

NATIONAL AND HUMAN SECURITY ISSUES
IN IRREGULAR MIGRATION IN THE USA:
THE CUBAN IRREGULAR MIGRATION CRISIS

by

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work first to my loving family who, with their full support and understanding, helped me through the hardest of times throughout my academic career, while giving me the drive press forward dauntlessly. I would like to also thank friends, both old and new, who were there to share the burdens and joys of scholarly life; My thanks goes out to you all. Finally, I dedicate this paper to the Cuban people, both citizen and exile, that one day the political wounds may be healed and a newer, more free Cuba be born from it.

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ABSTRACT

NATIONAL AND HUMAN SECURITY ISSUES IN IRREGULAR MIGRATION IN THE USA: THE CUBAN IRREGULAR MIGRATION CRISIS

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National Security and Human Security are two concepts of the larger field of Security that have been and currently remain at odds with each other. On one hand, National Security seeks to uphold the sovereignty of this synthetic idea of the 'State', while, on the other hand, Human Security seeks the recognition of the internationally accepted rights of the individual, in any situation, whether the State recognizes them or not. As one can imagine, based on this ongoing division within the field of security, such as issue as migration is subject to just as heated as debate. National Security would state that the protection of the sovereign nation from the effects from the movement of unknown persons is paramount over the rights of the individual. Human Security rejects this notion, arguing that the well-being of the human person should be the primary focus in all matters, whether the action be a legal matter or one of state sovereignty.

While the division between these views of security usually results in one taking precedence over the other, the case of Cuban irregular migration to the United States is a unique case. The shared history between the island and the US, be it the Cuban War for Independence or the Bay of Pigs Invasion and subsequent Missile Crisis after, is one wrought with security issues stemming from the field of National Security. The migration crisis, however, spurred on by these events, resulted in a shift in focus from the protection of the state, to the care of the individual. US policy towards Cuba would come to develop a unique focus on Human Security out of a setting that was highly reliant upon the ideals of National Security. This dissertation hopes to use the case of US and Cuban policy development with between National Defense and Cuban Migration to the US to effectively demonstrate that both the principles of National Security and Human Security have a place in policy and can be used effectively without jeopardizing the ideals of either field.

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

Irregular Migration: A common issue faced by a majority of the Western world. People, several of them qualifying under refugee status and simply seeking a better life, travel in hopes of entering a new country within which lies opportunity and employment. Due to the strictness of immigration policies within Western nations, entry into a country, through what are deemed to be the appropriate means, is nigh impossible for some. As a result, risks are taken by those individuals who choose the path of irregular migration.

A crisis like no other, irregular migration has resulted in the losses of tens of thousands of innocents due to the perils of the journeys that must be undertaken in perilous “crossings,” as they are called. From a North American perspective, the most famous example would be the South American crossing of the US-Mexican border, a journey which, even after entering the US remains just as perilous due to the harsh desert climates awaiting the migrant. A European, example would be the hazardous crossing of the Mediterranean Sea from Africa into the European Union. Asia, as well, sees similar journeys undertaken by migrants from North Korea into China. With such lack of regulation and human lives on the line, the world cannot simply ignore the realities of irregular migration. Why is it, however, that humans choose to make such journeys?

Humanity has, since the dawn of its race, traveled free, restricted by only geography and the natural limitations of the human body. The most commonly accepted

theory is that humanity was born out of Africa and, over time, migrated northward to populate the Eurasian Super-Continent. From there, as early humans developed and adapted to newer climates and regions, a new migration occurred, one to populate the untouched lands of what would later be referred to as the American continents. At this point in history, humanity cannot deny its natural affinity towards migration and every person now residing on this planet is or was at some point in their bloodline, born of migrants. Even in this age of settlement, a migratory existence continues with nomadic tribes still operating, drifting with the seasons and food sources. Regardless of the drive, humanity is a migrant species by its very nature.¹

Nature is not the only cause however, when observing modern occurrence, one can find several basic reasons the “push” populations into immigration. Civil Wars, famine, poor economic climates, or even a poor physical climate are all commonly cited reasons for this modern occurrence of irregular migration. It is not unreasonable to think that before lines were drawn and internationally agreed upon borders were enforced that strife would have been cause for whole societies to uproot themselves and resettle in other lands. This concept is as old as the Bible, with even the Old Testament book of Exodus recounting such tales in regards to the Jewish residence and subsequent migration from Egypt.²

¹ “Hints of Earlier Human Exit from Africa | Science News,” accessed July 12, 2014, <https://www.sciencenews.org/article/hints-earlier-human-exit-africa>.

² “United States Conference of Catholic Bishops - Bible - Exodus, Chapter 1,” accessed July 8, 2014, <http://www.usccb.org/bible/exodus/1>.

In these contemporary times of course, migration has become controlled and restricted. Famous migration events, such as the great American migrations in the late 1800s and early 1900s offer an example of a chaotic, but controlled migration. While events such as this are historically applauded for setting the example of streamlined bureaucracy, one must ask themselves why such bureaucratic measures are put in place. The most practical answer would be for “security” purposes, in order to document all individuals as well as prevent the spread of disease throughout the urban settings these immigrants would likely be settling in.

Quite possibly the most common response one might receive for actions undertaken by authorities in the United States would be “for the sake of security.” But for what sort of security? The mind of the average person would likely stray to the events of the September 11, 2001 in which the “National Security” of the United States of America, was breached. The security of the *nation*, a sovereign entity bound to protect those registered citizens who reside within its borders. This, in simple terms, is the concept of “National Security.” Rather than the rights of all, National Security places its sole concern on the rights, granted by the State, to the members of the State.

A newer, and just as crucial focus on the topic of security issues in migration would be that of “Human Security.” When viewing any crisis through this approach, one’s lens becomes broader in scope, removing any sort of labels such as nationality or identity. The focus now shifts to the lives and well-being of all individuals, be they members of a State or not, rather than the sovereignty of any nation. Based on international principles, including the basic human rights as delineated and states in the

U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, the concept of “Human Security” seeks to limit the harm done to those in most need of protection during the crisis. In the case of migration, Human Security hopes to protect rights and well-being of the migrant and the individuals in the receiving territory, assuring that all human rights are protected and safeguarded.

These two viewpoints seem entirely juxtaposed to each other. One theory is based on international principles and cares for the individual over the State, while the other seeks to protect its sovereignty. When considering a concept such as migration, especially its *irregular* variant, it is clear that the debate, while crucial, is likely to be a long and ongoing one. Reconciling the two fields is a task with which even contemporary experts struggle and this paper certainly does not presume to hold the answer to the question. With consideration that it would be entirely presumptuous to assume that this division has an obvious solution, Cuba’s current crisis of migration offers insights into the correlation of these two viewpoints in policies regarding this one case.

As previously mentioned, this is a worldwide crisis, however a unique case presents itself in the Caribbean Sea. Cuba, the dominant island of its archipelago and one of the few remaining, openly communist nations, has endured a migration crisis lasting over 50 years. Past policies enacted have touched upon the issues of both Human and National security because they have little choice, but to do so. Cuba’s existence as a communist state only 90 miles south of the United States made it a clear “National Security” threat which was only reinforced during the Cuban Missile Crisis. “Human Security” came into play, not only due to close proximity, but also due to the

interconnectedness of the Cuban and North American cultures, economies, and most importantly, proximity to each other.

Cuba's case of migration is unique in these respects. In other cases, such as the South/Central American Migration to the United States, we see multitudes of cultures that have yet to fully integrate into American society, and therefore, have not come to be accepted into the overall culture by the majority. Parallels can be drawn to the situation in the Mediterranean as well where one can see two vastly different cultures on the shores of EU member nations. Cuban Migration, while not absolutely immune, does not suffer the effects of this discrimination as much. Cuban migration, in fact, has been traditionally been politically supported by the United States. This is where the situation absolutely breaks the norm when analyzing the global crises of irregular migration throughout various regions of the world.

This dissertation hopes to answer the following question: *In the case of Cuban irregular migration, how have policies pertaining to both Human and National security been historically created and enforced by the United States and Cuba and do these policies continue to be used and developed to this day?* It is the intention of this scholar to answer why it is that the case of Cuban irregular migration to the United States case takes into consideration both the human persons involved and the sovereignty of nations, making it a distinct and fascinating case to behold. It also hopes to demonstrate why this distinctness came to be and what hopes of continued progress in this case could mean for a possible solution in the future.

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review

Security: From Realism to Division

The very idea of *Security* is likely to be the most often, yet unknowingly discussed topic of contemporary times. Each and every human person of the Western world has experienced or lives in a society surrounded by security conscious individuals. Homes must be *secure* in order to protect belongings and loved ones. Likewise cars, schools, work and public places, etc. Computers require internet security, anti-virus programs, and firewalls in order to operate on *secure* internet connections provided either from public institutions or private internet service providers. Even fitness has been argued to be a security concern, with one's physical health affecting the security of those around them.

What is this concept of "Security" though? The modern conception of security developed out of a popular form of thinking during the Cold War called "Realism." This Cold War mindset posited the notion of "stability through acting out of self-interest." According to the Copenhagen School of International Relations, the modern concept of Security "is about survival. It is when an issue presented as posing an existential threat to a designated referent object. The special nature of security justifies the use of the use of

extraordinary measures to handle them.”³ In other words, States use security in order to identify threats to their sovereignty, which in turn allows them to act using whatever means they deem necessary.

There is room for concern based on this assessment however when one considers the aforementioned diffuseness of the concept of security and how, when used by those in power, can become a weapon in its own right:

In the post-Cold War period academics and later also politicians and practitioners began to speak of a broader definition of security. After a first period of hope for a new peaceful world, the recognition that the security agenda is much more complex than in the past, and that the end of the bipolar global order either unleashed or uncovered a wide range of (often interconnected) interstate, intrastate and transnational security problems, threats and concerns. The new definitions of security differed in how far they were prepared to go in recognizing the broadening of security concerns such as, for example, health issues, or gender relations.⁴

The original dual-hegemonic state that was the world under the Cold War period had no need to disseminate what *types* or *versions* of security were needed as it was the word of either the USSR or USA that kept the world secure. In these times, security is a rather diffuse creature. Rather than it be controlled and disseminated by the few, it is now determined by the various world powers, sub-powers, and anyone with the ability and means to influence policy or debate.

Realism as seen in the world now, better known as *Neo-Realism*, takes the basis that was developed and used during the Cold War and applies it to contemporary

³ Barry Buzan, Ole Wver, and Jaap De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Pub, 1997), 21.

⁴ Omar Grech and Monika Wohlfeld, eds., *Human Rights and the Conflict Cycle* (MEDAC Publications, 2010), 2.

international politics. Neo-Realism accepts the premise of *Classical Realism*, however, where it differs is that rather than accept international politics as driven by human self-interest, it is argued that the system is purely anarchistic. Based on the thinking of the philosopher Emmanuel Kant, the summarized argument is that “The natural state [of the world] is the state of war. Under the conditions of international politics, war recurs; the sure way to abolish war, then, is to abolish international politics.”⁵

This line of thinking would make one confused simply because purely anarchistic system alone would be no feasible system for international stability. This is because Neo-Realism relies on one other aspect. Famously proposed by thinker Francis Fukuyama in his work *The End of History and the Last Man*, Neo-Realism’s anarchistic, utilitarian state is regarded as a peaceful one. While seemingly impractical, Fukuyama posits that in a world becoming increasingly democratic, war is becoming less and less likely. So far, the world has yet to see a democracy go to war against itself. In a sense, Neo-Realism is a sort of reversed form of realism in which the structure has been turned in on itself. The selfish, self-serving conflict argument of Classical Realism is now one of democratic states attempting to show which state is the most democratic. Put simply, the world, if entirely democratic, will keep itself in-check if only to show that democracy is, in itself, a peaceful institution.⁶⁷

⁵ “Structural Realism after the Cold War - Waltz_Structural Realism.pdf,” 4, accessed July 15, 2014, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/sipa/U6800/readings-sm/Waltz_Structural%20Realism.pdf.

⁶ “Structural Realism after the Cold War - Waltz_Structural Realism.pdf.”

⁷ Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, 1st Free Press trade pbk. ed (New York: Free Press, 2006), 24.

Out of Neo-Realist came continued division within the field of security however. On a global scale, two major schools of thought have developed out of this new, post-Cold War vision of Realism: National and Human Security. National Security and Human Security are currently the most hotly debated forms of security to date. National Security tends towards the original concepts laid out by the earlier Cold War school of Realism and now the contemporary Neo-Realism, which stress the sovereignty of States rather than a top-down, all-controlling approach to security. Human Security is a concept that was allowed to thrive at the end of the Cold War. Stressing a Human Rights approach to the enforcement of security policy, Human Security hoped to provide a philosophical argument to encourage a more internationalized system to security capable of intervening in threats beyond that of the established sovereign nations. Both fields specialize in their own distinct aspects of Security policy, however, no matter how divergent they seem, both affect the current securitized climate of our age.

National Security

As previously mentioned National Security is the concept that all nations act to secure their sovereignty. Focused entirely on the survival of the state, it emphasizes means of military, diplomatic, political, and economic power in order to maintain a stable and successful society. A concept that, while understood prior to its development through diplomatic thinkers such as Otto von Bismarck, only began to come to fruition during World War II. National Security in contemporary times was born during the Cold War.

Based on the concept of Realism, National Security developed as a means of enforcing the classical approach of realism in a world where sovereignty, whether it be

viewed as a singular or multiple hegemons, is stressed above all else. No longer is a world where two powers dual with sub-States and regions below, rather it is one of power sharing amongst sovereign states. National Security was designed so that the sharing of power does not interfere with the sovereignty or working order of an individual state.

The Copenhagen School of Security

The Copenhagen School of International Relations specializes in Security studies and remains the leader in the development of modern security policy to this day. The work “Security: A New Framework for Analysis,” written by Barry Buzan, et al., offers the reader a simplified and concise look at the state of modern “National Security.” Seen earlier in this work, the quote regarding what is security, which determined it be best summarized human threat analysis and subsequent reaction, come directly from this very work.

Buzan, within his work, argues from the traditionalist school of “Realism,” a humanized understanding of political and international relations which takes into account the human person and his or her tendencies. Humanity, by its very nature, is constantly analyzing surroundings and sensing for threats to itself. This has been argued by philosophers and diplomats alike for ages. Everyone from Niccolo Machiavelli to Otto von Bismarck have either made mention of this fact or have used it for their own gain.⁸⁹

⁸ “59229txt - 99053676.pdf,” 7, accessed August 7, 2014, <http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/samples/cam032/99053676.pdf>.

⁹ “Nine.pdf,” 5, accessed August 7, 2014, <http://wiki.zirve.edu.tr/sandbox/groups/economicsandadministrativesciences/wiki/33950/attachments/54b81/nine.pdf>.

Buzan goes into detail on this matter in a chapter discussing what the Copenhagen School refers to as the “Classical Security Complex Theory.”¹⁰

In light of the Cold War, the field of Security Analysis was determined to understand the reactions of nations and sovereign entities underneath the shadow of the two major super powers above. What was discovered was that even with the support of the two primary security providers of the USA or the USSR, nations operated relatively independently, with the only factor being the closer the ties to a super power were, the more likely they would use them for their own state’s security. In the cases of minor nations with the conflict however, it was found that they would develop the state of their own region. It was determined that security within each sovereign nation was, in most cases, divided up into *regional subsystems*.¹¹ While every state, during this period, were interlinked through a sort of international web of security, it was found that there is a marked increase of security intensity within “regions” rather than outside them.

Buzan and the others within the Copenhagen school determined that these *complexes* see a marked increase in security within, rather than without. The rationale behind this thinking comes from the idea that it is more than likely one nation would stage a military attack on a nearby nation rather than attack a target thousands of miles away. India would not attack Sweden, for instance, yet we see a continued security struggle between India and Pakistan. The intensity of security lies within a region, rather than outside of it. This is what Buzan refers to as a *Security Complex*, defined as “a set of

¹⁰ Buzan, Wver, and Wilde, *Security*, 10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

states whose major security perceptions and concerns are so interlinked that their national security problems cannot reasonable be analyzed or resolved apart from one another.”¹²

A complex’s basic structure is usually determined by factors including the patterns of amity and enmity and the distribution of power amongst the nations. The state of the complex is usually one of three factors: Maintaining the *Status Quo* or under state of *External* or *Internal Transformation*. The *status quo* is the structure of the state in which the complex has either not undermined or essentially better secured a state from collapse. *Internal Transformation* implies a regional integration or at the very least, major shifts between the amity or enmity of the regional states. *External Transformation* suggests an alteration within the distribution of powers within the state which could lead to push-back from outside parties who too are influenced by the region.¹³

While extremely useful in the Cold War period, the *Security Complex* approach became an extremely myopic view in the changing would of the late 20th – early 21st century. With only one major super power left in play, the system, while not having collapsed, underwent an evolution. Nations could no longer afford view the world from a political or military lens. While still entirely relevant, Buzan insists that analysis of the state of regional security out to consider other such things as *Homogenous Complexes* which suggest that everything from power-rivalries between regional states to identity-based conflicts are as much a security threat as military placements along a national border. *Heterogenous Complexes* are another alternative, which suggest that even the

¹² Ibid., 12.

¹³ Ibid., 13.

idea of an extra-regional conflict can be considered within a regional conflict, such as other, distant nations or actors interacting economically within the region. One example would be the several regions of the EU, made up of either similar geography, economies, or identities, but an overarching EU parliament combining all regions together under one greater influence.¹⁴

Buzan and the Copenhagen School still remain heavily rooted in the practicality of the Realist school for security, however the willingness to criticize their own viewpoints has led them to be an influential part of the field of security analysis. The ultimate problem the field struggles to address however is determining, in physical situations, what truly is a security “threat” and what is being treated as such simply for political or self-gain.

Securitization and National Security

Securitization is means by which one may analyze a situation and determine how it initially came to be considered an issue of “Security.” Another development by the Copenhagen School, Securitization takes the classical “Realist” approach of assuming a situation is already one of security (such as the military potential of a State) and considers why such a thing came to be. In other words, it is the development of a situation into a security issue and the reaction to said development. Such analysis calls into question decisions of public policy makers as to why some information is given to the general public regarding matters of military and national security, while other decisions are left to be determined in a clandestine fashion.

¹⁴ Ibid., 16.

As Buzan and the Copenhagen School suggest, Securitization is a veil by which the policy makers use to develop a security issue:

Some security discourse is not legitimized in public by security discourse because they are not out in the public at all but this is actually a very clear case of the security logic. In a democracy, at some point it must be argued by the public sphere why a situation constitutes security and therefore can legitimately be handled differently. One could not take something out of the budget without giving reason for the use of such extraordinary procedure. When this procedure has been legitimized through security rhetoric, it becomes institutionalized as a package legitimization, and is thus possible to have black security boxes in the political process. The speech act requires public influence on these issues, but in democracies one must legitimize in public why from now on the details will not be presented publicly.¹⁵

In order for an issue to successfully become a “Security Issue” in a democratic society, it must first be presented as such. In some cases, it is a means of political and media manipulation of the general public.

Securitization requires three factors be in place: An actor who will provide the securitizing rhetoric, an object which is under threat, and a target audience of whom the actor intends to influence into supporting this notion that the object under threat must be secured. The great fear of securitization, however, is not that proper security will be put into place in regards to the object under threat, but that, in providing the right rhetoric, the actor may use whatever means required to act in the name of the threatened object to do as he or she pleases. In other words, Securitization, while a complete politically rhetorical and practical means of accomplishing a necessary security task, can be enormously abused.

¹⁵ Ibid., 28.

Securitization is found in various fields, all of which government tends to play a significant, if not primary role in its function and upkeep. These areas include the military, political, economic, social, and environmental aspects of a State. While Securitization is most often found affecting only one of the aforementioned sectors, it can be used effectively over several of them.

The United States' "War on Terror" is a prime example of securitization and its abuses. The Bush Administration, in 2001, made it clear military operations were to occur due to the September 11th Attacks, in what they defined as a *military operation*. However, the argument was supplemented later on, as the invasion of Iraq in 2003 became imminent. The argument for Iraq was the famous supposed "Weapons of Mass Destruction" held by then Dictator Saddam Hussein. The Bush Administration, however, was keen to supplement this argument with the Iraqi history of chemical weapons use upon the Kurdish-Iraqi populations scattering the country. They argued the dictatorship was directly testing chemical weapons upon an innocent population, thus making the operation not simply a military one, but expanding it to be a humanitarian and therefore, a *social one*.¹⁶

While Securitization is not specifically a facet of Security, it is a core part of what influences Security policy within every nation. It is a means by which a person can analyze the how and why an issue is being presented as one of security. It also allows for

¹⁶ "Building Momentum for Regime Change': Rumsfeld's Secret Memos," *MSNBC*, February 16, 2013, <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/building-momentum-regime-change-rumsfe>.

one to best discover and report security abuses, through a democratic process, that have been enacted or will be soon be so.

The Department of Homeland Security

The tradition of security enforcement The Department of Homeland Security of the United States serves a vague, but overarching purpose in the United States' security network. Acting as the "frontline" for US security, it covers every aspect from immigration to terrorism to cyber security to natural disasters. It is therefore the foremost and primary government agency of the United States to administer Security policy.

Within its mission statement, the DHS promotes three "key concepts": Security, Resilience, and Customs ad Exchange. Its primary functions are to prevent terrorism, secure and manage the US borders, enforce and administer immigration laws, safeguard and secure cyberspace, and ensure resilience to disasters.¹⁷

One major function the agency handles is Immigration. The Department of Homeland Security focuses on streamlining the "legal immigration process" while targeting "criminal aliens" residing in within the US and the "employers who knowingly and repeatedly break the law." Its immigration enforcement arm, Immigration & Customs Enforcement (ICE) enforces immigration policy, handling tasks such as investigations and deportation.¹⁸

¹⁷ "The US Department of Homeland Security - Our Mission," accessed July 11, 2014, <http://www.dhs.gov/our-mission>.

¹⁸ "Immigration Enforcement Overview," accessed July 16, 2014, <http://www.dhs.gov/topic/immigration-enforcement-overview>.

The DHS also handles the administration of “legal immigration.” Playing a facilitation role, it seeks to streamline the effort for others to enter the United States in what it refers to as a “legal” fashion and treat it as a “benefit” to those who are allowed entry. It deems such crimes as immigration fraud as threats to national security and uses advanced identity verification and biometric technology in order to prevent such crimes from occurring.¹⁹

Finally, the DHS also attempts to limit and control Human Trafficking into and within the United States. It is the responsibility of the DHS to investigate human trafficking situations, in which they have the authority to arrest the traffickers and the duty to protect the victims. The DHS approach is “victim centered,” as they refer to it, and ensures that the victim maintains all rights, even if they are complicit of “illegal entry” into the country.²⁰ Trafficking victims are processed through Immigration Relief Services, also administered by the DHS, and are often offered temporary, non-immigrant status visas into the United States.²¹

The United Nations Security Council

Continuing the tradition of “Realism” in international politics is the United Nations Security Council. Founded in the United Nations Charter, its mission, as stated on its web page, is “to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations; to cooperate in solving international problems and in promoting respect

¹⁹ “Results,” accessed July 16, 2014, <http://www.dhs.gov/topic/results>.

²⁰ “A Victim-Centered Approach,” accessed July 16, 2014, <http://www.dhs.gov/victim-centered-approach>.

²¹ “Human Trafficking,” accessed July 16, 2014, <http://www.dhs.gov/topic/human-trafficking>.

for human rights; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations.”²² In other words, the United Nations Security Council’s purpose is to intervene in security issues that affect the stability of the globe.

Because of United Nations Security Council’s power and overarching ability to determine the not only the political discourse, but the course of nations, it intervenes only when deemed necessary. The issue of “when” however is interesting in that it could be argued that the Security Council is hindered by the disagreements by the powers within it. The five sitting nations of council include the United States, Russia, France, China, and the United Kingdom, each holding a veto power. In a sense, if the national or internal security of their own nations are threatened, they will act accordingly in their vote, whether be to intervene or simply investigate.²³

While the Cold War may be over, division remains in that there is still the traditional “East-West” split over policy. It is because of this that there is concern the United Nations Security Council is highly ineffective due to the requirement that there be a unanimous vote in order for the council to act. Most usually a veto from the United States, Russia, or China, stalls action by the council in crucial endeavors. One such example, which remains a unique situation to this day, would be the ongoing crisis in Syria which incited a large debate between United States and Russian interests within the conflict ravaged region. In this case, it was determined that there would be an

²² “About the United Nations Security Council,” accessed July 11, 2014, <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/>.

²³ Ibid.

investigation rather than an intervention in order that both interests be protected, yet threat to human life remains an ever present crisis in the region.²⁴

Human Security

Human security was a concept born out the failures and shortcomings of Realist-based policy during the Cold War. In its aftermath, academics and humanitarians alike saw the devastation years of proxy wars fought in place of the two super powers had done to the globe. Korea, Vietnam, and Afghanistan, to name but a few of the major wars of the Cold War era, produced more refugees than the world at the time was prepared to handle. Rather than treat them as the humans they are, the world at the time saw fit to divvy them up and use them as the political tools of the hegemons. Instead of human suffering needing the treatment of fellow man, it became a mere political tool with which blame could be laid upon the other party.

In more contemporary times we see a world far more divided than what would have been under the hegemons of the Cold War. As a result, stability of wants purposefully carved out colonies, now nations, have fallen into intrastate war. Civil War is now a common occurrence across the globe, with such examples as FARC in Central America or the recent revolutions in North African states such as Libya, Tunisia, or even Egypt and Syria in the Levant.

²⁴ Anne Gearan and Scott Wilson, "U.S., Russia Reach Agreement on Seizure of Syrian Chemical Weapons Arsenal," *The Washington Post*, September 14, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/us-russia-reach-agreement-on-seizure-of-syrian-chemical-weapons-arsenal/2013/09/14/69e39b5c-1d36-11e3-8685-5021e0c41964_story.html.

Wars such as these, whether just or not, produce the same the results as any war has ever done in history: Destruction and the refugees fleeing from it. The international community has come to recognize this sad fact or war, innocents fleeing their own home, not for hope or prosperity, but for the mere protection of their own lives and the lives of their loved ones. It was on this basis that Human Security was developed. Rather than the focus upon the nations and group of “citizens,” Human Security sought to place the spotlight upon the individual.

With the Cold War over, Human Security is seen as an alternative to National Security, however it is up for debate whether or not the two are mutually reinforcing. National Security was developed based on the Realist approach to Interstate Conflict. With the state of the world as it is now, such form of conflict is unlikely. Rather, the conflict experienced now is more likely to be of the *intrastate* variety. Rather than nations protecting its citizens from the threats of other nations, it is now more common for the citizenship of states to break down and devolve into violent conflict, resulting in a refugee crisis.²⁵

While this division between two schools of security may exist, so too is there a division amongst proponents of Human Security:

All proponents of human security agree that its primary goal is the protection of individuals. However, consensus breaks down over precisely what threats individuals should be protected from. Proponents of the ‘narrow’ concept of human security focus on violent threats to individuals or, as [former] UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan puts it, ‘the protection of communities and individuals from internal violence’. Proponents

²⁵ “HSR_OVERFOREPREF_p26.indd - 2005HumanSecurityReport-WhatIsHumanSecurity.pdf,” accessed July 16, 2014, <http://www.hsrgroup.org/docs/Publications/HSR2005/2005HumanSecurityReport-WhatIsHumanSecurity.pdf>.

of the 'broad' concept of human security argue that the threat agenda should include hunger, disease and natural disasters because these kill far more people than war, genocide and terrorism combined. Human security policy, they argue, should seek to protect people from these threats as well as from violence. In its broadest formulations the human security agenda also encompasses economic insecurity and 'threats to human dignity'.²⁶

Human Security, while somewhat diluted still maintains its core component, the protection of rights of the individual. Derived from the *United Nations Declaration of Human Rights*, it seeks to internationalize security, on the basis that Human Rights exceed even that of citizenship and should be respected as such. "Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world"²⁷ is the preamble to the UDHR and lays the universal rights of the human person. It is followed by a full explanation of the rights, which in one of the most paramount articles, Article 3, states that "Life, Liberty, and Security of Person" is a right to all human persons. It is this document that lays out the foundation for Human Security and provides the basis for the broad and narrow debate to this day.

The UNDP and Human Security

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) is a UN program which first stressed the notion of Human Security in terms of global stability. The UNDP, founded during the Cold War, was put in place in order to provide united, global outreach and advice to the developing world. With its focus shifting and altering over the years,

²⁶ Ibid., 1.

²⁷ "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights," accessed July 16, 2014, <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>.

dealing with crises such as the AIDS epidemic or the possibility of global famine, it became clear it was the UNDP's duty to be a larger organization than originally intended. Rather combat one specific global issue, it became an umbrella, and Human Security was the tool used to analyze and correct these harmful and global threats.

In 1994, Dr. Muhab ul Haq, through the UNDP's Human Development Report, introduced to the world a formalized concept of Human Security. While not the initial creator of the concept, his hope was to popularize this new notion to the field of security in order for it to gain an audience. His target was the upcoming United Nations World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen, 1995. The '94 report emphasizes the need to recognize what were considered internal, national problems to be deserving of the treat that crisis deemed global threats do.²⁸

In the program's development report, it highlighted several key areas in which the concept of Human Security would be of great benefit to the developing world:

Economic Security – This portion of Human Security focuses on the basic income and consistent employment of the individual. It seeks to assure that every individual has access to the means to support his or herself and a stable government with which can provide a safety net to protect said individual in times of economic trouble. This is a major concern in developing countries in which economic factors such as unemployment can heighten ethnic and political tensions within unstable regions.²⁹

²⁸ "hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf," 36, accessed July 28, 2014, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf.

²⁹ Ibid., 25–26.

Food Security – In connection with economic security is food security. Food security requires that individuals have the means to both afford reasonably priced food and be able to physically require it. Food availability, while a factor, is a minor issue in comparison to food distribution. While intervention on a global and national level has been attempted, little has changed due to the severity of the distribution problem. It has been the suggestion of the UNDP that the focus ought to remain Economic Security in order that the means of distribution of physical food products may have a developed and stable economic in which to be appropriately processed.³⁰

Health Security – Health Security seeks to offer basic protection from infectious diseases and parasites, the primary causes of death in developing countries, taking over 17 million lives annually. In the case of developing nations, the primary killer is one of lifestyle, in which most deaths are due to issues of the circulatory system. In both developing and industrialized countries, the greatest concern is that of malnutrition of children within rural areas. Services providing general health care, including properly sanitized living conditions and drinking water are primary concerns. The HIV and AIDS epidemic falls into this category and acted as one of the primary inspirations for action in this field.³¹

Environmental Security – In relation to health security is environmental security, which seeks to bolster the living conditions of the individual. It considers factors ranging from natural disasters to man-made environmental threats. Individuals in developing countries

³⁰ Ibid., 27.

³¹ "hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf," 27–28, accessed August 18, 2014, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf.

see threats from these, as well as a lack of natural resources that most other nations have, such as access to water resources. Global warming and air pollution are also global concerns which are increasingly coming to effect the environments of developing nations in a negative fashion.³²

Personal Security – Personal security resides in the protection of the individual from physical violence. While a general field, it is essentially the core concern of Human Security. Factors such as conflict resulting within the state or external states, as well as violent individuals or organized intrastate violent organizations. Domestic Violence and predatory adults against children are also taken into consideration. The most common form of human anxiety is through violent crime, making this issue a local policing one.³³

Community Security – Community security derives from the right of the individual to safely participate in local culture, socialize and maintain relationships with those they please. What the UN refers to as a Traditional Communities, including minority ethnic groups within a larger nation, have a tendency to be under threat by the larger, surrounding communities. Inter-ethnic strife is also a major concern as it tends to destabilize all communities involved. Indigenous peoples of post-colonial nations, including the native peoples of North America, are especially at threat, with internal violence being several times higher than the national average.³⁴

Political Security – Political security delves into the protection of human rights at a state level. Human security argues that it is the right of the individual to have a stable

³² Ibid., 28–30.

³³ Ibid., 30–31.

³⁴ Ibid., 31–32.

political system in which his or her rights are safeguarded. Human rights tend to be violated most often in situations where a state is experiencing political unrest. During such events, not only individuals, but groups as well can experience organized and systematic repression by those in power.³⁵

Human Security in Practice

While the basics of Human Security highlight the need to intervene, the question remains, how does one go about doing so and by what mindset is it accomplished. This is the ongoing debate within the community of Human Security proponents. Clearly, each of the aforementioned highlighted security issues are paramount within every community around the globe, but it is physically impossible to intervene on every issue in every region of the world. The needs of others will always be different, as will the circumstances with which any intervention will be conducted.

“The Freedom from Fear Vs. Freedom from Want” debate offers a outlook of what a *successful* conclusion to an intervention should look like. Freedom from Fear suggests that intervention should only be in situations where the life of the individual is under immediate threat. In these cases, outside intervention, whether it be pre-emptive or reactionary, is in cases of natural disasters or open conflict. Proponents of Freedom from Fear suggest what is referred to as the “narrow approach” to Human Security, which involves everything from Conflict Prevention and Resolution techniques to emergency aid programs. Another prime component of the approach includes “Responsibility to

³⁵ Ibid., 32–33.

protect,” a line of thinking which consists of developed nations intervening in the developing world in order to prevent or stay massacres or acts of genocide.³⁶³⁷

Proponents of Freedom from Want as supportive of these ideals, but are determined to go a step beyond remaining within the status quo. Rather than incorporating Human Security into the current, Post-Cold War Realist system, supporters of *Freedom from Want* a much more “intermeshed” policy towards the developing world. Supporters argue that it is not enough to intervene, but that it is the duty of the developed world to act now in a preventative fashion to halt not only oncoming political or ethnic conflict, but to also prevent food shortage and natural disasters. Such events as famine or flooding kill more people than any civil war is capable of, and will only destabilize a developing country, encouraging and promoting conflict without the proper intervention.³⁸

While *Freedom from Want* is argued to be a much more appropriate end to the Human Security argument, Freedom from Fear has been seen as the much more practical solution. Freedom from Fear has been incorporated into national and international policies throughout the world and has increasingly been encouraged by the UN and UNDP. One such case would be the Ottawa Landmine Treaty of 2009 which essentially codified Freedom from Fear in one facet of Human Security on a global basis, banning landmine use and encouraging their subsequent removal and demolition throughout the world.³⁹

³⁶ “HSR_OVERFOREPREF_p26.indd - 2005HumanSecurityReport-WhatIsHumanSecurity.pdf,” 1.

³⁷ “XResponsibilitytoProtect.pdf,” 6, accessed August 5, 2014, <http://www.kentlaw.edu/faculty/bbrown/classes/IntlOrgSp07/CourseDocs/XResponsibilitytoProtect.pdf>.

³⁸ “HSR_OVERFOREPREF_p26.indd - 2005HumanSecurityReport-WhatIsHumanSecurity.pdf,” 1.

³⁹ “91.full.pdf,” 5, accessed August 5, 2014, <http://ejil.oxfordjournals.org/content/11/1/91.full.pdf>.

Security in Irregular Migration

Migration in contemporary times poses one of the greatest perceived threats to security, whether it be human or national. As such, the nations of the world seek to control the means of human travel and entry into other territories, as is any sovereign nation's right to do so. Irregular Migration, put simply, circumvents these contemporary controls on the natural flow of humanity, as if damming a river. No human construction is ever perfect however, and much like a dam, cracks and leaks will occur. These cracks and leaks in the system of migration control is referred to as the issue of Irregular Migration.

Irregular Migration, an uncontrolled and highly undocumented form of migration offers a challenge even the most efficient of migratory to systems could not fully expect to handle with any of the current means. Billions of dollars are spent globally on an annual basis in an attempt to apply proper regulation to the issue, however much of this money is used to merely mitigate the problem.⁴⁰ As of now, a solution can only be brainstormed or researched as irregular migration is too obtuse an issue to find a simple solution.

The Global Commission on International Migration offers a brief explanation of the Security and Irregular Migration debate:

Whether or not irregular migration actually threatens state sovereignty is a moot point, as discussed in Section Five below, but what is incontrovertible is that integral to the concept of sovereignty is the right of states to control their borders. But the respect of

⁴⁰ "Irregular Migration, State Security and Human Security - TP5.pdf," 4, accessed July 29, 2014, http://iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/policy_and_research/gcim/tp/TP5.pdf.

human rights is an equally important prerogative for states. One of the key dilemmas for policy-making in the realm of irregular migration is that at times these two principles are difficult to reconcile. This is particularly the case for asylum seekers and refugees who move in an irregular manner. The challenge for states is to limit access to their territories without undermining the right to seek and enjoy protection.⁴¹

As can be seen, Irregular Migration, at its core, is a by its definition, an issue of security regarding both fields, however substantial reconciliation of the two fields on the subject has yet to be seen. Primary concerns when dealing with irregular migration include the wellbeing of the individual traveler, specifically along the journey, as well as the health and wellness of the passengers. Human security argues that this ought to be the primary concern of governments which see an influx of refugee or asylum seeking migrants of whom whose means of travel was through some means of irregular migration. Those who argue for Human Security also state that there is a need for a governmental system to greet and humanely process incoming migrants, assuring that basic medical care, along with food and shelter, is provided on a non-discriminatory basis.

National Security concerns are also present within irregular migration in the very lack of regulated entry into a sovereign country. Several National Security concerns stem from unregulated border crossings, including everything from weapons and drug smuggling, to even human trafficking. Fear of contagions which could lead to epidemics, as well as the threat of criminal elements exploiting lax border protections are also of great concern to sovereign nations. Finally, foreign espionage through which either foreign insurgents or spies gain entry through an unregulated, but sovereign border is one

⁴¹ Ibid.

of the top concerns of most developed nations as it could affect everything from military, civil, political, or business infrastructure.⁴²

Irregular migration is also spurred on by labor market demands of most industrialized nations. Cheap and low to non-skilled labor is in high demand by companies and corporations seeking to increase their profit. At the expense of the irregular migrant, these unskilled workers are drawn into foreign nations through impermissible and sometimes dangerous means, resulting in the usual concerns for migrants in route, with the exception that they will receive no basic needs, only a low paying, labor intensive job. This is a form of human trafficking and is akin to a modern system of slave labor.⁴³

It is important to note that the United States, while understandably emphasizing the National Security view above all else in relation to any situation put before it, views migration as not an issue of security, but rather an asset to the nation. While in no way codified, immigration policy in the US has had a tradition of being viewed as a means of strengthening the State by means of diversity. If the state is prepared and organized to accept such diversity, then, as the thinking goes, migration, in a controlled manner, is no longer a security threat.⁴⁴

⁴² "2_8_MigrationSecurity_WIP.indd - V2S08_CM.pdf," 7, accessed August 2, 2014, http://www.rcmvs.org/documentos/IOM_EMM/v2/V2S08_CM.pdf.

⁴³ "Irregular Migration, State Security and Human Security - TP5.pdf," 4.

⁴⁴ "Migration and Security: Some Key Linkages. - G-3_Choucri_Migration_Security_Key_Linkages.pdf," 9, accessed July 29, 2014, http://web.mit.edu/clawson/www/polisci/research/choucri/G-3_Choucri_Migration_Security_Key_Linkages.pdf.

Irregular Migration and Debated Terminology

One of the toughest parts of discussing the crisis of irregular migration is the various terms used to refer to the issue. Various phrases and expressions, both official and colloquial, are used anywhere from media outlets to government statements making the subject of irregular migration a confusing one. Such terms as Illegal immigrant, used colloquially and throughout some facets of the media, are frowned upon by the modern schools of Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution due to its connotations that the individual migrant is committing an illegal act and is therefore a criminal before a they are even appropriately tried before a court.

Terminology is one of the most important issues when dealing with the basics of the migration debate:

This report uses the terms ‘irregular’ migration and ‘irregular’ migrant(s). The term ‘irregular’ is conceptually problematic, as expanded in the following subsection. It is, nevertheless, considered preferable to the other term most commonly used in this context - ‘illegal’. The use of the term ‘illegal’ can be criticised in at least three ways. First is its connotation with criminality. Most irregular migrants are not criminals. This has been emphasised by the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Non-Citizens, whose final report recommends that: ‘Immigrants...even those who are in a country illegally and whose claims are not considered valid by the authorities, should not be treated as criminals’ (E/CN.4/Sub. 2/2003/23 Para 29). Second, defining persons as ‘illegal’ can also be regarded as denying their humanity (Ochoa-Llidó 2004). It can easily be forgotten that such migrants are human beings who possess fundamental rights whatever their status (CDMG (2004) 29). Third, and of particular concern to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR), is the possibility that labelling as ‘illegal’ asylum seekers who find themselves in an irregular situation may further jeopardise their asylum claims.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ “Irregular Migration, State Security and Human Security - TP5.pdf,” 5.

As can be seen, illegal immigrant is, therefore a dangerous term to use within academia and the public due to the negative connotations attached. It is a misleading term which demeans the plight of the refugee and assumes most migrants are criminals, which is degrading to the humanity of the individual. Terms such as Undocumented or Unauthorized Worker should also be avoided as they are too ambiguous and do nothing but dilute the situation, further confusing what is already a chaotic problem. Refugees, who are typically categorized along with those who did not immigrate with documents of identification and do not meet the international standard for refugee, are a case all to their own and ought not face such prejudice within any system of immigration.⁴⁶

Conclusion – Literature Review

Security is seen as an artificial means of keeping either the self, or whole communities safe and protected from external threats. Beginning with the concept of Realism, the form of security based on the self-interests of sovereign entities throughout the planet, one sees a world originally prone to sporadic conflict soon locked in a period of Cold War between two global hegemonies. At the end of the Cold War, only one hegemonic power remained and the definition of security underwent changes as well. Within this period of change, organizations such as the United Nations pioneered the school of Human Security. While the Realist school of Security lived on through the field of National Security, Human Security stressed the need for the security of the individual

Irregular Migration is seen as one of those security threats. Due to its uncontrolled nature, National Security advocates see Irregular Migration as a threat to the sovereignty

⁴⁶ Ibid.

of a nation, encompassing every sector from economics to health. In the case of the United States, government organizations like the Department of Homeland Security are tasked with the enforcing US National Security policy. Human Security advocates argue that this should not be the emphasis, as the Irregular Migrant is more often than not a Refugee. A system that harms the entirety of this group, harms the individual who is, based on Human Rights Law, allowed entry into a safer nation. Organizations such as the United Nations Development Program seek to enforce these rights as best as possible.

CHAPTER THREE: Methods

Research Question and Purpose of Literature Review

Based on the above literature, the question still remains: *In the case of Cuban irregular migration, how have policies pertaining to both Human and National security been historically created and enforced by the United States and Cuba and do these policies continue to be used and developed to this day?* Further questions should be asked as to such policies effectiveness and whether other means are available in order to best find a balance between these two fields of thought regarding Security.

The previous Literature Review section offered an understanding of the key terms and issues surrounding Security policy from perspectives. It showed that Security, while generally agreed upon in a general term, is harshly divided when one is forced to choose between the health and safety of others or the personal freedoms for themselves. The divide between Human Security and National Security is the key issue of which this paper argues. The previous section also highlighted the concerns of Human and National Security advocates in the case of migration, more specifically the global crisis of irregular migration. This further relates these security topics to the research question which applies these thoughts to the specific case of the Cuban Migration Crisis. It is hoped that in doing this, the reader will be able to use this given knowledge and apply it in an understanding fashion to the following section of presented research data.

Research Presentation and Sources

With the purpose of the literature review understood, the following sections of research data will essentially argue the main points of the paper, presenting a basic understanding of Cuban and American connectedness, a case study of Cuban Irregular Migration, followed by criticisms of US and Cuban Security Policy regarding Cuban Irregular Migration. The presented research is entirely qualitative and will be presented in a manner that best supports a qualitative conclusion.

Sources used for research vary. Several sources are academic in nature, relating to historical topics or policy research. Other sources include those from non-profit organizations, such as think tanks or NGOs. News sources from accredited outlets such as the Associated Press or Reuters are used for more recent or current events that have not yet been documented in an academic manner. News sources will also be used to offer accurate or up to date statistics, as well as to provide supplementary source information for historical events. Officially endorsed U.S. Government document releases on migration statistics and census data, as well as government funded research regarding immigration policy, US-Cuban foreign policy, and policy suggestions will also be used to provide official stances on the current irregular migration situation in Cuba.

Research Chapters and Layout of Sections

The hope of the research data presentation will be to reveal to the reader the history, context, and current thinking on the matter of the Cuban Migration Crisis. The research data section will be divided into three sections, each with their own purpose. *Chapter Four* offers a historical context to the situation in Cuba, emphasizing the role of

National Security. *Chapter Five* will discuss the history and struggles of the Migration crisis from various perspectives, in light of Human Security. *Chapter Six* will show the contemporary issues surrounding the crisis, as well as offer critiques from various thinkers on the subject of whether or not a true balance has been struck between the fields of Human and National Security

Chapter Four which will discuss, in brief, the Cuban colonial history to the present day situation from the perspective of the United States. Colonial history, while far from the contemporary crisis of migration, are important in order to set the stage for the reaction of the United States. Everything from Cuba's storied past, since its early contacts with Western civilization played a great role in its development to this day. Without observing the earlier colonial and plantation periods of Cuba, it is impossible to fully understand the Cuban Revolution and the subsequent migration of the Cuban people northward to the United States.

On that note, it is also important to remember the roles played by the early revolutionaries in the first fight to gain independence for Cuba. It was these persons who lit the flame of European colonial deconstruction and removal from not just the Caribbean, but opened up an era of South American independence and future instability. This also plays into the Spanish-American War in the late 1800s which both offered Cuba the freedom it had fought almost 100 years for while also beginning an era of American domination of the island.

Chapter Four will conclude with a section on the Batista regime's control of the island of Cuba in the 1950s as it leads into the Cuban Revolution at the end of the decade.

It will show the mindset of the revolutionaries, men such as Fidel Castro who would become a lasting President of Cuba and overseer of the Cuban Migration Crisis. It will also show the United States' role in the attempted overthrow of Castro at the outset of the revolution during the Bay of Pigs Invasion of 1961.

From there, *Chapter Five* will focus on the Cuban migration crisis, overlapping with the portions of *Chapter Four* while furthering the focus into contemporary times. As an introduction, *Chapter Five* will begin during the earliest stages of Cuban migration to the United States, primarily during the periods leading to the Spanish American War where large populations began to inhabit the Southern portions of the US state of Florida. Doing so will establish for the reader an understanding of the underlying link between the United States and Cuba, even before the major waves of migrants sought refuge in the US' southern shores.

The following sections of *Chapter Five* will discuss the beginnings of the Migration Crisis amidst the chaos of the Cold War. It will show the push by the newly established Cuban government, under Fidel Castro's leadership, to secure the Cuban population under a period of post-Revolution instability. During such time, Cuba would see the beginning of a massive outflow, with Cuban citizens propelling northward seeking refuge in the Southern US, specifically Florida.

It will also cover the United States' reaction to the sudden surge in migration in which the administration at the time under John F Kennedy struggle to accommodate. It will follow the programs and policies established to handle the steady flow of migrants from Cuba as they arrived through various means. The section will cover the other

various periods of mass migration and the US reaction to it throughout the years, such as the Mariel Boatlift under the Carter administration.

This section will also highlight the notion of Human Security through private initiatives established by Cuban-Americans and concerned American citizens hoping to ferry as many persons as possible out of the Cuba. It will make a distinction between the Cuban people leaving by their own means and those who left out of their own volition through the aid of these US based groups. The Cuban government's reaction to such methods to migration and rationale behind the control and prohibition of migration will also be studied.

Finally this section will display the formation of the initial Security policies, both National and Human, held by both the Cuban and US Governments. Such policies are based on both formal treaties and informal traditions held between the two sovereign nations and will reflect back to the previous data section in regards to the how the initial National Security policies were created in light of the Cold War, with consideration for the human person as well.

Chapter Six will focus on the Migration Policies themselves, their establishment criticisms, and where current policy is headed. Much of the Cuban Migration Crisis is seen from the lens of the United States and places much of the policy control in its hands. This section will determine a fault, if there is any, in regards to why Cuban migration policy has remained relatively unchanged for almost the past 50 years. All of these factors contribute to the uniqueness of the Cuban situation. Unlike the similar situations existing throughout the globe, from North African Migration to Europe to the Oceania

Refugee Crisis in Australia, the Cuban Crisis is one so culturally and politically intertwined between the initial and destination countries leading to this scholar's insistence of a unique situation.

Policies to be considered will be the "Wet Foot, Dry Foot" policy developed under the Clinton Administration in cooperation with the Cuban government in the wake of the Elian Gonzales repatriation case. It will discuss the effectiveness of said policy in light of Human and National Security and how it comes to respect the prime qualities of both fields while protecting the sovereignty of both nations involved.

Conclusion – Methods

The research soon to be presented hopes to highlight the distinctness of the situation in another light as well. The fields of Human Security and National Security have been famously at odds with each other for decades and the situation regarding the implementation of policies regarding either in Cuban Irregular Migration has not avoided such controversy. The research provided, however, hopes to show that there is a definite understanding and need for cooperation regarding this issue, between the two sovereign parties of Cuba and the United States with consideration that the *status quo* of the current migration policies needing to be respected.

In following this method, it is hoped the reader will come to see a connection between these issues. The following three divided research sections, along with the literature review are designed to allow the reader to best attain information regarding the research question in an easy, flowing manner. Each section is intended to lead the reader

through a building picture which will ultimately end with a concluding argument and finally, a conclusion to the entirety of the work.

CHAPTER FOUR: Cuba, Conflict, and US Intervention

Introduction – The Contemporary Cuba

Cuba is the largest island of the Caribbean Sea at 110,860 square kilometers of land mass. A tropical island, its economy is heavily rooted in the tobacco, sugar, and citrus industries, however it also has general agricultural products such as potatoes, beans, and livestock. Cuba's major export partners include Canada, China, Venezuela, the Netherlands, and Spain. The United States is not included as an export partner due to the ongoing embargo policy enforced by the United States Government. One major resource import is oil, which is imported from friendly South American nations, such as Venezuela, at about 100,000 barrels a day. In turn, Cuba offers *in country* services such as its 30,000 doctors abroad in South America.⁴⁷

Cuba has a home to a population of 11,047,251 people with a median age of about 40 years old. Of that, it has a labor force of about 5.2 million. Official Cuban unemployment rate state that unemployment is at 4.3%, however unofficial estimates suggest that it is likely the number is more than double the given estimates. Its GDP, by economic sector, includes 3.8% agriculture, 22.3% industry, and 73.9% services.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ "CIA.gov - The World Factbook - Cuba," accessed July 21, 2014, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cu.html>.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

The official language of the island is Spanish and its primary religion is that of Roman Catholicism, both due to Spanish colonization in the past. To date, however, religion may or may not be as well practiced due to the presence of the Castro government and its Communist policies. The island's capital is Havana, a traditional port city to the north of the island. The island is also home to the United States Naval Base of Guantanamo Bay, which is official territory of the United States.⁴⁹

The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba are Cuba's primary military force. At present there are about 3 million males and 3 million females suitable for military service. Compulsory Military service is required by the Cuban State for both sexes. Age ranges for compulsory service are between 17 to 28 years of age. The Cuban Army was logistically tied to the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Due to the Soviet collapse and restructure into the modern Russian state, the Cuban military's equipment is out of date, but remains functional for military use. According to the US Government, armed forces of Cuba remain both professional and well trained, with only the lack of replacement parts for military equipment being its only technicality.⁵⁰

As can be seen, Cuba is the largest island economy within the Caribbean Sea, making it a prime candidate for business opportunities, including import and export. Its resources are plentiful enough, with more landmass than all other Caribbean islands surrounding it. As such, it ought to be considered capable of the largest island economies in the region. The islands population is of a decent size, of working age, and is capable of

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

performing large-scale military actions within the Caribbean. Unfortunately, due to everything from poor governance to the embargo placed upon it by the US, it is not as economically viable as it ought to be.

Cuba's current crisis, however, is one of population drain due to rampant emigration. Due to a currently poor economic climate throughout the island, the many Cubans of working age are seeking opportunities internationally. Due to immigration restrictions, Cubans are not allowed to emigrate to the US and therefore look primarily to South America for foreign employment. Those unlucky enough to be accepted to friendly countries such as Venezuela are forced to remain on the island or seek opportunities elsewhere, such as the United States.⁵¹⁵²

Immigration to the United States is a formidably hard task as the means to do so in a regularized manner do not formally exist. Neither the US or Cuban governments officially sanction any form of permanent migration between the two countries. While unrestricted air travel between most of the world and the island is common, no flights are bound to the US without expressed permission from the US government under visitor visas, with the same applying in reverse as well. For many Cubans, the only reliable and affordable means of migration with the possibility of attaining foreign citizenship is through sea travel to the United States, however Cuba patrols its ports and coasts in cooperation with the US Coast Guard, searching for any Cuban citizens attempting to

⁵¹ "Venezuela - International Organization for Migration," accessed August 9, 2014, <https://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/where-we-work/americas/south-america/venezuela.html>.

⁵² Marc Frank, "Cuba Reports Highest Outflow of Citizens since 1994," *Reuters*, July 31, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/07/31/us-cuba-migration-idUSBRE96U1F920130731>.

travel via an unauthorized boat out of the country. Because of this, clandestine forms of boat travel, ranging from guided tours to private rafts are the choice of any Cubans seeking to enter the United States.

As of 2011, an estimated 2 million self-identified persons of Cuban origin now reside in the United States. This accounts for 3.6% of the self-identified Hispanic population residing in the US. Nearly 58% of the US Cuban population is foreign born, in comparison to 36% of all other Hispanics in residence. The US Cuban population is also the most geographically concentrated of US Hispanics with 70% of the self-identified population living in Florida.⁵³

Since 2009, over 46,662 Cubans have permanently left the island for various destinations. It is estimated that of those over 40,000 migrants, the US receives almost 20,000 annually of them through irregular migration.⁵⁴ A drastic dip from 2002 of about 10,000 persons migrating irregularly from Cuba annually occurred, resulting in only a bit over 8,500 Cuban citizens making landfall in the US. Unfortunately, as the economic climate worsened throughout the island, the numbers began a steady increase once again, and by 2010 to 2011, the US saw numbers return to the standard of 20,000 irregular Cuban migrants annually.⁵⁵

⁵³ Anna Brown and Eileen Patten, "Hispanics of Cuban Origin in the United States, 2011," *Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project*, accessed July 6, 2014, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/06/19/hispanics-of-cuban-origin-in-the-united-states-2011/>.

⁵⁴ Frank, "Cuba Reports Highest Outflow of Citizens since 1994," July 31, 2013.

⁵⁵ "2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics - ois_yb_2011.pdf," 72, accessed August 9, 2014, https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2011/ois_yb_2011.pdf.

As can be seen, Cuba and the United States are intertwined. They are essentially the text-book definition of a security complex of Realist theory, as highlighted within the earlier literature review. What follows will discuss the actions taken by both the United States and Cuba in developing a system of security based on the concepts of the National Security. Due to the shared history of conflict and the thinking of times, such an outcome was rather inevitable. It was due to the developments that will soon be highlighted, however, that the Cuba, as seen today, struggles as a nation and is crippled by a crisis of migration.

Colonial Cuba and the Development of US Interventionism

In 1492, the island of Cuba, along with the Caribbean region in general, were opened to the Western world by Venetian explorer Christopher Columbus on his maiden voyage. His presence in the region led to further Spanish colonization. Along with colonization came a great reduction in the native Amerindian population due to contact with European diseases and colonial mistreatment. The island also received an influx of African slaves, brought by the Spanish for plantation work, whose descendants now make up over 10 percent of the island's current population.⁵⁶

By the 18th Century, Cuba had become the major gateway to South and Central America, continuing to act as the Spanish Empire's key to the Caribbean region. The main product of export of the era was sugar. The Cuban economy swelled due to the high demand and the competing interests of the various European colonies in the region as well. Mercantilism, an economic system in which, simply put, nations vied to globally

⁵⁶ "CIA.gov - The World Factbook - Cuba."

monopolize goods and products for exportation, was the system of the times. As a result, conflict and instability was rampant throughout the Caribbean at this time.⁵⁷

19th Century Cuba saw the rise of United States dominance of Central and South America, with the creation and subsequent enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine by the United States. The Monroe Doctrine, a foreign policy plan developed by then Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, was put into place by President Monroe. The doctrine stated that any European interference in the affairs of the Caribbean or South American states, in reference to the Bolivarian revolutions taking place at the time, would not be tolerated by the United States and that the US had sole authority over any international affairs within these regions.⁵⁸ Adams would remark of the policy in reference to Cuba that, "...an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union."⁵⁹

The Monroe Doctrine was globally received as a nominal doctrine that could not be enforced by a fledgling US with little military power or international backing. However, it came to be relatively adopted and enforced by the then more powerful British Navy, who saw it as a tactical advantage against other European powers seeking colonial interests in the Southern Hemisphere while reinforcing many of their own international maritime treaties.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Richard Gott, *Cuba: A New History* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2005), 39–41.

⁵⁸ George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*, The Oxford History of the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 153–155.

⁵⁹ Noam Chomsky, *World Orders, Old and New* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 68.

⁶⁰ Rolf Hobson, *Imperialism at Sea: Naval Strategic Thought, the Ideology of Sea Power, and the Tirpitz Plan, 1875-1914*, Studies in Central European Histories (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2002), 63.

The 19th Century also brought with it ‘Sugar Boom.’ Due to technological advances in the harvest of Sugar Cane and the production of the purified sugar product, the demand for sugar was on an increase. By 1817, the population of Cuba had grown increasingly, now having a total free population of 630,980. Of this number, the demographic break down was 406,712 persons either being white or of partial white decent or a free person and the remaining 224,268 being black slaves and indentured plantation workers.⁶¹ This period brought wealth and prosperity to the Spanish, however by the late 1860s, Spain’s control over its colonies began to wane.

In the 1850s, agricultural technology had increased further to meet the growing demand of sugar. As a result, slavery became increasingly unnecessary and abolitionism gradually become popular within Cuban culture. With the trans-Atlantic slave trade banned by international treaty, the demand for slaves had diminished. With the increase of cheaper labor coming from the growing migrant Chinese population, many planters now advocating gradual emancipation of currently held slaves. Unfortunately, due to the lax enforcement of the slave trade ban, several unauthorized and unneeded slave importations occurred from 1856-1860, resulting in the in import of about 90,000 unwanted African slaves into Cuba. The result was catastrophic to the Cuban economy and caused a crisis in 1857.⁶²

⁶¹ Robert L. Scheina, *Latin America’s Wars: The Age of the Caudillo, 1791-1899*, 1st ed (Washington, D.C: Brassey’s, Inc, 2003), 352.

⁶² Louis A. Pérez, *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution*, 3rd ed, Latin American Histories (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 80–89.

By 1865, Cuban elites began to place pressure upon the Spanish Parliament to enforce liberal reforms such as proper enforcement of the slave trade ban and equal representation in the Spanish Parliament. The result was a harsh rebuke to Cuba from the Spanish Parliament in tax increases. Dissent of any form was silenced by Spanish authorities. These event prompted what would develop into the Cuban Ten Years' War.⁶³

The Ten Years' War was the initial Cuban declaration of Independence from Cuba. Lead by Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, a Cuban Sugar Mill owner, the war began in on October 10th, 1868 with the hopes of establishing an independent Cuban Republic, with aims of establishing strong ties to the United States. After ten years of on-and-off fighting, the Spanish were able to gain the upper-hand in the mid-1870s.⁶⁴ By inciting regional distrust between Cuban communities and fears of Black dominance over the White and Creole populations if true democratic rule were to take place, the Spanish successfully collapsed the movement and gutted what little operating government the revolutionaries had established. The United States was, at the time, not in full support of Cuban independence either, selling arms to both the Cubans and the Spanish alike. I would not be until late 1890s that the Cubans would see a true progress for their independence.⁶⁵

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Jose Canton Navarro, *History of Cuba: The Challenge of the Yoke and the Star* (Union Nacional de Juristas, 2000), 43–44.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 50.

The Spanish-American War and Post-War U.S. Interests

The Spanish-American War of 1898 was the culmination of the American Monroe Doctrine and the Cuban Independence movement. This was official moment of US involvement in Cuba and began and ended in 1898. After entering in late April due to pressures from media and public opinion, as well as various propaganda movements surrounding the confusion over a sunken US naval vessel in Havana Harbor, the United States military threw itself into a full scale invasion of the island. It was the US military's ultimate goal in this war to end Spanish influence in the Caribbean and offer Cuba its freedom. Cuban regiments fought alongside the American military and after 3 months of battle in both the Caribbean, and for the US, the Pacific, the Spanish surrendered in August the same year. Territories were surrendered in at the Treaty of Paris in 1898 and Cuba was left under temporary American control.⁶⁶

At the conclusion of the war, the United States had officially taken control of both Cuba and Puerto Rico, and had received the Pacific Islands of the Philippines and Guam in good faith. Rather than follow with the Jones-Shafroth Act which imposed United States Citizenship upon the people of Puerto Rico⁶⁷, American policy differed towards that of Cuba. Instead the United States issued the Platt Amendment in 1903, which granted the United States direct control in the affairs of the Cuban government as well as leasing Guantanamo Bay as a permanent US Naval Base. This political move was looked

⁶⁶ Jane Franklin, *Cuba and the United States: A Chronological History* (Melbourne ; New York: Ocean Press, 1997), 8–10.

⁶⁷ Sanford Levinson and Bartholomew H. Sparrow, eds., *The Louisiana Purchase and American Expansion, 1803-1898* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 166, 178.

at extremely unfavorably by the Cuban people and began what would become a period of US domination in Cuba up until the Revolution in 1959.⁶⁸

Later, during his run for the US presidency, Theodore Roosevelt argued that the entire rationale for the Spanish-American War was based firmly on the Monroe Doctrine. He even argued further that, rather than simply using the doctrine to prevent European interference in the affairs of South Americans, the United States now had the Authority to intervene in cases in which any Latin American country, becoming what would be known as the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.⁶⁹ These statements were followed much later by the Clark Memorandum of 1930 during Herbert Hoover's presidency, which succinctly stated that the United States was not required to cite the Monroe Doctrine in dealings with any Latin American as the nation has a self-evident right to do so in order to secure itself. Both this and the original Monore Doctrine would later be used for different purpose in opposition to Cuba's revolutionary aims in the 1950s and 60s.⁷⁰

American interventionism continued for several years following the Spanish-American War. The island was left in the hands of a US military governor for three years and military forces of occupation used during several periods of social unrest and revolution until the 1920s. In 1933, after a successful coup, US President Franklin D. Roosevelt threatened the island with invasion, placing 29 American naval vessels within

⁶⁸ Franklin, *Cuba and the United States*, 10–11.

⁶⁹ "State of the Union Address Part II | Teaching American History," accessed August 18, 2014, <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/state-of-the-union-address-part-ii-9/>.

⁷⁰ "Appendix: The Clark Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine (an Extract)," accessed August 10, 2014, <https://byustudies.byu.edu/showTitle.aspx?title=5074>.

range of Havana Harbor and placing the other branches of the military on alert for a possible invasion of the island. While Cuba was never invaded under President F. D. Roosevelt's watch, the successor President of Cuba, Ramon Grau, nullified the Platt Amendment upon entering into office. The United States, in what would appear to be a premonition of times to come, refused to recognize the Grau government, with the US Ambassador to Cuba stating that it was highly irresponsible and resembled that of a communist state.⁷¹

Even with the introduction of the distasteful Platt Amendment, the Cuban people were willing to look past the US control and appreciate independence from Spain. Partnerships were formed between Cuban and American private interests. One major example includes cigar makers, primarily Cuban and Cuban-American establishments based in Havana, Cuba and Key West, Florida respectively, were some of the first major industries to become interlinked. Many Cubans began migrating northward as well, due to lax immigration standards for Cuban and Puerto Rican citizens. While Cuban cigars are blocked by the US embargo, the cigar tradition remains a thriving industry, with the Cuban-American traditions upheld in the United States, and the Cuban industry becoming one of the most coveted producers of cigars throughout the globe.⁷²

American interests in the island grew substantially after the end of the war. As mentioned previously, the Cuban economy was driven by a primary crop of Sugar and with it still being one of the major cash crops around the globe, became extremely

⁷¹ Franklin, *Cuba and the United States*, 24–26.

⁷² Felix Roberto Masud-Piloto, *From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants: Cuban Migration to the U.S., 1959-1995* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1996), 8–10.

enticing for American business. US business interests began to move into the island at the end of the Spanish-American War, overtaking the Cuban sugar plantations and refineries. By the 1920s, over 60% of the Cuban Sugar industry was owned by corporations based in America. 95% of the Sugar crop was controlled and imported to the US for either distribution or further refining.⁷³

The Batista Government and the Cuban Revolution

In response to Ramon Grau's presidency in 1933, the United States, rather than violate President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's new 'Good Neighbor Policy' towards Latin American countries, decided to stay their hand. Working through diplomatic channels, contact was made with a more conservative faction of the rebels which put Grau into power, led by Col. Fulgencio Batista. Regime change in Cuba did not take very long as Grau's government was promptly overthrown within 5 months, with Batista taking charge in January of 1934.⁷⁴

What began as an attempt by the United States to influence Cuban politics into becoming a state more favorable to US interests would soon result in a complete diplomatic failure. After the successful coup by Batista began a short line of presidencies in Cuba, general regarded as puppet figures to assist in Batista's rise. While policies handled by these new Cuban administrations succeeded in coming to a successful and peaceful repeal of the Platt Amendment in 1934, Col. Batista was left behind the scenes

⁷³ Hugh Thomas, *Cuba Or The Pursuit Of Freedom*, Updated edition (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), 336.

⁷⁴ "American Experience | Fidel Castro | People & Events | PBS," accessed August 19, 2014, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/castro/peopleevents/p_batista.html.

and unchecked in his power. After claims of corrupt governance and a new constitution being ratified, Batista would come to control the Cuban presidency in 1940.⁷⁵

Under Batista's control, Cuba was essentially under *de facto* control by the United States. During World War II, the island was the primary base of American naval and air operations in the Caribbean Sea, with US Military bases placed throughout the island. During the post war period, Batista left the presidency for a home in Florida, leaving the government in the control of Carlos Saladrigas Zayas.⁷⁶

By 1947, organized crime had become rampant throughout the island due to a weak willed and unconcerned government. Many of the famous mafia crime families of Italy and the United States controlling or own some stake in Havana's Hotel and Casino district. The island, due to its close proximity to the United States and general lack of bureaucracy and security was scoped out to be the passageway for European drug trafficking into the United States.⁷⁷ As David Detzer, an American journalist, would remark, "...government officials received bribes, policemen collected protection money. Prostitutes could be seen standing in doorways, strolling the streets, or leaning from windows. One report estimated that 11,500 of them worked their trade in Havana. Beyond the outskirts of the capital, beyond the slot machines, was one of the poorest, and most beautiful countries in the Western world."⁷⁸ With foreign criminal interests openly

⁷⁵ Franklin, *Cuba and the United States*, 14.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ T. J. English, *Havana Nocturne: How the Mob Owned Cuba-- and Then Lost It to the Revolution / T.J. English*, 1st U.S. ed (New York: William Morrow, 2008), 15–20.

⁷⁸ David Detzer, *The Brink: Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962*, 1st ed (New York: Crowell, 1979), 17.

at play and a government turning a blind eye, the Cuban people began to resent both their public figures and the United States support of US enterprise in Cuba.

In 1950, the Truman administration successfully lobbied the UN Security Council to go to war in Korea. While elected Cuban officials were quick to back such an action and propose support of their own military, the Cuban people were unwilling to fight for the cause of the United States. A campaign harkening back to the days after the Spanish-American War in Cuba and American interventionism, successfully blocked the Cuban government's attempt to support the US war effort in Korea.⁷⁹

The United States grew concerned with Cuban public opinion and once again looked to Col. Batista to arrange the situation in their favor. In 1952, Batista once again ran for the Cuban presidency, but was projected to lose against the rising "Orthodox Party" (Partido del Pueblo Cubano - Ortodoxo) candidate. The Orthodox Party was founded on the need for social reforms for corruption in the Cuban government and the goals of seeking to establish a distinct, independent culture from that of the United States. Rather than face defeat, now General Batista staged a military coup on March 10th that year, with the Truman Administration quickly recognizing his government, going so far as to provide military and economic aid in case of rebellion.⁸⁰

A Young member of the Orthodox party and recent graduate of law school, Fidel Castro, took up arms alongside his brother and other revolutionaries against the Batista

⁷⁹ Franklin, *Cuba and the United States*, 15.

⁸⁰ Daniel C. Walsh, *An Air War with Cuba: The United States Radio Campaign against Castro* (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2011), 5.

dictatorship. In late July 1953, they staged their first offensive on a military barracks in the south of Cuba, losing 70 men with the rest being captured and tortured.⁸¹ While held prisoner and tried, the efforts lead by Castro and his brother, Raul, sparked what would become the “July 26th Movement” named after the raid. With such events set in motion, Anti-American sentiment was now solidified within the Cuban people. Batista, fearing an imminent overthrow of his dictatorship and seeing a chance for public appeasement, released the rebels of the failed raid in July ’53, in 1956. Upon release, Castro and his comrades took refuge in Mexico, planning to return to liberate Cuba.⁸²

During the “July 26th Movement’s” sojourn abroad in 1957, Cuban university students made an attempt on General Batista’s life while a small group seized a local Havana radio station, prematurely announcing the dictator’s death. Batista’s survival only emboldened his cause, bringing to trial several of Castro’s supporters, only to be met with a mass acquittal by the judge. Mass protests and strikes began to surround daily life in Havana, and all were met with an increase in police violence from government forces. Newly appointed US Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith took note of the civilian treatment only to be admonished by Batista himself, beginning what would become a parting of ways between the Batista regime and the United States.⁸³

In the US, Castro and “The Movement” had been introduced to the American public through the press, with much of the coverage being relatively positive. By

⁸¹ Leycester Coltman, *The Real Fidel Castro*, 1st pbk. ed (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press New Haven and London, 2005), 82.

⁸² Peter G. Bourne, *Fidel: A Biography of Fidel Castro*, 1st ed (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1986), 112.

⁸³ Franklin, *Cuba and the United States*, 15–16.

November 1957, then President Eisenhower, concerned for the reputation of the United States in the wake of Batista's totalitarian regime, declared US neutrality. In 1958, Batista, himself, came to realize he had pushed too far and declared an election which resulted in his own candidate winning. Ambassador Smith would remark that, while he had hoped a candidate that favored a middle ground between Batista and Castro would emerge, the election would have been rigged in Batista's favor anyway. The United States, at this point in their affairs with Batista, had given up hope in a Cuban government that would be supportive of its interests.⁸⁴

On January 1, 1959, General Batista fled Cuba for the Dominican Republic as Castro and his movement gained traction throughout the Cuban countryside. The very next day a new government was founded by Castro and his men, reinstating the old Cuban constitution of 1940. It was almost immediately recognized by most western nations including even the United States. By January 8, Castro and his men had taken Havana, the capitol, and solidified their control over the country. The next few months saw Fidel Castro becoming the first Prime Minister of the newly elected government and begin what would be a rocky relationship with the United States.⁸⁵

As Castro's first acts as Prime Minister, he demanded the return of all those deemed war criminals of the Batista regime be returned from either the United States or the Dominican Republic along with the money they drained from the Cuban national

⁸⁴ Ibid., 16–17.

⁸⁵ Douglas Kellner, *Ernesto "Che" Guevara, World Leaders Past & Present* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989), 48.

treasury. In a speech not soon after, Castro condemned US involvement in Cuban affairs and while never outright demand the removal of the US Guantanamo Naval Base, would assist in the adoption of a policy to not cash any checks received from the US for the lease of the land. Castro would later go on to tour the United States, Canada, and parts of Latin America discussing his revolution, returning to Cuba unscathed.⁸⁶

Meanwhile, with the onset of governmental and societal change imminent under Castro, many Cuban citizens comprised primarily of the upper classes, fled the island in droves. Several methods were used to flee to Florida, ranging from direct US assistance via government agencies, who themselves were seeking to leave, to private ventures using makeshift boats or rafts. Arising from the variations in Cuban law and the controversial methods of travel employed by these early refugees, the United States began what would be a long road of policy evolution towards Cuban irregular immigration.⁸⁷

The United States' view of Cuba has remained one of great animosity and distrust since the mid-1950s. While still a major economic base for American private business, the US government quickly put into place an embargo upon the totalitarian Batista regime. Without his military and economic aid and official US backing, General Batista fled the Cuba, leaving it for Fidel Castro and his fellow members of the rebel group “The Movement.”⁸⁸⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Franklin, *Cuba and the United States*, 19–21.

⁸⁷ “CIA.gov - The World Factbook - Cuba.”

⁸⁸ Coltman, *The Real Fidel Castro*, 65.

⁸⁹ “CIA.gov - The World Factbook - Cuba.”

Fidel Castro had initially proclaimed he would reinstate democratic rule over the country, a policy completely revoked by the previous Batista government. These promises of social reform never came as Castro entrenched himself in his position of power, silencing most dissent through extreme means, such as executions. Starting in the wake of the 1959 conclusion to the Cuban Revolution, the first Cuban exodus to the United States began and its effects are still being felt to this day.⁹⁰

US Concerns with Post-Revolution Cuba

The Cuban Revolution was the spark that would change US-Caribbean relations into its contemporary state of contentiousness between the island of Cuba and the United States. Castro's rise with met with a tense animosity by the Eisenhower Administration who was forced to choose between two men of which neither fully supported American interests nor reflected well upon the United States' role as a world super power.

The Cuban Revolution was not aimed specifically against United States private interests on the island, but rather the Batista regime. It was the Batista government which allowed for corrupt business practices based on rampant organized crime, including not only the agricultural industries of Sugar and tropical fruits, but also gambling such as casinos and hotels. Business interests were only the beginning of US investments in the island however, with many of Americans and Cuban-Americans having personal stakes in property. The Cuban Agrarian Reform Law of 1959 which brought all arable farmland and agricultural business under state control and placed strict limits on private land

⁹⁰ Ibid.

holdings. Later, Cuba would outright confiscate a collective 70,000 acres of the US owned Sugar industry and 35,000 acres of plantation land from the United Fruit Company. Other corporation included Coca-Cola and Sears Roebuck, who saw their property confiscated and nationalized as well.⁹¹

Castro continued his nationalization of US held industry in Cuba, forcing US owned oil companies to purchase and refine Soviet oil. By late 1959, the United States had grown tired of its interests being appropriated by the Cuban government and officially sanctioned aerial bombardments on formerly US owned Sugar plantations and refineries. In October of that year, the United States military ran scattered bombardments, resulting in an enraged and emboldened Cuba. It was clear that if the US was to use military action it would require more than scare tactics from bombers to support their cause.⁹²

The Cuban Revolution came at a very uncertain for the United States as well. With President Eisenhower leaving the office, being replaced by President John F. Kennedy in 1961, a new US executive branch had to be prepped and made ready for the coming diplomatic crises with Cuba. Luckily, President Kennedy was ready and willing to be the fresh eyes necessary to meet the Cuba problem. Rather than continue the useless bombing raids, Kennedy worked with the US Congress to continue enforcing strict embargoes on Cuba goods, blocking trade of products, especially Cuban sugar which the island came to heavily rely upon the US for purchases in order to keep their industry

⁹¹ Coltman, *The Real Fidel Castro*, 177.

⁹² Bourne, *Fidel*, 205–214.

supported. By stopping import and export of goods between the US and Cuba, the island was left to seek out new means for its economic wellbeing.

During a period of general unrest throughout Latin America, the President Kennedy determined that, while he would take a new approach towards the Cuba problem, he would not change the official stances of the US government. The greatest fear was that Cuba was being used as a platform to inspire other “bolshevist” revolutions throughout South and Central America. It was therefore determined that the official story for the fall of Cuba from the United States’ grasp was not one of revolution against an imperial aggressor, but one based on foreign interference. While Kennedy was willing to admit that the US backing of the Batista regime, considering him a US-made blight upon the Cuban people, the ultimate message was that Cuba fell due to Soviet intrigue within the island.⁹³

The Soviet argument was founded on the basis that Castro, having severed ties with the United States, required new means of support in regards to its own economic and national security. The Soviet Union provided all of this, with willingness to assist with financial support and establishing trade agreements of agriculture and other resources. Kennedy would respond to this Soviet intrusion in US affairs by reaffirming the traditional policy of the United States and Latin America, stating, “The Monroe Doctrine means what it has meant since President Monroe and John Quincy Adams enunciated it, and that is that we would oppose a foreign power extending its power to the Western

⁹³ Robert E. Quirk, *Fidel Castro*, 1st ed (New York: Norton, 1993), 329.

Hemisphere, and that is why we oppose what is happening in Cuba today. That is why we have cut off our trade.”⁹⁴

The Bay of Pigs Invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis

While Kennedy was certainly willing to look at the Cuban situation differently, he did not back down the already displayed hardline approach on the Castro government. When presented with a plan already developed by the Eisenhower Administration for an invasion of Cuba with intent to overthrow the Castro government, Kennedy, convinced it was a sound and foolproof solution to the Cuban crisis. In 1961, with the help of the CIA, a force of Cuban exiles was gathered from Southern Florida and trained in preparation for a purely Cuban invasion of the island.⁹⁵

The invasion occurred in April 1961, the United States military renewed their bombing raids on Cuba, targeting airfields in preparation for the invasion. On April 17th, the invasion was staged in the Bay of Pigs by the Cuban exile Brigade 2506, a force of 1,500 men. In brief, the resulting invasion was a failure, with most men becoming either wounded or captured by the third day. British Intelligence would later state that they felt at the time that the invasion would garner any support as it appeared the Cuban people were so far satisfied with Fidel Castro’s government. The resulting political nightmare

⁹⁴ “John F. Kennedy: The President’s News Conference - Aug. 29, 1962,” accessed August 10, 2014, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=8839>.

⁹⁵ Franklin, *Cuba and the United States*, 40.

only furthered the devolvement of South America into war, and, out of fear of another invasion attempt, drove Fidel Castro to seek closer ties with the Soviet Union.⁹⁶

At this time, the Cold War was at its height. With the United States' planned expansion of their intermediate range ballistic missile systems into Europe and the Middle East, the Soviet Union became concerned of the West's tactical upper hand. In 1961, the United States had clearly outpaced the Soviets in terms of missile technology and usable stockpiles and the US move to plant nuclear weaponry within range of the Soviet Union was seen as a clear threat to Soviet control of Eastern Europe. After Fidel Castro's outreach, however, the Kremlin saw an opportunity to even these odds. Then Soviet Premiere Nikita Khrushchev also saw it as a means to strong arming the United States into turning over West Berlin to Soviet control.⁹⁷

In 1962, following the failed Bay of Pigs invasion, Fidel Castro hosted a Soviet agricultural delegation in Havana, with whom included a team of missile construction specialists. The Cuban government was concerned the US would attempt another invasion and were willing to work with the Soviets to stage missile bases throughout Cuba to act as a deterrent. In July 1962, Soviet military engineers entered Cuba under the guise of agricultural workers and set to work constructing hidden missile silos.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Graham T. Allison, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2nd ed (New York: Longman, 1999), 105.

⁹⁸ "The Soviet Cuban Missile Crisis: Castro, Mikoyan, Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Missiles of November," n.d., <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB393/>.

While the operation was highly concealed, US suspicions arose in early August as aerial and human intelligence began indicating various sites which appeared to have been prepared for ballistic missile launching points. By October that same year, continued flights of the U-2 spy plane, along with the use new imagery terrain mapping satellites brought conclusive evidence of Soviet missiles being located throughout Cuba. On October 21st, President Kennedy ordered a naval blockade around Cuba, denying Soviet access to continue delivery of missiles. The next day, President Kennedy addressed the United States on the matter, alerting the world of the possession of Soviet manned nuclear missiles in Cuba.⁹⁹

Throughout the crisis, Fidel Castro remained concerned of US invasion and continually alerted the Soviet Union of his sentiments. In a secret contact between the United States and Cuba, Castro admitted he was willing to have the missiles removed if he could in turn receive a public declaration that the US would never invade Cuba. The United States' reply stated that it was unwilling to do so, but would certainly be unlikely to invade in the case that the missiles are removed. After months of deliberation, the Soviet Union determined it was not worth risking war over Cuba, agreeing to the deconstruction and removal of all intermediate range nuclear tipped missiles on the island.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Franklin, *Cuba and the United States*, 56–57.

¹⁰⁰ "The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962: Anatomy of a Controversy," n.d., http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/cuba_mis_cri/moment.htm.

The result of the Cuban Missile Crisis was ultimately a stalemate between the two global hegemony based on the concept of “mutually assured destruction.” If one were to attempt a nuclear strike, a retaliatory nuclear strike could be expected, resulting in a potential thermonuclear war, something neither party saw as a productive outcome. While the Soviet Union was not stipulated to do so, any non-intermediate range nuclear missiles were removed from the island as well due to a fear that Cuba would misuse them against the US. While the US not initially made public, the missiles deployed in the Mediterranean and Middle East were removed, in turn the Soviet Union removed all of their intermediate range missiles from Cuba. The treaty also solidified Cuba as a nationally secure state, with a clause in which the United States stated they would never again attempt an invasion of Cuba. From that moment on, Cuba, the island only 90 miles off the coast of the United States, became a stationary, untouchable obstacle for American interests.¹⁰¹

Conclusion – Chapter Four

The chain of events sparked by the Cuban uprisings in the 1800s certainly, to some effect, echo issues of Human Security, however, much of Cuba’s history was written by the policies based on National Security. The Spanish-American War, while the intervention was publically viewed a benevolent, its gains were purely that of US National Security, with US interventionism and business expansion into Cuba a greater

¹⁰¹ Dominic Tierney, *Failing to Win: Perceptions of Victory and Defeat in International Politics*, First Edition edition (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006), 105.

outcome than even the freedom of the Cubans themselves. Even the establishment of Guantanamo Bay was for security purposes. As for the Cubans, Batista

If anything, the Cuban Revolution of 1959 was the ultimate of National Security concerns for the United States. What started with the overthrow of Batista would soon become the greatest threat to the US' national sovereignty in the form of the Cuban Missile Crisis. As for the Cubans, the fear of a retaliatory second invasion after the Bay of Pigs incident can no doubt be seen as Castro's concern for the security of his own nation's sovereignty as well.

Because of these political policies and military moves all being made in the interests of National Security on either side, it is interesting to see the lack of consideration for the humanity involved until the option of thermonuclear war is placed on the table. The human person was also ignored in another major respect in that while both sides looked to their own national security, the Cuban people were left stranded, trapped between a war of super powers. As the first waves of migration began, it is important to note that it was conflict caused by security interests that sparked what would become one of the greatest threats to human security in the contemporary Caribbean region.

CHAPTER FIVE: The Cuban Migration Crisis

Introduction – The Cuban Migration Crisis

Cuba's history, as mentioned before, is defined by the very act of migration to and from its shores. However, the modern crisis only began as a result of American interests, government corruption, and Cuban dissidence all came to a head. Castro's Cuba became a nightmare for those in dissent of his policies with many being brought to court or worse, the fate of execution. The results of this tragedy in Cuba was, for many in opposition to the socialist changes, a natural drive to migrate. To some this task proved a simple one, contracting a boat or plane, where others were forced to build their own craft and brave the Caribbean Sea with little to no navigational experience.

Interestingly, before the Cuban Revolution was completed, Cuban refugees were already seeking asylum in the United States. In 1958, the first of the Cuban exiles began to arrive in Southern Florida. The first to claim refugee status, a Cuban B-26 bomber pilot, landed in Miami on December 27, 1958. He stated that he was tired of the being a part of the Batista military and that, in his words, "I don't like to bomb cities and kill innocent women and children."¹⁰² It is stories like this that show the migration northward

¹⁰² Franklin, *Cuba and the United States*, 29.

was not entirely politically motivated, but rather one done out of fear for lives and the well-being of others.

The key issue at hand, however, is the irregular migration which occurred after those with the means to escape easily had left. By this time Castro had clamped down with a heavy hand on unauthorized departures from the island. With the United States openly broadcasting freedom and permanent residence to those entering its shores, it would become an offer too good for some to pass up, prompting many to risk everything in hopes of claiming it for themselves.

The policies that came to develop from this were focused on the human person enduring the trials of irregular immigration. What would first be pioneered by private interests, such as boats and planes used to relocate Cuban dissidents, would quickly be coopted and promoted by the US government. Eventually, these private transports would come to an end, leaving anyone with the gall to attempt escape to the fate of the seas. At this time, joint policies would come to establish norms for migration, but also come to hinder the path to residence the US would initially promise. From this point on, the Cuban migration policy has become a stagnant husk of its intended purpose and calls for reform are left unheard do to the complex political situation that is the island of Cuba itself. Regardless of the wellbeing of human life at stake, the policies established in the 1960s, in the wake of Cuban Revolution, remain in place to this day.

The First Wave of Cuban Migration

This first wave of major Cuban immigration into the United States in the mid-1950s was initially thought to be temporary by both the US Government and the Cuban citizens entering the country. Most migrants fled the Cuba simply because they were tired of the conflict incited by the Batista government or possibly held Pro-American sympathies. Others were of the Cuban upper class, whom came to openly fear the socialist policies being implemented under the Castro government and saw the United States as a safe haven for what they considered would be a temporary sojourn from their homeland. The United States was quick to react, and under the watch of the Eisenhower Administration, Cubans from the upper to middle classes began to pour into Floridian port cities.¹⁰³ Many of the fleeing Cubans came under the legal status of immigrants and quickly settled down into cultural enclaves, especially in the Dade County area of Southern Florida. The federally funded Cuban Refugee Emergency Center also opened in the city of Miami. Here, provisions were made by both the federal and state governments to tend to all Cubans under immigrant or refugee status.¹⁰⁴ By 1961, forty-five percent of Cuban immigrants entering the United States had done so through the Federal Cuban Refugee Program.¹⁰⁵

Throughout the 1960s, newly elected President Kennedy oversaw the expansion of the Cuban Refugee program. Kennedy emphasized the need for a comprehensive

¹⁰³ Mitchell, William. "The Cuban Refugee Program." *Social Security Administration* 25, no. 3 (1962), p. 3-4

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 3-4

¹⁰⁵ Castellanos, Sylvia. "THE CUBAN REFUGEE PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE, 1959-1980." *The Heritage Foundation* 1 (1980), p. 2

program to handle the large wave of Cuban immigrants in Southern Florida. Efforts began to establish a temporary program, operating under the assumption that the Castro regime would collapse, either by means of US invasion or otherwise, and the Cuban refugees would be quickly repatriated. The assistance of refugees fleeing the now openly belligerent Cuba, as seen by the US, would show that, on a world stage, the United States as acting out of benevolence, as a sort of damage control for the Bay of Pigs folly. Kennedy himself stated that the program was within the United States' national interest “to be of tangible assistance to the refugees until such a time as better circumstances enable them to return to their permanent homes in health, in confidence, and with unimpaired pride.”¹⁰⁶

Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare of the United States spearheaded Kennedy's Cuban Refugee Program through a nine-point program. The plan was to provide the basic assistance and welfare needs required by the refugee population, but also sought to find quick, meaningful employment for them as well. One the greatest hurdles was that of finding work as Miami's labor market was already flooded with immigrants. Refugees seeking work would have to uproot from their familiar cultural enclave in the city into other parts of Florida, which most did with government support. Up to the 1980s, the program is credited in assisting in the relocation and reestablishment in the workforce of over 300,000 refugees registered in

¹⁰⁶ Mitchell, William. "The Cuban Refugee Program." *Social Security Administration* 25, no. 3 (1962), p. 4

the program. The needs of the refugees were met to the utmost degree, with even the concept of a right to work being considered.¹⁰⁷

US Private Interests in Cuban Migration

Alongside the natural flow of immigration from the initial wave of Cuban dissidents that entered the United States was a push by private interests, acting out of concern for the Cuban people, to remove those willing to leave by any means necessary. A US government supported, but privately run push to relocate as much of Cuba's younger population into Miami was the first of many programs to intervene synthetically in what was a naturally occurring phenomena. Operation Peter Pan was a CIA backed effort conceived by a Cuban academy headmaster, James Baker. Baker worked alongside the Catholic Archdiocese of Miami to secure visa waivers for over 14,000 Cuban children, providing them also with a means of transport off the island to foster families in Miami. Operation Peter Pan was sparked by the growing fear in Cuba that children were being subject to socialist indoctrination through the use of mandatory work camps, used for the reeducation of the population, as mandated by the early Castro governance.¹⁰⁸

After the diplomatic muddle of results from the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, Fidel Castro's now openly socialist government had placed harsh and sweeping restrictions on immigration to the United States. Between the years of 1962 and 1965, Cuban dissidents took up the challenge of illegally escaping by boat to the Florida Keys

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 4

¹⁰⁸ YANEZ, LUISA. "Pedro Pan was born of fear, human instinct to protect children."

through clandestine boat services, in what would become the first major usage of sea travel as the primary means of entry into the US as refugees. Unlike the initial wave which was financially well-off enough to purchase their own passage and find their way in the United States, a majority of those seeking passage with these clandestine boat journeys were those of the Cuban lower class. The demographics utilizing this means were laborers seeking much more meaningful employment off the island. In supporting this movement, the United States saw a means of depriving Cuba of its most vital resource, a workforce.¹⁰⁹

By 1965, a more regularized means of immigration to the United States had been reestablished in Cuba. During this time, President Lyndon B. Johnson put forth an open door policy for any and all persons of refugee status from communist countries, targeting specifically the Cuban population. As a result, the Freedom Flights, the first return to migration to the US by air travel since the first wave, was established. The Freedom Flights were an air bridge connecting the Cuban capital of Havana to Miami, Florida. What came about from this connection was the most lucrative and generally safe wave of Cuban refugees to the United States. While unable to bring as many passengers as the boats had done in the past, the airlift was a consistent means of removing refugees from Cuba without the risk of a sea crossing. The Johnson Administration saw this means as

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 3

far more preferable as it allowed for both the safety of the passengers as well as an easier means to document their travel.¹¹⁰

In the same rationale as the Johnson Administration, the Castro government came to recognize this means of transportation allowed for a much more tightly regulated immigration process. Seeing an opportunity to reduce the loss of skilled workers to the United States and secure their own workforce, the Cuban government only allowed those deemed of little importance to the government or economy to leave, holding back both skilled professionals and military age males alike from the opportunity of departure. The Freedom Flights assisted about 277,234 Cubans in relocating under permanent resident visas to the United States.¹¹¹ The flights lasted for six years, flying to and from Cuba on a regular basis until 1971, when the Cuban government finally put a halt to the operations.¹¹²

By this time, the United States Congress had come to realize that the issue of Cuban migration and its refugees would be a lasting one. In 1966, it was clear the Castro government was not on the verge of collapse, as was the thinking before the Cuban Missile Crisis, and that the Cuban Refugee Program could no longer operate as a temporary relocation agency, as was its originally intended purpose. In recognition of this, the US Congress passed the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966. This act of congress

¹¹⁰ Huddleston, Vicki. *Learning to salsa: new steps in U.S.-Cuba relations.*, p. 184

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 184

¹¹² Castellanos, Sylvia. "THE CUBAN REFUGEE PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE, 1959-1980." *The Heritage Foundation* 1 (1980), p. 3

reaffirmed that Cuban nationals of any background retain the right to immigrate to the United States through whatever means provided, with traditional means of transport being preferred including “immigrant visa issuance, refugee admission, the diversity lottery, and the Special Cuban Migration Program (SCMP), otherwise known as the Cuban lottery.”¹¹³ The law also affirms that the term “refugee” would not be used in its traditional sense in the case of the Cubans, offering the Cuban people even greater access to US citizenship and a near instant means of attaining residency with little to no bureaucratic checks.¹¹⁴

Traditionally, according to the now defunct United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, the definition of refugee is one with a *temporary* permit, granting the holder permission to reside in the United States for a set period of time. In this case, the traditional term of refugee allows those operating under its status to effectively be deported by the US Judicial system under the title of “voluntary departure.” For Cuban refugees, the voluntary departure is waived completely for what is ambiguously referred to as an “indefinite period of time,” essentially allowing the refugee to reside in the United States without threat of deportation and effectively making them only one step short of a full US citizen.¹¹⁵

By the late 1970s, the United States and Cuba had begun experimenting with Cuba exile family visitations back in their native land. Fidel Castro was reluctant to allow

¹¹³ "3/16/00 Cuba: The Cuban Adjustment Act." U.S. Department of State.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Mitchell, William. "The Cuban Refugee Program." *Social Security Administration* 25, no. 3 (1962), p. 4

it, fearing everything from espionage to a diluting of the principles of his revolution, but soon permitted it in hopes those visiting would be bringing their money as well. The thought was that the American money brought by the exiles would help stimulate the much ailing Cuban economy. The unexpected result of this policy, however, was dissent rose amongst a downtrodden native Cuban population with little opportunity for work or advancement. While the influx of American money did help the island's economy, many native Cubans desired the much more prosperous American economy their relatives would speak of during visitation.¹¹⁶

The Mariel Boatlift

At this critical time for Cuba, there were several reported cases of boat thefts and hijackings in Cuban docks, including the capitol's own Havana harbor. One such incident was the boat *GH-41*, an event in which a crew of government sanction sailors were overpowered by Cuban dissidents, forcing the captured vessel to sail to Florida. The passengers survived the journey and were brought into the United States' refugee program without issue.¹¹⁷ Stories of the hijacking of the *GH-41* became legend amongst the dissident population throughout Cuba. These events sparked what would be the last, but most notable wave of immigration out of Cuba at Havana Harbor to the Florida Keys.

The "Mariel Boat lifts" began in April of 1980 under the watch of the Carter Administration. What began as means to end the rampant boat thefts which had overrun

¹¹⁶ Smith, Wayne . *The closest of enemies: a personal and diplomatic account of U.S.-Cuban relations since 1957*, p. 198-199

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 200-201

Cuban harbors, which the Castro regime saw as providing unneeded propaganda to the United States, it evolved into an absolutely unprecedented outflow of Cuban citizens from the island nation. The boat lift was solely a private effort, without US Government participation or sanction, with only a handful of Florida citizens making the trips to and from the island. The transport was offered, free of charge, to anyone willing to make the trip to Florida and accept the consequences of doing so. Word spread quickly of the private boatlifts to the US and soon hundreds of thousands of Cubans crowded the Havana dock of Mariel, piling into boats for the Florida shores.¹¹⁸

While over 100,000 Cubans took advantage of the Mariel Boat lift, then President Carter did not offer any official assistance, and may have arguably made the situation for the immigrants a far worse one. For the most part, the Carter administration had intended to simply continue with the policies passed down from previous administrations in regards to Cuba migration. Oddly enough however, during the time of the boat lift, the administration ordered military drills be conducted in Guantanamo Bay, a move with timing could not have been any worse for those waiting for passage on the docks. Fidel Castro had been using the boat lift as a means of national propaganda, disseminating to the population as a means of national strengthening. Those who would not stand with the Revolution of 1959 were being cast off so that those willing to remain will become the nation's backbone. The US naval drills, paired with the nationalist propaganda flowing

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p. 212

through the airwaves, only served to incite riots throughout Havana and those innocents on the docks at Mariel were soon met by groups of violent Pro-Castro mobs.¹¹⁹

If only to make the situation even more confusing, the US Department of State released a statement that the boat trips by United States citizens to Havana were unauthorized and deemed *illegal*, threatening that all boats would be subject to seizure by the US Coast Guard. This announcement, surprisingly, came only a week before President Carter himself embraced the efforts of the Cuban-exile community in the boat lifts in what was a clear reversal of the executive branches previous actions and statements. The mixed messages continued, however, with the State Department again stating that the trips by US citizens to Cuba were *illegal* in nature.¹²⁰

Another major issue included the acceptance of Cuba criminals by the United States, as in those supposedly found guilty of some form of felony in Cuba. These felons were only noticed and later sorted by the US Immigration and Naturalization Service after the initial entries into the US, due to the chaos of the situation set before them. Most of the criminal element brought over by the boatlift remain housed in military penitentiaries throughout the United States and will likely not be returned to Cuba due to their public banishment by the Castro regime.¹²¹

The aftermath of the Mariel boat lifts resulted in at least 125,000 Cubans brought into the United States by private interests. The exiles which took advantage of these

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p. 213-214

¹²⁰ Ibid, p. 213-214

¹²¹ Ibid, p. 213-214

transports tended to be young, blue collar males who left due to the poor economy and lack of future in Cuba. Several, if not most, of those who entered are estimated to be mixed race. This wave of immigrants make up 28% of the current Cuban-American population in the US, however many did not incorporate into the Cuban-American community at large. Likely due to their having entered the US at a later date and being of a different class and possibly race, new enclaves were formed throughout Miami.¹²²

The End of the Cold War and “Wet-Foot, Dry-Foot”

The most recent and most concerning form of immigration from Cuba is by way of the *Balseros* or Cuban rafters. Sparked by the collapse of the Soviet Union, the essential backbone of the Cuban economy, several Cubans sought to leave Cuba in hopes of achieving economic success in the United States. From the early 90s onward, the Cuban rafters reaching American shores began to increase in number from 2,203 in 1991 to 3,656 in 1993. The year of 1994 ushered in a massive wave of rafters due to riots in Havana, resulting in almost 37,000 Cubans attempting to float northward on the Caribbean.¹²³

The rafting movement forced the United States to critically assess their policies on refugees. The US Government was afraid of a repeat of the chaos that was the Mariel Boat Lift, only now coupled with the dangers of makeshift boats piloted by inexperienced sailors crossing the Caribbean. It was estimated that in 1994 alone, anywhere from 25%

¹²² Castellanos, Sylvia. "THE CUBAN REFUGEE PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE, 1959-1980." *The Heritage Foundation* 1 (1980), p. 185

¹²³ *Ibid*, p. 186

to 75% of *balseros* immigrants perished at sea.¹²⁴ After assessing what were clearly horrific and preventable losses of life, the United States chose to officially open talks with the Cuban government. Under the leadership of the Clinton Administration, the “Cuban- US Migration Accords” took place in 1994. These talks resulted in the US adjusting its policies, allowing for 20,000 Cubans to be granted permanent residence status within the United States. It also expanded its operations within Cuba itself within the US Interests Section's ability to handle Cuban immigration lottery processing into the United States.¹²⁵

The US-Cuban Migration Accords did not restrict the continued irregular immigration to the US by Cubans. Instead, the accords focused on significantly changing the United States' policy on the receiving of Cuban irregular immigrants. The accords set up what is popularly known as a “Wet-Foot, Dry-Foot Policy,” a Cuban proposal seeking to serve the interests of both countries. This policy states that any Cuban citizen found in US waters by the US Coast Guard or any US Authority will be immediately returned to Cuba, but not barred from any future attempts to re-enter the United States. If any Cuban citizen successfully pilots their boat to US shores without being intercepted by the US Coast Guard, they will be directed to the proper immigration authorities, placed under the supervision of the Department of Homeland Security, and will be issued green cards.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Jefferson Morley, “U.S.-Cuba Migration Policy,” *The Washington Post*, July 27, 2007, sec. World, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/07/27/AR2007072701493.html>.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 186

¹²⁶ “Wet-Foot Dry-Foot Policy.” United States Immigration: Green Card, Visas and U.S. Citizenship.

One of the most famous controversies surrounding the establishment of ‘Wet-Foot, Dry-Foot’ was the Elian Gonzalez incident of 1999. Elian Gonzalez was a six year old survivor of a sunken Cuban *balseros* raft off the coast of Florida. He, his mother, and a group of other Cubans had attempted to make the journey to Florida in order to join family already present in the US. While making the journey, the boat was intercepted by a storm which destroyed its motor. The young Gonzalez along with another passenger, were ultimately the sole survivors, being saved by a local fisherman and brought to shore.¹²⁷

Elian Gonzalez was placed under temporary custody of his father's Miami based family, however when the news reported that the boy was alive, the father, Juan Miguel Gonzales, demanded the boy be returned to Cuba. This resulted in a feud between the families from both Cuba and the United States. The US courts found Juan Miguel Gonzales to be the rightful guardian of the boy and further stated that, as Elian did not make landfall himself before being reported to authorities, he did not meeting the requirements of “wet-foot, dry-foot.” Elian Gonzalez was returned to his father on June 28, 2000 and is now used as a propaganda tool for the Communist Party of Cuba.¹²⁸

Gonzalez’s story, which, from a diplomacy standpoint, was dealt with relatively peacefully, was seen as one of the most prolific events in relation to the US-Cuba Migration Accords. Other instances of interference in the policy of Cuban Irregular

¹²⁷ "Elian's relatives at war." BBC News.

¹²⁸ "Elian Gonzalez leaves U.S. for Cuba - CNN." Featured Articles from CNN.

Migration have also occurred, however. Several private, non-profit organizations were founded in the US in order to assist irregular Cuban migrants in reaching landfall without detection by the US Coast Guard. One of the most prolific groups, operating in the 1990s during the advent of 'Wet-Foot, Dry-Foot' was *Hermanos al Rescate*, or Brothers to the Rescue in English. This group, led by a concerned group of Cuban-American citizens, sought to make the journey for irregular migrants from Cuba a far safer one.¹²⁹

Established in 1991, just before 'Wet-Foot, Dry-Foot,' Brothers to the Rescue was inspired by the death of a young boy in the Caribbean Sea. Gregorio Perez Ricardo, a fifteen year old Cuban citizen was one of the many *balseros* who came victim to the harshness of nature at sea, dying of dehydration in the hands of US Coast Guard medics. Brothers to the Rescue, formed mostly by retired Cuban-American pilots, began its operations in the Caribbean just before the Clinton Administrations call for the Cuban Immigration Accords, therefore operating outside of the constraints of 'Wet-Foot, Dry-Foot.' The group, made up primarily of retired Cuban-American pilots with political motivations, with their self-description being anti-Castro and vehemently anti-communist, their actions have been primarily humanitarian.¹³⁰

Brothers to the Rescue operates by means of airplane, flying throughout the Caribbean doing reconnaissance work in hopes of providing aid to Cuban rafters. Usually their aid comes in the form of air dropped packets of supplies ranging from food and water to clothing and medical supplies. Brothers to the Rescue missions also range

¹²⁹ "Brothers to the Rescue (Hermanos Al Rescate)," accessed August 2, 2014, <http://www.hermanos.org/>.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

anywhere from the coasts of Cuba to uninhabited islands surrounding the Bahamas where several Cuban rafters tend to stand themselves while attempting to sail to Miami or Ft. Lauderdale, Florida.¹³¹

As the Brothers to the Rescue website states:

Brothers to the Rescue has conducted over 2,400 aerial search missions. These operations have resulted in the rescue of more than 4,200 men, women and children ranging from a five day old infant to a man 79 years of age, and the rescue of thousands of others during the refugee crisis of 1994. It has been estimated that Brothers to the Rescue pilots have saved one life for every two hours of flight time. This is considered a record rate among professional search and rescue organizations such as the Civil Air Patrol and the United States Air Force.¹³²

Since 1981, using the sea and whatever means available to them, over 500,000 Cuban citizens have been granted permanent residence status within the United States.¹³³ Brothers to the Rescue, which, while known for Cuban dissidence activities in the past, tend respect the wishes of the US Government and use their own property to assist Cuban refugees throughout the Caribbean. The result is ultimately that human life is protected at sea without risking diplomatic confrontation between either governments.

Contemporary Cases of Cuban Irregular Migration

Dissenters to the Castro government continue to find ways into the United States to this day. During the week of April 15, 2012, a group of group of young Cuban actors went missing while traveling to a film festival in New York. Anailin de la Rua and Javier

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ Castellanos, Sylvia. "THE CUBAN REFUGEE PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE, 1959-1980." *The Heritage Foundation 1* (1980), p. 186

Nunez were cast members of a Cuban award winning movie, “Una Noche,” a film following a group of young teenage rafters seeking a new life in the United States. The two broke from their group when they landed in Miami and later appeared on TV proclaiming that “there's no future in Cuba.”¹³⁴ The two actors were seeking refugee status at the time of the report and intended to take up whatever jobs they can find to continue supporting their families.¹³⁵

In contemporary reverse cases, irregular migration by American citizens to Cuba results in an extremely cooperative Cuba. In early April 2013, US Citizens Joshua Michael and Sharyn Hakken were intercepted by Cuban authorities just west of Havana after it had been reported they had kidnapped and sailed off with their two young children. Cuba was quick to notify the US of their arrival and capture and the family was promptly returned without issue. While Cuba has a history of being a haven for American dissenters and criminals, the island's government has been attempting to shed that image in recent years. This is not to say that foreign relations between the two nations has become any friendlier, but rather to show that Cuba, too, has a sort of selective “irregular immigration” policy and is also cooperative in its enforcement of it.¹³⁶

Conclusion – Chapter Five

United States Foreign immigration policy towards Cuba is one of time and evolution based on the reactions and policies of the Castro regime and those trying to

¹³⁴ Adams, David. "Prize-winning film's Cuban actors to seek asylum in Miami| Reuters."

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Haven, Paul. "Under the radar, Cuba and U.S. often work together"

escape it. Originally, the United States intended to set up temporary assistance for those escaping Cuba into Southern Florida. The United States, based on its anti-communist interests, assisted in these efforts to remove Cuban dissidents from the Caribbean island, including the Operation Peter Pan which target school aged Cuban children. After waves upon waves of immigrants, it became increasingly clear that the communist government of Cuba was not bound to collapse and measures were taken through the enacting of the Cuban Adjustment Act in 1966. This enactment of congress set the standard for US Cuban refugee policy.

Many of these things actions were done out of the concern for human life and the well-being of others, the very fiber of what Human Security is based on. While an ulterior motive of National Security was the focus, in that the depletion of the Cuban skilled workforce and the use of Cuban-exiles as a propaganda tool, is arguably just as accurate, it should be noted that these acts were still done for the sake of the protection of human life.

Various waves of US backed immigrations continued, especially the Freedom Flights encouraged by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Carter's Administration fumbled under the chaos of the Mariel Boat lifts, with a United States policy incapable of handling undocumented and criminal immigrants from the island. Eventually, under President Clinton, through the US-Cuba Migration Accords, a regularized immigration policy was laid out, but left room for continued irregular immigration through the "wet-foot, dry-foot" policy. The Elian Gonzales incident affirmed this controversial policy for irregular Cuban immigration. Non-Profits like Brothers to the Rescue will continue to work with

irregular migrants from Cuba and assist them in any way possible to reach US landfall accordance with the ‘Wet-Foot, Dry-Foot Policy.’

Human Security can be clearly seen here overtaking the viewpoint of National Security in this case. The Clinton Administration was keen to recognize the horrors that befell many of the *balseros* rafters and was willing to reach out to Cuba to resolve the issue in hopes of avoiding any more tragedy. An even earlier example, before policy was even created, the Mariel Boatlifts were acts of pure human kindness. These were acts done out of understanding for the plight of the fellow human person and none of the boat pilots were asked or required to pilot their boats and risk criminal charges for transporting Cuban dissidents to US shores. These events were prime examples of Human Security in action.

To this day, Cubans still seek opportunities in the US, including the recent incident from the two teenage actors from the award winning low budget film “Una Noche.” When the situation is reversed and it happens to be US Citizens immigrating to Cuba, the Cuban government is cooperative with US immigration policy, especially in criminal cases. As long as the Cuban economy remains stagnant without proper reforms, Cuban irregular immigration to the US, by any means, be it safe or self-endangering, will continue.

CHAPTER SIX: Cuban Migration and Security Policy Analysis

Introduction - Cuban Migration and the Security Debate

As seen from both previous sections of data, the United States and Cuba have a conjoined history in which American interventionism and contentious rebellion have led to the development of alarmingly sophisticated and complex systems of security in the Caribbean. Advocates of National Security during the Cold War period created an undeniable diplomatic quagmire which resulted in periods of on and off hostility. Because of this all-encompassing, yet relatively mild reinforcement of negative peace, such occurrences as immigration were allowed, at times, to persist in a safe and regulated manner. These times however were seen as some of the harshest for a majority of the Cuban people who, suffering from general political repression through the implementation of Castro's policies, were rendered incapable of even affording the cheapest of transports out of Cuba.

When times became harsher for the Cuban people at the end of the Cold War, the *balseros* took to the seas, seeing a risky seas voyage as preferable option to life in a poor economic climate. Migration soon became an option for all those willing to take the risks, but it was neither ideal nor as supported by the United States as previous waves of Cuban migration had been. Again, in periods of both peace and war, the only constant seen

throughout has been the natural urge of the human person to supplant themselves in the interest of their general well-being and personal security.

We know now that both the United States and Cuba reacted to both each other's movements as well as those outside their sphere of influence, such as human migration. The actions of both nations reflected, certainly security concerns in general, but often times, the policies were put in place favoring one school over the other. During the early parts of the Cold War, the focus tended to be much more on policies benefitting national security, with the United States and Cuba fearing military engagements from either side. When negative peace ensued after the Cuban Missile Crisis, this paper pointed to a new threat, one of the common human's life. This section hopes to pair the events and their respective policies in light of the two contemporarily dominant fields of security, National and Human Security while also exploring the road ahead for Cuban-US migration policy.

Was the Initial US reaction a Humanitarian One?

The official US stance regarding those fleeing the initial Cuban Revolution was that those fleeing were refugees. However, when looked at from a grander perspective, we see a United States at war in both Korea and eyeing the stability of the nations under the influence of the Soviet Union. Tactics from espionage to direct intervention were a common occurrence within the various sovereign entities deemed crucial to the United States' national interest. Such actions could hardly be considered humanitarian in nature, no matter what the intent or the end that is sought.

The events surrounding the migration crisis were most certainly ones of National Security. The Bay of Pigs invasion was certainly not a humanitarian, in fact being the furthest option from it. The invasion was posed purely for the reassertion of American private and political interests, falling squarely in the field of National Security. The Cuban Missile crisis was also created and dealt with under the mindset of National Security by all parties involved. It was not simply the way of the world, operating under a system of Realism, but rather the nature of the problem that had much of the effect.

When faced with a military threat, it is logical to think that the threat will be answered with a militarized reaction. While it may seem rather “eye for an eye,” in a sort of militarized utilitarianism, such is the common reaction amongst nations. The Securitization principle, as well, plays into this, with it acting as a means to an end that is militarization and thus acting in the interests of National Security. Human Security is left as an afterthought in such circumstances, after all, why consider the lives of individual humans, including those of other nations, when the lives of the state’s population are at stake?

This harkens back to the Human Security debate, with the exception that Cuba has become reverse of the norm that sparked the debate in the first place. Originally, Human Security had been intended for a world where Realism was seen as a system in decline, prime to be replaced by one capable of dealing with intra-national conflicts. Cuba and its migration crisis remain an international one. Human Security was also developed to bring light to human situations in conflict zones outside the spheres of influence of the western world, was a nation near fully attached to the United States.

More interesting even is that, from the US perspective, the individual Cuban citizen was seen a means to weaken the Cuban state, and thus a move in fulfilment of Nation Security policy. As author Felix Masud-Piloto states in his work on the Cuban Exiles, the goals of the United States were, “(a) to destabilize Castro’s Government by draining it of all vital human resources...; and (b) to discredit the regime through encouraging the flight of thousands from Communist dictatorship to a capitalist democracy.”¹³⁷ Such moves ultimately required the United States to, in turn, support what would later develop policies which would later be considered those matching the tenants of Human Security.

Earlier within this work, the concept of *Securitization* was introduced, a means of political persuasion often used during this period to justify US actions. The Cuban Crisis was no exception to this political tool. American rhetoric such as a speech given by then president John F. Kennedy speech on October 22, 1964 shows it put in a succinct manner. Before introducing a section on policies regarding Cuban migration and the embargo, he opens with a preamble of, “*Acting, therefore, in the defense of our own security and of the entire Western Hemisphere*, and under the authority entrusted to me by the Constitution as endorsed by the Resolution of the Congress, I have directed that the following initial steps be taken immediately”.¹³⁸ With such a statement as this, referencing the defense of sovereign entities, and not the individuals under them, it is

¹³⁷ Masud-Piloto, *From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants*, 2.

¹³⁸ “Cuban Missile Crisis - John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum,” accessed July 12, 2014, <http://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/Cuban-Missile-Crisis.aspx>.

clear that the talk and policy of the times was focused on National Security and not its Human counterpart.

To say the initial reaction of the United States Government to the Cuban Migration Crisis and the plight of the average Cuban citizen was humanitarian in nature and therefore met the criteria to have been Human Security policy in action, would be foolish. To say, however, that the initial reaction of the United States, while rooted in concern for National Security, resulted in a concern for the individual Cuban citizen as a means to an end, would be a far more accurate statement.

American Public Influences on the Migration Debate

Human Security, as a concept had not yet been developed during the Cold War while policy regarding Cuban Migration had been occurring, however the policies took a far more humanitarian turn than any other foreign policy developed at the time. The United States certainly does not hold a perfect track record for humanitarian concerns during the Cold War, as previously stated. Other such events include coups staged through the support of the CIA, with full backing of the United States' Executive Branch from all parts of Latin America to the Middle East. While certainly military action was taken upon the Castro government in the Bay of Pigs invasion and the various planned assassination attempts, Cuba still remains an anomaly for how the United States was so willing to accept and process so many Cuban migrants.

This scholar is willing to propose that it was thanks to the historically strong public ties between the United States and Cuba that the situation was able to turn out in the favor of the human persons seeking refuge rather than the nations stressing their

sovereignty. Cuban-Americans have been the key to dictating the trends that go into US foreign policy to Cuba. In some ways, it was simply the connection between the Cuban people and the American people, in general. No ill will or general dislike was ever truly harbored between the two groups and, in fact, many Americans looked to Cuban culture in awe. Cuba was one of the most popular places for American vacation, and was developed as such, up until the Cuban Revolution, making it a definite positive amongst Americans.¹³⁹ Famous American figures, such as Ernest Hemmingway, took up residence in Cuba for some time, taking advantage of the island lifestyle as an escape from the traditional American working-class culture.¹⁴⁰

Cuban-Americans rose in the ranks of American society and became such popular icons of the early American mass media. Desidero, or more popularly “Desi,” Arnaz, the famous actor and film producer and husband of Lucille Ball and co-star of the popular American TV show *I Love Lucy* is one such icon. *I Love Lucy* remains, to this day, one of the most watched and most popular television shows, even in reruns, and during its original air time, brought Cuban culture to the American household with both Desi and Lucille, while actually married, playing a fictional married couple.

While initially met with animosity by the station executives due to Desi not being a white American, Lucille’s insistence was found to be an absolute hit. The situation can be seen as a fair practical metaphor for the “marrying” of the two cultures, proving compatibility and cooperation were within reach.¹⁴¹ Later on, Desi Arnaz would

¹³⁹ “Cubahistory.pdf,” 2, <http://www.auburn.edu/~thomph1/cubahistory.pdf>.

¹⁴⁰ Jeffrey Meyers, *Hemingway: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1986), 326.

¹⁴¹ Bart Andrews, *The “I Love Lucy” Book*, 1st ed (Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1985), 11.

publically state on television alongside his wife that Communism is what drove him and his family from Cuba saying, “We both [Desi and Lucille] despise the Communists and everything they stand for!”¹⁴²

As such, the popularity of Cuban culture and the island in general created a near impossible task for any propagandists within the US government to retell the story of Cuba as one of an evil population harboring resentment against America. This task would have been an impossibility. Rather, the story worked extremely well in terms of treating the Cuban people as unwillingly brought under the thumb of a Soviet supported communist regime. These people were clearly refugees, as the US would come to state, and out of the compassion of the US government are granted permanent residency and possibly even a quick path to citizenship for those who leave the island. Demonization of the Cuban people would have been utterly unnecessary and foolhardy as the story was already written for them.

Even to this day, this trend continues and has even been strengthened. Cuban-Americans, by tradition tended to be conservative in their political leanings due to the Republican hard-line approach to communism, even in this modern age. For the Republican Party, the Cuban population has always been viewed as a key demographic when it comes to controlling the state of Florida during each electoral season. As a result, the Cuban-American population has been one of the most out-spoken and listened to minorities in all of the United States. In the 1992 Presidential debates, then President George H.W. Bush was reluctant to extend the Cuban economic embargo, but did so, due

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 127.

to pressure from his Democratic opponent, Bill Clinton, and the fear of losing the Cuban-Exile vote in Florida.¹⁴³

However, traditions are changing and with a growing Latino voter base for the Democrat Party, seeking to unite all Latino people residing in the US from Central and South America and the Caribbean regions, Cuban-Americans are now becoming a minority heavily vied for by both parties. As a result, the demands of the Cuban exile minority in the United States may actually be even further amplified. Whether or not this means harsher enforcement of the current policy or a more lenient approach from this new generation has yet to be seen. Trends put in place by the Obama Administration in regards to the reduction of several restrictions on travel to and from Cuba hint at the possibility that the Cuban-American minority is tending towards leniency.¹⁴⁴

Cuban-Americans of the Cuban Exile community have been a strong voice and the deciders of much of the United States' foreign policy. While indirect in its influence, the already present Cuban Exile community introduced America to Cuban culture and its role in a more diverse America. After the revolution, it was Cuban-Americans who populated and essentially created the cultural enclave that is now the city of Miami in South Florida, providing a home for those Cubans would seek refuge in the United States at a later date. In more contemporary times, Cuban Americans still influence the migration debate, along with Cuban foreign policy in general, however general voter

¹⁴³ Chomsky, *World Orders, Old and New*, 68.

¹⁴⁴ Jens Manuel Krogstad, "After Decades of GOP Support, Cubans Shifting toward the Democratic Party," *Pew Research Center*, June 24, 2014, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/06/24/after-decades-of-gop-support-cubans-shifting-toward-the-democratic-party/>.

apathy against the traditional hardline view in the community may lead to the possibility of peaceful solutions with Cuba soon.

Continued Security and Stability Concerns

The United States continues its policies, as developed throughout the Cold War, against the Cuban government, awaiting what it originally had hoped to be the inevitable collapse of the Castro dictatorship. While the United States considers the Cuban military to be a significant force within the Caribbean, it does not see them as an immediate threat to US sovereignty. The United States' primary National Security concern is the political espionage conducted by Cuba which targets everything from state and national politics, to the Cuban-American community.¹⁴⁵

The United States targets Cuba as well with forms of clandestine destabilizing programs. The most recent case in 2010 involves USAID paying their workers for an HIV/AIDS workshop to spread dissent within its lessons. The workers encouraged Cuban youth to tackle a local community project in order to see that their own actions can be used to control their own destinies. It was viewed by one worker to be a perfect means of “grooming” Cuban youth throughout the island for government dissent. This news breaks not too long after the exposure of a US backed social network targeted at Cuban youth, encouraging them to self-express and encourage government dissent online.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ “New Revelations about Cuban Spy Ana Montes - Issues & Ideas - MiamiHerald.com,” *The Miami Herald*, accessed August 22, 2014, <http://www.miamiherald.com/2014/08/02/4267428/new-revelations-about-cuban-spy.html>.

¹⁴⁶ “Another USAID Cuba Spy Program Exposed - US News,” *US News & World Report*, accessed August 22, 2014, [//www.usnews.com/news/articles/2014/08/04/another-usaid-cuba-spy-program-exposed](http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2014/08/04/another-usaid-cuba-spy-program-exposed).

The United States is not the only party with Security concerns. From the early foundation of the Castro lead communist government in Cuba, the island was concerned of American invasion. It was for the sake of both economic and national security the island's administration quickly sought out the aid of the Soviet Union in order that they may both protect themselves military and preserve their own economic viability. Unfortunately for the communist Cubans, their fears were realized in the form of the Bay of Pigs invasion, which, while quickly defeated, confirmed that the United States was willing to attempt to overthrow the communist government by means of invasion and was willing to use its own military assets such as the US Air Force to do so.

One major incident involved the previously mentioned humanitarian group, Brothers to the Rescue. In February of 1996, in which two Brothers to the Rescue cesna single-engine aircraft were shot down off the coast of Cuba. The two planes happened to be on a humanitarian scouting mission when two Cuban Airforce pilots in Russian built MiG jets shot both planes down, killing the two American pilots. The Cuban government claimed that the planes had violated airspace just days before, dropping leaflets over Havana.

Brothers to the Rescue argues that the pilots were both well aware of the 12 mile off shore Cuban airspace and that the leaflets were dropped at that point and carried by the wind into Havana. While evidence remains inconclusive over whether the pilots initially violated airspace, the United States maintains the two Cuban Pilots who performed the shoot down were in violation of their own airspace, with both pilots being

charged in the US.¹⁴⁷ Cases such as this show that Cuba remains concerned for its national sovereignty and, while not a major military threat, is willing to strike when threatened.

Recent changes in Cuba, however, have led some to believe that the nation is willing to develop policies more in line with human rights and the concepts of Human Security. Cuba has just recently begun liberalizing its own travel restrictions, allowing Cuban citizens to work abroad for 2 years without losing their property rights or facing penalties. It is hoped that not only will these changes draw others back, but encourage those with meaningful employment to travel abroad for work and return, ready to invest money back into the ailing Cuban economy.¹⁴⁸

It is no surprise that many Cuban exiles residing in the US seek to return home, but, for most, not while the island remains under the control of the Castro family, or simply in the hands of an openly proclaimed one-party communist government. Whether or not the property rights of those who have left will be respected upon their return is uncertain, however Cuba has recently relaxed many of those early property restrictions in response to the continued outflow of its citizens, hoping that they will return, possibly with money to inject into their struggling economy. With such opportunities awaiting the Cuban people, the United States will likely respond in turn.

¹⁴⁷ "Armando Alejandro Jr., Carlos Costa, Mario de La Pena Y Pablo Morales v. Republica de Cuba, Case 11.589, Report No. 86/99, OEA/Ser.L/V/II.106 Doc. 3 Rev. at 586 (1999).," accessed August 22, 2014, <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/cases/86-99.html>.

¹⁴⁸ Marc Frank, "Cuba Reports Highest Outflow of Citizens since 1994," *Reuters*, July 31, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/07/31/us-cuba-migration-idUSBRE96U1F920130731>.

On an official level, President Barack Obama, has recently reduced restrictions ranging from the long held *travel* restrictions of US Citizens to Cuba as well as remittance payments from the United States to Cuban citizens. In regards to the travel restrictions, President Obama has ordered that the terms of *Purposeful Travel*, in other words the reasons for travel to Cuba, are to be broadened. Now included are religious and accredited educational organizations and intuitions flying under license. The Purposeful Travel requirements to Cuba were also expanded to include non-academic clinics, workshops, as well as the allowance of foreign exchange students to and from the island.¹⁴⁹

In cooperation with the liberalized migration reforms in Cuba, President Obama has also instructed all executive run agencies to allow for greater remittance allowances to be granted passage through to Cuba. Remittance payments are small portions of money generally sent back to family members from work abroad in order to assist with payments and living expenses in the worker's home country. In the case of Cuba, President Obama has raised the limit to \$500 per quarter for those payments made to non-family members, and a non-limit has been placed on those payments made to religious institutions. It is hopes that through these payments both religious freedom and private economic activity will received the assistance they need in Cuba.¹⁵⁰

As for further developments in policies regarding Cuba and migration, the United States has several resources available in the eventuality Cuban government collapses in

¹⁴⁹ "Reaching Out to the Cuban People | The White House," accessed August 22, 2014, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/01/14/reaching-out-cuban-people>.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

favor of a more democratic means of governance. Since 2006, during the George W. Bush's presidency, reports and plans have been made on how the US should proceed in a Post-Castro Cuba. Bush's then Commission on Assistance to a Free Cuba advised the president that the US should once again play an interventionist role, providing assistance to a Cuba "in transition." President Bush was met with criticism, stating that Cuba was its own sovereign state and that the US would be better off determining whether or not the embargo placed upon Cuba has been effective in achieving a more democratic state.¹⁵¹

Academics have also played a major role in disseminating and debating a world without the Castro Government. Many within the Cuban Exile community have taken it upon themselves to apply their disciplines to projects in hopes of answering this question and better preparing the global community for an event that could be happening quite soon. One such place is the University of Miami's Institute for Cuban & Cuban-American Studies' Cuban Transition Project:

The Cuba Transition Project, at the Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies (ICCAS), University of Miami, is an important and timely project to study and make recommendations for the reconstruction of Cuba once the post-Castro transition begins in earnest. The project was established in 2002 and supported by grants from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) until 2010.¹⁵²

The project hopes that by analyzing the historical transitions of several function capitalist states out of the former Soviet bloc, such as Poland or Czechoslovakia, the United States will be better prepared to assist in Cuba's transition to a democratic,

¹⁵¹ "Report to Advise Bush on Post-Castro Cuba," *DominicanToday.com*, accessed August 22, 2014, <http://www.dominicantoday.com/dr/world/2006/5/24/13779/Report-to-advise-Bush-on-post-Castro-Cuba>.

¹⁵² "Welcome to the Cuba Transition Project at the University of Miami," accessed August 22, 2014, <http://ctp.iccas.miami.edu/main.htm>.

capitalist country. Others study the effects of Latin America upon the currently operating Cuba, such as debating the Venezuela connection and the possibility of a Post-Castro Cuba remaining Socialist.¹⁵³

Ultimately, the future remains uncertain in terms of policy reforms for Cuba. The migration reforms, while not full fledged normalization of immigration policy between either of the two nations, are certainly steps in the right direction. With Cuba's continued liberalization of migration policies and the United States' support of such measures, the two may soon find some form of common ground with which they can, at the very least, begin talking.

Human Security Vs. National Security: Bridging the gap with Cuba?

Having studied the history of events behind the very existence of the Cuban Migration Crisis, it is hard to say whether or not National Security and Human Security are entirely compatible worldviews when it comes to policymaking. It has been iterated several times within this work, but hopefully it can be stated much more conclusively here: Human Security and National Security, while views that are in play at all times in situations of foreign policy, are never equally considered during policy development and implementation. Several factors play into this including the situation with which is being dealt with or whether the effects of a hypothetical event affect the populations or interests of a sovereign entity or those of another.

When observing the reactions of the United States and Cuba to each other's military and rhetorical actions, it is instantly obvious that these two entities are operating

¹⁵³ Ibid.

under the Realist system of security. Almost every action taken throughout the history of the two nations in question has been a utilitarian one. Events such as the Bay of Pigs or the Cuban Missile Crisis would never have occurred had the self-interests of a sovereign state not been at play. While it is not to say that actions by a state out of self-interest are inherently negative in nature, it should be noted that motives are there very essence of the nature of an action, and in the case of the United States, self-concern was the priority of the Cold War.

One of the finest examples of this notion is in reference back to the question asked early in this section of whether or not the United States' initial response was that of a humanitarian one. Clearly, human lives and their well-being were a factor within the decision to accept the migrants as refugees, even to the extent of funding programs to assist those seeking to leave Cuba, but this was an ulterior motive for a grander plan at work. Every Cold War administration, from Eisenhower to Kennedy was seeking the containment and ultimate downfall of communism throughout the world. Human Security, while minutely present, was a most certainly a means to an end in these instances.

Recent cases within the Cuban Migration Crisis have seen positive steps towards an understanding and development of Human Security policy within this issue. In 1974, under the Carter Administration, an unusual amount of plane hijacks both to and from Cuba resulted in talks between the two nations and ultimately a treaty put in place to extradite those who entered Cuba irregularly through this means.¹⁵⁴ The hijackings were

¹⁵⁴ "A Chronology of Significant DOT Dates," <http://ntl.bts.gov/historian/chronology.htm#1974>.

a clear threat to the well-being of human lives, but also took into account the national interests of the air travel business as well. A more topical event would be the *balsero* movement in the 1990s which saw the Clinton Administration reach out to Castro, specifically to prevent the further loss of human life by rafters.

The ‘Wet Foot, Dry Foot’ policy is one based entirely upon the school of Human Security, considering the welfare of the individual over the state’s sovereignty. While its effects are debated, as it does require the extradition of individuals found at sea back to a nation known for its poor human rights track record, it does, at the very least, seek to protect the lives of those crossing the Caribbean.

Migration Policy between Cuba and the United States has been one of time and evolution. It began as a militarized reaction, in which the United States saw an opportunity to rob Cuba of its workforce and skilled professionals. As time went on, the policies put in place reflected more upon the rights of the human persons caught within a crisis of migration, rather than the strategic advantages of using an at risk population as tool of diplomacy. The ‘Wet Foot, Dry Foot’ policy is the culmination of this policy development through the years, and while it cannot be argued the gap between Human Security and National Security has been bridge, one can see a case that has featured both forms of thinking, with both, ultimately assisting the individual out of life threatening crisis and into safe, protected environment.

Conclusion – Chapter Six

The issue of Cuban Migration is clearly one of both National and Human Security. The historical setting, which established a *regional security complex* similar to

the theory posited by Buzan and the Copenhagen School, leaned heavily upon the National Security focus. It was only natural, after all, the military mindset between the United States and the USSR made it so that any development of communism meant military action was a plausible consideration, or possibly a solution. As times changed, so did the nature of the relationship between the two sovereign entities. While still a relationship heavily overshadowed by the threat of military force against one another, or at the very least in defense, the “human factor” injected itself into the equation in the form of migration. It is here where the developments of the Human Security within policy towards Cuba made several inroads.

Due to the overarching conflict of the Cold War, it would have been near impossible for either Cuba or the United States to simply do away with their stances on National Security. The American people, however, insisted upon the fair treatment of the Cubans seeking refuge in their nation and the United States, seeing possible inroads into the further destabilization of Castro’s Cuba, was happy to oblige public’s will. At first, the “human factor” was addressed under the auspices of National Security, but as time went on it, and the nature of the relationship moved out of the Cold War mentality, so did the policies regarding Cuba and migration. With too many people entering harm’s way due to a down Cuban economy and hopes of residency in the US, deals had to be struck and new policies had to be formed.

‘Wet-Foot, Dry-Foot’ was the culmination of the diplomatic deadlock that the US and Cuba had been so intertwined in for years. While imperfect in-so-far that it refused to address the regularization of migration policy, it was an instance where both parties were

forced to address the value and protection of human life within the context of their own National Security policies. In that sense, it was a victory for Human Security advocates. Little has changed since the implementation of ‘Wet-Foot, Dry-Foot’ in the 1990s, but changes in travel policies made through executive orders by the Obama Administration may herald a shift in overall immigration policy in the near future.

CONCLUSION

The United States and the Caribbean nation of Cuba have such history to their connected story that it seems one cannot discuss one without, at one point, mentioning the other. With the events ranging from the Spanish-American War to the Cuban Missile Crisis, it is no wonder the nations are often tied together when talk of ongoing conflict is about. These two nations have been party to conflict and political stalemate for over one hundred years. In its most recent, ongoing connection, is the tale of the continued Cuban Irregular Migration which has resulted in the displacement of over one hundred-thousand Cuban citizens worldwide, with most now residing in the United States. It is this conflict with which this paper was based and it is this conflict that continues to impact United States and Cuban immigration policy to this day.

The research question of this paper asked: *In the case of Cuban irregular migration, how have policies pertaining to both Human and National security been historically created and enforced by the United States and Cuba and do these policies continue to be used and developed to this day?* The answer to this question is yes, both Human and National Security policies have been developed and enforced by both governments. Cuba and the United States, initially seeking to resolve their respective National Security concerns were able to eventually meet, decades later, amidst a perilous migration crisis, and develop what would be their first joint Human Security policy. ‘Wet

Foot; Dry Foot' is the culmination of years of paranoia and distrust between the two nations who, realizing that years of reliance upon the old style, Realist policies, had left them behind in terms of their own migration crisis.

In the 1930s and 40s, the United States endorsed a dictatorial regime which, while fully opening Cuba to its interests, came to be a thorn in the side of the US. General Batista's flagrant lack of care for his people or the foreign crime syndicates and businesses that had taken hold of his formerly sovereign island resulted in the 1959 Revolution by Fidel Castro. The United States, incensed by Castro's push to nationalize all US private industry on the island drove the government to attempt a coup in 1961. The CIA backed Bay of Pigs invasion was a failure and came to be a major instigator of the Cuban Missile Crisis, the closest the world has ever been to thermonuclear war. These policies, all based on the National Security decisions made within the school of international Realism, are the direct cause of what would become the Cuban Migration Crisis.

The first major waves of Cuban migration were the direct results of the Batista dictatorship and Castro's battle in 1959 to establish a new socialist government on the island of Cuba. It was here that the United States began to embrace pseudo-Human Security based policies, with the focus on the well-being of the individual in transit to the United States. These policies were based on broader National Security policies however and merely used the migrating Cuban citizens as a means to an end: The eventual collapse of the Castro government in Cuba. Where the US did not intervene, private interests did, with Americans offering their services in escorting or transporting Cuban

dissidents to the United States. It was during these times that private operations, such as the Mariel Boatlifts, which displayed the fervor of the American people, whether they knew it or not, to put into practice their own means of Human Security.

By the 1990s, the issue of Cuban Migration came to a head with the *Balseros*, or Cuban rafter movement. After estimates determined great loss of life by these rafters in the Caribbean, the United States determined it was necessary to open talks with Cuba to discuss the issue. The result was the development of the ‘Wet Foot, Dry Foot’ policy, which came to be the first Human Security based policy to help reduce the risks of traveling across the Caribbean Sea in hopes of making landfall in the United States.

In analyzing the actions of the United States and Cuba throughout the migration crisis, it was possible to determine which policies advocated what form of security and at which time they were put into place. At the beginning of the crisis, it was determined that the policies, such as the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966, while based in National Security, still hold certain aspects of Human Security in that they assist the individual, even if the motive is to harm another state. It was also determined that such policies came to be due to the influences of Cuban culture and the Cuban-American community upon the US public. Final analyses found that National Security issues continue to persist between the US and Cuba and that the elusive gap between National and Human Security cannot be “bridged,” but rather policies can emphasize one and still retain aspects of the other.

Such positive steps, as researched and determined by this paper could determine the fate of With, smaller, but hopeful Human Security based reforms emerging in these

times, it is possible the United States and Cuba will be able to meet on common ground regarding the causes of Cuban irregular migration, and not simply the ways and means of managing it. While National Security will likely continue to be the dominant school of the two, the emergency of Human Security reforms in such an issue as Cuban migration means significant strides have been made in foreign policy and the understand of the rights of the human individual by both the US and Cuba.

While much was covered within this paper in terms of the Cuban migration debate, definite weaknesses can be seen. While the paper was written in a purely qualitative fashion, the terms of National and Human Security cannot easily be quantified and therefore have ambiguous and loose definitions from the start. Of course, as mentioned in the literature review that even the security fields themselves continue to debate the very definitions of the National and Human schools of security, making this task exceedingly difficult when choosing one to pick for use within this paper. This problem, however, does not affect the conclusion of this paper, however, as the general definitions are distinct enough to determine whether a policy matches one field or the other.

If this project discussing Cuban irregular migration were to be returned to or expanded, it would best done by doing a Case study of Cuba itself. Migration is but one aspect of the Cuban crisis. As mentioned, other aspects include the currently ongoing US embargo of goods against Cuba. It would also be prudent to research different scholarly thoughts on what lifting the embargo may do to Cuba undergoing transition. Within some research done for this paper, it was speculated that a sudden undoing of the embargo

would create a positive atmosphere for the United States and create an uncontrolled flurry of information that Communist Cuba could never control. It is suggested that at a time like this, the country may be ripe for the introduction of democracy, or at the very least, a government more open to the respect of human rights.

One other aspect that might be interesting to return to would also be the difference prior cultural connections can play in irregular migration. It has been stated several times over now that the Cuba and the US have had a connected culture for well over one-hundred years. Why is it that reception of individuals irregularly from known, culturally connected places is met with less conflict than those without these prior cultural connections? While much more of a sociological question, it would be fascinating to compare the policies of the Cuban situation, in light of the prior Cuban-American influence, in comparison to those of any region where two different cultures are coming into contact due to irregular migration.

The intent of this paper was born out of the National and Human Security compatibility debate and, as such, its implications shed light on the nature of the two schools. National security's utilitarian based focus on the sovereignty of the nation, while never directly compatible with Human Security, is capable of implementing aspects of Human Security into its own policies. In the Cuban irregular migration crisis, a bridge in which the two schools had equity within a policy never occurred, but it proved that for good policy to be drafted and implemented, both sides ought to be present for good policy to be implemented. Hopefully, with the precedent set by the handling of this crisis,

other situations where the security divide is present will see the benefits of considering both sides before committing to one over the other.

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