“Characteristics and Challenges of Cuban Freemasons in the Twentieth Century: A demographic approach”

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Palabras Clave
Masonería, Cuba, siglo XX, análisis demográfico, sociedad civil

Abstract
We present a statistical and historical analysis of the development of the Grand Lodge of Cuba during 1945–2010, based on our demographic study of this institution. Research identifies and evaluates important factors that have contributed to membership growth and decline, in the second half of the 20th Century. Important characteristics of this institution are identified and discussed, as they relate to the development of the evolving Cuban civil society.

Resumen
Presentamos un análisis estadístico e histórico del desarrollo de la Gran Logia de Cuba, en la segunda mitad del Siglo XX, basado en nuestro estudio demográfico de esta institución. La investigación identifica y evalúa factores que han contribuido al crecimiento, y declive de su membresía, entre 1945 y 2010. Se identifican y discuten características sobresalientes de esta institución y su relación con el desarrollo de la sociedad civil cubana actual.

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Introduction

During the second half of the XX Century, Cuban Freemasons have lived through an interesting and difficult period. It included a pluralistic phase (1944–52), Fulgencio Batista’s dictatorship (1952–58), the advent of the Cuban revolution up to the disintegration of the Soviet Union (1959–89), developments after the loss of Soviet and other socialist countries economic subsidies (1989–2007), and developments after General Raul Castro took over the government from his ailing brother Fidel (2006).

The present paper pursues three objectives. The first is to overview, using a demographic approach, the evolution of the Grand Lodge of Cuba (GLC) during the second half of the XX Century. The second is to identify and analyze several important characteristics of Cuban Freemasons that relate to the Cuban civil society. The third is to propose specific approaches through which the GLC can enhance its contributions to the development of Cuba’s civil society.

This analysis addresses three important research questions. First why, if in any way, is the GLC still a relevant institution? Secondly, how has the GLC evolved during the second half of the XX Century, becoming what it is today? What difficulties has it found, and what solutions has it implemented to deal with them? Finally, how does the GLC fit within the rest of Cuba’s contemporary Civil Society (CS)? And what other activities could the GLC develop, to more efficiently participate in, and contribute to, CS? For, as we will soon show, GLC is one of the oldest, largest and most widely spread organizations of such CS.

The study of the GLC is important because, with over 150 years, it is one of the oldest organizations of Cuban civil society. With about 30,000 members, nation-wide, in over 300 lodges located in almost every town, it is one of the largest and most widely distributed Cuban organizations. The GLC has traditionally admitted members of all races, social classes, political persuasions, and religions. Finally, the GLC, directly or through their members, has traditionally participated very actively in Cuba’s political, economic and social life.

The scope of our research (and of our data analysis) is the GLC, the confederation of all Cuban Blue Lodges, which include first, second and third degree Freemasons (Symbolic Freemasonry). Some masons obtain higher degrees in some concordant bodies such as the Scottish rite (fourth to 33rd) known as Philosophical Freemasonry. However, these Freemasons are also required to belong to a Blue (or Symbolic) Lodge.

We have analyzed the yearly time series of the membership in the GLC, from 1948 to 2010. We have not included, in our analyses, data from two other Masonic organizations that

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1 In 2010, out of the 29,000 members of the GLC, 4,213 of them, or 14.5% had obtained higher degrees. Annual Message for 2011-12. I.P.H. Lázaro F. Cuesta Valdés 33. SGC (p.s.r) of the Supreme Council, 33 Degree.
operate in Cuba: *Caballeros de la Luz* and *Odd-Fellows*. Their membership is smaller than that of the GLC, and their data was not available to us.

We will not discuss the origins of Freemasonry in this paper. Readers interested in this subject should consult other sources. For the origins of Freemasonry in the Caribbean, see Ferrer Benimeli\(^2\). For the history of Cuban Freemasons during the XIX Century, readers are referred to Miranda\(^3\). For more recent developments, readers are referred to Torres-Cuevas\(^4\).

**Summary of our previous work**

The first part of our study discusses in detail the period 1945–1980, and can be found in Romeu\(^5\). The second part of our study, found in Romeu\(^6\), discusses in detail the period 1980–2010. In this section, we summarize the main results of these two studies.

Figure 1 presents the graph of the yearly membership of the GLC, 1948–2010, with Total and Effective\(^7\) masons. Data from the GLC were obtained from Gustavo Pardo Valdes, at the time, President of the Academy of Higher Masonic Studies of the GLC. He obtained them from the Grand Secretary of the GLC. Population data were obtained from Cuban Censuses\(^8\). The ensuing extensive statistical analysis\(^9\) originated several academic research papers\(^10\).


\(^3\) Aurelio Miranda Álvarez, *Historia documentada de la masonería en Cuba* (La Habana: Molina y Cia, 1933).


\(^7\) Effective masons: a statistic developed by the author to standardize (i.e. compare across time and space) the data. Yearly total masons are divided by one fourth of the corresponding total population (for females and men younger than 21, as well as those with criminal records and serious physical and mental disabilities, cannot be masons).


In both panels of Figure 1, one can observe three distinct cycles. The first two, from 1945 to 1959, and then from 1959 to 1980, are analyzed in our first (REHMLAC) paper. The third cycle, from 1980 to 2010, is analyzed in our second (CEHME) paper. In turn, each of these cycles can be decomposed into periods, characterized by specific social, political and economic events. To help answer the research question “what happened during these years?” we compared the GLC time series data with their concurrent historical events. Serial change points were used to identify the beginning and the end of the cycles and the periods we defined.

To illustrate the size of the data we give in Table 1, for selected years, GLC membership and number of lodges, with their corresponding Total Cuban population and Effective Masons.

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>Lodges</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>15361</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>5048750</td>
<td>12.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>34025</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>6638133</td>
<td>20.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>25072</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>8040800</td>
<td>12.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>19690</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>9794900</td>
<td>8.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>21153</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>10433000</td>
<td>8.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>28689</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>11142000</td>
<td>10.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>29110</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>11417246</td>
<td>10.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Romeu and Pardo Valdes, 2–3.*
Notice how, 1958 and 1981 (highlighted) are the two years where GLC achieve the Maximum and Minimum number of Lodges, Total and Effective Members, during the period of 1945–2010. Table 2 presents our seven defined historical periods, with their related main events.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical Epoch</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Membership Trend</th>
<th>Relevant Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before the revolution</td>
<td>1945–1958</td>
<td>Accelerated growth</td>
<td>Grau, Prio, and the struggle against Batista</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Years after the revolution</td>
<td>1959–1969</td>
<td>Accelerated reduction</td>
<td>Emigration; Bay Pigs; October Crisis; Revol. Offensive; UMAP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Revolutionary Period</td>
<td>1977–1980</td>
<td>Accelerated reduction</td>
<td>State Economy; Visits from “Community”; Mariel boatlift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Revolutionary Period</td>
<td>1981–1990</td>
<td>Slower growth Missing Data</td>
<td>Gorbachev; Dissolution of USSR; Economic Liberalization after the Mariel Boatlift:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Revolutionary Period</td>
<td>1991–2000</td>
<td>Accelerated growth</td>
<td>IV Congress of PCC; Special Period; Rise of Tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth Revolutionary Period</td>
<td>2001 to date</td>
<td>Stability</td>
<td>New Millennium; Tourism; Support from Venezuela; Raul Castro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We then developed and fitted a statistical model that explains the data variation:

\[
\text{Members Current Year} = \text{Members Previous Year} - \text{Losses} + \text{Gains}
\]

Losses = Withdrawals + Politically Motivated + Deaths
Gains = New members (affiliations) + Re-affiliations

Withdrawals refer to masons who became disillusioned and left the GLC. Politically motivated losses include: (1) emigration caused by the 1959 revolution; (2) demits (or never joining) GLC due to government policies\(^\text{11}\); and (3) demits (or never joining) GLC because the new revolutionary ideology was more attractive than that of Freemasonry. Model results, discussed at length in the mentioned papers, were satisfactory. Thence, they supported the plausibility of said model, including the hypotheses upon which such model was developed.

In the 1990s, membership growth rates in the GLC tripled, after the IV Communist Party Congress allowed its members to join and non-government work in tourism, increased.

\(^\text{11}\) During the early years of the Cuban revolution the government developed a deliberate policy to obtain adherence to its cause, characterized by Fidel Castro’s phrase “Within the Revolution, everything, outside the Revolution, nothing”. *Discurso a los Intelectuales*. Biblioteca Nacional de (La Habana, June 1963). Ministerio de Cultura [cited December 15\(^\text{th}\), 2010]: available http://www.min.cult.cu/loader.php?sec=historia&cont=palabrasalosintelectuales. Examples to discourage participation in organized religion or Freemasonry, included restricting college and job opportunities.
Table 3
Comparison of GLC growth rates, before and after the IV Party Congress (1991)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>Effective</th>
<th>Estimation (0.01)</th>
<th>Estimation (0.03)</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>21918</td>
<td>0.0084</td>
<td>21365</td>
<td>21809</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>21962</td>
<td>0.0083</td>
<td>21584</td>
<td>22485</td>
<td>901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>22539</td>
<td>0.0085</td>
<td>21803</td>
<td>23182</td>
<td>1379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>23321</td>
<td>0.0087</td>
<td>22029</td>
<td>23900</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>24169</td>
<td>0.0090</td>
<td>22262</td>
<td>24641</td>
<td>2379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>25301</td>
<td>0.0093</td>
<td>22504</td>
<td>25405</td>
<td>2902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>26344</td>
<td>0.0096</td>
<td>22757</td>
<td>26193</td>
<td>3436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>27635</td>
<td>0.0101</td>
<td>23020</td>
<td>27005</td>
<td>3985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>28173</td>
<td>0.0102</td>
<td>23296</td>
<td>27842</td>
<td>4546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>28689</td>
<td>0.0103</td>
<td>23578</td>
<td>28705</td>
<td>5127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Yearly reports from the Grand Secretary and author’s calculations.

Table 3 presents two membership estimations, using rate 0.01 (of the 1980 decade) and rate 0.03, of the 1990s. This comparison shows an increase, in year 2000, of 5127 new members that would have not joined the GLC, had growth rate remained that of the 1980s.

Table 4 presents how GLC membership stabilized at about 29,000 during the first ten years of the XXI Century. Notice the strong yearly turn-over (members joining and leaving, the GLC) of about 10%. After a decade of such a high turn-over, the GLC membership may be very different from that of the 1980s, or even before.

Table 4
GLC yearly membership data, in the first decade of the XXI Century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>Effective</th>
<th>Lodges</th>
<th>Dropped</th>
<th>Joined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>28772</td>
<td>0.0103</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>2170</td>
<td>2075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>28677</td>
<td>0.0102</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>1247</td>
<td>1697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>29127</td>
<td>0.0104</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>2141</td>
<td>2239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>29225</td>
<td>0.0104</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>29276</td>
<td>0.0104</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>29192</td>
<td>0.0103</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>29134</td>
<td>0.0102</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>29110</td>
<td>0.0102</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>29169</td>
<td>0.0102</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>28863</td>
<td>0.0101</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Reports from the Grand Secretary GLC, and the author’s calculation.

Finally, wide geographical distribution of GLC members is illustrated via provincial data, shown in Table 5. Notice how, in each of Cuba’s fourteen provinces there are several
lodges. Metropolitan Havana captures one third of all lodges and members of GLC. Urban provinces have higher Effective masons (concentration) than more rural ones.

Table 5
GLC Provincial membership data, circa 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Lodges</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>PercLodgs</th>
<th>PercMmb</th>
<th>Effective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>29,127</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinar del Rio</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2,706</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>9.29</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prov. La Habana</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2,494</td>
<td>9.18</td>
<td>8.56</td>
<td>14.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciudad La Habana</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>9,329</td>
<td>35.13</td>
<td>32.03</td>
<td>16.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matanzas</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2,370</td>
<td>8.86</td>
<td>8.14</td>
<td>14.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villaclara</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2,667</td>
<td>9.18</td>
<td>9.16</td>
<td>13.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cienfuegos</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1,387</td>
<td>4.43</td>
<td>4.76</td>
<td>14.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sancti Spiritu</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>8.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciego de Avila</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>4.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camaguey</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>4.43</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>3.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Las Tunas</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holguin</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1,138</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>4.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granma</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,104</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>5.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santiago de Cuba</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1,992</td>
<td>6.01</td>
<td>6.84</td>
<td>7.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guantanamo</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1,187</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>9.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Reports from the Grand Secretary, GLC and author’s calculations

Based on the analyzed data, events and model, key characteristics were identified for each period. They are discussed in detail in the mentioned papers, and summarized below:

Period 1945–1959: doubling of GLC membership, was possibly impacted by a strong post-war economy and growth of urban middle classes, which nurtured a large segment of members. Period 1959–1980: 40% decrease, largely among young and professional members was possibly impacted by wide state control of Cuba’s economic life, which triggered strong emigration and demits and few affiliations. Period 1980–1992: end of accelerated decline, and beginning of a slow growth, was possibly impacted by new possibilities of self-employment and a more relaxed governmental policy (the first political dissenters appeared). Period 1992–2000: accelerated growth, with more young and professional members, was possibly impacted by the 1991 Cuban Communist Party Congress decision to allow members to join religious and fraternal organizations, and vice-versa, as well as by greater self-employment opportunities generated by large growth of international tourism. Period 2000–2010: stabilization at 29,000 members, was possibly due to member saturation, as well as by government liberalization in several political, social and economic areas, introduced by the new administration of General Raul Castro who, in 2006, substituted his brother Fidel.

13 Revolution in Retreat. (The Economist 402, no. 8777. III/24/2012. Special Report Insert). Examples of (1) economic changes: state land leased to private farmers; (2) political changes: limitation to two terms of five years, for heads of state (Fidel Castro had lead Cuba, under several titles, for 47 years); (3) social changes: Mariela Castro, daughter of President Raul Castro, heads the defense of homosexuals, previously seriously curtailed.
Our overall conclusion from observing 65 years of GLC evolution, is that the degree of state control over the economy, which can seriously affect private citizens’ opportunities for advancement (e.g. for studying and working), was a key factor in the (positive or negative) development of Freemasonry in Cuba, during the second half of the XX Century.

Some Relevant Characteristics of Cuban Freemasons

We just saw how, in the second half of the XX Century, GLC membership went from accelerated growth (1945–1959), to accelerated decay (1960–1980), to stabilization (1981–1991, and finally, again to accelerated growth (1992–2010) and membership stabilization. Through the analyses we identified several factors affecting this evolution. In this section we present and discuss several characteristics that make the GLC, as an organization, particularly interesting.

Inclusion is one characteristic that makes the GLC a singular organization. For it admits male members from all religions, races, walks of life, socio-economic strata, regions of the country and political persuasions. This makes the GLC a cross-cut of Cuban society.

Then, Freemasons are egalitarian: all Master Masons (MM) enjoy the same rights and obligations. They are democratic (all officers are elected, and every MM can aspire to hold any position in the lodge). They are participative and not a captive audience (any MM has the possibility of respectfully arguing for, or against, any statement or proposal made in lodge).

Another characteristic of the GLC is its tradition of participation in the civic life of the country, through peaceful means. Several GLC members became leaders in Cuba’s autonomic movement, at the end of the XIX Century. And many others have continued to be leaders in the political, educational and social life of the country, perhaps because GLC provided those

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14 After 1992, we find ten years of intense turn-over in the membership, both in initiations and demits. By the year 2003, almost as many new members had joined (and perhaps left) the GLC, as there were in 1980.
15 Grand Lodges may incorporate specific characteristics of their respective countries and communities.
16 Many masons are Catholic, which is the prevalent religion in the country; but others also belong to Protestant denominations. Others are Jewish; and some practice Afro-Cuban religions.
17 Since the creation of GOCA (Gran Oriente de Cuba y las Antillas) in 1861, lodges included non-whites. GLC has been a racially intergrated organization. Currently, the Grand Commander of the Supreme Council is Afro-Cuban, as well as many lodge officers, and several members of the Grand Line.
18 In most every lodge one finds factory workers, clerks, technicians, as well as college professionals.
19 Traditionally, from working and professional lower and middle classes.
20 There are over 300 lodges in almost every town, throughout the country. One third, concentrated in Havana.
21 Includes members of the Cuban Communist Party, government officials and security apparatus (e.g. Past GM Collera Vento was a member of the security apparatus); internal dissenters and ex-political prisoners (e.g. Hector Maseda, a member of the Supreme Council, is a dissident and ex-political prisoner) and non-committed citizens.
22 Women have a separate organization, Acacias; and the young had another one, AJEF, which was closed in 1966.
Cubans wanting to participate outside the political parties and the government, an opportunity to do so\textsuperscript{24}.

The involvement of GLC members in the civic life of the country can be illustrated via the example of several past Grand Masters. Reguiereros, Llansó Simoni, Llansó Ordoñez and Muñoz Sañudo were civic and economic leaders. Wolter del Río and Santos Jimenez were university professors and cabinet ministers. Antonio Iraizoz was a prominent newspaper editor.

To help understand such involvement, we present a key definition of GLC philosophy, from a book edited under Grand Master Santos Jiménez’s tenure. It states:

\begin{quote}
(Freemasonry) does not intend to impede the struggles for the different ideals that exist among men, but to seek that everyone may be able to defend one’s principles, against the principles of others, without using any other weapon than reason, and without bringing to the struggle any other pursuit than the noble desire of seeing their ideals succeed, based upon their own merits. (Freemasonry) does not pretend to castrate the human thought, but on the contrary, to energize it in such a way, that it is no longer necessary to use imposition by force, to succeed\textsuperscript{25}.
\end{quote}

There are other important practical characteristics, in addition to Freemasonry’s ethical teachings, which are developed by active participation in lodge. These include the fostering of reading habits\textsuperscript{26}, the honing of organization skills, democratic methods of leadership, managing and living within a budget, effective public speaking, the art of listening and arguing respectfully, the art of negotiation based upon persuasion and reason, and abiding by a system of rules and regulations. All of these characteristics contribute to prepare good civic leaders.

Finally, and at least in principle, Freemasons constitute a Fraternity where Brothers must exercise Tolerance\textsuperscript{27}. Because of these two latter characteristics, Freemasons are potentially able to develop open and free forums where, through interaction (a key element for developing Social Capital) productive exchanges of ideas can take place.

Because of its fraternal and tolerance principles, lodges may become incubators of novel ideas, where members may discuss divergent views, cross-fertilizing each other. This may well be its most important contribution, as an organization.

Summarizing, there are three key functions that Freemasonry, and thence also the GLC, provide to society as a result of the above-discussed characteristics. These are, (1) the connecting function\textsuperscript{28}, (2) the disseminating function\textsuperscript{29}, and (3) the incubating function\textsuperscript{30}. Because of these characteristics, some political regimes have encouraged the development of Freemasonry. And others have, openly or discretely, opposed it.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[24] Alternative civic organizations, such as Lions, Rotary, Kiwanis, etc. were not as widely developed, in Cuba.
\item[26] In addition to degree liturgies and catechisms, masons read books on history, rituals, philosophy, etc.
\item[27] Some masons think that Tolerance is not enough, and that Acceptance is the contemporary right attitude.
\item[28] Lodges help establish new contacts, thus fostering interaction among its members.
\item[29] Lodges help spread new ideas among its own members, among members of other lodges, and beyond.
\item[30] Lodges foster the creation of new organizations that implement the new ideas.
\end{footnotes}
Cuban Freemasons and Civil Society

Cuban civil society (CS) is a topic that has interested this researcher for several years, and to which we have dedicated time and effort\textsuperscript{31}. For, CS and the GLC are closely related.

It is worth noticing how the GLC was not disbanded in Cuba, a one-party Marxist state after 1959, as it was in Nazi Germany, in Fascist Spain and Italy, or in the Soviet Union, all of them also one-party, ideological states. Such exception constitutes a unique case in modern history. Why was the GLC not banned or disbanded, as were other members of Cuba’s pre-revolutionary CS\textsuperscript{32}? This constitutes an excellent research question to which several answers may be advanced. These include (1) GLC civic and patriotic trajectory, with many members in the 1959 revolution, (2) GLC had a wide acceptance among Cubans, and (3) a heterogeneous socioeconomic base, as well as (4) many international connections\textsuperscript{33}. Finally, (5) the GLC came under effective government control, through certain obligatory measures\textsuperscript{34}. In a future paper, we intend to explore further the above-mentioned hypotheses.

After the 1990 collapse of the Soviet Union and the European Eastern Block, Cuba lost substantial economic subsidies, plunging it into a severe economic crisis. Thus, it turned to international tourism as a source of badly needed income. At the same time, the island’s CS began developing. Thence, during the 1990s, hundreds of new Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) were created\textsuperscript{35}, exerting a growing influence in the life of the island.

One of the most prominent of these CS organizations was the Catholic Church. Directly through its dioceses and parishes, or with help from Caritas\textsuperscript{36}, its international charitable organization, the Catholic Church began developing new religious, social and educational programs\textsuperscript{37} and reviving some old ones. Several new Internet publications appeared\textsuperscript{38}, edited by the Dioceses\textsuperscript{39}, in particular that of Havana\textsuperscript{40}. The strengthening of CS

\textsuperscript{31} Romeu. “Un Análisis de la Literatura sobre la Sociedad Civil Cubana”, in: 

\textsuperscript{32} Other institutions such as Rotary, Lions, Boy Scouts and the Catholic Youth, were disbanded shortly after 1959.

\textsuperscript{33} Including figures like Presidents Lazaro Cardenas, of Mexico, and Salvador Allende, of Chile.

\textsuperscript{34} GLC was controlled under the Office of Religious Affairs of the Cuban Communist Party, requiring lodges to submit detailed session reports, with names of attendees and topics of debate, under severe fines, and surveillance through overt and covert members of Cuban security apparatus, such as Past Grand Master Collera Vento.


\textsuperscript{37} Centro de Bioetica [cited December 15th, 2012]: available http://www.cbioetica.org/congre_fibip/academic_eng.pdf


\textsuperscript{40} Archidiocesis of Havana Web Site [cited December 15th, 2010]: available http://www.arquidiocesisdelahabana.org/
in general, and of the Catholic Church organizations, in particular, increased after General Raul Castro succeeded his brother Fidel, in 2006. For example, in 2010 Cardinal Jaime Ortega mediated in the process of releasing dozens of Cuban political prisoners. All of which provides an excellent roadmap for activities the GLC could undertake to contribute to CS, as well as to enhance its status.

For, GLC is indeed a bona-fide member of CS, as it fulfills the three key elements in its definition. The GLC is (1) independent of the state; (2) its membership is voluntary, and (3) its legitimate goals are advanced through peaceful means. Therefore, as one of the oldest, one of the largest, and one of the most geographically widely expanded organizations of the Cuban CS, the GLC has an important and active role to play.

What are then, some of the contributions that the GLC could offer the Cuban CS?

One can answer this important question by referring back in history to the time when modern Freemasonry began. For, since their early beginnings in the XVII and XVIII Century England, masonic lodges were conceived as elementary embryos of an emerging CS. These ideas, clearly discussed in Margaret Jacob’s study, are still valid today.

Jacob affirms that “Lodges were spaces in a new zone of civil society.” She continues by stating that “lodges occupied a middle ground” in this society. In the lodge, “some men and a few women sought to express those ideals sociably.” Therefore, lodges constitute a forum for novel ideas that perhaps cannot be yet shared as freely, in other more established social forums.

Jacob continues her analysis stating that “First and foremost, Lodges were schools of government.” It is important to notice how masonic lodges are ruled by written regulations, and how their officers are democratically elected among their peers. Jacob then states that Lodges foster “the creation of constitutionally governed civil societies.” In them, “merit should be the sole criterion for status within the Lodge.” Merit here, is understood as personal achievement. At the time, such idea was revolutionary and dangerous; and it still may be in some societies.

Jacob then discusses the egalitarian masonic concept of “Promotion within the lodge as grounded upon real worth and personal merit only,” instead of the rank or the wealth that an individual held in society, often inherited and not directly earned.

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44 Jacob, _Living the Enlightenment_, 57.
45 Jacob, _Living the Enlightenment_, 143.
46 Jacob, _Living the Enlightenment_, 124
47 Blue lodges have only three degrees. Once a member has obtained the third or highest degree, Master Mason, he becomes eligible to hold any office in the lodge, and is endowed with the right to vote in every lodge election.
48 Jacob, _Living the Enlightenment_, 135.
49 Jacob, _Living the Enlightenment_, 56.
50 Jacob, _Living the Enlightenment_, 54.
All the above-expressed concepts may help explain the growth of the GLC, which began in the 1990s. Before then, some individuals such as government and party officials were not allowed to join the GLC. Some citizens that later became economically independent of the state, would have not join the GLC. And some other individuals, considered insufficiently qualified to join higher structures by the official society, because they held unwelcome personal values, may have sought acceptance in the ranks of the GLC. In the XVII Century such behavior was developed by individuals who were similarly poorly valued by their own official society, and sought recognition and advancement through their lodges.

Some proposed activities for the GLC

Currently, the GLC holds a low-key presence in Cuban society at large and in CS in particular. For well over thirty years (1960–1990), few persons outside the GLC have known of its existence, or have felt its influence. For it had no access to the media, and was unable to develop public programs. This had never happened since Cuba’s independence. And, at this time, the GLC has few levers to change such unsuitable situation.

That a change is possible has been demonstrated by the achievements of the Catholic Church, discussed in the previous section, which also provide several good examples of strategies to pursue, and of programs to develop.

First and foremost, the GLC needs a voice and a presence. At this time, the GLC has only a web page, showing a message from Grand Master Evaristo Rubén Gutiérrez Torres, dated October 30, 2012. The page also has several sections of general information about the GLC, and a Blog with messages dated up to 2011. Such poor performance may be explained by the high cost in CUCs of operating a web page, and/or for the lack of personnel to man it. Both of these problems can be improved with the help of the many GLC international connections, just like the Catholic Church has done through Caritas.

The GLC web page needs to keep its content current and relevant. And its affiliated Blue lodges need to have computer equipment and Internet access in order to read it. The Supreme Council of 33 Degree for the Republic of Cuba (SCG33) has shown that it is possible to have an up-to-date web page, with relevant information, and even to have a presence in Facebook. In addition, the SCG33 has successfully organized an International Conference on Freemasonry and Integration to Current Society. The selected theme reveals the SCG33 active interest in developing broader participation. Said conference was attended by several national and foreign presenters, whose papers can be read in said SCG33 Web

51 Such as the Cuban Communist Party, the government, and in some professional positions,

52 Religious, philosophical, economic, political, social, or other ideologies.


54 One CUC, Cuban Convertible Peso = 25 CUPs, Cuban Peso, which is the currency in which people are paid.

55 Freemasonry is an international organization, and the GLC belongs to several international masonic bodies.

56 Computer access is expensive in Cuba; providing access to individual lodges could be a useful service.


58 SCG33 in Facebook [cited December 15th, 2010]: available https://www.facebook.com/supremoconsejogrado33cuba

59 http://www.supremocuba.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=29&Itemid=6 (V/10/13)
Page. A second international conference is being organized for 2014. Attendance costs are comparatively high, and do not facilitate a wider participation of foreign masonic scholars.

One explanation for the effective development of the SCG33 may reside in having renewed its leadership. The SCG33 past Grand Commander, Jesús L. Armada Peña (1991 – 2011) an octogenarian, was substituted by Lázaro Faustino Cuesta Valdes, of Afro-Cuban descent, who is several years younger, and obviously more dynamic. Grand Commander Cuesta Valdes visited the US Supreme Council Northern Masonic Jurisdiction, in Ohio, last year. And he has received an invitation to visit the US Supreme Council Southern Masonic Jurisdiction, in Washington DC, this year. International exposure and contacts could greatly help GLC in its quest to achieve a larger relevance and impact in contemporary Cuban CS.

In addition, the GLC could develop again social and educational programs, not only for its members, but also for the greater society. Throughout the 1950s, the GLC operated the Masonic University. The Catholic Church is currently developing, at the Seminario de San Carlos y San Ambrosio, joint graduate courses with the University of Havana, which also has an Institute that is interested in Cuban Freemasonry. Some contacts have already been developed between GLC and such Institute, that could be expanded by the teaching of joint courses, workshops and symposia on masonic history and related themes, in a similar way as the Grand Lodge of California and UCLA have teamed and have sponsored this conference.

Finally, many hundreds of Cuban Freemasons, formerly members of the GLC, now live abroad, and have joined lodges in the US, Spain, Puerto Rico, etc. It might be useful for the GLC, in more than one way, to allow these former members to have dual affiliation with their original Cuban lodges, as some Puerto Rican freemasons have with American lodges, when they move to the mainland, to be able to visit them, and to participate in their work, if they so choose.

Some may interpret our above proposals as advocating political activity in lodge, where discussions about politics and religion are not allowed. However, this is not the case. First, we are suggesting the discussion of policy and not of politics. Secondly, interaction occurs before and after the formal lodge session takes place. There, consideration of such topics is legitimate.

We stress the clear difference between policy and politics. The first term is concerned with theoretical concepts and questions, such as the place of religion, education,
social hierarchy etc. in society. These have always been themes of interest for Freemasons. An example is the abstract question of addressing God in a manner independent of religion: *Grand Architect of the Universe* is used. For the abstract question of equal treatment in lodge, for members that had a different status, wealth, social class or occupation, in the strongly hierarchical societies of the XVIII Century, the term Brother was used. Both of these issues clearly address policy.

On the other hand, politics is concerned with proposing specific solutions to resolve the transcendental questions defined by policy. These are usually outlined by political parties, who deal with their implementation. For example, should there be, or not, a state religion? And if so, which? Freemasons are then free to address this issue through their (liberal or conservative, etc.) political associations, and still keep in touch through their masonic links. Partisan politics is not allowed in lodge by most Grand Lodge constitutions, because it is potentially divisive.

**Conclusions**

The evidence presented in this paper shows how, at this time, GLC has a weak and low-key participation in the Cuban CS. We have also shown how the GLC would strengthen Cuban CS, if it would increase its participation, just as other organizations such as the Catholic Church have done. GLC would especially help by developing forums where its members, of diverse (and sometimes conflicting) ideologies, could interact in an atmosphere of respect and tolerance, conducive to positive resolutions, instead of sterile disputes.

In principle, the GLC and their Freemasons are capable of developing, in such forums, (1) the connecting function, (2) the disseminating function, and (3) the incubating function so necessary in the process of developing new and fruitful ideas.

In addition, the GLC could develop valuable cultural, social and economic programs of general interest, as it successfully did in its past.

But most importantly the GLC needs to realize that it must seize the historical moment and actively participate in the important events that the island is currently living through. If the GLC fails to participate in this process, while other Cuban CS institutions successfully do, then the GLC may pay a heavy price in terms of remaining, in the future, a relevant organization.

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66 GLC Grand Master German Wolter del Rio admirably addressed this difficult issue as follows: “Cada hermano en particular, con las enseñanzas y el ideario doctrinal masónico, deberá por si, dar a esas conclusiones, independientemente de la Institución, aplicaciones”. (Each brother, in particular, with the masonic teachings and ideology, should by himself, and independently, give to these conclusions its applications). Translated by the author.

67 This comment may be applicable to other Grand Lodges, with the due constraints and adaptations to their respective environments and situations.
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