

At conclusion the Australian working class movement has risen on occasion towards tremendous struggles. It though has yet to rid itself of the opportunist trends. The bourgeoisie is in a precarious position in Australia.

The demand for labor has skyrocketed as a result of trading relations with China. The Capitalists are pulling out all stops to divide and weaken the working class movement. Propaganda amongst the working class against China and the former Socialism is an important tool for dividing the working class internationally and preventing workers from uniting. The capitalists must do this to hold their power in an increasingly unstable system.

Workers of all lands Unite is still the most profound call and if answered will see us through this dangerous period in world history.

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“Crisis o recuperación de la economía de los Estados Unidos? Reflexiones posteriores al 11 de septiembre.” Revista Universidad de La Habana No. 260, Segundo semestre 2004, pp. 181 – 191.

“Neoconservadurismo en la política de George W. Bush hacia América Latina y el

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U.S. Economic Blockade against Cuba: Renovation of a Political Failure

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Introduction

The paper is divided in three main sections dedicated to analyze U.S – Cuban conflict from an economic perspective. The 1st section point out my own perception of the mains stages of this conflict, and its essence: Cuban national independence against Imperialist domination of Cuba. The 2nd discuss the effects of the so call Cuban embargo and particularly economic sanctions as an Imperialist political failure. The last section analyses briefly George W. Bush policy toward Cuba and explores its perspectives. The paper assumes the ineffective Bush’s Plan (2004 and 2006) to get a regime change in Cuba and the necessity, even from an American viewpoint, to rectify this approach.

I. Conflict Main Stages and its Essence.

An approach to U.S policy toward Cuba should consider the essentials bases of the bilateral conflict. A brief summary should avoid mentioning the first U.S. military

intervention in Cuba at the end of XIX century, as a very important event to understand the permanent strategic U.S. purpose on Cuba from an Imperialist State: dominate and control its closest geographic territory in the Caribbean Sea, and particularly the Cuban possessions.

The revolutionary triumph in 1959 broke the U.S. domination of Cuba. It also means the victory of Cuban independence aborted by American intervention in Cuban patriots war for independence against Spain in 1898, U.S. military occupation until 1902, and the imposition to the Cuban initial Constitution the American rights to intervention and “renting” of naval bases in its territory, seriously damaging the suppose independence of Cuba and showing very clearly the imperialist interest on the isle.

Since the '60 of last century, the main purpose of U.S. policy toward Cuba has been to roll back history to the time of American domination of Cuba; makes collapse the new revolutionary government, destroying and transforming its economic and political system. U.S. governments have employed all means and procedures to internal political subversion: economic aggressions, blockade, and terrorism, political assassinate plot, military aggressions -- as Bay of Pigs invasion organized and financed by U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in April 1961.

Changes in the international environment since the late 80' of the previous century due the extinction of the Soviet Union and its political and economic block altered fundamentally the international correlation of forces. This stage represents the end of bipolarism in international relations, but a new condition in the world never represents end of Cold War with respect to Cuba. From this stage the economic blockade –despite always been present—became a main instrument of U.S. policy toward Cuba. The U.S. policy for Cuba has two tracks established clearly since the so call Torricelli Law of 1992: to increase the economic blockade and political isolation of the Cuban government and stimulate the formation of an alternative civil society trough travel, communication and exchange between people of both countries to create an internal political opposition to the system to get the transition to representative democracy, change regime to a social, economic and political system easy to be subordinated to American imperialist.

The Helms Burton Law of 1996 follow up this tendency of tightened the economic blockade, designed new extraterritorial instruments to reduce trade and investment in Cuba from third countries; create mechanisms to transform Cuban society by official American support to the so call pacific transition. At the same time the Helms Burton Law codify all previous sanctions established by U. S. Executive, making more difficult any adjustment in the future.

The American policy makers on Cuba think that there was the correct time to break the Cuban socialist system. The Cuban vulnerability was at the highest points. Cuban economy was in a severe crisis as a result of an external shock due to losing of main external markets and economic aid. Gradually an economic recovery begins despite the

tighter U.S. “embargo”. At middle of nineties decades of previous century, the Cuban economy initiated a contradictory period of reforms and adjustment to adapt a classical socialist economy to new international conditions, showing once again the economic blockade failure. A decade of socioeconomic recovery, none extent of contradictions and disruptions, improve forces inside American Congress in favour of reducing economic sanction on Cuba.

The arrival of George W. Bush to the Presidency of the United States in 2001 as part of some of the most reactionary forces in the Republican Party stimulated compromises and coincidences with “historic exile” sector of the Cuban American population in Florida with respect to American policy toward Cuba. September 11 terrorist attack to U.S. reinforce a more aggressive, ideological and fundamentalist foreign policy, increasing the number of neoconservative in key post of government. New definitions of national security were introduced in the framework of “War on Terrorist”. At the same time, an unprecedented number of Cuban American was designated at different levels of Bush Administration, some of them at highest post, as Mel Martinez, who is now the first American Senator born in Cuba. Those Cuban have a great interest on manipulate the “Cuban case”, presenting Cuban government as a challenges terrorist and no democratic State to U.S. national security interests, promoting U.S. intervention and regime change in Cuba.

Concurrence of international political factors: American internal political process and growing influence of a group representative of the more aggressive and reactionary Cuban American; perceptions of Cuban internal vulnerabilities promote to reinforce the blockade line in U.S. policy toward Cuba and reduce the so call track two -- also denominated people to people diplomacy during the Clinton administrations years. The new political approach pretend to hasten Cuban “transition to democracy and market economy” not only increasing the blockade but escalating adverse propaganda on Cuban realities and giving moral and financial support for counterrevolutionary forces in Cuba.

For these purpose the Bush Administration create an Executive Commission which Chairman is U.S. Secretary of State. The Commission presented a report of the so call Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba in 2004.¹ A Plan of Bush administration to conquer and recover control of Cuba. During his second term as head of U.S. Excecutive power George W. Bush Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice’s appointment in July of Caleb McCarry as coordinator of the U.S. effort “to hasten the end of the dictatorship in Cuba.”²

II. Blockade Failure as an Instrument of U.S. Policy toward Cuba

1 Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba. Report to the President. Washington DC, May, 2004.

2 Philip Brenner; Marguerite Jimenez. “U.S. Policy on Cuba Beyond the last Gasp.” NACLA Report on the Americas. Vol. 39, No. 4, January/February 2006.

U.S. government blockade on Cuba since the triumph of the Revolution on January 1959 has been one of the main instruments sustain in its policy to eliminate the Cuban government and re-establish a regime in Cuba subordinated to American security interest. This U.S. blockade of Cuba has gone through different stages, defined mainly by international balance of forces and U.S. perceptions on Cuban realities.

Evolution of Cuban system oriented to socialism and its capacity for adjustment and stabilization in front of stronger economic sanctions shows clearly the failure of U.S blockade policy. This is true not only because do not get the collapse of the Revolution and “regime change” than pretend, but due negative consequences for the rhythms of normal transformation and improving of Cuban system, damage American economic and political interest and right of its citizens and other foreign residents in U.S. and the World and even affects U.S. national security interests. The blockade and economic sanctions reduce the possibilities of dialogue, negotiations between U.S. and Cuban governments in issues of common interest for both countries and people.¹

A realist non ideological relation with Cuban government could benefit U.S. in important issues as migration, drug traffic, environmental problems, natural catastrophes and even energy.²

Economic sanctions reduce substantially American participation in trade and investment in Cuba reinforce distrust climate, hard feelings and confrontation that affect other exchanges fields like academic,³ sport, cultural, family and even interpersonal relations. These side effects of the blockade frequently reduce trade, investment, migration policy an others spheres of exchanges between people of both countries as instruments of intergovernmental confrontational relations, violating fundamental rights in human relations, reducing to a minimum a reciprocal understanding that could create a better framework for future bilateral negotiations, peace and progress.⁴

Economic sanctions, economic blockade, and others economic and political instruments for isolate Cuba, contrary to its aim have an effect to reinforce the Cuban

1 According to one study conflicts could classify depending on level of hostility between parts in, 1- Diplomacy and negotiations; 2- Economic sanctions and embargoes; 3- Military actions. See: M.S. Daoudi; M.S. Dajani. *Economic Sanctions. Ideals and Experience*. International Library of Economics. Routhedge & Kegan Paul. London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley, 1983, p. 11.

2 Wayne Smith. “Cuba After the Cold War. What Should U.S. Policy Be? *International Report*. Center for International Policy. March, 1993.

3 Massive deny of visa for Cuban academicians to a Congress on U.S was a clear expression of this topic: See: letter “LASA to President Bush: Stop the Violation of Our academic Freedom!”, approved by the LASA Executive Council, 3/14/06. *Forum*, Spring 2006, Volume XXXVIII. Issue 2, p. 3.

4 Robert Bach. “Migration as an Issue in U.S. Cuban relations”. *Occasional Paper* No. 20, SAIS Central American and Caribbean Program. The John Hopkins University, Washington DC, March, 1988. 43 pp.

independence:

- Solidify national unity and make stronger its economic and political system, instead of fragment and divide Cuban society.

- Stimulate a diversifying and independent economic self sustain development. The difficulties and hardships created by economic blockade, economic cost of around thousand dollars each year, have shaped an urgency to produce necessary goods, diversify international economics and political relations and find alternative sources for all demands.

- The economic blockade of Cuba affect US interest and also of third countries, important partner of the United States. The economic sanctions are against neoclassical paradigm, promoted by U.S. government and the Washington Consensus.

III. Renovation of a Failure Policy. George W. Bush Administration Plan for Cuba.

Since first presidential period in Washington DC, George W. Bush has expressed a renovated hostility toward Cuba. At the beginning of 2002 he declared pretensions to accomplish a complete revision of Cuban economic and political blockade to hasten “Cuban transition” and regime change in Cuba.¹ In 2003 there were clear new features of Bush policy on Cuba: great reductions of so call track two of its policy associated with Clinton administration. During the first four years in the White House W. Bush shows a renovated effort to reduce all bilateral relations and helps more openly and directly small groups of counterrevolutionary ready to receive the American financial and moral support and serve as an internal instrument of its subversive policy.

W. Bush policy on Cuba was apparently dominated by internal political influence of Cuban American right wing groups and frequently is explained –with some reasons-- as part of American political process and the significance of Florida, an State controlled by Cuban born politicians well connected with Bush family and the former governor, Jeb Bush, brother of the President. In fact, current American policy toward Cuba is the result of much more than the Cuban American influence. It is the outcome of permanent interest of the U.S. imperialist in which the greater influence of neoconservative forces and Cuban American presence in the Administration staff only give greater resonance.

Nevertheless, it is fair to recognize that Cuba is not in first priority in American national security agenda. This is clear after the “war on terrorist” and military invasion in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The complex international scenario became more hostile for U.S. hegemony particularly for continues resistance and military losses of soldiers, creating an obstacle for

¹ Andres Oppenheimer; Tim Johnson. “U.S. policy on Cuba to receive full review” *The Miami Herald*, March 8, 2002, p. A01

further imperialist military expansion. U.S. military capacity is the first without discussion in the only world power but still unable to sustain more than one war of the same proportion. This situation implies some limits to a disproportional increase of aggressions against Cuba that could create a security challenge to U.S. imperialist.

W. Bush won presidential election in 2004 and these results strengthen its actions against Cuba. President Bush created a commission for Cuba leading by former Secretary of State Collin Powel. The idea behind the commission was to design a proactive policy for change regime in Cuba. The first report was presented to the President in May of the same years with a set of recommendations that were rapidly implemented, including more strict regulations on travel to Cuba, reductions of remittances, increases in financial support for propaganda and other actions against Cuba of millions of dollars each year, despite an official report at the request of U.S. Congress that recognize that foreign assistance to “democracy” in Cuba needs better management and supervision.¹

Confronting the current failure of U.S. policy toward Cuba there is part of the plan to create an “image of Cuba” and to build evidences that pretend to link Cuban government to terrorism, human traffic, money laundering, and potential capacity to develop biological arms to stimulate and justify a military aggression to Cuba.

The previous scenario has been denied insistently by U.S. officials, but there is no doubt that is part of the new plan to “hasten a transition” of Cuba to a “free and open society,”² if certain favourable conditions for intervention is developed in and out Cuba. It is necessary to remember that second report of the Bush commission has no public parts for “security reasons”.

An unexpected event, a change in main command post of Cuban government due to serious health problems of President Fidel Castro at the mid 2006 shows the weakness of the main American political assumption on Cuba, that if the main leader disappears the Revolution fall. This is another evidence of the U.S. political failure on Cuba.³ Cuban socioeconomic system, despite enormous difficulties, it has evidenced adjustment capacity, improvements, and progress. In the next years the current Cuban situation should consolidate reducing the impact of blockade on Cuba. Contrary to American political plan, Cuban socioeconomic situation is improving, and instead of the so call transition, there is a clear normal process of succession in political system.

In this context it is possible to consider two main variables to analyse future U.S.

1 U.S. Government Accountability Office. Report to Congressional Requesters. Foreign Assistance. *U.S. Democracy Assistance for Cuba Needs Better Management and Oversight*. Washington, DC, November 2006.

2 Department of the Treasury. Office of Foreign Assets Control. Washington D.C. 31 CFR Part 515. Cuban Assets Control Regulations. *Federal Register*, Vol. 69, No. 115, June 16, 2004, p. 33768

3 Véase al respecto el análisis de Julia Sweig. “Fidel’s Final Victory”, *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, 2007

foreign policy toward Cuba: evolution of American global agenda and perceptions on the impact of the blockade and other aggressions on Cuban socioeconomic reality. If there is some rationality in U.S. policy considering its current failure, it is possible to expect some adjustment, especially after 2008.

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3. Several Problems in the course of New Countryside Construction in Multi-Nationality areas [J], Zhong Zhou Publication 2007 3.