The United States and the Caribbean

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The USA in the Caribbean 1776-1900

-The British 13 colonies declared its independence in 1776.
-By 1783, the USA had defeated the British in their war of independence.
-In the south of the USA European-Americans controlled the enslaved population in tobacco and cotton plantations.
-In the north the European population concentrated on trading, ship-building and manufacturing.
-The leading cause of USA's fight for independence was that decisions based on their trade were done in England. When Americans got independence, they wanted to replace the British as the dominant economic force in the Americas and the Caribbean. Two areas of rivalry:
  o British planters relied on cheap American estate supplies of wood, tar, salt, fish and other necessities.
  o The other area of rivalry was the Spanish empire in Central and South America
-When The French invaded Spain, the British insisted that she had the right to stop and search American ships that might be supplying goods to the Spanish or to their French conqueror.
  o This led to a war between the USA and the British from 1812-14.
  o The USA stopped British ships from the Canadian or Caribbean colonies from landing on American soil.
  o Peace came in 1814 and the British allowed Americans to send their goods to the Caribbean with the condition that they pay extra duties of 10%. In 1830, the two countries allowed each other’s ships to move freely.

-The Monroe Doctrine
  o Both England and America welcomed Latin American revolts for independence because it freed the former Spanish Colonies from Spanish trade policies; hence, the former colonies would trade with the Americans and the British.
  o This led to a fight for the trade in the Atlantic.
  o In 1823 the British asked the Americans to make a joint statement against the Spanish warning that if they tried to reconquer their former territories the British and Americans would react.
  o President Monroe went on to give a unilateral declaration in congress in 1823.
  o His declaration became known as the Monroe Doctrine.
  o In it he declared: any European attempt to interfere in any portions of this hemisphere would be seen as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition to the US

-Clayton-Bulwer Treaty 1850
  o The USA expanded throughout Mexico and Central America.
  o The USA's concern was how to move people and ships to protect their new west coast.
- The only means of carrying goods by land was by horse or wagon from the west and south coast of the USA.
- The American Cornelius Vanderbilt was ferrying people across Nicaragua on connecting steam boats and railways.
- Americans planned to improve it through a canal along the San Juan River Valley.
- The British did not welcome the idea because it brought the Americans closer to the Caribbean; where they the British saw themselves as the most important military and trading power.
- In 1850 a treaty was signed between the USA and the British to end the rivalry in Central America. John Clayton (American) and Henry Bulwer (British) agreed that a canal would not be used for military purposes and would be under the joint control of the Americans and the British.
- No one would rule or attempt to rule Nicaragua, Costa Rica, or the Misquito Coast
- The British agreed to give up any claims in Central America.

-Cuba to annex or not?
- The USA bought Florida from Spain in 1819 and political leaders talked about annexing the island so that it could become an advance base for the mainland.
- The move was strongly supported by southern enslavers who were eager to add/annex another slave state to the USA to balance the growing number of northern free states where enslavement was prohibited.
- Other Americans thought that Cuba was a natural place for a US naval base to protect a Central American canal if it were built.
- In 1854, the president offered the US ambassador in Spain to offer $130 million for Cuba.
- The Ambassador met with two other ambassadors and together they wrote that if Spain did not accept the offer, the USA would invade.
- The news leaked out and Spain protested and the Northern states of the USA joined in protested.
- The president of the USA backed down.
The American Civil War:

In 1808, the US government made the slave trade illegal. However, they refused to join British naval action to prevent the slave trade to America. The Americans made the patrols difficult by refusing to agree that ships carrying her flag be stopped and searched for enslaved cargo.

- The slave trade continued because traders moved under the protection of the US flag.
- The planters of the south were convinced that their way of life needed enslavement.
- People in the north thought differently; there was no shortage of European immigrants seeking work. In 1804 they abolished slavery and tried to stop it being allowed in the new states created in the west; they pressured for emancipation.

- Northern industrialists believed emancipation brought economic benefits. Northern industrialists wanted high tariffs (import/export tax) on manufactured foods to keep out foreign rivals to their products.

- In the 1850s, the USA kept customs duties low to encourage the import of manufactured goods. This helped enslavers who wanted cheap plantation supplies. They were against higher duties in case Europeans replied with higher tariffs on their exports of cotton and tobacco.

- Alarmed by the threats to their way of life, southern 'slave' states broke away from the USA and formed a separate confederacy.
- President Abraham Lincoln declared that he would fight to keep all states in the one union.
- The war started from 1851 to 1865 and during the fighting Lincoln declared emancipation in 1863.
For the 15 years after the war, most of this great boom took place within the USA itself. The fast growing population could make use of most of the new goods being produced.

Businessmen, politicians and newspaper writers were generally opposed to US expansion into neighboring countries.

By the 1880s, traders and manufacturers began to look for new markets and investment opportunities abroad.

The biggest pressure to expand came from industrialist and bankers. They made huge profits and needed new place where they could invest their funds.

After the war the Northern states experienced an industrial boom (for the first 15 years within the USA). In the 1880s opinions shifted to expansionism (finding new markets and investment opportunities). US bankers took over the economy of the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Puerto Rico, and other Central American region their wealth was made up 40% of overseas investment.

The US experienced a new surge of imperialism from 1880 to 1900s. They saw imperialism as a threat to US interests in the world because they wanted to establish overseas naval bases. The US supported imperialism to protect economic interests.

The change in US opinion (about expansionism) came at a time of European imperialism in Africa and China between 1880 to 1900.

US military and naval experts saw European imperialism as a threat to their interests. They believed the US needed to become imperialistic to protect itself.

Captain Alfred Mahan argued that the USA needed a chain of overseas bases, a strong naval and a large force of marines who could be moved to deal with any threat that arose.

In the 1890s, events in Cuba provided an opportunity for the USA to make another thrust at controlling the island.
Cuba the rebellion against Spain 1868-78

- When the rest of Latin America was revolting Cuba and Puerto Rico remained loyal to Spain. Two reasons:
  - The European was outnumbered in each island.
  - Spain turned a blind eye to the transatlantic trade in humans so that Spanish and US enslavers’ ships continued to dodge the Royal Navy’s search vessels.
- For the next ½ century, the leading groups in Cuban society were planters, trades, and other businessmen who profited from crops grown by the enslaved. Liberals who protested at the lack of democracy went in danger of their lives.
- This changed in the late 1860s as Spain ended its support for enslavement. The small planters on the east of the island believed that they would do better with free enslaved labor. They also feared an end to Spain’s military rule and Spain’s high taxes. They started a rebellion that led to a ten-year war.
- The war broke out in Oriente Province of Eastern Cuba (1868). The rebellion was led by Carlos Manuel de Cespedes. He fought against Spanish arbitrariness, excessive taxation, corruption, Cuban exclusion form office and denial of assembly.
- Cespedes freed all his slaves and formed an army to fight for all slaves to be freed. His revolt destroyed the Cuban industries and Spain negotiated peace in 1876. The war started to create a sense of national Cuban identity.
- The revolt benefitted Americans because they paid for the recovery of the Sugar and tobacco industry.
- When the war ended slavery ended; coffee plantations were ruined without a chance of recovery; sugar and tobacco revived but mainly benefitted Americans who had the cash to pay for recovery.
- The biggest parts of the crops went to the USA but only in uncured and unrefined forms because there were very high tariffs on cured and refined tobacco and cotton.
- Most profits went to the owners and workers of the USA.
- 1894, the USA also placed high tariffs on raw sugar.
Jose Marti was expelled from Cuba because he spoke for independence when Spain controlled the island. He organized the rebellion from New York and returned to Cuba but was killed only a few weeks after the rebellion began.

- Few Cubans valued Spanish rule
- Soldiers were no longer needed to stop slave revolts
- 6% of Cuban products were traded with Spain
- High Spanish taxes
- US businessmen argued that the US' high tariffs on Cuban products would be lowered if the island wasn’t under Spanish control.

In response to the war the Spanish sent General Valeriano “the Butcher” Weyler to counter the revolution. He used harsh methods and placed Cubans in concentration camps.

The US was alarmed because businessmen were upset because the war affected the trade with Cuba and American investors in Cuba called for USA’s aid to help the rebel army. The American army and navy wanted to control Cuba and the American press exaggerated the tales of Spanish brutality in Cuba.

The US REACTED: The US’s president William Mckinley demanded that Spain stop harsh treatment of Cubans. In response Spain repatriated Valeriano Weyler but conditions did not improve. In 1889 Mckinley sent the USS Maine to protect American lives from riots.

In February 1889 the USS Maine exploded in the Havana harbour killing 266 sailors. There are three theories that explain the explosion:

- Most historians believe it was accident: a spark in the ship’s coal bunker
- Americans planned the Spanish for attacking the ship
- Cuban patriots placed the bomb to bring USA into the war

The Maine Sinking leads the USA into War with Spain

Americans demanded war with Spain but politicians feared that it would be an excuse for Cuban annexation to the US.

However, the US was upset and passed the Teller amendment stating that the USA would not control Cuba permanently and demanded Cuban independence. They gave Spain three days to respond and declared war on April 25th 1889.

The Americans were ready to fight not
only in Cuba but in the Caribbean and the Pacific.

The war started in the Philippines. Theodore Roosevelt put Captain George Dewey’s fleet on high alert in Hong Kong. Dewey contacted Philippine rebels and destroyed Spanish forces in Manila.

The confrontation turned to the Caribbean when volunteer soldiers led by Theodore Roosevelt called the “Rough Riders” gathered in Tampa to travel to Santiago, Cuba.

The rough riders fought their way to Santiago, they captured San Juan Hill to attack Santiago. In 1888 they conquered the city and took Puerto Rico as well. Peace was signed on August 12th 1889.

The US delegates said that they would abide by the Teller Amendment but that their army would stay in Cuba until a Civilian government was set up.

After the war the USA pressured (paying 20 millions) Spain to give up Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. The US decided to annex the Philippines and were reluctant to give Cuba full independence.

-The US debate

Now that it had colonies the US had to devise a colonial policy.

Expansionists: persons who wanted the USA to acquire overseas colonies. They looked at new possessions as a chance for missionaries, teachers, and charitable organizations to develop a better life and leaders in colonies. They also found it safer to invest monies in factories, plantations and public works in territories controlled or monitored by the USA.

Isolationist: persons who thought that the US should not interfere in other nation’s affairs. They believed that ruling colonies conflicted with the spirit of their own political system that focused on “All men are created equal”. They were also fearful of immigration.

The ideas of expansionism and isolationism came together in the way the government managed Cuba and Puerto Rico. Neither was formed into a full colony, yet the US kept control of their affairs. The USA gained the greatest share of the wealth created by the people in the islands without allowing migration to the USA.

-Cuba strengthens her position

Cuba was placed under US military governments.

They worked hard to give the Cubans what they thought of as the blessings of US civilization.

- Population census
- Built new schools, university, roads, railway, and docks
- New cattle and breeding stock were imported to replace herds slaughtered during the fighting.
- A health care program
- Liberation of the Spanish political prisoners
- The Cuban Patriot Army was disbanded and compensated

Cubans Unhappy:
- They pointed out that railways and docks tended to aid US-owned sugar properties
- The construction gave work to US engineers and US equipment
- Educational books were translated from American texts
- Cubans complained of long US occupation
- Led by Tomas Estrada Palma called on Americans to honor the Teller Amendment.

In 1902, the USA prepared to hand over the island to its own people. A constitution was drawn up for the new government.

- Tomas Palma was elected Cuba’s first president.

- Americans included the Platt Amendment.

The Platt Amendments: Cuba may never into a treaty that would reduce its independence; Cuba shall not get any public debt that it can’t pay with revenues (they had to get US approval); THE US MAY EXERCISE THE RIGHT TO INTERVENE TO PROTECT “LIFE, PROPERTY, AND LIBERTY; CUBA SHALL SELL OR LEASE LANDS for coaling or naval stations (GUANTANAMO BAY).

These limits obviously pleased American businessmen and their military leaders.

Puerto Rico the pattern repeated

The policy of US control was used in Puerto Rico as well. After a short period of rule by a military governor, congress passed the Foraker Act in 1900.

- Gave the island a civilian government and a law-making body of elected Puerto Ricans. But final power rested on the Puerto Rican Senate (dominated by the USA)
- The senate was comprised by a US governor and 5 officials appointed by the US government.
- The Foraker Act also stated that Puerto Ricans were not US citizens and could not travel freely to the USA.

Americans became active in Puerto Rico, carrying out programs such as those in Cuba.
The USA in the Caribbean 1900-1939

- Expansionist wanted to expand the influence into other part of America.

- Roosevelt's Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine

  o Theodore Roosevelt was an outspoken expansionist.

  o In 1901, US president McKinley was assassinated and Theodore took his place and was re-elected for office in 1904-08

  - He declared that the US would not allow any further interference for any reason in the Americas.
  - Corollary: an addition or supplement to a document or point of view
  - In a speech in congress, Roosevelt made it clear that his government would continue the policy of the Monroe Doctrine and no allow European nations to attempt to bring about boundary changes in the American continent.
  - He said that if Latin Americans managed their affairs so badly that they gave European powers a genuine reason to interfere. To avoid this difficulty future, the USA would have to ensure that her neighbors behaved.
  - He said at the UN that they (LA countries) need not fear intervention if they knew to act with decency. But if they showed 'brutal wrong-doing' or weaknesses with results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, they must expect intervention by a civilized nation and the USA would not hesitate to get in.
  - One main reason for the Corollary was to make it clear that work on a US-controlled Panama Canal would go ahead.
The Panama Canal: The Scheme

1. After the war with Spain, the USA needed speedy communication between their colonies and trading interests in the Pacific and the Atlantic. The best way would be by a canal that linked the two Oceans.
2. Britain agreed that this need to stand in the USA’s way, provided that the canal would be free and open to the vessels of commerce and war of all nations.
3. The next step for the Americans was to select a route. They quickly saw the possibilities in a route across the Isthmus of Panama. It was only 80 km and a French company, headed by Ferdinand de Lesseps, had already surveyed the route and begun excavating.
4. The company was broke and its main shareholder, Philippe Buneau-Varilla, was willing to sell the machinery for $40 million. The US bought it.
5. The canal went through Panama (a Colombian province)

- At first Colombians and Americans agreed on the canal: the US agreed to pay $10 million and an annual rent of $250,000 for a 90-year lease on a 10km wide corridor.
  - The Colombian senate rejected the agreement claiming that it threatened their rights over Panama.
  - Colombians were insulted that the USA had paid the French Company $40 million for rusty machinery and had offered them only $10 million for the right of way.
  - They demanded $25 million plus $10 million worth of shares in the French company that was being sold to the USA.

The Panama Canal Opens

- Buneau-Varilla feared that Roosevelt would break his agreement to buy the French Company if Colombia did not cooperate.
  - In 1903, he organized a few Panamanians to declare independence from Colombia. The disorders that followed gave Roosevelt the chance to send a cruiser to “Keep order”.
  - The US cruiser served to stop Colombian forces from landing in Panama.
  - Buneau-Varilla then signed a treaty with John Hay: stating that Panama was an independent state and that the USA had the right to build the canal and own a zone of land on each side.
  - The zone was increased to 17km from the 10 offered to Colombia. Instead of 90 years, it was leased to the Americans in perpetuity (forever). Inside this zone the treaty said that the USA could act as the sovereign of the territory and that the new state of Panama had no rights there.
  - The USA had the right to keep police and shipping officials in cities such as Panama and Colon.
  - The USA agreed to pay an annual rent of €250,000 nine years after the treaty.
  - In 1920 the canal opened.
Herbert Taft (1908) Aimed to expand US presence in LA and Caribbean through economic power. The US sought to help the economic development of poorer countries.
- The USA could gain influence and cut down the interference of European powers without using force in the way the Roosevelt Corollary threatened.
- Two benefits for Americans:
  - Countries within the sphere shall be removed from the jeopardy involved by heavy foreign debt and chaotic national finances. It prevented European influence in the region.
  - The Republics of Central America and the Caribbean need financial stability and regeneration to bring profit and happiness for themselves and ourselves.
- Execution/implementation:
  - Subsidies were given to shipping, public works, mining and construction companies that wished to invest in the Caribbean or Latin America.
  - The USA helped plantations by placing high customs duties on sugar, banana, coffee, and other crops that did not come from areas where Americans had investments.
- In 1914, war broke out in Europe. The USA was concerned that European powers would seize positions in the Americas as naval bases or for supplies of raw materials and food.
Dollar diplomacy in Haiti:
- Haiti took many loans from big countries
  - Two especially significant loans were from French banks—one to pay back an indemnity France had demanded for loss of land and slaves after the colony broke free, and a second loan to pay back the excessive commissions of the first.
  - 1900 to 1915 US bankers took control of the National bank, railways, public utilities and custom houses. They transferred $11 Million in gold to the National Bank of New York City.
- When WW1 broke out German interests had interests in Haiti: Germans were eager to establish a supply base in Haiti; Germans had integrated into Haitian society: intermarriage; German threatened to take control of Haiti due to debts.
- US reasons for intervention:
  - Economic interests: wanted Haiti’s natural resources
  - US wanted to establish a base in Haiti’s northern port of Mole Saint-Nicholas
  - Monroe Doctrine: against European interference in the new world
  - Jim Crow ideology: Free Blacks could not govern themselves
- US intervention happened on July 28th 1915 in Port Au Prince led by Admiral Caperton who set up an office to manage Haiti’s affairs
  - Found a puppet president though whom he could rule
  - Sudre Dartinguenave was elected and forced to sign a 10year occupation treaty.

US-Haiti treaty:
- Gave the US total power over Haiti’s financial System through the customs houses and state treasury
- Authorized the USA to create a new Haitian military
- Prohibited Haiti from selling or renting land to another foreign power
- Marine Control of Haiti
- Many pro-US presidents came after and Charlemagne Peralte posed a considerable threat to the US marines and was assassinated in 1919

Resistance combined with a change of US ideology (respect the rights of others) to end occupation

The dollar diplomacy in the Dominican Republic
- Haiti had a weak economy: they received independence from Spain in 1821 and independence from Haiti in 1844.
- Ulises Heureaux was president from 1881-1899 and apart from having a brutal dictatorship he placed the country in debt.
- A succession of coups, assassinations and revolution kept the DR poor and weak.
- The USA intervened in the DR due to Economic Reasons, Civil wars in Dominican Republic, Stop German intrusions in the Dominican Republic.
- Woodrow Winston wanted 1. Grant the USA control of all aspects of the finances; 2. Dissolve the Dominican armed forces and replace them with a constabulary commanded by a US appointed officer. However, President Juan Jimenez rejected the demands.
- Marines entered: Juan Jimenez asked for assistance to fight rebels; the marines occupied DR for 8 years (1914)
- US placed their military government: controlling finances and establishing "la guardia"
- The occupation ended with the Hughes-Peynado accord, it stipulated:
  - US commissioned five Dominican leaders to appoint a new president and Cabinet
  - The provisional government moved to organize an election
  - Peynado did not resist US control of customs but objected to military occupation
  - Hughes retreated the army to only bases to train the Police and army
Central America

- Whenever elections or labor unrest threatened US financial or strategic interests, troops were landed.
- Extra troops sent to Panama.
- In 1919, troops were landed in Honduras to protect US property and interests during the elections.

US Good Neighbor Policy after 1918

- After WW1, there was no risk of European power sending forces to the continent.
- France and Britain owed the USA and did not want to displease the USA.
- Germany was ruined and could not establish a navy.
- US politicians were also aware that their activities had made them unpopular with the people in many states, especially where US marines or officials were obviously in control.
- In 1922 Warren Hardin, took office and, announced that he USA had a deep interest in the prosperity, the independence and the unimpaired sovereignty of the countries of Latin America.
  - Americans recognized the rights of Latin American states to independence and non-interference was taken a step further under the next president, Calvin Coolidge.
  - Herbert Hoover, first spoke the words of the good neighbor.
  - The phrase good neighbor is more connected to Franklin D. Roosevelt. He stated "I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor- the neighbor who resolutely respects himself, and because he does so, respects the rights of others.
  - The good neighbor policy strengthened US economic interests.

Panama: the police withdraw

- In 1936, Roosevelt's government said that it no longer claimed the right to interfere in Panama's affairs or to keep police in Panama City and Colon. It insisted that the USA should be allowed to undertake joint action with Panama if another nation threatened the Canal.

Marines go home:

- The USA dominated Cuba, Puerto Rico, Panama, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic.
- Strategic military bases had been established in Panama, Cuba and Puerto Rico and the US Virgin Islands.

  - Ensured that no European powers entered the Western Hemisphere.
  - Troops protected US investors by keeping stable governments.
  - Troop presence was unsuccessful.
  - In several countries, the police forces, which had been trained and armed by the Americans, became backers of dictatorships.
In 1922, President Harding sent government official Sumner Welles to the DR to arrange for US forces to withdraw when a civilian president had been freely elected.

In 1924, Horatio Vasquez was elected and the US marines returned home, leaving a financial adviser behind to administer the country’s customs service.

They trained a well-armed police force.

In 1930, Vasquez tried to maintain power by force. He was driven out by Rafael Trujillo who used the police to build up his own personal dictatorship, which lasted until 1961.

In 1930, the US officials there began preparations for a presidential election.

At the same time, they began to train a police force, the Garde d’Haiti. The US marines went home in 1934, this stayed until 1941.

In 1946 the US trained police overthrew the government and in 1957 Francois Duvalier created his personal dictatorship.

The Dominican Republic

The pursuit of foreign policy objectives with the aid of conspicuous displays of naval power – implying or constituting a direct threat of warfare, should terms not be agreeable to the superior force.

Dollar Diplomacy: We invest in your country + Grant you loans AND Gunboat Policy: We Invade you if you cannot pay my business or myself
The USA and Cuba 1902-1985

-The Platt Amendment gave US presidents the authority of intervening in Cuban affairs whenever US interests were threatened; Americans felt safe to invest.
-In the early 1920s US increased investment in sugar and left Cuba leaving a pro-American president (Tomas Estrada Palma).
-They invested in sugar, banks, tourism, hotels, nightclubs, and casinos was helped by the fact that alcohol could not be sold in the years of prohibition (prohibited the sale of alcohol in the USA) from 1919 to 1933.
-Sugar Boom: Cuba became a one-crop economy dependent on the USA in 1919 to 1920s sugar prices were up and US investors flooded Cuba.

-Tourism in Cuba: 1919 to 1930s the gambling business flourished there was a rise in hotels, nightclubs, and casinos.
-US intervention: In 1905 Estrada Palma tried to prolong his term and liberals revolted forcing US intervention. Marines ensured that US supported candidates won elections from 1906 to 1921.
-o When necessary, they provided the Cuban president with an US military advisorlike General Crowder. General Crowder ran Cuba between 1923 and 1925 on behalf of the officially elected Cuban president, Alfredo Zayas.
-o During this period FD Roosevelt cancelled the Platt Amendment so that the US government had no position in Cuban politics. Officially, all the Americans had left was the naval base at Guantanamo.
- Eventually, Fulgencio Batista defeated him in 1933 to 1934.
-o Sergeant Fulgencio Batista quietly took power through the military. With the army firmly under his control, Batista was willing to rule Cuba behind the scenes. He chose not to risk facing election himself but he and his loyal henchmen fixed the election of seven Cuban presidents in 7 years.
- Batista imposed presidents supported by the USA and even retired in 1944 when a communist group controlled Cuba. However, in 1952 he won the election with US and Cuban military support.

-A survey in 1956 showed:
-o Americans owned 90% of telephone and electricity; 50% of public transport and railways; 40% of raw sugar production; US banks held a quarter of Cuban deposits; only in sugar ownership were the US falling.
-o The contrast between the free-spending Americans and the grinding poverty of most Cubans led to open anti-US feeling, riots, and opposition to the US-backed Cuban government.
- The sharp fall of sugar prices led to a fall of average incomes between 1952 and 1953.
-o Workers began to support leftist unions
In 1957, a general strike paralyzed cities all over the island. Batista's regime became gangster-like:
- Military and police rounded up any possible opponents.
- Court martials and pre-drawn firing squads became common.
- The brutality and wholesale corruption lost Batista support.

The rise of Castro
In 1956, Batista's opponents found a new leader Fidel Castro:
- He was an educated lawyer.
- From a wealthy family in Santiago.
- He travelled to South America.
- He believed that the poor could be helped only by giving them back the wealth they earned for landlords and industrialist.
- Dictators could only be dethroned through rebellion.

In 1953, Fidel, his brother Raul and 165 young followers issued the 26th July Manifesto:
- This condemned Batista.
- Condemned the colonial mentality of wealthy Cubans.
- Condemned the foreign economic control.

They launched an attack on the Mancado barracks in Santiago:
- It failed.
- The two brothers were sentenced to 15 years in jail.
- Batista pardoned them.
- Fidel Castro immediately fled to Mexico to gather new recruits to return.

On December 2nd 1956, Castro landed on the southeast coast of Cuba with a band of 82 men:
- They were met by Batista's troops armed with the latest automatic weapons.
- Only Fidel, Raul and ten others escaped to the mountains of the Sierra Maestra, west of Santiago.
- When news of their survival reached the outside world, supporters sent (smuggled) supplies from Mexico, Venezuela, and the USA.
- New Cuban recruits went to the Sierra to join Castro.
- Batista closed the University of Havana and many students went to join Castro.

In 1958 there was big support for Castro accepting his political ideas. He declared:
- He would replace dictatorships with elected governments.
- End US domination of economic affairs.
- Rid the worst features of the tourist industry, which had allowed reckless spending by Americans on gambling, prostitution, and other activities.

In March 1958, pressure from Cuban business men and landowners persuaded the US government to hasten the end of the dictatorship by stopping the sale of arms to Batista. But the British continued the sale of arms throughout the summer and into the autumn.

On January 1st 1959, Batista and his family were driven to the airport and left the island.
Castro transforms Cuba

- Fidel was premier.
- Raul was chief of armed forces.
- Ernesto el Che Guevara was an economic adviser.
- They placed on trial top-ranking Batista aides who did not flee. 483 were executed after being found guilty of serious crimes against Cubans.
- In June 1959, they enacted the AGRARIAN REFORM LAW set up the (the National Institute of Agrarian Reform).
  - Its first task was the expropriation (taking away by law) of land from the owners of the Cattle, sugar and tabacco estates.
  - Owners were allowed to keep only a small percentage of the land. The rest was to be taken from them and divided among landless families in lots of 27 hectares per family.
  - The owners got a small income from the expropriated but nothing was given for cattle or machinery.
  - By the end of 1960, most of the land that belonged to US firms was in Cuban hands.
- In 1959, interveners, were made overseers of US-owned companies. The interveners ordered them to improve their services and cut their charges.
- Castro worked towards government-managed industry. He believed that the island could pay for social reforms, new housing, and road works only if the government owned mines, metal works, engineering factories and supplies of fuel and building materials.

The Cold War comes to Cuba, 1960

- In the early years, Cuba could not manage without foreign loans and technical assistance but the revolutionaries would not take them from the USA.
- Castro turned to the communist states of the world: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (was the communist state that existed from 1922-1991) and her allies.
  - In all of these countries the governments owned industries.
- 1960 a Soviet ambassador was assigned to Cuba and Castro had signed a trade agreement with the USSR.
  - The USSR agreed to buy 5 million tons of sugar over 5 years and lend money to Cuba to pay for goods and equipment, made in the Soviet Union.
  - There would also be Soviet technicians to set up the new machinery and train Cubans to use it.
  - Cuba made similar deals with China and Poland.
- The Cubans were in complete disagreement with the USA:
  - In 1960 Cubans cancelled leases held by US companies to min iron ore, sulphur, cobalt, and nickel
  - Three US oil refineries in Cuba refused to refine petroleum which was imported from the USSR. In reply, Cuba expropriated the companies.
  - All US-owned sugar mills were expropriated.
  - The US complained and wanted compensation BUT Castro refused to pay.
  - In 1960, Cuba made an agreement with the USSR came to her aid and agreed to buy nearly all the Cuban sugar crop.
  - From then on the US and Cuba entered an economic war.
  - The US government warned its citizen not to visit Cuba and thus stopped the island’s income from tourism. It also placed an embargo on all trade with Cuba, except for food and drugs.
  - Castro did not give in to the economic pressures: he pressed with expropriations but now without any suggestions of compensation. By 1960, over 1 billion worth of US-owned enterprises had been seized.
The Bay of Pigs and the Missile crisis

The US wanted to destroy Castro’s regime: Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy would not agree to an outright military invasion but they encouraged others to do so.

The CIA recruited, armed and trained Cubans who had fled from Castro’s regime at secret camps in Florida and Guatemala. Over 2,000 men were armed and equipped to land at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba on 17th April 1961.

Within 72 hours, 1,179 survivors of the invading force were rounded up and hustled off to Cuban prisons.

They remained there until July 1975.

The US paid 53 million worth on drugs and food for their release.

-Missile Crisis: On August 29th 1962 US spy-planes flew over Cuba they identified that Surface-to-air nuclear missiles were being installed in western Cuba by Soviet technicians. USSR Premier Khrushchev denied that he was setting up nuclear weapons. On October 14th photographs were delivered to Kennedy showing: launching pads and missiles in Cuba. Kennedy reacted by submitting the issue to the Organization of American States.

Kennedy enacted a blockade to Cuba: The OAS supported USA’s blockade to Cuba and all soviet ships heading to Cuba were to be stopped and searched.

Kennedy demanded for Khrushchev to remove the missiles and sent soldiers to Florida and Nicaragua to stand by.

Faced with outright war, Krushschev backed down.

Cuba, Communism and the Cold war

The COLD WAR: The western powers grouped in organizations such as North Atlantic Treaty Organisations and South East Asia Treaty Organization. They competed against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. CAPITALISM versus Communism.

Castro decided that Cuba should become a communist state

A single party for all supporters was created: the party of the Social Revolution. In October 1965, this was recognized as the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC)

The party began with a select membership of only 55,000.

Those who could not give full time support were recruited into mass political organizations.

The ruling organization of the PCC was the 100member committee, elected by members of the party’s local branches.

Most decisions were taken by two smaller groups, the party’s secretariat and its leading policy-making body.

The first secretary was Fidel Castro, controlled the secretariat and appointed party officials throughout the island. He was also commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

Castro brought the Cold war into the Caribbean: in the 1960s and 70s the USA and USSR competed to win over support in the Caribbean.

The USSR funneled support and economic aid to the Caribbean and Latin America through Cuba.

Through the next quarter of a century, Cuba was harmed and aided by the cold war. The USA kept a strict embargo on
trade with Cuba and used diplomatic and financial pressure to encourage western allies to follow suit.

- The war forced Cuba to rely for vital imports on the USSR or countries in Eastern Europe.
- The island’s sugar was given guaranteed markets in the Soviet bloc.
- The cold war also gave Cuba an influence in the world greater than its size.
- Some 50,000 military and economic advisors were active in a dozen or more countries, while equal numbers of soldiers were involved in wars against South Africa’s control of Angola and some right wing dictatorship in Latin America.

**After the Cold war**

In the 1990s, the Cold war ended with the break-up of the old Soviet Union and its bloc in Eastern Europe. The US blockade and the US prohibitions of travel at first severely affected the Cuban economy and standard of living.

**Into the 21st century**

In 2007 Castro gave the operations of the day-to-day administration of Cuba to his brother. The US and Cuba showed signs of improving their relations.

**US military Intervention in the Caribbean, 1940-1985**

- The 2 World War began in September 1939 when German forces invaded Poland and Britain and France declared war in Germany.
- The USA was concerned about the defense of the Western Hemisphere.
- This was particularly important because Holland and France, who both ruled colonies in the Caribbean, were overrun by Germany in 1940.
- The Americans stated that any German attempts at taking any French and Dutch colonies would be opposed.
- They also prepared to deal with threats from German submarines to shipping in the Caribbean and the western Atlantic.

**The Second World War: US Security concerns in the Caribbean**

- The USA's first concern was freedom of movement for their navy and air force. This meant opening new naval bases.
- In September 1940, President Roosevelt came to a land lease agreement with the British government. Britain was desperately short of warships to track down German submarines, so Roosevelt gave Britain 50 destroyers, which were out of date but could still strengthen Britain’s Navy.
- In return the British agreed that the USA could lease land and set up naval bases in Trinidad, British Guianas, St. Lucia, Antigua, Jamaica and Bermuda.
- The position of these bases helped to protect the sea routes to the French and Dutch colonies and to the USA.
- The most valuable result of the bases was the employment they afforded to the English speaking Caribbean. The first to benefit were the people of the territories where bases or new airstrips were built.

**The Cold war and the Caribbean**

- The Soviet Union had been a wartime ally of the USA and Britain. Almost as soon as Hitler was defeated, the USA and the USSR became hostile to each other. The USA and her allies grouped to form the North Atlantic Trade Agreement (NATO). The USSR formed the Warsaw Pact.
- Each believed that the other would try to undermine their control of the states that lay closest to them.
- They entered propaganda wars where each tried to influence non-aligned (not supporting either side) states and promote their different capitalistic and socialist systems.
- On a much more dangerous level, they entered into a nuclear arms race and built up missile defense systems capable of destroying the whole world.
- The USA kept a watchful eye and suspicious eye on all her American neighbors for signs of unrest that could lead to a growth of communist influence.

**British Guiana**

In 1953, Dr. Cheddi Jagan and the PP came to power in elections in British Guiana. The new government intended to take over all foreign businesses to one of the steps toward independence.

- The USA feared the Guyanese socialist ideas would spread to other countries.
- The US Put pressure on the British to suspend the constitution and remove Jagan. The British sent warships and troops after Jagan was in power for only 133 days.
oAfter the socialist decline, the US funds were used to influence trade unions, to back the opposition United Force Party and to change opinion through the Christian Anti-Communist crusade and the Moral rearmament.

The Dominican Republic and the Johnson Doctrine

In 1961, Rafael Trujillo, who had originally taken control of the Dominican Republic in 1930 was overthrown and murdered.

A faction in the Dominican army that had ties with the US eventually overthrew the Bosch government and suspended the constitution. For the next three years, the Bosch supporters (constitutionalists) clashed with Pro-US loyalists.

US president Lyndon Johnson, send 20,000 troops in 1965 fearing communist influence.

The president announced that the "American nations cannot must not and will not permit the establishment of another communist government in the western hemisphere. This became known as the Johnson Doctrine.

The peace force stayed until 1966 when Joaquin Balaguer, who was supported by the USA won the election. He stayed in leading positions for the next 20 years.

Multilateralism

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Caribbean countries became independent.

The military and economic conditions had changed.

The USA began to make greater use of the international bodies such as the UN, the OAS, and, later, CARICOM (formed in 1972 for English speaking Caribbean countries to work together in education, trade, banking, transport etc) to gain support for its policies.

The new US multilateral approach (connected with many sides of partners) often meant the independent Caribbean stats were drawn into international meetings. For the first time, they were expected to put forward their foreign policies.

The USA and Grenada

Ronald Reagan’s administration was noted for its free-market approach to Caribbean affairs.

In 1983, the Reagan government turned to military action in the Caribbean when 6000 US troops landed in Granada.

The background to the invasion:

- The new JEWEL (Joint Endeavour for Welfare Education and Liberation) movement led by Maurice Bishop seized power while the very unpopular prime minister was not in the country.
- New Jewel was welcomed by many when it attacked what they said were the corrupt practices of Eric Gairy, whose position had been damaged by the allegation that he had taken bribes and kickbacks to win support from businessmen and newspaper owners.
- The USA was alarmed at this spread of Cuban influence.
- The alarm deepened when Cuban engineers arrived to help build an international airport.
- Politicians in the Eastern Caribbean feared that their votes would turn communist. The fears turned closer to panic in 1983. A rival group of the New JEWEL turned on Maurice Bishop, chased him and his supporters into an old fort, killed man and shot Bishop.
- They set up a revolutionary council: the murder of Bishop meant that they had little support from Grenadians.
- The Reagan government claimed that its citizens’ lives were in danger, especially American students at the University of St. Georges.
- Representatives of the Eastern Caribbean asked the US to intervene.
- In 1983 President Reagan sent 6000 troops. They encountered about 1500 Grenadian troops and 700 Cuban workers. The fighting cost the lives of 63 of these Grenadians and Cubans and at least 24 civilians killed by US bombs.
- The UNsolidly condemned the invasion. With a vote of 189 to 9 its general assembly passed a resolution, saying it deeply deplored the armed intervention in Grenada, considering it constituting a flagrant violation of international law, and the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state.
Since 1985: the USA and Panama

- Until 1999, the Canal Zone on both sides was control by US marines.
- In 1988, the USA accused president General Manuel Noriega of corruption and making Panama a centre for narcotic drugs on their way to the USA. Noreiga refused to cooperate and was accused of ignoring the rule of law in Panama. In December 1989, US president Bush sent 27000 troops to Panama, who seized Noriega and took him to Miami to be charged.
- The OAS condemned the invasion but did nothing to stop US invasion.
- A new treaty was negotiated in 1978 between panama's president General Omar Torrijos and US president Carter. The US agreed to leave its military bases in the zone in 1999 and turn the operation of the Canal over to Panama.

The open intervention in Haiti

- After the Duvalier dictatorship ended in 1971. Haiti quickly sipped back into a military dictatorship led by general Prosper Avril. In 1989, the OAS threatened to support economic sanctions (stopping or limiting trade) against the already pitifully poor Haiti.
- In elections that followed Jean-Bertrand Aristide was elected president in 1990. While Aristide was visiting the UN, the military took control of the presidency again.
- With UN backing, the US and the UN military forces, including 300 CARICOM, troops, invaded Haiti in 1994 and restored Aristide to the presidency.
- Aristide won the election in 2000, but the US and some of their supporters were beginning to question the agreements made by Aristide for Cuba to send 800 medical workers and for the socialist president of Venezuela to supply cheaper oil to Haiti.
- US and UN funded support began to be withdrawn and rebel groups began to emerge to challenge Aristide’s leadership.
- On March 2004, US president George W Bush, announced that the USA would be sending troops to restore order. The UN stabilization force effectively took control over the country in August 2004.

The US forces in the Caribbean after the Cold war

- As early as 1963, the US government set up US Southern Command to enter into cooperative agreements with the new nation-states that were coming into being. It would share information, equipment, and training and be involved in search, rescue, and disaster relief.
- Most of the newly independent countries and their military established joint trainings with the Southern command.
- Taking part in the Southern Command resulted in further weakening the old colonial ties with the European powers. It also provided the Caribbean nations with another coordinating body that required governments to work together on international and defense issues.
There were two reasons for the decline in US-Caribbean trade:

- The US tariffs on imports made the price of Caribbean goods very high in the USA, while Britain and Canada began to give preferential customs treatment to West Indian sugar and food products.
- Mixed politics and economics, as the spread of US businesses in the Caribbean was considered by some local leaders to discourage local industries rather than stimulate them.

The US invested in British colonies; however, these were competing with the huge US-financed centrals and their sugar, fruit, coffee plantations in Cuba, Central America and Brazil. Their prices in the USA undercut those from the English speaking territories.

Another aspect of the negative effect of US police came when they closed the door to immigration from the Caribbean. That cut off the movement of several thousand workers from the English-speaking Caribbean who had entered the USA each year in search of work.

US investment after 1945

As Americans joined the armed forces, she needed men to replace them on the farms and in the factories. More than 100,000 British West Indians went to work in the USA during the war years. The war gave a new importance to the natural resources of the Caribbean.

After 1945, the growth of US influence in the English-Speaking Caribbean matched the decline in the power and wealth of Britain.

Jamaican bauxite was heavily dominated by US or Canadian companies from the start. The same was true of the bauxite industry in Guyana. In Trinidad, US companies gradually bought up the smaller local oil companies and became a major player in exploiting Trinidad’s oil reserves.

US companies took advantage of the eagerness of governments in the 1950s and early 1960s to bring foreign capital to launch industries that would create work for people and help to break away from dependence on exporting foodstuff.

A serious problem was that the new US investment often led to a flow of money out of the country.

The Caribbean Basin Initiative

During the presidency of Ronald Reagan, his administration launched the Caribbean Basin Initiative in 1983. This gave the US government the power to offer aid and reduced tax and customs levels on goods that entered the USA from the Caribbean or Central America.

The political aims of CBI: encourage free enterprise development funded by private US investors who would take advantage of the lower wage levels in the Caribbean. Unfriendly governments did not benefit from the money.

Only 10% of Caribbean exports were eligible to receive CBI benefits so that goods that threatened US businesses and jobs were excluded.
One long term benefit was that some US credit-card and airline companies used the CBI to set up bases where skilled Jamaican workers could input data into their computer systems.

CBI was expanded in October 2000 through the Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act; it increased trade with the US.

Hearts and minds in wartime: the Caribbean Commission

In 1942, the USA joined with Britain to set up the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. Its headquarters were opened in 1944 in Trinidad, where it had a chance to monitor attitudes among the islanders. It made arrangements for the movement of workers to the naval bases or to jobs in the USA and developed few welfare projects. But its chief purpose was to increase sympathy for the USA and to prevent any outbreaks of sympathy for Germany.

The Commission beamed its own programme, the West Indian Radio Newspaper. In 1946, the Commission became the Caribbean commission and was joined by the governments of France and Holland.

Hearts and minds post war: International Communications Agency

Much of the US support of the Caribbean Commission was eventually transferred into the United States Information Agency. After 1978, it was replaced by the United States International Communication Agency.

The task of these organizations was to increase understanding of US policies and US understanding of foreign attitudes towards them.

Once the cold war ended the US judged that there was less need for this type of service and the program was suspended in 1999.

Aid and the independent governments: the Peace Corps and USAID

The USA had failed to stop Fidel Castro taking Cuba into the communist bloc and this led their governments to consider ways of strengthening her position in the English-speaking Caribbean.

As well as trade and investment by US companies, the 1960s saw a series of US aid schemes that aimed to ensure that the new Caribbean states were not tempted to follow the Cuban Communist path to economic and political development.

The Corps is made up of volunteers while the USA government provides funds for their living expenses and for development projects.

The first country to receive the corps aid was St. Lucia in 1980.

The USA hoped that direct action by the Peace Corps aid programmes would create greater social and political stability while highlighting US ideals of democracy and regional cooperation.

The corps initially focused on improving education and ensuring that basic health services.

USAID, the United States Agency for International Development

Supported and promoted US influence throughout the Caribbean region during the last years of the 20th century and the first years of the 21st years.

The Caribbean program was divided into three main areas: good governance, health and education, and small business creation.

In 2005, USAID invested 61 million dollars into diverse Caribbean programs aimed at making small loans available to private entrepreneurs, streamlining government bureaucracy, launching anti-corruption campaigns and promoting public awareness os such social issues as HIV and narcotic drug abuse.