5 The life of others

Collecting and archiving the Cuban surveillance regime[1]

María A. Cabrera Arús

The triumph of the Cuban Revolution on January 1, 1959, ushered deep changes in the country's sartorial and material culture.[2] The economic war with the US, the implementation of a nation-wide rationing system, and the Sovietization of the Cuban economy had a profound impact not only on the material environment within the country but also on individual and collective imaginaries. However, when in 2012 I began conducting research on the politics of materiality during the first three decades of Cuban socialism, scholars were mostly oblivious of these and other transformations.[3]

I had initially planned on studying the politics of automobiles, fashion, and domestic spaces in Cuba during the 1970s and 1980s – I would eventually narrow down the topic to the politics of clothing – and needed a methodological instrument to gather as much information as possible on the meanings of objects and practices during the Cold War past. To overcome the dearth of primary data resulting from the loss or lack of access to state archives, I created a blog called Cuba Material in 2012.[4] I published images of artifacts along with all the information I could gather on them, expecting readers to comment with the meanings these objects had to them during the years I was studying. Soon, it was clear that the blog was making more of a significant impact as a methodological instrument, but was also a digital hub to archive – and share – the material culture of Cuban socialism. I decided then to complement the virtual repository with a physical collection dedicated to the private sphere and domestic space.

In his groundbreaking book *The Empire of Fashion*, French philosopher Gilles Lipovetsky links the "growing collective taste for the past" with the proliferation of memorials.[5] By the end of the century, he says, the field of patrimony and commemoration had expanded to the extent that "practically everything is subject to preservation, even things that are very modest or not at all remote (artifacts from the 1950s and 1960s)."[6] Such is the case of Cuba Material, an extensive collection dating to a period framed between 1959 and 1989. "Commemorative bulimia," Lipovetsky warns us, might translate into simplified recreations of yesteryears that obliterate the meanings things and styles actually had, a caveat always taken into account when curating and exhibiting items from the Cuba Material collection.[7] Along with the ephemera and artifacts preserved, the blog documents the meanings of associated practices – micro and macro, private and public, domestic and institutional.

This is not to celebrate Cuba's socialist past, but to document its materiality for further reference and/or research. Since 2012, for instance, it has been a source of data to scholars and journalists, apart from being a great aid in my own research on the politics of fashion under Cuban socialism, which demonstrates that clothing was a mechanism of representation and impersonal rule in the island during the Cold War past.[8] In the style, labels, and materials of the clothing and footwear produced by the government and individual consumers, I identify narratives of nationalism, egalitarianism, and modernization crafted to manufacture consent, understanding some preferences for foreign clothes and styles – such as sandals, tight jeans, and miniskirts – or refusals to wear normative clothes – such as the school children's uniform handkerchief – as practices of resistance and protest. I finally argue that fashion was fundamental to the Cuban regime to produce a revolutionary figured world based on olive-green fatigue uniforms, nationalist guayabera shirts, and work clothes, as well as to individuals to convey resistance and dissent.[9]

With almost 400 blog posts and thousands of physical objects and documents stored between the United States and Cuba, Cuba Material is probably the largest repository of material culture of Cuban socialism.[10] The collection includes appliances, furniture, clothing, ephemera, and memorabilia produced, commercialized, or used in Cuba between the revolutionary triumph in 1959 and the collapse of the state socialist regimes of Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the USSR after 1989. I obtained many items from my own family, picked some others up from city sidewalks, and bought even more at secondhand stores and on the Internet. Others are gifts and donations from friends, acquaintances, and readers of the blog.[11]

The scholar of Slavic literatures and languages Svetlana Boym, like Lipovetsky, has associated the increasing interest manifested in postsocialist societies toward the socialist materiality with a "'deideologized' attitude," which she deems oblivious of past collective traumas and only interested in satisfying the tourists' gaze.[12] In her view, postsocialist processes of memorialization promoted in the media and mainstream culture do not favor critical thinking nor contribute to the documentation of the socialist past, insofar as they are mostly produced as props to recreate former utopias and totalitarianisms.[13]

Spared from *glasnosts* and Velvet Revolutions, the Cuban state socialist regime did not collapse with its Soviet bloc allies, remaining attached to the brand "socialism" and to institutions created, in most cases, during the 1970s after the Soviet model. Taking into account that, to a great extent, these particularities continue defining Cuba's present, it should not be expected that the socialist materiality evoke meanings even remotely similar to those observed in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics that transitioned to neoliberal market capitalism. In Cuba, for instance, COMECON appliances and automobiles are still in use, languishing in rundown living rooms and state offices, or serve as spare parts to repair other appliances and fixtures.[14] In comparison, the material culture of the prerevolutionary years does gain traction, sold in antique shops or decorating commercial spaces.

Especially ignored by specialists and discarded by those people who once possessed them are the identity cards, certificates, diplomas, sales receipts, user manuals, and warranty notices the Cuban government and its institutions produced after 1959 as part of egalitarian, nationalist, and modernizing narratives that on occasion connected

the postrevolutionary present with the prerevolutionary past or with the Soviet Bloc and the Third World imaginaries. For instance, the vinyl record *Intercosmos*, commissioned by the Cuban Ministry of Culture and the Department of Revolutionary Orientation (DOR) as part of the propagandistic campaign of the USSR–Cuba joint space flight, praises the friendship between the people of the Soviet Union and Cuba while also celebrating Cuban nationalism and its Latin American roots.[15]

But the politics of identity cards, certificates, diplomas, and other memorabilia produced by the Cuban government and its institutions after 1959 goes beyond discourses that legitimized the regime. They are all disciplinary instruments. Through them, the government exerted its power to control, regulate, standardize, and classify individuals, turning them, as Michel Foucault puts it, into "objects and [. . .] instruments of its exercise."[16] They are, in other words, the manifestation of a "modest, suspicious power" and its "minor procedures," apparently unrelated to "the majestic rituals of sovereignty or the great apparatuses of the state" yet, nevertheless, fundamental to the consolidation and stability of the system, as Foucault maintains.[17]

In the following sections, I will discuss some of the forms in which this power was manifested in Cuba, examining a series of documents and ephemera in the Cuba Material collection – a Military Registry coupon, a workers' census receipt, workers' and students' personal files, and a gamut of ID cards issued by institutions of the Cuban government – and will argue that in their function of control and classification of individuals they also doubled as mechanisms of discipline and surveillance. The printed matter examined in the following pages dates from the 1960s and early-1970s, the period of institutionalization of the postrevolutionary regime.

All people's war

After the 1959 victory, the political regime invested many symbolic resources in the reification of the revolutionary ethos in daily postrevolutionary life.[18] Some of the principal symbols that conveyed this view were the sartorial attributes and practices of the Sierra Maestra guerrilla: fatigue uniforms, beards, hiking trips to the Sierra Maestra mountains, etc. These became more than characteristic traits of the new leadership, as the general public also began to incorporate them. The notion of a *pueblo uniformado*, that is, a uniformed society or a society in uniform, conveyed the idea of a country in permanent revolution, in which, as Castro suggested, "all the people [we]re soldiers of the revolution."[19] With the militarization of practices and identities, as the official website of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) states, the defense of the country "stopped being a task only assigned to the military to become a mission of the people."[20]

Putting the notion of the all people's war into practice, early in 1959 the government began to provide military training to brigades of workers, students, and school-age children, organized into voluntary militias consolidated after October 1959 under the National Revolutionary Militias.[21] By the end of 1960 this organization counted over 500,000 effectives, but only three years later it had lost momentum, riddled with issues of discipline and difficulties controlling the troops, which were fully disarmed by 1965.[22] Authorities then dedicated themselves to the development of a professional army, and militiamen turned into (reserve) soldiers.[23]

COMPAÑERO RESERVISTA Leopoldo Arús Gálvez

Por medio de la presente se le comunica que Ud. pertenece a la Unidad Militar 4613 donde le corresponde el número de combatiente 382

Significándole que debe memorizar estos datos para poder ofrecerlos siempre que se le pida por la autoridad competente.

Se le hace saber que en caso de aviso por Alarma de Combate, deberá presentarse en Oficial de Guardia Jefat. de Seguridad Hosp. a la mayor brevedad.

NOTA: En caso de cambiar de Centro de Trabajo o Domicilio, esta situación comunicarlo a la mayor brevedad a la Unidad Militar.

MINISTERIO DE LAS FUERZAS ARMADAS REVOLUCIONARIAS
REPÚBLICA DE CUBA
JEFATURA
UNIDAD MILITAR

Figure 5.1 Notification of the reservist number and military barrack assigned to a reservist (1960s).

Source: Cuba Material collection.

In July 1963, Fidel Castro announced the forthcoming implementation of mandatory military service.[24] The draft law was passed on November 26. Law No. 1129 of the Revolutionary Government created military committees, draft commissions, enrollment offices, and a military registry through which authorities would keep records of the reserve troops.[25] All males between the ages of 16 and 44 were required to register as FAR reservists, receiving a number, an ID, and an assigned barrack (Figure 5.1) where they had to report in case of a military invasion or any kind of emergency.[26]

The bureaucratic mechanisms decreed in Law No. 1129 not only helped in the militarization of society, obliterating distinctions of region and class; they also tightened state control over the working-age male population and curtailed its freedom. For instance, to emigrate, reservists had to obtain the Military Registry's clearance. Helping to guarantee the state ownership of the monopoly over legitimate violence, the administrative mechanisms and dispositives of control of the military gave shape to a panoptical bureaucracy, which as the following sections show was based, too, on the surveillance of workers, students, and citizens in general.

A workers' state

The Cuban Revolution, a social movement of bourgeois origins, radicalized once it seized power to give place to a state socialist regime of the Soviet type that claimed to represent the interests of the working class.[27] "The revolution in Cuba,"

sociologist Maurice Zeitlin observes, referring to the postrevolutionary regime, “is a working-class revolution; the workers in the cities, in the sugar centrals, and in the countryside are its social base.”[28] Policies that targeted and controlled the labor force – highly organized in the prerevolutionary years – became the priority of a political grammar that placed the working class at the center of the (post)revolutionary symbolic imaginary.[29] Many of these policies actually favored workers, improving through redistributive mechanisms their material conditions of life, especially among the most destitute sectors, and democratizing access to education, health care, mass consumer goods, and overall social mobility.[30] Others, however, were from their inception mechanisms of discipline and control.

On March 18, 1960, the Revolutionary Government passed Law No. 761, which called for an immediate census of the workforce (Figure 5.2) to be conducted by the Ministry of Work.[31] The following year, government agencies issued identification cards to state employees (Figure 5.3), which by the end of the decade constituted the quasi totality of the workforce after the nationalization of 57,000 private businesses during the Revolutionary Offensive of 1968 – except for a relatively small group of peasants who were allowed to work their own land.[32] Participation in the only state-controlled labor union, the Confederation of Cuban Workers (CTC), then became compulsory, and CTC-issued workers’ IDs were distributed through the state payroll.[33]

Through the workers’ census and ID cards, the government obtained detailed information on the workforce, including private data such as the workers’ dates of birth, blood types, fingerprints, and more. These mechanisms of control and surveillance were further complemented by other CTC-issued ID cards that regulated access to the workers’ clubs and to the retail stores of the rationed market.[34]

The workers’ club IDs authorized union members and their immediate relatives to enter the premises of the recreational installation that the state had assigned to their union. Many of these buildings had been created in the installations of former

REPUBLICA DE CUBA
MINISTERIO DEL TRABAJO
PRIMER CENSO LABORAL
COMPROBANTE PARA EL DESEMPLEADO
DESEMPLEADO Nº 727240 -2

REPUBLICA DE CUBA
MINISTERIO DEL TRABAJO
PRIMER CENSO LABORAL
COMPROBANTE PARA EL EMPLEADO
NUMERO DEL EMPLEADO 705183-3

Figure 5.2 First Census of Workers, receipts (1960).

Source: Cuba Material collection.

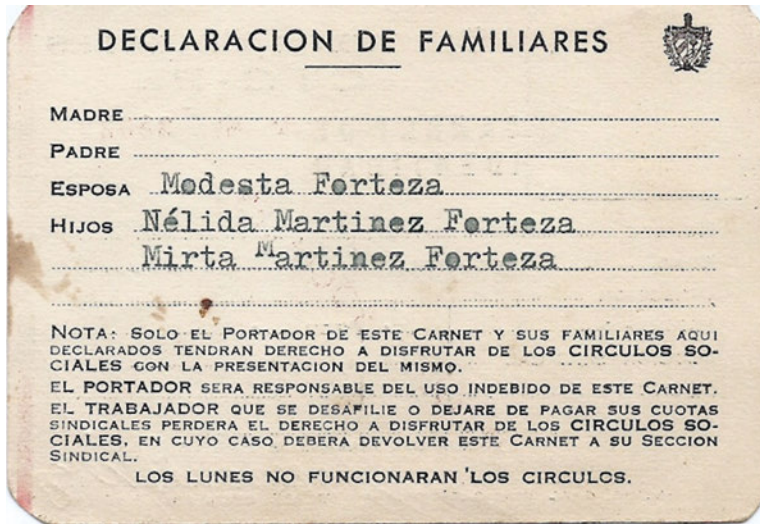
REPUBLICA DE CUBA
MINISTERIO DE COMUNICACIONES
EL PRESENTE CARNET IDENTIFICA A
Ismael Martinez Rodriguez
CUYA FOTOGRAFIA, FIRMA Y REFERENCIAS APAPECEN AL DORSO,
EL CUAL DESEMPEÑA EN ESTE MINISTERIO EL CARGO DE
Jefe 6ta.C/Jefe Est.Radioteleg.Min.
CERTIFICO.
LA HABANA, 28 DE Marzo DE 1961
CARNET NUMERO
142
DTOR. GRAL. DE PERSONAL Y ORG.

Figure 5.3 Worker's identification card, issued by the Ministry of Communications (1961).
Source: Gift of Mirta Suquet. Cuba Material collection.

social clubs, nationalized after 1960 and repurposed as leisure facilities for the working class. Family members were listed on the workers' IDs, along with other information such as the worker's age, home address, and union (Figure 5.4).

The impact this mechanism of control of leisure had on the development of friendship networks across class and profession, favoring interclass relationships to the detriment of networks based on class or political affiliation, is yet to be established. Arguably, it hindered the emergence of a class consciousness that would have led to the organization of, say executives, wage laborers, or professionals, to defend their interests. Moreover, this bureaucratic mechanism discriminated against unmarried and extramarital partners and children, not listed as relatives and thus de facto barred from entering the recreational facilities the government had assigned to workers' family members. Finally, some installations provided better service, consumer goods, and gastronomical offers – namely, the clubs administered by the FAR and the Ministry of Interior – and their IDs became a voucher to privileged leisure, sanctioning difference and distinction.

By the turn of the 1960s, the Ministry of Domestic Commerce (MINCIN) had divided buyers in the rationed market into groups, assigning to each a Thursday to Wednesday buying period and reserving the first day for workers.[35] The CTC-CI card provided access to stores on these days serving as a gateway to a better selection of goods and to a less-crowded shopping experience, as those were the days when stocks arrived and stores stayed open until 11 p.m.[36] This commercial privilege devised to convey the regime's long-term commitment to workers, was also a means to incentivize participation and long-term permanence in the workforce,


DECLARACION DE FAMILIARES

MADRE ....
PADRE ....
ESPOSA Modesta Forteza
HIJOS Nélida Martinez Forteza
Mirta Martinez Forteza

NOTA: SOLO EL PORTADOR DE ESTE CARNET Y SUS FAMILIARES AQUI DECLARADOS TENDRAN DERECHO A DISFRUTAR DE LOS CIRCULOS SOCIALES CON LA PRESENTACION DEL MISMO.
EL PORTADOR SERA RESPONSABLE DEL USO INDEBIDO DE ESTE CARNET.
EL TRABAJADOR QUE SE DESAFILIE O DEJARE DE PAGAR SUS CUOTAS SINDICALES PERDERA EL DERECHO A DISFRUTAR DE LOS CIRCULOS SOCIALES, EN CUYO CASO DEBERA DEVOLVER ESTE CARNET A SU SECCION SINDICAL.
LOS LUNES NO FUNCIONARAN LOS CIRCULOS.

Figure 5.4 Worker's identification card for purposes of gaining access to the workers social clubs (1960s).

Source: Gift of Mirta Suquet. Cuba Material collection.

as the administration had to update the worker's status in the CTC-CI card every three months.[37]

The bureaucratic mechanisms discussed in this section were some of the most visible dispositives of control over the workforce. Some of them gave labor unions a new raison d'ètre in an epoch when, under state control, and their very existence might have seemed redundant to many.[38] All in all, they strengthened and expanded the regime's bureaucratic panopticon.

Rationing consumption

It is widely understood that a decline in production, coupled with an increase in the purchasing power resulting from redistributive policies implemented after the revolutionary victory, caused the commercial imbalance that was at the origin of a widespread black market of basic consumer goods and necessities in the country. In an effort to ameliorate the lack of supplies and curb the black market, the government passed Law No. 1015 on March 12, 1962, ruling the creation of a national system of rationing for food, extended the following year to clothing and footwear.[39] To regulate these activities, the government also created the Offices for Provision Control or National Rationing Board, widely known as OFICODAs after their Spanish acronym.[40]

For the acquisition of the basic quota the system assigned to every citizen, OFICODAs distributed two different ration booklets, valid for a year. A ration booklet per family allocated food quotas, and a ration booklet with coupons allocated

Figure 5.5 Men's ration booklet (1970s).

Source: Cuba Material collection.

individuals a basic quota of clothing, textiles, footwear, and other industrial goods in scarce supply, slightly varying according to the recipient's gender and age (Figure 5.5).

Officials presented the rationing system as an act of justice in favor of the working class, which guaranteed equal access to mass consumer goods and protected against hoarders and intermediaries.[41] On the flip side, however, as it has been acknowledged, rationing stripped consumers their agency, as they entered de facto into a paternalistic relationship with the state, becoming passive cardholders always awaiting their assigned quota to arrive at stores.[42] Even more important in the context of this discussion is that the system of rationing offered a channel for the government to obtain information on consumers, including not only the date of birth and address of individuals and families but also their shopping behavior and preferences.[43]

Democratizing surveillance

Whereas the mechanisms described previously offered the possibility to control and spy on the military, the workforce, and consumers, other bureaucratic procedures of discipline and surveillance targeted society in general. The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs), created on September 28, 1960, organized all adults older than sixteen at the level of street blocks to keep watch

Figure 5.6 ID card issued to the members of the CDRs (circa 1961–62).
Source: Cuba Material collection.

over their neighbors and support state campaigns such as the cleaning of public areas, vaccination, and voluntary work. Members received an ID card (Figure 5.6) that, among other information, included a quote from Castro that stated: "Being a member of the Committee for the Defense [of the Revolution] means having a spirit of sacrifice, being an example to other citizens, working, watching over the counterrevolutionaries. It also means working towards recruiting others, [that is,] being engaged in activities of proselytism."

The democratization of surveillance that the creation of the CDRs represented was far from disorganized. Each CDR appointed a *responsable de vigilancia*, a person responsible for collecting information on neighbors, including their acquaintances, visitors, social activities, and property, which they then had to pass on to authorities. This person was in command of two kinds of registries: a "registry of addresses" with the name, ID number, and address of every individual living on the block, and a "registry of means," which detailed the personal property that could be of collective use in case of war or catastrophe. Tools and resources inventoried in the latter included bladed weapons, work tools, portable lighting, sewing machines, typewriters, vehicles, radio broadcasters, telephones, recorders, domestic appliances, and cisterns, among others. One of these registries, created in 1988 by a CDR member in the upscale neighborhood El Vedado, in Havana, records three picks, 10 hand saws, 44 hammers, 20 lanterns, one wheelbarrow, 10 bicycles, 25 automobiles, 95 refrigerators, one binocular, and 70 battery radio receptors. Only five families in this affluent neighborhood owned a radio-cassette recorder, which is an indicator of the tight control the state had of information and the means of reproducing it within the country.[44]

In the Cuba Material collection there is an ID, originally found among the papers of a CDR *responsable de vigilancia*, issued by the National Center of Information (CNI), an institution of the Cuban intelligence dedicated to the compilation of detailed information on individual citizens, according to the defector Juan Reinaldo Sánchez.[45] This card (Figure 5.7) is labeled as "secret"

CNI

Secreto

INSTRUCCIONES

Al conocer todo hecho o indicio de actividad enemiga o antisocial debe llamar al Centro Nacional de Información.

La información debe ser objetiva, oportuna y completa.

Debe siempre utilizar la clave 35-52 para garantizar su clandestinidad.

Teléfonos: 22 6061, 22 3091, 22 3427.

Figure 5.7 CNI card with instructions to Cuban citizens on what to spy on and how to report what they saw to the authorities, date unknown (1970s–1980s).

Source: Cuba Material collection.

and contains instructions on what kinds of suspect behaviors to look for and how to report them. To protect the confidentiality of the informant, a code was assigned that concealed his or her real name. Information on the extent, procedures, and mechanisms of recruitment of this network of espionage has proven to be hard to obtain, but it seems to have coexisted and overlapped with the CDR surveillance dispositives.[46]

The CDR members' IDs and the CNI cards document the role the Cuban state played in stimulating and sponsoring citizens' surveillance. They also expose the extent to which nonstate actors collaborated with the regime's institutions of espionage, extending and democratizing surveillance and tightening the grip the state had upon individuals and groups.

Another dispositive of citizens' control and surveillance was created on July 15 of 1971, when the government passed Law No. 1234 mandating that all citizens, including minors, obtain and carry an ID, which they had to hand over to the police and other authorities upon request. Shaped as a booklet, this document recorded the individual's full name, personal photograph, information on his or her parents, home address, and other details. Adults' IDs also recorded information such as their workplaces, professions, date of incorporation into their current

employment positions, work file numbers, and criminal records. In this way, when in the mid-1970s the Cuban state socialist regime was finally fully institutionalized, the government already counted on an encompassing mechanism of control, discipline, and surveillance.

Surveilling women, peasants, and students

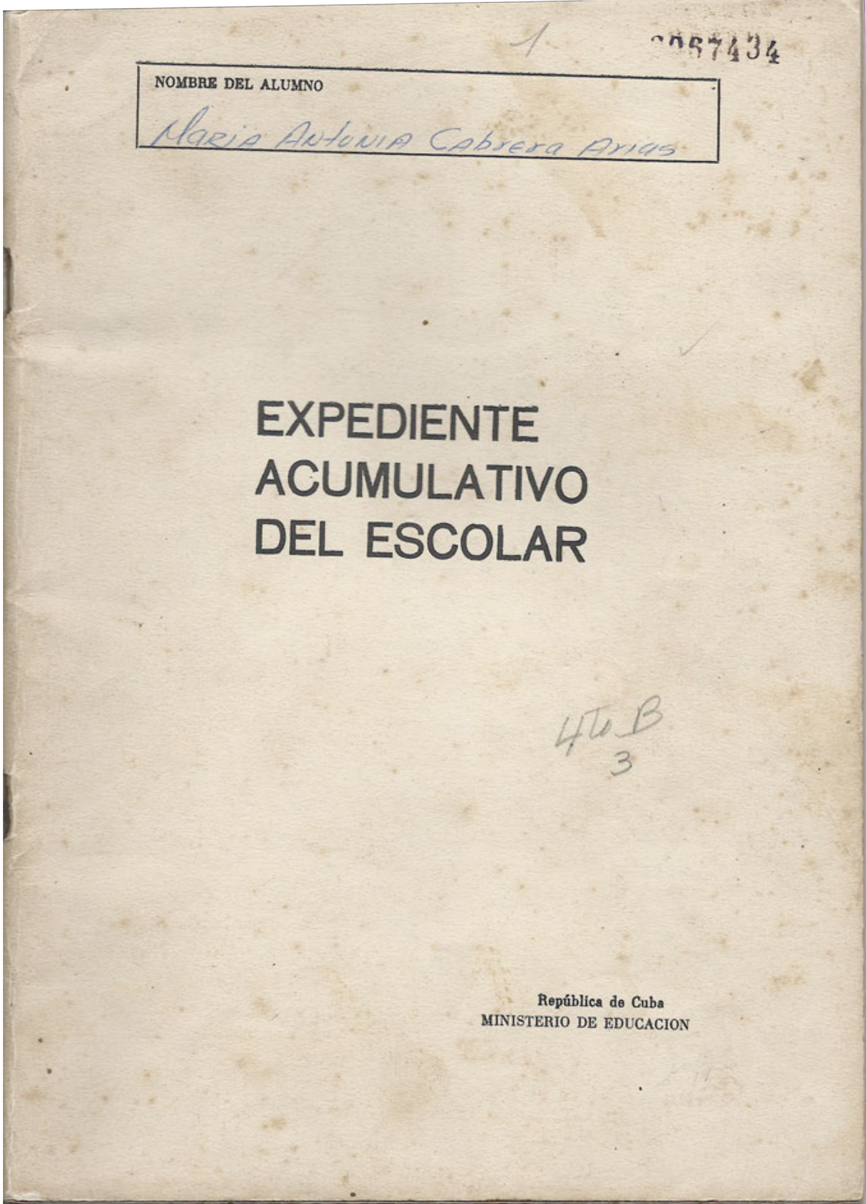
The bureaucratic mechanisms the Cuban regime put into place to control and surveil society also reached women, peasants, and students, groups of strategic importance within the narrative of legitimation of the fidelista state. The government also devised IDs customized for controlling and surveilling these groups, similar to the documents examined above.[47] Students, however, represent a particular case, as the government targeted them through programs of social engineering with the goal of creating the new men and women of the communist future. This task demanded even more detailed dispositives of surveillance.

In 1964, Castro told the youth:

> A day must come when we are organized in a way that everyone's personal biography is known [by the state], that [the state] keeps a personal file for each citizen, [with information] on their childhood, since the moment they enter first grade: what [the students] do, what their principal traits are, how they behave as young men, as technicians, as workers. The day must come when we have a personal file for each citizen.[48]

By the turn of the decade, the Ministry of Education had already designed a Student's Accumulative File (Figure 5.8) that allowed teachers to keep yearly record of every student's development, from kindergarten to college. The first pages collected personal information, such as the ID number, date of birth, and address, as well as information on the student's parents, including their names, dates of birth, professions, employers, and the political and mass organizations in which they participate. The following sections recorded the student's academic, disciplinary, and political merits and offenses, as well as his or her physical and psychological development, talents, study habits, and drawbacks. Serious misconducts, called "stains," were also recorded, carrying repercussions that potentially affected the student's opportunities to succeed in school. Because students never had access to their personal files, they had no way to know about their content, so they learned to police themselves to fulfill the authorities' expectations and avoid having their files stained as norm. The whole system, moreover, potentially biased teachers in favor, or against new incoming students who had problematic records, arguably further impacting their future.

Many other IDs were produced by the regime both during its first two decades in power and afterwards. Disciplinary spaces, Foucault observes, "tend to be divided into as many sections as there are bodies or elements to be distributed."[49] But the examples discussed in this chapter provide a general view of the methods and dispositives of the Cuban surveillance bureaucracy.


NOMBRE DEL ALUMNO

Maria Antonia Cabrera Arias

EXPEDIENTE ACUMULATIVO DEL ESCOLAR

República de Cuba
MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION

Figure 5.8 Student's Accumulative File (1978).

Source: Cuba Material collection.

Conclusion

All in all, the universe of ID cards and personal records the Cuban government produced after 1959 attest to the extent and scope of the regime's surveillance of individuals and groups, illustrating as well some of the mechanisms of socialization, coercion, and discipline in socialist Cuba.[50] The documents examined in this chapter constitute dispositives of surveillance, yet also demonstrate how citizens collaborated with the regime's disciplinary apparatus, either by spying on each other and passing this information on to authorities or by policing themselves to fulfill the regime's expectations.

Now, 60 years after the revolutionary victory, in Cuba many state archives are closed to public scrutiny, hindering the possibility of studying in detail the dynamics discussed. The documents from the Cuba Material collection might elicit nostalgia for members of several generations, but they attest, above all, to the impact and extent of the mechanisms of control, discipline, and surveillance the Cuban regime put into place after the 1959 revolution. This is particularly important because, as David Crowley and Susan Reid argue in the introduction to *Style and Socialism*, the socialist era "is slowly passing from memory into history [and] the material environment that it fashioned is slipping away more quickly."[51] Although these authors had in mind the societies of Eastern Europe and the former USSR, where socialism did actually begin to disappear after 1989, Cuba does not escape from this fate. Ironically, in many of the countries where the state socialist regime collapsed, the material traces of this past are memorialized and consumed, either in the form of nostalgia or souvenirs. In Cuba, however, where the state socialist regime continues to hold the reins of power, this material culture is silent and inexorably disappearing, displaced by the impetuous advent of global capitalism.

We cannot know the meanings future generations will give to the material culture from Cuba's changing present and socialist past, but we can certainly safeguard, for them and for us, the artifacts our contemporaries and prior generations used, and the meanings with which they invested them. But, like the dispositives of surveillance of the Cuban regime or any totalitarian state, we can get a glimpse, through these kind of archives and collections, of the lives of others.

Notes

1 An earlier version of this chapter was first presented at "Summoning the Archive: A Symposium on the Periodical, Printed Matter, and Digital Archiving," organized by Meghan Forbes at the Institute for Public Knowledge, New York University, May 11–13, 2017. Participation in the symposium and the writing of this article were supported in part by the 2016–2017 Mellon Sawyer postdoctoral fellowship, Cuban Futures beyond the Market, I was granted by the King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center at New York University.

2 María A. Cabrera Arús, "Thinking Politics and Fashion in 1960s Cuba: How Not to Judge a Book by Its Cover," *Theory & Society* 46 (2017): 411–428; María A. Cabrera Arús and Mirta Suquet, "La moda en la literatura cubana, 1960–1970: tejiendo y destejiendo al hombre nuevo," *Cuban Studies* (forthcoming).

3 Scattered references to some political meanings conveyed through sartorial practices are found in Lillian Guerra, *Visions of Power in Cuba: Revolution, Redemption, and*

Resistance, 1959–1971 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Louis Pérez, *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

4 María A. Cabrera Arús, Cuba Material, http://cubamaterial.com.

5 Gilles Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994). See also, Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections* (New York: Schocken, 1968); Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Daniel Miller, *The Comfort of Things* (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 2009); Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993).

6 Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion*, 248.

7 Ibid.

8 Cuba Material is featured in the *American Historical Review*'s guide to freely accessible online collections of primary sources. Items from the collection are discussed in Lillian Chase, *Heroes, Martyrs & Political Messiahs in Revolutionary Cuba, 1946–1958* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018); Elzbieta Sklodowska, *Invento, luego resisto: El Período Especial en Cuba como experiencia y metáfora (1990–2015)* (Santiago: Cuarto Propio, 2016); Raúl Rubio, *La Habana. Cartografías culturales* (Valencia: Aduana Vieja, 2013); Abel Sierra Madero, "'El trabajo os hará hombres.' Masculinización nacional, trabajo forzado y control social en Cuba durante los años sesenta," *Cuban Studies* 44 (2016): 309–349. They also appear in journal articles and online publications, including Nora Gámez Torres, "Cuba tendría archivos similares a los de la Stassi alemana," *elnuevoherald.com*, October 26, 2014, www.elnuevoherald.com/noticias/mundo/america-latina/cuba-es/article3390649.html; Shaday Larios, "Objetarios 1. Cuba Material: Archivo de la materialidad cubana," *Titeresante*, Julio 12, 2016, www.titeresante.es/2016/07/objetarios-1-cuba-material-archivo-de-la-materialidad-cubana-por-shaday-larios/. I develop these ideas in the manuscript *Dressed for the Party: Fashion and Politics in Socialist Cuba (1959–1989)*, in preparation based on the Ph.D. dissertation of the same title.

9 See, also, María A. Cabrera Arús, "Fashioning and Contesting the Olive-Green Imaginary in Cuban Visual Arts," in *A Movable Nation: Cuban Art and Cultural Identity*, edited by J. Duany (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, forthcoming 2019); María A. Cabrera Arús, "The Material Promise of Socialist Modernity: Fashion and Domestic Space in the 1970s," in *The Revolution from Within: Cuba, 1959–1980*, ed. M. Bustamante and J. Lambe (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, forthcoming March 2019); Cabrera Arús, "Thinking Politics and Fashion."

10 Other private archives contain materials on specific periods of Cuban socialist history, notably the Ramiro A. Fernández collection of revolutionary ephemera, which extends to the early 1960s; *El archivo de Connie*, the personal archive and blog of Anna Veltfort focusing on the late 1960s and early 1970s; and the Archivo Veigas collection of art brochures and catalogs, now part of the Ella Fontanals-Cisneros Collection. All three are mostly collections of photographs and memorabilia. See, for instance, Ramiro Fernández and Richard Blanco, *Cuba Then*, revised edition (New York: Monacelli Press, forthcoming 2018); *El archivo de Connie* (blog), http://archivodeconnie.annaillustration.com.

11 I want to especially thank my family as well as Meyken Barreto, Mirta Suquet, Yasiel Pavón, Gerardo Fernández Fe, Ricardo L. Hernández Otero, Pablo Argüelles, Sergio Valdés García, Janet Vega, César Beltrán, Walfrido Dorta, María L. Pérez, Jairo Alfonso, Raúl Aguiar, and other anonymous readers for their contributions to the collection.

12 Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2001), 57.

13 See, also, Aleksandar Bošković, "Yugonostalgia and Yugoslav Cultural Memory: Lexicon of Yu Mythology," *Slavic Review* 72 (2013): 54–78. Several articles in the *Calvert Journal*, www.calvertjournal.com, also address post-Soviet nostalgia.

14 COMECON was the organization for economic cooperation of the Soviet bloc countries. This acronym stands for Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.
15 The Joint Space Flight USSR–Cuba was launched on September 18, 1980, taking Cuban astronaut Arnaldo Tamayo Méndez aboard the Soyuz-6 spaceship along with Soviet astronaut Yuri Romanenko, a trip organized by the Soviet-led Intercosmos program.
16 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New York: Vintage, 1977), 170.
17 Ibid.
18 Michelle Chase, *Revolution within the Revolution: Women and Gender Politics in Cuba, 1952–1962* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Duanel Díaz Infante, *La revolución congelada. Dialécticas del castrismo* (Madrid, Spain: Verbum, 2014); Guerra, *Visions of Power*; Yeidy M. Rivero, *Broadcasting Modernity: Cuban Commercial Television, 1950–1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).
19 Fidel Castro, *Discurso a los escolares* (Havana, Cuba: Prensa y Divulgación INRA, 1959); Manuel De Paz Sánchez, *Zona rebelde: La diplomacia española ante la revolución cubana 1957–1960* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Spain: Centro de la Cultura Popular Canaria, 1997); Cabrera Arús, "Thinking Politics and Fashion;" Chase, *Revolution within the Revolution*; Guerra, *Visions of Power*; Rivero, *Broadcasting Modernity*.
20 *Cubagog.cu*, March 14, 2018, www.cubagob.cu/otras_info/minfar/far/Serv_militar_reserva.htm.
21 Guerra, *Visions of Power*.
22 M. L. Vellinga, "The Military and the Dynamics of the Cuban Revolutionary Process," *Comparative Politics* 8 (1976): 245–271, 247; Guerra, *Visions of Power*.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 *CubaDefensa.cu*, March 14, 2018, http://cubadefensa.cu; *Cubagog.cu*, March 14, 2018, www.cubagob.cu/otras_info/minfar/far/Serv_militar_reserva.htm.
26 Ibid.; Guerra, *Visions of Power*.
27 Guerra, *Visions of Power*. See, also, Velia C. Bobes, *Los laberintos de la imaginación. Repertorio simbólico, identidades y actores del cambio social en Cuba* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2000); Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Cuban Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).
28 Maurice Zeitlin, *Revolutionary Politics and the Cuban Working Class* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 277.
29 Chase, *Revolution within the Revolution*; Guerra, *Visions of Power*.
30 Mayra Espina Prieto and Lilia Núñez Moreno, "The Changing Class Structure in the Development of Socialism in Cuba," in *Transformation and Struggle: Cuba Faces the 1990s*, ed. S. Halebsky and J. M. Kirk (New York, NY: Praeger), 205–218.
31 Jesus Echerri Ferrandiz, "El sistema de justicia laboral cubano: apuntes y reflexiones," *AmbitoJuridico.com.br*, March 15, 2018, http://ambito-juridico.com.br/site/index.php/%3C?n_link=revista_artigos_leitura&artigo_id=609&revista_caderno=25.
32 Guerra, *Visions of Power*.
33 Ibid.
34 Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).
35 In 1969, the government introduced the Plan San Germán in Havana, separating consumers into random groups identified by letters (e.g., group A, group B, group C, group D, group E), which were assigned specific days to buy their goods. Julio C. Díaz Acosta, "Consumo y distribución normada de alimentos y otros bienes," in Cincuenta años de la economía cubana, ed. O. E. Pérez Villanueva (Havana, Cuba: Ciencias Sociales, 2010), 333–362.

See also, Cabrera Arús, "The Material Promise;" Margaret Randall, *Women in Cuba: Twenty Years Later* (New York: Smyrna, 1981).

36 Ibid.; Eloise Linger, "Combining Moral and Material Incentives in Cuba," *Behavior and Social Issues* 2 (1992): 119–136; Muriel Nazzari, "The 'Woman Question' in Cuba: An Analysis of Material Constraints and Its Solution," *Signs* 9 (1983): 246–263.
37 Cabrera Arús, "The Material Promise."
38 Guerra, *Visions of Power*.
39 Díaz Acosta, "Consumo y distribución normada."
40 Ibid.; Medea Benjamin and Joseph Collins, "Is Rationing Socialist? Cuba's Food Distribution System," *Food Policy* (November 1985): 327–336.
41 Ibid.; Díaz Acosta, "Consumo y distribución normada;" Mayra Espina, Ángel Hernández, Viviana Togores, and Rafael Hernández, "Controversia: El consumo: Economía, cultura y sociedad," *Temas* 47 (2006): 65–80; Nazzari, "The 'Woman Question'."
42 Bobes, *Los laberintos*; Haroldo Dilla, "Cuba: ¿Cuál es la democracia deseable?," in *La democracia en Cuba y el diferendo con los Estados Unidos*, ed. H. Dilla (Havana, Cuba: Centro de Estudios sobre América, 1995), 169–189; Emilio Morales, *Cuba. ¿Tránsito silencioso al capitalismo?* (Miami, FL: Alexandria Library, 2009).
43 Bobes, *Los laberintos*.
44 This figure attests as well to the limited commercialization of consumer goods during the 1970s and the consumer-oriented 1980s. See Anna C. Pertierra, *Cuba: The Struggle for Consumption* (Coconut Creek, FL: Caribbean Studies Press, 2011).
45 Gámez Torres, "Cuba tendría archivos."
46 María A: Cabrera Arús, "Carné del CNI," *Cuba Material*, August 12, 2014, https://cubamaterial.com/blog/carne-del-informante/; Gámez Torres, "Cuba tendría archivos."
47 Chase, *Revolution within the Revolution*; Guerra, *Visions of Power*.
48 Fidel Castro, "Discurso pronunciado por el Comandante Fidel Castro Ruz, Primer Secretario del Partido Unido de la Revolución Socialista y Primer Ministro del Gobierno Revolucionario, en la concentración para celebrar el IV aniversario de la integración del movimiento juvenil cubano, en la Ciudad Escolar 'Abel Santamaria', Santa Clara, el 21 de octubre de 1964," www.cuba.cu/gobierno/discursos/1964/esp/f211064e.html. I am grateful to Mirta Suquet for the reference to this speech.
49 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 143.
50 The impact of the Cuban regime's surveillance is also reflected in the literary and artistic production, some of which is discussed in Rachel Price, *Planet/Cuba: Art, Culture, and the Future of the Island* (London: Verso, 2015). See, also, literary works such as Eliseo Alberto, *Informe contra mí mismo* (Barcelona, Spain: Alfaguara, 2002); Antonio J. Ponte, *Villa Marista en plata: arte, política, nuevas tecnologías* (Madrid, Spain: Colibrí, 2010); Enrique del Risco, ed., *El compañero que me atiende* (Madrid, Spain: Hypermedia, 2017).
51 David Crowley and Susan Reid, "Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe," in *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe*, ed. S. Reid and D. Crowley (Oxford, England: Berg, 2000), 18.

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