American Foreign Policy towards Cuba, 1959-1963

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Letters and Languages, Department of English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master in Anglo-American Studies

By

Allag Omar

Supervisor: Dr. Maameri Fatima
Examiner: Mr. Filali Bilel

2017-2018
Dedication

I dedicate this humble work to the memory of my father.
Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I want to thank Allah for giving me the strength and will to finish this work. I also would like to express my sincere gratitude to my family members, my friends, especially Mr. Chiheb Zouaoui and many of my teachers for supporting me the whole time.
Abstract

This research investigates changes that took place in American foreign policy towards Cuba. Their relationship was not stable, especially after Cuba's independence from the Spanish. The relationship between Cuba and U.S then shifted from being friendly to become bad and later on even worse. The situation climaxed with the establishment of the economic embargo, and later on the missile crisis and the Bay of Pigs invasion. All these transitions and events shaped their relationship over time. American foreign policy changed significantly towards Cuba, especially during the government of Fidel Castro. This research clarifies how the government of U.S. acted upon the Cuban revolution.

Keywords: American, foreign, policy, Cuba, relationship, shift, embargo, missile crisis, Bay of Pigs invasion, Fidel Castro, revolution
ملخص

يدور هذا البحث حول التغيرات التي طرأت على السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية مع كوبا، إذ أن العلاقة بينهما لم تكن مستقرة خصوصا بعد استقلال كوبا عن الاستعمار الإسباني، وانتقلت العلاقة بينهما بعد ذلك من علاقة طيبة إلى سيناريو حتى أسوء، بدأه ثورة كوبية وتباعد، ومن ثم فرض الولايات المتحدة للحظر الاقتصادي، وفي النهاية إلى الأحداث العملية التي أعقبت الحرب الباردة كأزمة الصواريخ وغزو خليج الخنازير والتي وقعت داخل كوبا، كل هذه التحولات والأحداث شكلت علاقاتهم عبر الزمن. أيضا نلاحظ أن السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تغيرت بشكل كبير نحو كوبا، خاصة خلال نظام فيديل كاسترو. وتسعى هاته المذكرة إلى تتبع التغيرات في السياسة الخارجية لولايات المتحدة بعد استقلال كوبا، أيضا سيظهر الطرق التي من خلالهاتعاملت حكومة الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية مع نظام كاسترو. كما أنه سيظهر إلى الكيفية التي تعاملت بها الولايات المتحدة مع الأحداث الكبرى التي وقعت بعد الحظر الاقتصادي. وهذا من أجل معرفة الأسلوب الذي تتبعه الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية في سياساتها الخارجية من أجل تحقيق أهدافها.
Résumé

Ce mémoire s'articule autour des changements qui ont eu lieu dans la politique étrangère américaine à l'égard de Cuba, sachant que leur relation n'était pas stable, surtout après l'indépendance de Cuba par rapport au colonialisme espagnol. La relation entre Cuba et les États-Unis est alors passée d'être amical à devenir mauvais et plus tard encore pire. En commençant par la révolution cubaine et ses conséquences, puis l'instauration de l'embargo économique, et enfin les énormes événements qui ont suivi la guerre froide, des événements tels que la crise des missiles et l'invasion de la baie des Cochons à Cuba. Toutes ces transitions ont façonné leur relation au fil du temps. Ce travail note également que la politique étrangère américaine a changé de manière significative vers Cuba, particulièrement pendant le régime de Fidel Castro; il vise à suivre les changements survenus dans la politique étrangère américaine après l'indépendance de Cuba, ainsi que les différentes manières dont le gouvernement américain ont pratiqué contre le régime de Castro. Cette recherche portera également sur la façon dont les États-Unis ont géré les actions majeures survenues après l'embargo économique. Finalement, afin de connaître le style dans lequel les États-Unis utilisent la politique étrangère pour atteindre leurs objectifs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACA</td>
<td>Anti-Communist Civic Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIA</td>
<td>Central Intelligence Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMC</td>
<td>Commandant of Marine Corps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOC</td>
<td>Government of Cuba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USG</td>
<td>United States Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRC</td>
<td>Human Rights Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICBM</td>
<td>Intercontinental Ballistic Missile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.F.K</td>
<td>John Fitzgerald Kennedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIAR</td>
<td>National Institute of Agrarian Reform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWEA</td>
<td>Trading with the Enemy Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Table of Contents

Dedication.......................................................................................................................... i
Acknowledgments.............................................................................................................. ii
Abstract............................................................................................................................. iii
Résumé............................................................................................................................... v
List of Abbreviations......................................................................................................... vi
General Introduction........................................................................................................... 1
Chapter One: Historical Background of USA-Cuba Relationship................................. 4
  Introduction...................................................................................................................... 4
  1. The War for Cuban Independence.............................................................................. 6
     1.1. Before the War........................................................................................................ 6
     1.2. The Second War of Independence................................................................. 8
     1.3 The War Begins..................................................................................................... 10
  2. U.S. Intervention........................................................................................................ 15
     2.1. The Climax of the War....................................................................................... 15
     2.2. After the War..................................................................................................... 18
  Conclusion.................................................................................................................... 23

Chapter Two: The American Foreign Policy during Fidel Castro’s Era............... 25
  Introduction.................................................................................................................... 25
  1. American foreign policy during the Cuban Revolution........................................... 26
     1.1 Fidel Castro’s Motives.......................................................................................... 26
     1.2 Other Factors behind the Revolution................................................................. 28
     1.3. Castro Becomes the Country’s Leader................................................................. 29
  2. U.S. Reaction to the Revolution: The Economic Embargo.................................... 31
     2.1. First Signs of the Embargo................................................................................ 31
     2.2 Economic Embargo Progress............................................................................ 33
     2.3. The Consequences of the Economic Embargo............................................... 35
2.3.1. Economic and Social Rights.................................................................35
2.3.2. Impact on the Right to Health.............................................................36
3. The outcomes of U.S-Cuba hostile relationship......................................37
  3.1 The Bay of Pigs Invasion......................................................................37
  3.2 The Missile Crisis................................................................................39
Conclusion..................................................................................................42
General Conclusion....................................................................................44
Works Cited...............................................................................................45
General Introduction

The United States foreign policy towards Cuba changed often through time, and when entered the war against Spain the U.S. government gave the excuse of helping Cuba. Also when the U.S.S Maine was drowned in the middle of the ocean, by an unknown reason although they made it clear that Spain was the cause for its collapse. Later on, it engaged in several events that led their relationship to downfall and in sometimes to become dangerous to the world as a whole. The foreign policy proved to change towards Cuba many times in order to achieve its goals, and this shift of actions was seen clearly in the reign of Fidel Castro.

First, a historical background between the United States of America and Cuba is illustrated alongside the various events that shaped their relationship. Also showing the great struggle that Cubans have to deal with in order to overcome the Spanish colonization, for the Cuban people it was a dream that lasted for centuries and they could not fulfill it on their own. Even though they had great leaders and powerful military soldiers, iconic names such as Maceo, Marti, and Maximo, who viciously protected the pride of Cubans until the day they died. Moreover, the real struggle was shown in this chapter, when Cubans gained independence thanks to the help of the U.S. intervention.

Second, the coming of Fidel Castro to power and the replacement the previous corrupted government of Batista, was a worthwhile experience for Cubans to struggle so much with the Spanish and Batista’s system. Castro had all qualities to be a president, and the U.S. government showed great concern towards Castro’s intentions, when he declared himself and the nation as a communist. This act was a very dangerous against the U.S. they started with forcing an economic Embargo against Cuba, and
restricting their trade in order to have him cornered. However, Castro was so stubborn to listen to them or even think about giving up, he goes on allying with the Soviet Union, the U.S. mighty rival, in order to have some privileges to fight against the ferocious United States government.

The U.S. with the coming of the president John Kennedy tried everything to take down Castro started with the Bay of Bigs invasion. But all of that went wrong as Cuban soldiers defeated the invading army easily. This proved the U.S. had to act aggressively in order to fulfill its goals. Although after that, in 1962 the Soviet Union with the acceptance of Fidel Castro, installed many long-range missiles, but luckily, it was stopped with the cooperation from the both sides.

This research aims at studying the various ways in which the U.S. acted in its foreign policy against Cuba under Castro’s regime. Then it stated the reasons why the U.S. government acted aggressively in order to take down the Cuban government. All of those actions were made to protect the sovereignty of the United States of America despite the fact of the many violations of human rights due to the economic embargo. And the suffering of the Cuban people to achieve peace and freedom after centuries of colonization and oppression from the Spanish.

Methodologically speaking, this research depends on several means of research, such as the historical approach which is the most important since the research traces the origins and nature of the U.S. foreign policy in regard to its relationship with Cuba. More, the qualitative method is also used since the research depends on primary and secondary sources like books, articles, discourses, theses, speeches, and websites, and these styles are placed under the use of (MLA) 7th Edition.
Many Researchers conducted studies about the American foreign policy in regard to different nations; even the case of Cuba was studied and formed into various works like books, articles, and dissertations. Philip S. Foner is a famous scholar who wrote many books about the relationship of the United States of America and Cuba. Also Rux A. Hudson published a book that helped many students and researchers to understand what really happened between the two countries, and even inspired authors to seek the truth behind these historical events.

Finally, this research concludes that the U.S. foreign policy is not stable but in fact, flexible, thus, it shifted dramatically over time in order to meet its goals and objectives. The case of Cuba during Fidel Castro’s government is a solid example of the shift in the U.S. foreign policy.
Chapter One

Historical Background of USA-Cuba Relationship (1895-1902)

Introduction

The history of the United States of America and Cuba is not that simple, because several changes occurred between the two nations. Cubans suffered a lot under the Spanish invasion and aimed for independence since a long time. Unfortunately, they could not overcome the struggle only in the late eighteenth century due to the help of great leaders. The final war of independence triggered the first interaction between them, and various reasons led the U.S. to enter the war and help Cuba against the Spanish. Moreover, by the time the Philippines declared independence, and the rising threat from Puerto Rico, Spain was fighting two wars, in Cuba and in the Philippines; this caused a huge damage to its already weakened economy.

Also, another reason was the shocking incident on January 24, 1898, in which an unknown explosion drowned the U.S.S Maine that was heading to Havana it also, killed hundreds of people, it was a big event, thus the government tried to make an excuse out of, and agitate its public opinion, and eventually it succeeded. Others claim that the press was the main reason behind the intervention, stating that yellow journalism, in what was described as vicious competition which occurred between Joseph Pulitzer's New York World and William Randolph Hearst's New York Journal. These newspapers spread rumors all over the nation, encouraging the war against the Spanish, who in 1896 refused to sell Cuba to the Americans. Eventually, the war did not last a long because of the huge difference of power between the new and empowered American naval force and the old crushed one. The rebels took control over the countryside and other areas.
This effort pushed the enemy outside and caused way more casualties and material damage, which eventually led the Spanish to surrender. The U.S. and later on, adopted the Joint Resolution for War with Spain, and it included the Teller Amendment where the U.S assured on its side that there was no intention to take control over Cuba for other than pacification goals. On August 11, the U.S. received control of four new territories: Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam, and also Hawaii, Samoa and Wake Island. This led to believe that Cuba was finally independent of the Spanish colonization, but when the U.S. flag was raised instead of the Cuban one in Havana, their relationship took a whole new level. Selling Cuban privileges to foreign syndicates and individual capitalists came to jeopardize the social and economic future of Cuba. And the leading American industrialists and businessmen took over mines, railroads.

Later on, due to several unethical practices, the Teller Amendment had no effect and rumors around the country spread, saying that, also the help that they got in the war was only an excuse for the U.S. government in order to gain more territories and to reduce the influence of the rival Spaniards. This also built a spiritual hatred and distrust inside the Cuban against the Americans which later on, helped in bringing the world many revolutionary leaders who helped in the fight against the powerful government of United States of America.

1. The War for Cuban Independence

1.1 Before the War:

Only in February 1895, the final war started between the Spanish colonization and Cuba. It was the third attempt for Cubans to free themselves from the Spanish colonization. Many famous figures in Cuban independence died, such as Martí at Dos Rios, the western invasion and the military campaigns of Gomez and Maceo (the Fox
and the Lion as they were called by the Spanish press), Until The British invasion of Havana in June 1762, just Shortly after they announced the war against the Spanish. Cuban planters could sell their goods on the open market and gained profits for themselves, unlike under the Spanish government, it was only sold to them, and they were the ones who could set the prices considering the fact that they were their only legal customer. But after that, Cubans sell products to several buyers at competitive prices which were profitable, but when Havana was traded for Florida in 1763 by the British and the Spanish, their businesses went back to the old time, which directly inspired the dream for the Cuban independence. In order to help Puerto Rico as well as Cuba to get their independence, by using its influence, or obviously, by arms and by the pressuring its wide area of proprieties The U.S. stripped Spain from every last piece of land it had until nothing was left except Cuba and Porto Rico (Hughes 12).

The Cubans wanted opportunity to be free and Bolivar would have gone to their guide. While Mexico and Colombia, intended to attack the island in 1825 and around then the colonization was certain to be fruitful and would surely succeed. The expression 'fruitful Cuba' was a lie from the earliest starting point, and the power which kept the freedom of Cuba was the United States, and over seventy years, it was clearly that Cuba needed to fight for its independence, in order to free itself in the New World from the abuse of the Spanish. The United States kept down Mexico and Colombia and Bolivar, using its vast influence both inside and outside the continent (Robinson 98.99).

As Simon Bolivar said to a delegation of Cuban revolutionaries, “We cannot set at defiance the American Government, in conjunction with that of England, determined on maintaining the authority of Spain over the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico…”This is truly stated that it cannot be a similar task while being in another state, and we cannot deal with different cases with the same judgment. One of the most iconic wars in the
history of Cuba is definitely, the Ten-Year war, which was triggered by a landowner named Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, in 1868 who gave the legendary “Grito de Yara” (Cry of Yara), and incident when he set free his slaves declaring the start of the first war for independence (Foner 31).

The "ever-faithful" island, As Cuba became known by the Spanish. The interests and views of the Creoles and Peninsular through time clashed. And time for reconciliation is passed and became hard; those who cheered and encouraged violence increased in numbers, and, finally, war broke out. After that the wars for independence lasted more than thirty years, from 1868 until the emergence of the Spanish-American War, and later on the intervention of the United States in 1898. The wars were Cuba's natural reaction to the fight for independence spread throughout most of Latin America during the first quarter of the century (Hudson 23.24). Not long enough, the rebel army that was called by the Spaniards as “Mambises” gained a legitimate guerilla-style army, with popular support and several victories. However, a stalemate in 1878 known as the pact of Zanjon February 11, 1878 emerged, which was signed with Spain, in order to end the Ten Years' War but does not give independence for Cuba. The country was organized into six provinces: Pinar del Rio, La Habana, Matanzas, Santa Clara, Puerto Principe, and Santiago de Cuba (Hudson 23).

Due to the failure of organizing all aspects of the revolutionary effort, and also the fact that the U.S. would sell its latest weapons not to the rebels but to the Spanish. the war finished because of this pact, that also gave a general pardon to anyone involved, beside freeing slaves who fought on either side. This pact attracted major disappointment, calling it a false promise that would never be kept, which later on proved to be true (Foner 73). Because in 1880, the U.S. government attacked and wiped out the resistance of the Native Americans, only when the U.S. gained an advantage
investment of an eighty-six percent compared to six percent to Spain in Cuba. “The little war” emerged into the scene, and it was led by Major Calixto García, who is a famous leader of the Ten-Year War, alongside José Maceo, this new resistance never saw the light of victory and it collapsed within months (Jabzy 22).

1.2. The second war of independence in 1895:

José Marti gathered his fellow experienced warriors from the Ten-Year war, such as Antonio Maceo, Maximo Gomez, Calixto Garcia and others. Under Marti’s guidance; with years of scheming and preparing, he organized and formed a force combined of rebels and civilians that will rule after the war. This army was supported and financed from Cuban exiles. Marti really devoted himself and concentrated on the goal that is the independence of Cuba. By the end of March, he started taking action by contacting his fellow veterans with letters to call for an immediate revolutionary help.

In a detailed and informative work on the conflict, titled: The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism, historian Philip Sheldon Foner (December 14, 1910 – December 13, 1994) was an American labor historian and teacher who wrote more than 100 books, he sheds light on his urgency:

“Marti’s impatience to start the revolution for independence was affected by his growing fear that the imperialist forces in the United States would succeed in annexing Cuba before the revolution could liberate the island from Spain.”

(Hudson 53).

Marti had all the right to be afraid for his country to not be free, because he knew that preparing for a war and gathering enough men would surely take a lot of time as opposed to the Americans who are already prepared. In January 1895, three expensive ships (the Amadis, the Lagonda & the Baracoa), were seized by the U.S.
government which happened in the same day as the revolutionary expedition of Marti set sail from Florida. It was loaded with supplies and weapons in order to warn the Spanish government immediately. General Antonio Maceo, the leader of the expedition, alongside Jose Marti, the political figure of the new government, went to Santo Domingo, where they could consult with the revolutionist leaders in Cuba. There Marti found Maximo Gomez, the courageous experienced leader of many battles, and presented him the leadership of the army, which he accepted and immediately started organizing his forces (Trumbull 132).

On March 25 Marti presented the Proclamation of Montecristi which outlined the policy for Cuba’s war of independence and it stated that first, the war was to be waged by blacks and whites alike, second the participation of all blacks was crucial for victory, third, Spaniards who did not object to the war effort should be spared, fourth, the private rural properties should not be damaged, and fifth the revolution should bring new economic life to Cuba (Johnson 19).

Antonio Maceo returned to Cuba by the end of March, well prepared to continue his important role in achieving independence. The military leader, Maximo Gomez, and José Marti joined him on April 11. And they gathered together with the guerrilla forces that awaited their arrival, on the eastern shore of the island, where they are about to start an event that will shape their future, freeing Cuba from Spain was a dream that stayed unfulfilled for a very long time, but with these great men and their will to fight for their country, it may become reality, even after decades of struggle for freedom which was their right, Cubans knew it is not going to be easy, and they need a major help in order to achieve what they aim for (Robinson 29).
1.3 The War Begins

The war of the independence began in early 1895; it was so unexpected to be a suitable year for the beginning of a war that should break down the Spanish empire. In almost every part of the planet many huge events took place. Such as China being totally crushed by Japan which was at the verge of being a great military power. In Africa the modern conflict between Boer and Briton headed towards a situation that cannot be changed or stopped, and Madagascar is about to be conquered by the French. In Europe, Nicholas II was crowned as a new king of the Czar. And in Latin America, particularly Peru and Ecuador, revolution exploded immensely, and a huge conflict seemed to take place between Venezuela and British Guiana. In such a setting was the War of Cuban Independence staged (Willis 9).

There were about 8,000 Spanish forces, between Spanish troops, and Cuban volunteers, who were a locally prepared and assembled force. Also, wealthy landowners contributed a number of their slaves to help and serve not under official military command, but under local control. In December, the number of volunteers increased to 63,000 men. Amongst the fighters, there were the Mambises, a word that represents a courageous black officer (Juan Ethninius Mamby) who fought alongside the Dominicans for independence in 1846, that in the Ten-Year war of 1868, became a Spanish slur as Mambises, these rebels adopted the name proudly. Since the end of the ten-year war, having weapons for individuals was not allowed, except for Spanish soldiers who had the advantage of training and owning modern weapons. This led the rebels to adapt to primitive nature fight styles like guerrillas (Wright 155).

The only way they could use weapons is by acquiring them in sudden attacks on Spaniards. The war, however, was not the decisive and fast battle that Marti wanted it to be. It took his life on May 19, 1895, and continued on going for three more years. After
Marti's death, the leadership of the war went to Gomez and Maceo, who were willing to execute their strategy to invade the western provinces, and it finally paid off when they defeated the Spanish troops with consecutive attacks. The revolutionary famous figure José Marti was killed on his first fight against the Spanish royalist army at Dos Rios. And he was buried by the Spanish soldiers on May 27 1895 (Hudson 29.30).

On December 3 1896, Maceo decided to move because he was afraid that the supplies and horses had not arrived. He suffered from wounds in the leg; hence, he could not walk easily or even stand on his feet. And while being on the road, they encountered Lieutenant Colonel Baldomero Acosta who had the horses and the supplies alongside the rebels. That night Maceo joined the forces of Colonel Silverio Sanchez Figueras, chief of the Brigade of Southern Havana, and they formed a new strategy to attack the town of Marianao. Suddenly, the rebels were attacked by the enemy, and Maceo followed the attackers on his horse with a machete and a revolver (Sierra 25). While comforting his partner, a bullet hit him in the face, and knocked him off his horse, and then a second bullet struck in his chest after he got back on the horse by the help of his friend. His last words being, "It goes well." By sneaking inside of the Spanish camp, the rebels recovered his body, due to the fact that the Spaniards did not recognize him nor even knew he was with the Figuera’s forces. And he was buried at a secret location on December 8, alongside Panchito Gómez Toro (Máximo Gomez’ son) in Cocahual, at Santiago de Las Vegas (Willis 92-93).

The death of this legendary man inspired the rebels and gave them courage to carry on fighting for their independence. The war was on. Marti and his partners had intended to have a cooperative revolution in each of the six areas on February 24. In each a pioneer was selected, an association was formed, and such supplies which could be acquired were given. In just three territories a completed rebellion happen, in
Oriente, or Santiago as it was then called, Santa Clara, and Matanzas; the far eastern side and the two central territories (Herbert 61). In Oriente clashes occurred at two main focuses, under Henry Brooks at Guantanamo, and at Los Negros under Guillennon Moncada. In Matanzas there were additionally two revolutions; one at Aguacate, on the Havana borders, under Manuel Garcia, and one at Ybarra. In Santa Clara the central show was close to Cienfuegos, under General Matagas. The huge event in Havana had been under the administration of Julio Sanguilly (Willis 43).

The Fox and the Lion traveled a total of 1,696 kilometers and fought 27 battles against stronger forces. The Mambises had a huge victory against the Spanish, and due to that General Martínez Campos was obliged to quite in January 1896, so ashamed of his loss since he won in the Ten Year War eighteen years earlier. General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau (nicknamed the "butcher") was sent to Havana as a substitute. He gave an order to reinforce the “Trochas” (it is a two hundred yards wide and fifty miles long large belt across the island, constructed in order to limit the movement of the rebels to the eastern provinces) (Hugh 14). Weyler improved the Trochas with electric lights on the border of Havana and Pinar Del Río, and placed 14,000 soldiers in position to fortify the “Trochas”. Then he focused all of his forces to capture Maceo, by sending 3,000 experienced soldiers under the orders of the General Suárez Inclanin order to attack Maceo and his 250 men. Weyler also made a system called “re-concentration”, that is giving eight days to all the inhabitants and animals to move in, or else they would be killed if found outside, these re-concentration towns caused many to die of disease and starvation, due to the unhealthy and crowded environment (Foner 78).

The death of the Bronze Titan (as Maceo is remembered) did not end the war; in fact, the Mambises were too much for the Spaniards to deal with. Cuban revolutionaries had been fighting for three years in a fierce battle against the Spanish in order to
achieve their independence, and Máximo Gómez had about 3,000 men against 40,000 Spanish soldiers in 41 encounters between them, Gomez defeated Weyler and kept his army on the defensive line, while the Mambises since then, started to construct every military operation. In Las Tunas, it was one of the most important victories for them. It happened on the morning of August 28 1877, General Calixto Garcia gave orders to attack a heavily guarded town, and after two days, Spanish Lieutenant Mediavilla showed up holding the white flag in order to discuss terms of surrender. Calixto Garcia wrote to Gomez, “I offered him liberty for himself and his comrades; the surrender was verified by the turning over of the remaining forts. I have taken more than a thousand rifles and a million bullets. In addition, I have obtained 10 wagon loads of medicine, many machetes, several cannons, and infinity of cavalry supplies plus supplies of clothing, edibles, etc (Sierra 33).

The prisoners consist of a chief, two doctors, ten officers, 380 soldiers plus 100 odd non-combatants and volunteers who were armed and fought during the siege”. And this was a huge victory whether on a real level or on a spiritual level, because sparing the life of a commander and his comrades is a gesture of power and self confidence, which only few men have, not mentioning the fact that they get to be stronger with all of the various powerful materials they owned after their greatest triumph. He also stated, “I cannot help showing that I am highly satisfied with the conduct of the officers and soldiers who took part in the operations of Las Tunas. I feel true satisfaction in telling you that all of them knew how to stay at their posts with no exception whatsoever.” (Martín, Ramón L. Bonachea & Marta San 47). This right here shows the true spirit of a real leader, a warrior where he is not afraid of being thankful, or to show confidence in front of his men when winning as well as when losing. That can only be proven by the fact that his men stayed in the battlefield not fearing the war.
ordered his men to go to the west, and to confuse the Spaniards with their guerrilla-style attacks. Bandera continued moving until he reached as far as Trinidad. Then he could not get necessary backup that’s why he turned back, and on July 4 was killed in a skirmish at Pelayo, east of the Trocha. Calixto Garcia continued his amazing career against the Spanish forces as. He eventually captured Las Tunas after forty-eight hours of heroic battle (Willis 102-103).

On the other side, the Philippines declared their independence from Spain at about the same time, this and the increasingly threat from Puerto Rico. Spain was fighting two wars, in Cuba and in the Philippines; this caused a huge damage to its economy not mentioning that it was already weak. Cuban leaders in New York declared that the war would end only with either the independence or the withdrawal of the Spanish forces. Estrada Palma said “We Cubans will never accept autonomy or reform, we are fighting for independence and we will accept peace only on the condition of separating completely from Spain.”This speech shows how well aware are the Cubans about their case of freedom, knowing that can only be fulfilled when the colonized is totally retreated without any suspicious moves or fake promises. In October 1897 Don Ramón Blanco y Arenas replaced Weyler, and The U.S. took Spain’s place as the official government of the island.

2. U.S. Intervention

2.1. The climax of the war

Several reasons behind the U.S. intervention against Spain were suggested, it was known that the United States was a growing and active nation looking for new markets for its huge industrial business. And now with the devastating war, its investments in Cuba were challenged. Furthermore, it needed strong navy as well as
military bases in order to protect the future Panama Canal. The rich Spanish colony was a massive dream for investors and expansionists in the United States. Moreover, the U.S. entered the war out of a classified attempt that failed to buy Cuba from Spain in 1896 (Hudson 113).

Also there was a vicious competition that occurred between Joseph Pulitzer's New York World and William Randolph Hearst's New York Journal. “Yellow Journalism” is a reference to journalism that features scandals, sensationalism, or other unethical or unprofessional practices, by news media organizations or individual reporters. Hearst reported the exploits of the courageous “freedom fighters” since the beginning of the war, the state department did not approve on this opinion. While Pulitzer agreed with the U.S. involvement although he was not at the beginning, due to the fact that it was a huge opportunity to increase circulation. Their war coverage was full of lies and exaggerations. Joseph E. Wisan wrote in an essay titled "The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in The New York Press," published in American Imperialism in 1898, "the home offices of the newspapers built further. Artists far removed from the Cuban scene illustrated reports vividly but inaccurately; cartoonists magnified atrocities; feature writers, Sunday supplement writers, even contributors to women's pages added their prejudiced efforts (Fizgerald 124). With so much information and misinformation from which to choose, editorial writers knew no bounds."This illustrates how powerful words can be, and how important newspapers were to the completion of the American plan in intervening between Cuba and Spain, in order to have more privilege and power over its rivals. Winston Churchill wrote his tentative concern in New York's Saturday Review that “two-thirds of the Cuban rebels were black," which is a good addition to U.S. interest when Spain is still in control of the island. Against a raged population that is eager for war. And this could be a perfect
opportunity for the American government to showcase its USN and various military
weapons and materials (Giscard 217).

President William McKinley sent the U.S.S Maine on January 24 1898 to
Havana, (The Maine was among the first ship of her type built for the new U.S. Navy, a
new line of steel-hulled, steam-powered battleships. At 324 feet long, she was the
largest warship built in the U.S. at the time) In order to protect American lives and
property. At 9:40 p.m. on February 15, it was on the harbor, when suddenly a freak
accident. The heat from this fire caused an explosion that killed 260 sailors and
drowned the battleship Maine to the ocean floor, an incident that shook the world. In his
“A Tale of the Spanish-American War” Kirk Munroe wrote passionately: While Mr.
Norris was thus engaged, Ridge opened the morning paper, and glanced carelessly at its
headlines. Suddenly he sprang to his feet with a shout, his dark face glowing and his
eyes blazing with excitement. "By heavens, father!" he cried, "the United States battle-
ship Maine has been blown up in Havana Harbor with a loss of two hundred and sixty
of her crew. If that does not mean war, then nothing in the world's history ever did. You
do not need to worry about me anymore, sir, for my duty is clearly outlined" (Quoted in
Munroe 7).

Spanish forces already could not retreat due to the fact that the rebels owned and
controlled the countryside; this was a huge sign to a certain Cuban victory. The U.S.
decided it was the perfect timing to enter the war, after three days of the Maine
explosion. As a result of the Pulitzer and Hearst's official war slogan “Remember the
Maine” It was the first time in history that a newspaper achieved the selling of over one
million copies, and it was William Randolph Hearst's New York Journal which made
that happen. On April 19 the U.S. Congress (by a vote of 311 to 6 in the House and 42
to 35 in the Senate) adopted the Joint Resolution for War with Spain. This one was
included the Teller Amendment named after Colorado Senator Henry Moore Teller. The U.S. assured on its side that there was no intention to exercise jurisdiction or control over Cuba for other than pacification goals. Also, it stated that their armed troops and forces will be taken out once the war is over. The Teller Amendment to the Joint Resolution of Congress, of April 20, 1898, declared the following: "the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said Island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the Island to its people." On the 20th of May, 1902, there was in the State Apartment of the Palace taken by several Spanish Governors-General, the state officials of the U.S. and the elected officials of the new Cuban Republic, and a limited number of guests. In that same apartment, General Castellanos signed the surrender of Spanish authority. In its turn, the United States transferred authority to the President of the Cuban Republic (Robinson 146).

Anti-imperialists in the Senate pushed the amendment through at the last moment and the U.S. Congress officially declared war on April 25. The Spanish power in the Western hemisphere was stopped and once it clashed with the U.S. naval forces in the battle of Santiago Bay. Only one American died in comparison to 1,800 Spaniards in the battle, and all of their ships were burnt and destroyed, two weeks later the Spanish forces surrendered, and the war did not last for long due to the fact that the Spanish fleet was so weak facing the new and developed army and CMC (Commandant of the United States Marine Corps). Spain accepted the Peace terms on August 11, in which the U.S. received control of 4 new territories: Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam. The U.S. had also added Hawaii, Samoa and Wake Island. When Cuba gained its independence officially, it wastes U.S. flag that arose in Havana not the
Cuban one. And U.S. General William R. Shafter did not allow Cuban General Calixto Garcia and his rebel forces to participate in the surrender ceremonies in Santiago de Cuba. Later on, Spain received a total of $20-million for Guam, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. It was stated by Secretary of State John Hay, in his book dubbed "a splendid little war" that the Spanish-American war was fought largely by African-American men, and they were the most who died (Foner 111)

2.2. After the War

"After more than three years of 'total war,'" wrote Foner in The Spanish-Cuban-American War, Vol. 2, "Cuba lay in ruins. The armies of Spain and Cuba had swept back and forth over the land, carrying ruin with the torch at every trip. What was missed by one army was destroyed by the other." Surely it was a devastating war, that only these words can describe how many people died in order to free the country. But with General John R. Brooke as commander of the revolutionary government of Martí was never allowed to take control, and with General John R. Brooke as commander, an American military government was immediately announced in Cuba. As the Spanish governor-general retired from his duty, General Brook took control of Havana On January 1st 1899, it was then when the American flag was raised in place of the Spanish’s, and Cubans had never the chance to be proud of their victory or even celebrating their troops in an occasion that was anticipated for a long period of time. On January 8 1899 General Máximo Gómez declared “Cuba cannot have true moral peace,” and he stated in his diary the following: “Which is what the people need for their happiness and good fortune under the new government (Cole 48).

This transitional government was imposed by force by a foreign power and, therefore, is illegitimate and incompatible with the principles that the entire country has been upholding for so long, and in the defense of which half of its sons have given their
lives and all of its wealth has been consumed.” General Máximo Gómez knew exactly how to picture the life of a colonized nation under the ruling of a foreign power especially when it is far away from the standards that the very people learned from their fathers and grandfathers and established in their identity. In December of the same year, General Brook was replaced by General Leonard Wood, who assured total occupation of Cuba and took control of the commercial and business interests in the island by the help of the new established government. The temporary military governments which used to have control over the Cuban money did not approve on lending it to the farmers and landowners in order for them to harvest.

The money went on repairing sanitation and roads. So as a result of that, American businessmen such as United Fruit Company president Andrew W. Preston, railroad financier Stuyvesant Fish, sugar baron Henry D. Havemeyer and others were able to and buy dirt-cheap farmlands and also variety of other properties. This strange transformation of events was predicted by an article in the New York World on July 20, 1898, that a new invasion of Cuba will follow the war. “Whatever may be decided as to the political future of Cuba,” The article also stated, “it’s industrial and commercial future will be directed by American enterprise with American capital.” And it was eventually proven to be true. Foner wrote “This was the legacy of American military occupation…and the refusal to permit the use of the funds belonging to the Cuban people to assist the small farmers and planters to retain their land and rebuild their properties, damaged or destroyed during the revolution…Americans were most ‘energetic’ in picking up land at low prices from people who were without means, and for whom the Occupation government refused to provide loans so that they could develop their property.” This act from the American side jeopardized the social and economic future of Cuba, and made it impossible for the people to carry on living
normally while their lands are either destroyed or being seized. On February 1899 shortly after six weeks of the occupation, it was time to start the process of giving away, selling and deducting of electric light monopolies, franchises, street line concessions, railway grants, and similar privileges in Cuba to foreign syndicates and individual capitalists. And for this specific reason, the U.S. War Department created a new board with General Robert P. Kennedy of Ohio as the official leader.

Although this one was attempted to stop by J.B. Foraker, the Senator from Ohio, who introduced legislation (the Foraker Amendment) in which he declared that all of those franchises are illegal. However, this could not stop the leading American industrialists and businessmen from taking over mines, railroads, and all of this eventually went to the hands of the American as it was previously owned by the Spanish. These events led General Wood as well as many officials to believe that Cuba should become a state of the union. A lot of high ranked officials advised to ignore the Teller Amendment, and when that option seemed to not be taken into action, rumors and articles started to come out in major U.S. newspapers claimed that Cubans did not want the Teller Amendment to apply and therefore favoring to be annexed (Willis 127).

“"It was clear at all stages of the Occupation,” wrote Foner, “that the annexationists constituted a distinct minority in Cuba. The vast majority of the Cubans insisted on independence. This had been their aspiration for half a century, and for this they had made untold sacrifices. They insisted, too, that the U.S. live up to its promise. The expression of the will of the majority of the Cuban people doomed the effort in the United States to undo the Teller Amendment. In the end, the annexationists had to concede that their goal was impossible to achieve."Foner really expressed how the U.S. was not true to its words, by deceiving the people into believing that the majority of both counterparts are in favor of adding Cuba into the union, although Cubans wanted
to be free more than anything, as they dreamed to have this right for centuries but unfortunately it cannot happen while they are under the U.S. rule. In 1899 Wood declared an electoral law which began an election for offices and it took place in June 1900, while in September, thirty-one delegates, a majority of followers or representatives of the revolutionary army, were elected to the Constitutional Convention that decided the making of the constitution in 1901 (Hudson 33.34).

On June 16 1900, the Cuban first election was made by a plan in order to have a restricted vote on U.S. secretary of war Elihu Root. And that was considered to have certain conditions, which are: voters must be male, over twenty-one years of age, citizens of Cuba and they must attain at least one of three requirements; be able to read and write; own property worth $250 in U.S. gold; or have served with an honorable record in the Cuban army before July 18 1898. Those who wanted Cuba to be added to the U.S. such as the Democratic Union Party, which represented Cuban moneyed interests suffered a major defeat and lost in every election, however, The Cuban National Party, made up of the revolutionary part, won the most votes in almost every city. But with the emergence of the Platt Amendment, which declared, “Cuba should make no treaty that would impair her sovereignty; she should contract no foreign debt whose interest could not be paid through ordinary revenues after defraying the current expenses of government.” The Platt Amendment exposed the fact that many laws favored US corporations to remain in power; it also required Cuba to allow intervention whenever it needed. General Leonard Wood, the US military governor, admitted in a 1901 letter to President Theodore Roosevelt that “there is, of course, little or no independence left in Cuba under the Platt Amendment” (Brenner 4).
The claim that the U.S. military intervention to “protect” Cuban independence or the maintenance of a government for the protection of life, property, and liberty. It also imposed various conditions which made Cuba almost a colony (pseudo-colony) and the dream of its people to be independent into something impossible. Although this amendment made the Cuban leaders so angry, the U.S. government did not shift its position, in fact it proclaimed that the new republic have to accept the Platt Amendment so that the military would leave the island. Cuba’s constitution incorporated the amendment on 2nd March 1901 (Foner 64).

On June 12, 1901, a constitutional was held in Havana in order to make a general election, and by June 21, a majority of one, it adopted the Platt Amendment as an act to add the island of Cuba and also the first making of Cuban constitution of 1901. The constitution also provided for a global suffrage, separation of church and state (secularism). Despite the opposition that it created inside the government, the occupation did have a considerable number of beneficial and reasonable outcomes. The United States had come to encounter a hard task in governing Cuba. Famine and disease were largely common reason for death. Industrial and agri-cultural productions were not active and of course the treasury was empty. The Cuban revolutionary army was impatient, with no experience in colonial affairs, the military governors, Generals John Brooke (1899) and Leonard Wood (1899-1902), supported by a variety of Cuban institutions, was the highest authority in the land, technique of food distribution soon being placed at work which later on came to have efficient results. Eventually a system was created by General Wood in order to provide jobs for many soldiers after the Cuban army was removed (Hudson 116). And when the 20th of May 1902 came, Tomas Estrada Palma was sworn in as the first president of the new Republic, and the Cuban flag was raised over Havana. With Cuba finally being independent from Spain, it
looked that there was not any major problems on the economic side. And unlike other Latin American countries, Cuba was the least to encounter social and political conflicts. Though blacks represented the majority of the population, and it was somehow a varied society, Cubans did not have problems living all together, Due to the fact that they learned to live in harmony since colonial times. In addition, no powerful sense of regionalism or religious sects opposed the authority of the state. Furthermore, Cuba was one of a few countries which escaped the conservative movement that destroyed parts of the continent such as Mexico (Hudson 117).

**Conclusion**

The United States of America had very harsh time dealing with Cuba and the revolutionaries, and later on dealing with Castro’s government. Also, because of all the wars that Cuba engaged in to free itself from the Spanish colonization that lasted for centuries, exploiting everything that this land had to offer. Cubans grew stubborn and eager to be free generation after generation under the economic, political, and social oppression, alongside many years of military experience. Even with enormous casualties and loss in materials, you can achieve freedom. However, the U.S. who engaged in the war against Spain, claiming the help of Cuba, but it was only for her selfish reasons, as to gain control over Cuba which is considered to be a great strategic area. Also, to minimize the large scale of land that the Spanish had conquered, and so that to be stronger than its opponent, and to be the only major power, the U.S. had to deliver a sensational deceiving message to its people and Cubans as well, which was the Main incident, alongside, the various hideous practices from its journalism, all of that to convince the people that it was needed for the U.S. to enter the war and defeat the Spanish colonization. After all, it really happened, Cuban independence from Spain
which was a dream for a very long time became true. Only to have another enemy establishing a government that is ready to practice its roles in their homeland. The Cubans then, knew it’s inevitable, that they had to get rid of the U.S. in order to live a free life. And with the Teller Amendment and the deception that ruled the scene in Havana, people really wondered how to overcome this new threat to its existence. As they gave birth to mighty leaders such as Marti and Maceo, and produced many patriotic men who are ready to sacrifice their lives in order to achieve the long lasting dream of independence. This chapter spotted the light on the U.S-Cuban relationship, how Cubans had to suffer to get rid of colonialism and how did the U.S. act towards Spain and Cuba. This historical background helped in the shaping of the relationship between U.S. and Cuba and also sought the way in which the U.S. government infiltrated itself into Cuba’s affaires, thus causing much damage to the country and the people directly.
Chapter Two

The American Foreign Policy during Fidel Castro’s Era (1959-1963)

Introduction

Before the Cuban revolution 1959, the United States and Cuba had a good relationship. Americans went on to Cuba for its resorts, beautiful beaches, and rich culture. From the 1920s to the 1950s, American popular dancing got inspiration and evolved from Cuban music. The famous Ernest Hemingway lived on Cuba for 22 years, as Cuban life enriched the American spirit in every part of life. Unfortunately their relationship had changed through time, and become more and more hostile due to several events. The main figure of the Cuban revolution is Fidel Castro, because he inspired his followers to rise against the dictatorship of Batista, and then later on to object the intervention of the U.S. in Cuba’s economy as well as ideology, because he believed strongly in a socialist state ruled by the ideas of Marks and Lenin (Edmund 180). He had strong and loyal followers such as Ernesto Che Guevara and his brother Raul Castro. Together they shaped the identity of the Cubans, even with the struggle against the U.S. severe actions like the economic Embargo, they managed to survive and even compete with the powerful government of JFK. Who failed to assassin Castro in the event of the Bay of Pigs, but succeeded in saving his country and the world from the devastating Missile Crisis of 1962. Eventually, Castro and the Soviet Union alongside JFK managed to escape a nuclear war that could have ended the world, and moved along into trying to make their relationship stable and friendly as it was before (Immell 68).
1. American foreign policy during the Cuban Revolution 1959

Fulgencio Batista Ruled from 1933 till 1959, he was technically an ally to the U.S, an anti-labor, and most importantly a dictator, who most of his people did not like, mainly because he allowed the U.S. companies to be established in Cuba. Moreover, he used secret police & terror to control the country. Although, the Cuban Elites admired Batista because he maintained the social system, and made the country’s economy depended on Sugar, including having strong ties to the U.S. which will help the nation as they thought. Fortunately for Cuban people, a rising revolutionary spirit tried to take out Batista and his tyrant system. It was Fidel Castro Raiz, a Cuban patriot who was born on August 13, 1926 and died on the 25th November 2016. A gifted speaker & organizer, who was a lawyer then became revolutionary, also believed that reform is needed in Cuba without U.S. help. Furthermore, he was a communist, influenced by Marxist Leninist ideology. On July 26, 1953, an assault against the Moncada Barracks began; Castro and 165 men attacked the Moncada Army Barracks near Santiago de Cuba. It had a huge impact on the future of the revolution, though it did not succeed. Also, Castro was arrested and sentenced to 15 years in prison, then left Cuba for exile in Mexico on the 7th July 1955, where he began the "26 of July Movement" and it describes the very first time that Castro declared the rebellion against Batista’s government (Christopher 65).

1.1 Fidel Castro’s Motives

Castro was selected to be a candidate in the parliament of the Orthodox Party in elections organized for May 1952 but the elections were annulled for the reason that the upheaval which took place on March 10, 1952 (Frank 102). An important thing to be noted is that Castro in a legal way tried to defy Batista but the fact that this one failed, raised many questions about the true intentions of Fidel. He recruited 1200 young
people, mostly from the Orthodox youth, and gave them some very basic military training (Slee 14). Consequently, many of the rebels died, while Fidel Castro, his brother, Raúl Castro and many of his followers were captured, tried and imprisoned. Later on, he dedicated his years in jail to study politics philosophy, history and literature which immensely increased his revolutionary ideology. On 15 May 1955 Castro and his followers were released from prison and granted State pardon as nobody understood this action taken by Batista (Johnson 3-4).

What Castro & the “26th of July Movement” hoped to see is some democratic reforms, open elections, more civil rights, and economic / education reparations. They likewise wanted to reduce the U.S. dominance of Cuba’s economy. Fidel Castro was so smart in waging the war against Batista; he used very effective methods to help him overcome the struggle like Hit and Run tactics, and he attacked from Sierra Maestra Mountains. His main attribute was recruiting Cuba’s own men by inspiring loyalty and revolution inside their heads, that is why he so popular among the poor people of Cuba. The beginning of the war against Batista was not a promising. Because the attack that failed on the Moncada barracks was an attempt to gather the people and push them to revolt rather than to attack the government directly. However, there were other circumstances which led to the rise of a real revolutionary war. Batista was able to gain power and take control over Cuba mainly because there was no opposition and even the one existed was so weak to even compete with him, not mentioning the fact that he had the national army in his side. Castro and his men knew for certain that in order to take down the government, they needed more power and so that they tried to recruit soldiers from common people with will to gain total freedom. That was very clear in his famous trial speech, entitled “History Will Absolve Me”, Fidel assured his people that ‘the only
remedy against force without authority is to oppose it with force’ which meant literally that what is taken by power can only be regain by power (Lievesley 78).

The speech, which represented an impassioned letter of resentment against Batista, called for more political and social freedom. The speech eventually became the rallying cry of the July 26th Movement, and since 1959; July 26 has been celebration day for Cuba and its most important national holiday (Johnson 3). Military speaking, Cuba flourished enormously, and Castro introduced his military system to a place that was never seen before. Batista on the other hand, had total domination of social, economic and political life. In the Spring of 1959, just a few months after the January 1st revolution of Castro he proclaimed himself as the "Lider Maximo" of the Revolution and the armed forces Commander-in-Chief. He declared that the army will be cut in half, eventually to be replaced by the Cuban civilian militias and police as he said: "The last thing I am, is a military man . . . ours is a country without generals and colonels". Later on after the resolve of the Batista army, and for the first time ever in Cuban history, recruitment in the army was an obligation. This army was no different than any other "capitalist" or "socialist" imperialist powers (Dolgoff 52).

1.2 Other Factors behind the Revolution

“Revolutions are explosion of frustration and rage that build over time, sometimes over decades” (Fisher 2011). Can explain some hidden reasons behind the 1 January, 1959 revolution in Cuba, as it can also be traced back even to 1898. Politically speaking, it was the arbitrary and tyrant rule of his, the long and brutal dictatorship of General Fulgencio Batista (1933-1944 and 1952-1958), which had been intolerant and the people of Cuba could no longer stand. His way of ruling the country by being high
self-esteem character who glorifies fortune led the public to support and contribute to the revolution (Johnson 5).

The second factor that led to revolt was the fact that Cuba during the reign of Batista did have an acceptable economy, and the only one noticed was majorly contributed by the U.S. companies, which made it even a bigger motive to get rid of him. It was declared that by the 1950s, the United States had about $1 billion investment in Cuba, and its companies took control over 80 percent of Cuban institutions, 90 percent of Cuban mines, almost 100 percent of the Cuba’s oil refineries and 90 percent of its cattle farms (Lotta 24-25). While the biggest issue was that the U.S. companies were mostly the only buyer of the Sugar capacity in Cuba, In exchange for the circulation in the U.S. market. Cuba had gradually become an economic colony of the United States. Furthermore, the government of Batista made several excessive behaviors, and corrupted practices recorded significant rates. These were one of the main factors that led the people to revolt against Batista in order for them to be free from the Economic dependency of the United States (Johnson 63).

1.3. Castro Becomes the Country’s Leader

“Che Guevara gave himself away … through his eyes. I remember that clean, morning-fresh look; the look of people who believe … someone who abandons a revolution which he and a handful of crazy people had already made to throw himself into beginning another one. He lived not for triumph, but for struggle – the ever necessary struggle for human dignity” (K. Cole 60).

Che Guevara (June 14, 1928-October 9, 1967) was an Argentine Marxist revolutionary, physician, author, guerrilla leader, diplomat and military theorist. A lot has been written and said about Che Guevara because he was the man who committed
himself to the struggle against Batista and he was a major help in the making of Socialism around the Americas in the 1960s. Although he was an outsider, he proudly accepted Cuban citizenship and returned when he leaves the island, he participated majorly in liberating the Americas from any actions that touches human integrity (Lievesley 81). He was a major help and considered as the right hand man of Fidel Castro. In August 31 1958, Guevara led his soldiers from the Sierra Maestra toward Las Villas Province (in Central Cuba). Then later on came in contact with the March 13 Revolutionary Directorate in signing the Pedrero Pact. While moving to the west, on October 16, Guevara and his troops arrive at the Escambray Mountains. Then they captured a number of towns in the same Province (effectively dividing the island in half). On 1958 He became head of the Department of Industry of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA). And in November 26, Guevara was appointed as President to the National Bank of Cuba (Caistor 6).

When Batista escaped to the Dominican Republic in the revolution of January 1, 1959, and the cities Santa Clara and Santiago de Cuba were seized by rebels, led by Che Guevara and Fidel Castro's delegate Raul Castro and Huber Matos. Castro's charisma and his revolutionary prestige made him, in the eyes of the Cuban people, the true hero of the country “He was the man of the hour, the new messiah” as Rex. Hudson described. Castro was the one who deserves to rule Cuba; he was without a doubt the most fitting replacement with qualities of leadership, the gift of eloquence and an exceptional memory. He urged his people for change as fast as they can, because the country was depended economically on the U.S. And the public of course, followed, accepted and glorified him, they cheered up after long reign of dictatorship from Batista, although, he claimed no official position except commander of the armed forces (Hudson 147).
2. U.S. reaction to the revolution: The Economic Embargo

Walter Lippmann (September 23, 1889 – December 14, 1974) was an American writer, reporter, and political commentator famous for being among the first to introduce the concept of ‘Cold War’, said in July 1959: "For the thing we should never do in dealing with revolutionary countries, in which the world abounds, is to push them behind an iron curtain raised by ourselves. On the contrary, even when they have been seduced and subverted and are drawn across the line, the right thing to do is to keep the way open for their return". After Fidel Castro came to power in 1959, relations between the United States and Cuba quickly changed. Although U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower officially recognized Fidel Castro's new Communist government, they did not like the fact that it is so near their land (about 100 miles from Florida). Eisenhower forced trade limitations on Cuba and started to plan a strategy in order to take down Castro. That later on, President John F. Kennedy attempted in 1961 (Callahan 18).

2.1. First Signs of the Embargo

By becoming a communist country, Cuba worried U.S. leaders, because they viewed Latin America as a part of U.S. global influence. So they wanted to keep socialist ideologies out of the region. The revolution had some positive outcomes as well as negative, for instance Cuba had a wide access to health care and education. But the government jailed and punished those who object the revolution. This rebellion made Cuba suffer from U.S. economic embargo; thus, many Cubans had to leave the country mainly to the United States due to Castro’s policies. It caused economy to struggle because Castro relied on the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) for aid and economic support. And when it collapsed in 1991, all of that made huge drawbacks on Cuba’s economy. The U.S. did not like Castro’s policies towards
American companies, so it kicked them out of the island and refused to trade or recognize Fidel Castro’s government.

United States Government Accountability Office declared “The embargo on Cuba is the most comprehensive set of US sanctions on any country, including the other countries designated by the GUS to be state sponsors of terrorism”.

During the visit to Havana by the Soviet Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan in February 4 and 13, 1960, a major commercial contract was signed between the GOC and the Soviet Union. It stated that Cuba would have to receive Soviet oil in exchange for sugar, and by that formal diplomatic relations between the two countries started to get serious by May 8, 1960. On June 28, the Cuban system seized the United States oil refineries without payment. And by July 26 Castro released the "Declaration of Havana" which called for Cuba's right to export and to demand help from the Soviet Union (Hudson 69-70). The law prevented the foreign holding of any Cuban lands, and properties were transferred to Cuban public and private ownership after they were under the U.S’s. At that time, for about 25 percent of Cuban land belonged to the U.S, and the land reform immediately placed U.S. interests against those of Cuba which caused all the next problems (Giscard 30).

In October, the United States government declared an economic embargo against Cuba, while the Cuban government nationalized all commercial and industrial enterprises on the island. Finally, in January 1961, Washington cut diplomatic relations with Cuba and pulled out its ambassador. Castro then declared that "the Cuban revolution is socialist “I am a Marxist-Leninist and will always be" on April 1961 (Lieutenant Colonel Dexon B. Guzman 22). This turn of events led to many problems on both sides, especially on the nationalization of products by the Cuban government.
Edward Boorstein (born in 1915 New York City) described the situation: "The hold of American imperialism on Cuba was so great that the break with the United States had effects that went beyond American-owned property … The large Cuban-owned enterprises, so enmeshed with the United States economy as to be almost American, also had to be nationalized. They had been separated from their markets, their sources of raw materials and equipment, and their commercial and financial connections” (Foner 88).

2.2 Economic Embargo Progress

The economic Embargo had several shapes and forms throughout the relationship between the U.S. and Cuba. It was first taken into action with President Eisenhower and later on with President J.F Kennedy. It tackled the issue of imports and prevented Cuba from trading with nations, in order to corner Castro’s regime and weaken his leverage. The Embargo also changed its forms from restricting some aspects of trade to many economic aspects of life and even breaking some of the UN’s Acts of Human Rights.

At first, the Economic Embargo was restricted to some aspects in times of war; it started with The Trading with the Enemy Act (TWEA) which granted the President of the USA the authority and the ACA (Anti-Communist Civic Action) to force economic and penalties against foreign nations by preventing, limiting or regulating trade and financial transactions with Communist countries. In 1933, the US Congress amended section 5(b) of the Act, founding on the condition of “national emergency”. President Dwight D. Eisenhower stopped trade with Cuba, and within a few days after his administration cut diplomatic relations with the country on 3 January 1961. The TWEA prevents all sorts of trade between nations, even transactions such as travel, transportation or business. However, in 1977, Congress again amended the TWEA but
this time was for the sake of reducing its leverage by restricting the President’s influence to force these actions in any time to become into effect only during time of war (Amnesty 7).

On March 17, 1960 President Eisenhower approves a hidden plan against Cuba that includes the use of a "powerful propaganda campaign" in order to overthrow Castro. The plan includes not buying Sugar, not delivering oil, and proceeding to making the embargo into effect, and also, the preparations to create an army of Cuban exiles in order to invade the island. October 19. U.S. imposes a partial economic embargo on Cuba which excludes only medicine and food.

On September 4, 1961 for the prohibition of help to reach Cuba, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 was passed in the U.S. Congress and to formally declare the total embargo on all trade aspects with Cuba. President Kennedy directed the Secretary of the Treasury to execute the prevention of all imports from Cuba and the Secretary of Commerce to force the embargo into action on all exports to Cuba. This proclamation does not have a time limit or any sort of condition to stop the Embargo and so that it’s still into effect. Although since then the embargo has been written into law and expanded by regulations and new legislation. This Act made huge drastic changes into Cuba and every aspect of life, economically politically; socially Cuba suffered a lot (Amnesty 8).

On February 7, 1962 President Kennedy extends the trade restrictions imposed by Eisenhower on the prohibition of all trade with Cuba, only with the exception of the non-supported sale of food and medicine. Then, in March 23 President Kennedy goes on making the Cuban embargo even wider by including imports of all goods made from Cuban materials, even if made outside the land. Later on August 1st the Foreign
Assistance Act had an amendment that states, any country provides economic assistance for Cuba will be stripped from any help. And by October 2nd the U.S. government even exceeded that, and tried to rally all the nations within the Americas against Cuba with the intention of narrowing down its options and tightening its movements (Foner 487).

2.3. The Consequences of the Economic Embargo

Louis A. Pérez Jr. from his book “Cuba, between Reform and Revolution, 2nd Edition” said that: “The U.S. trade embargo after 1961 had jolting effects. By the early 1960s, conditions in many industries had become critical due to the lack of replacement parts. Virtually all industrial structures were dependent on supplies and parts now denied to Cuba. Many plants were paralyzed. Havoc followed. Transportation was especially hard hit; the ministry was reporting more than seven thousand breakdowns a month. Nearly one-quarter of all buses were inoperable by the end of 1961. One-half of the 1,400 passenger rail cars were out of service in 1962. Almost three-quarters of the caterpillar tractors stood idle due to a lack of replacement parts” (Pérez 65).

2.3.1. Economic and Social Rights

On July 29th 2008, office of the Resident Co-coordinators of the United Nations system for operational activities for development stated that: “The negative impact of the embargo is pervasive in the social, economic and environmental dimensions of human development in Cuba, severely affecting the most vulnerable socio economic groups of the Cuban population.” International law, including HRC (Human Right Council) gives restrictions to the forcing of sanctions. These Acts have to take into consideration the negative outcomes on the possessing and benefiting of economic, social and cultural rights in the country affected, the UN Charter to promote human rights condemns this act and the impact of the US embargo on the right to health. The
Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights stated that nations must protect “at least the core content of the economic, social and cultural rights” of the people who suffer from the consequences of these Acts. For the past 14 years, the UN Secretary-reported the various passive effects of the US embargo on Cuba. In her last report to the Human Rights Council, the Personal Representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the situation of human rights in Cuba described and stated clearly that the results of the embargo on the social, economic, and cultural rights of the Cuban people as “disastrous” (Amnesty 13-14).

2.3.2. Impact on the Right to Health

On the 26th January 2007 Personal Representative of the High Commissioner for Human Rights talked about the effects of the Economic Embargo against Cuba and stated that: “The restrictions imposed by the embargo help to deprive Cuba of vital access to medicines, new scientific and medical technology, food, chemical water treatment and electricity.”

Article 12 of the ICESCR (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights), addresses that the right to health does not only includes medicine and food, but a variety of social and economic assets which increase the chances for people of living a better life. People need to have an access to food and nutrition, housing, while enjoying a safe drinking water, furthermore, an appropriate sanitation inside a safe and healthy working conditions and environment. All of that is needed for people to live their life. Also, it is a priority of having an access to medical service in the case of illness, and suitable health care system. But clearly the United States government is breaking this Code with the case of the Economic Embargo on Cuba (Amnesty 16).

After establishing the economic Embargo on Cuba, the relationship between the United States of America and the revolutionary island came to severe consequences, with the involvement of the Soviet Union, the biggest rival for the U.S. imperialism. The situation in Cuba raised major concern around the world, because knowing the fact that Castro and his regime will not give up to the U.S. Embargo, and now with the direct clash of interests between the two major powers. Things were certainly moving fast and in a very bad direction. Moreover, the stubborn mindset of Castro was not the only problem; it was the young 35th President of the United States John Fitzgerald "Jack" Kennedy (May 29, 1917 – November 22, 1963). Many thought that his youthfulness and lack of experience will only make things worse than they already are.

3.1 The Bay of Pigs Invasion April 17, 1961

The Bay of Pigs invasion, as it was called, where the Cuban army defeated the Americans in three days in a failed attempt to remove Fidel Castro. Between 1960 and 1965, U.S. forces attempted to assassinate Castro more than eight times and they failed majorly in each and every one of them. The belief was that this attack would be a great chance to create an internal revolt resulting in the overthrow of the Marxist Leninist government of Fidel Castro (Chandrasekhar 4). Because President Kennedy prohibited all Americans from conducting business (or any financial transaction) with Cuba, their relationship became so bad to the extent that when the United States and Cuba have a legitimate reason to talk to each other, they often bring Switzerland as a mediator. On April 17, 1961, the first major United States-sponsored military action against Fidel Castro was when an army of Cuban exiles arranged by the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) landed in The Bay of Pigs on the south-central Cuban coast. The attack happened only fourteen weeks after Washington cut off diplomatic relations.
with Cuba, which marked a real challenge to the new and fresh government of Castro to handle this threat. Shockingly, about 300 of the attackers were killed directly on sight, and 1,179 others were captured and held for twenty-two months as prisoners (Hudson 289).

The new administration of JFK dealt with the case of Castro very cautiously as they saw him a direct threat to the security of the United States. When Kennedy became president, he was informed by the C.I.A. about the invasion plans that could bring out a huge triumph to the United States. President Kennedy also knew that the Bay of Pigs, which is located on the southwest side of the island, is the place of the operation. At the beginning, at first, he did not make a certain decision to carry on the operation, as he thought that it may be cancelled anytime if necessary. The State Department published an article in which it tried to show Castro as a man not to his words, because he promised his people with several reforms and did not achieve any. One thing to mention is that the U.S. government did not try to negotiate with Castro or even discuss the matter with Congress. The plan for the invasion was supposed to be a major secret; however, words reached Castro about the operation, so he prepared an army with all the available soldiers in order to stop the invasion (Mezhoud 50).

Fidel Castro was outrageous as he stated that this operation was not against his ideologies but against the lives of innocent people. He said, “Forward Cubans! Answer with steel and with fire the barbarians who despise us and want to make us return to slavery” (quoted in Smith 129). Che Guevara also stated, “all the Cuban people must become a guerrilla army, each and every Cuban must learn to handle and if necessary use firearms in defense of the nation” (quoted in Kellner 112).
The United States Government's efforts to take down the government of Castro showed no success, and this change in the American Foreign Policy towards Cuba was a failure. This showed that Castro was more than ready to take any external threat against Cuba, and automatically made the U.S. government look weak and silly in the eyes of the world. The following year of the invasion, witnessed the beginning of the United States supported and well funded Operation Mongoose, proved once again the failure of J.F.K and the U.S. to remove Castro and end his powerful reign in Cuba (Hudson 290).

3.2 The Missile Crisis October 14, 1962

On October 14, 1962 The Cuban Missile Crisis begins when U.S. observing team in an aircraft took pictures of a Soviet construction of intermediate-range missile area in Cuba. Tensions between the two countries came to its peak by 1962. War was a certain event in the mind of the whole world, because some spies in the CIA discovered that these missiles were put by the Soviet Union and were pointed at the United States. Many Americans who remember the event surely describe it as one of the scariest moments of their lifetimes.

3.2.1. The Climax of the Missile Crisis

The Cuban missile crisis of October 1962 is world widely regarded as the most serious military encounter of the Cold War. The air command was put on a state of danger and nuclear alert that never seen before. All the ground and naval forces prepared for air strikes against Soviet missile sites which were put in Cuba and even an expected invasion after the launching. On Saturday morning October 27, President
Kennedy and his advisors knew that it was a hard task to prevent the war (Munton 23).

In his meeting with his advisers, on the morning of 16 October, President Kennedy theorized that the strategic balance of power was the true reason that motivated the Soviet Union as he said: “Must be some major reason for the Russians to set this up” he also considered the mental weakness that drove them to take these sort of actions as he stated: “Must be that they’re not satisfied with their ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile) (Zelikow 59).

The U.S. government knew the chances to maintain peace were so low, and most likely engage in a nuclear war that will turn the Americas into ashes. Robert Kennedy, the President’s brother and Attorney General of the U.S. thought that this event will not only effect America, but the whole world, also, in Moscow, the tension was phenomenal and everyone expected a third world war (Lebow 311). John F. Kennedy said: “We will not prematurely or unnecessarily risk the costs of a worldwide nuclear war in which even the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth - but neither shall we shrink from that risk any time it must be faced”. On Sunday morning, General Secretary Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev and his advisors thought that Kennedy is preparing to declare war, and to start an attack against the Soviet Union (Lebow 7).

The missile crisis had a huge impact on the nations involved. Though it made the United States-Soviet relations settle down, it considerably took Cuban-Soviet relations to a tense state. Because of the fact that Castro was never aware or consulted of the negotiations between Kennedy and Khrushchev, thus his pride and national hero state was hurt when he realized that the Soviet Union removed the Missiles. It was a humiliating event for the Cuban leader, who was regarded during the crisis as a spectator while international politics were discussed. Castro therefore started to
question the true intention of the Soviet Union to defend the Cuban Revolution, and he began to question even the possibility that Khrushchev is not in his side and maybe does not even believe in the Cuban people (Hudson 72).

Khrushchev sent Castro a letter on Tuesday October 30, trying to justify his lack of consultation prior to the decision to remove the missiles. And Castro expressed his opinion by responding to Khrushchev, in a letter criticizing his performance “Perhaps you do not know the degree to which the Cuban people were ready to do its duty toward the nation and humanity…”

3.2.2. After the Missile Crisis

After the missile crisis, Fidel Castro tried to strengthen his relations and contacts with communist China, taking advantage of the situation in hand, and declaring his intention that he will remain neutral and keep friendly relations with all socialist states. Meanwhile Cuba signed several trade and cultural agreements with Beijing, in order to have a strong relation with China; Castro started to compliment its revolutionary armed position. He also challenged the Soviets, when he refused to sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963) as the Chinese did. This action taken by Castro did not come to waste, as he received the support he needed from the Soviets (McAuliffe 144).

However, later on he was disappointed by the actions and attitudes China toward Vietnam. In 1966 Fidel Castro went against the Chinese because they reduced rice charges to Cuba beneath the quantities that Castro claimed. He described Mao Tse-tung's ideological statements as minor, and warned them to handle Chinese diplomats the same way he handled the American Embassy. The major aspect that led both countries into a cold state was Castro's persistence on total control of the revolutionary activity in Latin America, and also his full realization of China's restrictions in
providing Cuba's economic needs. This led Cuba and China to have a less friendly and stable relationship (Hudson 72-73).

Conclusion

This chapter clarified the shift in the American Foreign policy towards Cuba in Fidel Castro’s era. From being a friend to being a direct enemy, the U.S. and Cuba had a lot of obstacles through time; mainly it was the ideological division, between being a Capitalist and being a Communist. Two themes that cannot get together, this were proved since Fidel Castro took charge of the country instead of Batista who was hated by his people due to his injustice style of government. With the strong will of people who put their trust in Castro to take the country to safer harbor. The United States government at first encouraged Batista and supported his rule as he protected the U.S. companies and economic interest inside Cuba. But once he lost control over the war, the U.S. immediately gave up on him; this shows that the U.S. only protects its influence and privileges. Then later on, when Cuba tried to be separated from the U.S. completely and have its own economic system with the help of the U.S. rival, the Soviet Union. Severe Actions were taken against Cuba, starting with limiting their trade to imposing an economic Embargo in hope of breaking Castro’s will. At the end, their relationship took a dangerous path towards international threat, where Castro allowed the Soviet Union’s Missiles to be established in the island, and to raise a major warning of a third world war. Luckily, JFK and his associates concluded to a peaceful solution, and the Missiles were removed from its place. This chapter shows that the U.S. Foreign Policy towards Cuba is not stable, but in fact flexible, as it changed majorly from being friendly to extremely threatening in a very short period of time. And we noticed that it took several Shapes and forms, first with supporting the government of Batista in order
to maintain the economic dependency of Cuba on the U.S. Second, where the it stripped Batista from any kind of influence and left him without support, third, after Castro took charge of the government and declared himself and Cuba as Communist, the U.S. immediately considered him a major threat, and started to plan his overthrow over and over again, a total of 8 times, were the U.S. number of attempts to take down Castro.

Fourth, it was time for the U.S. to execute an economic embargo (which was into effect prior to 1958). The United States government went on even breaking the United Nations’ Acts of health and Human rights, to impose a total Embargo on Cuba, preventing it from importing trades. Fifth, this act cornered Fidel Castro and left him with only one option, which is to nationalize his products and to ask for help from the one and only rival of the U.S. imperialism, the Soviet Union. The contact between the two made its peak when intermediate-long ranges Missiles were placed in Cuba, pointed at the United States. Leading the three parts to act quickly and find a peaceful solution in order to stop a third world war and more importantly a nuclear war. Clearly, the flexibility of the U.S. foreign Policy helped in saving its very own land, and maybe the world, which is considered to be an effective and a positive point in its history, which will later on help with the U.S-Cuba relationship and make it more friendly and stable.
General Conclusion

The United States foreign policy proved in this research to be flexible and not stable, as it changed several times through time towards Cuba particularly during Fidel Castro’s regime between 1958 and 1962. Starting with the intervention in the Cuban-Spanish war, where the U.S. made excuses to enter the war for the sake of expanding its territory and proclaiming itself as the world greatest power. Because this independence of Cuba did not serve the American interests, as later on Fidel overcame Batista’s government which was supported by the U.S. It sought to do whatever it takes in order to save its interests by taking out Fidel Castro and his communist beliefs.

With the coming of Fidel Castro and the communist ideologies, the U.S. made huge changes in its relationships with Cuba. It forced an economic Embargo and limiting the life of Cubans, which was even a violation of Human Rights, and even engaging in a military invasion to the Bay of Pigs in order to assassin Fidel. But it failed completely due to the competence of his army and military experience.

In spite of the American claims of respecting and preserving of the right of people to choose autonomy and self-determination, its foreign policy with Cuba led the world to experience a threat of a nuclear war, when the Soviet Union used Cuba as missile bases pointed at the U.S. soil. But thanks to the efforts made by the government of the United States and cooperation with the Soviets, the crisis ended peacefully by removing the long-range missiles from its place. However, indeed the U.S. foreign policy changes through time, and it was dangerous not only to Cuba but the world itself, this was shown during the period that Castro took control in Cuba. And the actions that the U.S. government took against the people of Cuba were harsh and severe; all of these acts were only for the purpose of overthrowing Castro.
The Cuban case is one of the most important examples which proves that the U.S. shifts its actions whenever needed in order to be superior to others. Also, to meet its political, economic and social goals even if it meant to jeopardize people’s life and risk creating international conflicts. The U.S. government did not only exploit its revolution and mighty efforts but it also tried to strip people from their right to be human and to live a normal life.
List of Works Cited

Books:


Imvell Myra. The Cuban Missile Crisis, Greenhaven Press, 2011.

Lebow Richard. The Cuban Missile Crisis, Module prepared for CIAO, 2000.


Jerry A. Sierra. 500 Years: The Timetable History of Cuba Paperback, April 25, 2011.


McAuliffe, Mary Sperling. CIA Documents on the Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962, History Staff, Central Intelligence Agency, 1992.

Munton Don and David A. Welch. The Cuban Missile Crisis, a Concise History, Oxford University Press 2012.


**Articles:**


Jonathan Ingram, Leonard D Johnson and the Online Distributed Proofreading Team.

"Cuba, Old and New." 5 March 2004. gutenberg.


