

## CHAPTER IV

### THE FACTORS BEHIND THE US DECISION TO NORMALIZE RELATION WITH CUBA

In this chapter, I will analyze the factors behind the US intention to normalize diplomatic relations with Cuba in 2014-2015. According to William D. Coplin on foreign policy decision-making process, there are three considerations that influence foreign policy decision making: the domestic political condition of the state, economic and military of the state, and international context. The characteristic of the decision maker, Obama, supported with some factors resulted in the decision to normalize relations with Cuba.

Over five-decade, the diplomatic relation disengagement toward Cuba has been imposed. There are series of events that occur between both countries. The same policy that is imposed results in the stagnancy of the condition. That is why a new policy to make a desired change is needed. Several factors and conditions that always change should be considered in taking a decision. This can be the first step in opening a new chapter in bilateral relations of both countries. The new measures, new policy or new actions are required for a variety of conditions, aspect, and factors that always change continuously over time. Although Cuba still has to run economic sanction and is as communist country, at least there is a new advance in the US-Cuba relation.

From President Eisenhower to George W. Bush, the relations between the US and Cuba is obviously unchanged. The US intentions to the western hemisphere, generally toward Latin America and particularly toward Cuba, were shifted in Obama era. However, in the end of 2014, both countries intended to normalize their relations. President Obama and President Raul Castro gave an official statement about normalizing diplomatic relation on December 17th, 2014.

This is some part of President Obama's statement on normalizing relation:

*In the most significant changes in our policy in more than fifty years, we will end an outdated approach that, for decades, has failed to advance our interests, and instead we will begin to normalize relations between our two countries. Through these changes, we intend to create more opportunities for the American and Cuban people, and begin a new chapter among the nations of the Americas.<sup>112</sup>*

In the same day, Raul Castro also gave speech about re-establishing the US and Cuba relations:

*We propose to the Government of the United States the adoption of mutual steps to improve the bilateral atmosphere and advance towards normalization of relations between our two countries, based on the principles of International Law and the United Nations Charter.<sup>113</sup>*

Both official statements can be concluded that the two sides agree to make a new step toward their relation. They want to normalize and re-establish their relations with a new approach. However, it is the fifth effort of the US to normalize their relation. Before, in the era of Gerald Ford,

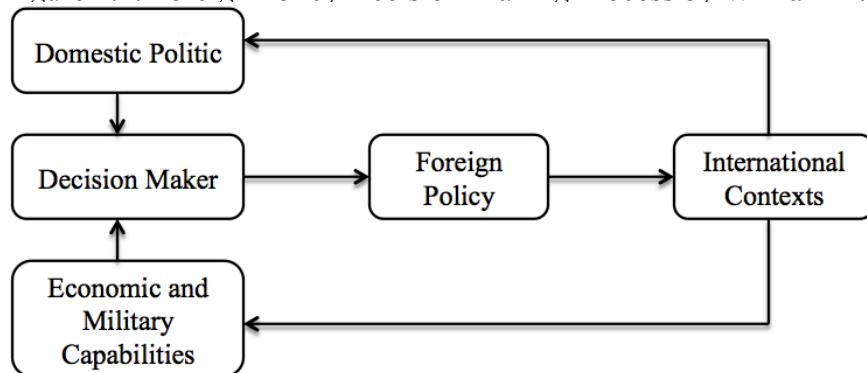
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<sup>112</sup> *The White House*. December 17, 2014., op. cit.

<sup>113</sup> *The Washington Post*. December 17, 2014., op. cit.

Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, and Bill Clinton of the US failed to do normalization. In the beginning, the US could reach normalization, but in the second period of Obama administration, it was influenced by several factors.

Figure 4.1. Foreign Policy Decision Making Process by William D. Coplin<sup>114</sup>



#### A. Domestic Politic

According to William D. Coplin, domestic politics will have a great impact on the formulation of the foreign policy of a state. The relationship between the decision makers of foreign policy with the domestic political actors (policy influencers) that will influence their foreign policy is called politics influence system.<sup>115</sup> Decision makers will need policy influencers as a source of support for their regimes because policy influencers have the power to give or withhold their support for the decision makers.

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<sup>114</sup> Coplin, William D., op. cit.

<sup>115</sup> ibid.

The influence of policy influencers or the role of domestic politics in composing foreign policy can be seen in distinguishing four types of policy influencers according to William D. Coplin:<sup>116</sup> Bureaucratic influencers, Partisan influencers, Interest influencers, and Mass influencer. Several of them are related in term of the normalization policy between the US and Cuba that was finally taken in 2014.

### 1. Bureaucratic influencers

Bureaucratic influencers are very influential in decision-making because they typically affect the information on the stage of formulation and administrative assistance on the stage of implementation.<sup>117</sup> Bureaucratic influencers are individual or organizations inside an executive government that are used to help the decision maker to make a decision. They influence by giving information to the decision maker to make foreign policy decisions. They also create public opinion of people through a press that will force decision makers to distribute their interest.

Bureaucracy in the federal government like the US consists of the department, independent agency, and corporate governance.<sup>118</sup> The U.S. Department of State can be one of the departments that announce their support in normalization with Cuba. Congress has the right to

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<sup>116</sup> ibid., p.81.

<sup>117</sup> ibid., p.82

<sup>118</sup> Cipto, Dr. Bambang., op. cit.

decide the future of US-Cuba relation. This is proven by what the US Department of State mentions in a fact sheet about ‘Reestablishment of Diplomatic Relations with Cuba’.

*President Obama announced on July 1, 2015, the historic decision to re-establish diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States of America, effective July 20. The U.S. Department of State also notified Congress of its intent to convert the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, Cuba to U.S. Embassy Havana, effective on the same date. These are important steps in implementing the new direction in U.S.-Cuba relations announced by President Obama on December 17, 2014.<sup>119</sup>*

In the official announcement above, the State Department notify Congress of their intent to reopen embassy in Havana. It proves that the U.S. Department of State agrees on and supports the US-Cuba normalization. It can be the major support for Obama, who wanted to renew relation with Cuba since his campaign in 2008<sup>120</sup>.

*On Tuesday, during a news conference with Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff, Mr. Obama said he hopes the new U.S. policy creates “more opportunities and prosperity for the Cuban people.”<sup>121</sup>*

As the example on how the US aims to open its relation with Cuba is by seeing Cuba as a potential to expand the US market. It is because there are small and big businesses. Thus, it’s encouraging the

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<sup>119</sup> U.S. Department of State. July 6, 2015., op. cit.

<sup>120</sup> *The Wall Street Journal.* (2015, July 1). Retrieved November 29, 2015, from U.S., Cuba Reach Agreement to Establish Full Diplomatic Relations: <http://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-cuba-reach-agreement-to-establish-formal-diplomatic-relations-1435702347>

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

US bureaucracy to reconsider the normalization the US – Cuba relation. By seeing Cuba's potential, it could be an opportunity for the US to expand their market there. The US can sell their product in Cuba freely.<sup>122</sup> So with economic benefit that the US will get through rapprochement, the bureaucracy of the US supports the policy of normalizing relations.

The US official considers that through reopening their embassies Americans can travel to Cuba and do business. Through business, not only can the US expand their market, but also influence Cuban people to increase their Human Right Record, and influence the Cubans thinking about democracy and liberal-capitalist. On the other hand, Cuba can increase their wealth through economic activities with other countries that are blocked before.

*American citizens can face up to a \$65,000 fine for spending money in Cuba, according to the U.S. Treasury.*<sup>123</sup>

## 2. Partisan influencers

Partisan influencers according to William D. Coplin is aiming to connect the demands of society to decision makers. The decision maker needs a support of partisan influencers to support their

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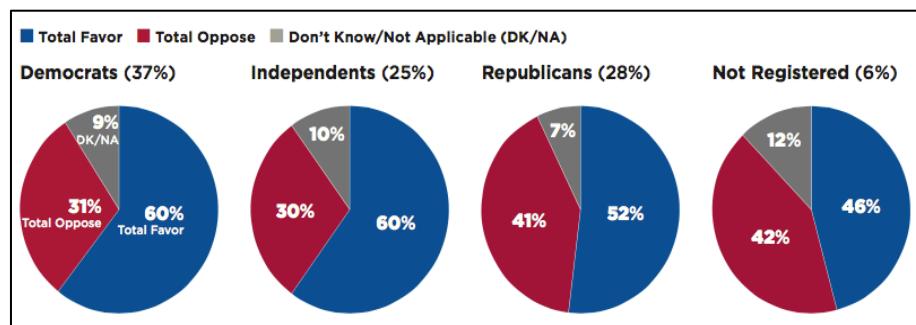
<sup>122</sup> *The world web.* (2014, December 17). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from Cigars all round: the thaw in US-Cuba relations: <http://blogs.ft.com/the-world/2014/12/cigars-all-round-the-thaw-in-us-cuba-relations/>

<sup>123</sup> *CNN Politics.* (2015, July 1). Retrieved November 29, 2015, from CNN Politics - U.S.-Cuba relations: 10 questions on the embargo, embassies and cigars: <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/12/17/politics/cuban-embargo-questions-answers/>

regimes.<sup>124</sup> Parties in a state are used to create a fraction to distribute their interest to be a policy of decision-making process. They influence through agreeing or disagreeing toward a decision made by the decision maker. The decision maker considers party because the party will give the support toward the decision maker's regime.

In relation to the normalization between the US and Cuba, it is prevalent for the Democratic Party, where Obama comes from, to support normalization. Based on the diagram of "A New Public Survey Supports Policy Change" by Atlantic Council that was conducted on January 7th – 22nd, 2014.<sup>125</sup>

Figure 4.2. Normalize/Engage with Cuba by Party<sup>126</sup>



From the data policy changes to normalization toward Cuba from Democratic and independent party in general are supported. Even though for the Republican only 52%, it could be said that the

<sup>124</sup> Coplin, op. cit. p. 84

<sup>125</sup> *Atlantic Council*. February 11, 2014., op. cit.

<sup>126</sup> ibid.

majority agrees with the normalization. By seeing that most parties agree, there is no need to worry over backlash.

The survey is conducted before the announcement of normalization by president Obama. However on December 18th, 2014, after the release of the official statement by Obama and Raul, William Grande as a researcher, especially expert on Cuba issue, interviewed by CBN news told:

*"In light of the negative Republican reaction to today's announcement, it is unlikely that congress will take any of these actions in support of the president. More likely, conservatives will try to block his actions as they have threatened to do regarding immigration reform. But the president's executive authority in foreign policy is vast".<sup>127</sup>*

According to William, in the congress before, Republicans are not visible supporters. Unfortunately, the president has substantial executive power in determining it.

However, in the PEW research center, a research was conducted on January 7-11th, 2015, and it showed that within the Democratic party, 74% tended to support re-establishing relations with Cuba and the embargo lifting. Within the Independents, there were 67% who supported the re-establishment of relation and embargo lifting. In consideration, the normalization and end of the

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<sup>127</sup> CBS News. (2014, December 18). Retrieved October 15, 2015, from CBS News - Can Congress block Obama's efforts to normalize Cuba relations?: <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/can-congress-block-obamas-efforts-to-normalize-cuba-relations/>

embargo would bring the US companies to do business in Cuba and vice versa. For the Republican, there were some votes in different classification. 40% supported re-establishing relations and 47% supported the embargo lifting. However, the majority said that Republicans opposed the embargo lifting.

Table 4.1. Support Re-establishing Diplomatic Relation and Ending Trade Embargo by Democrats and Republicans<sup>128</sup>

<b>Republicans Ideologically Divided Over Restoring U.S. Ties with Cuba</b>				
	<b>Re-establishing diplomatic relations</b>		<b>Ending trade embargo</b>	
	Approve %	Disapprove %	Favor %	Oppose %
Total	63	28	66	28
White	62	29	63	32
Black	64	26	72	21
Hispanic	65	27	73	21
18-29	67	24	74	22
30-49	67	24	73	23
50-64	58	34	60	33
65+	57	33	56	37
College grad+	77	20	78	18
Some college	59	28	64	29
H.S. or less	56	33	60	35
Republican	40	48	47	47
Cons Rep	33	55	40	54
Mod/Lib Rep	54	33	61	33
Independent	67	26	69	26
Democrat	74	19	78	18
Cons/Mod Dem	69	23	72	24
Lib Dem	80	15	87	10

Survey conducted Jan. 7-11, 2015. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Don't know responses not shown.

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<sup>128</sup> Pew Research Center. (2015, January 16). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from Most Support Stronger U.S. Ties With Cuba: <http://www.peoplepress.org/2015/01/16/most-support-stronger-u-s-ties-with-cuba/>

Democrat, Republicans, and Independent, had different view about the prospect of Cuba to be more democratic.

Table 4.2. Partisan Divides in Prospects for Democracy in Cuba<sup>129</sup>

<b>Partisan Divides in Prospects for Democracy in Cuba</b>				
	% saying over the next several years, Cuba will be ...			
	More democratic	Less democratic	About the same	DK
Total	32	3	60	5=100
Republican	24	4	68	4=100
Democrat	41	2	54	3=100
Independent	31	3	61	5=100

Survey conducted Jan. 7-11, 2015. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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Democratic tends to support the normalization because the prospects for the future will transform Cuba into a democratic state. The Democrats can also see an opportunity that the US business can enter into Cuba and vice versa. However, Republicans tend to see Cuba as a communist state which will not be able to turn into a democratic country.

*Republicans in general have said Obama is giving too much away to Cuba, and should be demanding democratic reforms and the release of political prisoners. So the embargo seems likely to hang around for a while longer.<sup>130</sup>*

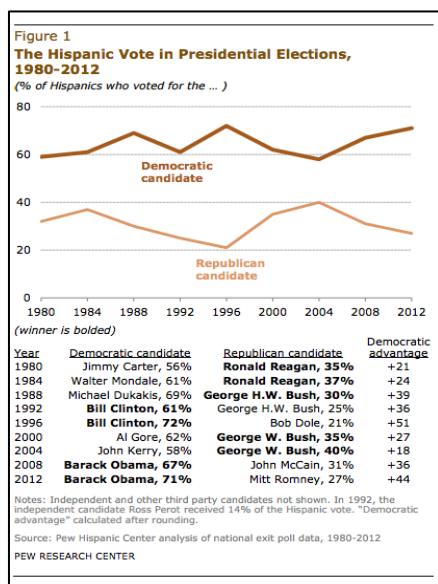
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<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Washington Examiner. (2015, July 2). Retrieved November 29, 2015, from Washington Examiner - Can you buy Cuban cigars now?: <http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/can-you-buy-cuban-cigars-now/article/2567534>

By seeing the election in the graphic range 1980-2012 by Pew Hispanic Latinos below, there are number of voters from the US Latino in the presidential election. The majority of voters from the US Latino 1980-2012 make win Democrats candidates.

Figure 4.3. The Hispanic Vote in Presidential Election, 1980-2012<sup>131</sup>



As the Democrats candidate won the election in the US Latinos, Obama not only won in the 2008 election but also in the 2012 election. The highest vote for the Democratic candidate can be seen since the President Bill Clinton in 1996 with 72% vote from Hispanic.<sup>132</sup> By seeing that, in the Obama campaign and in the early

<sup>131</sup> Latin USA. (2015, October 29). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from The Latino Vote in Presidential Races: <http://latinousa.org/2015/10/29/the-latino-vote-in-presidential-races/>

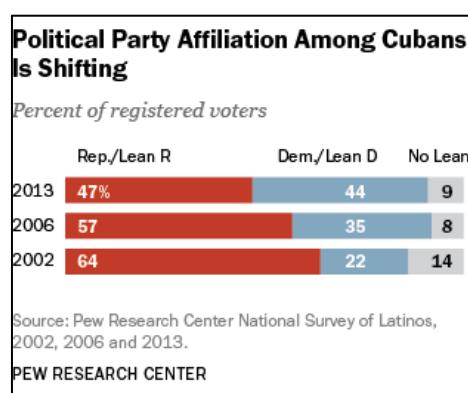
<sup>132</sup> PEW Research Center. (2012, November 7). Retrieved November 30, 2015, from Latino Voters in the 2012 Election: <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/11/07/latino-voters-in-the-2012-election/>

Obama's administration, Obama gives travel restriction for Cuban and American who travel.

*To pursue those ends, I direct the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Commerce, in consultation with the Secretary of State, to take such actions as necessary to: (a) Lift restrictions on travel related transactions for visits to a person's family member who is a national of Cuba by authorizing such transactions by a general license . . . (b) Remove restrictions on remittances to a person's family member in Cuba . . .<sup>133</sup>*

It makes a lot of Cuban-Americans go to Cuba and vice versa can relate to one another. This is a positive impact for Obama and Democrats to embrace them. So they tend to support the normalization and give voters for them. With this consideration, Democrats tend to support normalization with Cuba because Democrats also get voters for the election.

Figure 4.4. Political Party Affiliation Among Cubans is Shifting<sup>134</sup>



<sup>133</sup> *The White House*. (2009, April 13). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from Memorandum Promoting Democracy and Human Right in Cuba: [https://www.whitehouse.gov/the\\_press\\_office/Memorandum-Promoting-Democracy-and-Human-Rights-in-Cuba/](https://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Memorandum-Promoting-Democracy-and-Human-Rights-in-Cuba/)

<sup>134</sup> *PEW Research Center*. (2014, Juny 24). Retrieved November 30, 2015, from After decades of GOP support, Cubans shifting toward the Democratic Party: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/06/24/after-decades-of-gop-support-cubans-shifting-toward-the-democratic-party/>

In the diagram below, based on Pew research center analyzed through the survey, there is a political shift over the past decade from Cuban people in the US who move from the Republican Party to Democrats Party. In 2002 until 2013, those registered as Republicans decrease from 64% to 47% and those registered as the Democrats increase from 22% to 44%.<sup>135</sup> The votes from the Cuban people in the US will influence the election. Why there is a political shift in Cuban people will be explained in the next sub.

From the data above can conclude that: 1). The majority of parties agree with normalization, so they do not worry if there is a backlash about it. 2). Democrats see: a). There is a great prospect for the future that Cuba transform into a democratic state. b). Hispanic-Latinos voters are important to the election, because they win Democrat candidates from 1980-2012. c). Cuban people in the US lean toward Democrat party than before and it will influence the vote in the election. 3). Republicans see: there is **no** a great prospect for the future that Cuba transform into a democratic state. 4). However, there is a consideration for Democrats and Republicans that re-establishing relation would bring economic benefit through the US companies to do business in Cuba and vice versa.

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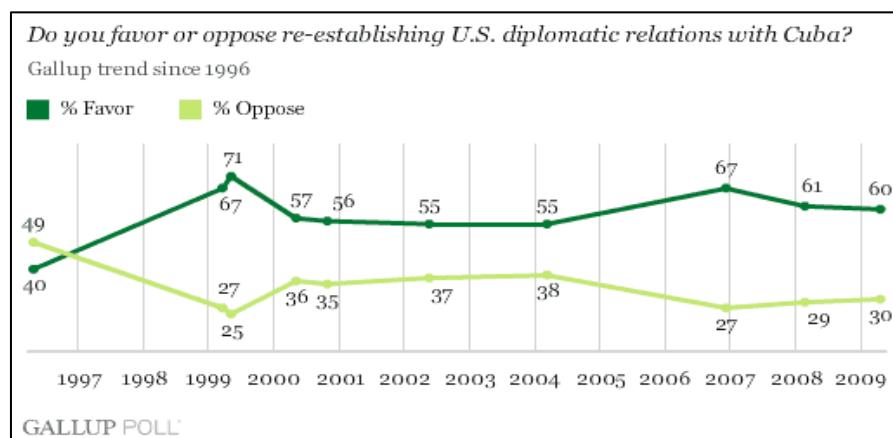
<sup>135</sup> ibid.

### 3. Mass influencer

Mass influencers refer to the climate of public opinion. According to Coplin, public opinion can strengthen the decisions made by policy makers, because public opinions are used to rationalize foreign policy actions.<sup>136</sup> So it does not mean that policy makers are controlled by public opinion or policy makers shape public opinion. Public opinion influence through their role, because their role is needed in the election to *vote*. That's why sometimes a decision maker considers public opinion to make a decision.

In the case of normalization between the US and Cuba, many media that hold a poll are showing the graphic support for a policy. For example the Gallup Poll that showed the normalization support polling data from the American society.

Figure 4.5. American Support Re-establishing U.S. Diplomatic Relation with Cuba<sup>137</sup>



<sup>136</sup> Coplin, op. cit. p. 88.

<sup>137</sup> GALLUP, op. cit.

Based on the Gallup research in 2009, 60% or the majority of the US residence favored normalization between the US and Cuba. The graphic showed the raw ten years until 2009. The majority of Americans tend to support the issue. From the Gallup research, there is a new Washington Post poll found 68% of Americans favored restoring trade with Cuba, tend to increase 11 points since 2009.<sup>138</sup> According to Gallup, in the research that was conducted by Atlantic Council and New York Time, there was continuity in supporting normalization time by time.

*The poll offered even greater evidence that a political tide has turned with its finding that two critical domestic political constituencies favor renewed ties to Cuba by even larger majorities than the nation at large.*<sup>139</sup>

Based on the graphic of “A New Public Survey Supports Policy Change” by Atlantic Council that conducted research on January 7–22nd, 2014.<sup>140</sup> The normalization support from nationwide based on the polling is 56%, Florida is 63%, and Hispanic is 62%. Here, it can be seen that polling in Florida is 7% higher of the nationwide.

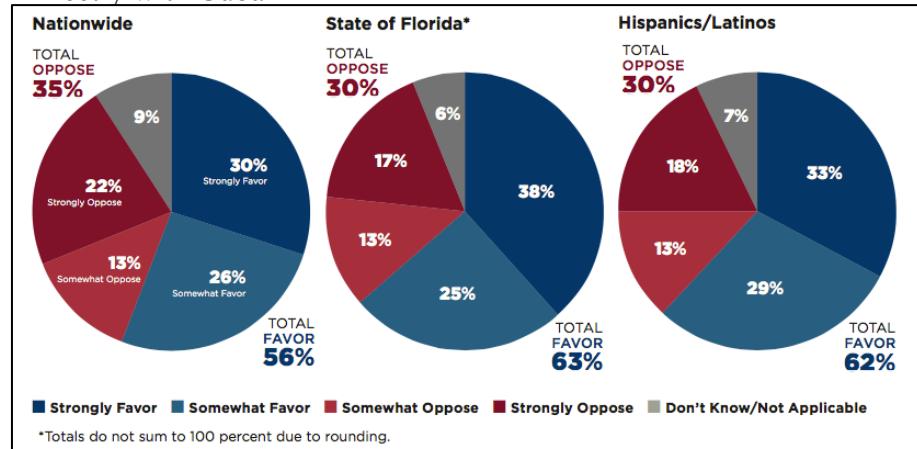
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<sup>138</sup> PEW Research Center . (2014, December 23). Retrieved November 30, 2015, from As Cuban American demographics change, so do views of Cuba: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/12/23/as-cuban-american-demographics-change-so-do-views-of-cuba/>

<sup>139</sup> Atlantic Council Web. (2014, February 11). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from Atlantic Council Poll: Americans Want New Relations With Cuba: <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/events/past-events/atlantic-council-poll- americans-want-new-relations-with-cuba>

<sup>140</sup> Atlantic Council, op. cit.

Figure 4.6. Support for Normalizing Relations or Engaging More Directly with Cuba<sup>141</sup>



*Florida, a swing state, is an important part of any presidential candidate's electoral vote calculus, and Cuban-Americans have long been a powerful group within Florida, especially in Miami-Dade County. The Miami area is home to the largest population of Cuban heritage outside Cuba.<sup>142</sup>*

Based on the data, Florida or as Cuban-American is a state that is important for the electoral vote in the US election. Not only it, Florida is a place where the Cubans who want to migrate from Cuba. They migrate because they wanted to escape from Castro dictatorship. People who live there since 1960 until today, become the US citizen through naturalization.

*And importantly, Florida, the state that allegedly has the greatest reluctance to reengage with Cuba, is now more willing than an already supportive country.<sup>143</sup>*

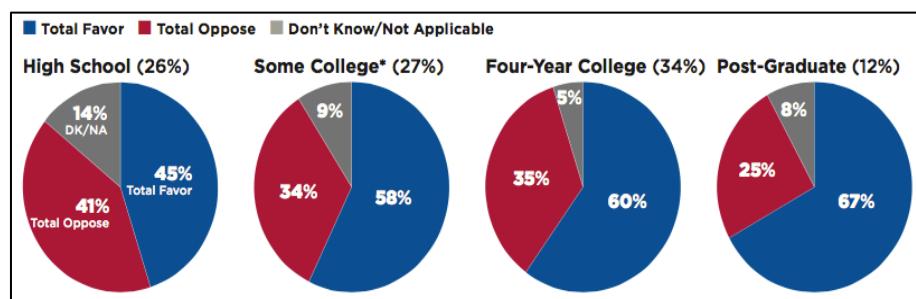
<sup>141</sup> Atlantic Council, op. cit.

<sup>142</sup> 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>

<sup>143</sup> Atlantic Council, op. cit.

Since 1960, many Cuban people who migrate from Cuba to Florida, has reached the third generation and beyond. They are not very related to their past family that before as the Cuban people. Beside that, the increasing of education level affects the level of knowledge about the US and Cuba issue today. It is one of the reasons Florida and Hispanic/ Latinos people support the US engagement with Cuba. Based on the survey, the higher education people get, the more they are informed about diplomatic and economic engagement. So they tend to support the normalization. The chart below describe that higher education means greater support for normalization.

Figure 4.7. Normalize/Engage with Cuba by Education<sup>144</sup>



Beside the research, there is another research that conducted a poll survey in February – May 2014 by Florida International University (FIU) – Cuban Research Center. This survey shows the evidence of the impact on the US foreign policy toward Cuba because there is a generalization shift. In this diagram bellow, the majority Cuban-American in Florida favors in re-establishing diplomatic

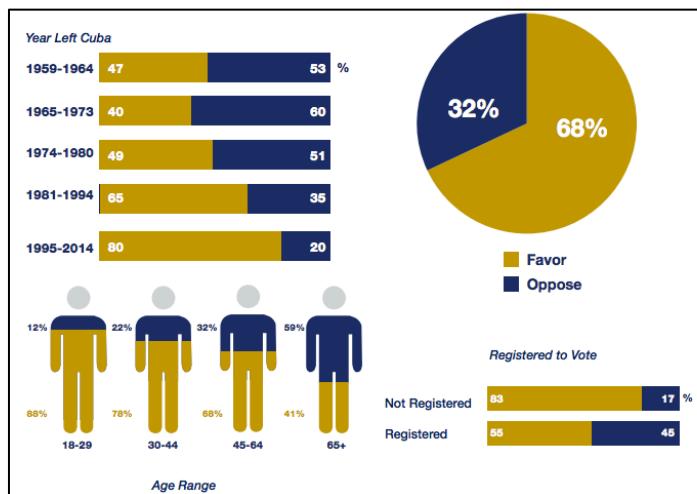
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<sup>144</sup> ibid.

relation. The younger respondent up to 90% gives the higher response.

Cuban people who arriving after 1995 are higher on re-establishing support.<sup>145</sup> However, in the previous year also tend high in response to re-establishing relations toward Cuba.

Figure 4.8. Cubans living in Miami-Dade County Favor Diplomatic Relations with Cuba<sup>146</sup>



If compared with the FIU – Cuban Research Center in 1993, 87% of Cuban American tend to tighten the embargo and 80% tend to have no diplomatic relation toward Cuba.<sup>147</sup> There is a significant difference between the year 1990s and today. This change is caused by changes in population, the demography, effect in viewing US-Cuba policy and leaning toward political party.<sup>148</sup> The demography shift which was born in Cuba in 2000 is 68% but in 2013 is 57%.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Gladwin, G. J. FIU Cuba Poll - How Cuban Americans in Miami view U.S. Policies toward Cuba, 2014. p. 11.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Cuban Research Institute. (1993, July 1). Retrieved November 30, 2015, from The 1993 FIU Cuba Poll: <https://cri.fiu.edu/research/cuba-poll/1993-cuba-poll.pdf>

<sup>148</sup> PEW Research Center . (2014, December 23). Op. cit

<sup>149</sup> ibid.

The demographics shift changes the Cuban-American view about Cuba changes. Today, 49% of Cuban-American views the Cuban immigrants with the same values as the Cubans who live in Cuba, different with Cubans who migrated before 1990. In addition, 60% of Cubans are the US citizens through the US immigration policy.<sup>150</sup> On the other side, the demographic shift makes the shifting of political party of Cuban immigrants in the US. Cuban immigrants who arrived after 1990 are 57% from Democrats party. However, for those who arrived before 1990 are 48% registered as Republicans and 35% as the Democrats.<sup>151</sup> Thus, Cuban-Americans tend to support normalization than before, by considering the same value and as the US citizen.

Based on the data above, Cuban-Americans tend to tighten the embargo and have not a diplomatic relation. They view Cubans who migrated one decade after revolutionary until before 1990 wanting to escape from Fidel dictatorship. However, after 1990 Cuban Americans viewed Cuban immigrants who have reached the third generation and beyond having a different view and thinking about the US policy toward Cuba. They think after five decades the policy does not change the condition of Cuba. Therefore renewing the policy is needed. Through normalization, both countries can re-establish their relation;

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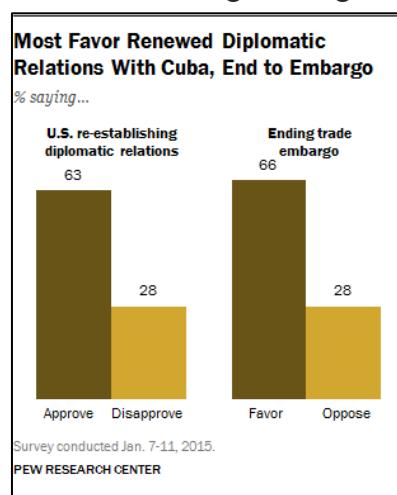
<sup>150</sup> PEW Research Center. (2006, August 25). Retrieved November 30, 2015, from Cubans in the United States: <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2006/08/25/cubans-in-the-united-states/>

<sup>151</sup> PEW Research Center . (2014, December 23), op. cit.

with the consideration that it will give more help to the Cubans. Besides, the US can also take the opportunity from it. A shift in thinking is influenced by the highest education they get. As described previously, the higher education people get, the more they think normalization is important.

Pew Research Center that conducted research on January 7-11th 2015 about Americans support for re-establishing diplomatic ties and the trade embargo lift shows that 63% of Americans support re-establishing diplomatic ties and it is compatible with the support for embargo lift in 66%<sup>152</sup>. However, the people's point of view about Cuba possibility to change to Democratic state is full of skepticism because it is just 32%.<sup>153</sup>

Figure 4.9. American Favor Renewing Diplomatic Relations with Cuba and Ending Embargo<sup>154</sup>

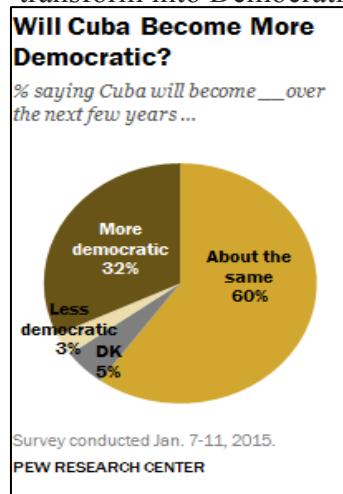


<sup>152</sup> Pew Research Center, (January 16, 2015)., op. cit.

<sup>153</sup> ibid.

<sup>154</sup> ibid.

Figure 4.10. American See the Prospect for the Future Cuba can transform into Democratic State<sup>155</sup>



By seeing data above, it can conclude that Americans today tend to support normalization and even support on the embargo lifting, even though their view of Cuba cannot really change to democratic state. Many types of research are conducted in the third core, Americans, American-Cubans, and Hispanic/ Latinos. Actually, Americans are American citizens, American-Cubans are those who live in Florida, and Hispanics are Cuban origin who migrate to the US and become part of Latin America. The American-Cuban in Florida is important in the presidential election, because their vote is important in the shift of Cuba policy.

The different support before 1990 and after 1990 was because the higher of education and demographic shift. 1). The higher education people get, the more they are informed about the importance of diplomatic and economic engagement that tend to

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<sup>155</sup> ibid.

support normalization. 2). The demographic shift makes the Cuban-Americans see Cuban immigrants after 1990 having the same value and as the part of the US than before. The third generation and beyond thinking is not related to the past but they think more liberally. 3). In addition, demographic shift makes American-Cubans shift from Republicans to Democrats.

#### 4. Interest influencers

Interest influencers according to William D. Coplin are very influential in the foreign policy decision-making process, although they do not determine the foreign policy of a state.<sup>156</sup> They have specific interest to be implemented in a state, by giving their opinion not only to the decision maker but also to bureaucratic and partisan influencers. They can use financial aid to support the campaign of partisan influencers.

In relation to the normalization between the US and Cuba, the lawmakers face pressure from the US companies that encourage them to end the trade bans to Cuba market, like Caterpillar Inc.<sup>157</sup> Before the release of official statement of normalization, companies also make coalition on lobbying normalization.

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<sup>156</sup> Coplin, op. cit. p. 87.

<sup>157</sup> *The Wall Street Journal*. (2015, July 20). Retrieved October 22, 2015, from The Wall Street Journal - As Embassies Open, a Further Thaw in Cuban-U. S. ties Faces Hurdles in Congress: <http://www.wsj.com/articles/as-embassies-open-a-further-cuban-thaw-faces-hurdles-in-congress-1437352444>

*But lawmakers could soon face more pressure as fresh lobbying effort begins to take root. Among the U.S. companies pushing for an end to the travel and trade bans is Caterpillar Inc., which covets a piece of the Cuba market for mining and construction equipment now dominated by such rivals as Volvo Group of Sweden and Japan's Komatsu Ltd.<sup>158</sup>*

*Before Mr. Obama's announcement, more than 25 food and agriculture companies, including Cargill Inc., launched the U.S. Agriculture Coalition for Cuba, and the group now includes more than 100 members. Former Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle (D., S.D.) and former Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R., Kan) recently launched the Cuba consortium to lobby for normalization.<sup>159</sup>*

Based on the data above, normalization will open the opportunity of the US business to make production flow in Cuba. Normalization will allow all the people to travel from the US to Cuba and vice versa, makes the US Company and American officials can do business or trade freely in Cuba. Not only it, Cuba also needs to expand their economy through foreign trade especially with the US.

*New York Governor Andrew Cuomo traveled to Havana recently with the heads of MasterCard, JetBlue, Pfizer, and Chobani. U.S. Chamber of Commerce President Tom Donahue took a delegation that included the CFO of Cargill and the chairman of Amway. Senator Debbie Stabenow, a Michigan Democrat, traveled to Cuba this year to tout her state's agricultural and lumber products. Atlanta*

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<sup>158</sup> ibid.

<sup>159</sup> ibid.

*Mayor Kasim Reed trekked there to push Coca-Cola and Delta airlines.<sup>160</sup>*

The US Senators Tom Udall, Jeff Flake, Dick Durbin and Mike Enzi would provide telecommunication and Internet services in Cuba.<sup>161</sup> The first step is allowing global business to connect with the Cubans and removing barriers by empowering Cuban with internet service. Verizon Communication Inc. is the first of the US Company that sets connectivity to make relationship with Cuba.<sup>162</sup> Gary Hufbauer, a senior fellow at Peterson Institute for International Economics said, "*The potential market for U.S. exports of goods and services is significant, even though not enormous*"<sup>163</sup>

Several companies are pressing and lobbying lawmakers to make new relation with Cuba. By fostering the economic partnership between the US and Cuba, it will lead both countries to get the flow of dollars. Their desire appear when the US start to show friendly gesture toward Cuba in Obama administration. They think it is a good chance

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<sup>160</sup> *Alternet*. (2015, July 22). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from With the U.S. and Cuba Normalizing Relations, American Companies Are Eager to Set Up Shop : <http://www.alternet.org/print/world/us-and-cuba-normalizing-relations-american-companies-are-eager-set-shop>

<sup>161</sup> Tom Udal Web. (2015, May 19). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from Udall, Flake, Durbin, Enzi Lead Bipartisan Legislation to Build Cuba's Digital Economy : [http://www.tomudall.senate.gov/?p=press\\_release&id=1977](http://www.tomudall.senate.gov/?p=press_release&id=1977)

<sup>162</sup> *The Global and Mail web*. (2015, Spetember 17). Retrieved Oktober 8, 2015, from Verizon becomes first U.S. company to offer cellphone roaming in Cuba : <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/international-business/us-business/verizon-becomes-first-us-company-to-offer-cellphone-roaming-in-cuba/>

<sup>163</sup> *USA Today*. (2014, December 18). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from U.S. firms stand to gain from Cuba ties : <http://www.usatoday.com/story/money/business/2014/12/17/businesses-will-benefit-from-improved-cuba-relations/20536283/>

to increase their business. They are seeing Cuba as the new market target to get the flow of dollars. The dollars can also be used to give financial support for the party campaign.

## B. Economic and Military Capabilities

Decision-making and the formulation of foreign policy should consider the country's economic and military strength and weakness.<sup>164</sup> It is because the international position of a country is strongly influenced by its internal political and economic capabilities. In economic capabilities, a state should measure their state economic through service and production that produced within the countries and the interdependent level of their state in international trade. In military capability, a state should consider the capacity use of the military power and the interdependent level of the foreign military sources.

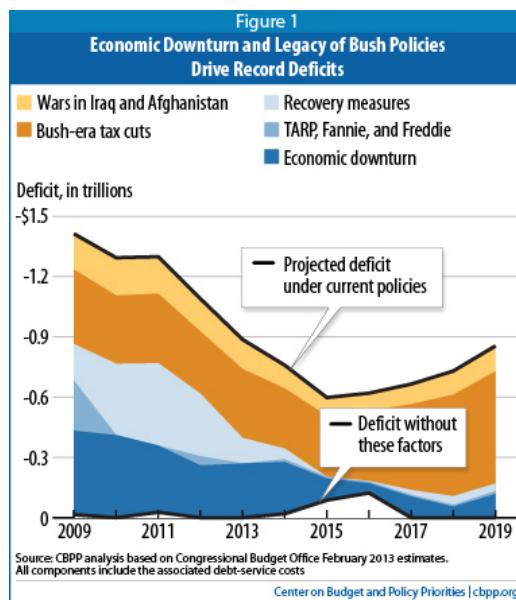
The economic condition, especially in the early Obama administration is not stable or under recession.<sup>165</sup> This is an early depiction of the decreasing United States economy. It is caused by several factors like war expenditure in Bush era and military expenditure. The diagram below shows that when Obama took office in 2009 there were a high deficit and debt.

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<sup>164</sup> Coplin, op. cit. p. 110.

<sup>165</sup> Crotty, James., op. cit.

Figure 4.11. Economic Downturn and Legacy of Bush Policies Drive Record Deficits<sup>166</sup>



It is caused by the recession, Bush's tax cuts and war expenditure in Afghanistan and Iraq (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2013). Half of the total deficit is caused by Bush era's tax cuts and the war in Afghanistan and Iraq. So Obama should look for ways to decrease the deficit and debt.

In the case of normalization between the US and Cuba, it will build the opportunity to allow the free flow of the relationship. The Americans can travel to Cuba and vice versa to increase the political and economic cooperation. On the economic side, Cuba can be a market of the US. The US needs markets to cover the debt and deficit. Through opening relation with Cuba, Cuba's market can be one of the tools to increase the economy

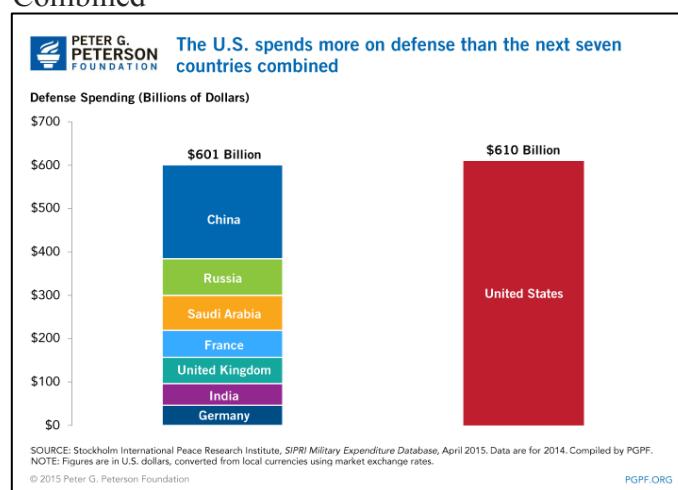
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<sup>166</sup> Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. (2013, February 28). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from Economic Downturn and Legacy of Bush Policies Continue to Drive Large Deficits: <http://www.cbpp.org/research/economic-downturn-and-legacy-of-bush-policies-continue-to-drive-large-deficits>

of the US. Normalization allows the free market where the two countries can do import-export freely to improve their economy. With the new market, the US can expand flows of production and create new jobs. It will reduce the level of unemployment in the US and it will improve the living standards of American citizens.

In 2008, economic decline happens with job losses and the National Bureau of Economic Research confirmed that the nation was in recession.<sup>167</sup> However, military spending also caused the economic recession. To save economic growth, the US needed to do defense budget cutting. However budgets allocate to other economic sectors should implement another diplomatic strategy, engagement. Using another approach (engagement) with non-military will minimize the possibility of war or military spending.

Figure 4.12. The U.S. Spend More on Defense than Next Seven Countries Combined<sup>168</sup>



<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Peter G. Peterson Foundation. (2012, October 23). Retrieved November 20, 2012, from Should Defense Spending Cuts be part of any Deficit Reduction Package?: <http://www.pgpf.org/budget-basics/should-defense-spending-cuts-be-part-of-any-deficit-reduction-package>

Based on the diagram above, the US share large of the budget for military defense spending. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, the US military spending is more than thirteen military spending of other countries combined.<sup>169</sup> The US military spending in 2011 is 610 billion dollars higher than 601 billion dollars from thirteen countries in the world.

Military defense spending is becoming a matter on the deficit. So, cuts off in the military spending are part of deficit reduction. Seeing the international security after the cold war and the national debt of the US, the US considers being involved in the global engagement strategy. Engagement with other countries including the US ex-enemy can minimize the threat in international security. Resolving the deficit and debt of the US can be considered through reducing defense spending without appearing threat for the US security.

*For defense, that means that most defense resources will be cut by about 10 percent, according to the Congressional Budget Office — or \$55 billion in 2013. These cuts are not based on achieving any particular strategic vision. Instead, they are imposed mechanically across the defense budget, which could result in reductions to programs critical for national security.<sup>170</sup>*

By seeing this condition, it is expected to that the threat of the other countries can be minimized so it would be able to restore the economy to support the military. Previously, Cuba is a country that becomes a threat to the western hemisphere as a communist state and the

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

Soviet Union ally. However, the Soviet Union has collapsed and Cuba is still a communist country, but Cuba is not a country that threatens the US. Seeing the condition today, the US consideration: 1). Although Cuba is isolated by the US not to relate to other countries, many countries in the world have been cooperating with Cuba especially in economic aspect. 2). Today, Cuba is not the US threat again. However, the US threat is not a state, but a non-state actor like terrorism.

The consideration above will encourage the US to normalize relation with Cuba because Cuba is not the US threat again and their new relation is built engagement. For the military spending, it can be cut off and the budget is allocated in the economic sector. Today the US strengthens their military power just to face the threat from the non-state actor like terrorism. The US relation with other countries, including with ex-enemies, is not the US threat. On the contrary, it can be used to get profitable relations.

In the Second World War, military capability of the US is used for containment of policy. Containment policy means that the US tries to prevent the spreading of socialism-communism in the world. One of the US focuses at the time was that Cuba was influenced by the Soviet Union and became the main threat for the US in Latin America region. But nowadays the use of military capabilities has changed because the change of US's foreign policy to "engagement" with other states.

The economic and military capabilities of the US will increase through normalization with Cuba. It is because normalization will give the opportunity for the US to cover the deficit and debt that were caused in the Bush era. The opportunity is Cuba becomes a new market for the US. There will be free trade and there is profit that they can get. Defense budget cuts can be a way to reduce the deficit and debt of the nation. It is because the deficit and debt are also as a threat to the national security. Through cutting of defense budget, the budget can allocate to the economic sector by considering the US security. By seeing that the international security saw secure through engagement that will minimize a threat.

### C. International Context

International context is also one of the factors that influence the foreign policy decision making of a country. According to William, there are three elements that should be analyzed to know the motive behind the decision-making: geographical, economic, and military factors.<sup>171</sup> All of them are related to their national interest. In geography, a state should take their attention in the region where the position of state and its relation toward another state should be considered to choose decision in order to achieve national interest. In the economic and political factors, a state should also consider the economic and political relation with other states.

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<sup>171</sup> Coplin, op. cit. p. 167.

In relation to the normalization between the US and Cuba, the US sees the recent development in the Caribbean and Latin America. In an Obama administration, the normalizing relations between the US and Cuba will give a chance for the US to get closer to Latin America, which the US has ‘ignored’ more than one decade. George W. Bush in his administration has obliged to define new relations with Latin America, also with Cuba, to improve the condition before.

However, Bush also failed in making relation and agreement with Latin America countries. The terrorist attack 2001 and the war in the Middle East (Afghanistan and Iraq) become Bush’s attention then. Cuba in this era is retained and accused and defined by the US as State sponsor of terrorism (given by the US Department of State in March 1st, 1982). Fidel Castro takes a chance when Bush focuses on staying beside Latin America policy to renew the economic-political partnership with Latin America and rising Anti-American sentiment. All of it makes Washington reputation and relation with Latin America deteriorated dramatically.<sup>172</sup>

*I know that promises of partnership have gone unfulfilled in the past, and that trust has to be earned over time. While the United States has done much to promote peace and prosperity in the hemisphere, we have at times been disengaged, and at times we sought to dictate our terms. ... So I am here to launch a new chapter of engagement that will be sustained throughout my administration.*<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Leogrande, W. M. 2007., op. cit

<sup>173</sup> *The White House.* 2007 op.cit.

The statement by President Obama on Cuba policy changes about the unfulfilled plan of the partnership will cover through ‘engagement’ under Obama administration. President Obama through engagement that he brings since his campaign in 2009 will make a new relation with the Caribbean and Latin America countries. Engagement is done to make the countries, especially in the Caribbean and Latin America countries close to the US and make a partnership in the Bush era failed. This is like Obama speech during the Fifth Summit of the Americas that was held at Port of Spain in Trinidad and Tobago, April 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> 2009:

*“ . . . There is simply engagement based on mutual respect and common interests and shared values. So I’m here to launch a new chapter of engagement that will be sustained throughout my administration . . . ”<sup>174</sup>*

By seeing the statement, it explains that in Obama administration, the US tends to engage relations with other states even with ex-enemy states. As an example, the US makes relation with China. The white house said, *“The (US) President has found engagement with China to be an effective way for the United States to advance our interest around the world.”*<sup>175</sup> An example of the relations is a climate change agreement with China, to cap carbon emissions.

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<sup>174</sup> *The White House*. (2009, April 17). Retrieved October 23, 2015, from White House - Remarks by the President at the Summit of the Americas Opening Ceremony: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-summit-americas-opening-ceremony>

<sup>175</sup> *The White House*. (2015, July 26). Retrieved November 29, 2015, from The White House - Press Briefing by Press Secretary Josh Earnest: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/08/26/press-briefing-press-secretary-josh-earnest-8262015>

Geographically, the US distance toward the Caribbean and Latin America countries is closer, as it is just 90 miles to Cuba. The US has an interest in politic, economic and security there. The 25<sup>th</sup> of the first US president before believe that Latin America countries are important in economy, politics and military.<sup>176</sup> The different strategies have been imposed since after the war between Spain and Latin America. A lot of the US investment is done with countries there, including Cuba.

Through normalization, the US and Cuba production exchange will be easier to do because of geographic proximity. It is particularly advantageous if both countries open their relation and re-build their cooperation. Before, even though Cuba is in isolation with the outside of world, Cuba still has the relations in economy with other countries.

*The top export destinations of Cuba are China (\$474M), Venezuela (\$336M), Spain (\$246M), the Netherlands (\$176M) and the United Kingdom (\$165M). The top import origins are China (\$1.22B), Spain (\$1.06B), Brazil (\$528M), Canada (\$431M) and Mexico (\$368M).<sup>177</sup>*

The countries that are highly related to Cuba on economic cooperation are like China and Venezuela. China as the country's second-largest economy after the US makes Cuba their market and their economic relation is profitable for both countries. Especially for China, China can export \$1.22B to Cuba and import \$474M from Cuba. Besides the other countries also keep relation with Cuba. Even though Cuba is in isolation,

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<sup>176</sup> Prevost, G., op. cit

<sup>177</sup> OEC. (n.d.). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from Cuba:  
<http://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/cub/>

Cuba can bring advantages for them. So, the US can also take advantage like the other countries, make relations with Cuba, especially in the economic aspect to get profit through the US market.

The economic and political stability of the Caribbean and Latin America are important for the US in the western hemisphere. Latin America and Caribbean are successful on economic growth and political advance in the 21st century. However, there is some worse security like drug trafficking, climate change and unstable political right in some part of the Caribbean and Latin America. The US needs to improve economic and political stability in the western hemisphere because it will give impact also to the US.

*Economic and political stability in the Western Hemisphere are vital for the United States. ... Latin America and the Caribbean are also important and growing markets for American companies--a quarter of U.S. exports go to the region.<sup>178</sup>*

So, the regional situation of the Caribbean and Latin Americas has developed. It has given an opportunity for the US to improve their partnership. This condition will open a large economic partnership in the US and Latin American countries. Cuba is one of the Caribbean countries that was no relation with the US since 1961, after diplomatic disengagement. So, the US needs a new step to embrace all of the Caribbean and Latin America countries, including Cuba.

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<sup>178</sup> USAID Web. (n.d.). Retrieved November 20, 2015, from Latin America And The Caribbean: <https://www.usaid.gov/where-we-work/latin-american-and-caribbean>

#### D. The Decision Maker

The election of a new president means there will be a new change. This is seen when Obama was elected as the US president. Since taking office in 2009, many opinions have appeared about Obama; how he will bring and run the US government. As the first black President of the US, there is a possibility that he will bring renewal policy and use multilateral approach. The changes that will occur are particularly concerned in foreign relations with Cuba even though Cuba remains as the communist state. It means the embargo remains in effect.

Secretary Kerry on the opening of the US Embassy in Havana told that Obama would take a new step to renew the leadership in America and promote the effectiveness of Cuba policy change for Cuban people.<sup>179</sup> It is really different with the previous government that uses more coercion and sanction in Cuba issue. The Caribbean and Latin America countries also support the Obama election. Many regions in the world expected more to make relation with the US. They predict Obama tends to be cooperative in using multilateralism approach. Castro said that Obama is more intelligent, educated and level headed, and has concern about the problem of the world without occupying it.<sup>180</sup>

Announcing of normalization toward Cuba, President Obama uses his executive power to create new diplomatic, economic, and commercial

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<sup>179</sup> *The White House*. (2014, December 17). Charting a new Course on Cuba. Retrieved April 3, 2015, from The White House:  
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/foreign-policy/cuba>

<sup>180</sup> Erikson, Daniel P., op. cit.

relations with Cuba without congressional authority.<sup>181</sup> Based on the principal of foreign policy provision of the constitution, to take general power, the President has executive power and use Veto. For lifting embargo, the President cannot do it because like Helms-Burton Act 1996 that has become a law must be based on the congress decision.

*In modern times, as the United States became a world power, the President has become the dominant force in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy, and has frequently made critical decisions on his own authority as Chief Executive and Commander-in-Chief<sup>182</sup>.*

Obama has the role as the Chief Executive in the US in order to make foreign policy. However, in the case of normalization between the US and Cuba, the most influence in taking a decision in the normalization between the US and Cuba is Obama's ideology of pragmatism. Previously, before Obama became the US president, in his campaign he has brought the term of *change*. He prefers to *engage* with other countries base on his *ideology of pragmatism*.<sup>183</sup> He tends to use the multilateral approach in building a relationship with countries.

Beside Obama's ideology of pragmatism that makes the normalization between the US and Cuba happens, Obama needs a lot of

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<sup>181</sup> MSNBC. (2014, December 17). Retrieved November 21, 2015, from Obama moves to restore relations with Cuba : <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/obama-moves-end-cuban-embargo>

<sup>182</sup> Mark B. Feldman International Law. (n.d.). Retrieved November 21, 2012, from Presidential Power to Normalize Relations: Protection of New U.S. Investment: <http://www.markfeldmaninternationallaw.com/new-page-3/>

<sup>183</sup> Based on Merriam-Webster, Pragmatism is a reasonable and logical way of doing things or of thinking about problems that is based on dealing with specific situations instead of on ideas and theories.

support from his government, his American people, and international support. So, Obama needs to explain the importance of re-establishing the US and Cuba relation to them. In addition, the situation is supported by some condition. Indirectly the condition supports Obama's desire to make new relations with Cuba. The supporting condition is analyzed through William D. Coplin in the "Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process".

#### E. National Interest

The concept of national interest is the basis for explaining the behavior of a state<sup>184</sup>. In addition, according to Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton: "*Foreign policy is strategy of plan course of action developed by decision makers of a state...aimed at achieving specific goals*".<sup>185</sup> In taking decisions, a state always has national interest to be achieved. In the case of normalization between the US and Cuba, there is national interest that the US wants to achieve. National interest of the US is the reason for domestic political support in normalization with Cuba. From the five national interests by Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, economic interest (economic well-being) has a major role that leads the US to normalize its relations with Cuba.

*The fundamental objective and ultimate determinant that guides the decision makers of a state in making foreign policy. The national interest of a state is typically a highly*

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<sup>184</sup> Mochtar Masoed, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi*, PT. Pustaka Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1994, hal 139

<sup>185</sup> Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, *The International Relations Dictionary*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., Western Michigan University: New York, 1969

*generalized conception of those elements constitute that the state's most vital needs. These include self-preservation, independence, territorial integrity, military security, and economic well being.*<sup>186</sup>

There are three points mentioned by Obama in his speech on Cuba policy change.<sup>187</sup> The first point is the US will continue to promote values about democracy and human right through engagement. The consideration is through normalizing democratic and human right value to Cuba. The value will be carried over through the people's interaction and economic activities between both countries because one of the advantages from normalization is opening new markets.<sup>188</sup> According to Dina Wisnu, an observer of international relations, it is not something new for the US because Richard Nixon had managed to normalize relation with China and it brings a lot of benefit for the US through commerce.<sup>189</sup>

The third point is about taking step to increase travel, commerce, and the flow of information to and from Cuba<sup>190</sup>. Here, in the third point there is opportunity in economic side that can be achieved by both countries, that is about the commerce. It is proven by foreign policy decision-making process by William D. Coplin that was analyzed before. Finally, the US government, American people and international contexts

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<sup>186</sup> ibid. p. 128

<sup>187</sup> *The White House*. December 17, 2014., op. cit.

<sup>188</sup> Wisnu, Dinna. *Sindo News Web*. (2015, July 22) Retrieved December 30, 2015, from: Sindo News Web - Politik Normalisasi Amerika Serikat:  
<http://nasional.sindonews.com/read/1025201/18/politik-normalisasi-amerika-serikat-1437536000/1>

<sup>189</sup> ibid.

<sup>190</sup> *The White House*. December 17, 2014., op. cit.

support normalization after seeing there is economic benefit that they can take. The desire to get the opportunity and benefit through economic side can be seen from the US Chamber that launched US-Cuba Business in September 25th 2015<sup>191</sup>.

*The U.S.-Cuba Business Council is a formal commitment by the American business community to build a strong and strategic commercial relationship between Cuba and the United States.*<sup>192</sup>

According to the US chamber website, the business council is aiming to ensure both countries to take advantage through commerce. Jodi Bond as the chamber's vice president of the Americas said that the business council is a step in the opening chapter of the US - Cuba relation<sup>193</sup>. It will be followed by some steps like removing barriers of trade to create more wealth of both countries.

*International trade and investment are key components of the Chamber's 2015 American Jobs, Growth, and Opportunity Agenda, an ambitious plan to help revitalize the American economy, create jobs, spur growth, and lift incomes*<sup>194</sup>.

Through normalization with Cuba, the US can revitalize the American economic. It can strengthen the US interest on economic sector. The four determinants that create the decision of normalization lead to the consideration of economic benefit so the US launch the US-Cuba business council to strengthen their commerce relationship and take advantages

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<sup>191</sup> US Chamber of Commerce. (2015, September 25). Retrieved December 30, 2015, from U.S. Chamber Launches U.S.-Cuba Business Council:  
<https://www.uschamber.com/press-release/us-chamber-launches-us-cuba-business-council>

<sup>192</sup> ibid.

<sup>193</sup> ibid.

<sup>194</sup> ibid.

from it. However, today, the companies still face many obstacles in running their business, causing its embargo cannot be lifted entirely.

There is a quantitative measurement of the economic benefit from the normalization. It can be seen in three-day trip of Gov. Greg Abbott in Cuba. He tries to take opportunity by talking trade with Cuba about economic advantages and by offering Texas in the US-Cuba normalization<sup>195</sup>. The data below is one example that the US can achieve through Texas farm and food exports to Cuba.

*Texas farm and food exports, for example, potentially could reach \$18.8 million a year, according to a Texas A&M University report released in November, and indirectly benefit the state's total economy to the tune of \$43 million a year. Parr Rosson, an A&M agricultural economics professor, told a Senate hearing in April that U.S. food and agricultural exports to Cuba have the potential to exceed \$1.2 billion annually within five years. Many of these exports would pass through Texas ports on their way to Cuba.<sup>196</sup>*

For other example, the US cruise ship and airlines will potentially get more profit from travel between both countries. Under the US travel restriction American Airlines and Delta can carry of 300,000 Cuban-Americans and 98,000 the US citizens in 2012.<sup>197</sup> By seeing both countries has reached in commercial flight agreement on December 17<sup>th</sup> 2015, It will

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<sup>195</sup> My Statesman. (2015, November 30). Retrieved December 30, 2015, from Abbott's trip to Cuba shows it's time for U.S. to lift trade embargo: <http://www.mystatesman.com/news/news/opinion/abbott-seeks-economic-advantage-for-texas-of-obama/npYdf/>

<sup>196</sup> ibid

<sup>197</sup> Sperandeo, Curmudgeon and Victor. Retrieved December 30, 2015, from Analysis and Economic Impact of U.S. and Cuba: Rapprochement <http://www.fiendbear.com/Curmudgeon115.htm>

increase the number of traveler that want to go to Cuba through easing travel restriction from normalization.

By seeing the domestic politic, there is support from bureaucracy, parties, mass, and interest group influencers. The consideration of the US official is through reopening their embassies; Americans can travel to Cuba and do business to expand their market. For the parties, the majority of them agree with normalization with consideration that re-establishing relation would bring the US companies to do business in Cuba and vice versa, and Cuba could be transformed into a democratic state, and there is political shift.

For the mass, Americans support normalization, especially Cuban-American people. There is consideration that the condition before and today is different. Today, there are different supports that are caused by demographic and political shift. For the interest group, they press and lobby lawmakers to do normalization with Cuba, because it is a chance to increase their business. They are seeing Cuba as the new market target to get the flow of dollars.

By seeing the economic and military capabilities, the US needs economic improvement by making Cuba as a new market to cover the deficit and debt. In the military capability, the US military spending budget today can be allocated to the other sectors with the consideration that still guarantees the US security. The US can make a new relation with

Cuba; including the US ex-enemies countries, by 'engage' with the profitable relationship, not as a threat for the US.

By seeing the recent development in the Caribbean and Latin America, this time is an opportunity for the US to improve relation with these countries. There is potential there that can be the US opportunity, especially for economic and political stability in the western hemisphere. Based on the consideration of the three conditions, it can conclude that all the conditions support normalization with Cuba because there are economic benefits that can be taken.

The most influence in taking decision in the normalization is Obama's ideology of pragmatism. However, there are 4 determinants of condition from "Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process," by William D. Coplin that supports Obama's decision on normalization with Cuba. In addition, economic interest has a major role that leads the US to normalize relation with Cuba. It is a reason for domestic politic of the US support in normalization with Cuba.