New Man and the Communist Man ideological models of perfectionism ("*perfeccionamiento*") (303–4). The youth tried to achieve *perfeccionamiento*, as demonstrated by the Federation of Middle School Students determining in 1978 "that never disappointing Fidel Castro was every individual's duty" (305). However, programmatic education failed to achieve its hegemonic goals of pairing the individual's existence to the socialist state, and the "grand effort striving toward perfection had exhausted and deceived a large swath of what should have been Cuba's most revolutionary generation," who quit the Revolution and the "treadmill of controlled existence of life under Communist party rule" (338).

The book's 16-page bibliography's quality sets it apart. It includes papers from the Archivo Nacional de Cuba, several American University collections, oral history projects, private collections, interviews conducted by Guerra, Cuban and American government publications, 40 periodicals, and secondary sources of rigor along with 50 pages of notes.

Guerra closes hoping that Cubans come together demanding "diversity, pluralism, and debate" and that the "recovery of alternative histories, identities, self-expression, economic models, and political paths" pave the way for radical change and freedom (408). In a brave defense of the Cuban people who have never experienced freedom and democracy, neither before nor after the revolution, and perhaps as a warning to politicians and scholars who have engaged in regime defense at the expense of the people, Guerra warns us that: "Cuba is itself an archive that can no longer afford to be curated, silenced, or denied" (408).

We can only hope that, as the Cubans choose "*Patria y Vida*" (Homeland and Life)—as Gente de Zona's YouTube hit and challenge to the regime ideology that helped spark the widespread, organic, and spontaneous protests of July 2021 invited them to do—we do not ignore, once more, a people who are still subject to a philosophy that mandates complete compliance under the threat of criminalization, or worse.

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POLITICS OF CUBAN EXILE IN MIAMI

Only a Few Blocks to Cuba: Cold War Refugee Policy, the Cuban Diaspora, and the Transformations of Miami. By Mauricio Castro. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2024. Pp. x, 296. Note on terms. Illustrations. Archives, Collections, and Oral History Sources. Notes. Index. $49.95 cloth; $49.95 eBook.
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In examining the impact of the mass influx of Cuban immigrants over the decades following the 1959 revolution, Mauricio Castro traces the politics of exile in Miami and

the intersection of US foreign policy, local politics in South Florida, and emerging trends in urban development. He outlines how Cuban refugees became part of US Cold War political strategy and how unprecedented federal government spending on them drove the transformation of the city in various ways.

First, due to the economic and professional support the Cuban refugees received, Miami was transformed from a sleepy little town dependent on seasonal tourism to an "economic gateway to the Americas and the world" (7). Second, the Cubans, who, similar to the federal government, initially saw their sojourn in the United States as temporary, became an influential political and cultural force in South Florida and formed a Cuban-American voting bloc that significantly impacted US foreign policy (11). Third, the arrival of so many Cubans (increasingly of mixed-race heritage) redefined the racial boundaries of South Florida that had historically aligned with those in other Southern states. This inevitably provoked conflicts between the exiles and Miami's African-American and white residents (79–80).

Castro describes the evolution of Washington's Cuban refugee policy and how the special privileges Cuban migrants enjoyed were gradually pared back, thereby delinking it from US foreign policy. With successive and largely uncontrolled waves of immigrants from Cuba, the "Golden Exiles"—so called because of their image as the most successful immigrant community—became "excludables." After the racial and political backlash against the *Marielitos* in the 1980s, by the mid-1990s the Clinton administration took the first steps to control the ever-growing numbers of Cuban migrants entering the country with the "wet foot, dry foot" policy and by signing migration accords with Havana (168–69). Although the Cuban American National Foundation was at the pinnacle of its political influence, Castro suggests this rolling back of Cuban immigrants' rights represented a "crisis in clout" (204).

"In 1995, the Cold War came to an end in Miami," he concludes, asserting that the federal government, which had simultaneously been the "patron" and "tool" of the Cuban-American community "had never shared the same devotion to a post-Castro Cuba [and] had moved on" (205). This argument is not convincingly supported by the epilogue to Castro's book, in which he notes the increasing diversity of Miami's population along with the widening social and political division within the Cuban-American community itself between the first-wave exiles and more recent arrivals from Cuba.

Over time, the South Florida Cuban-American political elite became absorbed into the ultra-conservative mainstream of the Republican Party and its neoliberal ideology. These politicians were no longer so ready to defend the rights of newer immigrants, especially when they perceived the frequent return trips to Cuba by those recent arrivals as undermining the effort to overturn the revolution. Under Presidents Trump and Biden, for the first time Cubans were subjected to detention and deportation.

Cuban-American political leaders such as Senator Marco Rubio were among the most vocal critics of Cuban "welfare chiselers" as opposed to "real refugees" (meaning themselves and their forebears). Meanwhile, these same Cuban-American Cold Warriors continued to wield significant influence over US foreign policy, insisting on the maintenance and tightening of harsh sanctions against Cuba (209–10).

By the dawn of the twenty-first century, Cuban immigrants had come to see themselves as Cuban-Americans, even while clinging to the label of exile, thereby asserting "a powerful narrative" as a psychological, social, and political identity (214). Using extensive national and local archives, Castro succeeds in presenting a complex history of the evolution of Miami, rejecting the view that it should be seen as "a curious outlier" (22). Although he recognizes that Miami's economic transformation had "distinctive characteristics," he argues that the city's "underlying structures" should be seen as mirroring "broader trends in urban development during the postwar period, particularly in the South" (7).

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Cuba's Transformations from the 1980s to the Present

How Things Fall Apart: What Happened to the Cuban Revolution. By Elizabeth Dore. Durham: Duke University Press, 2023. Pp. 352. $109.95 cloth; $29.95 paper; $29.95 eBook.
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Cuba has been in a downward spiral for the past few years. In July 2021, mass street protests signaled widespread popular discontent. Since then, the island has undergone a staggering exodus as more than a million people have left—the largest migratory wave in the nation's history. How did we get here? While the perfect storm wrought by coronavirus disease (COVID), increased US sanctions, and ill-timed domestic economic reforms provide an immediate answer, Elizabeth Dore's book shows that the makings of the current crisis stretch back years, even decades. Told through the life stories of seven Cubans, mostly born in the 1970s and 1980s, the book is a rich and evocative chronicle of Cuba's dramatic transformations from the 1980s to the present.

This project has long been anticipated among scholars of Cuba, and it is bittersweet to see the book finally reach print after Dore's 2022 death. The expectation was warranted: This is the most ambitious oral history project conducted on the island in decades. With significant funding and the support of Cuban authorities (at least at first), Dore and her team enjoyed unprecedented access, interviewing nearly 125 people, often multiple times, from 2005 to 2016. The resulting material is fascinating, for capturing not only the narrators' lived experiences from the 1980s up to the present but also how narrators' own perceptions changed over time. For example, in the 2000s, interviewees were hesitant to use the term