Notes

Preface

1. In *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989) Renato Rosaldo talks about how linkages between academic training and personal experience force a reevaluation of the notion of truth itself as it has come to be accepted in our disciplines.

2. Larry Preston, in “Theorizing Difference: Voices from the Margins” (*American Political Science Review* 89, no. 4 [December 1995]: 941–53), writes about the difficulties inherent in this endeavor.


Introduction

1. A derogatory term literally translated as “worm,” *gusano* is a Cuban colloquialism for “lowlife.” The term also refers to the duffel bags carried by those who fled Cuba in the early 1960s.

2. Years later Wayne Smith wrote in his book *The Closest of Enemies: A Personal and Diplomatic Account of U.S. Cuban Relations since 1957* (New York: Norton, 1987) about how the release of prisoners had been worked out between both governments before the meeting with exiles.

3. For instance, the Pablo Milanes Foundation was a quasi-independent foundation through which exchanges with the exile community were encouraged. The Cuban government shut down the foundation in the early 1990s, thereby destroying a project that had given hope to many artists and intellectuals about the prospects for staying on the island.


Chapter 1

1. Manuel Moreno Fraginals and Jose J. Moreno Maso, Guerra, migración y muerte: el ejercito español en Cuba como via migratoria. (Barcelona: Fundacion Archivo de Indianos, 1993), 16.


6. Nicos Poulantzas, in *Political Power and Social Classes* (London: New Left Books, 1980), distinguishes between types of states and regimes. Furthermore, the kinds of regimes that emerge, for instance, in capitalist states vary according to multiple factors, including the forms taken by class struggles within any particular time period. This last concept is further discussed in Poulantzas’s book *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* (London: New Left Books, 1972).


11. Ibid., 362.


18. Bonilla et al., *Borderless Borders*.

19. Murphy, *World War I*.

20. Ibid., 27.


34. Ibid., 6.


38. The term *gusanos* was used in the early 1960s, *escoria* was the preferred term in the 1980s (see “La pocision de Cuba,” *Gramma*, April 7, 1980), and *anti-Cuban* was the term used most frequently in the 1990s.


41. Ibid., 269.


51. *Organo del 26 de julio*, Miami and New York (1957–59); and a personal interview with Julio Bauta, Executive Committee Member, Chicago chapter of the 26th of July Movement, November 1984.

52. Pérez-Firmat, *Life on the Hyphen*.

53. Gerald Poyo, “‘With All, and for the Good of All’: The Emergence of Popular Nationalism in the Cuban Communities of the United States, 1848–1898” (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989).


Chapter 2


2. For an extensive review of the debates about Cuban studies, see Marifeli


11. Ibid., 84.

12. Composed with information from ibid.; Thomas, *Cuban Revolution*.

13. R. Hart Phillips, *Cuba: Island of Paradox* (New York: McDowell, Oblensky, 1957), quoted this figure although the numbers have been contested and may be as low as eight thousand.

14. After the early 1960s, few references to the revolutionary movement include any organization except Movimiento 26 de Julio. In fact, Jesús Díaz’s fictional film, *Cladestino* caused quite a stir in Havana upon its release because it legitimized the urban struggle.


17. Ibid., 423.


19. Estimates of the number of political prisoners vary widely depending on the method of counting “political” crimes, but they range from 10,000 to 20,000. See María Cristina García, *Havana, USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 156–57.

22. For an extensive review of the literature of postrevolutionary immigration, see Lisandro Pérez, “Migration from Socialist Cuba: A Critical Analysis of the Literature,” in Miren Uriarte and Jorge Cañas, eds., Cubans in the United States (Boston: Center for the Study of the Cuban Community, 1984), 12–22.
26. Law no. 989, Gaceta Oficial de la Republica de Cuba, miercoles, December 1, 1962, 23705.
28. See the work of Hugo Azcuy, “Los derechos fundamentales de los Cubanos y la cuestion de la emigracion en las relaciones Cuba-Estado Unidos” (paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association, Cuban-Community Research group meeting, Chicago, April 1995).
29. Dominguez, Cuba, 37.
31. Santamaría, Delitos contra la seguridad del estado, 171.
33. Fidel Castro, La historia me absolvera (speech given at his trial after the failed assault on the military garrison, Moncada, 1955), (Havana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 1973).
41. Peter Wyden, Bay of Pigs: The Untold Story (New York: Touchstone, 1979), 100.
42. Ibid., 76.
43. Williams, in United States, Cuba, and Castro, adds that “he was also con-
cerned for his power, his externalization of evil, and his urge to control the future while still in the present” (152).

44. Correspondence between Joseph Scott, December 2, 1960, and Mr. Hager, December 7, 1960, addressed to Mr. Merchant; obtained from the State Department’s Freedom of Information Office, identified as being from the State Department’s Cuba file, 1960, 737.00/12/2/60.


46. A memo to the secretary from Mr. Mann on the subject of the President’s Inquiry Regarding Cuban Opposition groups, dated October 28, 1960; obtained from State Department’s Freedom of Information Office.

47. Department of State, Memorandum of Conversation, Cuba Series; participants, Ambassador Philip Bonsal and Dr. Aureliano Sanchez Arango, February 3, 1961, 737.00/2–361.


49. Wyden, Bay of Pigs, 49.

50. Johnson et al., Bay of Pigs, 62.


52. Department of State, Cuba Series, Memorandum of Conversation, February 4, 1961; participants, Carlos Piad and Ambassador. Philip W. Bonsal, 737.00/2–461.


54. Ibid.

55. Report sent to Dean Rusk, secretary of state, from the Department of State, Cuba Series, March 23, 1961, 737.00/3–2361.

56. Johnson et al., Bay of Pigs, 62.


61. Shain, Frontiers of Loyalty, 23.


63. Forment, “Caribbean Geopolitics.”

64. Ibid., 66.
Chapter 3

1. Department of State, incoming telegram, classified secret and declassified, Cuba series, no. 1726, October 13, 1960.
2. Letter from Thomas Mann, assistant state secretary, acknowledging receipt of letter from Bonsal on the Miró Cardona matter, Department of State, October 18, 1960.
5. Ibid., 3.
9. Declassified letter from Robert Hurwitch, officer in charge of Cuban affairs, to Dr. de Varona, Department of State, August 9, 1961.
18. Ibid., 46.
19. Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate Problems Connected with Refugees and Escapees, of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 87th Cong., 1st sess., December 6, 7, 13, 1961, 205.
20. Ibid., 161–62.
21. Ibid., 229.
22. Abba Schwartz and Allen Moreland, of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, as well as George Phelan, chief of the Documentation Branch of the State Department, were questioned about security procedures.


28. Dominguez, Cuba, 137.

29. “Cuban Refugee Problem,” Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate Problems Connected with Refugees and Escapees of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, pt. 1, December 6, 7, 13, 1961, 49.


33. Fagen, Brody, and O’Leary, *Cubans in Exile*.


37. For a more complete analysis of these statistics, see Lisandro Pérez, “Immi-


39. A group of economists at Florida International University has published extensively on the waste of human resources present in the Cuban community. For a sampling of their work, see Antonio Jorge and Raul Moncarz, “A Case of Subutilization and Dislocation of Human Capital Resources: The Cubans in the United States” (Working Paper, Human Resources and Development Program, College of Business at the University of Texas, San Antonio, 1981).


50. Ibid.

51. Outgoing telegram, Department of State, to Dr. Julio Garceran, drafted by Robert Hurwitch, signed by Wymberley Coerr, at the time acting assistant secretary of state, October 7, 1961, JFK Presidential Library, White House Papers, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. files, box 1.

52. Comite Pro-Referendum, JFK Presidential Library, Robert Kennedy, Attorney General Correspondence, box 14.


55. For documents about Operation Mongoose see *Foreign Relations of the

57. Domínguez, Cuba, 253.

Chapter 4

3. This group set up the Spanish Family Guidance Clinic in Miami. Among the early publications of their work is Jose Szapocznick, Javier Lasaga, and Priscilla Perry, “Outreach in the Delivery of Mental Health Services to the Elderly,” Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences 1, no. 1 (1979): 21–40.
5. These groups also “freelanced.” For instance, Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Moffitt were killed by Cuban terrorists working closely with the Chilean intelligence agenda, DINA; see John Dinges and Saul Landau, Assassination on Embassy Row (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980); and Donald Freed with Fred Landis, The Murder of Orlando Letelier: Death in Washington (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill and Co., 1980).


15. Grupo Areíto, *Contra Viento y Marea*.


23. Acuerdos Oficiales de las Discusiones entre representantes del gobierno de Cuba y representativos de la comunidad cubana en el exterior (Official agreements of discussions between Cuban government officials and representatives of the Cuban Community Abroad). December 7, 1978.


28. Among the organizations advocating this position was Abdala; see, for instance, *Abdala* newspaper, February-March 1979.


30. Decision making in Cuba is highly centralized, and, while there is some indication that the decision to permit the Antonio Maceo Brigade to visit was dis-
cussed in the Politburo of the Communist Party, it was not debated openly. Rather, the decision was simply announced.

31. Ministry of Foreign Relations, “Instrucciones a los Consulados de la República de Cuba en relación con los resultados del Acta Final de Diálogo Celebrado entre el Gobierno de la República de Cuba y personalidades representativas de la comunidad Cubana en el exterior” (Instructions to consulates of the Republic of Cuba regarding the results of the Final Accords of the Dialogue held with the government of Cuba and representative personalities of the Cuban community abroad). Havana, Cuba, January 1979.


39. *El Cubano Libre*, one of the hundreds of little newspapers in Miami, published a list called “1,100 Collaborators and Dialogueros.”

40. “Nogueras vinculado a asesinos de joven cubano” (*Claridad*, February 19–25, 1982), first broke this news. It was later published by other papers as well.

41. Stein, “Inside Omega 7”; “An Army in Exile.”

42. For instance, the campaign is described in the American Civil Liberties Union, Ann Arbor–Washtenaw newsletter entitled “Omega 7 vs. the Bill of Rights,” April 1980.

43. House Bill 2988, introduced in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts by Mel King, 1989.

44. Miami, Florida, November 27, 1979, letter signed and circulated by the Archdiocese of Miami.


46. Elizabeth Schneider, “The Basis of and Need for a Coordinated Federal and State Investigation and Prosecution of Cuban Exile Terrorism” (MS, Rutgers University Law School, Constitutional Litigation Clinic, May 1979).

47. In 1980 the FBI reported that Omega 7 was the most dangerous terrorist group in the United States. See Herman, “Highest Priority Given by U.S. to Capture Anti-Castro Group,” *New York Times*, March 3, 1980, 1–3.

48. Personal interview with Franklin Garcia, a founding member of Hispanic-American Democrats, Austin, Texas, June 1980.

49. Other scholars have emphasized the local reaction to the Mariel immigration as the impetus for this change; see, for example, Portes and Stepick, *City on the Edge*, chap. 2. I would argue that the dynamics for this change were already in place before Mariel.
Chapter 5

4. Alina Fernández, in *Alina: Memorias de Una Hija Rebelde* (Barcelona: Plaza and Janes, 1997), discusses what was openly talked about in Cuba (170).


24. The ban on travel to Cuba, in place since the early 1960s, had been found unconstitutional, and the Carter administration lifted it at the same time that it permitted increased exchanges with the island.


31. Marazul, one of the travel agencies that charters trips to Cuba, publishes a monthly newsletter. The January 1987 issue discusses the prices of such trips.

32. In the summer of 1989 I reviewed all of ICAIC’s weekly newsreels. After 1961 exiles appeared during Camarioca in 1965 and then not again until the 1977 visit of the Antonio Maceo Brigade.


35. Personal interview with Don Hayes, Republican Party organizer, June 1983.


40. Midwest Voter Registration and Education Project, *Exit Poll, 1983 Chicago

41. In the 1987 mayoral campaign, Cuban-Americans gave a higher proportion of their vote to Harold Washington than any other Latino group. In the primary election 68 percent of Cuban-Americans surveyed voted for Washington, and in the general election 72 percent of Cuban-American votes were cast for Washington.

42. The regional differences showed up even in regard to Cuba. See Guillermo Grenier, Hugh Gladwin, and Douglas McLaughen, principal investigators, “The 1995 FIU Cuba Poll: Views on Policy Options toward Cuba Held by Cuban-American Residents of Dade County, Florida and Union City, New Jersey” (MS, April 1995).


Chapter 6


3. “Opportunities of U.S.-Cuban Trade” (study by the Cuban Studies Program of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, June 1988).


5. Hearings on the Cuban situation, Subcommittee on Western Hemispheric Affairs, Committee on Foreign Relations, August 1, 1989.

6. Sec. 2502 (a), Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act, no. 100–416, 102 Stat. (also known as the Berman amendment).

8. Testimony provided to Congress by Jorge Más Canosa, reported in *Cuban Monitor*, 1, no. 5 (November 1988), p. 1.


10. Interview with Mercedes Arce, then coordinator of the Cuban community component at the University Center, Centro de Investigaciones sobre los Estados Unidos (CISEU), November 1987.


12. Mercedes Arce, in a document dated July 2, 1991, which analyzed the politics of the Cuban community, refers to Fidel Castro’s goal for the 1978 Dialogue as “exploit the contradictions in the community to confront the counterrevolution.” Archives of the CEAP, University of Havana.

13. In the summer of 1990 I was invited as a research fellow by the University of Havana Centro de Estudios de Alternativas Políticas, where I had an opportunity to review memos written by the island conference participants, including Ricardo Alarcón, at the time the minister of foreign relations.


19. For instance, “Criterio Alternativo,” signed by many renowned writers and poets, outlined a political platform with the most popular demands that had been ignored by the Communist Party Congress.

20. *Juventud Rebelde*, the Young Communists newspaper (December 1990), carried various articles on the controversy, including the demand to have a more inclusive definition of culture. Nonetheless, the Young Communists gave a negative portrayal of the demands.


22. I was in Havana in the summer of 1992. I returned in November to find that these individuals had all been removed from their posts.


35. See exchange of letters between Jorge Más Canosa and David Lawrence, publisher of the *Miami Herald*, April 5, 1992, p. 26A.
41. Personal interview with José Cruz, president of the Coalition, June, 1987.
Chapter 7


9. See the accounts of Nicolas Sirgado Ros, “Ten Years as a Cuban Double Agent in the CIA,” Covert Action, no. 2 (October 1978).

10. For a detailed list of these acts, see “Dangerous Dialogue: Attacks on Freedom of Expression in Miami’s Cuban Exile Community,” Report by America’s Watch 4, no. 7 (August 1992).


25. María Martínez-Cañas, “Piedras (Stones) Series” (catalog for an exhibit at Catherine Edelman Gallery, Chicago, September 1997), a conversation between artist and curator.
33. In an essay that appeared in the Miami Herald, May 1, 1994, p. 1, Viewpoint, I explain the internal bureaucratic turf wars surrounding this conference.
43. Manny García, “Lively Debate on Disaster Relief for Cuba,” *Miami Herald*, October 20, 1996, 1C.
45. See, for instance, the first issue of *La gran familia* 1, no. 1 (October–December 1995).
47. Copy of the “ValenTodos” proposal sent to Jean Fischer, editor of *Third Text*, June 7, 1993.
49. Tania Bruguera, *Memoria de las posguerra* (Havana) 1, no. 2 (June 1994).

Chapter 8

1. Rodolfo de la Garza, Louis DeSipio, F. Chris Garcia, John Garcia, and Angelo Falcón, *Latino Voices: Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban Perspectives on American Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992). The authors report that, when asked whether they are white, black, or another Latino category, Cubans overwhelmingly choose white. Obviously, Cubans still use home country referents to define their cultural identity, and indeed those who choose white were probably considered white in Cuba. But this does not change the fact that they were not considered “white” in the context of Southern politics.


9. See, for example, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Hellen Tiffin, eds., The Post-Colonial Studies Reader (London: Routledge, 1995).


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