

Cuba Outlook

Raúl and Beyond

A Report of the CSIS Americas Program

AUTHOR
Peter DeShazo

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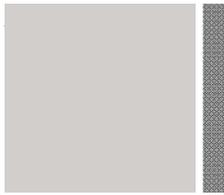
Center for Strategic and International Studies

1800 K Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006

Tel: (202) 775-3119

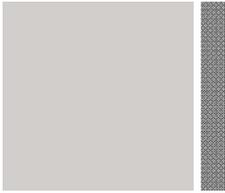
Fax: (202) 775-3199

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CONTENTS

Introduction	1	
Raúl Castro in Power	1	
The Cuban Economy	2	
The Armed Forces	4	
Cuban Society	5	
Foreign Policy	5	
Looking Ahead	7	
Implications for U.S. Policy	8	
Appendix. Outlook Series Agenda		10
About the Author	12	



CUBA OUTLOOK

RAÚL AND BEYOND

Peter DeShazo

Introduction

Nearly two decades after the end of the Cold War, Cuba remains a policy dilemma for the United States. The transition from Fidel Castro to his brother Raúl, which began when Raúl assumed the responsibilities of the presidency of the Council of State on July 31, 2006, as a result of Fidel's illness, is still ongoing after three years. Fidel remains alive—perhaps even to a point revived—but with very limited exercise of authority. Raúl has taken charge of government, but he must still contend with Fidel's legendary presence.

Expectations of change under Raúl Castro have been largely unmet; continuity remains the key theme of his regime. Meanwhile, the election of Barack Obama in the United States has resulted in a reexamination of U.S. policy toward Cuba, including some meaningful, however limited, first steps to reach out to the regime in Havana. The U.S.-Cuba bilateral relationship is likely to remain a work in progress well into the future.

On the eve of the 2008 elections in the United States, the CSIS Americas Program inaugurated a series of seven panel discussions on Cuba, entitled “Cuba Outlook: Raúl and Beyond,” to examine key variables regarding political, economic, and social realities in Cuba, as well as Cuba's foreign affairs, including relations with the United States. These programs, held at intervals of approximately six weeks, brought together leading academicians and other Cuba experts from the United States, Canada, and Europe to provide a timely and fresh look at the issues. (The list of panel discussions and speakers is included as an appendix on page 10.)

This report outlines conclusions reached from the seven panel discussions and implications for the future. Complete audio recordings of the sessions are available on the CSIS Web site at www.csis.org/americas. The report is intended as a point of reference for decisionmakers in and out of government who deal with Cuba.

Raúl Castro in Power

Since taking control of most of the levers of power in Cuba, Raúl Castro has moved to solidify his position by surrounding himself with trusted figures, many of them longstanding *raulistas* with a military background, such as his choice for first vice president of the Council of State, José Ramón

Machado. Raúl's government at the highest levels is a gerontocracy, with an average age of over 70, underscoring the theme of continuity and consensus on policy direction that characterizes the regime. His key support base remains the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR), Cuba's leading institution. Raúl seeks to extend his influence over the Communist Party, whose first secretary remains Fidel. Fidel's lingering presence behind the scenes represents a bad scenario for Raúl, whose hold on power will not be seen as complete until his brother is gone.

Raúl's goals are focused but limited in scope. He will attempt to address the considerable popular discontent over living conditions on the island by opening up the economy—but only to a modest degree, given his fear that broad-based economic reforms could be destabilizing. Yet, if no improvements are achieved, Cubans could demand political change, which Raúl has absolutely no intention of making. Rather, he will attempt to deal with very pressing issues such as food production, as well as housing and other economic and socioeconomic matters. He will demonstrate a certain amount of flexibility as required, but always with the goal of keeping the “Revolution” afloat and passing a more stable country along to his successor. Given his age (78) and reportedly poor health, Raúl is unlikely to seek to perpetuate himself in power beyond the limit of his term in 2013. His administration has the assets to crush any attempt to challenge his authority and will not tolerate public protest. At present, there are no indications of significant internecine conflict within the government, something Raúl will actively discourage. Unlike his flamboyant and disorganized brother, Raúl is an institution man who is focused on process and predictability and would like the government to work better.

Beyond the FAR and the Communist Party, the support base for the administration is relatively limited, with perhaps at maximum a quarter of the Cuban population politically committed to the system. The party itself has about 820,000 members, about 8 percent of the national population, and is currently recovering from the demoralization and neglect it suffered under Fidel Castro. It is an institution capable of mobilizing masses of people for given purposes but still not representative of mass-based needs or an expression of popular will. While it was expected that a Party Congress would be held toward the end of 2009, the event has reportedly been postponed with no date set to hold it. If Raúl wishes to accomplish a transition of the party to *raulismo* or revitalize it as a political force, it would have to come as a result of the Congress.

Aside from the Communist Party, there is no political expression with a national reach. Grassroots organizations exist that show signs of growing independence from the national government, but civil society is weak and, while it may register dissatisfaction with government policies, does not provide the basis for a mass movement and has no credible leadership. Cuban politics therefore retains a top-down structure run by a minority, but with very low levels of political opposition.

The Cuban Economy

Cuba's economy has gone through a tumultuous period since the end of Soviet subsidies and is currently experiencing another downturn. Loss of the subsidized sugar market with the collapse of

the USSR forced major changes in the direction of the economy, with the rise of nickel mining and tourism as the key components replacing sugar during the 1990s. Both sectors are currently trending downward, victims of the global economic slowdown, and the short-term outlook for the economy is pessimistic. Living standards in Cuba plummeted with the end of subsidies and have only gradually recovered, but they are still far from the levels reached when the Soviets were underwriting the Island's economy. Cuba is a net food importer, and manufacturing potential is limited due to high nonwage costs imposed by the government. Infrastructure is decrepit, especially electricity, water, sewage, and transportation. Austerity measures to save electricity and cut food subsidies are causing daily hardship for residents of the island. Hurricane damage in 2008 took a large toll on the economy. Lack of a free media is a major economic disincentive, and institutional secrecy inhibits reliable economic statistics.

There has been little liberalization of the economy, with only a small opening to private employment and limited reform in the agriculture sector under Raúl Castro, the 10-year renewable lease on agricultural land being the most important. The dual Cuban peso/Convertible peso currency regime is a large impediment to economic reform, and development and economic policymaking remains ad hoc. There are other major disincentives to enterprise: micro-businesses are tightly controlled, with little access to credit and highly taxed. The result is low product diversity, a large underground economy, widespread inefficiency, a low scale of production, wasted resources, contempt for law, and lack of innovation.

Agriculture is Cuba's most glaring economic weakness, with low food production a national security concern. Nutrition on the island is highly dependent on food imports, with the United States currently the largest agricultural trading partner, supplying about 33 percent of total imports compared with 5 percent for Canada.

The most promising sectors of the Cuban economy are medicines and biotechnology, medical services, energy, and tourism—especially if U.S. tourism returns to the island. Cuba is expected to move toward being a “knowledge economy” capable of exporting higher technology services and medical products. Venezuela currently provides some 100,000 barrels of oil a day to Cuba under the terms of an agreement by which Cuba pays only 25 percent of market value at the time of shipment, with a two-year grace period and a low interest on payment of the remainder. The government of Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez has also spent \$136 million to upgrade the Cienfuegos refinery. Although Cuba's domestic oil production has fallen, authorities claim that offshore oil reserves could reach 20 billion barrels, although extraction would require high technology and cost. There is already considerable interest on the part of foreign private and state-owned oil companies in investing in Cuba, and a likely scenario has Cuba producing 700,000 barrels per day by 2015.

In terms of international trade, Venezuela and China are Cuba's key partners, having displaced Spain, Canada, and the Netherlands in past years, although Venezuela's share is highly dependent on oil and is likely to shrink while China's will continue to grow. Net external financing has increased, along with official investment from Venezuela and China. Cuba uses the export of

services, above all doctors, nurses, and teachers, as an effective arm of its foreign policy, as well as a source of income to the state.

The Armed Forces

The FAR is the central institution of the Cuban state and will play an important role in any future political or economic transition on the island. The end of Soviet subsidies saw the FAR's budget eventually cut by 70 to 75 percent, with the number of regular troops trimmed to 50,000 to 60,000 from a peak of around 200,000. The loss of Soviet patronage also cut fuel supplies, weapons, intelligence sources, and replacement parts, but the FAR has adapted well and its prestige has not fallen. Recruitment levels are high; in fact, there are not enough places for those who wish to join because no one leaves the service given the access to food, housing, and economic benefits. Its smaller size notwithstanding, the FAR has been assigned more tasks, including counternarcotics, economic management, and social work.

The Cold War strategy of the "*guerra de todo el pueblo*" remains current doctrine, although the prospect of maintaining a massive reserve force that could be mobilized against a foreign (U.S.) invasion has become difficult due to the cutbacks that the FAR has suffered since the end of Soviet subsidies. The size of the reserves, as well as the quality of their training, has been reduced, something the regime is currently attempting to reverse, with 2009 being declared the "Year of Defense Preparation." Cuba has received an influx of foreign military assistance, although far below previous Soviet levels, with the Chinese the major suppliers of equipment. The FAR now stations more military attachés abroad and is particularly interested in reaching out to other Latin American militaries, Brazil above all.

The FAR enjoys high prestige in Cuban society and remains a prime conduit for upward social mobility, with 50 percent of officers required to be the children of peasants or workers and being particularly open to women. Corruption is a problem for the FAR at lower levels, where troops abuse their positions for small favors.

During the "special period" after the loss of Soviet subsidies, the FAR became Cuba's "go-to" institution in terms of problem solving. As a trusted and loyal organization, it was given control over the dollarized sectors of the economy, such as tourism, in part as a tactic to prevent the emergence of a private sector and to inject an element of organization and discipline into the state sector. Today, the FAR controls about 60 percent of the Cuban economy. A number of its officers have graduated from business schools in Europe, providing the institution with a leadership core with a sophisticated worldview. A generation of younger officers—currently in their late 40s and early 50s—now holds key regional commands. These officers, many of whom have had considerable economic experience but less contact with the Communist Party than more senior officers, will guide the FAR into a future that may see the end of the *guerra de todo el pueblo* strategy and its replacement by something as yet undetermined. These officers, as well as others in the FAR, admire the U.S. armed forces as highly competent and professional and see benefit in establishing closer cooperation with the United States.

Cuban Society

Many different currents exist within Cuba society that influence outlook toward the state and political and social behavior. While Cubans before the “special period” following the collapse of Soviet subsidies put more faith in the ability of the state to provide for citizens, confidence in the “system” has been steadily undermined since the 1990s, and there is a current trend toward distrust of the state and its authority. This is particularly true among younger generations of Cubans, both those who came of age during the special period and those who are now in their teens and early 20s. Cuban youth turn to music, dress, and materialism as a response to present life in Cuba, are largely apolitical, and increasingly seek to migrate from the island. Dissatisfaction with economic conditions, living standards, and prospects for future employment is widespread. Alcoholism is a grave problem in Cuba, and although the government maintains very severe punishments for narcotics use and trafficking, drugs could become a major problem in the future given Cuba’s location along international trafficking routes and the poverty and apathy that exist on the island. Older generations of Cubans are more supportive of the system, however. Cubans hunger for information, a desire only sharpened by Raúl’s very tentative steps to permit cell phones, and they look for creative means to break through the government’s tight regulation of the Internet. Considerable effort is made by citizens to operate around and outside government controls, with an increasing tolerance for illegal economic activity. Breaking the law has become acceptable—the famous *doble moral* by which citizens claim loyalty to the state and its rules but operate outside them.

Because there are no horizontal linkages within Cuban civil society that could produce a mass movement, social organization is fragmented along generational, religious, ethnic, and regional lines. Religious groups and organizations have become more prominent as people turn away from the state, including Christian churches, the *Santería* (Afro-Cuban) priesthood, and other spiritualist movements. Cuba’s traditional Masonic groups have also been revitalized. These organizations and movements provide social welfare services, outreach to alienated youth, and spiritual comfort to members but do not aspire to mobilize society. Unofficial racial discrimination in Cuba persists. While a large majority of Cubans are of African descent, the white minority controls most top leadership positions in government and the FAR, and the bulk of remittances from the United States goes to families of European-Cuban background, deepening the racial divide that exists. Certain regional areas of Cuba have a stronger tradition of both civil society and grassroots political organization. Guanabacoa, on the outskirts of Havana is one, reinforced by a strong Afro-Cuban cultural and ethnic identity. Another is Santiago de Cuba, where university students have staged many protests, some of them with tacit support from local Communist Youth.

Foreign Policy

Cuba’s foreign policy has evolved through a number of stages since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The 1990s was a period of diversification, at first with the establishment of stronger ties

with the European Union, Spain, and Canada to ensure the regime's economic survival. The consolidation of these relations was followed by the rise of new strategic alliances with China and then with Venezuela. The current trend is one of seeking stronger relations with Latin America, with a special interest in Brazil. The recent cabinet changes made by Raúl, above all the removal of Felipe Pérez Roque as foreign minister, signifies a shift away from a *fidelista* foreign policy based on the institutionalization of the Revolution and to a more pragmatic, less ideological approach that could take Cuba's foreign policy in a new direction. The overall orientation of policy has been to build coalitions with international allies to maximize bargaining power and reduce Cuba's dependency on any one source—a lesson from the days of the USSR.

Cuba's policy toward the Western Hemisphere remains the “inner circle” of its overall foreign relations. The regime enjoys disproportionate influence in the Americas, evidence of which has been the large number of visits to the island by hemispheric heads of state (eight since January 2009) and the recent step by the Organization of American States (OAS) to nullify the 1962 resolution suspending Cuba from membership. Brazil is a country of special interest and seen as a possible mediator for Cuba and a supporter of Cuban positions internationally. The close bilateral relationship with Venezuela is a product of the Fidel Castro–Hugo Chávez friendship and does not enjoy much popular support in Cuba—nor with Raúl. The energy relationship with Venezuela, nonetheless, is very important for Cuba, and the pragmatic Raúl has to put up with it. Cuba's widespread use of medical diplomacy and other soft power mechanisms has been quite successful in the Americas, particularly in the Caribbean.

The countries of the European Union—with Spain foremost—constitute an important circle of interest for Cuba. The European Union applies a common policy of “constructive engagement” with Cuba that includes development assistance and dialogue on human rights. Within the European Union, there are individual divergences in policy—the United Kingdom, for example, has not scheduled a ministerial visit to Cuba since 2005 due to Cuba's insistence on visitors not meeting with dissidents. The EU countries have little to show for their engagement, however, in terms of any policy shifts by Cuba regarding human rights or toleration of political dissent. Spain's relationship with Cuba has varied over time depending on the ideology of the government in power in Madrid, but it remains especially important to Cuba because of historic, cultural, and economic ties.

Canada is an important source of foreign investment and trade with Cuba and the largest source of tourists to the island. Like the European Union, Canada engages the Cuban government at all levels and provides development aid. While clearly disagreeing with Cuban human rights policies, Canada believes that its engagement could help foster bottom-up change in Cuba and looks for opportunities to support civil society to that end. Like Spain and Brazil, Canada could play a significant role as a mediator on Cuba-related issues in the future.

Relations with China are based on economic rather than cultural or historic ties. China is one of Cuba's two largest trade partners and an important source of foreign investment, but the

relationship lacks an ideological component or sense of China providing a model for Cuba's future development.

Looking Ahead

Cuba is currently fixed in a holding pattern. The transition from Fidel to Raúl Castro is still incomplete, given Fidel's lingering presence, which remains an impediment to Raúl's full exercise of power. While expectations for change ran high following Fidel's illness and Raúl's early attempts at economic reform, there is no indication that large-scale shifts in policy will be forthcoming on any key issues. Raúl has surrounded himself with old-guard loyalists and retains very tight control over the security apparatus of the state. The expected Congress of the Communist Party due to occur in 2009, which many predicted could be the motor of possible change, with Raúl supplanting Fidel as first secretary, appears to have been postponed with no date set. The FAR remains Cuba's leading institution and Raúl's key source of support but also a potential instrument of change, given the credibility it enjoys, its key economic function, and professionalism. Over the short term, however, there are scant prospects for meaningful political reform. Raúl may make adjustments to the system, to improve its efficiency or bring greater order to it, but he will take whatever steps are necessary to ensure the state's survival.

Prospects for the creation of a credible opposition to the government remain highly limited. Older generations of Cubans are either pro-regime or fearful that change could result in still further economic privation. Younger generations are the most highly dissatisfied with the regime but are apolitical or looking to migrate. Civil society in Cuba has no common agenda and does not provide a vehicle for protest against the regime. Change in Cuba, when and if it comes, is likely to be the product of a dynamic produced from within the key institutions such as the FAR, the Communist Party, or the government itself.

The state of the Cuban economy remains the greatest vulnerability of the regime. Raúl Castro's early reforms have been focused on enlarging food production, but these steps are insufficient in addressing the problem. Food security is a national security issue for Cuba and one that the administration must address or it risks greater popular discontent. Anger and resentment are growing due to the difficult economic times. This dissatisfaction does not necessarily translate into a desire to replace the system—rather for it to deliver a higher living standard. Raúl may wish to deliver on this goal, but there are many structural factors holding the economy back, and the prospect of major economic reform does not appear to be in the cards. That said, Cuba has survived other past crises and even widespread economic travail has not translated into political mobilization against the system.

Longer-term prospects for the economy are more promising, especially if production of offshore oil deposits can be brought online. Cuba has the potential to be an important provider of high-technology products and services, and the tourism sector should remain very attractive. While Raúl would like to lessen Cuba's dependence on Venezuela, the bilateral energy relationship with the Chávez government remains a key factor for Cuba.

Without doubt, Cuba's economic future would be much brighter if relations with the United States were normalized. Even with current limitations, the United States is Cuba's fifth-largest trade partner and the leading source of agricultural imports. Were restrictions to be lifted, Cuba's economy would receive an enormous lift from investment and trade with the United States, and the tourist industry could be expected to boom.

Cuba's foreign policy under Raúl Castro will hold to a nonideological and practical approach, aimed at strengthening economic and trade relations and defending its political interests in international organizations. Special attention will be paid to relations with Latin America and the Caribbean, Brazil especially, with a continuation of the present relationship with Europe and Canada. Relations with China will be important to Cuba for economic reasons, above all.

Certain sectors within the Cuban power structure, such as the FAR, as well as the Cuban people in general, seek a better relationship with the United States. In the past, the Cuban regime has very successfully used the U.S. economic embargo to divert attention from its own failures and as a pretext for maintaining repressive security policies. Economic sanctions have failed to produce meaningful results in promoting an improved environment on the island for human rights or democracy. On the contrary, the United States' carrot-and-stick approach has probably strengthened the perceived legitimacy of the regime, both in Cuba and in international circles. Nationalist sentiment that rejects outside interference in Cuban affairs remains very strong across the political spectrum on the island.

Nonetheless, there is a reserve of potential friendship for the United States among the Cuban people, who welcomed the election of Barack Obama in the hope that relations could be improved and the embargo lifted. A shift in position on Cuba by the United States would also be welcomed in Europe and Latin America, where there is no support for the embargo or for the U.S. past approach of seeking regime change on the island. On the other hand, there is broad acceptance that the European, Canadian, and Latin American positions of engagement with Cuba have also failed to generate improvements in human rights or a transition to democracy.

Implications for U.S. Policy

The likelihood that little substantive change will take place in Cuba over the short term (five years) poses a policy dilemma for the United States. Raúl Castro may be inclined to continue with modest economic reforms, or even be forced to amplify their scope if current dissatisfaction with living conditions broadens, but prospects for political change are highly unlikely. Given the ineffectiveness of the European and Canadian policies of constructive engagement in promoting political change in Cuba, a similar move by the United States toward engagement may also fail to produce positive results in terms of respect for human rights or movement toward democracy.

That notwithstanding, it may well be in the national interest of the United States to seek closer relations with Cuba—albeit under the current circumstances of an authoritarian regime resistant to change. Increased U.S. engagement, even in a limited number of areas, could produce a number of benefits and help set the scene for a smoother transition to democracy and a future

bond of friendship between the Cuban and American people. The U.S. trade embargo and other policies intended to produce regime change in Cuba have failed, and the continued deterioration of living conditions on the island is not in the interest of the United States for humanitarian or strategic purposes.

Instead, the United States should consider embarking on a policy that seeks considerably closer engagement with Cuba, with the understanding that the Raúl Castro regime will look on U.S. outreach with skepticism and ambiguity. For that reason, the United States should look for areas of potential cooperation that are attractive to the Cuban government, as well as mutually beneficial. One area of possible cooperation would be natural disaster management, working with the Cuban government and others in the region to improve planning for and response to hurricanes and other natural disasters, an area where a large array of U.S. government resources can be brought to bear. Technical cooperation on issues such as alternative energy and agriculture, both bilaterally and through the OAS's International Institute for Cooperation in Agriculture (IICA), is another avenue for possible engagement.

Efforts to promote closer people-to-people ties with Cuba would also be useful and could be accomplished through official U.S. public diplomacy such as invitations for visits of Cuban leaders to the United States under the International Visitor Program, granting Fulbright and other scholarships to Cubans, academic exchanges, cultural programs, and other efforts. Limitations on travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens—including tourists—should be relaxed.

U.S. outreach to Cuba aimed at improving the everyday lives of Cubans and modest confidence-building measures with the Cuban government can help set the stage for a more productive longer-term relationship. Eventually, Cuba will transition to a form of government more in keeping with the democratic model of the Americas, and the United States must underscore its commitment to supporting democracy on the Island. A reorientation of U.S. policy toward engagement with the Cuban people and government by no means implies losing sight of this goal—only a shift in approach toward reaching it.

Appendix. Outlook Series Agenda

Friday, October 17, 2008

Raúl in Power: What to Expect?

Juan del Aguila, *Associate Professor of Political Science, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia*

Antoni Kapcia, *Director, Centre for Research on Cuba, University of Nottingham, UK*

Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *Vice President for Democratic Governance, Inter-American Dialogue, Washington, D.C.*

Tuesday, December 2, 2008

Cuba's Economy: Prospects for Change

Terry L. Maris, *Executive Director, Center for Cuban Business Studies, Ohio Northern University, Ada, Ohio*

Emily Morris, *Senior Research Fellow, International Institute for the Study of Cuba, London, UK*

Archibald R.M. Ritter, *Distinguished Research Professor Emeritus, Department of Economics and Norman Patterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario*

Thursday, February 5, 2009

Cuba's Armed Forces

Hal Klepak, *Former Professor of History and Warfare Studies, Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston, Ontario*

George Lambie, *Coeditor, International Journal of Cuban Studies, and Visiting Professor, International Institute for the Study of Cuba, London, UK*

Frank Mora, *Professor of National Security Strategy, U.S. National War College, Washington, D.C.*

Friday, March 20, 2009

Cuba's Foreign Policy

H. Michael Erisman, *Professor of International Politics and Latin America, Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Indiana*

Susanne Gratius, *Senior Researcher, Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior, Madrid, Spain*

John M. Kirk, *Professor of Latin American Studies, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia*

Friday, May 8, 2009

Social Factors in Cuba

Katrin Hansing, *Associate Director, Cuban Research Institute, Florida International University, Miami, Florida*

Andy S. Gomez, *Assistant Provost and Senior Fellow, Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies, University of Miami, Florida*

Juan Antonio Blanco, *Researcher and Director of International Cooperation, Citizen Digital Facilitation, Ottawa, Ontario*

Friday, June 19, 2009

Grassroots Politics and Cuba's Communist Party

Margaret Crahan, *Distinguished Professor and Director, Kozmetsky Center of Excellence in Global Finance, St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas*

Daniel Erikson, *Author of The Cuba Wars, and Director of Caribbean Programs, Inter-American Dialogue, Washington, D.C.*

Silvia Pedraza, *Professor of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Thursday, July 23, 2009

Cuba: An International Perspective

Bruce Levy, *Minister-Counselor (Political), Head of the Political Section, Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C.*

Dianna Melrose, *Ambassador of the United Kingdom to Cuba, British Embassy, Havana*

Luc Véron, *Minister-Counselor (Political), Head of the Political and Development Section, Delegation of the European Commission, Washington, D.C.*

About the Author

Peter DeShazo is director of the Americas Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, D.C. Before joining CSIS in 2004, he was member of the career U.S. senior foreign service, serving as deputy assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs and deputy U.S. permanent representative to the Organization of American States. During his foreign service career, DeShazo directed the Office of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs in the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs at the State Department and was director of Western Hemispheric affairs at the U.S. Information Agency. He served in U.S. embassies and consulates in La Paz, Medellín, Santiago, Panama City, Caracas, and Tel Aviv.

DeShazo received a B.A. from Dartmouth College and a Ph.D. in Latin American history from the University of Wisconsin at Madison, with postgraduate study at the Universidad Católica de Chile. He is the author of *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902–1927* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1983) and articles in academic and foreign affairs journals. Himself a former Fulbright scholar, DeShazo was president of the U.S.-Chile Fulbright Commission. He is currently a professorial lecturer in the Latin American Studies Program at the Johns Hopkins University School for Advanced International Studies, where he teaches a course on the Andean region. He is frequently interviewed by leading U.S. and international media on topics related to the Americas and U.S. foreign policy in the Western Hemisphere.