



PROJECT MUSE®

---

Paulin Soumanou Vieyra, the Soviet Union, and Cold War  
Circuits for African Cinema, 1958–1978

Elena Razlogova

Black Camera, Volume 13, Number 2, Spring 2022, pp. 451-473 (Article)

Published by Indiana University Press



➔ For additional information about this article

<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/851889>

# Close-Up: Paulin S. Vieyra, A Postcolonial Figure

Paulin Soumanou Vieyra, the Soviet Union,  
and Cold War Circuits for African Cinema,  
1958–1978

Elena Razlogova

## Abstract

*Based on previously unexamined documents in Soviet archives, this essay shows Paulin S. Vieyra's key role as a "cinematic internationalist" who used the socialist and Cold War film networks to advance African cinema. As a filmmaker, producer, scholar, and Senegalese government official, Vieyra took part in Soviet film life, beginning with the 1957 International Youth Festival in Moscow. Vieyra participated in the making of the Soviet documentary about the First Negro Arts Festival in Dakar, African Rhythms; represented the Pan-African Federation of Filmmakers at the Tashkent Festival for African, Asian, and Latin American Cinema; and advocated for African films on the Moscow International Film Festival jury in 1971, 1973, and 1985. He also traveled to the United States, as a member of a FEPACI delegation in 1973 and as a participant in a major Senegalese cinema retrospective at the Museum of American Art in New York and the Pacific Film Archive at Berkeley in 1978. Vieyra's advocacy connected two politically disparate film cultures that supported African cinema during the decolonization era—Soviet cinema and militant Third Cinema. He used Cold War infrastructures in the Soviet Union and the United States to promote and establish African cinemas internationally.*

A photo taken during the 1973 Moscow International Film Festival shows a bright summer day on a boat on the Moscow-Volga canal (fig. 1). It captures three people on a bench: Senegalese Paulin Soumanou Vieyra, Nigerian director Oumarou Ganda, and Estonian actress Eve Kivi. Kivi stares intently beyond the horizon, posing for the photographer. Ganda and Vieyra are engaged in a deep and comfortable conversation, ignoring both Kivi and the camera. That day on the boat, Vieyra was conducting an



Figure 1. VIII Moscow International Film Festival. From left: member of short film competition jury, director Oumarou Ganda (Nigeria); Soviet actress Eve Kivi; member of full-length feature film contest jury Paulin Vieyra (Senegal). Moscow, Russia. July 10, 1973. Photo credit Galina Kmit. Courtesy of Sputnik Images.

interview, published in 1981, after Ganda's death, in the venerable cultural journal *Présence Africaine*. They talked about financing filmmaking in Africa, about the Pan-African Federation of Filmmakers (FEPACI), and about audiences for Ganda's films—his *Saïtane* topped the box office in Niamey despite playing against a movie with French rock-n-roll star Johnny Hallyday. And they talked about going to film festivals—Carthage, Ouagadougou, Dinard, and Moscow.<sup>1</sup> That year, the festival hosted over twenty African participants, including Djibril Diop Mambéty from Senegal, and guests from Ghana, Somalia, and Guinea. Mambéty's *Touki-Bouki* (1973) won a prize, while Sarah Maldoror's *Sambizanga* (1972) played out of competition.<sup>2</sup> The Moscow International Film Festival began as a one-off event in 1935, and then was re-launched in 1959 as a biannual festival. Another major Soviet

international film festival, the Tashkent Festival of Asian, African, and Latin American Cinema was also biannual, alternating with Moscow. It launched in 1968, included Latin America from 1976 and ended in 1988. It also had a one-off precursor, the First Afro-Asian Film Festival (AAFF) in 1958. During the Cold War, international Soviet festivals in Moscow and Tashkent were part of African filmmakers' festival circuit.

Through Vieyra's global travels, this article traces neglected socialist and Cold War circuits for African cinema.<sup>3</sup> Paulin Soumanou Vieyra was what I call a "cinematic internationalist": one of a cohort of peripatetic filmmakers, festival programmers, archivists, and critics who worked to make cinema an agent of global social change in the era of decolonization and the Cold War.<sup>4</sup> This cohort of leftists, Third Worldists, and cinephiles included many of Vieyra's collaborators. Some are the main characters in African cinema histories: filmmakers Senegalese Ousmane Sembène and Guadelupan Sarah Maldoror, or Tunisian Tahar Cheriaa, head of Journées Cinématographiques de Carthage (JCC), a festival of Arab and African cinema. Others are less known as allies of African cinema. American Jay Leyda, author of books on Soviet and Chinese cinemas, taught African cinema at the York University in Toronto, Canada in the early 1970s. Americans Adrienne Mancia and Tom Luddy hosted the first Senegalese cinema retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA) and the Pacific Film Archive in Berkeley, California (PFA) in 1978. Soviet cameraman Georgy Serov and African Russian Lily Golden (then Liya Khanga) worked on three Soviet documentaries about the First Festival of Negro Arts (FESMAN) in Dakar, Senegal in 1966. These cinematic internationalists conceived of "world cinema" not as an academic category but as a living idea and a work in progress.<sup>5</sup> In one way or another they all crossed paths with Vieyra at congresses and festivals around the world, including those on Soviet terrain.

Vieyra's socialist and Cold War encounters expand and amend early African film histories' focus on Francophone West Africa and militant Third Cinema.<sup>6</sup> As several critics have noted, French patronage of West African cinema obscured the development of film cultures elsewhere on the continent.<sup>7</sup> As others pointed out, the militant Third Cinema program rejected commercial and state-sponsored film ventures that also advanced African filmmaking practice.<sup>8</sup> More recently, research on African-Soviet cinematic exchanges showed both a wealth of contacts and influences and Soviet racism and neocolonialism that shaped these contacts.<sup>9</sup> Vieyra's itineraries bring the three fields together. Vieyra became a central figure in both West African and Third Cinema, yet he was open to contacts with other national cinemas and social systems, including those in the Soviet Union. "What also takes a lot of time is all the travel to festivals and everyone asking for advice but that is also an aspect of African cinema," Vieyra confessed in one of his

interviews.<sup>10</sup> As a pioneer African filmmaker, the head of a national news-reel service, *Actualités Sénégalaises*, a cofounder of Pan-African cinematic institutions FEPACI and the Pan-African Film and Television Festival of Ouagadougou, and as one of the earliest historians of African cinema, Vieyra participated in a project of cinematic worldmaking, a kind of “cinematic international.”<sup>11</sup> Several socialist and Cold War projects and forums allowed him to put African cinema in the global context, and shape the ways African films influenced the development of world cinema.

## The Socialist Circuits for African Cinema

Global decolonization movements and Cold War rivalries enabled socialist circuits for African cinema. The 1955 Bandung Conference of Asian and African states and the emergence of the nonaligned movement spurred cold war superpowers’ competition over the so-called “third world.”<sup>12</sup> From the beginning, socialist cinematic networks stretched beyond the “second world” of the USSR and its satellite states into the Global South.<sup>13</sup> Between 1958 and 1964, the People’s Republic of China, the Soviet Union, Indonesia, India, the United Arab Republic (UAR, now Egypt and Syria), and several other Asian and African states ran the peripatetic Afro-Asian Film Festival (AAFF), an anticolonial and leftist alternative to the commercial Southeast Asian Film Festival launched in Japan in 1954 with covert US funding.<sup>14</sup> In 1958, the USSR hosted the First AAFF in Tashkent, with Africa represented by UAR, Morocco, a delegate from Sudan, and a delegate and two documentaries from Ghana, *Freedom for Ghana* (1957) and *Jaguar* (1958), both directed by British filmmaker Sean Graham with a Ghanaian crew.<sup>15</sup> In 1964, the Third AAFF in Jakarta showed films from UAR, Tunisia, Zanzibar (now part of Tanzania), Congo-Léopoldville (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), North Rhodesia (now Zambia), Mali, Somalia, and Uganda.<sup>16</sup> In addition, in 1961 the US Information Agency documented the earliest film festivals in decolonized African nations, the Fourth Festival Internazionale di Cinematografia Africana in Mogadishu, Somalia and the First International Film Festival in Ibadan, Nigeria, featuring, among other pictures, Chinese, Soviet, and East European documentaries set in Africa, some of them coproduced with African filmmakers.<sup>17</sup>

The AAFF and Vieyra’s intellectual circle in Paris and Senegal represented two different strands of what Mariano Mestman called “cinematic Third Worldism.”<sup>18</sup> Both coalitions worked to build independent film industries and national film traditions in decolonized states. Two years after *Freedom for Ghana* played at the Tashkent AAFF, Vieyra described it as an “extraordinary document ... directed by Ghanaians with English assistance”

that “shows how an African people achieves its independence.”<sup>19</sup> Vieyra’s call for decolonized filmmaking drew on his own experience, a well-known episode in African film history. Between 1955 and 1957, a French colonial law did not allow Vieyra and his friends Jacques Mélo Kane, Mamadou Sarr, and Robert Caristan to shoot in Senegal. For their seminal documentary *Afrique sur Seine* (*Africa on the Seine*, 1955), the group was forced to borrow shots of African scenes from French militant documentarian René Vautier’s *Afrique 50* (1950).<sup>20</sup> In 1958, Vieyra held up national film units in Ghana and Sudan, with their own production facilities, to envision “in a totally independent Africa ... a general organization for authentic African cinema.”<sup>21</sup> The same year, the Tashkent AAFF communique called for Afro-Asian cooperation “in order to develop national film industries.” Much like Vieyra, many AAFF African and Asian participants understood anticolonial cinema as cinematic sovereignty: building a robust national film industry in collaboration with other nonaligned states.<sup>22</sup>

Because of Cold War divisions, the AAFF remained unknown in Vieyra’s intellectual circles, spearheaded by *Présence Africaine*, the Paris-based journal headed by Alioune Diop. Diop, a Catholic Francophone African intellectual, also cofounded and directed Society of African Culture (SAC), founded in 1956 and affiliated with UNESCO from 1958.<sup>23</sup> Vieyra often published in the journal alongside Frantz Fanon, and *négritude* thinkers Léopold Sédar Senghor and Aimé Césaire.<sup>24</sup> Some African filmmakers and writers, such as Vieyra, director and novelist Ousmane Sembène, and poet Mário Pinto de Andrade, met up in *Présence Africaine* offices, attended its congresses, and also traveled to Eastern Europe, Soviet Union, and Maoist China.<sup>25</sup> But many others, Césaire and Senghor among them, were wary of contacts with anticolonial institutions affiliated with the socialist bloc.<sup>26</sup> Diop advanced a policy of nonalignment, but in the end leaned more towards the US-controlled Congress for Cultural Freedom.<sup>27</sup> Sembène reported to his Russian translator that the Second Black Writers Congress in Rome, organized by *Présence Africaine* in 1959, refused to establish ties with the Afro-Asian Writers Association, founded in Tashkent in 1958.<sup>28</sup> Shortly after he became the president of Senegal, Senghor declared that his party “would never follow the Communist example.” He never visited the USSR.<sup>29</sup>

Conversely, Vieyra adopted what could be called a policy of “dual alignment.” He combined his participation in *Présence Africaine*, in French-sponsored congresses and symposia, and his Senegal government service with frequent travels in socialist cinema networks. These networks included the Moscow and Tashkent festivals in the Soviet Union; Karlovy Vary and Leipzig in Eastern Europe; and, in the 1980s, Havana.<sup>30</sup> Vieyra first came to a Soviet film festival in 1957, during the Sixth World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow.<sup>31</sup> In the 1950s, he also traveled widely in Eastern Europe:

Ousmane Sembène remembered accompanying Vieyra to Warsaw, Budapest, Prague, and Sofia.<sup>32</sup> In 1962, Vieyra served as a cameraman in Senegalese prime minister Mamadou Dia's delegation, visiting Moscow, Leningrad, and Tashkent in the USSR and, on the way back, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary.<sup>33</sup> Apart from Vieyra's frequent Moscow and Tashkent festival presence in the 1970s and 1980s, his film *Une nation est née* (1962) won a prize at the inaugural Symposium of Young and Emerging Cinemas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America at the Karlovy Vary festival in 1962.<sup>34</sup> In 1985, Vieyra participated in the "Meeting of African and Latin American Cineastes" at the Havana festival.<sup>35</sup> In 1966, FESMAN provided another, less known, occasion for Vieyra to work alongside Soviet filmmakers.

### Vieyra and the Soviets at FESMAN

The First World Festival of Negro Arts, a first global cultural event of its kind, showcased African and African diasporic culture. While scholars have long debated painting, sculpture, music, and theater at the festival, the cinematic competition has attracted little attention.<sup>36</sup> At FESMAN closing, Vieyra received, on behalf of his nation, the Rome mayor's "The She-Wolf of Rome" Prize, awarded to Senegal for "the importance and variety of its cinematic participation in the First World Festival of Negro Arts."<sup>37</sup> This honor acknowledged Vieyra's many contributions to the event. He served on the preparatory cinema committee, la Commission intérafricaine du cinéma, which issued a call, renewed by African filmmakers at the FESMAN colloquium, for a Pan-African film organization, Office inter-africain de cinéma.<sup>38</sup> He competed in the cinema section with a color short about Senegalese wrestling, *Lamb* (1963), awarded an honorable mention in the category "documentaries about the black world."<sup>39</sup> He delivered a talk at the colloquium, on cinema "in search of its African expression."<sup>40</sup> He made a documentary about Senegalese contribution to the festival.<sup>41</sup> Alioune Diop presided at the colloquium and film jury deliberations, and an Italian producer, Guido Manera, headed the FESMAN cinema section. But Vieyra alone had a hand in all of the festival's cinematic happenings, from diplomatic ceremonies to on-the-ground camerawork.

The festival became embroiled in Cold War superpower rivalries. Overall, the United States by far outstripped the Soviet presence at the festival. The US State Department showcased African diasporic culture with such greats as poet Langston Hughes and musician Duke Ellington, as well as dancer and choreographer Katherine Dunham, who helped organize the festival.<sup>42</sup> The Soviet Union's main contribution was a large boat, *Rossiya*, that hosted the overflow of festival delegates who were unable to find a hotel in Dakar. This

infrastructural contribution served FESMAN organizers' aims to "reduce as much as possible the participation of the White World" to "technical" aspects.<sup>43</sup> Russian poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, as Senghor's personal guest, met several times with the President, attended official receptions, helped host lavish parties on the *Rossiya* and at the Soviet embassy, and gave a public reading in Dakar after the festival.<sup>44</sup> Yevtushenko bridged Soviet and US presence at FESMAN, cruising the streets in a limousine stocked with Georgian champagne in the company of Langston Hughes. The Soviets also sent three scholars to the colloquium, displayed Soviet literature in African studies, including translations of Senghor's poetry, and mounted a photo exhibit of African art in the Soviet Union. Another exhibit, on *Rossiya*, devoted to the transatlantic slave trade, indirectly critiqued the United States.<sup>45</sup>

Cinema represented the most substantial Soviet trace. Two filmmakers trained in the Soviet Union, Ousmane Sembène and Guinean Costa Diagne, won major prizes for their films, *La Noire de... / Black Girl* (1966) and *Les Hommes de la danse / People of the Dance* (1966), respectively. Diagne's film, his graduation diploma from VGIK (All-Union State Institute of Cinema in Moscow), represented the USSR in competition. The Soviets kept one of two Diagne's awards and later paraded it before Moscow cultural elites at an event devoted to the festival at the House of Scientists.<sup>46</sup> Less known Soviet connection was Frenchman Jean Mazel, the director of *Spectacle féerique de Gorée*, a *son et lumière* show on the history of transatlantic slave trade through the Gorée Island off the coast of Senegal, written by Haitian poet Jean Brierre and enacted by over a hundred of Senegalese soldiers and local residents. Mazel's color short *La fille de l'Amrar / Amrar's Daughter* (1957), won a diploma for Morocco at the Tashkent Afro-Asian Film Festival in 1958, a fact he proudly reported in his FESMAN biography.<sup>47</sup> Finally, the Soviet film crew produced the only cinematic record of FESMAN in color, capturing street scenes along with formal events, in three documentaries: full-length *Ritmy Afriki / African Rhythms* (dir. Irina Venzher and Leonid Makhnatch, 1966), and two shorts, *Govoriat veka Afriki / Centuries of Africa Speak* (dir. Georgy Serov, 1967) and *Narodnoe iskusstvo Senegala / The Folk Art of Senegal* (1967).<sup>48</sup>

The making of FESMAN documentaries depended on a minor status allotted to cinema among the arts in Senegal and at FESMAN. As Vieyra noted in his colloquium presentation, cinema did not fit neatly into Senghor's vision of *négritude*: "A certain sculpture, or a certain form of dance or music can claim" to draw upon "an ensemble of values of a civilization peculiar to Africa." Conversely, as a modern art, the cinema "is still in search of its African expression, which would permit a certain film to be recognized immediately as a Negro artwork."<sup>49</sup> At FESMAN, African cinema, mostly short features and documentaries, screened only once a week in one movie theater, making them almost impossible to catch.<sup>50</sup> During a private



audience with Senghor, Yevtushenko noted the success of Sembène's *La Noire de...* at FESMAN, and suggested that African states should do more to develop national cinemas. At the time, Senegal devoted nearly thirty percent of its budget to the arts.<sup>51</sup> Yet in response, the President "alluded to economic difficulties and proposed organizing a Soviet-African coproduction."<sup>52</sup> A joint documentary on FESMAN served that goal well. In 1965, Senegalese officials requested that a joint FESMAN film should fulfill the cinematic coproduction plan in the USSR-Senegal cultural cooperation agreement for 1966–1967.<sup>53</sup> The most important function of cinema at FESMAN was not to project an "African expression," but to chronicle the other arts that did showcase *négritude*.

Accordingly, FESMAN provided an occasion for a kind of rank-and-file cinematic internationalism. In January 1966, Senegalese officials invited participating countries to document FESMAN. "We offer an opportunity for TV and cinema organizations of your country to film events during the Festival," wrote Djibril Dione, FESMAN General Secretary, to Vladimir Yerofeev, the Soviet ambassador in Senegal. "We are counting on your active assistance in attracting proper attention to the Festival from interested organizations."<sup>54</sup> While shooting his own documentary (fig. 2), Vieyra must have bumped into Soviet cameraman Georgy Serov, whom he had met in 1962,



Figure 2. Paulin Soumanou Vieyra filming FESMAN. Image courtesy of PSV-Films.

when both filmed the visit of Mamadou Dia to the USSR.<sup>55</sup> Serov arrived with a small crew to make a color documentary on the orders of the Soviet government. Black American director William Greaves came to make a short documentary for the United States Information Agency, but upon arrival decided to make a full-length film. Greaves had no equipment apart from his camera and followed the Soviet crew to take advantage of their lighting setup.<sup>56</sup> His *The First World Festival of Negro Arts* (1966) includes footage of Serov and another Soviet cameraman, Yevgeny Akkuratov, filming festival guests. The Soviets brought 300 kg of equipment but did not have full access to all festival events, so they joined the Italian TV crew to get into performances, rewarding them with vodka for the favor.<sup>57</sup> Somewhere along the line, all these filmmakers must have crossed paths with two Rumanians filming for UNESCO. These informal work-time encounters and collaborations shaped FESMAN's cinematic archive.

Senegalese representatives played a crucial role in the editing of Soviet FESMAN documentaries. In late October 1966, Senghor dispatched Vieyra and another Ministry of Information official, Babacar N'Dir, to Moscow to help edit *African Rhythms*.<sup>58</sup> In December 1966, Nuritdin Mukhitdinov, Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, met with Biran Wane, Chargé d'affaires a.i. of Senegal, after a screening of *African Rhythms* organized by Soviet filmmakers for Senegalese diplomats. Wane requested to correct the text and edit into the film "reserve materials" depicting festival activities, "so the film more precisely reflected the content and aims of the festival."<sup>59</sup> Sometime later, Muritdinov organized a screening of the film for Soviet Africanists, where he demanded changes from the film's expert consultant Lily Golden (L. Hanga in the film credits), a scholar of African music.<sup>60</sup> Before the war, Golden's father, an African American expat John Golden, had been friends with Langston Hughes and Paul Robeson; Lily Golden knew Robeson and W. E. B. Du Bois.<sup>61</sup> Golden went back to the editing room with Serov and other unnamed filmmakers, where they created two more shorts from "reserve materials," *The Centuries of Africa Speak* and *The Folk Art of Senegal*.<sup>62</sup> In January 1967, Goskino organized a final screening, with a champagne reception, for Senegalese embassy officials headed by the Ambassador Cheikh Ibrahima Fall, their guests, and officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and the Committee for Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, altogether thirty-five to forty people.<sup>63</sup> A few days later, N'Dir left for Dakar with three copies of the three films dubbed in French, twenty-one film canisters in total. In early April, *African Rhythms* played at a celebratory screening of all FESMAN films in Dakar, with Senghor, government members, diplomats, cultural figures, and community leaders in attendance.<sup>64</sup>

Soviet FESMAN films, then, were products of various international collaborations and diplomatic negotiations, from their contingent shooting period to their contested editing stage. To be sure, as Lindiwe Dovey, Gesine Drews-Sylla, and Joseph Underwood show, the patronizing voice-over and the overwhelming focus on dance in *African Rhythms* reflect long-standing Russian and European prejudices.<sup>65</sup> Moscow documentarians also detailed Soviet contributions to the festival and emphasized the history of the slave trade through the Gorée Island. Given the Senegalese input on editing, however, the films may also reflect Senghor's vision of *négritude*. *African Rhythms* emphasizes traditional arts, such as music, sculpture, and literature, rather than cinema, an art form Senghor did not patronize. It also praises Senghor's poetry and ideas and ignores Ousmane Sembène, a leftist film and novel prizewinner and a friend of the Soviet Union, but also Senghor's artistic rival and an opponent of *négritude*.<sup>66</sup> It is impossible to tell conclusively from the archival record how Vieyra personally influenced the making of the three Soviet FESMAN films. However, while other two films are credited to Soviet directors, *The Folk Art of Senegal* has no director credits and is titled as made "in collaboration with the Senegalese Ministry of Information." It also focuses on the theme Vieyra explores in his own film *Le Sénégal au Festival mondial des arts nègres*. Vieyra's documentary also shows Senegal's artisans and artists, but emphasizes their labor in Dakar in preparation for the festival.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, some of the footage from *The Folk Art of Senegal* ended up in *African Rhythms*, including an outdoor FESMAN performance of *The Last Days of Lat Dior*, a play by the Senegalese politician and playwright Amadou Cisse Dia. In this segment, with outdoors as the stage and the camera in the midst of the action, public reactions become part of the play alongside actors' performances.<sup>68</sup> Possibly, in this short film, and in this scene, Senegalese co-authorship comes into view in what until now seemed an entirely Soviet project. Rachel Gabara demonstrates that Vieyra valued his essay films as art, more so than newsreels for Actualités Sénégalaises.<sup>69</sup> But his work on state-sponsored cinema such as the FESMAN films was a collaborative internationalist art practice as well: thanks to him and his colleagues, a Soviet film series reveals traces of a Senegalese "expression."

### Cold War Circuits for African Cinema in the 1970s

In the 1970s, both militant Third Worldism and the Cold War shaped African cinema's travels in the Soviet Union and the United States, routes less documented than its European, especially French, connections. In 1966, leftist observers lambasted FESMAN for excluding Arab African states and relying heavily on US and French support and authority.<sup>70</sup> The same year,

more inclusive and militant events took place: the first Arab and African film festival, Journées Cinématographiques de Carthage (JCC), in Tunisia, as well as the Tricontinental conference in Havana, Cuba that formed the Organization of Solidarity with the People of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL). In 1969, the OSPAAAL *Tricontinental* journal published a manifesto for revolutionary Third Cinema by Argentinian filmmakers Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino.<sup>71</sup> As is well documented, Vieyra participated in the long-term organizing of the Pan-African Federation of Filmmakers, formally founded at JCC in 1970.<sup>72</sup> In 1975, the “Algiers charter of African cinema” passed by FEPACI, affirmed the need for an independent production and distribution infrastructure—the goals Vieyra and AAFF delegates had expressed in different contexts back in 1958, and African filmmakers reaffirmed at FESMAN and at the Algiers Pan-African Festival in 1969.<sup>73</sup> But the 1975 Charter also declared that African cinema must act “in solidarity with progressive filmmakers who are waging anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world” and “contribute to the development of a critical understanding among the masses.”<sup>74</sup> The Charter aligned FEPACI with the militant Third Cinema movement.

Along with militancy, however, in its early years FEPACI used the Cold War agenda to build African film production and distribution infrastructures.<sup>75</sup> The two superpowers competed for the “hearts and minds” of decolonized nations, inviting African cineastes for festivals and visits.<sup>76</sup> FEPACI officials attended every Moscow and Tashkent festival in the 1970s, their travel and stay covered by Sovexportfilm, the Soviet import-export organization. Upon returning from the 1972 Tashkent festival, Vieyra noted that it was only the second film festival, after Ouagadougou, where FEPACI participated since it was founded.<sup>77</sup> FEPACI representatives, Vieyra among them, also toured the United States in 1973 on the invitation of the African-American Institute, affiliated with the U.S. State Department, visiting New York and Hollywood to discuss assistance for the production and distribution of African films.<sup>78</sup>

African filmmakers knew the political nature of these invitations. Among other signs, they were closely surveilled by their interpreters. In Moscow in 1967, Sembène complained that his interpreter never let him go anywhere alone.<sup>79</sup> According to Tunisian film critic and filmmaker Ferid Boughedir, member of the FEPACI delegation to the United States, “poor translators-minders,” provided by the State Department, “descended on the telephone booths at the end of every interview.”<sup>80</sup> But there were benefits to these relationships as well. Delegates at the Festival international du film d’expression française, in Beirut in 1973, noted that unlike prestigious European festivals, Soviet festivals were useful for selling films, to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Global South nations.<sup>81</sup> In the United States, an

earlier trip to the First African Film Festival at UCLA, also overseen by the State Department, in November 1970 brought together West African filmmakers, including Sembène, Third Cinema theorist Teshome Gabriel, and his film students, in heated discussions about cinema and anti-imperialism. This festival became one of the founding moments of the “L.A. Rebellion” Black filmmakers’ collective.<sup>82</sup> In 1973, Boughedir eluded US oversight—he knew English—and spent a day one-on-one with Elia Kazan in New York, talking cinema and showing Kazan his short film at the Museum of Modern Art.<sup>83</sup> Both countries courted African filmmakers, but the Soviets unveiled their efforts on a mass scale.

In the 1970s, Soviet film festivals created a special, favorable, media ecology for African cinema.<sup>84</sup> The official Soviet internationalist policy brought together an unprecedented variety of African cinemas, as well as militant and popular filmmakers from across the Global South, leading to alliances and collaborations unanticipated by Soviet organizers.<sup>85</sup> “With its almost one thousand guests,” Vieyra wrote about the 1971 Moscow festival, “the most surprising encounters happen among filmmakers from Korea, Cuba and the United States; and between African and Vietnamese filmmakers.”<sup>86</sup> Soviet festival programmers did not share the bias for select Francophone African militant and art films that shaped African cinema studies in Europe and North America.<sup>87</sup> The Tashkent festival hosted the first Somalian (*Town and Village*, dir. Hadj Mohamed Giumale, 1968) and Ghanaian (*No Tears For Ananse*, dir. Sam Aryeetey, 1968) feature films at its launch in 1968, welcomed commercial African films, such as Cameroonian *Pousse Pousse* (dir. Daniel Kamwa, 1975), throughout its existence, and featured Nollywood precursors, such as Yoruban *Kadara* (dir. Adeyemi Afolayan [Ade Love], 1980) in the 1980s.<sup>88</sup> When French militant critic Guy Hennebelle detailed styles of African cinema in 1972, he confined his examples almost entirely to Francophone cinema and declared, “to my knowledge, no good cinema is coming out of Anglophone Africa.” The only two non-Francophone films Hennebelle cited, by Aryeetey (Anglophone) and Giumale (actually Italophone), he saw at Tashkent in 1968.<sup>89</sup> Vieyra encountered these two directors and their films for the first time at Tashkent.<sup>90</sup>

Moscow cultural elites resented official Soviet internationalism. “Russian cynics,” *Variety* reported from Tashkent in 1968, “snigger that ‘the festival is one of our charity institutions.’”<sup>91</sup> But Moscow and Tashkent festivals ran at a profit and admitted millions of ordinary spectators—“a random public,” as one Soviet Africanist derided working-class viewers who showed up for the *La Noire de...* Soviet premiere at the 1967 Moscow festival.<sup>92</sup> Not as popular as Indian song-and-dance melodramas, African films at Tashkent attracted a smaller but constant stream of spectators. Lily Golden traveled to Tashkent to see African films at the festival every two years. “The larger halls were taken

up with Japanese and Indian films," she remembers, "and the Africans were shown in smaller halls to smaller audiences. From early morning to late at night, I sat watching the small screen."<sup>93</sup> The detailed Tashkent budget reports for the 1970s show that festival screenings were usually ninety percent full.<sup>94</sup> In Tashkent, daily newspapers ran articles on African cinema in Uzbek during every festival.<sup>95</sup> Cinema journals, Moscow newspapers, and festival newsletters covered African films as well, including a dozen of Vieyra's interviews and articles during the 1970s.<sup>96</sup> Vieyra was invited to participate in several film symposia in Moscow and Tashkent, where he argued, among other things, that African cinemas need independent production and distribution systems and that oral tradition, no less than literature, can contribute to cinematic storytelling.<sup>97</sup> Soviet critic Viktor Sytin, writing in a 1973 Moscow festival newsletter, introduced him as "a major theorist and critic of film art."<sup>98</sup> Vieyra represented and explained African cinema to the Soviet public.

Vieyra's promotional acumen ensured a significant Senegalese presence at Soviet festivals in the 1970s, especially remarkable since President Senghor favored neither cinema nor the USSR. In 1967, on the heels of FESMAN, Vieyra curated a major Senegalese cinema retrospective in conjunction with the Moscow festival that opened with the *La Noire de...* premiere. The original plan, later abridged, also included shorts by Momar Thiam, Blaise Senghor, Ababakar Samb-Makharam, Yves Diagne, and Sembène, as well as ten of Vieyra's own films.<sup>99</sup> Although Senghor's government at the last moment reversed its plans to send Vieyra to Moscow for the retrospective, Sembène made sure that Vieyra accompanied him as a *Mandabi* (1968) producer to Tashkent in 1968.<sup>100</sup> From then on, Vieyra came, with films and colleagues, to almost every Moscow and Tashkent festival. On the Moscow feature film jury Senegalese representation included actress M'bissine Therese Diop in 1969, director Ababakar Samb-Makharam in 1975, and actress Tabata Ndiaye in 1979.<sup>101</sup> Vieyra was on the jury in 1971, when Sembène's *Emitai* won the Silver Prize, and in 1973, when Djibril Diop Mambéty's avant-garde *Touki Bouki* played in competition. In the festival newsletter, Viktor Sytin praised *Touki Bouki*'s "progressive" message but remarked that Mambéty's colorful symbolism "departed from the realist style" and "naturalistic" scenes at the slaughterhouse fell under the spell of the "Western cinema of violence."<sup>102</sup> Vieyra dismissed a similar charge of "Western" influence voiced on the jury. "It is the most political film of the festival," he argued, "It was very difficult to make."<sup>103</sup> *Touki Bouki* won a diploma. In the same decade, the only African films Cannes accepted into competition were three pictures from Egypt, Tunisia, and Algiers.

By the end of the decade, Senegalese cinema reached the United States en masse as well. Indirectly, Vieyra's activities in the Soviet Union contributed to the event. In 1972 Jay Leyda came to Tashkent to find African films to

show in his class at York University in Toronto. He reported his African finds to Adrienne Mancía, a film curator at the Museum of Modern Art in New York who was interested in organizing an African cinema program at the museum. Besides the award-winning *Soleil Ô* (dir. Med Hondo, 1970), Leyda selected “a group of Senegal newsreels, via Paulin Vieyra (B.P. 1499, Dakar), partly because Paulin is in charge of them, & partly because he employs Sembène to work on them.” He also saw a feature film by a “protege of Paulin”—Mahama Johnson Traoré’s *Lambaye* (1972).<sup>104</sup> Mancía made a trip to the Carthage festival the same year, where she saw Vieyra, among others. “The best [African] films are made in Senegal,” she reported to MoMA after the festival. “The Senegalese filmmakers seem to be the most outspoken, the best organized, and the leaders in the Pan-African film movement.”<sup>105</sup> In 1978, after several more trips to Carthage and Ouagadougou, a MoMA retrospective “Senegal: 15 years of African cinema” introduced Vieyra, Sembène, Traoré, Ben Diogaye Beye, and several other filmmakers and their films to American audiences.<sup>106</sup>

When the Senegalese retrospective came to the Pacific Film Archive, the legendary “guerrilla cinémathèque” at the University of California, Berkeley, cinephiles, militant students, and African expats filled the theater.<sup>107</sup> Sembène appeared as a revolutionary filmmaker, with Angela Davis especially selected to be his interpreter during conversations with the audience.<sup>108</sup> Vieyra, not Sembène, was introduced by Black film scholar Albert Johnson as the father of African cinema, “the first to make short films and use film to express concrete Senegalese ideas.” Vieyra described the “great beginning” of this cinema: “We worked together; it was hard to know who was the director and who was the technician.... Now I feel the short ‘portrait films’ of the older generation are dying and I’m trying to preserve these traditions.”<sup>109</sup> Tom Luddy, who hosted the cineastes as the head of the PFA, believes that Senegal had the strongest national cinema in Africa at the time because it alone sustained “enough filmmakers to compete with each other.”<sup>110</sup> This would not have happened without Vieyra, who had trained, supported with work or film stock from *Actualités Sénégalaises*, or promoted at festivals most Senegalese filmmakers whose work appeared in the retrospective, and at Soviet festivals.

The extent of Vieyra’s travel, contacts, and internationalism will become clearer when his archives that his son Stéphane Vieyra donated to Indiana University are processed and available to historians. Still, I would like to propose two preliminary conclusions. First, the Soviet lives of African films force us to rethink a common argument, summed up by Philip Rosen, that African cinema has circulated as what Solanas and Getino termed Second Cinema: “limited distribution, often in international festivals and specialty exhibition house circuits outside of Africa.”<sup>111</sup> The variety of African films playing to diverse Soviet audiences contradict this view. This includes Vieyra’s

pictures—apart from his many documentary screenings, his feature *Under House Arrest / En résidence surveillée* (1981) premiered at the Moscow festival in 1981. Several scholars, including Rossen Djagalov and Masha Salazkina, have been trying to document the contradictions and complexities of Global South cinema travels on Soviet terrain in the context of the Cold War.<sup>112</sup> Vieyra's work on behalf of African cinema in the Soviet Union helps us do it.

Second, Vieyra's career forces us to expand the idea of what cinematic Third Worldism and cinematic internationalism meant at the time of decolonization and the Cold War. Scholars have long embraced the vanguard "Guerrilla Film International" proposed by Solanas and Getino. But they have paid less attention to the more mundane work of building alliances and infrastructures that FEPACI conducted in the early 1970s, or to rank-and-file internationalism of cameramen and editors in the process of working on films that FESMAN documentaries represent. Vieyra engaged in both. Some of his militant allies saw Vieyra as man of the state ("un monsieur de régime") despite his anticolonial views.<sup>113</sup> In fact, Vieyra used state institutions in Senegal to develop a national cinema tradition apart from the state and used Cold War infrastructures in the Soviet Union and the United States to promote and establish African cinemas internationally.

**Elena Razlogova** is an Associate Professor of History at Concordia University. She is the author of *The Listener's Voice: Early Radio and the American Public* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011) and co-editor of "Radical Histories in Digital Culture" issue of the *Radical History Review* (2013). She has published articles on U.S. radio history, music recommendation and recognition algorithms, film translation, Global South cinema networks, and Soviet international film festivals in *American Quarterly* (2006), *SubStance* (2015), *Studies in European Cinema* (2019), and *Journal of Cinema and Media Studies* (2020). She is currently working on a book-length manuscript, "A Cinematic International: Global Liberation Routes through Soviet Film Festivals."

## Notes

I would like to thank Bouna N'Diaye for his comments and crucial corrections, as well as anonymous reviewers for their comments on an earlier version of this article.

1. Paulin Soumanou Vieyra, "Hommage à Oumarou Ganda: cinéaste nigérien," *Présence Africaine* 119 (1981): 165–69. These festivals are the Journées Cinématographiques de Carthage (JCC), the Festival panafricain du cinéma et de la télévision de Ouagadougou (FESPACO), and the Moscow International Film Festival. "Dinard" refers to the Festival international du film d'expression française that took place in Dinard in France from 1969



to 1980 but also occasionally in other countries such as Lebanon (in Beirut in 1973). For more on film festivals and African cinema, see Lindiwe Dovey, *Curating Africa in the Age of Film Festivals* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

2. Viktor Sytin, "Afrika—k igu ot Sakhary," *Sputnik kinofestivalia*, July 24, 1973.

3. For two recent works arguing for the importance of the Cold War context for the history of African literature, see Monica Popescu, *At Penpoint: African Literatures, Postcolonial Studies, and the Cold War* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020); Bhakti Shringarpure, *Cold War Assemblages: Decolonization to Digital* (London: Routledge, 2019).

4. My analysis of Vieyra is influenced by two important recently published works, Rachel Gabara, "Complex Realism: Paulin Soumanou Vieyra and the Emergence of West African Documentary Film," *Black Camera* 11, no. 2 (2020): 32–59; and Mélissa Gélinas, "In Translation—Paulin Soumanou Vieyra," *Journal of Cinema and Media Studies* 58, no. 3 (Spring 2019): 118–36.

5. On "world cinema" as a contemporary analytical concept, see, for example, Lúcia Nagib, Christopher Perriam, and Rajinder Kumar Dudrah, *Theorizing World Cinema* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012); and Nataša Đurovičová and Kathleen E Newman, eds., *World Cinemas, Transnational Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Masha Salazkina, "World Cinema as Method," *Canadian Journal of Film Studies* 29, no. 2 (2020): 10–24.

6. The two historiographies, of West African cinema and of Third Cinema, are enormous. For West African cinema, see, for example, James E. Genova, *Cinema and Development in West Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013). On Third Cinema, see Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, "Toward a Third Cinema," *Tricontinental* 14 (October 1969): 107–32; Mariano Mestman and Masha Salazkina, "Introduction: Estates General of Third Cinema, Montreal '74," *Canadian Journal of Film Studies* 24, no. 2 (2015): 4–17, 172–73.

7. See, for example, Olivier Barlet, "The Ambivalence of French Funding," *Black Camera* 3, no. 2 (2012): 205–16.

8. See, for example, Alexie Tcheuyap, "African Cinema(s): Definitions, Identity and Theoretical Considerations," *Critical Interventions* 5, no. 1 (2011): 10–26.

9. See, for example, Josephine Woll, "The Russian Connection: Soviet Cinema and the Cinema of Francophone Africa," in *Focus on African Films*, ed. Françoise Pfaff (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 223–40; Mark Nash, *Red Africa: Affective Communities and the Cold War* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2016); Lindiwe Dovey, "Listening between the Images: African Filmmakers' Take on the Soviet Union, Soviet Filmmakers' Take on Africa," in *The Oxford Handbook of Communist Visual Cultures*, ed. Aga Skrodzka, Xiaoning Lu, and Kasia Marciniak (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020); Gabrielle Chomentowski, "Filmmakers from Africa and the Middle East at VGIK during the Cold War," *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema* 13, no. 2 (2019): 189–98.

10. Françoise Pfaff, "Paulin Soumanou Vieyra pionnier de la critique et de la théorie du cinéma africain," *Présence Africaine* 170, no. 2 (2004): 27.

11. On anticolonial "worldmaking," see Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019). While I use the "cinematic international" as an analytical term, it is worth noting that Argentinian filmmakers Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino proposed a "Guerrilla Films International" in "Toward a Third Cinema," 129. My analysis here also draws upon Katerina Clark, "The Soviet Project of the 1930s to Found a 'World Literature' and

British Literary Internationalism,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 80, no. 4 (2019): 403–25; and Kris Manjappa, “Communist Internationalism and Transcolonial Recognition,” in *Cosmopolitan Thought Zones: South Asia and the Global Circulation of Ideas*, ed. Sugata Bose and Kris Manjappa (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 159–177.

12. In this article, I use “Third World” and “Third Worldism” as historical categories, and “Global South” as an analytical term. On the Third World and the Global South as anticolonial projects, see Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World* (New York: New Press, 2007); and Anne Garland Mahler, *From the Tricontinental to the Global South: Race, Radicalism, and Transnational Solidarity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018).

13. On the socialist world as extending beyond the “second world” during the Cold War, see James Mark and Tobias Rupprecht, “The Socialist World in Global History: From Absentee to Victim to Co-Producer,” in *The Practice of Global History: European Perspectives*, ed. Matthias Middell (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 81–113.

14. On the Asian Film Festival, Sangjoon Lee, *Cinema and the Cultural Cold War: US Diplomacy and the Origins of the Asian Cinema Network* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020).

15. “Dukh Bandunga v zhizni i v iskusstve,” *Iskusstvo kino*, October 1958.

16. Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI), f. 2944, op. 13, ed. khr. 206. At least some of the films presented were made by African crews, including the prize-winning *Zanzibar Marches Forward*. Although the Second Afro-Asian Film Festival took place in Cairo, in Africa, it privileged major film industries such as those of Egypt, India, China, and the USSR; no new African cinemas participated.

17. A coproduced Chinese-Somalian documentary, *The Horn of Africa*, reportedly won a prize at the Mogadishu festival; see *Survey of China Mainland Press* (1963), 16. Murray G. Lawson, *Communist Propaganda Around the World: Apparatus and Activities in 1961* (Washington, DC: United States Information Agency Research and Reference Service, 1962), 84–85, 231. On the Mogadishu festival, see Liliana Ellena, “Eva Nera Reloaded: An Archive in the Making,” in *The Mobility of Memory: Migrations and Diasporas Across European Borders*, ed. Luisa Passerini, Gabriele Proglia, and Milica Trakilović (New York: Berghahn Books, 2021), 166–68.

18. Mariano Mestman, “From Algiers to Buenos Aires: The Third World Cinema Committee (1973–74),” *New Cinemas* 1, no. 1 (2002): 40–53.

19. Paulin Soumanou Vieyra, “Le Cinéma et la révolution Africaine,” *Présence Africaine* 34–35 (1961 1960): 92–103.

20. Maria Loftus, “Entretien avec René Vautier,” *Présence Africaine* 170, no. 2 (2004): 56.

21. Paulin Soumanou Vieyra, “Propos sur le cinéma africain,” *Présence Africaine* 22 (1958): 117.

22. “Kommunike uchastnikov kinofestivalia stran Azii i Afriki,” *Iskusstvo kino*, October 1958.

23. On Diop, *Présence Africaine*, and Society of African Culture, see Elizabeth Ann Foster, *African Catholic: Decolonization and the Transformation of the Church* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019), 58–94; Iwiyè Kala-Lobe, “Alioune Diop et le cinéma africain,” *Présence Africaine* 125, no. 1 (1983): 329–350.

24. On Senghor, Césaire, and *négritude*, see Gary Wilder, *Freedom Time: Negritude, Decolonization, and the Future of the World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

25. Sembène describes hanging out with Vieyra in the offices of *Présence Africaine*; Andrade worked there. Sembène and de Andrade went to the Afro-Asian Writers Conference at Tashkent and after traveled to China together.

26. For Césaire's public rejection of communism, see Césaire, "Letter to Maurice Thorez [October 24, 1956]," *Social Text* 28, no. 2 (2010): 145–52.

27. On this, see Popescu, *At Penpoint*, 39–40.

28. Sembène Ousmane to Olga Graievskaia, June 30, 1959, RGALI, f. 631, op. 26, ed. khr. 2848, l. 14.

29. Quoted in Sergey Mazov, *A Distant Front in the Cold War: The USSR in West Africa and the Congo, 1956–1964* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2010), 149. See also Françoise Blum and Constantin Katsakioris, "Léopold Sédar Senghor et l'Union soviétique: la confrontation, 1957–1966," *Cahiers d'études africaines*, no. 235 (2019): 839–65.

30. On Tashkent, see Rossen Djagalov and Masha Salazkina, "Tashkent '68: A Cinematic Contact Zone," *Slavic Review* 75, no. 2 (2016): 279–98; on Tashkent and Moscow, see Elena Razlogova, "World Cinema at Soviet Festivals: Cultural Diplomacy and Personal Ties," *Studies in European Cinema* 17, no. 2 (2020): 140–54; on Leipzig, see Caroline Moine, *Screened Encounters: The Leipzig Documentary Film Festival, 1955–1990* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2018); on Karlovy Vary, see Jindřiška Bláhová, "National, Socialist, Global: The Changing Roles of the Karlovy Vary Film Festival, 1946–1956," in *Cinema in Service of the State: Perspectives on Film Culture in the GDR and Czechoslovakia, 1945–1960*, ed. Lars Karl (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017), 245–72; and Devendra Kumar, *15 Years of World Cinema at Karlovy Vary, 1946 to 1966* (Delhi: Federation of Film Journalists India, 1966); on Havana, see Maria Roof, "African and Latin American Cinemas: Contexts and Contacts," in *Focus on African Films* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 241–70.

31. Paulin Soumanou Vieyra, "Le cinéma au 6 Festival Mondial de la Jeunesse et des Étudiants a Moscou," in *Le cinéma et l'Afrique* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1969), 74–89;

32. Ousmane Sembène, "Moment d'une vie: Paulin Soumanou Vieyra," *Présence Africaine* 170, no. 2 (2004): 21.

33. Diaw Amadou Koundel, Commissariat Central à Dakar, to Chef des services de Police de la région du Cap-Vert à Dakar, report on the trip to the USSR, June 28, 1962, FVP-193-0, National Archives of Senegal.

34. This film also won a prize at Locarno the same year; Paulin Soumanou Vieyra, *Le Cinéma Africain, Vol. 1, Des Origines à 1973* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1975), 321; "Films réalisés de 1961 à 1965," Division cinéma, Ministère de l'information des télécommunications et du tourisme, République du Sénégal, [1967], RGALI, f. 2944, op. 13, ed. khr. 1120, l. 3.

35. Roof, "African and Latin American Cinemas: Contexts and Contacts," 250; Paulin Soumanou Vieyra, "Cine útil y conciencia nacional," *Cine cubano*, no. 115 (1986): 58–60.

36. On FESMAN, see David Murphy, ed., *The First World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar 1966: Contexts and Legacies* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), as well as work cited in the following paragraphs.

37. Vieyra is shown receiving this prize in *Il Festival di Dakar* (dir. Sergio Borelli, 1966), <https://vimeo.com/135843095>.

38. Kala-Lobe, "Alioune Diop et le cinéma africain," 334, 329.

39. Edward B. Horatio-Jones, "Grand-prix du cinéma" (April 1966), RGALI, f. 2944, op. 13, ed. khr. 860, ll. 24.

40. Paulin Soumanou Vieyra, "L'art cinématographique à la recherche de son expression africaine" (text of presentation at the FESMAN Colloquium, December 1965), f. 35; Fonds de Festival mondial des arts nègres, 1963–1967, National Archives of Senegal (hereafter, Fonds FESMAN); published in English in Paulin S. Vieyra, "Cinematographic Art: In Search of Its African Expression," in *First World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar, April 1–24, 1966. Colloquium: Function and Significance of African Negro Art in the Life of the People and for the People (March 30–April 8, 1966)*, ed. Society for African Culture (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1968), 539–58. This talk was also translated into Portuguese for a journal edited by Alex Vianny, but this translation was never published; see Paulin S. Vieyra, "A arte cinematográfica em busca de sua expressão africana" (1967), Alex Vianny Archives, Cinemateca do Museu de Arte Moderna, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

41. *Le Sénégal au Festival mondial des arts nègres / Senegal at the World Festival for Negro Arts* (1966). This film was found and restored in 2021. For more on this documentary, see Marco Lena's article in this issue.

42. If anything, the *New York Times* coverage drew inordinate attention to the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union at the festival. Italian TV report *Il festival du Dakar* did not mention the Soviet Union at all.

43. See Djibril Dione's speech in "Festival mondial des arts nègres: procès verbal de la Réunion des Ambassadeurs du Sénégal accrédités en Europe, tenue sous la Présidence de Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères," l'Ambassade de Senegal, Paris, July 4, 1964, 18, folder 32, Fonds FESMAN.

44. Most of the time, Yevtushenko was accompanied by poet Yevgeny Dolmatovsky, who was not invited by Senghor but was assigned by the Soviets. Senghor also invited Voznesensky who was not allowed to go. "Invités de M. le Président de la République" (January 1966), folder 23, Fonds FESMAN.

45. "Plan k podgotovke k uchastiyu vo Vsemirnom festivale negritianskogo iskusstva" (January 1966), RGALI, f. 2944, op. 13, ed. khr. 860, ll. 9–11. For more on Soviet participation, see Gesine Drews-Sylla, "В Сенегале (In Senegal) and Ритмы Африки (Rhythms of Africa): Soviet Documentaries on Senegal during the Cold War," in *The Cultural Cold War and the Global South: Sites of Contest and Communitas*, ed. Kerry Bystrom, Monica Popescu, and Katherine Zien (London: Routledge, 2021), 147–181.

46. Lubomudrova to Slavnov, October 28, 1966, RGALI, f. 2944, op. 13, ed. khr. 860, ll. 27.

47. Jean Mazel, "Le réalisateur et metteur en scène," biography for FESMAN, 1966, folder 35, Fonds FESMAN. On Spectacle féerique de Gorée, see Tsitsi Jaji, *Africa in Stereo: Modernism, Music, and Pan-African Solidarity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 97–99.

48. *The Folk Art of Senegal* is available online at <https://www.net-film.ru/film-6297/>. I was unable to view *Centuries of Africa Speak* at the Russian State Film and Photo Archive in Krasnogorsk because of COVID.

49. Vieyra, "Cinematographic Art," 539.

50. Abdallah Stouky, "Le Festival mondial des arts nègres ou les nostalgiques de la négritude," *Souffles*, no. 2 (1966): 43.

51. Elizabeth Harney, *In Senghor's Shadow: Art, Politics, and the Avant-Garde in Senegal, 1960–1995* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 12.

52. Yevgeny Yevtushenko, report on FESMAN, May 1966, State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), f. P9518, op. 1, ed. khr. 1136, l. 100. Senghor's rivalry with Sembène might have been another reason for his unenthusiastic response; see David

Murphy, "Culture, Development, and the African Renaissance: Ousmane Sembène and Léopold Senghor at the World Festival of Negro Arts (Dakar 1966)," in *Ousmane Sembène and the Politics of Culture*, ed. Amadou T. Fofana and Lifongo J. Vetinde (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015), 1–16.

53. P. Kriukov, Vice-Chairman, Committee for Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, to Vladimir Baskakov, Vice-Chairman, Goskino, May 18, 1965, RGALI, f. 2944, op. 13, ed. khr 542, l. 18.

54. Dione to Yerofeev, January 20, 1966, RGALI f. 2944, op.13, ed. khr. 860, l. 12. The form-letter style of this note suggests that Diop sent such proposals to other countries' ambassadors.

55. Serov served as a cameraman on *Gosti iz Senegala* (*Guests from Senegal*, dir. Tamara Lavrova, 1962); Vieyra made *Voyage présidentiel en URSS* (Presidential Trip to the USSR, 1963)

56. Greaves told this story to Senegalese artist and filmmakers Bouna N'Diaye; N'Diaye, phone interview with author, April 7, 2021; Joseph L. Underwood cites this story from his own interview with N'Diaye in "From Dakar to Diaspora: The Festival mondial des arts nègres as Nexus and Network," in *The Cultural Cold War and the Global South*, 142.

57. Golovnia to Nosov, [December 1966], RGALI 2944-13-860/1; Lily Golden, *My Long Journey Home* (Chicago: Third World Press, 2002), 123.

58. Aleksandr Slavnov, Head of the Foreign Relations Division of the Committee for Cinematography of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (Goskino), to A. G. Semin, Director of the Central Studio for Documentary Film, October 28, 1966, RGALI, f. 2944, op. 13, ed. khr. 860, l. 26.

59. Nuritdin Mukhitdinov, "Record of discussion with Chargé d'affaires a.i. [ad interim] of Senegal Biran Wane," RGALI, f. 2944, op. 13, ed. khr. 860, l. 28.

60. Golden, *My Long Journey Home*, 123–24.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid., 124.

63. Aleksandr Slavnov to A. V. Romanov, January 17, 1967, RGALI, f. 2944, op. 13, ed. khr. 1119, l. 1.

64. Diary of G. Sokolov, the Counsellor at the Embassy of the USSR in Senegal, April 13, 1967, GARE, f. P9518, op. 1, ed. khr. 1138, l. 57.

65. My account of the making of *African Rhythms* is based on new archival evidence that adds a record of Senegalese participation to important existing analyses of the film. See David Murphy, "The Performance of Pan-Africanism: Staging the African Renaissance at the First World Festival of Negro Arts," in *The First World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar 1966: Contexts and Legacies*, ed. David Murphy (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016); Lindiwe Dovey, "Listening between the Images"; Drews-Sylla, "B Сенегале (In Senegal) and Ритмы Африки (Rhythms of Africa)"; Underwood, "From Dakar to Diaspora: The Festival mondial des arts nègres as Nexus and Network."

66. Sembène's absence is especially significant given that he appears both in the American and the Italian FESMAN films.

67. I was able to view it online during a conference "Replay! Dakar 66" in Paris in September 2021.

68. For more on this play, see Brian Quinn, "Staging Culture: Senghor, Malraux and the Theatre Programme at the First World Festival of Negro Arts," in *The First World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar 1966*, 83–96; Ruth Bush, "Making History: Performances

of the Past at the 1966 World Festival of Negro Arts,” in *The First World Festival of Negro Arts*, 97–112.

69. Gabara, “Complex Realism,” 42–43.

70. See, for example, Abdallah Stouky, “Le Festival mondial des arts nègres ou les nostalgiques de la négritude,” *Souffles*, no. 2 (1966): 41–45. Soviet diplomats monitored African states’ preparations for FESMAN and noted similar skepticism about the project in Ghana, Burundi, Tanzania, Guinea, and Mali; GARE, f. P9518, op. 1, ed. khr. 1136, ll. 30, 36, 45, 55, 76.

71. Solanas and Getino, “Toward a Third Cinema.”

72. Manthia Diawara, *African Cinema: Politics and Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 35–50. Genova, *Cinema and Development in West Africa*. For Soviet episodes in FEPACI’s emergence, see Elena Razlogova, “World Cinema at Soviet Festivals: Cultural Diplomacy and Personal Ties,” *Studies in European Cinema* 17, no. 2 (2020): 147–48.

73. For FESMAN, see the resolution reprinted in full in Kala-Lobe, “Alioune Diop et le cinéma africain,” 342–45. For Algiers, see “Résolutions du symposium des cinéastes africains,” *Souffles*, no. 16–17 (1969): 52.

74. “The Algiers Charter on African Cinema, 1975,” *Black Camera* 2, no. 1 (2010): 165–67.

75. On African infrastructures and the Cold War, see Clapperton Chakanetsa Mavhunga, “A Plundering Tiger with Its Deadly Cubs?: The USSR and China as Weapons in the Engineering of a ‘Zimbabwean Nation,’ 1945–2009,” in *Entangled Geographies: Empire and Technopolitics in the Global Cold War*, ed. Gabrielle Hecht (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), 231–66; Andrew Ivaska, “Leveraging Alternatives: Early Frelimo, the Soviet Union, and the Infrastructure of African Political Exile,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 41, no. 1 (2021): 11–26. On cinematic infrastructures, see Brian Larkin, “The Grounds of Circulation: Rethinking African Film and Media,” *Politique africaine* 153, no. 1 (2019): 105–26; Larkin, *Signal and Noise: Media, Infrastructure, and Urban Culture in Nigeria* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

76. See, for example, Rossen Djalalov, *From Internationalism to Postcolonialism: Literature and Cinema between the Second and the Third Worlds* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2020); Jason C. Parker, *Hearts, Minds, Voices: US Cold War Public Diplomacy and the Formation of the Third World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

77. Paulin Soumanou Vieyra, “Le 2e Festival Cinématographique de Tachkent: (24 mai - 2 juin 1972),” *Présence Africaine* 83, no. 3 (1972): 87.

78. Syd Cassyd, “African Filmmakers Visit in Hollywood,” *Boxoffice*, July 16, 1973; “African Directors Feted in N.Y.,” *Back Stage*, April 20, 1973; “African Cinema,” *Variety*, April 11, 1973.

79. Sembène cited in Galina Chernova, letter to the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Contacts (SSOD), [August 1967], GARE, f. P9576, op. 14, ed. khr. 169, l. 62.

80. Ferid Boughedir, “Ma journée avec Kazan,” *Cahiers du cinéma*, May 1991.

81. Monique Hennebelle, “La tour de Babel du Festival de Beyrouth,” *Le Monde*, September 21, 1973.

82. Other filmmakers were Yves Diagne, Moustapha Alassane, Oumarou Ganda, Timité Bassori, and Desiré Ecaré. On State Department interpreters, see Renee Poussaint, “African Film: The High Price of Division,” *Ufahamu* 1, no. 3 (1971), 51–63. On L.A.

Rebellion as part of the global militant cinematic tradition, see Allyson Nadia Field, "Third Cinema in the First World: L.A. Rebellion and the Aesthetics of Confrontation," in *1968 and Global Cinema*, ed. Christina Gerhardt (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2018), 274–288.

83. Boughedir, "Ma journée avec Kazan."

84. On "special media ecology" see Jie Li, "Gained in Translation: The Reception of Foreign Cinema in Mao's China," *Journal of Chinese Cinemas* 13, no. 1 (2019): 71–72.

85. Djagalov and Salazkina, "Tashkent '68," 280;

86. Paulin Soumanou Vieyra, "Festival du film de Moscou 1971," *Présence Africaine* 80, no. 4 (1971): 143.

87. On this bias, see Barlet, "The Ambivalence of French Funding"; Tcheuyap, "African Cinema(s)."

88. On *Pousse Pousse*, see RGALI, f. 2944, op. 1, ed. khr. 1245, l. 46. On *Kadara*, see G. S. J. Okoba, "1986 World Film Festival," *Daily Times (Lagos)*, May 20, 1986.

89. Guy Hennebelle, "Dix ans du cinéma Africain II: diversité de styles," *Les lettres françaises*, January 19, 1972.

90. Paulin S. Vieyra, "Samoe molodoe v mire," *Iskusstvo kino*, September 1970, 123.

91. Hans Saaltink, "Tashkent—USSR Woos Africa," *Variety*, November 13, 1968.

92. Chernova, letter to SSOD.

93. Golden, *My Long Journey Home*, 132.

94. For example, for 1976 Tashkent festival screenings most theaters reported attendance of 90 percent and higher. RGALI, f. 3159, op. 1, ed. khr. 606, ll. 94–97.

95. For example, Iu. Berdiev, "Ilk kadamlar," *Sovet Uzbekistoni*, May 19, 1974.

96. For example, Vieyra, "Samoe molodoe v mire"; Sytin, "Afrika—k iugu ot Sakhary" (interview).

97. For Vieyra's participation at symposia, see Aleksandr Karaganov, *V sporakh o kinematografе* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1977), 191, 113–14.

98. Sytin, "Afrika—k iugu ot Sakhary."

99. On the Senegalese Film Week, see RGALI, f. 2944, op. 13, ed. khr. 1120.

100. Preliminary report about filmmakers invited to the 1968 Tashkent festival, September 1, 1968, RGALI, f. 2936, op. 4, op. 1833, l. 50.

101. Sembène's influence was a major reason for Senegalese prominence as well. Diop and Ndiaye were probably asked to serve because they starred in Sembène's *La Noire de...* (at Moscow in 1967) and *Ceddo* (1977), respectively. *Ceddo* played in competition in Moscow in 1977. Ababacar Samb may have been asked in part because he was the Secretary General of the Pan African Federation of Film Producers. Nigerian Souna Boubakar represented Africa on the feature film jury in 1977.

102. Viktor Sytin, "Krushenie mifa," *Sputnik kinofestivalia*, July 23, 1973.

103. Transcript of the final meeting of the feature film jury, July 22, 1973, RGALI, f. 2936, op. 4, ed. khr. 2814, l. 5. Members of the jury included Japanese actor Toshiro Mifune, Kyrgyz director Tolomush Okeev, Mexican director Julio Bracho, Jury president Soviet director Sergei Bondarchuk, and others. Ironically, it was Bracho who saw *Touki Bouki* as imitating "Western" cinema.

104. Jay Leyda to Adrienne Mancia, draft of letter, ca. 1972, box 6, folder 24, Jay and Si-Lan Chen Leyda Papers, Tamiment Library and Robert Wagner Archives, New York University (JSCL).

105. Adrienne Mancia, "Report by Adrienne Mancia, Department of Film, to the International Council [of the Museum of Modern Art] on Her African Film Study Trip to Tunis, September 26–October 9, 1972," November 1, 1972, box 23, folder 7, JSCL.

106. Momar Thiam, Chiekh Tidian Aw, and Ababakar Samb-Makharam also came to New York and Berkeley with their films. The screenings also included films by Djibril Diop Mambéty, Abdou Fari Faye, Safi Faye, Yves Badara Diagne, and Blaise Senghor. MOMA listed Laurence Kardish as the curator for the exhibit; however, Mancia clearly contributed to the research and is credited as the organizer in the Senegalese account of the exhibit; see "Un festival du film sénégalais à New York," *Le soleil (Dakar)*, March 17, 1978.

107. Lee Amazonas, "Guerrilla Cinematheque Comes of Age--the Pacific Film Archive," *Chronicle of the University of California* 13 (2004): 147–59.

108. See recordings of Sembène's Q&A sessions at the Pacific Film Archive on February 3, 4, and 6, 1977, all available at <https://archive.org/>.

109. Q&A session at the Pacific Film Archive, February 3, 1977, [https://archive.org/details/bampfa-audio\\_03519](https://archive.org/details/bampfa-audio_03519)

110. Tom Luddy, interview with author, March 1, 2019. Luddy started as the head of Pacific Film Archive but is better known as the co-founder of the Telluride Film Festival.

111. Philip Rosen, "Notes on Art Cinema and the Emergence of Sub-Saharan Film," in *Global Art Cinema: New Theories and Histories*, ed. Rosalind Galt and Karl Schoonover (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 256, 257.

112. See Djagalov, *From Internationalism to Postcolonialism*; and Masha Salazkina, "World Socialist Cinema: Affinities, Alliances, Solidarities," book manuscript in progress.

113. René Vautier in Loftus, "Entretien avec René Vautier," 59.