## NEG BLOCKS

### AT: Helps US Econ

#### 1. Trading with Cuba would be a YUGE risk

**Jorge Benitez 2014** (Jorge Benitez, director of NATOSource and a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council. February 27th 2014. “Lining a Dictator’s Pockets,” *US News*, <http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2014/02/27/lifting-the-us-embargo-on-castros-cuba-would-be-a-mistake>. Accessed 30 January 2017) ESG

The U.S. should not normalize trade with the Castro regime for the plain and simple reasons that his ventures lose money and his government is an international “deadbeat.” Any economic partnerships with authoritarian regimes are morally suspect, but **making deals with the Castro government is pouring billions of dollars down the drain.** In 1986, Cuba defaulted on its multibillion dollar debt to the Paris Club of nations. That debt is now estimated to be around $37 billion and the Castro government refuses to pay it. A couple of months ago, Russia had to write off 90 percent of Cuba's $32 billion debt. That’s almost $29 billion dollars that Castro will never pay back to Moscow. In November, Mexico wrote off $340 million of Cuba’s debt to its development bank, Bancomext. **It is no wonder that, according to Moody’s, Cuba’s credit rating is** Caaa1, which means **worse than highly speculative and a “substantial risk” to investors. It makes no business sense to drop the embargo for the sake of trading with a government that reneged on so many loans its credit rating is now at the subprime or “junk bond” level.** Yet, loans are what would be necessary to “normalize” relations with Cuba. The embargo allows for U.S. food and humanitarian supplies to be sold to Cuba. In fact, the U.S. is currently the fifth largest exporter to Cuba. The big difference is that, according to the embargo, the Castro government must pay for all U.S. imports with cash, no credit allowed.

### AT: Solves Poverty

#### 1. The Cuban government would steal all profits from lifting the embargo

**Jorge Benitez 2014** (Jorge Benitez, director of NATOSource and a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council. February 27th 2014. “Lining a Dictator’s Pockets,” *US News*, <http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2014/02/27/lifting-the-us-embargo-on-castros-cuba-would-be-a-mistake>. Accessed 30 January 2017) ESG

This brings us to the most overlooked and dangerous factor in trading with Cuba**. Most of the Cuban economy is owned by the Castro government and all foreign trade is channeled through agencies that support the regime. For example, all foreign companies must pay wages in hard currency (dollars or euros) to the Cuban government**, and from those wages the state pays in local currency (Cuban pesos) a small percentage to the individual employees. **As a report by the Brooking Foundation described it: “If the firm pays the employment agency $500 a month and the employment agency pays the workers 500 pesos, over 90 percent of the wage payment disappears in the currency conversion; the effective compensation is instantly deflated to $21 per month.” Brookings said this may be “the world’s heaviest labor tax.”** Or as one Cuban worker disclosed: “In Cuba, it’s a great myth that we live off the state. In fact, it’s the state that lives off of us.” **This is why decades of trade between Cuba and market economies in Europe, Canada and Latin America have only lined the pockets of the Castro government and not produced any of the promised political or economic benefits for the people of Cuba.** This is what “normalized” relations with Cuba looks like. **If the U.S. dropped the embargo, our companies would join those from around the world that pay dearly to the Castro regime as it exploits the Cuban people. It is this corrupt system, not the embargo, which deprives the people of Cuba of the benefits of trade and the skill of their labor.** As the U.S. argued in the United Nations, “the Cuban Government’s own policy was the largest obstacle to the country’s own development, concentrating political and economic decisions in the hands of the few and stifling economic growth.”

#### 2. Eh probably not

**Julia Sweig and Michael Bustamante, 2013** (Julia Sweig, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Latin America Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, and Michael Bustamante, PhD candidate in Latin American history at Yale University. July/August 2013. “Cuba After Communism,” *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/cuba/2013-06-11/cuba-after-communism>. Accessed 2 February 2017) ESG

Nevertheless, **Cuba faces serious obstacles in its quest for greater economic vitality. Unlike China and Vietnam at the start of their reform efforts, Cuba is an underdeveloped country with developed-world problems. Not only is the population aging (18 percent of the population is over 60), but the country’s economy is heavily tilted toward the services sector.** When Vietnam began its doi moi (renovation) economic reforms in 1986, services accounted for about 33 percent of GDP, whereas the productive base represented nearly 67 percent. By contrast, **services in Cuba make up close to 75 percent of the island’s GDP** -- the result of 20-plus years of severe industrial decay and low rates of savings and investment. Service exports (mainly of health-care professionals), combined with tourism and remittances, constitute the country’s primary defense against a sustained balance-of-payments deficit. Cuban officials and economists recognize this structural weakness and have emphasized the need to boost exports and foster a more dynamic domestic market. Yet so far**, the state has not been able to remedy the imbalance.** In the sugar industry, once a mainstay, production continues to flounder despite a recent uptick in global prices and new Brazilian investment. **Meanwhile, a corruption scandal and declining world prices have weakened the nickel industry, leading to the closing of one of the island’s three processing facilities. More broadly, Cuban productivity remains anemic, and the country has been unable to capitalize on its highly educated work force.**

#### 3. **The system of the Cuban government caused its economic downfall, not the embargo**

Jose Azel 2015 (Jose Azel, Cuban exile scholar, currently a Senior Scholar at the Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies at the University of Miami. JUN 30, 2015 “Cuba’s Problem Is Not the Embargo” from PanamPost DOA: 2/4/17 <https://panampost.com/jose-azel/2015/06/30/cubas-problem-is-not-the-embargo/> )

In 1961, President Kennedy sent a reasonable message to the international community that governments that choose to expropriate the properties of US citizens need to compensate them. Governments that choose to simply steal the properties of US citizens should expect some form of retaliation from the US government. That message remains valid today as an expression of a government’s duty to protect the property rights of its citizenry in countries where the rule of law does not prevail. Following the advice of Nazi propagandist Joseph Goebbels, “If you tell a lie big enough and keep repeating it, people will eventually come to believe it,” the Cuban regime has incessantly promoted the falsehood that the US embargo is responsible for the dismal state of Cuba’s economy. But it is not the embargo that has pauperized the Cuban people. The collapse of the Cuban economy can be clearly traced to its communal ideology and actions when the Cuban Revolution abolished all private property rights. That experiment resulted in an economically bankrupt dystopian society featuring an enormously repressive system, and a government with unlimited power over its citizens.

#### 4. Cuba is poor because the government doesn’t care for the people, not because of the embargo

**Michael Totten, 2014** (Michael Totten, contributing editor at *World Affairs* who resided briefly in Cuba before writing this article. March/April 2014. “Letter from Cuba: To Embargo or Not,” *World Affairs*, <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/letter-cuba-embargo-or-not>. Accessed 7 February 2017) ESG

\*\*\*Note: the soap example is because soap shortages are a huge problem in Cuba.

**None of this economic impoverishment is the result of American policy.** The United States is hardly the world’s only soap manufacturer, for instance. Cuba can buy it from Mexico. Or Canada. Or the Dominican Republic. Cuba can make its own soap. It fact, it does make its own soap. **The reason the country does not have enough is because the government historically hasn’t cared** if the little people can’t wash. Soap is just one item among thousands that is strictly for the elite, for the “haves,” and for those lucky enough to find some in the shops before it runs out. **In a non-communist country where** such a **basic product is in short supply, somebody would mass-produce it and sell it.** Soap-making doesn’t require nuclear physics. You can make it at home. Google “soap recipe” and you’ll see how easy it is. **But Cuba is a communist country where private commerce is banned. If you make stuff and sell stuff, you might become “rich” and “bourgeois,” and the authorities will send you to prison. That’s why Cuba is poor. Lifting the embargo would have little or no effect on such tyrannical imbecility.**

#### 5. Tourism is increasing food prices, making much of it inaccessible

**Michael Bustamante, 2016** (Michael Bustamante, PhD candidate in Latin American history at Yale University who served as Research Associate for Latin America Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C. March 18th 2016. “Obama’s Move on Cuba,” *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/cuba/2016-03-18/obamas-move-cuba>. Accessed 30 January 2017) ESG

**Meanwhile, mounting inequalities and limited growth in real incomes in Cuba are contributing to a larger**, albeit slow-motion, **problem that neither government seems particularly inclined to address head-on. In short, the rise in tourism has affected local prices.** In a country where agricultural production remains sluggish and wholesale markets are still getting on their feet, **demand from restaurateurs has substantially raised food costs for the average citizen.** According to the latest available Cuban government statistics, **the price of food consumed by the average Cuban family increased 24 percent in 2014.** The figure is no doubt higher for last year. For Cubans earning meager state wages in devaluated pesos without a foot in the hard-currency economy in which Cuban tourism moves, **mounting expenses risk putting some goods out of reach.**

### AT: Need the Interwebs

#### 1. Cubans have used “El Paquete” to consume Western media on the low low

**Anne Nelson and Debi Spindelman, 2016** (Anne Nelson, member of the Council on Foreign Relations who teaches international media development at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs and Debi Spindelman, capacity development specialist at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs. April 5th 2016. “Business Unusual in Cuba,” *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/cuba/2016-04-05/business-unusual-cuba>. Accessed February 2nd 2017) ESG

Although the Cuban people live under a blanket of censorship that controls every aspect of national print and broadcast media, **Cubans have found creative ways to enjoy a hearty media diet, thanks to a service known as “El Paquete” conveyed via the humble flash drive. The USB sticks are circulated on a subscription basis and offer everything from The Economist to complete seasons of “House of Cards,” at the modest price of $1–2 a week.** Our recent conversations with scores of Cubans in both Havana and the rural interior revealed that while they’re eager to win greater freedoms, many of their material desires are surprisingly modest: better access to food, improved public transportation, and cheaper clothing and cell phone charges. They’re also aware of the advantages they stand to lose in a transition: cities in which drugs are rare and gun violence is unknown, a society that is committed to nourishing and educating all of its children. Cubans are asking how to integrate the most constructive aspects of the U.S. system without inviting its attendant plagues. For its part, the United States, as well as U.S. entrepreneurs seeking to set up shop on the island, should approach Cuba in a spirit of discovery, with much to offer, much to gain, and much to learn.

#### 2. True, this is insufficient – hence why Cuba is already planning to expand it

**Anne Nelson, November 2016** (Anne Nelson, Fellow at the Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs. November 28th 2016. “The Next Cuban Revolution? What Castro’s Death Means for the Country’s Opening,” *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/print/1118880>. Accessed 5 February 2017) ESG

Castro’s death raises the stakes in the debate over such changes. **Raúl Castro**, now 84, **has said that he intends to step down in 2018. The heir apparent is currently First Vice President Miguel Díaz-Canel.** The genial 56-year-old official, trained as an electrical engineer and by necessity a Communist Party stalwart, belongs to a new generation of technocrats. They represent both a generational and a cultural shift from the old revolutionary guard, and nowhere is this more apparent than in the realm of information technology. Cuba’s internal war against “ideological diversionism” has required total state control of all print and broadcast media. The aging military officers of the FAR have taken a dim view of the global digital revolution, regarding it as an American Trojan horse meant to destroy the revolution. As a result, Cuba lags far behind in Internet access, e-commerce, and other foundational technologies of the modern global economy. **Díaz-Canel**, by contrast, **has described information technology as economically “essential.” Over the past three years, Cuba has taken major steps to create WiFi hot spots, legalize private computers and cell phones, and bring down the prohibitive pricing imposed by ETECSA, the state telecommunications agency.**

#### 3. Currently, the number of Cubans are accessing the internet and the government announced that it will attempt to provide half of its households with internet by 2020

**WOLA (Advocacy for Human Rights in the Americas) 2016.** (WOLA, Advocacy for Human Rights in the Americas. March 14, 2016. “Factsheet: Reforms in 21st Century Cuba,” WOLA. DOA: February 9, 2017. <https://www.wola.org/analysis/factsheet-reforms-in-21st-century-cuba/>) EL

**A growing number of Cubans are accessing the internet on public computers and in internet cafes**. Cuba [now has 63 wifi hotspots](https://www.fcc.gov/consumers/guides/telecommunications-faqs-travelers-cuba), where citizens can connect through mobile devices. There are plans to [expand this number to 80](http://www.cubacelular.org/2015/12/en-2016-se-abriran-80-nuevos-puntos.html) by the end of 2016. The cost of internet access remains prohibitively high for many, but a rate cut to two dollars per hour was recently announced. **Cuba has announced that it will attempt to provide** [**half of its households with internet by 2020,**](http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/30/us-cuba-usa-telecommunications-idUSKBN0MQ2BV20150330) **a 900 percent increase in internet access over the next five years.**

#### 4. Obama already eased telecommunication investment restrictions

**Jose Fernandez and Eric Lorber, 2015** (Jose Fernandez, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Economic, Energy, and Business Affairs and partner at Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher, and Eric Lorber, formerly of the Office of Foreign Assets Control at the U.S. Department of the Treasury. February 17th 2015. “Havana Calling: Easing the Embargo Will Open the Cuba Telecom Sector,” *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/cuba/2015-02-17/havana-calling>. Accessed 6 February 2017) ESG

On January 15, the U.S. Treasury Department announced a significant easing of the 54-year-old embargo on Cuba [1], implementing U.S. President Barack Obama’s landmark policy shift [2] toward the island. As part of the change, the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) amended regulations allowing some U.S. businesses to enter the Cuban market. **Among the many new rules, the dramatic loosening of restrictions on telecommunications investment has the greatest potential to accelerate the growth of civil society in Cuba. The revised telecom regulations can empower reform-minded elements in the country and promote political change by lessening sector dependence on the Castro regime.** At the same time, the new regulations provide U.S. companies with immediate economic opportunities, so long as they are willing to bear the administrative and bureaucratic burdens of conducting business on the island. **U.S. firms’ increased involvement in the country—while not free of business risks**—**could pay political dividends by promoting the development of market and political reforms.**

### AT: Internet = Democracy

#### 1. Internet is not key to democracy – access already exists to some degree and hasn’t created change

**Julia Sweig and Michael Bustamante, 2013** (Julia Sweig, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Latin America Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, and Michael Bustamante, PhD candidate in Latin American history at Yale University. July/August 2013. “Cuba After Communism,” *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/cuba/2013-06-11/cuba-after-communism>. Accessed 2 February 2017) ESG

Yet despite the unprecedented scope of these discussions, it is hard to predict whether they will produce much concrete change in the short term. Presently, they do not seem to be having much impact on the public, which pays less attention to them than do the orthodox keepers of the revolutionary faith. **The explanation for ordinary Cubans’ disengagement has as much to do with apathy, inertia, self-preservation, and the material demands they face every day as it does with limited access to information and a curtailed right of assembly. After all, substantial numbers of Cubans watch Miami television stations via pirated recordings or illicit satellite hookups, yet they have so far proved no more likely to take to the streets than their neighbors who lack such access.** Since the 1960s, the primary means for those disaffected or unsatisfied at home to register their opinion has been to emigrate -- particularly to the United States, given the multiple incentives for Cubans built into U.S. immigration law. As long as this pattern continues, Havana will have the political space to continue its reforms “without pause, but without haste,” in Castro’s formulation.

### AT: <3 Relations

#### 1. Attempts to increase cooperation with Cuba failed – empirically, Cuba has always taken action to prevent cooperation

**Williams 2012** (Carol Williams, former senior international affairs writer for the Los Angeles Times, November 16 2012. “Widely condemned U.S. policy on China unlikely to change soon”. *LATimes*. <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/nov/16/world/la-fg-wn-us-cuba-embargo-20121115>) JJJ

Opportunities for improving U.S.-Cuba relations have been plentiful, and routinely squandered, since the Castros and their bearded guerrilla partisans drove out dictator Fulgencio Batista on  New Year's 1959. The revolution's embrace of Stalinist ideology led to massive property confiscations, and the Eisenhower administration slapped on a first version of the enduring trade embargo in October 1960. **Under President Carter, envoys secretly sought to reconcile Cubans with their powerful northern neighbors, only to be rebuffed by the 1980 Mariel boatlift that carried 125,000 would-be emigres, prisoners and mental patients to U.S. shores. A political overture by President Clinton was snuffed out in 1996, when Cuban defense forces shot down two planes in international airspace that had been searching for Cuban rafters. The latest provocation to derail reconciliation has been the detention of Alan Gross, a U.S. government emissary caught installing high-tech communications equipment on the island. U.S. officials cast Gross' work as humanitarian relief; the Cuban government has accused him of violating its sovereignty.** "I think it is probably unlikely that any significant change can occur as long as the Cubans continue to have Alan Gross in jail, and the Cuban regime probably knows that," said Ian Vasquez, Cuba policy expert at the Cato Institute in Washington. **"The regime says it wants to end the blockade, but every time there has been a U.S. administration that would move toward normalizing relations, they do something that makes it politically difficult to move in that direction."**

#### 2. Cuba itself may be reluctant to normalize relations

**Julia Sweig and Michael Bustamante, 2013** (Julia Sweig, Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Latin America Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, and Michael Bustamante, PhD candidate in Latin American history at Yale University. July/August 2013. “Cuba After Communism,” *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/cuba/2013-06-11/cuba-after-communism>. Accessed 2 February 2017) ESG

Meanwhile, the death of Hugo Chávez, the former Venezuelan president, and the narrow margin in the election of his successor, Nicolás Maduro, have made it clear that Havana has reasons of its own to chart a path forward with the United States. In the last decade or so, Cuba came to depend on Venezuela for large supplies of subsidized oil, in exchange for a sizable brigade of Cuban doctors staffing the Chávez government’s social programs. Political uncertainty in Caracas offers a potent reminder of the hazards of relying too heavily on any one partner. Havana is already beginning to branch out. In addition to financing the refurbishing of Mariel Harbor, the Brazilians have extended a line of credit to renovate and expand five airports across the island and have recently signed a deal to hire 6,000 Cuban doctors to fill shortages in Brazil’s rural health coverage. Even so, in the long run, the United States remains a vital natural market for Cuban products and services. Of course, **as the 1990s proved, even a huge financial setback may not be enough to drive Havana to Washington’s door. Half a century of U.S. economic warfare has conditioned Cuban bureaucrats and party cadres to link openness at home or toward the United States with a threat to Cuba’s independence. Some hard-liners might prefer muddling through with the status quo to the uncertainty that could come from a wider opening of their country.**

### AT: Helps Gay Rights

#### 1. Cuba is heading in a positive direction of gay rights, without the influence of the U.S.

**NYT Editorial Board 2014** (The editorial board is composed of 16 journalists with wide-ranging areas of expertise. December 20, 2014. “Cuba’s Gay Rights Evolution,” NYT. <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/21/opinion/sunday/cubas-gay-rights-evolution.html> DOA: 23/1/17) CDY

**After** the **2007** march, Ms. Castro, who is straight, **began a public campaign to promote tolerance**. She persuaded the **government in recent years to offer state-paid gender reassignment surgery and hormone treatment for transgender people. Last year, when the Assembly passed a labor code that protected gays and lesbians** — but not transgender people — from discrimination in the workplace, **Ms. Castro became the first lawmaker in Cuban history** [**to cast a dissenting vote in protest.**](http://www.bigstory.ap.org/article/castro-breaks-tradition-no-vote-cuba) **Her ultimate goal, she said, was codifying full equality under the law.** Gay Cubans say that discrimination remains a problem, particularly outside big cities. Still, last year, a woman in Caribién, a municipality east of Havana, became the country’s first transgender elected official. At the urging of Ms. Castro and gay bloggers, in 2010 Cuba began voting in favor of resolutions supporting gay rights at the United Nations, breaking ranks with allies in Africa and the Caribbean. While widely admired, Ms. Castro and her state-run organization are not without critics in Cuba’s gay community. In 2011, Yasmín Portales Machado, a gay rights activist, decided to [start a new group](http://proyectoarcoiris.wordpress.com/) called Proyecto Arco Iris, or Rainbow, feeling it was necessary to have a platform for other voices and ideas.

### AT: Tourism Good

#### 1. **The fall of the Soviet Union meant that Cuba had to shift to tourism for money, which exacerbated racism and the low quality of life for Afro-Cubans**

Naomi Glassman 2011 ([Naomi Glassman](http://www.cetri.be/_Naomi-Glassman_), Judicial Intern, Presidencia at Consejo de Estado [June 21, 2011](http://www.coha.org/revolutionary-racism-in-cuba/) “Revolutionary Racism in Cuba” from Council on Hemispheric Affairs DOA: 1/19/17 <http://www.coha.org/revolutionary-racism-in-cuba/>) ESM

The Special Period, the difficult decade following the fall of the Soviet Union, caused economic hardships for all Cubans. The government stopped numerous social services and the country struggled with widespread shortages. During this period, the structural legacy of racism meant that Afro‑Cubans faced a greater brunt of the economic challenges. Many of the economic reforms passed to bring the Cuban economy out of its deep recession served only to exacerbate these racial inequalities. When faced with a economic stagnation, the Revolution’s commitment to social justice lost ground to the need for economic recovery, especially given the official belief that racism was no longer an issue, the racist implications of economic reforms were not an issue for the Castro government. Without Soviet sugar subsidies, Cuba’s economic development shifted to the growing tourist trade. While the tourist industry is currently the most profitable sector because of the availability of USD, it is also the industry with the greatest racial disparity in employment opportunities: Afro‑Cubans hold only five percent of jobs in the tourist sector.[[xv]](http://www.coha.org/revolutionary-racism-in-cuba/#_edn15) The tourist resorts hire primarily whites, drawing on the structural legacy of racism and the pervasive cultural belief that white is superior. Jobs in the tourist sector require less education and skills, meaning that Afro‑Cuban advances in education in the early years of the Revolution no longer translate to economic success.

#### 2. Some foods have become so expensive that basic staples are unaffordable

**Azam Ahmed 2016** (Azam Ahmed, journalist for The New York Times. December 8, 2016. “Cuba’s Surge in Tourism Keeps Food Off Residents’ Plates,” The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/08/world/americas/cuba-fidel-castro-food-tourism.html?_r=0> DOA: February 5, 2017.) EL

**Without supplies to match the increased appetite, some foods have become so expensive that even basic staples are becoming unaffordable for regular Cubans. “The private tourism industry is in direct competition for good supplies with the general population,”** said Richard Feinberg, a professor at the University of California, San Diego, and specialist on the Cuban economy. “There are a lot of unanticipated consequences and distortions.”

#### 3. Hence why tourism is increasing food prices, making much of it inaccessible

**Michael Bustamante, 2016** (Michael Bustamante, PhD candidate in Latin American history at Yale University who served as Research Associate for Latin America Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C. March 18th 2016. “Obama’s Move on Cuba,” *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/cuba/2016-03-18/obamas-move-cuba>. Accessed 30 January 2017) ESG

**Meanwhile, mounting inequalities and limited growth in real incomes in Cuba are contributing to a larger**, albeit slow-motion, **problem that neither government seems particularly inclined to address head-on. In short, the rise in tourism has affected local prices.** In a country where agricultural production remains sluggish and wholesale markets are still getting on their feet, **demand from restaurateurs has substantially raised food costs for the average citizen.** According to the latest available Cuban government statistics, **the price of food consumed by the average Cuban family increased 24 percent in 2014.** The figure is no doubt higher for last year. For Cubans earning meager state wages in devaluated pesos without a foot in the hard-currency economy in which Cuban tourism moves, **mounting expenses risk putting some goods out of reach.**

### AT: Needs Medicine

#### 1. Obama already relaxed restrictions on medical trade with Cuba

**Doug Palmer, 2016** (Doug Palmer, senior trade reporter with over 15 years of experience for *Politico*. October 14th 2016. “Obama relaxes trade restrictions with Cuba,” *Politico*, <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/10/obama-cuba-trade-openings-expanded-229789>. Accessed 9 February 2017) ESG

**All of the changes are intended to expand opportunities for scientific collaboration by authorizing** certain **transactions related to Cuban-origin pharmaceuticals and joint medical research; improve living conditions for Cubans by expanding existing authorizations for grants and humanitarian-related services, and increase people-to-people contact in Cuba by facilitating authorized travel and commerce**, the departments said. They also facilitate safe travel between the United States and Cuba by authorizing civil aviation safety-related services; and bolster trade and commercial opportunities by expanding and streamlining authorizations relating to trade and commerce.

#### 2. Cuba’s healthcare system is incredible

**Salim Lamrani, 2014** (Salim Lamrani, Doctor of Iberian and Latin American Studies at the University of Paris-Sorbonne. August 8th 2014. “Cuba’s Health Care System: a Model for the World,” *The Huffington Post*, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/salim-lamrani/cubas-health-care-system-_b_5649968.html>. Accessed 10 Feb 2017) ESG

During her recent visit to Havana in July of 2014, **Margaret Chan, Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO)**, impressed by the country’s achievements in this field, **praised the Cuban health care system: “Cuba is the only country that has a health care system closely linked to research and development. This is the way to go, because human health can only improve through innovation,”** She also praised “the efforts of the country’s leadership for having made health an essential pillar of development” [1]. **Cuba’s health care system is based on preventive medicine and the results achieved are outstanding.** According to Margaret Chan, the world should follow the example of the island in this arena and replace the curative model, inefficient and more expensive, with a prevention-based system. “We sincerely hope that all of the world’s inhabitants will have access to quality medical services, as they do in Cuba,” she said. [2] WHO notes that the lack of access to care in the world is by no means a foregone conclusion arising from a lack of resources. It reflects, instead, a lack of political will on the part of leaders to protect their most vulnerable populations. The organization cites the case of the Caribbean island as the perfect counter-example [3]. Moreover, in May 2014, in recognition of the excellence of its health care system, Cuba chaired the 67th World Health Assembly [4]. **With an infant mortality rate of 4.2 per thousand births, the Caribbean island is the best performer on the continent and in the Third World generally.** This is also demonstrated by the quality of its health care system and the impact it has on the well-being of children and pregnant women. **The infant mortality rate in Cuba is lower than it is in the United States and is among the lowest in the world.** [5] **With a life expectancy of 78 years, Cuba is one of the best performers on the American continent and in the Third World, achieving results similar to those of most developed nations. On the average, Cubans live 30 years longer than their Haitian neighbors. In 2025, Cuba will have the highest proportion of its population over the age of 60 in all of Latin America.** [6]

#### 3. Cuba has its own pharmaceutical industry – it’s strong enough that they’re the exporters

**Edward Campion and Stephen Morrissey, 2013** (Edward Campion, executive editor of the New England Journal of Medicine, and Stephen Morrissey, managing editor of the New England Journal of Medicine. January 24th 2013. “A Different Model – Medical Care in Cuba,” *New England Journal of Medicine,* <http://www.nejm.org/doi/pdf/10.1056/NEJMp1215226>. Accessed 10 February 2017. Page 299) ESG

As a result of the strict economic embargo, **Cuba has developed its own pharmaceutical industry and now not only manufactures most of the medications in its basic pharmacopeia, but also fuels an export industry. Resources have been invested in developing biotechnology expertise to become competitive with advanced countries. There are Cuban academic medical journals in all the major specialties, and the medical leadership is strongly encouraging research, publication, and stronger ties to medicine in other Latin American countries.** Cuba’s medical faculties, of which there are now 22, remain steadily focused on primary care, with family medicine required as the first residency for all physicians, even though Cuba now has more than twice as many physicians per capita as the United States.4 Many of those physicians work outside the country, volunteering for two or more years of service, for which they receive special compensation. In 2008, there were 37,000 Cuban health care providers working in 70 countries around the world.5 Most are in needy areas where their work is part of Cuban foreign aid, but some are in more developed areas where their work brings financial benefit to the Cuban government (e.g., oil subsidies from Venezuela).

#### They also note,

**Edward Campion and Stephen Morrissey, 2013** (Edward Campion, executive editor of the New England Journal of Medicine, and Stephen Morrissey, managing editor of the New England Journal of Medicine. January 24th 2013. “A Different Model – Medical Care in Cuba,” *New England Journal of Medicine,* <http://www.nejm.org/doi/pdf/10.1056/NEJMp1215226>. Accessed 10 February 2017. Page 298) ESG

This highly structured, prevention-oriented system has produced positive results. **Vaccination rates in Cuba are among the highest in the world. The life expectancy of 78 years from birth is virtually identical to that in the United States. The infant mortality rate in Cuba has fallen from more than 80 per 1000 live births in the 1950s to less than 5 per 1000 — lower than the U.S. rate**, although the maternal mortality rate remains well above those in developed countries and is in the middle of the range for Caribbean countries.3,4 Without doubt, the improved health outcomes are largely the result of improvements in nutrition and education, which address the social determinants of health. **Cuba’s literacy rate is 99%, and health education is part of the mandatory school curriculum.** A recent national program to promote acceptance of men who have sex with men was designed in part to reduce rates of sexually transmitted disease and improve acceptance of and adherence to treatment. Cigarettes can no longer be obtained with monthly ration cards, and smoking rates have decreased, though local health teams say it remains difficult to get smokers to quit. Contraception is free and strongly encouraged. Abortion is legal but is seen as a failure of prevention.

#### 4. Hence why Gail Reed and Miguel Galindo report in 2007 that Cuba has a 99% vaccination rate for BCG, DTP, Polio, and Hep B, and a 98% vaccination rate for measles.

### AT: Miracle Cancer Cure Drug

#### 1. Obama already relaxed restrictions on medical trade with Cuba

**Doug Palmer, 2016** (Doug Palmer, senior trade reporter with over 15 years of experience for *Politico*. October 14th 2016. “Obama relaxes trade restrictions with Cuba,” *Politico*, <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/10/obama-cuba-trade-openings-expanded-229789>. Accessed 9 February 2017) ESG

**All of the changes are intended to expand opportunities for scientific collaboration by authorizing** certain **transactions related to Cuban-origin pharmaceuticals and joint medical research; improve living conditions for Cubans by expanding existing authorizations for grants and humanitarian-related services, and increase people-to-people contact in Cuba by facilitating authorized travel and commerce**, the departments said. They also facilitate safe travel between the United States and Cuba by authorizing civil aviation safety-related services; and bolster trade and commercial opportunities by expanding and streamlining authorizations relating to trade and commerce.

#### 2. Cuba’s miracle cancer vaccine is all hype

**Kevin Lomangino 2016** (Kevin Lomangino, managing editor of *Health News Review*, also citing Steven Miles, MD, professor of Medicine and Bioethics at the University of Minnesota. Last updated March 8th 2016. “Fox, Banner MD Anderson hype Cuba cancer ‘breakthrough’,” *Health News Review*, <http://www.healthnewsreview.org/2016/03/fox-md-anderson-hype-cuba-cancer-breakthrough-rumors/>. Accessed 11 February 2017) ESG

**This story from a Fox News affiliate in Phoenix makes some breathtaking claims about a Cuban lung cancer vaccine that it says** “could soon offer new hope for people battling the deadly disease in the United States.” **“could literally save millions of live”** (sic) “has been shown to significantly increase life expectancy” “It’s cheap and it seems to be effective for a lot of patients” “could be coming to the United States in a few years” **What evidence does the story provide to back up any of these sweeping claims? Nada.** The closest the story gets to evidence are the comments of a Banner MD Anderson oncologist, Dr. Santosh Rao, who apparently has seen studies on the vaccine and proclaims himself “very excited” about the treatment. He says: Most of the studies have shown that it does something, and that it extends life. The question will always come up, is it better than some of the new therapies that we have that also help the immune system function better. His employer, Banner MD Anderson Cancer Center near Phoenix, was also very excited about the story and didn’t hesitate to promote the coverage on social media. The center’s Facebook post uncritically repeats the hype that’s at the core of the Fox story and adds that the vaccine is “potentially groundbreaking.” I’m as excited as Dr. Rao about the prospect of an effective new cancer treatment coming to the United States from Cuba. Who wouldn’t be? But **the Fox story** that quoted him **had a responsibility to back up its wildly optimistic claims with evidence. And it failed miserably on that score.** If Dr. Rao has seen the studies, they’re presumably not locked away in a prison cell in Guantanamo. **Indeed, it took one of our contributors**, breast cancer patient advocate Christine Norton**, just a few clicks to find out more about the vaccine and its thus far limited supporting research. For example, a 2015 Wired story — which seems to feature the most recent clinical data on the vaccine — reported that “A Phase II trial from 2008 showed lung cancer patients who received the vaccine lived an average of four to six months longer than those who didn’t.”** Norton wonders: **“How does possibly extending life for 4-6 months in people younger than 60 lead Fox News to say this drug could ‘literally save millions of lives’?**

### AT: Embargo Hurts Human Rights

#### 1. On net, economic sanctions can contribute to a decline in human rights violations

**Buhm-Suk Baek, 2008.** (Buhm-Suk Baek, Candidate for Doctor of the Science of Law degree, Cornell Law School. March 2008. “Economic Sanctions Against Human Rights Violations,” *Cornell Law School Inter-University Graduate Student Conference Papers. Paper 11,* <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1039&context=lps_clacp>. Page i) ESG

The idea of human rights protection, historically, has been considered as a domestic matter, to be realized by individual states within their domestic law and national institutions. The protection and promotion of human rights, however, have become one of the most important issues for the international community as a whole. Yet, with time, it has become increasingly difficult for the international community to address human rights problems collectively. Despite a significant development in the human rights norms, effective protection of fundamental human rights and their legal enforcement has a long way to go. This paper will argue that **economic sanctions can contribute to a decrease in individual states’ human rights violations and can be an effective enforcement tool for international law.** The international community, including the U.N., should impose effective economic sanctions against states where gross human rights violators are.

#### Ex of Western sanctions that helped human rights: Poland in 1981

**Buhm-Suk Baek, 2008.** (Buhm-Suk Baek, Candidate for Doctor of the Science of Law degree, Cornell Law School. March 2008. “Economic Sanctions Against Human Rights Violations,” *Cornell Law School Inter-University Graduate Student Conference Papers. Paper 11,* <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1039&context=lps_clacp>. Page 49-50) ESG

**In December 1981, the Polish government declared martial law, under which the army and the special police arrested or detained all Solidarity Labor Union leaders and many affiliated intellectuals. The United States and other Western countries responded to the martial law by imposing economic sanctions against the Polish government.** President Ronald Reagan stated that the purpose of imposing economic sanction is to persuade the Polish leaders to “free those in arbitrary detention, to lift martial law, and to restore the internationally recognized rights of the Polish people to free speech and association.”264 Though it was not mentioned in the U.S. sanctions legislation, the Polish government also violated the fundamental economic rights of the Polish people “to form free trade unions and to strike” by the illegalization of the Solidarity Labor Union.265 These human rights are in accordance with the rights protected by international human rights law. For example, Article 9 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)266 states: “No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention.” Article 22 of ICCPR states: “Everyone shall have the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests.” Overall, **these economic sanctions against Poland reinforced international human rights norms. Based upon the sanctions, the U.S. government denied providing 765 million dollars in agricultural assistance to Poland and also withdrew its most-favored-nation status.**267 It was a tough sanction considering the fact that the Polish foreign debt was more than $20 billion in 1980.268 However, **these sanctions were gradually terminated in return for various positive steps by the Polish government from the release of political prisoners to the formal abolition of martial law in 1981.**

#### 2. Due to Obama’s concessionary policies, conditions have recently declined

**Siddhartha Mahanta, 2016** (Siddhartha Mahanta, an associate editor at *The Atlantic*, covering global affairs. December 3rd 2016. “The Case for the Cuba Embargo,” *The Atlantic*, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/12/robert-menendez-cuba-castro-embargo/509366/>. Accessed 6 February 2017) ESG

\*\*\*Note: Quote from senator Robert Menendez

“I have talked to those who are presently residing in Cuba and who struggle every day within the belly of the beast to try to create change in their country. ... The Ladies in White have told me about the difficulties and the challenges, the beatings and the arrests and the torture, and have told me that, **in the last two years, things have only gotten worse. Because the regime’s message is, ‘We only care about doing business. We don’t care about human rights and democracy because we hardly talk about it anymore.’ [Cubans] feel, in that [sense], abandoned.”**

#### 3. Unconditional lifting of the embargo will hurt democracy and reform

**Jorge Sanguinetty, 2013** (Jorge Sanguinetty, ‎President, CEO and Founder at DevTech Systems, Inc and expert at the Cuba Study Group. 2013. “Who benefits and loses if the US-Cuba embargo is lifted?” *Development Research Center,* [https://devresearchcenter.org/2013/04/08/who-benefits-and-loses-if-the-us-cuba-embargo-is-lifted-by-jorge-a-sanguinetty*/*](https://devresearchcenter.org/2013/04/08/who-benefits-and-loses-if-the-us-cuba-embargo-is-lifted-by-jorge-a-sanguinetty/). Accessed 6 February 2017) ESG

The answer depends on the conditions under which the embargo is lifted. I focus on the expected distribution of benefits (and costs) between the government and the Cuban population. A unilateral move by the US Government, without any quid pro quo by the Cuban government can be expected to yield significant benefits to the official establishment with benefits of an unknown magnitude to the population at large. I posit that the magnitude of the latter depends on the degree of internal liberalization of the Cuban economy. Until Raul Castro took over, the centralized command of the Cuban economy was subject to a set or constraints arguably more restrictive than the US embargo. What I have called the internal embargo consisted in the Cuban government outright prohibition for Cubans to own enterprises, freely employ workers or trade domestically and internationally. To many Cubans, probably a majority, such constraints were the main cause of the country ´s secular economic crisis. Lifting the US embargo under such circumstances was reasonably expected to yield most of the economic and political benefits to the Cuban government and limited economic and no political benefits to the population. With the recent partial economic (not political) liberalization policies implemented by Raul Castro, we can expect that the distribution of economic benefits would be more favorable to the Cuban people. Such new economic freedoms carry a dose of informal political freedoms as Cubans are able to develop relationships among themselves that were tightly constrained until recently, like freedom of assembly, to communicate, and to make transactions and agreements without the tutelage of the government. To wit, as the private sector develops because the government is forced to reduce the inflated payrolls of its enterprises, the authorities lose control on those newly liberated workers. Nonetheless, **the system might have reached a point of equilibrium under which an unconditional lifting of the US embargo might still accrue enough economic benefit to the Cuban government that it leads to a roll back of some recent reforms in order to cut loses in the political, albeit informal, arena. This will be a strong reason to oppose an unconditional lifting on the embargo for those who care about the wishes for freedom and welfare of the Cuban people.** Many international observers oppose the US embargo on the basis of several debatable assumptions. One is the belief that the embargo has served the Castro government as an excuse for its economic failures, and once lifted the excuse will disappear. Another assumption is that Cubans don´t know that the embargo might have constrained their economy, but not as much as the restrictions of virtually all economic activity by the Cuban government. **There are also many Cubans that believe that the US embargo is the only leverage left to pressure the Cuban government to lift internal restrictions in both the economic and the political fronts.** **It is doubtful that, under the current conditions, a non-negotiated lifting of the US embargo is likely to bring about democracy in Cuba.**

#### 4. We’ve seen this before – unconditional lifting of sanctions fails

**Capitol Hill Cubans, 2012** (Capitol Hill Cubans, edited by Mauricio Claver-Carone, the Executive Director of Cuba Democracy Advocates, a non-partisan organization dedicated to the promotion of human rights, democracy and the rule of law in Cuba. November 20th 2012. “Easing Sanctions = More Repression,” *Capitol Hill Cubans*, <http://www.capitolhillcubans.com/2012/11/easing-sanctions-more-repression.html>. Accessed 6 February 2017) ESG

The thesis put forth by Mr. Saladrigas is that lifting sanctions would weaken and dissuade hardliners while helping reformers. Over the past four years the Obama Administration has loosened economic sanctions in Cuba. If Mr. Saladrigas's argument is correct then one should see that reformist elements in the regime are asserting themselves and winning policy discussions. That has not been the case. On the human rights front the situation has deteriorated. Furthermore **looking beyond Cuba to China, Vietnam and Burma one is presented with a cautionary tale on lifting sanctions unconditionally. In China and Vietnam the United States lifted sanctions unconditionally and have de-linked human rights considerations from economic considerations. The result has been a deterioration of human rights** standards in both countries. **On the other hand in Burma where sanctions were maintained the military junta, after years of trying to manipulate its way out from under them has had to recognize the political opposition and provide a space for them in Burma's parliament.** Things are still far from perfect but there is hope that serious and permanent reforms are underway. The ability of Aung San Suu Kyi to travel in and out of her country and run for public office is a positive sign. The ability for an independent press to begin to operate in Burma following decades of systematic censorship and control is another positive sign.

### AT: Embargo Hurts Democracy

#### 1. Sanctions may not lead to full-fledged democracy but they generally still bring change

**Dr. Michael Wahman, 2014.** (Michael Wahman, Swedish Research Council Fellow at the London School of Economics and Political Science’s Department of Government, and Christian von Soest, Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of African Affairs. April 26th 2014. “The Underestimated Effect of Democratic Sanctions,” *E-International Relations*, <http://www.e-ir.info/2014/04/26/the-underestimated-effect-of-democratic-sanctions/>) ESG

Democratic sanctions have a bad reputation. For most people with even a slight interest in international politics, it is not particularly hard to find examples to support a generally sceptic view of sanctions as a tool for external democracy promotion. The authoritarian regime in Zimbabwe has been targeted by both EU and US sanctions since 2002, but the Mugabe regime has remained stable and maintained remarkably high levels of repression, showing no real signs of political liberalization. Similarly, the EU’s sanctions against its Eastern authoritarian neighbour, Belarus, have still not had any noticeable effects. Despite costly sanctions in place since 2004, President Lukashenko remains one of the last European dictators. And there is more bad news. Academic research has shown that sanctions are not only ineffective, but even counterproductive. It has been argued that authoritarian countries do not become more, but less democratic when targeted by sanctions (Peksen & Drury 2010; Wood 2008). In a recently published article in the journal Democratization, we reinvestigate the effect of democratic sanctions, i.e. those which explicitly aim at improving the level of democracy, using new data and statistical analysis, to see if democratic sanctions really are as bad as their reputation. Perhaps surprisingly, our findings are rather optimistic. **Our study shows that** sanctions are not always effective, sometimes they may even be counterproductive, and all types of sanctions are not equally likely to lead to positive outcomes, but on **average,** democratic **sanctions are, in fact, associated with higher levels of democracy in the targeted state. We also show that** democratic **sanctions have other more profound effects on the targeted state. In authoritarian states targeted by** democratic **sanctions, authoritarian leaders are more likely to lose power and countries are more likely to change their basic political institutions. Such institutional changes do not necessarily lead to a fully-fledged liberal democracy, but often open up to increased civilian political control or multiparty elections.**

#### For an example, look to sanctions on Haiti in the 1990s.

**Buhm-Suk Baek, 2008.** (Buhm-Suk Baek, Candidate for Doctor of the Science of Law degree, Cornell Law School. March 2008. “Economic Sanctions Against Human Rights Violations,” *Cornell Law School Inter-University Graduate Student Conference Papers. Paper 11,* <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1039&context=lps_clacp>. Page 53-55) ESG

**In 1990, Haiti held its first free and fair elections in its history. However, in 1991, a military coup ousted the constitutional government.**291 The U.S. government called for a restoration of democracy with the support of the Organization of American States (OAS). And **the U.S. imposed economic sanctions including a trade embargo on all goods except food and medicine.**292 The aim of the sanctions was “to put pressure on the leaders of the coup and to deter any other coups from taking place.”293 **After the U.S. presidential election, the U.S. government strengthened the sanctions** to further pressure the Haitian military government to step down and to protect the human rights of the Haitians including the return of refugees to Haiti.294 The Haitian military government “unleashed a campaign of terror and repression.....including extrajudicial execution, disappearances, torture, rape, limitations on freedom of association and assembly, and disruption in personal and professional activities.”295 The majority of the named offenses clearly implicate fundamental human rights codified in international human rights law, and concern for international human rights became an impetus for the U.S. government to impose sanctions against Haiti. In 1994, the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 940, which authorized the use of “all necessary means” to remove the military government and to restore Haiti's constitutionally elected government to power.296 With this resolution the Council expressed its grave concerns about “the significant further deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Haiti, in particular the continuing escalation by the illegal de facto regime of systematic violations of civil liberties.”297 While a multinational force (MNF) led by the U.S. prepared to enter Haiti based upon Security Council Resolution 940, **the rule of the military government ended and the constitutional government restored its power. President Aristide and other elected officials in exile returned on October 15 1994, and all the sanctions were lifted after that.**299 During the time when the sanctions were in effect, the U.S. maintained its humanitarian assistance by funding non-governmental organizations in Haiti to ease the growing pains of the Haitian people due to the shortage of food and medical supplies.

#### 2. American tourism has never positively affected Cuba, in fact, it strengthens the dictatorship – normalization will make this worse

**Jaime Suchlicki, 2013** (Jaime Suchlicki, director of the Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies, University of Miami. November 20th 2013. “Why Sanctions on Cuba Must Remain in Place,” *The New York Times*, <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2013/11/19/sanctions-successes-and-failures/why-sanctions-on-cuba-must-remain-in-place>. Accessed 30 January 2017) ESG

His assumptions are incorrect. First, the Castro brothers and their allies aren’t naïve; U.S. tourists have no chance of subverting their regime and influencing internal developments. Second, **American tourists won’t bring democracy to Cuba. Over the past decades several million tourists from Europe, Canada and Latin America have visited the island, and nothing has changed. If anything, Cuba is more repressive, with the state apparatus strengthened by the influx of tourist dollars**. Third, **tourism and trade don’t lead to economic and political change. No study I know of has found that tourism, trade or investments had anything to do with the end of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.** A disastrous economic system, competition with the West, successive leadership changes with no legitimacy, a corrupt and weak Communist Party, anti-Soviet feeling in Eastern Europe and the failed Soviet war in Afghanistan were among the reasons for change.

#### 3. Unconditional lifting of the embargo will hurt democracy and reform

**Jorge Sanguinetty, 2013** (Jorge Sanguinetty, ‎President, CEO and Founder at DevTech Systems, Inc and expert at the Cuba Study Group. 2013. “Who benefits and loses if the US-Cuba embargo is lifted?” *Development Research Center,* [https://devresearchcenter.org/2013/04/08/who-benefits-and-loses-if-the-us-cuba-embargo-is-lifted-by-jorge-a-sanguinetty*/*](https://devresearchcenter.org/2013/04/08/who-benefits-and-loses-if-the-us-cuba-embargo-is-lifted-by-jorge-a-sanguinetty/). Accessed 6 February 2017) ESG

The answer depends on the conditions under which the embargo is lifted. I focus on the expected distribution of benefits (and costs) between the government and the Cuban population. A unilateral move by the US Government, without any quid pro quo by the Cuban government can be expected to yield significant benefits to the official establishment with benefits of an unknown magnitude to the population at large. I posit that the magnitude of the latter depends on the degree of internal liberalization of the Cuban economy. Until Raul Castro took over, the centralized command of the Cuban economy was subject to a set or constraints arguably more restrictive than the US embargo. What I have called the internal embargo consisted in the Cuban government outright prohibition for Cubans to own enterprises, freely employ workers or trade domestically and internationally. To many Cubans, probably a majority, such constraints were the main cause of the country ´s secular economic crisis. Lifting the US embargo under such circumstances was reasonably expected to yield most of the economic and political benefits to the Cuban government and limited economic and no political benefits to the population. With the recent partial economic (not political) liberalization policies implemented by Raul Castro, we can expect that the distribution of economic benefits would be more favorable to the Cuban people. Such new economic freedoms carry a dose of informal political freedoms as Cubans are able to develop relationships among themselves that were tightly constrained until recently, like freedom of assembly, to communicate, and to make transactions and agreements without the tutelage of the government. To wit, as the private sector develops because the government is forced to reduce the inflated payrolls of its enterprises, the authorities lose control on those newly liberated workers. Nonetheless, **the system might have reached a point of equilibrium under which an unconditional lifting of the US embargo might still accrue enough economic benefit to the Cuban government that it leads to a roll back of some recent reforms in order to cut loses in the political, albeit informal, arena. This will be a strong reason to oppose an unconditional lifting on the embargo for those who care about the wishes for freedom and welfare of the Cuban people.** Many international observers oppose the US embargo on the basis of several debatable assumptions. One is the belief that the embargo has served the Castro government as an excuse for its economic failures, and once lifted the excuse will disappear. Another assumption is that Cubans don´t know that the embargo might have constrained their economy, but not as much as the restrictions of virtually all economic activity by the Cuban government. **There are also many Cubans that believe that the US embargo is the only leverage left to pressure the Cuban government to lift internal restrictions in both the economic and the political fronts.** **It is doubtful that, under the current conditions, a non-negotiated lifting of the US embargo is likely to bring about democracy in Cuba.**

#### 4. Unconditional lifting of sanctions fails – concessions must come before action

**Capitol Hill Cubans, 2012** (Capitol Hill Cubans, edited by Mauricio Claver-Carone, the Executive Director of Cuba Democracy Advocates, a non-partisan organization dedicated to the promotion of human rights, democracy and the rule of law in Cuba. November 20th 2012. “Easing Sanctions = More Repression,” *Capitol Hill Cubans*, <http://www.capitolhillcubans.com/2012/11/easing-sanctions-more-repression.html>. Accessed 6 February 2017) ESG

The thesis put forth by Mr. Saladrigas is that lifting sanctions would weaken and dissuade hardliners while helping reformers. Over the past four years the Obama Administration has loosened economic sanctions in Cuba. If Mr. Saladrigas's argument is correct then one should see that reformist elements in the regime are asserting themselves and winning policy discussions. That has not been the case. On the human rights front the situation has deteriorated. Furthermore **looking beyond Cuba to China, Vietnam and Burma one is presented with a cautionary tale on lifting sanctions unconditionally. In China and Vietnam the United States lifted sanctions unconditionally and have de-linked human rights considerations from economic considerations. The result has been a deterioration of human rights** standards in both countries. **On the other hand in Burma where sanctions were maintained the military junta, after years of trying to manipulate its way out from under them has had to recognize the political opposition and provide a space for them in Burma's parliament.** Things are still far from perfect but there is hope that serious and permanent reforms are underway. The ability of Aung San Suu Kyi to travel in and out of her country and run for public office is a positive sign. The ability for an independent press to begin to operate in Burma following decades of systematic censorship and control is another positive sign.

### AT: Latin American Relations

#### 1. Lifting the embargo is unlikely to be key – Cuba is simply an excuse for Latin American countries to undercut the US

**Richard Feinberg, 2012** (Richard Feinberg, Professor of International Political Economy at the University of California, San Diego. April 17th 2012. “The Fallout From Washington’s Time Warp on Cuba,” *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/americas/2012-04-17/fallout-washingtons-time-warp-cuba>. Accessed 5 February 2017) ESG

**For many Brazilian diplomats, the main strategic game is to establish Brazilian hegemony in South America at the lasting expense of U.S. influence. Part of that strategy is to undercut institutions where the United States is strong, including the U.S.-initiated Summits of the Americas**, to the benefit of Brazilian-led forums such as the newly emerging Conference of Latin American and Caribbean States, which purposefully excludes the United States. **For Brazil, Cuba serves as a useful wedge with which to divide Latin America from the North.** As a Brazilian diplomat commented to me, with more than a bit of sarcasm, just before Cartagena, "Brazil will not be the first country to raise the Cuba issue, but when others do, we will have to be supportive. What a pity the Cuba issue weakens the Summit of the Americas." **Other Latin American governments** may not relish yielding a seat to Raúl Castro at the next summit, but they **do not want to be seen as siding with the United States against Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela. They would pay a price in their domestic politics -- and for what gain?**

#### 2. The US isn’t losing Latin America

**Gregory Weeks 2014 (**Gregory Weeks, Professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. September 4, 2016. “Is the US 'losing' Latin America?,” Aljazeera. DOA: February 9, 2017. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/09/us-losing-latin-america-20149411713646156.html?utm=from_old_mobile>) EL

**In short, the US isn't "losing" Latin America. Governments in the region do engage with more international actors than in the past, but US influence is still considerable**. The alarmism (or celebration, depending on your ideological perspective) is misplaced. Reality is far less interesting, namely that the US-Latin American relationship has changed less than commonly believed, though it is slowly evolving in a way that involves greater (though by no means universal) acceptance of new regional institutions.

#### 3. **Cooperation is specifically good now**

Abraham Lowenthal 2016 ([ABRAHAM F. LOWENTHAL](http://www.the-american-interest.com/byline/abraham-f-lowenthal/), senior fellow with the [Latin American Initiative](https://www.brookings.edu/project-landing/latin-america-initiative/" \t "_blank) in the [Foreign Policy](https://www.brookings.edu/?program-landing=foreign-policy" \t "_blank) program at Brookings. December 30, 2016 “Latin America and Donald Trump” from The American Interest DOA: 2/8/17 http://www.the-american-interest.com/2016/12/30/latin-america-and-donald-trump/ )ESM

Latin American leaders and organizations should work on strengthening their relations with the United States through multiple channels: NGOs, foundations, universities, think tanks, trade unions, human rights organizations, professional associations, and others. They should invest in their relations with counterparts in Europe, Africa, and Asia. And they should strengthen their own regional and subregional organizations by building or improving those institutions’ capacities for effective goal-setting and problem-solving. Relations between Latin America and the United States at the end of 2016 were more mutually beneficial than they had been for many decades. Mexico and the United States have developed a degree of intimate cooperation on shared issues from border management and public health to citizen security and complex production chains. The Cold War issues that for so long distorted U.S.-Latin American relations were close to resolution in Colombia and even in Cuba. Recent changes of political direction in Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Uruguay, and Central America, as well as continuity of policy in Chile, the Dominican Republic, and Panama, have brought to the fore political and business leaders open to close cooperation with the United States. The four countries outside this broad consensus—Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua and Ecuador—are increasingly isolated and beginning in most cases to edge away from the “21st Century Socialism” path they had taken, and that Cuba is also “updating.” These positive conditions should neither be taken for granted nor squandered by unforced U.S. errors.

### AT: Solves Reliance on Venezuela

#### 1. Venezuela-Cuba ties are weakening fast

**Anatoly Kurmanaev 2016** (Anatoly Kurmanaev, reporter focusing on Venezuela for the *Wall Street Journal*. December 15th 2016. “Cuba and Venezuela’s Ties of Solidarity Fray,” *Wall Street Journal*, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/cuba-and-venezuelas-ties-of-solidarity-fray-1481675881>. Accessed 9 February 2017) ESG

CIENFUEGOS, Cuba—Fidel Castro and Hugo Chávez proclaimed a decade ago that they presided over a single country, combining Cuba’s educated workforce with Venezuela’s oil wealth to challenge U.S. power across Latin America. Now Mr. Castro is gone, three years after Mr. Chávez’s death, and **the union between the two countries, while still strong on paper, is withering away fast. Daily shipments of more than 100,000 barrels of subsidized Venezuelan oil, the lifeblood of Cuba’s economy, have dropped by more than half since 2013, according to oil traders and Cuban refinery workers.** In November, Cuba had to buy oil on the open market for the first time in 12 years as Venezuela’s output plummets.

#### 2. For this reason, Cuba is likely going to need to rely on itself

**Anatoly Kurmanaev 2016** (Anatoly Kurmanaev, reporter focusing on Venezuela for the *Wall Street Journal*. December 15th 2016. “Cuba and Venezuela’s Ties of Solidarity Fray,” *Wall Street Journal*, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/cuba-and-venezuelas-ties-of-solidarity-fray-1481675881>. Accessed 9 February 2017) ESG

Overall, **Venezuelan exports of crude oil and refined products to Cuba, which generate most of the island’s electricity, fell to about 55,000 barrels a day this year through October from the peak of 115,000 in 2008**, according to data from Petro-Logistics SA, a consulting firm that tracks tanker movements. Traders say **deliveries have fallen further since, though it is unclear by how much. Venezuela’s crude production has fallen so much that state oil company Petróleos de Venezuela SA, known as PDVSA, had to resort to buying oil abroad to meet its minimum obligations to Cuba for December and January**, according to oil traders involved in the deals. After that, **the Cuban government may have to source most of its crude itself.**

#### 3. Even if the Venezuela-Cuba relationship stays strong, Cuba will still improve its economy

**Ted Piccone and Harold Trinkunas, 2014** (Ted Piccone, senior fellow in the Project on International Order and Strategy and Latin America Initiative in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings, and Harold Trinkunas, senior fellow in the Latin America Initiative in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings. June 2014. “The Cuba-Venezuela Alliance: The Beginning of the End?” *Latin America Initiative: Foreign Policy at Brookings*, <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/CubaVenezuela-Alliance-Piccone-Trinkunas.pdf>. Accessed 9 February 2017. Page 8) ESG

Scenario 1: Status Quo Assistance to Cuba **A modicum of economic and political liberalization in Venezuela would have a stabilizing effect and allow assistance to Cuba to continue.** Politically, the dialogue between the government and the opposition in Venezuela, which began in March 2014, may reduce political tensions and provide sufficient cover for the Maduro administration to take economic adjustment measures. Maduro would be able to close the fiscal gap and reduce scarcity through a liberalized currency exchange and import regime. Better conditions for domestic businesses and a rise in the price of gasoline would begin to provide economic relief, rationalize domestic energy use, and improve government finances. This would allow Maduro to maintain the present relationship with Cuba, and it would continue to be in his interest to do so because of the services the Cubans provide as a trusted workforce, particularly in the security dimension. Given the role of the Venezuelan armed forces in supporting the Maduro administration, Cuban intelligence support to monitor discontent in the security services is essential to regime survival.43 Under this scenario, Cuba would most likely continue present levels of dependence on Venezuela. However, **even if Cuba felt secure in the level of Venezuelan assistance in the short to medium term, Cuban economic reform efforts would continue. Although there are a number of factors driving the reforms, they have an important benefit of providing a hedge against a possible decline of Venezuelan assistance in the future.**

### AT: Soft Power

#### 1. Soft Power theory is false-recent empirics.

**Dennis MacShane, 2013** (a Contributing Editor at The Globalist, was the United Kingdom's Minister for Europe from 2002 to 2005. December 11th 2013. “Soft Power Doesn’t Exist” <http://www.theglobalist.com/soft-power-doesnt-exist/> acessed 7/28/15 BP)

One of the stock beliefs in debate over 21st century diplomacy is the division between so-called hard power and soft power – first announced by Joseph Nye. **But if soft power actually existed, it would surely by now be showing results. Instead, we see around Europe either actual war or deep civil violence** (as in Syria and Libya) **or a comprehensive absence of peace, open borders or strong civil society. Israel-Palestine, Tunisia, the closed border between Algeria and Morocco, as well as the Western Sahara are all examples of unceasing conflict** within the broader Euro-Mediterranean space. In 2007, Mark Leonard of the European Council on Foreign Relations and Ivan Krastev, Chairman of the Sofia based Centre for Liberal Strategies, wrote a paper entitled ‘New World Order: the Balance of Soft Power and the Rise of Herbivorous Powers.’ They argued that ‘herbivorous’ powers (like India, South Africa and Brazil) would rise at the expense of hard powers with real military capability such as the US, Russia or China. **This optimism has turned out to be unfounded**. **In 2008, Russia invaded Georgia by land, sea and air and still occupies large regions of Georgian territory. Russia has used hard economic power – cutting off exports or threatening gas supplies – to bully Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia into accepting subordinate status within the greater Russian Eurasian space**. Little power of persuasion? Soft power theorists say Europe proves it can work. Tell that to the Ukrainians beaten up in Kyiv as they demonstrate in favor of the Europe and against the re-Russification of their homeland. **Meanwhile, India, South Africa and Brazil are seen as states with poor internal governance, endemic corruption and grotesque inequalities. Turkey grandly announced in 2002 its foreign policy would be based on ‘zero problems’ and good relations with all neighbors. Now Turkey is in conflict with Syria, Israel, Egypt and – at least for now – has been loudly distancing itself from the EU. Soft power advocates also like to claim disaster relief as an example of soft power**. In fact, it is just charity writ large. Nations have rightly been moved to send help to the Philippines. But we know from the help sent to starving children in Somalia or to earthquake victims in Pakistan, generosity from the United States or the EU produces no change in those countries’ political line or support for enemies of the West. Britain has given billions in aid to India without obtaining any support from India at the UN or in global disputes. The Indian prime minister has just boycotted the Commonwealth Heads of Government conference in Sir Lanka leaving Britain’s prime minister Cameron having to explain on the BBC why he appears to endorsing the hardliners in Colombo.

#### 2. In fact, trying to use soft power just hurts us

Colin Gray 2011 (Colin Gray, Professor of International Politics and Strategic Studies at the University of Reading, England. April 2011. “HARD POWER AND SOFT POWER: THE UTILITY OF MILITARY FORCE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POLICY IN THE 21ST CENTURY,” Published by Strategic Studies Institute]

An inherent and unavoidable problem with a country’s soft power is that it is near certain to be misassessed by the politicians who attempt to govern soft power’s societal owners and carriers. Few thoroughly encultured Americans are likely to undervalue “the American way” in many of its aspects as a potent source of friendly self-co-option abroad. Often, this self-flattering appreciation will be well justified in reality. But as an already existing instrument of American policy, the soft power of ideas and practical example is fraught with the perils of self-delusion. If one adheres to an ideology that is a heady mixture of Christian ethics (“one nation, under God . . .”), democratic principles, and free market orthodoxy, and if one is an American, which is to say if one is a citizen of a somewhat hegemonic world power that undeniably has enjoyed a notably successful historical passage to date, then it is natural to confuse the national ideology with a universal creed. Such confusion is only partial, but nonetheless it is sufficiently damaging as to be a danger to national strategy. Since it is fallacious to assume that American values truly are universal, the domain of high relevance and scope for American soft power to be influential is distinctly limited. If one places major policy weight on the putative value for policy of American soft power, one needs to be acutely alert to the dangers of an under-recognized ethnocentrism born of cultural ignorance. This ignorance breeds an arrogant disdain for evidence of foreigners’ lack of interest in being coopted to join American civilization. The result of such arrogance predictably is political and even military strategic counterreaction. It is a case of good intentions gone bad when they are pursued with indifference toward the local cultural context. Some people have difficulty grasping the unpalatable fact that much of the world is not receptive to any American soft power that attempts to woo it to the side of American interests. Not all rivalries are resolvable by ideas, formulas, or “deals” that seem fair and equitable to us. There are conflicts wherein the struggle is the message, to misquote Marshal MacLuhan, with value in the eyes of local belligerents. Not all local conflicts around the world are amenable to the calming effect of American soft power. True militarists of left and right, secular and religious, find intrinsic value in struggle and warfare, as A. J. Coates has explained all too clearly. The self-fulfilment and self-satisfaction that war generates derive in part from the religious or ideological significance attributed to it and from the resultant sense of participating in some grand design. It may be, however, that the experience of war comes to be prized for its own sake and not just for the great ends that it serves or promotes. For many, the excitement unique to war makes pacific pursuits seem insipid by comparison. This understanding and experience of moral, psychological, and emotional self-fulfillment increase our tolerance for war and threaten its moral regulation. It transforms war from an instrumental into an expressive activity.49 It is foolish to believe that every conflict contains the seeds of its own resolution, merely awaiting suitable watering through co-option by soft power. To be fair, similarly unreasonable faith in the disciplinary value of (American) military force is also to be deplored.

#### 3. No impact to soft power—countries will still work with us

**Robert Kagan, 2006** (Robert Kagan, senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. January 15th 2006. “Still the Colossus,” *The Carnegie Endowment*, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=17894&prog=zgp&proj=zusr)

The striking thing about the present international situation is the degree to which America remains what Bill Clinton once called "the indispensable nation." **Despite global opinion polls registering broad hostility** to George W. Bush's United States**, the behavior of governments and political leaders suggests America's position in the world is not all that different from what it was before Sept. 11 and the Iraq war. The much-anticipated global effort to balance against American hegemony** -- which the realists have been anticipating for more than 15 years now -- **has simply not occurred.** On the contrary, in Europe the idea has all but vanished. European Union defense budgets continue their steady decline, and even the project of creating a common foreign and defense policy has slowed if not stalled. Both trends are primarily the result of internal European politics. But if they really feared American power, Europeans would be taking more urgent steps to strengthen the European Union's hand to check it. Nor are Europeans refusing to cooperate, even with an administration they allegedly despise. Western Europe will not be a strategic partner as it was during the Cold War, because Western Europeans no longer feel threatened and therefore do not seek American protection. Nevertheless, **the current trend is toward closer cooperation.** Germany's new government, while still dissenting from U.S. policy in Iraq, is working hard and ostentatiously to improve relations. It is bending over backward to show support for the mission in Afghanistan, most notably by continuing to supply a small but, in German terms, meaningful number of troops. It even trumpets its willingness to train Iraqi soldiers. Chancellor Angela Merkel promises to work closely with Washington on the question of the China arms embargo, indicating agreement with the American view that China is a potential strategic concern. For Eastern and Central Europe, the growing threat is Russia, not America, and the big question remains what it was in the 1990s: Who will be invited to join NATO?

#### 4. No solvency – too many issues hurt soft power

**Michael Brenner, 2014** (Michael Brenner, Senior Fellow, the Center for Transatlantic Relations and Professor of International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh. May 17th 2014. “The Sins of Arrogance Bear Bitter Fruit,” *The Huffington Post*, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/michael-brenner/the-sins-of-arrogance-bea_b_4979253.html>. Accessed 9 Feb 2017) ESG

As a result, American "soft power" is now in steep decline. **Above all, the country's moral authority has been shredded by Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo, "collateral" killings, drones and indiscriminate spying on all and sundry. Iraq, Afghanistan - to a lesser extent, and the compulsively vengeful hunt world-wide for anyone and everyone who may wish to do the United States harm has created the impression of a relentless juggernaut on automatic pilot.** Moreover, the original course bearings were dangerously off - launching the country into the vast and unhospitable reaches of diplomatic outer space. American audacity in presuming to transform Iraq into a Western style country modeling liberal democracy for the rest of the Middle East was the logical extremity of strategy by grandiose fantasy. The resulting fiasco has damaged national interests - in addition to imposing immense harm on the Iraqis whom we used as Guinea pigs in this amateurish experiment. Yet, in the face of abject failure, the nation's political elites have lacked the humility to acknowledge error - much less to repent by reappraising the conceit that enabled the adventure. Then to put on a repeat performance in Afghanistan circa 2004-present evinces an exalted sense of self, impervious to experience, that has become a manifest national liability. The United States' leaders, and Americans themselves, show little awareness of these developments. On occasion after occasion, from place to place, the implicit belief that we are masters of the universe with a right, indeed an obligation, to judge all and take whatever action America deems appropriate is as strong as it ever has been. If anything, the trauma of 9/11 has reinvigorated the righteous streak in the American outlook on the world that feeds the sense of privilege. That belief is seen in our inflated strategic vision and our day-to-day behavior both. The latter category has been swollen in recent months by a veritable plethora of revealing anecdotes. There was Assistant Secretary of State Victoria Nuland's escapade in Kiev where she presumptuously tried to dictate the country's future to all local factions, to the European Union, Russia and whomever else was in hearing range of her "charming" salted language. No correction or honest apology followed. An attitude that sees the world as a Play Station to which only Americans have access leaves us shocked and uncomprehending when the Russians act as they have done in Ukraine. Washington leaders denounce Russia's incursion into the Crimea as a violation of international law and a clear act of aggression. They seem oblivious to the implications of United States' own rogue behavior in invading/occupying Iraq without a legal mandate and without a cassis belli. However one might judge the particulars of the cases, there is a double standard here that a reasonable, responsible government should address. The failure to recognize that logical connection speaks volumes about American self-determined exceptionialism. To take as a birthright privileges denied others is to strike the high Cs of an exalted Americanism. Elsewhere, there was John Kerry’s ad hominum condemnation of the duly elected Venezuelan government, slandered as rigging the election without citation of any evidence and declared an evil tyranny based on little more than our favoritism for the defeated candidate and the wealthier segments of Venezuelan society led by the oligarch Leopoldo Lopez, the country’s richest man.

### AT: FDI

#### 1. Globalization wipes out local competition and jobs as gains in GDP go exclusively to multinationals

**Shahi George, January 2015.** (Shaji George, Political Theology at Dharmaram College in India. January 2015. “Globalization 101,” vol. 15, no. 1, p. 57)

**One of the major premises of** the Washington Consensus’ view of **globalization is the role of foreign investment.** According to this, ‘‘freeing up’’ markets promotes economic growth by attracting international investors. **Foreign businesses are supposed to bring with them technical expertise and access to foreign markets and financial sources, thus creating new employment opportunities. However, there is a flipside to this, namely, large global corporations often destroy local competition and home-grown industries.** For example, Coca-Cola and Pepsi have wiped out many local soft drink manufacturers all over the world. **If competition is the only norm, the small-scale industries and firms are annihilated. This only adds to the number of poor, though the accumulation of wealth by the big firms will be reflected in the increase in GDP.**

#### **2.** FDI can hurt the local economy and be a huge liability

**Alan Beattie, 2014** (Alan Beattie, writer for Financial Times “Beyond Brics.” October 23rd 2014. “Foreign direct investment: it’s not all good,” *Financial Times*, <http://blogs.ft.com/beyond-brics/2014/10/23/foreign-direct-investment-its-not-all-good/>) ESG

Like good cholesterol versus bad cholesterol, FDI is also more stable than portfolio investment and bank loans, which have a nasty habit of reversing quickly in a crisis. A government whose economy is running a current account deficit but attracting lots of FDI can argue that the deficit reflects more investment opportunities than the country can finance itself, rather than a low savings rate and excessive consumption. Emerging markets are taking a rising share of both inward and outward FDI, which has recovered after plunging in the years after the global financial crisis. But this is not an unalloyed benefit. Incentives given to attract investment can be expensive and hard to undo. And if **investments** are more to do with capturing market share and financial engineering than they are to do with increasing the capital stock, they **may diminish the competitiveness of domestic firms or leave EMs subject to sudden reversals of capital.** The efficacy and benefit-cost advantage of FDI incentives such as tax breaks has long been questioned. If companies would have invested anyway, subsidising them to do so means giving up valuable tax revenue for nothing. **Moreover, privileging a particular set of businesses or targeting a particular sector can introduce distortions in the economy. With companies making much more use of investor-state litigation, a fresh risk arises that incentives, once given, cannot be withdrawn without inviting claims of expropriation and unfair and inequitable treatment** – even if subsidies are available to domestic and foreign companies alike. The Czech Republic, for example, which followed a global trend by encouraging investment in solar technology, has been hit by a flurry of investor-state arbitration under the Energy Charter Treaty after it imposed a retroactive tax on the profits of solar companies. More generally, the benefits of FDI seem to depend on whether they represent mergers and acquisitions (M&A) or “greenfield” investment, and what purpose the investment is serving. In theory, M&A can help the destination economy by improving management and profitability (and hence the local tax base), with possible knock-on effects to the rest of the economy. In practice, it has long been known that the growth benefits of M&A FDI are modest if indeed they exist at all. If a foreign company is investing purely to gain market share, and if it repatriates profits to its parent company, the impact on the receiving economy is blunted. And evidence also seems to show that, **to the extent that money enters the country and stays there, it will worsen the international competitiveness of existing firms by appreciating the real exchange rate.** Companies often engage in round-tripping – using subsidiaries to borrow in local capital markets and then lending back to the parent company. **This adds to high private sector leverage and is likely to flow out rapidly in the event of a financial crisis**, acting more like portfolio investment than FDI as it is commonly understood. We should take care not to overstate the risks: there are no warning lights flashing red. For emerging markets, the share of greenfield investment in total FDI is above 70 per cent and changed little throughout the crisis (calculations from data here). Yet EMs’ rising share of overall global inward investment – from 36 per cent in 2007 to 54 per cent in 2013 – means that the stability of FDI is increasingly an EM issue. **Economists at the UN say that FDI is now the biggest single external liability in developing economies. This should be particularly concerning for deficit countries like** Brazil and **Turkey that have been relying on FDI to finance their current accounts.** In Latin America, the income generated and repatriated from the existing stock of FDI has become almost as large as new FDI inflows, meaning that multinational corporations will no longer balance a current account deficit. Indeed, though existing FDI is less likely to flee during a crisis, the flow of new investments is likely to dry up. In Turkey, for example, policymakers have always stressed that inward investment is a sign of confidence in the Turkish economy, with foreign companies wanting to use the crossroads between Europe and Asia as a production base for exports to the EU. Yet FDI to Turkey has dropped sharply since the financial crisis: UN data show it at $10.4bn as opposed to $28.9bn in 2007. And while the share of greenfield in the total last year was a healthy 92 per cent, it was much lower during the boom years of the 2000s when the current account deficit began to widen. In 2007 just 49 per cent of Turkey’s FDI was greenfield. As emerging markets become a larger share of the world economy, it is unsurprising that they are taking a bigger spoonful of the FDI pudding as well. Yet as part of their preparations for the potential capital outflow as the US Federal Reserve continues to withdraw stimulus, policymakers would do well to remember that FDI is a liability that, one way or another, has to be repaid. FDI can be a helpful tool, but it is not a foundation on which an economy can unquestioningly rely.

#### 3. FDI increases income inequality in Latin America

**Macarena Suanes, 2016** (Macarena Suanes, doctoral candidate at the Department of Applied Economics of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain. April 2016. “Foreign direct investment and income inequality in Latin America: a sectoral analysis,” *Cepal Review 118*, <http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/40435/RVI118_Suanes.pdf?sequence=1>. Accessed 11 February 2017. Page 57-58) ESG

Public spending and human capital stand out among the control variables, being significant and of negative sign, in line with the main findings of the literature. Thus, both human capital investment and fiscal policy may be considered effective economic policy instruments for combating the persistent income inequality found in these regional economies. This last result is very robust both in the different specifications and at the two levels of analysis chosen, the aggregate one and the sectoral one. **As for the trade variable, this is found to have a positive and statistically significant effect on inequality.** This runs counter to the findings of traditional trade theory using the Heckscher-Ohlin model but is in line with the literature studying the effect of fdi on income inequality, which finds the opposite effect, i.e., an increase in income inequality when trade grows, as was explained in section II. Finally, the results were tested for robustness by replicating the sectoral-level estimations with an alternative series of sectoral fdi data. Because the data sources for the aggregate fdi series and the sectoral fdi series are different, the totals present some differences too. In an effort to control for the possible effect of these, the sectoral data series were reconstructed in such a way that the sum of these would match the fdi total at the aggregate level. **The results obtained with these new sectoral FDI series confirm that FDI in the manufacturing and service sectors increases income inequality, as the signs and significance of the variables are maintained under the three specifications taken and with the two samples used.**6 This study uses an unbalanced panel of data for 13 economies to analyse the relationship between fdi and income inequality in Latin America. One of the main findings confirms that there is a positive relationship between fdi and income inequality, in line with a number of studies in the literature (Basu and Guariglia, 2007; Choi, 2006; Herzer, Hühne and Nunnenkamp, 2012; Velde, 2003; Tsai, 1995). Again, when the effect of fdi by sector of activity is analysed, the results show that fdi in both the service sector and manufacturing industry increases income inequality, which explains the previous finding. **The positive effect of these sectors on the inequality variable is particularly salient because they are the sectors that have played the greatest part in the evolution of FDI over the last decade in the economies of the region studied**, according to data from unctad (2004). **Given the characteristics of the region’s economies, most of which display persistent income inequality over time, these findings are very important** from an economic policy perspective, since they provide empirical evidence for the distributive implications associated with fdi and thus open up an opportunity for governments to try to channel or guide external resources in such a way that fdi reaches the most disadvantaged sections of society, or at least to design and apply redistributive policies that enable the benefits from fdi to spread and enhance the welfare of the population. In summary, this study is a contribution to the empirical literature, principally for the evidence it provides on the effect of sectoral fdi on income inequality in Latin America, showing that the sector fdi is implemented in matters from the point of view of its distributive effects. Thus, it highlights a differential impact depending on whether fdi is carried out in the service and manufacturing sector, or in the primary sector.

### AT: Water

#### 1. The EU is already funding water projects in Cuba

**Carlos Lopez Vazquez, 2014** (Carlos Lopez Vazquez, Senior Lecturer in Wastewater Treatment Technology at UNESCO-IHE institute for Water Education. August 13th 2014. “Alleviating Water Scarcity in Cuba,” *China Water Risk*, <http://chinawaterrisk.org/resources/analysis-reviews/alleviatingwater-scarcity-in-cuba/>. Accessed 11 February 2017) ESG

In this regard, **UNESCO-IHE recently started the project** MÁS AGUA PARA TODOS: Adapting to Climate Change and Mitigating Water Scarcity by Innovative Urban Water Management in Cuba’. This project, whose short name accounts for **“MORE WATER FOR ALL”**, and led by Dr. Carlos Lopez Vazquez from UNESCO-IHE, has research and capacity development components, which will both contribute to the alleviation of water scarcity issues in Cuba. **The project is funded by the European Union** (project No. DCI-ENV/2010/247-301) and has a duration of three years. “MAS AGUA PARA TODOS” is led by UNESCO-IHE, the Instituto Superior Politécnico “José A Echeverria” (CUJAE) and an international consortium of which the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST) is one of the international technical partners. The Cuban partners are the Cuban National Institute for Water Resources (INRH) and the Cuban Food Industry Research Institute (IIIA). Delft University of Technology (TUDelft) and the University of Cape Town (UCT) complement the project consortium. Water scarcity alleviation strategies **One of the project objectives is to contribute to alleviate the water scarcity issue in Cuba through the introduction of innovative practices, including decreasing the demand for freshwater, encouraging wastewater reuse, and use of seawater as secondary quality water in the urban environment. The project is looking at introducing seawater toilet flushing practices, like the one developed by the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology** (HKUST). Another practice the project is looking at is the Sulphate Reduction, Autotrophic Denitrification and Nitrification Integrated (SANI) process for sewage treatment developed by Prof Guanghao Chen of HKUST. “**Leveraging Hong Kong’s unique seawater flushing system, we have developed a novel, energy-efficient and low carbon sewage treatment technology. The SANI process can eliminate 90% of sewage sludge production, and reduce sewage treatment costs by 50%, space requirements by over 50%, and cut down greenhouse gas emissions by 35%**”, says Chen. Another area is wastewater treatment & reuse. **The SANI process is also being considered for applications in wastewater treatment.** Other wastewater practices include onsite wastewater reuse for irrigation.

### AT: NGO Entry

#### 1. According to the United Nations, there are already several NGOs in Cuba, including but not limited to: the Cuban United Nations Association, the Caribbean Medical Association, and the Organization for the Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America

#### 2. The US is already supporting NGOs in Cuba

**Tjarda Muller, 2008** (Tjarda Muller, former regional communications officer at Oxfam America. September 26th 2008. “Oxfam in Cuba,” *Oxfam America*, <https://www.oxfamamerica.org/explore/stories/oxfam-in-cuba/>. Accessed 12February 2017) ESG

**Since 1996, Oxfam International has been working in Cuba to improve food security through organic agriculture projects, and projects aimed at diversifying agricultural production. One of Oxfam's partners in this area is the National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP), which brings together more than 4,200 cooperatives with 330,000 members nationally.** ANAP's has taken some Oxfam-funded local projects and, using its own resources, replicated them on a national level. **Members of Oxfam International have also provided grant support for neighborhood social programs**, such as the world-renowned Martin Luther King Center, a leader in popular education. Cuba's civil evacuation and protection system is widely renowned for its excellence. **Oxfam works with Cuba's Civil Defense to help communities prepare for disasters and has helped Cuba significantly reduce its vulnerability to hurricanes.** In 2004 Oxfam America, as part of Oxfam International, documented these experiences and lessons in the publication "Weathering the Storm: Lessons in Risk Reduction in Cuba." Gender equality is a priority in all the projects Oxfam supports. While Cuban women enjoy a wide array of rights, there continue to be gaps, particularly at home. **Supporting research and sensitivity training, particularly in regards to violence against women, is a priority for Oxfam in Cuba.** As part of Oxfam International, **Oxfam America has contributed roughly $1.1 million to Oxfam International's work in Cuba since 1995. All of Oxfam America's grants were approved by the US Department of State**, and mostly supported agricultural transformation projects designed to improve food security.

### AT: Counter China

#### 1. China empirically does not stop trading with a country just because we also trade with that country. Japan, South Korea, and Germany are countries that are in both our and China’s top ten trading partners *alone.*

#### 2. TURN: China doesn’t want to commit to investment now, they will have incentive to compete if the embargo is lifted

**Emilio Morales, 2016** (Emilio Morales, president and CEO of the Havana Consulting Group and Tech, interviewed by Mercy Kuo, President of the Washington State China Relations Council. December 24th 2016. “China-Cuba Relations: Assessing US Stakes,” *The Diplomat*, <http://thediplomat.com/2016/12/china-cuba-relations-assessing-us-stakes/>. Accessed 16 February 2017) ESG

**The slowness of the economic reforms undertaken by the Cuban government and the lack of space open to the private sector are the main reasons why Chinese investments are so low in Cuba compared to other Latin American countries where there is a larger market open and where investments strategically offer better returns.** Evidence of this reality is that none of the 19 companies approved so far to make investment projects in Cuba’s Mariel Special Development Zone (ZEDM), is Chinese. However, if the Cuban government undertakes reform at structural levels as did Vietnam and China years ago, then **China’s investment interest toward Cuba could grow suddenly.** Above all, because in a scenario like this, **the U.S. could quickly lift the embargo on the island and Cuba could automatically become the main tourist destination in the Caribbean. This would involve multi-million-dollar investment projects in infrastructure that Cuba needs, where Chinese companies could compete in the market** against U.S. companies.

## NEG EXTENSIONS

### EXT: Enviro Harms

#### 1. Ending the embargo could devastate Cuba’s ecosystem

**PBS 2010** (PBS, Public Broadcasting Service is an American public broadcaster and television program distributor. September 26th 2010. “Cuba: The Accidental Eden,” *PBS*, <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/nature/cuba-the-accidental-eden-introduction/5728/>. Accessed 6 February 2017) ESG

Cuba may have been restricted politically and economically for the past 50 years, but its borders have remained open to wildlife for which Cuba’s undeveloped islands are an irresistible draw. While many islands in the Caribbean have poisoned or paved over their ecological riches on land and in the sea in pursuit of a growing tourist industry, **Cuba’s wild landscapes have remained virtually untouched, creating a safe haven for rare and intriguing indigenous animals, as well as for hundreds of species of migrating birds and marine creatures. Coral reefs have benefited, too.** Independent research has shown that Cuba’s corals are doing much better than others both in the Caribbean and around the world. Scientific research in Cuba on creatures such as the notoriously aggressive “jumping” crocodile, and the famous painted snails, paired with long-term ecological efforts on behalf of sea turtles, has been conducted primarily by devoted local experts. Conservation and research in Cuba can be a constant struggle for scientists who earn little for their work. But their work is their passion, and no less important than that of those collecting larger salaries. NATURE follows these scientists as they explore the crocodile population of Zapata swamp, the birth of baby sea turtles, and the mysteries of evolution demonstrated by creatures that travel no more than 60 yards in a lifetime. **As the possibility of an end to the U.S. trade embargo looms, Cuba’s wildlife hangs in the balance.** Most experts predict that **the end of the embargo could have devastating results. Tourism could double, and the economic development associated with tourism and other industries could change the face of what was once a nearly pristine ecosystem.** Or Cuba could set an example for development and conservation around the world, defining a new era of sustainability well beyond Cuba’s borders.

#### 2. Though Cuba has protected its environment well thus far, lifting the embargo could destroy that progress

**Cornelia Dean, 2007** (Cornelia Dean, Distinguished Visiting Lecturer in Environmental Studies at Brown University. December 25th 2007. “Conserving Cuba, After the Embargo,” *The New York Times*, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/25/science/25cuba.html>. Accessed 6 February 2017) ESG

Conservationists, environmental lawyers and other experts, from Cuba and elsewhere, met last month in Cancún, Mexico, to discuss the island’s resources and how to continue to protect them. **Cuba has done “what we should have done — identify your hot spots of biodiversity and set them aside,” said Oliver Houck, a professor of environmental law at Tulane University Law School** who attended the conference. In the late 1990s, Mr. Houck was involved in an effort, financed in part by the MacArthur Foundation, to advise Cuban officials writing new environmental laws. **But, he said in an interview, “an invasion of U.S. consumerism, a U.S.-dominated future, could roll over it like a bulldozer” when the embargo ends.** By some estimates, tourism in Cuba is increasing 10 percent annually. **At a minimum, Orlando Rey Santos, the Cuban lawyer who led the law-writing effort, said in an interview at the conference, “we can guess that tourism is going to increase in a very fast way” when the embargo ends. “It is estimated we could double tourism in one year,”** said Mr. Rey, who heads environmental efforts at the Cuban ministry of science, technology and environment. About 700 miles long and about 100 miles wide at its widest, Cuba runs from Haiti west almost to the Yucatán Peninsula of Mexico. It offers crucial habitat for birds, like Bicknell’s thrush, whose summer home is in the mountains of New England and Canada, and the North American warblers that stop in Cuba on their way south for the winter.

#### 3. Agribusiness displaces small farmers

[**Miguel Altieri**](https://scroll.in/authors/10620) **2016** ([Miguel Altieri](https://scroll.in/authors/10620) is a writer for Scrollin and has studied agroecology in most countries in Central and South America. Updated as of Jan 03, 2017. “”https://scroll.in/article/805686/cubas-sustainable-agriculture-at-risk-in-us-thaw DOA: 2/7/17) CDY

**When agribusinesses invest in developing countries, they seek economies of scale. This encourages concentration of land in the hands of a few corporations and standardisation of small-scale production systems. In turn, these changes force small farmers off of their lands and lead to the abandonment of local crops and traditional farming ways.** The expansion of transgenic crops and agrofuels in [Brazil](https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/oxfam-rioplus20-case-study-brazil-jun2012.pdf" \t "_blank), [Paraguay](http://world.time.com/2013/08/09/in-paraguay-rural-farmers-fear-the-spread-of-soy/" \t "_blank) and [Bolivia](http://lab.org.uk/bolivia-big-changes-planned-for-agriculture" \t "_blank) since the 1990s are examples of this process. If US industrial agriculture expands into Cuba, there is a risk that it could destroy the complex social network of agroecological small farms that more than 300,000 campesinos have built up over the past several decades through farmer-to-farmer horizontal exchanges of knowledge. **This would reduce the diversity of crops that Cuba produces and harm local economies and food security. If large businesses displace small-scale farmers, agriculture will move toward export crops, increasing the ranks of unemployed.** There is nothing wrong with small farmers capturing a share of export markets, as long as it does not mean neglecting their roles as local food producers. The Cuban government thus will have to protect campesinos by not importing food products that peasants produce.

### EXT: Agri Good

#### 1. Monoculture = starvation

**Dena Rash Guzman, 2014** (Dena Rash Guzman, writer for the *Stir Journal*. March 21st 2014. “Monoculture in Farming: The First in a Series on the Food Industry,” *Stir Journal*, <http://www.stirjournal.com/2014/03/31/monoculture-in-farming-the-first-in-a-series-on-the-food-industry/>. Accessed 10 February 2017) ESG

The answer to our global food crisis might not be to ban GMOs or even chemicals in farming, though that would be a great start. The answer might be to ban monoculture. **In the past, monoculture has led to famine.** Who can say a future of pesticide-resistant insects, pollution, and soil depletion won’t lead to the same? **The Irish Potato Famine is a perfect example of monoculture gone wrong. Between 1845 and 1852, the population of Ireland fell nearly 25 percent. The decline was due to starvation, mass emigration, and disease proximately caused by potato blight.** Potatoes, native to the Americas, were introduced as a delicacy to the gardens of the rich in the 1800s. Within a few decades, they were a primary staple of the Irish diet. Although Ireland produced and exported more than enough crops to feed its people, that food continued to be exported while the poor suffered.

#### 2. Cuba’s agriculture produces much of its food staples while avoiding monoculture

**Raj Patel 2017** (Raj Patel, fellow at the Institute for Food and Development Policy. February 11th 2017. “What Cuba Can Teach Us About Food and Climate Change,” *Slate*, <http://www.slate.com/articles/health_and_science/future_tense/2012/04/agro_ecology_lessons_from_cuba_on_agriculture_food_and_climate_change_.html>. Accessed 11 February 2017) ESG

**Agro-ecology uses nature’s far more complex systems to do the same thing more efficiently and without the chemistry set.** Nitrogen-fixing beans are grown instead of inorganic fertilizer; flowers are used to attract beneficial insects to manage pests; weeds are crowded out with more intensive planting. **The result is a sophisticated polyculture—that is, it produces many crops simultaneously, instead of just one.** In Cuba, peasants encouraged scientists to adopt this approach. One of their most important ideas, borrowed from elsewhere in Central America, was a model of knowledge diffusion called “Campesino a Campesino”—peasant to peasant. Farmers share their results and ideas with one another and with scientists, which has helped agro-ecological systems spread. So has it worked? That’s up for debate. The Cuban vice minister of the economy and planning ministry reportedly said in February 2007 that 84 percent of the country’s food was imported—not terribly encouraging, if we are looking at Cuba to foretell our agricultural future. **But a recent paper by UC-Berkeley’s Miguel A. Altieri and the University of Matanzas’ Fernando R. Funes-Monzote suggests that** while the country still imports almost all its wheat (a crop that doesn’t do well in the Caribbean), **it now produces the majority of its fresh fruit and vegetables—even much of its meat. In 2007, Cubans produced more food while using one-quarter of the chemicals as they did in 1988.**

### EXT: Might Work Now

#### 1. Raul’s control and new leadership provides an opportunity for the embargo to be more effective

**Michael Totten, 2014** (Michael Totten, contributing editor at *World Affairs* who resided briefly in Cuba before writing this article. March/April 2014. “Letter from Cuba: To Embargo or Not,” *World Affairs*, <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/letter-cuba-embargo-or-not>. Accessed 7 February 2017) ESG

After spending a few weeks in Cuba in October and November, however, I came home feeling less certain that the embargo was an anachronism. **The ailing Fidel Castro handed power to his less ideological brother Raúl a few years ago, and the regime finally realizes what has been obvious to everyone else for what seems like forever: communism is an epic failure. Change is at last on the horizon for the island,** and there’s a chance that maybe—just maybe—**the embargo might help it finally arrive.** “I fully support the embargo and the travel ban,” Cuban exile Valentin Prieto says, “and am on record calling for it to be tightened and given some real teeth instead of allowing it to remain the paper tiger it is. The United States of America is the bastion of democracy and liberty in the world. Not only should we not have normal relations with repressive regimes, it is our moral obligation to ensure, by whatever means possible save for military action, that we in no way promote, fund, assist, ignore, or legitimize said repressive regimes.”

#### 2. The Cuban gov’t clearly cares somewhat about its economy – eventually, the embargo can create change. Lifting it now kills that chance.

**Michael Totten, 2014** (Michael Totten, contributing editor at *World Affairs* who resided briefly in Cuba before writing this article. March/April 2014. “Letter from Cuba: To Embargo or Not,” *World Affairs*, <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/letter-cuba-embargo-or-not>. Accessed 7 February 2017) ESG

**The regime does want Cuba to prosper, but within limits. Otherwise its officials wouldn’t even consider economic reform.** They would just plod along North Korean–style. **Therefore, keeping the US embargo in place will sooner or later force them to choose prosperity or power.** They cannot have both. **The Communist Party might finally cry uncle.** It’s possible. If so, **the sanctions will finally produce their intended effect—the democratization of Cuba.** But if not, the embargo will continue looking like a spiteful anachronism that pointlessly punishes Cuban citizens who have already been punished enough by their own government**. If the US were to unilaterally lift what’s left of the embargo right now**, the standard of living for the average citizen would probably go up a little as a result of Raúl’s concurrent reforms. Cuba could become in time a Caribbean China—a clear improvement over what it has been since Fidel came to power. Yet **Cubans would still suffer under a power-mad police state, and the US would have exhausted its leverage for nothing.** The question at this point is who will blink first.

### EXT: Misc Bad Things

#### 1. Lifting the embargo could cause brain drain

**Anne Nelson and Debi Spindelman, 2016** (Anne Nelson, member of the Council on Foreign Relations who teaches international media development at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs and Debi Spindelman, capacity development specialist at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs. April 5th 2016. “Business Unusual in Cuba,” *Foreign Affairs*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/cuba/2016-04-05/business-unusual-cuba>. Accessed February 2nd 2017) ESG

With the renewal of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States last year, there have been calls to end the preferential immigration status. This has led to a sense of panic among some Cubans. Republican Congressman Blake Farenthold from Texas reported that his state is already seeing a 60 percent increase in migrants attempting to enter from Cuba following the December 2014 announcement by Obama that he would be turning a new leaf in U.S.–Cuba relations. **It would be a tragedy if the shift in policy resulted in an upsurge of Cubans fleeing under perilous conditions. There is also the risk of a massive brain drain, in which Cuba loses educators and medical personnel working for state salaries to jobs in the United States as babysitters and cab drivers.**

### EXT: Demo Promo

#### 1. Latin American liberalism is backsliding – US is key

Michael Allen, 2009 (Michael Allen, editor of *Democracy Digest*. 2009. “Latin America: democracy on a high, but backsliding seen in authoritarian drift,” *Democracy Digest*, <http://www.demdigest.org/latin-america-democracy-on-a-high-but-backsliding-seen-in-authoritarian-drift/>) ESG

Latin America faces a “revelatory moment”, in the wake of the Honduran constitutional crisis, [writes Jorge G. Castañeda](http://www.tnr.com/magazine-issue/december-30-2009). The episode confirmed a “remarkable—and certainly transformative fact”: that the United States “is no longer willing, or perhaps even able, to select who governs from Tegucigalpa, or anywhere else in the region for that matter.” He  is concerned that a U.S. retreat from the Monroe Doctrine entails a passivity that could undermine the hard-won consensus on the “need to anchor Latin America’s democracy in a strong, intrusive, and detailed legal framework,” while resisting the threat of [populist authoritarianism](http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/64753/richard-feinberg/latin-americas-struggle-for-democracy-constructing-democratic-go).  Support for democracy is at its highest level since the late 1990s, according to [the latest Latinobarómetro poll](http://www.economist.com/world/americas/PrinterFriendly.cfm?story_id=15080535) taken in 18 countries and published by The Economist. The survey reveals growing trust in democratic institutions, an increase in governments’ legitimacy, and greater social liberalism. But concerns remain about the robustness of Latin America’s democratic institutions. “Backsliding is always a threat**,**” Secretary of State [Hillary Clinton said this week](http://www.demdigest.net/blog/democracy-assistance/principled-pragmatism-will-govern-us-approach-to-promoting-democracy-human-rights-and-development.html), citing developments in “the Americas where we are worried about leaders who have seized property, trampled rights, and abused justice to enhance personal rule.” Three U.N. human rights experts this week accused Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez of creating a climate of fear following the arrest last week of a woman judge who ordered the conditional release of imprisoned banker Eligio Cedeno. “There was a time that judges who failed to follow Chávez’s instructions risked being removed from the bench,” [said Robert Amsterdam](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/dec/15/chavez-venezuela-judge-cedeno), one of Cedeño’s lawyers. “Judicial independence had been on life support, but sadly, it is now officially dead.” Alberto Arteaga Sanchez, a criminal law professor at Venezuela’s Central University, condemned the “unacceptable pressure being put on the judicial branch by the executive branch.” “It’s a case that demonstrates the weakness of Venezuela’s democratic system,” he said. It is imperative that the U.S. remain actively engaged with the institutions that buttress the emerging but fragile democratic consensus, Castañeda argues, including the [American Convention on Human Rights](http://www.hrcr.org/docs/American_Convention/oashr.html) and the [Inter-American Democratic Charter](http://www.oas.org/charter/docs/resolution1_en_p4.htm). These structures have great potential, but they have yet to address some key questions.