

U.S sanctions and flexibilizations against Cuba (1977- June 2024)

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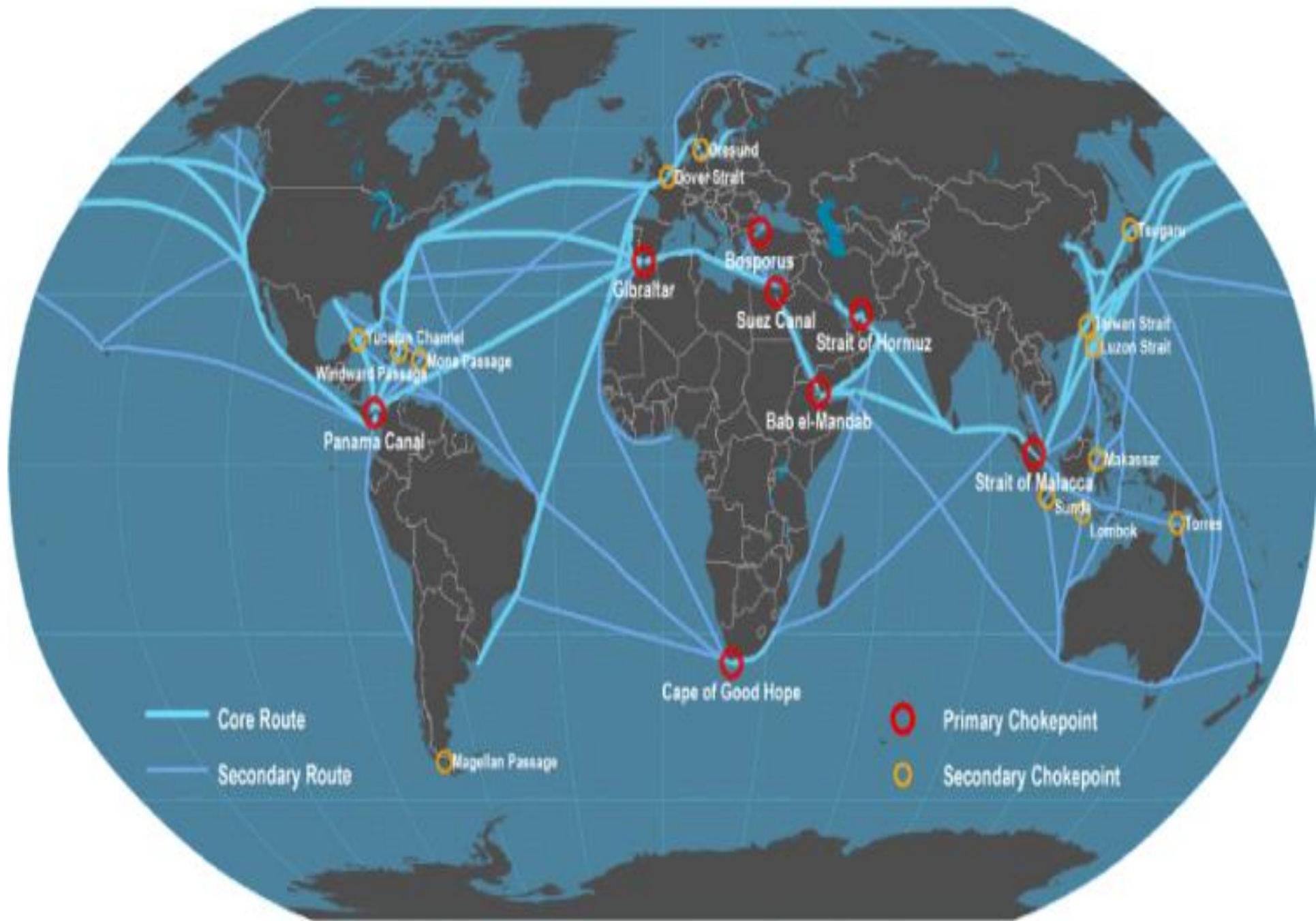
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1. Context

2. Important definitions

**3. U.S. sanctions and flexibilizations
(1977-2024)**





1789-1898

Cuba: The Protectorate



- Marked interest in Cuba (including founding fathers)
- Attempts to buy Cuba from Spain
- Increasing economic ties (trade and investment)
- Support for Spain during the first Cuban independence war (1868-1878)

- Military Occupation (1899-1902)
- Platt Amendment (1901)
- Foundation of the Cuban Republic (1902)
- Permanent Treaty of Relations (1903)
- Trade Reciprocity Treaty (1904)
- Military interventions (1906, 1912, 1917, 1923)
- Second military occupation (1906-1909)

Cuba: The Neocolony

Why the revolution of 1959



- Crisis of the 1930s
- FDR's New Deal and Good Neighbor Policy
- Military Coups (1934, 1936) and the emergence of Fulgencio Batista
- Second Trade Reciprocity Treaty (1934)
- Treaty of the Guantánamo Base (1934)
- Second World War
- Military Coup and Dictatorship (1952-1958)
- Moncada Attack (1953) and Revolutionary War (1956-1958)
- Social inequality
- Collapse of the constitutional system
- Repressive character of Fulgencio Batista's dictatorship
- Contradiction between US domination and the Cuban national project (national sovereignty)

The core of US' Cuba policy

“1-The majority of Cubans support Castro (the lowest estimate I have seen is 50 percent).

2-There is no effective political opposition

3-Fidel Castro and other members of the Cuban Government espouse or condone communist influence.

(...)

6-The only foreseeable means of alienating internal support is through disenchantment and disaffection based on economic dissatisfaction and hardship”

If the above are accepted or cannot be successfully countered, it follows that every possible means should be undertaken promptly to weaken the economic life of Cuba. If such a policy is adopted, it should be the result of a positive decision which would call forth a line of action which, while as adroit and inconspicuous as possible, makes the greatest inroads in denying money and supplies to Cuba, to decrease monetary and real wages, to bring about hunger, desperation and overthrow of government.”

Lester Mallory, US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs (April, 1960). *Memorandum to the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs (Secret)* <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v06/d499>

*Bay of Pigs (april 1961)

*Missil crisis (oct. 1962)

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¿Blockade?



London Naval Conference (1909)
Declaration Concerning the Law of
Maritime War: Blockade in Time of War.
Naval operation with the assistance of air
forces, by means of which a belligerent
totally prevents maritime traffic (...)
(Dictionary of International Law of Armed
Conflicts, 2016)

*Includes no land, assuming it goes
beyond borders; 0 war declared

Embargo

Retention or seizure of property by
court order, usually for debts
(Cuba)

No assistance...total embargo upon all
trade...no importation... (Title 22, § 2370, US
Code, 2020)

(...) Government order restricting trade with a
specific country or the exchange of specific
goods (...) (Liberto, 2022)

Order of a government prohibiting the
departure of commercial vessels from its ports
(...) a legal ban on trade (Merriam-Webster,
2022)

*Leaves out the extraterritorial

Coercive measure (CM): implemented by a State or group of States against foreign subjects, to modify behavior. Includes Security Council at UN

Unilateral coercive measures: CM from one State to the other
Examples: news, bills, international sanctions

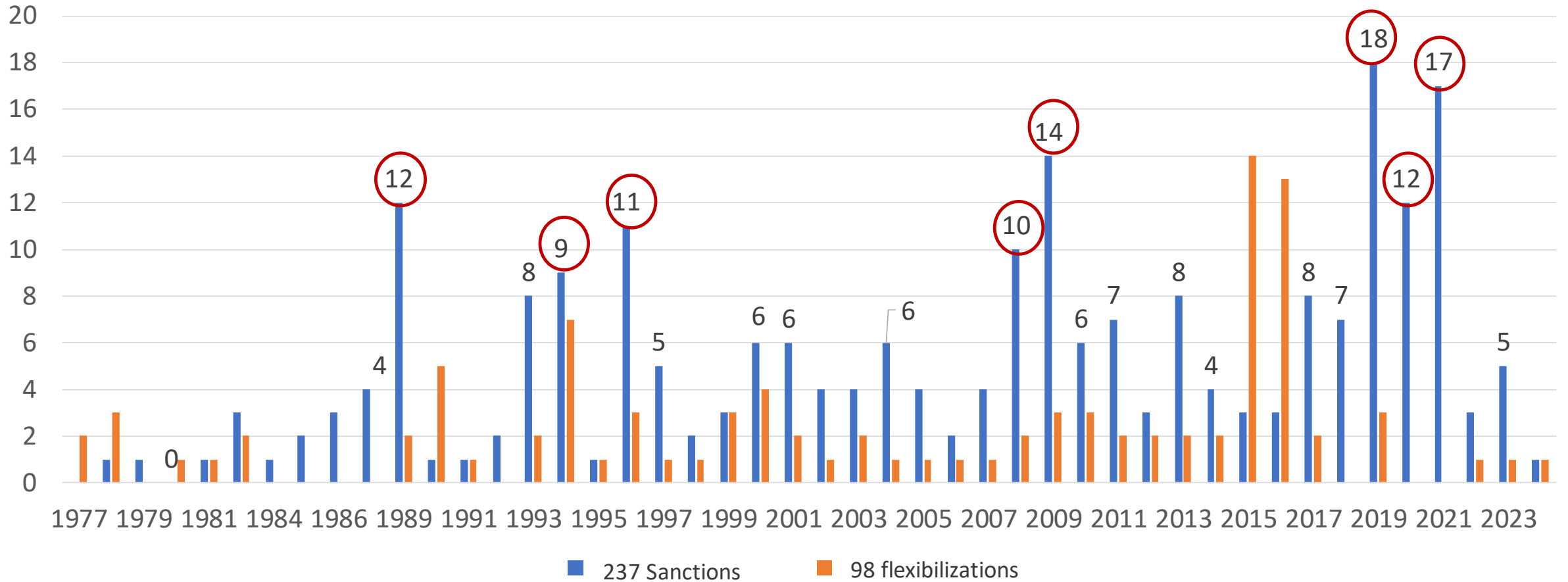


International sanctions (IS): CM contained in a legal norm

Unilateral International sanctions (UIS) contained in a legal norm, from one State to the other

Flexibilizations: any measure aimed at eliminating or limiting the scope and effects of a previous **UIS**. Same purposes of **UIS** (Iturriaga, Barrera, 2024).

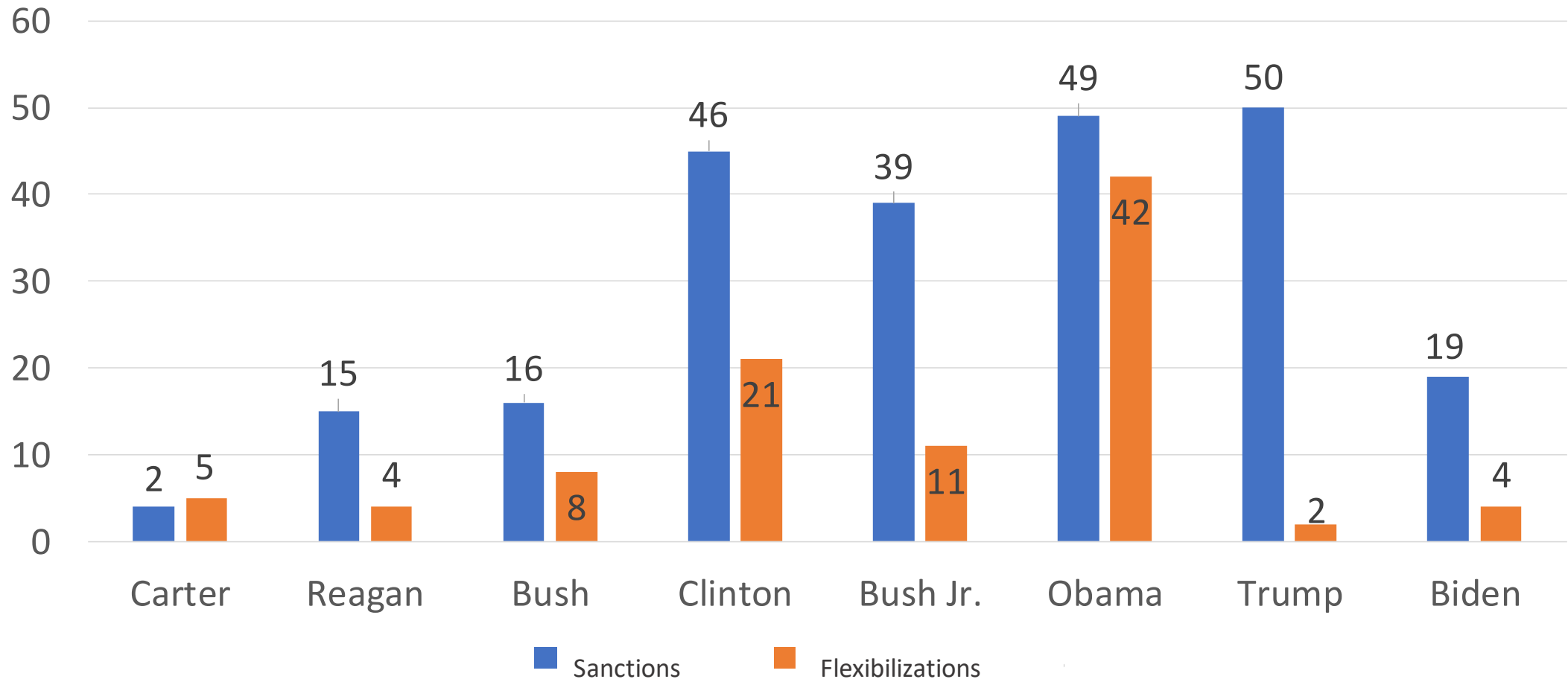
Sanctions and flexibilizations of U.S vs. Cuba (1977-jun 24)



* Except 2019, the sanctions peaks were around presidential elections

Source: Iturriaga (2024)

Sanctions and flexibilizations by presidents (1977- jun 2024)



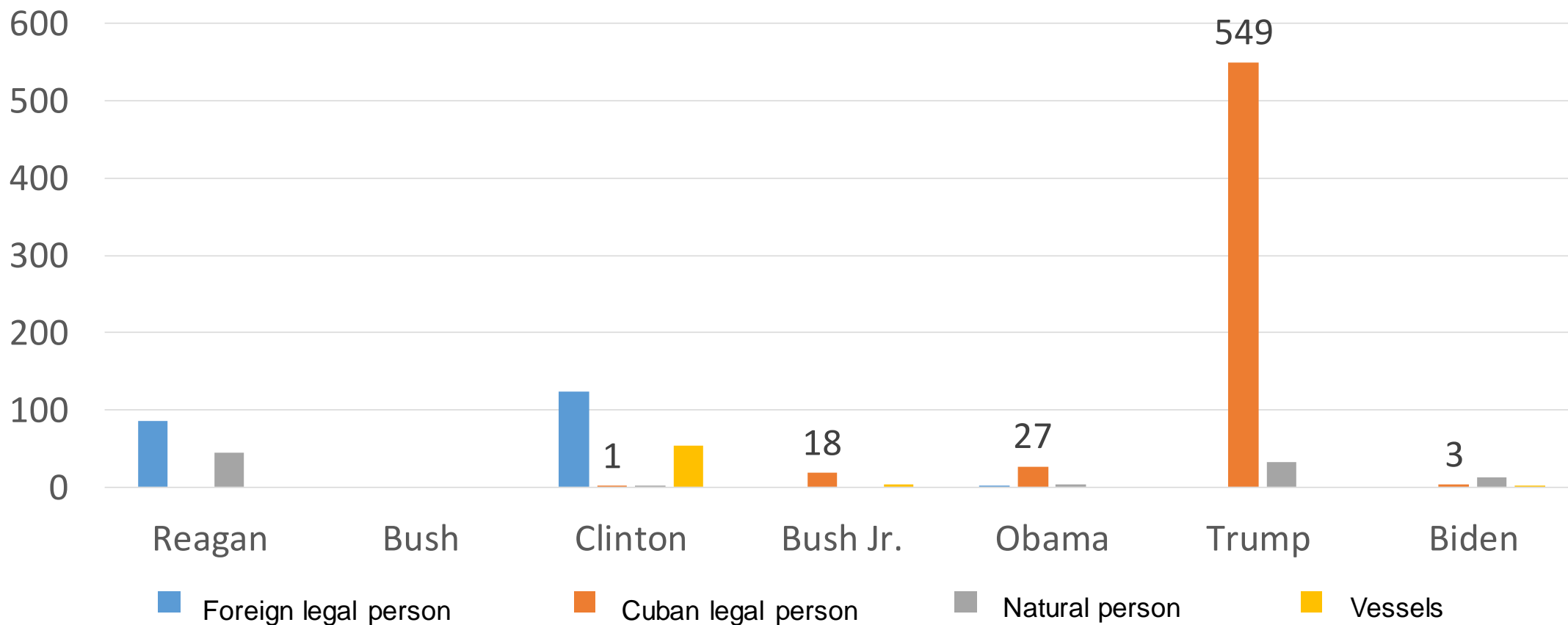
Source: Iturriaga (2024)

Sanctions for presidential cycles (1977-jun 2024)

Presidents	Sanctions	Extensions	%	Modified	%	News	%	Presidential cycle studied
Biden	20	10	50	8	42,1	2	10,5	20 jan 2021- jun 2024
Trump	50	15	30	33	66	2	4	20 jan 2017-20 jan 2021
Obama	49	27	55,1	20	40,8	2	4,1	20 jan 2009-20 jan 2017
Bush Jr.	39	20	51,3	17	43,6	2	5,1	20 jan 2001-20 jan 2009
Clinton	46	10	22,2	30	64,4	6	13,3	20 jan 1993-20 jan 2001
Bush	16	0	0	13	81,3	3	18,8	20 jan 1989-20 jan 1993
Reagan	15	1	6,7	11	73,3	3	20	20 jan 1981-20 jan 1989
Carter	2	1	50	1	50	0	0	20 jan 1977-20 jan 1981
Total	237	84	35,3	133	56,1	20	8,5	

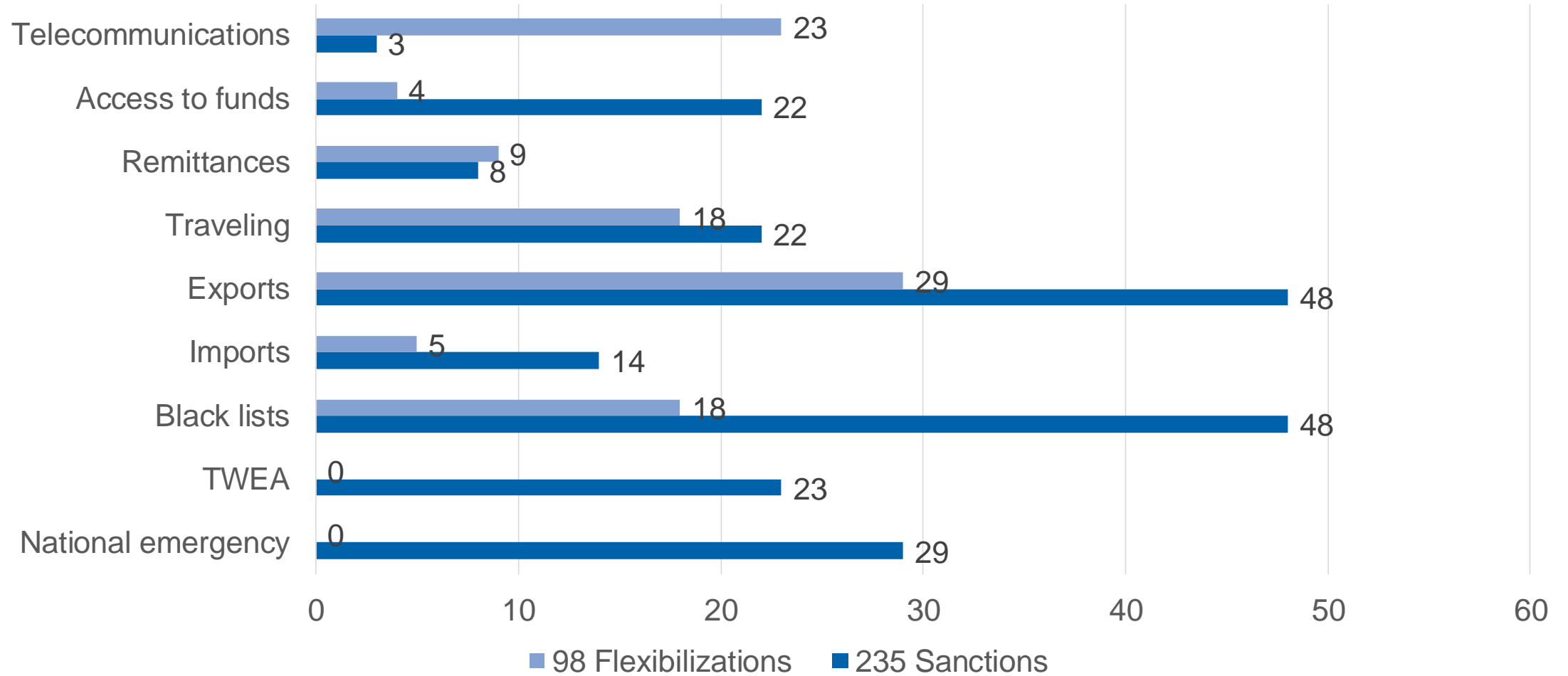
Source: Iturriaga and Barrera (2024) based on the sanctions identified in US Congress, GovInf and Federal Register

Blacklisted additions (1977-jun 2024)



Fuente: Iturriaga (2024) based on the sanctions identified in US Congress, GovInf and Federal Register

Central topics (1977-jun 2024)



Source: Barrera y Iturriaga based on the sanctions identified in US Congress, GovInf and Federal Register(1977-2024)

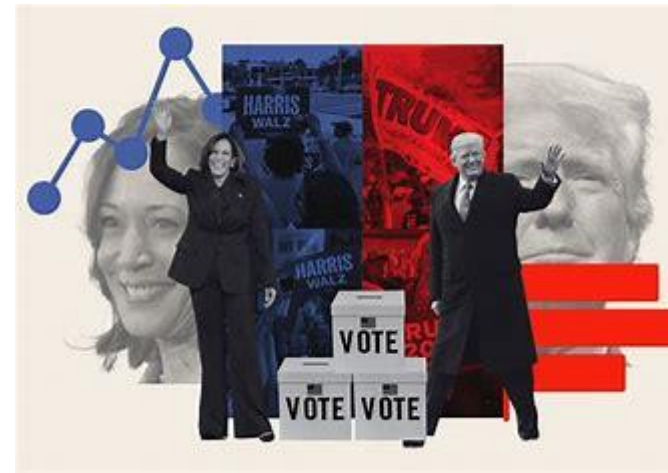
Conclusions

If **Trump** wins:

Same maximum pressure policy, pikes of sanctions expected, some flexibilizations, business directed

If **Kamala** wins:

Maintain sanctions system created by Trump, with some extensions and modifications, some flexibilizations, business directed



Some of our results (Team CEHSEU)

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