

## 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.

3. Homi K. Bhabha, “The Commitment to Theory,” *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 19–39.

4. In *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology That Breaks Your Heart* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996) Ruth Behar writes about the dilemmas in using personal narrative as part of the process of social science.

5. Parts of the introduction are excerpted from an essay that appeared in Ruth Behar, ed., *Puentes a Cuba / Bridges to Cuba* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 25–43.

### 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.

4. See, for example, Rodolfo de la Garza, Robert Winckle, and Jerry Polinard, “Ethnicity and Policy: The Mexican American Perspective,” in F. Chris Garcia, ed., *Latinos and the Political System* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), 426–41.

5. Mary Louise Pratt and Charlene Aguilar, eds., “Still Looking for America: Beyond the Latino National Political Survey” (report prepared by the Public Outreach Project, Stanford Center for Chicano Research, Stanford University, January 1994).

6. I discuss this in more detail in “Transnational Political and Cultural Identities: Crossing Theoretical Borders,” in Frank Bonilla, Edwin Melendez, Rebecca Morales, and María de los Angeles Torres, eds., *Borderless Borders: Latinos in the Global Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 169–82.

7. See the work of Tomás Almaguer, “Toward a Study of Chicano Colonialism,” in *Aztlan: Chicano Journal of Social Sciences and the Arts* 1, no. 2 (fall 1970): 7–21. Also see Rudy Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); and Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979).

8. Rufus Browning, Dale Rogers Marshall, and David Tabb, *Protest Is Not Enough: The Struggle of Blacks and Hispanics for Equality in Urban Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

9. See Juan Gomez-Quiñones, “Notes on the Interpretation of the Relations between the Mexican Community in the United States and Mexico”; and Carlos Zazueta, “Mexican Political Actors in the United States and Mexico: Historical and Political Contexts of a Dialogue,” both in Carlos Vasquez and Manuel Garcia y Griego, eds., *Mexican/U.S. Relations: Conflict and Convergence* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 417–83.

10. History Task Force of El Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, *Labor Migration under Capitalism: The Puerto Rican Experience* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979); and Manuel Maldonado-Dennis, *Puerto Rico y Estados Unidos: Emigración y Colonialismo* (Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1976).

11. María de los Angeles Torres, “From Exiles to Minorities: The Politics of the Cuban Community in the United States” (Ph.D. diss., Political Science Department University of Michigan, 1986).

12. A review of this research was published as “Encuentros y Encontronazos: Homeland in the Politics and Identity of the Cuban Diaspora,” in *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 4, no. 2 (fall 1995): 211–38.

13. Frank Bonilla, “Brother Can You Paradigm?” (Working Paper, Inter-University Program on Latino Research, University of Texas, Austin, 1997).

## Chapter 1

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

2. Douglas B. Klusmeyer, “Aliens, Immigrants, and Citizens: The Politics of Inclusion in the Federal Republic of Germany.” *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 122, no. 3 (summer 1993): 84.

3. Khachig Tölölyan, “The Nation-State and Its Others: In Lieu of a Preface,” *Diaspora: A Journal Transnational Studies* 1, no. 1 (spring 1991): 3–7.

4. For an extensive study of transnational communities, see Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, PostColonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1994); and Jorge Duany, “Quisqueya on the Hudson: The Transnational Identity of Dominicans in Washington Heights.” Dominican Research Monographs, CUNY Dominican Studies Institute, 1994.

5. Frank Bonilla, “Migrants, Citizens, and Social Pacts,” in Edwin Melendez and Edgardo Melendez, *Colonial Dilemma: Critical Perspectives on Contemporary Puerto Rico* (Boston: South End Press, 1993), 181–88.

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).

7. Paul Murphy, *World War I and the Origins of Civil Liberties in the United States* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), chap. 6.

8. Richard Barnet, *Roots of War: The Men and Institutions behind U.S. Foreign Policy*. (Baltimore: Penguin, 1971).

9. National Security Council–68, “How to Prepare for an Indefinite Period of Tension and Danger,” April 1950; reprinted in Walter Lefebvre, *America in the Cold War: Twenty Years of Revolution and Response, 1947–1967* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969), 74.

10. Richard Harris Smith, *The Secret History of America’s First Central Intelligence Agency* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).

11. *Ibid.*, 362.

12. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., in J. Joseph Huthmacher and Warren Susman, *The Origins of the Cold War* (Waltham, MA: Ginn-Blaisdell, 1970), 41.

13. Silvia Pedraza-Bailey, *Political and Economic Migrants: Cubans and Mexicans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 10–11.

14. Alejandro Portes and Robert Bach, *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985). Also see Lourdes Casal and Andre Hernández, “Cubans in the United States: A Survey of the Literature.” *Cuban Studies* 5 (July 1975): 25–51.

15. For instance, see the following two volumes: Mohammed E. Ahrari, *Ethnic Groups and Foreign Policy* (Westport, CT: Greenview Press, 1987); and Abdul Aziz Said, *Ethnicity and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1981).

16. Nicos Poulantzas, *Political Power and Social Classes* (London: New Left Books, 1968).

17. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebooks*, O. Horace and G. Nuvre Smith, eds. (New York: International Publishers, 1971).

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

19. Murphy, *World War I*.

20. *Ibid.*, 27.

21. See Mervin Holli and Peter d'A. Jones, eds., *Ethnic Chicago* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1977).

22. Yossi Shain, *The Frontiers of Loyalty: Political Exiles in the Age of the Nation-State* (Hanover, MA: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 51.

23. For a review of the complexities of the pluralist approach, see Gabriel Almond, *A Discipline Divided: Schemes and Sects in Political Science* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990).

24. George Black, *The Good Neighbors: How the United States Wrote the History of Central America and the Caribbean* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988).

25. Felix Padilla, "Introduction: The Sociology of Hispanic People," in F. Padilla, ed. *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Sociology* (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 1994), 13.

26. Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987).

27. See the work of Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989).

28. Juan Gomez-Quiñones, "On Culture." *Revista Chicano-Riqueno* (5, no. 2 1977): 29–46.

29. Guillermo Gomez-Peña, *Warrior for Gringostroika* (St. Paul, MN: Grey Wolf Press, 1993).

30. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992).

31. Gustavo Pérez-Firmat, *Life on the Hyphen: The Cuban-American Way* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).

32. David Rieff, *The Exile: Cuba in the Heart of Miami* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993).

33. Rafael Hernández, "Soñar en ingles: Comunidad Cubana, Transculturación, Cultura Política" (MS, 1993).

34. *Ibid.*, 6.

35. Marisa Alicea, "The Latino Immigration Experience: The Case of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubanos," in Padilla, *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures*, 34–56.

36. Milton Esman, "The Political Fallout of International Migration," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 2, no. 1 (1992): 3–38.

37. Juan Gomez-Quiñonez, "Notes on an Interpretation of the Relations between the Mexican Community in the United States and Mexico," in Carlos Vázquez and Manuel Garcia y Griego, eds., *Mexico/U.S. Relations: Conflict and Convergence* (Los Angeles: University of California Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, 1983), 417–40.

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

39. A national survey of Latino perspectives sought to explore these differences. See Rodolfo O. de la Garza, Louis DeSipio, F. Chris Garcia, and Angelo Falcón, *Latino Voices: Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban Perspectives on American Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992). See specifically the analysis on foreign policy

that used data collected from this survey; Rodolfo O. de la Garza, Jerome Hernández, Angelo Falcón, F. Chris Garcia, and John A. Garcia, “Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban Foreign Policy Perspectives: A Test of Competing Explanations,” in F. Chris Garcia, ed., *Pursuing Power: Latinos and the Political System* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 401–26. For a critique of the survey, see Mary Louise Pratt and Charlene Aguilar, eds., “Still Looking for America: Beyond the Latino Political Survey” (report prepared by the Public Outreach Project, Stanford Center for Chicano Research, Stanford University, January 1994).

40. For an extensive study of the topic, see Paul Tabori, *The Anatomy of Exile: A Semantic and Historical Study* (London: George Harrap, 1972), 39.

41. *Ibid.*, 269.

42. Leon Grinberg and Rebecca Grinberg, *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 4.

43. Carol Breckenridge and Arjun Appadurai, “Editors’ Comments: On Moving Targets,” *Public Culture* 2, no. 1 (1989): i–iv.

44. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Press, 1983), 187.

45. Edward W. Said, *Representations of the Intellectual* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 48–49.

46. Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

47. An early exception is Paul Lewis, *The Politics of Exile: Paraguay’s Febrerista Party* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965).

48. Shain, *Frontiers of Loyalty*.

49. Cintio Vitier, *Lo cubano en la poesía* (La Habana: El Instituto del libro, 1970), 88–101.

50. Personal interview with Jaime Zaiger, San Antonio, Texas, May 1978. Zaiger participated in the publishing and smuggling of the newspapers.

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).

54. U.S. Commerce Department, Bureau of the Census, 1960, 1970, 1980; and Current Population Survey, 1986.

## Chapter 2

1. “Analysis of the Opposition Movement to the Castro Regime,” Foreign Service Dispatch, American Embassy, Havana, December 6, 1960; reported by W. G. Bowdlering.

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

Perez-Stable, “The Field of Cuban Studies,” *Latin American Research Review* 26, no. 1 (1991): 239–50.

3. An exception to this was the seminal study of Cuban exile political attitudes by Richard Fagen, Richard Brody, and Thomas J. O’Leary, *Cubans in Exile: Disaffection and the Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968).

4. See the work of Juan Clark, “The Exodus from Revolutionary Cuba (1959–1974): A Sociological Analysis” (Ph.D. diss., Dept. of Sociology, University of Florida, 1975).

5. I include my own work in this, along with that of Lourdes Argüelles, “Cuban Miami: The Roots, Development, and Everyday Life of an Émigré Enclave in the National Security State,” *Contemporary Marxism* 5 (summer 1982): 27–44; as well as Pedraza-Bailey, *Political and Economic Migrants*, 146.

6. Jorge Domínguez, *Cuba: Order and Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, Harvard University, 1978), 140.

7. Rafael Hernández, “La política migratoria de Estados Unidos y la revolución cubana” (Centro de Estudios Sobre America, La Habana, Serie Avances de Investigacione no. 3, 1980).

8. For a detailed account of the various attempts to hold elections, see both Hugh Thomas, *The Cuban Revolution* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); and Thomas G. Paterson, *Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

9. Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course, and Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), has an excellent account of the emergence of the armed struggle strategy.

10. Jaime Suchlicki, *University Students and Revolution in Cuba, 1920–1968* (Miami: University of Miami Press, 1969).

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.

15. See Domínguez, *Cuba*, chap. 6.

16. Thomas, *Cuban Revolution*, 416.

17. *Ibid.*, 423.

18. Jay Mallin Sr., *Covering Castro: Rise and Decline of Cuba’s Communist Dictator* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1994).

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 Garcia, *Havana, USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 156–57.

20. Tomas Fernández-Travieso, “Los ocho fusilados,” *El Nuevo Herald*, April 17, 1991, p. 4.

21. Foreign Service Dispatch no. 100, April 21, 1960.
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.
23. In Pedraza-Bailey, *Political and Economic Migrants*, 151.
24. Quoted in *ibid.*, 150; from *New York Times*, July 23, 1961.
25. Quoted in *ibid.*, 149; from *New York Times*, November 12, 1960.
26. Law no. 989, *Gaceta Oficial de la Republica de Cuba*, miércoles, December 1, 1962, 23705.
27. Abel Enrique Hart Santamaría, *Delitos contra la seguridad del estado* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1988), 76.
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. Domínguez, *Cuba*, 37.
30. Rex A. Hudson, “Castro’s America Department” (Washington, DC: Cuban-American National Foundation, Departamento de las Americas pamphlet, 1991).
31. Santamaría, *Delitos contra la seguridad del estado*, 171.
32. Earl Smith, *El Cuarto Piso: Relato sobre la revolucion comunista de Castro* (Santo Domingo: Editora Corripio, 1983).
33. Fidel Castro, *La historia me absolvera* (speech given at his trial after the failed assault on the military garrison, Moncada, 1953), (Havana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 1973).
34. Barnett, *Roots of War*; and Saul Landau, *The Dangerous Doctrine: National Security and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988).
35. Carlos Forment, “Caribbean Geopolitics and Foreign State Sponsored Social Movements: The Case of Cuban Exiles Militancy, 1959–1979,” in Uriarte-Gaston and Canas, *Cubans in the United States*, 65–102.
36. Argüelles, “Cuban Miami,” 27–44.
37. Philip Brenner, *From Confrontation to Negotiations: U.S. Cuba Relations* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), 12.
38. William Appleman Williams, *The United States, Cuba, and Castro* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1962), 122.
39. CIA document entitled “A Program of Covert Action against the Castro Regime,” March 16, 1960, 1 (approved for release June 18, 1988, MR Care No. 88–21).
40. U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Executive Sessions of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Historical Series), vol. 10, 85th Cong., 2d sess., 1958, in Lars Schoultz, *National Security and the United States Policy toward Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 16.
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.

45. Haynes Johnson, with Manuel Artime, José Pérez San Román, Erneido Oliva, and Enriquez Ruíz-Williams, *The Bay of Pigs: The Leaders Story of Brigade 2506* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), 29.

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.

48. Argüelles, “Cuban Miami,” 31.

49. Wyden, *Bay of Pigs*, 49.

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

51. Department of State, Cuba Series, Foreign Service Dispatch no. 397, American Embassy, Mexico, D.F., October 1960, Report of Conversation with Jose (Pepin) Bosch reported by R. G. Cushing and J. J. Montllor, 737.00/10–1160.

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

53. Memorandum for director of Central Intelligence Agency from Tracy Barnes, March 21, 1961, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, National Security Council Files, Cuba, box 48.

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.

57. Andrew Wilson, “Portrait of a Cuban Refugee,” Central Intelligence Agency, *Studies in Intelligence* (summer 1964): 35–41.

58. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., memorandum for Kenneth O’Donnell, May 8, 1961, John F. Kennedy (JFK) Presidential Library, White House Papers, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. files, box 5.

59. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., April 21, 1961, box 115, Presidential Papers, JFK Presidential Library.

60. “Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders: An Interim Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities,” United States Senate, 94th Cong., November 20, 1975, report no. 94–465.

61. Shain, *Frontiers of Loyalty*, 23.

62. Paterson, *Contesting Castro*.

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.
3. Department of State, memorandum of conversation, March 23, 1960.
4. Department of State, memorandum of conversation, November 29, 1960, 2.
5. *Ibid.*, 3.
6. State Department bulletin, January 17, 1961, 659–60.
7. Department of State, memorandum of conversation, June 21, 1961.
8. Personal interview with Wendell Rollason, November 14, 1993, Ft. Myers, FL.
9. Declassified letter from Robert Hurwitch, officer in charge of Cuban affairs, to Dr. de Varona, Department of State, August 9, 1961.
10. Robert Bach, “Western Hemispheric Immigration to the United States: A Review of Selected Research Trends” (Hemispheric Migration Project, Occasional Paper Series, Center for Immigration Policy and Refugee Assistance, Georgetown University and the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration, March 1985), i.
11. Department of State memorandum, no. 2540, December 19, 1960.
12. *Cuba*, Department of State Publication no. 7171, Inter-American Series 66 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, April, 1961).
13. Quoted in Felix Masud-Piloto, *With Open Arms: Cuban Migration to the United States* (New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1988), 33.
14. Jorge Domínguez, “Cooperating with the Enemy? U.S. Immigration Policy toward Cuba,” in Christopher Mitchell, ed., *Western Hemisphere Immigration and United States Foreign Policy* (State College: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 31–88.
15. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Roll no. 44, memo from John F. Kennedy, January 27, 1961, JFK Presidential Library, Boston.
16. Report of Abraham Ribicoff on the Cuban Refugee Problem, February 2, 1961, JFK Presidential Library.
17. Migration and Refugee Assistance, Hearing before Subcommittee No. 1 of Committee of the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 87th Cong., August 3, 1961, 40.
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.

23. Lyndon B. Johnson (LBJ) Presidential Library, National Security File, Country File, “Cuba, Refugees,” box 30, November 1965; declassified, December 17, 1993.

24. Argüelles, “Cuban Miami,” 30.

25. Pedraza-Bailey, *Political and Economic Migrants*, 75.

26. John Scalan and Gilbert Loescher, “U.S. Foreign Policy 1959–1980: Impact on Refugee Flow from Cuba,” *Annals, AAPSS* 467 (May 1983): 116–37.

27. Pedraza-Bailey, *Political and Economic Migrants*, 148.

28. Domínguez, *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.

30. Quoted in Lisandro Pérez, “Cuban Miami,” in Guillermo Grenier and Alex Stepick, *Miami Now! Immigration, Ethnicity, and Social Change* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992), 87.

31. For contextualization of this relocation program, see Robert Bach, “Settlement Policies in the United States,” in Gary Freeman and James Jupp, eds., *Nations of Immigrants: Australia, the United States, and International Migration* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992), 145–64.

32. Rafael Prohías and Lourdes Casal, *The Cuban Minority in the United States: Preliminary Report on Need Identification and Program Evaluation* (Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University, 1973).

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

34. Lourdes Casal, “Cubans in the United States: Their Impact on U.S.–Cuba Relations,” in Martin Weinstein, ed., *Revolutionary Cuba in the World* (Philadelphia: ISPH Press, 1979), 112.

35. E. Lineham, “Cuba’s Exiles Bring New Life to Miami,” *National Geographic* 144 (July 1973): 68–95. The myth of the golden exile was found in the following publications as well: T. Alexander, “Those Amazing Cuban Émigrés,” *Fortune* 74 (October 1966): 144–46; Al Burt, “Miami: The Cuban Flavor,” *U.S. News and World Report* 62 (March 1967): 104–6; “Cubans Take Off on SBA Test Run,” *Business Week* 21 (June 1969): 41; “Cuba’s New Refugees Get Jobs Fast: Opportunities in the United States,” *Business Week* 12 (March 1966): 69; “Flight from Cuba: Castro’s Loss Is U.S. Gain,” *U.S. News and World Report* 70 (May 1971): 74–77; “Havana, Florida,” *Newsweek* (September 1969); “Havana in Exile,” *Economist* 228 (August 1968): 33–34; “How the Immigrants Made It in Miami,” *Business Week* (May 1971): 88–89; S. Jacoby, “Miami Si, Cuba No,” *New York Times Magazine* (September 1974): 28; “Making It in Miami: Cuban Style,” *Life* (December 1971): 36–41; “Bienvenidos! to Cuban Refugees,” *Readers Digest* 90 (February 1967): 19–24; “Success with a Spanish Accent,” *Nation Business* 60 (March 1972): 78–80.

36. Alejandro Portes, “Dilemmas of a Golden Exile: Integration of Cuban Refugee Families in Milwaukee,” *American Sociological Review* 34 (August 1969): 505–18.

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

grant Economic Adjustment and Family Reorganization: The Cuban Success Story Reexamined,” *International Migration Review* 20 (spring 1986): 4–20.

38. Yolanda Prieto, “Cuban Women in the U.S. Labor Force: Perspectives on the Nature of Change,” *Cuban Studies / Estudios Cubanos* 17: 73–91. Also see María Cristina García, “Cuban Women in the United States,” in Padilla, *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures*, 203–18.

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).

40. Marifeli Pérez-Stable and Miren Uriarte, “Cubans and the Changing Economy of Miami,” in Rebecca Morales and Frank Bonilla, eds., *Latinos in a Changing U.S. Economy* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1993).

41. L. Pérez, “Cuban Miami,” 91.

42. Alejandro Portes and Robert Bach, *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), chap. 6.

43. Lourdes Argüelles and Gary McGoin, “El Miami Cubano.” *Areito* 7, no. 28 (1980): 4–15.

44. Carlos Forment, “Political Practice and the Rise of an Ethnic Enclave: The Cuban-American Case, 1959–1979,” *Theory and Society* 18 (January 1989): 47–81.

45. Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 140–44.

46. Portes and Bach, *Latin Journey*, chap. 8.

47. Juan Gomez Quiñonez, “On Culture,” *Revista Chicano-Riqueno* 5, no. 2 (1977): 29–46.

48. Casal, in Weinstein, *Revolutionary Cuba in the World*, 121.

49. “A Study on Cuban Unity against Castro, by a Special Committee of the Supreme Court Justices of the Supreme Court of Cuba,” 1963, JFK Presidential Library, White House Papers, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. files, box 5.

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

53. Department of State airgram, April 13, 1964, from the LBJ Library, NSF Cuba Files, box 22, Exile Activities, Cables, vol. 1, 11/63–11/65.

54. White House memorandum for attorney general, October 1963, JFK Presidential Library, Robert Kennedy, Attorney General Concerns, box 14.

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

*United States, 1961–1963*, vol. 10, *Cuba, 1961–1962* (Department of State, Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977).

56. Lourdes Argüelles, “El Miami Cubano,” *Areito* 7, no. 28 (1980): 4–15.

57. Domínguez, *Cuba*, 253.

58. Carlos Forment, “Caribbean Geopolitics and Foreign State Sponsored Social Movements: The Case of Cuban Exile Militancy, 1959–1979,” in Uriarte and Cañas, *Cubans in the United States*, 65–101.

59. Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, LBJ Presidential Library, Presidential National Security–Defense, box 419, November 22, 1963–October 19, 1965.

60. For an excellent account of the development of Cuban identity on the enclave, see María Cristina García, *Havana, USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959–1994* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), chap. 3.

61. “Review of Current Program of Covert Action against Cuba,” background paper for a discussion on CIA covert actions against Cuba, April 7, 1964, LBJ Presidential Library, NSF–Country Files, boxes 24–25.

62. Gordon Chase, memorandum for Mr. McGeorge Bundy, subject: Cuban Policy–April to November 1964, March 23, 1964, LBJ Presidential Library, NSF, Cuba Files, Cuba/U.S. Policy, 2, December 1963–July 1965, boxes 26–29.

63. Hinkle and Warren, *The Fish Is Red: The Story of the Secret War against Castro* (New York: Harper and Row, 1981), chap. 9.

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2. Lourdes Casal and Rafael Prohía, *The Cuban Minority in the United States: A Preliminary Report on Need Identification and Program Evaluation* (Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University, 1973).

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4. Blake Fleetwood, “I Am Going to Declare War,” *New Times*, May 13, 1977, p. 1.

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).

6. María Cristina Herrera, “Prologo.” *Exilio* (winter 1969): 12.

7. Guarioné Díaz, “El proceso de pluralización del exilio cubano.” *Nueva generación* (November 1970).

8. Abdala Newsletter, July 1980, “A Social Democratic Alternative to the Cuban Dilemma.” Also see “Abdala condena devolución de cubanos por el gobierno chileno,” *La Raza* (August 25–31, 1982).

9. Grupo Areíto, *Contra Viento y Marea* (Havana: UNEAC, 1978); Jesús Díaz, *Del exilio a la patria* (Havana: UNEAC, 1979).

10. Philip Brenner, *From Confrontation to Negotiation: U.S. Relations with Cuba* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), 18.

11. For an official island perspective on the changing nature of U.S. foreign policies, see *El Imperialismo Norte Americano Contemporáneo* (Havana: Centro de Estudios sobre América), 1984.

12. Personal interview with Manolo Gómez, president of the Cuban-American Committee, September 1979.

13. Interview, Roberto Rodobaldo Pentón, person in charge of the Cuban community for the Ministry of the Interior, 1992.

14. Jesús Díaz, dir., *55 Hermanos*, film (ICAIC, 1978). This documentary about the first group of Cuban-Americans returning to Cuba had a tremendous impact on the Cuban population.

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

16. *Areíto* 4, nos. 3–4 (spring 1978), is dedicated to the Antonio Maceo Brigade.

17. *Areíto*, special issue (spring 1978): 4–5.

18. Dagmaris Cabezas, “The Cuban Exiles: You Can Go Home Again,” *Nation*, June 7, 1980, p. 1.

19. “Interview with President Fidel Castro,” *Areíto* 6 (September 1979).

20. Lourdes Casal, “Invitación al Diálogo,” *Areíto* 6 (September 1979).

21. Conferencia de prensa de Dr. Fidel Castro, Primer Diálogo (press conference, Dr. Fidel Castro, the First Dialogue). November 21, 1978, reported by Weekly Newshow, ICAIC, no. 894.

22. *Baragúa* 1, no. 1 (spring 1979): 2.

23. Acuerdos Oficiales de las Discusiones entre representantes del gobierno de Cuba y representantes 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.

24. “Conferencia de Prensa de Fidel,” *Juventud Rebelde*, December 10, 1978.

25. Wayne Smith, *The Closest of Enemies: A Personal and Diplomatic History of the Castro Years* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 163.

26. Bernardo Benes, “Mis Conversaciones Secretas Con Fidel Castro, Memoria,” available at the Special Collections Library, University of Miami, 1994.

27. Smith, *Closest of Enemies*, 159.

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

29. Max Azicri, “Un analisis pragmatico del Diálogo entre la Cuba del interior y del exterior,” *Areíto* 5, nos. 19–20 (1979): 4.

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 Republica de Cuba en relación con los resultados del Acta Final de Diálogo Celebrado entre el Gobierno de la Republica 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.

32. Manolo Gómez, “El exilio pide relaciones con Cuba,” *Areito* 5, nos. 19–20 (1979): 7–9.

33. “Un Grupo de Cubanos Que Trabaja en Miami por la reunificación familiar,” *Replica*, November 21, 1979.

34. *Boletín*, Círculo de Cultura Cubana, “Qué es el Círculo de Cultura Cubana?” no. 1 (1981).

35. Achy Obejas, “Cuban Left Spreads Its U.S. Roots,” *Miami News* (October 1981).

36. Jeff Stein, “Inside Omega 7,” *Village Voice*, March 10, 1980.

37. Jeff Stein, “An Army in Exile,” *New York*, September 10, 1979, 42–49.

38. Jim McGee, “Anti-Castro Terrorists of Omega 7 Find New Base in South Florida,” *Miami Herald*, January 1983, 1.

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 asesinatos 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.

45. A letter from the Archdiocese of Newark, November 28, 1979.

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

1. Bernardo Benes, 1994.
2. Editorial, “La Posición de Cuba,” *Granma*, April 7, 1980, p. 1.
3. Prensa Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Cuba, April 14, 1980, Circular no. 433.
4. Alina Fernández, in *Alina: Memorias de Una Hija Rebelde* (Barcelona: Plaza and Janes, 1997), discusses what was openly talked about in Cuba (170).
5. Jorge Castañeda, *Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left after the Cold War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 51–67.
6. For instance, see Rafael Hernández, “La política inmigratoria de Estados Unidos y la revolucion cubana,” *Avances de investigación*, no. 3 (August 1980); Mercedes Arce, “La política de Cuba hacia la comunidad cubano-americana: una eveluacion de los años 80” (paper presented at the XVI Congress of Latin American Studies Association, Washington, DC, April 4–6, 1991); and María Teresa Miyar Bolio, “La política de Cuba hacia la comunidad Cubana en el contexto de las relaciones Cuba / Estados Unidos 1959–1980,” February 1991, MS, University of Havana.
7. Frank Viviano, “The New Immigrants,” *Mother Jones* (January 1983): 28–29.
8. Brian Hufker and Gray Cavender, “From Freedom Flotilla to America’s Burden: The Social Construction of the Mariel Immigrants,” *Sociological Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (1990): 321–35.
9. Robert Bach, “The New Cuban Immigrants: Their Backgrounds and Prospects,” *Monthly Labor Review* 103, no. 10 (1980): 39–46; and Clyde B. McCoy and Diana Gonzalez, “Cuban Immigration and Immigrants in Florida and the United States: Implications for Immigration Policy,” University of Florida, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, Issue No. 3, November 1985.
10. S. Taylor, “Latinos Training in U.S. Raise Questions of Criminal and International Law,” *New York Times*, January 18, 1982.
11. “Esperar en una manera de vencer dice el Dr. Orlando Bosch,” *Abdala*, no. 71 (May 1984).
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13. Portes and Stepick, *City on the Edge*, chap. 2.
14. R. Tambs, ed., *A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties* (Washington, DC: Council on Inter-American Security, 1980).
15. “Listo el plan para la invasión de Cuba,” *Semanal Extra*, April 10, 1981.
16. Interview with Roger Fontaine, reported by Lourdes Argüelles, in Lourdes Argüelles and María de los Angeles Torres, “La comunidad cubana en la política de los Estados Unidos,” *Material de Trabajo*, no. 4 (Havana: Centro de Estudios sobre America, 1983).
17. Gaeton Fonzi, “Who Is Jorge Más Canosa?” *Esquire* (January 1993): 121.

18. Cathy Booth, "The Man Who Would Oust Castro," *Time*, October 26, 1992, 56.
19. José de Cordoba, "A Miami Businessman is Angling, Some Say, To Succeed Castro," *Wall Street Journal*, May 11, 1990, p. 1. Also, R. A. Zaldívar, "Cuban Lobby Courts Allies, Reaps Clout," *Miami Herald*, Aug. 11, 1986, p. 1.
20. Phone interview with José Cardenas, Cuban-American National Foundation, August 19, 1993.
21. Zaldívar, "Cuban Lobby Courts Allies, Reaps Clout," 1.
22. Fonzi, "Who Is Jorge Más Canosa?" 122.
23. John Spicer Nichols, "Cuba: The Congress; the Power of the Anti-Castro Lobby," *Nation*, October 24, 1988, p. 389–92.
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.
25. L. Boudin, Department of the Treasury, Office of Foreign Assets Control, 31 C.F.R., pt. 15, April 20, 1982.
26. *Ruth Wald v. Donald Regan*, U.S. Court of Appeals, no. 82–1695, May 16, 1983.
27. Ronald Copeland, "The Cuban Boatlift of 1980: Strategies in Federal Crisis Management," *Annals of the American Academy* 467 (May 1983): 138–50.
28. Damian Fernández, "From Little Havana to Washington," in M. Ahrari, ed., *Ethnic Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987).
29. Tams, *New Inter-American Policy*.
30. Marifeli Pérez-Stable, "Diversidad y política de Cubanos," *El Nuevo Herald*, October 7, 1985, 5.
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.
33. *Directory of Hispanic Appointees in the Reagan Administration* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1983).
34. See Max J. Castro, "The Politics of Language in Miami," in Guillermo Grenier and Alex Stepick III, eds., *Miami Now!* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992), 109–32.
35. Personal interview with Don Hayes, Republican Party organizer, June 1983.
36. Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, *Analysis of the Hispanic Vote in 1984 Presidential Elections* (San Antonio, TX, 1984).
37. Darío Moreno and Nicol Rae, "Ethnicity and Partnership: The Eighteenth Congressional District in Miami," in Grenier and Stepick, *Miami Now!* 186–204.
38. *National Report* (NALEO newsletter) 9, no. 3 (fall 1989): 1.
39. Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, 1984; and Manolo Gomez, "The Hispanic Vote in the Election." *U.S.-Cuba Bulletin* 3, no. 1 (February 1985): 1–6.
40. Midwest Voter Registration and Education Project, *Exit Poll, 1983 Chicago*



*Mayoral Elections.* Fifty-two percent of Cubans surveyed voted for Harold Washington in 1983. Also see Richard Santillan, “Latino Politics in the Midwestern United States: 1915–1986,” in Garcia, ed. (1988), 99–120.

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).

43. M. Gómez, *Cuban-Americans, Hispanics, and the 1984 Presidential Election* (Washington, DC: Cuban-American Committee, 1984).

44. Personal interview with Bob Bailon, Republican National Committee, May 1983; and Bernie Sweeney, coordinator, Ethnic Liaison Office for the Republican Party, May 1983.

45. Alejandro Portes, “The Rise of Ethnicity: Determinants of Ethnic Perceptions among Cuban Exiles in Miami,” *American Sociological Review* (June 1984): 383–97.

46. There is an extensive literature on ethnic groups and foreign policy; see, for instance, Mohammed E. Ahrari, ed., *Ethnic Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987); Laurence Halley, *Ancient Affections: Ethnic Groups and Foreign Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1985); and Abdul Aziz Said, ed., *Ethnicity and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1981).

## Chapter 6

1. Senator Claiborne Pell, *The United States and Cuba: Time for a New Beginning* (report of a trip to Cuba, November 24–28, 1988, December 1988; report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, December 1988).

2. Armando Valladares, *Against All Hope: The Prison Memoirs of Armando Valladares* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1986).

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

4. For instance, see report of the Institute for Policy Studies, “U.S.-Cuban Relations in a Time of International Change,” U.S.-Cuba Dialogue Project, May 1989.

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).

7. Felix Masud-Piloto, *From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants: Cuban Immigration to the U.S., 1959–1995* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1996).

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

9. Susana Bellido, “Muerte de balsera en tormenta se vuelve simbolo de exodo cubano,” *El Nuevo Herald*, March 25, 1993.

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.

11. For instance, see the writings of Jesús Arboleya, formerly in charge of the Cuban community project for the Ministry of the Interior, “El Poder de la Extrema Derecha Cubanamericana,” in *Gran Familia: Revista de la Emigración Cubana* 1, no. 1 (October–December 1995): 15–17, *Havana Miami: The U.S.-Cuba Migration Conflict*, Melbourne, Australia: Ocean Press, 1996.

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.

14. See, for instance, “Cuba in Crisis,” *Congressional Quarterly* 1, no. 28, November 29, 1991.

15. Ana Santiago, “Cuba Reduce edad para viajes,” *El Nuevo Herald*, March 6, 1991, 1.

16. Sandra Dibble, “Cuba Eases Restrictions on Visits from Exiles,” *Miami Herald*, September 15, 1990, 20A.

17. Luciano García, “Servicio de envíos rápidos a Cuba,” *El Nuevo Herald*, March 12, 1989, p. 3.

18. Cynthia Corzo, “Exiliados tímidos con visas a Cuba,” *El Nuevo Herald*, March 28, 1993, 1B.

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.

21. Coco Fusco, “Made in Havana in Mexico,” *Village Voice*, November 29, 1992, p. 1.

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.

23. “Cuban Museum in Miami Hit by Bomb Blast,” *Washington Post*, June 15, 1990.

24. Myra MacPherson, “The Great Cuban Art Bust,” *Washington Post*, August 24, 1989, C1.

25. *Ramon Cernuda and Editorial Cernuda vs. George Heavy*, regional commissioner, Department of Treasury, case no. 89–1265-CIV-RYSKAMP, filed September 18, 1989. Also, José de Córdoba, “U.S. Customs Raid on Contraband Art Ignites Miami Furor,” *Wall Street Journal*, August 7, 1989, p. 1.

26. Liz Balmaseda, “Ramon Cernuda and the Art of Controversy,” *Miami Herald*, July 23, 1989, 1G.

27. Personal interview with Ramon Cernuda, June 30, 1990.

28. Manuel Ramón de Zayas, “Who’s on First? The Cuban Political Ballgame,” *Apuntes Postmodernos* 1, no. 2 (spring 1991): 8–27.

29. Laura Parker, “Government in Exile Waits in Dry Docks with Miami’s Cubans,” *Washington Post National Weekly Review*, April 30–May 6, 1990, 18.

30. Beth Duff Sanders, “War Games: The Men of Alpha 66 Still Dream of Overthrowing Cuba’s Castro,” *Sun-Sentinel*, April 22, 1990, p. 1.

31. Quoted in “Cuba in Crisis,” *Congressional Quarterly Report* 1, no. 28 (November 29, 1991): 908.

32. Rodrigo Lazo and Dan Holly, “Regentes se oponen a instituto en FIU,” *El Nuevo Herald*, May 10, 1989, p. 1A.

33. Frank Calzón, “CANF’S Institute Idea Noble but Poorly Conceived,” *El Nuevo Herald*, May 10, 1989, 31A. Also, Editorial, “What Price Integrity,” *Miami Herald*, May 5, 1989, p. 20A.

34. Constanza Montaña, “U.S. Denies Visas to Cuban Band,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 4, 1989, p. 1B.

35. See exchange of letters between Jorge Más Canosa and David Lawrence, publisher of the *Miami Herald*, April 5, 1992, p. 26A.

36. Mirta Ojito, “Exiliados toman la palabra a Bush,” *El Nuevo Herald*, viernes, July 6, 1990, 1.

37. David Kidwell and Luis Feldstein Soto, “Foundation Refugee Aid Criticized,” *Miami Herald*, April 12, 1991, p. 1.

38. William Watts, “The United States and Cuba: Changing Perceptions, New Policies?” (MS, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, 1989).

39. See their report, *Blue Ribbon Commission on the Reconstruction of Cuba*, a project of the Cuban-American National Foundation.

40. Christopher Marquis, “Proponen Otro Diálogo con Castro,” *El Nuevo Herald*, October 10, 1988, 1.

41. Personal interview with José Cruz, president of the Coalition, June, 1987.

42. Liz Balmaseda, “Exile Radio Makes Room for On-Air Moderates,” *Miami Herald*, 1C.

43. Alfonso Chardy, “Exilio amplia su espectro político: perspectivas de cambios en la isla provoca revision de opciones,” *El Nuevo Herald*, November 4, 1A.

44. Liz Balmaseda, “New Cuban Lobby Still Seeking Focus,” *Miami Herald*, August 20, 1989, p. 1A.

45. Cuban-American National Foundation, *Boletín Informativo* (February 1991).

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2. María de los Angeles Torres, “Will Miami Be Next?” *NACLA* 24, no. 3 (November 1990): 27–39.

3. Lisandro Pérez, “Cuban Miami,” in Guillermo Grenier and Alex Stepick III, eds., *Miami Now! Immigration, Ethnicity, and Social Change* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1992), 83–108.

4. Joan Didion, *Miami* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987).

5. Penny Lernoux, *In Banks We Trust* (New York: Doubleday, 1984).

6. T. D. Allman, *Miami: City of the Future* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1987).

7. David Rieff, *The Exile: Cuba in the Heart of Miami* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993).

8. Thomas Paterson, *Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 147.

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).

11. Liz Balmaseda, “Mandela, exiles have suffering in common,” *Miami Herald*, June 28, 1990, p. 1G; and Sergio López Miró, “Open Letter to Mandela,” *Miami Herald*, June 30, 1990, p. 26A.

12. Kevin Hill and Darío Moreno, “Second Generation Cubans,” *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 18, no. 2 (May 1996): 175–93.

13. Guillermo Grenier and Hugh Gladwin, “FIU 1997 Cuba Poll,” June 29, 1997, Florida International University, Miami, Florida.

14. Lydia Martin, “Finding My Father,” *Miami Herald*, June 18, 1995, 1J.

15. Tina Rathbone, “Cuban at Last,” *Tropic*, October 31, 1993, p. 8–11.

16. Lydia Martin, “The Call of Old Cuba,” *Miami Herald*, Nov. 9, 1993, 1E.

17. Liz Balmaseda, “A Song in Their Heart, Cuba in Their Eye,” *Miami Herald*, May 5, 1994, p. 1B.

18. Oswaldo Sanchez, “Utopía Bajo el Volcán: La Vanguardia Cubana en México,” *Plural* (July 1992): 40–46.

19. Madelín Cámara, “Third Options: Beyond the Border,” *Michigan Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (fall 1994): 723–30. Also see Armando Correa, “Artistas cubanos de la tercera opción,” *El Nuevo Herald*, January 8, 1993, p. 19D.

20. Marjorie Miller, “Cuba Art’s Quiet Exile in Mexico,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 1993.

21. Deborah Sontag, “Song in Exile,” *New York Times*, March 11, 1997, p. 1B.

22. I reviewed this exhibit for the *Nation*. María de los Angeles Torres, “Dreaming in Cuban,” January 24, 1994, p. 95–97.

23. Interview with Teresita Fernández, November 1993.

24. Liz Balmaseda, “Castro’s Convertibles,” *Miami Herald*, Gallery sec., April 14, 1991, 1.

25. María Martínez-Cañas, “Piedras (Stones) Series” (catalog for an exhibit at Catherine Edelman Gallery, Chicago, September 1997), a conversation between artist and curator.

26. Cristina García, *Dreaming in Cuban* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1992), 245.

27. “Bridges to Cuba: Puentes A Cuba.” *Michigan Quarterly* 33, nos. 3–4 (summer and fall 1994); later published as Ruth Behar, ed., *Puentes a Cuba / Bridges to Cuba* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995). Also for an excellent discussion of this topic, see Jorge Duany, “Restructuring Cubaness: Changing Discourses of National Identity on the Island on the Diaspora during the Twentieth Century.” Paper presented at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Chicago, September 1998.

28. *Granma*, Editorial, November 4, 1988, in Circular #1249 of the Ministry of Foreign Relations.

29. Mirta Ojito, “The Real Thing? Miami Has Become the Ultimate Cuban Place, More Cuban than the Island Itself,” *Miami Herald*, Tropic sec., August 22, 1993, 27.

30. Gastón Baquero, “Literatura de cubanos en ingles,” *El Nuevo Herald*, June 19, 1993, 15a.

31. “El Amor Todo Lo Espera” (Message of the Cuban Conference of Catholic Bishops Havana, September 8, 1993); “Es posible conciliar voluntades,” *El Nuevo Herald*, September 29, 1994, p. 1.

32. Rafael Hernández, “La perla de las Antillas,” *El Nuevo Herald*, June 10, 1991, p. 8A.

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## Chapter 8

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