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Studies

U.S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS CUBA

Diploma Thesis

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Brno, 2015

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Abstract

KOLČAVOVÁ, Barbora. *US Foreign Policy towards Cuba*. Diploma Thesis. Brno 2015.

The thesis is analysing the mutual relations of the United States and Cuba, and encapsulate the political development of Cuba as well as U.S., and the changes of the foreign policy of the United States towards Cuba, since 1898. The focus of the thesis is on how the U.S. foreign policy influenced the development of Cuba, the factors that have contributed to the shaping of Cuba-U.S. relations and the main historical events and laws that occurred between two countries. The differences between foreign policies of the American presidents and the policy of containment of communism will be taken into account, as well as the position of Cuban Americans in U.S. and public opinion on the U.S.-Cuba relations. The conclusion of the work will contain the discussion of an obtained results.

Keywords: Cuba, the United States, Foreign Policy, Embargo, Foreign Relations, U.S

Abstrakt

KOLČAVOVÁ, Barbora. *Zahraniční politika USA vůči Kubě*. Diplomová práce. Brno, 2015

Cílem této diplomové práce je analýza vzájemných vztahů mezi Spojenými státy americkými a Kubou, a objasnění politického vývoje jak Kuby, tak Spojených Států, a změny v zahraniční politice Spojených Států vůči Kubě od roku 1898. Diplomová práce se zaměřuje na hlavní historické mezníky a zákony, které se podílely na formování americko-kubánských vztahů. Práce zohledňuje postoj k zahraniční politice vybraných amerických prezidentů, a politiku zadržování komunismu, podporu veřejnosti vůči politice vůči Kubě, a pozici Kubánských emigrantů v zemi. Závěr práce předkládá diskuzi získaných faktů.

Klíčová slova: Kuba, Spojené Státy Americké, Zahraniční Politika, Embargo, Mezinárodní Vztahy, USA

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1. Introduction

The relations of Cuba and the United States had, in more than 50 years, changed from imposing an embargo on Cuba and the isolation of the island, attempts to normalize the relations by some of the presidents, following by tightening the embargo by others, into re-establishing of their diplomatic relations, which have been cut off in 1961, in 2015, by Presidents Barack Obama and Raul Castro. The relations between these countries have been, and are, observed by the whole world. The big role in their mutual history played the Soviet Union, enhancing anti-American feeling and communism on the island, and sponsoring Cuba economically as their main trading partner. This has ended after the end of Cold War.

The thesis is focusing on the past and current situation on Cuba, and the changes in the U.S. foreign policy towards Cuba, and the fact, how have differed the foreign policies of particular U.S. Presidents in the office. The public opinion, obtained in polls and divided according to the nationality of the respondents, and their point of view on the diplomatic relations between both countries and embargo on Cuba, is also taken into consideration. The important player in U.S. politics became Cuban Americans, under the auspices of The Cuban American National Foundation.

The current year, 2015, is significant turning point in the direction of U.S. foreign policy towards Cuba. It is an historical milestone for both states, normalizing their relations after more than 50 years. The current period of time is crucial also because of U.S. presidential elections next year. The Cuba policy of a newly elected president will define a new foreign policy towards Cuba, the future U.S. - Cuban relations, and the approach towards an U.S. embargo on Cuba.

2. Objectives, methodology

The objective of the work is to analyse the relations between Cuba and the United States, since Cuba's independence, up to the year 2015, and also the possible future directions where could the relations among both countries lead.

Thesis is divided into several parts, The structure of the thesis can be summarized as theoretical at the beginning, summarizing the theory of foreign policy, the concept of implementing foreign policy and its decision making, and international relations theories, like realism, liberalism or Marxism. The work contains brief history of both the United States and Cuba, and, in the end, the work is dealing with the current foreign policy of U.S. towards Cuba, the public opinion on this topic, and the position and political influence of Cuban exiles in U.S.

The topic is bringing many questions, for example, what has formed Cuban approach towards U.S., and oppositely, which factors are influencing the U.S. attitude to Cuba, For the analysing of the data, used in the graphs, is used qualitative research. The used data are secondary, transformed into graphs by the author.

The core topics of the thesis are the questions, whether the embargo destabilized the Cuban government, how did the U.S. stand on Cuba has shaped their development, the impact of end of the Cold War on Cuba, and the amount of influence of the Cuban exiles in U.S., in the shaping of foreign policy towards Cuba, their role in the society as well as in the politics.

In the work are used texts and data from various books, publications, online newspapers like Politico, Reuters or Washington Post, documents published of the White House, U.S. Department of State, presidential speeches or U.S. Department of Commerce etc.

The data used in graphs are obtained from Cuban National Statistical Office, United States Census Bureau, National Bureau of Economic Research or Cuban Research Institute at Florida International University.

3. Foreign policy

„Foreign policy is a multi-layered process, associated with official contacts with foreign countries, including decision making (models of bargaining and rational choice strategies, objectives, and means), internal environment or domestic sources of foreign policy (apparatus of agencies, relations, hierarchies, communications within, the nature of domestic politics), psychological factors (perceptions, and misperceptions, ideologies, psychology of individuals and groups, images of other countries) and external environment (also called middle range theories - geopolitics, technology, geography, development „lateral expansion“ and agent structure debate.)“. (Kubáľková, 2001: 16)

Foreign policy is a product of interaction between domestic and international actors, takes part in internal and external environments and results from the cooperation of actors and groups inside and outside state boundaries. It is the strategy to achieve government's goals in relations with external actors. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012: 113), and consists of diplomatic relations with other countries and international organizations, peacekeeping, assuring security, regionally and internationally, international economic issues like trade and business, foreign aid or negotiation of treaties and agreements.(Constitutional Rights Found.)

Foreign policy consists of the choices that leaders and states can make, like, for example, their decision whether to go to war, make peace, create an alliance or the state's diplomatic relations. These decisions can be divided into one-shot, sequential, interactive or group. (Mintz, Derouen, 2010). Factors influencing foreign policy are, for example, political, cultural, economic, national, regional, psychological, or ideational. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012). Policy consists of international and domestic priorities of the state, and the foreign policy's goal is to reach these priorities, in order to be able to compete with other states. The decisions that the state make, are affecting not only the state that is making the decision, but also states and people beyond its borders. (Kaufman, 2006)

There are three core works by foreign policy analysts that stays at the foundation of FPA:

- Richard Snyder (*Decision making as an approach to the study of international politics*), that focuses on the decision-making process. Snyder has invented the term foreign policy decision making (FPDM). Decision making was viewed as an “organizational behaviour”. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012: 13)
- James Rosenau (*Pre-theories and Theories of Foreign Policy*), underscored the need to analyse information from individual leaders to international system, in order to truly understand foreign policy. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012:14)
- Harold and Margaret Sprout (*Man-Milieu Relationship Hypotheses in the Context of International Politics*), showed, that foreign policy can be only explained with the psychological, situational, political and social context of the individuals involved in the decision making. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012: 14).

Foreign policy nowadays is not only about relations between states, but also about the relationships of state with organizations, made by nation-states (UN, EU, NATO), multinational corporations (Wal-Mart), stateless actors, non-state actors, or NGOs (Amnesty International). (Kaufman, 2006)

The core of making the foreign policy decision making is national interest. One of the approaches that the decision-makers might use, or might be influenced by, is the realist perspective, which assumes that countries are core actors in world’s politics, and each state has its own national interest which shapes its foreign policy style. Another approach in foreign policy is the liberal, or idealist perspective. This school is based on the idea of cooperation. If countries work together, support each other and create alliances, security is achieved. Liberalism gives important value to values and morality and people and nations cooperate with one another. Liberal perspective means using soft power, and gained credibility after end of the Cold War and spread of democracy in the Eastern Bloc. (Kaufman, 2006)

3.1 International relations theories

6.3.1 Realism

Realism is the basic approach of the theory of International Relations. Realism is both realistic and theoretical, its roots are based on observation of politics, and is challenged by the differences between real foreign policy situations and the assumptions and deductions of the theory. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012: 36).

Realism can be divided into six parts that have developed and differentiated over time. These variants are: classical realism, neorealism, “rise and fall realism”, neoclassical realism, defensive structural realism and offensive structural realism. (Griffiths, 2007). According to the classical realist approach, states are the most important actors in foreign policy, and states, as well as statesman, are always rational. Foreign policy is also security policy, because of the never ending competitions among states, and ever-present danger of war or violent environment. (Kubálková, 2001)

The main actors in realism, on the world stage, are states as sovereign actors. Realism is pointing out the problems of fights for power between states, because human nature is fixed-selfish, and each country is trying to maximize its national interests, compete with other states, care about itself and its citizens, and use diplomacy in relations and alliances with other countries. The key for survival of the country is to create alliances with other states, cooperate and support each other. (Baylis, Owens, Smith, 2014: 4). The classical realist theoretical argument is, that with no authority that could maintain order the state, or the world, will be living in anarchy, where each country just wants to get what it want, get armed and escalate into war. Thus, anarchy is the cause of war, and brings conflicts. This is the basic argument of realism and a base for development of realists approaches. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012: 38)

Realism is based on three assumptions:

- Groupism: it is natural for humans to live in the groups and be member of the groups, and get the cohesion by group solidarity. On the other hand, this is also bringing the potential conflicts with other groups.

- Egoism: the main driver of political behaviour is self-interest, which is rooted in human nature.
- Power-centrism: interaction between social and material power is the key to politics, because power is the crucial feature to politics. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012: 36)

6.3.2 Liberalism

Liberal countries can be described as countries trying to keep peaceful relations among each other, respect other democratic countries, negotiate rather than fight and trying to expand liberal peace zone. Liberal countries usually tend to expand liberal zone to non-liberal countries, however, it might provoke danger or cause the war. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012: 56)

Liberal society's base is the political and cultural freedom of an individual, the state is a "guardian" of the freedom, and tool for reforms. The world system is non-formable by individual development, the main actors of liberalism are states or institutions, and war is removable by reform of a system. (Krejčí, 2009)

Liberalism's most important principle is the importance of freedom of the individual. Liberalism is committed to four laws: citizens have the civic rights, state sovereignty is in representative legislatures, economy is recognizing the rights of private property and economic decisions are shaped by supply and demand and free from strict controls. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012: 55). Democracy is necessary for the ideal world, where ideas matter. Liberalism rejects the idea of realism that war is the natural thing. Cooperation between the countries is a core feature of world politics. (Baylis, Owens, Smith, 2014: 4,5)

First effect of liberalism on foreign relations is establishment peace among liberal countries, establishing a zone of peace and alliances. Liberal foreign policy should aim to create the union of similar liberal societies and be prepared to defend one another. From the historical point of view, alliances or political bonds between two or more liberal states has proved to be stable and peaceful. However, according to David Hume, this peace and cooperation exist only among liberal countries, in relation of liberals with liberals. There

is a caution against non-liberal states. The aggressions or wars between liberals and non-liberals have started from the side of non-liberal countries, attacking and threatening the liberal ones, as well as the liberal states, in the way of expansionist colonial wars, and their distrust to authoritarian and non-liberal regimes. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012)

6.3.3 Behaviourism

From the idea that there should be studies of human agency so that this one could contribute to foreign policy decision making have arisen the „behaviourist „approach. This approach focus on the minds of men and on psychological factors, as explanation of foreign policies choices. Behaviourists are trying to understand and examine the process of foreign policy decision making. (Alden, Aran, 2012)

6.3.4 Marxist theories

Marxist theory has been less influential than liberalism or realism, in the historical perspective. For this theory, the core idea is to create and to accomplish the world and the world politics, as a world of the capitalist economy. The most important actors are classes and their behaviour is formed by class forces. All states should behave by the rules of the international capitalist economy, the most important is the level of economic autonomy in world politics. (Baylis, Owens, Smith, 2014: 5)

Socialist human is radically formed and changed by a change of a society, the base of a society is equality and solidarity, and the state is a tool of leading the society towards social equality. The world system is changeable by revolutionary transformation between the class relations, the main actor of socialism is state and class solidarity, and war is an act of exploitation in capitalism, which is removable by revolutionary change of the system. (Krejčí, 2009)

6.3.5 Constructivism

Around 1991, constructivist approach has emerged as a new approach after failure of liberalism and realism to explain the end of the Cold War. Constructivists see the reality as a project under constant construction, the world as coming into being, rather than existing as pre-given. Constructivism is often called „social constructivism“, because

understanding of reality of each human is made from each person's inner knowledge and the nature of social reality. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012: 79, 80)

Constructivism is based on idea, that role of a human agency has to be more important than in other theories, because we are building a re-make and make the social world. And world politics can be changed. (Baylis, Owens, Smith, 2014: 5). Constructivism says, that the world is socially constructed by people. So, everything, even world politics is socially constructed and the global balance of power might be destroyed only by people, by leaders, that create the threat. Central idea of constructivism is identity, for example political identity, that define relations among governments. The example of constructivism in 19th century is Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine from Roosevelt in 1903 (Hook, 2011)

3.2 International relations

International relations are interpreting the characteristics of international system and foreign policy outcomes. (Alden, Aran, 2012). The core idea of the International Relations studies is, that everything that is happening in nation's relations with other nation has its roots in human decision making. IR studies the relations between humans and the world, and how these two actors shape one-another. (Hudson, 2014). In 1950, the study of International relations (IR) has been divided into two parts: Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA), and the study of International Politics (IP). FPA deals with the states as units and the relationships between them, and, on the other hand, IP focuses on the system of relations between the states. (Kubálková, 2001)

3.2.1 Foreign Policy Analysis

Foreign policy analysis (FPA) can be described as the study of the act and practice of relations between different actors, mainly states, in international system. The policy is formed by trade negotiations, cultural exchanges and diplomacy between all the international actors. The main bodies of FPA are individual decision makers, processes and conditions that affect foreign policy, and the outcomes of these decisions. FPA focuses on state management, inter-state relations and research of foreign policy processes. FPA's aim is to improve the foreign policy decisions making and relations

between countries. (Alden, Aran, 2012). FPA is researching the subjective situation of decision maker in a group. The focus has turned from questions about foreign policies towards dealing with the processes in which decisions were made. (Kubálková, 2001). Foreign policy analysis seeks to explain foreign policy or foreign policy behaviour, with reference to the theoretical ground of human decision makers. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012)

FPA's founding „school „is realism. Realism studies the state and its interactions with other states, and seeks for an explanations and answers of foreign policy outcomes. State's centrality of power is the key of state's ability to keep a successful foreign policy, to pursuit security, enhance material wealth, keep the geographic position, material resources and thus compete with other countries and improve himself in order to become more successful than the other states. (Alden, Aran, 2012)

3.3 Foreign policy actors

The most important actors, making foreign policy decisions and being politically responsible, are political parties, heads of state, governments or parliaments. From the other group of the foreign policy actors we can name civil servants and experts, ministry of foreign affairs, economic ministries, lobbying firms and media. These actors are usually domestic based, but in contact with their foreign counterparts. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012: 114)

3.4 Foreign policy decision making

“Foreign policy decision making (FPDM) refers to the choices individuals, groups and coalitions make that affect a nation's actions on the international stage. Foreign policy decisions are typically characterized by high stakes, uncertainty, and substantial risk. “(Mintz, Derouen, 2010)

Foreign policy decision making is a process, in which the country has to take into account the international as well as domestic factors, like economic situation of the country. The decisions are made within country that are affected by, and are influencing the actors and states outside the country. (Kaufman, 2006)

Between the 1950s and 1960s, the FPA scholars focused more on the process of foreign policy decision making, rather than the outcomes. They, together, have been investigating the role of individual decision maker and influences on foreign policy choice. (Alden, Aran, 2012). The decision making process consists of four steps: identifying the decision problem, searching for alternatives, choosing alternative and executing the alternative. (Mintz, Derouen, 2010)

The decision making process can be divided according to the various directions:

- Models of decision making (rational actor, bureaucratic politics, organizational politics)
- Determinants of foreign policy decisions (decision environment, psychological factors, international factors, domestic influences)
- Psychological factors that shape decisions (emotions, personality of leaders, leadership style, miscalculations),
- Environmental factors (time constrains, stress, risk)
- Effect of international and domestic factors (regime type, economic conditions, public opinion, electoral cycles). (Mintz, Derouen, 2010)

In FPDM exist two models: realist and cognitive. Realist approach assumes, that states act to maximize gains and minimize losses, and it is considered to be an ideal type of decision making. Cognitive model is focused on how the person's mind work, and the role of emotions in the foreign policy decision making. (Mintz, Derouen, 2010) According to the cognitive psychology, people prefer simplicity and consistency, and are more averse to loss than they are gain-seekers., and decisions are shaped by emotional responses. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012: 133)

In the decision-making process, there are many types of decisions that can be made. We can divide them into five parts: single decisions, that are not very common in international affairs, interactive decisions in which at least two sides are making the decision, sequential decisions, the decision making process in which the series of connected decisions is taken, sequential-interactive decisions, in which at least two countries are discussing and responding the decision process and group decisions, that are the decisions when the group of actors usually negotiate, discuss or bargain and also

the decision of president or leader of the group is usually included. (Mintz, Derouen, 2010)

In the decision making process, power is often used against the other actors, in order to influence another one. Hard power means the economic and military power, soft power means persuading others to cooperate. States act to maximize their power, and statesmen act in the way to reach that, because, according to realist perspective, the state should use all available means to get more power. Values or morality are not taken into account, because more power means more security. Security and protection of the people is the state's highest priority, and only when the country is safe, the government can focus on other issues, problems or decisions within the country. (Kaufman, 2006)

3.5 Implementing of foreign policy

Implementing is the phase when decisions are put into action, when actors and environment meet one another. The progression of foreign policy making process by rationalist approach consists of: formulation (definition of objectives) – choice (choice of instruments) – decision (interplay between actor's strategy) – action (ability to adapt to unexpected circumstances). (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012:)

In implementing of the foreign policy are two important factors – the instruments of foreign policy and the capabilities of foreign policy. The instruments of foreign policy are dependent and connected with state capabilities. The larger states have capacities to act globally, more people, more contacts and more money. On the other side, the tiny states are trying hard just to preserve their autonomy. Resources are “basic forces” of foreign policy, that means country's climate, position, geography, population size or education, and the level of development. Instruments of foreign policy can be defined as forms of pressure and influence of decision makers. Brighi and Hill described the scale of foreign policy instruments as: diplomacy – positive sanctions – negative sanctions – political intervention – military action. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012)

Capabilities, on the other hand, are resources which are not yet transformed into instruments, and can be applied in practical politics, like GDP, agricultural productivity,

skills, reputation or strength of currency. Capabilities are always tried to be improved by government as a long-term investment. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012)

4. U.S. foreign policy

Foreign policy, in today's age of globalisation, is affecting each and every one. It is important to understand and know foreign policies in other countries, because its affecting wide range of aspects – people working abroad, international trade, international agreements, number of people that can enter the country within one year, companies building their factories in developing countries, products, technologies, knowledge, capital flow, all these are possible because of foreign policy.

The economic and political system of the United States has been developing without an outside assistance, trying to gain independence on Great Britain and European powers, and create its own politics. The U.S. government power is restrained in the Bill of Rights, in which are established political liberties, limiting the governmental authority. Their power is divided among federal, state and local governments, and the federal powers are shared among Congress, the President and the judiciary. The article of Confederation was established in 1781 and set the ground for a first American political system. (Hook, 2011)

4.1.1 The Constitution

The Constitution document has provided government with tools to strengthen their power and to protect the nation with new policy tools. (Stevenson, 2013) The Constitution gave the president, in the time of war, the position of the Commander in chief of armed forces, and Congress has the power to declare war and also has the responsibility for the common defence. President has veto power, and executive power, and, on the other hand, Congress has power of the purse, to oversight and investigate, and legislative power. (Jentleson, 2004)

4.1.2 Executive and legislative branch

The foreign policy is formulated by the president and his advisors. The executive branch, headed by the president, and legislative branch, the Congress, have the main role in making foreign policy. President negotiate treaties with foreign government, but two-thirds of Senate must agree. President is the one that make decision, whether is the

military intervention in the national interest or not, and he is the one who is accountable to the public, and has to explain the reasons to do or not to do so to the people, and thus, gain the public support.

The executive power is the power that “ensure that laws are faithfully executed”. Executive power consists of actions made in order to execute foreign policy, like agreements, executive orders, and veto power, to block the legislation unless Congress pass it a second time. Legislative power can be divided into substantive and procedural legislation – substantive is dealing with details of foreign policy should or should not be, procedural legislation deals with structures and procedures by which foreign policy is made. (Jentleson, 2004)

4.2 History

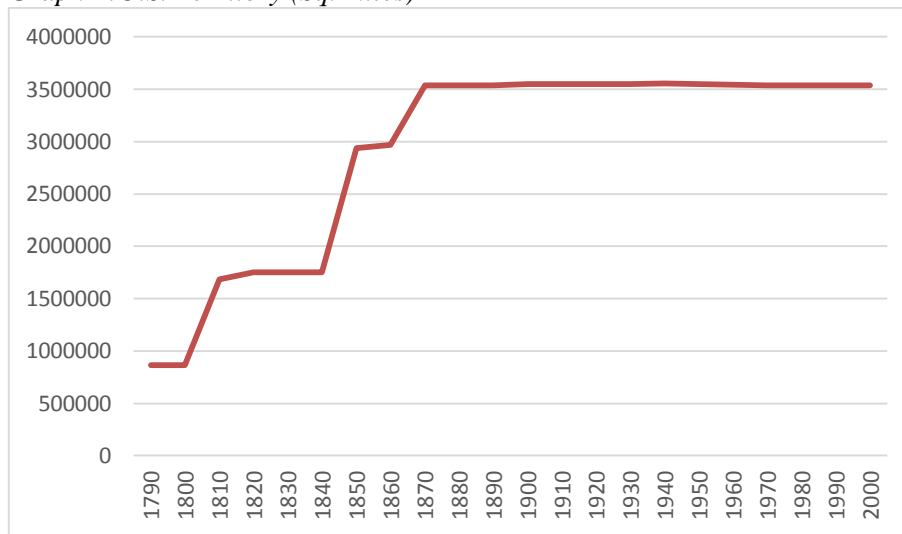
In the first years of the country, U.S. foreign policy had unilateralist approach, it was the policy of self-sufficiency. The economic cooperation with other countries was growing, and supported, U.S. economy was dependent on foreign, mainly European, foreign trade, but any political alliances or agreements were avoided. (Kaufman, 2006, Hook, 2011) President George Washington has said, in 1796: “*The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible*” (Hook, 2011)

The next foreign policy of the U.S. was, since 1945 until nowadays, internationalism. The country has become military and politically involved in the international relations, and joined military and political alliances. (Kaufman, 2006)

4.2.1 1781 - 1914

In the early years of the country, the leaders kept building the country from within, to build an industrial economy. The U.S., using the term „cult of nationalism” started expansions to the Western Hemisphere, towards British, French, Russian and Spanish bases in North America. (Hook, 2011) (Graph 1)

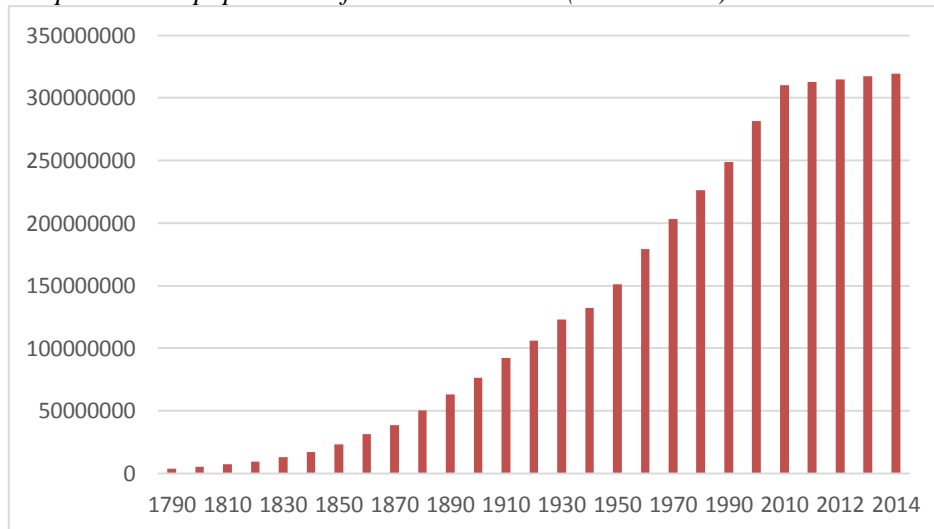
Graph 1: U.S. Territory (Sq. miles)



Source: Own work based on data from: *United States History*, < <http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h986.html>>

The population of the States has grown gradually, from around 4 million in 1790, up to more than 300 million of inhabitants in 2014. (Graph 2)

Graph 2: Total population of the United States (1790 - 2014)

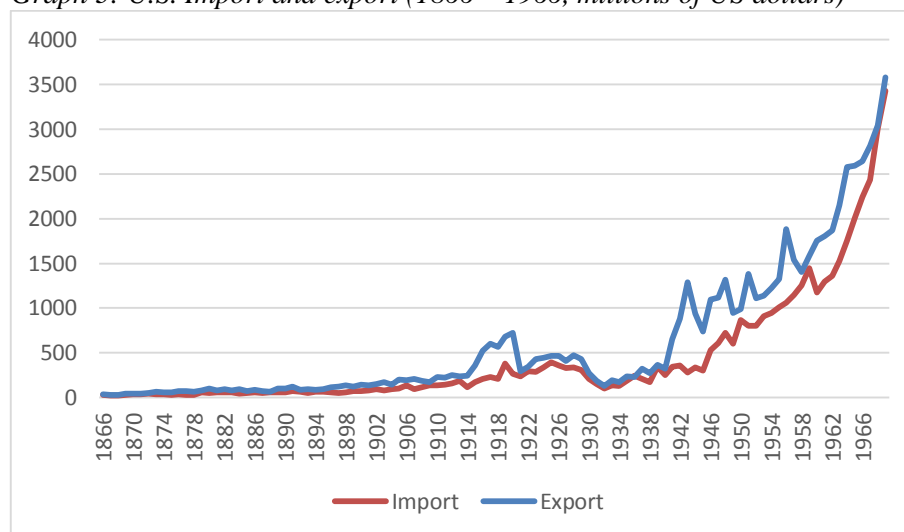


Source: Own work based on data from: *U.S. Census Bureau*, < <http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h986.html>>, < <http://www.census.gov/popest/data/national/totals/pre-1980/tables/popclockest.txt>>

In the 1800s, the democracy was stable, and U.S economy was based on trade. The first presidents, George Washington, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson saw Britain and France as a potential threat to the U.S. In 1823, the President Monroe came with an address to Congress – the Monroe Doctrine, to stay removed from the European affairs,

and in return, European powers stay out of the United States, which were no longer under European sphere of influence. (Kaufman, 2006) Monroe doctrine is an act of “active isolationism“, and has set the goals and focus of U.S. foreign policy, put Western hemisphere under the sphere of influence and interest of the U.S. (Krejčí, 2009)

Graph 3: U.S. Import and export (1866 – 1966, millions of US dollars)



Source: Own work based on data from: The national bureau of economic research, <<http://www.nber.org/databases/macroeconomic/m07028.dat>>, <<http://www.nber.org/databases/macroeconomic/m07023.dat>>

The U.S. imports and export grew more significantly during the WWI, exporting more goods to the Europe, and after the both World Wars, the U.S. became more and more powerful in the international trade. (Graph 3)

The rights written in the Monroe Doctrine were first used in 1902, when Venezuela got into debt and its European investors sent boats for a country’s blockade. U.S. got suspicious, that this will lead to the rising influence of Europe in Latin America, so, President Roosevelt has brought the Monroe Doctrine principles, that only United States can use military force in Latin America. (Kaufman, 2006) In 1904, President Roosevelt has added a “Roosevelt Corollary” to Monroe Doctrine, proclaiming the U.S. an “international police power”. (Hook, 2011)

Roosevelt said that “no Latin American nation adhering to acceptable international standards of behaviour” had to fear intervention by the United States”. But “Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties

of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, require intervention by some civilized nation.”, and that *“in the western hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.”* (US. Dep. of State (a))

4.2.2 1914 – 1950

When the war started in 1914 in Europe, the U.S. did not want to intervene, and stayed neutral, announcing a “policy of neutrality”. (U.S. Dep. of State (b)) But, when the German submarine destroyed British ship with American passengers on board in 1915, the U.S. Congress declared war against Germany in 1917. (Hook, 2011) During the WWI, the USA has started to be involved in dealing of problems of the European continent. (Krejčí, 2009)

When the WWII started, during the administration of President Roosevelt, elected in 1932, U.S. did not join the WWII either. The President has said in his presidential campaign in 1940 *“I have said this before and I shall say it again and again: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars”*. In 1935 and 1936, the Congress passes Neutrality Act barring American intervention in Europe. However, after the attack on Pearl harbour in 1941, Roosevelt has engaged U.S. military in Italy, France coast and naval forces in Pacific. (Hook, 2011)

In this time, the US foreign policy strategy started to change. In 1947, and 1949, Truman doctrine has supported Greece and Turkey against „outside pressure“, and set the principles of global interventionism, the global goals and the U.S. has officially took over the role of a global hegemon from Great Britain. (Krejčí, 2009) In 1940s, the new institution was created, in order to put nation’s principles into practice. The institution was called the National Security State, and its task was to centralize national security. The National Security Act of 1947, has three components: (Hook, 2011)

- **The Department of Defence (DoD)** – centralized control of army, navy and air force.

- **The National Security Council (NSC)** – coordination of foreign policy process from the White House. The president’s national security adviser would be source of guidance and controlling the foreign policy advice from other officials.
- **The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)** – oversee the collection, analysis and distribution of foreign intelligence. (Hook, 2011)

4.2.3 1950 – 2015

President Nixon, in 1970s, has changed the U.S. foreign policy after Vietnam War, eased tensions with Soviet leaders in order to eliminate the threats. The next president, in 1974, Carter, has turned the foreign policy towards more cooperative approach, human rights protection, improving living conditions in developing countries and stronger role for the UN. (Hook, 2011) His approach was a liberal moralism. (Krejčí, 2009) In 1981, the next president, President Reagan, called the Soviet Union the “*the empire of evil in modern world*”. Typical for his presidency is an approach of conservative moralism, unilateralism, new alliances and better bilateral relations. (Hook, 2011, Krejčí, 2009)

George H.W. Bush took office in 1989. After the end of the Cold War, the win of liberalism over fascism and communism, the US has become a unipolar power. The president has stressed the three elements of the “*world after the cold war*”: democratization, economic globalization and multilateral cooperation. (Hook, 2011)

In 1993, the new president has become Bill Clinton. His foreign policy was mainly about domestic issues, cooperation with countries that share common values, and national security policy. (Hook, 2011)

President Bush came into office in 2000. He was, as well as Clinton, concerned mainly about domestic issues. But, this has stopped after the terrorist attacks in 2001, when he had to react immediately, acting against all foreign actors threatening the US. The Bush doctrine was formed: the U.S. government would treat the attacks not as crimes, but as acts of war. US response would target not only terrorists but also the countries that helped them. The central of his US foreign policy has become “global war on terrorism” (Hook, 2011)

President Obama has an attempt to shift nation's foreign policy towards more multilateral policy. Even that, many Americans believe that the U.S. foreign policy is most secure by going alone, as it was at the beginning of the state. (Hook, 2011)

Today, liberalism in the U.S. means promoting of democracy, as well as multilaterals, importance of promotion of the U.S. interests through international organizations and respect to international law. (Krejčí, 2009)

4.3 Containment of communism

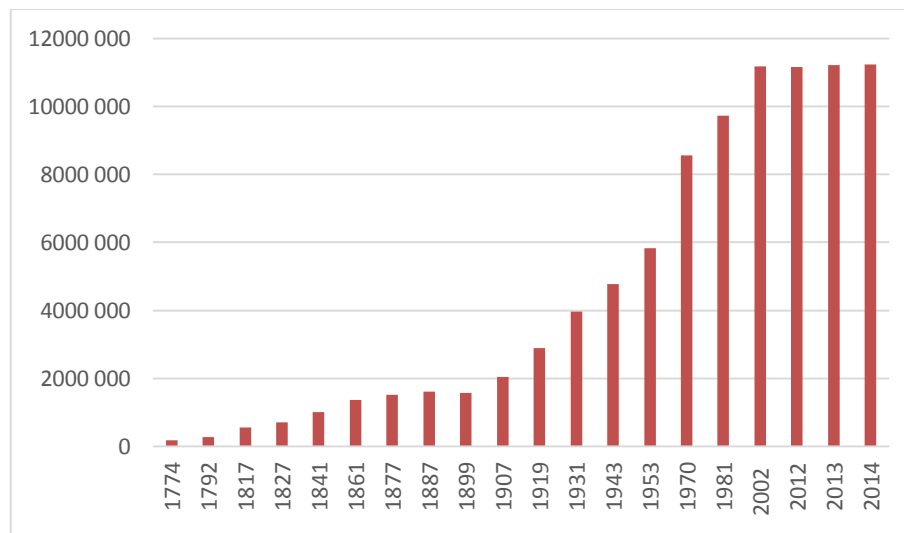
One of the most important goals of each country is sustaining of national security, minimize the threats and this is also one of the reasons for establishing the foreign policy. The core "threat" after the WWII became communism, as a threat to democracy, abusing the democracy's main principles. (Kaufman, 2006) Detainment of communism became the base of U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War era. ". (Krejčí, 2009)

5. Cuba

The country on which has been used the policy of containment of communism, because of its communist government and alliance with the Soviet Union, is Cuba. In the past 100 years, Cuba has experience a transform from a country under the Spanish rule, then independent state, however under U.S. hegemony, to a revolutionary and communist state, isolated by economic embargo, and Post-Cold War economic depression. Nowadays, first time since the revolution in 1959 and cutting their diplomatic relations with U.S., the position of Cuba is changing towards attempts for a diplomatic cooperation with other countries. Maybe it is a combination of president, Barack Obama and Raul Castro, maybe the necessity of economic cooperation and liberation of strict rules of Cuban government, has changed governmental thinking into more cooperative approach.

After the Spanish-American war, the number of population of Cuba was increasing rapidly. Although many Cubans have left to U.S. because of the dictatorship regimes of Batista and Castro, the population is still growing, reaching 11210064 inhabitants in 2013. (Graph 4)

Graph 4: Total population of Cuba, 1774 - 2014



Source: Own work based on data from: Oficina nacional de estadística e información, República de Cuba, < <http://www.one.cu/aec2014/03%20Poblacion.pdf>>

5.1 Government

Cuba is a totalitarian state, whose chief of state, head of government and commander in chief of the armed forces was Fidel Castro, until July 31, 2006, when he was replaced by his brother Raul Castro, due to the F. Castro's illness. According to the Constitution, from 1976, and amended in 1992, Cuba is a socialist worker's republic under a unitary system of government, organized according to Marxist –Leninist principles. The last democratic elections in Cuba were in 1953. (Int. Business Publ., 2001: 24, 35)

Government in Cuba is divided into executive branch, consisting of President of the Council of State and President of the Council of Ministers. The president of Cuba is both chief of state, and head of government. The cabinet consists of Council of Ministers, proposed by the president, and appointed by the National Assembly, or the 28-member Council of State. (CIA factbook, 2015) The Communist party is the only legal political party in Cuba, and includes all government positions. (Int. Business Publ., 2001: 24, 39)

After the independence, there have been, as well as in the whole Latin America, social unrests and political fights as well as dictatorial corrupted regimes. In 1933, the military power has been given to Fulgencio Batista. (Trento, 2006: 18) His leadership can be described as dictatorial, but with support of the citizens as well as the Communist party. Batista became president in 1940, and communists got minister positions, in exchange for support in presidential campaign. In 1952, the following president Carlos Prío Socarrás was overpowered in a coup by Batista, supported by U.S and the Communists. (Gibbs, 2012: 12) Batista took the power before the elections, set himself a president, dissolved the Parliament and won the presidency in 1954 without any rival candidates. (Hunt, 2015b) Until the 1950s, the U.S. and of Batista cooperated together, (Gibbs, 2012: 12), but the Batista's leadership has lasted only until the Cuban revolution in 1959, when Fidel Castro and his allies overthrow the government.

5.2 Foreign policy

The political ideology on Cuba can be explained as a mix of communism, Marxism-Leninism and Fidel Castro's own ideas, presented in his speeches. The

objectives of Cuban foreign policy are: survival of the government, economic development, influence over other governments, influence over the Left, and support of revolution. (Dominguez)

The main objective of the Cuban foreign policy, in 1960s, was the survival of a revolutionary regime, but the importance of foreign economic support was also taken into consideration. Before the Cuban Revolution, the main trade partner and investor in Cuba was U.S. After imposing embargo, the other countries were “forbid” to trade with Cuba.

The Cuban government had two choices: either to give up the revolution, and return the nationalized properties of Americans, or find a trading partner, strong enough and not afraid to act against the will of U.S. Cuba’s political regime and national pride has led to the second option, and Soviet Union took the opportunity to spread communism, help the ideologically-friendly state, and to have a partner close to U.S. borders. Other positive aspect was also the dislike of U.S. towards this alliance. Soviet Union was the only country with the capacity, political, economic and military, and with mutual positive approach towards Marxist-Leninist regime as an extra advantage, able to help Cuba, and became their main economic partner, until the end of the Cold War. (Dominguez)

In 1970s, Cuba has attempted to closer its ties with Latin American countries. However, these were not as beneficial as they hoped they would be. Relations with Chile and Peru have cooled, Cuba had opened relations with Argentina, and collaborated with Venezuela, Colombia and Mexico, but it did not brought the expected benefits. Cuba has established cooperation with China, Morocco, Mexico and Spain in 1960s. (Dominguez)

During 1970s and 1980s, Cuba has send its troops to Angola, Ethiopia and Nicaragua and other states, in most cases to help the revolutionary movements fight the current government, or the colonial powers. After this, Castro assured all Latin American governments, as well as black African governments, that they do not have to be afraid of Cuban forces. (Dominguez, *Int. Business Publ.*, 2001: 30)

After this, Cuba has slowly stopped its financial support for guerrillas in L.A., and the diplomatic relations with almost all countries of Latin America has improved largely.

Cuba is a member of the Organization of American States (OAS), and hosted the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit in 2006 and developed friendly relations with Iran and North Korea. (Int. Business Publ., 2001: 30)

In 2003, Cuba government has arrested 75 human rights activist, journalist and opposition activist. The arrests has caused the worsening of relations not only with U.S., but also the EU, which, in 2004, put restrictive measures on Cuba, but call them off in 2005. (Int. Business Publ., 2001: 24, 25, 30)

Before Obama became a president in 2009, a major changes occurred in Cuba. In 2006, after Fidel Castro's sudden illness, the political power was transferred, temporarily, to his brother Raul. Almost everyone assumed that the regime, after Castro's possible death, will collapse. (Staten, L.C., 2015: 151) In 2007, Raul Castro became Acting President and in 2008, a President, (Hunt, 2015d) and started the new liberalization economic reforms on Cuba.) In his first public statement as an president in 2006, Raul Castro has repeated his brother's speech, from 1986, about US-Cuba relations, saying that Cuba is not against discussions with the United States, for peace and better relations, ,but that would have to be under condition of mutual respect and equality (LeoGrande, Konbluh, 2015: 416) In 2008 and 2009, Raul Castro visited Brazil, Venezuela, China, Russia and Algeria, and Brazil's , Russian and Chinese presidents visited Cuba in 2008, and presidents of Chile and Argentina in 2009. Cuba became a member of CARICOM and Latin America's Rio Group. (Sweig, 2009: 244)

6. U.S. foreign policy towards Cuba since 1902

“I have always considered Cuba as the most interesting accessory that could be added into our system of the States”

- *President Jefferson, 1823.* (Krejčí, 2009)

If an apple severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot choose but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjoined from its own unnatural connection with Spain, and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union, which by the same law of nature cannot cast her off from its bosom.

- *John Quincy Adams, 1823, “Ripe Apple theory”* (Rytz, 2013)

Cuba has been under the Spanish rule since 1511, and in 1898, after the situation between the Spanish and the rebels worsened, U.S. government has sent the battleship to Havana, in order to protect Americans in Cuba. Another possible reason for this decision was U.S. investments in Cuba’s agriculture, about 50 million dollars and access to Panama Canal. In 1898, the ship exploded and sink in the harbour. This has started a Spanish – American war, when U.S. troops joined the local rebel groups and defeated Spanish army in 1898. Spain has lost its sovereignty over Cuba. And new Cuban government has taken the control over the island in 1902. The Republic of Cuba was instituted in May 20th, 1902 (Knight, 2015, Krejčí, 2009, U.S. Dep. of State (d), Hunt, 2015a)

The first two documents between Cuba and U.S. were the Teller Amendment and the Platt Amendment. The first one, chronologically, is the amendment from 1898, from the time period before the Spanish-American war, named after senator that proposed it, the Teller Amendment. The amendment worked as an assurance, that U.S. do not claim, currently or in the future, any demands over Cuban territory, and denying any attempts to control the island or gain power over him, only with an exception of “calming down” the possible disorders, and help Cuba to stabilize. (Library of Congress, Krejčí, 2009) In the words written in the amendment: *“Resolved, First. That the people of the Island of Cuba are, of right ought to be, free and independent.*

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.” (Sierra).

Teller Amendment was succeeded by Platt Amendment, after Cuba's independence. Platt Amendment was approved as an appendix to the Cuban Constitution, in 1901, and was annulled in 1934 by Roosevelt administration. (Gibbs, 2012: 11, 12, Perez-Stable, 2011: 7). The Amendment, same as the Teller, declare, that the government of Cuba cannot make any deals or sign treaties which could hurt the independence of Cuba. According to the amendment, Cuba agrees with U.S. intervention, in case of threat towards Cuban independence. With this agreement comes also the hiring to U.S. the area necessary for the navy base, which became a district called Guantanamo, in order to help the United States to better secure island's independence. (Krejčí, 2009) The Platt Amendment is stating: *„The President is hereby authorized to "leave the government and control the island of Cuba to its people" so soon as a government shall have been established in said island under a constitution which, either as a part thereof or in an ordinance appended thereto, shall define the future relations of the United States with Cuba, substantially as follows: „I. That the government of Cuba Shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba....“(Latin American Studies)*

The existence of an amendment gave U.S. the right to intervene Cuba, if necessary, and also brought displeasure of Cubans towards the United States. Even that announcing that Cuba is finally independent, and the island is in the hands of the Cuban people, U.S. has, with their helping hand to the revolutionary groups in their fight with Spain, gained a substantial influence over the island. With unlimited access to Cuba, U.S. has got an access to Panama Canal as well as an access to Cuban international waters

through the newly established navy base in Guantanamo district. Even that with the U.S., importing Cuban sugar and other resources, the economy grew and, among Latin American countries, was at a very good level, still, Fidel Castro was able to gain support of the Cuban with his calls for truly free Cuba and for Cuba without American sphere of influence. It is disputable, how would Cuba developed, without American-Spanish war. The country would probably live under the Spanish influence, until the likely end of the occupation, and then, with regard on the Cuba's revolutionist nature, would develop economic relations with other countries and try to gain influence among Latin America. Cuba would probably develop ties to the Soviet Union as well, but without the economic dependency on them, these would not be as close as they were.

6.1 The Cuban revolution

“Marxism taught me what society was. I was like a blindfolded man in a forest, who doesn't even know where north or south is. “- Fidel Castro. (Grant, 2008)

In the years between independence of Cuba and the country's revolutionary year, 1959, Cuba experienced various political unrests, corruption and several presidents. The Cuban revolution, followed the dictatorial regime of F. Batista, whose organized a coup against the then president and named himself a new president. Batista was willingly cooperating with the United States, as well as the Communist party, and in the years before the revolution, U.S. economic support of Cuba was large. Fidel Castro and his anti-U.S. and anti-Batista revolutionary movement has overthrown his regime in 1959. Castro, in his famous long-lasting speeches, often stressed the importance of truly independent Cuba, without American influence, and called for “*patria digna*” – a homeland of dignity, and a Cuba for Cubans: “*Cuba para los Cubanos*”. “*La revolución*” became a symbol of free people and free country. Castro was frequently using “*Cuba sí, yanquis no*” in his speeches and already back then showed sharply, what he thinks about the American influence in Cuba, supported by the citizens, as well as the communist party. (Hook, 2011, Perez-Stable, 2011: 9) After becoming a Cuban prime minister, and his brother Raul head of a military and police in 1959, Castro started cooperating with the Soviet Union, establishing a Soviet-Cuban trade agreement in 1960. (U.S. Dep. of State(d), Gibbs, 2012: 14)

It can be discussed, whether the Cuban-Soviet cooperation emerged because of their shared interest in Marxism, the Soviet economic power or their mutual antipathy towards U.S, probably combination of all. U.S. disliked this new partnership, and tried to normalize the relations with Cuba. The reason behind these negotiations was the slight concerns of the Soviet Union, gaining access to the territory close to U.S. borders, through its cooperation with ideologically-“friendly” Cuba. According to the events following the Cuban independence, and establishment of Platt Amendment (even that the Platt Amendment was cancelled in 1934), it is obvious that the feeling of an remaining U.S. control was tied in Platt Amendment and provoked by Castro, calling for a free, independent country.

6.2 U.S. embargo

Since the establishment of Castro’s government, many Cubans have fled to foreign countries, mostly to the United States. The United States welcomed the refugees, with an idea of de-stabilizing Cuban government. After the establishment of Cuban trade agreement with the Soviets, and their growing diplomatic relations, Washington has put a pressure on foreign companies, not to buy oil from the Soviets, and cancelled thousands of tons of sugar imported from Cuba. In Cuba, the influence of communist thinking was growing, having a “model country” in the Soviet Union, and as a reaction on the Washington’s act, Cuban government has nationalized 400 companies, banks, oil refineries and properties. President Eisenhower has replied on expropriated American investments and properties, by putting an economic embargo on Cuba, in October 1960. (Haney, 2005: 1). The embargo has isolated Cuba from trade with U.S. as well as with other U.S. allies, which were following the American approach. After this, Cuba nationalized the rest of U.S. property on the island, and tightened the relations with the socialist countries. (Trento, 2006: 41) Following the establishment of embargo in 1960, the diplomatic relations between U.S. and Cuba were cut off in 1961 by President Kennedy. (U.S. dep. of State(d))

Since the imposing of embargo, the original embargo has been broadened into several sanctions:

- **Foreign Assistance Act, Section 620 (A) (1961)** is forbidding any assistance to communist countries and any country that would give assistance to Cuba. (AI, 2009)
- **Cuba Assets Control Regulations (1963)** is “isolating the Cuban government economically and deprive it of U.S. dollars“, forbidding direct and indirect export of U.S. goods, services and technology to Cuba. The CACR was eased under the presidency of J. Carter, and tightened by G. W. Bush. (AI, 2009)
- **Cuban Democracy Act (1992, Toricelli Act)**, signed by President G. H. Bush, is forbidding U.S. nationals to travel to Cuba, sending remittances to Cuba, and US companies to trade with Cuba. The aim of the act was the attempt to make Cuba democratic and improve their economic growth by sanctions towards the government. (AI, 2009)
- **Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act (1996, Helms- Burton Act)** is strengthening the embargo, strengthen international sanctions against the Castro government, with “*plan for support of a transition government leading to a democratically elected government in Cuba*”. (AI, 2009)
- **The Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement Act (2000)** has allowed sale of agricultural goods and medicine to Cuba, for humanitarian reasons. (Amnesty International, 2009)

6.3 Kennedy administration

President Kennedy came to the office in 1961, after President Eisenhower, and his core focus of the foreign policy was, or, had to be, Cuba. U.S. government was a bit apprehensive of Cuban ties with the Soviet Union, and wondered, how to de-stabilize and bring down Castro’s government. President Kennedy, in 1961, approved the plan, prepared by President Eisenhower administration and supported by CIA, regarding the invasion of Cuban exiles to Cuba.

6.3.6 Bay of Pigs

In 1960, President Eisenhower has approved the invasion to Cuba, with a high expectations. (Gibbs, 2012: 14) The invasion of Cuban exiles, largely supported by a growing community of Cubans in U.S. and CIA, was supposed to overthrow Castro’s

government, and hoped and believe in a support of local people. Eisenhower probably expected Cubans to be thrilled for an American “rescue”, and though, that the invasion will solve the “Castro problem” for good. In 1961, around 1500 Cuban exiles, under the leadership of CIA, has disembarked at Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs). But, the attack has set off a big resistance among the citizens, and eventually served Castro as a propaganda, and only supported the revolutionary government. (Trento, 2006: 42) Fidel Castro has commented the American defeat: *In less than seventy-two hours [we] had totally wiped out that expedition. A hard defeat for the empire. And a great humiliation.*” (Grant, 2008) Also E. Guevara, in 1961, has told Kennedy’s emissary:” *Thank you for Playa Girón. Before the invasion, the revolution was shaky. Now, it is stronger than ever.*” (Perez-Stable, 2011: 5)

As a new approach after unsuccessful invasion, Kennedy’s foreign policy towards Cuba has turned to an aim to isolate Cuba from other countries, and influence Latin American states to cut the relations with the island, as a sign of disapproval with Castro’s regime. (Trento, 2006: 42)

6.3.1 Cuban missile crisis

One year after U.S. embargo and its economic isolation, Cuba got into an economic downfall, and asked Moscow for help with their economic situation. Another reason for comply was Castro’s fear of U.S. invasion, when the Cuba’s position was that weakened. The embargo has remarked Cuba with lack of resources, foreign investment, but also military equipment. (Trento, 2006: 43) The Soviet Union has agreed with help to their ideological partner, and organized an operation, called Operation Anadyr. That has started on 8th September 1962, when soldiers, arms and military equipment and carefully hidden missiles have been secretly brought to Cuba. (Smith, H., D., 2012:257) Castro has welcomed the missiles to show a “solidarity with the socialist camp”, hoping for a growing power and influence of Cuba in the Western hemisphere. (Perez-Stable, 2011: 4)

The American government has discovered the missiles from the photos taken from the planes. President Kennedy and his advisers were informed about the missiles on 15-16 October, and after the first shock, started assuming, why are the missiles in Cuba,

whether the reason is the Soviets demonstration of power, or vulnerable feeling, that they do not have any missiles close to U.S. territory, whether the U.S. had, In Turkey. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012:260) President Kennedy has, on October 22nd, quarantined on all offensive military equipment shipped to Cuba, and called for Soviet premier N. Khrushchev, to eliminate this threat. October 27th, after a long negotiation, Kennedy has announced, in a public message, that Soviets will withdraw the “offensive weapons” from Cuba in exchange for non-invasion pledge from the side of U.S. On October 28th, Khrushchev has told at the Presidium meeting, that their missiles from Cuba will be withdraw, and it will be made in order to avoid war and nuclear catastrophe. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012: 270-272)

Whether the real reason of Soviet missiles in Cuba was help to Cuba security, it can be speculated, but it is very unlikely. The negotiations between the presidents, lasting only such a short time, has confirmed, that the main attempt was to demonstrate power, show, that the world should respect the Soviet Union, and that no one would doubt, that the Soviets still play an important role in the world. The missile crisis might led to war and nuclear catastrophe, but it can be said, that neither U.S. nor the Union would favour this option. The supportive towards this claim is also the fact, that Fidel Castro was not part of any negotiations between the two superpowers, and his opinion on the situation did not played any significant role. Obviously, Castro, welcoming the situation when it was Cuba who was holding the power over U.S. this time, was pleased in the crisis development. Then, was more than unpleasantly surprised about getting to know the decision about removing of Soviet missiles from Cuba and not being involved in this decision.

Castro get to know about this decision from the radio Moscow, (Perez-Stable, 2011: 5) and the decision has angered him. On the question, in 1992, whether he would recommended to use the nuclear weapons in the case of the U.S. invasion, Castro has answered: *“Now, we started from the assumption that if there was an invasion of Cuba, nuclear war would erupt. We were certain of that. We would be forced to pay the price that we would disappear. Would I be ready to use nuclear weapons? Yes, I would have agreed to the use of nuclear weapons. I would have agreed, in the event of the invasion,*

with the use of tactical nuclear weapons. If Mr. McNamara or Mr. Kennedy had been in our place and had their country been invaded or their country was going to be occupied, I believe they would have used nuclear weapons”. (Perez-Stable, 2011: 6)

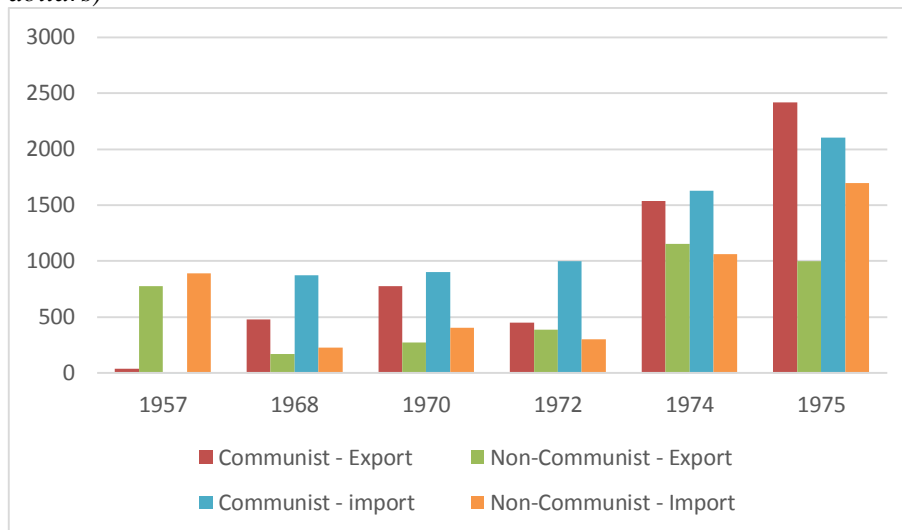
The Cuban missile crisis has shocked the United States, never expecting that situation like this might occur so close to their borders. Soviets obviously took the crisis as an opportunity to gain international influence, using the alliance with Cuba to do so. The fact, that the crisis has lasted only 13 days, is also supporting these words. There is probably no country in the world, that would be so destructive to start a nuclear war and thus, a world catastrophe, if there is another option, and the Soviets had no possible reason for causing a war or even provoked the war. Nevertheless, the missiles have been removed, the peace was sustained, only the relations between Castro and Khrushchev were at the freezing point. According to the quick transfer of missiles to Cuba, and then, their replacement back to the Soviet Union, it has shown that the partnership between Cuba and the Soviet Union was far from equal, with Soviets using Cuba as a means to gain an attention of an international community in order to

The Missile Crisis made Kennedy to decide for normalization of relations with Cuba, and in 1963, the UN ambassadors of Cuba and U.S. have met to discuss this topic. But, this has never occurred, because, in 1931, President Kennedy was assassinated, and President Johnson has come to the office. Johnson has said that he's not going to be "*Soft on anything, especially Cuba*", and stopped any indication of negotiation the relations between Cuba and U.S. (Perez-Stable, 2011: 10)

In 1963, as an attempt to making the relations better, Khrushchev invited Castro to Moscow, in order to discuss how to best govern a socialist society, share their mistrust in U.S. and talked about Soviet economic development strategies and trade agreements. Inspired by the Soviet model, In 1968, Cuba expropriated all remaining non-agricultural companies, and, after collapse of economy in 1970, adapted a new approach of cooperation, and tighter its ties with socialist countries. (Trento, 2006) This change is clearly seen in the data in the Graph 5, showing the numbers of Cuban foreign trade from 1957 to 1975, divided according to the communist and non-communist countries. In 1957, most of the Cuban export and imports went to and from non-communist countries. Since

1972 and 1975, the situation has changed and Cuba's main trading partners were mostly communist countries.

Graph 5: Cuban foreign trade, Communist and non-communist countries (millions of US dollars)



Source: Own work based on data from: *Wilson Quarterly, Cuba and the Soviet Union.* <
http://archive.wilsonquarterly.com/sites/default/files/articles/WQ_VOL2_W_1978_Article_01_2.pdf>

6.4 Ford administration

After the administration of Johnson, President Ford has come to the office, in 1974. Ford has started a dialogue with Cuba, in attempt to modify the embargo and start business with Havana, and tried to normalize the relations. (Perez-Stable, 2011: 12, Gibbs, 2012: 19) Cuba, in exchange for modifying the embargo, was asked to release arrested U.S. citizens. The negotiating were ongoing, and it almost seemed like the dialogue will lead to an agreement between both states, however, in 1975, Cuba has decided for intervention in Africa, and send troops to support liberation movement to Angola, the opposition of CIA.-supported Angolan government. With this, the dialogue has ended. In 1976, Castro said, that in his opinion, this occurred not because of Cuba, rejecting the improvement of the relations, because Cuba want peace and good relations even with a country with a different social system, but because U.S. want them to pay for the normalization of relations, and Cuba cannot accept this price. (Perez-Stable, 2011:13)

There can be two approaches on this situation: one, that Cuba only wanted to help the Angola's opposition with their fight with exploitations, colonialist government, and

help another country to become independent, and second, that, yes, the main reason was to help other revolutionists, but the fact that they are supporting the opposition of an U.S.-backed government, has led to the final decision for sending the troops to Angola. Considering Cuban attempts for independence, but also seeking for sphere of influence in the world, and its failure to establish such an influence among Latin American countries, the final, and most likely explanation of the intervention on the cost of normalization of relations with U.S., was the aim to find a new spheres of possible influences. With U.S. holding tie power over Americas, the remaining option for Cuba thus became Angola.

6.5 Carter administration

President Fort did not succeeded in his plan to create a better relations between the countries. President Carter, entering the presidential office in 1977, has re-established the friendly cooperative politics towards Cuba, lifted the travel ban to Cuba in 1977, and opened the Interest Sections in Washington and Havana, a possible places of future embassies. This friendly politics, and also the dialogue of Cuban Americans with the Cuban government, has, eventually, led to releasing prisoners and political opponents on Cuba. (Gibbs, 2012: 20, Trento, 2006: 85)

The huge task for Carter was the question of Cuban refugees in 1980, when Castro gave permission to the citizens to leave the country in the vessels. U.S. was not very keen about accepting that many refugees, discussing what to do in this situation. Bill Clinton, the governor of Arkansas at that time, have discussed the situation with his cabinet official, and on his claim, that they have no place to put the refugees, Clinton has objected, as noted in his memoirs "My life": *"Sure there is". "We still have a base at Guantanamo, don't we? And there must be a gate in the fence that divides it from Cuba. Take them to Guantanamo, open the door, and march them back into Cuba."* Carter disapproved with this idea: *"We'll continue to provide an open heart and open arms to refugees seeking freedom from Communist domination and from economic deprivation, brought about primarily by Fidel Castro and his government,"* (Moyer, 2015)

Clinton has applied this idea about re-settling the refugees from Cuba during his presidency, and moved the Cubans to Guantanamo. But this decision did not brought him much support and approval, especially among Cuban exiles in U.S. During the presidency of Carter, it can be seen, that the political dialogue and negotiation of the relations is bringing a positive aspects to U.S-Cuban relations. Even that Castro's decisions were usually unpredictable and that Cuban government had to be treated carefully, in this time-period is visible, that not only the embargo did not destabilized the government, but only led to the closer Cuban-Soviet ties. It is arguable, whether, without the embargo, Cuba would not like to present this power by military intervention in surrounding countries. If the nationalization of American property would occurred and the embargo was not put in the place, Castro government would probably send its troops to revolutionary movements to Latin America, aiming to spread the Communism. But this would occur only in the case of influence from the side of the Soviet Union.

6.6 Reagan administration

President Ronald Reagan did not shared Carter's approach towards Cuba, and called his Cuba-policy: *"Inconsistent, insensitive and inefficient"*...: *"America has always accepted refugees with open arms, but we should not do it in such a way as to make things worse for both the refugees and the communities in which they are placed,"* (Moyer, 2015) Reagan was the exact opposite of Carter, standing strongly against Cuba and Castro. (Trento, 2006: 93). During his administration (1981 – 1989), there were no dialogues between two countries, and embargo was only strengthened. Reagan have seen Cuba as the *"source of the region's troubles"*, and claimed that *„the Soviet Union underlies all the unrest that is going on in the world"*. (Perez-Stable, 2011: 14)

6.6.1 The Cuban American National Foundation

Called by the Reagan administration, or created by Cuban-American exile community, officially, CANF was established 1981, by Raul Masvidal, Carlos Salman and Jorge Mas Canosa, the political leader of Cuban-American community. The group's aim was to tough approach towards Cuba and to lobby the Congress, and enhance the public image of Cuban American community by cooperation with the president. (Rytz,

2013: 60) Between 1982 and 1992, CANF donated more than 1 million to congressional candidates. (Haney, 2005: 82)

In return for lobbying Congress as an support of Reagan foreign policy, CANF leaders would be participating in government programmes. For example, in 1987, CANF has been lobbying at the UNHCR, to get them focused on the human rights and political prisoners in Havana and destroy Castro's governance. (Gibbs, 2012)

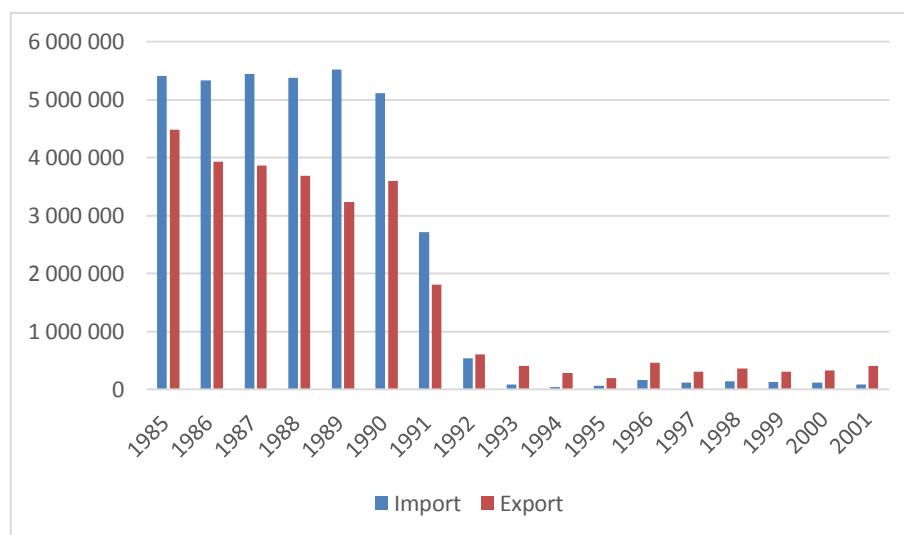
It is understandable, that CANF was created during the Reagan's presidency, since their attitude towards Cuba was almost the same – to destabilize Castro's government. This mutual partnership was beneficial for both sides, Reagan got a strong support of Cuban Americans, which got political influence, funds and attention of media, public and politicians.

7. The United States and Cuba after the Cold War

Cold War could be seen as a new beginning for Cuba, both positively and negatively. The connection between Soviet Union and Cuba broke, Cuba was no longer supporting guerrilla movements in Latin America or Africa, and needed an economic partner, because most of their past exports and imports were connected with the Soviets. It could be seen as a new start of a new U.S-Cuba relations and cooperation. The only obstacle was a human rights protection and freedom of speech in Cuba, which was largely reproached to Cuba from the side of U.S., but also other, democratic countries. In the presidential office during that time was President H. W. Bush.

After the clash of Soviet Union, which has been the main economic supporter of Cuba and their subsidies were about \$4-6 billion, annually, the country has got into the economic downfall, in 1990. (CIA Factbook) (Graph 6) The biggest decline occurred between 1989 and 1993. The following years were never as good as they have been with the Soviet support, and the ongoing governmental tightening of state control over economy and their policy of recentralization was not helping very well. As seen in the Graph 6, the downfall of imports and exports from the Soviet Union after the end of Cold War was enormous.

Graph 6: Import and export of Cuba with Russia/ the Soviet Union, 1985 – 2001, millions of pesos



Source: Author, data from : Oficina nacional de estadística e información, República de Cuba, Series estadísticas, 1985 – 2014, < <http://www.one.cu/series2014.htm>>

In order to increase the state's economy, the government has brought the new reforms in 1993 and 1994 – they legalized the agriculture market, supported tourism and foreign investments, and gave permissions to create the companies with 100% of foreign capital, in 1995. This has improved the economic situation a bit, but because of natural disasters, and, rise of oil prices and lowering of prices of sugar and another export goods in 2001 it did not improved significantly. The production of sugar, which is the main export product, has fallen in 1990s, as well as in 2003, 2004 and 2005. (Trento, 2006: 112,113, Int. Business Publ., 2001: 26)

7.1 George H.W. Bush and Cuban Democracy Act

At the beginning of his administration, it seemed that President Bush might consider foreign policy of a cooperation and normalizing the relations between Cuba and U.S., for example, when he vetoed the bill, restricting U.S. companies in other countries to trade with Cuba.

But the incoming presidential elections in 1992, and the increasing power and political role of CANF, pressing the president to tighten the laws against Cuba, has changed his mind. Bush has stated, that a condition for a normalization of relations with Cuba is free and fair elections, and signed Cuban Democracy Act, in 1992, in Miami. The Cuban democracy Act has set a new foreign policy towards Cuba, and declares that: *“President can put sanctions on countries that provide assistance to Cuba, permits telecommunication services between U.S. and Cuba, and allows President to attempt for an nonviolent democratic change in Cuba.* “(Statten, L. Clifford, 2015: 143)

The Act forbids ships that dock in Cuba to come to U.S., put sanctions on U.S. companies in other countries trading with Cuba, declares to stop U.S. foreign aid to any country cooperating with Cuba, and gives assistance to Cuban Dissidents. Many countries in Europe and Canada were against the Act, but the bill has passed. (Statten, L. Clifford, 2015:144)

Cuban Democracy Act is announcing, that government of Fidel Castro has no respect in human rights and democratic values, and repress Cuban people, which are calling for freedom and more and more of them is against the government, or looking for

exile in U.S. and other countries. The Castro government is military-based economy that is not working, and thus, hurting the citizens of Cuba. None of these fact seems to be changed in the future. The fall of communism has proven that this system cannot work economically and also politically. Castro is not reacting on any pressures or doesn't seem to attempt to make any changes in economy, or towards democracy. U.S, in the Act, has called for all democratic countries to support them in their attempts to destabilize the region and help the people of Cuba, and this help will be appreciated and remembered. U.S. will maintain the sanctions on Castro regime, until he is willing to accept democratization and respect human rights, but reduce sanctions which could lead to development of Cuba, and support free and fair elections. (U.S. Dep. of Treasury)

Since the CDA, it can be seen the growing power of CANF and their influence in U.S politics. With their donations, members in the government and huge Cuban diaspora in Florida behind them, the foundation has become a player, which is able to enforce its interests. CANF represented a major partner in promoting Reagan's foreign policy towards Cuba, and in time, established their own politics and opinions, and promoted these in the government.

7.2 Clinton administration

The end of Cold War, and now also the Cuban Democracy Act, has caused an economic depression in Cuba, civil disturbances and anti-governmental protests. People were leaving Cuba rapidly, in 1994, around 35000 Cubans left to U.S. (Trento, 2006:109, , 2011) In the same year, F. Castro, who, maybe, felt, that it is easier to let the ones who do not support the revolution and the government in the bad times leave the country, has declared, that he will not stop the Cubans to leave the island on a vessels in their attempts to leave the country. (Int. Business Publ., 2001: 46)

During this period, President Clinton, at the office since 1993 to 2001, has got into, basically, the same situation as during the presidency of Carter, when the huge amount of refugees kept coming to U.S., mainly Florida, and the country was overwhelmed. Unlike like back then, he was in a different position, and had the power to

enforce his own policies. This time, as a president, he used the idea which occurred to him the last time, about re-settling the refugees to Guantanamo base.

President announced, that the Cubans found at the sea will be returned to a safe area Guantanamo, instead of getting an political asylum. This was a major change in comparison with the previous years, when each Cuban refugee from a communist state had special rights and was treated as a victim of a regime, getting asylum immediately. (Int. Business Publ., 2001:47) This new Clinton policy was highly denounced, following by demonstrations by Cuban exiles. This situation has lasted until 1995, when Clinton decided to drop this policy, and allowed the Cubans to enter U.S. territory. But they have not been treated as communist refugees, but as any other immigrants, coming to the United States, and U.S. and Cuba made a migration agreement saying that any Cubans found at the sea or illegally enter Guantanamo base will be returned to Cuba. (Neumann, 2011, (Haney, 2005:98))

7.2.1 Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act (LIBERTAD)

The year 1996 was the year before Clinton's possible re-election. In this year, two aid airplanes by Brothers to the Rescue were shot by Cubans. In need of a quick reaction, to please the public, the Congress and CANF, win votes from Cubans in Miami, and to repay the Cuban government for the airplanes, Clinton has signed Helms-Burton Act. (Caputo, 2015) The Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act has codified embargo into the law, establishing the legislative bone for embargo. (Hook, Scott, 2011: 85)

The act has completely isolated Cuba from foreign trade. It applied penalties to foreign countries and companies, trading and doing business with Cuba, and allowed U.S. citizens to sue foreign investors, which would use American-owned property, confiscated by Cubans after the Cuban revolution. (Suddath, 2009, Hunt, 2015d) In his autobiography, Clinton wrote about the decision to sign the Act: *"Supporting the bill was good election-year politics in Florida, but it undermined whatever chance I might have if I won a second term to lift the embargo in return for positive changes within Cuba,"* *"It almost appeared that Castro was trying to force us to maintain the embargo as an excuse for the economic failures of his regime."* (Caputo, 2015)

The autobiography “My life” was published in 2004. From the text written by a former President, it feels like he was not even sure, why the decision to sign the bill was made. It might sound similar as the position of President Bush before signing Cuban Democracy Act, a bit pressured from a government, public and Cuban exiles. Clinton’s words are showing even more the pressure of lobbying and Congress in the case of Cuba-U.S. foreign policy decisions. According to the basic principles of American foreign policy, in the case of threat or attack on U.S. citizen or territory, it is understandable to respond with a reprisal. Eventually, the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, codifying embargo into law, became a controversial act, approved by the CANF, but disadvantaging Cuban citizens.

7.3 G. W. Bush administration

In 2001, after the election campaign, with strong support by Cuban Americans in Florida, like Congressmen Mario and Lincoln Diaz-Balart, Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Governor Jeb Bush, G. Bush won the presidential election. Bush stood against Cuba, calling the country part of an “*axis of evil*”. (Staten, L.C., 2015:148)

Bush has promised to Cuban government in 2002, that in the case they establish free and fair elections, and political and economic reforms, he will ease restrictions on trade and travel. Cuba did not reacted on this announcement, (Int. Business Publ., 2001: 32) and after imprisoning of 75 dissidents, journalist and democracy activists in 2003 (Hunt, 2015d), President Bush has suspended any other attempts for political dialogue with Cuba, and, in 2003, strengthened restrictions on travel to Cuba, even for the family visit and humanitarian aid. (The White House, 2003)

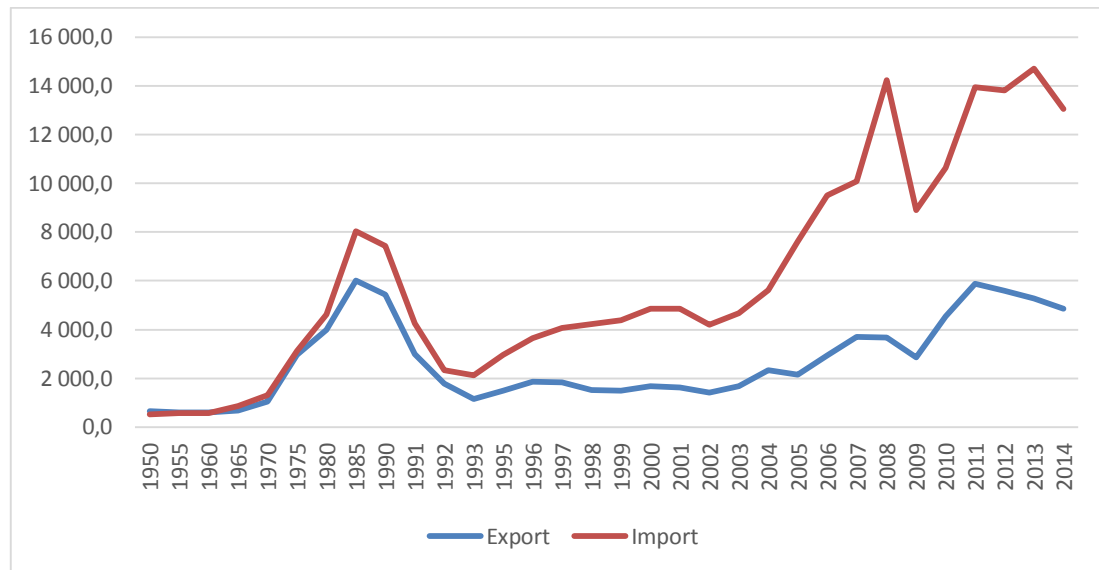
In the speech at the U.S. Department of State, In October 24, 2007, President Bush has discussed U.S. policy towards Cuba. Among others, he has talked about his position towards embargo on Cuba: “*Cuba's regime uses the U.S. embargo as a scapegoat for Cuba's miseries. Yet Presidents of both our political parties have long understood that the source of Cuba's suffering is not the embargo, but the communist system. They know that trade with the Cuban government would not help the Cuban people until there are major changes to Cuba's political and economic system. Instead,*

trade with Cuba would merely enrich the elites in power and strengthen their grip. As long as the regime maintains its monopoly over the political and economic life of the Cuban people, the United States will keep the embargo in place". Life will not improve for Cubans under their current system of government. It will not improve by exchanging one dictator for another. ... America will have no part in giving oxygen to a criminal regime victimizing its own people. In that spirit, today I also am announcing a new initiative to develop an international multi-billion dollar Freedom Fund for Cuba. This fund would help the Cuban people rebuild their economy and make the transition to democracy. (The White House, 2007)

The Bush's approach towards Cuba was, to fight against the government, politically as well as economically, but not on the exclusion of the Cuban citizens, which should be supported in their right for a life in a democratic country, and freedom of speech and human rights protection should be provided for everyone. For food and medical supplies, the embargo hold a special permit, and did not related to these kind of goods. As seen in his speech at the U.S. Department of State, Bush claimed that the only one who has to affected by embargo should be the government of Cuba, and not an its citizens. His decision to tighten restrictions on travel and remittances were not supported by Cuban Americans with families in Cuba, and welcomed when President Obama lifted these restrictions.

7.4 Economic situation of Cuba

Graph 7: Export and import (1950 – 2014, millions of pesos)

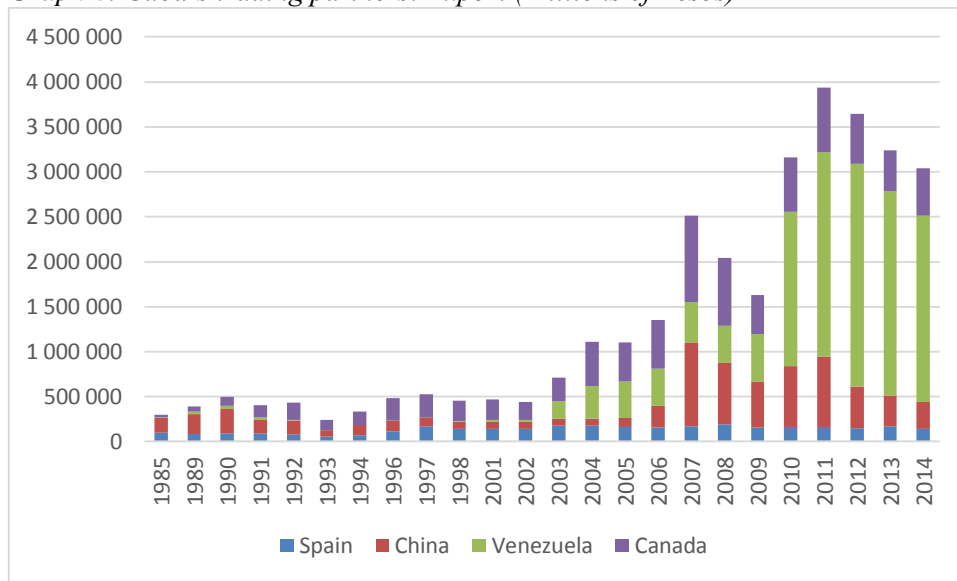


Source: Own work based on data from: Oficina nacional de estadística e información, República de Cuba, <<http://www.one.cu/aec2014/08%20Sector%20Externo.pdf>>

Economic situation of Cuba was, since the downfall after the end of Cold War, increasing. President Bush has established the restrictions on travel and remittances, but allowed export of food and medicine supplies to the island. So, U.S. has become important trading partner, even though the embargo, because of food, medicine and humanitarian aid supplies. Another economic downfall came in the 2009, occurring because of the economic crisis. In comparison to the situation in the country after the Cold War, the economy has improved significantly.

In 2000, Venezuela and Cuba signed the „Integral Cooperation accord“, for exchange of Venezuela oil for Cuban goods and services, which has helped Cuban economy a lot. (Graph 7) In 2005, H. Chavez and F. Castro have signed 49 economic agreements, concerning oil, nickel, agriculture or transportation. Also the few economic agreements with China have improved the trade between countries. (Int. Business Publ., 2001: 31) This years with increasing foreign cooperation has lifted import and export, as seen in the Graph 7, and the growth since 2005.

Graph 8: Cuba's trading partners: Export (Millions of Pesos)



Source: Own work based on data from: *Oficina nacional de estadística e información, República de Cuba, Series Estadísticas, 1985-2014.* <<http://www.one.cu/series2014.htm>>

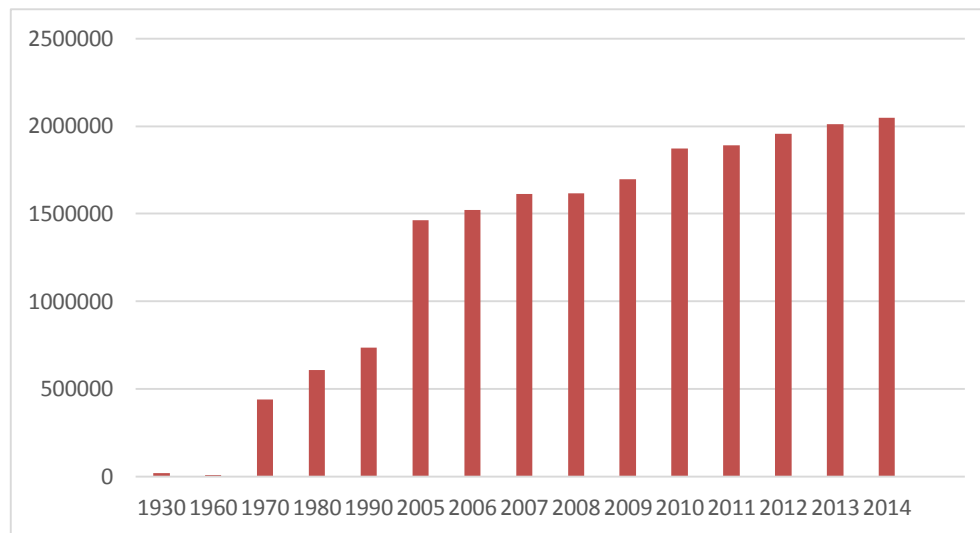
The main trading partner of Cuba, currently, is Venezuela, and in the North American region, Canada. Cuba is cooperating significantly also with China, and sustain economic relations with Spain. (Graph 8)

The main aim of the government, in searching for its new economic reforms, was to seek for a ways to improve its state-controlled economy, but, at the same time, maintain the same political control as until back then. In 2011, during the Cuban Communist Party Congress, the government has decided for implementing an economic reforms in order to make the economy in the country stronger. The reforms included, for example, a permission for the Cubans to buy phones, electronic devices, stay in hotels or buy and sell used cars. The government has also permitted self-employment, in some cases, for little entrepreneurs, private ownership, sale of real estate, sale of agriculture goods to hotels for private farmers and adopt a new foreign investment law. (CIA factbook)

8. Cuban exiles in U.S.

The first wave of Cuban exiles to U.S. after independence has occurred in 1930s, fleeing from dictatorship regime, Most of them have settled in Florida. Second emigration wave took place in 1960s during establishment of communist regime. In 2014, there was, estimated, around 2 million of Cuban inhabitants in the United States. (Graph 10) In the previous years, the Cuban population in U.S. was increasing only slightly.

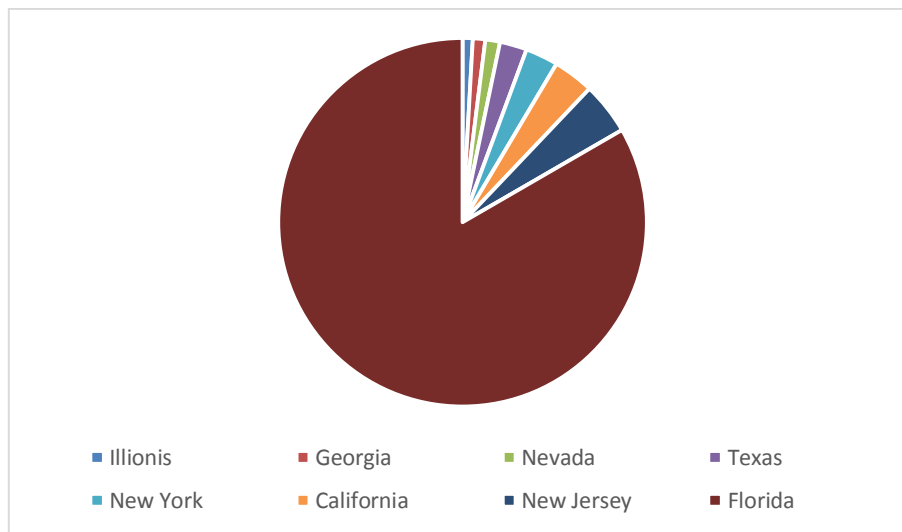
Graph 9: Estimated number of Cuban population in U.S. (1930 – 2014)



Source: Own work based on data from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1999, 2005-2014, American Community Survey, <<http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab04.html>> , <http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_14_1YR_B03001&prodType=table>

The population growth of Cuban exiles is not growing that rapidly as, for example, between 1960 and 1970. The situation in Cuba is slowly getting better, as well as the relations with the United States. Most of the Cubans have chosen Florida to be their home, because the state is close to Cuba, but also, because in the 1940s, there have been build a big, strong community of Cuban people, called “Little Havana” in Miami, supporting socially and economically newly incoming emigrants. The next biggest group of Cubans live in New Jersey, California and New York. (Graph 10)

Graph 10: U.S. states with largest Cuban population (2009 – 2013)



Source: Own work based on data from: Migration Policy Institute: U.S. immigrant population by state and country, 2009-2013. <<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/us-immigrant-population-state-and-county>>

Cubans are the third largest Hispanic-origin population in the United States (around 3, 7% of the U.S. Hispanic population, in 2010). The largest Hispanic group are Mexicans. According to the 2010 American Community Survey, almost 60% of the Cubans in U.S. is foreign born. The diaspora is mostly concentrated in Florida (67%). (Brown, Patten, 2013)

8.1 History

After 1959, supporters of Batista, political opponents and Cuban exiles were seen as an “enemies of the revolution” and many of them left the island, heading to the United States, welcomed by Eisenhower as well as Kennedy, as an anti-communist freedom fighters. The immigrants had a special rights in U.S., they were treated as refugees from communist country and Cubans that have lived in U.S. at least 1 year got a permanent residence. The U.S. immigration policy towards Cuba currently is, that unless the citizen fears persecution, Cubans found at the sea are returned to Cuba, whether Cuban reached at U.S. soil are permitted to stay. (Neumann, 2011)

The growth of the position of Cuban American in the United States can be seen in the work, lobbying and political influence, of the Cuban American National Foundation.

Since the number of the Cuban exiles in U.S. grow, so did also their influence in elections and lobbying in order to strict U.S. policies towards Cuba.

8.2 CANF

“The Cuban American National Foundation’s mission is to advocate for a non-violent transition to a free and democratic Cuba, a nation that fosters economic prosperity with individual equality and social justice for all. Upholds the rule of law and protects the social, economic and political rights of its entire people. To that end, CANF seeks to engage, support and empower Cubans on the island to become the architects of their own destiny by uniting, organizing and reclaiming their inalienable rights. In the continuation of the struggle for those ideals, the Cuban American National Foundation reaffirms its sacred commitment to Cuba and all Cubans.” (canf. org)

As mentioned above, in the CANF official statement about their activities, the foundation’s main mission are activities aiming for democratic Cuba, commuted to Cuba and all Cubans. This and other anti-Castro organizations in Miami, for example the Cuban Liberty Council or the Centre for a free Cuba, received money to “foster democracy in Cuba”, more than 45 million in 2008. (Staten, L.C., 2015: 149)

CANF set the policy towards Cuba and helped to the island’s weakening since 1999. (Hook, Scott, 2011: 83) Its members aimed to make sure that US-Cuba policy would never again stray far from hard policies, and thus control their own interests in the forming of foreign policy, and gain more power and influence in this area. Its board members made annual contribution at least 10000 dollars each. In 1983, CANF sponsored a visit by Reagan to Miami to celebrate Cuban independence, and exiles has highly supported his anti-communist politics. Between 1981 and 1997, the contribution of CANF to Democrats and Republicans, promoting the tough policy towards Cuba, was more than 3, 2 million. (Perez-Stable, 2011: 21)

The head of CANF was, for 16 years, Mas Canosa. He was born in Cuba and fled to Florida. (Rytz, 2014: 60) CANF was supported by generous directors and its supporters, campaigning also candidates for local or federal office. In 1985, Jorge Mas Canosa became a chair of the President’s advisory board. (Gibbs, 2012: 21)

In 1983 the Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act was signed, and this has become a new strategy how to undermine Castro's regime without military intervention or internal spies., and became a radio station aimed at US broadcasting to Cuba. (Rytz, 2014: 61,62)

The first Cuban American elected to the US House of Representatives was Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, in 1989, and was joined by other Cuban Americans: Lincoln and Mario Diaz-Balart, Robert Menendez, Albio Sires and Mel Martinez. (Hook, Scott, 2011: 83)

When George Bush was elected in 2001, he had strong support of Cuban Americans in Florida, and has nominated the member of anti-Castro community Otto Reich into the Americas at the State department, and Mel Martinez to head HUD (Department of Housing and Urban Development). However, Bush did very little to change and make some progress towards Cuba. Before the election in 2004, Bush has announced a new rules towards travel to Cuba: it will be stricter, less money can be sent to families in Cuba, and less number of family members can travel there. (Hook, Scott, 2011: 85)

In 2008 elections, Senator McCain was pro-embargo favourite, while B. Obama wanted to keep embargo but limit Bush restrictions about family travel. In 2005, on the question whether they want embargo, 62% of Cuban Americans wanted, and just a year later the number went on 23%. The Cubans were more open to increased travel and remittances, most open were the young ones. According to the poll in 2007, 64% of Cuban Americans want to return pre-2004 rules and majority though that everyone should be allowed to travel to Cuba. Obama has won 47% of Cuban American vote in 2012. (Hook, Scott, 2011: 86)

9. Obama administration

“Cuba's future must be freely determined by the Cuban people. Sadly, that has not been the case for decades, and it is not the case today. The people of Cuba deserve the same rights, freedoms and opportunities as anyone else. And so the United States is going to continue supporting the basic rights of the Cuban people.” -President Barack Obama, December 19, 2011 (USAID)

Obama became the first president, since President Carter, whose was willing to re-establish diplomatic relations with Cuba and discuss with its government. The time between Obama and Carter has shown the fact, that isolation of Cuba did not gained expected results, and, in order to keep the situation stable, it is necessary to normalize the relations between Cuba and U.S. Another turning fact in this period is, that the president of Cuba is no longer Fidel Castro, but his brother Raul Castro. In the comparison with F.C., Raul Castro is keeping the same principles and opinions, as seen in the statements below, but foreign policy of Raul Castro seems to be more cooperative and multilateral, as well as Obama's. President Castro has recently repeated, that he is open to cooperation with U.S., but as an equal partners and without any pressure from the side of U.S. for changing of regime and political order in Cuba. Whit this statement, even that U.S. always attempted to help other, non-democratic countries gain democracy, and many of the restrictions on Cuba have been established after not respecting of human rights or freedom of speech on the island, in this situation, President Castro has clearly stated his requirements under which an ongoing cooperation is possible.

President Obama has introduced his multilateral foreign policy in his presidential campaign, endorsing the diplomatic dialogues with friends, but also enemies, without any preconditions. (Indyk, Lieberthal, O'Hanlon, 2013:4), for which, he have been criticised. In the speech at the Woodrow Wilson Centre in Washington, in 2007, Obama has said about the possibility of dialogues with dictators: *“The lesson of the Bush years is that not talking does not work. Go down the list of countries we've ignored and see how successful that strategy has been...It's time to turn the page on the diplomacy of tough talk and no action. It's time to turn the page on Washington's conventional wisdom that agreement must be reached before you meet, that talking to other countries is some kind of reward,*

and that Presidents can only meet with people who will tell them what they want to hear”. (Indyk, Lieberthal, O’Hanlon, 2013:4)

In 2008 speech to CANF members, Obama has talked about his plans to maintain embargo, but seek dialogue with Castro about human rights and democracy, and remove restrictions on family travel and remittances. (Sweig, 2009:240) Both approaches were welcomed by most of the Cuban American. Obama won election with 28 percent of Cuban American vote in 2009, and 49 percent of them in 2012. (Staten, L.C., 2015: 170) After Obama lifted remittances and travel restriction for Cuban Americans, Fidel Castro has commented this act, that he expected Obama to lift the embargo as well, but if the president waits for Cuba to beg for that, that time will never come. President Obama reacted, that the government expect Cuba to do changes like release political prisoners, and establish freedom of speech and freedom of travel and religion, and unless all these are obtained, there is no further steps in better relations. (Suddath, 2009, The White house, 2009)

On December 17, 2014, the normalization of the relations between U.S. and Cuba has officially started. (US Dep. Of State(c)) Since December 17th, 2014, people are allowed to travel to Cuba because of visit of their family, and other reasons, and the remittances to people in Cuba increased. (US dep. of Commerce, 2015) Both presidents has said, on December 17th, 2014, about normalization of relations:

“Today, America choose to cut loose the shackles of the past so as to reach for a better future – for the Cuban people, for the American people, for our entire hemisphere, and for the world.” - B. Obama

“As a result of a dialogue at the highest level, which included a phone conversation I had yesterday with President Obama, we have been able to make head-way in the solution of some topics of mutual interest for both nations.” - R. Castro (LeoGrande, Konbluh, 2015: 418)

The diplomatic relations were re-established in July 20th, 2015. President Obama has send a Presidential letter to Raul Castro Ruz, officially announcing the establishment of the diplomatic relations: *“I am pleased to confirm, following high-level discussions*

between our two governments, and in accordance with international law and practice, that the United States of America and the Republic of Cuba have decided to re-establish diplomatic relations and permanent diplomatic missions in our respective countries on July 20, 2015. This is an important step forward in the process of normalizing relations between our two countries and peoples that we initiated last December. In making this decision, the United States is encouraged by the reciprocal intention to develop respectful and cooperative relations between our two peoples and governments consistent with the Purposes and Principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.....” (The White House, 2015)

After establishing the diplomatic relations, President Raul Castro spoke in September 26, 2015 at the UN Development Summit, about renewing the diplomatic ties with U.S. is a “major progress”, but U.S. trade embargo is a “*main obstacle for Cuba’s economic development, while affecting other nations due to its extraterritorial scope, and hurting the interests of American citizens and companies*”. (Nichols, 2015)

Normalization of the relations has been a major change, welcomed largely by Cuban Americans in Miami that were objecting on Bush’s former travel restrictions to Cuba. President gained popularity among Cuban Americans as well as Cubans, as can be seen in following public opinion polls. However, Congress and some of the Senators and politicians did not shared this friendly approach towards Cuba, and it is not very likely that, for example, the lifting of embargo would occur during Obama’s presidency.

Castro has said, that Cuba have only have normal relations with U.S. when the embargo is lifted and Guantanamo bay base will be closed. He also demands 302 billion as an economic damage from the embargo. (Sesin, 2015) In December 18th, 2015, President Castro has said about the new relationship with U.S.: “*The government of Cuba is fully willing to continue advancing in the construction of a kind of relation with the United States that is different from the one that has existed throughout its prior history, that is based on mutual respect for sovereignty and independence,*” (Trotta, 2015a) Americans has asked, after the meeting on December 8th, for 10 billion dollars as an compensation for their nationalized companies. (Trotta, 2015b)

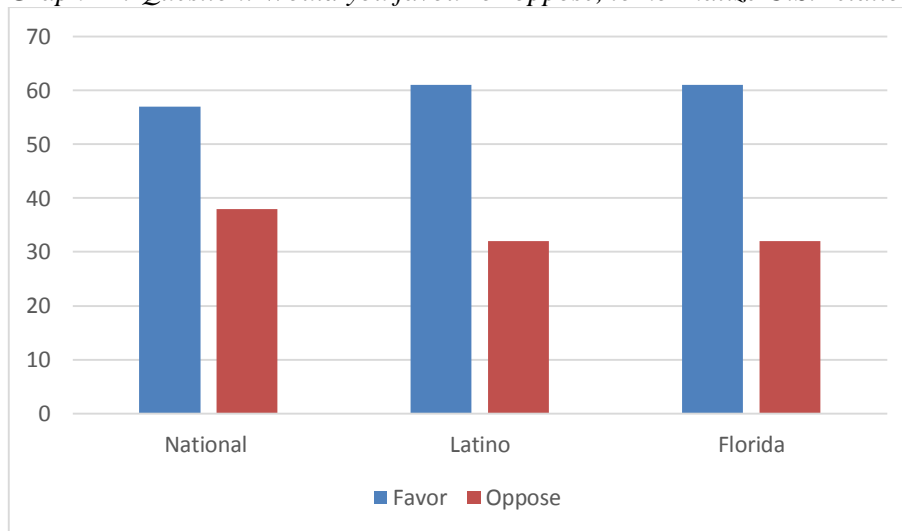
It is obvious, from the statements both Obama and Castro, that the newly established relationship is still vulnerable, and any bad move can harm it. With easing restrictions on travel and remittances, Obama gained popularity and support of Cuban Americans, however, not particular part of the Congress, which is not approving his “open” foreign policy towards Cuba. The balance between Cuba and U.S. can, mainly at the beginning, work on the respect towards Cuban political system by U.S., and a tolerating of embargo from the side of Cuba. Above all, Castro has called for equality and mutual respect among both countries, which is bringing the old revolutionary approach of Fidel Castro towards U.S., attempting to break free from U.S. influence and act as an independent country.

10. Public opinion

Traditionally, in the history, the public did not had any significant role in forming U.S. foreign policy. (Rosati, Scott, 2010: 329) It was up to the president, if he gave any significance to the public opinion, or ignore it. It is the necessary ability of a leader, or presidential candidate, to present his thoughts, policies and view on the world and their country, and educate and influence his voters. Each, for example, presidential candidate, must explain and defend his opinions, and persuade the public, that he is the one they want to vote for.

The situation has changed a bit after the Vietnam War and Korean War, when the public support descend as the number of casualties and use of force grew. Public opinion do not have much influence over the foreign policy, but is important and inspirational to the government in promotion of their foreign policy decisions. The role of public in a foreign policy is growing before elections. Crucial in this relationship are media, and the amount of objectivity they are informing. (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2012:171, 172)

Graph 11: Question: Would you favour or oppose, to normalize U.S. relations with Cuba? (%)



Source: Own work based on data from: Atlantic Council, Adrienne Arsht Latin America Center, 2014. <<http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/images/publications/2014cubapoll/US-CubaPoll.pdf>>

In the polls focused on the current American president, it has been found out, in July 2015 that 58% of Americans totally approve the approach of Barack Obama towards relationship with Cuba, and 38% of citizens approve his politics. 71% of citizens also think, that U.S. should have diplomatic relationship with Cuba. (AP-GFK Poll) In comparison, in 1998, only, around 39% of the public was supporting establishing diplomatic ties with Cuba, and the number grown on 55% in 2004, and 64% in 2009. (Clement, 2014) The public opinions are also influenced by the current president in the office.

In the poll, questioning three interest groups in 2014: Americans, Latin-Americans and Florida citizens, have been found out, that all those groups are supporting normalizing the relations between Cuba and the United States, and citizens of Florida, where the biggest diaspora of Cubans lives, with biggest amount. (Graph 11) Only 38% of nationals, 32% of Latin-Americans and 32% of people from Florida are against the better relations between the two countries.

7.1 The Cubans

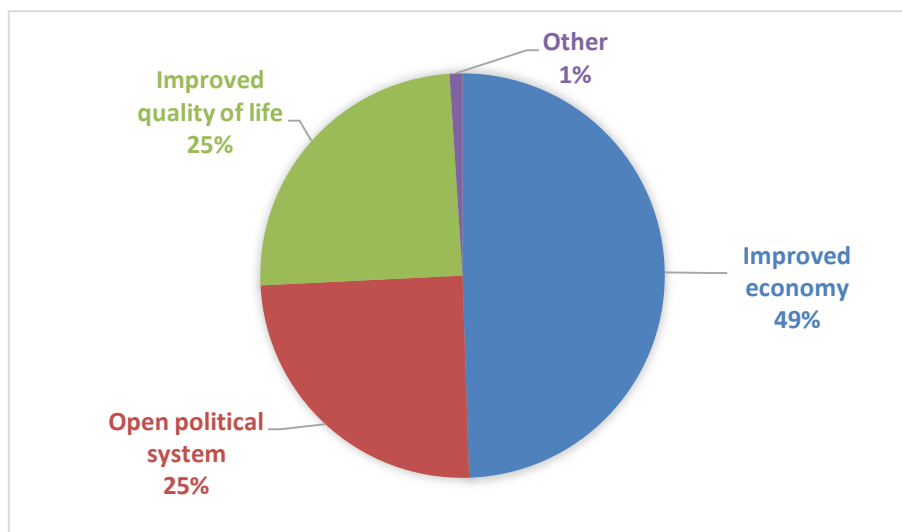
1200 Cubans were interviewed in March 2015 about their opinion on U.S.-Cuban relation and politics, Barack Obama or Raul and Fidel Castro. It have been found out, that most of the Cubans are supporting the normalizing of the relations with the United States. From the interviewees, 55% of people have family in another country, and 56 % of them have family in the United States. 55 % of Cubans would like to live in another country, and 52 % would like to live in the U.S. (Fusion Survey, 2015) The poll was made by Bendixen, Amandi, on behalf of Univision Noticias/Fusion, cooperating with the Washington Post. Majority of the respondents in the Fusion poll, answered, on the question, what do the people of Cuba need the most at this time, that Cuba need to improve its economy, and quality of life, and also its political system. (Graph 12)

- 80 % of Cubans have positive opinion on Barack Obama
- 47% of Cubans have a positive opinion on Raul Castro
- 44% of Cubans have a positive opinion of Fidel Castro

- 73 % of Cubans are optimistic about their future
- 79% are dissatisfied with the economic system
- 38 % of Cubans have positive view of the Communist party
- 19 % feel like they can express themselves freely on public.
- 53% think U.S. is a friend of Cuba.

97% of Cubans think, that normalization of relations with U.S. is a good thing. 96% think that U.S. embargo should end, and 89% think that Obama should visit the island. (Fusion Survey, 2015) As seen from the data obtained by the Fusion survey, majority of Cubans have positive opinion on B. Obama, are dissatisfied with their economic system and think positively about the normalization of the relations between countries. The poll, created in 2015, is showing the disapproval of Cubans with current political system, and hoping for a “new beginnings”, born from new U.S.-Cuban relationship.

Graph 12: Question: In your opinion, what do the people of Cuba need the most at this time?

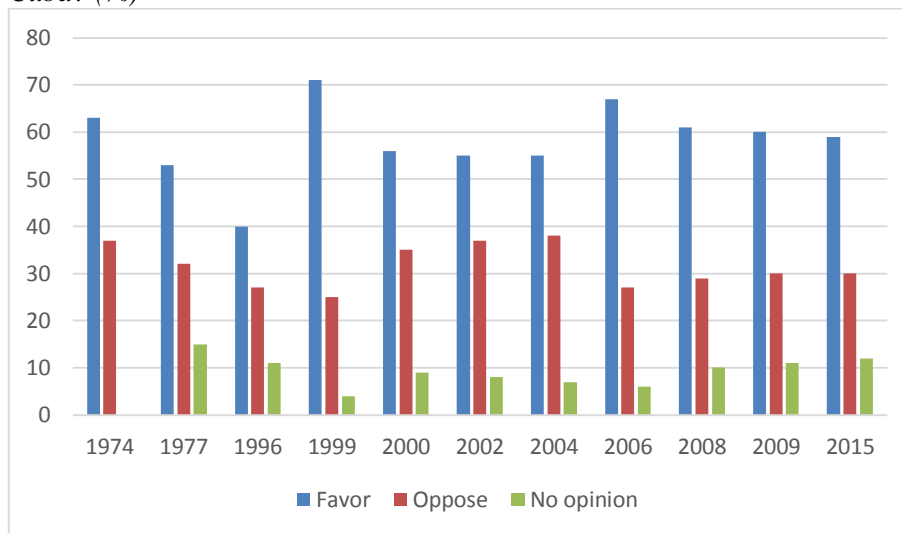


Source: Own work based on data from: International Survey of Cubans living in Cuba, Fusion, 2015, <https://fusiondotnet.files.wordpress.com/2015/04/fusion_cuba-poll-charts-1.pdf

7.2 Americans

In the poll by Gallup, asked to the Americans about re-establishing U.S. diplomatic relations, the majority of the citizens, in 1974, as well as in 2015, majority of them would welcome the re-establishing the relations. (Graph 13) The numbers did not grew so significantly in the recent years, differ the most in 1996, due to the establishment of Cuban liberty and Democracy Solidarity Act, and after the two aid planes were shot by the Cuban troops. The second decline occurred around 2003, when President Bush has strengthened the restrictions towards Cuba, after Castro's government imprisoned 75 journalists and opponents.

Graph 13: Question: Do you favour or oppose re-establishing U.S. diplomatic relations with Cuba? (%)



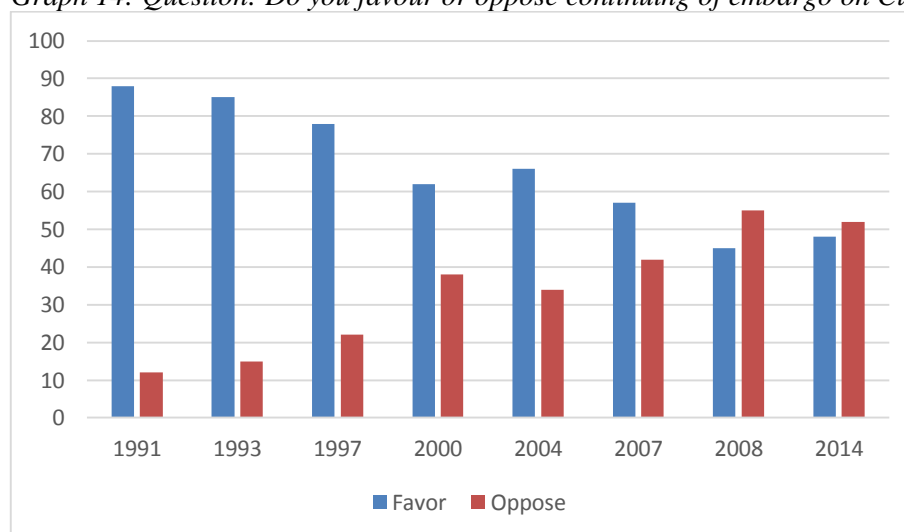
Source: Own work based on data from: Gallup, <gallup.com/poll/1630/cuba.aspx>

7.3 Cuban Americans

Majority of Cuban Americans live in Florida. They, unlike the Americans, who's supported the normalizations of relations, were highly against it in 1991. Recently, the poll have changed, and these days, slightly over half - 52%, think, that the U.S. should end the embargo of Cuba. (Graph 14) In the comparison, in 2011, embargo was supported by 56 % of the Cuban-American, and by 87% in 1991. (Peralta, 2014) Cuban Americans started to support end of embargo on Cuba around 2008, after the new President of Cuba, Raul Castro, and Barack Obama presidential campaign, supporting the normalization of Cuban-American relations.

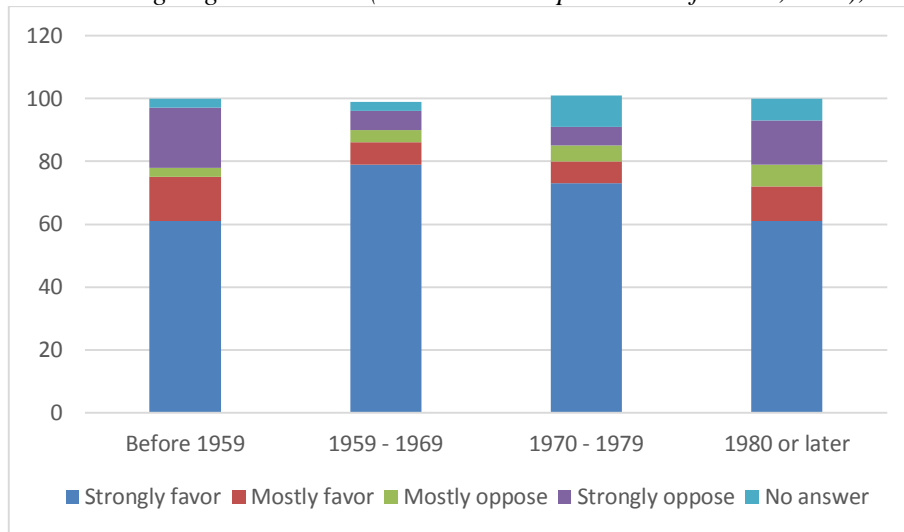
The poll is dividing its interviewees not only according to the age, sex and education, but also according to the year, when the respondent left Cuba. The question, whether they would favour or oppose political pressure and tightening the embargo against Cuba, majority of the Cuban Americans, regardless on the time period, when they have left Cuba, answered that they would strongly favour tightening of embargo, and increase the political pressure. 2014 (Fig. 7.5), when the question whether they would favour or oppose establishing of diplomatic relations between the two countries was given to the Cuban-Americans, mostly the “young” generation, leaving Cuba after 1981 and 1995, were in favour to start negotiating the diplomatic relations between U.S. and Cuba and normalize them. The Cubans, who have left Cuba before and after 1959, are mostly opposed this idea. In 1993 (Fig. 7.6), Cubans who have left their home between 1959 and 1969, has answered on question, whether the embargo against Cuba should be tightened, with a strong support of this idea.

Graph 14: Question: Do you favour or oppose continuing of embargo on Cuba? (%)



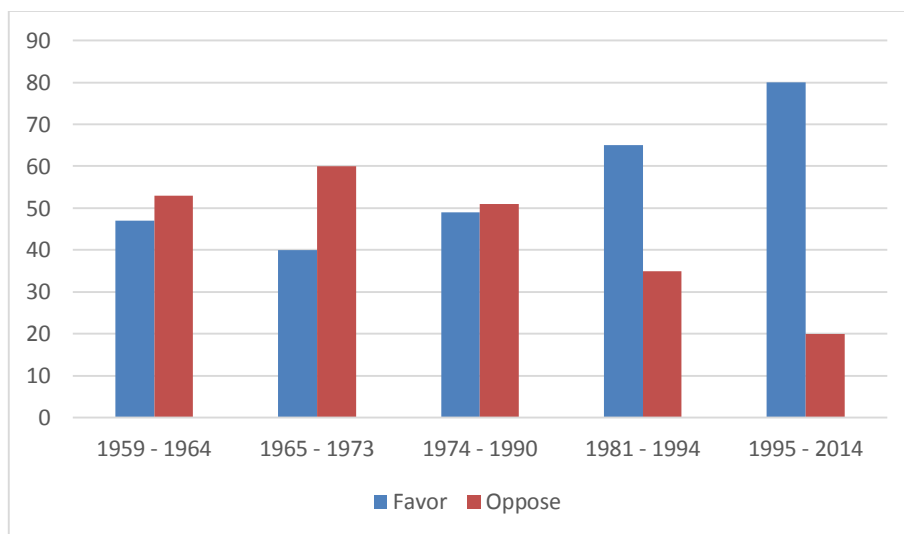
Source: Own work based on data from: Florida International University, Cuba Poll, 1991, 1993, 1997, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2014. <<https://cri.fiu.edu/research/cuba-poll/2014-fiu-cuba-poll.pdf>>, <<https://cri.fiu.edu/research/cuba-poll/2011-cuba-poll.pdf>>, <<https://cri.fiu.edu/research/cuba-poll/2008-cuba-poll.pdf>>, <<http://www2.fiu.edu/~ipor/cuba8/>>, <<http://www2.fiu.edu/~ipor/cuba2000/index.html>>, <<http://www2.fiu.edu/~ipor/cuba7/index.html>>, <<http://www2.fiu.edu/~ipor/cuba5/>>.

Graph 15: Question: Would you favour or oppose increasing political pressure to tighten the trade embargo against Cuba? (Years when respondents left Cuba, in %),



Source: Own work based on data from: Florida International University, Cuba Poll, 1993, <<https://cri.fiu.edu/research/cuba-poll/1993-cuba-poll.pdf>>

Graph 16: Question: Do you favour or oppose the U.S. re-establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba? (Years when respondents left Cuba, %)

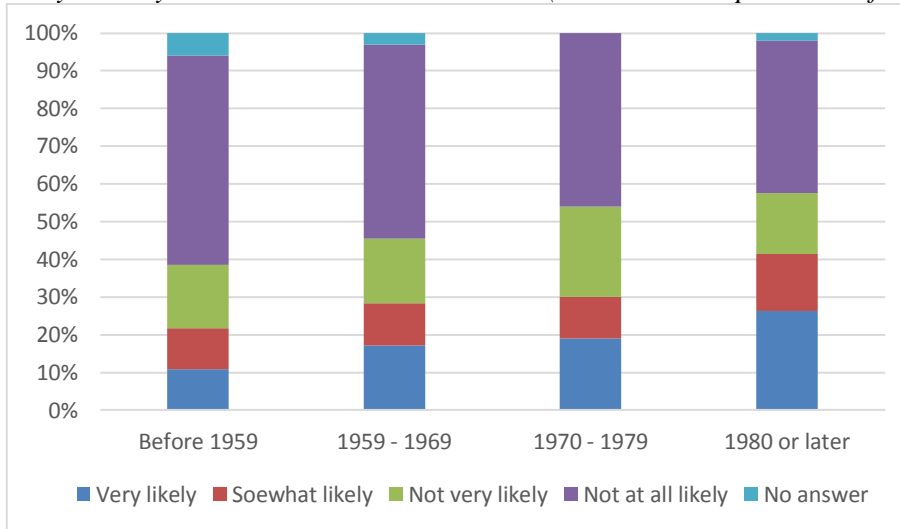


Source: Own work based on data from: Florida International University, Cuba Poll, 2014, <<https://cri.fiu.edu/research/cuba-poll/2014-fiu-cuba-poll.pdf>>

In 1993, 56%, so, majority of Cubans who have left Cuba before 1959, would not like to go back to their country, even if there was a democratic form of government. (Fig. 7.3.4) Around 26% of Cubans, coming to U.S. after 1980, would like to go back, if there

was a change of government, but most of them, 40%, would definitely not go back, even if Cuba was democratic.

Graph 17: Question: If there was a change in Cuba to a democratic form of government, how likely would you be to return to Cuba to live? (Years when respondents left Cuba, in %)



Source: Own work based on data from: Florida International University, Cuba Poll, 1993

11. The possible future directions of U.S.-Cuban relations

The future relations of these two countries can have various shapes, from lifting the embargo, strengthening the economic sanctions and travel and remittances again, to normalize the relations, but keeping the embargo in place. Since Cuba is the only remaining communist country in the Western Hemisphere, and not even typically communist, because has its own view on the government and economic policies, there is no threat, as it was in the era of the Soviet Union, of such a dangerous partnership.

Cuba seems to be open to tourism, as well as economic reforms, under the condition, stated by Fidel and Raul Castro, as long as they are not pressed to drop the revolutionary approach and communist leadership in exchange for democracy. Through the time periods of various U.S. presidents, Cuba had obviously hold tight to their government style, and the necessity of independence feeling. It seems that, as long as the politics style is maintained and tolerated from the side of the United States, Cuba is willing to negotiate about normalisation of the relations between Cuba and U.S, as have been seen during Ford or Carter administration.

U.S. embargo has weakened the island's economy and its position in the world and international influence. From the growing, economically stable country, Cuba has experience economic downfall after the embargo, then full economic dependency on the Soviet Union, and again, the crisis after end of the Cold War. Thus, it is sure, that embargo has weakened the government, but not destabilized it. However, the situation would be probably different without the support of the Soviet Union.

For lifting an full embargo on Cuba, even that it has been called for it by UN, Raul Castro and also according to the public polls, it seems that American, Cuban American as well as Cuban public is in favour of lifting embargo, this power is in the hands of Congress and it does not seem like happening any time soon. President is lifting trade and remittances restrictions, but has no power about lifting an embargo. For the U.S. government, experiencing Castro's unpredictability, the tightening of embargo and travel

and trade restrictions worked as an assurance that the government and the island is not in such a strong position.

The current topic are the presidential elections and the new U.S. president. From the historical perspective is obvious, that each of the U.S. presidents has brought different approach towards foreign policy, and different approach towards Cuba. It will be up to the next elected candidate to decide, in which direction he will lead the future policy.

In the past, the Cuba's foreign policy was also connected with the necessity of economic support from a foreign investors. Nowadays, due to the trade with Venezuela, Canada, Spain but also U.S, as well as other Latin American and European countries, it is possible for Cuba to shift their foreign policy, for example, towards support of tourism, since its cultural unique heritage. Another possible future of Cuba are limitations of trade and remittances, once again, if the presidential candidate coming in the office after Obama would be "anti-Castro" oriented, as seen many times in the past.

It is important to take into the consideration the political influence of CANF, which attempts to destabilize Cuban government, and establish democratic politics for its citizens. Human rights are the core topic for many countries, cooperating with Cuba, violating human rights and freedom of speech.

11.1 2016 U.S. presidential elections

Obama's reforms, mostly welcomed by public, companies, as well as tourists and agribusiness industries, were not as welcomed by, for example, Republican representatives, due to the violations of human rights and right of speech on Cuba. (L.C., 2015: 171, Sesin, 2015)

Since there will be presidential elections in 2016 in the United States, it is valuable to consider the opinions of the candidates on U.S. foreign policy towards Cuba, in order to observe, where might the future U.S. foreign policy towards Cuba lead. Some of the candidates do agree with Obama's policy, mostly Democrats, some of them not, in majority Republicans.

One of the candidates is Senator of Florida, Cuban-American Marco Rubio. He has called Obama, in 2014, "*the worst negotiator that we've had as a president since at*

least Jimmy Carter and maybe in the modern history of this country". (Camia, 2014) He has said, that in case he will win the elections, he will take the relations with Cuba back as they were before Obama. (Sesin, 2015) Florida governor Jeb Bush called the diplomatic ties in 2014 *„the latest foreign policy misstep“*, and recommended strengthening the embargo. (Camia, 2014) In 2015, Bush opinion is, that the embargo could be only lifted when Cuba is moving forward to the democracy, but it is necessary to help Cuban people, is similar to George Bush's. (ProCon, 2015) Texas Senator Ted Cruz, whose father has fled Castro regime, is also critical towards Obama, and against lifting the U.S. embargo. (Camia, 2014) Another pro-embargo candidate is Chris Christie, against Cuban government because of the treatment of its citizens, and Mike Huckabee, claiming the government of Cuba are *„untrustworthy people“*. (ProCon, 2015)

On the other hand, in favour of lifting the embargo is Hilary Clinton, as well as most of the Democrats. According to Clinton, embargo needs to be lifted and replaced with better approach, saying that embargo only *„strengthened the Castro regime's grip on power“* and stressed the necessity to *“expose its people to the values, information, and material comforts of the outside world”*. (Camia, 2014) The same approach share Martin O'Malley and Bernie Sanders, claiming embargo turned out to be contra-productive, as well as Donald Trump, who said, that *„The concept of opening with Cuba is fine”*. (ProCon, 2015)

From the statements by the presidential candidates is obvious, that, in case of the victory of a candidate from Republican Party, that the relations between U.S. and Cuba worsen, or get sticer again. Maybe the restrictions on travel and remittances will not take place again, but it would be highly unlikely, that embargo would be lifted during the presidency of a new president. The only case of continuing normalization of U.S-Cuba relations would be Cuban progressive shift towards democracy, or, at least, establishment of freedom of speech and improving the human rights conditions on the island. It is arguable how much the relations with Cuba will develop, until the end of Obama's presidency. If this partnership would be stable and the laws and rules respected, and prove to be working in a long term, there could be any reason why to change this attitude.

12. Conclusion

It would be hard to find a two countries with such a history of up-and –downs in their foreign policy as the United States and Cuba. As is clear from the historical events mentioned in the thesis, the core basis of the Cuban revolution and Castro’s government the idea of independence, supported by an anti-American feeling of Fidel Castro.

The main aim of this paper was to analyse the mutual U.S. – Cuban relations, since Cuban independence. From the historical perspective, according to the economic data as well as the U.S. legislative acts, the influence of U.S. on Cuba have been enormous.

The normalization of the relations in 2015 has been an important part of the mutual history of both countries, and establishment of their mutual relations after more than 50 years. Nowadays, especially with upcoming presidential elections, arise many opinions on how to set foreign policy towards Cuba, either to forget the past and move towards the future, or keep the economic embargo and restrictions in order to limit the power of Cuban government. According to the recent public opinion polls it is clear, that not only Cuban exiles, but also Cubans welcome the newly established relations of U.S and Cuba, and are hoping for end of embargo in the future.

According to the information obtained from the bibliography used in this thesis, the Cuban approach towards the United States after Cuba’s independence was neutral, but not very positive, and has transformed into anti-American feeling since the Cuban revolution and Castro’s call for independence. Many political opponents were prosecuted by the government, and large amount of Cubans left to the United States, which has caused growing disapproval with Castro’s government. After the Cold War, Cuba got into huge economic depression, and was persuaded to establish new economic reforms, and establish foreign trade partnerships, for example, with Venezuela. The Cuban Democracy Act, passed during the administration of G.H.W. Bush, and Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, during Clinton administration, have tightened embargo and worsened the economic situation on the island, supported by CANF. The Cuban society in the United States, and Cuban foundation CANF, represent a growing political power in the lobby as well as Congress. Since two Cuban Americans are running for a presidential office, it is clear that the importance of CANF and Cubans will grow

The U.S. attitude towards Cuba from the time before the Spanish-American war can be described as supportive, in order to maintain its investment and property on the island, and shifted towards an position of major trading partner between the independence of Cuba and Cuban revolution. During the Cold War, the U.S. build its foreign policy on containment of communism, which was applied also on Cuba. In the following years, the approach towards Cuba has differ with various presidents in the office, from attempts of normalization of President Carter, to strong stand against Castro's government by President Reagan. But, that after the end of Cold War, and end of the threat of Soviet possible military influence over Cuba, the situation improved a little. U.S. is repeatedly criticising the abuse of human rights and freedom of speech on the island, and its non-democratic government, and placing this as a main obstacle towards lifting an embargo.

From the economic data used in the graphs have been determined, that embargo lowered the economic power of the government after its establishment, and also isolated Cuba overly, considering the island's dependency on foreign trade. U.S. probably counted with early collapse of Castro's regime, but, Cuba has turned to the Soviet Union, obtaining economic, political as well as military help. Embargo destabilized Cuba economically from the beginning, and after the Cold War, but even more caused island's isolation of foreign trade and diplomatic relations. Embargo did not significantly destabilized the Cuban government, thanks to the economic support of Soviet Union, as it have been found out from the data.

President Raul Castro is sharing this point of view, and welcomes normalization of relations, but only under a condition, that U.S. will not attempt to influence and intervene Cuba's governmental system and its laws and rules. That means, not negotiate about human rights protection and freedom of speech in Cuba. Where the next foreign policy towards Cuba will lead to is dependent on the next U.S. President.

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14. List of abbreviations

U.S.	the United States
CANF	Cuban American Nat
CDA	Cuban Democracy Act
FPA	Foreign Policy Analysis
FPDM	Foreign Policy Decision Making
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II
USA	the United States
UN	United Nations
CARICOM	Caribbean Community and Common Market
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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Graph 17: Question: If there was a change in Cuba to a democratic form of government, how likely would you be to return to Cuba to live? (Years when respondents left Cuba, in %)

Appendix

List of American presidents:

	Presidential term	President	Party
1	1789-1797	George Washington	Federalist
2	1797-1801	John Adams	Federalist
3	1801-1809	Thomas Jefferson	Democratic-Republican
4	1809-1817	James Madison	Democratic- Republican
5	1817-1825	James Monroe	Democratic- Republican
6	1825-1829	John Quincy Adams	Democratic- Republican
7	1829-1837	Andrew Jackson	Democrat
8	1837-1841	Martin Van Buren	Democrat
9	1841	William H. Harrison	Whig party
10	1841-1845	John Tyler	
11	1845-1849	James K. Polk	
12	1849-1850	Zachary Taylor	Whig party
13	1850-1853	Millard Fillmore	
14	1853-1857	Franklin Pierce	
15	1857-1861	James Buchanan	Democrat
16	1861-1865	Abraham Lincoln	Republican
17	1865-1869	Andrew Johnson	Democrat
18	1869-1877	Ulysses S. Grant	Republican
19	1877-1881	Rutherford Hayes	Republican
20	1881	James A. Garfield	Republican
21	1881-1885	Chester Arthur	
22	1885-1889	Grover Cleveland	
23	1889-1893	Benjamin Harrison	Republican

24	1893-1897	Grover Cleveland	Democrat
25	1897-1901	William McKinley	Republican
26	1901-1909	Theodore Roosevelt	Republican
27	1909-1913	William H. Taft	Republican
28	1913-1921	Woodrow Wilson	Democrat
29	1921-1923	Warren G. Harding	Republican
30	1923-1929	Calvin Coolidge	Republican
31	1929-1933	Herbert C. Hoover	Republican
32	1933-1945	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democrat
33	1945-1953	Harry S. Truman	Democrat
34	1953-1961	Dwight D. Eisenhower	Republican
35	1961-1963	John F. Kennedy	Democrat
36	1963-1969	Lyndon B. Johnson	Democrat
37	1969-1974	Richard M. Nixon	Republican
38	1974-1977	Gerald R. Ford	Republican
39	1977-1981	Jimmy Carter	Democrat
40	1981-1989	Ronald Reagan	Republican
41	1989-1993	George H.W. Bush	Republican
42	1993-2001	Bill Clinton	Democrat
43	2001-2009	George W. Bush	Republican
42	2009-	Barack Obama	Democrat

Source: < <http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h579.html>>

List of Cuban president

	Presidential term	President	Party
1	1902 – 1906	Tomás Estrada Palma	Moderate Party
2	1909 – 1913	José Miguel Gómez	Liberal Party
3	1913 – 1921	Mario García Menocal	Conservative Party
4	1921 – 1925	Alfredo Zayas y Alfonso	Cuban Popular Party-National League
5	1925 – 1933	Gerardo Machado	Liberal Party
6	1933 – 1934	Ramón Grau	Cuban Revolutionary Party
7	1934 – 1935	Carlos Mendieta	National Union
8	1935 – 1936	José Agripino Barnet	National Union
9	1936 – 1940	Federico Laredo Brú	National Union
10	1940 – 1944	Fulgencio Batista	Democratic Socialist Coalition (CSD)
11	1944 – 1948	Ramón Grau	Cuban Revolutionary Party (Authentic)
12	1948 – 1952	Carlos Prío Socarrás	Cuban Revolutionary Party (Authentic)
13	1952 – 1955	Fulgencio Batista	Military
14	1955 – 1959	Fulgencio Batista	Progressive Action Party
15	1959 – 1976	Oswaldo Dorticós Torrado	Integrated Revolutionary Organizations, United Party of the Cuban Socialist Revolution, Communist Party of Cuba

16	1976 – 2008	Fidel Castro	Communist Party of Cuba
17	2006 – 2008, 2008 – presence	Raúl Castro	Communist Party of Cuba

Source: <http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/list_of_presidents_of_cuba>