

CHAPTER III
THE US FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD CUBA SINCE PRESIDENT
JOHNSON UNTIL GEORGE W. BUSH

In this chapter I will explain the US foreign policy toward Cuba since president Johnson until George W. Bush that consists of three sections. First about the beginning of the US and Cuba relation: the overthrow of Fulgencio Batista and the revolutionary movement by Fidel. Second about the beginning of the US economic embargo: diplomatic disengagement, bay of pig invasion, economic embargo and Cuban missile crisis. Third, about the stagnation of the US foreign policy that is explained through dividing some policy that impose toward Cuba before and after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Figure 3.1. Map of the US - Cuba⁵⁵



⁵⁵ Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training. Retrived December 30, 2015, from Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training - Moments in U.S. Diplomatic History: <http://adst.org/2014/12/re-establishing-ties-with-cuba-1977>

A. The beginning of the US and Cuba relations

Cuba is one of Latin America countries that was once occupied by Spain, a country that has many of colonial territories from America to Asia continent at the time, since seventeenth-century until the early nineteenth-century. After a fourth - century of the US independent from English colony, Cuba is still under the Spanish empire.⁵⁶ Here, the relations between the US and Cuba is started. The US saw the umpteenth rebellion undertaken by Cuba against Spain in 1985. By looking at the economic potential in Cuba and many American businessmen dealing with Cuba, it has become one of the reasons the US was indirectly involved in the war between Cuba and Spain.

Under the US president James Monroe, through Monroe doctrine, the political gravitation of the US would draw Cuba. The purpose of the doctrine is to limit the power of European countries in the Americas, in order to make America free from European dominance again. The US will be at war if the countries of Europe fight in the American continent because it would be considered as a threat to the US peace. This is one of the reasons the US intervene in Cuba-Spain war. Here, Monroe tends to think about intervention and it is the responsibility of the US in its neighbor hemisphere.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Dunne, M. Ending the hegemonic presumption'? Recent writings on US-Cuban relations. *International Affair*, 2013: 159-173.

⁵⁷ Eugene R. Wittkopf, Christopher M., op. cit.

For the first 25 years of the US presidents, Cuba is as a territory in economic, military and political reason that is important for the US and should need to be under the US control.⁵⁸ In 1808, Thomas Jefferson and his cabinet think that Cuba would better remain under Spain. However in 1823 Thomas Jefferson and his secretary of State John Adams said that Cuba offered an opportunity for commerce and politics.⁵⁹ In 1770 the US and Cuba had a reciprocal relation that they needed each other as the primary market, like sugar and tobacco. In addition, Cuba's harbor was important to the US as their defense in the first line. All of it makes the US interested toward Cuba. Seeing Cuba strategically and economically will give benefit for the US.

Seeing Cuba is condition under Spain, the US felt that it could not be ignored. The consideration was not only about the interest of the US in Cuba but also how it would be effective for the Americans in Cuba. In 1898, the US tried to purchase Cuba from Spain but failed. From here, the US felt that the way that could do is intervention in Cuba. President McKinley asks the congress to declare war, but it was denied because it would not result for Cuba independence.⁶⁰ After that, the US guaranteed the war would bring the Cuban independent and Spain should take their control and military in Cuba. In addition the US would not control Cuba when the war was over.

⁵⁸ Provest, G. op. cit.

⁵⁹ Holmes, Ann Marie. *The United States and Cuba 1898 - 1959*. Hawaii Pacific University , 2009. P. 11

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 16.

Finally, the US declared war against Spain through the congress announcement. The US intervention in Cuba – Spain war 1898 was won by the US. Having involved in the conflict, the US and Spain signed peace treaty 1898. It was the first for the US to make an agreement with Cuba that was known as Platt Amendment. Platt Amendment itself was as the form of the US intervention; in return the US had helped Cuba. According to the US, there is right to dominate the island under political, economic, and military reason.⁶¹ The content of Platt Amendment is such as the prohibition of Cuba diplomacy with other countries, the Cuban economy is regulated by the US, the US allowed to intervene in Cuba, and Cuba must sell Guantanamo bay as a naval base for the US.⁶²

1. The overthrow of Batista government (January, 1st 1959)

Formally, Cuba gained independence in 1902, although the Platt Amendment limited their independence. Through Platt Amendment, the US can manage to control Cuba at that time. Cuba handed by the US is proven that at the time when Cuba got independence, Guantanamo bay and Bahia Honda of Cuba were used as a US military base.⁶³ Previously, the borrowing of the bay is stated in the Platt Amendment. Not only it, the US was also involved in the Cuban presidential election. However, the power

⁶¹ Provest, G. op. cit.

⁶² *Encyclopedia Britannica*. 1901. Retrieved November 8, 2015 from: <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Platt-Amendment>

⁶³ Slee, Chris. *Cuba: How The Workers And Peasants Made The Revolution*. Australia: Resistance Books , 2008. P. 5.

of the US against Cuba began slightly weaken after Platt amendment abolished in 1934 under the government of President Roosevelt.

After the abolishment Platt amendment, the US was still trying to control Cuba through the Cuban leaders who were pro to the US, such as Fulgencio Batista. Batista is the ninth president of Cuba in 1940 and became president in the second time in 1952. Batista said that Cuban wanted to be close to the US and promised that he would protect the direct investment of the US in Cuba.⁶⁴ Under Batista, bilateral relations between the US and Cuba were good and tended to be stronger. Moreover Batista adopted Capitalist ideology.

The main purpose of Cuba to have diplomatic relation with the US is to obtain economic and military aid. The US responded it because the US's purpose was to give political influence in Latin America. The US tried to strengthen their influence by providing military assistance to the government of Cuba. Batista used the US aid to maintain his power in Cuba. Actually, without the help from the US, Batista would not have a full government. It means that there was a reciprocal relationship here, not only providing aid to Cuba but also could being always involved and controlling the political domestic of Cuba.

Previously, Batista made several coups. One of the coups was against the fifth president of Cuba, Gerardo Machado who ruled with dictators and a corrupt person. Following the coup that Batista did in Cuba,

⁶⁴ McGuigan, Michael P. *Fulgencio Batista's Economic Policies, 1952 - 1958*. Florida : University of Miami , 2012. P. 95.

he also looked for recognition from the US and other countries. After Batista stated that he would not interfere the US interests in Cuba, the U.S. State Department recognized the government of Batista in Cuba.⁶⁵ From the coup and recognition for the Batista government, Cuban international trade relationships were widespread with lowering tariff and barrier. For example is the trading with the US in 1953, in which Cuba bought munitions, aircraft, and weapons.⁶⁶

As the time went by, due to the US intervention and domination in Cuba, a political and economic condition in Cuba was unstable. In addition, with his power Batista had done bribery and corruption. Its impact was felt by the Cuban society. Batista's dictatorship and corruption were more than what Machado did. Unemployment, salary cuts, and layoffs were several conditions characterized Cuba at the time. The current condition of Cuba was in deficit and high on expenditure. It triggered the emergence of resistance from every element. One of it is the rise of Fidel Castro's revolutionary movement.

There was a rising anti-American stance, as the Cuban people opposed the intervention of foreign nations, and wanted to overthrow Batista. Cuban activists from student group led by Fidel Castro supported these demands.⁶⁷ They planned to overthrow Batista. Finally, on January 1st, 1959, Fidel successfully overthrew Batista, who then fled from

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 96.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 146.

⁶⁷ Slee, op. cit. p. 9

Cuba.⁶⁸ Eventually, after Cuban revolutionary in February 1959, Fidel became the new leader of Cuba. The US government debated on how to deal with Castro radicalism. The US efforts in the domination of Cuba were hampered after Fidel Castro's leadership.

2. The revolutionary movement by Fidel Castro (1953-1959)

Fidel and his supporters in the mission of overthrowing Batista regime had taken many efforts. On July 26th Movement, Fidel met with Che Guevara and planned tactics to overthrow Batista⁶⁹. After the success of Castro revolution that was also helped by Che-Guevara as the revolutionary from South America, they conquered Batista dictatorship in December 1956. At the time, the US continued to support Batista. However, the corruption and greed that occurred in the government of Batista made the US withdraw its support for Batista slowly. The US began to look for other alternatives. Since November, the US had been looking for steps to remove Batista in order to prevent Fidel from taking power in there.⁷⁰ In the early phase after the overthrow of Batista, Castro can only be commander in chief.

In the end of 1959, power over Cuba has been focused entirely on Fidel Castro's hand. By seeing it, the US recognized the existence of Cuba

⁶⁸ Mooney, Matthew. *On the brinks: From the Bay of Pigs to the Cuban Missile Crisis. United State History 1959-1962*, 2006. p

⁶⁹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved December 30, 2015, from Encyclopedia Britannica - Fidel: Political Leader of Cuba: <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Fidel-Castro>

⁷⁰ Slee, op. cit. p. 23.

under the new administration. The supporters of Castro moved quickly to solidify their power, thus making the US government worried. This was due to the growing boldness of Castro nationalizing foreign companies which are in Cuba. In addition, there were supporters of the Cuban society who were against Castro's revolution, begun to grow in the late 1950s. The US was suspicious of Castro, who would interfere with the US investments and property interest in Cuba.

Fidel Castro's leadership became a new obstacle for the US during 1959. The government of Cuba would take benefits for the poor. Started by executing followers of Batista, arresting the cabinet ministers of Batista, and passing a law about agrarian reform that limited land ownership and prohibited foreign ownership of land. By that kind of policy, the economic of Cuba tended to be socialist. This was incompatible with the United States that had liberal ideology. In the end, the trading process between Cuba and the US was really prohibited. Therefore, Cuba made an agreement with the Soviet Union to sell cheap oil to Cuba.⁷¹

Castro founded the National Institute of Agrarian Reform in 1959 and led by him. That agrarian reform contained the land of the Cuban people owned by foreigners then became the land of State and then divided far the family that did not have land. In August 1960, all US-owned industrial and

⁷¹ Slee, op. cit. p. 27

agrarian enterprises were nationalized.⁷² The Castro actions especially in nationalizing foreign firm in Cuba, worried the US government. As a result, the US under D. Eisenhower took the decision to diplomatic relations disengagement toward Cuba on 3rd June 1961.

B. The beginning of the US embargo toward Cuba

Before the US enforced the embargo against Cuba as sanctions to isolate Cuba, there was a series of events that occurred. Such as starting with the diplomatic relations disengagement, the bay of pig invasion, Cuban missile crisis, and Cuba that was closer to the Soviet Union. Finally, in 1962 the sanctions of economic embargo against Cuba appeared.

1. Disengagement of Diplomatic Relations (January, 3rd 1961)

Since the success of Fidel in overthrowing Batista on 1st January 1959, the relations between the US and Cuba began to worsen. In addition, agrarian reform and nationalization of the economy, particularly the nationalization of the Washington assets, the bilateral relation of both countries got more deteriorated. Not only that, Cuba also took over an oil refinery belonging to the US, because oil refineries that the US owned in Cuba refused to produce oil. All of this ultimately led the US to give

⁷² Slee. Op. cit. p. 28

diplomatic disengagement on January 3rd, 1961 and the closing of embassies in Cuba under president D. Eisenhower.

Immediately, Cuba established a relation with the Soviet Union in order to fight against the policies of Eisenhower. The signing of a pact by Castro and Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev marked the relationship. The pact allowing Cuba to receive a number of economic and military aids from the Soviet Union. The increasing relations between Cuba and the Soviet Union worried the position of the US in Latin America, especially in Cuba. For the response, the US increased economic retaliation by D. Eisenhower by cutting sugar import quotas and ban almost all exports to Cuba.⁷³ In 1963 by President Kennedy gave a full economic embargo and travel restriction toward Cuba.

Previously in 1960, Eisenhower administration and the CIA arrange a secret operation to overthrow the Castro regime. However, the secret operation known as the bay of pig invasion could not be done. It is because Eisenhower's tenure in the end of 1960 had exhausted as the US President. Because of it, the next president, John Kennedy, did the bay of pig invasion. However, this operation failed due to a failure in decision-making. The failure of the bay of pig invasion made Castro became famous and strong.

⁷³ Lee, Brianna. Op. cit.

2. The Bay of Pig Invasion (April, 17th 1961)

Kennedy took office as president, replacing Eisenhower in 1961 to 1963. In the early days of his administration, Kennedy continued secret operations, the Bay of Pigs invasion. The Bay of Pigs invasion is one of the cold war histories that is still studied and debated until today.⁷⁴ Preparation of the US to continue the invasion was by conducting training to people who had previously tried to escape from Cuba. However, the two spies of the Soviet Union already knew the secret operation. Fidel also knows and can do prevention first. Finally, the secret attacks that were known as the bay of pig invasion failed.

The failure of the US invasion became an international world debate. It made the Soviet Union not happy with what the US did against one of its allies, Cuba. It was one of the factors that made the Soviet Union build missiles in Cuba. Nikita Khrushchev then looked for ways to protect its allies and to balance forces with the US. The Soviet Union stationed the missile in Cuba close to the US after they saw the US putting the missile in Turkey, a country that is close to the Soviet Union.⁷⁵ Ultimately posing new problems, the tension between the Soviet Union and the US increasingly raised. Eventually it led to the events of the Cuban missile crisis, one conflict that characterized the cold war.

⁷⁴ Dallek, R. (2011, August 22). *The Untold Story of the Bay of Pigs*. Retrieved November 9, 2015, from The National Security Archive: http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB355/NewsweekMagazine.20.11.08.22_26-28.pdf

⁷⁵ Mooney, op. cit.

3. The Imposition of Economic Embargo (February, 3rd 1962)

Since the diplomatic disengagement toward Cuba, the US made an alliance with other countries, especially with Latin America countries to isolate Cuba from international politics. To respond to what the US did, Cuba made relations with the Soviet Union deeper. The relation was through the Soviet Union giving military and economic aid, like buying sugar from Cuba and giving loans several million dollars. Unfortunately, Kennedy had taken the decision to abolish the Cuban sugar quota export to the US. After seeing the political and military of Cuba's relation with the Soviet Union, on February 1962 the Organization of American States (OAS) decided to suspend Cuba's membership.⁷⁶

As the Cuban leader, Fidel tended not to care and not interested in returning Cuba in OAS. Increased Cuban relations with the Soviet Union showed that the Cuban government led to the socialist. The Soviet Union began to play a role in Cuba and the capitalist system was replaced by the socialist system. It made Cuba as the first country that turned into a communist state in the Western hemisphere. Thus, there was an effort to stem communism and against the Fidel government. President Eisenhower took the decision to give the economic policy that banned all forms of trading products except food and medicine to Cuba.

⁷⁶ *Americas Quarterly*. (2009). Retrieved November 11, 2015, from Americas Quarterly - The OAS should not have lifted the 1962 suspension of Cuba's membership: <http://www.americasquarterly.org/carlos-alberto-montaner-no-cuba>

On February 3rd, 1962, Kennedy gave a proclamation on Trade Embargo toward Cuba.⁷⁷ Giving the economic embargo was done to isolate Cuba relations with the hemisphere and it made Cuba in trouble. Not only it, Kennedy also started to reject Cuba from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).⁷⁸ So, the diplomatic disengagement and economic embargo became the part of the US foreign policy during the cold war and even the collapse of the Soviet Union.⁷⁹

4. The Cuban Missile Crisis (July 1962)

The Cuban missile crisis was the culmination of confrontation between the US and the Soviet Union that occurred in Cuba in the Cold War era. This crisis occurred after the Bay of Pigs invasion. From the Bay of Pigs invasion, Castro was still doubtful if the US would invade again to stop communism there. Thus, the Soviet Union with Khrushchev proposal would help Cuba by placing missiles in Cuba secretly to offset the power of the US. The Cuban missile was built in mid-July 1962 and built 90 Miles from the US.⁸⁰ Besides that, the US has built its missiles in Turkey as well as closer to the Soviet Union, with consideration that it would

⁷⁷ Woolley, G. P. (1962, February 3). The American Presidency Project. Retrieved November 11, 2015, from John F. Kennedy: Proclamation 3447 - Embargo on All Trade with Cuba: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=58824>

⁷⁸ Rabe, S. G. op. cit.

⁷⁹ Lee, op. cit.

⁸⁰ Rabe, op. cit.

endanger the Soviet Union. However, the US through his spies found the site of the missile and saw the Russian ship carrying missiles.⁸¹

The US blockaded the international waters as the response of the Soviet Union missile in Cuba. The Soviet Union provided a political offer to the US government, to prevent political conflict that could lead to nuclear war. The political offer of the Soviet Union was that they would withdraw its weapons on condition that the US government would not invade Cuba and withdraw its weapons from nuclear missile bases in Turkey. Eventually, the US agreed to the proposal on the grounds of protecting the US from nuclear attack. The Soviet Union also agreed to remove its missiles. The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 brought the United States and the Soviet Union in direct confrontation against Cuba.

C. The stagnation of the US foreign policy

Even though after ten times of the turn of the US president, from the termination in 1961 by President Eisenhower, the relationship between the US and Cuba was full of dynamic. The early history, President Eisenhower gave disengagement relation and President Kennedy imposed the economic embargo. After president Kennedy, a series of events was occurring between both countries. Unfortunately, from president Johnson to President George W. Bush, the relations between the two countries

⁸¹ Mooney, op. cit

remained in place. A series of different policies were applied, essentially to make Cuba a democratic state but in a different way failed.

There was a statement released by the White House website, which was full of tools used to make a positive change in Cuba. However, what happened before was an effect on today that Cuba still did no change.

“It is clear that decades of U.S. isolation of Cuba have failed to accomplish our enduring objective of promoting the emergence of a democratic, prosperous, and stable Cuba. At times, long standing U.S. policy towards Cuba has isolated the United States from regional and international partners, constrained our ability to influence outcomes throughout the Western Hemisphere, and impaired the use of the full range of tools available to the United States to promote positive change in Cuba. Though this policy has been rooted in the best of intentions, it has had little effect – today, as in 1961, Cuba is governed by the Castros and the Communist party.”⁸²

Today, under President Obama, the US wanted to change with different ways through engaging and empowering Cuban people in his official speech on 17th December 2014 last year. Ten presidents of the US before president Obama tended to pressure Cuba with their policy, but Obama tended to re-establish relation with Cuba.

1. Before the Collapse of Soviet Union

The relations between the US and Cuba was in a tense when Fidel took a power of Cuba and declared it as a communist state. It

⁸² *The White House*. Charting a new Course on Cuba. December 17, 2014. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/foreign-policy/cuba> (accessed April 3, 2015).

coincided with the determination of communism as a global threat. In the era of President Eisenhower, the US tried to overthrow Fidel through arms shipments but failed against Fidel's rebellion. In the era of Kennedy, invasion had been prepared when Eisenhower took office, but conducted by Kennedy that was known as the Bay of Pig invasion, also failed to overthrow Fidel. In the era of President Lyndon B. Johnson, continues to support in overthrow of Fidel by keeping his promise to Kennedy not to do another invasion again.⁸³

The foreign policy of LB Johnson to isolate Cuba still was the priority⁸⁴. The OAS member countries were taking steps to give economic sanction through suspending commercial and breaking diplomatic relation toward Cuba.⁸⁵ It is because there was arm warehouse that was found in Venezuela and as original arms from Cuba. President Johnson's effort to isolate Cuba was reflected in preventing the emergence of other countries such as Cuba. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs in Johnson era, Thomas Mann, was a release of 'Mann doctrine'. Mann Doctrine

⁸³ *Npr web*. (2006, August 4). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from npr web - 10 Presidents, One Dictator: U.S.-Cuba Policy: <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5615898>

⁸⁴ *Uppress web*. (2010, April 4). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from University of Pittsburgh Press: The Making of an Embargo - U.S.-Cuban Relations, 1959–1980: <https://www.upress.pitt.edu/htmlSourceFiles/pdfs/9780822958635exr.pdf>

⁸⁵ *Archive U.S. Department of State*. (n.d.). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from Archive U.S. Department of State - Foreign Relations, 1964-1968, Volume XXXI, South and Central America; Mexico: <http://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/johnsonlb/xxx1/36365.htm>

affirmed that the US would support the military regimes in inter-America to help spread the anti-communist.⁸⁶

The Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966 is a law signed by president Johnson for Cuban people allowed to settle in the US It means helping residents escape from Castro regime. There were 123,000 Cubans obtaining their license to stay as a permanent resident in the US. Johnson looked for ways to accommodate residents of Cuba in Florida, through a memorandum of understanding signed on 6 December 1965. The Memorandum of Understanding would allow some residents to fly from Cuba to the US.⁸⁷

Richard Nixon, the US president in 1969-1974, had shifted his desire to overthrow Castro to more focus on the war in Vietnam. Actually, in the end of Johnson's administration, the US had more attention to the Vietnam War. So in Nixon administration, there is no new policy development in the issue of Cuba.⁸⁸ Nixon and Henry Kissinger as Nixon's chief foreign policy adviser saw Latin America, particularly Cuba, was less important and ignored.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ *Cal Poly Pomona web*. (n.d.). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from Cal Poly Pomona university - The Cold War Period lasted from 1945 to 1991: <https://www.cpp.edu/~jmvadi/454/The%20Cold%20War.html>

⁸⁷ *Counterpunch web*. (2015, August 28). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from Counterpunch web - The Cuban Adjustment Act: the Other Immigration Mess: <http://www.counterpunch.org/2015/08/28/the-cuban-adjustment-act-the-other-immigration-mess/>

⁸⁸ *Npr web*, op. cit.

⁸⁹ *Uppress web*, op. cit

Cuba's relations with the Soviet Union were still underway, causing the US policy against Cuba unnecessary to be changed.

In the era of president Gerald Ford, Ford wanted a normal relation with the government of Cuba. The resignation of Richard Nixon makes Ford then as the new US president during 1974-1977. Therefore, like Obama today who has managed to normalize relations with Cuba, in the Ford also wanted to normalize relation with Cuba. Secret talks between both countries resulted in an opinion that there was economic potential and they could run through a trade opening.⁹⁰

Jonathan Bingham as the chairman of International Trade and Commerce Subcommittee supported in lifting the embargo. In 1975, the members of OAS vote in lifting organization sanction that had been given at Johnson era.⁹¹ Unfortunately, in the end of 1975, Cuba was involved in the civil war in Angola with Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. In addition, Cuba was also involved in supporting the Puerto Rican independence movement.⁹² Eventually the desire to normalize relations with Cuba had failed.

Besides, in president Jimmy Carter era, the US also wanted to normalize relation with Cuba. However, this planning also failed

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹² *Npr web, op. cit.*

because Cuba sent troops to Ethiopia.⁹³ It was enough to show the desires to achieve normalization between both countries has been attempted. Unfortunately, the troops had been found by the US and identified in the 1960s. Several approaches had been made like Carter began to lift restrictions on travel to Cuba for the US citizens and signing agreement about fishing and maritime boundaries.⁹⁴

The Refugee Act is a law that was signed by Jimmy Carter to ease the process of immigration for Cuban in April 1980.⁹⁵ However, these laws were not really intended for Cuba, but the number of Cuban people that wanted to immigrate to the US was high. Here, the Cuban people who had been in the US could visit their friends or family to Cuba.⁹⁶ Incidentally, there were 125,000 refugees who stayed in Florida and Cuban who left the island allowed by Castro.⁹⁷

There was Grenada intervention in the Ronald Reagan era (1981-1989). The Grenada intervention was the involvement of the US and Cuba troops in a battle. It made the US know about the airstrip of military aircraft of the Soviet Union in Grenada.⁹⁸ President Reagan also knew that Cuban supported the El Salvador rebellion. However, there was also some friendly gesture toward

⁹³ *ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Uppress web, op. cit*

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Counterpunch web, op. cit*

⁹⁷ *Npr web, op. cit.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

Cuba like there was Gist Document, as a policy that Reagan should do. In addition, there was an invitation for the Cuban officials to go the white house during the last twenty years.⁹⁹

The problem about Cuba in Reagan era made the relation between the US and the Soviet Union better than before. Actually, in the Reagan era, the US tended to push Cuba in negotiating table and through *Reagan Doctrine*.¹⁰⁰ Reagan Doctrine was Reagan foreign policy as the foundation supported "freedom fighters" as self-defense.¹⁰¹ So in the Reagan era, there was something that could be achieved like evacuating all Cuban troops in Angola, criticizing human right in Cuba, and implementing Immigration agreement. However, the US failed in the termination of Cuban support against the guerrillas in Central America. It was because the Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement before that should not be involved in a military conflict.¹⁰²

2. After the Collapse of Soviet Union

The Collapse of the Soviet Union was as a sign of the end of the Cold War. Previously, Cuba was a threat to the US because of

⁹⁹ Cova, A. R. (n.d.). President Reagan And The World - U.S.-Cuba Relations during the Reagan Administration. (N. D. Eric J. Schmertz, Ed.) latina merican studies.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid*

¹⁰¹ *History web*. (1985, February 6). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from The "Reagan Doctrine" is announced: <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/the-reagan-doctrine-is-announced>

¹⁰² Cova, A. R., op. cit.

its center of the Soviet Union in the west hemisphere. In addition, Cuba was a radical government that threatened the global US interests.¹⁰³ After the collapse, Cuba was no longer a threat to the US security because the global politic had changed. The US sanction toward Cuba was a norm that had been set since the era of President Eisenhower. By seeing it, the relations between the US and Cuba was stagnant. Every effort that was done toward Cuba still could not change Cuba like the interest of the US.

George W. Bush was the US president after Ronald Reagan for 1989-1993. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 no longer made the Cuba as the corner of Soviets in the western hemisphere. However, Cuba was not a threat to the US. In the H. W. Bush era, the US tended to tighten the economic embargo. It was done to quickly overthrow Castro regime through the prohibition on trading and travel to Cuba.¹⁰⁴ Different with Reagan era that could reach the result of the US and Cuba relation, H.W. Bush era was in trouble. The immigration agreement that had been set in the Reagan era ignored by Cubans.¹⁰⁵

The next president after H.W. Bush was Bill Clinton. There was a vision toward Latin America to promote democracy and

¹⁰³ David, Bernell. The curious case of Cuba in American foreign policy. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* vol. 36, no. 2 (1994): 65.

¹⁰⁴ *Npr web*, op. cit.

¹⁰⁵ Cova, A. R., op. cit.

economic integration based on free trade by Clinton.¹⁰⁶ This vision was considered failed because the implementation of liberal-economic in Latin America made several countries in trouble. It was proven when George W. Bush attended a fourth summit of the Americas in 2005. All of FTAA countries have died. It happened also toward Cuba. The sign of Cuban liberty and Helm–Burton 1996 into law and the tightening embargo, made the US–Cuban relation remains in tense and unresolved.¹⁰⁷

Bill Clinton as the third president after Jimmy Charter and Ronald Reagan wanted to normalize the relation with Cuba. However, the effort also failed with the signing of The Helms-Burton Act 1996 and Cuban Democracy Act. The Helm-Burton Act 1996 was a law that ruled the US embargo toward Cuba and needed congressional approval to lift the embargo.¹⁰⁸ The Cuban Democratic Act contained policies that governed negotiations in the trade with Cuba and agreements therein.¹⁰⁹ So, the lifting embargo could not be done by the President, but should be decided and approved by the congress.

¹⁰⁶ Leogrande, W.M. (2007). A Poverty of Imagination: George W. Bush's Policy in Latin America. *Journal of Latin America Studies*, 355.

¹⁰⁷ Falk, P. S. op. cit.

¹⁰⁸ Leogrande, W.M. (2010). Cranky Neighbors: 150 Years of U.S.-Cuban Relation. *Latin American Research Review*, 217-227, 271.

¹⁰⁹ *Govtrack web*. (n.d.). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from Govtrack web - Summaries for the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992: <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/102/hr4168/summary>

George W. Bush in his administration has obliged to define new relations with Latin America, including for Cuba to improve the condition before. However, Bush failed to make relation and agreement with Latin America. The terrorist attack in 2001 and the war in the Middle East (Afghanistan and Iraq) were the Bush attention then. The tightening embargo made travel also difficult. The Cuban-American travel just allowed traveling once in every three years.¹¹⁰

Cuba in this era was retained and accused by the US as state sponsor of terrorism (that given by the US Department of State in 1st March 1982). Fidel Castro took a chance when Bush focused on being beside of Latin America policy to renew economic and political partnership with Latin America. In addition, there was rising Anti-American sentiment. All of it made Washington reputation and relation with Latin America deteriorated dramatically.¹¹¹

The US foreign policy was given to Cuba in the form economic embargo and disengagement relation. Its sanction had been going for five decades. The continuing of the US president up to ten times, from Eisenhower to George W. Bush, the main policy for Cuba remained in place. In that long period, the series of events

¹¹⁰ Leogrande, W. M. 2007, op. cit.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

occurred, following the US-Cuba relations. In addition the existence of the Soviet Union was between the US-Cuba relations, as the Cuban ally. Starting from the overthrow of Batista, the Cuban government leader was pro with the US was followed by the appearing of the revolutionary movement by Fidel, the bay of pig invasion, the Cuban missile crisis, and the relation of Cuba with the collapse of the Soviet Union in the end. Among the events, some were the US effort to overthrow Fidel regimes and to transform Cuba to be more democratic and stable. However, all the effort that had been taken had not been managed to change Cuba. Until today, Cuba is still as a communist state and led by Castro.