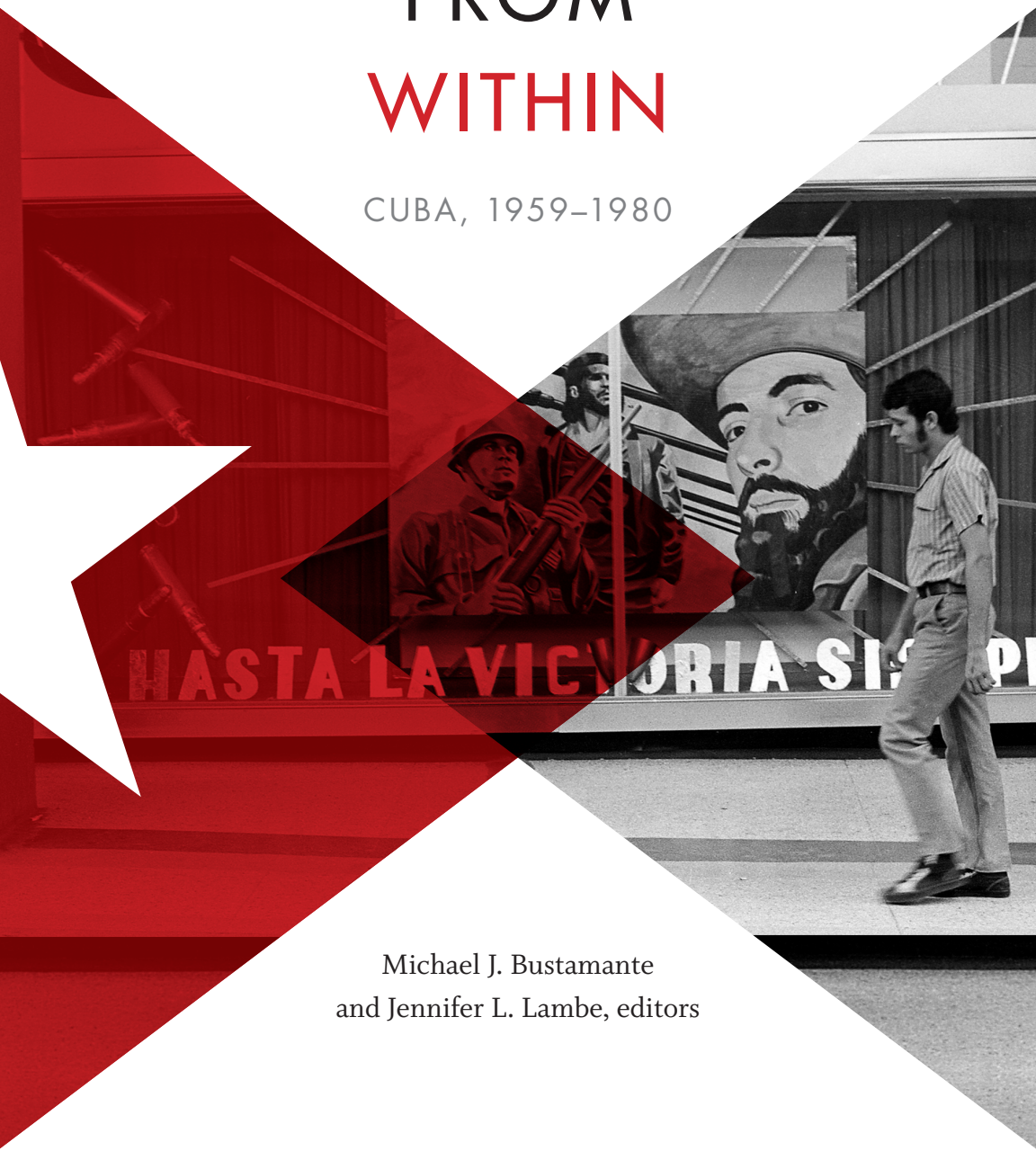
THE REVOLUTION FROM WITHIN

CUBA, 1959–1980



Michael J. Bustamante
and Jennifer L. Lambe, editors

THE REVOLUTION FROM WITHIN


HISTORIA
DE
CUBA

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PART I

Stakes of the Field

1. Cuba's Revolution from Within

THE POLITICS OF HISTORICAL PARADIGMS

JENNIFER L. LAMBE AND MICHAEL J. BUSTAMANTE

"When this year comes to a close," the Cuban writer Virgilio Piñera observed in the newspaper *Revolución* on November 11, 1959, "what has been written about the Revolution will comprise little more than a *novelette*, a couple short stories, a dozen poems, and a few hundred articles. No one would downplay the importance of this panoramic production about the Cuban Revolution. Nevertheless, the organic book, *the* history of the Revolution, has yet to be written."[1]

As Piñera reflected upon "the Revolution" in 1959, he was referring to the anti-Batista struggle that had unfolded *before* that year of insurgent triumph. Today, in contrast, "the Revolution" generally denotes a historical age that only *begins* with Batista's flight—for some ongoing and unbroken, for others inconclusive or even terminal. Neither could we categorize what has been written about the 1959 Revolution as a mere "novelette." Sixty years later, that event has received as much attention as any other in recent Latin American history. Moreover, as self-interested academics dependent on the "wheel of revisionism" (per Florencia Mallon), we would be hard-pressed to stand behind Piñera's plea for one "organic" book that might present "*the* History of the Revolution."[2] Certainly, the Cuban Revolution has not wanted for a constant stream of experts, churning out decades' worth of observations, analyses, and critiques.

Yet in spite of the profusion of work about the era in question—both critical and deferential, serious and superficial—our knowledge of the social,

cultural, and political history of revolutionary Cuba remains fragmented and, in many places, underdeveloped. In recent years, the scholarship has gained a fresh vitality, spurred by a more receptive, if still politically constrained climate for researchers on the island, as well as the emergence of a new cohort of senior and junior scholars abroad. Nonetheless, historians continue to be challenged by a dearth of primary sources, the vagaries of archival access, and the broader politicization of the field. "In more than one respect," noted the Havana-based historian Oscar Zanetti in 2010, "the Cuban Revolution has yet to be historicized."[3] Or, as the expatriate intellectual Rafael Rojas put it in 2008, "fifty years is enough time for a historiographical school to emerge, and yet the Cuban Revolution wants for canonical studies."[4] Historical work published since then does not fully address these concerns, even as the 2009 fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution, and now the sixtieth, have brought renewed attention to what has been—and has yet to be—written of its history, particularly on the island.[5]

How can a historiographical school be simultaneously overpopulated and underdeveloped? In this context, what might it mean to write histories of the Cuban Revolution anew? This tension between analytical saturation and historiographical absence stems from the myriad ways in which history itself was central to the revolutionary project. After all, the *barbudos* not only assumed political power; they also effected, as Louis A. Pérez has written, an "appropriation of history": "Central to the claim of historical authenticity was the proposition of the triumphant revolution as culmination of a process whose antecedents reached deep into the nineteenth century."[6] The Revolution's master narrative (and the exile variations that emerged to counter it) thus yoked the past to its vision for the present, collapsing Cuban history into the teleological arc of an overdetermined future. Official discourse, in turn, helped set the stage for its scholarly counterpoint. For years, researchers have had little choice but to take revolutionary leaders at their word, either to laud or to criticize them. From official claims and statistics, they have often generalized to popular experience more broadly. Those temptations still confront scholars today.

It is this old, often intramural conversation to which more recent critics, including some represented in this volume, have been responding with renewed energy. Taking inspiration from pioneering scholars in the past, commentators across the ideological and geographical landscape have rekindled the call for a historiography that might overcome partisan differences, whatever the obstacles. Without rejecting the imperative to revisit old debates with new evidence in hand, this volume embraces the need to move beyond preexist-

ing polemics—whether questions about the Revolution's success or failure or the root causes of its evolution over time. Nonetheless, it also challenges the idea that analytical synthesis, or apolitical scholarship, is the necessary result. *The Revolution from Within: Cuba, 1959–1980* thus meets Piñera's call for an "organic" history of the Revolution with an assertion of plurality and antiteleology—what we might characterize as an essentially historicist spirit. This emphasis on diversity, however, should not be taken for an analytical free-for-all.

What connects all of the essays in this volume is their insistence on a *Cuba-centric* approach to the first two decades of the island's post-1959 history. Decades of scholarly production have brought us sophisticated accounts of the influence of major Cold War power brokers—the United States and the Soviet Union, especially—on Cuba's revolutionary path. While gesturing to the importance of these and other transnational connections, however, these essays are instead oriented to the internal dynamics of revolutionary process. In this, they build on and open up several important areas of thematic inquiry. The authors work to further pluralize our understanding of the revolutionary state beyond its most public leaders. And, through the insights of cultural history, they seek to restore the Revolution's basic historicity and heterogeneity, highlighting the experiences of everyday actors without losing sight of the force of state power—at once overwhelming yet diffuse, persistent but also quotidian.

Yet these essays also engage, implicitly or explicitly, the political stakes of Cuban history itself. On one hand, contributors historicize the uses made of Cuba's past by the revolutionary state, dissecting the political weight with which officials invested historical narratives. Several essays capture such claims in their historical construction, as state actors fashioned the Revolution as the fulfillment of past political dreams deferred. But these works likewise compel us to consider the impact of official narratives on what is known, and knowable, about the Revolution, particularly for scholars. In that, they force a reckoning with the political uses to which academic historical knowledge about the revolutionary era can still be put.

In what follows, we further detail this volume's contributions to the field of revolutionary history at a vibrant, nodal point in its development. First, however, we try to understand the weight of official paradigms in the construction of *historiographical* narratives about the Revolution over time. How, we ask, have revolutionary processes of state formation shaped what popular, official, and, finally, academic voices have had to say about the Revolution's history? Overall, we argue that the construction of a revolutionary and counterrevolutionary canon of historical knowledge has thrown even

purportedly "neutral" scholars into a polarized minefield. The political function with which the state ascribed historical knowledge has thus endowed all historical scholarship on the Cuban Revolution with an inevitably ideological cast. This, we argue, is not just a historiographical problematic but an essential historical question in its own right.

Building a Revolution: The Uses of History

In its analytical approach to official paradigms, *The Revolution from Within* can be classified as a revisionist project. But to call the essays in this collection "revisionist" begs the question: Revisionist relative to what? Most obviously, they push back on the parameters governing official narratives within Cuba's public sphere. They are not uniformly reverent; they do not celebrate the Revolution's emergence, nor sugarcoat the conflicts that came in its wake. Yet they are also invested in exploring the Revolution's lived meanings, diverse subjects, and internal complexities. These imperatives are not exclusively or even primarily targeted to antagonistic political aims.

Debates about the purpose of historical revisionism are far from new when it comes to Cuba. As we explore below, historiographical rupture in the early 1960s once represented a revolutionary response to the apolitical scholarship of the past. Historical "revisionism," however, was far from a uniform project, and the political significance ascribed to it varied considerably over time. As the bounds for ideological diversity narrowed throughout the 1960s and 1970s, heterodox perspectives on Cuba's past would be conflated with "ideological diversionism" and other political sins.[7] In Cuba today, "revisionism" continues to be read as constitutionally subversive, particularly in its presumed challenge to official narratives and the revolutionary state.

The essays in this volume thus evoke a question that has long haunted historical knowledge of the revolutionary period. Namely, can even the most rigorous accounts of Cuba's post-1959 history evolve beyond a game of opposed mirrors, one standing in the discursive and ideological space of Havana's Revolution Square, the other planted in front of Miami's Freedom Tower?[8] To return to Piñera's insightful prognostications from 1959, can scholars of the Cuban Revolution be anything but historians of a "court," beholden to one or another master narrative?[9] Should—could—historians of the Cuban Revolution find an analytical path out from under the shadow of official (and counterofficial) paradigms?

The problem is perhaps elucidated by an anecdote from a different, not unrelated context. In her essay "The Material Existence of Soviet Samizdat," Ann

Komaromi relates a joke that would have been familiar to its Russian audience. "A Soviet grandmother is having trouble interesting her granddaughter in Lev Tolstoi's beloved classic *War and Peace*," Komaromi narrates. "The problem is not that the novel is too long. It just looks too official." So the grandmother decides to get creative. Drawing on counterhegemonic visual codes, "the poor woman stays up nights retyping the work as 'samizdat,'" a term for clandestine literature in the late Soviet Union.[10] Suddenly, the classic remade with alternative trappings has become palatable—tantalizingly forbidden—to the granddaughter weary of tomes of all stripes.

Essentially subversive, samizdat drew its force and sustained relevance in the Soviet context from the fact of critique: a "resistance to mythologizing ideology in general."[11] In that, there is much that endears the concept to a volume focused on the Cuban Revolution. An enduring notion of history as critique has likewise shaped popular and scholarly accounts of Cuban history after 1959—including some of those in this volume—largely in response to the teleological narratives woven around revolutionary authority.[12] In this formulation, the "difference" of historiographical critique lies in its heterodox stance vis-à-vis Cuban political officials and institutions or, more rarely, their counterparts in the Cuban diaspora. Where Fidel Castro declared "100 Years of Struggle," for example, stretching from the first outbreak of the independence wars all the way through his revolutionary present, his critics (Cuban and not) have stressed incompatibility with—and even betrayal of—those same principles and points of origin.

The grandmother's parodic act, though, begs for another interpretation. However pleased her granddaughter might be to receive this remake of an old classic, behind the cover she will still be confronted with the same story. Tolstoi remains Tolstoi, adorned yet fundamentally unadulterated. For twenty-first-century Cubans and Cubanists, that act of mimicry masquerading as opposition would feel both immediate and significant. Trapped in the enduring terms of a Manichaean ideological field, revisionists of the present, like those of the past, find themselves hard-pressed to reach beyond fragmented half-truths, tepid deflections, and revolutionary just-so stories turned inside out.

Perhaps the correct response, then, is to aim for *post*revisionism: to claim, however dubiously, that we can transcend the political fault lines that burdened the telling of history in the past. It would be tempting, if disingenuous, to raise the shield of guild "objectivity," of historical "professionalism." Claiming scholarly "neutrality," as has long been the practice in U.S. academic historical production, seems to offer one potential response to charges of politicization.[13] Yet we are too aware of how newer scholarship might recapitulate polarized

debates—how we might, in purporting to shed partisan trappings, actually endow them with renewed force. In the place of the revolutionary master narrative, do we risk erecting another, essentially mirroring, even when negating, the central tenets of official discourse?

In the early 1960s, however, Cuba's history represented genuinely *subversive* material to those who sought to build a new revolutionary society. Much as contemporary critics of the revolutionary government now claim history as a mode of critique, so revolutionary intellectuals once called for a new history to speak to a transformed present. For its most radical proponents, a new history would not only overturn the "bourgeois," pro-U.S., and nationalist mythologies they claimed to discern behind prior historiographical work. It would also respond, quite explicitly, to the demands of the revolutionary moment. As Manuel Moreno Fraginals famously declared from the vantage point of 1966, "There is a general clamor for a *new history*, for a distinct way of looking at the past."[14] Importantly, this "new history" would not just detail events immediately preceding or following 1959; it would also revisit and reinterpret the independence era and beyond.

How new would the new history be? For Moreno Fraginals, it could not stop at the rejection of old paradigms, though it would be necessary to overcome "petty polemics . . . debating Saco, Martí, Céspedes [luminaries of Cuban national thought and the long Cuban independence struggle] time and again." "Destroying the old categories" represented an act of initial but ultimately futile "iconoclasm." In their place Moreno Fraginals called for a "true history," committed by definition, that would break all "bourgeois" rules in clearing the path to a Marxist, dialectical approach: "We must head towards those truly rich sources that the bourgeoisie eliminated from our historical inheritance because they were precisely the most significant ones. And with the support of this new and essential research we must *discover* the dialectical laws of our history."[15]

That is, what defined the new revolutionary history was that its authors (both state officials and professional historians) made historical production responsive—or, critics might say, beholden—to political concerns. Undoubtedly, the commitment of revolutionary historians yielded important contributions to Cuban historiography, from new attention to marginalized "people without history" to critiques of slavery, imperialism (Spanish and U.S.), and political corruption in Cuba's past. Moreover, as Kate Quinn charts, in the 1960s historiographical ferment provoked contentious debates over how Cuba's past should be interpreted in light of its revolutionary present. These battles pitted a nationalist camp that continued to lionize Cuba's "heroes"

against Marxist scholars invested in uncovering economic processes and structures. Yet by 1970, Quinn points out, this "critical historiography" was supplanted by a "culture of consent," dominated by a more conservative nationalist school.[16] For later historians, this pivot rendered earlier, more heterodox work off limits.

Also of interest for this story of shifting samizdat is the fact that many classic official texts were in fact written before 1959 and later repurposed for a revolutionary context.[17] This was true, for example, of longtime Cuban Communist Party leader Blas Roca's *Los fundamentos del socialismo en Cuba* (1943), which after 1959 helped make the argument that Cuban history led inexorably to both revolutionary struggle and socialism.[18] Yet, in hindsight, the revolutionary resurrection of this document is rather surprising. After all, Blas Roca could boast a sustained history of militancy in the Communist Party, which spanned its early years as a contestational and revolutionary force, particularly leading up to the Revolution of 1933, but also a period of comparative success when it functioned as one of a number of progressive blocs cooperating with and tolerated during Batista's only elected presidency (1940–44). It was Batista himself who legalized the Party in 1938. Subsequently, Roca's career saw the discrediting of the Communist Party for its collaboration with Batista; the resumption of anticommunist persecution in the late 1940s and under Batista's pro-U.S. dictatorship of the 1950s; and the tentative and often conflicted dance between the Communist Party and Castro's revolutionary movement well into the 1960s. And so the shifting political fault lines between Roca and his one-time ally Batista were rewritten in the revolutionary canonization of Roca's text, which had been penned at a strikingly different political juncture. The transformation from countercanon to canon thus brings us back to the samizdat Tolstoi: the *same text* (Roca) could in one context be read as counterhegemonic, only to be appropriated and made "official."[19]

When it came to the post-1959 era itself, available portrayals further entrenched new master narratives by relying, with few exceptions, on anecdote and political truisms. By virtue of proximity to the events in question, testimonies by the Revolution's leaders—whether Che Guevara's narrative of the guerrilla war or Antonio Núñez Jiménez's later account, *Marching alongside Fidel*—overshadowed academic texts.[20] Meanwhile, as insurgent achievements became "official" lore, exile counternarratives quickly emerged to refute them. Batista himself published exculpatory memoirs from exile, as did other republican-era politicians.[21] Even more influential were early U.S. academic and exile publications casting the Revolution's radicalization across 1960 and 1961 as a deviation from its "true," more moderate aims.[22]

Those who tried to escape the choice between officialist conscription and exile denunciation found themselves all too often cast into the opposing camp. By the mid- to late 1960s, a wave of foreign Marxist scholars had published some of the first analytical accounts of the Revolution's first decade in power. K. S. Karol, René Dumont, Maurice Halperin, Edward Boorstein, Leo Huberman, and Paul Sweezy remained critical of U.S. aggression and the exile community, and they were sympathetic to the Revolution's radical course.[23] But unlike the more enthusiastic fellow travelers of the Revolution's early years (e.g., C. Wright Mills, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Huberman and Sweezy themselves in an earlier book), these authors were not shy about criticizing the state's self-inflicted wounds, particularly in the economic realm.[24] Coinciding with a period of financial hardship on the island and a turn toward internal orthodoxy (in part via closer ties with the Soviet Union), these texts quickly became *non grata* in Cuba. For a time, their authors, along with many other nonconformist intellectuals from the Latin American and European left, suffered a similar fate.[25] More ambiguous in their implications were the accounts of New Left–affiliated young Americans and Latin Americans who traveled to the island in continuing solidarity with, if not outright conformity to, these political turns. These authors were often more attentive to the ways race, gender, and sexuality still divided Cubans—and their own group—along political lines.[26]

Institutionalization, followed by disillusionment and exclusion, could also endow a growing countercanon with amplified potency. Memoirs and exposés by an expanding list of collaborators turned enemies of the revolutionary state—Teresa Casuso, Carlos Moore, Rufo López Fresquet, Mario Llerena, and particularly Carlos Franqui and Heberto Padilla, whose controversial 1971 arrest fiercely divided the Revolution's admirers abroad—provided insider accounts of those who were instrumental in the Revolution's rise but had fallen afoul of its rule.[27] Though these texts circulated on the island in scarce quantities, if at all, there and in the exile community their critical portraits of state dynamics acquired allure precisely because they were taboo.

Historical texts—whether domestic or foreign, partisan, testimonial, or academic—thus evolved in revolutionary times. In the early 1960s the work of rewriting the Cuban historical tradition could be seen as genuinely subversive in appropriating past manifestos as its own. Yet in yoking originally contestational texts to an institutionalizing state, canonization carried its own risks. Over time, it made a once heterodox historiography vulnerable to the Revolution's political vicissitudes. Revisited in light of 1968, 1970, or, most decisively, 1989, what was once radical could seem tired and even hypo-

critical. And as historical accounts took up the revolutionary era directly, their predictably heroic qualities produced an equal but opposite denunciatory response, albeit mostly abroad.

So where does that leave us, historians conscious of the limitations of early schools, yet aware of, anxious about, or even energized by the political uses to which our own work can still be put? Can we escape the looping effects of the official historical canon? Or are our histories just Tolstoi masquerading as samizdat—a familiar oppositional fable hiding behind an attractively "revisionist" cover? To answer these questions, a further exploration of historiographical developments since the late 1960s is required. We offer such an analysis below. But we also must recognize that the enduring place of revolutionary hagiography in Cuba's public sphere imbues many of the essays in this volume, like the work of our scholarly predecessors, with a degree of contestational force. This is perhaps inevitable in a context in which historical work on the Revolution is implicitly pitted or measured against official discourse on the same.[28]

Even so, we insist on the analytical power of serious historicism. Scholars, we suggest, can best respond to the revolutionary appropriation of history (and the exile community's mirror-image replies) by taking the Revolution's historical narratives as their analytical starting rather than ending point. This work necessarily forgoes historiographical volleys lobbed from ideological safe spaces—the ivory towers of reciprocal deafness—in favor of deep engagement with Cuban sources and island colleagues. It may not be possible to break the vise grip of hagiography on one hand and wholesale denunciation on the other. Nonetheless, there is scholarly territory that lies in between.

Historical Work in Historic Times: Past and Present Scholarly Directions

In its emphasis on a Cuba-centric, historicist approach, *The Revolution from Within* seeks to contribute to the innovative and increasingly diverse work on the Revolution being produced within and beyond Cuba. Taking advantage of a more open, if still cautious climate for academic production on the island, intellectuals and scholars have played a notable role in probing Cuba's revolutionary conjuncture anew. But these essays also draw on critical gestures advanced in previous scholarly production. They are not the first to grapple with the (im)possibilities of "rising above" (or beyond) the Revolution's politics or the ways in which ongoing events shape the contours of scholarly work.

In addition to the critical Marxists already cited, we might point to the political scientist Richard Fagen as a pioneer of Cuban revolutionary history

"from within." His foundational analysis of political culture on the island, published in 1968, still offers a useful framework for understanding the patterns and structures of grassroots political mobilization.[29] Also noteworthy is the work of the anthropologist Oscar Lewis, who between 1968 and 1970 conducted research on the island at Fidel Castro's invitation. With a binational team of researchers, he examined the fate of former slum dwellers relocated to government housing after 1959. The multiple publications that resulted from that project offer a textured account of one of the Revolution's signature reforms. Moreover, they portray everyday life under socialism with a degree of detail that historians today would be lucky to duplicate.[30]

By the end of the next decade, another promising development had taken place. "Cuban Studies," driven by the work of Cuban American scholars who had left the revolutionary island in their adolescence, began to coalesce as a field in the United States. Jorge Domínguez, Carmelo Mesa-Lago, and (a bit later) Marifeli Pérez-Stable published still classic surveys of political and economic developments across the 1959 revolutionary divide.[31] Given that academic work on the revolutionary period was generally limited on the island, these studies and others filled a crucial gap, particularly in their emphasis on macropolitical process over time.[32] It was also from this intellectual ferment that some of the most enduring commitments and pioneering efforts toward scholarly engagement with the island were born.

Throughout this early period, however, historical circumstances in and outside Cuba continued to influence the production and reception of such scholarly literature. The Lewis project, for example, was forcibly shut down when Cuban authorities became concerned about its results.[33] Meanwhile, those associated with the field of Cuban Studies would confront critics on both sides of the Florida Straits. Developed in part along an area studies track, the discipline was in some ways intertwined with the geopolitics of the Cold War.[34] On the island, "Cubanology," as it was derisively called, was criticized for its alleged ties to the U.S. foreign policy establishment and purported bias against the revolutionary government.[35] For hardline exile activists, in turn, the *cubanólogos* gathered around María Cristina Herrera's Instituto de Estudios Cubanos, the more pro-Revolution magazine *Areíto*, or, later, the journal *Cuban Studies* were equally suspect, insofar as they were not opposed to, and even participated in, cautious dialogues with island colleagues and officials.[36] Yet the very seriousness of the work undertaken by these pioneering Cuban Studies scholars meant that their research—and their efforts to build scholarly communities on the island—often endured, even as they continued to weather shifting geopolitical circumstances. On the other side, their island

colleagues faced not insignificant professional risks in engaging in serious academic exchange, at times critical, with their U.S. counterparts.[37]

Scholars of revolutionary Cuba working outside of the United States—in Europe, Latin America, and Canada, for instance—have tended to swim in less tumultuous political waters, and many have generated prodigious bodies of scholarship and intellectual ties to the island.[38] Nonetheless, the impact of political divisions, in the United States and abroad, was to fortify more established or safer areas of scholarly emphasis. U.S.-Cuban relations loomed particularly large, even for scholars working outside of that conflict's direct shadow. From Morris Morley (Australia) to Thomas Paterson (United States), historians depicted the "breakup" of and subsequent hostility between the United States and Cuba as *the* central telos of the Revolution's first years.[39] With the subsequent declassification of U.S. government documents, paired with revelations of the full gamut of U.S. efforts to oust Cuba's revolutionary government, the temptation to reduce the history of the Revolution to its conflict with the United States did not go away.[40] This conspicuously echoed one of the key tenets of official Cuban discourse itself. Yet the task of relaying more internally focused histories of revolutionary process still seemed not just politically fraught, but practically out of reach. With available archival sources on the period stopping in many cases in 1960, influential scholars who came up in the early Cuban Studies mold may have understandably concluded that a deeper history of the Revolution was not a viable pursuit.

In fact, it first became possible to write critical, textured histories of Cuban politics and culture not about the Revolution but about the Republic (1902–58). The backdrop to this development was the so-called Special Period, a moment of economic and existential crisis in the 1990s and early 2000s brought on by the fall of the Soviet Union. In response, the Cuban government gingerly opened its doors to foreign capital but in the process also revived some of the island's pre-1959 ghosts. Emblems of what revolutionary discourse called the "pseudo-republic"—inequality, prostitution, the U.S. dollar, Western tourism—resurfaced with a vengeance, and Cubans looked back to previous times for clues as to how to read their disorienting present. Without ignoring the weight of U.S. influence and imperialism, a generation of Cuban and foreign scholars now paid closer attention to dynamics of agency, resistance, and popular mobilization in the pre-1959 years.[41] In so doing, they drew on trends in a wider Latin Americanist and Caribbean historiography that had moved away from the flattening paradigms of dependency theory.[42] They also unearthed historical analogues to the inventive ways in which Cubans in the 1990s managed to culturally, politically, and economically "get

by" (*resolver*) in unpropitious sociopolitical circumstances. Such questions had also surfaced over the course of the Lewis project decades earlier.

Nonetheless, in writing about the Republic, these scholars were also writing about the Revolution, albeit indirectly. Insofar as they complicated revolutionary mythologies about the pre-1959 past, they also put into question the historical truisms on which the Revolution's political legitimacy rested. And they were soon joined by wide-ranging, interdisciplinary treatments of the Special Period itself (and more recent years) in contiguous disciplines like anthropology and cultural studies that similarly cast revolutionary discourse into doubt.[43] If tackling understudied aspects of the 1959–89 era remained challenging, critical attention to the racial, gendered, and sexual ambiguities attending Cuba's economic and social evolution in the 1990s and beyond involved an implicit judgment on the legacies of the previous three decades.

Not long thereafter, scholars finally began to devote renewed analytical attention to the revolutionary years. This included, notably, insightful efforts to demythologize the anti-Batista insurrection.[44] But other academic publications, such as *Ideología y Revolución* (2001) and *Prensa y Revolución* (2010) by María del Pilar Díaz Castañón, also began opening up the early experiments of revolutionary governance to cultural analysis with, but not beholden to, hindsight.[45] Both titles are embedded in exhaustive press research, and *Prensa y Revolución*, an edited volume written in collaboration with several of Díaz Castañón's students, extends her expertise on the Cuban press to other scholars working on the period. Díaz Castañón's work was joined by seminal English-language publications by Alejandro de la Fuente and Lillian Guerra, which brought renewed attention to the controversies and transformations of the Revolution's first decade.[46] Guerra's work in particular represents a trailblazing effort to reconsider the emerging revolutionary state from the bottom up, with an eye to tracking hegemony as an evolving construction rather than a naturalized outcome. The Revolution, she argues, deputized ordinary citizens to act on its behalf, augmenting state control but also personal agency. Such tactics, however, engendered overt and "unintended dissidence" as much as unprecedented popular support. Other scholars have applied a similarly nuanced cultural-historical lens to the politics of gender, the body, sexuality, and race.[47]

In the field of intellectual and literary history, meanwhile, new studies of revolutionary cultural production and the state's cultural politics—particularly leading up to the repressive "gray years" (*quinquenio gris*) of the early 1970s—date in some respects to the 1990s.[48] Amid the ideological shifts of that era, the partial rehabilitation of nonconformist (but not antisocialist)

artists facilitated a qualified recovery of their past experiences of censorship and marginalization, often through published memoirs.[49] Since then, however, scholars on and off the island have continued to bring fresh attention to the Revolution's controversial chapters and forgotten voices, in and beyond the world of arts and letters. Groundbreaking books by Carlos Velazco and Elizabeth Mirabal about Guillermo Cabrera Infante and Guillermo Rosales have revisited the legacies of once-revolutionary writers turned expatriates, while Jorge Fornet's *El 71: Anatomía de una crisis* (2014) provides an innovative account of the Revolution's most notorious year of intellectual repression.[50] All of these works, in turn, enter into implicit dialogue, and at times productive tension, with the wide-reaching, interdisciplinary scholarship of Rafael Rojas.[51]

This renewed attention to the Revolution's history has produced not only a corpus of monographs but also a wave of scholarly and public-facing events and mobilizations on the island.[52] For example, the Simposio Internacional sobre la Revolución Cubana, convened on multiple occasions by Cuba's Instituto de Historia, has brought together leading academics, but also former Cuban government officials as participants. Then vice president Miguel Díaz-Canel (now president) attended the first edition of the event in 2015.[53] Meanwhile, a sequence of roundtables hosted by *Temas* magazine (published since 1995), together with a provocative series of new documentary films, has helped to push conversations about understudied chapters of the Revolution's past further into the public sphere.[54] More recently, addressing a new study group on the Revolution at the Instituto Cubano de Investigación Cultural Juan Marinello, the late socialist intellectual Fernando Martínez Heredia issued a call to further historicize the Revolution beyond enduring "clichés" and oft-repeated "falsities."[55] If some of these discussions have adhered to a largely hagiographical framework, others have taken on a spirit of critical inquiry in broaching challenging and politically complicated questions.

In these ways, the intensity of recent discussions of the Cuban Revolution reflects a new horizon of scholarly possibility, as well as continued challenges. Today, those who seek to open up the Revolution to historical inquiry may not face the same risks that their predecessors once confronted. To a significant degree, scholars are no longer trying to tell the story of a historical process in the direct shadow of the Cold War. Nonetheless, historians must still navigate both structural obstacles and the political stakes of academic conversations in which they engage, given the continued mobilization of Cuba's past by the political class of its present. As they do so, insights gleaned from Cuba's own revolutionary trajectory, now entering its sixth decade, as well as

cognate contexts elsewhere, may yet allow scholars of the Revolution to chart a forward-looking, rather than Sisyphean, intellectual path.

Indeed, the dynamism of conversations about the Revolution is not solely a reflection of changing political and economic circumstances in Cuba. Rather, new work has found inspiration in historical and theoretical paths forged in other contexts, from Latin America to the Soviet Union and beyond. Scholars of Cuba have been particularly influenced by a well-developed historiography on authoritarianism and populism in Latin America and the Caribbean, which has added nuance to traditionally mechanistic framings of the operations of revolutionary authority.[56] One imagines that recent trends in the study of the Soviet Union will also come increasingly to bear on Cuban conversations, from a centering of popular experience to more robust theorizations of disciplinary and political power under socialism.[57] The theoretical corpus of Michel Foucault, a longstanding but politically complicated source of inspiration for island-dwelling Cuban scholars, has already begun to inform discussions of gender, sexuality, and biopolitics in the revolutionary era.[58]

Nonetheless, the range of topics, sources, and periods has hardly been exhausted. The 1960s, for example, continue to receive far more attention than the two decades of "socialist institutionalization" that followed.[59] Responding to and building on newer work, this volume thus presents multiple and complementary interventions into ongoing debates on the Cuban Revolution. Above all, contributors capture and contribute to the growing emphasis on revolutionary process, viewed from within. As we discuss below, the most salient of their approaches to this question include a renewed interest in the conflicted and contested trajectory of state formation, a critical deployment of the major insights of cultural history, reflexive attention to the state of the Revolution's "archive," and an investment in analyzing the exceptionality (or not) of the Cuban Revolution, unbeholden to Cold War power politics.

In what follows, we have traced these themes throughout the volume in ways that occasionally range out of chronological order, but we believe that this approach best highlights the significant continuity of the essays, even across diverse moments of the revolutionary project. All told, this work cannot fully resolve the continued challenges (existential or practical) associated with writing the Revolution's history. Eras not fully covered here, such as the 1980s and 1990s, will eventually become the focus of historical scholarship in their own right. Still, while building on important trends evident in recent work, the transnational cohort of authors gathered here treat fresh topics and periods (the 1970s) with innovative sources. Most important, the volume

affords an opportunity to assess the intersecting coordinates of an evolving field. "Revisionist," returning to an earlier point, may remain a label more easily worn by scholars outside the island. Yet we argue that the imperative, echoing the title and concerns of the book itself, does draw from scholarly mobilizations from within.

The "State" and the "People": Approaches to an Intractable Binary

Even more so than in other revolutionary histories, scholarship on the Cuban Revolution has been shaped by a top-down orientation. Persistent attention to Fidel, Che, and Raúl has tended to ossify their own political and ideological trajectories, though more recent biographies—including of the Revolution's leading women—point in more dynamic and nuanced directions.[60] Nevertheless, far less attention has been afforded to other state and popular actors. Several essays in this volume revisit and repopulate the history of the revolutionary state, drawing on insights from other revolutionary and Latin American contexts. Overall, they revivify the early years of revolutionary state formation, restoring the essential dynamism of this process, rescripting overdetermined outcomes (e.g., the state as leviathan), and framing it around a broader cast of characters.

Lillian Guerra's essay, for example, captures revolutionary master narratives at a pivotal moment in their elaboration, as *sierra* leaders acted out their relationship to Cuba's past for the eyes of Andrew St. George, a foreign journalist embedded with their troops. In order to garner popular support for their movement, revolutionaries began to act—the word is no coincidence—like a state: functional and socially responsible governance constructed as a deliberate, if sometimes vague, palimpsest of broken promises past. The result was a highly intertextual, if still incipient, "official discourse," which glossed distant and proximate Cuban history as the justification for its righteousness.

If Guerra allows us to see revolutionary leaders constructing an image of the state before it existed as such, other contributors seek to broaden our understanding of the Cuban state beyond the small inner circle that tends to draw the most attention. Several essays explore a variety of intermediate actors more rarely foregrounded in accounts of the Revolution's formative decades, including "everyday citizens," however difficult their perspectives might be to access. How, authors ask, did state bureaucrats and average Cubans conceive of their roles in extending state programs? What kind of agency did they exercise?

Building on the case study approach of some of her earlier work, María del Pilar Díaz Castañón captures the heterogeneous constituency that, in early 1959, positioned itself in enthusiastic support of agrarian reform. Industrialists, business owners, and even schoolchildren pooled their *centavos* to deliver a vote of confidence to the reformist politics of early 1959. Yet the very breadth of support spoke equally to the undefined character of the revolutionary project itself, a perhaps intentional vagueness that had characterized the 26th of July Movement since its battles in the mountains. Soon, it would founder over inevitable differences; as Díaz Castañón notes, "What was possible for some was not possible for others."

In a similar vein, Reinaldo Funes Monzote's essay draws our attention to one professional bloc of note: the geographers who, led by the revolutionary stalwart Antonio Núñez Jiménez, seized on the political opening afforded by 1959 to advance their own programs for managing and transforming the natural environment. The project of "geotransformation," as it was known, condensed multiple prerevolutionary academic conversations into a mandate for state action. Though many of these plans never came to fruition, they point not only to the weight of the revolutionary state (Núñez Jiménez was, ultimately, a close collaborator of Fidel Castro's) but also the stage it provided for other professional and social goals.

In the face of hyperpoliticization, then, no simple binary between the "state" and the "people" can be sustained. Rather, the volume's contributors invite us to consider how a variety of actors—bureaucrats, ordinary citizens, and semi-autonomous institutions—conceived of and responded to their interpellation by an increasingly powerful state. Solely reliant on neither consent nor coercion, revolutionary governance, they insist, drew from a potent mixture of both. A more robust analysis of the interaction between state and populace productively moves us away from notions of popular irrationality, blanket repression, or "charisma" as the sources of revolutionary longevity and instead highlights mechanisms of incorporation, experimentation, and co-optation, as well as disagreement and divergence.

As the Revolution began to radicalize, there were growing numbers of Cubans who found themselves located outside new state imaginaries. The discursive (and actual) violence of exclusion was the necessary counterpart to the task of popular incorporation, as some Cubans found their place in the new revolutionary state by questioning, informing on, and rejecting those believed not to belong. As Abel Sierra Madero argues in his essay, this interplay culminated in the 1980 Mariel boatlift, a mass exodus of 125,000 Cubans who

would be stigmatized by both Cuban officials and their Miami counterparts. Sierra Madero invites us to consider how the Mariel boatlift actualized these reciprocal processes of inclusion and exclusion, conscripting some to act out the state's long-established rejection of homosexuals, political nonconformists, and those who simply wished to leave. As it became ritualized and centralized in the moment of the boatlift, the "acto de repudio" brought together a number of exclusionary discourses and practices of decades past, from a "dehumanizing" discourse of "animality" to masculinist and homophobic national imaginaries.

A Cultural History of the Cuban Revolution

Few groups more vividly confronted the interplay between inclusive and exclusive state practices and discourses than those writers, artists, and creators who found themselves swept up in the new state's embrace—with some forcibly located outside of it. It is no wonder, then, that studies of literature, film, theater, and the arts constitute an enduring area of emphasis within the historiography on the Revolution produced thus far. Yet for all of the revolutionary government's efforts to simultaneously expand arts education and reward "folklore" with patronage, revolutionary officials tended to preserve an elitist definition of *la cultura*, referring less to a mission of popular inclusion than to an ideologically charged sphere of intellectual endeavor. In general, subsequent scholarship has followed suit.[61]

Challenging this division between "high" and "low" culture as it played out after 1959, Elizabeth Schwall explores the counterpoint between two forms of dance: ballet, which is aristocratic in its origins, and cabaret, conceived of as crass and commercial. Under the guidance of the Alonso family, ballet famously morphed into an emblem of the Revolution's sophistication at home and abroad. Cabaret, by contrast, could be dismissed as a curious holdover from times past. By looking on and off stage, however, Schwall elucidates how dancers in both genres not only changed choreographic content to be relevant to the new political order but also forged spaces for "conspicuous and inconspicuous dissent."

Contributors to this volume likewise gesture toward the importance of the state-controlled "culture industries" in which many artists labored, building on Cuba's status as a modern media space prior to 1959. Alejandra Bronfman and Yeidy Rivero, for example, have historicized the precocious development of radio and television, respectively, during the republican period.[62] Scholars

like José Quiroga and Lillian Guerra have also studied officials' use of these and other media after the revolutionary triumph.[63] Guerra's contribution to this volume provides a bridge in this respect, exploring how guerrilla insurgents of the 26th of July Movement mobilized foreign and domestic media to galvanize a broader audience of supporters.

Michael J. Bustamante draws our to attention to a later moment in the revolutionary state's evolving self-representation, when the origin stories of political leaders reached a peak of retrospective simplification. Such pronouncements found ubiquitous, if imperfect, analogues in a broader landscape of "memory surplus," composed of museums, films, and writings celebrating an epic struggle that, by many measures, appeared complete. Bustamante also asks whether commemorative excess turned once seductive master narratives into stale bromides, absent fresh struggles to revive earlier ambitions.

In dialogue with this introduction, both Guerra and Bustamante thus chart how the Revolution's claims to historical predetermination evolved over time and in dialogue with changing political, economic, and social realities. Ultimately, they argue, the production of official histories was never the result of a perfectly controlled conspiracy. While increasingly channeled over the 1960s and 1970s through prescriptive ideological filters, historical knowledge remained the messy outcome of diverse institutions, players, and the publics with whom they interacted. But what role, exactly, did the "public" play in this process?

We know much less about the everyday cultural practices, lifeways, and beliefs of ordinary Cubans—in short, the social universe beyond official politicization. In her essay, María A. Cabrera Arús begins to point us in tantalizing directions in her analysis of consumer options and discourses in the 1970s, at the high point of Cuban state socialism. How, she asks, did state officials and intermediate agents navigate integration into the socialist bloc in the early 1970s, with all of the challenges it seemed to offer to material practices and ideological policies of the previous decade? She suggests that they did so in contradictory yet generative ways: celebrating the technological possibilities afforded by the Soviet model while continuing to vaunt Cuba's national material traditions. Yet both groups struggled to reconcile the economic stratification that greater plenty seemed to imply, given the emphasis on egalitarian scarcity throughout the 1960s. Ultimately, it was ordinary Cubans who were left to navigate the material realities and contradictions of "socialist modernity."

Historical Revisionism and Archival Absence

In their efforts to pluralize and nuance our vision of the revolutionary experience, these essays turn to a number of novel source bases, some previously unexplored and others read newly against the grain. Since state archives have yet to be declassified in any significant way, new histories of the Cuban Revolution have relied, per Jorge Macle Cruz, on "interviews, personal experiences, existing publications, memoirs, speeches, the press, and inferences." As Macle Cruz argues in his contribution, efforts to further historicize the Revolution necessarily depend on initiatives within the island's archival sector, as librarians, archivists, and preservationists advocate for broader access to and coordination of state records. Several authors in this collection likewise wrestle with the consequences of restricted archival access and availability. Yet there is much, these essays show, that can be written and imagined from alternative sources: the dancing body, popular fashion, and, in our own work, mental hospitals and the ephemera of exile.[64] More than fodder for well-worn polemics, new archives can fundamentally alter our understanding of the Revolution, prying it open and reimagining it from the perspective of a broader range of actors and experiences.[65]

In the rush for novelty, however, we ought not discard the significant insights that can be gleaned from the Revolution's own published archive: the many (often unread) pages and issues of official newspapers, magazines, and bulletins. Throughout her published work, Díaz Castañón has worked to historicize and contextualize the press in the transition to Revolution. Here she carries that spirit to a little remembered campaign in support of agrarian reform transacted in the pages of *Bohemia*, Cuba's popular weekly. Other contributors read critically revolutionary imaginaries as they appeared in museums, the press, media campaigns, and even the arts, unearthing the silences and ambiguities built into the most official of official discourses.

Yet even at the highest levels of state policy, there are dimensions of the revolutionary experience that remain opaque to historical understanding. Christabelle Peters offers a novel mode of entry into such questions in her essay on Che Guevara's African experience. She revisits, and recasts, one of the archetypal "great men" of the Cuban Revolution through the prism of an imagined, albeit historically plausible conversation between him and Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere in 1964. What, she asks, might this tantalizing episode tell us about Che's political evolution—and Cuba's own African "shadow" life? How did dreams forged in the spirit of unbounded imagination

founder on realities of continued racial exclusion at home and geopolitical impossibility? And, most important, how do we write through, around, and across the archival silences that might be forever closed?

Cuba's (Revolutionary) Exceptionality?

Peters's essay notably points us toward another enduring problematic in the literature on the Cuban Revolution: the question of exceptionality. Cuba's Revolution has sometimes been cast as a sui generis, uncategorizable phenomenon, but also (paradoxically) as a pale imitation of any number of socialist and revolutionary models with which it interacted: Russia, China, Vietnam, and more. What happens, then, when we place Cuba in dialogue with other trajectories and examine concrete paths of connection? What common thematic concerns emerge from historicizing the ties between Cuba and other sites? A historiographical orientation to "within" hardly means seeing Cuba as hermetically sealed. It also requires engaging the external influences, reference points, and international events that shaped the revolutionary everyday. From the Cold War to decolonization, the Revolution was bound up in some of the most important geopolitical transitions of the period.

Peters offers a novel response to this debate in inviting us to consider linkages, philosophical more than diplomatic, between revolutionary Latin America and decolonizing Africa. Ada Ferrer, meanwhile, orients us to a similarly plural mode of analysis, placing the vicissitudes of Cuba's revolutionary experiment alongside those of Haiti, the "other" revolutionary island and a specter that had long haunted Cuban history (and historiography). In tracing connections between these paradigm-shifting Caribbean revolutions, Ferrer draws comparisons related to the "revolutionary situation" of both islands, the geopolitical consequences of their revolutions, the politics of race and blackness, and the mutual and sometimes symbiotic attraction of Haiti and Cuba for political dissidents all over the hemisphere. She also considers the imaginative links forged between these two cases by authors, intellectuals, and the Caribbean's towering historian of revolution, C. L. R. James, after 1959.

Overall, however, this volume takes the history of the Cuban Revolution largely on its own terms, with an emphasis on internal revolutionary processes. The volume thus self-consciously forgoes the kind of great power, Cold War intrigue that has long structured debates about Cuba's revolution. Where anxious U.S. politicians and functionaries might have once occupied a starring role, Peters points to lateral South–South connections and the impact of decolonizing Africa on Che's ideological vision. The Soviet Union certainly

appears here, too, but less as an imperial patron than as a source of fashion and material inspiration, as analyzed by Cabrera Arús.

And yet these essays are deeply invested in the question—or problem—of Cuba's exceptionality. Several contributors, including Alejandro de la Fuente and Rafael Rojas, consider just how different post-1959 Cuba was vis-à-vis its *own* prerevolutionary history. Is the Cuban Revolution largely a story of rupture or of continuity? Has post–Special Period Cuba reverted to the ignominious economic and social circumstances of the pre-revolutionary past? Was the difference from that past ever as great as revolutionary leaders claimed it to be? To answer questions about singularity, authors turn to other paradigm-shifting revolutions. De la Fuente, for example, offers a sustained engagement with the history and historiography of the Mexican Revolution. One point in particular stands out among the insights gleaned from the Mexican case: Cubanists, he warns, would do well to take the "coherence and effectiveness of the revolutionary state as empirical questions rather than assumptions."

In a kindred spirit, Rojas situates the problem of revolutionary exceptionality in the analytical space of historical time. Revolutions, he suggests, have long been studied as "present pasts," at once fleeting and eternal. He carries that paradox to the historical and historiographical construction of the Cuban Revolution itself. How, he asks, did it define its present through relation to its past and future? Was it two revolutions, a revolution with multiple phases, or merely the "totalizing, metahistorical" revolution stretching from the outbreak of the independence struggle all the way through the revolutionary present?

As already noted, perhaps the most influential trope informing histories of the Cuban Revolution on and off the island has been the presumption that the island's history can be understood as a function of its conflicted relationship with the United States. Faced, moreover, with the domestic archival limitations that Macle Cruz describes, it has long been easier to focus on U.S. sources that sustain this construct. Ironically, as patterns of diplomatic and economic isolation have given way in recent years to an unfolding and now fragile rapprochement, the U.S.-centric impulse has at times become, once again, the most tempting metanarrative of all. To close the volume, Jennifer Lambe offers a reflection on the contemporary stakes of historical scholarship on the Cuban Revolution in light of these developments. Diplomatic normalization with the United States after 2014, she argues, necessarily revived ancient concerns about the status of Cuban history and its archive(s). Historical narratives in all their variety—official, dissident, critical, and ambivalent—have thus become vulnerable not only to revisionism but also to external (and

perhaps internal) erasure. In this regard, the project of historicizing the Revolution on its own terms is more crucial than ever.

Still, as the volume argues overall, histories of the Cuban Revolution need not cohere into a singular history. We can only imagine how the opening of new archives and sources, including those utilized by this volume's authors, may impact future debates. In their very synergies and disjunctures, these essays suggest that new historical accounts of the Revolution are necessarily composed of *histories*. Yet they will also benefit, we argue, from reflexive attention to Cuba's own analytical paradigms and understandings: historicizing the Revolution from within.

A Note on Terminology

When it comes to the Cuban Revolution, words—English, Spanish, and otherwise—are rarely innocent. The most basic categories through which we interpret Cuban history have long sparked battles along partisan and ideological lines. Take, for example, the chronological demarcations essential to any historian's work. As enshrined in a landmark two-volume publication by Cuba's Instituto de Historia (under the institutional aegis of the Communist Party), on the island the period before 1959 has come to be known as the "neocolonial" Republic, or the "shackled [*mediatizado*]," "bourgeois" Republic. Sometimes, as had previously been customary, that same period was still divided into Cuba's "First" (1902–33) and "Second" (1933–58) Republics in recognition of the wave of revolutionary upheaval that brought an end to formal (i.e., constitutional) U.S. oversight. Nonetheless it was only after 1959, with the "triumph"—another charged word—of Fidel Castro's government, that a true "Republic" was acknowledged to have been born. It perhaps goes without saying that exile chroniclers see things quite differently, alleging that 1959 (or 1960 or 1961) brought an end, not a hopeful beginning, to democratic governance on the island. Adding further complexity to the picture, the very rendering of the word "Revolution" with a capital "R," long something of a convention in the field, seems to carry ideological assumptions born of the revolutionary context.

The problem, however, runs deeper. Though we could conceivably agree to steer clear of charged words with plastic meanings—"democracy," say—scholars of the Cuban Revolution have also sparred over the term most essential to this volume's work: "revolution." As we and other contributors to this volume suggest, there is no basic agreement on whether "the Revolution" (is it even singular?) begins or ends in 1959 or how long it continues thereaf-

ter. Some, notably Rafael Rojas, have posited that the institutionalizing phase ushered in by Cuba's rapprochement with the Soviet Union marks the Revolution's terminus; others instead date it to the dissolution of that bond with the fall of the Soviet Union and the introduction of liberalizing economic measures in the 1990s. Debated as well is the degree to which the Cuban government should have a monopoly on the term—that is, whether its project, policies, and politics are the only "revolution" to which we might refer.

In recognition of our political differences, not to mention the theoretical richness provided by the same, we have opted not to impose semantic homogeneity on this volume's authors. Instead, we have encouraged them to make the terms of their own historiographical engagement as clear and rigorous as possible. This has yielded some inevitable points of disharmony and cacophony. Nonetheless, we believe that the interpretive possibilities opened up by this juxtaposition far outweigh its risks.

NOTES

1. El Escriba (pseudonym that Piñera used), "La historia de la Revolución," *Revolución*, November 11, 1959, 2.

2. Florencia Mallon, "Time on the Wheel: Cycles of Revisionism and the 'New Cultural History,'" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 2 (1999): 332.

3. Oscar Zanetti Lecuona, "Medio siglo de historiografía en Cuba: La impronta de la Revolución," *Cuban Studies* 40 (2010): 95, 102.

4. Rafael Rojas, "La Revolución y sus historiadores," *El Nuevo Herald*, May 13, 2008, http://www.elnuevoherald.com/2008/05/13/206514/la-revolucion-y-sus-historiadores.html.

5. See, for example, Julio Rensoli Medina, ed., *La historiografía en la Revolución cubana: Reflexiones a 50 años* (Havana: Editora Historia, 2010).

6. Louis A. Pérez Jr., *The Structure of Cuban History: Meanings and Purpose of the Past* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 238.

7. For more on the shifting terms of revisionism, see Kate Quinn, "Cuban Historiography in the 1960s: Revisionists, Revolutionaries and the Nationalist Past," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 26, no. 3 (2007): 378–98.

8. Revolution Square is the iconic site of official mass rallies, dating back to the 1960s and all the way through the present. The building known as the Freedom Tower, located on Biscayne Bay, was home to the U.S. government–sponsored Cuban Refugee Program in the 1960s. Today it is a national historic landmark and museum run by Miami-Dade College.

9. El Escriba, "La historia," 2.

10. Ann Komaromi, "The Material Existence of Soviet Samizdat," *Slavic Review* 63, no. 3 (2004): 609.

11. Komaromi, "The Material Existence," 618.

12. See Dipesh Chakrabarty, "History as Critique and Critique(s) of History," *Economic and Political Weekly* 26, no. 37 (1991): 2162–66.

13. For a critical history of this category, see Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

14. Manuel Moreno Fraginals, "La historia como arma," *Casa de las Américas*, October 1966, 21. See also Quinn, "Cuban Historiography."

15. Fraginals, "La historia como arma," 26.

16. See Quinn, "Cuban Historiography."

17. Quinn traces a similar dynamic vis-à-vis "revisionist" historians from the republic resurrected in the 1960s. See Quinn, "Cuban Historiography."

18. Blas Roca, *Los fundamentos del socialismo en Cuba* (Havana: Editorial Páginas, 1943), reprinted in 1961 and thereafter.

19. Longtime activist and intellectual Raúl Roa enacted a similar reinterpretation of previous writings in light of his new position as foreign minister in the post-1959 government. His compilation of essays *La Revolución del 30 se fue a bolina* (Havana: Instituto del Libro, 1967) redirected past writing toward a new analytical end point: that the aborted 1933 revolution against dictator Gerardo Machado, in which Roa had participated, had been "lost to the wind." He thereby advanced an influential interpretation of the 1959 Revolution as 1933's postponed fulfillment.

20. Ernesto Che Guevara, *Pasajes de la Guerra Revolucionaria* (Havana: Ediciones Unión, 1963); Antonio Núñez Jiménez, *En marcha con Fidel, 1959–1962*, vols. 1–4 (Havana: Letras Cubanas, 1982).

21. Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar, *Cuba Betrayed* (New York: Vantage Press, 1962); Eduardo Suárez Rivas, *Los Días Iguales* (Miami: n.p., 1974).

22. Most notably, Theodore Draper, *Castro's Cuba: A Revolution Betrayed?* (New York: New Leader, 1961). See also Fermín Peinado, *Beware Yankee: The Revolution in Cuba* (Miami: n.p., 1961), a direct response to New Left intellectual C. Wright Mills's *Listen Yankee: The Revolution in Cuba* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1961). On a cognate phenomenon, see David C. Engerman, *Know Your Enemy: The Rise and Fall of America's Soviet Experts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

23. K. S. Karol, *Guerrillas in Power: The Course of the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1970); René Dumont, *Cuba: Socialism and Development* (1964), translated by Helen R. Lane (New York: Grove Press, 1970); Maurice Halperin, *The Rise and Decline of Fidel Castro* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972); Edward Boorstein, *The Economic Transformation of Cuba* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968); Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, *Socialism in Cuba* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969).

24. Mills, *Listen Yankee*; Jean-Paul Sartre, *Sartre on Cuba* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1961); Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, *Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Books, 1960).

25. Most famously, Jorge Edwards, *Persona Non Grata*, translated by Colin Harding (New York: Pomerica Press, 1973).

26. Elizabeth Sutherland, *The Youngest Revolution*: *A Personal Report on Cuba* (New York: Dial Press, 1969); José Yglesias, *In the Fist of the Revolution: Life in a Cuban Country*

Town (New York: Vintage Books, 1969). Caribbean and Latin American writers also offered several nuanced portraits. See Andrew Salkey, *Havana Journal* (New York: Penguin Press, 1971); Ernesto Cardenal, *In Cuba* (1972), translated by Donald D. Walsh (New York: New Directions, 1974).

27. Teresa Casuso, *Cuba and Castro* (New York: Random House, 1961); Carlos Moore, "Le peuple noir a-t-il sa place dans la Révolution cubaine," *Presence Africaine* 22 (December 1964): 177–230; Rufo López Fresquet, *My Fourteen Months with Fidel Castro* (New York: World, 1966); Mario Llerena, *The Unsuspected Revolution: The Birth and Rise of Castroism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978); Carlos Franqui, *Retrato de familia con Fidel* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1981); Carlos Moore, *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa* (Los Angeles: UCLA Center for African-American Studies, 1988); Heberto Padilla, *La mala memoria* (Barcelona: Plaza y Janes, 1989).

28. Cubanists are hardly the first to confront this problematic. Some of the works that have shaped our thinking on kindred historiographies include Nancy Whittier Heer, *Politics and History in the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971); Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Russia's Twentieth Century in History and Historiography," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 46, no. 3 (2000): 378–87; Steve J. Stern, "Between Tragedy and Promise: The Politics of Writing Latin American History in the Late Twentieth Century," in *Reclaiming the Political in Latin American History*, edited by Gilbert Joseph (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 32–77; Lynne Viola, "The Cold War in American Soviet Historiography and the End of the Soviet Union," *Russian Review* 61, no. 1 (2002): 25–34; David W. Blight, *American Oracle: The Civil War in the Civil Rights Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011). In his contribution to this volume, Alejandro de la Fuente considers similar questions in the case of the Mexican Revolution. Since the 1990s, historians of Chile have mobilized to confront this problematic as it played out in the public sphere. See, for example, the "Manifiesto de historiadores" (Santiago, Chile, January 1999; available at http://www.archivochile.com/Ceme/recup_memoria/cememem00003.pdf), written to combat false and "manipulative" interpretations of Chile's recent authoritarian past. We are grateful to Tim Lorek for suggesting this reference.

29. Richard Fagen, *The Transformation of Political Culture in Cuba* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968).

30. Oscar Lewis, Ruth M. Lewis, and Susan M. Rigdon, *Four Men: Living the Revolution: An Oral History of Contemporary Cuba* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977); Oscar Lewis, Ruth M. Lewis, and Susan M. Rigdon, *Four Women: Living the Revolution: An Oral History of Contemporary Cuba* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977); Douglas Butterworth, *The People of Buenaventura: Relocation of Slum Dwellers in Post-Revolutionary Cuba* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980).

31. For example, Jorge I. Domínguez, *Cuba: Order and Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1979); Carmelo Mesa-Lago, *Cuba in the 1970s: Pragmatism and Institutionalization* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979); Carmelo Mesa-Lago, *The Economy of Socialist Cuba: A Two-Decade Appraisal* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985); Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course, Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

32. For helpful early representations of the state of the field, its early contributors, and its diversity, see María Cristina Herrera, ed., "Temática cubana: Primera reunión de estudios cubanos," special issue of *Exilio: Revista Trimestral* 3, nos. 2–3, 4, no. 1 (1969–70): 279; Lourdes Casal, "The Development of Cuban Studies in the US," *Latin American Research Review* 13, no. 1 (1978): 248–54. Another topic of early work in this vein was revolutionary literature and the arts. For an early historicist take, see Seymour Menton, *Prose Fiction of the Cuban Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975). For another important, interdisciplinary account, see Rolando E. Bonachea and Nelson P. Valdés, eds., *Cuba in Revolution* (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1972).

33. Lillian Guerra, "Former Slum Dwellers, the Communist Youth, and the Lewis Project in Cuba, 1969–1971," *Cuban Studies* 43 (2015): 67–89.

34. Louis Morton, "National Security and Area Studies: The Intellectual Response to the Cold War," *Journal of Higher Education* 34, no. 3 (1963): 142–47; Helen Dapar, *Looking South: The Evolution of Latin Americanist Scholarship in the United States* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 129–83.

35. Enrique Baloyra, "Side Effects: Cubanology and Its Critics," *Latin American Research Review* 22, no. 1 (1987): 265–74; José Luis Rodríguez García, *Crítica a nuestros críticos* (Havana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 1988); René Márquez, *Cubanología y Revolución* (Havana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 2006).

36. María Cristina Hererra founded the Instituto de Estudios Cubanos in Miami in 1969. The publication in 1970 of the first *Boletín de Estudios sobre Cuba*, which would become the journal *Cuban Studies* in 1974, marked another milestone. *Areíto*, also debuting in 1974, gathered together a cohort of younger Cuban American academics and activists who expressed more open admiration for Cuban socialism and traveled to the island in the 1970s. Meetings and scholarly exchanges between scholars linked to each of these circles (at times overlapping) and colleagues on the island were particularly active during windows of U.S.-Cuba détente, most notably during the Carter administration.

37. For a retrospective look, see Damián Fernández, ed., *Cuban Studies since the Revolution* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992).

38. Much like Theodore Draper in the United States, British historian Hugh Thomas, author of the iconic 1971 book *Cuba: Or the Pursuit of Freedom*, is a key if complicated point of departure for subsequent work on the Revolution. A small sample of relevant authors, some of them Cuban-born, would include Velia Cecilia Bobes, Karen Dubinsky, Julio César Guanche, Jennifer Ruth Hosek, Menja Holtz, Antoni Kapcia, John M. Kirk, Hal Klepak, Gordon Lewis, Sergio López Rivero, Anthony Maingot, Brian Meeks, Vanni Pettinà, Simon Reid-Henry, Rafael Rojas, Mona Rosendahl, Jean Stubbs, Claudia Wasserman, and Michael Zeuske. The "Memories of the Cuban Revolution" oral history project, directed by Elizabeth Dore at the University of Southampton, represents an important successor to the Oscar Lewis Project.

39. Morris H. Morley, *Imperial State and Revolution: The United States and Cuba, 1952–1986* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Thomas G. Paterson, *Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

40. Scholars also turned their attention to the formation of the Cuban exile (eventually "Cuban American") community in the United States. In part this was driven by unavoidable evidence of that community's permanence. But for many pioneers of Cuban Studies who were Cuban American themselves, the fraught process of engaging with the island also fueled an inverse desire to come to terms with their own identities and histories. For an influential early text, see Lourdes Casal and Rafael Prohías, *The Cuban Minority in the U.S.: Preliminary Report on Need Identification and Program Evaluation* (Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University, 1973).

41. For a survey of this literature and its relationship to the Special Period context, see Ricardo Quiza, "Historiografía y Revolución: La 'nueva' oleada de historiadores cubanos," *Millars* 33 (2010): 127–42. Seminal studies in this vein include Louis A. Pérez Jr., *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Marial Iglesias Utset, *A Cultural History of Cuba during the U.S. Occupation, 1898–1902* (2003), translated by Russ Davidson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011). The literature is too vast to fully cite here. See the scholarship of Robert Whitney, Lillian Guerra, Jana K. Lipman, Ricardo Quiza Moreno, K. Lynn Stoner, Alejandra Bronfman, Barry Carr, Robin Moore, Reinaldo Román, Maikel Fariñas Borrego, Melina Pappademos, Rolando Rodríguez, Newton Briones Montoto, Steven Palmer, José Antonio Piqueras, and Amparo Sánchez Cobos. These scholars' work often built on, or existed in tension with, the corpus of Cuba's foremost historian of the Republic, Jorge Ibarra Cuesta; see, for example, *Un análisis psicosocial del cubano, 1898–1925* (Havana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 1985).

42. For instance, Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine C. LeGrand, and Ricardo D. Salvatore, eds., *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.–Latin American Relations* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998).

43. For example, Sujatha Fernandes, *Cuba Represent! Cuban Arts, State Power, and the Making of New Revolutionary Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); Ariana Hernández-Reguant, ed., *Cuba in the Special Period: Culture and Ideology in the 1990s* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). On race, gender, sexuality, and inequality in the Special Period and contemporary Cuba, see the scholarship of Nadine Fernández, Jafari Allen, Kenneth Routon, Noelle Stout, Tanya L. Saunders, Megan Daigle, Katrin Hansing, and Marc D. Perry. Much of this anthropological work has emerged from outside Cuba, though sociologists and other academics trained on the island have also taken up similar themes. See, for example, the work of Mayra Espina, Pedro Monreal, Julio Carranza, Roberto Zurbano, Víctor Fowler, Juan Valdés Paz, Haroldo Dilla Alfonso, Sandra Abd'Allah-Alvarez Ramírez, the team of economists at the Centro de Estudios sobre la Economía Cubana (University of Havana), and the collective of journalists behind Periodismo de Barrio. Cuban publications and institutions like the Centro de Estudios sobre las Américas (closed in 1996), *Revista Temas* (supported by the Ministry of Culture since 1995), *Espacio Laical* (published by the Catholic Church since 2005), and *Cuba Posible* (an independent digital outlet founded in 2015) have provided important forums for debates on a range of issues in contemporary Cuban political and social life.

44. Julia E. Sweig, *Inside the Cuban Revolution: Fidel Castro and the Urban Underground* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Samuel Farber, *Origins of the Cuban*

Revolution Reconsidered (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Steve Cushion, *A Hidden History of the Cuban Revolution: How the Working Class Shaped the Guerrilla Victory* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2016). See also Ricardo Quiza Moreno, "Sujetos olvidados: Los trabajadores en la historiografía cubana," in *La historiografía en la Revolución cubana: Reflexiones a 50 años*, edited by Rolando Julio Rensoli Medina (Havana: Editorial Historia, 2010), 313–47.

45. María del Pilar Díaz Castañón, *Ideologia y Revolución: Cuba, 1959–1962* (Havana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 2001), and *Prensa y Revolución: La magia del cambio* (Havana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 2010).

46. Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Lillian Guerra, *Visions of Power in Cuba: Revolution, Redemption, and Resistance, 1959–1971* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

47. See Abel Sierra Madero, *Del otro lado del espejo: La sexualidad en la construcción de la nación cubana* (Havana: Fondo Editorial Casa de las Américas, 2006); Pedro Marqués de Armas, *Ciencia y poder en Cuba: Racismo, homofobia, nación (1790–1970)* (Madrid: Editorial Verbum, 2014); Michelle Chase, *Revolution within the Revolution: Women and Gender Politics in Cuba, 1952–1962* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Carrie Hamilton, *Sexual Revolutions in Cuba: Passion, Politics, and Memory* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Rachel Hynson, "'Count, Capture, and Reeducate': The Campaign to Rehabilitate Cuba's Female Sex Workers, 1959–1966," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 24, no. 1 (2015): 125–53; Devyn Spence Benson, *Antiracism in Cuba: The Unfinished Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Jennifer Lambe, *Madhouse: Psychiatry and Politics in Cuban History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017). See also Marvin Leiner, *Sexual Politics in Cuba: Machismo, Homosexuality, and AIDS* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994); Lois M. Smith and Alfred Padula, *Sex and Revolution in Socialist Cuba* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Christine Ayorinde, *Afro-Cuban Religiosity, Revolution, and National Identity* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004).

48. See Ambroso Fornet, "Quinquenio Gris: Revisitando el término," *Revista Casa de las Américas* 246 (January–March 2007): 3–16.

49. For example, Antón Arrufat, *Virgilio Piñera: Entre él y yo* (Havana: Ediciones Unión, 1995); Eliseo Alberto, *Informe contra mi mismo* (Madrid: Alfaguara, 2002); Raúl Martínez, *Yo Publio: Confesiones de Raúl Martínez* (Havana: Artecubano, 2007); Graziella Pogolotti, *Dinosauria soy: Memorias* (Havana: Ediciones Unión, 2011).

50. Carlos Velazco and Elizabeth Mirabal, *Sobre los pasos del cronista: El quehacer intelectual de Guillermo Cabrera Infante en Cuba hasta 1965* (Havana: Ediciones Unión, 2010); Carlos Velazco and Elizabeth Mirabal, *Hablar de Guillermo Rosales* (Miami: Editorial Silueta, 2013); Jorge Fornet, *El 71: Anatomía de una crisis* (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 2014). Additional scholarship on revolutionary cultural, intellectual, and literary politics is extensive. See the work of Michael Chanan, Robin D. Moore, Ana Serra, Esther Whitfield, Kepa Artaraz, Duanel Díaz, Luciano Castillo, Jacqueline Loss, Jorge Olivares, Alexandra Vázquez, Odette Casamayor Cisneros, Humberto Manduley López,

Guillermina De Ferrari, Pedro Porbén, Rebecca Gordon-Nesbitt, and Juan Antonio García Borrero, among others.

51. See, in particular, Rafael Rojas, *Tumbas sin sosiego: Revolución, disidencia, y exilio del intelectual cubano* (Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 2006), and *Fighting over Fidel: The New York Intellectuals and the Cuban Revolution*, translated by Carl Good (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016).

52. For a survey of these developments, see Felipe de J. Pérez Cruz, "Los estudios sobre la Revolución cubana," *Revista Calibán* 16 (May–August 2013), http://www.revistacaliban.cu/articulo.php?article_id=169&numero=16/.

53. See "Díaz Canel por mayor estudio de la historia de la Revolución," *Radio Rebelde*, October 14, 2015, http://www.radiorebelde.cu/noticia/diaz-canel-por-mayor-estudio-historia-revolucion-20151014/.

54. Tania Chappi Docurro, "Escudriñando la historia de la Revolución," *Temas*, February 7, 2014, http://www.temas.cult.cu/ultimo-jueves/escudri-ando-la-historia-de-la-revoluci-n; Tania Chappi Docurro, "Los años 70," *Temas*, August 3, 2015, http://www.temas.cult.cu/ultimo-jueves/los-os-70; *Luneta no. 1*, directed by Rebeca Chávez (Havana: ICAIC, 2012); *Los amagos de Saturno*, directed by Rosario Alfonso Parodi (2014).

55. Fernando Martínez Heredia, "¿Cómo investigar la Revolución cubana?" [two parts], *La Tizza*, March 17 and April 10, 2018, https://medium.com/la-tiza/c%C3%B3mo-investigar-la-revoluci%C3%B3n-cubana-i-2d5a9c18ce7a; https://medium.com/la-tiza/c%C3%B3mo-investigar-la-revoluci%C3%B3n-cubana-ii-7d9b7728346e.

56. See, for example, Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Haiti: State against Nation: The Origins and Legacy of Duvalierism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1990); Richard Turits, *Foundations of Despotism: Peasants, the Trujillo Regime, and Modernity in Dominican History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Mariano Plotkin, *Mañana es San Perón: A Cultural History of Perón's Argentina* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003); Robin Derby, *The Dictator's Seduction: Politics and the Popular Imagination in the Era of Trujillo* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); Matthew B. Karush and Oscar Chamosa, eds., *The New Cultural History of Peronism: Power and Identity in Mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

57. Scholarship in the former vein is extensive. For a few examples, see Veronique Garros, Thomas Lahusen, and Carol A. Flath, eds., *Intimacy and Terror: Soviet Diaries of the 1930s* (New York: New Press, 1997); Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); Christina Kiaer and Eric Naiman, eds., *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia: Taking the Revolution Inside* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Irina Paperno, *Stories of the Soviet Experience: Memoirs, Diaries, Dreams* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009). A few historians of the Soviet Union have begun to take up grassroots Cuba-Soviet connections in a serious way; see, for example, Anne Gorsuch, "'Cuba, My Love': The Romance of Revolutionary Cuba in the Soviet Sixties," *American Historical Review* 120, no. 2 (2015): 497–526. In the latter vein, see Laura Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment: Discipline and the Law in Imperial and Soviet Russia," in *Foucault and the Writing of History*, edited by Jan Goldstein (Oxford:

Blackwell, 1994); Stephen J. Collier, *Post-Soviet Social: Neoliberalism, Social Modernity, Biopolitics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011); Christos Lynteris, *The Spirit of Selflessness in Maoist China: Socialist Medicine and the New Man* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Sergei Prozorov, "Foucault and Soviet Biopolitics," *History of the Human Sciences* 27, no. 5 (2014): 6–25.

58. See Sierra Madero, *Del otro lado del espejo*; Marqués de Armas, *Ciencia y poder*; Lambe, *Madhouse*.

59. For a recent exception, see Emily Kirk, Anna Clayfield, and Isabel Story, eds., *Cuba's Forgotten Decade: How the 1970s Shaped the Revolution* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2018).

60. Jon Lee Anderson, *Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life* (New York: Grove Press, 1997); Fidel Castro and Ignacio Ramonet, *Fidel Castro, My Life: A Spoken Autobiography*, translated by Andrew Hurley (New York: Scribner, 2007); Nancy Stout, *One Day in December: Celia Sánchez and the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2013); Margaret Randall, *Haydée Santamaría: Cuban Revolutionary* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

61. Exceptions include Ayorinde, *Afro-Cuban Religiosity*; Maya J. Berry, "From 'Ritual' to 'Repertoire': Dancing to the Time of the Nation," *Afro-Hispanic Review* 29, no. 1 (2010): 55–76.

62. Alejandra Bronfman, "'Batista Is Dead': Media, Violence, and Politics in 1950s Cuba," *Caribbean Studies* 40, no. 1 (2012): 37–58; Yeidy Rivero, *Broadcasting Modernity: Cuban Commercial Television, 1950–1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

63. José Quiroga, *Cuban Palimpsests* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Guerra, *Visions of Power*.

64. See Lambe, *Madhouse*; Jennifer L. Lambe, "A Century of Work: Reconstructing Mazorra (1857–1959)," *Cuban Studies* 43 (2015): 90–118; Michael Bustamante, "Cuban Counterpoints: Memory Struggles in Revolution and Exile," PhD diss., Yale University, 2016, and "Anti-Communist Anti-Imperialism? Agrupación Abdala and the Shifting Contours of Cuban Exile Politics, 1968–1986," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 35, no. 1 (2015): 71–99.

65. For further insights into this problematic, see Martínez Heredia, "¿Cómo investigar la Revolución cubana?"