

NOTES

1. ‘Vous n’avez pas le droit d’ignorer la Révolution cubaine.’ Carlos Franqui to Sartre, Paris, autumn 1959 (Sartre 2008: 181). All translations from French to English from *Appendice* are my own.
2. Sartre 2009: 175. He explains more fully earlier in the Gerassi interview: “No, not until I went to Central America and especially Mexico [did he understand U.S. politics]. No, Cuba was even worse. In those countries it is impossible not to see the damage that American businesses do, impossible not to understand that American capitalists, aided by their government, defended by the American army, just want to exploit the people living there. And by the way, it is impossible not to understand why American businessmen are racists; they justify their exploitation on the ground that the people of those countries are inferior. That alleviates their consciences” (Sartre 2009: 139).
3. Ammar 2011.
4. Beauvoir 1978: 499.
5. Beauvoir 1978: 499.
6. Beauvoir 1978: 500.
7. Beauvoir 1978: 503.
8. Contat and Rybalka 1974: 346.
9. Annie Cohen-Solal writes: “This is how he wrote *The Critique of Dialectical Reason*: a wild rush of words and juxtaposed ideas, pouring forth during crises of hyper-excitement, under the effect of contradictory drugs, that would zing him up, knock him

down, or halt him in between ... up, down, stop, and so on and so forth in a constant struggle against himself, against his tired body, against time and sleep. Everything in excess. His diet over a period of twenty-four hours included two packs of cigarettes and several pipes stuffed with black tobacco, more than a quart of alcohol—wine, beer, vodka, whisky, and so on—200 milligrams of amphetamines, fifteen grams of aspirin, several grams of barbiturates, plus coffee, tea, rich meals. Heavy doses for a tough man, hyperlucid and nearly impervious to pain, who, however, would occasionally lapse into moments of absence, from which he then promptly re-emerged, ready to assume control, with vivacity and pride” (1991: 374).

10. Hayman 1986: 338.
11. Cohen-Solal 1991: 386.
12. Beauvoir 1978: 501.
13. Sartre 1974: 7.
14. Beauvoir 1978: 502.
15. Beauvoir 1978: 502.
16. Franqui 1981: 134.
17. *Lunes* No. 51, 21 March 1960 (Luis 2003: 12).
18. “In France, from the third to the fifth of our successive Republics, guests were honored, are still honored, for example, by being installed in Rambouillet” (Sartre 1974: 136).
19. Wall 2000: 383.
20. Cohen-Solal 1991: 396.
21. Otero 2005b: 8.
22. Beauvoir recalls: “In Havana, Sartre had often been irritated at having to write this piece [preface to *Aden Arabie*] when there were so many other things to do” (Beauvoir 1978: 511).
23. Beauvoir 1978: 504.
24. Beauvoir 1978: 504.
25. Contat and Rybalka 1974: 379.
26. Sartre 1974: 27.
27. “Au nom des mêmes principes de liberté, nous accueillons aujourd’hui Jean-Paul Sartre—qui doute volontiers de l’indépendance de la presse d’information. Il est libre d’exprimer dans nos colonnes certaines opinions auxquelles nous ne souscrivons pas” (Sartre 2008: 5–6).
28. Aronson 1980: 232.

29. Aronson 1980: 233; Murphy 1996: 32; Paolucci 2007: 246.
30. Cohen-Solal 1991: 403.
31. “The FBI’s ‘secret’ files on Sartre were immediately updated to include an account of the visit and of the philosopher’s positive response to the Cuban regime” (Cohen-Solal 1991: 399).
32. Beauvoir 1978: 511.
33. Sartre 2008: 156–223.
34. Paolucci 2007: 249.
35. Cohen-Solal 1991: 398.
36. Sartre 1974: 25.
37. “the country was dying of indigestion from dollars and sugar” (Sartre 1974: 83).
38. “that archipelago of fire against the black glass of the sea” (Sartre 1974: 11).
39. ‘I have seen black rivers covering the chest down to the diaphragm’ (Sartre 1974: 110).
40. “Simone de Beauvoir and I watched uneasily as the sun went down, a burning tomato over the young tomato plants” (Sartre 1974: 130).
41. Sartre 2005.
42. Sartre 2005.
43. “Qui se souvient aujourd’hui d’un texte de grand écrivain intitulé «Ouragan sur le sucre»? On ne le trouve nulle part, dans aucune maison d’édition, chez aucun libraire, aucun bouquiniste” (Lanzmann 2008: 1). My translation.
44. Sartre 1974: 7.
45. Sartre 1974: 7.
46. I recently wandered the cold lobby of the Hotel Nacional to see if any photos of Sartre were on display. None were. The Nacional’s website does have a well-written page dedicated to him on its section of “personalidades”; politicians, film stars, musicians, etc. who have stayed at the hotel: www.hotelnacional-decuba.com/portal/personalidades/jean-paul-sartre.
47. Aronson 1980: 234.
48. Aronson 1980: 234.
49. Aronson 1980: 236.
50. Sartre 1974: 10.
51. Sartre 1974: 9.
52. Sartre 1974: 10.

53. Sartre 1974: 12.
54. Sartre 1974: 13.
55. ‘mon pauvre ami, en Amérique latine on fait la révolution tous les ans: c’est leur manière de voter’ (Sartre 2008: 180).
56. I tend to temper the exercise of reading *Critique* by treating the chapters as individual essays rather than the book as a whole. “Racism and Colonialism as Praxis and Process,” one of the later chapters, is a valuable stand-alone study of how racism is both cause and effect of the colonial enterprise.
57. Hayman 1986: 316.
58. “*Critique* would be of no interest to the general public” (Hayman 1986: 316).
59. Sartre 1974: 23.
60. Sartre 1974: 23.
61. Sartre 1974: 23.
62. Sartre 1974: 25.
63. In the notes of the *Appendice* Sartre refers to the explosion as “cette chanceuse malchance [that fortunate misfortune]” (Sartre 2008: 160).
64. Sartre 1974: 28.
65. Sartre 1974: 26.
66. Sartre 1974: 27.
67. Sartre 2008: 175.
68. “où se trouvait la cause? Sur le sucre je ne sus rien d’autre” (Sartre 2008: 177).
69. Sartre 1974: 78.
70. Sartre 1974: 41.
71. Sartre 2004: xiv.
72. Sartre 2009: 229.
73. “The alienation of the exploited and that of the exploiters are inseparable; in other societies the relation between master and slave ... also presupposes a reciprocal conditioning in alienation” (Sartre 2009: 332).
74. Sartre 1974: 21.
75. Sartre 1974: 21.
76. Sartre mistakenly calls it *guaramo*, corrected as *guarapo* in the English and Spanish editions but not in the 2008 French re-edition.
77. Sartre 1974: 125.

78. Sartre 1974: 125. “Au loin, comme une menace — que j’ai retrouvée partout — les buissons, le maquis, prêt à reprendre toute la surface de l’île à la moindre négligence: une invasion d’araignées à l’horizon, on voit leurs pattes immobiles qui attendent” (Sartre 2008: 133).
79. Sartre 2009: 79.
80. Sartre 2009: 79.
81. Sartre 1974: 41.
82. Sartre 1974: 39.
83. Sartre 1974: 26.
84. Sartre 1974: 41.
85. Sartre 1974: 116.
86. Sartre 1974: 42.
87. Sartre 1974: 43.
88. Sartre 1974: 43.
89. Sartre 1974: 50.
90. Sartre 1974: 50.
91. Sartre 1974: 122–123.
92. Sartre 1974: 15.
93. Sartre 1974: 18.
94. “Qu’est-ce que je fous ici? Je me sens le cœur plein de suie. Que vais-je foutre à Cuba? Qu’est-ce qu’un Français peut y foutre? Leurs problèmes ne sont pas les nôtres” (Sartre 2008: 185).
95. “Et si le régime n’allait pas me plaire?” (Sartre 2008: 185).
96. Sartre 1974: 140.
97. Sartre 1974: 135.
98. Sartre 1974: 126.
99. Sartre 1974: 123.
100. Sartre 1974: 129.
101. Sartre 1974: 14.
102. Paige Arthur (2007) reviews three books that take violence in Sartre as their central focus: Bernard-Henri Lévy’s *Sartre: The Philosopher of the Twentieth Century*, Ronald Aronson’s *Camus & Sartre: The Story of a Friendship and the Quarrel That Ended It*, and Ronald Santoni’s *Sartre on Violence: Curiously Ambivalent*. In addition, there are many other works where the issue of violence in Sartre has been extensively debated, notably: *The Cult of Violence* by Jack J Roth; *Camus and Sartre: Crisis and Commitment* by Germaine Brée; *History and the Dialectic*

- of Violence* by Raymond Aron; *Fanon: A critical reader* ed. by Gordon, Sharples-Whiting and White; and *Fanon and the crisis of European Man* by Lewis Gordon.
103. Arthur suggests that too much weight has over the years been placed on the Fanon preface as indicative of Sartre's view of violence. She asks why it still drives the debate and concludes that it is simply "the most spectacular, the most publicly disturbing, the most divisive. But do these qualities make it the most paradigmatic? I do not think so" (2007: 235). I agree with her judgement, as it is a powerful text riveted together with hammer-blow statements about terror, resistance and violence. But I would argue that the preface does not stand alone; it owes much to the Cuba articles.
 104. Birchall (2005: 257) sums up Sartre's views of complicity: "This text can be read as a glorification of violence only by those who have internalized the values of the existing order to such an extent that they do not perceive the violence inherent in it. They see violence solely in the disruption of that order."
 105. The preface, writes Paige Arthur, "is generally unrepresentative of his philosophical views. Rather than a serious work on the ethics of violence, it should be read for what it was: a muckraking, inflammatory text, whose sole basis for existence was to provoke and scandalize French people, via a strategy bound up in a politics of shaming and alarming – not through reason and reflection" (2007: 236).
 106. Curiously, none of the three books reviewed by Arthur pays much attention to Sartre's experience in Cuba as being very significant in the development of his thinking about the justification of revolutionary violence. Cuba is scarcely mentioned. Simone de Beauvoir, however, recounts that the trip was the catalysing moment.
 107. Beauvoir 1978: 503.
 108. Beauvoir 1978: 606.
 109. Sartre 2008: 14.
 110. Sartre 1974: 14.
 111. Sartre 1974: 15.
 112. Sartre 2009: 183.
 113. 'Then came the foggy day,' Beauvoir recalls, 'when we stood shivering in the stand with Castro, watching the funeral' (Beauvoir 1978: 503).

114. Sartre 1974: 142.
115. Beauvoir 1978: 503.
116. Sartre 2009: 229.
117. Lanzmann 2012: 422.
118. Sartre 2009: 187.
119. Otero 2005b: 8.
120. Sartre 2009: 183. Sartre continues: “as long as Robespierre incorporated the violence of the masses into his terror, he and that terror were popular, as were Cuba's trials and executions of the 375 Batista henchmen. But Robespierre substituted popular terror with juridical terror, and he lost everything, including of course his life. *Did you express this to your Cuban hosts, when you were there?* Oh yes, I told them that they still had their terror in front of them. Meanwhile, it was great, really great to be in Cuba in the '60s” (Sartre 2009: 187).
121. ‘Le contrecoup de la Réforme agraire fut la révolte de Matos et de sa garnison’ (Sartre 2008: 213).
122. “Il semble plutôt qu’il représentait—quoique soldat de la guerre civile—la fraction la plus à droite du mouvement clandestin. Il semble avoir été de ceux qui souhaitaient la restauration de l’honnêteté politique et du parlementarisme, quelques aménagements pour soulager les pauvres, peut-être la promesse ou même la mise en route d’une réforme agraire modérée” (Sartre 2008: 213).
123. Sartre 2008: 214.
124. “Fuite ou manœuvre, on sut qu’un des conjurés s’était envolé pour les Etats-Unis: dès l’atterrissage, il fit des déclarations incendiaires contre le régime” (Sartre 2008: 213).
125. “Faut-il voir dans cette aurore d’insurrection le premier acte d’une nouvelle guerre civile qui eût conduit Matos à prendre le pouvoir, peut-être avec une aide discrète de l’étranger? ... Ou n’était-ce pas, tout simplement, l’acte désespéré d’un groupe qui s’était mis «en flèche», se retournait vers sa classe et s’apercevait qu’elle ne l’avait pas suivi?” (Sartre 2008: 214).
126. Thomas 1971: 1244.
127. Escalante 1995: 32–35.
128. According to Matos (2004: 358) and detailed in Thomas (1971: 1245), the anti-aerial defence from Havana’s forts caused injuries and death in the city, which were later falsely attributed to bombs dropped from the plane.

129. “Mais on lui demandait, en somme, une soumission totale et sincère à l’entreprise qui le révoltait. On avait raison: c’était une exigence de la Nation elle-même; l’unité passait avant tout” (Sartre 2008: 214).
130. “Ces résistants sont morts pour la Nation: la Nation c’est Castro, au sommet de l’île” (Sartre 2008: 195).
131. “à l’ordinaire, l’orateur conclut par un appel au calme. Que chacun reste chez soi, la police et l’armée se chargeront du reste” (Sartre 2008: 215).
132. “La justice révolutionnaire plaisante rarement: elle voit la main de l’étranger partout et, en général, elle n’a pas tort” (Sartre 2008: 218).
133. “Si Matos a payé trop cher, la faute en est à ses amis bavards qui diffamaient le régime à New York, à Washington” (Sartre 2008: 218).
134. “The courage of Matos was admirable, though his passivity well expressed the weakness of the liberal opponents to the new course. They could not bring themselves to desert the revolution; therefore they could not desert Castro since Castro was the revolution” (Thomas 1971: 1245).
135. Sartre and Lévy 1996.
136. Sartre 1974: 58.
137. Sartre 1974: 10.
138. In Spanish the Argentine word and name *che* rarely has an accent. In English, Ché often does, especially in publications from the 1960s and 1970s. The accent does not affect pronunciation here so the English diligence on the matter is quite superfluous.
139. Sarusky 2005: 226.
140. Taibo 1999: 502
141. Bair 1990: 474.
142. Castañeda 1998: 169.
143. Granado 2003: xx.
144. Gadea 2008: 60.
145. Anderson 1997: 468.
146. Cohen-Solal 1991: 399.
147. Cabrera Infante gathered together thirty-six such dedications from such figures as Fidel and Raúl Castro, Haydée Santamaria, Armando Hart, Enrique Oltuski, Sartre and Beauvoir, Carlos Franqui and Carlos Fuentes. Guevara cogily writes “*Lunes de Revolución* is sometimes very good, like the number dedicated to Sartre.”

148. Sartre 1974: 98.
149. Sartre 1974: 99.
150. Castañeda 1998: xv.
151. Sartre 1974: 98.
152. Guevara 2003: 104.
153. James 2001: 117.
154. “Castro allowed popular tribunals to judge the Batista torturers as a way of getting the hatred out in the open, as a cathartic cleansing of the lust for revenge” (Sartre 2009: 183).
155. Sartre 1974: 104.
156. Sartre 1974: 104.
157. Sartre 1946: 33.
158. Sartre 1974: 159.
159. Guevara 2007: 113.
160. Sartre 1946: 30.
161. Guevara 1994: 150.
162. “El Che fue el hombre más completo de su tiempo” (Sartre 1967).
163. Sartre 1961: 40.
164. Anderson 2006: 98.
165. Ammar 2011: vii.
166. “J’ai fait des études à Paris dans les années qui suivirent l’existentialisme. Sartre était à cette époque un modèle et une référence. Ses propositions concernant l’homme qui pense m’avaient convaincu” (Otero 2005a: 120).
167. Sarusky 2005: 223.
168. Feo 1991. Feo was not impressed by Simone de Beauvoir’s lecture on existentialism, writing that he suppressed his yawns (1991: 59).
169. Souza 1996: 49.
170. Luis 2003: 164.
171. Baragaño 1960.
172. Arenal 2003.
173. Souza 1996: 37.
174. Souza 1996: 38.
175. Luis 2003: 10.
176. Wall 2000: 380.
177. Sartre 1961: 29.
178. Sartre 1961: 41.

179. “que no se pueden crear leyes de Estado, leyes estatales para definir cuál es la realidad, la objetividad y cuál es la mejor manera de descubrirla o de cambiarla, pues si se establece de esa manera una forma general o bien esa será una objetividad absoluta para los escritores que cubrirá la praxis real y que ellos estimarán insuperable, que interferirá en el interior de ellos mismos con sus propias maneras de vivir y de ver la situación y que provocaría en ellos lo más grave que puede existir para un escritor, es decir la auto-censura” (Sartre 1961: 35).
180. Sartre 1961: 32.
181. Castro 2008: 229.
182. For fuller explanation, see Chanan 2004: 132–143.
183. Chanan 2004: 138.
184. Cabrera Infante 2007: 177.
185. Cabrera Infante 2007: 177.
186. Castro 2008: 215.
187. Castro 2008: 215.
188. Sartre 1961: 40.
189. Castro 2008: 216.
190. Castro 2008: 216.
191. Castro 2008: 217.
192. Castro 2008: 217.
193. Castro 2008: 229.
194. Castro 2008: 220.
195. “A phrase which has been glorified everywhere as a sort of oral monument to the intellectual and artistic liberalism of the Castrist regime, whereas it really expresses totalitarian logic disguised by a visibly Orwellian sophism: ‘Four legs good, two legs bad’” (Cabrera Infante 1973: 355).
196. Cabrera Infante 1973: 355.
197. Sartre 1961: 44.
198. Morín 2007: 180.
199. Cabrera Infante 1981: 5.
200. Franqui 2007: 184.
201. Barnet 2001.
202. Armando Fernández 2001.
203. Chanan 2004: 138.
204. Franqui 2007: 185.

205. “I have never accepted any power over me, and I have always thought that anarchy, which is to say a society without powers, must be brought about” (Sartre 1975).
206. Beauvoir 1978: 558.
207. Carpentier 1961: 11.
208. Sartre 1974: 53.
209. Oltuski was one of the principle leaders of the *Llano*, the urban networks of resistance across the island collaborating with the *guerrilleros* in the Sierra. He joined Urrutia’s cabinet in early 1959 but was later dismissed by Castro after defending Matos during the trial. At the time of Sartre and Beauvoir’s trip he was minister of communications. He remained loyal to the revolution and worked in various ministries until his death in 2012. Oltuski clearly made an impression on Sartre and Beauvoir as they both depict to him in their accounts as a decent man and a lucid guide. They do not appear to have made such an impression on him; he dedicates just one captioned photograph of his meeting with them in his memoirs, *Mi Vida Clandestina*, and mistakes the year for 1959. The book, however, was first published in Havana in 2000. The rehabilitation of Sartre in Cuba had not yet begun, and, as the title *Gente del Llano* indicates, its principal focus is the war years.
210. Otero 2005a, 2005b.
211. Arenal 2003.
212. Contat and Rybalka 1974.
213. Contat and Rybalka 1974: 388.
214. Beauvoir 1978: 557.
215. Beauvoir 1978: 558.
216. Cohen-Solal 1991: 402.
217. Cohen-Solal 1991: 401. Cohen-Solal titles the chapter of her biography dedicated to his trips to Cuba, China and Brazil and other nations “The Anti-Ambassador” (1991: 391).
218. Cohen-Solal 1991: 402.
219. Beauvoir 1978: 557.
220. Beauvoir 1978: 583.
221. Beauvoir 1978: 583.
222. Beauvoir 1978: 583.
223. Beauvoir 1978: 583.

224. Beauvoir 1978: 584.
225. Beauvoir 1978: 584.
226. Beauvoir 1978: 584.
227. Beauvoir 1978: 584.
228. “Cienfuegos was lost over the sea in a flight to Havana. ... Foul play was immediately suspected. Was not Cienfuegos anti-Communist? Had he been killed by Raúl Castro personally in a fit of jealousy? For these allegations, no evidence has been forthcoming. Castro certainly seemed upset and surprised when his brother brought the news to a cabinet meeting, then he was an excellent actor, and one observer who accompanied Castro on a search for Cienfuegos by air later recalled that Castro seemed in fact in no way upset by the course of events and spent no time at all in the actual search” (Thomas 1971: 1248). “Speculation about Cienfuegos’ death has continued. The chief argument of those who allege foul play is that Cienfuegos’ aide, Major Naranjo, was shortly afterwards killed and *his* assassin, Major Beatón, also killed in 1960. A nurse, later found insane, said in Miami in 1960 that she had nursed Cienfuegos in a Havana clinic. Roberto de Cárdenas, captain of the base from which Cienfuegos was supposed to have taken off, suggested that the flight was a put-up job, that no one saw Cienfuegos in the aeroplane, and that several others either killed themselves or were overpowered. No doubt this is one of the many matters that history will elucidate” (Thomas 1971: 1246 footnote 41).
229. Beauvoir 1978: 585.
230. Beauvoir 1978: 586.
231. Sarusky 2005: 222.
232. Beauvoir 1978: 587.
233. Contat and Rybalka 1974: 401.
234. Cohen-Solal 1991: 402.
235. Seymour-Jones 2009: 411.
236. Contat and Rybalka 1974: 402.
237. Contat and Rybalka 1974: 402.
238. Lethbridge 2012.
239. Sartre seems quite proud of Gallic insouciance to the threat of nuclear war. In a 1965 *Playboy* interview he is asked “Don’t you share the concern of most Americans about the dangers of nuclear power in the hands of several nations?” Sartre responds

- coolly: “No, because I’m French and we French seem to have a complete lightheadedness about the bomb. I remember a cartoon showing a café in which Americans, British and Frenchmen are sitting. The Anglo-Americans are reading papers headlined THE BOMB, but the French are reading papers headlined THE PRICE OF MILK HAS GONE UP. We French display an amazing lack of interest in the bomb and even regard our indifference as a slight superiority” (Sartre 1965: 74–75).
240. Sartre 2009: 229.
 241. Sartre 2009: 230.
 242. Sartre 2009: 229.
 243. Russell 1963: 16–17.
 244. Russell 1963: 142.
 245. Anderson 1997: 724.
 246. Sartre 2009: 77.
 247. Bair 1990: 531.
 248. Torres-Cuevas 2005: 179.
 249. Torres-Cuevas 2005: 179.
 250. Torres-Cuevas 2005: 177.
 251. Birchall 2004: 205.
 252. Anderson 1997: 468.
 253. Ramonet 2007: 580.
 254. Much ink has been spilled on the Padilla Affair; for more detail I refer the reader to chapter three of Ángel Esteban and Stéphanie Panichelli’s analysis of the relationship between Castro and Gabriel García Márquez, *Fidel and Gabo* (Esteban 2009).
 255. <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1971/05/06/an-open-letter-to-fidel-castro>.
 256. “Ya saben, señores intelectuales burgueses y libelistas burgueses y agentes de la CIA y de las inteligencias del imperialismo, es decir, de los servicios de inteligencia, de espionaje del imperialismo: En Cuba no tendrán entrada, ¡no tendrán entrada! como no se la damos a UPI y a AP (APLAUSOS). ¡Cerrada la entrada indefinidamente (APLAUSOS), por tiempo indefinido y por tiempo infinito!” www.cuba.cu/gobierno/discursos/1971/esp/f300471e.html. My translation.
 257. Sartre 2009: 77.
 258. Sartre 2009: 77.
 259. Ramonet 2007: 511.

260. Fornet accompanied Sartre and Beauvoir to the airport for their departure from Cuba, accompanied by Enrique Oltuski, Miriam Acevedo, Edith Depestre (who interviewed Beauvoir in Cuba) and Walterio Carbonell, see www.cubaliteraria.cu/editor/ambrosio_fornet/galeria1.html.
261. Kerrigan 1989: 501.
262. Almendros and Jiménez-Leal 1984.
263. “¿Han pensado ustedes los escritores cómo van a enfrentar la maquinaria del Estado? ... Me refiero a una praxis. O al final van a joderse’ (esta última palabra la dijo en perfecto español). ‘Sí, al final van a joderse.’” (Cruz 2007: 154). My translation.
264. On my last visit to Havana in January 2017 I scoured bookshops for Sartre texts. I found old dusty Argentine editions of *¿Qué es la literatura?* (Buenos Aires, Losada, 1969) and *El ser y la nada* (Losada 1968). For many decades Losada have been the principle publisher of Sartre texts in Spanish, in particular Latin America. I could not find the Ediciones R edition of *Sartre visita a Cuba*, but neither are copies easily available in any language. I could find no books, either new or second-hand, by Beauvoir.
265. Aronson 1980: 236.
266. Aronson 1980: 236.
267. Aronson 1980: 234.
268. Lévy 2003: 339.
269. Sartre 1974: 140.
270. Sartre 1974: 140.
271. Sartre 1974: 130.
272. Cohen-Solal 1991: 398.
273. Hewitt (2007) examines the history of *France-Soir* and the complex story of how and why Sartre came to publish the Cuba articles in the journal.
274. Sartre 1974: 11.
275. “L’avenir est mort, les jours se suivent et se ressemblent” (Sartre 2008: 175).
276. Sartre 1974: 55.
277. Lanzmann 2012: 421.
278. Sartre 2009: 79.
279. Sartre 1974: 113.
280. Lanzmann 2012: 422.
281. Beauvoir 1978: 503.

282. Cabrera Infante 1973: 368.
283. Cabrera Infante 1995: 297.
284. Cabrera Infante 1973: 347.
285. Cabrera Infante 1973: 348.
286. Cabrera Infante 1995: 202.
287. Cabrera Infante 1995: 239.
288. Cabrera Infante 1995: 213.
289. Cabrera Infante 1973: 367.
290. Cabrera Infante 1995: 266.
291. Cabrera Infante 1995: 18. The original Spanish is no clearer: “Juan Pablo apóstol – del próximo Milenio – y su carnal Simona, que se empeñan en tomar a los cubanos como conejillos, inevitablemente, de Indias” (Cabrera Infante 1992: 31).
292. Cabrera Infante 1973: 375.
293. Janes and Cabrera Infante 1981.
294. Sartre 2009: 99. In the original French interview with Gerassi Sartre says “ces bourreaux étaient des ordures.”
295. Sartre 1974: 19.
296. “Depuis vingt ans, vous criez dans le désert que les choses ne vont pas comme il faut. Or, elles vont comme il faut chez nous: si vous restez ici à vous tordre les bras sans jeter un coup d’œil sur ce que nous essayons de faire, cela revient à casser votre plume. Vous avez écrit sur la liberté, sur la justice: eh bien, cessez d’écrire ou venez les chercher à Cuba” (Sartre 2008: 181).
297. Sartre 1974: 55.
298. Ireland finds “these pages of special interest in that they constitute a kind of French prologue to the Cuban adventure, reminding us that the lens through which Sartre viewed Cuba was forged in France and that the French context itself, notably the paralysis of French political life that precipitated De Gaulle’s return to power in 1958 and the shameful quagmire of the Algerian war, shaped Sartre’s vision of Cuba and his hopes for its new social order” (Ireland 2011: 94).
299. Ireland 2011: 102.
300. Hayman 1986: 348.
301. Ireland 2011: 94.
302. Sartre a très tôt condamné les pires aspects du castrisme. La fête cubaine terminée, ses yeux se sont dessillés rapidement (Lanzmann 2008: 4).

303. John Ireland writes in *Les Temps Modernes*: “Nobody has been able to date precisely the temporal lag between these two components of the Cuba manuscripts but it is virtually certain that the pages reconstituted as the appendix to ‘Ouragan sur le sucre’ were also written in 1960, some months after Sartre’s return from Cuba and that they post-date the manuscript from which the *France-Soir* articles were culled” (Ireland 2011: 94). Jean Bourgault and Gilles Philippe, meanwhile, state that the pages “do not constitute the draft of the reports, but a later text” (Durante and Bellon 2009: 2). On the other hand, Beauvoir writes that, “as exhaustive as ever, he had begun an enormous work on Cuba that was going to be far larger in scope than the reporting he had offered to do for *France-Soir*. Lanzmann helped him abstract a series of articles from it”(Beauvoir 1978: 511), which would imply that the notes *were* the background material for the *France-Soir* articles. Contat and Rybalka suggest that in mid-February 1960 Sartre “starts the work from which he excerpts *Storm over Sugar*” (Contat and Rybalka 1974: 22). They also write that in Yugoslavia in May 1960, speaking at the Writers Union, Sartre talked of his Cuba trip. “He also says he is writing a book on Cuba which he plans to draw upon for some *France-Soir* articles” (Contat and Rybalka 1974: 388). My conclusions on the matter are that he was writing about Cuba from spring until summer, some of which was taken for *France-Soir*. He continued to work on these notes after the summer with a view to writing a book on Cuba, which never materialised. The *Appendice*, according to this perspective, is both before and after the *F-S* articles. Certainly his notes concerning his 1949 Cuban trip would fit perfectly into the beginning of the articles, providing much-needed context to Sartre’s relationship with Cuba. It would not surprise me if the 1949 section was destined for *F-S* but discarded before publication.
304. Sartre 2009: 229.
305. Wall 2000: 385.
306. Wall 2000: 385.
307. Sartre 1974: 159.
308. <https://www.icj.org/cuba-and-the-rule-of-law/>.
309. Sartre 2009: 187.
310. Sartre 1974: 159.
311. Sartre 1974: 147.
312. Sartre 1974: 149.

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