Cuban Tourism, Sex and Displacement

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> Ours is a national history of betrayals, uprisings, desertions, conspiracies, riots, *coups d'etat*; all of them provoked by infinite ambition, abuse, despair, false pride, and envy. Two attitudes, two personalities, always seem to be in conflict throughout our history: on the one hand, the incurable rebels, lovers of freedom and therefore of creativity and experimentation; and on the other, the power-hungry opportunists and demagogues, and thus purveyors of dogma, crime, and the basest of ambitions.
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> Reinaldo Arenas, *Before Night Falls.*

It has been the fate of islands like Cuba to be condemned first to the production of sugar and then to tourism. It has also been the fate of islands like Cuba to be marked by deception, consumerism, and the particular displacements which tourist economies produce. It has also been the fate of islands like Cuba to offer foreign tourists immense freedom while its own population's labor fills the coffers of tourism investors all the while struggling economically and politically to secure some of the same freedoms offered up to tourists and to apply the enormous wealth generated by the economy of leisure toward the most basic of needs among the population.

This piece traces the rise of Cuban tourism following U.S. occupation in 1898. It follows the tourism booms that marked all aspects of Cuban poltical life during the Twentieth Century. The establishing of Cuba as a travel destination following U.S. occupation required the reinvention of the island as a place where tourists and particularly U.S. citizens would find "freedom." This promise of "freedom" offered up to those who visited, and invested in, Cuba also seductiviely included unlimited romance, and in particular the promise of Cuban bodies as pleasantly servile and sexually available. Ultimately Cuban tourism depended on the illusion of being in a foreign and exotic locale yet safe and sound in an atmosphere that was "just like home." This seductive power of this illusion required the policing of a locale where the visitor held more power then the native. Tourism ultimately defined what it meant to be Cuban and nationalists seeking to promote Cuban independence and freedom from U.S. occupation and political intervention, were circumscribed by what tourism had defined as *lo cubano*. The nationalists' creation of what was "Cuban" was shaped in direct opposition to the tourism economy, and in opposition to this market was forged a mid-Twentieth Century revolution and the revolutionary attempt to secure a "Free Cuba."

The U.S. occupation of Cuba and imposition of the Platt Amendment[1] secured the wealth of U.S. citizens conducting business in Cuba. As the number of U.S. owned hotels multiplied across the island and U.S. citizens dominated key sectors of the island's economy, tourism emerged as one of the largest industries of the island. As early as 1914, U.S. railroad interests, shipping executives, hotel operators, and retail merchants formed the Cuban Commercial Association specifically with the purpose of attracting foreign travel to Cuba.[2] At

the end of the nineteenth century, U.S. investments in Cuba reached $50 million and by 1919, encouraged by U.S. bankers, entrepreneurs, and government officials, Cuban legislation established a national committee to promote tourism and by the 1920s U.S. investment in Cuba, and particularly in Cuban tourism had risen to $1.3 billion.[3] As the number of U.S. tourists increased steadily during the first two decades of the twenty-first century, tourism emerged as one the island's main economic development strategies.[4] Tourism was set up to become the island's new "crop" as tourism promoters envisioned thousands of visitors who would spend their dollars in Cuba's hotels, restaurants, shops, and nightclubs throughout the island.[5] This second crop was crucial in maintaining the economy during the years of cyclical booms and busts that the Cuban sugar industry experienced between 1910-1935 (Schwartz 1991).[6]

Much as Columbus' "discovery" transformed Europe economically and politically, so too did the discovery of tourism as an industry in the Caribbean invoked the imagination of the West with the promise of great beauty, as much pleasure as was humanly possible, and the total freedom to do as one pleased. Leisure travel to Cuba following U.S. occupation became possible due to the availability of faster methods of transportation between the U.S. and Cuba. But it was also the allure of the destination, the promised of profound freedom which motivated travelers seeking to be away from the social restrictions of home yet close enough to feel "safe" (Schwartz 1997, 31). Tourism during this period also enabled U.S. tourists to raise their social status at home in this display of income spent for leisure by traveling and by realizing fantasies of erotic freedom in particular. Caren Kaplan has written that some tourists derive secret pleasure from posing momentarily as members of a social class superior to their own, to playing the role of 'shopper' and spender whose life was significant and exciting (Kaplan 1996, 58). One advertisement asserted: "Cuba. So near and so friendly is a storehouse of inexhaustible sun and gaiety for Americans… It might be said that nature has purposely placed this Holiday Isle of the Tropics at the door of the great American nation for the pleasure, repose and health of its inhabitants."[7] Not only did the travel restrictions to Europe during World Wars I and II make Cuba an ideal alternative for vacationers,[8] but by the late 1920s up to eighty thousand tourists were steadily visiting Cuba each year as the number of Americans with the resources to engage in relatively inexpensive leisure travel increased yearly (Schwartz 1991; Perez 1999, 166). By relying on airplanes, railroads, cars, as well as modern and clean hotels and restaurants, U.S. citizens became a part of a travel revolution that transformed Cuba, and particularly the city of Havana, into a tourist Mecca (Schwartz) where all the pleasures of the "primitive" as well as the power differentials of the colonial were made available and entertaining. During these years as the number of tourists increased, Havana's newspapers encouraged public monies to be spent on transportation facilities and the building of attractions with which to draw in tourists, while also urging the government to

clean the streets to ensure that tourists regarded Havana as a comfortable, healthy, and exciting city (Schwartz 1997, 108).

Ultimately U.S. cultural forms and via these U.S. "standards" were reassembled in Cuba with food products and brands U.S. citizens recognized, and with services and entertainment in English. As part of a continuing colonial discourse and to meet the desire of tourists for English language facilities theaters in Havana reopened in 1899 under American names and by the 1920s hotels, cabarets, and entertainment houses contracted vaudeville acts, minstrel shows, and burlesque companies from the United States. Pandering to foreign tastes, tourism promoters created or radically transformed all manner of cultural celebrations into opportunities with which to entertain tourists. To meet the desire for the foreign and the exotic, Cuba was marketed as offering a trip back to a simpler time without sacrificing modernity and providing safe access to the exotic (Perez 1999,173). For Cubans caught within the web of an expanding tourism economy and the increasing presence of U.S. advertising and consumption culture, feature stories specifically crafted for Cuban citizens contained advertisements for Nestlé chocolate, Orange Crush soda, Palmolive soap, Goodyear tires, and Listerine mouthwash. American music was played constantly on Cuban radio, with some stations such as CMOX eventually devoting the entirety of its programming to this. (Collazo 1987, 134).

As such, if a haircut was needed it was easy to find the *barber shop* or the *beauty shop*. To cope with the temperatures by way of an *helado,* tourists came to order instead an ice cream, and if Cuban domestic workers wanted to buy black beans for the meal of their U.S. employer, the "grocery store" awaited. The highway eventually became decorated with billboards of Good Rich and U.S. Royal and for the next Shell station, and by the middle of the century, at every cross road, Coca-Cola advertisements. Travelers were not only comforted by the familiarity which replicated "American" foods, services, and language provided, they were also seduced and motivated by the promise of equal amounts of sunshine, sex, and rum within an exotic and "foreign" atmosphere. The success of Cuban tourism depended precisely on this paradox of being away while having the comforts of home, on the availability of things familiar and the allure of things "foreign." Designed to meet the desire for a sense of 'being away,' tourism marketers created elaborate publicity campaigns which presented Havana as the "Paris of the Western Hemisphere," the "Riviera of the Caribbean: Advertising in the U.S. declared the *Gran Casino Nacional* as the "Monte Carlo of Latin America" (Perez 1999, 179). The availability of "American" food and commodities in a quaint tropical paradise where it was also known that the U.S. government exerted control added to the sense of safety U.S. citizens enjoyed. Moreover, English names prevailed and Cuban entrepreneurs often hired white U.S. citizens to run their facilities specifically to increase the sense of familiarity for tourists. Cuban and Spanish owned hotels included the Hotel Chicago, Hotel Pennsylvania, Hotel Manhattan, and the Hotel Ohio. The Hotel Almendares

promised “efficient American-style service” (Perez 1999, 171). “So near and yet so foreign,” proclaimed a popular tourist postcard. This was the background and setting which tourists sought and which was always conceived as ambience.

It was just this combination of the foreign and the familiar, the old with the new, that was at the heart of Cuban tourism’s success. However, I propose that more than the facile transportation or the comfort of finding services, goods and entertainment in English, or even the comfort of being in a place that was “so near and yet so foreign,” tourists were drawn to Cuba for their ability to freely act out behaviors which were repressed “back home” (such as drinking or engaging in “romances” with people of color) without any repercussions. The ability to freely “act out” was one factor which significantly motivated travel to Cuba and which gave Cuban tourism one of its most important and defining characteristics, especially during the years of Prohibition.[9] The enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment in January 1920 that forbade the sale and consumption of alcohol in the United States also expanded the ranks of tourists to Cuba. Rum smuggling developed into a major industry during Prohibition (1920-1933), with many Americans arriving in their own boats at Barlovento (today the Marina Hemingway) west of Havana buying large quantities of liquor for personal use or to sell clandestinely upon their return (Moore). This factor alone brought U.S. citizens to drink, to gamble and to have to sex within a context that promised as much choice as any traveler could stand.

Tourism guide books and pamphlets played a crucial role in promoting Cuba as an island which could provide unlimited freedom and in slanting the appeal of ‘all things Cuban.’ The expectations tourism guide books created among visitors also meant that the definition of what was “Cuban culture” or “the Cuban character” was being defined most powerfully through English-language travel literature.[10] If the tourist traversed boundaries, they were boundaries which they participated in creating. The tourist confirmed and legitimated the social reality of constructions such as “First” and “Third” Worlds, “development” and “underdevelopment.” Although English language travel accounts of Cuba had their antecedents during the colonial period, the early twentieth century tourism guidebooks which promoted Cuban tourism not only were published in greater numbers and a variety of styles, but central to their appeal was the colonial legacy which fueled the notion that Cuba existed specifically, and for almost no other purpose, then for the pleasure of tourists and the benefit of the U.S.

Image makers covered up Cubas reality, which was plagued with unemployment and political unrest, and instead created a site where there were friendly and peaceful natives, a dreamlike Cuba personified as a smiling, luxuriant tropical land where romance, beautiful women, and tropical soft music filled nights and the enchantments of Cuban culture awaited visitors (Rosalie Schwartz, xx). All the while the exaltation of things “Cuban” so thoroughly passed into the popular imagination that the Cuba created for tourist consumption was chic, was in vogue. Cuban music and that vague substance

known as "Cuban atmosphere" became the rage of smart circles in the U.S. Travel guides, for one, tourists openly discussed the allure of all things "Cuban," and particularly encouraged to "by all means and any means become acquainted with its women."[11] Travelogues reported that the young girls of Havana were radiant, good-looking, chic, expertly flirtatious, and in "every other house a seductive *señorita* is at the door or window, with extended hand or winsome voice urging you in Spanish or broken English to forsake the counsel of your mother's Bible."[12] The term *senorita* was no longer a marker of purity or a Spanish titling of the legitimate and propertied, it was instead crudely translated into a term that merely meant "girl" and that became highly sexualized within the context of U.S. tourism. Accounts typically articulated the beauty of the land, and its people, in explicitly racial terms.[13] Basil Woon's travel accounts in *When It's Cocktail Time in Cuba* (1928), described in detail the "dark, seductive beauty" of Havana. Sydney Clark (1954) asserted that there were

> thousands of young girls of shopgirl class and lower, their complexions like petals of some unknown flower between pink and brown, their figures as dainty as a midsummer-night's dream, and their breasts are generously rounded, in the abundant manner of the tropics. [14]

Historically the most enduring images of Cuba, through innuendo and insinuation have been that of the island as a convenient site for sex which was coded by the use of the word "romance:" A chance encounter, a flirtatious fling, a sexual adventure. The opportunities were said to be everywhere, and described as a "deadly magic" which permeates the very air which flows through the city, inescapable and inseparable. The promise of "romance" with Cuban women, and men, was itself a subtext of the tourist narrative.[15] Cuba was the site of open sex with black women, exotic and mysterious, primitive and carnal, passionate and governed by libidinal impulses and as such the representations of Cuba as a "lovable prostitute" were common and long lasting. Descriptions of brothels routinely appeared in newspapers and tourist guide books. And, all repeated the same diagnosis. Cuba, proclaimed the *Saturday Evening Post* (March 28, 1953 pp32-33), was one of the world's most sinful cities. *Time Magazine* described Havana as "one of the world's fabled fleshpots" (April 21, 1952. p. 38) and *Variety* reported that, "Havana is prepared to put on any kind of show a Yankee from home might desire." Within these guidebooks such as *Terry's Guide to Cuba* (1929) travelers were instructed on just how exactly to find Havana's brothels. Adolph Roberts recommended the services available on Virtudes Street, where the "institutions" were air-conditioned, well furnished and drinks were offered at moderate prices (Perez 1999). Sydney Clark recommended two sites, the first on Oficios Street[16] where, "prostitutes, mostly white or near-white display their trade with conscientious zeal, greeting any in

coming male as though he were a dear friend from childhood days." And the other on Paula Street, was described as "a red light district of black hue, where burly Negresses call raucous invitations to passing males and clutch at their sleeves."[17]

Themes of sex and seduction recurred in the lyrics of popular music. The Marion Sunshine and Moises Simons's lyric to the song "Cuban Belle"[18] stated that:

When she starts to sway
All I can say, is well, well, well….
Oh, it's hard to tell, where she gets her spell,
But believe it or not, a spell she's got this Cuban belle.
She's got rumba on her hips, Bacardi on her lips
But her foot it never slips, Cuba to her finger tips:
Take Garbo to dine with you, and Joan Crawford bring her too.
Long before the evening' through
You'll be telephoning who?

Cuban women here were imagined as always available, as sexually adventurous as well as "beautiful," and although there are more "appropriate" women to select from, the Cuban belle will surely answer the call. These sexual possibilities were continually repeated within the representations of Cuba as a tourism site. As such Cuba became forever associated with sensual indulgence and moral abandon. Ernest Hemingway openly stated that he liked Cuba because it had "both fishing and fucking."[19] John Sayles described this pre revolutionary epoch in his novel *Los Gusanos* (1991) as being a time when there were brothels such as the Casa de Rock, "where boys from the University of Miami would come to fuck little blonde Cuban girls who spoke good English and wore ponytails and blue jeans just like the little blonde girls they were afraid to fuck back home." This was the Havana of bordellos and squalid brothels, of sex on the streets, on stage, and on the screen, of pornographic theaters like the Shanghai Theater and the Tokio Cabaret[20] which advertised: "Come when you like, do what you please, and let your conscience be your guide" (Perez 1999, 193). Many found in Cuba the perfect "Other": foreign but familiar, a tropical escape only hours from home which allowed the traveler to ignore conventions, a place to live dangerously but without truly taking risks; ultimately a place to pillage affordably, to reenact racial scenes of subjection.[21]

The capital city of Havana became an easy referent for, a hyper sexual body and a nation. To go to Havana was the same as going to Cuba. To enjoy Cuba was to expect pleasure from, and to exercise sexual freedom over its inhabitants. During the early twentieth century the mention of Cuban women, and the city of Havana, were often quick referents for pleasure. And, these tropes/themes extended well beyond travel guides, advertisements, magazines, poems or songs—and found their way into motion pictures. The sights, sounds, and sexual freedom Cuba offered, both real and imagined, served as a

Hollywood staple for decades. Between the 1930s and the 1950s Cuba was the setting of scores of films which focused on the sensuality of the Cuban "spitfire," and these included such films as *The Girl from Havana* (1929), *Under Cuban Skies* (1930), *Cuban Love Song* (1931), *Havana Widows* (1933), *Weekend in Havana* (1941), *Moonlight in Havana* (1942), *Cuban Pete and Club Havana* (1946), *Holiday in Havana* (1949), *Havana Rose and Cuban Fireball* (1951), *Santiago* (1956), *Affair in Havana* (1957), and *Pier 5 Havana* (1959).

This was the heyday of good living in Cuba for both American tourists and the wealthy residing on the island, when the whole country was "a cheap and bountiful mistress" (Andrei Codrescu 1999). The city of Havana was "like a woman in love, eager to give pleasure, she will be anything you want her to be – exciting or peaceful, gay or quiet, brilliant or tranquil. What is your fancy? She is only too anxious to anticipate your desires, to charm you with her beauty," insisted travel writer Consuelo Hermer and Marjorie May in *Havana Mañana: A Guide to Cuba and the Cubans* (New York, 1941). Or, as Milton Guss (1957) stated, "La Habana strikes me as a gal with a split personality. By day she can be a reserved lady and by night she can remove her *mantilla* and really let her hair down." Ultimately diagnosing Havana, and by implication Cuban women, as having "a split personality" made it all the more possible to take advantage of the island and its people. After all, such a "condition" made the island available yet deviant, simultaneously desirable and deplorable. Such imaginings maintained a tension between fascination and disgust which fueled the tourism economy that U.S. occupation had created. The romance with Cuba was but a desire to re-enact a context where bodies were unequally exchanged, and where sexual, as well as moral, boundaries crossed in "re-enactments" of unadulterated freedom, it also collapsed all Cuban women as being, whether they were conscious of it or not, for sale.

The Cuba which U.S. occupation built had a considerable number of brothels that were owned and operated by foreigners and by Cubans alike. According to historian Louis Perez the estimated number of prostitutes in Havana increased from 4,000 in 1912 to 7,400 in 1931. By the late 1950s about 270 brothels operated in Havana, with more than 11,500 women working as prostitutes.[22] Havana pimps populated their operations by using young rural-to-urban migrants who worked as poorly paid maids in middle-class homes during the day.[23] The operations of these establishments occurred with the sanctioning of both the island government and the U.S. government, yet historians, such as Louis A. Perez, have argued that prostitution, especially during the republican period, was largely a function of Cuba's own patriarchal society. However, patriarchy, or the rule of the father/male, or the cultural predetermination/predisposition such a hypothesis implies ignores other important factors leading Cuban women to exchange sex for cash. Such a focus on patriarchy ultimately ignores the impact of an economy governed by foreign rule and investment, and defined by local corruption and devastating nepotism.

The theory that Cuban patriarchy would be at the core of pre-Revolutionary sex work also ignores the hypocritical moral stance of politicians who from time to time visited the brothels, and who from time to time staged roundups which were then publicized in news papers as evidence of the government's crackdown on prostitution (Schwartz, 98). In reality policemen made their rounds daily to collect an informal "tax" from not only brothels but all types of establishments, a practice which Cubans called *el forrajeo*. Havana's houses of prostitution paid the local police, on a sliding scale according to the number of clients and the house's fee scale. The most active and luxurious establishments paid between two thousand and five thousand U.S. dollars per night (Schwartz, 137). Payments in cash and merchandise were given to petty officers at the precinct level and these payments rose up the chain of command. Policemen in patrol cars extracted daily payments from prostitutes, drug traffickers, and gambling operations which ultimately guaranteed a form of patronage (Schwartz, 137). It was this widespread extortion that fed the sense of alienation and injustice that many Cubans experienced while foreign investors and a small number of political families were making fortunes from Cuba's tourism economy (Schwartz, 91).[24] Between 1926 and 1937, an average of 120,000 tourists visited Cuba each year, except for a brief slump during the worst periods of Machadato violence.[25] In 1936 over 150,000 tourists came to Cuba, and in the following year over 170,000. Tourists in the winter months consisted largely of families avoiding northern temperatures, while in the summer off-season months, more single men arrived interested in gambling, drinking, and prostitution (Moore, 184).

While a handful of politically well connected white Cuban families made fortunes from tourism and other investments, for most of the republican period the Cuban economy as a whole floundered and the unemployment rate rose while wages plummeted. During the 1930s along with the difficulties brought on by the depression in Cuba, widespread corruption and an indecisive leadership hindered the political system (Perez-Stable, 6). In the midst of great suffering rose an attempt to remove the brutal dictatorship of Gerardo Machado and implement a program of nationalist social and economic measures which would improve life for Cubans. In the depths of a major economic depression action groups soon waged a violent struggle against the dictatorship of Machado (1925-33). Dissidents of President Machado's regime focused on the highly visible alliance between a corrupt and increasingly repressive leadership and foreign interests. Their strategy was to disrupt the economy that had been built on the illusion of Cuba as a paradise for tourists. As such, while tourists dined under colorful umbrellas, strolled through the quaint streets in old colonial Havana, and browsed for souvenirs in the markets,[26] Cuban citizens participated in street demonstrations and labor stoppages. As tourism emerged as a sight for Cubans to address inequalities and as demonstrators increasingly became threats to the tourism industry, Machado, in response, ordered demonstrating workers murdered and assassinated students who organized protests (Schwartz 1997).

The U.S. also responded forcefully in order to tame what it saw as an uncivilized, unpredictable, and rebellious uprising. Ultimately, internal divisions among the revolutionaries and the U.S.'s hostile plans for military intervention,[27] brought an end to the uprising of nationalists that had defeated Machado and which, with much sacrifice and bloodshed, had in 1934 achieved the abrogation of the Platt Amendment. According to Samuel Farber (1976), the impact of the Revolution of 1933 was significant on future generations of Cuban intellectuals and political activists. Although the revolution "failed," political and economic agendas changed radically during the rest of the decade; if during the 1940s there were once again high levels of corruption and political nepotism under the dominant Auténtico Party,[28] which also relied on political violence, gangsterism, and corruption[29] this further reduced Cubans' faith in a political system that would seek the well being of Cuban citizens. None-the-less, the 1933 revolt inspired a new generation of nationalists and the level of disappointment and oppression under which Cubans were subsisting facilitated the coup d'état launched by Fulgencio Batista in March 1952 (Farber, 119).[30]

Unfortunately, Batista's government did not solve the problem of corruption or the island's dependence on tourism and instead inaugurated seven years of an increasingly repressive government. From March 1952 until January 1959, Cubans were in the grip of a corrupt military dictatorship as well as a far flung economy of commercialized vice operated by gangsters. These circumstances increasingly gave nationality an edge of defensiveness. As Cuba became ever more dependant on the revenue and employment that foreign travelers engendered, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (later called the World Bank) loaned money for tourism infrastructure projects, and the United Nations Economics and Social Council (UNESCO) assisted in the rehabilitation of historical and cultural attractions. Tourism, especially to the casinos in Havana and on the beaches between the capital and Varadero, expanded considerably (Perez 1999, 181). The rationale for tourism in the 1950s mirrored that of the 1920s as tourism emerged as an economic strategy using tropes of pleasure and service to entice travelers.[31] The tourism boom of the 1950s was enhanced by Havana's well established reputation for tropical sensuality. This reputation drew tourists to such night clubs as the Tropicana, known for its chorus girls in feathers and G-strings and which had perfected providing the sensuality travelers to the tropics expected (Smith and Padula 1996, 20). The promises of the tourism industry for easy romance that had been established at the turn of the century continued alongside the added attraction of casino gambling, luxury hotels, exclusive and beautiful beaches, as well as Hollywood stars. Organized crime on the island also increased dramatically with the anti-crime crusade in the U.S. When the anti-crime crusade closed Florida's illegal gambling establishments in the early 1950s, the owners of gambling establishments and their clients moved offshore (Schwartz 1991, xiv) resulting in the U.S. Mafia's takeover of major Cuban hotels

and brothels in Havana by the mid-1950s. The new Florida Mafia investments in Cuban tourism transformed the industry (Schwarz) as nightclubs and cabarets expanded to meet the ever-growing number of tourists who were being increasingly entertained by internationally famous stars such as Josephine Baker and Nat "King" Cole, Xavier Cugat, and Carmen Miranda (Perez 1999, 194).

Again, the high levels of unemployment and underemployment which the inhabitants of the island faced resulted in social movements with a highly developed critique of U.S. imperialism (Chomsky, 264). Emphasizing the corruption and brutality Cubans endured at the hands of the political elite, as well as the economic and political subordination they experienced under U.S. nationalist calls for freedom, there emerged in response to there internal and external forms of exploitation Cubans were experiencing, yet another series of attempts to bring about a "free Cuba" which culminated in the 1959 revolution. The protagonists of this last critique engaged in a campaign to recover Cuba for the Cubans, and these attempts were undertaken in the years in which the highest numbers of visitors to Cuba were registered at 272,625, 85 percent of whom were from the U.S. (Diaz-Gonzalez 1997).[32] The 1950s saw yet another tourism boom in which tourism was second only to sugar.[33] Yet despite the huge profits being made by tourism, most Cubans were worse off economically in the 1950s than they had been in the 1920s. Unemployment and underdevelopment rates were extremely high and this alone added further uncertainty and insecurity in households across the island (Perez, 450).

Many Cubans could not conceal their despair over what seemed to be a relentless degradation, and the complicity of their political leaders as well as public officials who operated at the behest of U.S. interests. While the tourism literature painted a portrait of a country somewhat frivolous and lurid, or sinful, patriotic reformers attempted to create a different nation and a different national image then the one either used to promote tourism or the one appearing in news papers highlighting the level of corruption in Cuba.[34]

Prior to the revolution of 1959 the streets were full of the homeless, the jobless, poor and abandoned children and displaced families (Perez 1999, 469).[35] An overwhelming majority of rural children suffered from intestinal parasites. About half of all Cubans registered some degree of undernourishment. Rural workers had a 1,000 calorie daily deficit and were 16 percent under average height and weight. Sixty percent of physicians, sixty-two percent of dentists, and eighty percent of hospital beds were in Havana. There was only one hospital in rural Cuba. Marked urban-rural differences also characterized housing conditions. Nationally forty-three percent of all housing units lacked running water, twenty-three percent an inside or outside toilet, fifty-six percent a bath or shower, seventy-five percent a refrigerator, while nearly sixty percent had electricity. More than half of the units were constructed of solid materials; however, fifteen percent were classified in poor conditions. Urban Cubans were more likely to live in dwellings with electricity, a refrigerator, running water, an

inside or outside toilet. Most rural Cubans lived in housing without running water, an inside or outside toilet, or a refrigerator. Their homes were more frequently in poor conditions and built with inferior materials (Perez-Stable). The island's sugar monoculture and the overwhelming presence of the United States made it impossible to sustain growth and promote diversification of production. As if this was not enough the Batista regime (1952-59) which was corrupt and which favored U.S. interests was also known to murder and torture Cubans that dared to speak out against the injustices most Cubans faced daily. All of these factors contributed to the anti-Batista sentiment that was felt by Cubans regardless of race or class, and all of these factors led Cubans to revolt against Batista's dictatorship in small and seemingly insignificant ways as well as by overt and defiant methods. Faced with Batista's control of the military and police forces, antigovernment groups relied on unconventional warfare, and as they had done during the 1930s; Cubans seeking to end the Batista regime strategically targeted tourism. At the high point of the tourist boom of the late 1950s Cuba became a holiday paradise in the midst of political hell. Average citizens, workers in all areas, intellectuals, artists, and students, of which Fidel Castro and his group were a part, outraged at the corruption and carnage that became part of everyday life under Batista's regime began to organize and compete with Batista for media attention.

The Western Hemisphere's sex capital became a revolutionary capital as citizen groups paralyzed production and occupied regional towns in a spectacular series of strikes. In Havana, members of the Revolutionary Directorate of Havana University assaulted Batista's presidential palace in March 1957. Since a tourism industry like that of Cuba's during the 1950s requires positive images, favorable publicity, and a sense of personal safety which was the foundation upon which the island's tourism industry had been built, to disturb these afforded anti-Batista elements opportunities to embarrass and discredit the regime. Rebels used high-visibility events specifically orchestrated for the tourist as opportunities to inflict economic and political wounds. Tourism events such as Carnival were utilized not only for protests but also to transport armaments and supplies. Urban guerrillas did not need to attack tourists personally in order to achieve their objective, for they could make the island appear hazardous—or merely inconvenient—by disrupting business as usual within tourism zones.

Cuba was in a state of war which Batista was trying to hide.[36] There was widespread political dissent manifest in small acts of resistance, where for example, secrets were kept about a neighbor's anti-Batista activities such as supplying rebels with food and weapons, or overt dissent which was manifested in the full blown gun fights on the streets with Batista's police, or leaking evidence of the atrocities being committed by the Batista regime to the national, as well as the international media. Between 1955 and 1959, bombings, assassinations, and government retaliation shared newspaper space with yacht races, carnival festivities, golf championships, and hotel openings (Perez, 2001).

Each side attempted to manipulate the media to broadcast messages. Political dissidents in particular leaked to outside presses Batista's involvement with figures in organized crime as evidence of government corruption. Most Cubans combined efforts that systematically challenged Batista's legitimacy to lead Cuba.

Given the level of U.S. economic and military involvement in Cuba it was perhaps inevitable that the Cuban Revolution would have a strong nationalist and anti-imperialist element, and inevitable that it would clash with established U.S. interests. The revolution of 1959, with its slogan of *patria o muerte* (homeland or death) expressed the nearly one hundred years of struggle for national sovereignty which many Cubans had dreamed about. Anti-U.S. sentiments placed the U.S. government in high alert as the events of 1958 unfolded. The problem of sifting through the various strategy options the U.S. had was made more difficult by Batista's refusal to follow Washington's requests for his voluntary resignation. Fearing that Batista's stubbornness would result in the triumph of a rebel government hostile to the U.S., then secretary of state Christian Herter, in a top-secret memorandum to President Eisenhower, outlined a plan to immediately create a situation in which a third force would move into the vacuum between Batista and Castro (Morley, 1982). This "third force" however was not put in place in time to mitigate Batista's fleeing from Cuba on the morning of January 1, 1959. With Batista's departure Havana was occupied by the rebel forces of Ernesto Che Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos while Fidel Castro began a slow march of victory from Santiago de Cuba to Havana. The U.S. government greeted the triumph of the Cuban Revolution with great caution. U.S. officials hoped that Fidel Castro would be open to what they termed "moderate" and "stabilizing" influences, rather than "anti-American," "communist," and "nationalist" tendencies (Chomsky, 530).[37] But as Castro was proving to be less predicable then the U.S. liked, the Eisenhower administration became convinced that the best course of action was to deny aid to the nationalist forces as long as these were under the leadership of Fidel Castro. The preferred alternative was a pro-capitalist government not identified with the excesses of Batista's rule, but oriented to the reconstruction of a more efficient and less corrupt state structure in the interests of U.S. capital accumulation.

Batista had left a depleted treasury and the numerous appeals for support made to the U.S. government were rejected. When the rebels came into power Cuba's destiny was still tied to sugar. Thirteen U.S. sugar producers owned over 47 percent of the total area dedicated to cane cultivation and garnered some $180 million from each harvest (Perez-Stable). Cuba exported sugar in order to import candy, it exported iron to import plows, exported rice and imported beans, grew coffee only to import coffee. The country with a high fruit and vegetable production imported nearly half the fruit and vegetables it consumed. The revolutionary government attempted to turn sugar, which had been responsible for underdevelopment, into an instrument of development.

With the revolution the new leaders sought a more suitable image than that of the brothel of the Caribbean. Promoters of an "enlightened tourism," which was a project many nationalists proposed, argued that the industry need not be captive to the tastes of a pre-Revolutionary tourism market (Schwartz, 96).[38] Tourism had generated both profits and employment for Cuban citizens. Tourism had also protected the capital, Havana, from the most extreme realities of the island's reliance on agriculture, principally sugar. But tourism was not indestructible. If the old partnership of real estate speculators and public officials had bent tourism to its needs in the 1920s, a more enlightened and responsible stewardship could fashion an agency to serve social purposes. If the former tourist commission had turned carnival into a glorification of commercialism and concocted inauthentic rituals to please foreigners, a post-revolutionary authority, sensitive to Cuban needs, could devise a program to define national identity in a positive way, could recapture aspects of culture and use them to inspire citizens as well as to attract tourists (Schwartz 1997, 94). The revolutionary leadership became determined that tourism could continue to be Cuba's biggest business even without gambling and prostitution. As part of its efforts to promote tourism by Cubans and its promise to make available the best of Cuba for the Cubans, the revolutionary leadership opened the best beaches, hotels and other tourist sites to all regardless of social class or race.[39] The facilities which Afro-Cubans had worked in but could not enjoy were no longer the exclusive playgrounds of the white and the wealthy. But in its efforts to encourage an "enlightened tourism" and to end corruption, the leadership also closed down the casinos arguing that they destroyed morals, took money out of Cuban hands, and put it into the pockets of racketeers. However, when casinos were initially closed Cuban workers quickly joined forces with gambling interests to oppose the closure. Although in general Cuban unemployment was high during the Batista years, the tourism industry had generated employment for Cuban citizens. Gambling, after all, paid for the salary of workers and because of gambling the Tropicana nightclub could employ seventy showgirls, singers, and dancers, plus some forty musicians in the orchestra. Between the Riviera, Nacional, and Caprí hotels and the Tropicana nightclub, an estimated $50,000 weekly flowed through the cabaret talent into the Cuban economy. Moreover, the government collected $2000 per month and twenty percent of the net profits from each casino, revenue that was at the disposal of the new revolutionary government (Schwartz, 196). Gambling had become a key factor in the 1950s tourist boom, and thousands of Cubans faced unemployment if the casinos were to shut down. The biggest loss of jobs would be felt in the hotels that operated casinos. The Riviera, Hilton, Caprí, and Nacional alone employed close to four thousand workers during peak tourist periods. Most of them were not casino workers, but casino revenues helped to pay their wages (Schwartz, 196). The jobs that tourism created initially compelled the rebels to reconsider their earlier condemnations and closings of

the casinos, since the former guerrillas knew little about hotel operations and banking.

Eventually, the new revolutionary government not only became responsible for gambling policies but also took charge of the highly sophisticated financial apparatus that gave it a stake in many Cuban industries, including tourism. In 1959, the National Tourism Organization (NTO) was created as part of the Instituto Nacional de la Industria (National Industry Institute). By June of 1959 a tourism development board announced hotel and motel construction projects in the island's interior and the embellishment of the old colonial city of Trinidad. The Instituto Nacional de Industriales Turísticas (INIT) committed $200 million to a four-year development program, with $4,000,000 set aside for advertising. Airport expansion was scheduled to accommodate jet aircrafts which would bring more people from farther away in shorter times. INIT took over responsibility for the administration of formerly private beaches, along with forty-three centers dedicated to hunting, fishing, and boating. Pledging to make tourism Cuba's biggest business, Castro declared that whatever promoted the industry helped Cuba (Schwartz 1997, 200).

Two weeks following the triumph of the Revolution the tourist commission was reorganized and the leadership inaugurated a vigorous campaign to bring the tourists back. The new tourist commission pledged to attract even greater numbers of visitors to the island. The profit from tourism, was projected to reach six billion dollars a year by 1964, appeared as an economic redemption to revolutionaries in need after Batista cleaned out the island's coffers. However, the plans for the revolutionary-run tourism industry was to transform carnival from a glorification of commercialism and inauthentic rituals to please foreigners, to an event that would be instead dedicated to redefining national identity in ways that were positive. Such an approach was seen as being able to inspire citizens and to still attract tourists (Schwartz 1997, 94).

A previous revolution against Machado in the 1930s ended in financial loss. The same had to be avoided with the revolution of 1959. The government appropriated millions of dollars for beaches, highways, hotels, and the repair of airport damages caused by the fighting with Batista's forces. The return of tourists was considered to be crucial for the new government and the new leadership was determined to salvage the winter season and to recapture the American Society of Travel Agents (ASTA) convention scheduled for October 1959. ASTA had dropped Havana from its plans because of the political crisis evident by late 1958, and the association's renewed commitment signaled a welcomed vote of approval (Schwartz, 198). Castro declared tourism Cuba's salvation and treated the travel agents like royalty while encouraging them to bring back the tourists. The agents, according to historian Rosalie Schwartz, applauded wildly and fought to have pictures taken with the famous revolutionary, ASTA's president Max Allen avoided political controversy by stating "We are not here to give praise to the government however travel

provides the broadest and shortest road to understanding between nations and next week Cuba will have 2,000 super salesmen dotted all over the earth." Castro, obviously pleased with that prospect, unhooked his gun belt in a symbolic gesture of friendship, laid it on the floor, and responded, "never mind political propaganda help your friends to the happiness which travel to Cuba can give them" (Schwartz 200).

The urgency with which the new leadership approached the return of tourism may have had something to do with the fact that tourism also created a buffer which would be able to save Cuba from having to enter into unequal negotiations with the Soviet Union. Before beginning to negotiate with the Soviets, this was the first time there had been palpable "freedom" for the people of Cuba. The island had previously passed from colonial status under Spain to dependents in the hands of the U.S., as such this one moment of freedom from outside intervention was unique and precious, and if the tourists could come back, and if the leadership could transform Cuba's economic structure then their reliance on either of the two world powers (either the Soviets or the U.S.) would not result in having to sacrifice sovereignty.

But, just as the leadership decided to embrace the industry for its economic value, it slipped away (Schwartz, 180). The U.S. trade embargo was put in place making most of the negotiations made with U.S. travel agents thereafter become null and void. Cuban tourism under the leadership of Fidel Castro was doomed. But more then just the U.S. trade embargo, for tourists, the novelty of the revolution wore off quickly. The tourists did not return in spite of all attempts to encourage visitors to the "new" Cuba. Disappointingly, by February 1960 tourism was dead and by the time Fidel Castro's government nationalized U.S. property in October 1960, most U.S. citizens already had scratched Cuba off their lists of desirable travel destinations. The glamour and the excitement vanished. People stopped going to Cuba because the island was no longer pleasurable to visit. Vacationers wanted to relax, and they had their choice of sunny beaches and gambling casinos elsewhere in the Caribbean.

Lack of tourists doomed Cuba's hotels and casinos as well as all other establishments which relied on tourism. As restaurants, bars, and souvenir shops closed, a few managed to send some goods or money out of the country,[40] while others lost their establishments during the government's nationalizing of all private business.

It would not be until the early 1980's that Cuba's leadership would slowly begin to turn toward tourism again. Yet a third tourism boom like that seen during the 1920s or the 1950s would not be seen until the decade of the 1990s. The tourism boom of the 1920s and the 1950s in which tourists came to Cuba to relax and to do as they pleased contrasted sharply with the realities Cubans were living. Both tourism booms share in common the lack of freedom most Cubans experienced; both booms also became battle grounds and both led to mass revolts, the revolution in 1933 which ousted the dictator Machado and the other

the flight of the dictator Batista fueled by the immense support for the rebel army led by Fidel Castro. However unlike the 1933 revolt which resulted in a return to much of the same atrocities many Cubans had died to end, with the 1959 revolution, for the first time in the nation's history there was a leadership which did not hold back its opposition to the U.S. It was also an unprecedented moment in which the U.S. government dug in their heels and was unwilling to aid the new leadership in implementing what were, by comparison with what ultimately did occur, significant yet not entirely radical reforms. Moreover for the first time those who had come to occupy the island in the midst of colonialism and imperialism found themselves free of Batista's dictatorship, and free to enter any of the establishments which may have denied them entry before due to their race or class. For some the revolution provided a respite and a taste of all that only tourists and the upper classes had enjoyed, if only for the brief period between Batista's escape, the beginning of the attempts backed by the U.S. government to retake political and economic control of the island, and the next struggle which was to not only maintain a "Free Cuba" but a Socialist Free Cuba.

By the 1950's national identity had developed into a contested terrain, a complex process by which Cubans sought to establish control over the terms of representation. It produced reflections on nationality reminiscent of the discourses of the nineteenth century. The affirmation of Cubaness took many forms, almost all of which implied confrontations with things and ways "American" as a means of differentiation and distinction. American forms had insinuated themselves deeply into the commonplace, so much so that they could easily appear to be Cuban. To challenge these forms inevitably resulted in the need to confront the meaning of Cubaness at its most fundamental sources.

End Notes

1. Under the Platt Amendment, the U.S. government intervened militarily twice, and otherwise oversaw most aspects of Cuban domestic affairs. The U.S. mediated Cuban sovereignty contributing to the revolutionary upheavals of the 1930s. During the 1950s, the U.S. supported Fulgencio Batista because he promised order after the mounting chaos of the late 1940s and early 1950s (Marifeli-Perez Stable 1993, 175).
2. Havana Post, August 7, 1914.
3. The Cuban government created the National Tourist Commission with the goal of promoting travel to the island. A "Winter in Cuba Committee" distributed thousands of brochures in the U.S. selling the demand for accommodations. As it was hoped for, North American firms scrambled to complete on bids for hotels, new residential developments and roads.
4. During the 1990s Cubans, once again, found tourism second only to agriculture after the withdrawal of the Soviet Union in 1989.
5. The number of tourists rose from nearly 33,000 visitors in 1914 to 36,000 in 1915 and 44,000 one year later, reaching spectacular levels in the decades that followed: from 56,000 in 1920 to 90,000 in 1928, to 178,000 in 1937. Investors imagined an American Riviera, catering to wealthy thirsty U.S. travelers who would do for Cuba in the twentieth century what Europeans had accomplished for Monaco in the nineteenth.
6. By the late 1920s tourism and investment in Cuban real estate became the saving graces of the island's economy (Chomsky 2003, 244). The first major crash occurred in 1920 and 1921 when the wild rise of sugar prices, called "The Dance of the Millions" ended in mass unemployment and

bankruptcies. Following this crash, as it would occur time and time again, tourism became the saving grace of the island's vulnerable economy.

7. Louis A. Perez, *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture* 1999, 183.

8. U.S. travel restrictions to Europe during the World Wars were instrumental in developing Caribbean tourism.

10. In the U.S. the Volstead Act of 1919 outlawed alcohol by ending the legal sale and distribution of alcoholic beverages.

11. Although travel accounts on Cuba had its antecedents during the colonial period, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were a time of peak popularity for travel literature. In spite of the fact that many travelogues reveal travelers as frivolous, self-indulgent, racist and sexist, the genre positions the traveler, the (participant) observer, as a heroic witness to an epoch (Perez 1992). The nineteenth century travelogue is valuable as a genre of literature and a source of historical writing, and as a precursor to anthropological writings and late Twentieth century tourism guidebooks. For further examples of nineteenth century travelogues see the work of Louis A. Perez (1992).

12. Basil Woon. *When It's Cocktail Time in Cuba*, 1928

13. G.L. Morill, *Rotten Republics*, Chicago 1916, 279

14. Clark's guide stated that young women were available in "… varying in complexion from peach white to coal black; fifteen year old flappers and ebony antiques; chiefly outlanders who unblushingly loll about heavy-eyed and languorous, in abbreviated and diaphanous costumes; … with incendiary eyes at passing masculinity; studiously displaying their physical charms or luring the stranger by flaming words or maliciously imperious gestures…" (*Terry's Guide to Cuba*; Perez 1999, 201; Schwartz 1997, 86).

15. Images of the "Latin Lover" had long assumed a place of prominence perceptions of the male other. Although in-depth studies on women traveling for the purpose of romance with Cuban men have not been done. Cruise ships were filled with female passengers traveling alone or in groups with the hopes of finding romance in Cuba (Perez 1999).

16. The word *Virtudes* literally translates into the word "virtue" and the word *Oficios* interestingly enough, translates into English as the words "profession" or "work."

17. *All the Best in Cuba*, 159-60.

18. Marion Sunshine and Moises Simons, "Cuban Belle," Edward B. Marks Music Corps., New York, 1933.

19. Perez 1999, 91. Some 1950s tourists followed worshipfully in the footsteps of the novelist, avid sportsman, and prodigious drinker Ernest Hemingway as they made the rounds of Havana's restaurants and bars. Hemingway often had lingered over drinks at Bodeguita del Medio or Floridita and had made them famous by his patronage. He had crafted novels in a room at Havana's Ambos Mundos Hotel; later, he bought his Cuban country home with profits earned from the sales of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Hemingway's lifestyle and work made him a benefactor of Cuban tourism. He lent his name to fishing tournaments in the 1950s, and Cuban tours still guide thousands of pilgrims to his San Francisco de Paula estate, now government owned and maintained as if frozen in time as a monument to a favorite son (Schwartz, 127).

20. Other locations included El Kursaal in Habana Vieja on the corner of Oficio and Teniente Rey, La Verbena in the Playa district in the basement of the Cine Arenal at the corner of Avenues 41 and 26, El Infierno in Centro Habana on the corner of Barcelona and Amistad, the cabaret Royale on the corner of Prado and Neptuno and El Pirata located in Cojimar (Robin Moore, 184).

21. There were few risks which tourists faced and at any point the visitor could become drunk and noisy, or commit any number of offenses and the police would only guide them back to their hotel (Perez 1999, 187).

22. *Havana Post*, January 24, 1930, p. 16; La Lucha, May 1, 1912, p.1; Raymond Leslie Buell, *Problems of the New Cuba*. New York, 1935, p. 87; Hugh Thomas, *Cuba: the Pursuit of Freedom*. New York 1971. p. 1097. Since the early twentieth century an extended network of brothels managed, by Cuban pimps operated in Cuban cities and towns, as well as around the U.S. military base in Guantánamo (Perez 1999, 193). Prostitution in Cuba drew from different economies and while in Havana prostitution was centered around tourism, in Santiago de Cuba bar girls awaited the arrival of American sailors on weekend leave from the naval base at Guantánamo Bay, and in small

rural towns prostitutes made their annual migration to service the cane cutters during the sugar harvest (Smith and Padula 1996, 20).

23. More than a few enterprising North American sex workers traveled to Havana as well.

24. For a more detailed analysis of the Cuban families and politicians that profited from North American tourism see Rosalie Schwartz's book *Pleasure Island*. The withdrawal of U.S. support for the dictator and a wave of mobilization by urban and rural workers in the summer of 1933 finally led to the collapse of the Machado regime in August and the inauguration of a brief four-month-long experiment in economic and social reform during the "revolutionary" government of Grau San Martín (1944-48). Both of these methods where used regularly to disrupt tourism in the hopes of bringing about much needed social change.

25. *Blue Book Guide to Cuba* (1938), 216. See also Diario de la Marina, 14 January 1937, 3.

26. Cubans had introduced a greater variety of domestically produced items for tourists to take home to friends and relatives. A dozen or more souvenir shops flourished in the downtown area, most of them owned by members of Havana's small Jewish community.

27. Cordell Hull and [Ambassador] Sumner Wells. Document 7. Memorandum: Telephone Conversation between the Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Sumner Wells, September 6, 1933. "The United States Confronts the 1933 Revolution." In *What Happened in Cuba* by Robert Freeman Smith. New York: Twayne, 1963, Reproduced from Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) 5 (1933): document 7 (389-90).

28. During the 1940s, when due to unimaginable revolts in Latin America, the United Fruit Company fell into hysterical anti-communism. Among the U.S. monopolies which operated in Cuba, it is difficult to find one that surpassed the intervention and meddling in politics of the United Fruit Company. The United Fruit Company held vast amounts of land in Cuba as it did all over Latin America and the Caribbean.

29. "The Political Gangster." From *Revolution and Reaction in Cuba, 1933-1960: A Political Sociology from Machado to Castro* by Samuel Farber. Bridgeport, Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1976: 119-22.

30. Few mourned the passing of the constitutional government when Fulgencio Batista overthrew the *Auténtico* government of Carlos Prío Socarrás just before the 1952 elections were due to be held (Chomsky, 2003).

31. Package tours captured the middle and working classes who had acquired paid vacations and disposable income.

32. *Antes de 1959 el turismo representó una importante fuente de ingresos, alcanzando el segundo lugar de las exportaciónes despues del azúcar en 1957.*

33. Once again tourism is second only to agriculture just as it had been in the 1920s and it returns to this position once again in the late 20th century.

34. *The Saturday Evening Post* (March 28, 1953) denounced Cuba for its gambling casinos which routinely victimized unsuspecting tourists. *Time* (April 21, 1952) criticized Cuba for allowing drugs and prostitution.

35. The levels of extreme poverty, political repression and economic uncertainty that Cubans experienced, and political turmoil, both in the city and in the countryside during the 1950s, compared with other Latin American nations, Cuba ranked among the top five countries in Latin America on a wide range of socioeconomic indicators such as urbanization, literacy, per capita income, infant mortality, and life expectancy.

36. "The Cuban Story" in the *New York Times*. February 24, 1957, reprinted in *The Cuban Story* by Herbert L. Matthews. New York: George Braziller, 1961, 27-28, 31-32, 35-58.

37. Yet, had Batista negotiated, and allowed an electoral transition, the weight of Castro, the Rebel Army, and the July 26th movement would not have been as pronounced (Perez-Stable, 175).According to Morris Morley (1982) the White House and the State Department were not particularly interested in Cuban affairs prior to 1958, a stance abruptly transformed by the evolution of a large-scale, anti-dictatorial nationalist movement with multiple class participants. Morley, Morris. 1982. "The United States Rules Cuba, 1952-1958." From *The U.S. Imperial State in Cuba, 1952-1958: Policy Making and Capitalist Interests* by Morris Morley, *Journal of Latin American Studies* 14, no. I (May 1982):143-70, excerpts 161-64, 167-69. Cambridge University Press.

38. Promoters of an enlightened tourism determined to leverage the revenue-producing benefits of tourism into support for museums, parks, art, music, and the preservation and promotion of Cuba's cultural legacy.
39. In 1959 the tourism organization Instituto Naciónal de la Industria Turistica (INIT) is inaugurated. All beaches and hotels were open to the public and racial or class discrimination within tourism was no longer allowed.
40. However, with or without the Revolution of 1959, there was an economic crisis pending and economists during the 1950s where predicting substantial out migration from the island due to the high cost of living and unemployment.

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