

The Cuban Revolution

Louis A. Pérez, Jr.
Institute for the Study of the Americas/Department of History
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

The Cuban Revolution: A Brief History

A military coup on March 10, 1952 catapulted General Fulgencio Batista into power. A government born of violence could continue to rule only by violence, and begot resistance by violence. All through the 1950s, the deepening political crisis plunged Cuba into open warfare, both in the cities and in the countryside.

The deepening political crisis obscured far more complex problems: pre-revolutionary Cuba had reached the limits of economic growth within the context of dependent capitalist structures sustained by sugar exports. The years immediately preceding the triumph of the revolution in 1959 were a time of profound shifts in Cuban society. The economy had stalled, and unemployment and underemployment had increased. The cost of living was rising and living standards for vast numbers of households were in an irreversible decline. These conditions were themselves symptomatic of a larger malaise, circumstances that pointed to profound structural problems that had overtaken Cuban society.

The triumph of a popular insurrection in Cuba on January 1, 1959 ousted a repressive military dictatorship, to the general approval and acclaim of virtually all Cubans. But as the revolutionary processes deepened, as the scope of reform expanded, and entered thresholds never before breached, as Fidel Castro challenged long-established premises about property and privilege in Cuba, the revolution changed course and character. Within the space of twenty-four months, Cuba was transformed into the first Marxist-Leninist state in the Western Hemisphere, aligned unabashedly with the Soviet Union: all this occurring 90 miles from the United States, in a region traditionally proclaimed a North American sphere of influence, in a country historically deemed as a client-state.

The Cuban revolution set in motion far-reaching changes. Monoculture, unemployment/underemployment, mal-distribution of income and wealth, industrial and commercial dependency on the United States, and the domination of strategic sectors of the economy by foreign capital were only some of the more urgent issues confronting the new revolutionary government.

Reform measures were implemented early—and rapidly. In the first nine months of 1959, an estimated 1,500 decrees, laws, and edicts were enacted. The new government lowered postal rates and reduced pharmaceutical prices. The Cuban Telephone Company was intervened and its rates reduced. The Cuban Electricity Company fees were lowered by 30 percent. The Urban Reform Law decreed rent reductions ranging between 50 and 30 percent. Tax codes were rewritten. More than 200 taxes were reduced, particularly those falling directly upon middle- and working-class households. Virtually all labor contracts were renegotiated and wages raised; minimum wages were increased in agriculture, industry, and commerce. Health and education reforms were promulgated at dizzying speeds. Anti-discrimination measures were enacted. By far the most ambitious—and controversial—measure was enacted in the Agrarian Reform Law of May 1959. By the terms of the new law, all real estate

holdings were reducing to 1,000 acres, with the exception of lands engaged in the production of sugar, rice and livestock, where the maximum size was fixed at 3,333 acres. Foreign property was nationalized and national property was expropriated. By the end of the 1960s, private property no longer existed in Cuba.

Early reforms measures were dramatic and historic, and provided immediate relief to vast numbers of Cubans. Egalitarian policies, however much justified by historic conditions of inequality and injustice, also served as source of social integration and political mobilization. The net effect of the early strategies of the revolution was to fashion an explicit ideological content to the meaning of revolution based on the claim of national sovereignty and self-determination in pursuit of Cuban well-being and the proposition of Cuba for Cubans. The reforms measures won for the new government widespread popular support and within the space of several years, many hundreds of thousands of Cubans acquired an immediate and lasting stake in the survival of the revolution.

But popular reforms also made the new government powerful enemies. Reforms may have provided immediate relief to vast numbers of people, but at the expense of property owners, many of whom were North American. The revolution's commitment to policies of egalitarian purport required more than changing the internal structures that had sanctioned privilege. It also placed Cubans and North Americans on a collision course. So profoundly institutional, so intrinsically structural, were the sources of U.S. hegemony on the island, that Cuban determination to advance national interest over foreign ones could not but produce conflict with the United States.

And, in turn, confrontation with the United States served to accelerate radicalization of the revolution and centralization of power. It aroused powerful nationalist sentiments, revived historic grievances, and in the process promoted a national unanimity of purpose previously unimaginable and perhaps unattainable by way of any other means.

Conflict with United States necessitated Cuban realignment, both within the internal calculus of power relationships and in the context of international relations. The ensuing realignments further deepened the confrontation. Internal political opposition to the government—always rendered as oppositions to the revolution—was at first discredited and subsequently disallowed. At the same time, Cuba and the Soviet Union expanded political and economic ties and by the early 1960s, had signed a number of important trade protocols. The Soviets agreed to purchase Cuban sugar and pledges financial support in the form of credits, technical assistance, and crude and refined petroleum.

All through the 1960s, the Cuban government mobilized vast sectors of the population in behalf of revolutionary programs. Nearly 300,000 men and women were incorporated into the civilian militia. Women were organized into the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) and local communities formed the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR). Youth was organized into the Association of Young Rebels and farmers joined the National Organization of Small Agriculturalists (ANAP). In 1965, the Cuban Communist Party (PPC) was organized.

At about the same time, many other Cubans were leaving the island, mostly emigrating to the United States. In the decades that followed, the total number of émigrés would surpass one million. Even as their presence in the United States had a decisive impact on U.S. policy, their absence in Cuba had equally far-reaching consequences on the course of Cuban policies. The emigration represented the exportation of counter-

revolution and all but foreclosed any possibility of a sustained and extensive internal challenge to the revolution. Henceforth, organized opposition to the revolution developed principally outside of Cuba, largely in the United States. Once the source of political opposition was transferred from within the island to outside it, the defense of the revolution became synonymous with the defense of national sovereignty and national security, and once the question of sovereignty was evoked, a deep wellspring of national sentiment was tapped in behalf of the revolution.

Economic development in the years following the consolidation of the new government followed an erratic course. Developmental strategies were initially driven by industrialization efforts and subsequently redirected to agricultural diversification driven by sugar exports. Trade expanded increasingly with the socialist bloc, with exports increasing during the early 1960s from 2.2 percent of the total to 74 percent. Imports increased from 0.3 percent to 70 percent. The Soviet Union accounted for more than half of Cuban exports and 40 percent of imports. In the decades that followed, the Soviets played a crucial role in financing Cuban trade deficits and otherwise providing the subsidies to sustained Cuban economy development between the 1960s and 1980s.

Many of the notable achievements of the Cuban revolution were registered during these years. Illiteracy was virtually eliminated. Educational opportunities expanded and full-time school enrollments increased at all levels between elementary schools to graduate and professional education. Nutrition and health care services improved; the number of trained health personnel increased steadily. Infant mortality rates declined, life expectancy rates increased.

Increasingly, too, Cuba expanded its international presence, including moral and material support for guerrilla movements in Latin America and anti-colonial struggles in Africa. Nor was the expanding Cuban international presence limited to military missions. Considerable resources were allocated to civilian socio-economic projects, including construction workers, physicians, teachers, engineers, and agronomists.

Everything changed during the late 1980s and early 1990s with the collapse of the socialist bloc. These were decisive years, for Cubans found themselves caught up in momentous changes, not all of their making and far from their capacity to control but nonetheless of direct and vital national interests. The dissolution of the Eastern European socialist bloc and the collapse of the Soviet Union portended calamity for Cuba. The loss of trading partners and the suspension of economic relations with the former socialist bloc produced disarray and distress and plunged Cuba into a crisis that threatened to undo thirty-five years of social gains and economic achievements. Cuba found itself increasingly unable to import the goods it consumed and without markets to export the goods it produced. Soviet trade and aid so vital to Cuban development strategies during the 1960s and 1970s began to dwindle in the late 1980s and virtually ceased altogether by the 1990s. The old socialist bloc had accounted for almost 85 percent of Cuban trade, transactions conducted almost entirely in nonconvertible currency. Commercial relations with the former Soviet Union declined by more than 90 percent, from \$8.7 billion in 1989 to \$4.5 billion in 1991 and \$750 million in 1993. Soviet oil imports decreased by almost 90 percent, from 13 million tons in 1989 to 1.8 million tons in 1992.

The economic crisis deepened through the early 1990s. For the second time in thirty years, Cuba experienced calamitous dislocations associated with disengagement from

its principal trading partners. The effects were immediate and far-reaching and, in fact, of far more serious consequences the second time, for on this occasion Cuba was unable to obtain easily alternative sources of aid and assistance. Scarcities increased. Shortages of almost every kind became commonplace. The loss of petroleum supplies resulted in the closing of industrial plants and factories, which in turn created another round of production shortfalls and consumer shortages. An estimated 50 percent of industrial plants, and perhaps more, suspended operations due to shortages of fuel, inputs, and replacement parts. Work animals replaced tractors, harvesters, and trucks; bicycles replaced automobiles. Domestic production of meat, milk, and eggs declined; the sugar crop decreased in successive years.

Cuba responded with a new regimen of rationing and the nation at large was summoned once more to mobilize and prepare for new austerity measures. The government announced the implementation of the "Special Period," a series of contingency plans conceived originally for use in a time of war based on austerity measures and new rationing schedules.

The loss of aid from old allies made Cuba more vulnerable to pressure from old adversaries. The United States seized the occasion of the deepening crisis to enact new political measures and expand economic sanctions against Cuba. First in 1992 with the Torricelli Law and later in 1996 with Helms-Burton, the United States expanded the scope and increased the severity of economic sanctions.

Cuban responses to the deepening economic crisis were mixed, a combination of ideological rigidity with pragmatic adjustments, some economic reforms with political control. The official posture remained initially unchanged. Public pronouncements were often defiant and intransigent. But government initiatives were not limited to the reaffirmation of the primacy of ideology. More pragmatic initiatives were introduced, measures that were themselves often in direct contradiction to official pronouncements and contrary to some of the central tenets of the revolution. The harsh realities of the crisis gradually took their toll on the resolve of Cuban leaders. The defiant oratorical flourishes of earlier years softened as a much subdued and sober Cuban leadership sought ways to relieve desperate and deteriorating conditions. The mood passed from the celebration of heroic struggle to the contemplation of grim sacrifice. Ideological rigidity yielded to pragmatic improvisations. The need to generate new sources of foreign exchange resulted in far-reaching changes of economic policies. New developmental strategies encouraged foreign investment, principally in the form of joint ventures and profit-sharing enterprises, changes that themselves were portents of a transition to a mixed economy. Joint venture projects expanded into tourism, pharmaceuticals, construction, transportation, food processing, textiles, and mining.

Economic experimentation and political reforms, if they were to succeed at all, would require time to permit authorities to find ways to adjust national modalities to changing international conditions. But it was clear, too, in the meantime, that Cuban leaders were determined that hard times would not be the occasion to challenge the authority of the government. The leadership may have been willing to introduce market mechanisms into a moribund economy and, further, to consider ways to make existing political institutions more representative and responsive to popular will—up to a point. The parameters of change were always to be contained within existing political structures. No opposition press was permitted. The primacy of the Communist Party in a one-party state was not open for debate. A multi-party system was rejected outright.

As Cuba entered the twenty-first century, it appeared to have survived both the worst effects of the collapse of socialism and increased economic sanctions from the United States. Conditions across the island improved, not always dramatically and not equally for everyone. The combination of modest economic recovery, tourist receipts, and especially remittances from family and friends abroad acted to underwrite modest improvements. But these gains have not been without some cost, and the long ranges consequence of newly emerging social disparities and maldistribution of resources remain to be seen.

Difficulties mounting and compounding continuously, many years in the making and for which there are few readily available remedies. An economy that reorganized itself during the late 1990s and early 2000s around tourist receipts collapsed as a result of the pandemic. A loss of foreign exchange with ominous implications for a country that imports 70 percent of its food supplies. The Trump administration revived the most punitive elements of U.S. sanctions, limiting family remittances to \$1,000 per quarter per person, prohibiting remittances to family members of government officials and members of the communist party, and prohibiting for donative remittances to Cuban nationals. The Trump administration prohibited the processing of remittances through any entities on a “Cuba restricted list,” an action that resulted in Western Union ceasing its operations in Cuba in November 2020. And as a final spiteful gratuitous gesture, the outgoing Trump administration returned Cuba to the list of state sponsors of terrorism.

At the precise moment the Cuban people were reeling from greater shortages, increased rationing, declining services, the United States imposed a new series of sanctions. It is impossible to react in any way other than with blank incredulity to State Department spokesperson Ned Price’s comment that Cuban humanitarian needs “are profound because of not anything the United States has done.”

Cubans confront all at once a collapsing economy, diminished remittances, restricted emigration opportunities, inflation, shortages of food, scarcity of medicines, all in a time of a national health emergency—and with the United States applying punitive sanctions with the intent of making everything worse.

Cubans struggle to maintain what remains of their national dignity, into which so much collective resolve has been invested. And the United States is determined to exact the full toll for this Cuban aspiration of dignity.

The Cuban Revolution: An Introduction the Literature

The triumph of the Cuban revolution immediately called attention to a country hardly thought about in the United States before 1959 as anything more than a place of tropical promiscuity, frequented by tourists in pursuit of illicit pleasures and risqué amusements: a setting for honeymoons, a playground for vacations, a brothel, a casino, a cabaret, a good liberty port. With a few notable exceptions, it was impossible to argue that a “scholarship” existed in the United States on Cuba.

Everything changed after January 1, 1959, and in the course of the last 60 years, a formidable body of scholarship has indeed developed and has assumed prodigious proportions. This literature has assumed several distinctive characteristics. In the

main, it has focused on politics, policies, and performance of the Cuban revolution, spanning issues of such diverse subjects as economic development, government, foreign policy, leadership, race relations, gender, and the arts.

Within these general categories, sub-themes have developed and have acted often to define the field. Thus, on the subject of foreign policy, no other single facet of Cuban international relations has received as much attention as Cuban relations with the United States—in both countries. Similarly, the study of leadership in the Cuban revolution has focused principally on the biography of Fidel Castro.

This is also a literature singularly characterized by a point of view. On the subject of the Cuban revolution, rare indeed is the stance of neutrality. Almost everyone who writes on Cuba has a “position” on the revolution. This is not to invite suspicion about the quality of the scholarship. Rather, it is to call attention to one of the salient if not always apparent qualities intrinsic to the scholarship on the Cuban revolution.

This guide seek to provide a approach to the multiple facets of the literature on the Cuban revolution. The titles seek to offer a balanced perspective, as informative sources representative of the field and representative too of the “state of the art” in the scholarship.

General

Bengelsdorf, Carollee. *The Problem of Democracy in Cuba: Between Vision and Reality*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

A thoughtful examination of the role of ideology in shaping the principal policy approaches to economic development and political participation. The study offers a compelling critique of the inability of Cuban structures to break free from the grip of anti-democratic impulses of Marxist-Leninist precepts. It is particularly useful as a perspective on Cuba during the early years of the post-Soviet period.

Chomsky, Aviva. *A History of the Cuban Revolution*. New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

A useful 50-year overview of the Cuban revolution, set within a larger international context. Emphasis is given to political-economy as the principal explanatory approach to the analysis of the revolution.

del Aguila, Juan M. *Cuba. Dilemmas of a Revolution*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1984.

A generally critical assessment of the politics, policies, and programs of the Cuban revolutionary government. Attention is given principally to Cuban foreign policy, economic development, social programs, and the development of the new institutional structures of the Cuban government.

Eckstein, Susan E. *Back From the Future: Cuba Under Castro*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2003.

An examination of the scope of the revolution, principally through the end of the twentieth century. Adopting a thematic approach, the book examines key facets of the process of the revolution, including rectification, internationalism, and the years of the Special Period in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Kapcia, Antoni. *Cuba in Revolution. A History Since the Fifties*. London: Reaktion Books, 2008.

A highly readable historical survey of fifty years of the Cuban revolution. The principal thematic highlights include the role of ideology, Fidel Castro, Cuban relations with the United States, Soviet Union and China, and the crisis of the post-Soviet years.

Karol, K. S. *Guerrillas in Power: The Course of the Cuban Revolution*. Trans. Arnold Pomerans. New York: Hill & Wang, 1970.

A critical study of the first ten years of the Cuban revolution, paying particular attention to the early failure of Cuban development strategies, and specifically agriculture, industry, and manufacturing, within the context of expanding Cuba-Soviet relations.

Nelson, Lowry. *Cuba: The Measure of a Revolution*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972.

An examination of the social conditions in pre-revolutionary Cuba as setting for the transition to socialism. The principal focus is on the impact of the revolution on a number of key aspects of Cuba life, including agriculture, economic diversification, labor, education, family, press, social class, and social services.

Pérez-Stable, Marifeli. *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course, and Legacy*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

A critical overview of developments in revolutionary Cuba between 1959 and 1999. Attention is given to the role of nationalism, the vicissitudes of economic development strategies, political institutions, and Cuban relations with the Soviet Union.

Sweig, Julia. *Cuba: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Presented in a question-and-answer format, this overview of contemporary Cuba addresses a wide variety of themes, including history, politics and government, the arts, U.S.-Cuba relations, and Fidel Castro.

Bibliographies

The expansion of the literature on the Cuban revolution in the past 60 years has assumed vast proportions, and has in turn summoned into existence an equally vast body of bibliographical compilations and research guides. The publication of bibliographical aids has become an on-going enterprise, all to the benefit of research on Cuba, and indeed serves as one of the principal means by which to access this vast literature.

Anderson, Teresa, ed. *Cuban Agrarian Economy: Bibliography*. Madison: Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, 1974.

A comprehensive compilation of titles, both from within Cuba and outside, addressing the changing agricultural structures in Cuba, including changing land tenure forms, the agrarian reform of 1959, and the development of cooperatives.

Chilcote, Ronald H., ed. *Cuba, 1953-1978: A Bibliographical Guide to the Literature*. 2 vols. White Plains, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1986.

Perhaps the most exhaustive and certainly the most complete bibliographical listing for the years within its scope. The bibliography is organized around specific subjects, and include: society, culture, social services, politics, economics, international affairs, the periodization of the revolution, and revolutionary leadership, among others.

Cuban Studies. Center for Latin American Studies. University of Pittsburgh Press. 1970--

Inaugurated in 1970, *Cuban Studies* offers the "state of the art" of research in all the social sciences and humanities and book reviews and serves as the principal bibliographical resource of scholarship on Cuba. Each issue contains a bibliographical listing of newly published titles of articles, monographs, and books, principally from Cuba and the United States.

Fort, Gilbert V., ed. *The Cuban Revolution of Fidel Castro Viewed From Abroad*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1969.

Perhaps the most comprehensive compilation of titles published outside of Cuba during the first ten years of the revolution, including works of scholarship and as well as important journalistic essays.

Parker, Dick. *La revolución cubana*. Caracas: Biblioteca Nacional, 1995.

A listing of published materials—most from Latin America—dealing with a wide variety of themes. Offers a guide to bibliographies as well as a listing of the speeches and interviews of Fidel Castro, a guide to monographs and pamphlets on various themes of politics, economics, and international relations. The guide is particular strong for materials published during the 1980s.

Pérez, Louis A., Jr., ed. *Historiography in the Revolution: A Bibliography of Cuban Scholarship, 1959-1979*. New York: Garland Publishing Company, 1980.

A compilation of the historical works published in Cuba during the first twenty years of the revolution. The guide is organized around in two formats: chronology, spanning the pre-Columbian period to 1952, and thematic, including labor, women, communism, slavery, and foreign relations, among others.

Santos Quilez, Aleida de la, ed. *El campesinado cubano. Breve bibliografía*. Havana: Editora Política, 1980.

A guide to the literature on peasants and rural society published principally in Cuba.

Suchlicki, Jaime, ed. *The Cuban Revolution: A Documentary Bibliography, 1952-1968*. Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1968.

A bibliography listing some of the most important primary sources for the study of the early years of the Cuban revolution, including speeches, manifestos, proclamations, and published interviews, drawn principally from newspapers and periodicals. The bibliography is organized in chronological order, beginning with 1952 and ending in 1968.

Valdés, Nelson P. and Edwin Lieuwen, eds. *The Cuban Revolution: A Research Guide (1959-1969)*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971.

A comprehensive guide to research materials for the study of the Cuban revolution, and for the years of its temporal scope, an indispensable source. It identifies the wide variety of sources, spanning newspapers, periodicals, directories, guides, and almanacs, and expands into historical works by scholars

and observers, addressing politics, international relations, economy, education, society, religion, and culture.

Surveys Histories

Survey histories of Cuba offer an important contextual framework within which to approach an understanding of the complexities of the revolution. The course of the revolution was very much shaped by the events of the 1950s, to be sure. But the revolution also possessed a historicity with antecedents deep in the Cuban past. It was of and very much within the historical experience of the Cuban people, experiences that acted to shape the circumstances in which the revolution assumed form. Factors of colonialism, sugar and slavery, trade and commerce, and imperialism, among many other factors, provide the critical context necessary to understand the antecedents of the events that transpired after January 1, 1959 and serve the focus of Gott 2004 and Pérez 2010. A comprehensive and indeed a detailed and all-inclusive historical perspective is the compelling strength of Thomas 1971.

Ferrer, Ada. *Cuba. An American History*. New York: Scribner, 2021.

A sweeping history of Cuba paying particular attention to the inter-actions—and consequences—of relations with the United States.

Gott, Richard. *Cuba: A New History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

A survey of Cuban history from the colonial period into the early twenty-first century. The emphasis of the history is dedicated to the revolutionary period, spanning the insurrectionary war during the 1950s through the post-Soviet years of the Special Period.

Pérez, Louis A., Jr. *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution*. 4th ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

An overview of Cuban history, spanning pre-Columbian times through the first decade of the twenty-first century. Emphasis is given to social, economic, and political developments, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Thomas, Hugh. *Cuba, the Pursuit of Freedom*. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.

Perhaps the most detailed survey history of Cuba, this encyclopedic treatment is an obligatory reference work for virtually all facets of Cuban history. Focused principally from 1762 through the year in which it was published, it is well written and thoroughly researched with a decided emphasis on political history. The highly-readable text includes useful appendices, statistics, photographs, and a very usable index.

Edited Collections and Anthologies

The production of edited collections and anthologies has developed fully into a sub-genre of the scholarly literature on the Cuban revolution. Anthologies serve typically to bring together in one volume multiple disciplinary perspectives and often provide a venue for new scholarship. No less important, edited works have also served as the basis for collaborative projects, providing the opportunity to publish English-translation works by Cuban scholars. Anthologies conform to several distinct typologies. They often serve a commemorative function, a point at which to take stock of developments

over a specified period of time. That an editor can often “command” contributions, anthologies are also well-adapted formats to examine specific thematic concerns. Anthologies also provide a format to address specialized topics from multiple aspects by specialists, bringing to bear the prevailing collective wisdom on one theme. In a more general way, anthologies often serve to provide multi-disciplinary introductory overviews of conditions in Cuba, addressing a wide range of topics.

Azicri, Max and Elsie Deal, eds. *Cuban Socialism in a New Century: Adversity, Survival, and Renewal*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004.

Examines vital facets of the Cuban response to the challenges of the post-Soviet years in the context of globalization. These essays address issues of migration, the expanded role of religion in Cuban public life, women and changing gender roles occasioned by circumstances of the post-Soviet years, the new role of the armed forces, foreign policy, demography, social and cultural changes, and the changing role of the Cuban Communist Party.

Centeno, Miguel Angel and Mauricio Font, eds. *Toward a New Cuba? Legacies of a Revolution*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997.

The essays in this volume examine the early years of the Special Period, as Cuba adapted to the exigencies of the post-Soviet crisis. The materials range over a wide spectrum of subjects, including race relations, economic development, transition to a market economy, Cuba-U.S. relations, black market transactions, and the role of the Cuban community abroad.

Brenner, Philip, *et al.* *Cuba at the Crossroads*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020.

A collection of essays assessing conditions in Cuba since the retirement of President Raúl Castro analyzing politics, economy, and foreign policy.

Fernández, Damián J., ed. *Cuban Studies Since the Revolution*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992.

A collection of essays examining the development of the field of scholarship in Cuban studies, principally in the United States. The book provides an introduction to the “state of the scholarship” at the time of its publication in multiple disciplines, including history, economics, political science, international relations, the humanities, and migration studies.

Halebsky, Sandor and John M. Kirk, eds. *Cuba: Twenty-Five Years of Revolution, 1959-1984*. New York: Praeger, 1985.

A quarter-century retrospect, including essays on education, medicine, nutrition, women, religion, popular culture, cinema, literature, economic planning, labor, foreign policy, U.S.-Cuban relations, and historiography.

Hoffman, Bert and Laurence Whitehead, eds. *Debating Cuban Exceptionalism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

A collection of essays from multiple disciplinary perspectives—including historical, political, sociological, and economic—from within Cuba and outside, examining the circumstances of the Cuban condition in the years following the collapse of the Soviet Union. The themes revolve around inquiry into the factors that have

precluded the development of a democratic market economy that emerged in the former Soviet bloc countries.

Mesa-Lago, Carmelo, ed. *Revolutionary Change in Cuba*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971.

Eighteen essays arranged in three parts: polity, economy, and society. The themes examined the first part include the early consolidation of political power, the role of the communist party, foreign relations, and Stalinism in revolutionary politics. The section on the economy addresses central planning, labor, international economic relations, and development policies. The third section on society addresses social structures, education, religion, art, theater, cinema, and literature.

Pérez-López, Jorge and José Alvarez, eds. *Reinventing the Cuban Sugar Agroindustry*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005.

A wide-ranging set of essays examining critical facets of Cuban strategies of sugar production in a changing international environment, including such issues as production costs patterns, trade and commerce, technology, free trade, and the development of biofuels.

Purcell, Susan Kaufman David J. Rothkopf, eds. *Cuba: The Contours of Change*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000.

A collection of essays examining various aspects of Cuba after almost decade of the Special Period, including transitions to market economy, the U.S. embargo, and political changes occasioned by the crisis of the post-Soviet years.

Silverman, Bertram, ed. *Man and Socialism in Cuba: The Great Debate*. New York: Athenum, 1971.

The "great debate" involves the deliberations on the efficacy of moral incentives over material rewards. An informative collection of essays examining an important period of the early years of the Cuban revolution, bringing together a variety of perspectives on the subject of moral incentives, including those in leadership positions in Cuba, economists, and scholars.

Primary Sources

The Cuban revolution has resulted in the publication of a vast literature of primary sources. Much of what qualifies as "documents" originates from government sources, principally the United States. Other types of materials include published correspondence and speeches, statistical abstracts. NB: Please examine other sections of this bibliography to identify other types of primary sources, including memoirs, oral histories, and *testimonios*. Primary sources often come bearing perspectives and point of view, of course, and the titles below are distinctly marked by their origins.

Castro, Fidel. *The Prison Letter of Fidel Castro*. Eds. Ann Louise Bardach and Luis Conte Agüero, New York: Nation Books, 2007.

A collection of 21 letters written by Castro during his nearly two-years of imprisonment between 1953 and 1955. The correspondence provides insight into the private ruminations and personal reflections of Castro during an important formative period.

Castro, Fidel. *Revolutionary Struggle, 1947-1958*. Eds. Rolando E. Bonachea and Nelson P. Valdés. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972.

An indispensable collection of the early published speeches and writings of Fidel Castro, spanning his years at the University of Havana to the eve of the triumph of the armed struggle against the government of Fulgencio Batista. The editors provided an excellent introductory essay as an accompanying narrative for the documents.

García Luis, Julio, ed. *Cuban Revolution Reader: A Documentary History of Fidel Castro's Revolution*. New York: Ocean Press, 2008.

A collection of many of the most important materials bearing on the course of the revolution from -1959 through the early twenty-first century. The materials consist principally of speeches of the leadership, including Fidel Castro, Ernesto Che Guevara, Camilo Cienfuegos, Osvaldo Dorticós, Raúl Castro, and Carlos Lage, the texts of the most important laws, government communiques, and the reproduction of articles from the newspaper *Granma*.

Kornbluh, Peter, ed. *Bay of Pigs Declassified. The Secret CIA Report on the Invasion of Cuba*. New York: The New Press, 1998.

The publication of the CIA Inspector General Lyman Kirkpatrick's internal report on the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion, declassified in 1995. A probing examination of the circumstances leading to the abysmal failure of the U.S.-sponsored invasion, concluding that the CIA was guilty of misleading the President.

McAuliffe, Mary S., ed. *CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Washington, DC: History Staff/Central Intelligence Agency, 1992.

More than one hundred documents, of varying lengths, largely in the form of maps, memoranda, and cable communications. The vast majority of the materials deal with the period between October 16 and October 28, 1962, and are related principally to the discovery and assessment of the presence of Soviet intermediate-range ballistic missile sites in Cuba and to the analysis of the political context and international conditions of the crisis.

Schroeder, Susan. *Cuba: A Handbook of Historical Statistics*. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982.

A splendid compilation of a mass of statistical data, spanning from the century of discovery and conquest through the 1970s. It contains information on population, production, labor, education, banking and finance, trade and commerce, among other subjects.

Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States: Cuba, 1958-1960*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1991.

The volume of the Foreign Relations series provides an invaluable collection of primary sources bearing on U.S.-Cuba relations in the final months of the Batista government and the suspension of diplomatic relations in 1961. Materials consist of cable dispatches from the U.S. embassy in Havana, internal Department of State and Department of Defense memoranda, minutes of National Security Council meetings, and presidential papers.

Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States: Cuba, 1961-1962*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1991.

The volume deals principally with the years 1961 and 1962 volume is particularly important for documents, memoranda, and dispatches bearing on the Bay of Pigs and U.S. covert operations in Cuba.

Fidel Castro

Biographies of Fidel Castro developed into a veritable cottage industry in the United States and indeed have assumed fully the form of a literary sub-genre. Few heads of state have been the subject of more biographies during their lifetime than Fidel Castro—something all the more remarkable considering that the country over which he presides is hardly more than the size of Florida, with a population of 11 million people. Biographies have been written by scholars, journalists, and at least one psychiatrist. Biographical accounts of Castro take two principal forms: unabashedly hostile and openly sympathetic. A prominent facet of the biographical literature on Castro has also been the publication of book-length interviews, a format that has served as an important source of first-person information and often provides remarkable personal and political portraits of the Cuban leader.

Betto, Frei. *Fidel and Religion. Castro Talks on Revolution and Religion with Frei Betto*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987.

Based on 23 hours of conversation, the interview addresses matters related principally to the compatibility between Christianity and Marxism. Provoking considerable controversy at the time of its original publication, it served as a gesture to incorporate “believers” (*creyentes*) into the Cuban revolutionary processes.

Bourne, Peter G. *Fidel: A Biography of Fidel Castro*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1986.

A generally sympathetic biography of Fidel Castro written by a psychiatrist. A times perhaps too “psychological,” the biography nevertheless offers interesting insights into Castro’s childhood and education, the university years, the armed struggle, and ultimate conversion to Marxism-Leninism.

Castro, Fidel. *My Life*. Ed. Ignacio Ramonet. Trans. Andrew Hurley. London: Penguin, 2007.

That Fidel Castro appears as author of *My Life* is misleading, for this is not an autobiography in a conventional sense. Rather, it is the edited transcript based on 100 hours of interviews conducted during 2003-2005. Castro reminisces about his childhood, political formation, the guerrilla war, the early years of the revolution, and relations with the United States.

Dubois, Jules. *Fidel Castro. Rebel, Liberator or Dictator?* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1959.

The Dubois book was first Castro biography in English. *Chicago Tribune* correspondent Dubois obtained early access to Castro during the 1950s, from which he based this political biography, examining the years between the late 1940s and the triumph of the revolution in 1959.

Geyer, Georgie Ann. *Guerrilla Prince: The Untold Story of Fidel Castro*. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1991.

One of the more virulently hostile biographies of Castro, purporting to answer the question of who Castro “really is.” It is filled with psychological ruminations very

much derived from unattributed sources, gossip, and rumors organized around speculation and driven by innuendo and inference.

Lockwood, Lee. *Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Fidel*. New York: Knopf, 1967.

One of the first published interviews of Castro, based on seven days of conversation in August 1965. The subjects of the interviews range from matters having to do with political prisoners, plans for economic development, Cuba-U.S. relations, and autobiographical musings. Richly illustrated with stunning photographs.

Matthews, Herbert L. *Fidel Castro*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969.

New York Times correspondent Matthew prepared a generally sympathetic biography of Castro's public life spanning largely the years of the Moncada attack in 1953 through the end of the 1960s. More than a biography, it develops fully as a "life and times" account of Cuba during these years.

Quirk, Robert E. *Fidel Castro*. New York: Norton, 1993.

A generally hostile biography of Castro, giving attention to the process of childhood personality development and its influence on Castro's later behavior and conduct. The volume is skewed heavily toward the years before 1970, with relatively scant attention given to the later years.

Szulc, Tad. *Fidel. A Critical Portrait*. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1986.

A comprehensive and perhaps the most balanced biography of Castro. Szulc was provided with privileged access to the Cuban leader over the course of one year, as well as receiving access to aides and collaborators of Castro. Divided in four parts—1926-1952, 1952-1958, 1959-1963, and 1963-1986—the biography provides a thorough study of Fidel.

Insurrectionary War, 1953-1958

On March 10, 1952, on the eve of national elections, General Fulgencio Batista seized power in a military coup and overthrew constitutional government of Carlos Prío Socarrás. Within eighteen months, Fidel Castro had responded to the Batista coup with an organized assault against the Moncada military barracks in Santiago de Cuba, the second largest military installation on the island. While the assault was a military failure, it was a political success, and served to catapult Castro into a position of political prominence. Of the several revolutionary groups that emerged to oppose Batista, the Movimiento Revolucionario 26-7 (MR 26-7) led by Fidel Castro gained early ascendancy. Resistance increased, so did repression all through the 1950s. Running-gun battles in the cities, ambushes in the countryside, strikes and demonstrations, and abductions and assassinations became only the more visible expressions of a nation at war with itself. In the mountains of eastern Cuba a full-scale guerrilla war was expanding and gaining support; in the cities of the west, the urban underground was engaged in a sustained campaign of violence and sabotage. The MR 26-7 functioned at two levels: in the mountains (*sierra*) and the cities (*llano*). Between Havana in the west and the mountains of the east, the armed struggle took hold across provincial towns and cities.

Bonachea, Ramón L. and Marta San Martín. *The Cuban Insurrection, 1952-1959*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1974.

A thorough examination of the multi-faceted perspectives of the armed struggle between the military coup of Fulgencio Batista in March 1952 and the triumph of the Cuban revolution in January 1959. Attention is given principally to the Directorio Revolucionario and the Movimiento Revolucionario 26-7 (MR 26-7).

Castro, Fidel. *La victoria estratégica*. Havana: Oficina de Publicaciones del Consejo de Estado, 2010.

The recently published memoirs of Fidel Castro prepared during his retirement recount in detail the final year of the guerrilla campaign in the Sierra Maestra. Richly illustrated with maps and battle diagrams, photographs, and the reproduction of important documents, the volume is indispensable for the study of the final phase of the guerrilla war.

Dorschner, John and Roberto Fabricio. *The Winds of December*. East Rutherford, New Jersey: Coward, McCann, and Geoghagen, 1980.

Based on published materials, State Department documents obtained through Freedom of Information Act, and more than 200 interviews with eyewitnesses and participants from both the government and its opponents, the book makes for an invaluable chronicle of the political, diplomatic, and military aspects of the final month of the Batista government.

Franqui, Carlos. *Diary of the Cuban Revolution*. Trans. Georgette Felix, et al. New York: The Viking Press, 1980.

A collection of interviews, documents, memoirs, and correspondence chronicling the years of insurgency between 1953 and 1958. The book provides in-depth treatment of the multiple facets of armed resistance, including preparations for the attack on Moncada, the *Granma* landing, labor strikes, and the guerrilla war.

García-Pérez, Gladys Marel. *Insurrection and Revolution: Armed Struggle in Cuba, 1952-1959*. Trans. Juan Ortega. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998.

An examination of the regional basis of support for the Movimiento Revolucionario 26-7, with particular attention to Matanzas province. Based on consultation of archival records and the provincial press, and extensive oral histories of the participants in the insurrection, the book privileges the significance of local issues as catalyst for the support and participation in the expanding national revolutionary movement.

Guevara, Ernesto Che. *Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War*. Trans. Victoria Ortiz. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968.

The English translation of Guevara's field diary during the guerrilla campaign between 1956 and 1958. The memoir is an important source for the study of the important battles and key aspects of the insurgency, providing insight into the organization, leadership, and strategy of the Rebel Army during the guerrilla campaign.

Hart, Armando. *Aldabonazo. Inside the Cuban Revolutionary Underground, 1952-1958*. New York: Pathfinder, 2004.

A first-person account of the MR 26-7 urban resistance to the Batista government, dealing variously with the University of Havana, the attack on the Moncada barracks, and the armed struggle both in the Sierra Maestra and the principal cities of the island. Includes the publication of important documents and photographs.

Sweig, Julia E. *Inside the Cuban Revolution: Fidel Castro and the Urban Underground*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.

A carefully researched narrative that will stand as one of the touchstone accounts of the insurrectionary war. Using a wide range of archival records and manuscript sources, including important and previously unused Cuban materials, the book draws out the complex and often contradictory relations between the organizers of the urban resistance in the cities and the leadership of the guerrilla columns in the mountains.

Memoirs

That the process of the Cuban revolution after 1959 passed through successive phases, each with distinctive characteristics and different ideological orientations, served to create the conditions of successive disaffection among many of the men and women who participated in or were party to the dramatic changes that occurred on the island. The titles below are entirely of Cubans who were in one way or another “insiders,” who subsequently went into exile and subsequently published their memoirs. In the aggregate these memoirs serve as an important source of information on some of the critical periods of the revolution.

Batista, Fulgencio. *Cuba Betrayed*. New York: Vantage Press, 1962.

While not exactly a memoir—more akin to an apologia—Batista provided a useful account for the study of Cuba during the final years of his government. The book is particularly valuable for its perspective of the government confronting mounting revolutionary resistance. It includes a large number of extracts from personal correspondence and official military and political communiques.

Casuso, Teresa. *Cuba and Castro*. Trans. Elmer Grossberg. New York: Random House, 1961.

Written by an advisor to Fidel Castro and an early supporter of the revolutionary movement, the memoir is particularly insight as a source for the late 1950s and the early months of the revolution. The author served as the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations before resigning and seeking political exile in the United States in 1960.

Llerena, Mario. *The Unsuspected Revolution: The Birth and Rise of Castroism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978.

The author joined the Movimiento Revolucionario 26-7 (MR 26-7) in the mid-1950s and was especially active in propaganda and fund-raising in the United States during the early phase of the insurrection in Cuba. It is especially useful for its insight into the activities of Cubans outside the island in support of the anti-Batista movement.

Llovio-Menéndez, José Luis. *Insider. My Hidden Life as a Revolutionary in Cuba*. Trans. Edith Grossman. New York: Bantam Books, 1988.

Spanning the years between the late 1950s and early 1980s, the memoir chronicles the politics and policies of change in key ministries. The author served as director of Capital Investments of the Ministry of Sugar, as senior adviser in the Ministry of Finance, and adviser in the Ministry of Culture, and witnessed and participated in the discussions bearing on key economic planning decisions.

López-Fresquet, Rufo. *My 14 Months with Castro*. Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1966.

A highly informative account of the early months of 1959 of the new revolutionary government as told by the former Minister of the Treasury. Of particular value are the insights in the early economic development strategies contemplated by the new government, and particularly as it involved relations with U.S. corporations and the U.S. government.

Urrutia Lleó, Manuel. *Fidel Castro and Company: Communist Tyranny in Cuba*. New York: Praeger, 1964.

An account of the tumultuous early months after the triumph of the revolution. The author served as Provisional President between January and July 1959, whereupon he resigned in protest to the expanding communist presence in government. The preoccupation with communism notwithstanding, the memoir provides an informative perspective on the building tensions inside the government, and particularly the expanding role of Fidel Castro in matters of state.

Oral Histories/Testimonios

If published memoirs offer a perspective from “the top down,” oral histories and *testimonios* provide a view “from the bottom up.” One of the most important perspectives on the Cuban revolution has to do with the ways that radical change affected the daily lives of many hundreds of thousands of Cubans. First-person accounts chronicle of the experience of daily life during years before and after the changes wrought by the revolution. No less important as a way to understanding the human drama of the revolution are the oral histories and *testimonios* of the men and women who chose to emigrate from the island after 1959.

Fernández, José R. *Los abuelos: historia oral cubana*. Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1987.

A collection of oral histories taken of a dozen men and women in exile in Miami and organized into three parts: life in Cuba, which includes reminiscences of childhood and schooling, family life, holidays, hurricanes, and religion; history, involving memories of important historical events, including the war for independence, the revolutions of 1906, 1912, and 1917, and the Machado years; and emigration to the United States.

Lewis, Oscar, Ruth M. Lewis, and Susan M. Rigdon. *Four Men. Living the Revolution. An Oral History of Contemporary Cuba*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977.

The oral history of four men representing diverse ages, histories, occupations, class backgrounds, races, and political persuasions. The reminiscences provide a compelling account of life in pre- and post-revolutionary Cuba, offering insight into aspect of daily life, including male-female relations, religion, politics, race and class antagonism, family life, work, and recreation.

Lewis, Oscar, Ruth M. Lewis, and Susan M. Rigdon. *Four Women. Living the Revolution. An Oral History of Contemporary Cuba*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977.

A collection of lengthy oral histories of four different women, including an educated married woman and member of the communist party; a single woman living with her parents, formerly active in counter-revolutionary activities; a former prostitute; and a middle-aged housewife formerly a domestic servant. The life histories provide a highly informative perspective on the condition of women before and after the revolution.

Lewis, Oscar, Ruth M. Lewis, and Susan M. Rigdon. *Neighbors. Living the Revolution. An Oral History of Contemporary Cuba*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978.

The third volume of an impressive oral history project of the 1970s, bringing together the memoirs of men and women, old and young, white and black: all residents of the apartment building of 400 block of Crustal Street in Havana. A richly textured collective memoir of the vagaries of daily life in Cuba in the years immediately before and immediately after the triumph of the revolution, told in highly personal and evocative forms.

O'NEILL Herrera, Andrea. *Remembering Cuba: Legacy of Diaspora*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001.

A collection of 100 interviews with Cubans in exile. The book contains oral histories, correspondence, essays, photographs, and journal entries addressing principally the meaning of exile and emigration.

Reyes Castillo Bueno, María de los. *Reyita: The Life of a Black Cuban Woman in the Twentieth Century*. Ed. Daisy Rubiera Castillo. Trans. Anne McLean. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.

The English translation of a *testimonio* originally published in Cuba. As a source for the study of daily life in Cuba recounted over the span of decades, it is unrivaled. Reyita reminisces about family, work, marriage, religion, racial discrimination, and the impact of the Cuban revolution.

Cuba-United States Relations

It is all but impossible to understand the Cuban revolution outside the larger context of the relationship between Cuba and the United States. Relations between Cuba and the United States began to deteriorate almost immediately upon the triumph of the revolution in January 1959, becoming increasingly strained and culminating in January 1961 in a rupture of diplomatic relations. The Cuban challenge to the premise and propriety of U.S. power in Cuba and the U.S. response to that challenge serve as the principal source of conflict between both countries.

A vast literature has developed, examining virtually every aspect of Cuba-U.S. relations during the past fifty years. The principal thematic elements of the literature corresponds to the years 1959-1961; U.S. covert operations, including the Bay of Pigs (Playa Girón); the missile crisis in 1962; and U.S. economic sanctions and embargo. This literature is also distinctive for having produced a rich body of published documents and memoirs, principally of North American origins.

Overviews

The overview accounts in this section below provide a wide panorama of relations between Cuba and the United States. With the passage of time, the quality of this scholarship has improved, due in large measure to the increasing availability of important documentation. The titles conform generally to three genres of approaches:

1) provides first-person perspectives of former U.S. diplomatic officials; 2) examines the subject of bi-lateral relations during the revolutionary years from a broad historical perspective; 3) a focus principally on the years after 1959.

Benjamin, Jules R. *The United States and the Origins of the Cuban Revolution: An Empire of Liberty in an Age of National Liberation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

A survey of Cuba-U.S. relations through the twentieth century, with particular attention to the historical sources of the contentious issues that contributed to the post-1959 enmities.

Bonsal, Philip W. *Cuba, Castro, and the United States*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971.

A compelling first-person account of the deterioration and eventual rupture of Cuba-U.S. relations between 1959 and 1961 as recounted by the last U.S. ambassador to Cuba. Bonsal examines the mounting tensions between Havana and Washington within a larger historical background, seeking to explain the origins of the revolution and assessing the principal elements of contention between both countries.

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

A balanced examination of U.S. policy toward Cuba, focusing principally on the years between the 1960s and the 1980s. Attention is given to the factors acting to influence U.S. policy, including developments in Cuba and domestic considerations.

Morley, Morris H. *Imperial State and Revolution: The United States and Cuba, 1952-1986*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

A detailed analysis of the exercise of U.S. hegemony in Cuba in the years immediately preceding the triumph of the revolution and subsequent U.S. efforts to thwart the program and policies of the revolution and overthrow the Cuban government.

Plank, John, ed. *Cuba and the United States: Long Range Perspectives*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1967.

A useful collection of essays reflecting the prevailing perspectives on policy within ten years of the triumph of the Cuban revolution. The essays serve as representative thinking of the times as well as the "state of the art" thinking on the subject of bi-lateral relations.

Schoultz, Lars. *That Infernal Little Cuban Republic: The United States and the Cuban Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

The most completely researched and most comprehensive account of relations between Cuba and the United States, spanning fully the years between 1959 and 2009. It is magisterial in sweep and compelling in detail, leaving virtually no aspect of Cuba-U.S. relations unexamined.

Smith, Earl E.T. *The Fourth Floor: An Account of the Castro Communist Revolution*. New York: Random House, 1962.

A personal memoir by the U.S. ambassador of Cuba-U.S. relations during the final years of the government of Fulgencio Batista and the early months of the Castro government. Smith is highly critical of the U.S. State Department, insisting that officials in Washington were responsible for the policies that enabled Fidel Castro to triumph and consolidate the revolution.

Smith, Wayne S. *The Closest of Enemies. A Personal and Diplomatic Account of U.S.-Cuban Relations Since 1957*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1987.

An informative first-person account by a career foreign service officer of the final days of the Batista government and the early years of the Castro government. Smith returned to Cuba under the administration of President Jimmy Carter to supervise the opening of the new U.S. Interests Section in Havana, which signaled the resumption of limited diplomatic ties.

Welch, Robert E., Jr. *Response to Revolution: The United States and the Cuban Revolution, 1959-1961*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

A four-part discussion of Cuba-U.S. relations during the early years of the revolution. The first part examines the background to revolution in Cuba. The second part addresses the foreign policy approaches taken by the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations. Part three explores the role of public opinion as a factor of policy formation. The last section contextualizes Cuba-U.S relations in **the context of the Cold War**.

Covert Operations and the Bay of Pigs (Playa Girón)

The suspension of normal diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States in January 1961 ended any hope that differences between both countries would be resolved by good-faith diplomacy. Indeed, four months later, the new Kennedy administration launched a CIA surrogate invasion of Cuba using Cuban exiles to attempt to overthrow the Castro government. Blight and Kornbluh 1998 assembled a collection of documents in the form of oral histories shedding light on the abortive invasion. Insight is also available through first-person accounts of CIA organizers Hunt 1973 and Lynch 1998. The account by Higgins 1987 approaches the Bay of Pigs as matter of U.S. policy, in the fullness of its bureaucratic intricacies and political infighting. The failure and indeed the humiliation of the failed Bay of Pigs invasion prompted the Kennedy administration to organize covert operations against Cuba under the name of "Operation Mongoose," including commando raids, sabotage, and repeated assassination efforts against the Cuban leadership.

Ayers, Bradley Earl. *The War that Never Was: An Insider's Account of CIA Covert Operations Against Cuba*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1976.

A first-person account by a U.S. army officer assigned to the CIA to organize U.S. covert operations against Cuba during the years following the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion. The memoir details commando raids, paramilitary training programs, and the clandestine infiltrations into Cuba during the early 1960s.

Blight, James G. and Peter Kornbluh, eds. *Politics of Illusion: The Bay of Pigs Invasion Reexamined*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998.

An important collection of materials in the form of oral history transcripts of meetings which brought together former CIA agents, Soviet officials, anti-Castro participants, and other officials who were party to or participants in the Bay of Pigs. The discussions are rich with insight and information about the decisions, the thinking, and objectives related to the Bay of Pigs.

Bohning, Don. *The Castro Obsession: U.S. Covert Operations in Cuba, 1959-1965*. Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2006.

An overview of U.S. efforts to oust Fidel Castro, addressing the Bay of Pigs, Operation Mongoose, and CIA activities in Miami during the 1960s. Attention is given to assassination plots on the life of Castro, the development of covert operations in acts of sabotage, and repeated efforts at political and economic destabilization.

Castro Mariño, Soraya M. and Ronald W. Pruessen. *Fifty Years of Revolution. Perspectives on Cuba, the United States, and the World*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2012.

A collection of essays attending to Cuba-US relations within the larger context of Cuban relations with the world at large.

Elliston, Jon, ed. *Psywar on Cuba: The Declassified History of U.S. Anti-Castro Propaganda*. New York: Melbourne Press, 1999.

More than chronicling anti-Castro propaganda, this volume provides an array of published documents in facsimile format dealing with the Bay of Pigs, covert operations, and the development of Radio and TV Martí.

Higgins, Trumbull. *The Perfect Failure: Kennedy, Eisenhower, and the CIA at the Bay of Pigs*. New York: Norton, 1987.

A critical analysis of the decision-making process and policy-implementing procedure. Higgins is particularly critical of the Kennedy White House for its inability to develop a coherent set of policy objectives for the abortive invasion.

Hinkle, Warren and William W. Turner. *The Fish is Red: The Story of the Secret War Against Castro*. New York: Harper & Row, 1981.

A thorough account of U.S. covert operations against the government of Fidel Castro during the 1960s and 1970s. The study details U.S. efforts to sabotage the Cuban economy by way of clandestine attacks against Cuban industry, manufacturing, and agriculture, and the multiple plots undertaken to assassinate the principal political leaders, including—and especially—Fidel Castro.

Hunt, E. Howard. *Give Us This Day*. New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1973.

A valuable first-person account of the Bay of Pigs by one of the CIA organizers of the abortive invasion. Hunt provides details on the organizing, military training, and logistical preparations for the invasion, as well as offering perspectives on the political context of the plan.

Lynch, Grayston L. *Decision for Disaster. Betrayal at the Bay of Pigs*. Washington, DC: Brassy's, Inc., 1998.

An eye-witness account of the Bay of Pigs as told by a CIA case officer directing the invasion operations. Author argues that the Kennedy administration betrayed the mission and effectively sealed the doom of operations.

Wyden, Peter. *Bay of Pigs: The Untold Story*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979.

A well-written account of the ill-fated effort by the CIA to overthrow the government of Fidel Castro by way of a covert invasion of Cuba. The book is based in part on interviews with many of the key participants, both in Cuba and the United States and new documentary materials obtained through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).

Economic Sanctions and Political Isolation

A policy inaugurated as early as 1960, the embargo—known in Cuba as the *bloqueo*—was designed to subject Cuba to a combination of economic sanctions and political isolation. It has served as the principal U.S. policy approach through which to seek the overthrow of the Cuban government for the last 50 years. From the outset, the policy has had as its objective the undermining of the Cuban economy and thus inflict hardship and adversity on the Cuban people as a way to promote discontent and disaffection, in the hope that distress on this scale would provoke Cubans to rise up and act to overthrow their government. Originally a policy responding to U.S. interests, it soon passed into the realms of domestic politics. That the embargo failed to achieve its purpose—remove the Castro government—did little to discourage its advocates. This is not to suggest, however, that the embargo was without consequences. Seeking to deliver the coup de grâce to deteriorating economic conditions in Cuba during the 1990s in the aftermath of the dissolution of the socialist bloc and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States further tightened economic sanctions.

Haney, Patrick J. and Walt Wanderbush. *The Cuban Embargo: The Domestic Politics of an American Embargo*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005.

An informative four-decade history of the principal U.S. policy approach to the Cuban revolution. The authors examine the origins of the embargo in the context of the Cold War and beyond, the policy role of Congress, with particular attention given to the administration of Ronald Reagan, the Cuban-American National Foundation, and Helms-Burton.

Kaplowitz, Donna Rich. *Anatomy of a Failed Embargo: U.S. Sanctions Against Cuba*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998.

An examination of the ability of Cuba to survive more than five decades of U.S. economic sanctions and political isolation. The principal factors cited include support from the Soviet Union, the capacity of the Cuban leadership to counter-act some of the most deleterious effects of sanctions, and the success of the government in using U.S. sanctions as a means of political mobilization.

Roy, Joaquín. *Cuba, the United States, and the Helms-Burton Doctrine*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.

One of the most complete studies of the Helms-Burton law, examining the origins and development of the law within a context of domestic politics and the international community. Particular attention is given to reaction and response from Latin America and Europe.

Schwab, Paul. *Cuba: Confronting the U.S. Embargo*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

A detailed analysis of the impact of the U.S. embargo on daily life in Cuba. A critique of the embargo, the book examines the multiple ways that the consequences of economic sanctions act to violate human rights in Cuba paying particular attention to matters of diet and nutrition, health care, and religion.

Spadoni, Paolo. *Failed Sanctions: Why the U.S. Embargo Against Cuba Could Never Work*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010.

A critical analysis of the embargo as a failure, documenting the flaws in the policy whereby Cuba and non-state agents, including multi-national corporations, investors, food exporters, and visitors, have been able to vitiate the full impact of

economic sanctions. Of particular value is the discussion of cash flows originating from the United States in the form of remittances to Cuba as a contradiction in the intent of U.S. policy.

U.S. International Trade Commission. *The Economic Impact of U.S. Sanctions with Respect to Cuba*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2000.

The most complete assessment of the effects of the U.S. embargo against Cuba. Spanning the 1960s through the 1990s, the review examines every sector of the Cuba economy, including agriculture, manufacturing, service sectors, and trade.

Cuban Foreign Relations

Cuban foreign relations have been a subject of continual research. Certainly, most of this scholarship has focused on Cuban relations with the United States. However, a considerable body of scholarship exists dedicated to Cuban foreign policy and international relations with countries other than the United States. The research has labored under obvious handicaps, for information and data are often limited and must be presumed to be incomplete. Much of this literature corresponds to specific phases of Cuban foreign policy: the 1960s with Latin America; Africa during the 1970s; the Third World; and in the 1990s with Europe. Useful too are those macro-approaches that take in the broad sweep of Cuban international relations. The collapse of the Soviet Union radically changed the goals fo Cuban foreign relations, vis-a-vis the whole world.

Bain, Mervyn J. *Russian-Cuban Relations Since 1992: Continuing Camaraderie in a Post-Soviet World*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008.

A sequel to Bain's earlier volume on Cuba-Soviet relations. Attention is given to the dissolution of Soviet-Cuban alliance and the character of the resumption of diplomatic and economic ties. These relations are examined in a broader international context, with particular attention given to Soviet-Cuban ties vis-a-vis the United States.

Bain, Mervyn J. *Soviet-Cuban Relations, 1985-1991: Changing Perceptions in Moscow and Havana*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007.

An examination of the basis upon which Cuba and the Soviet Union engaged each other in matters of ideology, theory, and internal politics. The book is especially informative in providing an account of the circumstances of glasnost as factor in the deteriorating relations between both countries.

Domínguez, Jorge I. *To Make a World Safe for Revolution: Cuba's Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.

A comprehensive examination of Cuban foreign policy in the first thirty years of the revolution. The study is especially good at exploring the complex early relations between Cuba and the Soviet Union. Attention is given to Cuban support of international revolutionary movements, Cuban diplomacy in Latin America, and the context and content of Cuban foreign policy deliberations.

Erisman, H. Michael. *Cuba's Foreign Policy in a Post-Soviet World*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.

A broadly conceived assessment of Cuban foreign relations, contextualized in the decades prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union, and tracing in chronological fashion the international consequences of Cuban post-Soviet realignments.

Erisman, H. Michael. *Cuba's International Relations: The Anatomy of a Nationalistic Foreign Policy*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1985.

An examination of the nationalist sources of Cuban foreign policy after 1959. Particular attention is given to Cuban relations with Third World countries and challenging the prevailing view that Cuba acted as a surrogate in the defense of the interests of the Soviet Union.

Erisman, H. Michael and John M. Kirk. *Redefining Cuban Foreign Policy: The Impact of the 'Special Period.'* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006.

A collection of essays addressing the post-Soviet shifts of Cuban diplomacy and foreign trade arrangements. The essays are in the form of case studies exploring the Cuban adaptation in relations with the European Union, Canada, Spain, Russia, Mexico, and the Caribbean.

Gleijeses, Piero. *Conflicting Missions. Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

The most comprehensive account of Cuban foreign policy in Africa. Well-researched and drawing on archival records in the United States, Africa, and Cuba, Gleijeses offers the definitive account of nearly two decades of Cuban involvement in the African liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

Ratliff, William E. *Castroism and Communism in Latin America*. Stanford: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, 1976.

An examination of Cuban foreign policy in Latin America, with a particular analysis of the inter-action Soviet and Chinese communism as it affected the approaches of the Cuban government. Of particular interest is the Cuban role in support guerrilla movements in Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s.

Roy, Joaquín. *The Cuban Revolution (1959-2009): Relations with Spain, the European Union, and the United States*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

A ranging survey of Cuban relations with Europe, and particularly how Cuban foreign relations with Spain and the European Union have figured into the international politics of the Cuban leadership in creating "space" from U.S. policy.

Domestic Politics and Government

Access to the internal workings of the Cuban revolutionary political system in virtually all realms, including government, party, and military, have posed a challenge to scholars for the better part of the last 50 years. It is indeed an opaque system, one in which Fidel Castro has loomed large. The triumph of the revolution ushered in more than a new system of government. It also introduced a new political culture. The scholarship has provided thoughtful insights and suggests useful approaches to the mechanisms by which affairs of the nation, in their multiple and multi-faceted forms, have functioned in a context of changing international conditions. Everything changed after the 1990s during the post-Soviet years. A new role was given to the Cuban armed forces. The transitions that occurred in the nations of the former Soviet bloc but which did not happen in Cuba invited comparative analysis.

Azicri, Max. *Cuba Today and Tomorrow: Reinventing Socialism*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.

An overview of the experience of the Special Period, examining the impact on Cuba of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the response to economic scarcity and efforts to reorganize the economy, the changes in the political system, the resurgence of religion, and the complexities of Cuban relations with the United States.

Chilcote, Ronald H. and Centro de Estudios sobre América. *The Cuban Revolution into the 1990s: Cuban Perspectives*. Boulder: Westview Press Publisher, 1992.

An important contribution providing English-language readers to perspective from Cuba. Published in the early days of the Special Period, the volume examines the structure of political leadership, patterns of social change, strategies of economic development, the changing political culture, sugar production, the impact of the crisis on the family unit, and medicine.

Domínguez, Jorge I. *Cuba: Order and Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.

This comprehensive study of the first twenty years of the Cuban revolution has stood the test of time well. Thematic attention is given to the principal facets of the revolution, including the armed forces, the communist party, international relations, agriculture and agrarian policy, political culture, and the development of structures for mass political participation.

Fagen, Richard R. *The Transformation of Political Culture in Cuba*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969.

A now-classic work of scholarship examining the early years of the Cuban transition to socialism. Attention is given to the literacy campaign of 1961, the schools of revolutionary instruction, and the establishment of the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR).

Halperin, Maurice. *The Rise and Decline of Fidel Castro. An Essay in Contemporary History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

An examination of the consolidation of the revolution between 1959 and 1964. Attention is given to foreign relations and particularly the debate within the Cuban government over the ideological trajectory Cuba was to pursue in its relations with the social bloc.

Klepak, Hal. *Cuba's Military 1990-2005. Revolutionary Soldiers during Counter-Revolutionary Times*. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2005.

An informative account of the consequences of the post-Soviet experience on the Cuban armed forces. Arguing that the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) have served as one of the principal pillars of political system, the author examines the expanding role of the military both in the domestic sphere—and especially in the economy—as well as the military influence on international initiatives.

López, Juan J. *Democracy Delayed: The Case of Castro's Cuba*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

A comparative study of Cuba with the German Democratic Republic, Romania, and Czechoslovakia, examining the ability of the Cuban government to survive politically the withering economic conditions in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union. The principal line of argument is that the absence civil society

groups acted as a deterrent to change in Cuba, circumstances the author attributes to the counter-productive consequences of the U.S. embargo.

Medin, Tzvi. *Cuba: The Shaping of Revolutionary Consciousness*. Trans. Martha Grenzback. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1990.

An examination of the early efforts of the Cuban government to foster the development of a revolutionary consciousness, through education, film, literature, theater, music, historiography, the armed forces, and mass organizations as a means of mass mobilization in behalf of the programs and policies of the revolution.

Yaffe, Helen. *We Are Cuba! How a Revolutionary People Have Survived in a Post-Soviet World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020.

An analysis of political, economic, and social developments in Cuba principally from the perspective of the post-Soviet year.

Economy

The subject of the Cuban economy has been the source of sustained scholarly interest since 1959. The transformation from a market economy to a planned economy, efforts to end dependency on foreign exchange generated by a one-crop system, matters of development strategies, trade and commerce, and the new economic logic under socialism are subjects addressed generally by much of the literature. The calamity that befell Cuba after the collapse of the Soviet Union was most profoundly experienced in the economy.

Alvarez, José and Lázaro Peña Castellanos. *Cuba's Sugar Industry*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001.

A survey of the development of the sugar industry since 1959, with a special focus on the late 1990s. Examining both internal production issues, including technology and planning, the study is especially effective in contextualizing developments in Cuba within larger market circumstances, particularly trade relations with the Soviet Union and Europe.

Boorstein, Edward. *The Economic Transformation of Cuba*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968.

A first-person account of the transition from capitalism to socialism during the early 1960s. The author worked with a number of important Cuban agencies, including the National Bank, the Bank of Foreign Commerce, and the Ministry of Foreign Commerce. He participated in the planning and implementation of a wide range of decisions affecting various sectors of the economy.

Brunner, Heinrich. *Cuban Sugar Policy from 1963 to 1970*. Trans. Marguerite Borchardt and H. F. Bloch de Rothermann. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977.

A study of the major developmental strategies adopted by Cuba as the leadership sought to maximize sugar production between 1965 and 1970. The study examines the origins of the theoretical guidelines, the application of theory, and the specific relevance to sugar production. A year-by-year account of the

policies and politics of sugar harvests leading to fuller understanding of the crisis of the failed ten-million crop of 1970.

Cuban Economist Research Project. *Cuba, Agriculture and Planning*. Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1965.

A critical survey of agricultural development and state planning during the early years of the revolution. Attention is given to sugar production, the agrarian reform, livestock and ranching, and the attempts to coordinate rationing and production.

Domínguez, Jorge I., Omar Everleny Pérez Villanueva, and Lorena Barberia, eds. *The Cuban Economy at the Start of the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge: The David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies/Harvard University, 2004.

An important collection of essays by a number of economic specialists, in Cuba and outside, dealing with key aspects of the rapidly changing Cuban economy in the post-Soviet period. The volume is organized in four parts: macroeconomic issues, the international economic context, social policy and welfare, and transnational networks and government responses.

Mesa-Lago, Carmelo. *The Economy Socialist Cuba: A Two-Decade Appraisal*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981.

A comprehensive overview of economic performance of the early decades of the revolution, with particular attention to economic growth, diversification initiatives, employment patterns, income distribution, social services, and Cuban efforts at economic independence.

Ritter, Archibald R. M. *The Economic Development of Revolutionary Cuba: Strategy and Performance*. New York: Praeger, 1974.

A thorough examination of new economic programs designed to address problems of monoculture, under/unemployment, maldistribution of wealth, and a deeply-established pattern of dependency upon the United States. The study is useful in chronicling institutional developments, the use of moral incentives, the disengagement of the Cuban economy from the United States, and the cost and the consequences of the failed ten-million-ton sugar crop of 1970.

Roca, Sergio. *Cuban Economic Policy and Ideology: The Ten Million Ton Sugar Harvest*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976.

A concise examination of one of the most significant periods of the revolution. The attempt to harvest the ten-million ton crop is studied from the perspectives of planning and consequences.

Seers, Dudley, Andres Bianchi, Richard Jolly, and Max Nolff. *Cuba, the Economic and Social Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964.

A collection of four lengthy and informative essays—one by each author—addressing the socio-economic setting of the revolution, agriculture, education, and industry.

Social Transformations

Some of the most far-reaching changes effected by the revolution have been registered in the multiple social realms in which people live their daily lives. The revolution

transformed Cuban society radically, over-turning value systems and rearranging moral hierarchies, often at breath-taking speed. No facet of every-day life, either in private spheres or public realms, escaped unaffected. Gender relations, sexuality, family life, sports and culture, education and health care, were profoundly affected. The hostility toward homosexuals has been a subject of continuing scholarly interest, an instance in which the difference in attitudes before and after the revolution was negligible, except that after the revolution the State assumed a much more active and aggressive role in harassment and persecution. Changed too were the services provided by the State, and perhaps nowhere with greater impact than in health care. Some of the most far-reaching and indeed the most enduring transformations occurred within the social fabric of Cuban society. The family as it had been previously constituted underwent severe stress, and indeed was itself a manifestation of the changes overtaking Cuban society at large.

Bejel, Emilio. *Gay Cuban Nation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

A thoughtful analysis of homosexuality and homophobia in the context of nation-building and nationalism spanning the late nineteenth through the end of the twentieth century. Particular attention is given to the fiction of some of Cuba's most important writers, including José Martí, Ofelia Rodríguez Acosta, José Lezama Lima, Severo Sarduy, and Virgilio Piñera, among others.

Bunck, Julie Marie. *Fidel Castro and the Quest for a Revolutionary Culture in Cuba*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.

An overview of government efforts to transform the cultural setting of daily life in Cuba between 1959 and the early 1990s and popular responses to those efforts, focusing on four specific areas: youth, women, labor, and sports. Attention is given to the ideological imperatives around which Cuban society organized after 1959 as a means of integrating Cubans into the project of revolution.

Danielson, Ross. *Cuban Medicine*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1979.

A historical survey of Cuban health services, spanning the period from Spanish colonialism to the triumph of the revolution. It is especially useful in providing the social, economic, and political milieu in which health services were delivered—or not. Most of the book is dedicated to the twenty-year period following the revolution.

Feinsilver, Julie M. *Healing the Masses: Cuban Health Politics at Home and Abroad*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

A comprehensive overview of the development of the Cuban health care system since the triumph of the revolution examining health care strategies that commit to universal access to health care and comprehensive health education under circumstances of economic adversity. Also examined are facets of Cuban medical internationalism, including disaster relief, donations of medical supplies, and deployment of health care volunteers throughout the world.

Hernández, Jorge, Angel Eng, María T. Bermúdez, and Mariela Columbie. *Estudio sobre el divorcio*. Havana: Centro de Información Científica y Técnica/Universidad de La Habana, 1973.

An examination by four sociologists from the University of Havana of the circumstances surrounding the increase in divorce rates in Cuba between 1958 and 1968. Attention is given to matters of age, length of marriage, education, children, and economic circumstances.

Moreira, Inés, *et al.* *Análisis de las investigaciones sobre la familia cubana, 1970-1987.* Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1990.

An overview of the emerging family structure in revolutionary Cuba, paying attention to the changing circumstances of new family structures, including education, child-rearing, the dissemination of family values, and marriage and divorce.

Salas, Luis P. *Social Control and Deviance in Cuba.* New York: Praeger, 1979.

A well-researched study examining various aspects of criminality and behavior deemed “deviant” in post-revolutionary society. Using Cuban standards of deviant behavior, the study examines juvenile delinquency, homosexuality, suicide, and the court systems in which these issues are litigated and resolved. Attention is also directed to the police, and the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) as agents of social control.

Weinreb, Amelia Rosenberg. *Cuba in the Shadow: Daily Life in the Twilight of the Revolution.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009.

A probing ethnographic examination of the impact of the Special Period in Cuban households, exploring the varieties of strategies used to survive during years of deepening hardship. Insight is offered into the workings of the black market as a facet of daily life and the multiple factors that act on decisions whether to seek to emigrate.

Young, Allen. *Gays Under the Cuban Revolution.* San Francisco: Grey Fox Press, 1982.

A study critical of the Cuban revolution for its hostile policies toward homosexuals. Attention is given to government harassment and intolerance of gays in official settings and social contexts.

Women

The scholarship on women in Cuba has expanded rapidly in the last several decades. The literature takes several forms: first-person *testimonios* and/or interviews, the examination of the role of women in the revolution—both in the armed insurrection and in the post-1959 period—and the impact of the revolution on the lives of women. Those transformations occasioned by the revolution serve as a dominant theme of much of the literature. The voices and first-person accounts of women are obtained through published interviews.

Cuba. Ministerio de Justicia. *La mujer en Cuba socialista.* Havana: Editorial ORBE, 1977.

A collection of documents, statutes, proclamations, and legal codes pertaining to the status and rights of women after 1959.

Holt-Seeland, Inger. *Women of Cuba.* New York: Lawrence Hill and Company, 1982.

A generally sympathetic account of the improved condition of women in Cuba after the revolution. The study includes a series of interviews with women of different social backgrounds, occupational positions, and educational experiences, including a farm worker, a brigade leader, a student, a homemaker, and a factory worker.

Klouzal, Linda A. *Women and Rebel Communities in the Cuban Insurgent Movement, 1952-1959*. Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press, 2008.

A history of the insurrection against the government of Fulgencio Batista with specific attention to the presence of women. The book examines the contribution of women to the insurgent victory, from direct participation in guerrilla combat units to the gathering of intelligence and to the collection of funds, to participation in the plans for military actions to providing health care for wounded insurgents.

Luciak, Ilja A. *Gender and Democracy in Cuba*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007.

A comprehensive overview of the evolving presence and participation of women in the Cuban revolutionary process, spanning from the insurrectionary war through the early years of the twenty-first century. Changing gender roles are set in a larger context of changing social and economic conditions. The book argues that the revolution registered notable gains in advancing women's social and economic rights and expanded formal political participation by women.

Moore, Majorie and Andrienne Hunter. *Seven Women and the Cuban Revolution*. Toronto: Lugas, 1997.

A series of long interviews with seven women of different socio-economic origins, reflecting on the experience of the Cuban revolution in very personal ways.

Randall, Margaret. *Cuban Women Now*. Toronto: The Women's Press/Dumont Press, 1974.

An account of the revolution from the perspective of the lives of women. Based on 25 interviews, the book provides a detailed examination of a cross-section of women in Cuba as they experienced the far-reaching changes wrought by the first fifteen years of the revolution.

Randall, Margaret. *Women in Cuba: Twenty Years Later*. Brooklyn: Smyrna Press, 1981.

A decade-long assessment of the changes in the status and condition of women in socialist Cuba. Among the principal themes addressed are the lives of peasant women, women's reproductive rights, women and the family, the participation of women in the arts, and the role of the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC).

Smith, Lois M. and Alfredo Padula. *Sex and Revolution. Women in Socialist Cuba*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Beginning with the role of women in the armed struggle against the government of Fulgencio Batista, this useful study of the role and contribution of women to the revolution gives particular attention to the organization of the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC). The focus is on the engagement of women in health, education, reproductive rights, and labor.

Stone, Elizabeth, ed. *Women and the Cuban Revolution*. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1981.

A collection of translated documents and speeches dealing with women in Cuba after the triumph of the revolution, including speeches made by Fidel Castro and Vilma Espín, president of the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC). Among the documents are the Maternity Law for Working Women (1974), the Communist

Party thesis on the full exercise of women's equality (1975), and the Family Code (1975).

Race Relations

The scholarship of race relations in Cuba after the triumph of the revolution has been subject increasing scholarly attention. That the new leadership in 1959 committed itself to the eradication of racism and racial discrimination set one standard by which the achievements in Cuba would be measured. Much of the literature indicts the leadership of the revolution precisely for have failed to lived up to the promise to end discrimination. The theme of race in contemporary Cuba is controversial precisely because patterns of racial discrimination have indeed persisted. The emphasis on the all-encompassing construct of nationality as a source of unity, instead of on racial identity as a potential source of division, have added to the complexity of the study of race relations. The African antecedents of Cuban culture—before and after the revolution—insinuate themselves into virtually every aspect of daily life.

Fernández, Nadine T. *Revolutionizing Romance: Interracial Couples in Contemporary Cuba*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010.

A thoughtful examination of inter-racial relationships, spanning the colonial period through contemporary Cuba. The study is particularly interested in the post-1959 period, and provides a ranging analysis of the factor of race in everyday life, in households and the economy, the circumstances of persisting racism.

Matibag, Eugenio. *Afro-Cuban Religious Experience: Cultural Reflections in Narrative*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996.

A survey overview of African-derived religious traditions that have informed Cuban culture. Spanning the twentieth century, and concluding with an examination of impact of the revolution of 1959, giving particular attention to literary forms.

Moore, Carlos. *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa*. Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, 1988.

A searing indictment of the racial politics of the Cuban revolution, accusing the Cuban leadership of the revolution of acting on the same racial prejudices of the pre-revolutionary past. The book challenges the proposition that the revolution has in fact advanced the cause of racial justice on the island in any form other than rhetoric and slogans.

Morales Domínguez, Esteban. *Desafíos de la problemática racial en Cuba*. Havana: Fundación Fernando Ortiz, 2007.

A critical study of race and race relations in socialist Cuba. It provides a compelling analysis of the still-elusive goal of eliminating racism as a factor of the actual Cuban condition. Particular attention is given to the impact of the post-Soviet economic crisis, and the ways that socio-economic disparities that developed after the early 1990s served to exacerbate race relations.

Pérez Sarduy, Pedro and Jean Stubbs, eds. *Afro-Cuba Voices: On Race and Identity in Contemporary Cuba*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.

An anthology of materials addressing issues of race, spanning the colonial period through the revolution. The materials include poems, folklore, religion, history, and excerpts from several novels.

Sawyer, Mark Q. *Racial Politics in Post-Revolutionary Cuba*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

An critical but balanced study of race relations within a comparative framework. Recognizing the accomplishments of the Cuban revolution, the book nevertheless argues that the goal of racial equality has not been met. In a particularly interesting conclusion, the author examines the circumstances of race relations within the Cuban/Cuban-American community in Miami, thereby setting in relief distinctions with the island.

Spense Benson, Devyn. *Anti-Racism in Cuba. The Unfinished Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016.

An analysis of the ideology and rhetoric of race in Cuba and south Florida during the early years of the revolution, chronicling the persistence racial discrimination and resistance to subordinate racial identity into national identity.

Labor

The literature on labor and working class politics has long enjoyed a place of prominence in the scholarship on Cuba. Much of the literature is given to the presence and participation of labor in the revolutionary struggles of the 1920s-1930s and the 1950s. Alexander 2002 is an example of this perspective. That the leadership of the Cuban revolution proclaimed the Marxist-Leninist character of the revolution in the early 1960s served to give still further stimulus on the island to research designed to celebrate the participation of workers in the revolutionary victories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Alexander, Robert J. *A History of Organized Labor in Cuba*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002.

A survey history of the Cuban trade union movement, spanning the late colonial period and through the republic and into the early years of the Castro government. The book focuses principally on the Confederación Nacional Obrera Cubana (CNOC) and the Confederación de Trabajadores Cubanos (CTC).

Fuller, Linda. *Work and Democracy in Socialist Cuba*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992.

An examination of work place democracy, based on interviews, and government materials. Of particular importance is the degree to which an examination of unions, the communist party, management and planning systems, and grievance committees are integrated into a fuller understanding of labor conditions in socialist Cuba.

Mesa-Lago, Carmelo. *The Labor Sector and Socialist Distribution in Cuba*. Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1968.

An important study examining working productivity within a system dedicated to social equality and moral incentives, principally for the years 1962-1965. Attention focus on the establishment individual output standards, wage scales,

and the development of socialist emulation. These were concerns based principally on policy goals and not necessarily the experience of practice.

Zeitlin, Maurice. *Revolutionary Politics and the Cuban Working Class*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.

A now-classic study of working class attitudes during the early years of the Cuban revolution based on more than 200 interviews in 21 industrial plants across the island in 1962. Workers were classified according to the degree of skills, prerevolutionary employment history, sex, race, attitudes toward communism before the revolution, and the degree of mobility after the triumph of the revolution.

Culture

The achievements registered in Cuba after the triumph of the revolution in the fields of literature, the plastic arts, the visual arts, the performing arts, and sports have been notable and recognized internationally. Films in particular has been internationally recognized, as Myerson 1973 and Chanan 1986 carefully documents. The examination of cultural production that developed in Cuba after 1959 provides a particularly insightful means into an understanding of the character and complexities of the revolution. Poets and playwrights, novelists and screen writers, artists and musicians offer access to the Cuban reality not readily available by any other means. Musical genres bore the distinctive traces of the forces that were radically changing all other facets of Cuban daily life.

Chanan, Michael. *The Cuban Image: Cinema and Cultural Politics in Cuba*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

A survey of Cuban film, with principal attention given to the post-1959 period. The volume examines virtually every important film produced in Cuba through 1985: the writers, the directors, actors, and technical achievements. Cuban cinema is set against the larger context of the politics of the revolution, with film serving a means by which to address social issues, political conflict, and cultural freedom.

Cushing, Lincoln. *Revolución! Cuban Post Art*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books Publisher, 2007.

A well-produced volume of Cuban propaganda art, including some 150 reproductions of posters spanning the years between the 1960s and 1980s. The posters are themselves reflections of the phases of the Cuban revolution, bearing on internationalist projects, solidarity with movements of national liberation, the sugar harvest, the literacy campaign, as well as film, music, dance, and sports.

La cultura en Cuba socialista. Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1982.

A useful compilation of essays examining cultural developments within the first three decades of the revolution. Attention is given to literature, the plastic arts, music, dance, and film.

Menton, Seymour. *Prose Fiction of the Cuban Revolution*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975.

A comprehensive overview of the historical and social forces that shaped fictional prose in socialist Cuba. More than 100 novels and short stories published

between 1959 and 1973 are examined with attention to the changing social environment in which they were produced. The periodization scheme includes four distinct periods: 1959-1960 (struggle against tyranny); 1961-1965 (exorcism and existentialism); 1966-1970 (experimentation and escapism); and 1971-1975 (the ideological novel short story).

Moore, Robin D. *Music and Revolution: Cultural Change in Socialist Cuba*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

A thorough study of the musicians and music of Cuba after 1959, with particular attention to the government policies by which the context of music developed. The study is especially good at documenting the relationship between political change and cultural activity.

Myerson, Michael, ed. *Memories of Underdevelopment. The Revolutionary Films of Cuba*. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1973.

A useful collection of essays addressing the development of cinema in Cuba after the triumph of the revolution. The themes include movie scripts, interviews, the Cuban film institute, and an analysis of several important—and some not so important—Cuban films.

Stermer, Dugald and Susan Sontag. *The Art of Revolution*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970.

A richly illustrated over-sized volume providing one of the best available reproductions of early Cuban poster art. The collection includes representative posters by the Organization of Solidarity with Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the Commission for Revolutionary Action, Casa de las Américas, and the Cuba Film Institute.

Migration

The subject of Cuban emigration to the United States in the years following the triumph of the revolution has developed into an important theme of the scholarship on Cuba and indeed has reached voluminous proportions. The literature on Cuban emigration to the United States has developed into a sub-genre of scholarship unto itself. It has engaged scholars from all disciplines, including historians, political scientists, anthropologist, sociologists, and literary scholars. The scholarship tends to focus on the various key periods of Cuban emigration, each corresponding to the changing circumstances of the revolution, including the early years through the 1960s, the Mariel boat lift in 1980, and the emigration crisis of 1994 and the years following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Eckstein, Susan E. *The Immigrant Divide: How Cuban Americans Changed the US and their Homeland*. New York: Routledge, 2009.

A survey of Cuban immigration between the early 1960s and the early twenty-first century with a focus on the social, cultural, economic, and political adaptations made in the United States. The study examines the participation of Cuban émigrés in the lives of families who remain on the island and the role played by Cuban-Americans in mediating the harshness of post-Soviet daily life.

Fagen, Richard R., Richard R. Brody, and Thomas J. O'Leary. *Cubans in Exile: Disaffection and Revolution*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968.

An examination of Cuban emigration that has stood the test of time well and indeed has become a landmark study of migration to the United States. The study explores social origins, professional training, racial composition, and income distribution of Cuban exiles after 1959.

García, María Cristina. *Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959-1994*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

A thorough examination of Cuban emigration to Florida, with a focus on the circumstances contributing to exile and the social, economic, cultural, and political impact of the Cuban presence in Florida. The study examines the transformations associated with newly arrived Cubans, their integration into the larger cultural ambience of the United States and the development of new Cuban-American identities.

Grenier, Guillermo J. and Lisandro Pérez. *The Legacy of Exile: Cubans in the United States*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2003.

A brief survey of Cuban emigration to the United States, beginning with the historical antecedents in the nineteenth century and concluding with the migration of the post-Soviet years. Attention is given to the impact of the Cuban presence in Miami, family structure and economic activity, cultural assimilation, and political participation.

Llanes, José. *Cuban Americans: Masters of Survival*. Cambridge, MA: Abt Books, 1982.

An examination of Cuban emigration based on 58 composite characters created out of extensive interviews with 187 collaborators. The study includes material dealing with the earliest wave of exiles during the late 1950s and early 1960s through the Mariel emigration of 1980. The narratives are in the form of the exiles' own words with extensive commentary by the author.

Masud-Piloto, Félix Roberto. *With Open Arms: Cuban Migration to the United States*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1988.

A careful study of the interaction between U.S. immigration policies under Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations and Cuban emigration strategies. Particular attention is given to the Camarioca boat-lift of 1965 and the Mariel boat-lift of 1980.

Pedraza, Silvia. *Political Disaffection in Cuba's Revolution and Exodus*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

An insightful study into the political attitudes of Cuban émigrés spanning the years after the triumph of the revolution through the early twenty-first century. Of particular interest is the examination of the shifts that occurred over the course of successive waves of emigration bearing on social characteristics and attitudes corresponding to different political generations.

Poyo, Gerald E. *Cuban Catholics in the United States, 1960-1980: Exile and Integration*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007.

An overview of the ways that Catholic thought shaped Cuban action and reaction to the momentous events of the confrontation with the policies and programs of the Cuban revolution. The study is especially good at examining the complex process of emigration and assimilation at the intersection of politics and religion.

Rogg, Eleanor R. *The Assimilation of Cuban Exiles: the Role of Community and Class*. New York: Aberdeen, 1974.

A study of Cuban emigration to West New York, New Jersey with attention given to adjustment and assimilation to life in the United States. Based on a random selection of 250 heads of households, representing approximately 10 percent of the total community, the study seeks to measure the process by which Cubans were integrated into their new settings.

Films As Resources: Consortium Cuban Film Collection

The Consortium film collection offers a splendid array of documentary and full-feature-length films produced within Cuba and addressing facets of the Cuban revolution. The list below represents only a sampling of the many available films available. For a complete listing see: <https://lafilm.web.unc.edu/category/country/cuba/>

Those I Left Behind

A documentary that explores the transnational ties that bind Cuban-Americans in the United States to their families still living on the Island. The film also speaks to the controversial travel restrictions enacted by the U.S. government and the emotional impact on the lives of four Cuban families.

Cuba: An African Odyssey

A documentary of Cuba's central yet little known role in supporting African national liberation movements during the Cold War. This two-part DVD firsts deals mainly with Cuba's involvement in the Congo in the early 1960's and the second with Cuba's intervention in Angola in the 1970's to early 1990's. Directed by Jihan El-Tahri , the documentary also includes interviews with many leaders, including Pik Botha and Fidel Castro.

El telón de azúcar

In the 1970's and 1980's, Cuba had overcome the crises of the first decade of the revolution and had settled into realizing a new identity, creating the "new man" that Ernesto Che Guevara had envisioned. Despite the lack of many material comforts, the idealism of the people kept afloat their proud, shared conviction that a new type of society was possible. People were not obsessed with consumption and gain and the basic necessities were provided, along with free education and health care. The film offers an intimate portrait of those who lived Cuba's utopian dream during the golden era of the revolution. It is also a lament for the end of that dream, which began to fade after the fall of the Berlin Wall and has since continued on a downward spiral. Through interviews we learn of the disillusionment of the Cuban people suffer and continue to suffer.

Los cubanos: Breton es un bebé

This documentary combines social commentary with surrealism to explore the Cuban soul. The film-makers take the viewer on a trip through the heart of twenty-first-century Cuba, making stops in Pinar del Río, los Acuáticos, Matanzas, Cienfuegos, and Guaraabuya. In each stopping place, local lore and characters help present an overall portrait of Cuban history, society, and culture.

Hombre de Maisinicú

Over the course of the 1960s, the revolutionary government in Cuba confronted active and violent opposition from armed counter-revolutionary groups operating on the island. This film dramatizes this confrontation through the story of Alberto Delgado, a Cuban agent who infiltrated one counter-revolutionary group in the Escambray Mountains.

Azúcar amarga

This visceral, energizing feature-film looks at contemporary Cuba as an impassioned love story set against the political and economic tensions of Havana. Gustavo, an idealistic young Communist with a glorified vision of the Castro government, falls in love with Yolanda, a disenchanted dancer who longs to escape to Miami. Despite their radically opposed beliefs, Gustavo and Yolanda are inseparable. The city begins to erupt around Gustavo when his rebellious musician brother injects himself with the AIDS virus in suicidal protest, and his father realizes that he will earn more money as a hotel bar pianist than as a doctor.

Cuba Va: The Challenge of the Next Generation

A fast paced weaving of sound bites and interviews that lets young Cubans speak and argue for themselves. What they have to say or sing or rap suggests that everyone born after the revolution has an opinion. Directors/Producers: Gail Dolgin, Vicente Franco. USA (the filmmakers consulted with many Cubans, and filming is entirely in Cuba, but production was done in San Francisco). Copies: 1 (DVD) Length: 60 minutes

Cuba: The Forty Years War

This documentary follows two Cuban exiles, Bay of Pigs invasion veterans, upon their return to their native island. As attendees of a conference discussing the invasion, they interact and attempt to reconcile the past with former battlefield adversaries, including Fidel Castro. Narrated by Martin Sheen.

De cierta manera

A fascinating cinematic mix of documentary and fiction, Sara Gómez (who died just before completing work on the film) looks at the marginal neighborhoods of Havana shortly after the triumph of the 1959 Revolution. With Mario Balmaseda and Yolanda Cuéllar.

Fidel (1968)

This documentary is a personal profile of Fidel Castro and a view of the developments since the revolution 10 years before. There are a variety of images of Fidel: listening to complaints, arguing, laughing, and philosophizing. There is beautiful footage of the Bay of Pigs invasion, and of Fidel and Che Guevara in the mountains. Also there are interviews with political prisoners. Copies: 1 (DVD) Length: 96 minutes

Fidel (2001)

This film is an intimate portrait of the Cuban revolutionary leader Fidel Castro. Filmmaker Estela Bravo presents rare interviews with Castro and footage of him swimming with bodyguards, visiting his childhood home and school, and trading jokes with his friend Nelson Mandela. It introduces a positive portrayal of Castro rarely shown in the US media.

Fresa y chocolate

This award-winning feature film raises issues of tolerance and diversity by presenting sexual, artistic, and ultimately political struggles in Cuba through the story of several

individuals. Through the touching relationship of a middle-aged gay artist and a young idealistic student, Alea portrays many of the current debates and ideologies impacting the lives of Cubans.

Guantanamera

Tomás Gutiérrez Alea's last film before his death, *Guantanamera* is a romantic, fluid road-trip movie set in contemporary Cuba amid economic crisis and crumbling infrastructure. A tribute to the resilient spirit of Cubans in trying circumstances and a sly critique of the regime.

Historias de la revolución

Documentary including three dramatic stories about the insurrection struggle in Cuba during the 1950's. The saga of young people, who lived, loved and fought with the hopes of a better future.

Miami-Havana

This documentary depicts the story of the two Cuban worlds of Miami and Havana, and the social, cultural, and political processes that have created this divide since 1959. It provides many touching moments that portray the difficulties of this fragmentation, as well as the ideological struggles in both communities. An excellent point of departure for considering the Cuban Revolution, migration and communities of exile. Produced by the Institute for Policy Studies, USA.

Power of the Community: How Cuba Survived Peak Oil

With the fall of the Soviet Union in 1990 Cuba lost half of its oil imports and survived. The economy shifted from large farms or plantations and reliance on fossil-fuel-based pesticides and fertilizers, to small organic farms and urban gardens, converting Cuba from a highly industrial society to a sustainable one. This documentary shows Cuba's success in this transition and is aimed at giving hope to a developed world hooked on oil and to lift American's prejudice against Cuba by showing the Cuban people as they are. Copies: 1 (DVD) Length: 53 minutes

Raza

A documentary exploring what Cubans think and believe about race today. The film intersperses opinions expressed by everyday citizens with interviews of prominent Cuban intellectuals and artists to explore the issue of racial discrimination and inequality, a subject that is often considered taboo and divisive.

Retrato de Teresa

Shot in fluid *vérité* style, the film focuses on the stubborn survival of deeply-ingrained traditions of *machismo* and sexism in post-revolutionary society. Teresa is a housewife and mother whose involvement in political and cultural groups incurs the displeasure of her husband. This film is most appropriate for university students and adults, but may also be used in high school classroom settings.

Sin embargo

After the revolution of 1959 and the U.S. embargo that followed, the people of Cuba were left to fend for themselves. Deprived of even the most basic goods, many scavenge alleys and scrap heaps, giving new vitality to the discarded. Their recycled products are often remarkably ingenious and creative. For Andrés the sculptor, Tomás the canary breeder, and the other subjects of *Sin Embargo*, even the greatest pressure—whether levied by government or circumstance— cannot crush the spirit nor

quash the desire to forge a better life for themselves and their families. Shot entirely in Cuba, *Sin Embargo* is a look into the hearts and dreams of a struggling people and a tribute to their optimistic and resourceful determination to survive.

War of the CIA in Cuba

This documentary chronicles the CIA's involvement in internal Cuban affairs and its active assault against the Cuban government. This film offers a straightforward presentation of facts, and contains footage of actual espionage activities as well as a reading of names of CIA agents known to be active in Cuba. Produced by Cuban television.