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U.S. AGRICULTURAL SALES TO CUBA: CERTAIN ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF U.S. RESTRICTIONS

AN UPDATE

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U.S. AGRICULTURAL SALES TO CUBA: CERTAIN ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF U.S. RESTRICTIONS. AN UPDATE

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ABSTRACT: The recent focus by U.S. policymakers on efforts aimed at lifting certain restrictions on trade and travel between the United States and Cuba has renewed interest in the U.S. International Trade Commission's fact-finding study, "U.S. Agricultural Sales to Cuba: Certain Economic Effects of U.S. Restrictions," released in July 2007. This Working Paper provides an abbreviated update of that report. It describes trends in U.S. agricultural exports to Cuba during 2000-08, summarizes the factors that currently influence the competitiveness of U.S. agricultural products in the Cuban market, and provides updated estimates of the effects of lifting the restrictions on export financing terms and travel to Cuba, based on 2008 trade statistics. In 2008, Cuba imported about \$1.8 billion in agricultural products, compared to \$550 million in 2000, with the U.S. share of these imports averaging about 35 percent annually. In 2008, U.S. agricultural sales to Cuba reached \$708 million, consisting mostly wheat, corn, poultry, and animal feed. Cuba considers economic and noneconomic factors in its food purchasing decisions. Therefore, even though the United States is, for many products, the most competitive supplier for Cuba in terms of price, quality, and delivery terms, Cuban buyers consider such noncommercial factors as diversifying import suppliers and strengthening strategic geopolitical relationships. With restrictions lifted, 2008 U.S. exports to Cuba would have been approximately \$924 million to \$1.2 billion (an increase of \$216-478 million), equivalent to 49-64 percent of Cuba's total agricultural imports.

Introduction

U.S. policymakers have taken a greater interest recently in efforts aimed at lifting certain restrictions on trade and travel between the United States and Cuba. Much of the impetus for this renewed focus began with campaign pledges by then–presidential candidate Senator Barack Obama (D-III.) to allow unlimited family travel and remittances to Cuba following his election. On April 13, 2009, in advance of the fifth Summit of the Americas, President Obama fulfilled these campaign promises and opened certain telecommunication links between the two countries as well. Prior to the president's announcement, Congress passed the FY 2009 Omnibus Appropriations Act, which contained provisions aimed at loosening restrictions on family travel to Cuba, travel related to U.S. agricultural sales and marketing, and payment requirements for U.S. agricultural products exported to Cuba. Since the beginning of 2009, several other bills have been introduced to ease U.S. sanctions on Cuba (box 1).

In July 2007, the U.S. International Trade Commission released a fact-finding study requested by the Senate Committee on Finance entitled *U.S. Agricultural Sales to Cuba: Certain Economic Effects of U.S. Restrictions*. This report provided an analysis of the effects of U.S. government export financing restrictions and travel limitations to Cuba by U.S. citizens on U.S. agricultural product sales to Cuba. The report also contained estimates of the likely sales to Cuba if export financing restrictions and travel restrictions were lifted.

¹ White House, "Fact Sheet: Reaching Out to the Cuban People," April 13, 2009. The Summit of the Americas was held April 17–19, 2009.

² H.R. 1105, P.L. 111-8, signed into law March 11, 2009. The Cuba provisions are in Sections 620-622 of Division D. See box 1 for details.

³ USITC, U.S. Agricultural Sales to Cuba, July 2007. The full report can be found on the Commission's website at http://hotdocs.usitc.gov/docs/pubs/332/pub3932.pdf.

January 6	H.R. 188 introduced. Rep. Serrano (D-NY). "Cuba Reconciliation Act."
	Act would remove the trade embargo with Cuba.
February 12	S. 428 introduced. Sen. Dorgan (D-ND). "Freedom to Travel to Cuba Act."
	Act would not regulate or prohibit travel to or from Cuba by U.S. citizens or legal residents, or any of the transactions incident to such travel.
February 23	Lugar report. Staff trip report to Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.
March 11	Signed into law. "FY2009 Omnibus Appropriations Act." (Sections 620-622 of Division D)
	Section 620. Amends the Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement (TSRA) so that travel to Cuba for marketing and sales of agricultural and medical goods can be done with a "general" license, not a "specific" license.
	Section 621. Prohibits funds from being used to administer, implement, or enforce family travel restrictions that were imposed in June 2004. (June 2004 restrictions allowed family travel only to visit immediate family (grandparent/child, sibling, parent, spouse, child) once every 3 years for a period not to exceed 14 days, with a maximum daily expenditure of \$50). New rules are those that applied before June 2004. These rules allowed family travel every 12 months for unlimited stays. New regulations define close relatives to mean any individual no more than three generations removed from the traveler. New maximum daily expenditure is \$179.
	Section 622. Prohibits funds from being used to administer, implement, or enforce an amendment to the Cuban embargo regulations of February 25, 2005, which required that sales of U.S. agricultural exports use the "payment of cash in advance" payment mechanism.
March 16	H.R. 1528 introduced. Rep. Rangel (D-NY). "Export Freedom to Cuba Act of 2009."
	Act would lift the travel ban with Cuba.
March 16	H.R. 1530 introduced. Rep. Rangel (D-NY). "Free Trade with Cuba Act."
	Act would lift the trade embargo on Cuba, including all restrictions on travel, remittances, and agricultural exports.
March 16	H.R. 1531 introduced. Rep. Rangel (D-NY). "Promoting American Agricultural and Medical Exports to Cuba Act 2009."
	Act would: (i) authorize direct transfers between Cuban and U.S. financial institutions, (ii) establish an agricultural export promotion program with Cuba, (iii) facilitate issuance of visas to Cuban officials for inspecting U.S. facilities, (iv) open travel to Cuba, and (v) define cash-in-advance as payment before the buyer receives title or physical control of the goods.
March 27	H.R. 1737 introduced. Rep. Moran (R-KS). Agricultural Export Facilitation Act of 2009."
	Act would amend the Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement Act of 2000 to require the Secretary of the Treasury to authorize under a specific or general license certain travel related transactions for travel to, from, or within Cuba in connection with: (1) commercial export sales and transportation of agricultural commodities, medicine, and medical devices; and (2) sales and marketing activities of such articles.
March 30	Sen. Lugar (R-IN) letter to President Obama. Requests a special envoy for Cuba.
April 7	Members of the U.S. Congressional Black Caucus meet Fidel and Raul Castro in Havana.

BOX 1 Sun	BOX 1 Summary of Major Congressional Activities with Respect to Cuba, since January 1, 2009—Cont.							
April 13	President Obama reduces restrictions on travel and remittances.							
	Opens travel to Americans with Cuban relatives. This is a return to the pre–June 2004 rules, except that: (i) there is no limit of the number of visits (i.e., can go several times per year), (ii) travelers have unlimited spending, and (iii) all restrictions on remittances would be removed.							
May 6	H.R. 2272 introduced. Rep. Rush (D-IL). "United State-Cuba Trade Normalization Act of 2009."							
May 20	S. 1089. Sen. Baucus (D-MT), with 15 other Senators. "Promoting American Agricultural And Medical Exports to Cuba Act of 2009."							
	Act would: (I) define cash-in-advance as payment before the buyer receives title or physical control of the goods, (ii) authorize direct transfers between U.S. and Cuban banks for agricultural exports, (iii) require the USDA to promote U.S. agricultural exports to Cuba, (iv) facilitate the issuance of U.S. visas to Cuban trade and veterinary officials related to U.S. agricultural exports to Cuba, (v) remove impediments to medical exports, and (vi) remove the ban on travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens and legal residents.							

Source: Congressional Record, various issues.

The recent focus on Cuba has renewed interest in the Commission's study. For example, its findings were mentioned in recent policy papers on Cuba, including those by Senator Richard Lugar (R-Ind.)⁴ and the Lexington Institute.⁵ The report was quoted in testimony by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce at a Cuba hearing before the House Energy and Commerce Committee held in late April.⁶ The Commission's findings are also mentioned in Cuba reports by the U.S. General Accountability Office,⁷ the U.S. Department of Agriculture,⁸ and the Congressional Research Service.⁹

This paper provides an abbreviated update of the Commission's 2007 Cuba report. It describes trends in U.S. agricultural exports to Cuba during 2000–2008 and summarizes the factors that currently influence the competitiveness of U.S. agricultural products in the Cuban market, based on recent discussions with agricultural trade associations, businesses, and shipping companies doing business in Cuba today. It also provides updated estimates of the effects of lifting the restrictions on export financing terms and travel to Cuba, based on 2008 trade statistics.

⁴ Committee on Foreign Relations, Changing Cuba Policy, February 23, 2009.

⁵ Lexington Institute, Options for Engagement, April 2009.

⁶ Schied Rothkopf, Statement to the House Committee on Energy and Commerce, April 25, 2009.

⁷ GAO, Economic Sanctions, November 2007.

⁸ USDA, FAS, Cuba's Food and Agriculture Situation, March 2008.

⁹ CRS, Cuba: Issues for the 111th Congress, March 18, 2009.

Recent Trends in U.S.-Cuba Agricultural Trade¹⁰

During 2000–08, Cuba's overall agricultural imports grew significantly. Since 2000, the value of imports more than tripled, increasing from approximately \$550 million in 2000 to more than \$1.8 billion in 2008 (figure 1 and appendix table A.1). Trade steadily increased between 2000 and 2005, stabilized in 2006, and then grew sharply in 2007 and 2008. Between 2006 and 2008, overall agricultural imports increased more than 70 percent.

Million US \$ 2,000 1,750 1,500 1,250 1,000 750 500 250 0 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 ■ United States ■ Brazil ■ EU27 Other

FIGURE 1 Cuban Agricultural Imports by Country, 2000-08

Source: Global Trade Atlas, as reported by the exporting country (fas foreign port of export).

¹⁰ Trade data (FAS value, foreign port of export) were compiled from the Global Trade Atlas online database. Because of the unavailability of Cuban import data after 2004, data for other countries' exports to Cuba are used as a proxy for Cuban imports.

In 2000, U.S. agricultural exports to Cuba were negligible. Following implementation of the Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement Act (TSRA) of 2000,¹¹ Cuba's need to import food in the wake of Hurricane Michelle in November 2001 provided the impetus for trade to resume.

In 2002, the first shipments of U.S. rice arrived in Cuba. U.S. exports to Cuba then increased steadily such that, by 2004, the United States was the largest supplier of agricultural products to Cuba (figure 1 and appendix table A.2). In 2004, Cuba imported \$392 million in agricultural goods from the United States, equivalent to 42 percent of its total agricultural imports. The increase in U.S. exports to Cuba coincided with drought-related production declines in Cuba, which necessitated increased imports.¹²

In 2005, the value of Cuban agricultural imports from the United States dropped by 10 percent and declined an additional 4 percent in 2006. A March 2005 change in financial transaction rules by the U.S. Department of the Treasury's Office of Financial Asset Control (OFAC), requiring the seller to receive payment from the Cuban buyer before vessels carrying goods leave the U.S. port, may partially account for this decline. Other factors also may have been important, such as OFAC's changes to U.S. regulations on Cuban remittances, favorable credit terms offered by U.S. competitors in the Cuban market, and an overall decline in imports in 2006.

Cuban purchases of U.S. agricultural products, particularly of wheat, corn, and poultry, increased in 2007 and 2008, reaching \$707 million, a 60 percent increase over 2007 levels. Sharply higher international commodity prices contributed to the greater value of Cuban agricultural purchases in 2008, but the volume of purchases also increased for several commodities, especially cereals, animal feed, and

¹¹ Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement Act of 2000 (TSRA) P,ublic Law 106-387, October 18, 2000 (at 22 USC §§ 7201-7209). Under TSRA, agricultural sales were permitted to Cuba. However, the law places several restrictions on U.S. exporters. For example, sales can not be made with any form of government assistance, credits, or credit guarantees. The law also requires that sales be made in cash in advance or else financed through third country banks, and denies Cuba access to all sources of U.S. private sector commercial credit. TSRA allows U.S. citizens to travel to Cuba for business purposes under specific licenses.

¹² According to estimates, the losses caused by the drought in 2004 totaled \$835 million, representing 2.5 percent of Cuba's gross domestic product. Grogg, "Cuba: Food Aid for Victims of Worst Drought Since 1901," June 20, 2007, and Marx, "In Cuba, Drought Hits Crisis Level," July 25, 2004.

poultry. Domestic food production shortfalls in the wake of three major hurricanes that hit Cuba during 2008 influenced these volume increases.

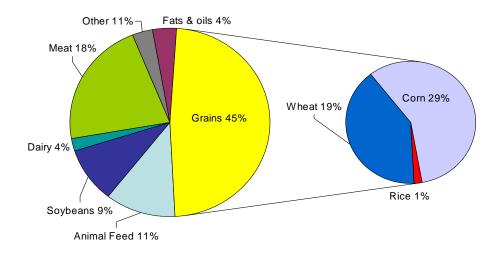
Figure 1 reflects the importance of the U.S. agricultural products to Cuba. Since 2003, the United States has supplied more agricultural products annually to Cuba than any other country, accounting for 35 percent of all Cuban agricultural imports during 2003–08. Brazil recently became the United States' largest competitor in the Cuban market, assuming the number two position behind the European Union (EU). Since 2003, the United States, the EU, Brazil, and Canada have accounted for roughly 70 percent of all agricultural imports by Cuba (appendix table A.3).

The major product categories of U.S. agricultural products purchased by Cuba in 2008 are shown in figure 2 and appendix table A2. In 2008, the largest imports were of corn and wheat. U.S. rice exports all but disappeared in 2008, largely because of competition from Vietnam. Meat, consisting almost exclusively of chicken leg-quarters; animal feed, mostly soybean meal; and soybeans are other important products. The vast majority of U.S. agricultural exports are bulk commodities (e.g., wheat, corn, and soybeans), with relatively little high-valued added food products, such as fresh fruits and vegetables, beef, pork, eggs, and processed foods. The majority of Cuban imports from the United States are consumed by Cuban citizens, with a small share going to the tourist market.

Factors Affecting Cuban Purchases of U.S. Agricultural Products

All Cuban imports of U.S. agricultural products are controlled by a state-trading entity, Alimport, which considers economic and noneconomic factors in its food purchasing decisions (box 2). Therefore, even though the United States is, for many products, the most competitive supplier for Cuba in terms of price, quality, and delivery terms, Alimport considers such noncommercial factors as diversifying import suppliers and strengthening strategic geopolitical relationships. Cuba's purchases are also allegedly geared to particular U.S. states or congressional districts in an effort to heighten local interest in pressing the U.S. Congress to normalize trade with Cuba.

FIGURE 2 Cuban Agricultural Imports from the United States, 2008



Source: Global Trade Atlas.

BOX 2 Summary of competitive factors affecting U.S. agricultural exports to Cuba

Factors strengthening the competitive position of U.S. agricultural products in the Cuban market

- U.S. exporters offer competitive prices and high-quality products.
- U.S. exporters benefit from lower costs of delivery than competing suppliers because of the proximity of U.S. ports to Cuba, the marketing and transportation efficiency of the U.S. agricultural system, and the handling capacity of U.S. ports.
- U.S. exporters can provide smaller volumes of individual shipments on a just-in-time basis to smaller Cuban ports. Delivery
 of smaller volumes on a timely basis is especially attractive because of Cuba's lack of domestic storage capacity and poor
 internal transportation infrastructure.

Factors weakening the competitive position of U.S. agricultural products in the Cuban market

- U.S. exporters cannot offer credit to Cuba for the purchase of U.S. products. Most U.S. competitors make concessions
 regarding trade financing with Cuba.
- U.S. regulations require U.S. exports to be paid "cash in advance." Payments are made through letters of credit channeled through third-country banks. The regulations appear to be more of a concern to small and medium-sized exporters than the multinationals because many do not have established commercial relationships with the appropriate foreign banks.
- When purchasing U.S. products, Alimport may incur additional storage and demurrage costs if the transactions paperwork is not completed on schedule.
- U.S. exporters wishing to travel to Cuba in order to complete sales contracts find the travel licensing process to be cumbersome, nontransparent, and time consuming.
- The United States restricts visits by Cubans for sales negotiations and for SPS inspections of U.S. products and processing facilities.
- U.S. agricultural trade associations cannot use industry generated funds and USDA Market Access Program money for market research and promotion activities in Cuba.
- U.S. regulations penalize foreign vessels that dock in Cuban ports, resulting is less competition among carriers and higher maritime transportation costs.
- The Cuban government makes purchases from certain countries based on geopolitical motivations.

Sources: USITC, U.S. Agricultural Sales to Cuba, July 2007. Information based on interviews with the principal U.S. exporters and shippers to Cuba; academic studies; testimony at the Commission's public hearing; written submissions; and staff travel to Cuba.

Estimated Effects of Lifting the Restrictions on Financing and Travel

Removing the financing restrictions will lower Cuba's cost of purchasing U.S. products and therefore lead to increased sales. Similarly, if travel restrictions were lifted, not just on Cuban-Americans, but all on U.S. citizens, the influx of U.S. tourists would be huge. These tourists would boost the demand for imported agricultural products, particularly higher-valued products from the United States, and bring more hard currency into the country, allowing Alimport to buy more U.S. agricultural products for the domestic Cuban population.

Because of data limitations and the nonmarket aspects of Cuban purchasing decisions, the overall effect of removing restrictions on U.S. exports to Cuba is difficult to quantify. Estimates of what U.S. sales of agricultural products to Cuba would have been in 2008 if there had been no financing restrictions and no ban on any U.S. citizen traveling to Cuba, based on interviews with Cuban purchasing officials, sector modeling results, and discussions with U.S. industry officials, are reported in table 1.¹⁵

In 2008, Cuba imported roughly \$1.8 billion in agricultural products, of which \$708 million came from the United States. With restrictions lifted, U.S. exports would have been approximately \$924 million to \$1.2 billion, an increase of \$216–478 million. In terms of share, the actual U.S. share was 38 percent. Absent the restrictions, the share would have been 49–64 percent.

¹³ As reported in the 2007 report, staff interviews and analysis indicate that such costs could be lower by 2.5–10 percent of the purchase price, depending on the commodity sector.

¹⁴ The number of additional U.S. tourists arriving in Cuba annually, following removal of the travel ban, is estimated to be between 500,000 and 1 million.

¹⁵ The method and assumptions used for estimating the effects are the same as described in the 2007 USITC report. The analysis assumed no change in current U.S. investment policy toward Cuba, i.e., U.S. investment in Cuba remains prohibited, or policy changes within Cuba. Specific assumptions used in this updated analysis, such as the cost to exporters of financing restrictions, food expenditure patterns by Cubans and tourists, and responsiveness of trade flows to price changes, are described in appendix G of the 2007 USITC report.

TABLE 1 Estimated effects of removing all U.S. financing and travel restrictions on U.S. agricultural exports to Cuba

	•	Ŭ	Estimated Cuban	•		
	Actual Cuban imports	Actual U.S. share	imports from the	Estimated U.S.		
	from the United	of Cuban imports	United States	share of Cuban		
Selected commodity	States in 2008	in 2008	in 2008	imports in 2008		
	With restri	ictions	Without restrictions			
	Million \$	Percent	Million \$	Percent		
All products	708	38	924 - 1,186	49 - 64		
Wheat	137	42	172 - 209	54 - 67		
Rice	3	2	20 - 51	15 - 39		
Corn	196	100	188 - 194	100		
Animal feed	81	54	97 - 109	65 - 75		
Soybeans	67	100	64 - 66	100		
Fats and oils	28	20	43 - 70	30 - 50		
Dry beans	0	0	14 - 39	13 - 38		
Poultry	136	80	145 - 152	86 - 91		
Beef	0.5	1.7	8 - 13	25 - 38		
Pork	13	46	18 - 22	59 - 70		
Milk powder	13	6	39 - 87	18 - 42		
Processed foods	2	2	31 - 57	32 - 54		
Fish products	0	0	11 - 22	32 - 54		

Source: Global Trade Atlas and author's estimates.

Note: Summing the individual partial equilibrium results for each commodity to obtain the total effect of removing restrictions is not supported by economic theory. The individual partial equilibrium results assume that prices in other markets remain constant and do not consider cross-commodity substitution.

For individual products, U.S. foodgrains exports would have been significantly higher absent the restrictions: wheat by \$35–72 million, rice by \$17–48 million. The effect is less for products for which the United States already had a very high share of the Cuban market in 2008, such as corn, soybeans, and poultry. Also, products largely destined for the tourist market show small, but not insignificant, gains, such as processed foods (\$29–55 million) and red meats, beef, and pork (\$12–21 million). Eliminating financing restrictions on U.S. agricultural exports would likely have a larger impact on U.S. agricultural sales than lifting the travel restrictions on U.S. citizens because most imported food from the United States consists of bulk commodities sold to Cubans rather than foods sold to tourists. ¹⁶

¹⁶ Differences between the effects of lifting financing and travel restrictions on U.S. agricultural exports to Cuba shown in the 2007 report and those presented above stem largely from differences between 2006 and 2008 trade flows on which the analysis is based. Also, the expected number of U.S. travelers to Cuba used to estimate U.S. agricultural sales absent the travel ban is revised based on new tourism statistics and recently published academic research. Nevertheless, comparing the effects on the U.S. shares of Cuba's agricultural commodity imports in the 2007 report with those presented above shows shares of similar magnitude. The results presented here are also consistent with those presented in 2007 with respect to the individual commodities.

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TABLE A.1 Cuban agricultural, fish, and forestry imports from the world, by commodity, 2000–2008 (million US\$)

Commodity	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Grains	180	190	210	193	239	247	239	359	574
Wheat & flour	133	146	134	146	111	142	128	199	323
Corn	8	13	30	36	61	64	57	110	196
Rice	39	30	47	11	67	41	51	50	55
Other grains	(^a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	2	1	0
Animal feed	33	28	29	31	52	50	59	93	151
Soybeans	3	7	25	35	40	40	32	41	67
Fats and oils	33	31	39	68	56	84	39	82	145
Dry beans	35	39	52	55	64	63	82	73	106
Meats	56	72	75	79	155	141	159	167	251
Poultry	33	41	48	52	103	86	69	103	169
Beef	4	5	6	8	25	19	42	21	30
Pork	13	18	14	11	16	26	34	23	28
Other meat	6	9	7	7	11	10	15	20	24
Eggs	(a)	(a)	1	1	1	(a)	(a)	0	2
Dairy products	88	95	79	102	134	176	148	207	236
Sugar, cane or beet	(a)	12	13	32	11	31	69	59	33
Processed food	36	38	43	65	64	59	68	76	89
Fish and seafood	29	31	17	14	23	27	27	32	30
Paper and wood	22	33	35	44	50	50	62	64	76
Other	32	28	33	38	46	75	59	92	113
Total	550	603	650	756	937	1,044	1,042	1,345	1,873

Source: Compiled from Global Trade Atlas (Mirror data), accessed April 20, 2009.

Note: Due to rounding, numbers may not add to total.

TABLE A.2 Cuban agricultural, fish, and forestry imports from the United States, by commodity, 2000–2008 (million US\$)

Commodity	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Grains	0	2	52	83	180	146	126	204	340
Wheat & flour	0	0	23	37	58	52	47	71	137
Corn	0	0	0	36	58	55	40	109	196
Rice	(a)	2	6	11	64	39	39	24	7
Other grains	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Animal feed	0	0	19	26	36	24	42	72	81
Soybeans	0	0	21	34	28	33	32	41	67
Fats and oils	0	0	22	52	24	28	22	22	28
Dry beans	0	0	(a)	1	8	12	23	2	0
Meats	0	2	(a)	38	64	66	59	85	153
Poultry	0	2	0	37	61	58	45	78	136
Beef	0	0	(a)	0	0	0	0	1	1
Pork	0	0	(a)	0	2	8	14	6	13
Other meat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Eggs	0	0	(a)	1	1	0	0	0	0
Dairy products	0	0	(a)	0	27	30	13	0	15
Sugar, cane or beet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Processed food	0	0	(a)	12	10	2	1	1	2
Fish and seafood	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Paper and wood	0	0	(a)	5	10	6	10	9	16
Other	0	0	(a)	3	5	5	2	3	4
Total	(a)	4	140	254	392	352	330	438	707

Source: Compiled from Global Trade Atlas (Mirror data), accessed April 20, 2009.

Note: Due to rounding, numbers may not add to total.

^aLess than \$1 million.

^aLess than \$1 million.

TABLE A.3 Cuban agricultural, fish, and forestry imports by major supplier, 2003-08 (million US\$)

Supplier	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
United States	(a)	4	140	254	392	351	330	438	707
Brazil	22	58	41	27	62	110	149	183	345
EU27	273	238	209	239	164	171	169	180	194
Canada	74	84	62	41	63	79	67	98	180
New Zealand	6	44	30	39	54	40	43	83	87
Uruguay	0	0	(a)	(a)	8	31	36	51	64
China	70	59	87	47	32	57	52	82	61
Chile	28	22	28	30	42	36	41	48	53
Argentina	41	36	13	12	68	72	72	71	48
Other	7	25	25	67	51	97	82	112	135
World	550	603	650	756	937	1,044	1,042	1,345	1,873

Source: Compiled from Global Trade Atlas (Mirror data), accessed April 20, 2009.

^aLess than \$1 million.