

**Cuba's outlook:
Raúl and beyond:
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“Cuba's foreign policy”
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Susanne Gratus, FRIDE, Madrid

Cuba's foreign policy

- Foreign policy is the real success story of the regime
- For 50 years, the Cuban Revolution has been financed by strong external allies and legitimised by US hostility
- Non-relations with Washington allowed an independent foreign policy
- US sanctions served both as an argument for alliances with US hostile regimes (Russia, China and Venezuela) and to justify political cohesion in a closed authoritarian regime

Four foreign policy periods

- 1960s: Third Worldism in the first revolutionary years under Che and Fidel
- 1970s and 1980s: Strategic alliance with the former Soviet Union and Comecon
- 1990s: Diversification and strategic alliance with China
- 2000-2008: Strategic alliance with Venezuela and “Latinamericanisation”

Different Types of Partnerships

- “Ideological strategic partners”: Russia, China and Venezuela
- “Emotional relations” with Spain and the United States as the “natural partners”
- “Economic partnership” with Canada and the EU
- “Political partnership” with Latin American and Caribbean countries

From “exceptionalism” to normality?

- Meaning of cabinet changes: 1) end of Fidelism 2) militarization of politics, 3) institutionalisation of the Revolution, 4) charismats and reformers are not welcome, 5) internal closure, external opening?
- Foreign policy changes: normalization of relations with Latin America, search for full integration in the Hemisphere including a dialogue with Washington under the Brazilian leadership?

Cuba's external priorities

- 1st circle: Hemisphere: LA, Caribbean, U.S., equal relations with ALBA, asymmetric with Brazil and Mexico (possible mediators)
- 2nd circle: EU, Spain, Canada as constant and reliable partners with limited impact
- 3rd circle: China, Russia and others as culturally distant economic partners

The Transatlantic Quintett:

- United States: sanctions and engagement, democratic conditionality
- Latin America: engagement without pre-conditions
- Canada and Spain: constructive engagement and political dialogue on human rights
- EU: conditioned engagement, Common Position without common policy

Six paradoxes of EU policies

- 1) Spain imposed a democratic conditionality that it has never applied at a bilateral level
- 2) The EU has no cooperation agreement but member states signed 20 bilateral agreements with Cuba
- 3) The EU has an office in Cuba but no cooperation agreement and from 2003-2008 no ODA
- 4) Cuba is part of the Cariforum but has not signed the regional cooperation agreement with the EU
- 5) There is a Common Position but no common policy
- 6) Every year, Cuba is worth to held a controversial debate on EU policy towards the island

Outlook

- End of embargo – end of authoritarianism?
- Will internal pressure increase without external pressure?
- Is constructive engagement the magic formula to open up a closed regime?
- Today Venezuela, tomorrow Brazil and the U.S. as strategic partners?
- Is there any role for Spain, Canada and the EU?