of whom denounced it on various grounds in a vituperative piece in the Miami *El Nuevo Herald*. But museum officials were well satisfied. Perhaps they were not concerned with the work's inspiring such a conflict between the fundamental refusal of the gesture and the unity and enthusiasm of the seeming reunion. Ibid. Weiss, Havana Biennial, 2006.



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<sup>583</sup> Some of the participants along the years are, José Bedia, Gustavo Acosta, Carlos Garaicoa, Ibrahim Miranda, and Lázaro Saavedra. Ibid. Moos & González, p. 44.

<sup>584</sup> The exhibition drove hundreds of thousands of Habaneros to CENCREM, curious to see what a group of ‘figurative’ artists could do with the old refrigerators the Cuban government had banned them, because of energy consumption. 2006 was the year of the “energy revolution” in Cuba, and fridges like those made in the 1950s were part of the problem, they are now been replaced by Chinese high efficient ones. The exhibition was organized by Cuban painters Mario Miguel González and Roberto Fabelo in 2005. The project was curated by Jorge Luis Montesinos and now is touring Europe, France (in the Grand Palais museum in Paris), later on Madrid, Milan, Los Angeles, New York, to end in Seoul in 2009.

<sup>585</sup> Carey Lovelace, who is based in New York, is co-president of the U.S. Chapter of the International Association of Art Critics. Carey Lovelace, “Art Amid the Rubble” *Artnet* accessed from:

<http://www.artnet.com/magazineus/features/lovelace/lovelace4-12-06.asp>

<sup>586</sup> Ibid.

<sup>587</sup> Ximena Narea, “Presentation;” Margarita Sánchez Prieto, “Concerning the Ninth Havana Biennial;” Interview to Rubén del Valle Lantarón by Andrés D. Abreu, “Rethinking the Biennial;” José Manuel Noceda, “Notes about the city, nomadism and culturality;” Dannys Montes de Oca Moreda, “From Forum Idea;” Ximena Narea, “Nordic presence at the Bienal;” Ibis Hernández, “On resources and methods;” Nelson Herrera, “The largest gallery of the world;” Ximena Narea, “The refrigerator in the dynamic of the urban culture.” *Heterogénesis – Tdiskrift for visuell konst* (Visual arts magazine - Sweden), No. 55-56 (Oct. 2006).

<sup>588</sup> Noam Chomsky called it “fruta madura” (ripe fruit) and comments on the large history of intervention by the United States for control over the Island. *Noam Chomsky and Heinz Dieterich, América Latina: de la colonización a la globalización*. (Barcelona: Catedra, 2003).

<sup>589</sup> My interview with Luis Camnitzer, January, 2008.

<sup>590</sup> Comprised of a constellation of five platforms, realized on four continents over the span of eighteen months between March 2001 and September 2002, Documenta11 extends in substantive, spatial and temporal terms beyond the traditional 100 days format of past documenta exhibitions. The first four platforms were devised as committed, discursive, public interventions, and enacted within distinct communities around themes conceived to probe the contemporary problematics and possibilities of art, politics, and society. Creating a network of partners, collaborators, and interlocutors, many institutions and foundations were instrumental in realizing, together with Documenta11, the platforms. The first platform, Democracy Unrealized took place in Vienna, Austria, from March 15 to April 20, 2001 in Vienna. It continued from October 9 to October 30, 2001, in Berlin, Germany. Platform2, Experiments with Truth: Transitional Justice and The Processes of Truth and Reconciliation, took place in New Delhi, India, from May 7 to May 21, 2001, and consisted of five days of public panel discussions, lectures, and debates and a video program that included over 30 documentaries and fiction films. The third platform, Créolité and Creolization, was held on the West Indian island of St. Lucia in the Caribbean between January 12 and January 16, 2002. Platform4, held in Lagos from March 15 to March 21, 2002, Under Siege: Four African Cities, Freetown, Johannesburg, Kinshasa, Lagos, engaged the current state of affairs of fast-growing African urban centers in a public symposium, along with a workshop, “Urban Processes in Africa,” organized in collaboration with CODESRIA. Over the course of one year, more than 80 international participants across many disciplines—philosophers, writers, artists, architects, political activists, lawyers, scholars, and other cultural practitioners—contributed to the evolving, dynamic public sphere that spelled out Documenta11’s attempt to formulate a critical model that joins heterogeneous cultural and artistic circuits of present global context. Fragments from the Documenta11 on-limne archives, accessed from: <<http://www.documenta12.de/archiv/d11/data/english/index.html>>

<sup>591</sup> His friendship with other young curators (and many intellectuals and artists) such as Hou Hanru, Ute Meta Bauer, Sarat Maharaj, and scholars such as Sudanese Sahla Hassan, and Australian Terry Smith among others have also informed Enwezor’s world-wide view on the art and culture of today’s global world.

<sup>592</sup> Making reference to the intertextual juxtaposition of aesthetic approximations such in the case of Isa Genzken’s Berlin new buildings series and Isek Kingleez’ Ville Fantome series whose utopian structures idolize the occidental ideal of architectural modernity. “Both artists constructed visions of the future for two cities whose structural integrity was rudely dislocated by the cold war. The fates of these cities, however, could not be further apart: Berlin survived its cold-war partition and is rapidly reclaiming its former status as a center of European cultural and political power. Kingleez pursues a utopia of what Kinshasa might have been from within the rubble of the failed

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state of Zaire.” Ogbechie, Sylvester Okwunodu, “Ordering the universe: Documenta 11 and the apotheosis of the occidental gaze.” *Art Journal*, Vol. No. (March, 2005), p. xx.

<sup>593</sup> The author suggests that being literal might become a new dogma, as oppressive as being abstract or modern was in the formalist aesthetics of high modernism. Massimiliano Gioni, “Documenta 11, The Platforms Report: Finding the Center” *Flash Art* No. 225 (July-September 2002), p. 106-07.

<sup>594</sup> Rasheed Araeen, “In the Heart of the Black Box,” *Art Monthly* 259 (September 2002), p. 17.

<sup>595</sup> *Ibid.* Camnitzer interview

<sup>596</sup> Luis Camnitzer was appointed educational coordinator for the 2007 Porto Alegre Biennial in Brazil. His writings, conferences, and studies navigate the inner circles of the art world and the networks of art production, circulation, and consumption. *Ibid.*

<sup>597</sup> It will take place during March and April 2009. The curatorial team consists of Margarita González, Nelson Herrera Ysla, José Manuel Noceda, Ibis Hernández Abascal, Margarita Sánchez Prieto, José Fernández Portal, and Dannys Montes de Oca Moreda.

<sup>598</sup> Two of the most progressive officials, former Vice President Carlos Lage and ex-Foreign Minister Felipe Perez Roque were among a dozen officials who left their posts March 2, 2009. Later on the government called the two relevant Politicians to declare and apologized to the Cuban people for ‘supposedly bad behavior’ during their tenure in their post. Fidel Castro, himself, also commented on their public declaration calling the “best thing for the country”, as well as praised other members of the government, old revolutionary comrades, ‘replaced’, saying that they were stepping out voluntarily after many years of service to the Revolution. The incident reminded the Soviet practices of silencing the inner circle critics during the Stalinist era.

<sup>599</sup> This is the translation of Yoani Sanchez declaration: “Cuba is an island surrounded by sea and is also an island surrounded by censorship. Some of the information control, and especially with the Internet, have opened up some cracks for bloggers. The alternative blogosphere is known to a good part of the Cuban population. We accentuate the awakening of public opinion. The authorities consider the technology to be a wild horse that has to be tamed. The independent bloggers want to run freely. Difficulties in disseminating our sites are many. Passed from hand to hand and thanks to flash memory drives, CDs and obsolete diskettes, the content of the blogs goes through the island. The Internet is becoming a public square of discussion where the Cubans are writing their opinions. The real island is starting to be a virtual island, one that is more democratic and more pluralistic. Unfortunately these winds of free expression on the internet are being recognized by government officials. Let us not wait for the authorization to use the internet or to have a blog or to write an opinion. It is time to jump the wall of control.”

<sup>600</sup> In the crowd gather a familiar figure, Gerardo Mosquera in company of Rachel Weiss, was trying to make sense of the event. Unfortunately the sound system did not allow the audience to hear what was happening, after a couple of hours the sound technician say “that is it!” and the show ended... Simultaneously, two performances one by Wilfredo Prieto in Plaza de la Revolución titled “Una Luz a lo Lejos” (a Light on the Distance) and another by popular artist Manuel Mendive (in a carnival fashion that gather the most popular audience) was taking place in the National Theater .

<sup>601</sup> In an open forum with the organizers and curators I asked about the understanding of the term “globalization” for a Biennale that call for its resistance. They presented the biennale in tuned with Appadurai’s scholarly approach to globalization as a set of “scapes”, they wanted the biennale to become a place to show the “global landscape” and not the space of resistance to the force integration, which would be more relevant for an event produced from one of the last Socialist nations on the planet. The other question I made was on the administrative dimension, the budget for such a display of resources and the participation of agencies such as the Spanish Agency of Cooperation (among other Spanish institutions). The organizers did not answer the question and after some discussion they released the amount of money the Ministry of Culture gave to the Biennale, \$164,2000 CUC. In private conversation with the curators a sum closed to \$300,2000 Euros was discussed in terms of production expenses for the exhibitions. They praised the participation of new “friends” of the Biennale which gave money and supplied support for the event. Among them: the Brownstone Foundation, Euro Business Market, EBM Solutions (a Cuban phantom company), Logística de arte, University of Valencia, and Loop Circus.