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Ethnic Community, Party Politics, and the Cold War: The Political Ascendancy of Miami Cubans, 1980–2000

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INTRODUCTION

Analysis of the implications of the rapidly growing Latino/Hispanic electorate for future U.S. political life is a relatively new project for historians and political scientists.[1] Indeed, the literature on Latino politics has long considered their political underrepresentation as the central issue for research. Many scholars in the field have sought to explain how the burden of historical discrimination and antagonistic attitudes toward immigrants has discouraged these minorities from taking part in U.S. politics. Their studies have also explored how to overcome low voter turnout among Latinos and detect unfavorable institutional obstacles for voicing their opinions in government.[2] However, partly due to previous academic efforts, the 1990s and 2000s have witnessed U.S. voters of Hispanic origin solidifying their role as a key constituency in U.S. politics. An increasing number of politicians of Hispanic origin now hold elective offices at local, state, and national levels. Both the Republican and Democratic Parties have made intensive outreach efforts to seize the hearts and minds of these new voters, particularly by broadcasting specific messages in Spanish media such as Univision.[3] Although low

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turnout among Latino voters and strong anti-immigrant sentiments among many non-Latino voters persist, the growing importance of the Latino electorate during the presidential elections has attracted increasing attention from inside and outside academic circles.[4] Hence, in 2004, political scientist Rodolfo O. de la Garza, summarizing recent writings on Latino politics, concluded that "Latinos are now part of the mainstream and have attained the clout to influence the [U.S. political] system from within."[5]

Nonetheless, caution should be taken to avoid imagining Hispanics as a monolithic community moving in the same direction with the same purpose. The Hispanic population includes disparate groups with varying historical backgrounds. For instance, whereas thousands of undocumented immigrants from Mexico have struggled to find the path to U.S. citizenship, almost all Puerto Ricans have entered U.S. territory freely as citizens. At the same time, many Cubans in the early 1960s arrived in the United States seeking political asylum from the Castro regime, although Cubans in the 1990s, as well as other Latinos, left their homelands for economic opportunities rather than political freedom. Because of these diverse historical trajectories, it is mandatory for scholars to carefully analyze the incorporation of each subgroup into the U.S. polity while placing it in a broader context of mass immigration from southern neighboring countries since World War II.

Among the rapidly growing but diverse population of Latinos, Cubans in Miami (Miami Cubans) have experienced very successful political incorporation into U.S. politics. Soon after the 1959 Cuban Revolution, thousands of Cubans fled en masse from their island and started their battle against the Castro regime and for a return to their homeland. Half a century later, though, anti-Castro exiles and their descendants have incorporated themselves into U.S. politics and formed a solid voting bloc in South Florida, playing a key role in the 2000 presidential election. Although making up less than 1 percent of the U.S. national population and only 3.5 percent of the U.S. Hispanic population, they have succeeded in electing their representatives to local, state, and national legislatures and have exerted a disproportionate influence inside and outside the United States.[6] As of March 2011, two U.S. senators and four congressmen of Cuban origin serve on Capitol Hill. One of them, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, a Cuban American congresswoman since 1989, became chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in 2011, which makes it more difficult for the Obama administration to improve U.S. relations with Castro's Cuba.

How did these Miami Cubans, especially those who arrived in the 1960s, acquire such political importance in the United States? In what ways can historians narrate their rapid political ascendancy and situate it in the larger context of growing representation by Latinos in U.S. politics?

Studies of Miami urban politics point to several notable characteristics regarding Miami Cubans and their political activities: the demographic and geographic conditions of Miami, the Cuban American establishment of an economic enclave with access to Latin American capital, the migration patterns and numbers of Cubans as well as their geographical concentration in Miami, the extremely cohesive political community shaped by ethnic antagonism in the area, and finally their widely shared anticommunist ideology.[7] These studies have proven invaluable for understanding the mechanism of Cuban American ethnic politics. Yet they fall short of explaining the dynamism of ethnic politics by paying relatively little attention to the overall importance of Cuban Americans' early encounters with U.S. politics.

Here, it bears emphasizing that the political ascendancy of Cuban Americans was far from predetermined. Until the early 1980s Miami Cubans possessed little influence on local politics, much less on national politics. As Judson M. DeCew Jr. concluded in 1980, it seemed unlikely that the community would form a cohesive political force within the U.S. political system.[8] Nonetheless, around the same time, many Cuban exiles began to deepen their involvement with U.S. politics, massively voting for candidates from the Republican Party rather than the Democratic Party and dramatically transforming the political landscape in the region. Thus, in this article, I define the early 1980s as the turning point in their political history and analyze how these voters and politicians of Cuban origin began to engage in U.S. politics, and how their early experiences outlined their political activities thereafter. My principal aim here is to assess to what degree these early developments have defined the decades-long process of Miami Cubans' incorporation into American political life.

I not only take a long-term perspective but also an interdisciplinary approach, combining diplomatic history, political science, and ethnic history. I detail the intense and noteworthy interaction of the Cold War, party politics, and ethnic awareness among Miami Cubans in the early 1980s. Considering this intricate nature of the early developments of Miami Cubans' ethnic politics, it is obligatory for scholars to go beyond

a single discipline and to find how their political path can be better explained in a larger context. My arguments are based on primary and secondary materials, which, however, I do not cite unless quoting directly from the source. These sources include manuscripts, personal papers, pamphlets, tabloids, magazines, journals, and newsletters, collected at two archives in Miami, as well as governmental records, correspondence, and policy papers, available at the Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush Presidential Libraries. In particular, for the analysis of elections in South Florida, local newspapers, such as the *Miami Herald* and *El Nuevo Herald*, as well as Cuban-exile newspapers such as *Patria, La Nación*, and *Réplica* have proven highly valuable.[9]

Although the Cold War ended by 1990, I treat the period as lasting up at least until 2000. This is because U.S.-Cuban relations in the post–Cold War era remained hostile and continued to outline the political lives of many Miami Cubans in distinctive ways, as shown in the 2000 presidential election.[10] I do not fully address here some of the other significant aspects of U.S.-Cuban relations, as well as some important components of Miami Cubans' self-identification that certainly have affected their political activities; these include class, race, color, gender, and religious values. They have been treated in more detail elsewhere.[11] In this article I analyze the political ascendancy of Miami Cubans by exploring the understudied yet remarkable interaction among local power struggles, party politics, and the ebb and flow of Cold War tensions, which have shaped recent developments in ethnic politics in the United States.

I. ANTI-CASTRO EXILES AND THE COLD WAR IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

In the first four years after the 1959 Cuban Revolution, more than two hundred thousand Cubans left the island for its neighbor, the United States. The Cuban Revolution symbolized fierce opposition to Americanization that had deeply penetrated into pre-Castro Cuba. What the revolution aimed for was a break from the past and the construction of a new society by *el hombre nuevo* (the new man). The revolutionary government urged people to join and contribute to this project, despised those who left the island as *gusanos* (worms), and evaluated the split of the nation as "a natural purification."[12] The government considered almost all the exiles as traitors against the nation, confiscated their property, and discarded their citizenship.[13]

On the other side, the U.S. government welcomed Cuban exiles as "freedom fighters" and granted political asylum to almost all of them, at first for humanitarian reasons and later for political reasons. The massive exodus became a tool for attacking the legitimacy of the revolutionary government and a valuable source of recruitment by the Central Intelligence Agency for use in its plot to topple the Castro regime. Indeed, the U.S. government conducted the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, which resulted in the death or capture of approximately 1,500 exiles. The U.S. involvement in Cuban internal affairs soon led to the 1962 Cuban missile crisis with the Soviet Union, the peak of Cold War tensions. Only then did the U.S. government pledge to the Soviet Union that it would not invade Cuba again.[14]

As the Castro regime worked to solidify its rule in the island, more Cubans left for the United States. In the period from 1965 to 1973, nearly 265,000 Cubans arrived seeking political asylum.[15] The U.S. national media called them "golden exiles," since most of them were considered highly educated, skilled, and anti-communist immigrants, suitable for learning quickly the American way of life. Nonetheless, many residents in South Florida were irritated by the massive inflow of foreigners and looked on them as "unwanted immigrants."[16]

For this reason, the U.S. government encouraged the exiles to spread across the country and assimilate into U.S. society. The U.S. government administrated the Cuban Refugee Program and resettled 290,000 Cubans to other areas. From 1961 to 1973, the program expended roughly $957 million to provide Cubans with meals, residences, job training, and other necessities for the start of their new lives in the United States.[17] Furthermore, the U.S. Congress enacted the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966, which required a refugee to stay only one year and one day in the United States before applying for permanent resident status. This special act paved the way for the subsequent legal incorporation of Cubans into the United States.

While Cold War tensions gradually decreased in the Western Hemisphere after 1963, Cuban exiles struggled to establish a strong ethnic community in Miami. By the 1970s, around 160,000 Cuban exiles resided in "Little Havana," the area located west of downtown Miami, and they were soon joined by many others who had resettled in other areas but eventually returned, looking for jobs, friends, neighbors, and a warm climate.[18] In order to retain ethnic ties with the homeland, these Cubans maintained their religious customs and created private educational

institutions to teach their children about Cuban history. More important, they established local Spanish newspapers, tabloids, and radio programs that denounced the adversarial regime that had made their lives in their birthplace intolerable. For them, opposition to Castro was not so much a political opinion as a moral issue. The toppling of the regime became "the Cause," something that every member of the community should not question. Sociologists Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick aptly chose a phrase, "moral community," to depict Miami Cubans' ethnic community.[19]

Geographical concentration and a strong sense of belonging among members of the community also nurtured an "ethnic enclave."[20] By the 1980s, the community, with its individual capabilities, social networks, and a variety of federal loans and other financial assistance, created eighteen thousand ethnic companies that provided capital, employment, and job training for those who arrived later.[21] Cuban-born entrepreneurs, taking advantage of co-ethnic cheap labor, as well as abundant capital, language abilities, and strong connection to Latin America, powerfully energized the local economy of South Florida. Altogether, Cuban exiles transformed Miami, a once shabby city, into "the Capital of Latin America," a center for trade, finance, and aerial transportation in the Western Hemisphere.[22]

Nevertheless, despite heavy geographical concentration, strong community solidarity, and extraordinary economic success, the prospect of political ascendancy for Miami Cubans still appeared far from certain. By 1980, the majority of eligible Miami Cubans had attained U.S. citizenship, and a few of them began to hold elective public office at a local level as early as 1973.[23] However, many Cubans still considered political participation in the U.S. system as inconsistent with their wishes for the toppling of the Castro regime. As time passed, anti-Castro exiles deepened their doubts about U.S. politicians, Republican or Democrat, fulfilling the promise of establishing a "Free Cuba." That the Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter administrations pursued détente with Castro's Cuba despite their opposition to the communist government merely exacerbated their mistrust of U.S. politics. At the same time, internal political polarization developed among the community in the 1970s. Over a hundred young students and scholars of Cuban origin began to reevaluate their relations with their homeland and initiated dialogue with the Castro regime. Infuriated by these developments, intransigent anti-Castro militants resorted to indiscriminate terrorism and justified their moves as punishment of the "deviators."[24]

If these terrorists' activities reinforced the negative stereotypes of Cubans, so did the 1980 Mariel boatlift, in which Miami Cubans brought 125,000 new Cubans into the United States. The Carter administration attempted to discourage Miami Cubans from participating in the boatlift, but it only angered those who sought family reunification.[25] The administration's inability to control this refugee crisis resulted in tremendous growth in ethnic tension in Miami; non-Cuban residents in Miami began an "English-only" movement and passed an anti-bilingual resolution in Dade County (Miami) to protest the boatlift.

This "backlash" against massive immigration heightened the exiles' sense of ethnic awareness and set the stage for their subsequent political empowerment.[26] With the image of freedom fighters tarnished as well as negative depictions of fellow Cubans, many exiles must have realized that they could no longer afford to stay away from U.S. politics. However, it is important to note that many anti-Castro exiles did not look to the Democratic Party, the party traditionally identified as pro-immigrant, for their party affiliation. In contrast to the majority of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and other Hispanic groups, they chose to join the Republican Party.

II. THE POLITICAL INCORPORATION OF ANTI-CASTRO EXILES INTO U.S. POLITICS

A. Reagan Republicans during the New Cold War

The start of what later became known as the new Cold War revived strong antipathy by the U.S. government toward Castro's Cuba. Following the social revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua in 1979, Central America and the Caribbean region again became a major battleground between East and West. Grenada and Nicaragua formed close connections with Castro's Cuba, which helped pro-Soviet influence to grow within the region. In response, Ronald Reagan, elected as U.S. president in 1980, condemned this communist infiltration as a sign of another conspiracy plotted by Castro's Cuba and consequently launched a variety of harsh measures against the regime. These measures included the establishment of a new pro-U.S. radio station broadcasting to the island, Radio Martí. The administration worked in close collaboration with Cuban exiles for the success of this radio station.[27]

It was these changes in U.S. Cuban policies that reinvigorated

anti-Castro exiles and moved their political orientation in a new direction. In the Cuban-exile community, there appeared numerous stories–in newspapers, tabloids, and magazines–that depicted Ronald Reagan as the exile's powerful and trustworthy friend, ally, and superhero. The exiles' ardent support for Reagan was well captured by one of the covers of the humor magazine *Zig-Zag*, which was highly popular among Miami Cubans. The date of the issue was November 9, 1983, two weeks after the invasion of Grenada, which the Reagan administration conducted for the defense of the Western Hemisphere from Cuban "interference."[28] On this magazine cover, the president, wearing boxer's pants with a picture of an elephant (the symbol of the Republican Party) and in a fighting pose stands firmly in the ring, having apparently knocked out a man representing Grenada, and in an intimidating manner shouts, "*Next!*"[29] After years of suffering from a sense of powerlessness, anti-Castro exiles had found a source of power in the figure of Ronald Reagan and sensed that the tide of their war had finally begun to turn in their favor.

Interestingly, Reagan's opponents, who are standing outside the ring in the picture, include not only Fidel Castro and Daniel Ortega (revolutionary leader of Nicaragua) but also Walter Mondale and Maurice Ferré.[30] Mondale was the nominee of the Democratic Party for president in 1984, and Ferré was the mayor of the city of Miami and a supporter of Mondale. These two politicians were hardly sympathetic to Castro and Ortega. The Democratic Party platform of 1984 firmly opposed Cuban interference in Latin America and called for another approach to problems within the hemisphere.[31] However, in the worldview of the readers of the magazine, Democrats were not the ones to vote for. In other words, those who supported Reagan's war against communism opposed all who were against President Reagan, both inside and outside U.S. territory.

Such polarized political reasoning was strongly encouraged by Reagan Republicans who were reaching out to the Cuban-exile community. Already, by the 1980s, political analysts were predicting the increasing importance of new Hispanic voters, mainly because of their growing numbers, in the pivotal states in the presidential elections.[32] Among these Latino voters, Cuban Americans constituted a promising electoral bloc for the Republican Party in South Florida, a traditionally strong base for Southern Democrats. Observing the enthusiastic response from Cuban exiles, Reagan Republicans intensified their outreach efforts

to maximize their votes. The most vivid example of such Republican efforts was the visit of President Reagan to Miami. On May 20, 1983, the president celebrated Cuban "independence" day with anti-Castro Cuban exiles and made a highly emotional speech.[33] He said: "Now is the time to act reasonably and decisively to avert a crisis and prevent other people from suffering the same fate as your brothers and sisters in Cuba." Referring to Democrats' opposition to his foreign policy in Latin America, the president emphasized the urgency to defend the region from aggression by "the Soviet-Cuban-Nicaraguan axis."[34] The president told the audience what they had wanted to hear from a U.S. president for a long time.

The exile community, now numbering a half million, enthusiastically responded to this outreach. Miami Cubans passionately supported President Reagan because of his foreign policy stance, not because of his domestic agenda. An editor for *La Nación*, a nationalistic exile newspaper, explained its support for Reagan by stressing that Reagan was against Castro's Cuba.[35] "Support President Reagan's foreign policy, which . . . has imparted dignity to those who patiently and persistently fight against communism every day," stated in a pamphlet issued by the National Association of Cuban American Women of the United States, a nonprofit and nonpartisan group whose aim was to protect the rights of minorities and women.[36] Anti-Castro exiles equated support for Reagan with voting against Castro; thus, their pattern of party registration changed dramatically. In June 1979, 49 percent of Hispanic voters in Dade County were registered as Democrats and 39 percent as Republicans. However, in March 1988, 24 percent identified as Democrats and 68 percent as Republicans.[37] Young prospective politicians of Cuban origin followed their supporters and left the Democratic Party. "He [Ronald Reagan] made me a Republican," said Lincoln Diaz-Balart, who was elected as congressman in 1992.[38] This is how the Republican Party earned loyalty from voters and politicians of Cuban origin. The party drew more than 85 percent of their votes in 1980, 1984, and 1988 as Florida became an increasingly competitive swing state in presidential elections.[39]

B. The "Hispanicization" of Miami around the End of the Cold War

Reagan Republicans powerfully swayed Cuban exiles to participate in U.S. politics in the early 1980s. Still, it is noteworthy that these new

citizens had been little acquainted with the U.S. political system and found it difficult to send their representatives to local, state, and national legislatures. These new citizens had to master political skills to win the extremely fierce competitions with Anglos (non-Hispanic whites) and African Americans. Furthermore, they needed to establish a strong political base in South Florida as a stepping stone for climbing the ladder to greater influence in U.S. politics.

Miami urban politics had been long characterized by tri-ethnic politics, in which Anglos, African Americans, and Hispanics played a zero-sum game for power and interests. During the 1980s ethnic tensions among these three groups increased sharply, as local residents encountered a massive influx of Cubans, a severe economic recession, and a dramatic increase in drug use and crime. Furious at such an ignominious social transformation, Anglos passed an anti-bilingual referendum and criticized Cubans for making their lives in Miami difficult and less pleasant. On the other hand, desperate to improve their living conditions, African Americans engaged in destructive racial riots four times in the decade. They thought it unfair that Cubans succeeded economically more rapidly than those who had fought in the Civil Rights Movement; they felt exploited by Anglos and Cubans simultaneously.[40]

It was against this background that Miami Cubans began participating in local politics. In an effort to defend their ethnic community, the exiles first engaged in spontaneous demonstrations and later expanded into more organized formats, such as the Spanish-American League against Discrimination. More important, newly naturalized Cuban Americans voted in large numbers in every election, weighing candidates' party affiliation and ethnicity, supporting candidates who addressed their symbolic needs as well as daily concerns. By such means, anti-Castro exiles began making it a rule to voice their opposition to international communism in the voting booth. It was not surprising that aspirants for elective offices frequently resorted to anti-Castro symbolic performance, leading the Miami City Commission, a *local* legislature, to pass twenty-eight nonbinding resolutions on *foreign affairs* within only sixteen months leading up to May 1983.

Although such performances certainly contributed to anti-Castro exiles' growing familiarity with the U.S. political system, their ethnocentric approach often led to a backlash from those outside the community. In 1981, Manolo Reboso, a Bay of Pigs veteran and a Miami mayoral candidate, went to Washington for a rendezvous with President Reagan.

The purpose of his visit was to be able to show off pictures of himself shaking hands with the president in the Oval Office and thus boost his credentials in the community. This strategy worked well, and local Spanish newspapers printed the picture on their covers, which must have strongly encouraged co-ethnics to vote for him. The picture, however, ultimately backfired because it caused many African American voters to join Reboso's opponents. African Americans in Miami disliked the president and found it difficult to imagine Reboso serving their interests if he were elected.[41] In a tri-ethnic society like Miami in the 1980s, politicians like Reboso encountered a dilemma in ethnic politics: those who worked energetically to appeal to their co-ethnic voters on ethnic issues took the risk of alienating voters outside their own community.

Aspirants for office on a greater political stage thus had to find a method to appeal to voters inside and outside the community simultaneously. The first Cuban American mayor of Miami was Xavier Suarez, a thirty-six-year-old lawyer and graduate of Harvard. Young politicians like Suarez may have lacked charisma and credibility among co-ethnics based on their experiences in anti-Castro activities, but they were skilled at strategizing to win elections by appealing to members of other ethnic groups. Indeed, Suarez learned from his loss in the 1983 mayoral election when he alienated the majority of voters by adopting a "Cuban vote Cuban" message. Two years later he refrained from such slogans and instead appealed to Anglo voters with his clean image, capabilities, fluent English, and Harvard education.[42] The appearance of these young politicians ushered in a new phase in Miami politics. During the 1980s the number of officeholders of Cuban origin in the Miami metropolitan area increased from four to forty. Cuban Americans seized administrative powers in four cities, including the City of Miami.

Around the same time, much like the political machine established by Irish immigrants a century earlier in New York City, Cuban American entrepreneurs and businessmen began pursuing their economic interests by making financial contributions in the hope of receiving various dividends. For instance, they formed the Latin Builder Association to lobby the City of Miami for favors in zoning and bidding for public enterprises, which forced out Anglo rivals. Such practices engendered nearly chronic corruption, but it also enabled businesses to offer employment to newcomers fleeing from Cuba, Nicaragua, and other Latin American countries that were in turmoil.[43] A massive and continuous inflow of these Hispanics in the 1980s energized local politics, as well as the economy

and culture, and put Anglos and African Americans on the defensive. Most notably, the publisher of Miami's principal daily newspaper, the *Miami Herald*, was harshly condemned by anti-Castro exiles as being "too soft" on communism, and the publisher was forced to put out *El Nuevo Herald*, a Spanish version of the newspaper customized for the exile community.[44]

By the time the Cold War ended, Cuban exiles and their descendants had seized hegemony in almost all spheres of life in Miami. Embittered anti-Hispanic political scientist Samuel Huntington later acknowledged that Miami became "the most Hispanic large city in the fifty states."[45] In the realm of national politics, anti-Castro exiles in 1989 successfully took the congressional seat that was vacant because of the death of Claude Pepper, a Democrat, by electing Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, a Republican. She became the first Cuban American and the first Hispanic woman elected to the U.S. Congress. The election in 1989 was full of fierce ethnic antagonisms among Anglos, African Americans, and Hispanics. Nevertheless, with over 90 percent of Cuban American votes, Ros-Lehtinen defeated her competitor, who had supported the English-only movement and received almost 90 percent of both Anglo and African American votes.[46] Following the election of Ros-Lehtinen, there appeared other young politicians of Cuban origin from Miami who came to play a crucial role in state and national politics in the United States.

III. MIAMI CUBANS AND PARTY POLITICS AFTER THE COLD WAR

A. Ethnic Outreach by Clinton Democrats from 1992 to 2000

Although the Cold War ended in 1990, U.S.-Cuban relations remained "frozen." As I and others have discussed elsewhere, anti-Castro exiles and their descendants formed a powerful lobbying group, the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF), to support an antagonistic U.S. policy toward Cuba, hindering a possible thaw in U.S.-Cuban relations in the post–Cold War years.[47] However, it bears emphasizing that anti-Castro exiles maintained their political influence by relying on increased political party activity in South Florida, even as CANF's influence declined.[48] To explain this, it is necessary to observe how the Republican and Democratic Parties responded to Cuban Americans' seizure of power in Miami from the late 1980s onward. The increased party competition for Miami Cubans' votes, I argue, helped to sustain the legacy

of the Cold War that continued to define Cuban American ethnic politics in distinctive ways even in the post–Cold War years.

First of all, the rise of Cuban American ethnic politics contributed significantly to the Republicans' rapid increase in power in the Florida state legislature. Hundreds of thousands of politically active Cuban American voters played a pivotal role in statewide elections. Young politicians of Cuban origin also helped Republicans gather further momentum by taking over the seats held by the incumbent Democrats. Such momentum highly rewarded Jeb Bush, one of the most ardent of those reaching out to Miami Cubans. In 1982, the Republican Party in Florida recruited the son of Vice President George H. W. Bush for outreach efforts to the exiles because he lived in Miami, spoke Spanish, and could use his name recognition on local radio programs.[49] Two years later he became chair of the Dade County Republican Party and was given credit for the close victory of the Republican Party in the 1986 Florida gubernatorial election. He was then appointed by the governor as Florida's secretary of commerce, and he later served as campaign manager for Ros-Lehtinen in her 1989 election. During the vice presidency and presidency of his father, Jeb Bush also served as an important conduit between Miami Cubans and the White House. Although unsuccessful in his bid for the 1994 governorship, he won it in 1998 and served as governor of Florida for eight years, with valuable support from Cuban American voters and politicians both before and after the elections.[50]

Given the growing importance of Cuban American votes in Florida, it is little wonder that the Democratic Party also began intensifying its outreach efforts to Miami Cubans. This was especially important for winning presidential elections, since the party could not afford to keep alienating these voters, whose support was necessary for winning a large number of Electoral College votes in Florida, one of the most decisive swing states. In 1992, Bill Clinton, as the Democratic candidate for president, showed his intention of reaching out to anti-Castro exiles; he met anti-Castro lobbyists in Miami and suddenly endorsed the Cuban Democracy Act, legislation that would reinforce the U.S. embargo against Cuba.[51] Once in power, President Clinton, considering Florida as the most important state for his reelection in 1996, catered to the Cuban policy wishes of anti-Castro exiles, as he candidly admitted in his memoir.[52] Indeed, the president did not embrace all anti-Castro legislation equally wholeheartedly, including the 1996 Helms-Burton Act that further strengthened the U.S. embargo against Cuba, but he basically

maintained the hostile attitude of the United States toward Cuba even while enlarging U.S. economic relations with other Communist countries such as China and Vietnam.[53]

At this point, the Democratic Party gained another advantage over the Republican Party on the issue of immigration. The Republican Party certainly intended to hold on to the Cuban American votes in Florida, but it could not resist the temptation of exploiting anti-immigration sentiments held among non-Hispanic Republican and potential Republican voters in other states. Except for two Cuban American members of Congress, Ros-Lehtinen and Lincoln Diaz-Balart, all the Republican members of the House of Representatives and all of the party's nonincumbent congressional candidates signed the Contract with America. This 1994 Republican policy statement had an intolerant attitude toward immigrant households of Hispanic descent that they claimed were living at the mercy of the welfare state.[54] The leading candidates for the Republican presidential nomination, such as Bob Dole, endorsed the reappearing English-only movement and deepened the GOP's xenophobic image among voters of Hispanic origin. Consequently, President Clinton, running for reelection, received nearly 40 percent of Miami Cubans' votes and won Florida for the Democratic Party for the first time since 1976.[55]

Furthermore, the Democratic Party also began recruiting young politicians of Cuban origin into its ranks. For example, Alex Penelas, a second-generation Cuban exile, became a rising star in the Florida Democratic Party when he became in 1996 the first elected mayor of the newly renamed Miami-Dade County that encompassed several principal cities of South Florida, including Miami. By 2000, the county's population exceeded more than 2.2 million, making it the largest county in Florida demographically and the eighth-most populous county in the United States, with Hispanics making up 57.3 percent of the population.[56] In 1992, when Penelas was the county commissioner in Dade County, he established his anti-Castro credentials among co-ethnics; he sponsored county legislation prohibiting U.S. cargo that anchored in Cuba from entering the port of Miami.[57] Unlike the majority of Cuban American leaders, this young politician chose to join the Democratic Party, yet he encountered few problems as long as the Clinton administration sought to preserve its Cold War–type policy in Cuba.

B. The Elián Affair and the 2000 Presidential Election

The so-called Elián affair reversed all of the above-mentioned trends, for a time at least. This fierce confrontation between the Democratic administration and the exile community ruined Penelas's political career and cost Al Gore the presidency in 2000. On Thanksgiving Day in 1999, Elián González, a five-year-old Cuban boy, was rescued by locals on the U.S. shore. His mother attempted to cross the Florida Straits but lost her life at sea. The child was initially released to his relatives in Miami, but before long, his father in Cuba demanded that Elián be returned home. The Miami relatives fought back with the assistance of numerous Cuban American politicians who strongly supported "Elián's right" to stay in the United States, not the island under the rule of their adversary.

The controversy continued to intensify even after a federal district court's ruling that Elián belonged with his father was upheld by the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals. Despite an order by Attorney General Janet Reno that the boy be returned, Miami relatives and their supporters resisted desperately. In anticipating a showdown between the community and the administration, Miami-Dade mayor Penelas publicly vowed that he would do nothing to assist the administration in its attempt to return the child to Cuba. Having observed the six-months-long crisis, the administration ultimately gave up negotiations and ordered SWAT-equipped border patrol agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to break into the house and take the child from his relatives.[58]

The Elián affair had a catastrophic impact on the exile community in Miami and thereby held significant implications for the 2000 presidential election. The affair powerfully awoke ethnic awareness even among those who would never have paid much attention to their ethnic origin otherwise. Second- and third-generation Cuban Americans joined their parents and grandparents who rallied against the sending of the child back to their traumatized homeland under the Castro regime. The forceful removal of the child shocked and infuriated many Cuban Americans, leading them to rally around their radio spokesmen, who swore revenge against the Clinton administration in the presidential election that was to occur only half a year later. Fearing this development, Vice President Al Gore, the Democratic candidate for president, departed from President Clinton on the issue by supporting legislation that would have endowed Elián with permanent resident status in the United States. Nevertheless, Gore felt he had to stop campaigning in South Florida

when he saw thousands of disappointed Cuban American voters changing their party affiliation and politicians affiliated with his party, including Alex Penelas, avoiding association with him.[59]

In this way, the Republican Party in 2000 was greatly rewarded for its intermittent but decades-long efforts to reach Miami Cubans. Its presidential candidate, George W. Bush, was a politician capable of reaching out to these new voters partly because of his appreciation of the importance of Hispanic votes through his experience as the governor of Texas, a state with a large number of Hispanics. Yet, his biggest victory came in Florida, which he narrowly carried by 537 votes, receiving 82 percent of the approximately 280,000 votes cast by Cuban Americans.[60] On closer inspection, the importance of Cuban American votes looks even clearer: of the three major Florida counties where Clinton increased his gains leading to victory in 1996, Miami-Dade was the only one where the Democratic candidate (Gore) had considerable losses in 2000.[61] Moreover, when the issue of the ballot controversy in Florida ensued after the election, George W. Bush could rely on Cuban American activists to promptly mobilize in his support, while Al Gore could not even contact Penelas, who supposedly could have intervened in the Miami-Dade County ballot controversy in favor of Gore. Four years later the former vice president condemned Penelas in public as "the single most treacherous and dishonest person" he had encountered in his political life.[62]

President George W. Bush acknowledged and rewarded Cuban American Republicans who contributed to his close victory in Florida. In his visit to Miami on May 20, 2002, the president reiterated his opposition to an improvement in U.S.-Cuban relations unless the Castro regime would hold "free elections."[63] In October 2003, the president established the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba (CAFC) to "plan for the happy day when Castro's regime is no more and democracy comes to the island."[64] Furthermore, during his two-term presidency, he appointed a dozen Cuban Americans to high-level government posts.[65] Among them was Mel Martinez, the first Cuban American cabinet member, who served as secretary of housing and urban development. Martinez was a leading fund-raiser in Bush's 2000 presidential campaign in Florida and close to Jeb Bush, the president's younger brother. When Martinez accepted his cabinet seat in the administration, he requested to be given a say on issues related to Cuba, which he described as "an issue of profound importance to my life, one that had been a major motivation for

me to enter politics in the first place."[66] Bush responded affirmatively and later appointed him and Secretary of State Colin Powell co-chairs of CAFC. He, subsequently in 2004, became the first Cuban American elected to the U.S. Senate and the first Hispanic chairman of the Republican Party in November 2006. Martinez announced his retirement in 2009, yet his senatorial seat was taken by Marco Rubio, another Republican and second-generation Cuban American. Skillful in coordinating his campaign, Rubio seized an opportunity to gain endorsement from the rising Tea Party movement and achieved an overwhelming victory in the midterm election of 2010.

CONCLUSION

The process of political incorporation of Cuban exiles, particularly those who entered the United States in the early 1960s, was a unique development. Their political trajectory can only be explained by referring to such interconnected factors as the Cold War, local power struggles, and party politics. First of all, it was the Cold War that profoundly shaped Cuban exiles' worldview and their political attitudes. In collaboration with the U.S. government, the exiles first attempted to topple the Castro regime by force. They failed and had to stay in the United States for a much longer period than expected. Yet their hostility against the regime remained, ultimately to be evoked powerfully by the Reagan administration's fight against communism in Central America and the Caribbean region. As I have stressed, the rise of Cold War tensions in the early 1980s strongly promoted Miami Cubans to rally to the anti-communist flag of Reagan Republicans. In the eyes of anti-Castro exiles working to overthrow the regime, there might have been little contradiction in becoming U.S. citizens and supporting U.S. foreign policy while maintaining ethnic attachment to their homeland. In hindsight, such enthusiastic response to Ronald Reagan in the 1980s by Miami Cubans and the subsequent shift in their party affiliation became the single most important achievement for the Republican Party in its outreach efforts to Latinos in the decade.

While the new Cold War drove Cuban exiles into U.S. politics, local power struggles in South Florida accommodated their fledging ethnic politics in line with the U.S. political system in the later period. Already by the late 1970s, many of these exiles, who were geographically concentrated in the region, obtained U.S. citizenship and succeeded

economically in South Florida. Nevertheless, it was the renewed confidence in the U.S. political system among Cuban exiles that dramatically accelerated "the Hispanicization of Miami" during the 1980s.[67] New citizens of Cuban origin displayed strong interest in election after election and rapidly broadened their political base beyond the ethnic community. During the process, old activists were replaced by young professional politicians who were educated in U.S. institutions, able to speak English fluently, and capable of appealing to both Cuban and non-Cuban residents in Florida.

Along with the Cold War and local power struggles, party politics played an important role in defining the political trajectory of Miami Cubans. The Republican Party poured much energy into its outreach efforts to the exile community and fortunately was able to recruit competent persons like Jeb Bush for such purposes. The significance of these efforts might be clarified if the case of Miami Cubans could be compared with that of Cuban Americans in New Jersey, the state with the next largest Cuban Americans population. In the absence of the Republican Party's intensified efforts at the level observed in Florida, and probably for several other less decisive reasons, the Democratic Party maintained the party loyalty of many of the prominent Cuban American leaders in New Jersey.[68] Still, this does not mean that these leaders have been less interested in Cuba or less passionate in voicing opposition to the Castro regime. For example, Robert Menendez, now a U.S. Senator for New Jersey, has been the most powerful voice within his party against the lifting of the U.S. embargo of Cuba.

Furthermore, the Republican outreach to Miami Cubans brought in a new competition for the hearts and minds of these new voters from the Democrat Party in the later period. Aware of their strategic importance for winning reelection, Bill Clinton, the first U.S. president in the post-Cold War years, made significant efforts to make inroads into the exile community in South Florida and achieved his objective. However, his handling of the Elián Gonzalez affair reminded Cuban Americans of their historical trajectory, leading them to rekindle their fervor against the Castro regime. Once again, the issue of their homeland dominated the minds of anti-Castro Cuban American voters, who demonstrated their accumulated capabilities within the U.S. political system in the 2000 presidential election when they supported George W. Bush. Regardless of Clinton and his intentions, the increased competition for Miami Cubans' votes insured that their rapidly developing ethnic politics

would further enlarge their political importance beyond their community.

By paying special attention to the early 1980s, in this article I have revealed that both U.S. foreign policy and party politics in this period profoundly shaped ethnic awareness among Cuban exiles and that this sense of self-understanding significantly outlined their political activities thereafter. The Elián affair and the 2000 election clearly illustrates that ethnic politics evolved not only in response to changing external circumstances but also in ways constrained by the past trajectory. Perhaps this is the principal reason why many Cuban exiles have demonstrated remarkably different political orientations from other Latinos to this day. In the case of Miami Cubans' encounter with American political life, it can be characterized by the political nature of their migration to the United States, the highly politicized formation of their ethnic awareness, and the intensive outreach efforts from both the Republican and Democratic Parties. Their experiences have been certainly without parallel when compared to those of other immigrants from Latin America.

Nevertheless, this is not to say that ethnic politics did not develop within the evolving context of the larger society. A growing number of new Hispanic immigrants, both Cuban and non-Cuban, have entered South Florida since the 1990s. Together with a new generation of Miami Cubans, they have begun transforming political configurations in the region. In response, the Democratic Party has once again intensified its efforts to seize Republican strongholds in South Florida by attracting the support of these new voters. Moreover, although U.S.-Cuban relations have been locked in a hostile confrontation, U.S.–Latin American relations in the post–Cold War era appear to be moving in a new direction, albeit slowly and incrementally. Cuban American ethnic politics will ultimately have to be reexamined in light of these new developments. Such efforts will be of great use for analyzing the dynamic interaction of U.S. foreign policy with ethnic politics as well as projecting the future political trajectory of Miami Cubans.

NOTES

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[1] According to the Oxford English Dictionary, there is no clear difference between "Hispanics" and "Latinos." Persons of Latin American origin in the United States can voluntarily use or refuse the one or the other, or even both. In 1997, the U.S. government adopted both of them for official use. Although there remains a controversy about the terminology, here I will use Hispanics and Latinos interchangeably.

[2] See for example, Rodney E. Hero, *Latinos and the U.S. Political System: Two-Tiered Pluralism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); Lisa García Bedolla, *Fluid Borders: Latino Power, Identity, and Politics in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). For case studies see, F. Chris Garcia, ed., *Latinos and the Political System* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988); and Rodolfo Espino, David Leal, and Kenneth J. Meier, eds., *Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization, and Representation* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008).

[3] On the growing attention to the Latino electorate from the Republican and Democratic Parties, see Louis DeSipio, *Counting on the Latino Vote: Latinos as a New Electorate* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1996); Stacey L. Connaughton, *Inviting Latino Voters: Party Messages and Latino Party Identification* (New York: Routledge, 2005); and Marisa A. Abranjano, *Campaigning to the New American Electorate: Advertising to Latino Voters* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

[4] On the earlier writings, see Rodolfo O. de la Garza and Louis DeSipio, eds., *From Rhetoric to Reality: Latino Politics in the 1988 Elections* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992); Rodolfo O. de la Garza, Martha Menchaca, and Louis DeSipio, eds., *Barrio Ballots: Latino Politics in the 1990 Election* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1994); Rodolfo O. de la Garza and Louis DeSipio, eds., *Ethnic Ironies: Latino Politics in the 1992 Elections* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996); Rodolfo O. de la Garza and Louis DeSipio, eds., *Awash in the Mainstream: Latino Politics in the 1996 Elections* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1999); and Rodolfo O. de la Garza and Louis DeSipio, eds., *Muted Voices: Latinos and the 2000 Elections* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005).

[5] Rodolfo O. de la Garza, "Latino Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science* 7 (2004): 116.

[6] For the population and other statistical profiles of Cuban Americans, see Pew Hispanic Center, "Hispanics of Cuban Origin in the United States, 2009," May 26, 2011, http://pewhispanic.org/files/factsheets/73.pdf (accessed August 8, 2011).

[7] For the standard literature on Cuban American politics, see Dario Moreno, "Cuban Americans in Miami Politics: Understanding the Cuban Model," in *The Politics of Minority Coalitions: Race, Ethnicity, and Shared Uncertainties*, ed. Wilbur C. Rich (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996), 127–45.

[8] Judson M. DeCew, Jr., "Hispanics," in *Florida's Politics and Government*, ed. Manning J. Dauer (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1980), 321–30.

[9] The two archives in Miami, the Cuban Heritage Collection, University of Miami Libraries, and the Special Collections, Florida International University Libraries(hereafter cited as SC-FIU), provided many published and unpublished documents that proved beneficial for writing this article. For my analysis of U.S. Cuban policy based on the Reagan administration's documents, see Hideaki Kami, "The Ebb and Flow of Cold War Tensions: The U.S. Government and Anti-Castro Exiles from 1980 to 1992," *Pacific*

and American Studies 11 (March 2011): 51–71. For presidential speeches and party platforms, I rely on the American Presidency Project website, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ (hereafter cited as APP; all accessed February 27, 2011).

[10] For the periodization of the Cold War, see Robert J. McMahon, *The Cold War: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). For detailed analysis on Cuban exiles' participation in U.S. Cuban policy, see Kami, "Ebb and Flow."

[11] For U.S. Cuban policy, see Lars Schoultz, *That Infernal Little Cuban Republic: The United States and the Cuban Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), chaps. 4–10; and Morris Morley and Chris McGillion, *Unfinished Business: America and Cuba after the Cold War, 1989–2001* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Important books about socioeconomic and cultural components of Miami Cubans' self-identification include: María Cristina García, *Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959–1994* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Guillermo J. Grenier and Alex Stepick III, eds., *Miami Now! Immigration, Ethnicity, and Social Change* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992); Alex Stepick, Guillermo Grenier, Max Castro, and Marvin Dunn, *This Land Is Our Land: Immigrant and Power in Miami* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Guillermo J. Grenier and Lisandro Pérez, *The Legacy of Exile: Cubans in the Unites States* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2003); Gerald E. Poyo, *Cuban Catholics in the United States, 1960–1980: Exile and Integration* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007); and Susan E. Eckstein, *The Immigrant Divide: How Cuban Americans Changed the U.S. and Their Homeland* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

[12] UPI, "Raul Castro Rallies People," *New York Times* (hereafter cited as *NYT*), July 23, 1961.

[13] Maria de los Angeles Torres, *In the Land of Mirrors: Cuban Exile Politics in the Unites States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 50–54.

[14] García, *Havana USA*, 30–35.

[15] Felix Masud-Piloto, *From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants: Cuban Migration to the U.S., 1959–1995* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1996), 61–66.

[16] Sheila L. Croucher, *Imagining Miami: Ethnic Politics in a Postmodern World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1997), chap. 4; Torres, *In the Land of Mirrors*, 73–77.

[17] Silvia Pedraza-Bailey, *Political and Economic Migrants in America: Cubans and Mexicans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 41.

[18] Raymond Mohl, "Miami: The Ethnic Cauldron," in *Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth since World War II*, ed. Richard M. Bernard and Bradley R. Rice (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 71.

[19] See, their *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 107.

[20] Alejandro Portes and Robert L. Bach, *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the Unites States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 203.

[21] Mohl, "Miami," 78.

[22] Barry B. Levine, "Miami: The Capital of Latin America," *Wilson Quarterly* 9, no. 5 (1985): 47–69.

[23] García, *Havana USA*, 113–14.

[24] Ibid., 137–45; Torres, *In the Land of Mirrors*, 100–102.

[25] David W. Engstrom, *Presidential Decision Making Adrift: The Carter Administration and the Mariel Boatlift* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997).

[26] Portes and Stepick, *City on the Edge*, chap. 2.

[27] On Radio Martí, see Kami, "Ebb and Flow," 61–63.

[28] National Security Decision Directive 110A, 23 October 1983.

[29] *Zig-Zag*, November 9, 1983. Although I tried to contact the publisher of the magazine for permission to reproduce the image, I could not reach him. The magazine is to be found in Cuban Archive, box 25, SC-FIU.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Democratic Party Platform of 1984, APP, July 16, 1984.

[32] Rodolfo O. de la Garza, et al., *Latino Voices: Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban Perspectives on American Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992), 2–4.

[33] Whereas Castro's Cuba declared national independence on January 1, 1959, anti-Castro exiles claim that the country became independent on May 20, 1902.

[34] Ronald Reagan, APP, May 20, 1983.

[35] "Nuestra Opinion: Lo de Cuba es Primero," *La Nación*, September 30, 1983.

[36] Letter, Ana María Perera to the president with Brochure of National Association of Cuban American Women of the U.S.A., July 29, 1981, no. 034899, Federal Government Organizations 006–01, WHORM: Subject File, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library (hereafter cited as RRL). Translation is mine.

[37] Dario Moreno and Christopher Warren, "The Conservative Enclave: Cubans in Florida," in de la Garza and DeSipio, *From Rhetoric to Reality*, 132.

[38] Jay Nordlinger, "Meet the Diaz-Balarts: A Couple of Castro's 'Nephews'—in Congress," *National Review*, March 10, 2003.

[39] For the figures, see García, *Havana USA*, 146, 156.

[40] John F. Stack Jr. and Christopher L. Warren, "The Reform Tradition and Ethnic Politics: Metropolitan Miami Confronts the 1990s," in Grenier and Stepick, *Miami Now!*, 171–73.

[41] R. A. Zaldivar, "Picture This: Reboso at the White House," *Miami Herald* (hereafter cited as *MH*), November 7, 1981; "Reagan apoya a Reboso ofrecio ayuda federal," *Patria*, November 6, 1981.

[42] See esp., George Volsky, "Cuban Refugee Elected Mayor in Miami Vote," *NYT*, November 13, 1985.

[43] Portes and Stepick, *City on the Edge*, chap. 7.

[44] Stepick, *This Land Is Our Land*, 45–50.

[45] Samuel Huntington, *Who Are We?: The Challenges to America's National Identity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004), 247–51.

[46] In this election Cuban Americans had a much higher turnout than the other two groups. See esp., Ronnie Ramos, "Ros-Lehtinen Refuses to Debate 'Racist' Foe," *MH*, August 18, 1989; Jeffrey Schmalz, "Ethnic Split Fuels Miami Campaign," *NYT*, August 29, 1989.

[47] See Kami, "Ebb and Flow"; Schoultz, *Little Cuban Republic*; and Morley and McGillion, *Unfinished Business*.

[48] Although scholars of ethnic lobbies predicted that the Cuban American lobby would lose its influence, they often failed to see the momentum of anti-Castro electoral politics. For example, see Eric M. Uslaner, "American Interests in the Balance?: Do Ethnic Groups Dominate Foreign Policy Making?" in *Interest Group Politics*, 7th ed., ed. Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2007).

[49] Helga Silva, "A Bush by Any Name Is Just Good," *MH*, May 21, 1982.

[50] Jeb Bush often lobbied on behalf of Miami Cubans, expressed his views on Cuban policy, and forwarded letters from Cuban American individuals to the administration. At times, he also informed his father of Republicans' efforts to reach out to Miami Cubans. For example, Letter from Jeb Bush to George H. W. Bush, n.d. (signature of

"GB" dated May 16, 1982) with an attached study report, "Focus Group, April 12, 1982, Cuban American Perceptions, Dade County, Florida," in Name File, "Jeb and George Bush," Office of Vice President George Bush, Bush Vice Presidential Records, George H. W. Bush presidential library (hereafter cited as GHWBL). A dozen other correspondences can be found in RRL and GHWBL.

[51] Clinton's endorsement caught the incumbent president George H. W. Bush by surprise, leading him to declare his support for the legislation even though he would not have wished to do so otherwise. On Clinton's motives, see Patrick J. Haney and Walt Vanderbush, *The Cuban Embargo: The Domestic Politics of and American Foreign Policy* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 88–89.

[52] Bill Clinton, *My Life* (New York: Knopf, 2004), 727.

[53] For Clinton's Cuban policy, see Schoultz, *Cuban Republic*, chap. 13. On the Helms-Burton Act, see Patrick J. Kiger, *Squeeze Play: The United States, Cuba, and the Helms-Burton Act* (Washington, DC: Center for Public Integrity, 1997); and Joaquín Roy, *Cuba, the United States, and the Helms-Burton Doctrine: International Reactions* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2000).

[54] For the text of the Contract with America, see the U.S. House website, http://www.house.gov/house/Contract/CONTRACT.html (accessed February 27, 2011).

[55] Dario Moreno and Christopher Warren, "Pragmatism and Strategic Realignment in the 1996 Election: Florida's Cuban Americans," in de la Garza and DeSipio, *Awash in the Mainstream*, 218–20.

[56] U.S. Census Bureau, American FactFinder, http://factfinder.census.gov/home/saff/main.html?_lang=en (accessed February 27, 2011).

[57] Penelas appeared at the House hearing on the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992 and submitted his legislation for the record. House Committee on Ways and Means, *Cuban Democracy Act of 1992; and Withdrawal of MFN Status from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Trade of the Committee on Ways and Means*, 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., August 10, 1992.

[58] For analysis of the Elián affair, see Grenier and Pérez, *Legacy of Exile*, chap. 8; and Lillian Guerra, "Elián González and the 'Real Cuba' of Miami: Visions of Identity, Exceptionality, and Divinity," *Cuban Studies* 38 (2007): 1–25.

[59] See esp., Elaine de Valle, "Cuban Exiles Sadly Resigned to Elián's Fate Protest Vote against Democratic White House Urged in November," *MH*, July 24, 2000; and David Adams, "Elián Swings Cuban Voters Back to GOP," *St. Petersburg Times*, November 5, 2000.

[60] Andrés Oppenheimer, "Growing Hispanic Vote among the Big Election Winners," *MH*, November 9, 2000.

[61] Kevin A. Hill and Dario Moreno, "Battleground Florida," in de la Garza and DeSipio, *Muted Voices*, 220.

[62] Beth Reinhard, "Gore Says Penelas Betrayed Democrats," *MH*, June 6, 2004.

[63] Remarks on the 100th Anniversary of Cuban Independence in Miami, Florida, APP, May 20, 2002.

[64] Remarks on Cuba, APP, October 10, 2003.

[65] Pete Kasperowicz, *The Bush Administration, Cuba, and the Cuban-American Lobby* (Washington, DC: Center for National Policy, April 2002).

[66] Although Martinez lived in Orlando, Florida, not Miami, he also left the Democratic Party to join the Republican Party during the Reagan era. See his biography, Mel Martinez, *A Sense of Belonging: From Castro's Cuba to the U.S. Senate, One Man's Pursuit of the American Dream*, with Ed Breslin (New York: Crown Forum, 2008), esp.

218 (for a quote). Also see, Richard E. Foglesong, *Immigrant Prince: Mel Martinez and the American Dream* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011).

[67] Huntington, *Who Are We?* 247.

[68] For Cubans in New Jersey, see Yolando Prieto, *The Cubans of Union City: Immigrants and Exiles in a New Jersey Community* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2009).