



The European Union and the Republic of Cuba: A turbulent liaison!

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Abstract

This research offers an interpretation of the turbulent relations between the European Union and the Republic of Cuba from 1993-2016 out two different perspectives on power behavior: Normative Power Europe and Neo-Colonial Europe. It is thereby assumed that the European Union is a cosmopolitan who acts normatively by promoting and diffusing certain norms towards the Cuban Government, and that such behavior comes along with inconsistencies, othering and ambivalence. It is further assumed that the Republic of Cuba is kept under colonial hierarchy structures while the European Union penetrates its policy and economy. To answer the research question and validate the assumptions a qualitative approach is applied that analyzes literature on the issue as well as five European Parliament Resolutions on the Republic of Cuba. It is found that the European Union does indeed behave normatively in its relations with Cuba and that there as well exist neo-colonial implications. No matter which power behavior, in the end it is important to put the lives of individual human beings before any judgement of power behavior.

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1 Introduction

The European Union establishes in Article 3(5) Treaty on European Union (TEU) that it “shall uphold and promote its values and interests” in its international relations (Van Vooren & Wessel, 2014). Its specific position in international politics however, remains a contested issue. Some have argued that the European Union’s external power behavior is one of normative kind (*e.g.* Manners, 2002, 2006, 2011), others assert that it is of neo-colonial kind (*e.g.* Nkrumah, 1965). On one hand, the *sui generis* entity is a cosmopolitan actor and has been observed to using normative justifications, such as democracy and human rights, and diffusing them. On the other hand, there exist conflicts between its values and interests resulting in unbalanced structures of hierarchy and dependency that affect countries of the Global South and or former colonies. The aim of this study is to shine new light on these debates through an examination and interpretation of European Union relations with the Republic of Cuba. A task that includes an explanation of content and conceptualization of debates on Normative Power Europe and Neo-Colonial Power Europe. This paper perceives both concepts as two power mechanisms with distinct strategies and impacts that exist concurrently. This is a qualitative analysis in which first the historical relationship between both actors in question is narrated and analyzed, second five Resolutions by the European Parliament are analyzed in respect to a self-constructed coding scheme, and third the results are interpreted respectively. It is further important to stress the theoretical nature of this paper upfront as it comes with limitations. European Union external policy is not only dependent on its 28 Member States’ perspectives, including those of the ‘stronger’ and ‘weaker’, but also on third country alliances as well as the complex compromise between the right thing to do and what is feasible in a landscape of unaccountable stakeholder interests. Owing to these facts, this paper is not capable of grasping the entire scope of an object as complex as the relations between an entire regional block with a third state. It however empirically interprets underlying mechanisms that are crucial for further research on the issue.

1.1 The European Union and Cuba: A turbulent liaison!

To understand European Union power behavior in its relations with Cuba, one needs to first make sense of their very beginnings. This section is meant to prepare the reader for the historical analysis of the relations between the European Union and Cuba.

Until the 1980s the then European Economic Community's Member States and Cuba maintained bilateral relations focused on economy and trade with limited political implications (Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012). The accession of Spain to the European Economic Community in 1986 sparked its interest in Latin America and the Caribbean (Roy, 2019). Due to Cuban post-revolution nationalization processes, its accession to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, as well as European Union protectionisms and displays of ideological opposition, their relations were kept low. The socialist Republic of Cuba meanwhile prioritized relations with its neighbors in Latin America, the Caribbean, and other socialist and countries of the Global South (Hernández & Benítez, 2015). Cuba's interest to establish diplomatic relations with the European Economic Community (EEC) was first voiced in 1988 but remained unacknowledged (Hernández & Benítez). In February of 1990 however, the European Parliament formulated its first¹ Resolution on human rights violations in Cuba. It disapproves of the arrestments of dissidents to the Fidel Castro regime as well as ongoing imprisonments of conscience (European Parliament, 1990a), a narrative that was continuously used throughout the years to come (e.g. European Parliament, 1992; 1993b). The fall of the Soviet Socialist Block and the dismantling of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance around 1990, were the start of the *Período Especial* (engl. Special Period), a major and mainly economic crisis in Cuba. Fidel Castro lost his allies, economic stability and concurrent international credibility towards his revolutionary regime. The Government, struggling to survive, saw itself in need of new allies, economically and politically (European Commission, 1995; Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012; Villanueva, 2008). For the first time reliant on own efforts, its remedy was to increasingly decentralize and denationalize its economic system from 1990-1993 after its GDP decreased 35%, ultimately allowing foreign investment (Cordoví, 2012; Villanueva, 2008). Europeans saw this as an opportunity for investment (European Commission, 1995; Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012). In October 1992 however, the Torricelli Act was adopted by the United States of America to pressure the Cuban Government to transition towards free market economy and democracy. Its emphasis on expropriated United States of America property threatened European investment in Cuba (Ojeda, 2012; Roy, 2011). The European Economic Community issued a Resolution in December 1992 through the European Parliament that rejected the Torricelli Act for its incompatibility with national sovereignty, free trade, freedom of transit and most importantly the EEC-USA Transatlantic Declaration (European Parliament,

¹ The first Resolution as far as the author's honest and extensive research serve as a proof.

1993b). The coming in force of the *Treaty of Maastricht* (or Treaty on European Union) in November 1993, turned the European Economic Community into the European Union and created the Common Foreign and Security Policy (Van Vooren & Wessel, 2014). For Cuba, the European Union became its first and most important trading and investment partner (Hernández & Benítez, 2015). Since then, relations between the European Union and Cuba have been extraordinarily marked by swings but foremost by disagreement towards the Islands revolutionary regime and policy *id est* norms. European Union intentions to provoke change in the Cuban revolutionary regime were self-declared as non-violent and good-willed while Cuba claimed them to be invasive and disrespectful towards its national sovereignty (Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012; Roy, 2011, 2019). The 96/697/CFSP Common Position on Cuba and its conditioning of bilateral relations, followed by Cuba declaring the gambit an invasion of internal affairs, were the beginning of deceitful diplomatic reconciliations and repetitions of history in different colorings. These coupled with Cuban failed attempts of becoming party to the Cotonou Agreement of partnership between the European Union and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group of states, are merely highlights of a turbulent international liaison (Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012; Roy, 2011, 2019). These days, the European Union and Cuba seem to have found a common ground and relations are normalized. Cuba hosts a functioning European Union Delegation in its capital Havana, the Common Position was repealed, and a Political Dialogue and Cooperation Agreement was signed in 2016. The European Union is the Islands' main export partner, and after Venezuela its second trade partner (EEAS, 2018; Roy, 2019).

1.2 State of Research

A large and growing body of literature describes the role of normative power in European Union external policy, after the concept's introduction by Ian Manners in 2002. Scholars like *e.g.* Scheipers and Sicurelli (2007), provide empirical evidence on this constructivist perception and demonstrate how the European Union's normative potency orchestrates as a *force for good*. Conversely, others highlight and proof the relevance of realist tendencies and claim European Union behavior to be hegemonic (Diez, 2013), or imperialistic (Sepos, 2013). Del Biondo (2011) observes that in the Unions' relations with states of the African, Caribbean and Pacific group, the conditionality it imposes to comply with its norms and values is inconsistently applied, depending on own interests (Del Biondo, 2011). Moreover, much of the current literature on European Union – Cuba relations pays particular attention to the role of Spanish efforts (*e.g.* Roy, 2019) over time.

When relations were pushed forward it was namely mostly due to Spain's outstanding efforts, except during the presidency of conservative José María Alfredo Aznar 1996-2004 (Boorsma, 2017; Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012; Roy, 2011, 2019). So far, no analysis has been made that considers the European Union as a unified entity whose past and thereof resulting responsibilities are composed by its Member States' accomplishments and infamies. And this is exactly where this paper intends to connect, by considering both at the same time, Normative Power Europe as a force for good, and Neo-Colonial Power Europe as a possible wrong.

1.3 Scientific and Societal Relevance

As mentioned before, much of the current literature on European Union – Cuba relations pays particular attention to Spain as a key actor (*e.g.* Roy, 2019), or the influence of the United States of America (*e.g.* Boorsma, 2017). However, no research so far has analyzed them from a perspective that takes into account European Union power behavior in sum of all its parts. Apart from enhancing the body of knowledge on Normative Power Europe, this thesis further intends provide a more differentiated insight to Eurocentric research. More precisely, its behavior towards a former Colony, and present country of the Global South will be critically interpreted. As discussed above, already existing research concentrates on providing theoretical frameworks for analysis and laying the foundation for further empirical research on the notion of the European Union as normative, or neo-colonial power. The present research connects there by applying these analytical tools to the little studied case of Cuba. Thereby adding to the evidence on the concepts of normative power and neo-colonialism and extending their perspectives. This evidence is crucial as it could be used by scientists, lobbyists and politicians to level up the discussion to public administration. The aim of this research is to spark dialogues and discussions on the subject and incite a movement towards international equity. Or as Manners (2011) put it, the ambition is “to change existing structures of power and injustice by opening up the possibilities of different perspectives” (p. 233).

1.4 Research Question, Sub-Questions and the chronology of answers

In this sense, the descriptive research question reads as follows:

To what extent can European Union behavior in its relations with the Republic of Cuba from 1993-2016 be interpreted as Normative Power Europe and Neo-Colonial Europe?

To answer the main question and provide a clear structure for this paper, the research question is divided into four sub-questions (SQ) that are going to be resumed throughout the research. The sub-questions read as follows:

SQ1 What are the characteristics of normative and neo-colonial power behavior?

SQ2 What is the history of the relationship between the European Union and Cuba?

SQ3 To what extent can European Union behavior in its relations with Cuba be interpreted as Normative Power Europe?

SQ4 To what extent can European Union behavior in its relations with Cuba be interpreted as Neo-Colonial Power Europe?

To answer the questions, the first chapter elaborates the main theoretical concepts for this research. Each concept, normative power and neo-colonialism, will be defined by reviewing its history, most important contributors, and critics. Empirical evidence is used to back up their underlying assumptions. The second chapter illustrates the methodology that was used to conduct research and analysis, as well as the reasons as to why picking the Republic of Cuba as a case study is especially relevant. It includes an explanation of the self-constructed coding scheme on which the analysis is based on (the Analytical Table can be found in Appendix 1), whereas an overview (Figure 2) of the analyzed documents can be found in chapter 3. The third chapter namely presents the heart of this research - the analysis. It is divided into four sections, to first provide an in-depth analysis of each episode of European Union – Cuba relations namely 1993-1996, 1997-2008, and 2009-2016, second to describe and assess the analyzed documents, and third as well as fourth to provide the interpretations. In the end, the fourth chapter presents conclusions that can be drawn from this research.

2 Conceptualizing and Theorizing

The following chapter means to conceptualize and theorize normative power and neo-colonialism and is divided into two main parts for each of the theories. The first part on normative power starts with a definition of Normative Power Europe as introduced by Manners in 2002 as well as his elaboration on it later on in 2011. These theorizations are then backed up by empirical discussions on the issue. The second part on neo-colonialism starts with an illustration of why the neo-colonial perspective on the European Union is relevant. This is followed by a definition of neo-colonialism including its distinction from imperialism. The theory is then backed up with empirical discussions. Throughout the chapter a total of four assumptions are made to pool the main theoretical implications and simplify the analysis later in the paper.

Conceptualizing and Theorizing Part 1: Normative Power Europe

2.1 Defining Normative Power Europe

“The concept of normative power is an attempt to suggest that not only is the EU constructed on a normative basis, but importantly that this predisposes it to act in a normative way in world politics.” (Manners, 2002, p. 252)

In his article, “Normative power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?”, Manners (2002) sparked an academic discussion on the European Union’s power behavior, replacing similar discussions *e.g.* on *Civilian Power Europe* by Duchêne and Bull, or *European Capitalist Superpower* by Galtung (Orbie, 2006). Since Manners introduction of normative power Europe however, the conception of the European Union possessing and exerting normative power has been widely discussed and analyzed in scientific literature (see *e.g.* Diez, 2005, 2013). Manners (2002) points out that the basis of European Union normative power is comprised by five “core norms” and four “minor norms” (p. 242) that derive from its *acquis communautaire* and *acquis politique*. These core norms of peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law, human rights, and minor norms of social solidarity, anti-discrimination, sustainable development and good governance, are used by the European Union as a means for establishment, legitimation and more importantly, to internationally “shape conceptions of ‘normal’” (Manners, 2002, p. 239). The exegesis of these norms is not limited to their synoptic key-terms but can also be found in underlying mechanisms and implications. European Union official interpretations of peace for instance include the prevention of conflicts and the strengthening of international security by *e.g.* mediation and dialogue (European External

Action Service, 2017). Liberty in European Union sense is accompanied by security from *e.g.* unlawful and or arbitrary arrests and imprisonments and can also be related to other fundamental freedoms as according to the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union such as *e.g.* the freedom of thought, expression, information, assembly, arts, and more (European Commission, n.d.a). The core norms of democracy and human rights are inseparable for the European Union, for it believes that the latter can only be achieved through the former while both are needed for the insurance of other norms such as *e.g.* the rule of law (European External Action Service, 2016). The European Union further is further determined to fight all kinds of discrimination in its external action (European External Action Service, 2019), and reinforce good governance, accountability and social equity in public administrations by *e.g.* supporting economic reforms, promoting transparency, and reducing inequalities (European Commission, n.d.b). Consequential, the first assumption is that the European Union diffuses its five core norms and four minor norms in its relations with the Republic of Cuba, in an intent of shaping the ‘normal’ in Cuban policy.

Almost a decade later Manners (2011) reflected on a series of perspectives on Normative Power Europe and distinguished three main approaches to it: normative theory, normative form of power and normative type of actor: Firstly, normative theory reflects on “how we judge and justify truth claims in social science” (Manners, 2011, p. 228). Manners (2011) issued a warning for scientists about the importance of reflecting upon their position towards normative theory and critically evaluating empirical realities. Similarly, Diez (2005) suggests to “maintain an ambiguous approach” of at the same time valuing and reprimanding Normative Power Europe for what it is (p. 636). Accordingly, “[t]his would by no means undermine, but rather rescue, normative power from becoming a self-righteous, messianistic project that claims to know what Europe is and what others should look like” (Diez, 2005, p. 636). Secondly, the nature of a normative power is considered to be “ideational rather than material or physical” including its “ability to use normative justification rather than an ability to use material incentives or physical force” (Manners, 2011, p. 230). This however, does not exclude the supplementary use of either or both, material and military power, as long as their use is normatively justified (Manners, 2011). A case study on proceedings regarding the International Criminal Court and the Kyoto Protocol illustrates this by offering an example for the European Union’s ability to use multilateral diplomatic means to oppose the position of the United States of America (Scheipers & Sicurelli, 2007). Thirdly, a normative type of actor refers to a cosmopolitan who operates normatively as a revolutionary in order to achieve

their ideal of “a more just, cosmopolitan world (...) in which communitarian, social rights accommodate cosmopolitan, individual rights of others; where local politics and global politics commune” (Manners, 2011, p. 232). Cosmopolitanism defines as a theory to describe the modern but gentle, and at times forced, transformation of deeply-entrenched distinct national perspectives into a universal, transnational one (Beck & Sznaider, 2010). Hence, the second assumption rises that the European Union is a cosmopolitan actor and bases its relations with the Republic of Cuba on common truth claims that it diffuses on the grounds of normative justifications over incentives and force.

2.2 Empirical Discussions on Normative Power Europe

Numerous authors (see *e.g.* Merlingen, 2007), have questioned the usefulness of European cosmopolitanism and normative power approaches relating to European Union power behavior and extensively elaborated on the question of what the European Union’s role in the world is instead. In an academic confrontation, Diez (2005) emphasizes the need for more critical (self-)reflection of European Union external behavior. He suggests the normative discourse to be part of European Union identity construction through a process of *othering*, that is “strategies of constructing the ‘self’ and ‘other’ in international politics” (Diez, 2005, p. 628). Accordingly, there exist four different forms of othering that depict others as ‘existential threat’, ‘inferior’, ‘violating universal principles’, and or ‘different’ (Diez, 2005). Manners (2006) comeback points out the need to reflect upon an additional form, the ever-present ‘self as other’ in which the other allegedly mirrors the indiscernible self, as in own shortcomings. He goes further by pointing out that normative power Europe “was, and is, a statement of what is believed to be good about the EU; a statement which needed to be made in order to stimulate and reflect on what the EU *should* be (doing) in world politics” (p. 168). Merlingen (2007) however queried this exact facet – the core of the concept by pointing out the ambiguity between the terms power, as in implying coercion, and normative, as in implying legitimacy. He maintains the warning “that any claim to know what it takes to promote the good life abroad – democracy, the rule of law, human rights, etc. – and to act on this knowledge claim is not only an act of other-regarding ethical conduct but also a claim to subordination” (Merlingen, 2007, p. 442). Building on these and other arguments, Diez (2013) later elaborated and summarized four major problems in the debate on Normative Power Europe. Namely, the ambivalence between norms and interests as well as the thereof resulting inconsistencies in

treatment of third countries, the roles of third parties in European Union external action, and the theory's academic positioning already introduced before.

Concerning the ambivalence between norms and interests Merlingen (2007) points out that “European foreign policy (...), is invested with strategic calculations and that the material interests underpinning this calculus often trump the normative agenda of the EU when the two clash” (p. 437). Relating to the work of Foucault it is *inter alia* shown that norms promoted by the European Union are neither unproblematic nor the result of a “free and open debate to (...) arrive at a consensus on a cosmopolitan morality” or “safeguarding an essentialized human agency” (Merlingen, 2007, p. 441). About the existence of vested interests, Nicolaïdis and Howse (2002), highlight “the EU’s credibility rests on what it can do unilaterally; that is, to seek greater consistency between internal practices and proclaimed external objectives” (p. 773). Meaning only when the European Union in itself behaves according to their norms and then diffuses them with equity, its EUtopia can really be met (Nicolaïdis & Howse, 2002). The exertion of normative power against third countries however has indeed been characterized by inconsistency and double standard as countries are handled with differently in respect to conditionalities posed by the European Union (Eriksen, 2006; Del Biondo, 2011; Hernández & Benítez, 2015). Del Biondo (2011) proves that the presence of “security, political-historic and economic interests” (p. 390) shapes European Union strategy towards third countries, making it less coercive despite non-compliance with conditionalized norms and values. Sepos (2013) describes the European Union’s relation with ACP states as hierarchical, and states that in disregard of its colonial foretime it diffuses its principles and norms disguised as a force for good, and therefore operates imperially. Two empirical cases on European Union police missions in Macedonia and Bosnia demonstrate the Union’s intentions to reform third countries’ policies where policies of its own Member States remain flawed, and additionally deploying alleged experts of these states as a means for advancing reform (Merlingen, 2007). Concerning the roles of third parties in European Union external action, the same analysis shows how, on one hand, normative power mechanisms can have a positive impact externally, but also how, on other hand, they promote subordination, especially when delegates of the Union tend to undermine local authorities (Merlingen, 2007). It is therefore important to acknowledge the influence exerted not only by Member States, but also by non-state and civic actors when evaluating normative power (Diez, 2013). Hence, the third assumption is that in its normative power behavior with the Republic of Cuba, the European Union inconsistently

treats, and others the Republic of Cuba while maintaining an ambivalence between its norms and interests.

Manners (2011) sets a tripartite analytical framework with the aim of changing “existing structures of power and injustice” (p. 233) and assessing the quality of the norms, actions and impacts of Normative Power Europe that might be useful in the light of these discussions. Norms promoted by the European Union should thereby be legitimate, coherent and consistent in nature and diffusion. Its promotion should be persuasive and based on constructiveness, institutionalization and dialogue, and confer prestige or shame when adequate. The aim should be to socialize, build partnership, and limit ownership by involvement and consultation with third countries (Manners, 2011).

Conceptualizing and Theorizing Part 2: Neo-Colonial Power Europe

2.3 “Más se perdió en Cuba”² - The European Union in a Postcolonial System

“Europe undertook the leadership of the world with ardor, cynicism, and violence. Look at how the shadow of her palaces stretches out even further!” (Fanon, 1963, pp. 311-312)

Post-colonial theories on international power relations have long been ignored and dominated by the viewpoint of great powers *id est* colonialists. Postcolonialism however, describes today’s aftermath of formal decolonization in which hierarchies of colonialism persist (Sylvester, 2017). In what follows, a theorization of colonialism is going to be provided, thereby narrating Cuba’s history as a European and North-American colony. This will help to later on, elaborate the theory on neo-colonialism central to this paper.

Colonialism itself defines “as the conquest and control of other people’s land and goods” (Loomba, 2015, p. 20), and has been a loyal companion throughout our world’s history. Notably, the Empires of the Roman, Mongol, Aztec, Inca, Vijaynagar, Ottoman and Chinese greatly colonized other peoples in their days (Loomba, 2015). Luthy (1961), describes that “[i]t might be said that the history of colonialization is the history of mankind itself” (as cited in Horvath, 1972). European colonialism however has been said to have marked a new kind of colonialism influenced by capitalism and distinct to the beforementioned pre-capitalist colonialisms. *Modern colonialism* was characterized by movements of capital and humans, and “involved a variety of techniques and

²“Más se perdió en Cuba” translates to “Even more was lost in Cuba” and is a Spanish expression used after (economic) losses, that reminds the (for Spain) traumatizing end of the colonial relationship with Cuba (Roy, 2019).

patterns of domination, penetrating deep into some societies and involving comparatively superficial contact with others” (Loomba, 2015, p. 22). In Loomba’s (2015) wording, modern colonialism is “the midwife that assisted at the birth of European capitalism” (p. 22.), and the reason for European wealth and others indigence of today (Loomba, 2015).

European capitalist and or modern colonialization of Cuba started when an expeditionary corps, posted by the Spanish under the leadership of Diego Velázquez de Cuéllar arrived on the island in 1510 (Navarro, 2011). Spanish colonialization of Cuba is further categorized as *settler* and *plantation colonialism* in which Cuban territory was taken over, power hierarchies were established, all indigenous peoples were exterminated, slaves were brought in from the African continent, and intensive farming was performed for external resale. All, mechanisms that contributed to shaping Europe’s wealth of today (Loomba, 2015; Navarro, 2011). It was only after more than 300 years as a Spanish colony, and over 30 years of fighting for its independence, that Cuba became officially independent from Europe in December 10, 1889 under the Treaty of Paris between Spain and the United States of America. However, as freedom fighter Máximo Gómez famously declared: Cuba was “*ni libre ni independiente todavía* (engl. neither free nor independent yet)” (as cited in Navarro, 2011, p. 77). The subsequent territorial annexation of Cuba until 1909 by the United States of America is seen as a second colonialization (Loomba, 2015; Navarro, 2011). The United States of America retained power over the Island until the socialist revolution led by Fidel Castro triumphed in 1959 and drastically cut off ties with North America (Navarro, 2011). Its resulting determination to sabotage the Cuban Government since then, led the United States of America to impose a total embargo over it. Their aim is to force a change of policy towards democratization as well as a change towards a free market economy, hence capitalism (Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012; Roy, 2011, 2019). This power behavior is a perfect example for *American imperialism* “which wields enormous military and economic power across the globe but without direct political control” and can also be called (neo-)colonialism as elaborated below (Loomba, 2015, p. 28).

2.4 Defining Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism

“In as much as the growth of European industry and finance capital was achieved through colonial domination in the first place, we can also see that imperialism is the highest stage of colonialism.” (Loomba, 2015, p. 27)

There often exists great ambiguity between the terms of imperialism and neo-colonialism. Horvath (1972) was among the first to discuss this dialectic and provided a rather technological explanation. As illustrated below (Figure 1), the definitional analysis scheme starts with domination as the starting point for either phenomenon, imperialism and colonialism. Accordingly, colonialism is a way of dominating a group. It is thereby possible to perceive domination as exploitation and or as processes of culture-change. The dominated subject needs to be a culturally heterogenous group, hence an *intergroup*. At this point colonialism distinguishes from imperialism through the variables of settlement and non-settlement. Hence, colonialism occurs when the dominating power settles physically in the intergroup's territory. The colonial power then maintains three distinct types of relations with the colonized, namely extermination, assimilation and or relative equilibrium (Horvath, 1972). In the case of Cuba, Spanish colonialization is a fusion of the rarely observed category of extermination with assimilation, in which Spain as a *donor culture* transferred its culture to its *host culture*, Cuba. European Union imperialism in this case is neither an extermination nor an assimilation (Horvath, 1972; Navarro, 2011). In the end, one needs to differentiate between domestic or international colonialism and imperialism which are both very similar except that the international is conditioned through the inference of one political administration in another. Horvath (1972) emphasizes that his definition allows for quite some interpretational and adaptational freedom as it is intended to lay the cornerstone for further theorizations. An example for this is the lack of consideration about what can be called *economic imperialism*, as equal to neo-colonialism, for which it is suggested to add the dichotomy of formal and informal above settlement and non-settlement. In the end, it is suggested that “[i]nformal imperialism is synonymous with neocolonialism, semi-colonialism, and economic imperialism and

is a type of intergroup domination in which formal administrative controls are absent and power is channeled through a local elite” (Horvath, 1972, p. 49).

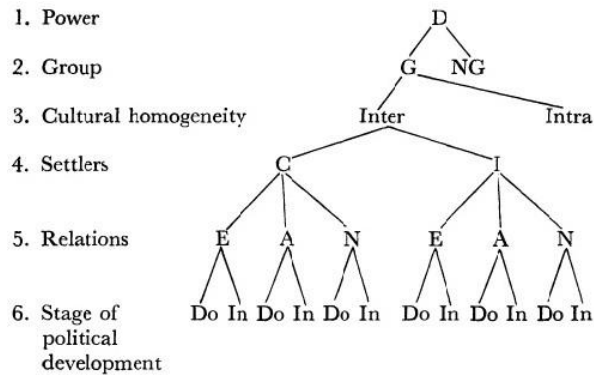


FIG. 3. A generated model of colonialism. The variables (differentia, in Aristotelian terms) incorporated into the classification at each level are indicated at left. *A*, assimilation; *C*, colonialism; *D*, domination; *Do*, domestic; *E*, extermination; *G*, group; *I*, imperialism; *In*, international; *Inter*, intergroup; *Intra*, intragroup; *N*, neither; *NG*, nongroup.

Figure 1: Definitional Analysis Scheme by Horvath (1972, p. 48)

Loomba (2015), provides a more modern distinction between (neo)-colonialism and imperialism, while at the same time emphasizing the importance of interpretational flexibility throughout history. It is argued that the Leninist definition of capitalist imperialism as a global system is what evokes the idea among scholars that capitalism is what distinguishes colonialism and imperialism. Accordingly, capitalist Europe will absorb all resources through its imperialism until “rivalry between the various imperial wars would cataly[z]e their destruction and the demise of capitalism” (Loomba, 2015, p. 27). The servitude of colonies and or others under this definition of imperialism has namely no need for direct administrative domination but is achieved through deep rooted systems of economic and social dependencies established through former colonialization. And that is where the terms referred to as *neo-imperialism* and *neo-colonialism* emerge (Loomba, 2015). Baylis et al. (2017) comparably, describe neo-colonialism as “[i]nformal processes that keep former colonies under the power and especially economic influence of former colonial powers and advanced industrial countries” (p. 542). Nkrumah (1965) describes that neo-colonialism occurs when an external force irresponsibly makes use of its imperial power by shaping, and thereby exploiting, the economy and policy of a supposedly sovereign state in an attempt of exporting its *social conflicts*. Accordingly, the basis for neo-colonialism is found in economic and security dependencies of former colonies on former colonialists, hence imperial powers. It follows that neo-colonialism can be seen as a limb, and if one will a special case of imperialism or in Nkrumah’s words: “Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism” (Nkrumah, 1965). Loomba (2015)

further understands modern colonialism or neo-colonialism as “the takeover of territory, appropriation of material resources, exploitation of [labor] and interference with political and cultural structures of another territory or nation, and imperialism as a global system” (p. 27). In other words, imperialism is the power behavior exerted by and within the *metropole*, and distinguishes from neo-colonialism as the consequence of it, in which the colonized is rendered economically dependent and politically penetrated (Loomba, 2015). This gives rise to a fourth assumption, namely that the Republic of Cuba is kept under colonial hierarchy structures of dependence by the European Union, that penetrate its policy, and economy, and renders it neo-colonialized.

2.5 Empirical Discussions on Neo-Colonialism

Anibal Quijano, a Peruvian scholar, implies in his work that the introduction of formal sovereignty in Latin America states does not equate decolonialization but rather signals a restructuring of power behavior made visible in European attempts to democratize (as cited in Mallon, 2005). The United States, as an example, openly and violently (Ojeda, 2012) advocate their neo-colonial, anti-communistic and pro-capitalistic agenda towards Cuba in imperial behavior (Sylvester, 2017). The European Union, although applying different methods and being less coercive has also made its norms and values, such as human rights and democracy, a neo-colonial condition for third countries, and has by doing so also been perceived as to behaving imperially (Eriksen, 2006; Fisher & Nicolaïdis, 2013; Sepos, 2013). In an analysis of European Union budget support for Ghana, Tunisia and Uganda, Langan (2015) finds that aid is strategically used to “[facilitate] premature economic liberalization and trade opening – with regressive consequences for “the poor”” (p. 117). Rather than promoting independence, these countries remain under the neo-colonial control and dependency of European Union economic interests (Langan, 2015).

2.6 European Union Power Behavior

This research intends to apply the discussed theories on empirical observations about European Union relations with the Republic of Cuba. It seeks to characterize the four episodes of these relations with either of the concepts on Normative Power Europe and or Neo-Colonial Power Europe. Normative power describes how a cosmopolitan actor uses normative justifications and values in its relations with others, thereby diffusing them in an intend of shaping their “normal”, through a number of mechanisms. On the other side, neo-colonialism defines as the being kept under power, influence, and dependency by an imperial power and former colonial power. The

fusion of normative power and neo-colonialism as a form of imperialism into one empirical analysis will allow to view the issue in its multifaceted nature. The choice of including two different approaches on the European Union's role in our globalized world intends to amplify the horizon of this research and also reduce estimator bias by providing an equilibrium between top-down and bottom-up approaches. The assumptions are that the European Union diffuses its five core norms and four minor norms in its relations with Cuba, in an intend of shaping the 'normal' in Cuban policy. And, that by doing so behaves like a cosmopolitan actor and bases its relations with Cuba on common truth claims that it diffuses on the grounds of normative justifications over incentives and force. But that in its normative power behavior with the Republic of Cuba, the European Union also inconsistently treats, and *others* the Republic of Cuba while maintaining an ambivalence between its norms and interests. Finally, it is assumed that the Republic of Cuba is kept under colonial hierarchy structures of dependence by the European Union, that penetrates its policy, and economy, and renders it neo-colonialized.

3 Method Section

To answer the research question: *To what extent can European Union behavior in its relations with the Republic of Cuba from 1993-2016 be interpreted as Normative Power Europe and Neo-Colonial Europe?*, adequate methods for each step of the way were selected. The unit of analysis, namely the relations between the European Union and Cuba, are characterized by normative power and neo-colonialism. While mixed-methods guide the way towards the analysis of the problematic, a qualitative, descriptive research approach is applied. Usually, qualitative approaches are based on non-numerical data while descriptive studies aim at describing observed phenomena and answering their what, where, when, and how. The novelty of selecting Cuba as unit of analysis effects that the paper can even be perceived as to containing explorative elements as well. The employed methods allow for multifaceted results, creativity and attitude explanations, provide strong arguments and are widely applicable. On the other hand, they can be subjectively biased, time consuming, and not statistically representative. The inclusion of empirical evidence from literature and official documents offers an effective way of counteracting these drawbacks (Babbie, 2013). A more detailed description of the methods selected to answer the main research question is provided in this section. The following lines are dedicated to this description by providing an insight to the case selection, followed by a transparent description on data collection methods, all rounded up with an explanation of the data analysis.

3.1 Case Selection

As a *setting case study*, the major objective of this research is to investigate the behavior of a subject in the light of a specific case. *Id est*, the normative and neo-colonial power behavior of the European Union in the socio-political international sphere is investigated regarding the particular case of Cuba. Another type of case study, the *diagnostic case study*, or *modus operandi method* could be semi-associated with the selection of Cuba as a case. Here, a situation is observed, and an existing theory is used to explain and address the posed problematic.

The European Union, throughout history, carried out a number of actions with which it attempted to invoke changes in norms advocated by the revolutionary regime of the Republic of Cuba. Having been colonialized by Spain (Navarro, 2011; Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012), the Island to this day has been one of few former colonies to withstand the pressure of the West and try to shape its own destiny, separate from Western ideals (Sylvester, 2017). Consequently, it is often

seen as a political *hot potato*, maintaining complicated relations with states of the West. This said, as a country belonging to the African, Caribbean and Pacific group of states, Cuba is the only one not being party to their Cotonou Agreement with the European Union. Precisely *because* of the aforementioned normative disagreements with the European Union (Hare, 2009; Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012). Other countries of the group, recipients of similar normative criticism are indeed parties to the Agreement, some say (*e.g.* Del Biondo, 2011), solely because of the European Unions' vested interests.

In a nutshell, what makes the selection of Cuba as a case of analysis extraordinarily interesting and relevant, are its turbulent relations with the *sui generis* entity in the past and their late consolidation, its globally unique political nature and resistance, coupled with recent domestic developments. Further, the issue of European Union power behavior, be it normative or neo-colonial, is currently of topical interest and has been studied by many researchers. Not yet in relation to Cuba whatsoever. Therefore, and not to mention at least, the innovation of analyzing Cuba *vis-à-vis* to the socio-political international sphere and with a focus on the European Union is of serious academic relevance.

3.2 Method of Data collection

Information for this research was collected from a range of different sources, thus including books, periodicals, official documents, as well as official websites of the European Union (*e.g.* European External Action Service), the Cuban Government (*e.g.* *ministerio de relaciones exteriores república de Cuba*), and external stakeholders (*e.g.* Amnesty International). Therefore, web searches were conducted, and databases (*e.g.* Google Scholar) as well as libraries (*e.g.* ULB-Münster), were frequented. For the main data analysis of European Parliament Resolutions on Cuba data was collected from the EUR-Lex webpage. For the web- and database searches, key words and relevant concepts were identified in order to create effective search entries, mostly in correspondence with the Boolean search type. The search results were then scanned diligently and sorted out upon formal (*e.g.* peer review, citations) and substantive (*e.g.* empirical, relevant) criteria, when available by additionally reading article abstracts, thereby providing qualitatively legitimate intelligence. It was paid attention to providing sources from the Western and Non-Western, as well as neutral actors' perspectives to avoid subjectivity and with it bias. This conduct of *systemic literature* review was chosen to bring to light research gaps and include a wide range of sources. It however needed to be paid close attention to avoiding extensive time consumption,

providing enough data to avoid bias as well as to not jeopardizing by overlooking important sources. In terms of timespan, all relevant data and information sources were considered without temporal limitations while at the same time paying attention to providing updated information when necessary.

Whereas the initial idea was to analyze not only official documentations by the European Union, but also by the Republic of Cuba to provide more North-South equilibrium and reduce Eurocentric bias, the Cuban Government does not provide enough transparency to do so. The final document analysis is restricted to European Parliament Resolutions due to complications of locating and or accessing official statements and documents by the Cuban Government. Own conducted research suggests that the current official website of “*MinRex*” the *Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Cuba* (engl. Ministry of Foreign Relations for the Republic of Cuba) was just recently set up (MinRex, n.d.). All information found on this active version of the official website is dated with either 2018 or 2019. An invalid link at the bottom, whose button states: “*Cubaminrex (anterior)*”, is allegedly meant to redirect visitors to the former website, instead it redirects to an error report. Extensive web-search uncovered the access to yet another, but inactive version of the official website with the titles “*CubaMinRex*” and “*Sitio del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Cuba*”. An information box at the top indicates “*Estimado usuario aquí podrá encontrar información del sitio a partir de 2004 hasta 2012*”, suggesting this was the official website of the Ministry from 2004 to 2012 (CubaMinRex, n.d.). Therefore, access to issues between 2012 and 2018, as well as to those before 2004 was not possible due to a lack of transparency by the Cuban Government³.

Albeit completely oppositional, there were complications regarding the collection of documentations by the European Union as well. These complications draw on what Vivien Schmidt (2013) calls *throughput legitimacy*. In 2013 she coined this new form of legitimacy which focuses on the accountability and transparency of the European Union, and how it can be accessed by citizens. Or how Schmidt puts it: “practices that go on in the “black box” of governance” (p. 4). The European Union intent to provide for transparency, results in an *information overload* (Schmidt, 2013). A consequence that rather obscures than clears up any overview of European Union documentations. Therefore, researching the EUR-Lex database resulted in meaningful

³ This illustrates the actual status of the timespan in which this research took place from April-July 2019.

drawbacks in terms of time consumption. The final method was to undertake an advanced search for each of the time periods (1993-1996, 1997-2008, 2009-2016) separately. The search was limited to finding results containing the term *Cuba*, checking for *in title results* only and without further specifications. It was later decided to look for *European Parliament Resolutions*, because of their frequency in search results, but also because of the Parliaments legislative and representative position in the institutional framework of the European Union. A Table in the Analysis (Figure 2), illustrates a listing of the Resolutions used in the final analysis. Following Babbie's (2013) suggestion, the analyzed Resolutions were picked randomly to avoid bias, except for the very first and last one. Resolution 1 was namely the first to be published on Cuban issues after the coming into force of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993, whereas Resolution 5 was the last one found before the signing of the Political Dialogue and Cooperation Agreement in 2016 framing the time-span.

3.3 Method of Data Analysis

To process the collected data and find answers to the main research question a content analysis is performed. Content analysis as a research method is commonly used to study human communication and involves coding. It can be practical as it costs little money, offers the possibility of correcting errors, and most importantly because it allows the observation of one phenomenon over a larger timespan, scientifically called longitudinal study. Whereas disadvantages consist of the beforementioned risks of reliability and validity biases. (Babbie, 2013). Since the present study is qualitative, data collection, theory and analysis are closely linked together. They are used in interplay to discover patterns within the data, such as frequencies, structures, processes, causes, and consequences. The analysis of specific patterns within a variety of observations is called cross-case analysis (Babbie, 2013). Babbie (2013), suggests that the processing of qualitative data "is as much art as science" (p. 396), and suggests constructing categories and core concepts with the given theory and data to identify the central code of analysis. Therefore, the self-constructed coding scheme described above helps to understand the underlying method for this cross-case analysis.

The systemic literature review mentioned above serves as a historical narration of European Union and Cuban interactions and provides the necessary background to understand certain processes and their orders, as well as specific causes and consequences. The total of 5 analyzed documents serve as an empirical underpinning that provides additional data, especially on frequency. Both, the literature and data are used to construct different categories derived from specific patterns that were observed within the totality of European Union Resolutions on the Republic of Cuba. In other

words, by examining all found European Parliament Resolutions certain repetitive patterns were especially outstanding due to their frequent reoccurrence. These patterns are then grouped into a total of 8 categories that read as follows:

1) critical remarks on Cuban Government policy, norms, action; 2) call for Cuban Government to change policy, norms or to take action; 3) critical remarks on Cuban economy; 4) call for Cuban Government to change economy; 5) critical remarks on the Cuban embargo's humanitarian consequences; 6) critical remarks on the Cuban embargo's economic consequences; 7) call for the United States of America to lift the Cuban embargo; 8) conditionalization of dialogue and or improvement of relations with Cuba;

Then, key-passages were identified within the 5 randomly selected Resolutions (two for each timespan, except for the last in which only one Resolution was found). Babbie (2013), warns that this kind of method bears the validity risk since another scientist might cast another passage as more important. To overcome these kinds of bias it is recommended to reach out to evaluations from other scientists or colleagues (Babbie, 2013). Would this research not be a Bachelor Thesis that needs to be done individually as per law, this would be the momentum for inquiry. However, the next step was to ascribe none, one, or more core concepts to each passage that are then used to identify whether one can observe Normative Power Europe or Neo-Colonial Power Europe. These core concepts derive from their respective theory and are, as suggested by their name, the core of what either power mechanism consists of. The core concepts for the central code of Normative Power Europe is the underlying promotion and or diffusion of peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, sustainable development, and good governance, as laid out by European Union external action principles and objectives. The core concepts for the central code of Neo-Colonial Power Europe are the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the keeping under dependency of another sovereign; and the capitalist insurance of one's own wealth. The exact steps of the analytical process can be found in Appendix 1 to this paper.

This rather subjective fashion of coding a content analysis in which an underlying meaning or better said *latent content* is interpreted, risks to bring about reliability and specificity bias (Babbie, 2013). Babbie (2013), therefore suggests equilibrating these implications by additionally and more

objectively coding *manifest content* as well. Which when used alone risks to bring about bias as well namely in terms of reliability (Babbie, 2013). However, by searching for and counting the key-terms of peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, sustainable development and good governance within the analyzed Resolutions, an additional evidence for Normative Power Europe can be provided. Recalling theorizations on neo-colonialism as a consequence of imperialism it becomes evident that searching for manifest content that indicates Neo-Colonial Power Europe makes more sense when analyzing documents by the Republic of Cuba (Loomba, 2015). In other words, the analytical interpretation of Neo-Colonial Power Europe in this research relies on latent content and therefore risks of being subjective.

Social science as conducted by human scientists cannot be free of subjectivity (Babbie, 2013). There exist methods to overcome subjectivity bias of which the most important one might be honesty about possible circumstances that could allow for a certain degree of subjectivity. At this point the author of this research feels the urge to point out to cultural and familial ties with the European Union and Cuba, being brought up by an Austrian father and a Cuban mother. Whereas, the author has lived in four European Union Member States (Austria, France, Germany, Hungary), enjoying European Union rights and freedoms, while in comparison vividly (and at times personally) experiencing an entire nation's basic needs not being met with, like *e.g.* the unavailability of access to vital medication in the Republic of Cuba. Whereas, the author has at times been denied and or abused of her rights and freedoms in (more than four) European Union Member States by public institutions or officials due to persisting structures of racial inequality and discrimination. While in comparison testifying a greater degree of equal opportunity in that sense in the Republic of Cuba. This illustration is meant to demonstrate not a preference for one of this world's corners, but the author's capacity to acknowledge that certain implications have their own roots and mechanisms. It is this kind of awareness about own subjectivisms and experiences that might even result in an advantage when considering the possibilities that arise from being able to look at European Union – Cuba relations from neither a mere Eurocentric nor a mere Western-critic infused lens, but from an even broader angle.

4 Analysis

This chapter represents the core of this research on European Union relations with the Republic of Cuba. It is separated into four sections. The first section illustrates the relationship in an analysis mainly based on relevant literature, the second section is a detailed description of the document analysis of five European Parliament Resolutions on Cuba, and the third and fourth section consist of the interpretations of Normative Power Europe and Neo-Colonial Power Europe.

4.1 The relationship between the European Union and Cuba

“The European Parliament, (...) [v]oices its concern at the progressive isolation of the Cuban regime and calls on President Fidel Castro to initiate a process of democratic openness and dialogue so as to enable Cuba to recover from the crisis and be fully reintegrated in the new international scene, (...) is convinced that Cuba can make an important contribution in economics, politics and culture, leading to important greater stability and economic growth throughout the region, (...) and expresses its concern at the isolation of Cuba, whether caused by the lack of courageous democratic reforms or by the United States boycott, (...) and recommends the Commission to step up its contacts with Cuba with a view to future cooperation within the framework of a cooperation agreement, which has hitherto failed to come about;” (European Parliament, 1991, p. 219).

This passage out of a European Parliament Resolution on relations with Central America of February 1991 captures the climate of start for relations between the European Union and Cuba in 1993 quite well. This first part of the analysis shortly describes and analyzes European Union – Cuba relations by the hand of literature and official documentations.

4.1.1 1993-1996

The years after 1993 were marked by diplomatic harmony, solidarity and aid inversions from the European Union to Cuba valued at 26 million Dollars. Yet, the regional block regularly denounced democracy and human rights abuses by the Cuban Government, as well as the Torricelli Act by the United States of America in Parliament Resolutions (European Parliament, 1993a, 1993b, 1993c, 1994). In 1995, the first European Union delegation visited Havana with the objective of dialoguing future relations (Hernández & Benítez, 2015). In a Communication the European Commission expressed in 1995 its wish for dialogue with Cuba “[p]rovided Cuba continues its policy of opening up to the world” (European Commission, 1995, p. 2). It was further acknowledged that Cuba had

taken significant steps by reforming their economic system after the *Período Especial*. And that in spite of continuing human rights problematics as well as lack of democracy, political openings seemed to be underway as well (European Commission, 1995). The European Parliament (1996a) very much welcomed that wish, allowing for a further contractual step if Cuba was to further improve and respect human rights and democracy exigencies.

These years of diplomatic peace were shattered in 1996 when two small planes from *Hermanos al Rescate* (engl. Brothers to the Rescue)⁴ entered Cuban airspace and were forcibly fetched down over international waters, thereby killing four of the activists (Hermanos al Rescate, 2002; Hernández & Benítez, 2015). The North American reaction, namely the introduction of the Helms-Burton Law, was strongly repudiated by the European Union, mainly for its extraterritorial character regarding European economic interests (European Parliament, 1996c; Hernández & Benítez, 2015), about which the European Commission (1996) also launched an appeal for information regarding possible harm to European business. In contrast to the quite aggressive reaction by Cuba's Northern neighbor, the European Parliament (1996a) passed a Resolution as a means to condemn the violent act against a civilian aircraft. It also predicts that the act may have caused an obstruction for the process of relation normalization (European Parliament, 1996b). When the 96/697/CFSP Common Position on Cuba was formulated, following a proposal by Spanish president José María Alfredo Aznar, these predictions proved true (European Council, 1996; Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012). It conditionalizes further dialogue with the European Union on Cuban advances in norms such as *e.g.* human rights (European Council, 1996). From the Cuban Government's perspective, the Common Position represented the European version of the Helms-Burton Act (Roy, 2011).

4.1.2 1997-2008

After a diplomatic winter, Cuba made a move towards reconciliation by expressing their interest of becoming party to the successor Agreement of the *Lomé Convention*, the *Cotonou Agreement*⁵ in March 2000. It was at this point the only country of the region without formal ties to the European Union (Hare, 2009; Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012; Roy 2011). The ACP-EU

⁴ Hermanos al Rescate was an organization of Cuban exiles and volunteers from various countries, that opposes the revolutionary regime and conducted search missions between the North American and Cuban coasts to find refugees (Hermanos al Rescate, 2002).

⁵ The Cotonou Agreement, or ACP-EU Partnership Agreement was signed on the 23rd June 2000 and remains in force until 2020. ACP stands for African, Caribbean, and Pacific states. Its emphasis lies on cooperation in the fields of development, politics, economy, and trade (European Commission, n.d.).

Joint Assembly (2000) welcomed this. Due to the insistence on habitual normative conditionalities by the European Union, Cuba however withdrew from the negotiations in April also because it expected to receive vetoes on its application anyways (Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012; Roy 2011). In December 2001, a European Union delegation travelled to Cuba in an attempt of resuming their bilateral dialogue and it was agreed that relations would be based on mutual respect and include dialogues on human rights (ACP-EU Joint Assembly, 2002; Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012). And in March 2001 and 2002, the ACP-EU Joint Assembly (2001, 2002) reiterated their positive standing towards Cuba and the Cotonou Agreement and expressed their wish for Cuba to resubmit its application. In October 2002, Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas, a dissident to the revolution and human rights activist was awarded with the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought (Hare, 2009; Ojeda, 2012). The Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought awarded by the European Parliament is given to persons affiliated with significant accomplishments for the upholding of human rights (European Parliament, n.d.b). After Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas the *Damas de Blanco* (engl. Ladies in White) (in 2005) and Guillermo Fariñas Henández (in 2010) were also awarded the Sakharov Prize (Ojeda, 2012). Then, in March 2003, the Delegation of the European Union to Cuba was finally initiated. As a result, Cuba resubmitted its application to the Cotonou Agreement in February 2003, only to withdraw it again in May after the European Union postponed its evaluation as a reaction to the Cuban crackdown (Hare, 2009; Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012).

The crackdown, known as *Primavera Negra Cubana* (engl. *Black Cuban Spring*) in March 2003 caused a new deterioration of relations. In a number of actions taken by the Cuban Government properties were confiscated and 75 opponents of the regime were arrested (Bond, 2003; European Parliament, 2003; Hare, 2009; Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012). A few days later, three young Cubans that attempted to flee from the Island with a public shuttle boat were convicted to death sentence after a one-day trial and shot to death just a few hours later (América TeVe, 2014; Bond, 2003). The European Union answered unanimously, announcing a stronger policy against Cuba and cooperation with dissidents. Sanctions against Cuba and a public communication to announce further penances followed in June 2003 (Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012; Roy, 2011). Two Resolutions of April and September 2003, two of April and November 2004, and one of February 2006 illustrate the European Union's strong disappointment with the Cuban crackdown (European Parliament, 2003; European Parliament, 2004a; European Union, 2004b; European

Union, 2005; European Union, 2006). In July 2003, president Fidel Castro's declared to quit any political dialogue with the Union and renounce to all humanitarian aid. The deterioration of relations climaxed during the so-called *Guerra del Canapé* (engl. *Cocktail Wars*). A chain of diplomatic actions between 2002-2004 by the European Union in which Cuban dissidents (as well as Government Officials) were invited to national celebrations in diplomatic representations of European Member states in Havana and *vice versa*, in which European officials assisted events organized by Cuban dissidents. *Inter alia* due to efforts made by the in March 2004 freshly elected socialist Spanish leadership of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero relations started to normalize. In January 2005, Cuba released 14 prisoners of conscience, the European Union suspended sanctions Cuba, and dialogue was reinitiated (Hare, 2009; Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012).

In 2006, a significant historical political transformation happened - the end of presidency for Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz after being in power for almost half a century. Due to his worsening medical condition he was replaced by his younger brother Raúl Modesto Castro Ruz (Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012). In June 2007, the European Parliament issued a Resolution on the human rights situation in Cuba that especially focuses on the iterative political imprisonment issues, freedom of expression issues, and the long-standing invites for Cuban tenants of the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought to Europe denied by the Cuban Government (European Parliament, 2008). In June 2008, it was decided to completely abolish the 2003 sanctions on Cuba and European Union Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid visited the Island with an aim of reestablishing political dialogue. The year 2008, paved the way into a brighter future for bilateral relations (Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012).

4.1.3 2009-2016

The 2010 changes in the Cuban economic system, and the release of 42 political prisoners were very much welcomed by the European Union and interpreted as a step towards a change of regime. A chain of peaceful diplomatic interactions with the Member States, of which one was the visit of the Deputy Secretary General of the European Commission to Havana took place (Hernández & Benítez, 2015; Ojeda, 2012; Roy, 2019). In March of the same year, the European Parliament (2010) reiterated its standing towards Cuba's prisoners of conscience and the overall human rights situation. In October 2010, the High Representative of the European Union was assigned to evaluate if an improvement of relations was possible while 18 of the Member States already had

Agreements with Cuba in place. At this point the Common Position 96/697/CFSP was perceived to be “neither a position, nor common” (as cited in Roy, 2019, p. 182).

During the summit of 2013 between the European Union and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), its neighboring countries showed solidarity with Cuba and emphasized the need for the Union to distance itself from its colonial tendencies. In January 2014, the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs initiated a significant change for European Union – Cuba relations through his diplomatic visit to the Island. A working group was initiated to evaluating possibilities for bilateral relations and on February 10th, 2014 the European Union announced its interests to elaborate a Political Dialogue and Cooperation Agreement which the Republic of Cuba accepted on March 6th, 2014 (Hernández & Benítez, 2015). For the first time Cuba was willing to negotiate regardless of the Common Position 96/697/CFSP and European Union conditionalities. And in October 2012, the Deputy Secretary General of the European Commission paid a visit to actors of the Cuban diaspora in Miami and received their green light for the European Union to start negotiations. (Roy, 2019). Negotiations for the first Agreement between the European Union and Cuba consisted of seven rounds in November 2012, April 2014, August 2014, March 2015, June 2015, September 2015, December 2015, and finally March 2016 (Roy, 2019). In September of 2016, the European Council (2016) formulated a Joint Proposal for a Council Decision regarding the Agreement which was approved December 6 by additionally repealing the Common Position 96/697/CFSP on Cuba (European Council, 2016a, 2016b). The Political Dialogue and Cooperation Agreement between the European Union and the Republic of Cuba was signed on December 12, 2019 (European Union, 2016), but its entry into force is still pending (European Union External Action, n.d.). However, the parties seem to finally have found a peaceful *modus vivendi*.

4.2 Document Analysis

In what follows, a detailed description of the document analysis of five European Parliament Resolutions is provided. The analyzed documents are listed in the table below (Figure 2). First comes the manifest content analysis of Normative Power Europe. This is followed by the latent content analysis of both, Normative Power Europe and Neo-Colonial Power Europe which is separated into the three time-spans of European Union relations with the Republic of Cuba from 1993-1996, 1997-2008, and 2009-2016. The raw analysis can also be found in the Appendix 1. Lastly, an interpretation of both power behaviors on the basis of the analysis is provided in sections 4.3 and 4.4.

Resolution Number	Date	Author	Title	Source
1	March 11, 1993	European Parliament	Resolution on the human rights situation in Cuba	OJ C 115, 16.04.1993, pp. 152-153
2	March 14, 1996	European Parliament	Resolution on Cuba	OJ C 96, 01.04.1996, p. 294
3	September 04, 2003	European Parliament	European Parliament resolution on Cuba	OJ C 76 E, 25.03.2004, pp. 384-386
4	June 21, 2007	European Parliament	European Parliament resolution of 21 June 2007 on Cuba	OJ C 146 E, 12.06.2008, pp. 377-380
5	March 11, 2010	European Parliament	European Parliament resolution of 11 March 2010 on prisoners of conscience in Cuba	OJ C 349 E, 22.12.2010, pp. 82-83

Figure 2: List of Analyzed Documents in a Table

4.2.1 Manifest Content Analysis

The manifest content analysis of five European Parliament Resolutions on the Republic of Cuba intends to provide empirical prove for Normative Power Europe. As can be seen in the table below (Figure 3), its results are quite limited. As already explained in chapter 3, the ‘Method Section’, it

is conducted by scarring each document for the explicit mention of each core and minor norm as in Manners (2002) and counting their occurrence. Most of these norms are not mentioned explicitly in either of the five European Parliament Resolutions. Hence, there are no findings for the norm promotion of liberty, rule of law, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, sustainable development, and good governance. The core norm liberty is mentioned one time in Resolution 3, whereas the core norm democracy is mentioned once in Resolution 1, twice in Resolution 3, five times in Resolution 4, and thrice in Resolution 5. The only norm that is mentioned in each of the five Resolutions, with an outstanding quantity is the core norm human rights. It is mentioned seven times in Resolution 1, once in Resolution 2, fifteen times in Resolution 3, sixteen times in Resolution 4, and five times in Resolution 5.

Resolution Number	<i>Core Concepts Normative Power Europe</i>								
	pea.	lib.	demo.	r. o. l.	h. r.	s. s.	a-d.	s. d.	g. g.
1	-	-	1	-	7	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
3	1	-	2	-	15	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	5	-	16	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	3	-	10	-	-	-	-

Figure 3: Manifest Content Analysis in a Table

Index: pea. = peace; lib. = liberty; demo. = democracy; r. o. l. = rule of law; h. r. = human rights; s. s. = social solidarity; a-d. = anti-discrimination; s. d. = sustainable development; g. g. = good governance;

4.2.2 Latent Content Analysis

The following section shows a detailed description of the results for the latent content analysis on Normative Power Europe and Neo-Colonial Power Europe. As already mentioned in chapter 3, the ‘Method Section’, it is conducted by finding the key-passages of each Resolution that fit into either of the 8 categories of analysis. The categories therefore are: 1) critical remarks on Cuban Government policy, norms, action; 2) call for Cuban Government to change policy, norms or to take action; 3) critical remarks on Cuban economy; 4) call for Cuban Government to change economy; 5) critical remarks on the Cuban embargo’s humanitarian consequences; 6) critical remarks on the Cuban embargo’s economic consequences; 7) call for the United States of America to lift the Cuban embargo; 8) conditionalization of dialogue and or improvement of relations with Cuba. Each of the categories’ found key-passages the is then separately analyzed in regard to

implications that are channeled through the Core Concepts of Normative Power Europe and Neo-Colonial Power Europe. Whereas the Core Concepts of Normative Power Europe consist of the core and minor norms as in Manners (2002), the Core Concepts of Neo-Colonial Power Europe derive from its theorization and are the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the keeping under dependency of another sovereign; and the capitalist insurance of one's own wealth. The raw analysis can also be found in form of a table in Appendix 1 to this research paper.

4.2.2.1 1993-1996

Resolution 1 is motivated by parliamentary elections that took place on the Island one month prior to its publication. The Resolution emphasizes the existence of a sole single-list, absence of other elections since 1959, incarcerations of persons for political reasons, persecutions of human rights defenders, violent acts performed by the *Brigadas Populares de Respuesta Rapida* (engl. Peoples Brigades of Rapid Response) as well as drownings of Cuban refugees. The European Parliament asks the Cuban Government to respect democratic values by *e.g.* introducing a multiparty system, freeing all prisoners of conscience, eliminating the Brigadas Populares de Respuesta Rapida, and allowing for human rights monitoring. Selected fragments of content are classified into Category 1 and 2. Meaning that critical remarks on Cuban Government policy, norms, and action, and the call for the Cuban Government to take action and or change policy and or norms are identified. As for the Core Concepts of Normative Power Europe, it is found that the promotion and diffusion of democracy, liberty, good governance, and anti-discrimination, peace, human rights, and social solidarity is present. In terms of Neo-Colonial Power Europe, the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy as well as the changing of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; is found.

The formulation of Resolution 2 is a European Union reaction to the shoot down of the *Hermanos al Rescate* aircraft, condemning it strongly. While it acknowledges the willingness for Cuba and the United States to let the International Civil Aviation Organization investigate the case, it shows its disappointment towards the failure of preventing such an event in the first place. The Parliament reiterates the need for the Cuban Government to respect human rights and democratic freedoms, mentioning recent arrests of political motivation. It as well stresses the need for the United States of America to lift the Cuban embargo which affects not the Cuban Government but its peoples as

well as European businesses and their independence. The chosen key-passages of Resolution 2 are classified into the Categories 1, 2, 5, 6, and 8. This signifies, that critical remarks on Cuban Government policy, norms, and actions; a call for the Cuban Government to change policy, norms, or to take action; critical remarks on the Cuban embargo's humanitarian consequences; critical remarks on the Cuban embargo's economic consequences; and the conditionalization of dialogue and or improvement of relations with Cuba is present in Resolution 2. The analysis shows a promotion and diffusion of peace, liberty, human rights, social solidarity, good governance, rule of law, democracy, and anti-discrimination by the European Union. The analysis also shows that the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the capitalist insurance of one's own wealth; as well as the keeping under dependency of another sovereign by the European Union is present in Resolution 2.

4.2.2.2 1997-2008

Resolution 3 reminds of the Cuban crackdown and the resulting suspension of evaluation of Cuba's candidacy for the Cotonou Agreement which Cuba then repealed. The European Parliament explains that the Union has limited bilateral high-level governmental visits, invites Cuban dissidents to national celebrations and predicts a review of the Common Position. It reiterates the ineffectiveness and condemnation of the Cuban embargo and shows itself concerned about the health of imprisoned dissidents, the re-introduction of the death penalty and the continuance of human rights violations. It condemns these violations of human rights and freedoms, calls for the release of all prisoners of conscience and respect for human rights. The Resolution reminds of European Union objectives with Cuba, such as the promotion of human rights and encouragement of pluralist democracy and reiterates its important role for the Cuban transition. It rejects the Cuban Government's abstinence to humanitarian aid mechanisms and shows disappointment towards its behavior towards Member States, as well as the lack of economic and social reform. The Parliament further invites the winner of its Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought to visit the European Union. The relevant textual fragments of Resolution 3 fit into the categories 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 8. Therefore, critical remarks on the Cuban Government's policy, norms, and action; the call for the Cuban Government to change its policy, norms, or to take action; the call for Cuban Government to change economy; critical remarks on the Cuban embargo's humanitarian consequences; the call for the United States of America to lift the Cuban embargo; and finally the conditionalization of

dialogue and or improvement of relations with Cuba; is found in Resolution 3. Therein, it is found that peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, and good governance are promoted and diffused. The control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the capitalist insurance of one's own wealth; and the keeping under dependency of another sovereign are found in Resolution 3 as well.

In Resolution 4 the European Parliament shows its disappointment that there has been no economic and or social change of the Cuban system after the change of Cuban leadership and reiterates its call for the Cuban Government to respect fundamental freedoms. It demands the release of all prisoners of conscience and expresses its wish for Cuba to transition towards a multi-party democracy that respects human rights. The invitation for the winners of the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought to the European Union are reiterated, condemning the Cuban Government for the failure of providing them their fundamental right of leaving and returning to their home country. The European Union underlines the importance of installing political and economic links with Cuba and conditionalizes this on improvements in human rights. The Parliament also acknowledges educational campaigns implemented by the Cuban national center for sex education. Resolution 4 includes evidence that can be grouped into Categories 1, 2, 3, and 8. In normative fashion one can therein find the promotion and diffusion of peace, liberty, democracy, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, good governance, and rule of law. Out a neo-colonial lens the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; and the keeping under dependency of another sovereign; is found.

4.2.2.3 2009-2016

Resolution 5 is incited by the death of a hunger striking Cuban activist, strongly condemning it. The Parliament reiterates its call for the Cuban Government to respect fundamental freedoms and human rights release all prisoners of conscience, let the Sakharov Prize winners travel, allow for a peaceful transition to multi-party democracy and deplores the failure to do so in the past. The analyzed key-passages are put into the Categories 1 and 2. It is found that the European Union promotes and diffuses peace, liberty, democracy, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination and good governance, whereas also the the control, domination and or inference of

another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; as well as the changing of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; are found in Resolution 5.

4.3 Interpreting Normative Power Europe

This section consists of the interpretation of Normative Power Europe on the basis of the findings of the historical and data analysis.

Normative Power Europe is said to shape what is perceived as normal through its core and minor norms (Manners, 2002). The first assumption of this thesis is therefore that the European Union diffuses its five core norms and four minor norms in its relations with the Republic of Cuba in an intent of shaping the 'normal' in Cuban policy. It can be interpreted from the analysis that the European Union does at least intend to shape the Cuban Government's conceptions on several issues. Already in the historical analysis of relations between both actors it becomes evident that the European Union gives the Cuban Government a very strong impetus for it to respect human rights. A red thread that runs throughout all the three timespans. Further, the promotion of democracy and freedom of expression are recurring issues as well. This observation is empirically proven through the results of the analysis on European Parliament Resolutions. The evaluation of these five documents underlines the existence of norms promotion throughout the relations between both actors in question. In sum, they show a promotion of all 'core' and most of the 'minor norms' as defined by Manners (2002), the only exception being the 'minor norm' sustainable development. Therein, the promotion of peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, and good governance is present in each of the Resolutions. All of these norms are promoted in each of the five Resolutions with the exception of rule of law which is only found in three. The intent to shape the Cuban Government's perceptions on these issues becomes evident when looking at the underlying reasons for norms promotion. For democracy promotion the reasons are the faulty Cuban electoral system, the lack of democratic freedoms and plurality and the general political system of Cuba. Next, the lack of liberty, peace, and social solidarity in addition to the promotion of anti-discrimination urges from the historically persistent imprisonments of Cuban dissidents and oppositionists, as well as for the obstructions for the Cuban peoples to freely enter and leave their Island. The norms of peace and rule of law are further found when referring to the decades old conflict between the Cuban and North American Governments. Lastly, the promotion of human rights and good governance is closely related to the above-mentioned implications and could be seen as umbrella norms to capture them more generally. Moreover, in all of the five

Resolutions, the European Union issued critical remarks and calls for the Cuban Government to change its policy, norms and or to take action, in addition to one Resolution where it criticized and called to change its economic system as well. While the results of the manifest content analysis do not seem to be significant at first sight, the striking number of explicit human rights mentioning in European Parliament Resolutions does underline the Unions normative focus on the Island of Cuba. The human rights issue represents the European Union's first and foremost priority. As a result, the first assumption proves to be partly true: the European Union, unsatisfied with the Cuban Government's norms, diffuses all of its core norms and most of its minor norms throughout their relations while emphasizing the need for the Cuban Government to respectively change their 'normal'.

The confirmation that the European Union diffuses its norms in its relations with Cuba does however not make it a normative power yet. The nature of Normative Power Europe should according to the theory be ideational, limiting the use of material and military power (Manners, 2011). Generally seen this can very well be approved of. Military force was not used at all and material force was used only once in the form of sanctions as a reaction to the Cuban crackdown of 2003. Thus, with the normative justification of non-compliance with norms such as *e.g.* human rights and liberty. In ideational fashion the European Union is committed to dialogue through diplomatic visits to the Cuban Government as seen in the historical analysis. Further, the awarding of the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought to Cuban human rights activists at three instances could be interpreted as an ideational expression, as well as the European approach during the Guerra del Canapé. Additionally, it expresses its standing through Communications, and more importantly through the continuous formulation of Resolutions. Another aspect that needs to be fulfilled for the European Union to become Normative Power Europe with the Republic of Cuba is cosmopolitanism. Being a normative actor, the European Union should aim at achieving a more just world for the individual (Manners, 2011). Eriksen (2006) for instance, describes the European Union as a cosmopolitan polity which promotes a global society based on common truth claims or cosmopolitan law. Scheipers and Sicurelli (2007), highlight in their empirical analysis that "the EU represents itself as being more concerned about the creation of binding rules for the global community, since it aims at international law-making, namely the establishment of multilateral treaties and legal institutions" (p. 452). Throughout its relations with the Cuban Government it is notable that the European Union promotes norms that are in line with the common understandings

of human rights in a globalized world. At several instances it even conditionalizes the improvement of their relations on the Cuban Government's compliance as can be seen in three of the five analyzed Resolutions but also in the Common Position on Cuba. In the end, these norms aim at ameliorating the lives of individual Cubans and their promotion therefore represents a cosmopolitan act. In response to the second assumption, that the European Union is a cosmopolitan actor and bases its relations with the Republic of Cuba on common truth claims that it diffuses on the grounds of normative justifications over incentives and force, it is found that the European Union acts as a cosmopolitan and primarily uses normative justifications in its relations with the Republic of Cuba.

Whereas it has been proved that the European Union acts as Normative Power Europe in its relations with the Republic of Cuba it still needs to be analyzed whether common implications to normative power can be found as well. Diez (2005), suggests that Normative Power Europe 'others' third states in four different forms as a strategy to construct itself on a normative basis. Out of these forms one is detectable in its relations with the Republic of Cuba, namely the other who violates universal principles. The Cuban Government's persistent violations of human rights and other norms universal to the European Union, have led the regional block to regularly stress them out a teaching or even superior perspective. Manner's (2006) fifth form, the other who mirrors the sheds a more equilibrated light on this. The Amnesty International Report of 2017-2018 on the global human rights situation shows how European Union Member States maintain human rights struggles of their own. Most of the Member States listed in this Report are accused of acting abusively towards refugees and asylum-seekers. Comparable to Cuban issues there have also been reports on freedom of assembly infringements in countries like *e.g.* Germany, France and Poland and additionally freedom of expression infringements in latter (Amnesty International, 2018). Therefore, the European Union certainly others the Cuban Government for its human rights violations while at the same time having issues within itself. Diez (2013), further stresses the existence of an ambivalence between Normative Power Europe's norms and interests as well as inconsistencies in treatment of third states, and the fact that third parties might also play a role. It has been proven that the European Union's vested interests influence its external behavior, making it inconsistent (Eriksen, 2006; Del Biondo, 2011). And that further, in its relations with countries of the African, Caribbean and Pacific group, the European Union maintains hierarchical structures (Sepos, 2013). A number of theorizations urge from the analysis when taking into account these

implications. On one hand, the former British Ambassador to the Republic of Cuba, Paul Hare (2008), suggests that the European Union's behavior towards the Government of Cuba could be owed to the fact that their relations represent an intent by the Union to experiment with its normative power. This would imply that the European Union does not have any interests with the Republic of Cuba of *e.g.* economic nature, which would explain its indifference of the Cuban Government not being party to the Cotonou Agreement of Partnership. Notably, the Republic of Cuba was until only very recently the only state in Latin American not being party to any kind of agreement with the European Union due to normative disagreements whilst disregarding other normative disagreements with others in the region (Amnesty International, 2018; Hernández & Benítez, 2015). On the other hand, a leaked diplomatic communication from 2008, originally meant to comfort North American discomfort towards a reconciliation of the European Union and Cuba, suggests that "European firms are anxious to get into the nickel and potential offshore oil markets in Cuba and want to leverage the EU's political dialogue to get the GOC [Government of Cuba] to open the door to European investment" (as cited in Boorsma, 2017, p. 266). While it seems to be a plausible explanation on the economic side, the European Union upholding close relations with their North American ally, would surely not trump those for the Republic of Cuba as there would be less to gain from it. Either of these ways, what the European Union openly admits is to promote its values, principles and objectives in its international relations (Van Vooren & Wessel, 2014), which it consistently did. It can only be suspected that the European Union may have economic interests on the Island, whereas very limitedly and not importantly enough to totally ruin its relations with the United States of America for them to be fulfilled. However, the existence of vested interests can merely be alleged within the scope of this analysis and not entirely proven. What can and has indeed been proven by other research as well (see *e.g.* Boorsma, 2017; Roy, 2011), is the influence by the United States of America as a third party in European Union - Cuba relations.

Finally, it remains to assess the quality of norms, actions and impacts of Normative Power Europe. As for whether the norm promotion by the European Union in its relations with the Republic of Cuba is of good quality relies on their legitimacy, coherence and consistency (Manners, 2011). As seen in the discussion above, their legitimacy and coherence can be approved of due to their cosmopolitan nature and persistent consistency throughout all of the three time-spans. In terms of consistency, minor obstructions can be identified when comparing European Union behavior

towards the Cuban Government with its behavior towards other states, notably those of the African, Caribbean and Pacific group. In respect to actions of Normative Power Europe, they should be persuasive, based on constructiveness, institutionalization, and dialogue, thereby conferring prestige and shame when adequate. The European Union does indeed act persuasively when taking into account the reiteration of the core norms especially. The analysis further approves the existence of constructiveness, institutionalization and dialogue, regarding the primary use of ideational force over military or material power. Moreover, the Resolutions show that the European Union conferred prestige and shame when it felt the need to do so which can be clearly seen by the hand of the five Resolutions. Certain Resolutions are namely motivated by actions of the Cuban Government that lead the European Parliament to formulate them, like for instance the emphasis on Cuban parliamentary elections in Resolution 1 and the emphasis on the shoot down of the *Hermanos al Rescate* aircraft in Resolution 2. Regarding the conferral of prestige, the Resolutions also show that whenever the European Union saw advances by the Cuban Government in respect to its norms, the European Parliament included acknowledgments in its formulation of Resolutions, like for instance the approval of educational campaigns in Resolution 4. As for the impact of Normative Power Europe, it can be noted that the signing of the Political Dialogue and Cooperation Agreement and its negotiations are a sign of socialization, partnership, involvement and consultation with the Cuban Government. Thus, the promotion and diffusion of norms by Normative Power Europe towards the Cuban Government is mainly in line with what Manners (2011) proposes to be qualitatively good. The third assumption, that in its normative power behavior with the Republic of Cuba, the European Union inconsistently treats, and others the Republic of Cuba while maintaining an ambivalence between its norms and interests poses an interpretational challenge. While it can be proven that the European Union shows inconsistencies in treatment of third countries, the ambivalence between its norms and interests is hard to grasp and remains a suggestion.

4.4 Interpreting Neo-Colonial Power Europe

This section consists of the interpretation of Neo-Colonial Power Europe on the basis of the findings of the historical and data analysis.

First, it is interesting to interpret Neo-Colonial Power Europe as according to Horvath's (1972) definitional analysis scheme. Accordingly, for neo-colonialism there needs to be a domination (as in exploitation or process of cultural change) of one actor over a culturally heterogenous group

through informal imperialism, meaning informal administrative controls. Then, the relations could be based on either extermination, assimilation, or neither, and the political development could be either domestic or international (Horvath, 1972). As seen in the document analysis, the European Union controls, dominates and or intervenes in the Cuban Government's policy, culture and or economy throughout each of the five European Parliament Resolutions, fulfilling the demand for domination as according to Horvath (1972). Further, each of the Resolutions provides evidence for at least the intention of the European Union to change the Cuban Government's policy, culture and or economy, suggesting a process of cultural change as defined by Horvath (1972). The mere existence of European Parliament Resolutions, as well as European Union positioning towards Cuban policy as analyzed in the historical narration, can be interpreted as informal administrative control. Their relations are of international kind and aimed at assimilation, meaning that the European Union intends to donate its political culture and values to the Republic of Cuba. A concrete assimilation has however not yet been achieved due to persistent differences in policy, culture, and or economy as highlighted by the European Union throughout all of the three timespans. This rather technological interpretation of Neo-Colonial Power Europe provides a first evidence on its existence. It is however interesting to further the interpretation with a more modern theorization of neo-colonialism as by Loomba (2015).

According to Loomba (2015), neo-colonialism urges from deep rooted systems of economic and social dependence. It does not only consist of territorial annexation or appropriation of material resources but also of an intrusion to domestic policy and culture of another sovereign. Thereby it is important to differentiate between imperialism as a general description of these kinds of power behaviors, and neo-colonialism which captures its consequences for the actor under dependence (Loomba, 2015). Since Cuba was a colony to Spain (Ojeda, 2012) who as a Member State of the European Union has conferred a number of competences to it, especially those of economic nature (Van Vooren & Wessel, 2014), European imperialism over Cuba is indeed neo-colonial. Nkrumah (1965) suggests in similar fashion that the neo-colonial traditions of its Member States are inherited by the European Union. As elaborated above, the European Union calls for the Cuban Government to change its policy, norms or to take action, in each of the five analyzed Resolutions. This behavior can be interpreted as neo-colonial in Loomba's (2015) definition of intrusion to domestic policy and or culture of another sovereign. On the economic side, the European Union is nowadays the Republic of Cuba's greatest foreign investor (in tourism, construction, light, agro-industries), main

export partner (for mineral fuels, sugar, beverages, tobacco), and after Venezuela its second trade partner. One third of all tourism on Cuba stems from the regional block (EEAS, 2018; Roy, 2019). European Union exports to Cuba accounted €2.09 billion, and Cuban exports to the European Union accounted €0.47 billion in 2017 (EEAS, 2018). It can be seen that the Union thereby maintains significantly unproportionate trade relations with Cuba, keeping it under dependency. Cordoví (2012), further distinguishes three episodes of economic transformations in Cuba that seem to be relevant. These episodes are: 1990-2000, 2001-2007, and 2008-2012. Whereas the first episode consisted of several reforms in the Cuban economy, a *necessary evil* during the *Período Especial* opening its economy up. The second showed a tendency of re-centralization whilst the third opened the economy up again (Cordoví, 2012; Villanueva, 2008). Interestingly, as can be seen from the historical analysis, in times of overture for the Cuban economic system, relations with the European Union seemed to be better than during those of centralization. While this could be owed to the fact that for European Union investment in Cuba a decentralization is necessary, the European Union shows economic interest in Cuba at several instances throughout history. The acknowledgment of economic openings in 1995, the Union's strong opposition towards the Helms-Burton Law due to its threat for European business, and the welcoming of the 2010 changes to the Cuban economic system, as seen in the historical analysis serve as an evidence for this. The document analysis of European Parliament Resolutions further proves European Union dissatisfaction with the Helms-Burton Law in Resolution 2 and explicitly emphasizes the need for the Cuban Government to open up its economy in Resolution 3. Further, the already mentioned leaked diplomatic communication from 2008 suggests that "European firms are anxious to get into the nickel and potential offshore oil markets in Cuba and want to leverage the EU's political dialogue to get the GOC [Government of Cuba] to open the door to European investment" (as cited in Boorsma, 2017, p. 266). While this part of the analysis remains quite open to further elaboration and interpretation, a system in which a state, although sovereign of nature, remains economically under the control of a dominant power is not barred from neither imperialism nor (neo-)colonialism (Loomba, 2015). Therefore, the fourth assumption, namely that the Republic of Cuba is kept under colonial hierarchy structures of dependence by the European Union, that penetrate its policy, and economy, and renders it neo-colonialized is positively interpreted.

5 Conclusion

This thesis' research main focus is laid on European Union relations with the Republic of Cuba and their normative and neo-colonial implications. The main research question: *To what extent can European Union behavior in its relations with the Republic of Cuba from 1993-2016 be interpreted as Normative Power Europe and Neo-Colonial Europe?*, has been answered by empirically analyzing the history of their relationship as well as five European Parliament Resolutions on Cuba. To allow for simplification it was separated into four sub-questions the first being: *What are the characteristics of normative and neo-colonial power behavior?*. Sub-question 1 is answered in the chapter 2 on 'Conceptualizing and Theorizing' and build the basis for the analysis. In summary, normative power describes a power behavior that exerted by a cosmopolitan actor on ideational basis means to promote and diffuse certain norms to a third party. Whereas neo-colonial power is exerted by a former colonial power which keeps under dependence and influence its former colony, thereby maintaining hierarchical structures in the international system. Sub-question 2: *What is the history of the relationship between the European Union and Cuba?*, is shortly introduced in the chapter 1 on 'Introduction' and elaborated with detail in section 4.1 on 'The relationship between the European Union and Cuba'. The answer to this question cannot be simply summarized as it consists of a number of diplomatic ups and downs between both actors until finally reaching the basis for the Political Dialogue and Cooperation Agreement of 2016. Further, the answers to sub-questions 3 and 4: *To what extent can European Union behavior in its relations with Cuba be interpreted as Normative Power Europe?*, and: *To what extent can European Union behavior in its relations with Cuba be interpreted as Neo-Colonial Power Europe?*, are elaborated throughout the whole chapter 4 on 'Analysis'. The theorizations on Normative Power Europe and its implications for the European Union's relations with the Republic of Cuba allow for a well-structured analytical framework. This leads to the answer of sub-question 3, that the European Union does indeed behave normatively in its relations with the Republic of Cuba. The theorizations and implications for Neo-Colonial Power Europe however rely on greater interpretation and are somewhat limited in terms of scope. The answer to sub-question 4 is that the European Union does very well behave in neo-colonial fashion in terms of criticizing and intending to change the Cuban Government's policy, norms, economy and actions.

Due to temporal and capacity limitations, this thesis' focus has been radically laid on European Union and Cuban relations without elaborating in detail other factors that have also played

significant role. At several instances Member States' administrations made independent moves to approach relations with the Cuban Government. It is especially noteworthy to mention that whenever Spain experienced political changes, European Union relations with Cuba were influenced accordingly. The Spanish Government, perhaps because of their colonial responsibilities, was a great forward pushing motor which especially came to the fore when it functioned as a brake, like during the presidency of José María Alfredo Aznar López. Further, relations were crucially influenced through developments in the region surrounding the Cuban Island. As an example, the United States of America's policy and standing against the Cuban regime exerted significant influence over their ally, the European Union, but also the fact that Cuba pulled out from the negotiations concerning the Cotonou Agreement partly to not further complicate the relations of all other states of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group with the Union, and the creation of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC). It is therefore recommendable for further research to take into account these aspects and analyze accordingly. Nonetheless, this research has significantly contributed to the body of knowledge on European Union power behavior. It provides a significant contribution to the current discussions on Normative Power Europe by analyzing the completely new case of Cuba. It further augments the body of knowledge on neo-colonialism, opening up the possibility of a Neo-Colonial Power Europe. Fisher and Nicolaïdis (2013), propose a decentralization of the European Union, and all hegemons in general, to put an end to colonialism and allow for an inclusive shift of paradigm. This thesis builds on a similar approach and means to contrast the Normative Power perspective with the Postcolonial perspective to balance Eurocentrism with non-Western argumentations. And while this approach might have been a difficult task in terms of analysis and interpretation, it paves the way forward to further considerations of the European Union's colonial responsibility in its international Relations. An unexpected result of analysis was that the European Union, in its relations with the Republic of Cuba behaves normatively towards the United States of America as well, regarding their aggressive policy towards the Island. Another interesting finding were the different ways in which authors described European Union – Cuba relations in their empirical works. While some used more objective wordings others clearly positioned themselves on one of the actors' 'side'.

In the end, nothing else remains as to say that whether as Normative Power Europe and or Neo-Colonial Power Europe or not, the European Union promotes cosmopolitan norms and interests in

an increasingly cosmopolitan world. These norms are aimed at ameliorating the lives of individuals globally and emphasize human rights, as well as fundamental freedoms. One may regard this from different angles: an economic superpower *versus* an economically dependent country, the advocate for what is believed to be good in the Western world *versus* a political hot potato with a significant lack of like-minded allies, the friend of the world's notorious hegemon *versus* the bloody enemy of the world's notorious hegemon, or the human rights paragon *versus* the human rights miscreant. Be it as it is, every intention to save a human life from injustice should be supported, provided that the way to do so is well reflected and balanced.

The conclusion is, that while it remains important to acknowledge possible implications of Neo-Colonial Power Europe, the European Union primarily orchestrates as Normative Power Europe in its relations with the Republic of Cuba. Its aim of doing so is the amelioration of individual lives of human beings. And while it has still not fully achieved this objective with the Republic of Cuba, the safeguarding of human beings outweighs any emphasis on Neo-Colonial Power Europe as harmful for material interests.

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Category of content	Resolution 1	Core Concepts Normative Power Europe	Core Concepts Neo-Colonial Power Europe
<p>1) critical remarks on Cuban Government policy, norms, action;</p>	<p>“whereas Cubans were only allowed to vote for a single list presented by the Communist Party of Cuba, which has an absolute monopoly of power in the Republic of Cuba”</p> <p>“drawing attention to the fact that there has been no other election in Cuba since President Castro came to power in 1959”</p> <p>“gravely disturbed by the number of political prisoners and people detained for their opinions in Cuba”</p>	<p>democracy, liberty, good governance; anti-discrimination;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy;</p>
<p>2) call for the Cuban Government to change policy, norms or to take action;</p>	<p>“Calls on the Cuban Government to show respect for democracy by allowing the holding of genuine elections in the near future”</p> <p>“Calls once again on the Cuban authorities to engage in dialogue with the internal and external Cuban opposition to pave the way for democratic, multiparty elections preceded by a</p>	<p>peace, liberty, democracy, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy;</p>

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	<p>free election campaign and monitored by international observers” “Demands the immediate release of all political prisoners” “Calls on the Cuban Government to disband the Brigadas Populares de Respuesta Rapida”</p>		
<p>3) critical remarks on Cuban economy;</p>			
<p>4) call for the Cuban Government to change economy;</p>			
<p>5) critical remarks on the embargo’s humanitarian humanitarian consequences;</p>			
<p>6) critical remarks on the embargo’s economic consequences;</p>			
<p>7) call for the United States of America to lift embargo;</p>			

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<p>8) conditionalization of dialogue and or of improvement of relations with Cuba;</p>		
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<p>Category of content</p>	<p>Resolution 2</p>	<p>Core Concepts Normative Power Europe</p>	<p>Core Concepts Neo-Colonial Power Europe</p>
<p>1) critical remarks on Cuban Government policy, norms, action;</p>	<p>“condemning the shooting down of two civilian aircraft by Cuban military action on 24 February 1996”</p> <p>“condemning the recent arrests of dissidents in Cuba, notably members of ‘Concilio Cubano”</p> <p>“Strongly condemns the shooting down of the two civilian aircraft by the Cuban airforce and regrets the death of the four people on board!</p>	<p>peace, liberty, human rights, social solidarity, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy;</p>
<p>2) call for the Cuban Government to change policy, norms, or to take action;</p>	<p>“reiterating its demand for the full observance, maintenance and promotion of human rights and democratic freedoms in Cuba”</p>		<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy;</p>

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<p>3) critical remarks on Cuban economy;</p>			
<p>4) call for the Cuban Government to change economy;</p>			
<p>5) critical remarks on the Cuban embargo's humanitarian consequences;</p>	<p>“Rejects the embargo in accordance with its previous resolutions, since its main impact is not on the government but on the most disadvantaged sections of the population and deplores the approval of the Helms-Burton Bill by the US Congress and its acceptance by President Clinton”</p>	<p>human rights, social solidarity, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy;</p>
<p>6) critical remarks on the Cuban embargo's economic consequences;</p>	<p>“Calls upon the European Commission, in cooperation with the countries most affected, to investigate the effects of the extraterritorial provisions of the bill on European business and to give serious consideration to challenging these as a serious infringement of GATT, the rules of the World Trade Organisation and international law”</p>	<p>rule of law, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the capitalist insurance of one's own wealth;</p>

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<p>7) call for the United States of America to lift the Cuban embargo;</p>			
<p>8) conditionalization of dialogue and or of improvement of relations with Cuba;</p>	<p>“Urges the Commission to continue its attempts to develop a dialogue with Cuba with the objectives previously agreed but to emphasise the need for the Cuban authorities to take full cognizance of the guidelines laid down in the Commission’s communication and the resolution thereon passed by Parliament as essential for the development of relations ; recognizes that actions of this kind may delay the process of normalizing relations between the European Union and Cuba begun at the Madrid European Council”</p>	<p>peace, liberty, democracy, human rights, anti-discrimination, good governance</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the keeping under dependency of another sovereign;</p>

<p>Category of content</p>	<p>Resolution 3</p>	<p>Core Concepts Normative Power Europe</p>	<p>Core Concepts Neo-Colonial Power Europe</p>
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<p>1) critical remarks on Cuban Government policy, norms, action;</p>	<p>“whereas the recent events in Cuba, such as the numerous arrests, imprisonments and severe sentences after summary trials affecting more than 70 dissidents and human rights activists, as well as the resumed use of the death penalty, have led the Commission to suspend the evaluation report on the Cuban request for accession to the Cotonou Agreement”</p> <p>“profoundly concerned that the Cuban authorities have re-introduced the death penalty”</p> <p>“whereas, in the meantime, the Cuban population continues to suffer the consequences of the human rights violations”</p> <p>“Reiterates its firm condemnation of the continuing flagrant violation of the civil and political human rights and the fundamental freedoms of members of the Cuban opposition and of independent journalists, and calls on the Cuban authorities to release all political prisoners immediately”</p> <p>“Reminds the Cuban authorities that no law may restrict the right of freedom of expression and that</p>	<p>peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns’ policy; culture, and or economy;</p>
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	<p>under no circumstances may they impose prison sentences on individuals exercising that freedom; stresses that respect for, and the defence of, human rights and democratisation promote the political, social and economic conditions necessary to guarantee peace and stability and ensure that everyone can live in dignity”</p> <p>“Deplores the Cuban regime’s decision to reject EU aid, and recalls the Union’s willingness and permanent commitment to provide aid to help the Cuban people”</p> <p>“Deeply regrets the behaviour of the Cuban authorities towards Community institutions, Member States and accession countries, even more so now that the Commission has recently opened an office in Havana; also regrets the closure of the Spanish cultural centre; and expects a new and constructive attitude from Cuba’s authorities, based on reform efforts”</p>		
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	<p>“Regrets the lack of economic and social reforms, which is making the daily lives of Cuban citizens harder”</p>		
<p>2) call for Cuban Government to change policy, norms or to take action;</p>	<p>“Reiterates its firm condemnation of the continuing flagrant violation of the civil and political human rights and the fundamental freedoms of members of the Cuban opposition and of independent journalists, and calls on the Cuban authorities to release all political prisoners immediately”</p> <p>“Reminds the Cuban authorities that no law may restrict the right of freedom of expression and that under no circumstances may they impose prison sentences on individuals exercising that freedom; stresses that respect for, and the defence of, human rights and democratisation promote the political, social and economic conditions necessary to guarantee peace and stability and ensure that everyone can live in dignity”</p> <p>“Asks that Mr Oswaldo Payá Sardiñas, winner of the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought in 2002, be officially invited to Europe at the earliest opportunity in order to meet in person with the EU</p>	<p>peace, liberty, democracy, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns’ policy; culture, and or economy;</p>

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	<p>Presidency, the High Representative for the CFSP, the President of the Commission and the relevant Commissioners; supports the decision taken by its Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy to invite Mr Sardiñas, and asks the Cuban authorities not to prevent his presence”</p>		
<p>3) critical remarks on Cuban economy;</p>	<p>“Reiterates that the objectives of the EU’s external policy are based on promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, encouragement of processes of transition to pluralist democracy, and support for lasting economic recovery aimed at improving the living standards of the population”</p>		
<p>4) call for Cuban Government to change economy;</p>	<p>“Regrets the lack of economic and social reforms, which is making the daily lives of Cuban citizens harder”</p>	<p>liberty, democracy, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy;</p>
<p>5) critical remarks on the Cuban embargo’s</p>	<p>“Reiterates its condemnation of the US embargo on Cuba, and calls for it to be lifted forthwith, as the UN General Assembly has repeatedly demanded”</p>	<p>peace, social solidarity, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the</p>

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<p>humanitarian consequences;</p>			<p>changing of another sovereigns' policy; culture, and or economy;</p>
<p>6) critical remarks on the Cuban embargo's economic consequences;</p>			
<p>7) call for the United States of America to lift the Cuban embargo;</p>	<p>“whereas the US policy of confrontation over more than 44 years (embargo, extraterritorial laws such as Helms-Burton, etc) is not a constructive approach to promoting change or reform of the Cuban regime”</p>	<p>peace, rule of law, social solidarity, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the capitalist insurance of one's own wealth;</p>
<p>8) conditionalization of dialogue and or improvement of relations with Cuba;</p>	<p>“Calls on the Council and the Commission, as soon as all the prisoners are freed and arbitrary arrests have ceased, to determine a global policy towards Cuba, free from ambiguities” “Reiterates that the objectives of the EU's external policy are based on promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, encouragement of processes of transition to pluralist democracy,</p>	<p>peace, liberty, democracy, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns' policy, culture, and or economy; the keeping under dependency of another sovereign;</p>

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	<p>and support for lasting economic recovery aimed at improving the living standards of the population”</p>		
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<p>Category of content</p>	<p>Resolution 4</p>	<p>Core Concepts Normative Power Europe</p>	<p>Core Concepts Neo-Colonial Power Europe</p>
<p>1) critical remarks on Cuban Government policy, norms, action;</p>	<p>“whereas Parliament awarded the 2005 Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought to the Damas de Blanco; whereas the refusal of the Cuban authorities to allow the Damas de Blanco to travel to the seat of Parliament to receive their award violates one of the basic human rights, namely the right freely to leave and return to one’s own country, as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;” “whereas, as the Council has recognised, no tangible results have been achieved on human rights in Cuba, despite the goodwill shown by the Council in 2005 when it suspended the complementary measures to the common position;”</p>	<p>peace, liberty, democracy, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy;</p>

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	<p>“Regrets the fact that, despite a first temporary transfer of power in 48 years from Fidel Castro to a collective leadership headed by his brother Raul Castro, the political, economic and social system in Cuba remains essentially unchanged;”</p> <p>“Regrets the absence of any significant signs on the part of the Cuban authorities in response to the EU’s calls for full respect for fundamental freedoms, especially freedom of expression and political association;”</p> <p>“Regrets the failure to respond to the call of Parliament and the Council for the immediate release of all political prisoners and prisoners of conscience, and insists that imprisoning Cuban dissidents for their ideals and their peaceful political activity is contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;”</p> <p>“Condemns any policy of sex discrimination and repression such as that effective in Cuba to date and welcomes the educational campaigns on sex</p>		
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	<p>discrimination that are currently implemented by the Cuban national centre for sex education;”</p> <p>“having regard to the need for Cuba to launch a process of political transition to multi-party democracy, with participation and decision-making open to all Cubans on the basis of an open-ended dialogue that excludes no-one,”</p> <p>“Confirms its decision to send an official delegation of Parliament to Cuba, and urges the Cuban authorities to alter their position and allow the entry of such a delegation;”</p>		
<p>2) call for Cuban Government to change policy, norms or to take action;</p>	<p>“Urges the Cuban authorities immediately to allow the Damas de Blanco to leave the island so that they can accept Parliament’s invitation, and instructs its President to take all possible steps to ensure that the prize winners can indeed receive the Sakharov Prize in person;”</p> <p>“Renews its invitation to Oswaldo Payá Sardiñas, and demands that the Cuban authorities permit him to travel to Europe so that he can address the Community institutions;”</p>	<p>peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy;</p>

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	<p>“Demands that the Cuban authorities permit members of the political opposition, human rights activists and all citizens to travel abroad freely and return freely to Cuba.”</p>		
<p>3) critical remarks on Cuban economy;</p>	<p>“Regrets the fact that, despite a first temporary transfer of power in 48 years from Fidel Castro to a collective leadership headed by his brother Raúl Castro, the political, economic and social system in Cuba remains essentially unchanged;”</p>	<p>good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy;</p>
<p>4) call for Cuban Government to change economy;</p>			
<p>5) critical remarks on the Cuban embargo’s humanitarian consequences;</p>			
<p>6) critical remarks on the Cuban embargo’s economic consequences;</p>			

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<p>7) call for the United States of America to lift the Cuban embargo;</p>			
<p>8) conditionalization of dialogue and or improvement of relations with Cuba;</p>	<p>“whereas the political dialogue between the EU and the Cuban Government, according to the Council's conclusions, must neither forget nor neglect the direct ‘intensive dialogue with civil society and the peaceful opposition’, and should follow the EU's ‘views on democracy, universal human rights and fundamental freedoms’, as well as its ‘worldwide policy of support to human rights defenders’;”</p> <p>“whereas the most recent revision of the Council's common position implied that the high-level visits to Havana should include meetings with both the Cuban authorities and the peaceful democratic opposition and civil society, and that the human rights situation should be an obligatory subject of discussion,”</p> <p>“Considers it extremely important that any strengthening of political and economic relations</p>	<p>peace, liberty, democracy, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the keeping under dependency of another sovereign;</p>

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	<p>— including development aid — between the EU and the Cuban authorities, which might derive from a comprehensive and open political dialogue, be linked to concrete and verifiable improvements of the human rights conditions of all Cuban citizens, starting with the release of all political prisoners and prisoners of conscience;”</p>		
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Category of content	Resolution 5	Core Concepts Normative Power Europe	Core Concepts Neo-Colonial Power Europe
<p>1) critical remarks on Cuban Government policy, norms, action;</p>	<p>“whereas dozens of independent journalists, peaceful dissidents and human rights defenders, mostly members of the democratic opposition, are still being held in jail in Cuba for exercising the basic rights of expression and assembly and the right to hold meetings, ”</p> <p>“whereas the death of Orlando Zapata Tamayo – the first time in nearly 40 years that a Cuban activist has died on hunger strike in protest against government abuses – is considered a serious step backwards for human rights in Cuba and has resulted in a wave of protest at international level</p>	<p>peace, liberty, democracy, human rights, social solidarity, anti-discrimination, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy;</p>

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	<p>and in more Cuban political and dissident prisoners going on hunger strike;”</p> <p>“Strongly condemns the avoidable and cruel death of the dissident political prisoner Orlando Zapata Tamayo after a hunger strike of 85 days, and expresses its solidarity and sympathy with his family;”</p> <p>“Deplores the absence of any significant signs of response by the Cuban authorities to the calls by the EU and the international community for all political prisoners to be released and for fundamental freedoms, especially freedom of expression and political association, to be fully respected;”</p>		
<p>2)call for Cuban Government to change policy, norms or to take action;</p>	<p>“whereas Parliament awarded the 2005 Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought to the Damas de Blanco; whereas the Cuban authorities’ refusal to allow the Damas de Blanco to travel to the seat of Parliament to receive the award violates one of the basic human rights, namely the right freely to leave and return to one’s own country, as</p>	<p>liberty, human rights, anti-discrimination, good governance;</p>	<p>the control, domination and or inference of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy; the changing of another sovereigns’ policy, culture, and or economy;</p>

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	<p>enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” “Calls on the Cuban Government for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and prisoners of conscience;”</p>		
<p>3) critical remarks on Cuban economy;</p>			
<p>4) call for Cuban Government to change economy;</p>			
<p>5) critical remarks on the Cuban embargo’s humanitarian consequences;</p>			
<p>6) critical remarks on the Cuban embargo’s economic consequences;</p>			

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7) call for the United States of America to lift the Cuban embargo;			
8) conditionalization of dialogue and or improvement of relations with Cuba;			