

APPENDIX

NOTE ON SOURCES

This book is the product of a long journey through the Cuban political landscape, actually going all the way back to my first stay in Cuba in the late 1970s. Most of the material, however, is obviously collected during the ten years dealt with—2008–2018 (with some follow-up in 2019). During these years, the author has visited Cuba on numerous occasions every year, discussed relevant issues with a large number of Cubans from all walks of life, participated in seminars and workshops, worked more directly with Cuban and non-Cuban colleagues, read drafts and final articles, had access to informal discussions among Cuban scholars that they normally would be quite careful to let foreigners listen to. The level of confidence thus shown to me cannot be abused.

For this reason, there are relatively few formal interviews, recorded and used through direct quotes. In many cases, I cannot reveal the exact identity of sources, for obvious reasons given the characteristics of the Cuban political system.

In the following, there is a list of persons with whom I have had relevant academic conversations, in many cases on several occasions, in many cases both oral and by e-mail. I have not made formal interviews with Cuban officials, simply because I have not had an academic visa giving me access to such interviews, but also because such interviews in Cuba are normally of limited value. There is of course a long list of quotations from public speeches and interviews, appropriately referred to in the text.

LIST OF CUBAN CONVERSATION PARTNERS

- Carlos *Alzugaray*, ex-Ambassador, co-President of Cuba chapter of LASA (Latin America Studies Association).
- Domingo *Amuchastegui*, ex-intelligence analyst, Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs, now residing in Miami and still writing extensively about Cuban current affairs.
- Luís *Bérriz Pérez*, President, Cubasolar (NGO working for renewable energy).
- Harold *Cárdenas*, Political Scientist, Director of the *Jóven Cuba* association, now PhD scholar at Columbia University, New York.
- Armando *Chaguaceda*, Political Scientist, University of Guanajuato/Mexico.
- Iliana *Díaz Fernández*, Economist, CEEC.
- Elaine *Díaz Rodríguez*, Director, Periodismo de Barrio.
- Laritzta *Diversent*, Lawyer and Director of Cubalex Legal Advice Centre, since 2017 forced to leave Cuba and set up the Centre in exile in the US.
- Reinaldo *Escobar*, Journalist *14ymedio*, Havana.
- Oscar *Espinoza Chepe*, late Cuban economist and political prisoner.
- Karina *Gálves*, economist and leader of Centro de Estudios Convivencia, in 2017 sentenced to three years in prison.
- Nora *Gámez Torres*, Journalist *Miami Herald* / *El Nuevo Herald*, PhD in Music Anthropology City University of London.
- Anicia *García Álvarez*, economist, Professor University of Havana, ex-Director CEEC.
- Osiel *Gouneo*, Ballet Dancer who migrated to Norway, now performing at the Oslo Opera.
- Lenier *Gonzalez*, Sub-Director General of Cuba Posible.
- Rafael *Hernandez*, Editor of *Revista Temas* (published by the Ministry of Culture).
- Eduardo *Lamora*, film director living in Paris (Norwegian-Cuban citizen).
- Miriám *Leiva*, freelance journalist, co-founder of *Damas en Blanco*, widow of late Cuban economist Oscar Espinoza Chepe.
- Max *Lesnick*, journalist living in Miami, close friend of Fidel Castro, Alfredo Guevara, José Ramón Machado Ventura and other Cuban leaders, relations going back to common student struggles against Batista.
- Arturo *López-Levy*, Political Scientist, now teaching at University of Texas, US.

- Idael *Márquez Artiaga*, self-employed entrepreneur, Pinar del Rio.
- Pedro *Monreal*, economist, ex-CEEC, Director Académico Cuba Posible, official at UNESCO (Paris).
- Emilio *Morales*, ex-official CIMEX, now Director of Havana Consulting Group, Miami.
- Yailenis *Mulet*, economist, previously researcher at CEEC.
- Armando *Nova*, agricultural economist, CIEI and ex-CEEC, both of the University of Havana.
- Liliana *Núñez Velis*, President, Fundación Antonio Núñez Jiménez (environmental NGO).
- Leonardo *Padura*, Cuban novelist.
- Jaime *Ortega*, Cardinal and ex-Archbishop of Havana.
- Yaima *Pardo*, blogger.
- Omar Everlenny *Pérez*, economist ex-CEEC (also previously CEEC Director), in 2016 suspended from his researcher position there.
- Yasmin *Portales*, blogger, Observatorio Crítico de Cuba.
- Emma *Proenza Suárez*, owner of Bed & Breakfast business.
- Roberto *Robaina*, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, removed from this position in 1999 and later made a living as a private restaurant owner.
- Alejandro *Rodríguez Rodríguez*, independent journalist and blogger.
- Norges *Rodríguez*, blogger (now living in the US).
- Pablo *Rodríguez*, anthropologist, Professor, Anthropology Institute, Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment.
- Leydis *Rosaenz*, lawyer, Partner and Cuba representative of QR-legal (German law firm).
- Carlos *Saladrigas*, Cuban-American businessman in Miami, supporting entrepreneurial training through Catholic Church and actively lobbying for diaspora investments.
- Yoani *Sánchez*, journalist and Director of *14ymedio*, Havana.
- Ricardo *Torres*, economist, CEEC.
- Taylor *Torres*, blogger (now living in the US).
- Juan *Triana Cordoví*, economist (and Ex-Director), CEEC.
- Roberto *Veiga*, Director General of Cuba Posible.
- Pavel *Vidal Alejandro*, economist ex-CEEC, professor Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Cali, Colombia.
- Reinaldo *Vivas Zerquera*, restaurant owner, Trinidad.
- Plus a large number of Cubans who remain anonymous.

LIST OF NON-CUBAN CONVERSATION PARTNERS

- Claes *Brundenius*, Economist, Professor Emeritus, University of Lund.
- José *Chofre Sirvent*, Director Académico, Departamento de Estrudios Jurídicos del Estado, University of Alicante (Spain) (responsible for a long-term collaboration with Cuban universities).
- Guy *Cristophe*, First Secretary, Embassy of France in Havana.
- Samuel *Farber*, Political Scientist of Cuban origin, Professor Emeritus, Brooklyn College of the City University of New York.
- Richard *Feinberg*, Latin America Initiative at Brookings Institution, Washington, DC (ex-Special Assistant to President Bill Clinton).
- Marc *Frank*, *Thomson Reuters* correspondent in Havana, living there since the 1990s.
- Fabio *Goebel*, Head of Business Development, Odebrecht, Cuba.
- Bernt *Hagtvet*, Political Scientist, Professor Emeritus University of Oslo.
- Ted *Henken*, Sociologist, Professor, Baruch College, City University of New York.
- Eric *Hershberg*, Political Scientist, Professor of American University (Washington, DC).
- Bert *Hoffmann*, Political Scientist, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), Hamburg.
- Jan Tore *Holvik*, ex-Norwegian Ambassador in Havana.
- Hal *Klepak*, Canadian military expert (partly living in Havana).
- Jonas *Lovén*, Swedish Ambassador in Havana.
- Andrew *MacDonald*, British Investor in renewable energy sector.
- Javier *Merino Condado*, Counsellor, Embassy of Spain in Cuba.
- Ingrid *Mollestad*, Norwegian Ambassador, Havana.
- Dag *Nagoda*, ex-First Secretary, Norwegian Embassy, Havana.
- John Petter *Opdahl*, ex-Norwegian Ambassador, Havana.
- Manuel *Orozco*, Inter-American Dialogue, Washington, DC.
- Philip *Peters*, Ex-Cuba advisor US State Department, Partner at D17 Strategies (Washington, DC).
- Matthew *Pickles*, Havana representative of Ernst and Young.
- Fernando *Ravsberg*, Uruguayan journalist, based in Cuba since many years ago, ex-correspondent of BBC, regularly publishing opinion articles through his blog <http://cartasdesdecuba.com>.
- Archibald *Ritter*, economist, Professor Carleton University, Canada (ref. his Cuba blog: <https://thecubaneconomy.com>).
- Olle *Törnquist*, Political Scientist, Professor at University of Oslo.

José María *Viñals*, Lawyer, Partner and Rep of Despacho de Lupicinio Abogados (Spanish law firm in Havana, representing several major foreign investors).

Laurence *Whitehead*, Political Scientist, Professor, Dept. of Politics, Nuffield College, Oxford University.

Ståle *Wig*, Social anthropologist, University of Oslo, PhD candidate.

WRITTEN PUBLICATIONS QUOTED

14ymedio, digital daily, edited in Havana, most often not accessible on the public Cuban Internet (www.14ymedio.com).

ASCE News, news clipping service provided by ASCE (Association for the Study of the Cuba Economy), edited in Miami and sent for free by e-mail to all subscribers.

Associated Press, US-based news agency with permanent representation in Havana.

BBC News (website, often based on reports from BBC's Havana Correspondent)

Bohemia.

CaféFuerte, news and information site (<http://cafefuerte.com>) edited by Cuban journalists residing in the US, offering its space to independent Cuban journalists living and working in Cuba.

Cartas desde Cuba, blog published by Uruguayan journalist Fernando Ravsberg (see non-Cuban conversation partners) (<http://cartasdesdecuba.com>).

Convivencia Centro de Estudios, opposition think-tank; its new office in Pinar del Río bought in the name of Karina Gálvez in 2017 was considered as illegally acquired, Mrs. Gálvez sentenced to three years in prison (<http://convivenciacuba.es>).

Cuba Contemporánea, Cuban cultural review with roots back to 1913.

Cuba-economía, a blog published by the Cuban economist Eliás Amor Bravo, residing in Madrid (<http://cuba-economia.blogspot.no>).

Cubadebate, a Cuban website (www.cubadebate.cu) mostly containing official information and opinions held by PCC hardliners.

Cubaencuentro, describing its mission as “analysis and reflection on the transnational Cuban community” (<https://www.cubaencuentro.com>).

Cubainsidetheworld, English-language official Cuban website (<https://cubainsidetheworld.wordpress.com>).

- Cuba Possible*, website edited by Think Tank of the same name (www.cuba-possible.com).
- Cubaprofunda*, (<https://cubaprofunda.wordpress.com>), website with close links to Ministry of Culture.
- Cuba Standard*, Miami-based digital news service on Cuban economy (<https://www.cubastandard.com>).
- Cubanálisis*, a Miami-based think tank managed by the exiled Cuban economist Eugenio Yáñez (<http://www.cubanalisis.com>).
- CubaNet*, digital news service edited in Miami (www.cubanet.org), frequently used as publication channel for independent Cuban journalists.
- Diario de Cuba (DDC)*, information website edited in Miami (www.diariodecuba.com).¹
- Diario las Américas*, Daily newspaper specialising on Latin America, published in Miami (<https://www.diariolasamericas.com>).
- The Diplomat Magazine*, international affairs magazine specialising on the Asia-Pacific region.
- Economic Trend Report*, quarterly publication by *Cuba Standard Economic Reports*, co-authored by the Colombia-based Cuban economist Pavel Vidal and the business journalist Johannes Werner, publishing its own *economic activity index* as a compensation for heavy limitations and delays in the publication of public statistics in Cuba.
- EcuRed*, pseudo-academic website with an editorial line close to the official party line, also hosting the virtual journal *Cuba Contemporánea* (www.ecured.cu).
- EFE*, Spanish international news agency with permanent presence in Havana.
- El Estado como tal*, private blog by economist Pedro Monreal (<https://elestadocomotal.com/>).
- El Nuevo Herald*, daily edited and published in Miami (in Spanish) with wide coverage on Cuba (www.elnuevoherald.com) (ref. English-language daily *Miami Herald*).
- El País*, Spanish daily, previously with frequent coverage by full-time correspondent in Havana, who was expelled from Havana in 2011 and has never been replaced.
- Engage Cuba*, a US coalition of private companies, organisations and local leaders lobbying for the lifting of US embargo against Cuba: (www.engagecuba.org/).
- Espacio Laical*, Catholic cultural magazine (<http://espaciolaical.net>).

- Foresight Cuba*, an information bank reproducing data from a variety of sources, managed by a team of Cuban residents abroad (<http://foresightcuba.com>)
- Gaceta Oficial*, Cuban Government's official announcement site (www.gacetaoficial.cu).
- GlobalPost*, an online US digital journalism company, (<http://www.globalpost.com/>).
- Granma*, official organ of the Cuban Communist Party (www.granma.cu).
- The Guardian* (London).
- Havana Times*, independent Cuban blog and magazine edited in Nicaragua (<https://www.havanatimes.org>).
- Inter-Press Service (IPS)*, Third World news agency, Havana Bureau (<http://www.ipscuba.net>).
- Martí Noticias*, webservice (www.martinoticias.com) edited in Miami (ref. also Radio and TV Martí), financed by the US Government.
- Miami Herald*, daily edited and published in Miami with wide coverage on Cuba (www.miamiherald.com) (ref. Spanish-language daily *El Nuevo Herald*).
- The New York Times* (New York).
- Observatory on Economic Flexibility*, tool for country economic analysis (<https://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/cub/>).
- OnCuba Magazine* and *OnCuba website* (www.oncubamagazine.com), published by a Cuban-American media group based in Nevada (managed by Hugo Cancio), with permanent and duly accredited correspondent office in Havana. The magazine is available free of charge on most flights from the US to Cuba. Cuban journalists and scholars are frequently contributing to OnCuba.²
- Palabra Nueva*, Journal of the Archbishop's office in Havana (<http://palabranueva.org>).
- Postdata*, a multidisciplinary team of bloggers "which wishes to tell stories from Cuba based on the interpretation of a variety of sources" (<http://www.postdata.club/>).
- Progreso Semanal*, "an independent publication of a progressive character", published online in Miami with frequent articles by prominent Cuban economists (<http://progresosemanal.us>).
- Thomson Reuters*, Havana Bureau (i.e. with the senior foreign correspondent in Havana, Marc Frank) (ref. also *Reuters Business News*).
- USAToday* (Virginia, USA).
- Washington Post* (Washington, DC).

NOTES

1. Access to DCC in Cuba was blocked in 2017, but a way around this measure was later announced through the downloading of a special software (ref. DDC 12.01.18).
2. In an internal speech in February 2017, then First Vice President Díaz-Canel attacked the magazine and said it was going to be closed. Until now, this has not happened.

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