

Reforming Communism: Cuba in Comparative Perspective

November 6-8, 2014
University of Pittsburgh

Cuba has been reforming, or been at the brink of a reform period, perhaps since the Revolution. With an aging leadership and now decades-long economic struggles, the pace of change, however, has finally accelerated. Today, Cubans can open small businesses, travel abroad, access the Internet, and purchase cell phones, microwaves, and (very expensive) new cars.

In spite of its size, the Cuban model has been an inspiration—from both a positive and negative perspective—for social movements, political leaders, and cultural expressionists around the world. This conference will examine Cuba's internal reforms and their external influences within an explicit **comparative framework**. The conference will include a diverse group of scholars from several world regions to explore the reform away from communism. The conference is also **interdisciplinary** and will cover themes spanning the humanities to the social sciences.

Thursday, November 6, 2014

University Club, Conference Room A (3rd Floor)

4:00 - 6:00 p.m. (Open to the public)

Pre-Conference Lectures: A View from Cuba (in Spanish with English translation)

Lenier González Mederos (editor, *Cuba Posible*): "Sociedad civil en Cuba: apuntes para el presente"

Roberto Veiga González (editor, *Cuba Posible*): "La Constitución de nuestra República ante una sociedad que renueva sus imaginarios socio-políticos"

6:00 - 7:00 p.m. (Open to the public)

Reception

7:00 - 8:15 p.m.

Conference: Opening Remarks and Keynote Address

Opening: **Scott Morgenstern** (Director, Center for Latin American Studies) and **Jerome Branche** (Associate Professor of Latin American and Cultural Studies, Department of Hispanic Languages and Literatures)

Introduction: **Jorge Pérez – López** (International Economist)

Welcoming: **Patty Beeson** (Provost and Senior Vice Chancellor)

Keynote Address: **Carmelo Mesa-Lago** (Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of Economics and Latin American Studies)

8:15 - 10:00 p.m.

Dinner (by invitation only)

University Club, Gold Room (2nd floor)

Friday, November 7, 2014

3911 Wesley W. Posvar Hall (3rd floor)

8:00 - 8:30 a.m. *Continental Breakfast*

8:30 - 9:00 a.m.

Welcome and Logistics: Scott Morgenstern and Jerome Branche

9:00 - 10:30 a.m.

Comparative Models of Reform

Martin K. Dimitrov (Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Asian Studies Program, Tulane University): “Regime Survival in Cuba in Comparative Perspective”

Edmund Malesky (Associate Professor of Political Economy, Duke University): “Authoritarian Participation and Regulatory Compliance: A Field Experiment”

Yu Xiao (PhD student, University of Pittsburgh): “Fiscal Policy Reform in Cuba and China”

Chair: **Barry Ames**

10:45 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.

Reform Reconsidered: Arts, Literature, Politics

John Beverley (Distinguished Professor of Hispanic Languages and Literatures, University of Pittsburgh): “Caliban after Communism”

Odette Casamayor-Cisneros (Associate Professor of Latin American and Caribbean Cultures, University of Connecticut-Storrs): “Between Void and Flesh: Counter-Hegemonic Poetics of Post-Soviet Cuba”

Arturo Matute Castro (Visiting Assistant Professor, Modern Languages, Denison University): “Ex-Insula Citizenship: Cuban American Writers and the Negotiation of Cubanness”

Chair: **Jerome Branche**

12:15 – 1:30 p.m. *Lunch*

1:30 - 3:00 p.m.

Economic Reforms and International Investment

Carlos Alzugaray Treto (Miembro, Asociación de Escritores, Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba): “The ‘Updating of the Economic Model’ in Cuba: An initial Comparative Perspective of Its Domestic and Foreign Political Contexts and Implications”

Jorge Pérez-López (International Economist): “Foreign investment in Cuba’s ‘Updating’ of its economic model”

Kevin Morrison (Assistant Professor, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh): “The Washington Consensus and the New Political Economy of Economic Reform”

Chair: **Aníbal Pérez-Liñán**

3:15 - 4:45 p.m.

Revisiting the Social(ist) Contract

Ana Belén Martín-Sevillano (Associate Professor of Hispanic Studies, Université de Montréal): “Gender-Based Violence: Debate and Representation in the Cuban Cultural Field”

Alan West Duran (Associate Professor, Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures, Northeastern University):” Lost and Found in Translation: Race in Cuba and the U.S.”

Chair: **Michele Reid-Vazquez**

6:00 - 9:00 p.m.

Dinner (by invitation only)

The Porch Restaurant (221 Schenley Dr, Pittsburgh, PA 15213)

Saturday, November 8, 2014

3911 Wesley W. Posvar Hall (3rd floor)

8:30 - 9:00 a.m. *Continental Breakfast*

9:00 - 10:30 a.m.

Cuba and Models of Leftist Politics around the World

Juan Andrés Moraes (Professor of Political Science, Universidad de la República-Uruguay): “The Uruguayan Blend: Building a Singular Pro-Market, Pro-Welfare, and Pro-Libertarian Oriented Left”

Luke March (Senior Lecturer in Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics, University of Edinburgh): “Between Reform and Radicalism: The Parties of the European ‘Radical’ Left Today”

Aníbal Pérez-Liñán (Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh): “Political Parties and Regime Legacies: Lessons for the Future of Cuba”

Chair: **Kevin Morrison**

10:45 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.

Reforms in Social Welfare: Cuba, Latin America, and Asia

Carmelo Mesa-Lago (Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of Economics and Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh): “Cuba’s Social Welfare Reforms under Raul Castro, 2006- 2014”

Javier Vázquez-D’Elía (Lecturer in Political Science, Penn State Erie, The Behrend College): “The Future of Cuban Social Protection System and the Latin American Mirror”

James McGuire (Professor, Department of Government, Wesleyan University): “Initial Conditions and Economic Development: The East Asian Tigers and Cuba”

Chair: **Sofia Vera**

12:15 – 1:30 p.m.

Lunch (By invitation only)

4130 Wesley W. Posvar Hall (4 floor)

2:00 - 3:30 p.m.

The Communist Legacy

Ronald Linden (Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh): “The Communist Legacy in Context: Evidence from East Europe”

Lucan Way (Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto): *title pending*

Alejandro de la Fuente (Robert Woods Bliss Professor of Latin American History and Economics and Professor of African and African American Studies and of History, Harvard University): “The Cuban Revolution: A Revisionist Turn?”

Chair: **Scott Morgenstern**

3:30 - 4:30 p.m. *Wrap-up Session*

Sponsored by the Center for Latin American Studies, Global Studies Center (Global Academic Partnership), Office of the Provost, Graduate School Public and International Affairs, Department Hispanic Languages and Literature, Department of Political Science, and Center for International Studies at the University of Pittsburgh, in collaboration with the Cuba Study Group, Inc.

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Jerome Branche (Associate Professor of Latin American and Cultural Studies, Department of Hispanic Languages and Literatures): branche@pitt.edu

Biographies:

Carlos Alzugaray Treto is a Cuban diplomat and educator. He studied at the International Division of Sophia University in Tokyo, Japan, from 1959–1961 and at the University of Havana from 1961-1965. He has a Bachelor degrees in Diplomacy (1965) and History of Cuba (1989); a Master’s degree in Contemporary History (1999); and a PhD in Historical Sciences, all from the University of Havana. His PhD dissertation was on the Eisenhower Administration’s policy towards the Cuban Revolution (1958-1961). Since 1980, he has been on the faculty of the Instituto Superior de Relaciones Internacionales Raúl Roa García (Raúl Roa García Institute for Advanced International Studies). At the same time, he has been an Adjunct Professor at the University of Havana.

John R. Beverley is a literary and cultural critic who works at the University of Pittsburgh. He is a Distinguished Professor of Hispanic Languages and Latin American Literature as well as an adjunct professor in the departments of English and Communication. He obtained his PhD at the University of California at San Diego. His research interests are: Golden Age, Hispanic and Latin American baroque, Latin American cultural studies, testimonio, Spanish and Latin American film, U.S. Latino literature, and postcolonial and subaltern studies.

Odette Casamayor-Cisneros is a Cuban-born scholar and writer. She is an Associate Professor of Latin American and Caribbean Cultures at the University of Connecticut-Storrs. She earned a PhD in Art and Literature at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris. Her book, *Utopia, distopía e ingravidez: reconfiguraciones cosmológicas en la narrativa post-soviética cubana*, was published by Iberoamericana/Vervuert in May 2013. Dr. Casamayor is currently working on her new book *On Being Blacks: Challenging the Hegemonic Knowledge through Racial Self-Identification Processes in Post-Soviet Cuban Cultural Production*. This project was originally sponsored by a 2005 Rockefeller Foundation fellowship as Visiting Research scholar at SUNY/Stony Brook. A first article on this topic, “Negros de papel. Algunas apariciones del negro en la narrativa cubana después de 1959”, received the 2003 “Juan Rulfo” International Essay Award in Paris. Portions of her research are available as book chapter and articles in peer-reviewed publications from Duke UP, Routledge, Vervuert, Gale and other prestigious academic publishers. Her work is also included in *Queloides: Race and Racism in Cuban Contemporary Art*, a book accompanying a groundbreaking exhibition presented in Havana, Pittsburgh, New York, and Harvard (2010-2012). Odette Casamayor has been awarded the 2015 Wilbur Marvin Visiting Scholarship at the Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University.

Martin K. Dimitrov is Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Asian Studies Program at Tulane University. He is also Chair of the Working Group on Authoritarian Resilience at the Holbrooke Forum for the Study of Diplomacy and Governance Statecraft in the 21st Century at the American Academy in Berlin; an Associate at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University; and the Associate Editor for Asia of *Problems of Post-Communism*. His books include *Piracy and the State: The Politics of Intellectual Property Rights in China* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) and *Why Communism Did Not Collapse: Understanding Authoritarian Regime Resilience in Asia and Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2013). He is currently completing a book manuscript entitled *Dictatorship and Information: Autocratic Regime Resilience in Communist Europe and China*. He received his PhD from Stanford University in 2004 and has held residential fellowships at the American Academy in Berlin; the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; the Aleksanteri Institute in Helsinki; the Institute for Advanced Study at the University of Notre Dame; the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law at Stanford; the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard; and the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies at Harvard. He is a member of the National Committee on United States-China Relations and a member of the board of the Confucius Institute at Tulane University. He has conducted fieldwork in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Russia, Germany, France, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, and Cuba.

Alejandro de la Fuente is the Robert Woods Bliss Professor of Latin American History and Economics, Professor of African and African American Studies and of History, and Director of the Afro-Latin American Research Institute, Hutchins Center for African and African American Research, at Harvard University. He specializes in the study of comparative slavery and race relations. He joined Harvard University after holding faculty appointments at the University of Pittsburgh, the University of South Florida in Tampa, and the University of Havana. His works on race, slavery, and Atlantic history have been published in Spanish, English, Portuguese, Italian, German, and French.

Ronald H. Linden is Professor of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh. In January 2011, he became Director of the EU Center of Excellence and the European Studies Center at Pitt. A Princeton PhD (1976), he was Director of the Center for Russian and East European Studies from 1984-89 and 1991-98. From 1989 to 1991, Dr. Linden served as Director of Research for Radio Free Europe in Munich, Germany with responsibility for observing and analyzing the extraordinary changes in East Europe. Dr. Linden's research career has focused on Central and Southeastern Europe, including in recent years, Turkey. He is co-author and editor of the volume *Turkey and Its Neighbors: Foreign Relations in Transition* (2012) and was a contributing author to the volume *The Berlin Wall: 20 Years Later* (published by the US Department of State [2009] to commemorate twenty years since the fall of the Berlin Wall).

Edmund Malesky is an Associate Professor of Political Economy at Duke University. He has published in leading political science and economic journals, including the *American Political Science Review* and *Journal of Politics*, and has been awarded the Harvard Academy Fellowship and Gabriel Almond Award for best dissertation in comparative politics. Dr. Malesky serves as the lead researcher for the Vietnam Provincial Competitiveness Index and is a noted specialist in the political development of Vietnam and China, comparative political economy in Southeast Asia, as well as economic transitions in developing economies.

Arturo Matute-Castro is Visiting Assistant Professor of Modern Languages at Denison University. His areas of specialization include Cuban and Hispanic Caribbean Literatures, as well as the Hispanic Caribbean and Diaspora Art and Visual Culture, Gender and Sexualities in Modern Latin American Literature and Genetic Criticism.

Luke March is a Senior Lecturer in Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Director of Undergraduate Teaching for Politics and International Relations at the University of Edinburgh and is the current Deputy Director of the Dashkova Centre. His publications include *The Communist Party in Post-Soviet Russia*, which received a five-star review from Political Studies. His latest book, *Radical Left Parties in Europe*, was published by Routledge in December 2011. He is also working with Richard Dunphy of Dundee University on *The European Left Party: A Case Study in Transnational Party Building* (Manchester University Press, 2013).

Ana Belén Martín Sevillano is Associate Professor of Hispanic Studies at the Université de Montréal. She obtained her PhD in Hispanic Philology from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Her research interests are: Caribbean Cultural Studies, African heritage, Racialization and Ethnicity in the Hispanic Caribbean, Gender Studies, Migration and Diaspora Studies, and Caribbean and Latin American Art and Literature.

James W. McGuire is Professor in the Department of Government at Wesleyan University. He is the author of *Peronism without Perón: Unions, Parties, and Democracy in Argentina* (Stanford University Press, 1997) and *Wealth, Health, and Democracy in East Asia and Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), which won the 2011 Stein Rokkan Prize for Comparative Social Science Research.

Carmelo Mesa-Lago is Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of Economics and Latin American Studies at the University of Pittsburgh, has been a visiting professor, researcher, or lecturer in 40 countries, and is the author of 93 books and 300 articles (published in 7 languages in 34 countries). He also is a former President of the Latin American Studies Association, a member of the National Academy of Social Insurance, and received the 2007 International Labor Organization Prize on Decent Work (shared with former South African president and Nobel Peace Prize winner Nelson Mandela).

Juan Andrés Moraes is Professor of Political Science at the Universidad de la República. He specializes in political parties and electoral behavior. He is coauthor of *Fragmentación Política y Gobierno en Uruguay* (1998), and is the author of several articles in edited books (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008; Rockefeller Center - Harvard University Press, 2009) and specialized journals like *Comparative Political Studies* (2009) and *Party Politics* (2012).

Kevin Morrison is Assistant Professor of Public Policy and Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh. His research focuses on nontax revenues in developing countries, such as oil revenues, foreign aid, and intergovernmental grants. He is also a principal investigator of the Global Leadership Project. His work has been published in *Business & Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Development Policy Review*, *Electoral Studies*, *International Organization*, *Public Choice*, and the *World Bank Research Observer*, as well as edited volumes. His article in *International Organization* won the 2009 Robert O. Keohane award for best paper in that journal by an untenured professor.

Jorge Perez-Lopez is an international economist and was formerly Executive Director of the Fair Labor Association and an official with the Bureau of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Department of Labor. He is the author of *Cuba's Second Economy: From Behind the Scenes to Center Stage* (Transaction Publishers, 1995) and coauthor of *Conquering Nature: The Environmental Legacy of Socialism in Cuba* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000) and *Corruption in Cuba: Castro and Beyond* (University of Texas Press, 2006). His most recent book, coauthored with Carmelo Mesa-Lago, is *Cuba Under Raúl Castro: Assessing the Reforms* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013). He received a PhD in Economics from the State University of New York at Albany.

Aníbal Pérez-Liñán is Associate Professor of Political Science and member of the core faculty at the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Pittsburgh. His research focuses on democratization, institutional performance, and the rule of law in Latin America. He has conducted fieldwork in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Paraguay, and Venezuela, and has published in academic journals in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Egypt, Great Britain, Peru, Spain, the United States, and Uruguay. His research has been funded by the National Science Foundation, the United States Agency for International Development, and the Inter-American Development Bank, among other institutions. He is the author of *Presidential Impeachment and the New Political Instability in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Michele Reid-Vazquez is Assistant Professor of Africana Studies at the University of Pittsburgh. Her research and teaching address the African Diaspora in the Caribbean, Latin America, and the Atlantic World, with an emphasis on the late eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries, particularly the comparative Caribbean (Cuba, Puerto Rico, Haiti, Jamaica, and Trinidad), race and gender relations, and immigration and identity. She is the author of *The Year of the Lash: Free People of Color in Cuba and the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World* (2011). Her current book-in-progress, *Caribbean Crossings: Comparative Black Emigration and Freedom in the Age of Revolution*, explores the nuanced and complex ways in which individuals of African descent linked emigration, resistance, and equality as they traversed the Caribbean during the revolutionary era.

Javier Vázquez – D'Elía is a graduated PhD in Political Science from the University of Pittsburgh. Currently Lecturer in Political Science at Penn State University and working on a book on the political economy of social policy reform in Latin America.

Lucan Way is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto. Professor Way's research focuses on democratic transitions and the evolution of non-democratic rule in cross-regional perspective. He is best known for his work on hybrid or competitive authoritarian rule. His book, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War* (with Steven Levitsky), was published in 2010 by Cambridge University Press. He is completing a book, *Pluralism by Default and the Sources of Political Competition after the Cold War*, and is beginning a new project on the durability of revolutionary regimes.

Alan West-Durán was born in Cuba and grew up in Puerto Rico. He is the author of two books of poems, *Dar nombres a la lluvia/Finding Voices in the Rain*, which won the Latino Literature Prize for Poetry (1996), and *El tejido de Asterión o las máscaras del logos* (2000); as well as a books of essays, *Tropics of History: Cuba Imagined* (1997). West-Durán edited *African Caribbeans: A Reference*

Guide (2003) and *Latino and Latina Writers* (2004), which includes over sixty full-length essays on Latino/a authors of the U.S. He is the Editor-in-Chief of the 2011 two-volume reference work titled *Cuba*. He is currently writing a history of Cuba through its culture. West-Durán's essays on Cuban music have appeared in the *Journal of Popular Music Studies*, the *Latin American Music Review*, *The Michigan Quarterly Review*, *Encuentro de Cultura Cubana*, *La Gaceta*, *Temas*, and *Hopscotch*. He has translated Alejo Carpentier's *La música en Cuba* (2001), Rosario Ferré's *Language Duel/Duelo de lenguaje* (2002), Nelly Richard's *Cultural Residues* (2004), and Luisa Capetillo's *Mi Opinión Sobre Los Derechos de la Mujer* (2005). Professor West-Durán teaches in the Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures at Northeastern University, where he is the Director of the LLACS (Latino/a, Latin American and Caribbean Studies) Program.

Yu Xiao is a PhD student at the University of Pittsburgh, originally from Liaoning Province in the northeast of China. She received her B.A. in Philosophy from Peking University in 2008 and her M.A. in Comparative of Politics from New York University in 2010. She is interested in comparative political economy in developing countries, with a regional focus on Latin America and China. She has been studying party ideologies and their effects on the design of legislatures in the single-party authoritarian regimes. She plans to study decentralization and their political conditions in authoritarian regimes for her dissertation as well as to compare the experiences of Cuba and China to explore the political considerations behind fiscal policy reforms.