

Cuba's foreign policy choices and effectiveness in Africa —an analysis perspective based on small country diplomacy*

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Abstract: In the process of achieving "small country big diplomacy", Cuba's relations with Africa have provided an important fulcrum role. The small country diplomacy perspective in international relations theory can partially explain Cuba's diplomatic practice towards Africa. At the same time, Cuba's Many pragmatic policy choices go beyond the limitations of the existing analytical framework on the power relations of small countries. Cuba's policy towards Africa is constantly updated in the historical and realistic logic. Faced with the dual pressure of domestic economic difficulties and the blockade of external powers, Cuba finally formed a Diplomacy of a small country with its own characteristics. After experiencing the progressive development of unconventional diplomacy, medical cooperation and diversified diplomacy during the revolution and struggle for independence, Cuba's diplomacy has gradually developed from being based on exporting revolutionary ideals to a grand diplomacy that builds a positive national image. Reality At the theoretical level, Cuba-Africa relations have become a representative diplomatic relationship in South-South cooperation, and have also contributed to Cuba's international "medical influence." At the theoretical level, as an atypical small country in the international relations system, Cuba, as a developing country, contributes to Africa's The diplomatic practice of exporting institutions broke the inherent understanding that only developed countries can export institutions, and challenged the old unequal international order dominated by developed countries. In the new era, Cuba-Africa relations are faced with the convergence of economic and development needs of both sides and the compatibility of cooperation. There are many internal and external challenges such as low economic growth and changes in U.S.-Cuba relations. Maintaining and expanding the existing cooperation results is the demand of both Cuba and Africa. It is also the prerequisite for further expanding the scope and influence of cooperation. In the future, Cuba-Africa relations may be for small countries and developing countries. The relational power development theory contributes new practical experience.

Keywords: International relations, foreign policy, Cuba-African relations, medical diplomacy, small country

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As a smaller-scale international actor, Cuba has an international influence that far exceeds the size of the country. One of the important factors forming this phenomenon is the effectiveness of Cuba's foreign policy towards Africa. In the existing research on small country diplomacy, Cuba's impact on Africa Diplomacy deserves in-depth study. In traditional international relations theory, large countries are generally considered to be the leading force in the international order and have the power to transmit systems to developing countries and weak countries, while small countries do not have equal international status. The views of various schools of realism Most of them are similar to Kenneth N. Waltz, who stated that "the general theory of international politics must focus on the relations between major powers". Based on this, empirical research on non-diplomacy mostly focuses on "big powers" such as France and the United States. With this, On the contrary, small countries are regarded as the "power of weak countries". This is neither in line with the basic analytical principle of equal relations in international relations nor in line with actual diplomatic behavior.

With the passage of time, the international order is no longer dominated only by developed countries. Small countries have gradually developed from the initial research objects to research perspectives and paradigms in the study of international relations. Not only that, the importance and influence of small countries are increasing day by day. Relevant discussions are becoming increasingly abundant. The target countries of existing small country studies have gradually expanded from Europe in the early days to Asia and the Pacific. The discussion content includes the definition, classification and behavior of small countries, especially diplomatic choices and characteristics. Focusing on Europe The analysis of small country diplomacy believes that in the process of European integration, small countries have behavioral characteristics such as a preference for alliances and focus on specific areas. They pursue peace and a stable external development environment as their common interests. Scholars' analysis of the diplomatic behavior of small countries has introduced more Multi-theoretical paradigm. British scholar Tom Long discusses the interests and influence of small countries in the international society from the three major powers of inherent, derived and collective powers. Some scholars have realized that the diplomatic influence of small countries has been underestimated. Question. Wei Min proposed in two works "Small Countries and International Relations" and "Small Countries and International Security" that in the international society, small countries and big countries have equal legal status and have the same diplomatic opportunities. Small countries are an important influence on international relations Its security behavior also has an important impact on the international security pattern. This is a useful supplement to the existing big power perspective in international relations theory. From the perspective of Cuba's foreign policy towards Africa, another problem with the small country diplomacy analysis paradigm is that: Most of the research objects are developed or nearly developed countries in Asia and Europe. Relevant empirical research in Chinese literature is mostly seen in the analysis of peripheral diplomacy and the Asia-Pacific region. In the practice of international relations, the diplomatic behavior of small underdeveloped third world countries has an impact on the reality of international relations. and theoretical implications have not been fully appreciated.

摘要
 作为规模较小的国际行为体，古巴的国际影响力远远超过了其国家规模。形成这一现象的重要因素之一是古巴对非洲外交政策的有效性。在现有研究关于小国外交中，古巴对非洲外交的影响值得深入研究。在传统国际关系理论中，大国通常被认为是国际秩序的主导力量，并拥有向发展中国家和弱小国家传递体系的力量，而小国则不具有平等的国际地位。现实主义各流派中，大多数人的观点与肯尼思·华尔兹相似，他认为“国际政治的一般理论必须关注大国之间的关系”。基于此，实证研究主要集中于“大国”如法国和美国。与此相反，小国被视为“弱国力量”。这既不符合国际关系的基本分析原则，也不符合实际外交行为。

随着时间推移，国际秩序不再仅仅由发达国家主导。小国已从最初的研究对象逐渐发展成为国际关系研究中的研究视角和范式。不仅如此，小国的重要性和影响力日益增强。相关讨论也越来越多。现有小国研究的目标国家已从早期的欧洲扩展到亚洲和太平洋。讨论内容涉及小国的定义、分类及行为特征，特别是外交选择与特点。以欧洲为中心的小国外交分析认为，在欧洲一体化进程中，小国表现出诸如偏好结盟、关注特定领域等行为特征。它们将和平与稳定的外部发展环境视为共同利益。学者对小国外交行为的分析引入了更多元化的理论范式。英国学者汤姆·朗从固有、派生和集体三大权力角度，探讨了小国在国际社会中的利益与影响力。部分学者意识到小国外交影响力被低估的问题。问题。魏敏在《小国与国际关系》和《小国与国际安全》两部著作中提出，在国际社会中，小国与大国具有平等的法律地位，享有同等的外交机会。小国对国际关系产生重要影响，其安全行为也对国际安全格局产生重要影响。这是对现有大国视角在国际关系理论中的有益补充。从古巴对非洲外交政策的视角来看，小国外交分析范式的另一个问题是：大多数研究对象是亚洲和欧洲的发达国家或近发达国家。中国文献中的相关实证研究主要集中在周边外交和亚太地区。在国际关系的实践中，小国欠发达第三世界国家的外交行为对国际关系的现实及理论启示尚未得到充分重视。

Wei Min, author: «Small States and International Relations», Beijing: Peking University Press, 2014, page 215

Wei Min, author: «Small States and International Relations», Beijing: Peking University Press, 2014, Wei Min, author: « Small States and International Security» Beijing: Peking University Press, 2016

This article attempts to analyze the development of Cuba's policy towards Africa from the perspective of small country diplomacy. Based on the historical and realistic logic of diplomatic choices, conventional and unconventional policy choices and their effectiveness, this article attempts to explain that Cuba takes the African region as its fulcrum and goes beyond the existing understanding of small country diplomacy. To clarify the practical significance of knowledge, clarify whether small country diplomacy is consistent with Cuba's actual foreign behavior, and the theoretical impact of Cuba's achievement of "small country big diplomacy". At the same time, try to assess the policy risks and potential development paths of its diplomacy with Africa. Compared with previous literature, this article It has marginal contributions in the following three aspects. First, it explains the fundamental reason why Cuba, as a small country, cannot choose the general small country diplomacy path in its diplomacy with Africa under the influence of history and reality, as well as internal and external factors. Second, the existing small country diplomacy perspective cannot Completely explain the diplomatic behavior of the southern socialist countries and provide supplementary explanations. Third, explain the theoretical significance of Cuba's diplomatic attempt to break through small countries under the existing analysis framework of the power of large and small countries in international relations.

The historical origins and realistic logic of Cuba's foreign policy choices towards Africa

From the perspective of policy factors, Cuba's diplomatic achievements today are partly due to the choice of Africa as the fulcrum of its foreign relations. However, looking back at Cuba when it gained independence in 1959, it not only faced the development shortcomings of ordinary small countries such as a single economic structure and a lack of resources. Cuba has also suffered political suppression and diplomatic isolation due to differences in social systems and ideologies. Moreover, the United States has implemented a long-term financial and economic blockade and trade embargo against Cuba. This is in line with the analysis subject of traditional small country diplomacy (small countries in Europe and Asia). There are huge differences, so Cuba cannot normally choose the conventional development path of alliance or characteristic diplomacy. At the same time, Africa's process of fighting for independence has provided Cuba with space for foreign policy development. Due to its historical colonial economy and black immigration, Cuba has a close relationship with Africa. Close origins, coupled with the choice of policymakers and geopolitical factors, together constitute the logic of diplomacy with Africa in both historical and realistic aspects.

(1) The historical, kinship and cultural factors that formed Cuba's foreign policy towards Africa. While

existing analysis of small country diplomacy focuses on modern national interests and power factors, Cuba's diplomacy with Africa has taken a more stable historical and cultural lead and formed an ancient Sufficient conditions for the construction of non-diplomatic relations. Similar colonial encounters and subsequent immigration waves provided rationality for the development of bilateral relations between Caribbean island countries and the African continent separated on both sides of the Atlantic. Historically, waves of colonization and active immigration once made Cuba African

Since Spanish colonial rule, Cuba was the first country in Latin America to introduce a plantation economy. Due to overwork and plague, the Cuban Indians died. For production needs, the colonists transported black people from Africa as slaves to make up for the shortage of labor. In 1513, Four African slaves were imported into Cuba for the first time, starting the slave trade between Cuba and Africa. In 1520, 300 African slaves came to Cuba to engage in gold mining. They were the first large-scale introduction of black African slaves into Cuba. See "AfroCuban History" : A Time Line 1492 to 1900". <http://www.afrocubaweb.com/history>

The size of the ethnic population is very considerable. More importantly, the immigration structure has changed Cuba's original ethnic and demographic structure. African immigrants in contemporary Cuban society have experienced more than 500 years of ethnic integration. As an emerging race, they carry the culture of Cuban Africans. In its exchanges with Africa, Cuba's black national characteristics help to arouse the historical resonance of the African people and become a blood tie between Cuba and African countries.

The traditional view is that the diplomacy of small countries rarely involves foreign ethnic factors, and there is not much relevant discussion. Cuba's multi-racial composition provides an ethnic consensus for developing diplomatic relations with Africa. More importantly, the native African-American population allowed Cuba to participate in the early stage. The African revolution and independence struggle have gained legitimacy. The traditional connection between the African-descendant groups that flowed into Cuba and the native African population formed Cuba's social foundation for sympathy with Africa and its diplomatic obligation to support African national liberation. In addition, during the founding of the country, Cuba faced many challenges. Difficulties and pressures became an important part of the "core" factors of Cuba's national civilization at that time. There is a profound connection between the country's attitude and behavioral patterns towards the outside world and the core of the country's civilization - "people". Shang Huipeng said in « The book People, States and International Relations: A Psychocultural Approach » believes that "people" and "psycho-social equilibrium" are two research paradigms that affect state actors and international relations. Compared with other Latin American countries, Cuba and It is no accident that Brazil has the closest relations with Africa. Analyzing these two international actors, despite many differences in country size, diplomatic preferences, etc., the two countries are very consistent in terms of the composition of African-descended social groups and their interest in Africa. This is also a micro-factor influencing Cuba's diplomacy with Africa. The influence of the national interests of the African-American population on the country's diplomatic behavior first appeared after Cuba overthrew the dictatorial Batista government and when black African-Americans obtained equal citizenship. Currently, Cuba's black and black mixed-race population is an important factor in its

African foreign policy. The small country analysis framework believes that the limitations of the country's size may make it difficult to use the cultural influence of small countries in foreign relations. Cuba has become a reverse case country. Cuba's African-descendant groups Culture is ancient because of its bidirection

From the beginning of the 16th century to the African slave trade, the population of African descent once accounted for more than half of Cuba's population. By 1532, the proportion of black Africans in Cuba's population peaked at 62.5%. In the 18th and 19th centuries, there were a total of about 600,000 black Africans. Transported from West Africa to Cuba as slaves. See "Cuban Locals in the Lead". <http://cuba-junkies.com/cuba/black-culture.htm> [2022-01-25]

In 1886, the trafficking of blacks as slaves ended, but the immigration of blacks from Africa began. Between 1913 and 1927, the number of black Africans illegally smuggled into Cuba alone averaged 40,000 per year. Later, due to the economic crisis in Cuba, Africa The tide of immigration to Cuba gradually stopped. See "Cuban Locals in the Lead". <http://www.trace.softthetrade.org/guides-and-materials/historical/cuba-and-the-slave-trade/> [2022-01-25] Shang Hui Peng, author: «People, countries and international relations: a psychocultural approach», Beijing: Social Sciences Press, 2021, pp.

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Among the current population of more than 10 million in Cuba, blacks account for 11% of the mixed race (22%). See Partment of Economic and Soci al Affairs Population Division "World Popula y2022: // p/Download/Standard / Population Cuba's National Institute of Statistics 2019 Annual Demographic Data uba'y 2019 <http://www.onei.gob.cu/node/14832> [2022-01-25]

At the other level, the Yalta system formed a "quiet period" of bipolar divisions, which allowed the strategic competition between the Soviet Union and the United States in Africa to relatively slow down. Second, Africa has attracted the attention of the international community because many areas have not yet been freed from colonial rule. Third, the northern and southern countries The huge differences between the two countries also allow Cuba to provide diplomatic rationality for African compatriots to fight for equal rights and seek common paths of survival and development.

2. Cuba's main foreign policy choices in Africa

Faced with multiple challenges, it is difficult for Cuba to pursue the development of small-country diplomacy by following conventional alliances or characteristic diplomacy after independence. Cuba is relatively small, making it difficult to carry out comprehensive diplomacy, not to mention the bipolar pattern and the isolation of the international community. This exacerbated its "small country crisis." However, Cuba was keenly aware of the opportunities created by the combination of historical and realistic factors at that time, and opened up its diplomacy to Africa and made it the focus of its foreign relations. Its diplomatic practice also confirmed that Africa It plays an important role in improving Cuba's external environment. Looking back on Cuba's diplomacy with Africa in the past 60 years, the three diplomatic choices made by the Cuban revolutionary leaders are particularly critical. They actively looked for breakthroughs in diplomacy with Africa, built characteristic diplomacy with Africa, and pursued diplomacy with Africa. Diversification. Cuba's diplomacy with Africa not only conforms to the logic of small country diplomacy, but also breaks through the limited understanding of small country diplomacy

in existing research. (1) Use unconventional diplomacy to establish relations with

African countries. Small country diplomacy generally rarely involves the military field. However, Cuba chose this unconventional diplomatic behavior. In order to enter the African region, Cuba adopted specific diplomatic behaviors: uniting and participating in the anti-colonial and anti-racial discrimination revolutionary struggles of African countries, and exporting its experience of armed struggle for independence to Africa. It even directly dispatched armed personnel to participate in the regional independence process. Cuba's military participation in Africa's diplomacy has two purposes: externally, Cuba actively responded to the United Nations' call for the elimination of colonial systems in un-independent regions of the world, and complied with the international calls at the time, which may allow Cuba to Stand out in international affairs, domestically, break the ice in diplomacy with Africa, and strive to offset the negative impact on domestic development of tense relations with major powers (the United States) and cold peripheral

diplomacy. The above goals are a dual challenge to the diplomatic resources and capabilities of small countries. Cuba However, it has transformed its status as a small country into favorable conditions for its diplomacy in Africa. As a newly independent small developing country, Cuba has connected its country's independence experience with Africa's demands for independence. Cuba is a revolutionary leader in Africa's struggle for independence and national equality.

y Since the founding of the United Nations in 1945, nearly one-third (about 7.5 billion) of the world's population has lived in 80 un-independent areas under the colonial rule. In 1961, the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization (also known as the "Committee of 24") Established, responsible for promoting the decolonization process of non-independent areas under colonial rule and eliminating colonialism. See The United Nations and Decoloniza www.un.org/dppa/decolonization/zh [2022-07 - 24]

They are generally willing to accept the revolutionary and guerrilla warfare experience from third world countries, ethnic groups that have been subject to colonial rule and oppression, and black compatriots. Based on the principles of internationalist diplomacy, the Cuban government spreads its own successful experience of revolution and independence to Africa and other regions. It not only exports guerrilla warfare concept, and even sent field medical teams to establish contact with the African people who were oppressed and discriminated against by imperialism. In 1964, Che Guevara said in a speech on behalf of Cuba: "The victory of any country against imperialism is our victory, and any country's victory over imperialism is our victory. The failure of the country is also the failure of all of us." This was in line with the needs of the revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America at that time, and was also in line with the United Nations' concept of promoting self-consciousness and

independence. Cuba participated in African independence affairs with extremely limited diplomatic resources, and its diplomatic behavior faced greater challenges. Big risks but clear goals. First of all, Cuba actively maintains close cooperation with African anti-colonial struggles nations and regions, stabilizes relations with Africa, and participates in revolutionary armed wars in many African countries. Secondly, it exerts its leadership diplomatic effectiveness. With the help of revolutionary struggle friendship, Cuba Fidel Castro, the current Cuban leader, established a profound friendship with the Algerian revolutionary leaders. By participating in the Congolese Revolution (failed in 1965), Cuba clarified its goal of sending troops to Africa: to help the un-independent people of the world carry out anti-colonial and anti-aggression struggles. Exporting Cuba's revolutionaryism and struggle model. Finally, in the face of changes in the international landscape, Cuba actively relied on the support of third-party major powers to expand its influence in Africa. Although Cuba eventually withdrew militarily from Africa due to major power factors, Cuba's unconventional diplomacy Established cooperation between Cuba and Africa and promoted the development of diplomacy with Africa in the direction of characteristic diplomacy through battlefield medical assistance.

(2) Establishing medical diplomacy: Achieving the transformation of Cuba's foreign policy towards Africa.

Characteristic diplomacy is a conventional diplomatic model for small countries. Cuba's medical assistance to Africa is also called "medical diplomacy".

The United Nations promulgated the "Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" in 1959. The Fourth Committee of the United Nations

Addressing issues related to decolonization

In 1962, Cuba participated in military assistance to Africa for the first time, sending combat materials by sea to the port of Casablanca and then transported them to Algeria to support its independence struggle. This fulfilled Cuba's diplomatic aspirations of exporting revolution and expanding anti-imperialist allies. In 1963, Cuba Started to provide medical services to the African revolution, sending a total of 55 doctors and nurses. In addition, Cuba also participated in the revolutions of Guinea-Bissau and other countries. See Sunamis Fabelo Concepción and Yoslan Silverio González (eds) Beyond Borders: Internal Map of Cuban Medical Cooperation London: Memo Publication 2020, p 22 Since 1964, Che Guevara, the then senior leader of the Cuban

government, visited many African countries, including Algeria, Mali, Congo, Guinea, Ghana, Benin and Tanzania, etc., and met with many African liberation movements. Under his leadership, 200 Cubans participated in the War of Independence in the African Congo, which marked the beginning of Cuba's dispatch of military personnel to participate in the African War of Independence. See Sunamis Fabelo Concepción and Yoslan Silverio González (eds) Beyond Borders: International Map of Cuban Medical Cooperation London: Memo Publications 2020 p 22

In 1975, Cuba sent a large number of troops to Angola with the help of Soviet equipment to fight against the mercenaries and South African troops supported by the United States. This was a proxy war between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. In 1988, according to the "New York Agreement" signed by both parties, Cuban and South African troops respectively withdrew from Angola, and Cuba's military participation in African regional affairs was forced to end.

It refers to foreign cooperation behaviors that benefit the public health field when cooperating between countries. This is an important carrier for Cuba to establish internationalism as a diplomatic principle. It originates from the extension of the domestic medical system concept of "let everyone enjoy health" in the diplomatic field. Medical diplomacy with Africa also carries the demand for the export of Cuban ideas and systems.

Cuba's foreign policy towards Africa has been adjusted from an unconventional diplomacy model to a characteristic diplomacy, which was forced by the changes in Cuba and Africa. The changes in the internal and external situation in Africa at that time. Medical diplomacy with Africa can be traced back to the period when Cuba participated in the African independence movement. This was not only a means of revolutionary struggle for Cuba, but also objectively provided accessory public goods to the African region. Because Africa was not yet independent at that time Due to difficult regional conditions, Cuba took the initiative to provide public medical products and services to the revolutionary front lines and the rear. This forward-looking cooperation became an important basis for African leaders to deeply recognize the Cuban public medical system after independence. The medical public goods provided by Cuba to Africa Due to resource shortages in the early days, cooperation plans varied according to the conditions of each country. As the medical cooperation model with Africa became increasingly diversified, Cuba attracted more African medical partner countries. By 2019, the number of cooperation partners reached 32 countries (including sub-Saharan Africa, vast areas of North Africa and the Middle East)

Cuba's cooperation model focuses on human and material assistance, and attaches great importance to the export of public health systems and medical education concepts, building a medical diplomacy with its own characteristics towards Africa. Since Cuba's medical technology has been recognized by the majority of African countries in the international community, this is both It demonstrates Cuba's internationalist and humanistic diplomatic concepts and makes Cuba an active participant in international public health affairs. Cuba's characteristic diplomacy is also reflected in promoting the extension of cooperation with African countries into the institutional and educational fields. In order to further seek Diplomatic security towards Africa, Gu Pakistan began to try to diversify its foreign policy, trying to reduce the risk of singleness in diplomacy with small country characteristics.

During the "special period" of Cuba's economy, affected by the slowdown in the independence movements of most African countries and the struggles between the United States and the Soviet Union in Africa, Cuba was forced to adjust its policy toward Africa in order to continue its diplomacy with Africa. In the 1990s, Cuba's medical cooperation model with Africa Basically formed, it mainly focuses on compensatory technical assistance and direct contracts. There are two main contents of cooperation: first, African governments sign project agreements with Cuba, and pay labor remuneration to Cuban medical service providers who provide services and are bound by the contract; second, Cuba Participate in the construction of health systems in African countries, and provide compensatory funds from Africa to maintain Cuba's scholarship system for training African medical talents.

On May 23, 1963, Cuba dispatched a medical team to Algeria for the first time. From 1960 to 1980, Cuba served as the "International Based on the principle of "socialist mission", we will provide Africa with a large number of field medical personnel, technology and professional training.

Specific types of cooperation programs with Africa mainly include: Integrated Health Plan (PI), Compensated Integrated Health Plan (PISCG), Compensated Technical Assistance (ATC), Cuban Medical Service (SMC), Operation Miracle (OM) and cost-compensated Operation Miracle (OMCG) In addition to regular projects, Cuba has established the Henry Reeve International Dispatch Team mechanism to deal with sudden natural disasters and serious infectious diseases. This foreign medical assistance mechanism was created in 2005 and was subsequently used in many cases such as Ebola in Africa. Cuba's medical cooperation with Africa even gained the reputation of "Ebola

diplomacy" due to this epidemic aid scene. In 1998, the emergence of a new cooperation model, the Integrated Health Plan (PIS), replaced internationalism and compensatory technical assistance cooperation. This plan was first used to participate in the response to hurricanes in Central America and the Caribbean and provide post-disaster emergency health services. In this plan, Cuba has further reduced the financial burden of overseas medical teams. Only daily expenses are provided, and doctors' salaries are provided by the recipient countries. In addition, Cuba has established the Latin American Medical College (ELAM) for Africa and the world, providing scholarships and training to foreign medical talents, and dispatching cooperation in the form of auxiliary doctors. See Gory Conner, "Healing GI performance in Africa" in Revista Cubana de Pesamiento Socioteológico 2006 28 - 30

(3) Seeking diversification of diplomacy with Africa and accelerating

institutional cooperation. Although Cuba's diplomacy with Africa has a foundation of revolution and medical cooperation, it still lacks international security guarantees. At the theoretical level, the view that the international system is in an anarchic state is academically controversial, but Relevant debates do not deny the possibility of conflicts of interest between countries. Neither single field nor bilateral cooperation can reverse the international security status of small countries. On a practical level, Cuba and Africa, both southern countries, face their own development difficulties and threats from big powers. In addition to countries, In addition to survival security, the common security dilemma between Cuba and Africa is that it is more concerned about the security of its own political system than national security. Cuba can better perceive the broad emotions in African society with empathy. Sissel Crabb believes that for the Third World For countries, the "protection" provided by the collective defense agreement led by the superpowers is similar to "a condition of colonialism or dependence". The anti-colonial foreign policy of these countries and the status of "peripheral" countries in the international system, coupled with choice Participation in the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 has made their foreign policy and security behavior more common to "Third World countries". As system importers, they are basically affected by unfair external systems and internal systems that are not in line with their own characteristics. dual development constraints, and these system "unsuitability" all originate from the "big powers" that dominate international relations. In order to improve their status of being excluded or marginalized, they have no choice but to jointly seek to change the dominant situation of big powers in the process of formulating global norms, and The common aspirations of Cuba and African countries are the basis of interests for diversified cooperation.

Especially for Cuba, cooperation in a single field (medical care) in bilateral diplomacy with Africa is not enough to ensure diplomatic security with Africa. Cuba is trying to use diversified diplomacy to promote the export of a wider range of institutions among developing countries. This is because Cuba needs to consolidate its independence and The image of independent diplomacy is also a policy response to African countries' pursuit of diversified development. Compared with characteristic diplomacy, diversified diplomacy has higher risks and uncertain returns. However, compared with comprehensive diplomacy that exceeds the capabilities of both countries, diversified diplomacy may have certain advantages. In addition, making up for the weakness of Cuba-Africa economic and trade relations is another important consideration for Cuba to carry out diversified diplomacy. The current diversified diplomacy of Cuba is still in the process of development and has certain limitations. However, the diversified diplomacy currently implemented by Cuba It mainly contains three levels of connotation: the first is the geographical dimension (facing the entire Africa), the second is the field of cooperation (expanding from medical care to education, health, systems, etc.), and the third is

the multilateral level. Cuba's diplomacy with Africa has further enriched its diplomatic influence on small countries. At present, based on the sample analysis of small countries in Northern Europe and other regions by domestic academic circles since World War II, some results have verified the important influence of small countries in multilateral mechanisms and regional security affairs. This effectively challenges the proposition put forward by Kenneth Waltz

1967, p 67 Xia

Liping, Xie Qian: «The new characteristics of the international role of the Nordic countries and their impact on our country——Based on the reconstructed "small country" "Analysis of Interaction Theory", published in "Journal of Shandong University" (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition), Issue 3, 2020, pp. 63-72.

The assertion that "the distribution of power among major powers determines the structure of the international relations system". Cuba further reconstructed the understanding that "the diplomacy of small countries has limited external influence bilaterally and in the region". Its important theoretical significance is: the existence of small countries. The ability of a major country to have institutional influence on other countries. Cuba To a certain extent, it breaks the traditional understanding of the diplomacy of small countries that the formation and diffusion of norms of exchanges between countries not only follow the transmission path from developed countries to developing countries. This relies on Cuba's special diplomatic conditions towards Africa, and it also benefits from Cuba's special diplomatic conditions towards Africa. The application of internal systems and concepts in the field of diplomacy. Whether it is the export of national health system norms or education systems to Africa, Cuba has followed the principle of "targeting relevant individuals and groups at the lowest level as far as possible to provide targeted governance and assistance." In other words Cuba's policy toward Africa is based on respecting local development needs and "local autonomy." Cuba's policy adjustments are a useful attempt and practice for third world countries to innovate the rules or mechanisms of international relations games. It is not only a change in the inherent paradigm of small country diplomacy. It supplements and even enriches the status and role of developing countries in international affairs. Developing countries can have more autonomy in regulating their relations with the outside world, and there can also be greater space for exchanges and cooperation in diplomatic relations.

An analysis of the effects of Cuba's foreign policy on Africa

Compared with ordinary small countries, the background, means and characteristics of Cuba's diplomacy towards Africa are unique to the international environment. The formation of diplomatic opportunities towards Africa stems more from its own active choices and is a response to the disturbances of many extraterritorial factors. In fact, Cuba's diplomacy with Africa has always been accompanied by risks and controversies, which further highlights the diplomatic results it has achieved as a small country.

First, since the United States and the Soviet Union, representing the two major camps respectively, are the main source of diplomatic pressure on Cuba, Cuba's policy choice towards Africa is a key move to break the diplomatic isolation situation. In Cuba-US relations, Cuba's special geographical location and its bilateral relations While posing the greatest challenge to Cuba's economic development, Cuba provides a perfect example for African countries to fight against neocolonialism. As the closest socialist country to the United States and the only socialist country in the Western Hemisphere, Cuba has experienced the United States' economic and financial blockade and trade blockade. More than half a century after the embargo, Cuba still maintained its national independence and economic progress. In its relations with Cuba and the Soviet Union, after the end of the Cold War, the disintegration of the Soviet Union caused Cuba to lose its most important external economic and political support and declared that the national economy had entered a "special period." Cuba

ÿ Anne - Marie Slaughterÿ A New World Order Order ncton: Princeton University Pressÿ 2004ÿ pp 39 - 42 Cuba has a land area of only 109,884 square kilometers and a population of 11.182 million (2021). From a geopolitical perspective, the island of Cuba is only 90 nautical miles away from the southern United States. It is the most convenient channel for the US military to influence and control the South American continent. In 1823, the then US Secretary of State John Quincy Adams proposed the "ripe fruit policy", which believed that Cuba was like an apple on the tree. When it matured, it had no other choice. After it was separated from Spanish colonization, In the future, it is "inevitable" that it can only fall under the rule of the United States. Therefore, Cuba is the natural sphere of influence of the United States.

was forced to make foreign policy adjustments. In the process of the world's bipolar structure developing in a multipolar direction, Cuba's economic, political and security environment has been improved by Africa. Africa, which has long received Cuban medical and educational support, also faces Western intervention. Anti-imperialism The development model of public health care, education and cultural undertakings is undoubtedly the vision of social equality pursued by African countries. When Cuba lost important relational power in the diplomatic field due to the two major powers, Africa provided it with the necessary supplementary relations. Second

Africa provides a fulcrum for Cuba's national security. From the perspective of national security concerns, Cuba's emphasis on domestic economic security has been externalized into the pragmatism of its foreign policy. Diplomacy has also become a driving force for medical service trade. Foreign policy is conducive to the expansion of The scale of foreign medical training and cooperation. Whether it is the principle of national independent development line proposed by Fidel Castro or the "renewal" process of Raul Castro, both take the construction of Cuba's national image as the core, in terms of national security and diplomacy. It has established mutual connections between the development, won the understanding and support of developing African countries, and objectively improved Cuba's international status. Leaders of many African countries have spoken highly of Cuba's socialist system on regional and international multilateral stages. The Cuban Revolution Socialism, internationalism, humanism and the construction of the image of a medical power to move toward the international community using Africa as a platform. Cuba-Africa relations have progressed from traditional security to non-traditional security relations. It can be said that Africa's most important diplomatic response to Cuba is It is the African continent that supports Cuba's economic model and political choices in the international community. Third, through the characteristic

diplomacy that small countries are good at, the Africa policy balances the asymmetry of relations between Cuba and big countries. In order to achieve the strategic situation of "peaceful coexistence" in the bipolar pattern, To expand its international living space, Cuba has carried out multiple rounds of policy adjustments towards Africa based on its diplomatic advantages with Africa, achieving the minimum requirement of ensuring diplomatic security. Among them, medical cooperation with Africa has always been the core of Cuba's policy, making up for the lack of a cornerstone of economic and trade cooperation. Cuba has also used this shortcoming as a starting point to expand the field and scale of its diplomacy with Africa. Whether it is the construction of soft power or the improvement of the image of a humanitarian country, these are important supports for Cuba to deal with the threat from the United States.

Fourth, Cuba has implemented "grand diplomacy" towards Africa. Its specific results are in three aspects. First, it has effectively challenged the "Western dominance" theory of international relations. In terms of African affairs, Cuba is the only country outside the region to directly participate in the independence of Africa. Secondly, it has won the recognition of different strata in Africa. Cuba's diplomacy with Africa has achieved extensive and comprehensive social influence. Finally, Cuba has affected the sub-regional security situation in southern Africa. Fifth, Cuba's diplomacy

with Africa has never been Focusing on the transition from traditional security to pursuing institutional security. Using cultural identity as an important fulcrum of diplomacy with Africa, Cuba has successfully reduced the impact of domestic political changes in Africa on Cuba-Africa relations. In the process of modernization of Latin American countries, the development of neo-mercantilist societies has not Good in build area

ÿ In Latin America, Cuba has been deeply affected by the impact on relations with Cuba caused by the rotation of left-right and left-wing political parties. Cuba has stabilized relations with African countries with limited diplomatic resources, which to a certain extent has hedged the impact of uncertainties in Latin America on Cuba. The impact of Cuba's transformation of diplomacy with Africa from military cooperation to medical cooperation has further strengthened the export of ideas to Africa in the fields of medicine, technology and education through South-South cooperation in the field of public health. Sixth, changes in Cuba-Africa relations

It has positioned Cuba as a small country in diplomacy. Through public goods-based assistance, Cuba has enabled developing countries to export systems and standards, subtly changing the unequal relationship paradigm that dominates the international order in developed countries. Cuba's contribution to parts of Africa The country's institutional influence far exceeds that of developed countries like France. It has achieved institutional transmission from developing countries in the fields of medical care, public policy and even education. It has broken the institutional dominance of developed countries in the international society and contributed to the construction of a new international order. A piece of strength

However, changes in the international situation, especially the emergence of the COVID-19 epidemic, have undoubtedly restructured the international space, especially the It is the rule of interaction between countries. Due to the superposition of internal and external factors, the relationship between Cuba and Africa faces three major real risks.

First, the biggest external risk to Cuba-Africa relations is the progress of Cuba-U.S. relations and the long-term existence of the U.S. blockade against Cuba. Cuba has failed to realize the expectations of increasing Cuba-U.S.-Africa multilateral medical cooperation through medical diplomacy with Africa. Although the United States and Cuba have During the Obama administration's "normalization of relations" process, the United States and the United States signed 22 memorandums of understanding (two of which involved cooperation in the health and health fields). However, whether it is Trump or Biden, the diplomatic stance of the successor US president towards Cuba has been inconsistent. However, the core goal of dealing with Cuba has always been to contain the socialist regime. Based on the domestic and international political situation, the United States has no intention of comprehensively improving relations with Cuba in the short term. The Biden administration's diplomatic priority is not in relations with Cuba. American academic circles and public opinion polls both agree. The call for normalization of relations with Cuba cannot completely change the hard line of Cuban-American politicians towards Cuba, at least in the short term. Since 2017, the anti-Cuba political forces concentrated in Florida have become increasingly powerful, and foreign policy towards Cuba has always been of concern to the president. Whether it can win the support of this important region? Faced with many administrative restrictions left over from Trump's term and Florida's tough diplomatic attitude towards Cuba, the U.S.'s economic, trade and financial sanctions against Cuba may continue, which is a direct threat. The diversified development of Cuba's diplomacy with Africa.

Second, the economic and trade shortcomings of small country diplomacy are difficult to solve. Cuba's internal economy continues to be difficult, and it is difficult to achieve significant economic and trade development with Africa. The process and speed of the "update" of Cuba's economic and social model are not enough to alleviate the epidemic and the half-century blockade by the United States. A major impact on the Cuban economy. ECLAC data shows that Cuba implemented currency unification reforms in 2021. The country suffered from inflation and shortages of daily necessities. The annual economic

ÿ [US] Written by David E. Apter, translated by Chen Yao: "The Politics of Modernization", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2019, pp. Pages 300 - 305

The economic growth rate is only 22% . Due to a serious shortage of foreign exchange, Cuba has experienced a shortage of living and medical supplies. In 2021, incited by the United States and Western forces, some Cuban citizens demonstrated. In recent years, Cuba has also faced fuel shortages. Frequent power outages and insufficient gasoline supply. Cuba's institutional superiority has been questioned to a certain extent by growing African countries. Energy cooperation between Cuba and Algeria is still very limited. In emerging international cooperation fields such as carbon neutrality, green economy, and digital economy, Compared with France, China, Japan and other countries, Cuba undoubtedly does not have advantages in cooperation with Africa.

Third, the replacement of the older generation of leaders on both sides of Cuba and Africa has also affected bilateral relations. The century-spanning revolutionary friendship between the leaders of Cuba and Africa has declined with the deaths of Castro and Mandela. In the case of Díaz- The new generation of Cuban leaders led by Canel did not participate in Cuba's military revolutionary struggle in Africa from 1975 to 1991. The pursuit of progressive relations with the new generation of African leaders is the key to maintaining the dependence of the concept of Cuba-Africa

cooperation. In addition, The pragmatic principles of Cuba's diplomacy are increasingly "questioned" by the West. The West's negative evaluation of Cuba's "profit-making theory" in Africa is directly aimed at the export of medical services. The United States believes that this is the main source of Cuba's service trade, and European scholars criticize its economic purpose. Greater than the principle of internationalism. In this regard, Cuba has actively responded diplomatically. In May 2020, Cuban Foreign Minister Bruno Rodriguez pointed out that the United States Agency for International Development had allocated US\$2 million for a plan to attack the Cuban medical team. It is undeniable that What is more important is the politicized argument for Cuba's medical cooperation, which uses aid to Africa to earn third-party project aid funds, and the Cuban doctors in Africa have their remuneration deducted by the Cuban government. This has objectively affected Cuba's internationalism and humanism. International image construction. In the case of malicious sabotage and slander by the West and certain flaws in Cuba's management of foreign medical services, the effectiveness of medical diplomacy will continue to face the threat of being weakened by the West. In the future, the "asymmetric attention" of major powers will still be The main threat to Cuba's national security, Cuba and Africa's joint response to the evolution of the world order still requires further breakthroughs in foreign policy and practice by developing countries.

Four Conclusions

Faced with disadvantages such as shortcomings in strength, lack of diplomatic resources, lack of experience, and lack of foreign policy issues, Cuba not only seized the advantages of small countries in foreign relations such as equal legal status, non-threatening actors, and dedicated diplomacy, but also seized the history of small countries. bloodline and leadership factors, and more accurately grasped the African

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By taking advantage of the diplomatic opportunity of regional independence, Cuba has achieved rapid development in its relations with Africa and pioneered and innovative small-country diplomacy. In the face of risks in its diplomacy with Africa in different periods, Cuba has always insisted on expanding consensus and enhancing complementary interests with African countries. In the balance between developed and underdeveloped countries In the conflicts between countries, there is consensus and mutual recognition of the positions and ideas of Cuba and Africa. In the stage of reform and development, the consistency between the two parties is higher. In terms of social construction, Cuba has opened up a path to combine traditional advantages with modern characteristics. In addition, the relationship with the United States has always been a constraint that has hindered Cuba's expansion of cooperation with Africa on a practical level. However, Cuba has also won a long-term consensus with Africa: the contradiction between the United States and Cuba is a common conflict between emerging countries and imperialism. In microcosm, this may be a favorable premise for Cuba to seek more in-depth and comprehensive cooperation in Africa. Based on the existing medical cooperation with Africa, Cuba is still seeking a new situation in cooperation with Africa. Cuba is active in international medical cooperation, training, scientific research, disasters and There may still be room for improvement in advantageous areas such as infectious disease treatment and biopharmaceuticals.

The perspective of small-country diplomacy in Western international relations cannot fully take into account Cuba's values of justice and interests, the spirit of internationalism and the firm belief in anti-imperialist unity. Cuba is a developing country and a socialist country. The game between the capitalist and socialist systems is directly Affecting the objectivity of the analysis of socialist diplomacy. The West's irrational evaluation of the international communist movement and the Non-Aligned Movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is the best example. Under the bond of colonized culture, Cuba and the African continent have a mutually beneficial relationship to break away from the West. They all have a common political desire to intervene. In the economic field, they are all in danger of being marginalized. Cuba's diplomatic core towards Africa has never changed. It has always held high internationalism and humanism, sought independent, autonomous and balanced international relations, and developed more Extensive international cooperation

Cuba's foreign policy towards Africa not only carries the fundamental needs of small countries to promote domestic development, but also includes the diplomatic efforts of small countries to break through the international system dominated by developed countries. Under the severe blockade of the United States, Cuba's diplomacy with Africa not only weakens the relationship between big countries and The constraints on the international relations of small countries have also shaken the decisive and leading role of big countries in international relations and rules. With the help of Africa, Cuba has reshaped the diplomatic paradigm of small countries in the third world, creating a game with big countries and supranational diplomatic checks and balances. Possibility

(Editor in charge Xu Rui)