

**U.S. and Cuba Policy: The Consequences of Ending Over Forty Years
of Closed Trade**

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Abstract:

Cuba and the United States have been at odds ever since Fidel Castro came into power on January 7, 1959. The United States recognized the newfound Cuban Head of State. But, as the Cuban Government evolved into a Marxist-Leninist regime, bilateral relations became tense. A little over a year and a half later, this tension progressed to an October 1960 embargo placed on Cuba and then into broken diplomatic relations. Shortly thereafter, the height of the embargo came in the April 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion and the October 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. With Castro's political ideologies came close ties to the Soviet Union. Due to existing Cold War tensions between the United State and the Soviet Union, little or no progress in diplomatic relations were attempted in the 1960s. It was not until the mid-1970s that the U.S. and Cuba initiated talks to move towards normal relations. This process was halted when Cuba tried to export revolution and communism to Angola. As long as Cuba remained entangled in international crises, relations between the neighboring countries would not improve.

In addition to the already unstable relationship, the 1980s and 1990s brought Cuban immigration problems. At this point the Cuban people were encountering severe economic hardship and tried to seek refuge in American. On at least two incidents the Cuban government allowed tens of thousands of Cubans to illegally depart to Florida. On one occasion many criminals and mentally ill Cuban citizens came to the U.S. and on another the Cubans were set free to sail to America in unsafe boats and rafts which resulted in a number of drownings. The Cuban Military also shot down a United States

civil aircraft in international airspace. This led to codifying the Cuban embargo into law and placing even more sanctions on Cuba.

The United States' current policy on Cuban relations is designed to encourage a peaceful transition to democracy and respect for human rights. Another focus of U.S. attention on Cuba is the problem of drug trafficking. Cuban airspace and waters are monitored to prevent the shipment of drugs into America from South America through Cuban territory (U.S. Department of State).

With all of these efforts combined, the U.S., Cuba, and Cuban-Americans may soon face the possibility of lifting the Cuban embargo. A change of foreign policy after over 40 years of tense relations will undoubtedly have some consequences. This paper will explore some of the major consequences.

Critical Assumptions:

All research methods must be set up with barriers to allow for more accurate results. This prediction method is no exception. The following six assumptions are made for this study.

- 1) There is no major collapse of both of the nation's economies. The status quo is maintained.
- 2) Castro is still in power
- 3) Neither nation is engaged in a major war against each other or is in earnest support of enemy powers.
- 4) A presidential election year is approaching/occurring.
- 5) There will be no additional sanctions placed on Cuba.

6) The U.S.'s War on Terrorism is still in progress.

With the exception of a presidential election year, the assumptions are true to this day.

So, this prediction study should accurately reflect the current state of diplomatic activity between the U.S., Cuba, and Cuban-Americans.

LAMP Step 1: Determine the issue for which you are trying to predict the most likely future.

The purpose of this study is to determine the consequences of the United States Cuban Embargo being lifted while Fidel Castro or a Castro-like power is the head of the Cuban Government. This study does not discuss economic prosperity or foreign policy with other nations. It instead speaks more generally on topics such as political consequences, tourism, foreign policy, and human rights.

LAMP Step 2: Specify the national “actors” involved.

This study looked at three national actors. The following were chosen based on their ability to have the largest impact on the lifting of the Cuban Embargo. They are also the obvious choices as national actors. The Cuban Government (Fidel Castro), the U.S. Government (to include businesses since they are the constituents of which the U.S. Government acts in the best interests), and Cuban-Americans (those primarily located in Florida). Cuban-Americans are constituents who have a strong influence in the U.S. Government's Cuban foreign policy. But, because they represent such a large fraction of

major players in the Cuban Embargo situation, Cuban-Americans are given their own category in ‘national actors.’

LAMP Step 3: Perform an in-depth study of how each national actor perceives the issue in question.

Each of the national actors has been examined keeping in mind how they would react if the U.S. lifted the Cuban embargo. The Cuban Government, U.S. Government, and Cuban-Americans have the most leverage in the future of the embargo. The Cuban people, due to their repression and practically non-existent human rights, have little say right now in the scenario portion of this prediction method. However, once the embargo is lifted their influence will come into play. The LAMP is designed to deduce rational courses of action from current and historical events. Since limited first-hand social thought is written from Cuban citizens’ perspective, the Cuban people will not be included as rational actors in this study.

In the process of determining the consequences of lifting the embargo, a series of questions needs to be answered to highlight the stance of the national actors and what the circumstances under which the embargo would be lifted. Among them are:

- 1) How is the U.S. progressing towards lifting the embargo?
- 2) How much influence do Cuban-Americans have on the Cuban Embargo policy?
- 3) What is Fidel Castro’s stance on the embargo? Would he like to see it lifted?
- 4) Ultimately, who has the largest clout in the consequences of lifting the Cuban Embargo and reforming Cuba?

Cuba

The irony of the broken relations between the United States and Cuba is that both countries believe they hold the moral high ground. One of these two clearly has misconceptions of morality. Can the American people be sure that the Cuban government has done wrong? U.S. citizens are fed with nothing but the evils and human rights violations of the Castro regime. The following is a brief summary of the type of man Castro believes himself to be and the type of government he tries to convince himself and other Cubans he is running.

The nation that Fidel Castro sees to the north of him has been coined an “empire” that is run by “Yankees” and has imposed a “blockade” on Cuba imports (Liss, 97, 98 and Montaner, 215). This terminology is a rather harsh depiction of what the U.S. claims and what is widely known to be. Terminology aside, Castro’s critique of his northern neighbor is, considering the source, not offensive at all. From Castro’s perspective, U.S. institutions and people are not fascist, but have fascist tendencies. He also recognizes that the U.S. does not want a war (Liss, 98). Likewise, Castro has no interest in, beyond defending his territory and political system, to engage in a conflict with the U.S. (Congressional Research Service). Still, Castro lives in fear of the effect of U.S. policy on his livelihood and his regime. Perhaps this is why Fidel has put a decent amount of effort in bridging ties between Cuba and the U.S. For example, in the beginning of the Reagan administration, Castro expressed an interest in increased communications with the United States. He also promised that, in light of an arms embargo in Central America, he would remove all Cuban personnel from Nicaragua. The Reagan administration questioned Castro’s sincerity and then rejected the idea (Liss, 102).

Years later, Castro made another offer in 1989 to cooperate with the U.S. to control the drug trafficking problem that has found its way into both countries. Again, Castro was turned away with the complaint by U.S. government officials that he was part of the drug problem (Liss, 107).

Castro's willingness to renew ties with the United States is, as he says, not economically driven. He strongly believes other countries have fulfilled any amount of trade that Cuba could have done with the U.S. Castro sees lifting the embargo in his country as a means to an end, citing "without economic independence, there can be no political independence" (Liss, 100). The end he is referring to is the U.S. recognition of sovereign equality and mutual respect of his regime (Liss, 108). A lift of the embargo would be seen by Castro as a symbolic gesture that the U.S. recognizes his revolution (Pastor). Castro also believes that the U.S. reuniting ties with Cuba will help the U.S. to gain morally. The U.S. will no longer be viewed as a Superpower that willingly tramples on small Third World nations (Liss, 108).

In short, Fidel Castro would like to see the embargo lifted. However, he believes lifting it would do more to support his ideologies rather than to help his suffering economy.

United States

"The sanctions the United States enforces against the Castro regime are not just a policy tool, but a moral statement. It is wrong to prop up a regime that routinely stifles all the freedoms that make us human. The United States stands opposed to such tyranny and will oppose any attempt to weaken sanctions against

the Castro regime until it respects the basic rights of prisoners, holds democratic free elections, and allows free speech.”

-President George W. Bush

(U.S. Department of State)

The above abstract is a brief history on the exact reason why the U.S. restricted trade with Cuba. The Castro regime functions under Marxist-Leninist political ideologies. To this day, the U.S. still maintains the embargo in hopes that Castro will make strides towards a democracy. As the future of Cubans continues to look bleak, many human rights activists and agricultural stakeholders are asking if it is fair to allow the Cuban people to continue to suffer because of their ineffective leader. U.S. Congressmen have proposed for many years the possibility of allowing agricultural sales by private U.S. institutions to the Cuban market, citing that the only people suffering from restricted trade are the U.S. farmers and the Cuban people. “Food and medicine are not tools of war and should not be used as such” (Enzi).

On July 23rd 2002, the U.S. House of Representatives voted to lift travel restrictions and food and medicine sales restrictions on Cuba (Schaeffer). While this bill has not yet been passed there have been other attempts at improving Cuba’s economic stance, which were authorized in 1999. President Clinton activated steps to assist the Cuban people. Among the measures included an establishment of direct mail service to Cuba, authorization of the sale of food and agricultural inputs to Cuba’s emerging private sector, and the expansion of two-way exchanges among academics, athletes, and scientists to name a few (The White House).

President Bush is a little more reluctant to continue to support Clinton's acts of good will. He is not willing to "work with Congress to ease the U.S. ban on trade and travel" until the Cuban government agrees to hold free national assembly elections in 2003 (U.S. Department of State). Cuba is still hostile to the U.S. and the U.S. does not envision any new compromises until the Castro regime takes steps towards democracy and ending human rights abuses (Washington File, July 25). Congressional opponents to ending the embargo cite that Cuba is a known harbinger of terrorists. If U.S. lifts the embargo now, it will be counteracting every measure taken on the War on Terrorism (Washington File, July 25). Also, allowing travel to Cuba will not convert the Cuban regime nor will it improve the lives of the ordinary citizen, it will just support the government beach resorts and thus prolong Castro's reign (Washington File, 22 August).

Efforts to lift the Cuban Embargo have been halted by President Bush. The United States will not compromise until Fidel Castro shows that he is a willing participant in supporting change in Cuba. How much time and effort the U.S. Government is willing to put towards lifting the embargo depends largely on the voices of lobbying efforts of constituents. The most powerful and vocal of these constituents are the Cuban-Americans who are located primarily in Florida.

Cuban-Americans

Cuban-Americans have had for decades a large share of power on the Cuban Embargo policy. This all began with the Cuban intellectual in exile Jorge Mas Canosa. Mas Canosa understood the significance of the electoral influence of the Cuban-Americans and thus their economic clout (Montaner, 213). From the late 1970s to his

death in 1997, Mas Canosa's contributions to the Cuban-American community was monumental. He helped to bring about the powerful Cuban-American National Foundation (CANF) lobby. CANF created a radio station, much like Radio Free Europe, called Radio Marti. This station broadcasts the secret intentions and workings of the Castro regime to Cubans in Cuba (Montaner, 214). Despite these efforts by Cuban-Americans to move Cuba towards democracy, Castro's 40 year reign is a telltale sign that what the Cuban-Americans and U.S. Government are doing is just not enough.

The Cuban-Americans have found the only alternative to ending Castro's regime is through its economy. The CANF and Cuban-Americans in general are adamantly opposed to lifting the embargo. The strong hold that the Cuba-American community has on the U.S. Government is one of geographical consideration. Florida, where the majority of Cuban-Americans reside, is historically known as a political swing state. This means that Florida's electoral votes can go either Republican or Democrat in an election and it is not known which way it has gone until the votes are counted. Florida was the tiebreaker in the last presidential election. Since no president will consider lifting the embargo without the majority of Cuba-Americans in agreement, it appears the embargo will remain in place at least until Castro dies. Understandably, politicians focus their energy on appeasing the powerful and impressionable lobbying groups in Florida. CANF is the most prominent of these groups (Opensecrets).

Following the death of Mas Canosa, support from Washington for CANF's agenda in addition to its fund-raising ability has waned. That, coupled with the rise of the younger Cuban-Americans who have no memories of the unwanted Castro revolution, continues to lessen the Cuban-American clout (Opensecrets). An end to the Cuban

Embargo is now more feasible than ever. This all depends, of course, on whether the upcoming presidential election depends on Florida's electoral votes.

LAMP Step 4: Specify all possible courses of action for each actor:

Once the embargo is lifted, there are three courses of action for both Cuba and the U.S. and another three for Cuban-Americans.

Three courses for both the U.S. and Cuba are:

1. The U.S. and Cuba support each other in foreign policy and become allies.
2. There are more tense relations created between Cuba and the U.S. because Cuba refuses to alter its stance on democracy and support to terrorism and the U.S. administration reconsiders reinstating the embargo.
3. There is no change in the current governmental or economic status for either country. The status quo is maintained.

Cuban-Americans:

1. Cuban-Americans can increase their lobbying clout to continue the embargo and other more stringent sanctions.
2. They can resign their opposition for the Castro regime and decrease their lobbying efforts.
3. They can continue to lobby in support of the embargo with the same amount of influence they have had in the past.

LAMP Step 5: Determine the major scenarios within which you will compare the alternate futures.

Since the purpose of this study is to determine the consequences of lifting the embargo there is only one major scenario in which to determine the most likely alternate future of the national actors. This one scenario would be that the entire embargo is lifted.

Cuban Embargo is lifted

U.S. courses of Action:

U.S. Option 1 “U.S Embraces Cuba”- Due to the current War on Terrorism waged by President Bush, the U.S. is in need of as many allies as it can muster. Since Cuba has recently signed all 12 of the UN counter-terrorism conventions, it has a social responsibility to uphold its stance on terrorism despite the fact that Castro still denounces the international effort against terrorism (U.S. Department of State.). The U.S. may call on Cuba to ‘walk the walk’ against terrorism and if Cuba does so, it will become an ally of the U.S.

U.S. Option 2 “Political Accusations”- The election result is close and the swing vote goes against the administration as a result of lifting the embargo and the U.S. considers backtracking. The U.S. will continue its mistrust of Cuba’s political agenda despite their newly opened trade. The U.S. will allege Cuba of harboring terrorists and of developing weapons of mass destruction. Cuba will be listed as an unsafe nation to

travel to and be treated with increased hostility. This alternate future is similar to the next “status quo.” However, this is an elevated state of threat to U.S. national security.

U.S. Option 3 “Status Quo”- This is very similar to the present U.S. actions. Even though the embargo has been lifted, the U.S. will retain its skepticism of Fidel Castro’s agenda and continue to monitor Cuba’s waters and airspace in addition to lessening the granting U.S. citizenship to Cuban nationals. Cuba will not emerge as a major threat or ally in the War on Terrorism.

Cuban Courses of Action:

Cuban Option 1 “Gravitates Towards Democracy”- Fidel Castro sees that employing democracy is the most effective means of running a government as evidenced by the U.S. Castro has been in power for a long time and knows that his years/days are numbered. Dying with one last major ‘revolution’ of his own design (towards a democratic government) is the unprecedented mark in the history books that he is tempted to make.

Cuban Option 2 “Threatens and Feels Threatened”- Notwithstanding Castro’s commitment to counter-terrorism, Cuba uses the renewed trade and open ports with U.S. as a means to facilitate its own political objectives even though some are contrary to U.S. security interests. Cuba also condemns the influence of American culture that is being imported into Cuba. He sees U.S. freedom of speech and the press as undermining his ideologies.

Cuban Option 3 “Status Quo”- The dramatically increased amount of trade leads to no improvement for the Cuban economy because the Cuban Government

swindles earnings for its own benefit. The Cuban Government also does not allow travel to the U.S. for fear of losing its valued laborers. Criticism of the “empire” remains the same, although it is not enough to spur a major conflict.

Cuban-American Courses of Action:

Cuban-American Option 1 “Increased Lobbying”- The CANF and other pro-embargo activists increase lobbying efforts for the U.S. to revert back to the old imposed sanctions. The Cuban-Americans fear that Castro’s regime and followers may have too much access to the U.S. The Cuban-Americans act in fear to U.S. national security. They also threaten to display their ability to influence an U.S. presidential election.

Cuban-American Option 2 “Resign Opposition for Lifting the Embargo”- After 40 years of detesting Castro’s regime, the Cuban-Americans find they are fighting a losing battle. The younger generation of Cuban-American has a lot to do with this. Economic hardship in Cuba does as well. Cuban-Americans understand that actively trading with Cuba can only help the U.S. economy and their former fellow citizens.

Cuban-American Option 3 “Status Quo”- Cuban lobbying efforts still cannot afford to support their agenda as much as they could when Mas Canosa was alive. However, their spirit and determination to rid Cuba of Fidel Castro remains strong and they continue to put subtle, but now ineffective, pressure on the U.S. government to impose the embargo.

LAMP Step 6: Calculate the total number of permutations of possible “alternated futures” for each scenario.

For the individual scenario there are 3 national actors. However, only 2 of the national actors have the same courses of action available to them. Therefore the courses of action available to the Cuban-Americans is factored in at the end of the equation. All actors have three courses of action. The total possible alternate futures expected are 27.

$$X^Y=Z$$

X= 3 courses of action

Y= 2 (number of actors involved with the same courses of action available to them (U.S. and Cuba)

$$3^2 = 9$$

X= 3 courses of action

Y= 1 national actor (Cuban-Americans)

$$3^1= 3$$

$$9 \times 3= 27$$

LAMP Step 7: Perform a “pairwise comparison” of all futures to determine their relative probability.

The graph below is set up with each possible combination of the three national actors and their courses of action listed. Every future will be compared with the 26 other on the table and assigned a point if it is more likely to occur than the future it is compared against. This process will continue until all futures are compared.

**Consequences of Lifting the Cuban Embargo
Table 1**

| | United States’ Action | Cuba’s Action | Cuban-American’s Action |
|----------|------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Increases Lobbying |
| 2 | Political Accusations | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Increases Lobbying |
| 3 | Status Quo | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Increases Lobbying |
| 4 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Threatens | Increased Lobbying |
| 5 | Political Accusations | Threatens | Increased Lobbying |
| 6 | Status Quo | Threatens | Increased Lobbying |

| | | | |
|----|-----------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 7 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Status Quo | Increased Lobbying |
| 8 | Political Accusations | Status Quo | Increased Lobbying |
| 9 | Status Quo | Status Quo | Increased Lobbying |
| 10 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Resign Opposition |
| 11 | Political Accusations | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Resign Opposition |
| 12 | Status Quo | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Resign Opposition |
| 13 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Threatens | Resign Opposition |
| 14 | Political Accusations | Threatens | Resign Opposition |
| 15 | Status Quo | Threatens | Resign Opposition |
| 16 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Status Quo | Resign Opposition |
| 17 | Political Accusations | Status Quo | Resign Opposition |
| 18 | Status Quo | Status Quo | Resign Opposition |
| 19 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Status Quo |
| 20 | Political Accusations | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Status Quo |
| 21 | Status Quo | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Status Quo |
| 22 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Threatens | Status Quo |
| 23 | Political Accusations | Threatens | Status Quo |
| 24 | Status Quo | Threatens | Status Quo |
| 25 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Status Quo | Status Quo |
| 26 | Political Accusations | Status Quo | Status Quo |
| 27 | Status Quo | Status Quo | Status Quo |

LAMP Step 8: Rank the alternate futures for each scenario from highest relative probability to the lowest based on the number of “votes” received.

Consequences of Lifting the Cuban Embargo Table 2

| Votes | Future | United States’ Action | Cuba’s Action | Cuban-American’s Action |
|--------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 26 | 23 | Political Accusations | Threatens | Status Quo |
| 23 | 26 | Political Accusations | Status Quo | Status Quo |
| 22 | 18 | Status Quo | Status Quo | Resign Opposition |
| 21 | 5 | Political Accusations | Threatens | Increased Lobbying |
| 21 | 25 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Status Quo | Status Quo |
| 19 | 6 | Status Quo | Threatens | Increased Lobbying |
| 19 | 24 | Status Quo | Threatens | Status Quo |
| 19 | 27 | Status Quo | Status Quo | Status Quo |
| 19 | 7 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Status Quo | Increased Lobbying |
| 18 | 16 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Status Quo | Resign Opposition |
| 17 | 8 | Political Accusations | Status Quo | Increased Lobbying |
| 17 | 17 | Political Accusations | Status Quo | Resign Opposition |
| 15 | 22 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Threatens | Status Quo |
| 14 | 14 | Political Accusations | Threatens | Resign Opposition |
| 12 | 9 | Status Quo | Status Quo | Increased Lobbying |
| 12 | 15 | Status Quo | Threatens | Resign Opposition |
| 11 | 19 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Status Quo |
| 11 | 10 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Resign Opposition |

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 10 | 4 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Threatens | Increased Lobbying |
| 9 | 12 | Status Quo | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Resign Opposition |
| 8 | 21 | Status Quo | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Status Quo |
| 6 | 13 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Threatens | Resign Opposition |
| 5 | 3 | Status Quo | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Increased Lobbying |
| 5 | 2 | Political Accusations | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Increased Lobbying |
| 3 | 20 | Political Accusations | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Status Quo |
| 2 | 1 | U.S. Embraces Cuba | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Increased Lobbying |
| 0 | 11 | Political Accusations | Gravitates Towards Democracy | Resign Opposition |

LAMP Step 9: Assuming that each future occurs, analyze each alternate future in terms of its consequences for the issue in question.

The following are the top five consequences deemed to most likely occur if the Cuban Embargo is lifted. Within the analysis of each determined consequence, the reasons leading up to the alternate futures are also discussed. Further consequences are presented if the alternate future were to occur. One overall theme to be noticed is that Cuba's actions are not predicted to be positive. The best that the U.S. can hope for is that the Cuban regime stays as is.

Alternate Future # 23 U.S. makes political accusations towards Cuba, Cuba threatens and feels threatened by the U.S., and Cuban-Americans continue to lobby at the same rate as they have in the past.

This future is the exact direction the U.S. and Cuba are heading at this point in time, even before the embargo is lifted. To have the embargo lifted, both nations must at least be civil to one another and deem trade and travel to be a low threat. This suggests that at some point before the embargo is lifted the U.S. ceases to have tense relations with and a skeptical view of Cuba and that Cuba displays some willingness to adopt, if not embrace, democratic ideals.

Once the embargo is lifted, both nations will find that 40 years of tense relations do not dissolve overnight. Each will find itself evolving back into its same pattern of mistrust and accusations. This is when the above alternate future (#23) will be obvious. Perhaps it will be easier for each nation to judge the other because evidence is more easily attainable than it has been in the past. And, opened trade and trust allows each nation to more easily and possibly rightfully blame its economic and national security woes on each other.

Cuban-Americans are expected to continue to lobby at the same rate as they have in the past. While lifting the embargo is controversial for the CANF, the CANF has not been able to retain the influence and financial stability that it did when Mas Canosa was alive. Therefore, the CANF does not look like it will be able to increase its lobbying effort. On the other hand, in light of Cuba's actions since the embargo has been lifted, the CANF is not ready to give up their fight of the Castro regime.

This future has the most potential to turn into a situation that is similar to the U.S. and middle-eastern countries such as Iran and Iraq. It is the most likely and the least wanted desirable future.

Alternate Future # 26 U.S. makes political accusations, Cuba and Cuban-American's actions remain the same as they are in the present.

In this second most likely alternate future the only different action is that of Cuba's. Cuba is expected to, primarily because of its commitment to UN counter-terrorism conventions, refrain from saying or doing anything that would instigate a major conflict between themselves and the U.S. Fidel Castro is content that the embargo has

been lifted. This is a major symbolic gesture that the U.S has accepted his revolution. Castro is now focused on improving his economy and gaining even more political acceptance throughout the world and not on creating conflict.

Alternate Future # 18 U.S. and Cuban Actions are not significant, they remain status quo, and Cuban-Americans resign their opposition to the Castro regime.

Forty years of tense relations have come to an end, at least theoretically. But, the U.S. and Cuba are not ready to make any dramatic changes in conduct any time soon. It will take a few months or years for the two nations to realize what kind of an impact reintroduced trade has made on each other's nations and from there a change in foreign policy can be expected.

Cuban-Americans and the CANF no longer have a strong platform on which to lobby (in the past they were strongly opposed to lifting the embargo). With lost influence, due to the death of Mas Canosa, and an unstable platform, Cuban-Americans will formally resign their opposition to the Castro regime.

Alternate Future # 5 U.S. makes political accusations, Cuba is threatened by and threatens the U.S., and Cuban-Americans increase their lobbying.

This fourth most likely future is similar to the most likely future (#23). The only exception is that the Cuban-Americans have increased their lobbying efforts. With the political accusations that the U.S. is making, the Cuban-Americans have fuel to add to their arguments. With heightened awareness of the threat that Cuba presents to the U.S., the CANF can build a strong platform and influential circle to push for sanctions to be re-

imposed on Cuba. Cuban-Americans will find that they could not have picked a better time to demand to be heard. With the presidential election arriving, they will not have trouble getting a presidential candidate to lend an ear and voice the concerns of the Cuban-American lobby.

Alternate Future # 25 The U.S. embraces Cuba as an ally in the War on Terrorism, Cuba's and Cuban-American's actions remain unchanged.

The U.S. needs as much support as it can get for its agenda to combat terrorism. The newfound trust and trade the U.S. has established with Cuba leads to the natural progression of forming a stronger diplomatic relationship and eventually to another partner for the country's counter-terrorism efforts. Castro will, of course, not oppose the relationship because, in his mind, he has the upper hand. The leader of the free world has accepted Fidel Castro's power and revolution.

LAMP Step 10: State the potential of a given future to “transpose” into another future.

The most likely alternate future for “transposition” is for alternate future #26-- U.S. makes political accusations, Cubans and Cuban-Americans actions remain status quo to turn into alternate future #18—U.S. and Cuban actions are the same as they are in the present and Cuban-Americans resign their opposition.

It is very likely that the U.S. will be weary of its new trading partner given Cuba's history of public opposition to the U.S. However, within time the U.S. will find that Castro is not interested, nor is he capable of confronting the U.S. The U.S. and Cuba will

settle back into their current positions. The Cuban-American lobby will find that their embargo platform has little popular support and that the U.S. is not interested in creating volatile relations again by placing new sanctions on Cuba for their human rights violations. International and domestic human rights organizations will pick up where the Cuban-American lobby leaves off. With no strong agenda to sway politicians' votes, the Cuban-American lobby will resign their opposition to the lifting of the embargo. The younger generations of Cuban-Americans who were not alive for or do not remember Castro's revolution are the majority of the Cuban-American populace now. They are easily prepared to resign the opposition they have been taught and welcome open trade with the motherland they never knew.

LAMP Step 11: Determine the “focal events” that must occur in our present in order to bring about a given alternate future.

All of the focal events that follow are actions that Cuba must take in order to have the embargo lifted, notwithstanding the possible alternate futures. It is almost a guarantee the ban on trade and travel imposed by the U.S. will be lifted if Fidel Castro makes these few, but challenging steps. President Bush holds the bulk of the power to lift the ban.

All that Fidel Castro has to do it appease Bush. This is easier said than done.

- Fidel Castro holds free national assembly elections in 2003
- Cuba liberalizes its economy
- Cuba releases political prisoners
- Cuba allows opposition parties equal access to the media and the right to campaign (Transcript Pres. Bush)

LAMP Step 12: Develop indicators for the focal events.

Listed below are indicators for the events that must occur for the embargo to be lifted.

For each major occurrence that could lead up to the embargo being lifted are a few indicators. As suggested above, the focal events needed are highly unlikely at this present time. One can venture a guess at what could possibly provoke Castro to act in a way that is completely against his nature in the past 40 years. The only indicators for the necessary focal events to occur are that either Castro dies leaving behind a disheveled government that is rebuilt to democratic standards by the U.S. Or, a coup takes over the current regime and rebuilds itself in a manner that is in compliance with Bush's requests.

In any event, the indicators leading to the embargo being lifted go against the critical assumptions around which this entire project is built. Therefore, for Castro to act in accordance with the factored alternate futures his entire political ideologies must change. One can also suggest that if his former ally, Russia, exerts enough pressure on him then he may adjust to the democratic way of government.

While this paper examines the consequences of lifting the embargo, this appears to be an unlikely course of action for the present administration. Castro has remained in power for many years and there is no evidence to support that his power is waning. Thus, future administrations may be more willing to lift the embargo with less concessions than this administration has proposed. The consequences of a future administration lifting the embargo are therefore worthy of discussion and have been presented above.

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