

**IR 404**  
**Policy Task Force**  
**The United States and Cuba: Beyond the Era of Fidel Castro**  
**Spring 2007 (Monday 5-7:50 pm) VKC 103**  
**Professor Abraham F. Lowenthal**  
**Office Hours Monday 3-4, Wednesday 1-2**  
**And by appointment**  
**Center for International Studies (SOS B3)**  
**Telephone: (213) 740-0793**  
**E-mail: [afl@usc.edu](mailto:afl@usc.edu)**  
**Graduate Student Mentor: Lara Coger, [lpcoger@earthlink.net](mailto:lpcoger@earthlink.net)**

***Week 1 (January 14)***                      **Introduction**

Discussion of PTF goals, processes, schedule, resources and grading procedures.

Mutual introductions of professor, graduate student mentor and student participants.

Brief lecture on Cuba as a neuralgic issue for US Foreign Policy

No class on January 21 (Martin Luther King Day), but reading for January 28 is a two-week assignment.

***Week 2 (January 28)***

Bird's eye view of Cuban history and US-Cuban relations

Required Reading

Leslie Bethell, *Cuba: A Short History*. Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Perez-Stable, Marifeli. *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course, and Legacy, Second Edition*. New York: Oxford, 1999. (Paperback) Chapter 1-3, 5-6.

Falcoff, Mark. *Cuba: The Morning After - Confronting Castro's Legacy*. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute Press, 2003. Chapter 2.

Dominguez, Jorge, I. *To make a World Safe for Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard, 1989. Chapter 1.

Perez, Louis A. *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy, Third Edition*. 2003.

Recommended Reading

Philip Brenner, Marguerite R. Jiminez, John M. Kirk and William LeoGrande (eds.), *A Contemporary Cuba Reader: Reinventing the Revolution*. Rowman and Littlefield, 2007.

Sweig, Julia. *Inside the Cuban Revolution: Fidel Castro and the Urban Underground*. Harvard: Cambridge, 2002.

Blasier, Cole. *The Hovering Giant: U.S. Responses to Revolutionary Change in Latin America, 1910-1985*. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986. (Chapter on Cuba).

Stephen Rabe, *Eisenhower and Latin America: The Foreign Policy of Anticommunism*. University of North Carolina Press, 1988, Chapters 7-9.

Bond, Theresa. "The Crackdown in Cuba." *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 2003.

Azicri, Max. *Cuba Today and Tomorrow: Reinventing Socialism*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. Chapters 8 and 9.

Paterson, Thomas G. *Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution*. New York: Oxford, 1994.

Smith, Wayne. *The Closest of Enemies: A Personal and Diplomatic Account of U.S.-Cuban Relations Since 1957*. New York, W.W. Norton, 1987.

Smith, Earl E.T. *The Fourth Floor: An Account of the Castro Communist Revolution*. Selous Foundation Press, 1991.

Bonsal, Philip. *Cuba, Castro, and the United States*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971.

Suchlicki, Jaime, *Cuba: From Columbus to Castro*. Fourth Edition, Pergamon-Brassey: 1997.

Haney, Patrick J. and Walt Vanderbush. *The Cuban Embargo: the Domestic Politics of an American Foreign Policy*. University of Pittsburgh Press. 2005.

Abraham Lowenthal and Pamela Starr. "The United States and the Cuban Revolution: 1958-1960", Martin Staniland (ed.) *Falling Friends: United States and Regime Change Abroad*, Westview Press, 1991. (Also available as Pew Case #3).

LeoGrande, William, *The United States and Cuba After the Cold War: the 1994 Refugee Crisis*. Pew Case #367.

### **Week 3: (February 4) Cuban American Community**

#### Required Readings:

Bardach, Ann Louise. *Cuba Confidential: Love and Vengeance in Miami and Havana*. Random House: New York, 2002. Chapters 1-7, 10-12.

Garcia, Maria Christina. *Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959-1994*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, Chapters 1, 2, 4.

Eckstein, Susan. "On Deconstructing Immigrant Generations: Cohorts and the Cuban Émigré Experience" Center for Comparative Immigration Studies. *Working Paper no. 97*, April 2004. <http://www.ccis-ucsd.org/PUBLICATIONS/wrkg97.pdf>

Florida International University (FIU), Institute for Public Opinion Research (IPOR). 2000 and 2004. *FIU/Cuba Poll*. June and November 2000 and February 2004. <http://www.fiu.edu/orgs/ipor/cubapoll>.

#### Recommended Readings:

Diaz-Briquets, Sergio and Jorge Perez Lopez. 2003. *The Role of the Cuban-American Community in the Cuban Transition*. Miami: Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies, University of Miami.

Guillermo Grenier and Lisandro Perez, *The Legacy of Exile: Cubans in the United States*. Boston, Allyn & Bacon, 2003.

Portes, Alejandro and Alez Stepick. 1993. *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Reiff, David. *The Exile: Cuba in the Heart of Miami*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993.

### **Week 4 (February 11) Cuba's Economy**

#### Required Readings: (to be divided among Task Force participants)

Rafael Hernandez and Daybel Panellas, "About the Socialist Transition in Cuba: a symposium." *Temas*. Publication no. 50-51: 126-162, April-September, 2007. Available only in Spanish, at [http://www.temas.cult.cu/revistas/50-51/13\\_Simposio.pdf](http://www.temas.cult.cu/revistas/50-51/13_Simposio.pdf).

Julio Carranza, Luis Gutierrez Urdaneta, Pedro Monreal Gonzalez, *Cuba: Restructuring the Economy – A Contribution to the Debate*. Brookings Institution Press: 1998.

Jorge Dominguez, Omar Everleny Perez Villanueva and Lorena Barberia (Eds.), *The Cuban Economy at the Start of the Twenty-First Century*. David Rockefeller Center Series on Latin American Studies. Boston: Harvard University, March 2005.

Ritter, Archibald R.M. *The Cuban Economy*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004. (Not in reader, only on blackboard).

Shahid Javed Burki and Daniel P Ericson (eds), *Transforming Socialist Economies: Lessons for Cuba and Beyond*. NY, Palgrave and MacMillan, 2005.

Perez-Stable. Chapter 4,7

Monreal, Pedro, Ed. *Development Prospects in Cuba: An Agenda in the Making*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2002. Chapters 1-7.

Bert Hoffman and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Debating Cuban Exceptionalism*. Palgrave Macmillan: April 2007.

Recommended Readings:

Diaz-Briquets, Sergio and Jorge Perez-Lopez. *Conquering Nature: The Environmental Legacy of Socialism in Cuba*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000.

Falcoff. *Cuba: The Morning After*. Chapter 5.

Pastor Jr., Manuel “After the Deluge? Cuba’s Potential as a Market Economy” in Susan Kaufman Purcell and David Rothkopf (eds.) *Cuba: The Contours of Change*. Lynne Rienner, 2000.

Jatar-Hausmann, Ana Julia. *The Cuban Way: Capitalism, Communism, and Confrontation*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1999.

Carmelo Mesa-Lago, *Growing Economic and Social Disparities in Cuba: Impact and Recommendations for Change*: Miami, Institute for Cuban and Cuba American Studies, University of Miami, 2002.

Alejandro De La Puente, *A Nation for All: Inequality and Politics in Twentieth Century Cuba*. Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Susan Eckstein, *Diasporas and Dollars: Transnational Ties and the Transformation of Cuba*. Working Paper #16 (February 2003), Inter-University Committee on International Migration, Center for International Studies, MIT, (<http://eb.mit.edu/cis/www/migration/publications>).

Susan Eckstein, "Cuban Emigres and the American Dream." *Perspectives on Politics*, 4 no. 2 (June 2006).

Susan Eckstein, "Transnational Networks and Norms, Remittances, and the Transformation of Cuba." In Jorge Dominguez, Lorena Barberia, and Omar Everleny Perez Villanueva (eds.) *The Cuban Economy at the Start of the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies and Harvard University Press, 2004.

***February 18: No Class, Presidents' Day, but begin readings for February 25 session***

***Week 5: (February 25) Cuban Society and Demographics***

Required Readings:

Sawyer, Mark. *Racial Politics in Post-Revolutionary Cuba*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Falcoff. *Cuba: The Morning After*. Chapter 7.

Joseph Tulchin, Lilian Bobea, Mayra Espinoza Prieto and Rafael Hernandez (eds), with Elizabeth Bryan, *Changes in Cuban Society Since the Nineties*. Washington DC, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Report #15 (2005).

Recommended Readings:

Azicri. Chapters 3, 4, 11.

Eckstein, Susan Eva. *Back from the Future: Cuba Under Castro*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. Chapters 5, 6.

Halperin, Maurice. *Return to Havana: The Decline of Cuban Society under Castro*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1994.

Purcell and Rothkopf (eds.), *Cuba: The Contours of Change*.

***Week 6: (March 3) Cuban Armed Forces and Cuban Technocracy***

Required Readings:

Hal Klepak, *Cuban Military, 1990-2005: Revolutionary Soldiers During Counter-Revolutionary Times* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).

Falcoff. *Cuba: The Morning After*. Chapter 4.

Dominguez. *Making the World Safe for Revolution*. Chapter 2.

Dominguez, Jorge I. "The Cuban Armed Forces, the Party and Society in Wartime and during Rectification (1986-88)," *The Journal of Communist Studies*, vol. 5, no. 4 (December 1989): 45-62.

[http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~jdoming/images/jid\\_cuban.PDF](http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~jdoming/images/jid_cuban.PDF)

Frank O. Mora, "Raul Castro and the FAR: Potential Future Roles in a Post-Fidel Cuba." Paper presented at the conference on "Cuba: Integration into the International System: A Multinational Perspective;" The Pell Center for International Relations and Public Policy, Newport, Rhode Island; 21-24 March 2002 <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/cuba/cuba-far.htm> (not in reader, get online or on blackboard).

### ***Week 7: (March 10) Cuba in Transition***

Required Readings: (to be divided among Task Force participants)

Edward Gonzalez and Kevin E. McCarthy, *Cuba After Castro: Legacy Challenges and Impediments* (including appendices). Santa Monica, RAND, 2004.

Marifeli Perez-Stable, *Looking Forward: Comparative Perspectives on Cuba's Transition*. University of Notre Dame Press, 2007.

Bert Hoffman and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Debating Cuban Exceptionalism*. NY: Palgrave MacMillan, April 2007.

Brian Latell, *After Fidel: Raul Castro and the Future of Cuba's Revolution*. NY: MacMillan, 2007 (paperback).

Brian Latell, "Raul Castro: Confronting Fidel's Legacy in Cuba," *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2007), 53-65.

Julia Sweig, "Fidel's Final Victory," *Foreign Affairs* (Jan-Feb 2007).

FOCAL (Canadian Foundation for the Americas), *Debates on Cuba's Present and Future*. Special Edition, February 2007.

Daniel P. Ericson, "Charting Castro's Possible Successors," *SAIS Review* (Winter-Spring 2005), 89-103.

Daniel P. Ericson, "After Fidel: Oh Brother," *Current History* (February 2007), 91-93.

Brookings Institution, "Report on the Cuba Transition Conference" (April 2, 2007).

Brookings Institution, "New Cuban-American Attitudes and Questions for US Policy" (April 13, 2007).

Economist Intelligence Unit, "Cuba at a Glance: 2005-2009" Country Report (October 2007).

Philip Peters, "Will Raul Reform Cuba's Economy?" *Latin Business Chronicle* (October 1, 2007). <http://www.latinbusinesschronicle.com/app/article.aspx?id=1672>

Corrales, Javier, "Cuba after Fidel." *Current History*: 2005.  
<http://www.currenthistory.com/archivefeb05/currentissue.html>

Recommended Readings:

Corrales, Javier. "Strong Societies, Weak Parties: Regime Change in Cuba and Venezuela in the 1950s and Today." *Latin American Politics and Society*: 2001.  
<http://www.jstor.org/view/1531426x/sp040002/04x0020t/0>

Corrales, Javier. "The Gatekeeper State." *Latin American Research Review*. 39.2 (2004) 35-65.

Jon Lee Anderson. Article in *New Yorker Magazine* (September 20, 2004).

***Spring Break March 17-21 (Possible field trip for some students?)***

***Week 8: (March 24) More Perspectives on Cuba's Transition: What are the Issues for US Policy***

Required Readings:

Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba, Reports of 2004 and 2006. Available at <http://www.state.gov/p/wha/rt/cuba/commission/2004/>.

Inter-American Dialogue, "Letter to Colin Powell" (Sept 2004).

Statement by President George W. Bush, October 2007.

Susan Kaufman Purcell, "Why the Cuban Embargo Makes Sense in a Post-Cold War World." *Cuba: The Contours of Change*. Susan Kaufman Purcell and David Rothkopf (eds.) Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.: January 2000. pp. 81-104.

Recommended Readings:

William L. LeoGrande, "Enemies Evermore: US Policy Towards Cuba After Helms-Burton," *Journal of Latin American Studies*. Vol. 29, #1 (Feb 1997), 211-221.

LeoGrande, "From Havana to Miami: US Cuba Policy as a Two Level Game," *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 40, #1 (Spring 1998) 6786.

Richard A. Nuccio, "Unmaking Cuba Policy: The Clinton Years," *Foreign Service Journal* (October 1998), 1-7.

Council on Foreign Relations. *U.S. Cuban Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Report of an Independent Task Force Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1999.

Council on Foreign Relations, *U.S. Cuban Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Follow-On Report*. 2001.

***Week 9: (March 31) Discussion of US Interests and Policy Goals***

Assignment:

Each member of the Policy Task Force will prepare a brief memorandum for discussion on some aspect of US interests and goals. Specific topics to be decided on March 24. Presentations for subsequent sessions to be discussed and decided.

***Week 10: (April 7)***

Working Session\*

***Week 11: (April 14)***

Working Session\*

***Week 12: (April 21)***

Working Session\*

***Week 13: (April 28)***

Presentation of Draft PTF report\*  
Full text to be distributed by April 25.

***Final Presentation (in lieu of exam) May 7, 4:30-6:30 pm***

Presentation of Final PTF Report\*

Oral Presentation, with invited guests.

6:30pm Final pizza!

**\*Important Note:**

**The drafting and redrafting process for the PTF report is an intense and time-consuming process. It can be extraordinarily rewarding and exhilarating, but it requires time, focus and discipline. PTF participants should budget at least 10-12 hours a week from Week 10 through the final presentation, outside of class, for individual, small group and full PTF sessions.**

"Students requesting academic accommodations based on disability are required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP when adequate documentation is filed. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me (or to TA) as early in the semester as possible. DSP is open Monday-Friday, 8:30-5:00. The office is in Student Union 301 and their phone number is (213) 740-0776."