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Book reviews

The confrontation between hegemony and sovereignty: two hundred years of grudges between the United States and Cuba

----Comments on "A Historical Outline of Relations between the United States and Cuba"

Wei Hongxia*

On August 14, 2015, at the flag-raising ceremony for the reopening of the U.S. Embassy in Havana, Cuba,

Richard, the Cuban-American poet who read his poems at President Obama's second inauguration

Richard Blanco recited his poem "The Question of the Sea" (English title

"Matters of the Sea" (Spanish title "Cosas del Mar"), as a Cuban in exile in the United States

As a descendant of his mother's descendants, Blanco went to Cuba as a representative when the ice broke out in U.S.-Cuba relations - his mother's ancestral

country----a moment of witnessing and participating in history. Before going to Cuba, he said in an interview, "We belong together

"Because of the sea between us." "The distance between the two countries is 90 miles, maybe 9,000 miles."

"Miles"ÿBlanco 's poems and his emotions, studied with Xu Shicheng, member of the Honorary Division of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

The historical context of U.S.-Cuba relations discussed in the researcher's new book "An Outline of the History of Relations between the United States and Cuba" coincides with the same

It expresses to the world the 200 years of grudges and resentments between the United States and Cuba. «Outline of the History of Relations between the United States and Cuba»

The tortuous course of the confrontation between Cuban sovereignty and U.S. hegemony is sorted out from a deep and comprehensive perspective.

1. U.S. policy toward Cuba before 1961: Seeking a balance of interests between control and autonomy

Since the third president Thomas Jefferson, American expansionists have been coveting Cuba.

Only "apple". However, due to the weak national strength at that time, facing the power of the British Empire, and the threat to Spain Fearing France and France, the United States has been vacillating on how to annex Cuba. ÿ 1823

⁹ Wei Hongxia, researcher at the Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. This anticle is part of the National Social Science Foundation project "American Social Transformation and Diplomacy. Research results of "Policy Adjustment (1886-1916)" (No.: 17BSS030).

Research results of Policy Aujustment (1666-1916) (No.. 17635030).

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In April 2016, John Quincy Adams, the sixth president of the United States, launched the famous "ripe fruit policy": "Physics has a law of gravity, and so does politics. If an apple is ripe and forced to leave the tree, would fall to the ground, and Cuba would be forced to break away from its unnatural connection with Spain, unable to stand on its own feet, and could only be attracted to the North American Union, which, by the same law, could not push it out of its arms."ÿ

However, with the changes in the international situation and the changes in the domestic situation of the United States and Cuba, the "apple" of Cuba did not fall into the pocket of the United States after independence at the end of the 19th century, and the United States was not able to take annexation measures to obtain Cuba's sovereignty.

(1) The Cuban people's awareness of

independence In order to get rid of Spanish colonial rule and strive for independence, the Cuban people fought two independence wars in the second half of the 19th century. The first independence war, also known as the "Ten Years War", took place in 1868- Between 1878 and 1878, the result of this war was that the black general Antonio Maceo, the commander of the rebel army in Oriente Province, faced Arsenio Martinez Campos), the commander-in-chief of the Spanish army stationed in Cuba by Spain, the sovereign country. Arsenio Martinez Campos), refused to accept a peace plan without independence and without the abolition of slavery, and has since formed a symbol of the uncompromising nature of the Cuban revolutionaries, and united the different races of Cuba to fight for Cuba's independence. 1895-1898 During the Second War of Independence in 2000, Jose Julian Marti, the leader of the Cuban independence movement and known as the Cuban national hero, was well aware of the policy objectives of the United States towards Latin America. For example, in October 1889, the United States Washington held the first Conference of American States. Soon after, Marty issued a document profoundly revealing the purpose of the conference: "The United States, a powerful country, is filled with products that cannot be sold, and it is determined to expand its rule in the Americas." "A The powerful and ambitious neighboring country is constantly pursuing its long-standing and blatant hegemonic policy." ÿMartí pointed out sharply and timely that the United States wanted to intervene in the Cuban War of Independence in order to achieve the purpose of occupying Cuba.

(2) After the United States opportunistically intervened in Cuba's War of

Independence, Maceo and another general Gomez continued to lead the rebel army to fight against the Spanish colonial army. By the end of 1897, the rebel army had liberated the country 2/ In the land of 3, just when the Spanish colonial rule was crumbling, a letter written by the Spanish Minister to the United States, Dupu de Lome, which ridiculed U.S. President McKinley, was published by American newspapers. This matter was widely publicized by the media. The exaggeration aroused public indignation among the American people. At the same time, the description of Cuba at that time by some American politicians was also exaggerated by the media as Spanish independence.

Pageh 22/jejig: "An Outline of the History of Relations between the United States and Cuba" Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2021, Page 20,

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In the atmosphere of overwhelming public opinion against Spain, the USS Maine warship sent by the United States to Cuba exploded. Many Americans believed that Spanish troops sank the USS Maine. These two incidents The combination of events caused anti-Spanish sentiment in the United States to rise, and war fever swept the country. People from top to bottom in the United States were calling for war. "Don't forget 'Maine'" even became a revenge slogan across the United States. Congress unanimously passed 50 million U.S. dollars in arms allocation. However, Spain rejected U.S. President McKinley's proposal.

The permanent and peaceful armistice agreement directly stimulated the U.S. Congress. The conflict between the United States and Spain was ultimately inevitable.

In fact, the Spanish-American War allowed "the United States to intervene opportunistically in Cuba's War of Independence"ÿ, integrating the Cuban War of Independence into the long history of the Spanish-American imperialist war. For more than a century, this common history has been reflected in the respective conflicts of the United States and Cuba. In the narrative, and even in the narrative of the entire world history, the role of the United States in Cuba's independence has always been full of disagreements. American politicians and historians tend to regard the United States as The intervention of the United States in 1898 was regarded as a manifestation of the benevolence and strength of the United Statesÿ, saying that the United States united to support the independence cause of a neighboring country and declared war for it. In this version of history, Cuban independence was a gift from the Americans, so the Cubans They owe them a debt of gratitude. However, in Cuba, the 1898 War represents a completely different meaning: more of a theft than a gift. For example, the Cuban historian Eloy Gedluchi Forest believes that "the Cuban people They won their independence by relying on their own strength." "Cuba's independence was not won by the United States, but by the efforts of its people." ÿ Some American historians also admit that in 1898, the United States almost lost control of the Cubans in a war . At the end of the victorious war, it invaded Cuba on a large scale, declared victory, and began to rule Cuba as a de facto colonial power. ÿThe Spanish-American War was transformed from "a war of freedom to support Cuba into a war to seize important colonies from Spain"ÿÿ

(3) From occupation to control, the

flames of war ignited by the Cuban Independence Revolution eventually turned into a war between the United States and Spain. The United States attempted to naturally possess the "ripe fruit" of Cuba. Therefore, the Cuban uprising, which fought bloody battles for independence, was The military was excluded. On July 16, 1898, after Spain announced its unconditional surrender, the United States took the following steps and methods to deal with the fruits of victory of the Cuban people's 30-year struggle for independence: First, the Cuban rebel army was not allowed to

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ÿ [US] Written by Ellen Brinkley, translated by Shao Xudong: "History of the United States", Haikou: Hainan Publishing House, 2009, page 597

ÿ Daniel Reyÿ "Cuba: An American History Review" ÿ November 19ÿ 2021 https: / / nacla org / cube - america n - history - review [2022 - 02 - 11] [US]
Written by Ellen Brinkley, translated by Shao Xudong: «United

ÿ States History » Haikou: Hainan Publishing House, 2009, pp. 584-589, p. 597, "Prologue: There and Here" ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿ Lu Qishen's book: "History of Cuba's Independence", New Knowledge on Life and Reading, Sanlian Bookstore, 1971,

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Page 88. Quoted from Xu Shicheng: "Historical Outline of Relations between the United States and Cuba", Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2021, Page 41.

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The commander participated in Spain's surrender ceremony and did not even allow the rebels to enter Santiago. Secondly, without the participation of Cuba, an armistice agreement was signed with Spain, which stipulated that Spain gave up any claim to the sovereignty and ownership of Cuba. Thirdly, it excluded Cuba signed the Treaty of Paris alone with Spain. ÿ The signing of the Peace Treaty of Paris meant the end of the Spanish-American War, and also meant that Cuba's independence goal was frustrated. According to the peace treaty, starting from January 1, 1899, the United States began to Cuba carried out military occupation and appointed an American as the governor of Cuba, making Cuba a new colony of the United States. Obviously, the occupation of Cuba by the United States, a new power in the Western Hemisphere, has distinctive "neo-colonialism" characteristics. First, the United States controls the sovereignty of Cuba. However, it did not directly annex Cuba to become a territory of the United States. Instead, it followed the old colonial system and stationed or appointed agents of the U.S. government to control the new Cuba. Secondly, the governance of post-war Cuba was full of power, full of self-interest and deception. ÿ During the 30 years of Cuba's struggle for independence, the United States completed the Industrial Revolution. New science and technology, new forms of business management, and population growth promoted the rapid development of U.S. industry, making the United States quickly rank first among the world's industrial powers. On the one hand, the market and resource anxiety accompanying rapid development has prompted the United States to search for and seize new territories and markets. On the other hand, the economic achievements brought about by industrialization have made the United States believe that it is already standing at the starting point of a great country. As a result, Americans' view of themselves and their role in the world has also changed. The new sense of power has made Americans eager to realize their long-standing ambitions, viewing the United States as the "civilized" highland in the world, and believing that It has the obligation to spread its civilization to backward countries. ÿ The influential Congressman Henry Lodge and others at the time believed that Americans were a superior race and were destined to take on the "white man's burden" and civilize the barbaric and backward world. Economic Expansion also means bringing the best parts of the "American spirit" abroad. Based on such ideals, perceptions, and interest assessments, the United States "governed" post-war Cuba through military occupation and allround absolute control, and used commercial investment to Controlling Cuba's economic lifeline through expansion, forcibly adding the "Platt Amendment" passed by the U.S. Congress to the Cuban Constitution in the name of constitution-making, and finally designing and directing the "independence" of the Cuban Republic, fostering a pro-American dictatorship. It can It is said that this state of absolute control lasted until th

2. From tolerance to pressure: the historical prelude to the confrontation between the United States and Cuba

At the beginning of the establishment of Castro's new government, there was no direct confrontation between the United States and Cuba. Research by Xu Shicheng

ÿ Written by Xu Shicheng: «Historical Outline of Relations between the United States and Cuba»,

ÿ Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2021, page 34. Wang Xiaode, written: «American

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 Culture and Diplomacy», Beijing: World Knowledge Press, 2000, page 287 ÿ Thomas G Paterson nneth J Hagan ry to

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In the "Historical Outline of Relations between the United States and Cuba", researchers sorted out the changes in the United States' understanding and attitude towards Castro after his visit to the United States, Cuba's own reforms, and the impact of the international situation at the time, and other factors, uncovering the story of U.S. hegemony. The true historical face of the confrontation with Cuba's sovereignty $\bar{y}\bar{y}$

(1) The United States' initial test and changes in perception of Castro and his

government. After the establishment of Castro's new government, the United States believed that it could continue to control Cuba. Therefore, the Eisenhower government recognized the new government and quickly sent a new ambassador. Philip W Bonsal (Philip W Bonsal) Bonsal advocated a policy of patience and tolerance towards the Castro government. His opinions were written by Eisenhower to British Prime Minister Maurice Harold Macmillan (Maurice Haro). Id Macmillan) The letter was confirmed: "Since Castro took over Cuba a year and a half ago, our policy towards Cuba can be roughly divided into three phases. The first phase may be called the testing phase."ÿ

At the same time, Castro continued to refute the U.S. government in public. From April 15 to 27, 1959, Castro showed his independence during his visit to the United States, which made Americans doubtful and began to doubt Castro. Tero had "very naive ideas" about communism. "But he has the leadership skills I mentioned. We have no choice but to at least try to guide him in the right direction." ÿ However, at the end of the half-year test period Later, Castro obviously failed to pass the test of the United States. (2) Castro touched all the interests of the United

States. After the establishment of the Castro revolutionary

government, it adopted a series of land reform and nationalization measures, confiscated the U.S. The company's land was nationalized, and U.S.-owned companies were nationalized, and the company took a tough stance in negotiating interests with the United States. It can be said that the Castro government's reform measures endangered the United States' all-round interests in Cuba.

(3) The United States is worried that Castro and the Cuba he leads will become a "role model." The

victory of the revolution and the policies adopted by the Castro government are not only important for the progressive forces in Latin America and the world to strive for complete liberation and resolutely safeguard national sovereignty. It was an encouragement and became an example of resistance to the old and new colonialism of the United States and Europe. From the perspective of the United States, this was a very bad example. Moreover, in the context of the Cold War at that time, the U.S. intelligence agencies gradually concluded that the U.S. leaders were doubly Unsettling conclusion: "Custer

ÿ Press, 2021, pp. 75-95 "Letter from Present Present E" isenhower to Prime Minister MacmillanNewpo yyy yhode yyyyyyyyyyy

ÿ Xu Shicheng: "An Outline of the History of Relations between the United States and Cuba" Beijing: China Social Sciences

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After Castro came to power, communism has penetrated into the Western Hemisphere." ŷ In the view of U.S. President Eisenhower, "Castro was different from other neutralist leaders. He fully integrated the Communists into his regime and revolutionized the existing social order. He started a hasty revolution and was more internationalist than the usual type of nationalists worshiped by the Communist Party, spreading his revolution to surrounding countries." ŷ (4) Cuba was dragged into the quagmire of the Cold War. In early 1960, the United

States Relations with Cuba began to deteriorate. In

February of the same year, Mikoyan, then the First Vice Chairman of the Soviet Union, visited Cuba. The Soviet Union and Cuba signed a trade agreement and restored diplomatic relations. The Soviet Union's intervention undoubtedly deepened the United States' suspicion of the Castro regime. March 1960 On September 17, President Eisenhower signed the "A Program of Covert Action Against Castro" (A Program of Covert Action Against Castro's Regime). (the Castro Regime), completely giving up its policy of patience and tolerance towards Cuba. Subsequently, the United States stopped its sanctions against Cuba. All economic assistance was provided, and an embargo policy was imposed on Cuba. On January 3, 1961, at the climax of the deterioration in relations between the United States and the Castro government, President Eisenhower closed the U.S. Embassy in Havana and cut off communications with Cuba. Diplomatic relations. This action showed that U.S. officials were worried that the Castro regime was a beachhead for communism in the Western Hemisphere, and that the United States states was prepared to take extreme measures to oppose the Castro regime. Cuba, isolated in the Western Hemisphere, was being dragged into the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. quagmire, and was once placed in the most dangerous position.

U.S.-Cuba relations have since fallen into the trap of "invasion and counter-invasion," "overthrow and counter-overthrow," "assassination and counter-assassination." In the confrontational state of "blockade and anti-blockade".

The Three Seas Problem: The American Trade Blockade and the Smuggling of Cubans

The closest distance between the United States and Cuba is only 90 miles of sea. The United States and Cuba have severed relations to this day. This sea so close to the territory of the United States is not only a "choking place" for the United States to exercise its hegemonic blockade to suppress Cuba, but also a place for Cuba to safeguard its sovereignty, independence, and counterattack. It is the "window" passage to control the United States. It has not only witnessed the battles between major powers that brought the world to the brink of crisis, but also the tragedy of the Cuban people's continuous immigration.

(1) The U.S. embargo against Cuba is the most enduring trade embargo in modern history. The U.S.

trade embargo against Cuba is not only based on the country's early existing laws, such as the Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917 and the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. » And several important laws have been formulated specifically for Cuba, such as the 1963 "Cuban Assets Control Regulations", the 1992 "Torricelli Act"ÿ, the 1996

ÿ Also known as the "Cuban Democracy Act"

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The Helms-Burton Actÿ and the Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement Act of 2000, including the Torricelli Act of 1992 and the Helms-Burton Act of 1996 The Torricelli Act is an applicable legal tool used by the United States to continue to strengthen sanctions against Cuba after the Cold War. Researcher Xu Shicheng pointed out in the "History of Relations between the United States and Cuba" that the "Torricelli Act" mainly strengthens the trade embargo and The economic blockade strangled Cuba economically and thereby brought down the Castro regime. This U.S. law prohibits subsidiaries of U.S. companies located in third countries from doing business with Cuba and prohibits any ships from entering Cuban ports for six months. Enter U.S. ports and impose sanctions on any country that provides economic assistance and conducts trade with Cuba. The Helms-Burton Act was signed by Clinton and is a continuation of the U.S. policy of "pressure to promote change" against Cuba. This law Extend the scope of companies prohibited from doing business with Cuba to third countries, deny visas to the United States to foreign companies that purchase or lease U.S. businesses and properties confiscated by Cuba, and require Cuba to compensate those confiscated since the victory of the revolution in 1959 and later joined the businesses and properties of Cubans with U.S. citizenship. This law actually prohibits the influx of foreign capital into Cuba, further strengthening sanctions against Cuba. Both bills have extraterritorial nature, which not only caused strong protests from Cuba, but also caused international concern. There was a strong reaction from the society. Castro made a sharp revelation about the "Torricelli Act": "The Bush administration of the United States has increasingly strengthened its blockade of Cuba and planned new anti-Cuba measures, even at the expense of harming the interests of third countries. Sovereignty." ÿ In response to the Helms-Burton Act, the National People's Congress of Cuba passed a boycott law, the "Reaffirmation of Dignity and Sovereignty Act." In 1999 and 2000, Cuban mass groups also launched counter-suits against the United States. action to demand that the United States compensate the Cuban people for the life, property and economic losses caused by its hostile activities over the past 40 years by filing legal proceedings.

Despite the embargo, Cuba's international trade with many countries, including many U.S. allies, has not been completely prohibited. After the Helms-Burton Act was enacted, Canada, Mexico and the European Union strongly opposed it and even proposed ÿ For example, there are many companies in Europe headquartered in Cuba and companies doing business with the United States that still risk being sanctioned by the United States. ÿ

Whether in the United States or in other countries and regions, the U.S. embargo against Cuba has been severely criticized and opposed. William M. Leo Grande, a famous American expert on Latin America, pointed out that the embargo against Cuba is Implemented more than half a century ago as "the oldest and most comprehensive system of U.S. economic sanctions against any country in the world," the blockade has never been effective in forcing Cuba to reform.

ÿ ÿÿ Xu Shicheng: "An Outline of the History of Relations between the United States and Cuba", Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2021, Page 177 ÿ ÿPage 178ÿ Pages 196-197ÿ

ÿ Also known as the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1996 (The Cuba Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act) ÿÿÿÿÿ Act)

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"The main purpose is to remove the communist regime from power or make it succumb to Washington's will." ÿ Despite facing criticism and opposition at home and abroad, except for a brief relaxation in food and medicine due to humanitarian pressure, the U.S. government's ban on Cuba has There have never been significant changes in trade sanctions. On October 10, 2006, the United States announced the establishment of a task force to more strictly pursue violations of the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba and impose severe penalties on violators. However, the United States The United States has been the only major country to impose such a blockade on Cuba. Cuba is still able to receive tourists and trade from other countries, making the U.S. blockade appear both illegal and pointless internationally.

(2) Inevitable cross-sea smuggling. Due to

the close distance between the two countries, Cubans at different times immigrated to the United States for different reasons (either instigated by the United States or for economic reasons) in more than half a century, triggering multiple emigrations. The refugee crisis has also seen many tragedies of people dying at sea.

After the breakdown of relations between the two countries, the United States extended visa exemptions for Cuban escapees. Upon arrival on U.S. soil, Cubans could claim that they were fleeing communist oppression, apply for parole, and obtain refugee status. The Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 Commercial travel between the two countries was interrupted, and the number of clandestine immigrants increased accordingly. According to American sources, approximately 6,700 "balseros" (balseros) arrived in Florida, USA, between 1962 and 1965. ÿ October 10, 1965 ÿ The Cuban government opened the port of Camarilloca in northern Matanzas, allowing people to leave Cuba without U.S. authorization. This policy of the Cuban government led to the first wave of Cuban immigration to the United States, making the United States The largest and longest refugee resettlement plan in history had to be formulated. From December 1, 1965 to April 6, 1973, many diplomatic negotiations were conducted between Washington and Havana. A boarding bridge was built between Miami and Miami. This is the so-called "Free Flight" program. This program allows more Cuban blue-collar workers and service personnel to enter the United States. Miami and Florida in the United States are their first destinations.

The United States has been inciting and encouraging Cubans to flee Cuba under the Castro government. This not only brought a lot of impact to the American society itself, but also created a "refugee crisis" in other Latin American countries where Cubans were stranded. In early April 1980, By the end of September, under the instigation of the United States, 1.25 million people had fled to Cuba to the United States and other Latin American countries. The U.S. refugee policy was full of loopholes, which made Castro

The Romanian government found room for counterattack. For example, in 1980 Castro announced, "Those who do not have revolutionary genes, those who do not have revolutionary blood, we do not want them, we do not need them."ÿ Castro allowed those who Cubans who wanted to leave Cuba were free to leave, and the port of Mariel near Havana was opened, allowing Cuban expatriates in the United States to come to this port to pick up their relatives. At one time, hundreds of ships were passing by. On the short sea between the United States and Cuba, this is the famous "Mariel Port Escape Incident" in the Cuban-American immigration issue. This incident forced the United States to change its attitude of "welcoming immigrants fleeing Cuba" and It adjusted its policies, negotiated with Cuba, and reached an immigration agreement in 1984 that neither side ever seriously implemented.

After the 1980s, economic factors triggered immigration more than ideological factors. Cubans became increasingly like labor immigrants from countries such as Mexico or the Dominican Republic, who went through all kinds of hardships to reach the United States out of the desire to improve their living standards. ÿ These immigrants mainly arrived in the United States through the Florida Strait. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Cuban economy experienced a particularly difficult period. More Cubans smuggled into the United States. The United States' policy towards Cuba is full of contradictions and entanglements. On the one hand, it restricts people from Cuba in policy. immigration, on the other hand, propaganda continues to instigate Cubans to flee. Since the channels for obtaining normal visas are no longer smooth, some Cubans try to float to the United States' attempt to use the immigration issue to slander Cuba, incite civil strife in Cuba, and find excuses for military intervention in Cuba. On the other hand, it complied with the policy thinking of the United States. The number of various types of rafts increased rapidly. In August 1994, the number of Cuban immigrants arriving in the United States on homemade rafts even set a new record after the Mariel Port incident. This is the so-called "raft wave" incident.ÿ

In response to the flow of Cuban refugees, the United States has continuously adjusted its landing and naturalization policies for Cuban refugees. For example, the Clinton administration implemented the "wet feet, dry feet" policy, which intercepted and repatriated Cubans on boats and rafts without visas at sea. Once smuggled Cubans set foot on U.S. soil, they can be admitted immediately. This in turn stimulates Cubans' desire to immigrate to the United States, because Cubans are worried that the U.S.'s favorable policies toward them will change at any time. Many people even travel through South and Central America. They arrived in the United States after a long and arduous journey by land. This situation has never been experienced in several countries that have never experienced handling such a large number of immigrants in transit.

ÿ For details, see Xu Shicheng: «History of Relations between the United States and Cuba», Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2021, pp. 190-192. See also Jorge Duanyÿ "Cuban Mig" Ration: A Postrevolution Exodus Ebbs and Flows" ÿJuly 6ÿ 2017 https:// www migration policy org / artifact / cuba n - migration - postrevolution - exodus - ebbs - and - flows [2022-01-15]

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triggered a crisis in Central and South American countries. In 2015, thousands of people were stranded in Costa Rica for weeks after Nicaragua closed its borders. The accumulation of various troubles and crises for immigrants from Cuba led to the Obama administration's crisis in 2015, towards the end of its term. Announcing the end of the "wet feet, dry feet" policy. From now on, Cubans who enter U.S. land ports of entry without authorization will no longer enjoy immigration privileges in the United States.ÿ

Throughout the history of immigration in the United States, due to the long-term separation of relations between the United States and Cuba, especially the many political factors involved, many Cubans took greater risks when trying to leave their country. They lived in simple conditions. Crossing 90 miles of sea, you are always facing the threat of drowning or being attacked by sharks. In fact, many people died during this short journey. However, the threats of nature cannot withstand the economic motivation and the motivation of immigrant families to reunite. Political barriers have never been able to stop Cubans from arriving in the United States, nor have they been able to stop Cubans in the United States from missing their homeland. In fact, during more than half a century of isolation, this flow of immigration has brought great harm to both countries. It has brought about a certain social security crisis in the country. Therefore, despite the severance of diplomatic relations, there has always been a channel for negotiation and negotiation between the Cuban government and the US government on the immigration issue. The United States has impure motives on the issue of Cuban immigration. It is full of loopholes, creating opportunities for Cuba to safeguard its sovereignty and self-esteem and counter U.S. hegemony.

4. Breaking the ice, the road is long and difficult

In the decades after the victory of the Cuban Revolution, successive U.S. governments have been trying to overthrow the Castro regime through various means such as military deterrence, political isolation, economic blockade, and encouraging immigrants to flee. After entering the 21st century, with the international situation and changes in their respective domestic factors, U.S.-Cuba relations are showing signs of loosening.

(1) Breaking the Ice In May

2002 and March 2011, former U.S. President Carter visited Cuba twice in a private capacity. It was considered that the ice in U.S.-Cuba relations was beginning to loosen. Carter's visit was nominally a private visit, but It has been "endorsed" by the U.S. government. At the same time, some business interest groups in the United States have also been paying attention to Cuba's market opportunities. From Cuba's perspective, the update of its socialist economic model also requires a loose and favorable international environment. Only by improving Cuba-U.S. relations can Only by urging the United States to lift the blockade and normalize relations between the two countries can we improve Cuba's survival and development conditions and ensure the smooth progress of the update of the Cuban model.

ÿ In 1966, the U.S. Congress passed the "Cuban Adjustment Act". According to this act, Cuban citizens who are allowed to enter the United States are eligible to obtain permanent residency one year and one day after entry. Cubans are the only people with this accelerated acquisition of legal status. This measure aimed at granting legal status to Cuban refugees living in the United States without legal permanent residence. From then on, most Cubans who arrived in the United States were allowed to stay. They were also eligible for various federal Government assistance, such as health and education benefits, whereas other legal immigrants must have five years of U.S. residency to receive these rights.

During the Obama period, based on the changes in the international situation and the impact of the domestic financial crisis in the United States, the United States' global diplomatic layout underwent major adjustments. Against the background of this global strategic relaxation, Obama took bold steps to restore relations with Cuba, which could It is said to be the final project of major strategic adjustments during his term, because 2016 is Obama's last year in office.

After a period of secret diplomatic negotiations, Obama and Raul Castro announced at the end of 2014 that the two governments would restore full diplomatic relations. For a time, this news that surprised the world was considered to be an "icebreaker" in U.S.-Cuba relations. In a signal, Obama further relaxed restrictions on remittances and travel, as well as trade, telecommunications and financial services. He removed Cuba from the list of countries that "support terrorism". The two governments reopened their embassies. This move was well received by both countries. With widespread public support, the United States and Cuba also reached a series of bilateral agreements through negotiations. In early 2016, Obama visited Havana. This was the first visit to Cuba by a U.S. president since President Coolidge in 1928. In the same year, U.S. commercial airlines Start providing shipping services between the two countries.

However, the development of Cuba-U.S. relations has not gone as smoothly as expected. The death of Fidel Castro and the election of Trump in 2016 have reignited the debate on U.S. policy toward Cuba. Obama

It has only eased the superficial relations between the two countries at the political level, but the U.S. blockade policy and related U.S. regulations that have severely restricted Cuba's economic development remain unchanged, and the U.S.'s ideological hostility toward Cuba has never been

eliminated. (2) Trump Returning to a Hard Line

After taking office, Trump reversed the Obama administration's diplomatic "ice-breaking" policy line toward Cuba. The Trump administration banned commercial activities with companies controlled by the Cuban military, intelligence agencies, and security services or operating on behalf of Cuba. Group educational exchanges are prohibited, and Americans are even prohibited from traveling to Cuba alone for educational and cultural exchanges. Cruise ships and other ships are prohibited from sailing between the United States and Cuba. U.S. airlines are prohibited from flying to Cuban cities other than Havana, and flights are even suspended. Private charter flight to Havana. In September 2017, the year Trump came to power, the United States had a sonic attack incident. The Trump administration suspected that U.S. diplomats in Cuba were attacked by sonic waves, causing hearing and cognitive impairment. Expelling diplomats from the Cuban Embassy in the United States, withdrawing 60% of the diplomatic staff of the U.S. Embassy in Cuba, and suspending the processing of most visas on the grounds of problems. Trump allowed certain U.S. companies and Cuban-Americans to petition U.S. courts Claims, requiring the Cuban government to compensate for properties that were expropriated after the Cuban revolution. ÿ The Trump administration has also become more vigilant about the close relationship between Cuba and Venezuela, and is trying to block Venezuelan oil trade by sanctioning shipping companies and the Cuban state-owned oil company.

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and transportation. All in all, Trump's policies attempt to freeze the newly thawed relations between the United States and Cuba again.

However, Cuba's policy adjustments have not followed Trump's retrograde rhythm, but have been cautious about Trump's tough policies. The book "A History of Relations between the United States and Cuba" points out that Cuba's policy towards the United States is "reasonable, beneficial and measured." "On the one hand, the Cuban government adheres to the principles of safeguarding national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence, and resolutely opposes U.S. interference in Cuba's internal affairs. On the other hand, the Cuban government has repeatedly emphasized its willingness to engage in consultation, dialogue and cooperation with the U.S. government to eliminate differences and resolve outstanding issues. Question: ÿ At the same time, the Cuban

government has carried out

some economic reforms, including relaxing restrictions on private enterprises and being open to Cuban-American investors. (3) Uncertain future In the first half of 2021, both the United States and Cuba have replaced Leaders: On the U.S. side, Joe Biden, who witnessed and participated in the ice-breaking of U.S.-Cuba relations, took office as President of the United States. As the Democratic presidential candidate, he promised during the campaign to reverse Republican President Trump's policy toward Cuba. After the Biden administration took office, It expressed the hope to eventually lift restrictions on remittances, allowing Americans to travel to Cuba, and began a review of other Trump administration policies. However, the White House also stated that adjusting U.S. policy toward Cuba is not one of Biden's top priorities. As of November 2021, remittance restrictions have not been lifted. As for Cuba, in April 2021, Diaz-Canel succeeded Raul Castro as the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba. However, in July of the same year, the epidemic broke out in Cuba. led to nationwide protests, the largest in Cuba in nearly 30 years. Demonstrators were dissatisfied with Cuba's deteriorating economic conditions, including power outages, food and medicine shortages, and soaring inflation. The U.S. blockade was partly responsible for these woes. are responsible for the Cuban government's mismanagement and the collapse of Cuba's tourism industry due to the COVID-19 epidemic. Cuban government leaders responded to the protests by blaming foreign instigators, arresting protest organizers, and restricting access to the Internet and social media throughout the country. The Biden administration has imposed new sanctions on several Cuban officials. At the same time, some influential senators in the U.S. Congress, including Rubio, have pressured Biden to restore the toughness of the Trump era. policy, strengthen Cuba's Internet access, and warn Havana not to encourage large-scale immigration to the United States. However, many Democratic lawmakers believe that the United States should reduce travel restrictions on citizens of the two countries, lift restrictions on remittances, and redeploy the U.S. ambassador to Havana. Some even argue that the Biden administration could first remove barriers to academic, cultural and educational exchanges and allow Cuban baseball players to join Major League Baseball without having to give up their Cuban citizenship. The Biden administration could legislate in Congress. With permission, encourage U.S

ÿ Xu Shicheng: "An Outline of the History of Relations between the United States and Cuba", Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2021, page 270.

Doing business with independent Cuban entrepreneurs and certain state-owned enterprises, such as those operating hotels and resorts in

Cuba. However, various domestic factors in both the United States and Cuba indicate that the prospects for reconciliation still face various obstacles, and the old future Except, new ones are coming.

Five Conclusions

Researcher Xu Shicheng is a senior expert on the Cuban issue. He has personally witnessed the history of the Cuban Revolution. There is no doubt that he is an authoritative spokesperson on the Cuban issue. His research and analysis on Cuba have been supported by the Cuban Ambassador Carlos Miguel Pereira. Hernandez's high recognition. ÿ Therefore, "A Historical Outline of Relations between the United States and Cuba" is not only a comprehensive review of the 200 years of grievances between the United States and Cuba, but more importantly, researcher Xu Shicheng objectively presents it from the perspective of Cuban studies. The interaction between the United States and Cuba

In the research narratives of world history and international relations, academic circles often analyze the adjustment of the U.S. policy toward Cuba from the perspective of hegemony. There are few objective discussions on how Cuba, as a weak country, responds to the bullying of hegemons. «Outline of the History of Relations between the United States and Cuba» from the perspective of bilateral relations Each has its own description and analysis from different angles. As researcher Xu Shicheng said in the book, "US-Cuba relations are a very special and typical relationship in today's international relations." "A history of US-Cuba relations is a history of aggression, and the history of counter-invasion, intervention and counter-intervention, blockade and counter-blockade." ýCuba has resisted the hegemony and bullying of the United States with its determination and will to pursue independence and safeguard sovereignty. This is the main thread running through the history of Cuba-U.S. relations. From the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 to the present day The United States has changed its 19th government, but its mainstream policies such as economic blockade and trade embargo against Cuba have never been eased. The United States' ideological hostility to Cuba has never been eliminated. The United States' political will and goal of subverting the Cuban socialist regime have also never been eliminated. It has not given up. And socialist Cuba has always insisted on safeguarding its own independent development path, resolutely opposed the suppression and control of the United States, and never wanted to return to a state of being controlled by the United States. In fact, despite such huge differences in bilateral relations, the two countries have Dialogue and communication through various channels have been maintained, and agreements have been reached on certain issues such as immigration. However, obstacles and prejudices cannot be eliminated. The development of U.S.-Cuba relations "will still be tortuous and

(Editor Huang Nian)

ÿ ÿÿ Xu Shicheng: «A Historical Outline of Relations between the United States and Cuba», Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2021, Preface, Page 280