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## Cuba's Foreign Policy in the Middle East

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served in this or similar large-scale rescues, especially the author's vivid accounts of the chaos that occurred during the Sunday storm of 27 April or the tragedy of the *Olo Yumi* on 17 May.

Whether Castro lost prestige in the eyes of the world when so many Cuban citizens were willing to forsake their country, or did himself a favor by getting rid of malcontents and criminals who were a drain on the economy will be determined later. The question remains, if pressure should again build in Cuba, would he seek relief through another boatlift to the United States? The author urges comprehensive reviews of policies, strategies, and executive decision-making processes to avoid being surprised by another exodus of this magnitude. This book will serve as a valuable primer for those tasked with those reviews.

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Fernández, Damián J. *Cuba's Foreign Policy in the Middle East*. Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1988. 160pp. \$19.95

Premier Fidel Castro long ago expanded his original notions of sponsoring liberationist guerrilla wars into a full spectrum of politico-military services. Where once his peripatetic revolutionists schemed romantically—and unsuccessfully—at implanting Maoist *focos*, later he led a diplomatic and military array

of overt and clandestine forces aimed at creating a Marxist-Leninist world.

Professor Damián J. Fernández, political science professor at Colorado College, traces Castro's efforts to become a significant player in the world's hottest region, the Middle East. His study was performed in the archives of the Cuban Information System at the University of Miami Graduate School of International Studies and in the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress. The book is written primarily for Latin Americanists, and most of the Middle Eastern scholarly source materials appear to be secondary.

The first chapter is a summary of Cuban foreign policy from 1960-1985. It is easily the best of its kind in print.

Next is a survey chapter on Cuban policies in the Middle East, as a region, followed by a chapter containing a country-by-country implementation of those policies. These two chapters form the centerpiece of the book. A special case study on Cuban-Libyan relations follows, and it contains some surprises. Where the casual observer might expect Muammar el-Qaddafi and Fidel Castro to find common ground as leading scourges of the industrial West, Qaddafi, while sharing Castro's anti-Zionist and anti-U.S. enthusiasm, in fact, finds Castro to be too faithful a Soviet ally.

The summary chapter develops some interesting conjectures on how

and why Cuba is even a player in the Middle Eastern cauldron. After all, Cuba needs Middle Eastern petroleum but is financially bankrupt, totally beholden to Soviet largesse for significant purchases. The Middle East hardly lacks for glinty-eyed revolutionists who know the fine points of the AK-47 or the radio-detonated car bomb. Yet Fidel Castro has indeed multi-regionalized Middle Eastern turbulence with his presence, despite an overwhelming lack of assets and logical reasons.

Professor Fernández relies strongly on Foreign Broadcast Information Service bulletins for Cuban actions; more credibility would be attained through analysis of what Middle Eastern leaders think of Cuba. Michael Stührenberg wrote recently in the liberal weekly *Die Zeit* of Hamburg that "Cuba is considered by many of the poorest nations to be an international superpower. . . . They view Castro not as Moscow's representative but as its successor." Professor Fernández does not go quite so far.

Pointing to the glittering opportunities which first attracted Castro to interpose his country in Middle Eastern affairs, Fernández concludes that the region is tough for any outsider to manipulate and that, even if he is not simply a stooge of the Kremlin, Castro still has to accept Soviet guidelines.

"The Middle East might well be Fidel Castro's, and revolutionary Cuba's last international frontier," he says. Yet the chart on page 56 shows an impressive array of

regional penetrations by a regime ruling a small country that U.S. patriots used to tell me, in 1960, could be "cleaned out by a squad of well-trained Marines with baseball bats."

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*Moral Obligation and the Military: Collected Essays.* Washington, D.C.: National Defense Univ. Press, 1988. 245pp. \$7

The good news about this volume is its publication. The bad news is its brevity.

Publication of a biennial report of successive conferences of the Joint Services Conference on Professional Responsibility (1985 and 1986), held at the National Defense University, records the admirable effort of the military services to encourage reflection among their personnel on the ethical standards of their profession.

This volume presents the most significant papers presented at these conferences. Oddly, though, it is silent, or nearly so, on the two political-military topics most salient in public and professional discussions of foreign policy during those years (1985 and 1986): the U.S. intervention in the Nicaraguan civil war and the sudden reassessment of the moral legitimacy of nuclear deterrence.

Likewise, the book omits the newsworthy statements by leading former defense officials, such as