

or falsifying documents. In the final analysis, the sanctions probably played a relatively modest role; the collapse of these regimes and the reduction of the threat they posed to the West were caused primarily by poor economic management.

c) Cuba

There have been a variety of sanctions against Havana since 1960, when the US retaliated against the expropriation of American property on the island and the imposition of what were deemed to be discriminatory tariffs on US goods. The first measures were a total embargo on US exports (except food and medicine), an embargo on the import of Cuban sugar into the US, and the severance of diplomatic relations (1961), followed by a total two-way trade embargo in 1962 (except food and medicine) accompanied by restrictions on the charter of ships and on sea and air links.

Until 1962, attempts to obtain Organization of American States (OAS) backing for these measures failed to win automatic agreement from member states. Then, Castro openly declared himself a Marxist-Leninist, alarming a number of Latin American member states and leading to an arms embargo. The naval blockade of October 1962, during the Cuban Missile Crisis, lasted one month and was supported by a number of countries in the region. In 1964, the discovery of a cache of arms of Cuban origin in Venezuela led the OAS to impose the following mandatory measures: the severance of diplomatic ties; a ban on all trade (except foodstuffs and medicine); a ban on all sea transport (except of a humanitarian nature). Some countries dissented (Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, Mexico). In 1963, Cuban assets in the US were frozen. US attempts to convince other western countries to join in the sanctions were futile, except for bans on arms and military supplies. The OAS sanctions were lifted in 1975, after they had clearly become inoperative. The US did however maintain its embargo, and its resolve stiffened in the wake of Cuban adventures in Africa, Grenada, El Salvador and Nicaragua.

It is difficult to assess the impact of the sanctions on Cuba, for the Soviet Union quickly replaced the US as Cuba's leading trading partner and the volume and nature of Cuban trade were altered by new economic and social policies. The deep current of anti-Yankee nationalism in Cuba, added to wide-ranging reforms in health and education, long played in Castro's favour, and he was able to attribute some of his regime's economic setbacks to his US adversaries. The US, which had accounted for two-thirds of Cuba's trade in 1959, saw its role reduced to almost nothing two years later, while the socialist countries, with which Cuban trade had been negligible, accounted for 85% of its total trade after 1962. Despite its often-stated desire to diversify its economy,