

## Normalization of Diplomatic Relations between the US and Cuba 2014-2015

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### **Abstract**

*Cuba is one of the countries that have been running the US foreign policy by giving sanctions in the form of diplomatic disengagement and economic embargo. Some the US sanctions are to overthrow Fidel regimes and to transform Cuba into a more democratic and stable country. However, for half a century, until ten times of the continuities of US presidents, the government of Cuba has not changed. The normalization effort had also been failed for 4 periods of government, namely under the government of Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, and Bill Clinton before. In 2014, under Government of President Obama, the US took a decision to normalize relation with Cuba. The decision is intended to chart a new course in the US and Cuba relation. This paper aims to explain about the factors that encourage the US intention under Obama administration to normalize diplomatic relations with Cuba in 2014, after 54 years of diplomatic disengagement.*

*Keywords: Obama, The US Policy, Cuba, The US and Cuba Relation, and The Normalization of Diplomatic Ties*

### **Introduction**

Cuba is one of the countries in Latin America, particularly in the Caribbean region, which has been running the sanction of the US, the embargo and the severance of diplomatic relations for more than half a century. Sanctions in 1961 are constituted by the increasing of Cuba's trade with the Soviet Union, nationalizing the US-owned property until the declaration of Cuba as a socialist state and the development of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba.

The relations of the US and Cuba were started 200 years ago when the US tried to expel Spain that had colonized Cuba for 370 years. There was a beneficial relation resulting the liberation of Cuba from Spain in 1899. However, the liberation of Cuba became the beginning of the US domination and the exploits over Cuba. According to the US, there is right to dominate the island under political, economic, and military reason.<sup>1</sup> There was a purchasing mechanism that the US did to Cuba from Spain in 1898.

From the US colonization, a political conflict appeared when Fidel Castro as a revolutionary movement overthrew the Cuban government held by Fulgencio Batista. Under Fidel government, Cuba started to nationalize the US-owned property, declared it as a socialist state, and developed Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba. It all made the US

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<sup>1</sup> Provest, G. (2011). "The Obama Administration and Cuba: The Clinton Administration Revisited." *The International Journal of Cuban Studies*, 2011: 311-327, 394-395.

<sup>2</sup> Lee, Brianna. "US-Cuba Relations." Council on Foreign Relations (Google Scholar),

president took the decision to give full economic embargo and severe diplomatic relation with Cuba in 1961.

The US tightening embargo toward Cuba since 1961, even the collapse of the Soviet Union, is still implemented.<sup>2</sup> In particular time, there was a tightening embargo that was implemented to Cuba by several presidents of the US. Under the Kennedy administration in early 1963 covert attack with economic warfare, intended to tighten Cuban economy and isolate the Cuban from the community.<sup>3</sup> Under the Clinton administration, the US continued tightening embargo with the signing of Cuban liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act (Helm-Burton) 1996.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to tightening the embargo, in 2000 Clinton signed Dodd law about the sale of food and medicine to Cuba, but it was limited and there was no credit-financial permitted.<sup>5</sup> However, this leeway was not enough to help Cuba. The tightening embargo was also imposed by George W. Bush, which sharply decreased Americans like students or artists who travel to Cuba or vice versa.<sup>6</sup>

The relations between the US and Cuba for half a century have ups and down situation. Several efforts have been made through various sanctions, from tightening the sanctions until loosening the sanctions. Several policies have also been made. However, for half a century the government of Cuba has not changed. It remains as a socialist state and still led by Castro's family, which is full of dictatorship. It makes the US and Cuba remain the same with no diplomatic relation.

But, in the early years of the new US president in 2009, at the beginning of Obama administration, the United States seemed to show friendly gesture toward Cuba. This is apparent from some of the significant changes like when the democratic party had a campaign in 2008 that brought Obama as the nominated president for the US, told that they will allow Americans to visit their family in Cuba.<sup>7</sup> It is fulfilled after Obama became the new president of the US in 2009. The US also compromised with the OAS in order to lift Cuba's suspension received by Cuba since 1962, which in June 3th, 2009 Cuba can participate as the member of the Organization of American States.<sup>8</sup>

Eventually, in the end of 2014 both the US and Cuba intended to normalize their relations with the emergence of some real indicators. The real indicators are like: Obama and Raul gave an official statement about normalizing diplomatic relation with Cuba on December 17th, 2014<sup>9</sup>, the US released alleged Cuban five and Cuba released

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<sup>2</sup> Lee, Brianna. "US-Cuba Relations." Council on Foreign Relations (Google Scholar), February 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Rabe, S. G. "After the missiles of October: John F. Kennedy and Cuba, November 1962 to November 1963." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 2000: 714-726.

<sup>4</sup> Falk, P. S. "The US-Cuba Agenda Opportunity of Stalemate." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 1997: 153-162.

<sup>5</sup> Provest, G. op. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> *The New York Times*. June 1, 2008.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/01/us/01florida.html> (accessed October 15, 2015).

<sup>8</sup> *CNN News*. June 3, 2009.

[http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/americas/06/03/cuba.oas/index.html?\\_s=PM:WORLD](http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/americas/06/03/cuba.oas/index.html?_s=PM:WORLD) (accessed October 15, 2015).

<sup>9</sup> The White House web. December 17, 2014. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/12/17/statement-president-cuba-policy-changes> (accessed March 7, 2015).

Alan Gross, the US officially lifted its designation of Cuba as a state sponsor of terrorism on May 29th, 2015, the US re-opened its embassy on August 14th, 2015, and the US went further by easing restriction on travel and remittance in 12 categories of travel in January 2015.

There are supports from the Americans people on lifting the embargo, normalizing relation, lifting sponsor terrorism, and lifting travel restriction toward Cuba. However, the poll shows that 56% of Americans are in favor of changing the US policy toward Cuba.<sup>10</sup> It means that there are still many, forty percent more, who refused it. However, Obama still took the decision to normalize relations with Cuba. So it is interesting to reveal the factors behind Obama's policy to normalize relation between the US and Cuba in 2014-2015.

### **Foreign Policy Decision Making Process by William D. Coplín**

Marking the normalization process after 54 years of diplomatic disengagement, the writer uses the Foreign Policy Decision Making Process by William D. Coplín to explain about the factors that encourage the US intention, under Obama administration, to normalize diplomatic relations with Cuba in 2014.

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 gave an official statement about normalizing diplomatic relation on December 17th, 2014, "*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>11</sup> In the same day, Raul Castro also gave speech about re-establishing the US and Cuba relation, "... adoption of mutual steps to improve the bilateral atmosphere and advance towards normalization of relations between our two countries...".<sup>12</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, Jimmy carter, Ronald Reagan, and Bill Clinton of the

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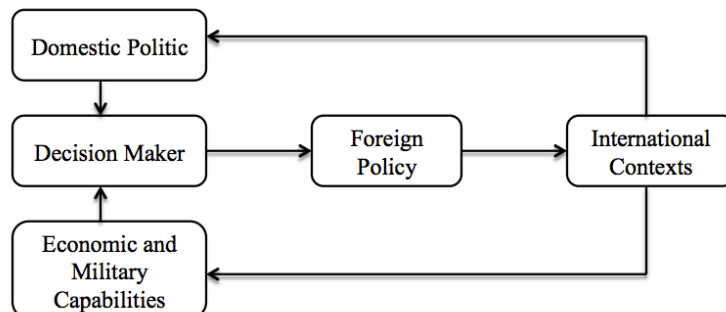
<sup>10</sup> *Atlantic Council*. February 11, 2014. <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/images/publications/2014cubapoll/US-CubaPoll.pdf> (accessed October 15, 2015).

<sup>11</sup> *The White House*. December 17, 2014., op. cit.

<sup>12</sup> *The Washington Post*. December 17, 2014. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/full-text-speech-by-cuban-president-raul-castro-on-re-establishing-us-cuba-relations/2014/12/17/45bc2f88-8616-11e4-b9b7-b8632ae73d25\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/full-text-speech-by-cuban-president-raul-castro-on-re-establishing-us-cuba-relations/2014/12/17/45bc2f88-8616-11e4-b9b7-b8632ae73d25_story.html) (accessed November 20, 2015).

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>13</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>14</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.

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>15</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>16</sup> Bureaucratic influencers are individuals 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>17</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 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': "*The U.S. Department of State also notified Congress*

<sup>13</sup> Coplin, William D. *Pengantar Politik Internasional - Suatu Telaah Teoritis*. 2. Translated by Mercedes Marbun. Bandung: Penerbit Sinar Baru Algensindo, 2003.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p.74

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*, p.81.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, p.82

<sup>17</sup> Cipto, Bambang. *Politik dan Pemerintahan Amerika*. Yogyakarta: Lingkaran buku, 2007. P. 195

of its intent to convert the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, Cuba to U.S. Embassy Havana...”.<sup>18</sup> It proves that the U.S. Department of State agrees on and supports about the US-Cuba normalization. It can be the major support for Obama, who wanted to renewed relation with Cuba since his campaign in 2008.<sup>19</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 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>20</sup> So with economic benefit that the US will get through rapprochement, the bureaucracy of the US supports the policy of normalizing relations.

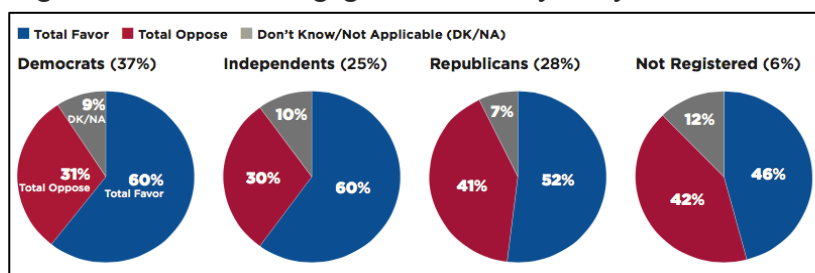
The US official considers that through reopening their embassies Americans can travel to Cuba and do business. Through business, not only can the US expand their market, but also influence Cuban people to increase their Human Right Record, and influence the Cubans thinking about democracy and liberal-capitalist.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

## 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 regimes.<sup>21</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 to make 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 graphic of “A New Public Survey Supports Policy Change” by Atlantic Council that was conducted on January 7th – 22nd, 2014.

Figure 2. Normalize/Engage with Cuba by Party<sup>22</sup>



<sup>18</sup> U.S. Department of State. July 6, 2015., op. cit.

<sup>19</sup> *The Wall Street Journal* . July 1, 2015. <http://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-cuba-reach-agreement-to-establish-formal-diplomatic-relations-1435702347> (accessed November 29, 2015).

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

<sup>21</sup> Coplin, op. cit. p. 84

<sup>22</sup> *Atlantic Council* . February 11, 2014., op. cit.

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

*“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... But the president's executive authority in foreign policy is vast”.*<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>. Within the Independents, there were 67% who supported the re-establishment of relation and embargo lifting. In consideration, the normalization and end of the 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.

Table 1. Partisan Divides in Prospects for Democracy in Cuba<sup>25</sup>

<b>Partisan Divides in Prospects for Democracy in Cuba</b>				
<i>% saying over the next several years, Cuba will be ...</i>				
	<b>More democratic</b>	<b>Less democratic</b>	<b>About the same</b>	<b>DK</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	
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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In the table above, Democrat, Republicans, and Independent, had different view about the prospect of Cuba to be more democratic.<sup>26</sup> 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.

<sup>23</sup> CBS News. December 8, 2014. <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/can-congress-block-obamas-efforts-to-normalize-cuba-relations/> (accessed November 20, 2015).

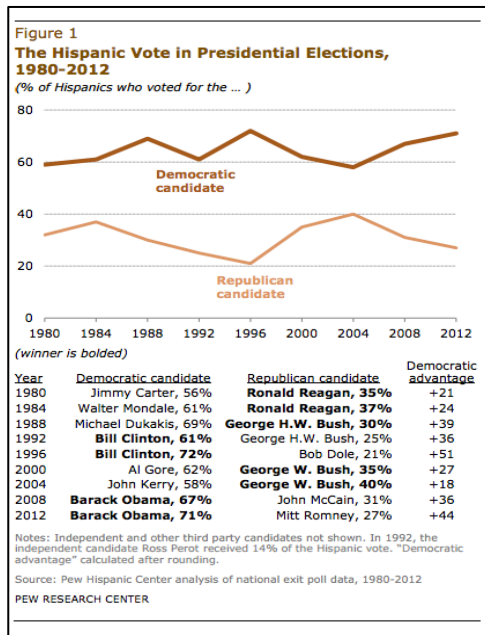
<sup>24</sup> Pew Research Center. January 16, 2015. <http://www.people-press.org/2015/01/16/most-support-stronger-u-s-ties-with-cuba/> (accessed November 20, 2015).

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

*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>27</sup>

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.<sup>28</sup> Figure 3. The Hispanic Vote in Presidential Election, 1980-2012<sup>29</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>30</sup> By seeing that, in the Obama campaign and in the early Obama's administration, Obama gives travel restriction for Cuban and American who travel.<sup>31</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 in normalization with Cuba because Democrats also get voters for the election. In this diagram below:

<sup>27</sup> *Washington Examiner*. July 2, 2015. <http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/can-you-buy-cuban-cigars-now/article/2567534> (accessed November 29, 2015).

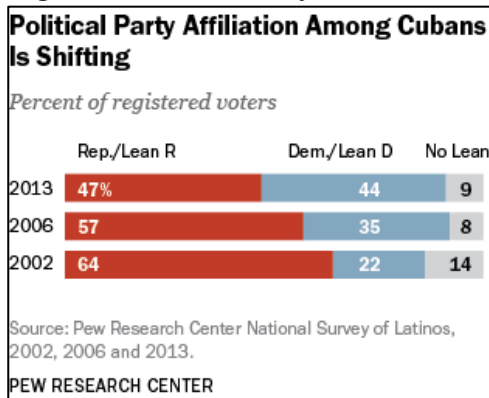
<sup>28</sup> *Latin USA*. October 29, 2015. <http://latinausa.org/2015/10/29/the-latino-vote-in-presidential-races/> (accessed November 20, 2015).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>30</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/>

<sup>31</sup> *The White House*. April 13, 2009. [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/) (accessed November 20, 2015).

Figure 4. Political Party Affiliation Among Cubans is Shifting<sup>32</sup>



In the diagram above, 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<sup>33</sup>. In 2002 until 2013, who those registered as Republicans decrease from 64% to 47% and those registered as the Democrats increase from 22% to 44%. 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.

### 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>34</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.

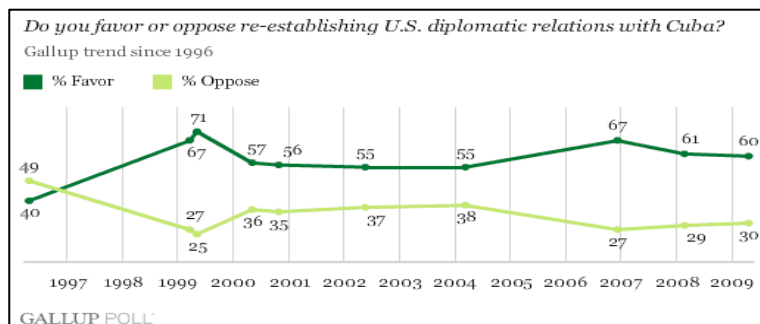
<sup>32</sup> PEW Research Center. (2014, June 24). Retrieved November 30, 2015, from After decades of GOP support, Cubans shifting toward the Democratic Party: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/06/24/after-decades-of-gop-support-cubans-shifting-toward-the-democratic-party/>

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Coplin, *op. cit.* p. 88.



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<sup>35</sup>.  
 Figure 5. American Support Re-establishing U.S. Diplomatic Relation with Cuba<sup>36</sup>

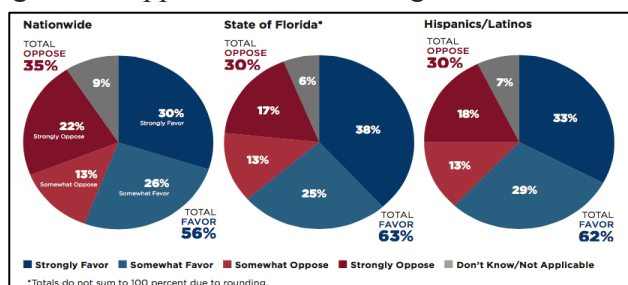


Based on the Gallup research in 2009, 60% or the majority of the US residence favored normalization between the US and Cuba. The graphic showed the raw ten years until 2009. The majority of Americans tend to support the issue. From the Gallup research, there is a new Washington Post poll found 68% of Americans favored restoring trade with Cuba, tend to increase 11 points since 2009.<sup>37</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>38</sup>

Based on the graphic of “A New Public Survey Supports Policy Change” by Atlantic Council that conducted research on January 7–22nd, 2014.

Figure 6. Support for Normalizing Relations or Engaging More Directly with Cuba<sup>39</sup>



The normalization support from nationwide based on the polling is 56%, Florida is 63%, and Hispanic is 62%. Here, polling in Florida is 7% higher of the nationwide.

<sup>35</sup> GALLUP. December 18, 2014. <http://www.gallup.com/opinion/polling-matters/180239/americans-cuba-normalized-relations-party-divide-exists.aspx> (accessed April 19, 2015).

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</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>38</sup> Atlantic Council Web. February 11, 2014. <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/events/past-events/atlantic-council-poll-americans-want-new-relations-with-cuba> (accessed November 20, 2015).

<sup>39</sup> Atlantic Council, op. cit.

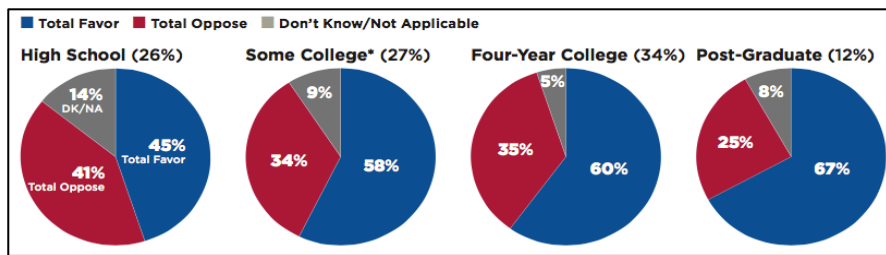
*Florida, a swing state, is an important part of any presidential candidate's electoral vote calculus, and Cuban-Americans have long been a powerful group within Florida, especially in Miami-Dade County. The Miami area is home to the largest population of Cuban heritage outside Cuba.*<sup>40</sup>

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.

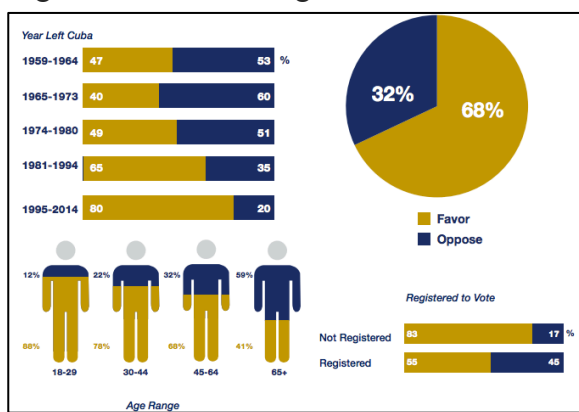
*And importantly, Florida, the state that allegedly has the greatest reluctance to reengage with Cuba, is now more willing than an already supportive country.*<sup>41</sup>

Since 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 7. Normalize/Engage with Cuba by Education<sup>42</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. Figure 8. Cubans living in Miami-Dade County favor diplomatic relations with Cuba<sup>43</sup>



<sup>40</sup> *Npr web*. August 4, 2006.

<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5615898> (accessed November 20, 2015).

<sup>41</sup> *Atlantic Council*, op. cit.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>43</sup> Gladwin, G. J. *FIU Cuba Poll - How Cuban Americans in Miami view U.S. Policies toward Cuba*, 2014. p. 11.

This survey shows the evidence of the impact on the US foreign policy toward Cuba because there is a generalization shift. In this diagram above, the majority Cuban-American in Florida favors in re-establishing diplomatic relation. The younger respondent up to 90% gives the higher response. Cuban people who arriving after 1995 are higher on re-establishing support.<sup>44</sup> However, in the previous year also tend high in response to re-establishing relations toward Cuba.

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>45</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>46</sup> The demography shift which was born in Cuba in 2000 is 68% but in 2013 is 57%.<sup>47</sup>

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>48</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. But for those who arrived before 1990 are 48% registered as Republicans and 35% as the Democrats.<sup>49</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 were who 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; 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%. 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>50</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>45</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>46</sup> *PEW Research Center.* (2014, December 23). *Op. cit.*

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>48</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>49</sup> *PEW Research Center.* (2014, December 23)., *op. cit.*

<sup>50</sup> *Pew Research Center,* (January 16, 2015)., *op. cit.*

Figure 9. American Favor Renewed Diplomatic Relations with Cuba and End to Embargo

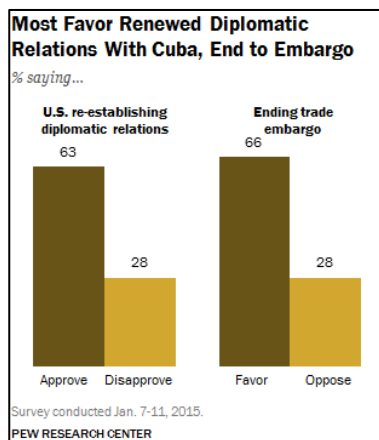
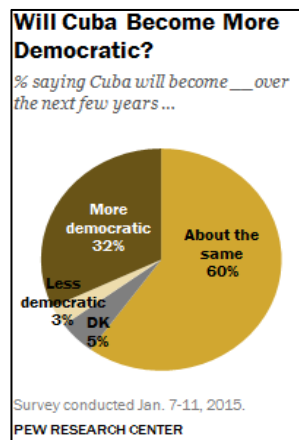


Figure 10. American See the Prospect for the Future Cuba can transform into Democratic State



By seeing 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 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>51</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>52</sup> Before the release of official statement of normalization, companies also make coalition on lobbying normalization.

*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*

<sup>51</sup> Coplin, op. cit. p. 87.

<sup>52</sup> *The Wall Street Journal*. July 20, 2015. <http://www.wsj.com/articles/as-embassies-open-a-further-cuban-thaw-faces-hurdles-in-congress-1437352444> (accessed October 22, 2015).

*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. 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>53</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 need 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 Mayor Kasim Reed trekked there to push Coca-Cola and Delta airlines.*<sup>54</sup>

The US Senators Tom Udall, Jeff Flake, Dick Durbin and Mike Enzi would provide telecommunication and Internet services in Cuba.<sup>55</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>56</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>57</sup> By fostering the economic partnership between the US and Cuba will lead both countries to get the flow of dollars.

## 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>58</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

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<sup>53</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Alternet*. July 22, 2015. <http://www.alternet.org/print/world/us-and-cuba-normalizing-relations-american-companies-are-eager-set-shop> (accessed November 20, 2015).

<sup>55</sup> *Tom Udall Web*. May 19, 2015. [http://www.tomudall.senate.gov/?p=press\\_release&id=1977](http://www.tomudall.senate.gov/?p=press_release&id=1977) (accessed November 20, 2015).

<sup>56</sup> *The Global and Mail web*. September 17, 2015. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/international-business/us-business/verizon-becomes-first-us-company-to-offer-cellphone-roaming-in-cuba/> (accessed Oktober 8, 2015).

<sup>57</sup> *USA Today*. December 18, 2014. <http://www.usatoday.com/story/money/business/2014/12/17/businesses-will-benefit-from-improved-cuba-relations/20536283/> (accessed November 20, 2015).

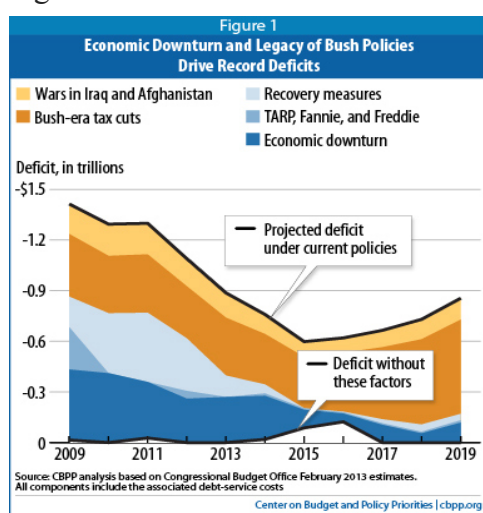
<sup>58</sup> Coplin, *op. cit.* p. 110.

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>59</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.

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.

Figure 11. Economic Downturn and Legacy of Bush Policies Drive Record Deficits<sup>60</sup>



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 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>61</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

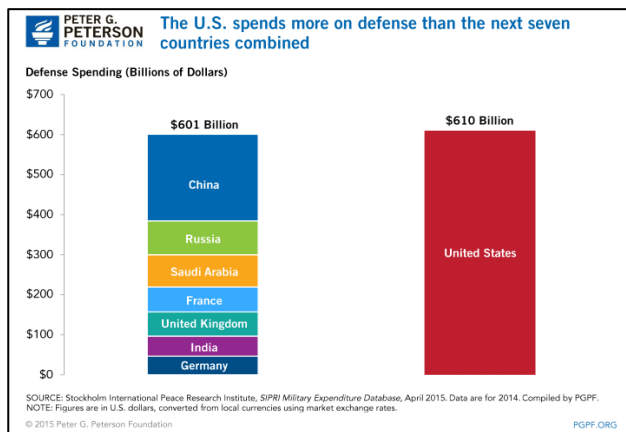
<sup>59</sup> Crotty, James. The great austerity war: what caused the US deficit crisis and who should pay to fix it?. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 2012: 79–104 .

<sup>60</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>

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

should implement another diplomatic strategy, engagement. Using another approach (engagement) with non-military will minimize the possibility of war or military spending.

Figure 12. The U.S. Spend More on Defense than Next Seven Countries Combined<sup>62</sup>



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>63</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>64</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 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.

<sup>62</sup> Peter G. Peterson Foundation. October 23, 2012. <http://www.pgpf.org/budget-basics/should-defense-spending-cuts-be-part-of-any-deficit-reduction-package> (accessed November 20, 2012).

<sup>63</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

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 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>65</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.

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) because 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

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<sup>65</sup> Coplin, op. cit. p. 167.



rising Anti-American sentiment. All of it makes Washington reputation and relation with Latin America deteriorated dramatically.<sup>66</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 State has done much to promote peace and prosperity in the hemisphere, we have at times been disengaged, and at time we sought to dictate our term. ... So I am here to launch a new chapter of engagement that will be sustained throughout my administration.*<sup>67</sup>

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>68</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>69</sup> An example of the relations is a climate change agreement with China, to cap carbon emissions.

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>70</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.

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<sup>66</sup> LeoGrande, W. M. (2007). A poverty of imagination: George W. bush's policy in latin america. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 39(2), 355. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/195919180?accountid=38628>

<sup>67</sup> *The White House*. (2009, April 17). <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-summit-americas-opening-ceremony> (accessed October 23, 2015).

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *The White House*. (2015, July 26) <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/08/26/press-briefing-press-secretary-josh-earnest-8262015> (accessed November 29, 2015).

<sup>70</sup> Prevost, G., *op. cit*

*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>71</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, 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>72</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.

#### 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>73</sup> It is really different with the previous

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<sup>71</sup> OEC. n.d. <http://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/cub/> (accessed November 20, 2015).

<sup>72</sup> USAID Web. n.d. <https://www.usaid.gov/where-we-work/latin-american-and-caribbean> (accessed November 20, 2015).

<sup>73</sup> The White House. December 17, 2014. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/foreign-policy/cuba> (accessed April 3, 2015).

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>74</sup>

Announcing of normalization toward Cuba, President Obama uses his executive power to create new diplomatic, economic, and commercial relations with Cuba without congressional authority.<sup>75</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 Helm-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>76</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 become the US president, in his campaign he has brought the term of *change*. He prefers to *engage* with other countries base on his pragmatism ideology.<sup>77</sup> He tends to use the multilateral approach in building a relationship with countries.

Beside of Obama's ideology of pragmatism that makes the normalization between the US and Cuba happens, Obama needs a lot of support from his government, his American people, and international support. So, Obama needs to explain of the important though for 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 relation with Cuba. The supporting condition is analyzed through William D. Coplin in the "Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process".

### **National Interest**

In taking decision, a state always has national interest to be achieved. In the case of normalization between the US and Cuba, there is national interest the US wants to achieve. National interest of the US is the reason for domestic politic support in normalization with Cuba. According to Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, in making foreign policy, a national interest can have priority on self-preservation, independence,

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<sup>74</sup> Erikson, D. P. (2010, April). The Obama Administration and Latin America: Towards a New Partnership? *working paper, international diplomacy*.

<sup>75</sup> MSNBC. December 17, 2014. <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/obama-moves-end-cuban-embargo> (accessed November 21, 2015).

<sup>76</sup> Mark B. Feldman *International Law*. n.d. <http://www.markfeldmaninternationallaw.com/new-page-3/> (accessed November 21, 2012).

<sup>77</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.

territorial integrity, military security and economic well being.<sup>78</sup> From the five national interest 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. Nevertheless, all the factors, including the four determinants by Coplin, are interrelated and influence the US decisions in normalizing its relations with Cuba.

There are three points mentioned by Obama in his speech on Cuba policy change. The third point is about taking step to increase travel, commerce, and the flow of information to and from Cuba.<sup>79</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 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>80</sup>. According to the US chamber website, the business council is aiming to ensure both countries to take advantage through commerce.

## **Conclusion**

There is a political shift in the end of 2014 that both countries intend to normalize their relations. President Obama and President Raul Castro gave an official statement about normalizing diplomatic relation on December 17th, 2014. In the beginning of Obama administration, the US seem to show friendly gesture toward Cuba. This is apparent from some significant changes. Like when the Democratic Party campaign in 2009 brought Obama, as the president's nomination for the US, told that they will allow Americans to visit their family in Cuba. It is fulfilled after Obama became the new US president in 2009. The US also compromised with the OAS in order to lift Cuba's suspension, that received by Cuba since 1962. Thus on June 3rd, 2009 Cuba can participate again as the member of the Organization of American States. In the end of 2014 the US and Cuba can reach the normalization relation. By seeing after the long period of the US and Cuba has not a diplomatic relation, but then in Obama administration, start to normalize their relation. From the facts above, there are several factors that influence on the foreign policy decision-making process of the US in normalizing relation with Cuba.

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 become the US president, in his campaign he has brought the term of change. He prefers to engage with other countries. He tends to use the multilateral approach in building a relationship with countries. Beside of Obama's pragmatism ideology that makes the normalization between the US and Cuba happens, Obama needs a lot of support from his government, his American people, and international support. So, Obama needs to explain of the important though for re-

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<sup>78</sup> Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton. *The International Relations Dictionary*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., Western Michigan University: New York, 1969

<sup>79</sup> *The White House*. December 17, 2014., op. cit.

<sup>80</sup> *US Chamber of Commerce*. (2015, September 25). Retrived 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>

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 relation with Cuba. The supporting condition is analyzed through William D. Coplin in the "Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process".

In the "Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process", there are three determinants of the condition that supports Obama's decision on normalization toward Cuba. 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 decision for the normalization of diplomatic relation between the US and Cuba in 2014-2015 are Obama's ideology of pragmatism, supported by the US conditions, that are analyzed through "Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process", by William D. Coplin. 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. So, all of it makes the decision to normalize relations with Cuba happens this year.

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