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Very Dear Readers,

Today, for the first time in what is almost twenty-five years of its history “Ameryka Łacińska”, our journal, offers you its very first issue in English. With the English edition we wish to expand our reception and reach a greater number of possible authors and evaluators.

This does not mean, however, that we are to become yet another Latin American journal published in English. We are committed to maintaining our profile, being the only magazine edited in Polish, dedicated solely to social and human studies on Latin America and the Caribbean and on the relations of this region with the rest of the World.

For our first English edition we have chosen the fourth – i.e. the last – issue of our quarterly, as its content fits perfectly the purpose of presenting the activities of our Center for Latin American Studies (CESLA) of the University of Warsaw to a wider audience. Thus, the issue features three articles, one book review, and a chronicle documenting our institution’s activities. The majority of the texts are dedicated to Cuba, currently enjoying a renaissance of research, and the authors include recognised Cuban studies researchers, inter alia Haroldo Dilla and Jacqueline Loss. The first presents a historical analysis of the evolution of the city of Havana, while the latter offers a critical presentation of Mailyn Machado’s recently published book on Cuban art. The third text on Cuba is written by three Brazilian researchers, Marcos Antonio da Silva, Carla Cristina Vreche, and Guillermo Johnson, and offers an analysis of Cuban soft power politics. Finally, the issue contains a study on Polish community in Argentina by Katarzyna Porada, a Polish scholar residing in Spain.

We hope that you will find the content interesting. It is also available in a digital format in the repository of Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (CEJSH).

We wish you a pleasant reading.

Katarzyna Dembicz, PhD
Editor in Chief
HAROLDO DILLA ALFONSO*

THE ITINERARIES OF HAVANA: FROM THE PORT TO THE WORLD

Abstract: Among the emblematic cities of Latin America, Havana distinguishes itself with a peculiar characteristic: it ascended from a particularly miserable infancy to a true metropolis through its role in trade intermediation. This article analyzes the early stage of this evolution, when Havana assumed its dual condition of border: an outpost of the Spanish Empire facing other rival empires and an interface for Spanish Empire/world and the emerging new economy/world. This condition triggered an intense process of accumulation and converted Havana into a flourishing metropolis at the center of the most formidable agro-exporting complex of its time, while simultaneously modeling a peculiar cultural matrix that has defined Havana as a typical port city.

Keywords: Caribbean, Cuba, Havana, Border.

Introduction

Initially Havana was a particularly miserable village, being the last of the first seven towns founded by the Spanish conquerors between 1510 and 1511. Without precious metals and with little indigenous population there was nothing to induce its maturation as a town.

This settlement’s fate began to change in the second half of the 16th century. While in 1540 its population had been estimated at 40 vecinos, i.e. adult male Spaniards, by 1590 it increased to 800. By 1630, 1,200 vecinos were reported; and by 1660 a stable population ranging between 8 and 10 thousand inhabitants was living in the city (Moreno, 2002). Finally, a census taken in 1754 (Navarro, 1983) reported 63,000 inhabitants. Slightly more than 13,000 of them had overflowed the city walls and extended the urban area, forming small neighborhoods in the outskirts, mainly on the southwest side. Similarly, the census reported slightly less than

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11,000 inhabitants residing on the great plains south of the city (Navarro, 1983). Thus, Havana concentrated 34% of the inhabitants of the Island of Cuba, while other significant settlements barely exceeded 10 thousand inhabitants, and only one – Santiago de Cuba – had any fortifications. It is worth mentioning that, curiously, in 1754 Havana’s population was twice the size of San Juan de Puerto Rico in 1900 and four times larger than Santo Domingo in 1893.

The objective of this article is to examine this process from the perspective of the reproduction in and from Havana of a series of border situations1, which converted the young city into a dynamic borderland. These fostered substantial accumulation of capital and the empowerment of urban elite, who demonstrated high capacity to articulate economic, political and symbolic resources to position the city within the global system. This made it possible for this port-city to disengage itself from Spanish mercantilist web and stimulated productive intermediation between its national spaces and the world market, subordinating the former to the latter. It is a case of an authentic metamorphosis, as described by Morín (2010), i.e. a shift involving socio-spatial breaks and realignments, which gave rise to a “developmentalist city” that enjoyed a central role in the Caribbean for almost two centuries (Dilla, 2014).

This article is a story of how the Havana’s elite, and the population of the city in general, managed to make the most of market opportunities stemming from the city’s condition of border, in respect to other territorial settlements and to the new economy/world. As Wallerstein (1999) and Moreno (2002) explain, under these circumstances the city played a role of a peculiar semi-periphery. However, this should not lead to a false belief that the growth of Havana and its metropolitan metamorphosis between the 16th and 19th centuries were exclusively the work of the market. The fact that Havana was able to benefit from its location was a consequence of the actions taken by the State, as well as a result of the emergence of local elite capable of creating a complete institutional mechanism to suit their ends. This elite’s city project, which as we shall see prevailed until the first half of the 20th century, was essentially shaped by an intra-elite consensus and attained within

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1 I shall use here an operational definition of border as a line dividing and connecting different and unequal social spaces that eventually develop relationships based on the exploitation of differential profits or higher forms of exchange/cooperation. The interaction of the parties involved generates cross-border regions as described by Jessop (2001); the expressions of the relativity of scales and space densification that have accompanied the process of capitalist globalization. Explained in this way, the notion of border can be applied to different spatial situations and serve as a methodological resource.
the elite’s own guilds and organizations. Since the end of the 18th century the most prominent of these organizations were the Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País and the Real Consulado de la Habana. In addition, the nascent Havana elite had already “cornered” the colonial power mechanisms, starting in the 16th century, by taking over the modest city town council or Ayuntamiento.

Although this article covers the early period of urban history, it is worth noting that the proliferation of border situations has been a usual occurrence in Cuba and its capital. For instance, during the revolution and the immediate post-revolutionary periods (1959-1985), the island represented an incipient attempt in search for uniqueness or differentiation, which demarcated a border against capitalist environment hegemonized by the United States. This had strong geopolitical connotations. Today, the former “Nice of the Caribbean” looks north insistently and may well become a part of a Cross-border Urban Complex (Dilla, 2015), which would include the urban areas in the south of Florida and, in particular, Miami. This type of situation is usual in the Caribbean Basin and, occasionally, has had tragic geopolitical results. In this sense, what differentiates Cuba is the country’s capability to take advantage of such circumstances to attain development goals.

The Fortress City

The first historical reference to what is now known as Havana Bay dates back to a circumnavigation expedition, which took place in 1508, which used this bay to careen the ships and perform caulking works in a natural tar spring. Thus, they named it Carenas Bay, and it was there that the first settlers arrived around 1519. With them came a name that had been bouncing along the western geography, which they used to identify their hamlet: San Cristóbal de la Habana. Nothing in the squalor of that handful of poverty-stricken colonists anticipated that they were laying the foundations for a complex border situation, which would change the

2 Thus, it is no coincidence that prominent Caribbean thinkers, such as Juan Bosch and Jorge Mañach regarded this border character as a historical burden and, with inconsiderate optimism foresaw its end. Juan Bosch (2005) was a disappointed liberal in transit to radicalism, who wished to the said ending in the final victory of the peoples over dominant imperialisms – starting from the defeat of American aggressions against the young Cuban Revolution. Jorge Mañach (1970), on the contrary, was a liberal who reaffirmed his convictions in his later years, and predicted a virtuous merging of different worlds that would find its panacea in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Both were wrong in their predictions, but managed to leave behind spheres of thought that should deserve closer attention in the future.
fabric of regional powers in a radical way. For, in addition to favorable physical lay
of coastal geography (a large water enclosure protected by a narrow yet wide
enough entryway, almost as if man-made), the bay had another virtue which, at the
time, was just becoming known to the most experienced Spanish sailors – the pro-
xymity to a strong oceanic river that carried ships towards the Iberian Peninsula,
namely, the Gulf Stream.

When Spain – egged on by those dispossessed by the Tordesillas Treaty –
began to organize a monopolist trade system, it realized that this current was the
most expeditious access route to the ports of Seville. Thus, it chose Havana as the
final rendezvous point for las flotas, i.e. convoys comprising dozens of merchant
vessels escorted by warships, capable of dissuading the boldest of privateers.

The system consisted of two fleets that would sail together or independent-
ly: the Nueva España and the Tierra Firme. Regularly, every year, they set sail
from the Guadalquivir River, stopped over for supplies at the Canary Islands and
sailed into the Atlantic taking advantage of the Trade Winds. When the ships
reached the Caribbean, they made another supplies stopover at the isle of Dominica
and a small part of the fleet was redirected to the islands of Cuba, La Española and
Puerto Rico, and to other minor settlements on the continent. The larger part of the
fleet would sail to the viceroyalties.

The Nueva España fleet dropped anchor at Veracruz, protected by the
magnificent San Juan de Ulúa castle, from where the goods were transported over
land to several places in Mexico, including Acapulco. This port was the point of
departure for a small fleet of two or three vessels that sailed to the Philippines,
called the Galeón de Manila. These ships would come back promptly, with their
cargo of merchandise from China, taking advantage of the system of currents on the
Pacific Ocean.

The main port of call of the Tierra Firme or Galeones fleets was the Nom-
bre de Dios fair, which later became Portobelo (in modern Panamá). According to
Ward, it was the largest trade fair of the early modern period (Ward, 1993: 67).
Upon arrival or before departure, the fleet docked in Cartagena for two weeks or so,
to unload the cargo bound for Bogotá and to replenish fresh water and food sup-
plies. Cartagena, which housed the largest African slave market of the empire, was
ideal for these purposes due to its natural location and inexpugnable fortifications.

When the circuit was completed and the vessels were loaded with goods
from the viceroyalties – including Crown taxes – the fleets congregated in Havana
between February/March where they would normally spend two months or so pur-
chasing supplies and completing their cargo. However, it was not unusual for these stays to be extended due to different types of setbacks.

From Havana the ships headed for the Bahamas Channel and sailed to the North Atlantic and eventually their final destination in Seville, where their entire cargo was logged. The round trip could take between twelve and eighteen months depending on weather conditions, the speed of cargo clearances, and other factors that could delay departure – to the detriment of merchants and ship-owners and the benefit of the host cities.

The Fleet System was conceived as a result of a reorganization process of Spanish defensive system elaborated by the most prominent of imperial strategists. Among them was Pedro Menéndez de Avilés who later became the governor of Cuba and adelantado of Florida. The latter was this Asturian admiral’s dearest concern, and to prove it he sent to meet their maker as many French Huguenots as only the perpetrators of St. Bartholomew could have dreamed of. He was a well-esteem ed server of the Spanish monarch Philip II, and thus was entrusted with challenging missions. In fact, he died during one of them, i.e. during the organization of the Spanish Armada whose defeat marked the beginning of the decline of the Spanish power that Menéndez had served with particular zeal.

Menéndez was also a strategist who enjoyed projecting issues in the long term. Thus, he recommended erecting fortifications in Havana, Santiago de Cuba, Santo Domingo, San Juan and other mainland ports and setting up the fleet system that provided supplies and guaranteed communication between the imperial posts. He also suggested using the Florida Channel as a route to Spain and the port of Havana as a rendezvous point for the ships. He was, for a decade, the first “strong man” of the Caribbean, as well as the first politician to consider the region as a system conditioned by geopolitics – a tradition that has prevailed for centuries – and as a border with a different and a potentially hostile environment.

Essentially, Menéndez’s actions were flexible defensive project that combined patrolling the sea with selective fortification on land. Inevitably, this implied larger transfers of funds to finance the fortifications and military garrisons, to protect the colonial enclaves and routes and, ironically, to curb the contraband trade whose main beneficiary was the colonial bureaucracy – including the family of Menéndez de Avilés. Bauman (2014: 114) would have probably said that these were the “statements of intent” from a colonial power that was as exclusivist as it was corrupt.
These expenses, as far as the Caribbean is concerned, were funded by a system of transfers, known as situados, which were sent from Nueva España. This was one of the most solid and long-standing intercolonial subsidy systems in history. Between 1582, when they started, and 1814, when the Independence of Mexico inevitably put an end to the practice, the situados probably transferred billions of pesos. Between 1729 and 1799, the transfers to what was called the “critical nodes” of the West Indies Route (Carrera de Indias) amounted to 216.6 million pesos, a huge fortune at that time. Marichal and Souto have argued that the decapitalization of Nueva España due to the situados was one of the reasons of the discontent that led to its independence (Marichal, Souto, 1994).

Due to its key location as a “critical node”, Havana was the main beneficiary of the situados. According to Pérez Guzmán, between 1700 and 1750 Havana received 11.5 million pesos, five times more than Santiago de Cuba and San Juan, and over twice as much as Santo Domingo (Pérez, 1997). In addition, the accounts reviewed by Marichal and Souto indicate that in the second half of the 18th century Havana received on average between 1.4 million and 5.2 million pesos annually, while Santo Domingo and San Juan were only allocated between 100 thousand and just under 400 thousand pesos per year respectively (Marichal and Souto, 1994). In turn, Grafenstein argues that between 1779 and 1783 (the time of the reforms of the Bourbon monarchs) remittances averaged 8 million pesos per annum, half of which went to the Cuban capital (Grafenstein, 1993).

A significant portion of these funds was used to pay the salaries of civil and military personnel, positively impacting local markets. Similarly, the funds could make a direct contribution to promote economic activities, considered to reinforce security. Such was the case, for example, of shipyards and tobacco crops in Havana, two crucial sectors of the urban economy, as we shall see later on. Above all, the situados had a decisive effect on military constructions and generated an entire network of creating jobs.

The fortification of Havana began in the second half of the 16th century and consisted of two components. One was the wall whose construction began in 1667 and was completed in the late 18th century; the extremely long period of time needed to build a structure roughly six kilometers long, may be explained as a result of economic interests nestled in the works themselves. In any case, when the wall was completed, it had already been swallowed up by the city and no longer served its purpose. It was demolished in 1863 amid a speculative orgy in the real estate market, which rushed to take over its glacis and to build a new urban center, still the most elegant in the city (González, 1994; Venegas, 1990).
The second component was a dozen of fortresses of different dimensions, which guarded the city. The oldest, La Fuerza, was built in the late 16th century and is located opposite of the main square. The last one, La Cabaña, dates back to late 18th century and is a huge stone structure situated on the east side of the Bay, and is reputed to be the largest colonial castle in America – an honor contested by its contemporary Castillo de San Cristóbal in San Juan de Puerto Rico. All of them were part of an intense mercurial bustle in which many of the most ostentatious fortunes of the colony were amassed.

The walls and the castles were the most eloquent symbolic displays of Havana’s imperial border vocation. They were the expression of the construction of an urban ethos and a symbol of strength. They also served to safeguard the territoriality of the colonial power against hostilities not only from overseas but also from the rural settlements. On the other hand, it was within these walls where the loudest disputes between territorial power, i.e. the military, the bureaucrats and the priests and the powers based on the flow of goods, money and people took place. These walls witnessed the most snobbish requirements of the empire clash with the temptations of the economy/world.

Trade Intermediation

According to Immanuel Wallerstein, a connecting thread in modern history is the counterpointing of empires/world and economy/world in the formation of a global system, with boundaries, structures, member groups, legitimation rules, and coherence and whose life comprises conflicting forces that hold it together by tension and tear it apart (Wallerstein, 1999). The former refer to the work of enterprising states, which impose law-defined structures. The latter, to a bourgeois system, which prioritizes the creation of economic spaces to increase the flow of surpluses from the lower strata to the upper strata, from the periphery to the center, from the majority to the minority, while eliminating the ‘waste’ of an exceedingly cumbersome political superstructure (Meinig, 1986).

In turn, D. W. Meinig has noted the conflicting coexistence of two forms of European expansion (Meinig, 1986) in America, which can be easily related to Wallerstein’s theoretical construct.

The first one had its starting point in the Lisbon/Seville axis and led southwest. It was organized along a trade route from the metropolis, with the famous
Carrera de las Indias being its emblematic avenue. A sole route, as Meinig puts it, from a sole port connected with two American gateways, a maritime hub of a vast imperial system that claimed exclusive territorial rights over most of the American world (Meinig, 1986).

The second was conceived in Northeastern Europe (north of Portugal, the Basque Country, la Rochelle, Brittany, Normandy, The Netherlands) as an open trade led by a vast number of entrepreneurs from numerous local ports, which would give rise to different form of colonization (Meinig, 1986: 56), better tested in North America and on what the Spaniards considered the “useless islands” of the Caribbean. Although in the heat of this dynamics some intense population settlement processes were generated, it was a trend that, for the sake of production of cheap caloric foodstuff, namely sugar, favored (or had to make do with) scattered trade and factory pontoons rather than large permanent settlements, which turned out to be vital for European and American capitalism.

The Caribbean was a place of confluence of these modalities and, hence, a counterpoint. Thus, from this perspective, Havana acquired yet another border connotation: one that permitted it to act as an intermediary between the vast territorial economic preserves of the Spanish Empire and the dynamic flows of world economy.

It was not simply because of its location on the defensive edge of the Empire, which provided fortifications and soldiers. Other cities in the region held similar positions, as was the case of San Juan, yet all they got in return was a second rate life, permanently marred by scarcity. As we shall see, neither did its specificity lie in its active participation in the traffic of goods in the official trade. Veracruz did so and never progressed beyond being an uninteresting settlement. The same goes for Cartagena, which enjoyed a period of splendor but could not endure the disappearance of the fleets and the competition from Buenos Aires, and ended up – in the words of a visitor – sunken deep in “…a somber, cloistered aspect” (Lemaitre, 1983).

The fact that Havana outgrew its walls and was able to survive the end of the commercial monopoly successfully, was due to its role as an active commercial entrepôt, generating production and services chains that included activities of relatively high technical complexity at the time. Havana, according to Moreno (2002), operated as a typical flow-articulating semi-periphery, vis-a-vis the world economy. The poem by Francisco de Quevedo on the travels of “the mighty knight Don Dine-ro”, born in the West Indies and buried in Genoa, could well have mentioned his loss of innocence in the docks of Havana.
Alejandro de la Fuente has analyzed the commercial intricacies of Havana between 1571 and 1610, a crucial moment for understanding metropolitan development of the city in the late 18th century (De la Fuente, 2008). A fundamental conclusion is that the docking of the fleets triggered a frantic commercial traffic between the metropolis, other American colonies and the interior of the island. Thus, Havana became the port of call for small freights for the entire hemisphere. This resulted in an additional advantage, which increased the traffic of ships sailing on their own and of smaller fleets. It also kept business brisk throughout the year, including active contraband that did not require heroic actions but rather as much corruption as control.

The city’s trade balance points to the evolution of the entrepôt connecting several ports and benefitting on a large scale from differential profit generated by the difference in trading prices of commodities, including currency\(^3\). Moreno (2002) observed that in the 17th century, half of the cargo capacity of the fleets was taken up by shipments from Havana (Moreno, 2002), and although this prompted early development of a productive hinterland, idle capacities could only be filled with imports from other colonies in the Caribbean basin.

It is worth noting that between 1571 and 1610 records show that over 2,000 ships associated with the metropolis or other colonies on the Caribbean docked at or were dispatched from Havana Bay. Imports worth millions were unloaded there: 47% from other colonies, 45% from the metropolis, and only 8% from the rest of the island. As for exports, 70% went to Seville, 18% to other colonies and the rest to other towns on the island. The most important colonial markets were Mexico and Florida; Santo Domingo and San Juan were only marginal. In Cuban hinterland, three villages concentrated 80% of the shipments’ worth: Bayamo (which in the first part of the 16th century had been the main settlement on the island because of its active smuggling), Puerto Príncipe and Sancti Spiritus (De la Fuente, 2008). The former capital, Santiago de Cuba, preferred to deal with the Eastern Caribbean and with its direct ancestor, Santo Domingo. What is more, Havana itself was somewhat dismissive of the territory that later was to become its national space.

When going through the list of traded products, the magnitude of the city’s trade intermediation becomes clear. Three products concentrated most of trans-

\(^3\) A very suggestive case narrated by de la Fuente is the overvaluation of the real at 44 maravedies instead of 34, which was the normal rate in the Empire. This generated a purchasing spree of precious metals and other commodities, which were sold with an extraordinary profit margin, until by a royal decree the price was set at the same level as in Spain.
oceanic imports: textiles, wine and slaves – mainly paid for in silver and hide. The silver came from inter-colonial imports, especially from Mexico and Florida, and the hides from other islands. Havana exported food and textiles and silver bullion to other cities, and “exported” food, textiles, silver and slaves to the island (De la Fuente, 2008). It was a perfect circle, which, as noted above, also generated differential profits on cheap freights, currency overvaluation and different kinds of commercial speculation.

This role of regional trade mediation remained unchanged for centuries and outlived the fleets. During a period of eleven months in 1775, according to Knight, 183 ships docked in the port of Havana, 127 of them with trading purposes (Knight, 1977). Of these, 53% came from the Spanish colonies in America, 28% from Spain and the Canary Islands, and 7% from Cuba and other foreign ports.

Alexander von Humboldt observed this a quarter of a century later, only on a much larger scale and in a new context, in which Havana already had established itself as a hub of a growing sugar emporium (Von Humboldt, 1930). According to this German humanist, every year, between 1,000 to 2,000 merchant ships called in at the port of Havana – plus a hundred of war ships – totaling some 170,000 tons, carrying goods worth around 75 and 80 million pesetas, some of which “were re-exported”. “Havana – wrote Von Humboldt – buys abroad much more than it needs, because it exchanges colonial textiles for products manufactured in Europe, which it resells mostly in Veracruz, La Guaira and Cartagena” (Von Humboldt, 1930: 8).

Havana was, unquestionably, the kingpin of an economic region that included the western Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico, and subjected the region to inequitable exchanges, sometimes resorting to extra-economic mechanisms.

In this regard, the relations with the Spanish settlements in Florida, originating from Florida’s complex historical relationship with Havana – which still endures today – are very revealing. Despite the early efforts of Menéndez de Avilés, the Spanish population of the peninsula was limited to a military center, San Augustine, and some forts such as San Marcos, San Luis and Pensacola, whose fates were ephemeral and marked by uncertainty. The colonial development of the area was, in fact, never possible: the agricultural projects never went beyond mere survival farming, and the Spaniards remained there only to protect the fleet and to contain the British, who in 1607 had already settled in today’s Virginia (Navarro, 1983).

From the very beginning, it was clear to the strategists in Madrid that the physical survival of the frail Florida forts depended on supplies from Havana. This in turn represented an excellent opportunity to increase profits for traders and offi-
cials in Havana. It was obvious that Florida had become a sort of captive market, always in debt and transferring resources to the Cuban capital. Consequently, the peninsula became one of the most important colonial commercial destinations for Cuba. The island supplied it with food – re-exported or produced on its vast western plain – for which Florida was only able to for with its *situados*.

According to Cusick, around the year 1803 some 15 ships from Havana supplied 43% of the goods, which arrived in the port of San Augustine (Cusick, 1991). Goods from Havana were very expensive for the inhabitants of Florida, compared to the North American wares, which came from Charleston. However, Havana was in control of high-consumption goods, such as wine, rum, oils and sugar, and particularly, over the money coming from the *situados*. More often than not, the full annual allocation of money was used to pay for previously purchased goods and city’s services. Hence, the soldiers of San Augustine worked for their food, with merchants of Havana pocketing their wages.

Another effect of this relation with the “flow spaces” of this incipient globalization was the development of an active economy that produced goods and services, satisfying the needs of the fleet and its operators. It is not hard to picture a city overflowing with visitors looking for food, entertainment, sex or lodgings. During much of the 17th century, the number of visitors almost matched the number of local inhabitants, which increased demand and, in consequence, the prices to the benefit of the latter. This dynamics brought about social mobility of large sectors of the black and mestizo populations. This has been narrated with wonder by more than one chronicler. As reported by Eguren, “scattered and vagrant” Indians and “wandering… shocking and insolent” Negroes horrified the white elite of the city, who demanded a solution in the form of “order and a good police force” (Eguren, 1986).

No less relevant was the effect on agricultural production in the city suburbs. It was the starting point of an intense process of urban intermediation, which implied the subordination of a sprawling productive and residential hinterland.

Thanks to the physical qualities of local topography – a vast, fertile and well irrigated, albeit monotonous plain. The city was surrounded by several agricultural and livestock production units, which supplied the fleets, the expanded urban market and, eventually exported to Europe. These production units were excellent laboratories for cultural merging. Making use of permanent or occasional slave labor, they combined European and African products and techniques. Besides breeding cattle and pigs, the farms cultivated cassava, bananas, corn, rice and beans. As
the 17th century went on, other commercial crops such as ginger, tobacco and sugar cane began to spread. Of these, the second became the main agricultural export commodity until it was displaced by sugar in the late 18th century.

Finally, the expansion of fleet-related services included the establishment of shipyards, repairing and building vessels for various Imperial armadas. In the 17th century there were at least six shipyards around the city, three in the bay and three at nearby coastal sites. Their output placed Havana as the top shipbuilding city, way above the traditional shipyards in the north of the peninsula.

These shipyards produced deep-draught ships, at the expense of the local natural forests, which thus suffered their first blow, with the next wave of deforestation to come in the 19th century, triggered by sugar cane plantations. According to de la Fuente, 31 ships of an average of 400 tons were built as early as between the years 1600 and 1620. This generated dynamics of crafts and manufacturing (foundries, production of navigation instruments, woodwork, etc.), which significantly increased the number of workers in the city (De la Fuente, 2008).

Renowned ships, such as El Retiro and El Bizarro, were built in Havana Bay, which became the main ship supplier to the Armada de Barlovento. However, when the armada was suppressed during the first half of the 18th century, the shipyards of the city continued to be essential for the maintenance of the imperial, military and commercial fleets. It is estimated that 74 frigates were built between 1700 and 1775. Between 1723 and 1796, the shipyards delivered 114 ships equipped with about five thousand cannons. Although shipyard production declined in the 18th century, four out of the fifteen Iberian ships that fought in Trafalgar (1805) were built in Havana. Among them was the colossal Santísima Trinidad, built 40 years earlier (Kuethe, Serrano, 2007), equipped with 136 cannons and manned by a crew of over one thousand.

The Transformation of the Urban Space

The growth of Havana in this early colonial period is captured in its maps. The first map that came to be known, shows a handful of modest houses, some streets and, surrounding the squares, a few larger dwellings made of stone and masonry, most likely the homes of the local oligarchy. Probably it dates from 1567, when Pedro Menéndez de Avilés ruled the island, in his spare time between his carryings-on in Florida,
It is not a very artistic map – curiously, it faces East and the Holy Sepulcher – and brings to mind the chronicles from that time, which describe houses made of wooden boards and straw, similar to Arawak huts, which often ended up consumed by fire, and whose rustic furniture was made by local artisans using materials available on the island. Only four streets displayed regular alignment of houses “The rest (says a chronicler) are placed according to their owner’s whim and fancy, and are fenced or defended in the front, back and sides, by a double wall of sharp prickly-pear cacti” (Leuchsering, 1963). It was not possible to go out at night without risking an attack of packs of stray dogs and feral animals, wandering through the village in search of food.

The map happens to be also quite a political discourse. Two buildings stand out – the two bastions of colonial power in the city. The first one is represented by a slightly bigger house, topped with a cross, indicating the location of the main parish church – a construction that probably was being finished when the sketch was made. It is a building which, according to all the chronicles, lacked elegance and had been conceived to solve the urban dilemma of serving both God and the Church with the least possible damage to the local citizens’ budget.

The second building to stand out is the Castillo de la Fuerza Nueva or simply, La Fuerza, also under construction at the time, whose symbolic significance must have been so remarkable to the artist, that he assigned it an area equal to 20% of the total urban area. Moreno Fraginals, has written an allegory of this castle in fine prose calling it “(...) the most significant architectural accomplishment of the time in Havana, and also the one with the highest symbolic content” (Moreno, 2002: 50). It should be noted that at the time the map was drawn, Havana had only one other defensive element: a chain that closed the entrance to the port, with bastions at the ends. This is shown on the map, in a spot where the forts of la Punta and del Morro, built between the late 16th and the early 17th centuries, are today.

There was also another work, which the 1567 map was unable to capture, as its construction was just beginning: la zanja real. This was an 11 kilometer-long, stone-lined canal, which transported water from the Almendares River to the central fountain in the city. The work, financed with taxation on meat, wine and soap, started in 1566 and was imperfectly completed in 1575. In 1589, final rectifications were entrusted to a prominent family, the Antonelli’s, who concluded the works in 1592 – the same year that Havana received its official designation as a city. According to Weiz, the canal’s capacity catered for the needs of water consumption of 200,000 people and, with successive improvements, was the main source of water.
for the expanding city until the 19th century (Weiz, 1979). La Zanja put an end to the uncertainty of water supply and encouraged an unprecedented expansion of port businesses and farming activities in the hinterland.

This building urge, which furnished the town with an infrastructure unique in the Caribbean and triggered its development in the following centuries, must have required, in the first place, a strong consensus among the emerging urban elite and the colonial powers. However, it also must have presented an enormous tension between the plans and the resources available to the population of only a few thousand inhabitants at the time. Weiz (1979) mentions labor shortage, which drove the colonial authorities to enforce draconian measures, such as relocating slaves from agricultural tasks. This resulted in reduction of food inventories and the setting up of a system of forced labor with meager wages for “mestizos, as well as negros and mulatos, to make them work (...) and a penalty of 10 pesos or a hundred lashes” (Weiz, 1979: 35).

Another early map dates from 1603 and was drawn by Cristóbal de Rodas, an Italian cartographer and the builder of the extensive fortifications of Cartagena, also related to the Antonelli family. Unlike the 1567 chart, this map is perfect in its details and reveals a hand of a cartographer, as well as a regulatory urge that goes beyond mere description.

The map shows an unorthodox grid with two perimeters. The first, is the one known as the “old fence”, which delimited an area of about 15 blocks and was about to be replaced with a second perimeter – which was to be walled – some six kilometers long and with an internal area of two square kilometers. The urban center consisted of a north/south axis, aligned by the three main squares: de Armas, San Francisco and Nueva. Around this axis were the main public buildings and the homes of the local oligarchs. Some of these buildings represented unmistakable signs of urban development, such as: a hospital, a foundry, a slaughterhouse, the main church, several shipyards, warehouses, a monastery, several small forts, squares, a customs office and a jail, etc.

However, the new urban perimeter was only an aspiration, an area that Rodas intended for future growth, which actually did not materialize until but a century later. Thus, large part of “urban” plots was occupied by orchards and pens.

In a way the map by Rodas may be considered a document that shows the transition from a village to an expanding urban center, a fact acknowledged in 1592, when Havana was emblazoned as a city and pompously designated as the “Key to the New World and Bulwark of the West Indies” (Llave del Nuevo Mundo y Ante-
mural de Las Indias). Only a short time after Rodas finished his cartographic work, the city was officially recognized as the capital of the island (1607).

From the 18th century onwards, frequent visits of chroniclers and cartographers were a sign of growing importance of the city, which left future historians with a considerable number of maps and diagrams. Pierre de Chassereau made one of these maps in 1739. By then, the city was a compact urbs, almost entirely walled, and, as he amusingly documented in a sketch, still had the wooden chain that closed the entrance to the city bay. Nonetheless, there are two noteworthy features in the maps from this period, accurately recorded by Chassereau.

One of them is the settling of inhabitants outside the city walls. They were so numerous that in a few decades they outnumbered those dwelling within the walls. Thus, the walls became an urban obstacle, which taunted the greed of urban developers and traders. The other feature shown by Chassereau is a certain spatial discrepancy. There is a central zone, which up to a certain extent, has a proper grid (in fact, Havana’s grid was never rigorous) and there are others that show irregular space patterns, particularly, to the south. These features reveal spontaneous peopling, only loosely adhering to urban regulations. They also reveal a city marked by class and ethnic cleavages, whose less favorable features had gone unacknowledged by cheerier sketches and chronicles.

Although the city had already begun to boast elegant buildings and recreational spaces, revealing the hedonistic turn of mind of the emerging bourgeoisie and the hygienistic intentions of city planners, Havana in the mid-18th century was a dirty city, plagued with frequent epidemic outbreaks. Demographic densification – and, above all, an overwhelming floating population – was not balanced by basic infrastructure works. This resulted in overcrowding of uncobbled streets and lack of basic sanitary services in city’s neighborhoods. All the chronicles corroborate the tremendous filth of the city, especially, the proliferation of waste and litter on the banks of the bay and in the moats surrounding the forts.

The transformation of Havana into a city with an urban air started in the late 18th century, and was accompanied by two, related spatial processes. The first one was the aforementioned transition from port city to a center of coordination and services for an agro-exporting economy based on sugar. This shift started in the late 18th century and was definitely consolidated at the time when, in the name of freedom, the slaves from Saint-Domingue set fire to every inch of what until then had been the most profitable colony in the New World. Although the port remained a fundamental component of the economy and urban landscape, it was not a port per se, but a part of an exporting and importing web offering productive activities.
As a result, although the city continued to keep its arrogant distance from the island, it could not do without it and commenced a process of spatial expansion. Whereas initially, its area covered no more than a few square kilometers – the land irrigated by the Zanja Real – from the second half of the 18th century onwards, it sprawled over the entire western extent. For all purposes, the expansion of Havana border was a sort of “civilizing” onslaught of periphery capitalism in regions that were still inserted in a simple trading system. It involved a new way of socialization, based on overexploitation of slave labor and ethnic segregation, reinforced by strong immigration of Spanish settlers – functioning as complementary producers – and by a white strike force whose purpose was to keep the increasing African slave population in check.

The new border advanced, destroying forests and making a vast plain of high-quality land available for sugar cane crops. It excluded eastern Cuba, with its least economically favored, mestizo and irreverent provinces. This was what has been called Cuba B, as opposed to western Cuba A, with Havana as its center. It was the revolutionary Cuba, with its leaders always eager to march with their troops into a city, strongly identifying the sense of nation with sugar production: “no sugar,” said a slogan, “no country”.

At the center of the city’s transformation was an elite that had already started – in the well-known metaphor of Marx – “a bath of blood and mud” in the docks of the port. It was a versatile elite, who had started by taking control of the town council and seizing the best lands and Arawak encomiendas, and continued its ascent by appropriating favorable contracts, embarking on all sorts of trade ventures and exploiting servile labor in their vast cattle and agricultural estates. In a comprehensive study, Knight has explored the process of recomposition of the elite of western Cuba. He found that one third of the 450 white families at the top of the social scale in the mid-19th century could trace their roots back to the 16th and 17th centuries. In addition, 42% of them originated from the 18th century and only 25% emerged in the first half of the 19th century (Knight, 1977). In other words, the elite had been undergoing a steady transformation, but at the same time, it is evident that the great ascent of the 19th century was conditioned by extremely large fortunes amassed in the port enclave.

As it happened in the late 16th century, Havana’s development in this period was associated with an intra-elite consensus involving entrepreneurial capability, political will and substantial capitals. The urban oligarchy knew how to take advantage of the tide of events and opportunities of the late 18th century to place
Havana in a new position in the world capitalist economy. If, recalling Sauer, in the 16th century Havana had managed to become the gateway to the royal route of the West Indies, in the late 18th century, the city managed to position itself at the epicenter of stock exchange markets of economic power centers (Sauer, 1984).

Cuba, and the Havana center, remained a Spanish colony but with no fundamental economic links. Such links were directly established with the centers of the global capitalism, particularly with the United States: a peculiar replication of the economic and political borders that would lead to the paradox of a colony that was more wealthy and prosperous than its mother country. In the words of a witty Asturian who visited Havana in the 19th century, it was a city where:

(...) the progressive spirit of the United States has been inoculated more than in any other part of Spanish America (...) a communications center for Europe and the main countries in America (...) a large population that has reached the level of the main European cities, not only in terms of material and cultural progress, but also, in its insouciance and freedom of customs (Barras, 1925: 24).

The distinct aristocratic *habitus* and sophisticated bourgeois view of the world of the elite made this class an object of attention for many observers, some as challenging as Alexander von Humboldt, who recognized that they had the “(...) most extensive views over the state of the colonies and the mother country” (Barras 1925). In my opinion, no one has described with more accuracy and detail than Manuel Moreno Fraginals:

(...) a power group capable of laying the foundations of what shall be the largest sugar complex in the world ... will set up a technical and material base that will be even more advanced than many European countries in the use of industrial equipment and social reforms; its culture will move along the positive lines of profitable knowledge (...) but in particular (...) it shall force the restructuring of the Spanish colonial system by creating a brand new relationship with the parent country (Moreno, 2002: 147).

However, this evolution belongs to another time in history: the one in which the aforementioned developmentalist city restructures its border with the island and subordinates it to the world economic system – of which the city is a privileged periphery – while keeping an arrogant distance and setting up other internal spatial frontiers stemming from stratification and ethnic/class segregation.
Conclusions

It is not possible to understand the evolution of Havana, and its transformation into a colonial semi-periphery in respect to Western Caribbean, without taking into account its role as a border pontoon. As noted before, this border condition was generated from two kinds of relationships.

The first one was the status of Havana as a border with regard to the mosaic of imperial possessions in the New World and safeguarding of the Imperial fleet. This condition provided a geopolitical added-value that was supported by heavy investments in fortifications and defensive works, which still attract visitors today. At the same time, the city hosted a large garrison which constituted a decisive component of its increasing internal market. Finally, this role placed the city in a hegemonic position in the Western Caribbean. Havana became the main center of distribution of Mexican subsidies, which in some occasions constituted an opportunity for additional revenues, as it happened in the relationship with Florida and the Eastern Caribbean.

Simultaneously, Havana was the border between the declining Spanish Empire/World and the emerging Economy/World. The city, overrun by boats and traders, who would stay in its harbor for several months a year, constituted an active nucleus of trade with the “others”. A myriad of practices of exchange of goods and currencies, smuggling, financial speculations, and tax evasions were undermining the rigid system of bureaucratic control, in favor of a city that became as dynamic as it was corrupt.

When, in the heat of the Bourbon mercantilist reforms, the system of the fleets disappeared, the city-ports of the Western Caribbean suffered terrible depressions. Havana, by contrast, continued its expansion. It replaced the French colony of Saint-Domingue – destroyed by a violent antislavery revolution – in the global sugar market and transformed the western part of the island into a huge plantation, based on the brutal exploitation of servile labor force. A new bourgeois class emerged as a dominant economic sector and an influential political actor in the metropolitan circles. Since then, its evolution was motivated by strong links with the United States; a new and contradictory border relationship that still remains the main reason for “love and hate” relations between the two countries.

Havana, forged in the heat of these processes as an elegant and cosmopolitan city, undeniably became the most important city in the Caribbean. Yet, it was an inequitable, racist and arrogant city that at a very early age learned to conceal its
hovels behind its promenades. It was, in short, a city marked by contrasts, which a 19th century poet described as set between “The beauty of the physical world/ the horrors of the moral world”.

References


Katarzyna PORADA*

PROCESSES OF ETHNIC IDENTITY FORMATION AMONG DESCENDANTS OF IMMIGRANTS. THE CASE OF THE COMMUNITIES OF BUENOS AIRES AND THE MISIONES PROVINCE (ARGENTINA)¹

Abstract:
Polish community in Argentina – along with the community in Brazil – is one of the most numerous Polish-origin communities in Latin America. Seventy years have passed since the migratory processes between Poland and Argentina practically came to a halt, and the temporal distance since the arrival of the last group of Poles to this country is now reflected in the gradual and inevitable disappearance of the majority of these immigrants. Today, their adult descendants, who were born (many in exogamic families), raised and educated in Argentina, continue with a variety of activities that attempt, in one way or another, to keep the Polish culture alive. These activities, however, do not take shape in a vacuum or independently from the context surrounding particular groups; on the contrary, they are constructed in constant interaction with the receiving society and with the rest of the groups. In this article, based on the specific case of the Polish community in Buenos Aires and in the Misiones Province (Argentina), we intend to analyze the particularities of ethnic identity and of the ethnicity that the members of these communities preserve.

Keywords: Descendants of Immigrants, Ethnic Identity, Ethnic Markers, Poles in Argentina.

The establishment and, above all, the persistence in time of ethnic frontiers between different groups involves the existence of certain elements, also referred to as identity markers, that allow the group members to maintain the sense of belonging and the sense of otherness. In the case of settled communities with immigrant origins, consisting mainly of the immigrants’ descendants, these markers rarely remain immune to changes and transformations in the surroundings of the community. Usually, with the passage of time they tend to become, to a greater or lesser de-
gree, subject to modifications. This is the case of the Polish community in Argentina and of the ethnicity that they preserve. For this reason, in this text, after outlining how the migratory movements between the two countries were shaped, we propose to focus on the elements around which the members of Polish community in Buenos Aires and the Misiones Province construct their ethnic identity today and to indicate, which characteristics they perceive to be exclusive to the group to which they belong.

Migratory Movements between Poland and Argentina

The initial phase of large-scale migratory movements to Argentina corresponds with the period when Poland was divided among its neighboring powers (Russia, Prussia, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire), thus becoming a country that did not exist on the world map. During this period, the majority of migrants were peasants escaping extremely precarious situation in Polish rural areas; they were attracted by the benefits that Argentinian authorities offered to new arrivals. This group initially settled in the city of Apóstoles, in the Misiones Province in northeastern Argentina. The first immigrants in the region were granted property of parcels, which covered from 25 to 100 hectares, and obtained substantial aid in the form of tools, seeds, and provisions. The correspondence sent to families and neighbors in Poland, describing the received benefits, produced a strong migratory chain. As a result, after a few years, one of the most compact and populous Polish centers in all of Latin America was established in Misiones.²

Together with rural immigration, the so-called “post-revolution” immigration, triggered by political unrest and a strong wave of repressions unleashed by the Russian Empire in 1905, was also arriving to Argentina (Smolana, 1996). The members of this group were mainly skilled workers from Warsaw, Lublin, and Łódź, who settled in cities of Buenos Aires province, such as Valentín Alsina, Llavallol, Dock Sud, and, above all, Berisso (Mazurek, 2006). Many found work at the large cold stores, stockyards, factories and workshops located in the suburban area (Lobato, 2001). In short, calculations show that, before the onset of World War I,

² In December 1898, 100 families from Galicia already lived in Apóstoles and in 1901, near Apóstoles, Azara was founded. In 1903, 810 more Galician families settled there, with an additional 70 families from the area annexed to the Russian Empire. In the following years, Polish families established also in localities already existing, such as Cerro Corá, Bonpland, San José and Corpus (Łukasz, Stemplowski, 1983).
some seventy thousand people arrived in Argentina from Polish territory, with around forty thousand coming from the lands occupied by Russia and some thirty thousand from Galicia (Smolana, 1996). Emigration from the part annexed to Prussia was practically inexistente, due to spectacular development of industry, which was able to absorb the unemployed workforce.

The regaining of independence in 1918, in addition to establishing first diplomatic relations between the Polish State and Argentina (Smolana, 1996), initiated a new era in the migratory processes between the two countries. Starting in the 1920s, Polish government began to pay greater attention to the phenomenon of emigration and to Polish communities around the world. This growing interest stemmed from the high rate of unemployment and the disastrous internal situation that Poland was facing. In this context, emigration began to be perceived as an effective way of solving serious social problems. Consequently, the government opted to introduce a directed, openly sponsored emigration policy, and as a result of the general instability experienced by Polish citizens combined with the pro-emigration initiatives promoted by the authorities, it is estimated that over two decades between 157 and 167 thousand people migrated to Argentina (Dembicz, Smolana, 1993). However, it is essential to clarify that, within the group registered as Polish citizens, the people who were of Polish origin amounted to no more than 40%, with the majority being Jews and Ukrainians, who were considered by Polish political establishment to be the most conflictive minorities (Mazurek, 2006).

The period after World War II is the final migratory stage. Under the pressure from international organizations, such as the International Refugee Organization (IRO) and Red Cross, Argentina permitted entry of war victims to its territory (Senkman, 1985). As a result, until the end of 1951, 32,712 people entered the country, corresponding to one third of all the refugees absorbed by Latin America. Within this group, about 19,000 were demobilized Polish soldiers and their families who, when the war ended, found themselves outside of their national frontiers. As Poland fell under the influence of the USSR, members of this group decided not to return to Popular Poland (Dembicz, Smolana, 1993). They established themselves mainly in Buenos Aires, considerably livening up community activities during the first decades of the postwar period.

Today, the time that has passed since the last group of Polish immigrants settled in Argentina is reflected in the composition of the community. People born in Poland amount to a small percentage of this community, with the majority being descendants of immigrants: children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and even
great-great-grandchildren, who were born, raised (many in exogamic families) and educated in Argentina. It is a heterogeneous group of people differing in age, sex, and educational level. Some of them continue to be engaged in activities that attempt, in one way or another, to keep the Polish culture alive. This text focuses on these people, particularly on those based in the provinces of Buenos Aires and Misiones. It is important to highlight that the immigrant groups that gave rise to today’s Polish community in Argentina had very diverse characteristics, i.e. were founded in distinct periods and the motives behind their decisions to migrate were entirely different. Nonetheless, their descendants display certain similarities in maintaining their links to Poland, which they consider to be their country of origin.

Constructing and Reconstructing Ethnic Boundaries

The sense of belonging to a community and identification with a particular group requires, invariably, a presence of another group or groups with which the individual cannot or does not want to identify. The construction of an “us” is carried out in opposition to those who do not belong to the group, that is, with reference to the “others”. The establishment of ethnic boundaries or limits, in turn, involves the existence of an ethnicity that the actors perceive as their own (Barth, 1976). That is, it requires the presence of certain elements, also called ethnic identity markers, which permit the members to maintain this division and, thus, guarantee the persistence of a community. These markers may include i.a. language, religious beliefs,

3 During the fieldwork, we interviewed eighty descendants of immigrants. In respect to the residence at the time of the interview, thirty-three people belonged to the Buenos Aires group and forty-seven were from the province of Misiones (Oberá, Colonia Wanda, and Posadas). These two cases were selected as these two provinces had been the main destinations for successive Polish migratory arriving in Argentina. Within this group, we interviewed thirty-six men and forty-four women, thirty-seven of whom were born in endogamic families and forty-three in exogamic ones. Regarding the generational distance separating the interviewees from the immigrant ancestors, we were able to interview thirty-eight children of immigrants, thirty-one grandchildren, and eleven great-grandchildren.

4 As we pointed out previously, the history of the Polish immigrants in Argentina is linked to Jewish migration. This phenomenon became particularly noticeable in the inter-war period, when Polish authorities were openly encouraging Jewish emigration. In spite of its numerical force, the descendants of Polish Jews will not be discussed in this article. That is because the ethnic boundaries of this particular group have been constructed (both in its origin and destination country) within the confines of very distinct ethnic markers (Kowalska, 1989; Bargman, 2011). Therefore, from our point of view, the complexity of this phenomenon requires an analysis that would focus exclusively on this group.
folklore, culinary customs, or various behavioral norms. Focusing on the elements around which the descendants of Polish immigrants in Argentina construct their identity, has revealed that these elements have undergone important modifications throughout the decades; modifications which, as we shall demonstrate, have taken place as a result of complex processes of reconstruction and also, frequently, of reinvention.

Language

Language, beyond its strictly communicative function, is considered to be one of the main mechanisms of identification; it is a mechanism that determines belonging to a specific group and, at the same time, establishes the boundaries with members of other communities. This is the reason why it is frequently perceived to be one of the most important ethnic identity markers. However, in case of the studied community, low level of linguistic maintenance among the children of immigrants is noteworthy, as is the linguistic maintenance among immigrants’ grandchildren is virtually nonexistent. High degree of exogamy, the efficacy of Argentinean schooling practices, the insufficiency of community educational structures, along with the specificities of Polish language itself, were reflected in a rapid deterioration of linguistic repertoire and the subsequent substitution of ethnic language by Spanish in all contexts, including also the private one. In addition, the people interviewed have indicated the feeling of shame as one of the motives that influenced this accelerated linguistic replacement. The discriminatory attitudes that the members of the group say they have experienced – especially the older people – have, in many cases, given rise to the desire to hide certain ethnic markers, including language. These are some of the testimonies that confirm this:

5 In the case of Argentina, the key moment in the literacy campaigns for the population in general and the assimilation of immigrants in particular was when mandatory education – non-denominational and free – was established in 1884 by virtue of the law 1420. The authorities intended to reinforce the national identity of the natives and instill this identity among the foreigners and their descendants by means of educational system. In accordance with these objectives, educational practices began to place special emphasis on teaching the national anthem, and Argentinean history and geography, as well as on promoting school events, working to spread awareness regarding these school events throughout the rest of society (Bertoni, 2001). As a result, educational policy went beyond the context of children’s elementary education and set much broader objectives, oriented toward achieving the insertion of an entire family group into the existing structures.
Poles were ashamed; they were ashamed to speak Polish. I don’t know why, I don’t know. They made fun of us in school. Children, children like us, the same age. We were ashamed to speak in Polish. That might be why (Woman, 71 years old, mother and father both Polish, from Misiones).

The natives made fun of us because they said that anyone who spoke Polish expressed themselves badly, pronounced the words badly. They failed us because of that, because we said “caro” instead of “carro” (Woman, 69 years old, Polish father, Misiones Province).

The high degree of vulnerability that Polish language has displayed in contact with the majority language in the Argentinian context, a visible characteristic among all the migratory groups that gave formed the present-day Polish community, has led us to analyze the importance of another factor that influences the process of maintaining linguistic competence, i.e. the prestige of a given language. This element is closely related to language’s value in cultural, political, economic, and religious areas, and depends on the number of people who use it, as well as its usefulness in the communicative process within a specific society (Gugenberger, 2001).

In other words, it is linked to its instrumental function, a characteristic that acquires particular importance among immigrants and their descendants. In this context, it can be pointed out that the Polish community in Argentina has not been known for its strong economic position or for standing out in the cultural or political arenas. Therefore, the use of ethnic language could not guarantee greater prestige for its speakers outside of the family and community structures. On the contrary, as we have indicated, in some cases, speaking Polish caused others to mock the speakers and provoked discriminatory attitudes. In addition, the absence of new immigrants since the 1950s, the distance between the two countries, and decades of almost non-existent contacts with the authorities of Popular Poland caused a progressive decrease in the instrumental value of Polish.

Religion and Religious Practices

Just like language, religion and religious practices are considered to be potent identity markers that link the members of the same ethnic group to one another while differentiating them from other groups. As for the religious beliefs of the members of today’s Polish community, the panorama seems, at first sight, to be highly homogeneous: the large majority of the interviewees claim to be Roman Catholic. However, this statement requires a series of clarifications and a necessary differentiation between religion seen as an institution and perceived as a series of
beliefs, on one hand, and specific practices, usually called popular religiosity, on the other hand (Alba, et. al, 2009). Even though these aspects are closely related, they fulfill different functions and include different dimensions in the life of communities with immigrant origins.

Despite our interviewees’ declarations regarding their creed, the study revealed that the belief system, as well as the institution behind it, occupies a marginal place in their lives; such characteristic is particularly visible among middle-aged and the youngest people. This is clearly not specific exclusively to Polish community but rather is a consequence of a general secularization of the society and its distancing from the Church, which has taken place in recent decades both in Poland and in Argentina. The present-day situation clearly contrasts with the testimonies regarding the function of the Catholic religion and the Polish Church in the life of the community in earlier decades. The majority of interviewed people coincide in stating that for a long time religion and Church have acted as a unifying force among the members of the community. The importance of religion in the early stages is confirmed by the following testimony about the early years of Polish settlement in the Misiones Province:

[Before, the colonists] maintained their religion very much, or the religion maintained them. You know what? This religion, this Virgin Mary of Częstochowa, maintained them. I think that they had to believe, they had to have this faith (...). Because if not, all they could do was cry all day (Woman, 65 years old, Polish mother and father, Posadas, Misiones).

As this testimony shows, religious beliefs often gave the immigrants invaluable moral support, becoming a source of consolation when faced with “worldly evils” and making it possible to face numerous adversities encountered in daily life. In this regard, the phrase quoted above (the colonists “maintained their religion very much, or the religion maintained them”) shows the essence of the role that religion played in the first phases of settlement. In parallel, Polish Church became the main space of sociability. Weekly participation in the masses, beyond being an intrinsic element of the Roman Catholic rite, was an opportunity to interact with other Poles and, for many, a chance to continue to maintain their mother tongue.

When focusing on present-day situation, the interviewees confirmed having observed a progressive distancing from the Church and emphasized that its influence has diminished considerably in recent decades. This phenomenon, visible both in Buenos Aires and in the Misiones Province, is reflected in the decreasing attendance at masses, as reported by Polish priests, and in church attendance in ge-
neral, especially among young people. However, if we reflect on specific practices and rituals, linked to different religious holidays, it becomes evident that they continue to act as a symbol of ethnic belonging, fulfilling the function of a powerful identity marker.

The majority of the interviewees confirmed strong presence of religious components and specific practices that accompanied the celebration of Christmas and Easter in their infancy and adolescence, and their continued presence in their adult lives. It is interesting to point out, however, that these practices, rather than reflecting attachment to religious beliefs, are frequently perceived as “family traditions”, celebrated for decades, and an intrinsic part of their education. One of the respondents commented on the customs that she maintained in her private context in the following manner:

For me, it is important to keep up Easter traditions, Christmas traditions. And it is how we learned to live and it is what we transmit to our children. I mean, there’s something that comes naturally, you can’t say, well, all my life for Easter I made pisanki, and one day you say: I won’t do this anymore because it’s been a lot of years since we came over from Poland. I mean, it doesn’t make sense. Each person passes on what they learned, and the Argentinian learned that you buy Easter eggs somewhere and we learned it like this. So I don’t know if it’s, like, a family tradition and whether it will remain, but in reality, you pass on what you learned (Woman, 37 years old, Polish maternal grandparents, Buenos Aires).

Finally, we would like to point out that the preservation of some elements of Polish culture and religiosity by the community with immigrant origins does not mean that this culture and religiosity are maintained unaltered or that they are immune to contact with dominant society and with other ethnic groups. The time and context, in which a certain group exists, often condition and modify specific practices. For example, if we compare testimonies regarding the traditions related to Catholic rites in the past and in the present, there is a noteworthy absence of one element that used to be fundamental in earlier times. As we have been able to observe, the activities that require the use of the Polish language have been excluded from festivities; this can be seen, for example, in the disappearance of Polish Christmas carols or the songs that commemorate the resurrection. On the other hand, the variety of traditional dishes that accompany these celebrations is among the elements that have been most strongly preserved. However, the way they are prepared and the choice of menu are not exempt from significant modifications, clearly marked by specific conditions, in which the holidays are organized. One of the interviewed residents of Oberá described how the climate, along with Argentinian customs, determined culinary choices:
At the end of the year, we celebrate Christmas. With all of the members of the group. There, it doesn’t exactly coincide with Christmas, it’s the weekend before. The typical Polish Christmas rituals are made with opłatek. And here, because of how hot it is in December, many of the food rituals are not the same as there (…). There are the typical foods, but there are more roasts and cold food. There, on Christmas Eve you have the twelve dishes, here we do it a little more diversified. There might be pierogi, there’s cabbage. But more than anything, its roasts (Woman 27 years old, Polish maternal grandparents, Oberá, Misiones).

In this particular case, Christmas Eve dinner, which is traditionally celebrated in Poland with twelve dishes, none of which contains meat, has incorporated the roast, a fundamental element of Argentinian culinary tradition, into the menu.

**Folklorism**

While the importance that the members of the present-day Polish community in Argentina place on language and religion has diminished considerably, this has not been the case of cultural expressions based on folklore or those related to culinary aspects. Regarding this, we have been able to detect a clear preference for the use of certain visible symbols, which have the capacity to awaken strong emotions among their users, and in addition, do not interfere in everyday obligations (Gans, 1979). As a result, folklorism, which is capable of captivating one’s attention, and which can be identified relatively easily, has managed to occupy an outstanding position within the group. Music and dance, which fulfill these requirements, have become a powerful way of channeling feelings of ethnic belonging, an element that marks the feeling of belonging and the feeling of otherness (Martí, 1999). At the same time, the preference for attire that is considered traditional, which the members of the community present in nearly all the acts for both the Polish community and outsiders, is noteworthy.

This predilection for folklorism mainly owes to the fact that, besides being visible and easily identifiable, music and dance are the two elements that clearly manage to awaken very deep emotions among the members of the community. Thus, being a member of a specific dance group or wearing a typical costume during specific events acquires, in the eyes of the interviewees, an important symbolic value; it is a way of publicly expressing their ethnic belonging and becomes a way of “rendering homage” to immigrant ancestors and their culture. The fact that the immigrants themselves probably did not give the same value to the elements mentioned above – and, we could even dare to say, were mostly unaware of them – does not seem important to the interviewees. This is not only because of the clearly sty-
lized form that these elements present today, but because they are cultural expressions, which belong to geographical regions separated by a vast distance.

Despite the evident lack of connection between ancestors’ culture and traditions, and the way in which they are represented today, dances, attire and music are perceived by the majority of the members of the community as the quintessence of “Polishness”. Consequently, besides having a great capacity to move the members of the community, these elements allow them to feel that they are members of a differentiated group that carries a specific culture, which they perceive to be extremely attractive and original. We can see this in the following testimony:

I think that we try, or at least I, for my part, try – and I think it’s what everyone intends – to transmit the culture that Poland has. Poland has an ancient culture, with great richness and a whole lot of things. I mean, there are the costumes, the dances, the figures (Man, 23 years old, four Polish grandparents, Buenos Aires).

Thus, the “ancient culture” of Poland, to which this last interviewee refers, finds its maximum expression in popular dances and traditional attire. Therefore, this is a selection and posterior resignification of symbolic aspects of the reference cultures that are considered to be the most outstanding ones (Irazuzta, 2001); a resignification which, in the analyzed case, finds its highest expression in folklorism.

The privileged place which dances, music, and folkloric attire occupy within the respective Polish groups, in addition to reflecting the symbolic character of ethnicity that the descendants of the immigrants maintain (Gans, 1979), is owes, to a great extent, to the external context of the community, in which these groups are inserted. From the 1980s onward, an important shift in the attitude of Argentinian authorities towards different ethnic communities has been observed. This was reflected in the organization of numerous festivities, festivals, and fairs hosted by groups with immigrant origins, which were celebrated in open, public places, such as plazas, streets, and parks. The change in the attitude, which has grown stronger during the new millennium, has not only encouraged many of the descendants of immigrants to reassess their ethnic origins, but has also determined the choice of the symbols exhibited to manifest belonging to a specific group. This is because the celebratory context of the mentioned acts has been characterized by favoring the most depoliticized aspects of the culture of the participating groups (Irazuzta,

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6 As an example, we could mention Buenos Aires Celebra (Buenos Aires Celebrates) and Patio Gastronómico de Colectividades (Group Gastronomic Patio) (both events organized in Buenos Aires), and the Fiesta Nacional del Inmigrante (Misiones Province). These events receive substantial support from the authorities and, year after year, manage to attract multitudes.
2001). As a result, dances and popular music, exhibitions of traditional attire, as well as tasting “typical” dishes, have become a prominent element of all the organized events.

It is noteworthy that the importance given to the festivals sponsored by the Argentinian authorities has also been reflected in a change in the community’s internal priorities. This is demonstrated, for example, by a note published by the central organism of the group, the Union of Poles in the Argentinian Republic (Unión de los Polacos en la República Argentina, UPRA), referring to “Buenos Aires Celebra Polonia”. As we can read in the note, the act is defined in terms of “a unique event on the national level” and one of “the most important, moving, and colorful events of our community in the City of Buenos Aires”\(^7\). It is interesting to observe how this recently-created event, which saw the light of day for the first time in 2009, and in which the Polish community has participated since 2010, in a very short time, not only entered the community agenda, but also has managed to occupy a notable place in the holiday calendar of a group that has existed for over a century.

In this sense, it is remarkable how cultural manifestations of Polish community are subject to modifications when they cease to be organized by and for the members and, in response to official initiatives, become a spectacle for a broader public. The celebratory ambience, the organization of events on weekends in order to ensure high attendance by the public, the priority given to the aesthetic dimension, and the objective of entertaining the spectators who come to the events, determine not only the choice but also the order of the exhibited elements. Thus, for example, one of the women interviewed pointed out the strategies used by a dance group to capture the spectators’ attention:

The reality is that the Argentinian public is a public that is very effusive when they like something and very cold when they don’t like something, and you realize it right away. When you see that you go out to dance and it’s a dance that starts kind of slow (…) people are getting up and leaving, or you see that they start to talk. They don’t wait. So you have to start with something that, kind of explodes, because if not, the people leave (Woman, 28 years old, Polish paternal grandfather, Buenos Aires).

As a result, the attempts to capture the audience’s attention are reflected in the efforts to adapt the ethnic traditions to contexts, in which they are being exhibited. Thus, paradoxically, during the events that try to introduce the outside-of-the-community audience to the particularities of Polish culture, many of these particu-

larities are often suppressed. In this way, the elements whose meaning might be un-
intelligible to the spectators, for example, the use of the ethnic language, are ex-
cluded from the “performance”. One of the members of a Buenos Aires dance
group explained the specific nature of exhibitions and the reasons for the modific-
tions the acts undergo in these terms:

The thing about Polish folklore is that there is a lot of singing involved. So being there
five minutes singing a song in Polish that people have no idea what you’re saying, is
pretty boring (…). They don’t understand what you’re saying and you can interpret it,
by the act and everything, but something always gets lost, because you can’t use a ges-
ture for each of the words you’re saying. So this really influences how you present
yourself to the different audiences. Because out there with a Polish public, you can pre-
sent a dance with more singing, and with an Argentinian public you can’t. It has to be
something more visual than anything else (Woman, 37 years old, Polish maternal
grandparents, Buenos Aires).

On the other hand, the fact of dramatizing ethnicity often involves efforts
to highlight certain characteristics, among them, the phenotypic characteristics,
which supposedly respond to the image of how a Polish man or woman should look
physically. This is reflected, for example, in this story told by one of the members
of a dance group about the preparations that precede the group’s act:

The makeup is like stage makeup, everything needs to be much more accentuated; the
mouth needs to be really red so that the expression is noticeable (…). So you have to
have makeup that helps to transmit, even if it’s only for the people in the first 20 rows,
so that they can see if you smile… Then, for the eyes, we use fake eyelashes so they
kind of open up more. We also all use, for example, blue eyeshadow, so it looks like we
all have light eyes from far away. It’s to deceive people a little, close up you say, she
doesn’t have blue eyes, her eyes are brown, but it doesn’t matter (Woman, 28 years old,
Polish paternal grandfather, Buenos Aires).

The following testimony, which describes the “aesthetic repairs” that one
of the members of the Polish community had to undergo before presenting her can-
didacy in the “Elections of the Queen” during the National Holiday of the Immi-
grant of Oberá show this concern with fitting external expectations:

And here there’s kind of a half craziness, shall we say, within the group with the older
people, that the person has to be blond (…). I don’t know if you noticed, but Natalia’s
hair is pretty dark… Well, when she was queen, they started to dye it and dye it and dye
it. She had to be blond. And why? We Poles aren’t all blond (Woman 51 years old,
Polish paternal great-grandparents, Oberá, Misiones).
These last testimonies show how the strategies employed to attract the public, the efforts to show the content that has an impact, as well as certain competitiveness among the participating groups, are conditioned by others’ perception of the Polish group and by what the public expects to see during the exhibition.

**Food**

Ethnic food has a similar function as folklorism. The preparation and, above all, consumption of different dishes considered to be typical act as a potent ethnic marker, which the descendants of immigrants turn to in order to affirm their ethnic identity and differentiate themselves from others. During the interviews allusions to specific food customs were very frequent, accompanied by detailed descriptions of the preparation of specific dishes, the use of certain ingredients, and the rituality that accompanies the consumption of the food. Despite the time that has passed since the arrival of the last migratory group, food customs continue to enjoy great popularity among the members of the community, independently of their place of residence, age, or temporal distance separating the interviewees from their immigrant ancestors. In addition, in the testimonies referring to culinary customs, we found recurring allusions to what we could call a “Polish taste”. According to the definition of our interviewees, “Polish taste” is reflected in preference for certain dishes or specific ingredients. At the same time, in the eyes of the interviewed people, it is an element that differentiates them from those who do not form part of the group. One of the interviewees explained it in the following words:

> More than anything, in my case it was with the food, in my family, lots of love was transmitted with the food, it was like, if they love you, they cook well for you, and, besides, the issue of the tastes. All my friends were for ham and cheese and I took sandwiches with sweet-sour pickles to school. I love them! So it’s like I had a palate that was much more (...) like I liked vinegar and all those things (Woman, 36 years old, Polish paternal grandparents, Buenos Aires).

Preference for certain dishes or foods is perceived to be the result of intergenerational transmission of specific culinary norms, an element that is learned at the heart of the family and is a link to Polish origins. It is interesting to highlight that the descendants of the immigrants have often indicated the perception of this “Polish taste”, which is reflected in the consumption of “typical” food, even if only on certain occasions, as a way of preserving their “roots”. In other words, considering how some of the interviewed people acknowledge themselves incapable of transmitting certain norms of ethnic behavior to their children, the fact of accus-
toming them to eating Polish food seems to compensate, at least partly, the interruption of the transmission of Polish culture and traditions that took place in other contexts:

My children don’t speak Polish. Because I married an Argentinian and we spend all day away from home. What they did learn is to eat fermented cabbage and fermented pickles (...). And normally, when it’s cold, we eat Polish food, because they learned that when they were little and they like it. And chorizo too... We also eat soup. I remember that Polish families ate soup every day. I prepare it once a week (Woman, 65 years old, both parents Polish, Colonia Wanda, Misiones).

On the other hand, the way of preserving food and preparing certain dishes reflects the geographical singularities of the environment, which particular groups originally inhabited. This is why attempts to reproduce traditional recipes in a different context undergo forced modifications; modifications that have also affected the form and composition of the dishes that the interviewees perceive to be “typically” Polish. Responding to a question aimed at finding out how to obtain ingredients that are not common in Argentina, one of the people answered, “You make it with what you have”. Indeed, as the gathered testimonies indicate, certain elements of Polish cooking are frequently substituted with different, relatively similar ones that are easier to acquire. For example, **twaróg** – white cheese or cottage cheese, part of the filling of the **pierogi** – has been substituted by ricotta cheese, wild mushrooms by common mushrooms, and **bigos**, a sauerkraut-based dish which involves a long process of fermenting the cabbage, to which different kinds of meat are added, is often prepared with unfermented cabbage. The substitution of some ingredients by others is not the only transformation observed. The incorporation of elements foreign to Polish cooking has also been observed. This is the case of sweet potato paste or **dulce de leche** in the preparation of “traditional” baked goods, as well as the Bolognese sauce that often accompanies the aforementioned **pierogi**.

**Values**

Throughout the interviews, we were able to observe that, although founding elements, on which the descendants of Polish immigrants construct their feeling of belonging, are very different from those employed by the immigrants themselves, and in spite of adopting cultural features of the dominant society, Polish community in Argentina continues to perceive themselves as a group that can be differentiated. The fact that they form part of a specific community is closely related to the primordialist vision, which the interviewees construct regarding their ethnic belonging. This ethnic belonging is considered to be the result of a shared origin or history and
is, therefore, accepted as an inherited, involuntary element. In consonance with this “biologizing” vision, the group perceives itself to be a carrier of a series of specific features which, in turn, differentiate it from other groups. This is why, in addition to creating a feeling of belonging and fomenting links of solidarity, the sensation of being in possession of shared characteristics fulfills the function of drawing limits regarding the “others” (Barth, 1976). In the context analyzed in this paper, the objective differences have frequently lost the capacity to clearly define ethnic boundaries in daily life (Alba, 1990). Thus, self-perception of being carriers of specific characteristics acquires, in the eyes of the interviewees, a primordial role when it comes to differentiating themselves from others.

Based on the gathered testimonies, we have been able to detect a series of values and qualities that the members of the community have repeatedly mentioned as those that best define Polish immigrants and their descendants. When we asked our interviewees to describe the elements that, according to them, characterized Polish community, the adjective “hard-working” clearly stood out in first place, frequently accompanied by the nouns “effort” and “sacrifice”. The interviewees have identified work – not necessarily linked to the fruits it brings, but rather as a reason for pride for those who carry it out – as a source of a specific culture and the fundamental element of the education they received. Highly positive attitude towards work is presented as a reference rooted in a common past, transmitted along blood lines. It has also been identified as a trait which, beyond guaranteeing individual progress, is mainly oriented towards achieving well-being for the family and the group.

The next shared characteristic is the importance of maintaining family ties, a constant concern for guaranteeing family well-being and strong attachment to preserving a family model we could refer to as traditional. As the narratives show, the members of the Polish group are very clear on what the characteristics of their ethnic group are: they are hard workers, capable of sacrificing themselves for future generations, who place particular value on maintaining family ties. In this regard, it is not very surprising that the people interviewed tend to evaluate their group positively and turn to characteristics or behavioral norms that they consider highly valuable to describe themselves. However, if we compare these testimonies to studies carried out on other communities with similar characteristics, the values perceived as exclusive to Polish immigrants and their descendants turn out to be quite similar and, we could even say, identical, as in the case of other groups with origins located in different countries.
Conclusions

We aimed to demonstrate that throughout the decades the elements, on which the descendants of Polish immigrants construct their ethnic identity, have undergone several important modifications. The cultural aspects which, at present, are perceived as their own and, therefore, different from those of other groups are not a faithful reproduction of the culture and traditions of their immigrant ancestors. The transformations that the ethnicity of the group has experienced are reflected not only in the changes that the respective ethnic markers have undergone, but are also manifested in different degrees of importance – in comparison to earlier periods – that the members of today’s Polish community associate with specific cultural aspects. We can state that the descendants of immigrants show a clear preference for certain specific elements while others, traditionally considered fundamental for maintaining ethnic boundaries and which, for decades, acted as main differentiating features, have lost their prominence.

We have been able to observe this, for example, in the displacement of Polish language as a communication tool within the group and in the secondary or even marginal role of the religious system in the lives of the members of the group. At the same time, we have been able to detect a clear preference for the use of specific symbols, which are visible, relatively easy to reproduce, and are capable of provoking strong emotions among those who use them, and whose preservation does not require excessive amounts of time or effort. Such, for example, is the case of the cultural expressions based on folklore and those related to culinary aspects. This phenomenon has proven that a group can continue to preserve its identification with a specific origin even if they have introduced important modifications to the features of their culture (Barth, 1976).

In other words, we have been able to demonstrate that, even though the elements around which the descendants of the Polish immigrants construct their sense of belonging are very different from those used by the immigrants themselves, and even though today’s Polish community in Argentina has taken on the cultural features of the dominant society, this does not prevent them from perceiving themselves – and being perceived – as a group that can be differentiated. To synthesize, the displacement of what we could call objective differences between different groups, such as language or religion, and a high dose of symbolism displayed as a maintained ethnicity, go along with a clearly subjective perception of actual persistence these differences.
Bibliography


CUBAN SOFT POWER: FROM REVOLUTIONARY CHARISMA TO SOCIAL DIPLOMACY

Abstract: This article analyzes the international projection of the Cuban Revolution, discussing the contours of its soft power that contributed to international reintegration. After this concept discussing briefly and focusing on the transformation of contemporary international scene, it analyzes the change of use of soft power in the revolutionary process in Cuba. In this sense, it points out that such power was, in the golden years of the Revolution (the 60s and the 70s), based on the revolutionary aura and the charisma of its leaders (Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and others) and that, in the first decade of this century, it acquired new supported contours through the emergence of Social Diplomacy, i.e. cooperation in the field of social services (health, education and sports, among others), thus contributing to the establishment of diplomatic ties and the development of a positive image of the country.

Keywords: Cuban Revolution, Soft Power, Social Diplomacy.

Introduction

Since the 1950s the Cuban issue has become a key element for understanding the inter-American relations and, to a lesser extent, the international relations in the second half of the twentieth century. This is because the attempt to create an alternative system implied supporting or opposing (usually radically) regional politi-
cal groups and confronting the Western superpower, which brought the small Caribbean island to the center of regional and international politics, as evidenced in Missile Crisis in 1962. Although its significance with the end of the Cold War and with the political changes that have been taking place in the region since the 80s, the role of Cuba remains important in regional policies.

Since the beginning of its revolutionary process, Cuba has developed a foreign policy that sought to ensure and consolidate internal changes implemented by the new regime. In this regard, Cuba forged an intense and global policy that, despite cyclical adjustments, entailed extending the possibilities for internal changes and consolidation, as well as dynamical confrontations with the US, which led it to support and promote revolutions in the third world, notably in Africa and Latin America.

Although due to its small size Cuba had limited capacity in terms of traditional hard power, over the last five decades Cuba was involved in major conflicts in the regions mentioned above. We consider, however, that international perception of this country was associated mainly with the exercise of soft power, which is related to the revolutionary image that Cuba has been projecting internationally at that time. Therefore, this article points to the fact that the international projection of this country has been modified and adapted to new times. If in the early years of the Revolution soft power was founded, although not exclusively, on the “revolutionary aura” of Cuba and the charisma of the revolutionary leaders, notably Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, than in the early years of the 21st century it seems to reemerge in a new way, i.e. based on Social Diplomacy. This transition required adjusting internationalism to new circumstances, as well as shifting towards cooperation based on the use of social services (education, health, sports and culture, among others) in order to project a positive image of Cuba and to establish ties with international community, states or civil society, thus overcoming the relative isolation that the country had faced in the 90s.

The organization of this article is the following: initially and briefly, it discusses the notion of soft power, seeking to highlight its implications as a form of political exercise, in which the force gives way to consensus, cooperation, and to building partnerships through persuasion; then, it narrates the Revolution and the charisma of its leaders, demonstrating how Cuba’s initial projection was associated with its main leaders and their political actions. Finally, it analyzes the emergence of Social Diplomacy, its exercise and impact as a new way for international cooperation and for integration of Cuban Revolution in this century.
Power and International Projection: The Soft Power

Since the end of the Cold War and the bipolar order, the contours of the new international order that has emerged, and which prevails today, constitute a challenge for analysts of international scene. Despite the fact that the new order is not properly configured, being more fluid and transient than some of the hastiest analyzes assess it to be, certain elements can contribute to understanding its basic outlines, as in the analyses of J. Nye (2002).

Trying to understand the paradoxes of American power, manifested in the gap between clear military hegemony and the declining participation in world economy and in the erosion of its political leadership on the international scene, Nye seeks to understand the dynamics of power in the contemporary international scene, presenting two analyses that are relevant for this work.

First of all, based on his studies on complex interdependence, Nye points that the understanding of contemporary international relations has become more complex and dynamic. Thus, he indicates that the distribution of power should be analyzed as a three-dimensional chess board, which implies in a greater challenge for exercising the power. For him, this board is three-dimensional since it involves acting in the military sphere (with clear US hegemony), in economic sphere (increasingly multipolar) and in the sphere of transnational relations, which includes non-state actors and overlapping of control of national governments, thus producing dispersed power. As all these levels are connected, the international action is extremely complex and cannot be based on a single resource or on the form of power. From that the second contribution of his analysis emerges.

Through his studies and analyses of the issue of power, Nye attempts to emphasize that in this new scene two forms are necessary and complementary. Firstly, the traditional hard power, which comprises the capacities associated with population, territory, economic resources and military strength, or as he formulates it, “the ability to get desired results is often associated with possessing certain resources, thus it’s common to simplify the definition of power as a possession of relatively large amounts of such elements as population, territory, natural resources, economic strength, military strength and political stability” (Nye, 2002: 30). In short, hard power is associated with natural and demographic factors. However, as

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1 Authors’ translation.
shown by the author, this concept is no longer sufficient for the definition of power due to technological and economic development, which requires the aggregation of soft power.

Although sometimes overlooked, soft power is defined as:

co-opting people rather than coercing them. Soft power is based on the ability to arrange political agenda so that it shapes the preferences of others (...) it is the ability to entice and attract. And the attraction often leads to acquiescence and imitation (Nye, 2002: 36-37).

In this sense, such power has an eminently political character, is non-coercive exercise and offers its holder a political capacity to influence others by, among others, enticement and attraction. In this regard, through dialogue and negotiation, it strengthens convictions and paves the way for cooperation. Still in this sense, its ability is related to the values, which it may represent, making it a model allowing to set an agenda around its principles and ideals. Therefore, in the age of global information expansion, this power becomes as important as hard power.

In this sense, we consider that not only has the Cuban Revolution enabled the country to increase its hard power, even if falling short of global superpowers, but also, in different ways, potentiated Cuban soft power in different historical contexts, as we shall present below.

**Cuban Revolution and Soft Power: From Charisma to Social Diplomacy**

From its beginning in 1959, the Cuban Revolution and its actions provoked intense reactions, both positive and negative. Considering the Latin American context, this revolution was presented as an attractive and feasible alternative for overcoming secular problems (illiteracy, extreme poverty, inequality, etc.) experienced by several countries in the region. Thus, the impact of the transformations experienced by this country and the response to these changes, profoundly affected political projects of both the left and the right, and determined political dynamics in the region in the second half of the 20th century.

The Revolution’s power to attract was noted by Hobsbawm. In his summary of the 20th century, he points out that:

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2 Authors’ translation.
No revolution could have been better designed to attract the left in the Western Hemisphere and the developed countries, at the end of a decade of global conservatism; or to provide the guerrilla with better advertising strategy. The Cuban Revolution was everything: romance, heroism in the mountains, former student leaders with the selfless generosity of their youth – the oldest were barely over thirty years of age – exultant people, a tropical tourist paradise pulsating with the rhythms of rumba. And what was more: it could be welcomed by all the revolutionary left (Hobsbawn, 1995: 27)\(^3\).

In this regard, the author shows how the Revolution won the sympathy across Latin America and around the world, which was later reinforced by the changes implemented in the country.

The adopted measures, and the actions that followed, allowed gaining support and identification among the Latin American left. As pointed out by Sader (1991), based on the Brazilian experience, several aspects of the Revolution and of Cuba’s socialist construction captivated the left-wing: the renewed idea of a revolution, its opposition to the apathy and opportunism of the PCs; the legitimization of political and ideological heterodoxy on how to carry out the Revolution and how to build the socialism; the anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism, both characterized by complete breakup with the US; a power strategy focused on rural areas guerrilla warfare; international solidarity – the proletarian internationalism – as one of the basic components of their ideological training and political action; the ethics of revolutionary dedication, with the militancy confirmed with one’s own life, as Che put it: “the duty of every revolutionary is to make the Revolution” and the creation of a new man; and, finally, the emphasis on the vanguard role of subjective aspects on the road to victory (Sader, 1991: 23).

Since the beginning, the Cuban government sought to formulate a foreign policy that could defend its interests (Salazar, 1986; Bandeira, 1998). Proper understanding of this policy relies on the analysis of two fundamental axes: it was the result of the dynamics of “revolution” and “formal policy” on one hand, and “isolation” and “integration” on the other. In the first case, it is necessary to highlight the commitment of Cuban leadership, especially in the 60s and late 70s, to support or promote revolutions that established regimes to favorable to Cuban cause, and to reduce US government’s pressure on the Cuban revolution. Through this approach, even if sometimes applied by means of informal politics and non-state organizations (the secret service, solidarity organizations, etc.), for a long time the leaders sought to influence the revolutionary wave that overcame Latin America, and Africa. As

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\(^3\) Translated by the authors.
for the second aspect of foreign policy, it sought to maintain and strengthen political and diplomatic ties, in an attempt to avoid and overcome the isolation imposed by the US government.

As highlighted above one of the key elements for understanding the Cuban Revolution is linked with the fundamental role of Fidel Castro’s leadership, who with his charisma, legitimacy and wit decisively contributed to its survival.

Che Guevara pointed out, while discussing the possibility of carrying out other revolutions in other countries of the region, that the factors which sparked the revolution were common for all the Latin American countries (poverty, inequality, landlordism, etc.), except for certain aspects, e.g. the role of a leadership (Fidel Castro, in the front):

We recognize that the peculiarity of the Cuban revolution comes from exceptional facts. (...) The first, perhaps the most important, the most original, is this force of nature called Fidel Castro Ruz, which in few years reached historical projection. (...) But for us, he will equal to the highest historical figures of Latin America. Given his ability to bring together, to unite and oppose to divisions that weaken, to direct the actions of the people; their deep love for him; because of his deep faith in the future and his ability to predict it, Fidel has done for Cuba more than anyone to build – from the scratch – the formidable apparatus that is now the Cuban Revolution (Guevara, 1970: 403-419).

This leadership has been reaffirmed over the years and, despite the wear and tear, it contributed to the consolidation and sustaining of the process, even in extremely adverse scenarios, such as in the deep economic crisis of the 90s. Even over the years, Fidel Castro still enjoyed a prestige that, as noted by Sznajder and Roniger:

Fidel Castro’s role as the leader of the revolution and the Castro regime, as a political movement with its great power to adapt, has been central to the survival of the current regime in Cuba. Castro enjoys the prestige of a true revolutionary, who dedicated his life to his country, without enjoying the characteristic privileges of power as did other Communist leaders in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, which developed personality cults, and whose leaders and political elite were surrounded by nepotism and enjoyed the worldly pleasures (Sznajder, Roniger, 2001: 161).

It’s possible to understand the reason why, even after four decades of leadership, the revolutionary impetus and the image of Fidel eroded less than that of the Communist leaders, who were in power in Eastern Europe. Fidel’s image, in terms of support within his society, is comparable to Mao in China and Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, while they were alive. This can be interpreted as a result of his “revolutionary aura” and permanent state of confrontation with the US, presented as
a continuation of national liberation struggles, which give him greater legitimacy, as
in the case of primary and conscious projection of José Martí and his ideological
and cultural influence, especially emphasized in the preamble of the Cuban Consti-

But what is the source of Fidel’s power? Undoubtedly, the charisma is the
defining element his leadership, as pointed out by Max Weber:

(...). Secondly there is authority that is based on personal and extraordinary gifts of an
individual: charisma, devotion and confidence, strictly personal, deposited in someone
who distinguishes themselves with prodigious qualities of heroism or other exemplary
qualities that make them leaders. Such is the “charismatic” power of a prophet or – in
the political field – by an elected warrior leader, or a sovereign chosen though a plebi-
scite, or a great demagogue or leader of a political party (Weber, 1989: 57).

In this regard, we can see that charismatic domination develops as an emo-
tional devotion to the person of a lord and his supernatural gifts (charisma), particu-
larly his magical powers, revelations or heroism, intellectual or oratory faculties –
something easily observed in Castro’s famous speeches and his omnipresent per-
sonality. Thus, the dominant association is based on a community nature, on the
community or on the retinue. A genuine form of jurisdiction and conciliation in
charismatic disputes is a proclamation of a sentence by a lord or a wise and its ac-
ceptance by the community. In the case of Cuba, this is reflected in the fact that,
despite the evident process of decades of institutionalization, comprising the con-
struction of social and political organizations, on several occasions Fidel Castro in-
tervened in policies, innovations or changes, i.a. in the process of sugar harvest in
the late 1960s, the rectification of errors in the 80s or in the measures adopted
throughout the 90s.

In addition, the adaptability and flexibility of this leadership should be no-
ted. In the mid-80s, the process called “rectification of errors and negative tenden-
cies” involved returning to some of Che Guevara’s ideas about work and payment,
which were abandoned earlier while approaching the Soviet Union. This was also
reflected in various modifications and adaptations of the ideals of the 26th of July
Movement in the 1950s, whose goals were nationalistic, explicitly demanding so-
ecial justice, curbing corruption and cleaning the public life. Later, in the ‘60s and
‘70s, the flexibility manifested itself in the adoption of Marxist-Leninist model and
the support, among other things, of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and fi-
nally in the transformations of the ‘90s.

4 Translated by the authors.
Doubtlessly, apart from Fidel, the other leader who internationally launched the Cuban Revolution was Che Guevara. His impact on Latin America was profound and, with his murder in Bolivia, his work and example, conferred him with an international dimension. As Sader pointed out:

At this crucial moment of great transformations, Che appeared as a living critique to objectivism that dominated Marxism for decades. It’s no coincidence that his image was present at the manifestations of 1968 in Paris, Rome, Frankfurt, Tokyo. And that revolutionary groups constituted in Latin America, Germany, Ceylon, took him for reference. (Sader, 1981: 35).

As mentioned, Che’s assassination boosted his revolutionary aura. The realization that he was able give up positions and honors and sacrifice his life for his ideals, empowered the myth, associated with the pure ideals of the first years of Cuban Revolution (Taibo, 1997; Anderson, 1997). Much of this myth, managed by the Cuban government itself, was strengthened as Che was not subjected to political abrasion, faced by other Cuban leaders who remained in power, as pointed by Anderson:

In the town of Vallegrande, Bolivia, where the efforts to find and to exhume the body of Che continue, on a mud wall of the telephone exchange a tarred phrase in Spanish reads Che: Vivo como jamás quisieron que estuvieras. This phrase, perhaps better than any other, describes the true legacy of Che. Somehow, he maintained his strong position in popular imagination, seemingly transcending time and place. Forever young, brave, relentless and challenging, perpetually fixed looking with those eyes full of purpose and indignation. Che defied death. While even his friends and closest comrades wither with the age and succumb to amenities of a life, in which there is no longer place for Revolution, Che remains unchanged. He is immortal because others want this; as the lone example of the New Man, who once lived and challenged others to follow him (Anderson, 1997: 864).

For better understanding of the ideas and the role that Ernesto Che Guevara played see, among others, Luis Bernardo Pericás, Che Guevara e o debate econômico em Cuba, Ed. Xamã, 2004; Carlos Tablada Perez, El pensamiento econômico de Ernesto Che Guevara, Casa de Las Américas, 1987; Fernando Martinez Heredia, El Che y el Socialismo, Dialectica, 1992; e Geronimo Alvarez Batista, Che: una nueva batalla, Pablo de la Torriente, 1994.

Translated by the authors.

As stated by Taibo: “There is a memory. Since thousands of photos, posters, t-shirts, tapes, records, videos, pictures, magazines, books, phrases, testimonials, all the ghosts of industrial society, which doesn’t know how to deposit its myths in the sobriety of its memory. Che is watching us. In addition to the whole paraphernalia, he returns. In an era of shipwrecks, he is our secular saint. Almost thirty years after his death, his image crosses generations; his myth goes sliding amid neoliberal delusions of grandeur. Irreverent, ironic, self-willed, morally obstinate. Unforgettable” (Taibo 1997: 704).
Moreover, the treatment given to the heroism and performance of other leaders, like Camilo Cienfuegos and Raul Castro, among others, largely reinforced a mythology of Cuban Revolution, its actions and leaders. Thus, it should be highlighted that the Cuban soft power was not derived exclusively from the actions and example of these leaders, but rather based on various elements.

Additionally, one should consider that the international projection of Cuba was founded on a policy of supporting and encouraging revolutions in the Third World and in the exercise of proletarian internationalism. Such policy determined Cuban civil and military involvement over decades, from the ‘60s until the ‘80s in Latin America and Africa.

In the case of Africa, these actions were developed on two different levels. At first, there were the collaborative actions and military aid supporting nationalist or socialist movements. According to López Segrera (1988), Cuban military presence always was preceded by efforts to settle the conflict by negotiations, its military involvement was always a result of formal requests and approved by the governments of the countries in question, and finally, Cuba never posed a threat to the countries neighboring the one where its troops were deployed. In this regard, Bandeira (1998) points out that involvement in Angola, which took place at a request by Agostinho Neto, MPLA leader, and which began with the training of rebels, back in the 1960s; same as in the cases of Ethiopia and Mozambique. In the same way, that author points out that “in any case, Cuba played a constructive role in Africa, including promotion of diplomatic solutions to some issues, e.g. the conflict between Angola and Zaire, and the cases of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Namibia” (Banner, 1998: 599).

Outside the military field, Cuban support also comprised civil work. On one hand, the country welcomed many students from African countries – according to López Segrera, about 15,000 Africans studied in this country in several areas; on the other hand, the country sent numerous experts to work on and encourage the de-

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8 The connection with the MPLA and Agostinho Neto began in 1965 when Ernesto Guevara took part in a meeting with this Angolan leader and other leaders of the movement. However, it was limited in the early ‘70s due to the difficulties in shipping material and men, and the development of the struggle for independence. With the onset of Civil War, in 1975, Cuban support was requested again and the country became deeply involved in the Angolan conflict (Gleijeses, 2003: 106).

9 For an analysis of Cuban participation in the peace process between these two countries, see the book La paz Cuito Cuanavale – documentos de un proceso, by Blanca Zabala, La Habana 1989.
development of African countries in fields such as health, education, civil construction, agriculture, and transport.\textsuperscript{10}

Attention should be drawn to two more aspects of Cuban presence in Africa. Firstly, the huge number of participants of these civilian or military missions that, despite uncertainty about the numbers, is estimated at ca. 250,000 Cubans by López Segrera (1978) and ca. 110,000 by Bandeira (1998). Regardless of the accuracy of these estimates, both authors point to considerable participation.\textsuperscript{11} The second aspect refers to the benefits generated by such actions. Although they stemmed from the principles adopted by Cuban government, consistent with the ideological basis of the revolution, according to Bandeira (1998), in 1977, at the height of the Cuban involvement, they generated foreign exchange value of $100 million, which represented about 6\% worth of all commodities exported to the Western countries.\textsuperscript{12}

There are several explanations for Cuban involvement in Africa. As pointed out by Gleijeses, some interpretations indicate that such actions were motivated by personal desire of Fidel Castro for self-aggrandizement, but this certainly has not been the determining factor. The two major factors were, in fact, self-defense and idealism. After searching for a \textit{modus vivendi} with the US, the Cuban leadership came to a very clear conclusion: to protect itself from the US, the best defense would be to attack it, but in the spaces of the Third World. In this sense, we can see that:

\begin{quote}
(...) Castro considered that the survival of the Revolution depended on “the emergence of other Cubas”; he thought that the US would ultimately be forced to accept Cuba if it had to simultaneously cope with several revolutionary governments. And when Che Guevara went to Africa in December 1964, the US intelligence analysts, considered this element self-defense (Gleijeses, 2003: 109).
\end{quote}

The second factor was the idealism that conditioned Cuban foreign policy in this period, in other words, a sense of a revolutionary mission, reflected in proletarian internationalism. In Africa the risks were smaller, not caused directly by the US and the country did not act against legal governments, like in Latin America, as

\textsuperscript{10} For more information regarding these actions and activities, apart from the authors mentioned above, see the book \textit{Cubans in Africa} by Neiva Moreira and Beatriz Bissio, Ed.Global 1979.

\textsuperscript{11} Raul Castro, Fidel Castro’s brother and the second in the Cuban hierarchy, points out that some 400,000 Cubans participated in military or civilian solidarity work in other countries. This number also includes the Cubans who worked in Latin America, in different periods.

\textsuperscript{12} According to Bandeira (1998), the value of contract with Libya itself was about $ 25 million and there was another, similar with Angola in the same period.
Cuban Soft Power: From Revolutionary Charisma…

Cuba contributed to movements against colonial regimes or pre-established governments. In this regard, it could continue promoting the strategy of revolution without damage. This attitude often clashed with realpolitik, in the sense that it could generate tensions with the Soviet allies, increase the disruption with the US and create new enemies – apart from greatly contributing with resources that the country so badly needed (Gleijeses, 2003: 114-116).

The explicit recognition of the role played by Cuba, going beyond its constructive character in African conflicts, which we have pointed to, was reflected in the declaration made by Nelson Mandela, when he visited the country as president of South Africa: “We come here with the feeling of a large debt that we owe to the people of Cuba; what other country has a history of more selflessness revealed in its relations with Africa than Cuba?” (cited by: Gleijeses, 2003: 119).

Since the 1980s, with the institutionalization of the Cuban revolutionary process, new dimensions of Cuban soft power, which would receive more definitive contours in the 90s, gained prominence – in response to changes in the Soviet bloc (and socialist ideology as such), in the international context (its nature and fundamental values in the post-cold war) and, finally, in the context of transformations of Cuban policy itself (internal and external), which adjusted to new internal demands (overcoming a severe economic crisis) and the new international scene.

**New Cuban Soft Power: The Emergence of Social Diplomacy**

As pointed out by Domínguez (2003) and Alzugaray (2003), Cuba continues exerting a seductive power, which fits the concept of soft power proposed by J. Nye (2002). In this sense, although to lesser extent and differently from the previous decades, Cuban Revolution continues attracting and captivating a significant part of population and governments, particularly in Latin America. Although they assume different perspectives, both authors agree that what captivated certain sec-

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13 As the author points out, citing two different sources. For the Russians, “as a senior soviet official – Anatoly Dobrynin, the former Soviet ambassador – said in his memoirs, Cuban troops were sent by their own initiative and without consulting us”; this assertion was corroborated by Henry Kissinger, who in his memories declares that “we could not imagine that they would act so provocatively, so far from home unless Moscow pressured them to provide military and economic support. The evidence available today shows us that was the opposite” (Gleijeses, 2003: 113-114). In the same way, Szulc points out that: “Contrary to widespread belief, it was the idea of Fidel Castro – and not the Russians – to involve Cuban troops in the civil war in Angola, in a fully open form” (Szulc, 1987: 752).
tors of Latin America in the early years was not only the possibility of carrying out a revolution, as pointed out by Sader (2001), but also the fact that it implied important internal structural changes and, above all, it defied the US with its example of courage, imagination, freedom, opening of new horizons and, especially, with the affirmation of Latin Americanism, based on the works of José Martí and his “Nuestra América”, confronting Pan Americanism and the affirmation of hegemonic US interests. In the 1970s another element was added, i.e. the ability to apply the “proletarian internationalism”, supporting the struggles and revolutions in the Third World, combined with developing military capabilities, which made victories in these fights possible.

In the 1990s, however, it was no longer its military or revolutionary capacity, which still exists though, that enabled Cuba to exercise soft power. The ability stemmed from the fact that the country was able to develop a state safety net, which despite some problems, has solved, though not permanently, most of the difficulties that affected periphery countries, through ensuring access to i.a. health and education for major part of the population and minimizing the effects of social inequality. Moreover, Cuba has performed extraordinarily well in certain areas, such as international events, sports and culture. As the authors point out, Cuban achievements were truly impressive.

Therefore, in the 1990s a strategic international cooperation emerged that reconciled two fundamental ideals of the Cuban Revolution from earlier times, and in particular, positioned it in the new international context, in an attempt to overcome the relative isolation suffered since the downfall of the Soviet bloc. In this sense, through the combination of internationalism and cooperation, based on services, especially in the areas that witnessed significant advances during the revolutionary period (such as education, health, sports and culture), Social Diplomacy came to be, shaping the new contours of Cuban soft power.

The Social Diplomacy contributed to affirmation of a new strategy, which improved the country's relationship with other nations. This concept expands the notion of Medical Diplomacy developed by Julie Feinsilver\textsuperscript{14}, which is comprised:

In the analysis of Cuban foreign policy, medical diplomacy was overlooked. However, it has been an integral part of almost all agreements of cooperation and assistance that Cuba has historically devoted to strengthening diplomatic ties with other Third World countries. Dozens of countries have received Cuban long-term medical assistance, while

\textsuperscript{14} For a further analysis of this concept see the book of the author: (1993). \textit{Healing the masses: Cuban Health Politics at Home and Abroad}, Berkeley: University of California Press.
others received short-term aid in response to emergencies. Each year Cuban medical aid reaches millions of people in the Third World through direct provision of health care, and thousands of recipients annually, in form of education programs and trainings in the field of health, both in Cuba and abroad. Positive impact of this aid on the health of the citizens of the Third World has significantly improved country’s relations with other countries and has increased Cuba’s symbolic capital among governments, as well as international organizations and intellectuals of the Third World, who often play an important role in shaping public opinion and public policy (Feinsilver, 1993: 193; quoted by Alzugaray, 2003: 27).

It can be stated that such activities have contributed to the development of Cuban “soft power”, which strengthened its ties with other countries, on national and societal levels. Moreover, such actions implied introducing adjustments to the concept of proletarian internationalism: less ideological than before, emphasizing social work that a country carries out in favor of the most disadvantaged nations, affected by natural disasters or problems in particular areas. The notion of Social Diplomacy implies, in the first place, that Cuba carries out a strategy of broad cooperation, based on various social areas, which mainly reflect the success of the revolution, such as health, education and sports, among others. This notion also implies that the continued attraction and international support, which this form of cooperation favors, ceased to be generated by the works of great leaders or the military presence, as in the past, but rather has become a result of actions in civilian areas in the context of extreme poverty or natural disasters. The final implication is the renewal of internationalism and “Third-Worldism”, present since the 1960s, which now has become a domestic and international challenge placed within the framework of country’s new foreign policy, which uses diplomacy and aims to forge new partnerships. According to Erismann and Kirk (2009) various forms of Cuban cooperation could reach some 154 countries, thus contributing to overcoming the isolation of American embargo; according to Huish and Darnell (2011), based on data from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cuba, since 2011 there have been 42,000 Cuban collaborators working in 101 countries.

Social Diplomacy, thus, allows to project country’s positive image in various fields, and also facilitates obtaining funds through exchanging Cuban professionals’ services for products or currency, as in the case of Venezuela, or by means of a triangular cooperation, where these services are financed by international or-

15 Translated by the authors.
16 Since the beginning of the Revolution, 91 countries received Cuban aid, which involved services of approximately 51,059 professionals.
ganizations – most notably in the field of healthcare. Moreover, those professionals are instructed not to interfere with domestic issues, thus limiting possible tensions. Finally, in the context of the country's foreign policy, such initiatives allow to develop a global-scale South-South cooperation, with counter-hegemonic approach, based on solidarity and critical stance towards the globalized world (Erisman, Kirk, 2006; Kirk, 2009).

Another important aspect is that these actions allow the Cuban government to continue sending significant portion of its population to work in other countries, without the military content of the Cold War initiatives. This enables strengthening of ties between those involved and the government, thus expanding the ability to maintain the internal consensus.

The diplomacy also involves offering education and civil training courses for foreign students from Latin America and Africa (and, to a lesser extent, from other continents), as well as offering medical procedures in Cuba and, in particular, the services of Cuban professionals abroad.

Consequently, Social Diplomacy focuses on the areas, in which Cuba has achieved significant advances. In this sense, cooperation was developed primarily in the areas of education, health¹⁷, sports and culture.

In the educational field, in addition to offering scholarships in various courses and areas of knowledge, the Latin American School of Medicine (ELAM), created in 1999, has proved to be a project with the most significant impact. The purpose of ELAM is to train future medical professionals who originate from impoverished sectors in their home countries, and who would otherwise have limited access to higher education. Thus the Cuban Revolution continues to exercise its seductive power among important segments of society in students’ countries of origin. Torres and Cruz (2011), point to the following data regarding educational activities, specifically medicine:

¹⁷ In this case, Cuba has the following structure: “(…) It has the most precious resource: human capital, there are already 566,365 health workers, among them 74,552 doctors and 32,289 specialists in general medicine, resulting in a ratio of one doctor per 151 inhabitants and 95.9 nurses per 10 thousand inhabitants. All this has been made possible through the development of national capacities: 24 medical schools, 499 university polyclinics family, 217 hospitals, 14,007 medical clinics, 160 dental clinics, 13 research institutes with the network of institutions of scientific hubs, all working with just one objective; improve the health of the Cuban population” (Sánchez, Machado, Fernández, 2010: 82).
In the years 2009-2010, some 51,648 students enrolled in Cuba and abroad, and formed Medical Brigades distributed in various countries. There were 8,170 students at the Latin American School of Medicine, 12,017 participating in the New Medicine Training Program, 1,118 in other projects, 29,171 in the Brigades and 1,172 studying technical careers. The Latin American School of Medicine, created on November 15, 1999 by Fidel’s idea, also marked a turning point for the concept of Cuban assistance in the training of human resources, initially designed to train students in remote and neglected areas of the continent. It is Cuba’s contribution to help countries to pay their own social debt. It is a source of pride, with 7,256 graduated physicians from 30 countries. Currently there are 8,170 active students from 28 countries (Torres, Cruz, 2011: 385)\(^1\).

For a country that still faces the effects of a severe economic crisis this major effort can only be understood as an element of the framework of Social Diplomacy. As Fidel Castro noted, such undertaking (the ELAM) reaffirms Cuban ideals:

\[\ldots\] what we want is that the students from brother Latin American countries become impregnated with the same doctrine, with which we educate our doctors, that is total dedication to their noble future profession, because a doctor is like a pastor, a priest, a missionary, a crusader for health and physical and mental well-being of the people (...) (cited by Sánchez, Machado, Fernández, 2010: 79)\(^2\).

Apart from the ELAM, in partnership with the local government, Cuba has established and maintains the Nursing School in Dominican Republic, which currently hosts 150 students (Sánchez Machado, Fernández, 2010: 80).

Cuban cooperation in the field of health involves other issues and programs, as mentioned by Sánchez, Machado and Fernández:

Currently the Cuban medical cooperation\(^3\), provided in various forms, takes places in 73 countries. It employs 38,544 health workers worldwide, of whom 17,697 are doctors. The PIS itself has treated 117,798,248 patients, including 2,831,870 operations. Conservative numbers indicate that during the 10 years of this program it has saved the lives of nearly 2 million people. Currently in progress is the Operation Miracle, launched in 29 Latin American and the Caribbean countries, including Cuba (Sánchez, Machado, Fernández, 2010: 80)\(^4\).

\(^{18}\)Translated by the authors.

\(^{19}\)Translated by the authors.

\(^{20}\)According to Torres and Cruz (2011: 382): “The Cuban revolution triumphed in 1959 and that same year it saw an intense exodus of doctors, which caused the country to lose, in the first years of revolution, about 50% of its 6,286 professionals” (translated by the authors).

\(^{21}\)Translated by the authors.
However, main cooperation has been developed together with Venezuelan support, within the framework of the ALBA (Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America). The organization carries out missions in Venezuela and other Latin American countries, in such fields as literacy and medicine, thus providing space for Cuban Social Diplomacy, and enabling Cuban experts to exchange their services for resources (foreign exchange and oil), which are fundamental for Cuba’s economic recovery.

Sport is another area where Social Diplomacy is present (Huish, Darnell, 2011). The Diplomacy in this field has three main aspects: sending brigades for cooperation to operate in marginalized communities in other countries; developing counter-hegemonic perspective while establishing ties within civil society; and finally, admitting foreign students to study and practice sports in Cuba. Notably, following the example of ELAM, the International School of Physical Education and Sports (EIEFD) was created, and so far has received ca. 1,400 students from 76 countries, and organized numerous events. Thus, we can see, as of Huish and Darnell indicate:

> In sum, the most distinguishing feature of Cuban sport internationalism may be that sport is regarded as important element, explicitly situated within broader processes of foreign policy and development, rather than as a vehicle for individualized and specific development goals. As we see it, Cuba has positioned sport as a mechanism in support of, and in conjunction with, comprehensive development projects that aim to address poverty and underdevelopment from multiple angles. For these reasons, it is worthy of ongoing attention within the SDP sector (Huish, Darnell, 2011: 161).

Finally, it should be emphasized that such actions are not limited to medical field, although this is the most significant example. They also cover other areas, where the country has had important achievements in the international arena, including education, sport, culture and certain areas of scientific knowledge. This seems to suggest that the concept of Medical Diplomacy, used by Feinsilver, could.

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22 In Venezuela’s case, the main data are: “The Special Program for Cooperation with Venezuela, which began in April 2003, has 30,685 Cuban health professionals and has achieved the following results: 363,084,127 consultations, of these 164,210,014 were field visits; 74,398 operations; 6,306 births; 281,892,894 educational activities and 16,538,746 ophthalmological cases. In the Operation Miracle, the main result is the improvement or return of vision to 1,825,274 people from 33 countries. In Cuba 175,610 patients were operated, as well as 1,649,664 patients in 60 ophthalmological centers established in 18 countries, with 93 surgical points donated by Cuba, which use the newest technologies, in Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Panama, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Uruguay, Angola, Mali, Peru, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Suriname, Guyana and Argentina” (Torres, Cruz, 2011: 387) (translated by the authors).
be extended to “Social Diplomacy” as an important strategy of expanding and strengthening of political ties and, additionally, of raising funds that are essential for Cuba’s economic recovery.

Thus, we can point out that during the 1990s, Cuba has created a network of support in bilateral and multilateral arena, which allows us to affirm that the country has managed to overcome marginalization the international context. After reorienting its relations and acquiring new sources of financial assistance it was easier for Cuba to recover its prestige, which in turn was largely based on the development of Social Diplomacy.

Conclusion

This study sought to discuss international projection of Cuba and the characteristics of its soft power, since the Revolution, considering that, at the beginning of the revolutionary process it was fundamentally based on the charisma of the revolutionary leaders (Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, notably), while in recent years it shifted towards the Social Diplomacy involving cooperation in services that exemplify Cuban social achievements (education, health, sport...).

Therefore, we consider that, with the changes in the international scene, Cuba faced various challenges and carried out a number of adjustments, both internal and in regards to its international projection, which were driven by a “survival logic” and by the redefinition of national interest. This, in turn, made Cuban foreign policy more pragmatic and less confrontational.

The major change in this process, as we sought to demonstrate, involves the advent or the improvement of the exercise of the Cuban “soft power”, with the emergence of a diplomacy that uses the country’s potential in education, health and sports, to strengthen its ties with civil society and the States, generating political and economic support to the country. We referred to this policy as “Social Diplomacy”.

In this manner, Cuba has managed to overcome, even if partially, the isolation to which it has been subjected since the end of the Cold War and obtained the support and ties that allowed its economic and political survival. Thus, within a decade Cuba was able to enter international markets, find new partners, increase its foreign trade and deepen economic ties with countries and areas of its interest, which resulted in diversification of its trading partners.
This, however, does not mean that the Cuban leadership has definitely overcome the challenges it faces. The sustainability and effectiveness of the actions taken until now largely depend on the performance of its leadership in the conflict with the US, a key element of country’s foreign policy; the maintenance and diversification of its economic and political partners; as well as its capacity to overcome the criticism of international community, provoked by country’s political model. The final settlement of these issues will determine, to a large extent, the future of the country and the final assessment of efficiency of its foreign policy.

Reference


Cuban Soft Power: From Revolutionary Charisma...

STUDIES – ESSAYS


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*Fuera de revoluciones: dos décadas de arte en Cuba* (2016) by Mailyn Machado was recently published by Almenara Press, an innovative publishing venture founded by Cuban writer, Waldo Pérez Cino, in 2014 in Holland. Earning an honorable mention in Casa de las América’s essay prize (Cuba) in 2015, this first book by Cuban critic and curator, Mailyn Machado, is a treasure-trove of creative theoretical musings and artistic revelations that illustrate the extent to which the realms of art, history, sociology, politics and everyday life are inseparable in the last two decades of Cuba. With an introduction and ten chapters, divided into three parts, *Fuera de revoluciones* captures readers through its combination of personal anecdote and deep understanding of a visual arts archive, implementing “Inter/personal/net”—a topic that Machado thoroughly investigates—to link together the chapters, which can also be read as separate essays, written over a ten-year period from 2000-2010.

Machado, in almost “new historical” fashion, has the gift of using the anecdote as the basis for uncovering broader contextual facts and of encountering the perfectly accurate tone to vividly render even recent history. In Chapter 6, Machado breathes new life into Eugenio Valdés Figueroa’s concept of the rumor (Trajectories of a Rumor: Cuban Art in the Postwar Period) that he elaborated to explore the shifts, in the aftermath of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, in the constitution of Cuban art once the institutions could no longer support it. Machado goes a step further to show how rumor or *la bola* in the criollo argot, was armed by the “video” wherein Cuban artists could document the everyday, saying goodbye to the formal education and its expectations, and operating in a very “real” yet mediatic mode. For instance, as exemplary of this transformation, Machado takes Jesús Hdez-Güero’s *Informes de hechos vividos* (2006-2007), a simulation of television reports of occurrences that were not covered by the local news. In this case the Cuban rumor gets to highlight the gaps in the official state apparatus. But it is not just this very literal “fake news” that Machado highlights as part of this artistic rumor. Videos such as *Buscándote Havana* (2006) by Alina Rodríguez and *Model Town*...

Machado convincingly states that so involved with everyday problems and people were these videos and films that they almost abolished the line between art and life, making it difficult for consumers to be conscious that they were in fact viewing art. While Machado equates this process of the new millennium to a new de-aestheticized or aura-less art, these new contributions to Cuban art, supported by new and yet still rarified technologies on the island, could be seen as the culmination of what Julio García Espinosa back in 1969 called “imperfect cinema”. The transformation from the socialist world to the world of the Occident has meant not only the implementation of diverse technologies and experiments to populate the Cuban television and cinema, such as the pirating of U.S. American films for the Cuban theater, but also the proliferation through digital copies of Cuban films from distinct periods that had been censored, creating what Machado casts as “anachronistic streaming”.

Where Machado reaches some of her most brilliant and passionate moments is in her close readings of artists such as Jorge Luis Marrero, in chapter two, and of Reynier Levyra Novo, in chapter eight. Such close readings are always immersed in a very precise contextualization—a contextualization that is itself, the fruit of the artists’ works. Machado examines the process whereby Marrero turns his childhood comics into works of art through transubstantiation, making both “transubstantiation” and “intertextuality” crucial categories within the body of work she explores. Machado illustrates how Marrero re-baptizes his childhood art with its barbarous aesthetic through a sophisticated process into ironic commentaries on Cuban and world art and on Cuba’s positioning within the socialist globalization of the COMECON. The tone of Reynier Levyra Novo’s inflections on history, according to Machado, is not ironic, but rather affective. His pieces rely on spectators’ reactions to history by stimulating their affects; they decontextualize and then recontextualize monumental sounds, making them new again, or providing spectators with scents to recast the monuments of history as intimate.

In *Fuera de revoluciones*’ last chapter, Machado details how multimedia pieces by Celia-Yunior sophisticatedly dialogue with the transformation of the economy instigated by Raúl Castro’s presidency and even return to familiar trajec-
REVIEWS

tories of the early part of the revolution to shed light on how the urban space has been affected by state decrees over five decades. Moreover, the book, as a whole, delineates what happens once the institutions retreat to art and artist who even through the 1980s relied on them. In their absence, Machado suggests that artists take on new roles—from archivist to curator, critic, “pirate” and even gallerist, some of which they learned from the socialist world that schooled many of them. In so doing, Machado observes, they affect not just the new post-Fidel economies, but likely the nation’s political structures.
SPECIAL EVENTS

- **2016.03.23**: International scientific conference “Dylematy na granicy Meksyku i Stanów Zjednoczonych” [Dilemmas on the Mexico-United States border].

Programmes:

**Opening (10:00-15:00)** – Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD, Director of CESLA, University of Warsaw.

**Part 1 (10:15-12:30)**

- Introduction – Fernando Villagómez, PhD, CESLA, University of Warsaw;
- **Bez papierów: meksykańscy bezparchiowcy w USA w literaturze pisarzy Chicano** [No papers: Mexican stateless in USA in the Chicano literature] – Ewa Barbara Łuczak, PhD, professor of the Institute of English Studies of University of Warsaw;
- **Meksykańsko-amerykańskie spory o miedz** [Mexican-American land disputes] – Alicja Fijałkowska, PhD, CESLA, University of Warsaw;
- **Migracje wewnątrzregionalne ku północy kontynentu i ewolucja roli granic Meksyk** [Intraregional migrations towards the North of the Continent and the evolution of the role of Mexican border] – Joanna Sosnowska, MA, Ministry of the Interior and Administration, Coordinator of European Migration Network;
- **Programy wsparcia niezarejestrowanych imigrantów na granicy Meksyk-Stany Zjednoczone** [Support programmes for unregistered immigrants on the Mexico-US border] – Victor Hugo Majus, MA, University of San Carlos of Guatemala;
- **Amerykańska straż graniczna U.S. Border Patrol a łamanie praw człowieka** [U.S. Border Patrol and human rights violations] – Magdalena Czerwińska, CESLA, University of Warsaw;
- Debate.

**Part II (13:00-14:30)**

- **Mexykanie deportowani ze Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki: Przemierzając przestrzenie transnarodowe przemocy** [Mexicans deported from The United States of America: Traversing transnational spaces of violence] – Agnieszka Radziwino-wiczówna, PhD, Centre of Migration Research of University of Warsaw;
ACADEMIC EVENTS

- Czynniki wpływające na stan bezpieczeństwa publicznego w regionie granicznym Meksyku ze Stanami Zjednoczonymi [Factors influencing public safety in the US-Mexican border region] – Karol Derwich, PhD, Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora of the Jagiellonian University;
- Korzyści ekonomiczne przestępczości zorganizowanej na granicy północnej Meksyku [Economic benefits of organised crime on the northern border of Mexico] – Humberto González, MA, The Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla;
- Skutki środowiskowe budowy muru na granicy amerykańsko-meksykańskiej [Environmental impact of the construction of the US-Mexican border wall] – Wojciech Doroszewicz, MSc, Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies, Univ. of Warsaw;
- Debate.


■ 2016.04.06. CESLA organised the second part of discussion panel “Prawa człowieka w Ameryce Łacińskiej: kontynuacja czy zmiana?” [Human rights in Latin America: continuation or change?]. The Meeting was presided by Magdalena Krysińska-Kałużna, PhD (CESLA, University of Warsaw) and featured lectures of i.a. Artur Domosławski (Weekly “Polityka”), Draginja Nadaždin (Amnesty International) and Marcin Wojtalik (Institute of Global Responsibility).

■ 2016.04.11. Scientific Seminary “Dyplomacja ekonomiczna wczoraj, dziś i jutro. Ambasadorzy biznesu” [Economical diplomacy yesterday, today, and tomorrow. Ambassadors of business]. During the seminar Paweł Józefowicz, long-standing trade counsellor in Latin America’s countries (Mexico, Argentina, Panama and Cuba, also accredited in Bolivia and Paraguay) delivered a lecture, commented later by Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek (Director of CESLA, University of Warsaw) and Dagmara Szczepańska, MA (PhD student, University of Warsaw).

Rio de Janeiro – Cidade Maravilhosa – in mega events époque – vision and reality and Karol Kurowski, PhD (CESLA, University of Warsaw) Lima, la horrible – between fragmentation and integration. Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD (Director of CESLA, University of Warsaw) introduced the seminar’s participants to the subject with a lecture titled Social inequalities in Latin America. Challenge for ethicists, politicians, and economists.

11.05.2016. VI Ogólnopolska Studencko-Doktorancka Konferencja Naukowa [VI National Scientific Conference of Students and PhD Students]. The conference was organised by CESLA and the “Gringos” Scientific Association of CESLA Students.

Conference Programme:
10:00-10:10 – Conference Opening – Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD (Director of CESLA, University of Warsaw);
10:10-10:20 – Inaugural lecture – Dynamics of social change in modern Latin America, Karol Kurowski, PhD (CESLA, University of Warsaw).

Panel I (10:00-12:00): Moderator: Prof. Mariusz Malinowski, PhD
- The meaning of Latin American model of multinational state during the struggle with neoliberalism, Jakub Barszczewski, MA, University of Białystok;
- The end of “kirchnerism” Era. Argentinian right turn as an incentive for other populist governments in South America, Agnieszka Dawidowicz, MA, Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN);
- Structural or small changes in Cuba in the years 2008-2014? Nina Podsiedlik, MA, and Jan Długosz, MA, University of Częstochowa;
- Women in politics. Changes in South America over the last fifteen years, Alicja Grzebalska, CESLA, University of Warsaw;
- Cultural differences in an international business with Latin America, Katarzyna Emilia Cyz, MA, Katowice School of Economics;
- Debate.

Panel II (12:50-14:30): Moderator: Magdalena Szkwarek, MA
- American Republicans’ and Democrats’ attitude to Immigration Crisis in 2014, Piotr Walewicz, The Jan Kochanowski University (JKU) in Kielce, the University’s Branch in Piotrków Trybunalski;
- Avances y continuidades en las relaciones de género en el Perú: film i media, Ágata Cristina Cáceres Sztorc, PhD, University of Salamanca;
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● Institutional and legal conditions of mass media activity in Mexico, Kornelia Ślisza, Maria Curie Skłodowska University in Lublin;
● Cuban-American relations under Raul Castro’s rule, Paweł Kwiatkowski, MA, Maria Curie Skłodowska University in Lublin;
● Trans-Pacific Partnership as a chance for Latin America? Michał Szatkowski, Artes Liberales Faculty, University of Warsaw;
● Debate.

Panel III: Moderator: Fernando Villagómez Porras, PhD
● Changes in language policy in regards to indigenous population in Latin America in the 21st century, Krzysztof Ząbecki, MA, University of Warsaw;
● Between the field and the table. Changes of eating habits of Mexican Indians in the Huasteca Hidalguense region, Zofia Piotrowska-Kretkiewicz, MA, Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies of the University of Warsaw;
● Sustainable development goals in planning documents of metropolitan area on the example of “Plan de Acción: Panamá metropolitana: sostenible, humana y global”, Maciej Kałaska, MA, Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies of the University of Warsaw;
● To be the president on Haiti, Joanna Trybowska, MA, University of Warsaw;
● Debate.

17:00-17:10 Conference Closing: Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD (Director of CESLA, University of Warsaw) and Magdalena Czerwińska (moderator and coordinator of the conference).

- 2016.05.23, “Faces of Jamaica” Scientific Meeting and debate. Special Guests: Ms Maria Dembowska (Honorary consul of Jamaica in Poland) and Miroslaw “Maken” Dzięciołowski (music journalist and reggae concerts organiser). The event was organised and hosted by CESLA students Maja Możdżonek and Alicja Nowosielska.

- 2016, April-June, CESLA continued activities concerning the Project “Uniwersytecka Piaskownica” [University Sandpit] for children aged 5-10 – a series of meetings “Latin America for the youngest”, as a part of celebrating the 200th anniversary of University of Warsaw. Activities were prepared and managed by Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD (Director of CESLA) and Magdalena Szkwarek, MA (CESLA UW). Meetings’ themes: 09.04.2016: “Landing in the Andes. Inka gold”; 14.05.2016: “Indian America”; 4.06.2016: Closing Ceremony of the cycle of activities “Latin America for the youngest”.

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2016.09.29, CESLA hosted a scientific debate “Desafíos para el desarrollo local: interpretaciones sectoriales”. This event was the first part of the 1st Polish-Colombian Symposium “La sustentabilidad como vanguardia de nuevas ideas sobre el desarrollo o la crisis del paradigma ambientalista” organised at the University of Warsaw by the Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies.


Programme:

Session I: História das comunidades polônicas no Brasil
9.40-10.00 – Zdzislaw Malczewski TChr, Esboço da pastoral polonesa em Porto Alegre;
10.00-10.20 – Nelsi Antonia Pabis (UNICENTRO), A legislação e o ensino nas escolas polonesas no Paraná no início do século XX;
10.20-10.40 – Inês Valéria Antoczecen (UNICENTRO) and Ancelmo Schörner (UNICENTRO), Fronteiras étnicas entre poloneses e ucranianos em Mallet: conflitos em torno da religião, lingual e casamentos (1930-1950);
10.40-11.00 – Discussion.

Session II: Língua como elemento da cultura polônica no Brasil
11.00-11.20 – Luciane Trennephol da Costa (UNICENTRO), Falares poloneses no sul do Paraná: descrição linguística e confluências com o português;
11.20-11.40 – Karolina Bielenin-Lenczowska (UW) and Izabela Stąpor (UW), Língua como patrimônio cultural. Práticas linguísticas dos descendentes Dos poloneses no sul do Brasil;
11.40-12.00 – Sonia Eliane Niewiadomski (UNICENTRO), O papel da língua polono-brasileira na identidade dos descendente;
12.00-12.20 – Discussion.

Session III: Relações históricas Brasil-Polônia
12.20-12.40 – Jerzy Mazurek (ISII UW and MHPRL), O Brasil e a questão da independência da Polônia em 1918;
12.40-13.00 – Rhuan Trinidade (UFPR, Curitiba), Missões e Misiones: os poloneses na Argentina e no Brasil e suas relações através da experiência de Ceslau Biezanko no início da década de 1930;
13.00-13.20 – Claudia Stefanetti (Universidad de Buenos Aires), Los inmigrantes polacos de la Argentina y Brasil que acudieron al llamado patriótico del general Sikorski en 1941;

Session IV. Estudos polônicos e cooperação acadêmica Polônia-Brasil
15.00-15.20 – Mariléia Gaertner (UNICENTRO), Extensão e ensino em contextos de imigração polonesa: núcleo de estudos eslavos;
15.20-15.40 – Bogumiła Lisocka-Jaegermann (WGiSR UW), La perspectiva transnacional como enfoque de estudios sobre las migraciones polacas contemporâneas a Brasil;
16.00-16.20 – Discussion.

16.20 – Books Presentation
Henryk Siewierski, Szkice brazylijskie, Biblioteka Iberyjska, Warszawa 2016;

CESLA’s Open Academic Meetings (date. title of the lecture, name of the speaker and the institutional affiliation)
■ 2016.03.09. No solo de Pinglo a Chacalón: La cultura Chicha y un panorama contemporâneo de una búsqueda de ciudadanía, Alcides Alipio Saccatoma, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, Perú.
■ 2016.03.16. Alegoria polityczna na przecięciu teorii i afektu: “Symbiopsychotaxi-plasm” (1968) and “Maquinaria Panamericana” (2016) [Political allegory on the crossway of the theory and affection], Tomasz Basiuk, PhD, professor of ASC (American Studies Center) University of Warsaw.
■ 2016.03.30. Czego ludzie nie powiedzą, to ryty pokażą – krótna relacja z prac archeologicznych na stanowisku Toro Muerto w Peru [The rites will show what the people don’t say. A short report from archaeological site at Toro Muerto in Peru], Karolina Juszczyk, MA, CESLA’s student.
2016.04.20, Estructura social y semántica: El origen del “Estigma-Indio” y su función estratificadora en el México de los siglos XVI-XVII, Enrique Alcántara Granados, PhD, Humboldt University of Berlin.

2016.04.27, Przygoda z Panama [An Adveture with Panama], a meeting with Ryszard Sobolewski, a Polish traveller.

2016.05.04, Jamajska kultura współczesna z perspektywy postkolonialnej [Jamaican contemporary culture from the post-colonial perspective], Olga Matuszewska, CESLA’s student.

2016.06.01, Los principales dilemas de la seguridad en México, Luz-Paula Parra, PhD, Stockholm University.

2016.10.12, Lo Que Más Quiero – relacja z podróży po Ameryce Łacińskiej [What I want the most – travel stories from Latin America], presented by Dariusz Jaworski, graduate of CESLA.

2016.10.26, Recuperación del patrimonio cultural polaco tangible en El Departamento de Asóstoles (Argentina), Claudia Stefanetti, PhD, coordinator of the project “El Águila Blanca” [The White Eagle] of the Instituto de Investigaciones, Históricos del Museo Roca, Secretaria de Cultura de la Presidencia de la Nación.

2016.11.02, Mario Vargas Llosa y su mundo ideológico, Jan Mlcoch, PhD, University of Ostrava (Czech Republic).

2016.11.23, Las imágenes tempranas del Nuevo Mundo en Europa central: La construcción de “uno mismo” a través del “otro”, Markéta Křížová, PhD, Charles University of Prague (Czech Republic).


CESLA staff’s travels abroad, participation in conferences and academic exchange

2016.01.11, Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD, took part in the expert panel “Życie jest krótkie, ale uśmiech to trud jednej tylko sekundy – o (nie)szczerbliwym życiu na Kubie” [Life is short yet the effort to smile takes just one second – on the (un)happy
life in Cuba organised by The Association of Young Diplomats of the University of Warsaw.

2016.01.10-11, Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD, took part in a national conference “Studenci zagraniczni w Polsce 2016” [Foreign students in Poland 2016] organised at the Medical University of Gdansk. She presented a paper *Ameryka Łacińska jako szansa na dywersyfikację internacjonalizacji polskich uczelni* [Latin America as an opportunity to diversify the internationalisation Polish universities].


2016.02.17-18, Francisco Rodriguez Abraham, PhD, participated in the conference “Imigracja i wielokulturowość w XXI wieku. Przypadek Polski” [Immigration and multiculturalism in the 21st century. The case of Poland] organised by the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the A. Mickiewicz University in Poznań, and presented a paper *O wymiarze kulturowym integracji Latynoamerykanów w Polsce* [On the cultural dimension of integration of Latin Americans in Poland].

2016.03.7-11, Katarzyna Dembicz, PhD, delivered a series of lectures on the social changes in Cuba titled *Incertidumbres del porvenir de los cubanos*, within the framework of academic exchange Erasmus+, at the University of Ostrava, Department of French Studies Faculty.

2016.04.3-8, Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD, delivered a series of lectures *Las relaciones económicas entre los países de América Latina y Europa Centro-Oriental* at the Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3, Institut des Hautes Études de l’Amérique latine IHEAL, within the framework of academic exchange Erasmus+.

2016.04.7-8, Radosław Powęska, PhD, participated in 52nd Annual Conference of the Society for Latin American Studies (SLAS) in Liverpool, and presented a paper “Indigenous State” and the Frustration of Indigenous Self-determined Development in Bolivia.

2016.04.8-9, The Institute of American Studies at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow held the 4th Latin American Conference “Migration and Diaspora in contemporary Latin America”. The following CESLA researchers and lecturers delivered their papers at this event:
- Katarzyna Dembicz, PhD, Crisis migratoria 2015: ¿fin del mito del exilio cubano?
- Francisco Rodríguez, PhD, Marcos históricos y vertientes temáticas de la investigación sobre la inmigración latinoamericana en Polonia;
- Renata Siuda-Ambroziak, PhD, Imigracja polonesa no Brasil – temática, áreas e metodologia das pesquisas contemporâneas;
- Fernando Villagómez Porras, PhD, Las remesas en la reducción de la pobreza en México;
- Beata Bereza, MA, Expatriados ¿la nueva calidad de los emigrantes en América Latina?
- Teresa Sońta-Jaroszewicz, MA, Migraciones de Polonia a Colombia en la Segunda Guerra Mundial – el caso de Casimiro Eiger.

■ 2016.04.18-19, Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD, took part in 2nd International Scientific Conference “Kraje latynoamerykańskie w ujęciu prawnym, społecznym i filozoficznym” [Latin American Countries in legal, social and philosophical perspectives] organised by the Faculty of Law, Administration and Economics of the University of Wroclaw, and presented a paper Ameryka Łacińska jako laboratorium innowacyjności gospodarczej [Latin America as a laboratory for economic innovation].

■ 2016.04.23-18, Francisco Rodriguez Abraham, PhD, presented a series of lectures Migraciones latinoamericanas en el contexto de la Guerra Fría: una mirada desde Europa Centro-Oriental at the University of Huelva, Spain, within the framework of academic exchange Erasmus+.

■ 2016.05.02-5, Francisco Rodriguez Abraham, PhD, delivered a series of lectures Las dimensiones culturales de la Guerra Fría en América Latina at the Department of French Studies of Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Ostrava, within the framework of academic exchange Erasmus+.

■ 2016.05.07, Professor Henryk Szlajfer, PhD, delivered an introductory lecture to the discussion Eastern Europe and Latin America: comparative perspective in the study of social history, economic history and the history of ideas as a part of seminars on “Philosophy and social movements” at the School of Social Sciences of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

■ 2016.05.08, Katarzyna Dembicz, PhD, took part in the scientific debate Ocieplenie relacji między Kubą a USA [The rapprochement in relations between Cuba
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and the US], organised by the Forum of Young Diplomats and Latin Warsaw Convention of the University of Warsaw.

■ **2016.05.19**, Magdalena Szkwarek, MA, participated in the 4th National Students Scientific Conference “Izrael w kalejdoskopie” [Israel kaleidoscope], organised by Institute for the Middle and Far East, Jagiellonian University, and presented a paper _Izrael w twórczości Jorge Luisa Borgesa_ [Israel in the works of Jorge Luis Borges].

■ **2016.06.7-9**, Renata Siuda-Ambroziak, PhD, participated, as a member of the scientific committee, in the international conference Simpósio Internacional de Estudos Eslavos, organised by UNICENTRO in Irati (Brazil), and coordinated a panel titled “Patrimônio cultural dos descendentes de poloneses no Brasil”. Aslo, she delivered a paper _A religião e religiosidade no patrimônio cultural dos descendentes dos poloneses no Brasil._

■ **2016.06.12-15**, Renata Siuda-Ambroziak, PhD, at the Universidade de São Paulo (USP), took part in an experts’ panel on immigration to Latin America during the opening of scientific seminar “Vozes do Holocausto” and presented a paper _Nova política histórica na Polônia e relações entre a Polônia e a Alemanha no contexto das memórias da II Guerra Mundial e do Holocausto._

■ **2016.06.9-10**, Magdalena Szkwarek, MA, took part in the National Conference “Literatura w świecie luster. O niepowtarzalności i multiplicacjach w kulturze XX i XXI wieku” [Literature in the world of mirrors. On the uniqueness and multiplications in the 20th and 21st century culture] organised by the Faculty of Humanities University of Maria Curie-Skłodowska in Lublin and Podlasie Foundation for the Support of Talents, and presented a paper _Jorge Luis Borges w ogrodzie o rozwidlających się ścieżkach_ [Jorge Luis Borges in the garden of divergent paths].

■ **2016.06.28-07.02**, University of Salamanca hosted the 8th International Congress of CEISAL (Consejo Europeo de Investigaciones Sociales sobre América Latina) “Tiempos posthegemónicos: sociedad, cultura y política en América Latina”.

The following CESLA researchers attended with their papers:

- Katarzyna Dembicz (coordinator of the symposium _Fecundidad: tema de debate y conflicto en América Latina_), _Comportamientos procreativos entre la juventud universitaria latinoamericana_, and _La retórica del diálogo y conflicto social en torno a la construcción del canal en Nicaragua_;
- Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, _The World Geopolitical Chessboard: Changing Relations between Latin America and Central & Eastern Europe_;
- Magdalena Krysińska-Kalużna, *Los mundos sobrenaturales y la ley* (within the framework of “Espíritus y mundos sobrenaturales amerindios de ayer y de hoy”);
- Karol Kurowski, *Evolucionismo social, valores culturales y “déficit” del capital social en América Latina*;
- Magdalena Szkwarek, *Variedad de prensa judía en Argentina a principios del siglo XX*.

**8-12.08.2016**, Renata Siuda-Ambroziak, PhD, participated in the 15th Latin American Congress on Religion and Ethnicity “Creencias religiosas y derechos humanos en América Latina y el Caribe”, organised by ALER – Asociación Latinoamericana de los Estudios de la Religión in UNA Heredia Costa Rica, coordinated a panel “Religião, memória e história: narrativas orais e literárias da sociedade brasileira” and presented a paper *As peculiaridades da religiosidade popular brasileira no olhar de fora.*

**2016.09.07-8**, Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD, presented an inaugural lecture “Economic Innovation as an Important Determinant of Economic Development. The Cases of Poland and Brazil”, at the II International Poland-Brazil Conference on Science and Technology, organised in Warsaw by The Institute of Aviation and Universidade de Brasilia.

**2016.09.12-14**, Magdalena Krysińska-Kalużna, PhD, took part in the International Symposium “The Latest Results of American Studies. Understanding the Past to Create Future”, organised by the University of Wrocław and presented a paper *Creando la realidad. Investigador ante el papel de demíurgo.*

**2016.09.05-10.15**, Katarzyna Dembicz, PhD, during her stay as a visiting professor at the University of Panama, within the framework of academic exchange Erasmus Mundus, delivered the following lectures: *Multidimensionalidad de América Latina, Relaciones Europa Centro-Oriental-América Latina: entre el pasado y futuro*, and presented the book *Cuba: ¿quo vadis?.* She also carried out field studies and a library query. Also, she participated in the seminar “Ampliación del Canal de Panamá: balance, perspectivas y retos para la República de Panamá”.

**21-23.09.2016**, Renata Siuda-Ambroziak, PhD, took part in the International Seminar “Seminário Internacional Migrações: religiões e espiritualidades e XXII Simpósio de História da Imigração e Colonização” organised by the University UNISI-NOS (Porto Alegre). She participated in the panel “Sincretismos e migrações” and presented a paper *Sincretismos, igrejas e religiões frente as migrações e migrantes.*

■ **29.09.2016**, Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD, took part in the seminar “Recommendations for Strengthening the Relationship Between Poland and Mexico” organised by The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland, and presented a paper *Poland-Mexico. Potential for Academic and Scientific Cooperation*.

■ **2016.10.4-7**, Renata Siuda-Ambroziak, PhD, participated as a member of the scientific committee in the symposium “I Colóquio Internacional Movimentos: trânsitos e memórias” organised by UNIVERSO (Universidade de Salgado Oliveira, Niterói, Rio de Janeiro) and presented a paper *Deus entende só em polonês – religião na construção da identidade dos imigrantes e descendentes dos imigrantes poloneses no Brasil*.

■ **2016.10.5-11**, Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD, visited the University of Stockholm and took part in two events: III Preparatory Seminar for the III Academic Summit EU-LAC and the seminar “Promotion of Regional Integration of the Research Systems of Science, Technology and Innovation”.

■ **2016.10.17**, Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD, participated in the scientific meeting, organised by Warsaw School of Economics, “Innowacyjność i konkurencyjność międzynarodowa. Nowe wyzwania dla przedsiębiorstw i państwa” [Innovativeness and international competitiveness. New challenges for businesses and the state], and presented a paper *Innowacyjność i konkurencyjność międzynarodowa jako brakujące czynniki rozwoju gospodarek latynoamerykańskich* [Innovativeness and international competitiveness as missing factors for the development of Latin American economies].

– Imigração” and coordinated a panel MR 12 “Andrzej Dembicz e o Pensamento Latinoamericano”.

■ 2016.10.27-28. Renata Siuda-Ambroziak, PhD, Beata Bereza, MA, and Teresa Sońta-Jaroszewicz, MA, participated in the international conference Polacy i Polonia w Ameryce Łacińskiej: przeszłość i teraźniejszość [Poles and the Polish Community in Latin America: in the past and present], organised by the Museum of Emigration in Gdynia. They presented the following papers: Problem przywództwa wśród Polonii brazylijskie [The issue of leadership among Polish Community in Brazil], Ludwik Margules: triumf pewnego stylu teatralnego [Ludwik Margules: the triumph of a certain theatre style], Tulaczka uciekinierów polskiego pochodzenia, z Maryllii do Ameryki Południowej, podczas drugiej wojny światowej [Wanderings of the Polish refugees: From Marseille to South America, during the Second World War].

■ 17-18.11.2016. Prof. Ryszard Paradowski, PhD, took part in an international scientific conference “Wartości i wartościowanie we współczesnej humanistyce: perspektywa filozoficzna, lingwistyczna, komunikacyjna” [Values and valuation in modern humanities: philosophical, linguistic and communicative perspective], and presented a paper Wartości w świetle bytu jako dylematu [Values in the perspective of entity as a dilemma]. The conference was organised by the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn.

■ 17-19.11.2016. Magdalena Kryśinska-Kałużna, PhD, participated in the conference “Religia a wyzwania współczesności z perspektywy nauk społecznych” [Religion and contemporary challenges in perspective of social sciences] organised by Polish Sociological Association, the Jagiellonian University Institute of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities of the AGH University of Science and Technology in Cracow, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of Pedagogical University of Cracow. She presented a paper Pomiędzy ubojem rytmualnym a świętą krową. Podejście pluralistyczne w antropologii prawnej [Between ritual slaughter and sacred cows. Pluralistic attitude in legal anthropology].

■ 26-27.11.2016. Magdalena Kryśinska-Kałużna, PhD, participated in the “Ignacy Domeyko” 1st Latin America Congress dedicated to “Spory o wojnę: polskie badania nad konfliktami w Ameryce Łacińskiej” [Disputes on war: Polish research of conflicts in Latin America] organised by Polish Association for Latin American Studies in cooperation with Latin American Department of the University of Łódź, The Centre for Precolombian Studies of the University of Warsaw. She presented a paper Prawo stanowione a prawo tradycyjne w Ameryce Łacińskiej – zażegnanie
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konfliktu czy jego wzmocnienie? [Statutory law and common law in Latin America – defusing or fuelling the conflict?].

■ **10.11.2016**, Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD, as a representative of the President of CRASP – Conference of Polish Rectors of Academic Schools for Latin America, represented Polish universities during the 2nd Summit of Presidents of the Council of Rectors of the European Union, Latin America and the Caribbean held in Mexico City. Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek, PhD, coordinated a panel “Perspectives on academic cooperation European Union – Latin America and the Caribbean for boosting innovation and development of new technologies”.

■ **11.11.2016**, Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek PhD, as a representative of the President of CRASP for Latin America, held a meeting with Mr Salvador Jara, Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Education, dedicated to academic cooperation between Poland and Mexico.

■ **2016.11.08**, Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek PhD, took part in a conference “Polskie szkolnictwo wyższe i wymiana akademicka z uczelniami w Polsce” [Polish universities and academic exchange with Poland]. The event was organised at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) by the Embassy of Poland in Mexico.

■ **2016.11.10-11**, Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek PhD, participated in the 1st International Conference of TIC – Tecnologías de Información y Comunicación de las Instituciones de Educación Superior “La visión de las TIC en las instituciones de educación superior” organised by Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Instituciones de Educación Superior ANUIES and Nacional Autonomus University of Mexico (UNAM).

■ **2016.11.13**, Renata Siuda-Ambroziak, PhD, gave an inaugural lecture and took part in an export panel of the international conference “Islamic Tradition in Today’s Business Environment”, organised by the Faculty of Management of University of Warsaw.

■ **2016.11.24-25**, Renata Siuda-Ambroziak, PhD, participated in 3rd International Scientific Conference “Entrepreneurship for the 21st Century. Images and Perspectives”. She presented a paper *Religious Entrepreneurship in Brazil*. The event was hosted by the Faculty of Management of University of Warsaw, Ministry of Finance of Republic of Poland, Polish Agency for Enterprise Development (PARP), and the Centre of New Technologies University of Warsaw (CeNT).
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- **2016.12.5-6**, Magdalena Szkwarek, MA, participated in the 1st International Conference “Women about women” organised, within the cycle of meetings “Gender – literature – language”, by the Faculty of Polish Studies of the University of Warsaw and the Faculty of Languages of the Nicolaus Copernicus University (NCU). She presented a paper *Women in Cristina Peri’s poetry*.

**CESLA’s exhibitions**

- **April 2016**, On March 31st a photograph exposition “Oblicza Jamajki” [Faces of Jamaica] as a part of a student Project “Bob Marley i jego pokolenie: społeczny aktywizm czy ruch duchowej emancypacji?” [Bob Marley and his generation: social activism or movement of spiritual emancipation?]. Authors of the exhibition: Maja Mozdzonek i Alicja Nowosielska (CESLA students).

- **May 2016**, “Przygoda z Panamą” [An adventure with Panama], a photographic exhibition presented works of Zbigniew Sobolewski, a traveller and photographer.

- **June 2016**, an exhibition of works of the children involved in the “Sandpit Universe. Latin America for the youngest’. The project took place at the CESLAs Gallery, coordinated by Joanna Gocłowska-Bolek and Magdalena Szkwarek.

- **October/November 2016**, “Lo que más quiero”, photographic exposition of the works of Dariusz Jaworski, CESLA graduate.

- **December 2016**, “Inti Raymi” exposition of photographs by Ryszard Sobolewski, a renowned Polish journalist, traveller and photographer.

**MAYOR ACQUISITIONS OF CESLA LIBRARY**

- **Books**
  


  * Armus Diego, Rinke Stefan (eds.), *Del football al fútbol / futeball: historia argentinas, brasileras y uruguayas en el siglo XX*, Iberoamericana/Vervuert, Madrid/ Frankfurt am Main 2014.
ACADEMIC EVENTS

* Aszyk Urszula, Drama-teatro-arte: metateatralidad, intertextualidad y teatralidad del drama español del Siglo de Oro y del siglo XX, Museo de Historia del Movimiento Popular Polaco, Instituto de Estudios Ibéricos e Iberoamericanos de la Universidad de Varsovia, Warszawa 2014.


* Amado Jorge, Gabriela, clavo y canela, Casa de las Americas, La Habana 1975.


* Caballero Fernán, La gaviota, Editorial Arte y Literatura, La Habana 1976.

* Cuadra José de la, Cuentos, Editorial de Arte y Literatura, La Habana 1976.

* Cuba y la defensa la Republica Española (1936-1939), Editora Política, La Habana 1981.

* Czerny Mirosława, Córdova Aguilar Hildegardo (comp.), Desarrollo sustentable en regiones rurales y periféricas, Ediciones Abya-Yala, Quito 2015.


* Economía y territorio en América Latina y el Caribe: desigualdades y políticas, CEPAL, Santiago de Chile 2009.


* Isaacs Jorge, María, Casa de las Américas, La Habana 1975.

* Kawka Mariano, Słownik portugalsko-polski: (Brazilian variant) = Dicionário português-polonês: (variante brasileira), Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego, Instytut Studiów Iberyjskich i Iberoamerykańskich UW, Warszawa 2014.


* Kula Witold, Assorodobraj-Kula Nina, Kula Marcin (to be printed, introduction), Listy emigrantów z Brazylii i Stanów Zjednoczonych 1890-1891, Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego, Instytut Studiów Iberyjskich i Iberoamerykańskich UW, Warszawa 2012.

* La crónica de la celebración del cuarto centenario de la erección de la provincia dominicana en el Ecuador, ordenada por el José María Vargas, Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana “Benjamin Carrión”, Comisión Nacional Permanente de Conmemoraciones Cívicas, Quito 1988.
**ACADEMIC EVENTS**


* Orozco Hernández María Estela, *Comunidades y recursos naturales: gestión del desarrollo rural*, Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, Toluca 2013.


* Pérez García José Ángel, Tablada Carlos (comp.), *América Latina: de la integración del capital a la integración de los pueblos*, Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, La Habana 2011.


* Stemplowski Ryszard, Państwowy socjalizm w realnym kapitalizmie: Chile w 1932 roku, Trio, Warszawa 1996.


ACADEMIC EVENTS


* Valle-Inclán Ramón, La corte de los milagros, Viva mi dueño, Editorial Arte y Literatura, La Habana 1975.


* Varella Drauzio, Klawisz, Wydawnictwo Czarne, Wołowiec 2016.


* Wójtowicz-Wcisło Marta, Dwie władze: studium z dziejów relacji państwo-Kościół w Meksyku, Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, Kraków cop. 2016.


■ CESLA’S EDITORIAL

ACADEMIC EVENTS


JOURNALS

* Boletín de Estudios Geográficos, no. 104, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Instituto de Geografía, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Mendoza 2015.
* Boletín de Estudios Geográficos, no. 105, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Instituto de Geografía, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Mendoza 2016.
* Cahiers des Amériques latines, no. 77, IHEAL, Paris 2014.
* Cahiers des Amériques latines, no. 78, IHEAL, Paris 2015.
* Cahiers des Amériques latines, No. 80, Les relations Sud-Sud: culture et diplomatie, IHEAL, Paris 2015.
* Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, no. 792, Solana e Hijos, Madrid 2016.
* Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, no. 797, Solana e Hijos, Madrid 2016.
* Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, no. 798, Solana e Hijos, Madrid 2016.
* Nueva Sociedad, no. 266, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Buenos Aires 2016.
**ACADEMIC EVENTS**

* Casa de las Américas, no. 281, La Habana 2015.
* Casa de las Américas, no. 282, La Habana 2016.
* Casa de las Américas, no. 283, La Habana 2016.
* Cuadernos Americanos, no. 153, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México 2015.
* Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, no. 786, Solana e Hijos, Madrid 2015.
* Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, no. 787, Solana e Hijos, Madrid 2015.
* Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, no. 788, Solana e Hijos, Madrid 2016.
* Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, no. 795, Solana e Hijos, Madrid 2016.
* Iberoamérica, no. 1, Instituto de Latinoamérica, Academia de Ciencias de Rusia, Moscú 2016.
* Iberoamericana, no. 60, Iberoamericana/Editorial Vervuert, Madrid 2015.
* Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe, no. 100, Centro de Estudios y Documentación Latinoamericanos, Amsterdam 2015.
* Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe, no. 102, Centro de Estudios y Documentación Latinoamericanos, Amsterdam 2015.
* Revista Tareas, Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos (CELA), no. 151, 152, Panamá 2015.
* Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, no. 789, Solana e Hijos, Madrid 2016.
* Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, no. 790, Solana e Hijos, Madrid 2016.
* Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, no. 791, Solana e Hijos, Madrid 2016.
* Cuyo, Anuario de Filosofía Argentina y Americana, vol. 31, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Filosofía Argentina y Americana, Mendoza 2014.
* Iberoamérica, no. 3, Instituto de Latinoamérica, Academia de Ciencias de Rusia, Moscú 2015.
* Iberoamérica, no. 4, Instituto de Latinoamérica, Academia de Ciencias de Rusia, Moscú 2015.
* Iberoamericana, no. 61, Iberoamericana/Vervuert, Madrid 2016.
ACADEMIC EVENTS


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