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On Location

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Urban Heritage, Representation and Planning: Comparative Approaches in Habana Vieja and Trinidad, Cuba

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Cultural patrimony is a resilient feature in portraying "cubanness" (*cubanidad*) in contemporary Cuba. The government enlists socialist slogans, domestic and foreign personalities, and selected built environments in its arsenal for defining *cubanidad*. This paper examines the architectural and planning features of two Cuban World Heritage Sites: Habana Vieja (1982) and Trinidad (1988). I begin with a review of how *cubanidad* has been expressed through travel writings and landscape architects of the nineteenth century. I then briefly turn to key semiotic features associated with the colonial (1511–1898), Republican (1902–1958) and Socialist (1959–present) periods as a backdrop to the workings of urban heritage planning in these two cities. Each city has developed unique strategies to balance the need for tourist revenues, on the one hand, with residential housing needs, on the other. I conclude that there is no clear association between a centrally planned economy and the diversity of approaches to urban heritage, representation and planning in contemporary Cuba. Rather, elements of scale, personal leadership, and relative location better explain the differences in these planning strategies and the representation of *cubanidad*.

On Defining *Cubanidad*

Capturing the essence of material and non-material cultures is a daunting task that requires a multidisciplinary approach because no single lens can adequately capture the meaning and representation that such an endeavor mandates. Cultural geography has long employed "landscape," which refers to an assemblage of objects in the natural and human-altered (i.e. built) environments, as a window onto local, regional,

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and national identity. Following Mikesell (1968), I employ the term as the portion of land that the eye can understand in a single glance, particularly the objects in that territory that lend to its pictorial aspect. Landscape analysis entered U.S. cultural geography after Carl Sauer's "Morphology of Landscape" (1925). He enlisted the idea of *landschaft* elaborated by geographers in Germany to counter the then popular geographic explanation of "environmental determinism." But Sauerian landscape analysis turned environmental determinism on its end: instead of looking at the restrictions that environment imposed on human activity, Sauer preferred to assess how humans had modified the landscape over time and space. In his framework, landscape became a loose association of natural and cultural elements understood by using cultural history and artifactual analysis (terraces, pottery, seed stock, stream beds, abandoned settlements).

Two major criticisms challenged this approach to landscape analysis. The first was the inability to reconstruct fully the natural landscapes of the past. Sauer recognized the problem caused by the lack of written and visual records and the limitations of reconstructing climatic and biogeographic regimes using phenology (which looks at how plants and animals respond to climatic change such as periods of pollination, freezing of lakes, the onset of seasons, and related events). A second critique developed in the early 1980s and bore the label of the "new cultural geography." Imbued with social and cultural theory, this new line took on the same historical approach but departed sharply from the older landscape tradition in its conceptual framework. In many ways, the sociocultural and political perspective took over the task of natural history and artefactual analysis. In part, this divergence in landscape perspectives stems from Carl Sauer and the tradition of cultural geography that developed at The University of California at Berkeley's Department of Geography, which focuses on the historic landscapes of Latin America. The "new cultural geography" tends to examine more contemporary and urban landscapes, which lend themselves more readily to sociocultural and political interpretations.

This new way of examining landscape has adopted a range of topics: from dramaturgical approaches that address marginality (Cresswell 1996), to the application of iconography derived from art history to interpret landscape (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988), the study of the sides of buildings in U.S. Central Business Districts as a window to political regimes and neighborhood change (Ford 2000), and the study of the Latin American historic district as center for contesting the uses of public space (Jones and Varley 1994; Bromley and Jones 1996a, b).

There is a range of sources that can contribute to a study of *cubanidad* (Scarpaci and Portela 2009). Early travel writing provides a rich descriptive source. Henry Dana (1815–1882) wrote in 1859 while sailing offshore Cuba that the "fertile, undulating land comes to the sea, and rises into high hills as it recedes" (Dana 1996: ix). Cuba, like the Greater Antilles (Haiti, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Cayman Islands), gives land observers a glimpse of its mountains and hills from the many plains and flatlands sprinkled across the island (Richardson 1992: 15). The question remains, however, of how to study the Cuban landscape as a "thing" when "Cuban landscape" carries many meanings. Christopher Columbus – Cuba's first European discoverer – allegedly said that it was the "most beautiful land [his] eyes

have ever seen," although many other Caribbean residents have claimed that the Italian sailor made the same remark about their islands. The German naturalist Baron Alexander von Humboldt (called Cuba's "second discoverer") described the island as one of sugar and slaves in 1801–1802 (Humboldt 2001). Twentieth-century Cuban anthropologist and ethnomusicologist Fernando Ortiz, sometimes referred to as the "third discover of Cuba" for having reconstructed indigenous and African contributions to the island's rich tapestry, argued passionately that Cuba was enriched by the contributions of Afro-Cuban culture. Cuba did not need to be rescued by outsiders. Its Africanization (Ortiz coined the term "Afro-Cuban") meant understanding material culture (plant names, toponyms, farming practices) and non-material contributions (syncretism, language, music, street humor [*choteo*], folklore, botany) to the island's heritage (Mañach 1969).

Cuba as Landscape

Early non-cartographic representations of Cuba appear in landscape paintings. European landscape painters who visited Cuba were awed by the island's beauty. Baron von Humboldt remarked upon his arrival in Havana's harbor in 1800 that it was "one of the most picturesque and pleasing on the northern equinoctial shores of America" (Humboldt 2001).

In the nineteenth century the colony forged a strong sense of nationalism that centered, in addition to the struggle for independence, on human–environment relationships. Louis A. Pérez, Jr. (2001) has cogently documented the rise of nationalism based on how Cubans supported each other before, during, and after hurricanes. Specifically, his aim was "to insert the phenomenon of mid-nineteenth-century hurricanes into the larger circumstances of the Cuban condition as one more variable in the formation of nation." His environmental history studied how the catastrophic storms of the 1840s molded socioeconomic developments in nineteenth-century Cuba. He shows how the powerless (peasants, slaves, common folks) and powerful (the Spanish colonial authorities) reached compromise in preparing for tropical storms, surviving them, and rebuilding in the wake of the storms. In this way, then, Cuban respect and admiration for the forces of nature take firm hold well before Independence (1898) and the socialist government (1959–present), while also cutting across class lines. This also contributed to *cubanidad*.

This occurred while the United States developed the Hudson River School of landscape painting in the nineteenth century in response to modernity and industrialization, as well as a romantic clinging to the nation's older established eastern seaboard. While America's frontier moved increasingly westward, the Hudson River painters' found an enthusiastic American public that increasingly appreciated the older settlements, often depicted as moral or literary themes. In both the United States and Europe, this new venue of painting was partly a response to the rise of industrialization and surely recognition that mechanization was capable of transforming the look of the land in unprecedented ways. Industrial production, driven

by smoky steam engines in factories, mills, and railroads, left sooty plumes across cityscapes and countryside alike (Howat 1987). Cuba was also responsive to this new genre of painting, which altered its initial influences that were decidedly European.

A few remarkable landscape painters in nineteenth-century Cuba merit review here. Esteban Chartrand's 1877 work, marine landscapes (*paisaje marino*), and Valentín Sanz Carta's *Las Malangas* capture Cuba's pristine countryside. Chartrand (1824–1825 to 1884–1889), a son of French immigrants who lived in the Cuban port of Matanzas, brought a subtlety and accuracy to his landscape portraits of a nation that was not yet dominated by sugar cane planting and urbanization. He constructed nostalgic, romanticized, and idealized landscapes that were washed in twilight. Unlike European painters gazing at the island, he included the common peasant (*guajiro*) as opposed to the trappings of the economic elite. Elements in his paintings emphasized *lo cubano*, and highlighted such cultural elements as *bohíos* (small and simple farmhouses), *ingenios* (simple sugar mills) and palms (the *palma real* in Spanish, or royal palm (*Roystonea regia*) is the national tree) (MNBA 2001).

Chartrand and Sanz Carta flourished at a time when there was a growing appreciation for local aesthetic and beauty, and a turn away from elitist and Spanish-based views of local life. This current of painting rose in tandem with the independence wars and helped to cement certain iconic elements of *cubanidad*, ranging from depictions of huts, wild-growing fruit, palm trees, castles and fortresses, and other natural and cultural elements that might at one time have been considered too plebian to paint.

Architectural Heritage as Commodity

Government approaches to the identification, safeguarding, and maintenance of national heritage sites and monuments defy a simple division into whether a nation is a market or a centrally planned economy (Bromley and Jones 1995). For example, in Celebration, Florida, the present construction boom by the Walt Disney Corporation takes its stylistic inspiration from the designs of historical small-town America. The market-driven approach to planning is evident by this planned community that embraces the pre-automobile period, much like Disney's Main Street pedestrian boulevard at the entrance to Disney World in Orlando, Florida. Neo-traditional design structures such as Seaside, Florida and related projects of Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk of DBZ Associates (Duany et al. 2000) have also influenced the U.S. housing market. In Blacksburg, Virginia (where I have lived), a developer has built a neo-traditional community, modeled on principles of New Urbanism, called the Village at Tom's Creek. It is touted in terms of heritage values:

The Village is a planned "traditional neighborhood development," built according to the principles that shaped traditional Virginia villages...It is designed to create an intimate

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neighborhood surrounded by and connected to its open meadows and woodlands. Traditional close-knit Virginia communities evolved around distinctive civic spaces. The Village's informal parks, tree-lined boulevards, and small central shops are designed with respect to this tradition. The streets and alleys will provide both intimate lanes of small yards and friendly porches and formal boulevards with flowered medians and small shops. The variety of house styles and sizes will echo the finest traditional Virginia architecture (TVTC 2006).

This view of heritage draws on both cultural (traditional neighborhood development, close-knit Virginia communities, civic spaces) and natural elements (beautiful rolling landscapes, meadows and woodlands, flowered medians). Heritage, therefore, has been carefully packaged by the developer to conjure up history, lifestyle, and landscape in the U.S. housing market (which was booming until very recently). Its marketing conveys history, prestige, respectability, and a sensibility towards the fine (middle-class) aesthetics of life.

Are such descriptions of heritage in the United States any different from promotions of heritage landscapes in socialist Cuba? Historic Trinidad is promoted on the government's national press (Prensa Latina) website as follows:

The cultural treasurer that distinguishes Trinidad gives it a unique distinction in the Greater Antilles. Between mountains and sea, the city called the 'Museum of the Caribbean' expresses a proud and unique natural beauty to whoever visits it... Passing through its narrow cobble-stoned streets allows the walker to discover artistic balconies, curved balustrades of precious wood, complex iron grillwork, surprisingly decorated walls, and romantic patios (Primeras Villas 2006).

Like the small-town image promulgated in Blacksburg, natural and cultural attributes pepper the discourse about the charms of this colonial Caribbean town. Yet, heritage representations are not always so simple in their intentions (Barthell 1996). In the case of Trinidad, some Cubans would argue that it was neglected intentionally in the first decades of the revolution because the government wanted to punish Trinidadians for support lent to the anti-communist guerillas during the insurgency of the 1960s. When old towns became "fashionable" and when the government discovered that European backpackers were enthralled with Trinidad, the government finally decided to capitalize on its assets.¹

In an era of global travel in a deregulated market for the middle classes, heritage is becoming an important niche market in international tourism. Hewison argues that heritage is produced just like any other commodity, "which nobody seems able to define, but which everyone is eager to sell" (Hewison 1987: 9). If heritage tourism is indeed commodified, then the pressure in developing nations like Cuba is especially great because of the need for hard currency. But the economic need may conflict with what locals want. Cheryl Shanks (2002: 17) describes this paradox as one of the many dilemmas of "artificial authenticity": "commodifying culture simultaneously preserves, transforms, and destroys it."

This is a sensitive issue for politicians and local officials in developing countries like Cuba because economic development creates pressure to attract dollars or Euros, which, in turn, may corrupt the authenticity of local culture (Barberia 2002).

As examples, we might think of Ernest Hemingway's favorite bars in Habana Vieja, or dancing the tango in Buenos Aires' San Telmo neighborhood. These places garner a disproportionate amount of publicity in promoting heritage, even though they are only marginally related to the history of the neighborhoods in which they are promoted. The unwitting tourist may know little about the historic veracity of these representations and may not even care to know (Urry 2002). Nevertheless, as David Lowenthal has shown (1985), rebuilding historic places and landscapes offers familiarity and guidance to both residents and tourists even though their historical veracity may be suspect. Latin America has no shortage of heritage tourism venues; *favela* (slums) tourism in Brazil, immigrants' heritage tourism in South America (Schlüter 2000), human-rights tourism (Burtner 2002; Haddock 2002), and historic district venues (Scarpaci 2005), to name just a few.

Debates internal to Cuba about heritage have thus far been exempted from the neoliberal economic waves rocking other Latin American nations. Breglia (2006) examines heritage in Mexico as an arena in which multiple public and private actors compete for the right to control cultural patrimony. Starting in the early 1990s, she demonstrates how farmers, ethnic minorities, politicians, heritage site managers, and local developers aim to control cultural patrimony as a form of legitimizing how archaeological sites should be managed. Her discussion examines the relationship between local peoples and privatization policies that prevail in Latin America. Although Cuba has thus far been spared these debates, it is unclear how in a post-Fidel Cuba heritage projects will be financed and controlled, and what the role of for-profit management portends for the island.

Cuba signed The World Heritage Convention in 1981, one year before Habana Vieja earned a spot on UNESCO's list as a World Heritage Site. The World Heritage Convention promotes the preservation of cultural properties as well as the conservation of diverse and unique natural elements. The UNESCO list gives priority to how particular peoples interact with their cultural and natural environments and attempts to preserve the delicate balance between the two. Inscription on the World Heritage List requires that a particular place exhibit "outstanding universal value." Specifically, ten criteria guide the assessment of heritage sites (Table 1) and we refer to these criteria (using lower-case Roman numerals) in our discussion of each site. Cuba has eight entries in UNESCO's list: six cultural and two natural. Given the size of its territory and the absence of a large indigenous population, Cuba places respectably well on the list when compared to its Caribbean and Latin American neighbors, as well as selected European, African and Asian nations.

By mid-211, UNESCO's list included 911 properties, of which 704 (77.3%) were cultural, 188 (19.5%) were natural, and 27 (3%) were mixed properties; and the list keeps growing (UNESCO 2011a).

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Table 1 Selection criteria for world heritage status and Cuban site qualification (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/>)

1. To represent a masterpiece of human creative genius; *Desembarco del Granma National Park*
2. To exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design; *Urban Historic Center of Cienfuegos, Alejandro de Humboldt Park*
3. To bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared; *Archaeological Landscapes of First Coffee Plantations in Southeast; Desembarco del Granma National Park*
4. To be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history; *Old Havana and its Fortifications, San Pedro de Roca Castle, Santiago de Cuba; Trinidad and Valley of the Ingenios; Viñales Valley, Alejandro de Humboldt Park; Viñales Valley*
5. To be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human-interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change; *Old Havana and its Fortifications, San Pedro de Roca Castle, Santiago de Cuba; Trinidad and Valley of the Ingenios; Urban Historic Center of Cienfuegos*
6. To be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria.)
7. To contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance
8. To be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features
9. To be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals
10. To contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation

Cuba's World Heritage Sites

Cuba markets eight World Heritage Sites of which six are cultural environments (the Archeological Landscapes of first Coffee Plantations in South East, Urban Historic Center of Cienfuegos, Habana Vieja and its fortifications, San Pedro de Roca Castle in Santiago de Cuba, Trinidad, and Viñales Valley) and two are natural settings (Alejandro de Humboldt National Park, Desembarco del Granma National Park) (Table 2). These landscapes are evenly distributed throughout the island (Fig. 1). Since 1992, UNESCO has used the term "cultural landscape" to refer to the interaction that exists between the cultural and natural environments. UNESCO inscribed Tongariro National Park (New Zealand) as its first cultural landscape on the World Heritage List because it displayed spiritual links of the indigenous Maori people with their land (Rössler 2004a). Cuba's Viñales Valley and the Archaeological

Table 2 Cuba's UNESCO world heritage sites

Site	Location	Cultural or natural site (year established)	Attributes
Alejandro de Humboldt National Park	Holguín and Guantánamo Provinces N20° 27' W75° 0'	Natural (2001)	Large concentration and high diversity of endemic fauna and flora. Landform variety, altitudinal diversity and rich lithologies. Freshwater biological diversity stems from one of the largest watersheds in Caribbean. Named after Alexander von Humboldt and his research in Cuba in early 1800s.
Archeological Landscapes of first Coffee Plantations in South East	Santiago and Guantánamo Provinces N20° 01' 48" W75° 23' 29"	Cultural (2000); Also a designated "cultural landscape"	Remnants of nineteenth-century coffee plantations in Sierra Maestra foothills stand as testimony to enterprising agricultural system carved out of steep topography. Construction highlights the technological, social, and economic condition, of the Caribbean at that time.
Cienfuegos: Urban Historic Center	South central port city of 150,000 residents. N 22° 08' 50" W80° 27' 10"	Cultural (2005)	Settled by French settlers rather late in Cuba's history (1819), Cienfuegos became an important agricultural trading center and port. Its historic core displays an eclectic architectural ensemble that embraces the ideas of modernity and hygiene in nineteenth century Latin America.
Desembarco del Granma National Park	National Park, south-east corner of the of Cuba N19° 53' W77° 38'	Natural (1999)	Established in 1986 as a national park, its 26,180 ha. area represents some of the best examples of elevated marine terraces and karst topography. Considered one of the finest natural landscapes in the Atlantic Ocean.
Old Havana (Habana Vieja)	City of Havana Province N23° 8' W82° 21'	Cultural (1982)	Settled in 1519 by Diego Velázquez de Cuéllar as one of the island's seven initial settlements (<i>villas</i>). Includes the core of the historic settlement of San Cristóbal de La Habana and its fortifications from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Encompasses most of the municipality of Habana Vieja, 1 of 15 in Havana City Province.
San Pedro de Roca Castle, Santiago de Cuba	Santiago de Cuba city N19° 58' 0" W75° 52' 15"	Cultural (1997)	Citadel located at the entrance to the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. Considered a prime example of Spanish colonial military architecture derived from Renaissance and Italian designs.
Trinidad and Valle de los Ingenios	South central Cuba, Sancti Spiritus province N21° 48' 11" W79 59' 4"	Cultural (1988)	The town of Trinidad and valley adjacent to it where sugar production in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reigned supreme, and sugar mills (<i>ingenios</i>) dominated the landscape, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century.
Vinales Valley	Pinar del Río province N22° 37' W83° 43'	Cultural (1999); also a designated "cultural landscape"	A visually striking valley because of hill-sized unusual limestone erosive remnants called haystacks or <i>mogotes</i> (in Spanish). The island's prime tobacco production system is largely unchanged over the centuries. It possesses unique vernacular architecture and a multiethnic population that mirrors that of the broader Antilles region.

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Fig. 1 Location of UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Cuba, 2011a (map: Scarpaci and Portela)

Landscapes of the First Coffee Plantations in Southeastern Cuba are two “cultural landscapes” out of 37 recognized by UNESCO (UNESCO, World Heritage 2011b).

The first colonial capital was in Santiago de Cuba, but it was relocated by the Spanish to Havana in 1572. Unlike Lima or Mexico City, Havana was never endowed with ornate religious architecture; however, Havana boasts the largest collection of Spanish colonial military architecture in the western hemisphere, which was clearly stated in the awarding of heritage status by UNESCO in 1982. A fine collection of historical “palaces” still stands within the confines of the walled city as well as extramuros (Weiss 1972). When the walls were torn down in 1862, a two-block swath surrounding the western flank of the old city became available for construction. However, the Cuban independence wars with Spain deterred investment and construction in the site of the old walls until after the war ended in 1898.

In 1898 U.S. troops occupied the island, which had suffered neglect after the periodic wars since 1868. Ripe for modernization, foreign capital (mostly U.S. but some British) poured into island to upgrade the telegraph, telephone, rail lines, public sewage, port facilities, public lighting, and roads. An interesting array of architectural designs from Barcelona, New York and Chicago enhanced the banks, office buildings, and train stations of major cities. Purdy and Henderson out of Chicago built the building that is currently the Lonja de Comercio building (1909) while Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill constructed the majestic Hotel Nacional overlooking the Florida Straits in 1930. By 1952, new laws raised the limits on buildings heights. Ley de Propiedad Horizontal in 1952 allowed for a sort of Caribbean Manhattan to poke through the sleepy six-story skyline, especially west of the old city (Habana Vieja) and into Centro Habana and the Vedado district of the city (Fig. 2). Although modern structures cropped up in Santiago de Cuba, Camagüey, and Matanzas, the capital siphoned off most investment. By the time of the 1959 revolution Havana sprawled like suburban Los Angeles, rather than following the model of Buenos Aires or New York, densely packed with high-rise development. The modernization project was topped off with competition of a new Civic Square that President

Fig. 2 An eastern view of the modern skyline of the El Vedado section of Havana (photo: Scarpaci)

Fulgencio Batista built between 1952 and 1958. Located a few kilometers south and west of the old city on a site known as the Catalan Hills, the Civic Square espoused modernity and discipline, in contrast to the colonial period. The relocation of the government center complemented the 1926 plan created by Jean Claude Nicolás Forestier at the request of the Cuban government (Scarpaci et al. 2002).

If Fidel Castro's origins in the eastern city of Santiago de Cuba did not prejudice him with an anti-Havana sentiment – a long-standing regional rivalry in Cuba – then his disdain for sumptuous projects in the capital city deepened that feeling. More precisely, the revolution became decidedly “anti-macrocephalic”; it aimed not to lessen Havana's prominence as the educational, scientific, medical, and government headquarters for the nation. Accordingly, considerable investment went into building schools, universities, vocational tech centers, primary-care clinics, maternity homes, hospitals, libraries, and elementary schools throughout the island. Susan Eckstein (1977) referred to this as a “maximum of ruralization and a minimum of urbanization.” At the same time, Havana had a huge squatter settlement population: about 5% of the metropolitan area lived in shanties. In the early months of the revolution, rents were frozen, and later, the government set income caps to protect those earning less than a certain amount from having to pay rent. When private property was completely eliminated, the Ministry of Housing built public housing projects. The U.S. trade embargo forced the government to experiment with low-cost, high-rise, public housing buildings. Cuban housing authorities adopted models from Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, and pre-fabrication of concrete panels became the norm in new construction (Fig. 3). Émigré's who left the island without giving it to a family member lost the housing stock which was divided and distributed. Throughout much of the island, urban homes built in the republican and colonial

85,000 residents. UNESCO admitted the proper

Fig. 3 Prefabricated public housing left (left) next to Hotel Riviera (1957, designed by Philip Johnson) with balconies. Image taken from Melía Cohíba Hotel (photo: Scarpaci)

eras were subdivided to accommodate migrants such as students, volunteers, teachers, and new workers who moved there to work in the new economy.

Habana Vieja: Old Havana and Its Fortifications

The 142 ha that constitute Old Havana (Habana Vieja) are part of a legally protected area containing a unique layering of historic buildings and public spaces that span nearly half a millennium. Lewis Mumford's (1938) legendary statement that "in the city, time becomes visible" is exemplified by Havana. Founded in 1519 as one of the original *villas*, the city changed its location twice before it was settled on a cape at the western edge of bay, originally called Puerto Carena (today called Havana Bay or *Bahía de la Habana*). The first site in 1516 was on the southern (Caribbean) shore of the island, near the present port of Batabanó. Adjacent swamplands and an unprotected bay led the military expedition that followed Diego de Velázquez's party to relocate to the northern (Florida Straits-Atlantic Ocean) site, near the Almendares River (the present-day divide between Vedado and Miramar municipalities). Soon thereafter, the current site of Habana Vieja was selected because of its deep, bag-shaped harbor and defensible port, which today accounts for the largest collection of Spanish military architecture in the western Hemisphere.

Perhaps no other heritage site in Latin America and the Caribbean has received as much attention as Habana Vieja, 1 of 15 municipalities in Havana City province. Among UNESCO designations, it is relatively large in scale and is home to about 85,000 residents. UNESCO admitted the property to its heritage list in 1982, but the

Fig. 4 A view of San Francisco Plaza and church and bell tower of same name, as seen from the top of Lonja de Comercio Building, Habana Vieja (photo: Scarpaci)

systematic restoration of Habana Vieja did not begin in the mid-1990s, concurrent with the creation of Habaguanex and a spate of related construction and real-estate firms tied to the City Historian's Office. It houses some of the largest collections of Spanish colonial architecture in the Americas (Fig. 4). Four key plazas

(San Francisco, Catedral, Armas, and Vieja), as well as several pedestrian boulevards (Prado and Obispo), anchor the historic preservation projects (see Scarpaci 2000; Scarpaci et al. 2002; Colantonio and Potter 2006a, b; Edge et al. 2006).

The City Historian's Office has been an engine of economic development, not just for Habana Vieja, but for Cuba as a whole. This is reflected in its annual budget, which rocketed from \$3 million USD in 1993 to over \$60 million USD in the new millennium. It employs about 6,000 workers spread out among construction (Puerto de Carena and Fénix), real estate (Aurea), historic preservation (Habaguanex), travel (San Cristóbal), monuments restoration, and other agencies (Scarpaci et al. 2002: 340–343). The City Historian's Office handles a long list of redevelopment projects. However, although the Office receives generous public funds, it is not clear what the economic benefits of this investment are. The public does not know the actual revenues generated by heritage tourism in the old city, how much goes to the national treasury, and what percentage of revitalized buildings actually reach local residents (Colantonio 2004). For instance, the southern tip of Habana Vieja contains the poor neighborhood of San Isidro, which has been targeted by the office for residential rehabilitation. However, no one knows what percentage of funds is directed to residential improvement, and the proportion that is earmarked for hard currency-generating tourism projects. Unlike Trinidad, though, the Havana office labors in multiple areas and its efforts are a powerhouse in a city and national economy that has faced setbacks in tourism and sugar production.

Another contentious issue is the extent to which residents of Habana Vieja are displaced, especially across the bay to the sprawling public housing complexes in Habana del Este. Foreign tourist investment and public–private partnerships with foreign capital are a top-priority policy objective in Cuba, where the office contracts with (mostly European) investors in revitalizing Habana Vieja. Historic preservation enhances social stability while supporting the country's environmental and socioeconomic resources. Colantonio (2005) argues that the revitalization of Habana Vieja is drawing key personnel from other “badges of honor” touted by the revolution: health care and sports. This transfer of labor occurs because the heritage and tourism industry offers higher paying jobs in hard currency in the form of gratuities. Focus groups that I convened (Scarpaci 2005: 141–145) showed that residents of Habana Vieja are generally pessimistic about the benefits of heritage tourism that will accrue to them, but their cynicism is not much different from residents in the UNESCO historic sites of Cartagena, Colombia or Cuenca, Ecuador (Scarpaci 2005: 138–145). Nevertheless, restoration efforts cannot take place fast enough to rescue the historic shell of the old quarters that have been debilitated by humidity, storms, high temperatures, and a lack of maintenance.

UNESCO also included military fortifications in its designation. The fortresses of El Moro (Fig. 5), Real Fuerza, La Punta, and La Cabaña represent the largest collection of colonial architecture concentrated in one district in the western hemisphere. Inspired by renaissance and Italian military designs from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, these garrisons complement the ramparts that surrounded Habana Vieja until 1861, when the colonial government tore them down. The colonial network of forts protected commodities coming from Mexico and South America.

Fig. 5 El Morro Castle (1589) on the western side of the narrow entrance to Havana Bay, as seen from the city's seaside boulevard, El Malecón (photo: Scarpaci)

These former fortresses now serve largely as museums and mixed heritage venues. For example, La Punta (built between 1589 and 1600 to guard the "point" or western entrance to the bay) houses a naval museum. The impressive polygonal fort known as El Morro (Castillo de los Tres Santos Reyes del Morro) at the eastern mouth of the bay has museum holdings that focus on military and naval themes. Many visitors are drawn to its lighthouse, which dates to the 1840s.

La Cabaña (Fortaleza de San Carlos de la Cabaña) was completed in 1774 in response to the British taking of the city in 1762. It sits on a high ridge overlooking Habana Vieja and was designed to thwart repeat land attacks from the east. Each evening there is a reenactment of the canon-firing ceremony that in the colonial era announced the closing of the city gates (Fig. 6). La Cabaña has a complex history and offers myriad interpretations of the meaning of heritage landscapes in contemporary Cuba. It houses a museum dedicated to Che Guevara. However, there is little curatorial attention given to Guevara's controversial role as head of the military tribunals (Comisión Depuradora) held immediately after the Triumph of the Revolution in 1959 where suspects were tried and executed. Some allege that these puppet courts ignored well-established judicial review and instead opted for military-court procedures that are enacted during states of siege and national emergencies (Valladares 1986; Brown and Lagos 1991; Vargas Llosa 2005). La Cabaña is also where political prisoners were kept, including the Reinaldo Arenas (1943–1990), a persecuted political dissident, author, and homosexual who was arrested in 1973 for "ideological deviation." He was tortured in La Cabaña where the harsh living conditions included floodwaters and excrement. His story was told in his book, *Antes de que Anochezca* (Arenas 1993), which was the basis for Julian Schnabel's film *Before Night Falls*.

Fig. 6 Re-enactment of the closing of Havana's city gates held every evening at La Cabaña Fort, across the bay from the old walled city. One of the few venues where locals and tourists share a common space, although tourists pay in hard currency and locals pay about one-fifth of the price in local currency (photo: Scarpaci)

Visits to La Cabaña fortress and museum make mention of the history of neither political prisoner holdings nor summary executions. Estimates of the number of executions over which Che Guevara presided there range from 179 to several thousand (Brown and Lagos 1991). Julio Vargas Llosa (2005) describes Che's actions as comparable to those of Lavrentiy Pavlovich Beria (1899–1953), who was Joseph Stalin's head of Soviet security and police apparatus during the Great Purge of the 1930s. Not surprisingly, La Cabaña's themes of English naval attacks, corsairs, and pirates are carefully orchestrated to avoid mention of Arenas and other political activists imprisoned in the fortress. While it is understandable that a nation might not wish to celebrate its role in political oppression, in other nations such "dark tourism" (as it is often called) provides the opportunity for acknowledgement, reflection, and perhaps healing (Lowenthal 1985). In South Africa, political imprisonment, torture, and

extermination serve as niche-type heritage industry as evidenced by the development for tourism of Robben Island – where Nelson Mandela was imprisoned 12 km offshore of Cape Town (see Mandela 1994). One can now tour detention centers that have come to light in post-Pinochet Chile (Scarpaci and Frazier 1993), the extermination camps of the Nazi Holocaust, and other sites of atrocity tourism (Ashworth 2002; Turnbridge et al. 1996). As this chapter has shown, heritage interpretation and curatorial displays are an evolving process in Cuba, and such recognition of the darker side of La Cabaña's Spanish-colonial façade may some day be revealed.

Heritage Management in Habana

Since the demise of the Soviet Union and CAME (the former Soviet-Eastern Europe trade bloc), Cuba has embarked on a strong movement to rescue historical places, promote museums, and celebrate nationally and internationally acclaimed sites and monuments (Scarpaci 2000, 2005). One of the catalysts of this movement has been the City Historian of Havana, Dr. Eusebio Leal Spengler (b. 1942). He became known to millions of Cubans through a television show he hosted called *Andar La Habana* (Walking through Havana) in which he highlighted the city's historical and cultural assets. An elegant speaker and an elected member to the National Assembly, he describes the nation's pursuit of heritage this way:

We have brought life back to every neighborhood in all aspects, as a worthy place to live where schools, cultural institutions, and health facilities proliferate. Resurrecting what once seemed to be lifeless provokes confused looks at such a romantic crusade. And even if it were that way, we would not feign ignorance nor feel ashamed of being romantics in an age defined by apocalyptic events. Our work projects other forms of hope: that which is born from recovering memory, from dreams shared by many to create a new order (OHCH 2006, my translation).

But whose memory will be restored? Whose view of Cuba will the state prioritize? (Bustamante n.d.) As the Cuban most affiliated with heritage preservation, Dr. Leal is well positioned to answer these questions. In 1993, he convinced the authorities to create a unique state-owned company, Habaguanex that allowed him to operate a series of hotels, bed-and-breakfast facilities, shops, supermarkets, and other retail activities. All are run in hard currencies (then dollars, now Convertible Cuban Pesos, or CUC) and, except for hotel lodging, can be accessed by both foreigners and Cubans. With the surplus (or profit) derived from this retailing, various agencies of the City Historian's Office restore buildings, public spaces, streets, and upgrade the infrastructure of Habana Vieja. Thus, with but a small start-up budget approved by the national State Council, the firm has gone on to generate hundreds of millions of dollars each year.

There is no way of knowing the firm's income statement or balance sheets since data are not published. Nevertheless, Dr. Leal's City Historian's office has gone on to expand into real estate (Aurea), transportation (Fénix), tourism (San Cristóbal), and related endeavors. Habaguanex does not focus just on residential enhancement,

soon after its creation, Habaguanex
print and electronic media that prom
UNESCO World Heritage Site of Ok

Fig. 7 Temporary pre-fab housing, one block from Plaza Vieja in Habana Vieja. These Canadian-built modular units are small but offer solid housing while locals await housing reassignment outside the neighborhood or else return to their remodeled home, done by the City Historian Office (photo: Scarpaci)

but there are no firm data on what percentage of the building stock is devoted to residential, institutional, or commercial endeavors. One of its controversial aspects is the displacement of some of the residents of Habana Vieja; however, there are no public meetings on this issue. According to officials, the state relocates a small number of residents to public housing, across the bay, in Habana del Este. Prefabricated modular housing from Canada, located one block west of Plaza Vieja, is often shown to foreigners to indicate where residents are temporarily lodged while their buildings are upgraded (Fig. 7); there are no official or cross-validated data on residential displacement. Except for the neighborhood of San Isidro (discussed below), every restored building that I have visited on Habana Vieja that has undergone revitalization, the ground floor (and, at times, the second floor and the mezzanine) is always devoted to commercial (e.g., hard currency functions) or institutional (museum, archive) land uses, with only a few apartments allocated to locals. While some displacement is temporary in order to permit building improvements, this introduction of new activities and the gentrification it generates, has caused permanent displacement.

Soon after its creation, Habaguanex pursued an active advertising campaign in print and electronic media that promoted its chain of hotels and services in the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Old Havana. Normally, state retailing companies

such as Rumbos or CIMEX would operate these shops, and hotels operated by Cubanacán, Gran Caribe, or Gaviota would manage hotels. This was an unprecedented gift of an important market share to the City Historian's Office. It came about in the worst of the Special Period (1993 and 1994) and perhaps signaled the central government's concern over generating hard currency and tapping into heritage tourism as a new comparative advantage. Although in the early years of the revolution Fidel Castro promised a different kind of "America" for his island – one that did not rest on the low-paid and servile toil of chambermaids, bartenders, and porters (Chaffee and Prevost 1992) – tourism had become an important engine of economic development.

Most of Habaguanex's revitalization efforts center upon a few axes in the historic district: (1) The major plazas of San Francisco, Vieja, Catedral, and Armas; (2) the pedestrian boulevard of Obispo, which connects Central Park with Catedral and Armas squares; and (3) the pedestrian boulevard, Prado, leading from the Malecón through Central Park anchored by the Capitolio and Fraternity Park. Residential development has concentrated largely in the southern tip of the oval-shaped district, in San Isidro neighborhood.

San Isidro was traditionally a working-class neighborhood, devoid of posh architectural structures. Two key heritage landmarks still stand in the neighborhood: the southern gate to the city together with the largest remnant of the walls (that stood until 1861), and the birth home of Cuban statesman, orator, fighter, and renowned patriot, José Martí. The housing stock of the neighborhood consists mainly of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century three-story buildings. It abuts the neighborhood of Jesús María, the train station, and the Tallapiedra energy plant. Located away from the architecturally rich districts of the plazas to the north, it was a neighborhood comprised of seamen, merchant marines, and stevedores. It was peppered with low-end retailing, bars, and brothels until the revolution. Since then, only the bars and a few shops prevail.

Heritage Management in Trinidad and Valle del los Ingenios

Trinidad was also one of the island's original villas founded by Diego Velázquez de Cuéllar. It was settled in 1514 and named after the Holy Trinity (*Santísima Trinidad*). Situated on the flanks of a hillside with a good strategic view of the Caribbean side, the town was platted in such a way as to depart significantly from the orthogonal mandates of the Law of the Indies. The town was a key transshipment and refurbishment point for maritime traffic between key eastern (Santiago de Cuba) and western (Havana) ports. Its relative isolation fostered a regional economy based on illegal trade with Dutch, English, and French merchants, while also leaving it vulnerable to attacks by corsairs, buccaneers, and pirates. The Haitian slave revolt of 1791 sent French colonial sugarcane growers in search of new lands and their settlement in eastern Cuba (as well as elsewhere in the Caribbean and North America) introduced distinctive vernacular architectural details (Fig. 8). Trinidad's elite benefited greatly from this sugar investment and built opulent urban palaces such as the Palacio Cantero, mansions in the adjacent valley, and religious architecture (Fig. 9).

Fig. 8 Trinidad distinctive vernacular architectural details: wooden bracing for cantilever called tornapunta, traditional and unique in Trinidad (photo courtesy of Marissa Masangkay)

Fig. 9 School children playing in the Plaza Mayor in the heart of Trinidad's historic district, flanked by aristocratic houses built by the sugar barons from the first half of the nineteenth century (photo: Scarpaci)

Fig. 10 Trinidad streets paved with local rounded stones from nearby streams (called *chinas pelonas*) as well as ship ballast carried in ships from Europe in the nineteenth century. Sugar was carried back on return voyage (photo: Scarpaci)

This slave-based production peaked in the 1850s and then declined as the local cane growers failed to update their *ingenios* with more modern mills (*centrales*) that used steam-powered processing and grinding mills.

Railroad expansion in western Cuba gave sugarcane growers greater proximity and lower transportation costs to the United States market so that the center of sugar shifted. The changing economy left a museum-like cluster of colonial homes, palaces, and streets in Trinidad, many of the latter adorned with ship ballast from Hamburg, Germany as well as a unique braiding of stream rock called *chinas pelonas* (Fig. 10). Relative isolation from the larger port of Cienfuegos (a paved road did not connect the two places until the 1950s) indirectly led to a rich collection of nineteenth-century artifacts; Cubans call the town the “museum city” (Scarpaci 2005: Chap. 7).

A talented and expanding team of professionals headed up originally by Trinidad native and architect, the late Roberto “Macholo” López Bastida (1958–2003), and later by architect Nancy Benítez, maintains the properties in much of the historic district. A 2% tax imposed on hard-currency operations (hotels, restaurants, taxis, bars, art galleries, etc.) and a 1% tax on peso-run establishments produced an annual budget of more than US\$400,000 in the early years of the millennium. The restoration office is less ambitious than its capital-city counterpart, but does manage to employ nearly 600 employees (Fig. 11). Significantly, the Trinidad restoration team

Fig. 11 Trinidad Restoration Office Organizational Chart (Scarpaci)

does not prioritize restaurants, art galleries, museums, or other entities devoted strictly to tourism. After an early phase (1988–1992) of restoring key elite structures from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they have focused largely on improving run-down residential structures in the Three Crosses Neighborhoods with the assistance of the Barcelona-based NGO, Architects without Borders. Efforts are underway to develop a network of bed-and-breakfast facilities and an agricultural museum in the Valley of the Ingenios, as well as curtailing impending beachfront hotel development along Ancón Peninsula, some 11 km from Trinidad proper (Scarpaci 2005: Chap. 7).

Only one hotel site will be permitted within the historic district, a small, 12-room, high-end bed-and-breakfast, and just one block from the main town square. The land-use zoning is designed not to tax the water and sewage infrastructure further. Nonetheless, dozens of illegal B&Bs exist to house tourists wishing to pay as little as one-fifth of what hotels are charging.

Although the notion that “small may be beautiful” is a paradigm for the city conservation office of Trinidad, it also means it is restricted by administrative power and relatively small revenues (when compared to Habana Vieja). Since the new millennium began, the Ministry of Tourism has been trying to get investors to build 4,000 rooms on Ancón peninsula, just 11 km from Trinidad and the closest beach. The Trinidad restoration office was not consulted about this solicitation, and they are strongly opposed to it, pointing out that tourists will visit the historic districts in

air-conditioned buses that, although prohibited from entering the historic district will park with motors running on the outskirts of the historic district. The congestion, noise and diesel pollution will be significant. In addition, the conservationists argue that the restaurants and bars will not be able to handle the influx of tourists using washrooms and bathrooms.

Trinidad will be able to market a smaller walkable version of Habana Vieja with key differences. The town's heritage marks the rise and bust of sugar – roughly from 1800 until 1860 – after which time modern boilers (*centrales*) replaced the slave-based axe-grinding stone (*trapiche*). The main highway connecting Trinidad to Cienfuegos was not paved until the early 1950s, adding to Trinidad's relative isolation. Like Habana Vieja, heritage preservation was more the result of happenstance than any well forged planning conservation policies like those found in Brazil, Peru, or Mexico (Hardoy and Gutman 1992) (Jones and Varley 1999). The city preservationists must continue to disentangle their disagreements with the Ministry of Tourism and are forced to spend resources on legal fees when they bring local companies into litigation for not paying their 2 or 1% tourism tax.

Representations of *Cubanidad*

Heritage planning practices in Habana Vieja and Trinidad have evolved unevenly. In both cities, official policy and action ranged from ambiguity (pre-1980s), to official UNESCO recognition (Havana in 1982; Trinidad in 1988), and to active promotion and commodification of heritage. Cuba's downward economic spiral in the 1990s increased competition for scarce public resources, and not surprisingly, food provision, health care, and energy tended to receive priority over matters of cultural patrimony. But the island's post-Soviet tourism marketing altered that approach after 1993, and it prevails into the second decade of the new millennium.

For a relatively small nation – not much larger than the state of Pennsylvania – Cuba has a remarkable array of cultural and natural sites, national landmarks, and cultural landscapes. However, not all of the heritage sites have been developed under carefully designed management plans. Trinidad and other sites evolved their museological identities as much by default as by design. The preservation of such sites may be due to Cuba's relatively low population density, despite being the largest island in the Caribbean. The destruction of historic sites has occurred because of idiosyncratic and technological factors, as, for example, when Havana's walls were demolished because they were militarily obsolete and exacerbated crowding. Although heritage preservation was not particularly well supported or encouraged in the decades following the Revolution, recently it has received considerable attention. To be sure, heritage sells and the Cuban government unabashedly seeks – in the parlance of free-market economics and neoliberalism – new comparative advantages to sustain the economy. Time will tell whether the revolution is successful in defining its own version of socialist heritage. As Graham et al. (2000: 25) note, "It follows that once a subversive heritage succeeds to power, it quickly loses its revolutionary intent and becomes a conservative force in itself."

Fig. 12 Dancers from Trinidad, Cuba. Afro-Cuban traditions have become a mainstay in cultural tourism venues across the islands (photo: Scarpaci)

There is a trend in heritage preservation to acknowledge the spiritual values tied to historical monuments, natural features, and cultural landscapes. Anthony Tung poses the question somewhat differently:

If the historic cores of major cities are vigorously protected and their architectural forms are fixed in time, as if they were living museums, can such metropolises prosper in the unforgiving world of global economic competition? Have we arrived at a moment when...conservation assumes an unprecedented urgency because of the historically unparalleled power of modern humans to alter whole cityscapes overnight? (Tung 2001: 1).

In this age when technological gains capture the public's imagination about what is new, as opposed to old, the urgency in conservation also entails documenting rituals, belief systems, and oral traditions (see Ruggles and Silverman 2009). Given Cuba's low-level of formal, religious participation, we might expect to see some movement whereby the spiritual and belief systems could, over time, incorporate many more political values embraced by the Revolution, or by Cuba's African heritage, which has only since the twentieth century been celebrated and recognized (Ortiz 1916; Tannenbaum 1946; de la Fuente et al. 1996). Behind many heritage sites in Cuba is the anonymous blood and sweat of slave labor that is still not fully acknowledged, although this appears to be changing. Indeed, there is a huge resurgence of Afro-Cuban heritage tourism throughout the island (Fig. 12) that functions variously as legal and illegal microenterprises. Such cultural portrayals

thrive in Trinidad and Habana Vieja and are multiplier effects of the broader heritage industry. Because the transmission of national values to young people is a celebrated form of national cultural identity that UNESCO supports (Rössler 2004b), such a trend toward celebrating the vernacular is quite likely, particularly as the Revolution has reached its 50-year anniversary. We might even envision a new kind of heritage landscape emerging at the U.S. Naval Base in Guantánamo, Cuba, when it ultimately returns to Cuban control. Fidel Castro claims that he will turn the facility into a free education center for the people of Latin America, but at present, tourists can only observe the base through a single observation tower several kilometers north of the base. The international uproar over the use of Camp X-ray within the "Gitmo" naval base for detaining alleged terrorists has cast unprecedented scrutiny upon what was once a sleepy coaling station negotiated on dubious terms from the Cuban nation based on the Platt Amendment of 1902. In fact, Cuban maps since 1959 make no reference of the U.S. naval base. Nevertheless, new venues of dark tourism lurk on the horizon, whether to explore and bear witness to political oppression (e.g., La Cabaña) or the international violations of human rights (Camp X-ray). The possibilities for new heritage landscapes are unlimited: Camp X-ray could some day be a sort of international Islamic heritage or anti-war site in a post-Iraq war, post-embargo, and post-Fidel era.

Perhaps the greatest challenge may be marshalling the necessary resources to manage these landmarks as the economy struggles to regain levels from the 1989 Soviet era. *The New York Times* architecture critic Paul Goldberger identifies the Cuban risk in leaning towards too much free-market activity and too much state control:

It is a striking paradox that right now in Cuba, the Communist regimes seem quite eager to sell anything it can to bring in short-term income – whereas it is here, in the United States, this citadel of capitalism, that so many people are looking at Cuba with more of a long view, and urging it to move slowly, to make rules, to enforce a certain amount of governmental authority to limit and guide development...the answer for [Cuba] – this "third way" – is not merely a matter of preserving what is there and preventing new construction, which is absurd and impractical. And it is emphatically not the theme park...

Conclusions

Heritage planning in Havana, because of its scale, has gained national prominence. Revenues generated from heritage tourism contribute to the national treasury. Perhaps because of this, residential refurbishing appears to be relatively small, while the commercial focus of Habaguanex prevails. In fact, I have often heard Havana residents say that "Where's there is a crane, there is a hotel being built," underlying the tension between the goals of the government and the wishes of residents. Trinidad heritage planners have largely avoided the tourism business, thanks in part to the native son and pioneering leadership of Roberto González. Instead, it has focused on improving the housing stock. Moreover, Trinidad's financing is more transparent, specifically tied to the volume of peso and hard-currency generating firms. Perhaps

because the Trinidad restoration office is an appendage to the Ministry of Culture, it has been less concerned with profit. Whereas Havana has a huge housing stock that has yet to be refurbished, Trinidad has commenced with the worst housing stock and has refurbished nearly one-quarter of the buildings in the historic zone.

Future heritage and marketing projects in Cuba will be ambitious but necessary, and they will not be confined to land projects. They might include underwater cultural heritage, which is fast becoming a focus of international agencies and may be a useful means of exploring shipwrecks and at the same time preserving the fragile coral reefs that surround Cuba (Grenier et al. 2006). Alternatively, they may include political monuments monumental such as the centenarian Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer's sculpture interpreting U.S. imperialism towards Cuba; a man holding a Cuban flag stands below a looming tiger. In the meantime, Cuba's heritage landscapes offer constructive lenses through which we can interpret the history, culture, nature, and politics of the island.

Both historic districts reflect the broad waves of political and economic forces that have left a mark on their built environments. It is also clear that the post-Soviet era forced the government to drawn on traditional comparative advantages, a prospect that did figure in the first three decades of the revolution. However, centralized socialist planning has been no panacea. There is no reason to believe that community input to historic preservation is any more sensitive to the planning process in market economies. Nor does centralized planning ease cross-ministerial negotiations, as evidenced in the debate between the cultural and tourism ministries over Trinidad's oceanfront development. "Small may be beautiful" in the case of Trinidad, with its laudable focus on residential enhancement as a priority, but it also entails ensuring that local firms pay tourism taxes. These behind-the-scene pressures, although subject to criticism, are safeguarding rich elements of Cuba's patrimony. Representations of *cubanidad* reflect myriad forces that change according to organization, leadership values, and geography. It is easy to envision different paths of change when and if a post-Raul and post-socialist government take power.

Note

1. I am grateful to Orestes del Castillo, Jr. for making this point.

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