

Normalization of the Bilateral Relation between Cuba and United States: The Interests of U.S.A and Cuba's Foreign Policy Changes

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ABSTRACT: *On January 16 of 2015, the restoration of US-Cuba relations was announced to be one of the most important events in the region since over 50 years. Both political and economic relations between Cuba and the United States have had a characterization of being intermittent and chaotic, reflected in the foreign policy of these countries. With such announcement both nations create agendas where their interests are included, in order to build new policies and changes to facilitate the approach. The foregoing, leads to wonder about the possible changes that would be presented in Cuba as a result of the new bilateral relations with its neighbor, considering that the island has had little liberalization and influence in the international system. This paper aims to analyze the changes in the Cuban foreign policy as a result of the normalization of relations with the US and will be divided into two parts: in the first part we are going to make a theoretical and conceptual framework that help us to understand the Cuba-USA relation; in the second part we show and study a historical account of the Cuban foreign policy, in order to understand the background of this change in the relations of Cuba with the United States and what this change means to the island in economic and political terms.*

Resumen: *El 16 de enero del 2015, se anuncia el restablecimiento de las relaciones Cuba y Estados Unidos siendo una de las coyunturas más importantes de la región puesto que durante más de 50 años se vivió en un entorno hostil e incierto. Las relaciones tanto políticas como económicas entre Cuba y Estados Unidos se han caracterizado por ser intermitentes y caóticas, viéndose reflejadas en la política exterior de cada uno. Con dicha normalización ambas naciones debieron crear agendas donde incluyeran sus intereses, además de empezar a constituir nuevas políticas y cambios que facilitarían el acercamiento. Lo anterior, conlleva a preguntarse sobre los posibles cambios que se presentarían en Cuba como consecuencia de las nuevas relaciones bilaterales con su vecino, teniendo en cuenta que la isla ha tenido pocos procesos de liberalización y poca influencia en el sistema internacional. La presente investigación tendrá como objetivo analizar los cambios en la política exterior cubana como resultado de la normalización de las relaciones con los EE.UU., y se dividirá en dos partes: en la primera parte, vamos a hacer un marco teórico y conceptual que nos ayudarán a entender la relación Cuba-EE.UU.; en la segunda parte mostraremos un recuento histórico de la política exterior cubana y lo analizaremos, con el fin de comprender el trasfondo de este cambio en las relaciones de Cuba con Estados Unidos y lo que este cambio significa que la isla en términos económicos y políticos.*

Keywords : *Economic History, International History, Cuban Revolution, Cuba, Foreign Policy, International Relations, Latin America History.*

I. INTRODUCTION

On February 7th of 1962, three years after the success of the Cuban revolution and several unsuccessful attempts to destroy or weaken the socialist movement and the Castro Government in Cuba, J.F Kennedy, president of the USA decides to declare a total blockade against Cuba (Embajada de la República de Cuba, 2015) claiming that the Castro's government restricted the freedom and sovereignty of Cuban state and imposed a cruel and illegal politic system, in short, Kennedy accused Castro to impose a communist dictatorship in his country (Suárez, 2015).

The reaction of U.S is given not only for a proclaimed struggle to defend human rights and defeat the communism in all the Americas, but also it has economic and political interests in the island that were at risk. Thanks to the proximity between Cuba and the U.S, the last one always have had the political and economic control of the island, where the country have invested 1.001 USD millions, the third largest investment that the United States had in Latin America at that time (Moreno, 1993); the "economic punishments" and blockades was an effort to protect their investment. Moreover, Cuba is located very close to U.S turning it into a influence zone, therefore the develop of communism represented an invasion of URSS in the sphere of influence of the USA (Latin America) that could be dangerous to the political and economic power that the American Country had in this side of the world. The economic Blockade was one part of an anticommunism campaign.

This situation remained for almost 50 years, but “on 16 January 2015, certain easements to the US embargo of Cuba were announced and have become effective. They fall within the framework of the process of normalization of bilateral relations initiated by Presidents Barack Obama and Raúl Castro” (Lamrani, 2015, p.1). The Obama’s government decided to put an end to the blockades and embargos because at this point of the History they were pointless to the U.S and they were still being the main obstacle to the Cuba’s developing, although it is a way that the United States may have to create stronger links with its southern neighbors, this decision counts with the support of the majority of the actors in the international system like: China, all Latin American countries, The European Union, the U.N, the Cuban and American people, and so on.

“There is a lot of mistrust accumulated over 50 years. There is so much uncertainty around the negotiations that have been initiated in Havana, from 21 January. Its materialization is a big step, but the task is not easy and there are many issues to be resolved between the two countries, which are mainly based on their different ideological positions” (Mejías, 2015, p.3)

With the changes in the relation between Cuba and U.S. new questions arise, and new problems appear. One of those problems is that during the 50 years of blockades, Cuba created certain economic dynamics that responds to the needs of a closed economy, or at least, a good part of them. When the blockades come to an end, Cuba will need to reintegrate itself to an active international system like the country never did it before, with this, another difficulties and challenges will come to the Island in the internal organization, such as the need to restructure their political and economic funds according to the dynamics of the international system without going back to the achieves in terms of education, public health, employment and poverty.

In this article we will show and study the history of Cuba’s foreign policy, and how it has evolved until the embargo, furthermore, we will take a look to the current situation analyzing the consequences of nowadays negotiation agenda, which includes interests from each country, and how the foreign policy of the country is affected.

II. Methodology

The overall goal of this article is to analyze how the current negotiating agenda, along with US interests affect the Cuban foreign policy. However, in this first part we are going to take a look and analyze the foreign policy of Cuba trough history to understand better the points proposed for both parts in the current agenda, moreover, we are going to do a theoretical and conceptual framework to understand the relation between these two countries.

The research will be focused on the mandate of Barack Obama, in which the reestablishment of the relations where taking place. A case study will be done through a qualitative analysis method, which is structured through observation in the short and medium term of every event that affects Cuba’s foreign policy. Additionally, a literature review will be conducted.

The research is divided into two parts, which will be organized as follows: in the first section, a historical contextualization is presented focusing on the evolution of the foreign policy of the island through the years. In the second section, the negotiating agenda with the United States and Cuba is analyzed, in order to examine the interests of parties, the similarities and differences between them. Finally, it will be determined how the structure of the Cuban foreign policy is changing due to the renewal of relations with the United States and the numerous events that have been occurring during this time, considering the new political environment and the need for Cuba to adapt to the current international scene.

Theoretical and conceptual framework

To understand the history and conflict between these two countries first it is necessary to explain that there are some important concepts, theories and differentiations that are fundamental to understand the historical relationship between the United States and Cuba and their current situation; we will use three fundamental concepts and theories that will work like a filter for the analysis of the relations between the evolution of these countries. The first theory we will use to analyze this relation is the “Dependency theory”, which is a theory developed in Latin America, and it is considered as one of the few theories of international relations original of this region” (Cortés, 1998, p.2). Cortés argued that:

“The poverty of the South is due to historical conditions that have structured the global market so that favors the North and keep the South in a state of constant poverty. Since the beginning, the South has served as a provider of commodities to the North, and in exchange, they have been recipients of those finished product that saturated the North’s market, acting like a safety valve of the developed economies. In this way, the earnings of the North become losses to the South, and create a link of the dependency where economies of the South depend on the will to purchase of the North” (Banco de la república, 2016, p.1).

The Dependency Theory appears like a refutation to the theory of development which claims that the industrialization is the starting point of the transition of developing countries to developed ones (Toscano, 2006), while the dependency theorists said that the theory of development ignored that developed countries

never went through underdevelopment to reach their current condition (Cortés, 1998) and the underdevelopment is proposed as a condition itself and not like a stage or a gradual process to development (Blomström, 1990).

This theory affirms that the International System consists of two types of countries: the developed countries (or the center of the IS) and the underdeveloped countries (or the periphery of the IS), this dichotomy implies that the fact that the periphery is underdeveloped, it is always in a position of dependence characterized by the specialization of their developing economies in the production of economies, this is called “dependence specialization”; this one inhibits the building of industrial capacities, whereby, the foreign capital becomes necessary. This capital almost always comes from developed countries (Cortés, 1998), what it does in economic terms, the dependency is making developing countries become dependent, this leads to a loss of autonomy regarding political decisions in the peripheral countries.

In this theory, the periphery doesn't have a proper local bourgeoisie that have the will to make projects of national interest that leads the country to progress, therefore they usually have close relations with the bourgeoisie of the center with those who have similar interests; the bourgeoisie of the periphery usually is benefited by the production and exportation of raw material, because of this, they don't have interest in the industrial development of their own country, and at the same time this is convenient to the bourgeois class of the center because they provide the technology that the underdeveloped country can make by itself and as payment they receive the production surpluses of the developing countries, this kind of dynamics have as result that the periphery works according to the cycles and interests of the center instead of their own ones (Blomström, 1990). The center-periphery-dynamic is not exclusive of the International System, we can see it in a smaller scale within the countries –even the peripheral- where there exist the centers, which are known as metropolis, and the periphery that are the towns with less importance in the economics and politics of the country and revolve around the metropolis. (Cortés, 1998). The theorists of the dependency assures that the underdevelopment, the dependency of the peripheral countries and the few possibilities that the developing countries have to compete as equals with developed countries is due to the capitalist system, thus they say that the emergence of the underdevelopment in some countries is the product of the expansion of the capitalism through the time that together with the implicit establishment of the division of the work (done not only inside the countries but in the international system) molded the peripheral economies around the needs of the capitalism (Muñoz, 1978).

Although in this theory the economy is the key to make a country dependent, the political part is also taken into account because the countries of the center, try to make the periphery, that are near to their influence zone, engage not only with the economic system of the center, but also with their political, cultural and military system; and they make all they can to make sure this happens, for instance, they provide technology and economic resources to the underdeveloped countries or they gain economic power within the country. The developed country tries to influence, because at the same time this gives power in the political decisions of the peripheral country; if this decisions don't suit to the center an implicit threat is created, because the center can punish the periphery through economic sanctions to make the underdeveloped country take the decision that fit better with the center's interests. According to the dependence theory, the solution to the condition of dependence that the capitalist system causes is a revolution:

“with this they pretend the annihilation of the relations of production, that exists both nationally and internationally, and in this way establish equality between the nations” (Cortés, 1998, p.12).

This way of thinking made a lot of Marxists theorist agreed with the dependent theory. We must keep in mind the period and place where this theory arose; in the 60's, during the cold war in a polarized world with two centers- if we can say it in that way-the United States and the URSS; around the dynamics of this two countries was developed the International System in this epoch. The fact that Latin America is close to the United States make this region the periphery of the center that the United States was in that time, and hence it puts Latin America in the sphere of influence of the U.S.A. This region was ruled by the capitalism and the liberal political system, that is to say, the economic and political system of the U.S.A.

However, despite the antiquity of its creation, this theory has evolved with the changes that occurred after the Cold War, nowadays the theorist of the development said that not only the process of industrialization has to do with the development or backwardness of a country (Ocampo, 2001); there are some other important factors as:

- The slow advance in the technology field of the developing countries compared to the developed countries
- The impacts that have the external shocks in the developing countries
- The asymmetry that the developed and developing countries have in the financial markets, foreign trade, exchange rates and the external debt. (Ocampo, 2001)

Also Preisbich, one of the most recognized theorist of the development, affirms that in order to make the international system overcome its asymmetries, it is not only necessary to change the structure of the international economy but to change the internal economic structures of the peripheral countries with accumulation of human capital, a development of technologies and a strengthen of the financial market (Ocampo, 2001).

Both approaches of this theory agree in the fact that the inequalities in the international system have its roots in a structural exploitation from the center to the periphery, also that this center-periphery does not only act in the International System but also at the inside of every country and it helps to increase the disparities between countries. Finally, both said that the solution for the inequity between countries is a radical and structural change inside of the dynamics of the developing countries.

At the same time, the Cuba case ends with the same solutions prescript by theorists: a radical change inside the dynamics of this country, that was presented as a revolution, an exit of the problem that came after many attempts to make it by other means, this revolution came with a destruction of the capitalist dynamics within the Island and the imposition of socialism as the new economic and political system in the Island. This socialism leads to another kind of dependency but this is not going to be mentioned at the moment. In theory, this revolution achieved its goal, according to the dependence theory; it separated Cuba from the capitalist dynamics of center-periphery. But, what is a revolution? Is it the same that a rebellion?

III. REBELLION AND REVOLUTION

The concepts of rebellion and revolution are related but different. Cuba has gone through both social processes, so it is very important to know and understand them. According to Albert Camus (1978) in his book "The Rebel" the rebellion movement is based on the categorical rejection of an intrusion judged intolerable and confused certainty of a good law; more precisely, the rebel "have the right to ...". The rebellion is mainly initiated by complaints and demands of various sectors; this social movement is characterized by being more organized than a revolt, lasts longer and there is use of violence.

"It is a movement of affirmation and realization of the subject who denies his alienation with its capacity for imagination, to visualize, through an image, the possibility of release, since it is anticipated in a representative image. Such ideal image guides, giving direction, is a kind of spiritual telescope; so is its inner eye" (Ríos, 2010, p.30). Its purpose is to amend certain government measures, which are considered unfair.

"Any movement of rebellion in history announced a human statement, which considers as essential to our nature. This movement is the foundation of solidarity, as an act that recognizes both the individual and the collective right, and you owe them respect. This, take out the man from his loneliness and leads to communion with the others" (Ríos, 2010, p.31). According to Camus (1978) "the rebellion is the act of a reported man who is conscious of his rights" On the other hand, the modern concept of revolution began sculpting from the French Revolution "the revolution begins to be understood as a change, a turning point, break, break with an earlier state of things" (Jaramillo, 2012, p.88)

"Revolution is defined, thus to certain intentional collective behavior, that is to actions of some groups directed to a political power aim. But intentional collective behaviors are conditioned by collective attitudes, which are understood as common provisions for members of a favorable or unfavorable to the existing society group, expressed in beliefs about the society in accordance with likes and dislikes" (Villoro, 1992, p.278)

This social movement is a break which has been used as a mean to change the political, social and economic structures. A clear example of this was the Revolution that occurred in Cuba and had its triumph in 1959, and it was sought to dismiss the Fulgencio Batista. This revolution was based on the assumptions of the philosopher Karl Marx, who argued that the means of production were in the hands of a bourgeois class that obtain the highest percentage of the profits, leaving workers a small part that did not allow them to have a dignified life. "It is not a matter of reform the private property, but to abolish it; not to reduce the antagonist class but to abolish classes; not to improve the existing society but to establish a new one " (Marx, 1850, p.2)

That is, there is a class struggle in which the poor get poorer and the rich richer. Therefore, the proletariat is the one who should get the means of production, but this should lead to a social revolution, "every real revolution is social, because it leads to power a new class and allows it to transform society in his image and likeness "(Engels, 1875). Then, the revolutions begin by questioning the existing order and have several elements: there must be a crisis of the present, broad mass participation, violence, the replace of the authorities and the establishment of a new system order.

"This movement carries an ideology and must contain an organization and strategies. The revolution begins [...] for an idea, it is the inclusion of the idea on historical experience, while rebellion is only the movement that leads from individual experience to the idea. While history, including the collective, of a movement of rebellion is always the end of a commitment of the facts, a protest that does not compromise dark systems or reasons, a revolution is an attempt to model the act on an idea, to frame the world in a theoretical framework" (Camus, 1978, p.49).

Given the above, it is possible to argue that there have been many rebellions but only a revolution in Cuba. The former is produced by workers, for example during the dictatorship of Machado they began to show conflict and created their own organizations. The second occurred in 1959 after the overthrow of the Batista dictatorship by the Cuban revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro, who then becomes the country's president and imposed a socialist regime, which came with its respective opposition.

This revolution sparked the discomfort of USA due to the fact that it was a communist revolution in times of the cold war, so United States responds to this threat that Cuba made to them through this revolution with an economic sanction, but at this point there is a confusion about if this sanction is a blockade or an embargo, or if both refer to the same, we will try to clarify this point.

The Cuba case: ¿Blockade or Embargo?

These two concepts are often taken as synonyms but they are correlated. The embargo is a weapon used by the blockade. This is why, the first thing we have to do before classifying Cuba as a case of economic blockade or as a case of embargo is to understand what each concept means and how they can be applied.

The term blockade has suffered many transformations through time, evolving and transforming its way of application.

“While international economic blockades have been known for a long time, they have only become important in international law since 1980s. Its main legal principles however were been determined in the international law institution in 1887. These principles were: allowing the passing of foreign merchantmen freely regardless of imposing a blockade, needing to announce the blockade officially, and catching the neutral’s merchant marines that do not comply with the legal principles of the blockade” (Gomaa, 2006, p.1).

This is a military term that basically means leave without any communication a place with warlike purposes, this is usually executed enclosing all the maritime borders and inhibit all the trade across them. For this military blockade it is necessary to have been declared a State of war to declare a blockade (Alvarez, 2012). There is another type of blockade, called pacific blockade; the sole difference with the traditional blockade is that it is not necessary to block out the maritime borders and declare the State of war. One feature of this blockade is the negative impact on the population and access to goods and services from other countries that can be of vital importance in the country's economy which is blocked (Mota, 2012).

An example of blocking was in World War II when Germany wanted to defeat England by a lock; this consisted of two fronts: the first phase was to cut off all communication Suez channel which did not allow the entry of oil and raw materials (Navarro, 2004). The second phase involves cutting communications in the Atlantic sea to prevent communication between this country and the United States (Navarro, 2004). This shows the cut of maritime borders for, in this case, weaken the counterparty in a state of war.

Over the Second World War the concept took a new way because of the improvement of military technology (Long-range missiles for example), which meant that there was no need to approach to the coasts. “In 1939, the blockade took on a new name - the economic war- (...) The blockading nation (nations) uses these weapons against another blockaded nation for the following reasons: 1. Encountering a direct threat to its security or to its economic benefits; 2. Achieving Moral or Ethical goals; 3. Imposing an economic sanction as a re-reaction of another nation's negative policy against the blockading country (countries)” (Gomaa, 2006).

It means that, “An economic blockade is a type of unilateral coercive measure. It is widely acknowledged that the term “unilateral coercive measure” is difficult to define. Nevertheless, these measures often refer to economic steps taken by one state to compel a change in the policy of another. The most widely used forms of economic pressure are trade sanctions in the form of embargoes and/or boycotts, and the interruption of financial and investment flows between sender and target countries” (Sahakyan, 2014, paragraph 3).

Given the above, the embargo was born from the economic blockade as a tool, as a way to affect the target country and it can be defined as:

“The privation of a person or a social entity of every social or commercial relationship to harm it or force it to yield on everything that is required by the attacker country” (Alvarez, 2012, p.51)

According to Alvarez (2012), an essential condition to name it as an Embargo is that the attacker should give up violence, if the coercion is made by violent ways we are talking about a blockade. In the Embargo the measures taken against the country punished are:

- Forbid the supply of weapons and munition
- Inhibit any kind of military support from other countries
- Make prohibition that affects the economy of the punished country
- Boycott the commercial and financial system.
- Among others

There are two types of embargo: the trade embargo and the investment, financial, and technological embargos. “The first one is the total or the partial boycott of exports and/or imports of a target country. It uses different weapons to achieve its goals including export and import controls, trade agreements, preclusive and pre-emption, and navy blockades. And the second means liquidating physical and the financial assets, withdrawing human capital, and preventing any new investment in the target nation by the blockading nation (nations). Liquidation of financial assets means selling financial assets that belong to foreigners in the target nation, while liquidation of physical assets means dismantling foreign plants and equipment, and liquidating them whereas liquidation of human capital means the withdrawal of skilled management, withdrawal of

entrepreneurs and withdrawal of foreign scientists from the target nation by the blockading nation (nations)” (Gomaa, 2006p.3-4). Based on this analysis of the differentiation and relation between Embargo and Blockade, we can conclude that in the case of Cuba both cases exist. It is a blockade because when the blockade was officially announced by the White House, the blockade was just an Embargo, focused on impeding the economic development of the island through some economic sanctions used as a punishment for Cuba after becoming communist; but when the Missile crisis exploded, U.S.A strengthened the commercial Embargo and start to block any entry of ships, especially the ones that carry weapons (Ochoa, 2015); with this action a military discourse start to grow in the conflict of these two countries, and also the boycott of Cuba’s international trade, fulfilling the characteristics conditions of an economic blockade.

Cuba’s foreign policy before the revolution of 1959

In terms of foreign policy, Cuba did not have a specific foreign policy; however, they had an economic dependence on the United States reflected and enforced by the Platt Amendment which is an appendix on the bill of the budget of the Army, imposed to the first Cuban constitution; and also was approved by the congress of the U.S.A. and elaborated by the constituent Assembly in 1901. This amendment has 7 points established by the U.S.A congress and the most important are:

1. Cuba’s government can’t establish any treaty or another kind of agreement with other countries that could undermine the recently reached independence of Cuba republic, and can’t allow other countries obtain powers or authorization to settle in or control any portion of the Isle.

This shows the economic dependence of the island because they could not make any treaty or agreement with another country other than the United States and therefore the emergence of Cuba was permitted (Tulchin, 1988).

2 Cuba’s government consents the right that the government of the U.S.A have to intervene in favor of keeping the Cuba Independence, the maintenance of an adequate government, and the fulfillment of the obligations that Cuba has with the United States.

At this point, the amendment gives the right to the United States to intervene in the political and economic fields that seem convenient to Cuba, arguing to maintain the independence that had the island. (Cortés, 1998). However, this specific point shows how the dependency theory comes into force as the sphere of influence of the United States, which was Cuba, could not let another power as URSS, let in.

3 To put the conditions required, in order to make the United States keep the independence of Cuba –and interesting phrase-, the Isle should sell or rent the territory that the U.S.A considers necessary to build naval bases and control strategic points of the Island.

This describes how the center sees the periphery, like independent and autonomous states that does not have the ability to keep their autonomy, governments, or economies and always need to be protected and controlled by the center; the center takes advantage of this situation and influences the economy and the politics of those countries in their favor (Cortés, 1998).

As we have seen lately, this amendment shows every point that the theorist describes in the dependency theory; a country that is not a colony and have their own government, but that is in the periphery of the International System. It is subordinated by a country that is in the center of the International System. These allow the control of the internal dynamics of the country and guide them to make decisions that only it is convenient to the interests of the center

Cuba’s foreign policy under Fidel Castro’s government.

Since the first days of the revolution, Fidel Castro’s idea of foreign policy was planned as a maximalist policy where Cuba will act as a great power, at least in the region, nevertheless in the reality the Foreign Policy was directed to protect the revolution, and help national liberation groups around the world (Fernandez, 1987).

Part of this situation where that this maximalist, integrationist and open policy stay only as an idea and were different of the reality and the main cause was the Embargo that U.S imposed for Cuba, this not only isolated this country economically but also politically in the region, thanks to this, Fidel’s foreign policy took a turn, and stop trying to expand the communist ideology and the economy of Cuba in the region focused on keeping the revolutionary government afloat through its external relations with another communist countries (Ahmed, 1980). This need of safeguard with the expectations to make the revolution grows in its first years make Cuba looks towards the communist great power at this time: The Soviet Union. This will give the guidelines of Cuba’s foreign policy, and this alliance with the Soviet Union will be the key in the international relations of the island between the decade of the 60’s and the 80’s (Ahmed, 1980), due to this cooperation the relation of Cuba with the USA and Latin America change radically. Regarding the Relation with the USA, it suffers drastic negative changes, because, in the cold war, where the Soviet Union and the United States were confronted, the fact that in Cuba the government passed from being under the control of the U.S to a communist regime that support the URSS, it was a big threat in the neighborhood of the North American giant (Ahmed, 1980).

This situation gets worse with the Embargo imposition in 1960, that action showed an open hostility from U.S to Cuba, and its resolution to keep influencing in Cuba like in the past. This situation of antagonism has its aligid point when the URSS started to build missiles in Cuba that point to USA with the permission and collaboration of Fidel Castro (Swift, 2007). Even when this was a point of conciliation between U.S and the URSS (at least in the use of nuclear weapons), the position that United States took in front of Cuba was more radical than ever before, after this and in a trial to convince Kennedy to finish the embargo “Castro had indicated a willingness to reach a *détente* with the US in 1963 and 1964, but the US was not willing to negotiate Cuba's subversive activities in Latin America.”(Ahmed, 1980, p.59).

The deterioration of the relation between Cuba and the rest of Latin America, has to do with the aggressive incitation to a revolution that Fidel Castro made for the other Latin American countries, this resulted in the exclusion of Cuba from some American and global organizations such as the U.N state council and the OAS in the 60's (Ahmed, 1980).

The strengthening of the alliances that Fidel Castro's government already had had with the URSS also had some repercussions in the relations that Cuba had with the rest of Latin America. After the performance of the Cuban troops in Africa and Afghanistan as a support of URSS in those zones, the rest of the third world and non-aligned countries started to doubt about the non-alignment of Cuba (Ahmed, 1980); in addition of this, the raise of the conservative, right-winged governments that were associated with the U.S in some Latin-American countries, reduced the allies of the Island in this part of the globe and create a unfavorable image of Fidel's regime in the region (Fernandez, 1987). Despite the negative reactions that the attention of Fidel Castro's regime receives from the Soviet Union due to its communist tinge (that was denied by Fidel Castro at the beginning of its government) (Ratz, 1983), the relation with the rival of U.S in that time were very useful for the main objective that Fidel had in the first years of their government; the Soviet Union became the principal trade partner of Cuba, and finance weapons, and training for its soldiers in case of United States wanted to invade them, in exchange of this, the URSS won an strategic supporter that was geographically near to their rival which give it the opportunity to closely watch the movements of the U.S.A. (Ratz, 1983).

With the support of the URSS assured, China also started bring Cuba against the United States, in 1960 both countries signed a trade agreement where states that “China agreed to purchase 2.5 million tons of Cuban sugar, and granted Cuba a credit of \$ 60 million” (Hassad, 1980, p.52).

As it was said above, in the decade of the 60's the URSS and Cuba has a difference in its ideologies, a situation that made Cuba resist the soviet methods to make a revolution and its vision of communism, created certain tension between this two countries, however, it didn't stop them to have a bilateral relation that gave benefits for both, it created some doubts in the Soviet government due to Cuba was trying to have a communist government with the resources of the URSS but a Cuban independent parameters and tried to convince the other Latin-American countries to apply the Cuban communism instead of the Soviet one (Ratz, 1983).

This Soviet Union offset this reducing the loads of oil to Cuba and increasing the sales of oil to non-Marxist Latin American nations (Ratz, 1983), Cuba depended on the URSS for the obtaining of most of the resources and one of the most important goods that the communist power gave to the island was oil, so this movement of the Soviet government forced Castro to give up to his independent foreign policy approach, and link up with the URSS parameters in 1968 (Ahmed, 1980). With this different surpassed in the way that the Soviet Union wanted, the economic aids for Cuba was reestablished and the relations between these two countries improved.

The decade of the 70's started in a very positive way respecting relations with the URSS for Cuba, and that means having a good foreign policy in general due to the fact that this was certainly influenced by the Soviet Union, the country to whom Cuba had developed a dependency for resources in the last decade. The re structuration of Cuba's economy and policy in the soviet way, was the step that let Cuba get in the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) this happened in 1972 when some parts of the soviet government started to see the potential of this island as an ally (Tsokhas, 1980) this meant a kind of official recognition of Cuba as an appreciate part of the society of communist countries.

Also, there were positives changes in the bilateral relations with the U.S despite the Embargo was not lifted for the Nixon administration either, the attitude that this government took towards Cuba was a little more concealer in a trial, even it tried to proposed an offer of peace to Castro in 1971 (Bernell, 1994), who rejected it many times appealing to the solidarity with other revolutionary movements, stating that if they accepted the *détente* offered by U.S.A it will be a deny of solidarity, which he felt it was the Duty of Cuba like the first revolutionary socialist government in Latin America (Ahmed, 1980).

But in December of 1971 Cuba changes its mind and finally expressed interest in cooperate and improve the relations with U.S, basing its decision in the prestige Cuba will win in Latin America if they succeed in persuading the United States to lift up the Embargo (Ahmed, 1980) but as the history showed us, Cuba did not reach this objective in this decade; however, this first attempt of an agreement and a reconciliation between these countries, even when it failed, still being a good signal of the end of the aggressiveness of U.S

against Cuba (Bernell, 1994). Actually the strategy to re-establish the relationship with the U.S worked to improve the image that Cuba had in the region, which not only gave economic profits to the island due to the new trade partners Cuba won, but also gave a possibility to get out of the embargo supported by some Latin American countries (Ahmed, 1980). The interventions in Africa in the 70's were something that marked Cuba in that decade. These interventions tested the strength of the relations with the Soviet Union, this were because, even when most of the time Cuba and USSR were a team in that zone of the world, sometimes they had some differences about who they should support or how the most evident example of this differences were in Angola, where Cubans and Soviets were supporting opposites sides, meanwhile the soviet troops protected the Alves group, the opposition that fought against the Neto's president troops supported by Cuba; even when some experts in politics thought this will be the end of the relations between these two countries, the union for interests showed up being stronger than the differences they may have (Ratz, 1983).

For some of this interventions and the direct challenge to a great power, proves that Cuba was a small country, that even when it doesn't have the goal of being the regional leader of a big-scale revolution and accept some rules imposed by the Soviet Union as the greatest power of the communist bloc, still had a big country's foreign policy (Domínguez, 1978), this is a very appropriate description of what Cuba did in the 70's, even when it had seriously economic problems due to the poor internal production within the island, which get worse because of all the expenses of Cuban troops in Middle East and Africa means (Ratz, 1983), they still showed their military power on those continents, sometimes with the support and leadership of the URSS but also, sometimes by its own. But this behavior in Africa, had a negative impact in the advances that had occurred in the dialogs to lift up the Embargo, and have cooperative relations with the U.S.A, due to this plan of "export the communist revolution" and support the URSS position in this place was against the United States plans in Middle East, and, again, the hostility with Cuba started taking away any opportunity that could exist to have an agreement with U.S (Ahmed, 1980).

This bad relations with the Carter's and Reagan's administrations will have its consequences in the 90's, meanwhile the decade of the 80's was a, we could say, a quiet period for Cuba, even when the relations in the region were not as good as in the 70's, this in part influenced by U.S, the relations with the soviet bloc was improving, and this indemnified the damages made by the Embargo and the isolation from capitalist countries with long-terms agreement for key Cuban products (Rodríguez, 1993).

We can say that what help Cuba not to get a crisis was the skilled management that Fidel Castro had with the foreign relations, principally with the communist countries, due to the aids, the agreements for exportation and the participation in blocs as the CMEA which represented more than the 40% of all the inputs gained by Cuba at that time (Rodríguez, 1993). This was the reason why the dissolution of the Soviet Union was so harmful not only to the internal economy of Cuba, but for its foreign relations.

With the fall of the URSS in the 90's and the independency of its satellite countries, Cuba at the beginning managed the situation very well, having a trade and political relations with Russia. The real struggle came when the lack of the URSS started to be evident in the economic and organizational aspects, this resulted in crises and socio economic transformations in the eastern communists countries that make difficult the maintaining and expansion of trade relations between Cuba and those countries. (Rodríguez, 1993, pág. 42), and when this country made the transition to other types of political systems to adapt to the new winds that blow, Cuba's foreign relationships fell. In addition to this, we could observe that Cuba does not adapt fast enough to the new paradigms in the International System, falling behind and starting a new era of an almost total isolation for nearly 7 years, when the Venezuelan revolution started. Besides that, it could be seen that, contraire of what the most of the politic analysts thought, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, U.S.A neither lifted up the Embargo nor softened it; what actually happened was that:

"The congress approves the [...] law for the democracy in Cuba, known as the Torricelli Law, which reinforced the embargo by forbidding subsidiaries of American companies to have any type of trade with Cuba. Four years later, the congress made even more severe the embargo, when they approve [...]the Cuban liberty act law, more known as the Helms-Burton Law, that listed sanctions against governments, companies and people which "trafficate" with American properties expropriated by Cuba" (Kaufman Purcell & Murillo, 2003, pág. 704).

This not only isolated Cuba for the allies of United States in Latin America and the world but also for almost every country in the world, due to, most of the Cuba's government properties at that time had been expropriated from the U.S at the beginning of the revolution. The stagnation in which all this set of situations derived, remained almost to the beginning of the rise of populist governments in Latin America in the decade 00's. Causing an economic crisis in Cuba that remains until today.

Cuba's Foreign Policy with Raul Castro

In order to understand the changes that are occurring in Cuba with the restoration of relations with the United States, it is necessary to understand how the Cuban foreign policy was structured before the historic event -the normalization of bilateral relation- was. From the Cuban revolution, the island stared at East, in the Soviet Union, its main ally, with whom it had relationships of all kinds. This caused the Cuban foreign policy not to be multidimensional, and therefore completely dependent on the communist power.

With the fall of the socialist bloc, Cuba with a deteriorating and dependent domestic industry, lived one of the biggest crises in its history, letting the Cuban leaders to "reduce the scope of its previous foreign policy, adjusting its economy to new circumstances and forge an institutionalist strategy to counter US power and, collaterally, obtain information and reduce uncertainty around this new world order "(Dominguez, 2004, p. 255). The purpose of Cuba's foreign policy for the past 50 years has been of sovereignty and self-determination of the island. In addition, because of the various diplomatic and economic attacks by the USA, Cuba has forged a foreign policy based on anti-imperialism and a revolutionary ideology. (Fernandez, 2008).

Until today the Cuban foreign policy has developed along the following lines:

1. Prevent and counteract the action of the governments of the US policy to isolate Cuba diplomatically and deploying diplomatic efforts directed to achieving wider recognition by the international community through the forging of diplomatic, political, economic and cooperation links.
2. Face in major international forums primarily at the United Nations, the illegal and criminal policy of economic, commercial and financial blockade imposed by the United States, seeking to identify the international community with the rejection of the policy of extra-territorial scope, which violates international law.
3. Combat the discrediting and delegitimization campaigns against the revolution that continue to be systematically orchestrated by the US government and its special services supported by international information consortia which are closely identified with ideological and political lines that support and justify the international order guaranteed by Washington.
4. Forging close links and provides assistance to organizations, political parties and related movements ideologically and politically in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism to achieve national liberation.
5. Deploy an active role as a founding member of the movement of nonaligned countries, internationally sustaining their positions and principles while working to achieve the incorporation to the movement of other States in Latin America and the Caribbean.
6. Establish, at the time, close diplomatic and strategic relations with the former Soviet Union and with other countries of the socialist community, encouraging them active and essential political, financial and economic ties, as well as valuable relationships military that strengthen the revolutionary state against external aggression.
7. Enter in the structures of the economic system of the socialist bloc (COMECON), an objective of foreign policy that sought to counteract the economic, commercial and financial isolation. Also enter into bilateral economic and long-term cooperation in many areas with the most developed members of these group agreements.
8. Develop the broader economic, trade and scientific ties with developed market economy countries on the basis of mutual benefit and mutual respect for different political and economic systems. (Fernandez, 2008,pág. 100-101)m

This demonstrates the high degree of concentration that has Cuba's foreign policy in the United States. "The principles and objectives have remained with remarkable consistency and continuity. Surely, this quality is given by the continuity of the same ideological principles held by a state and institutional apparatus that has changed little throughout the revolutionary process" (Fabbri , 1993, pág . 41).

With the fall of the USSR, there was a redefinition of the foreign policy, where Cuba began to have visibility within the international system, contributing to the resolution of regional and extra-regional conflicts, the actuate was perfected in international forums and began to develop strategies to attract foreign investment and the incorporation of some regional agreements. (Romero, 2015, pág. 108).

"Assessing the performance of Cuban foreign policy in the new conditions of post-Cold War, it can be concluded that in the midst of many difficulties, the authorities in Cuba were able to make significant progress in the re-articulation of its external economic relations (in which nations of Latin America and the Caribbean began to play an important role)" (Romero, 2015, pág. 108).

However, there are still many challenges to the Cuban foreign policy from an economic and social perspective, because of that, the government in 2011 raised the Guidelines for Economic and Social Policy, which was adopted at the Sixth Congress of the Cuban Communist Party (PCC) held in Havana. "In these guidelines it is embodied the political will to undertake the changes required in the field of planning, structure of ownership, economic management model, the business system and social policy" (Romero, 2015, p. 110).

These guidelines have open a new spectrum of options, with which Cuba can withdraw a way to enter to the international markets. "One indication that Cuba is serious about allowing an increased market presence in the country is the new Foreign Investment Law (No. 118) enacted in March 2014. Another positive sign is the new

special development zone created around a new container hub at the port of Mariel. The Cuban government has put together a portfolio of investment opportunities consisting of 246 projects with an estimated value of US\$8.7 billion” (Spadoni & Sagebien, 2015, pág. 4). Additionally, Cuba is trying to focus on large investments that will improve the national industry and will support the small and medium investment.

“Despite the economic sanctions (embargo) imposed by the US 50 years ago, and some disagreements of Cuban citizens, the government of President Fidel Castro achieved over four decades financial economic reforms in Cuba establish a "social pact" a close relationship between state power and the whole population, and a consensus around a national project so far in the period Raul Castro, head of state and government and president of the State Council of the Republic of Cuba, It remains in effect be the basis of their political power and giving it legitimacy” (Solorza, 2016, pág. 139-140).

It is also important to note that despite the economic blockade Cuba has managed to offer international cooperation, in order to maintain stable relations with countries around the world, and has been dedicated mainly to South-South cooperation. According to the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Cuba and Resolution No. 50 of 2008, Cuba has guiding principles to give such cooperation:

- a) It is produced for the benefit and mutual interests among States. Cuba shares what it has.
- b) It is offered without any conditions, with national consensus and political will.
- c) It is developed from the sum of potentials of the countries and with non-profit. It is a way for true integration.
- d) Respond to the needs expressed by the countries who receive aid. Consists on the free shipping consists of professionals and health technicians.
- e) Health professionals provide services to the entire population, regardless of race, creed or ideology, without mixing in internal political affairs and respecting the laws and customs.

And despite of the fact that Cuba cannot offer cooperation in financial resources, from 1963 to December 2008 a total of 134,849 employees gave their support in 108 countries, grouped by continent as follows:

- Africa: 38 countries with 45,488 shares.
- America: 39 countries with 79,717 shares.
- Europe, Asia-Pacific and Middle East: 31 countries with 9,644 shares
- Medical collaboration exists today in 76 countries and 37,820 health workers meet this responsibility. (Marimon & Martinez, 2011).

Today, medical collaboration exists in 76 countries and 37,820 health workers meet this responsibility. (Marimon & Martinez, 2011) .

IV. CONCLUSIONS

According to the analysis of the different stages that Cuba has passed, we can identify some features; the first is the dependence, explained with the center-periphery theory, in the economic and also the political field; An example of this is how the external relations of this country are conditioned with the United States through the Platt Amendment there certain conditions for Cuba as its no financial relationship with any other country, with respect to exports of sugar were stipulated. Regarding the political part of the amendment point allows political and military intervention in the country which meets the interests of the United States.

But this economic dependence has not been present only before the revolution, we can see it too in the URSS with the government of Fidel Castro; and this happens because Cuba has not only a lack of enough natural resources, but it also has a poor industrialization. On the other hand, after the embargo was implemented in Cuba, the Castro’s regime starts an expansionist policy, the idea with this kind of policies was to have a political recognition, not only in a regional level but in a global too, as a leader of the communist world that was capable to equalize the influence of countries as the URSS and U.S.A in the political and military fields. On the other hand, as a second conclusion it can be said that in the three last governments Cuba has had in the past years, the foreign policy of this country has been influence largely by the position that have taken through the different stages regarding to the United States. Also, we can see that Fidel Castro and the communism had a high acceptance in Cuba, when the revolution happened, thanks to the negative influence that U.S.A had in the domestic trade of Cuba and the domination that U.S.A impose to Cuba through the Batista’s dictatorship. Finally, taking into account the current negotiations, where there is a crisis in the dynamics of the international system, a power like the United States must define their spheres of influence, this to demonstrate his power against the other countries and retrieve the bad image that this country has to some aspects of the international system.

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