













• Should the Cuban embargo be lifted? Answer: I don't know.

• Will Cuba change significantly under either Castro? Opinion: No

Is Cuba better off after 50 years of Castro's totalitarianism?

Fact: In 1958, Cuba ranked between 2 and 4 among all Latin American nations in all common measures of development

and prosperity (per capita income, ratio of middle vs upper and lower class, longevity, infant mortality, number of cars and televisions per household, etc). Currently, it ranks consistently among the lowest 5 with Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Bolivia.

The Bottom line:

Very few emigrated from Cuba before 1959 and there was a large positive immigration from Spain, Lebanon, China, other Latin American countries and even the USA. Since 1959, about two million (out of a current population of 9 million) have emigrated, mostly to the USA. Currently an average of several thousand people leave every year, mostly illegally.

- Half of those come to Florida in small boats and rafts and it is estimated that about 20% of those who attempt this trip perish.
- Fact: During operation "Peter Pan" in the 1960's, about 14,000 children ages 6-16 were sent by their parents, who could not leave Cuba, to unknown foster parents and orphanages run by churches in the USA.

Fidel Castro - Cuba



• What will happen after Castro? Answer: Nobody knows

What has been Cuba's greatest curse?
 Opinion: That Fidel Castro was born in Cuba.

What is Cuba's greatest blessing (and hope for the future)? Opinion: Being so close to the greatest and most generous country in the history of the world.



Thank you

REFLECTIONS ON LATIN AMERICA AND CUBA - PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE - ROBERTO C. HEROS, M.D.

THE XIX CENTURY

• Wars of independence

Defeat of Bolivar's Pan-Americanism

- The rise of prominence of the "caudillo"
 - Santa Ana in Mexico
 - Garcia Moreno in Ecuador
 - Guzman Blanco in Venezuela
 - Barrios in Guatemala
 - Porfirio Diaz in Mexico
 - Solano Lopez in Paraguay

THE XIX CENTURY - 2

- Early democratic, progressive regimes:
 - Juarez Mexico
 - Mitre, Sarmiento and Roca Argentina
 - Balmaceda Chile
 - Castilla Peru
 - Alfaro Ecuador

THE XIX CENTURY - 3

Early (and only) imperialistic expansion of the USA:
 Mexico: 1846 - 48 (Texas, New Mexico, California and

parts of Nevada, Utah and Oregon; half of Mexico's territory but only 1-2% of its population)

- Cuba, Puerto Rico and Phillipines : 1898; both Cuba and Philippines given independence later.

XX CENTURY THROUGH WW II

- Gradual maturation of Democracy Argentina, Colombia, Cuba, Costa Rica, Uruguay, Chile, Ecuador and later in Venezuela (after Gomez) and Brazil (after Vargas).
- Intermittent re-emergence of caudillos
- Early beneficial immigration
 - Industrial revolution in Europe
 - Sao Paulo received 1 million European immigrants and Argentina 2 million
 - "Primogenitus" inheritance laws in Spain
 - Cuba alone received about 1/4 million "hard working" Spaniards at the beginning of the XX century

XX CENTURY THROUGH WW II - 2

- American interventionism mostly positive
 - The United Fruit Company (1899)
 - Development of Central American infrastructure by US commercial interests
 - Building of the Panama Canal (1903-1910)
 - Eradication of yellow fever.
 - Brief and generally positive interventions in Cuba, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic and Guatemala.

INDEPENDENCE FROM SPAIN

- 1810 Buenos Aires (Patriotic Juntas)
- 1810 Mexico (Hidalgo and Morelos)
- 1811 Venezuela (Patriotic Junta)
- 1814 Nueva Granada/Colombia (Bolivar)
 - 1816 Argentina (Congreso de Tucuman)
 - **1816 Chile (San Martin/O'Higgins)**
- 1821 Peru and Ecuador (San Martin/Bolivar)

INDEPENDENCE FROM SPAIN - 2

- 1822 Brazil (Pedro I emperor)
- 1824 Battle of Ayacucho (Sucre)
- 1826 Bolivia (Sucre/Bolivar)
- 1898 Cuba (Marti, Gomez, Maceo and the USA)

THE COLD WAR

 The internationalization of terrorism: Tri-continental Conference in Havana (1966) and establishment of OSPAAL (Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America)

During the 70's and 80's, Cuba trained terrorists from many central and South American countries, from the IRA, the ETA (Basques), the PLO, Libya, Yemen, Sudan, Germany (Red Brigades) and the USA (Black Panthers and the Macheteros from Puerto Rico). More secretly, as later revealed by Russia, Castro began to develop a significant research effort on biological warfare (including anthrax!). ?current status.

THE COLD WAR - 2

- Marxist and Cuban-backed guerrilla movements
 - Bolivia Che Guevara; defeated by CIA trained commandos(a few were Cuban Bay of Pigs veterans)
 - Nicaragua-Sandinistas; won power and then defeated in open elections in 1990.
 - Guatemala direct Cuban support to guerrillas
 - Salvador direct Cuban support to guerrillas
 - Argentina Montoneros (some Cuban support)
 - Uruguay Tupamaros (urban guerrillas)
 - Peru "Sendero Luminoso" (Mao-marxist)
 - Colombia the rise of the narco/guerrilla
 - Venezuela direct Cuban backing; never a major threat

THE COLD WAR - 3

- President Carter agrees to return Canal to Panama (1979)
 Has not been the catastrophe I would have predicted
- Cuban (USSR-financed) adventurism in Africa, mostly Angola, Ethiopia and Congo, but at least in seven countries between 1976 and 1990.
- President Allende of Chile is overthrown by middle class/military uprising with discreet support of the CIA

Falkland Islands war - 1992, US backs England.

FINAL COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC COUNTRIES - 3

• Ecuador- Economy and political stability very threatened by populist reaction to neo-liberal policies, rebellion of large indigenous population, spread of violence from Columbia and "sierra" (Quito) vs. "coast" (Guayaquil) rivalries. The leftist-populist President, Rafael Correa seems to be siding with Chavez and Castro. Three of the former Presidents were deposed undemocratically during the last 10 years. Some pragmatic and pro-western (albeit moderately corrupt) politicians are still very powerful and may stage yet another coup in collaboration with some of the "old guard" of the military. This would be good for the country and for the West unless Correa gradually becomes more pragmatic a la Lula

Peru - Threatened by poverty and return to coca production. Last president was Alan Garcia, a leftist who nearly ruined the country during his first Presidency and was exiled under accusations of corruption; however, he matured as a pragmatist, embraced free market policies and brought relative prosperity and growth to Peru. In spite of this the recent elections were won by a radical leftist Ollanta **Humala.** Will he also mature as a pragmatist and maintain free market policies or will he lean towards the Chavez clique? REFLECTIONS ON LATIN AMERICA AND CUBA - PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE - ROBERTO

FINAL COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC COUNTRIES - 4

- Uruguay and Paraguay Can not resist the economic downturn of Argentina but for now that is buffered by Brazil. So far politically stable but corruption, particularly in Paraguay, a real problem
- Costa Rica Meca of Eco-turism. Will demilitarization continue to work? Long-standing democratic tradition. Threatened by borders with poorer countries.
- Panama- Doing surprisingly well. Canal thriving. Free trade agreement will help

Rest of Central America and the Caribbean (except for Cuba and Haiti) - In surprisingly good shape politically in spite of economic difficulties and recurrent natural disasters. Recent upsurge of criminalized "gangs" (maras) increasingly linked to narco-terrorism together with inept and under-funded police forces and a politicized and unstable judiciary system pose a serious threat in Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras. President Ortega of Nicaragua is an embarrassment. Is it possible that this former Marxist and rapist has "matured" and become a pragmatist? Probably not

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THREATS IN THE XXI CENTURY - 3

- Downturns in American economy are felt more profoundly in South America and Mexico
- Persistence of caudillos Chavez in Venezuela; his living icons are Castro, Khadaffi and Ahmadinejad. Ivo Morales in Bolivia won the Presidency on a platform of restoring coca production and socialism. Daniel Ortega won election in Nicaragua in spite of his history of almost ruining the country and systematically raping his step-daughter when she was 12 though 14 years of age
 - Mexico too large and too close to ignore. Enormous potential. Major threat. Fox mostly did the right things. New President, Calderon, is smart, conservative and pro-western but he won by the narrowest margin; opposition is very powerful. His decision to wage "war" on the narcos was corageous but may cost him his job...or his life! Immigration mayor threat!
 - Turmoil in the Middle East and war in Iraq brought higher oil prices severely hurting the economy of oil-importing countries and promoting "petro-populism" in the oil-exporting nations (Venezuela)

eflection problems not unique to the USAre - roberto c. Heros, M.d.

FINAL COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC COUNTRIES - 4

- Haiti- A true catastrophe. Without a world-wide major effort it may disintegrate. Current UN effort ineffective (and corrupt!). Performance of new President?
- Cuba Much less important since end of Cold War. Current regime is unlikely to survive beyond the Castros without major reform or revolution from within (?violent vs evolutionary). Raul Castro is the "runt" of the family- zero charisma, serious problem with alcohol. Fidel will pass. But when? Hopefully soon!