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## **EU-LAC CULTURAL RELATIONS: EUNIC'S PROJECTS IN LATIN AMERICA**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This research paper is a short length adaptation of the masters thesis research “EU-LAC Cultural Relations: An analysis on EUNIC’s cultural cooperation and human rights and democracy discourses” which was presented in the Euro-Latin American and Caribbean International Congress 2021 from the EU-LAC Foundation, Centro de Estudios de Iberoamérica from the Rey Juan Carlos University and The European Ibero-American Academy of Yuste Foundation. This paper analyses international cultural relations between Europe and the Latin America-Caribbean region through case study analysis of contemporary cultural relations in the EU National Institutes of Culture (EUNIC) cultural relations. The analysis on EUNIC’s work consists of discussing three types of projects: 1) Triángulo Teatro project of the European Spaces of Culture, 2) EU Cluster Funds projects and 3) EU delegations projects in the LAC region. Triángulo Teatro is focused on Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala; EU Delegations have projects in Cuba and Bolivia respectively; finally, there are the EUNIC Cluster Fund projects in Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay and Peru. This research focuses on human rights and democracy discourses in cultural relations between EU-LAC cooperation and historical power relations that derive from these regions historical contexts.

Key words: cultural relations, cultural cooperation, Latin America, European Union, cultural policy, human rights

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### **Introduction**

Undoubtedly, Latin America, the Caribbean and Europe have historical ties that bind them together. Though these relations have fostered cultural cooperation, they as well are questioned under neo-colonization relations. It is through “the realization of a European model of thought and customary practices that was used as an instrument of order” (Landaeta Mardones and

Espinoza Lolas 2015, p.8) during the colonization historical period. Therefore, things such as language, religion and more cultural influences of the past have been fundamental to understanding how these regions are linked in the present time and their cultural relations. Furthermore, after colonization Latin American and Caribbean countries have gone through processes of independence and democratization, which have shifted their national contexts. “During the latter part of the twentieth century Latin American societies emerged from an era of authoritarian regimes and began processes of democratic renewal.” (Latta and Wittman 2010, p.107) This gave the different countries the independence to express national, regional and local identities in postcolonial times but structural social challenges were still present. Therefore, the relation between these two regions is inevitable on a cultural level, but political power relations have to be taken into consideration for international cooperation and cultural relations analysis.

The analysis of power relations in cultural cooperation projects has been increasingly relevant due to interest of a more fair international exchange. From the work of international organizations - enablers of cultural cooperation - there has been debate on fair cultural cooperation from organizations such as DutchCulture and the German Commission to UNESCO. (Creative Europe Desk NI 2018, p.1; Deutsche Kommission 2020, p.1) The overall power relations between the Global North and Global South are essential to understanding a concept of fair cultural cooperation and overall a non neo-colonial approach to cultural relations.

These demands for a power balance could be attributed not only to modern democratization processes in the southern hemisphere. The globalization phenomenon as well, exacerbated a more vigilant international community. After globalization and its process of increasing social, economic and political international exchange and interdependency (Durrer and Henze 1, 2020) international perspectives have been adopted and specific policies and programmes are undertaken by governments and institutions (Ibid), these translate to political phenomena in cultural relations. The international community, further developed by the globalization phenomenon, has been held accountable by the demand of having more transparency and more conscious reasoning behind its work. This affects post-colonial thought and critical analysis to contemporary political exchanges.

The history of EU and LAC cultural cooperation increased in the twentieth century, after the Second World War. The main documented exchanges are between Spanish speaking countries where “Hispanic American cultural cooperation gained relevance, which broadened into Ibero-

American dimensions during the eighties and nineties, primarily financed and influenced by Spain.” (Zamorano, Négrier and Bonet 2020, p.4) The cultural cooperation agreements and activities between the EU and LAC started being conducted in post-colonial and post war times, where Nation-States of both regions were strengthened by their democratic processes. Furthermore the social, political and economic situations of these two regions were different post World War II as in Europe there was “a catalyst for a renewed interest in European unity” (Unwin 2013, p.3) and in this quest for a European regional identity, the European Union was founded officially in 1993 (Unwin 2013, p.11) but not without ratification problems in member states at the beginning (Ibid). In the Latin American context, the political circumstances left the region struggling with dictatorships and repressive governments. It was not until the 2000s that there was a stronger democratic process that allowed for cultural cooperation to be practiced in nations from the region. The beginning of the century saw a left-wing political movement where “the underlying narratives on the relationship between Latin America and Europe were reinterpreted.” (Zamorano, Négrier and Bonet 2020, p.25) This new way of conducting cultural cooperation amongst these regions was a result of these historical events that influenced their cultural relations frameworks after both of the regions violent regional episodes.

The historical turn in Latin America brought cultural cooperation changes and saw political leadership from specific nations. There has been documented stronger participation of countries such as Brazil, Mexico, Argentina and Colombia (Zamorano, Négrier and Bonet 2020, p.25) and from EU Member States towards Latin America: Germany, Spain, France (Zamorano, Négrier and Bonet 2020, p.26) and former Member, the United Kingdom. In Latin America and the Caribbean besides a regional organization, there are a variety of important subregional entities such as Southern Common Market (Mercosur), Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) and some that encompass a relation with Spain and Portugal such as the Organization of Iberoamerican States (OEI). The multiplicity of sub regional organizations in the region can be seen as a fragmentation of building a stronger regional integration for bi-regional cultural cooperation. Some of the policy instruments of these cultural cooperation actors are international agreements, in the region there is some on sub regional levels such as: “framework cooperation agreement with Mercosur, and the agreements entered into with CARIFORUM, and the Central and Andean America countries.” (Crusafon 2015, p.226) There is as well a strong nation-based cooperation with Europe, for example Mexico and Brazil have cultural programmes with the EU. (Crusafon 2015, p.226)

These two countries are of interest to EU policy, mainly Brazil, which both will be briefly analysed in this research.

Moreover, on the regional level the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States CELAC was officially created in 2011, with the aim to provide a regional integration. (CELAC n.d.) But with pre-existing sub regional organizations, its practice has had difficulties, as this organization “enters a crowded regional space and duplicates services already provided by other international bodies.” (Kennedy and Beaton 2016, p.53) This poses concerns of regional and subregional integration and representation. One factor to take into consideration for Latin America and the Caribbean is language, as the CELAC has 18 of its Member States from Spanish speaking countries, 12 English speaking, 1 French speaking and 1 Dutch speaking country. (EU-LAC Focus, n.d.) Therefore an organization aiming to represent the region has the challenge to represent its diverse subregional identities, as well the diversity of its languages.

After the Cold War, there was a historical turn in Latin American cultural policies context. In this period in time, “Latin American and Caribbean countries have embarked on a process to institutionalise and diversify their cultural policy within their possibilities.” (Bonet, Négrier and Zamorano 2020, p.42) Though, still with these developments on a regional level, the EU-LAC relations had their challenges, especially due to the socioeconomic context of the LAC region, as still there was an “uneven development of national models and the institutional fragility of emerging cultural diplomacy is conveyed in the narratives, resources and levels of involvement in supranational cultural action.” (Ibid)

Furthermore, the EU had an interest on cultural external relations in relation to the European political project and their values. It seems that culture in Europe was intended “for purposes of enhancing a sense of transnational identity and citizenship.” (Dewey 2010, p.114) This regional identity and values becomes essential to building a regional cooperation with foreign regions such as Latin America and the Caribbean. Moreover, the EU seeks for its values to be projected across the Globe, through “the importance of cultural diplomacy and cultural cooperation in advancing and communicating throughout the world the EU’s and the member states’ interests and the values that make up European culture; [and stress] the need for the EU to act as a (world) player with a global perspective and global responsibility.” (Crusafon 2015, p.227) These values are explicitly stated in its foreign policy and more specifically on the EU strategy for

International Cultural Relations that guides the cooperation between the aforementioned regions.

Contrary to the EU, the CELAC, as the main regional organization representing the Latin America-Caribbean region, has had more consolidation struggles since its foundation in 2011. One critique to the organization is that it does not seem to have a clear objective and some of the representatives of its Member States seem to aim for the CELAC to be a countermovement to the power of the United States of America over the region, while others look for regional integration. (Kennedy and Beaton 2016, p.53) This political landscape makes it complex for Member States wishing for the latter option to be the focus of regional politics, as other political motives are behind some key Member States. In this matter, the LAC region could assess this critique and strengthen a regional identity and the regional cultural project.

Finally, the interest in the cooperation amongst these regions has been strengthened through cultural cooperation projects such as the ones conducted by EUNIC and other organizations.

### **EUNIC and the Latin American-Caribbean region**

The European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC) were founded in 2016 with the leadership of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, British Council, Danish Cultural Institute, Goethe-Institut, Institut Français and SICA, the predecessor of DutchCulture (EUNIC n.d.). This institution defines itself as: “Europe’s network of national cultural institutes, with 36 members from all EU member states” and that its area of work is in “the arts, languages, youth, education, science, society, intercultural dialogue and development.” (EUNIC n.d., p.1) It is within the agendas of its members and of their institutional goals that cultural cooperation projects are established. Moreover, their role in connection to the EU is to “promote the role of culture in the EU’s internal and external relations.” (Ibid) Therefore they function as a network that collaborates with the EU in cultural matters, creates a common agenda for nation based cultural institutes, and lobbies for culture to be a stronger component in EU external relations.

The purposes of EUNIC are: cultural diversity and mutual understanding within Europe and with third countries, implementing cultural policy in conjunction of the European Commission and other European institutions, international understanding, strengthening the cultural sector, conducting research on European cultural matters that will benefit other European institutions, share best practices and common interests. (EUNIC, 2016) Moreover, as contextualization of



EUNIC's nature and work, their values are a relevant component for analysis on human rights and democracy discourses. About this they state that they "aim to build fair partnerships by practising mutual listening and learning and engaging in dialogue, co-creation, and joint capacity building" (Ibid). These values seem reflected in using these concepts in the discourse of bilateral projects with Latin America and other regions.

It must be noted there is only multiple documented projects with Brazil and Mexico, Brazil being one of the priority third countries of EU foreign relations and having the most projects with EUNIC. In overall cultural relations between the EU and the LAC region, often Brazil and Mexico appear as the strongest countries in terms of cultural cooperation with the EU but we can see in recent projects in EUNIC there is a clear leadership from Brazil with three projects, Mexico having two and other LAC countries having one project only. Moreover, on its international cultural relations, EUNIC's work encompasses a wider conception of culture, such as that it includes "the arts, creative industries, development cooperation, digitalisation, education, gender, heritage, human rights, language and multilingualism, social inclusion, sports, sustainability, tourism, youth, and others." (EUNIC, n.d.) This wider understanding sets a framework of human rights and democracy in cultural cooperation agendas with the Global South, as well as relates itself with the socio-political agendas of developing countries, which focus on priority areas regarding the most urgent issues on a national context.

Even though EUNIC does not establish a specific interest in particular countries or regions, it must be noted that the Latin America and Caribbean region does not seem to be a priority region of EU cultural relations in practice. Only Brazil shows as a priority country in single bilateral projects. EUNIC operates with specific projects and its clusters on different regions of the world, it is within "90 countries worldwide with a network of 125 clusters." (Ibid) that it performs its projects. The vision of EUNIC is: "Through culture, EUNIC strives to build trust and understanding between the people of Europe and the wider world. We work to make culture count in international relations." (Ibid) Therefore, as it has been presented in its institutional discourse, mutual understanding and multicultural dialogue is a key concept in EUNIC's cultural relations understanding and work in the field. The mission of EUNIC is to: engage European organizations in cultural relations work; create European cultural collaboration with partners; advocate a prominent role of culture in international relations and the EU as a strategic partner, that actively is involved in the definition of European cultural policy; platform for knowledge sharing and for capacity building amongst its members and partners. (Ibid) In these

latter mission statements, the understanding of ICR as a priority for the EU, as well as a cooperation tool is defined further on.

In regards to human rights and democracy discourse, EUNIC aims for its CR to contribute to international agreements, which its Member States have signed such as those related to the Sustainable Development Goals and cultural diversity (Ibid). It is in its third strategic objective within its strategic plan that we see how the concept of mutual understanding is operationalized, it is through good practices and knowledge sharing (Ibid) as well as capacity building as a part of EUNIC's platform to ICR. (EUNIC, n.d.) The human rights and democracy discourse is a core concept of EUNIC's CR. Furthermore, the discourse and aims of their work are on multiculturalism and sharing with external regions. In this regard they state the following: "Our work is international, transcultural, cross-continental. As a network our core business is to meet, share knowledge, strengthen our capacities together with partner organisations, and engage with the people of Europe and people on other continents." (EUNIC 2020, p.3) Due to EUNIC's work being that of gathering EU's national institute's of culture together, its nature is multicultural and international. In discourse it embraces this nature and makes it a central identity factor for its work.

There are three main project-based work of EUNIC that are useful to EU-LAC cultural relations analysis: European Spaces of Culture, EU Delegations projects and EU Cluster Fund projects. These three areas of work have multiple projects with Latin America and the Caribbean.

### **European Spaces of Culture**

Frist, one of the main projects of EUNIC in relation to the LAC region is the European Spaces of Culture. European Spaces of Culture is an initiative, which started in the European Parliament and passed on to EUNIC through the European's Council's approval. (EUNIC, n.d.) Moreover, this pilot project is focused on third countries. "European Spaces of Culture is testing innovative collaboration models in cultural relations between European and local partner organisations in countries outside the EU. At the heart of the project lies a new spirit of dialogue, in which equality, mutual listening and learning represent the core values that help build trust and understanding between peoples." (Ibid) This democratic and human rights discourse aims to put EUNIC's values into practice in outside regions and in contexts of vulnerability.

Intercultural dialogue with regions outside the EU is a priority as one of the main projects of EUNIC is the European Spaces of Culture. “Perhaps by re-shifting the focus of our work. European Spaces of Culture, currently our main project, sets out to find new ways of doing European cultural collaboration outside the EU by testing different creative models...” (EUNIC 2020, p.3) One of the projects that EUNIC has established with the EU is *Altavoz* Gender Equality through Art, with EU partners in Bolivia to foster gender equality and diversity in this country’s context, in the context of sustainable development goals and gender equality. This direct human right advocacy objective inserts itself in discourses regarding democratic values. Moreover, on democratic values, EUNIC’s work wishes to pursue “fair partnerships by practising mutual listening and learning, engaging in dialogue, co-creation and joint capacity building.” (Ibid) In this regard, CR picks up on traditional cultural diplomacy in its spirit for dialogue amongst different regions.

The concept of cultural relations emerges as part of cultural affairs work of organizations such as EUNIC. This concept has been adopted into their public discourse, stating that cultural relations has a broader approach than traditional cultural diplomacy. The latter is shown in statements such as the following: “For a long time, in international relations culture was associated with soft power. Money was used to set the agendas top-down. Projects like European Spaces of Culture are indispensable in changing this.” (EUNIC, 2020, p.5) The CR of EUNIC through the European Spaces of Culture proposes cultural cooperation that challenges traditional power structures that these cultural exchanges can presuppose.

Furthermore, European Spaces of Culture is an example of the values EUNIC sets to achieve and represent on the global scale. On an interview regarding the European Spaces of Culture there is a discussion on European values and universal values as the framework of this project. “European and universal values, shared spaces and new forms of collaboration, mutual listening and the role of culture that we are asking ourselves in this project, are most timely and challenging.” (Ibid) In this sense, there is a recognition of universalization of values and generation of generating exchanges beyond unilateral collaboration processes.

An institutional concern is generating mutual understanding and equality with EUNIC’s partners. On a local level, working with partners in projects such as European Spaces of Culture abroad, EUNIC states: “we understand that the project is not possible without the involvement of each of the partners” (Ibid) and it is added that in the process of creating a cooperation project they “host an induction where we co-create clear, shared codes of conduct to draft an agreement

between all the partners. We aim to recognise everyone is equal” (Ibid). The latter sets the ground for what in discourse aims for a fair cultural cooperation derived from generating a consensus, as a democracy discourse theory practice. This framework of discourse exists within multiculturalism, mutual understanding and a more democratic approach to CR in practice. In the concept of cultural cooperation there is a shared leadership, one “to create a culture where everyone feels valued and then stepping back in order to allow the group to come forward. We all have our strengths and we all complement each other.” (Ibid) Even though multiculturalism and equality are principles of European Spaces of Culture in the work field with local actors, it is observed too in EUNIC’s institutional goals. Furthermore, all the actors involved in cultural cooperation, whether governmental or non-governmental play a role in EUNIC’s CR role with the European Spaces of Culture. “It’s about being realistic about the function and capacity of every single partner. We try hard to make sure that when we engage local NGOs and community groups, we’re really clear about what their objectives are.” (Ibid) In this specific cultural cooperation project of EUNIC the different levels and types of actors are crucial to making its democratic and human rights based discourse. “It’s essential to have the public and private sectors and civil society all working together. They all have different roles and functions. Making sense of everyone’s role, creating a framework for collaboration, this is EUNIC’s role.” (Ibid) This discourse of equality in leadership and participation on cultural cooperation showcases an understanding of human rights in the operationalization of cultural relations amongst regions and nations.

Moreover, the European Spaces of Culture are planned and executed within the CR principles. These principles are in relation to the EU strategy for International Cultural Relations, which they base their work in. The principles are: (EUNIC n.d.)

- “Encourage people-to-people contacts through a bottom-up approach, based on local consultation and co-creation
- Go beyond projection of the diversity of European cultures
- Focus on the process as well as on outputs and outcomes: a new spirit of dialogue, mutual listening and learning, where partners are on equal footing and engage in a joint capacity building process
- Facilitate learning from and across experiences, including cross-fertilization between the different collaboration models tested”

EUNIC's conception of cultural relations is the importance of civil society in this specific project, as often cultural affairs in foreign relations were left at governmental and institutional levels. But the European Spaces of Culture aim for a people-to-people approach and a bottom-up approach. (Ibid) The former EUNIC objective is in connection to EU's external relations, such as the following statement: "beyond the notion of presenting the diversity of European cultures and focusing instead on a cultural relations approach based on people-to-people contacts." (Ibid) This represents a more democratic discourse contrary to top-down logics on cultural exchanges abroad.

The innovation aspect of EUNIC's proposal of CR is not only on bringing more fair cultural relations. The pilot projects of the European Spaces of Culture look for new perspectives and processes to European cultural cooperation: (EUNIC, n.d.)

- "New concepts or ways of working with local cultural sectors, including digital cultural relations;
- Projects based on contexts and needs of local communities;
- Partnerships with new stakeholders, or brought to a new level by bottom-up approach and equality;
- Ideas on entrepreneurship, profitability and sustainability;
- Culture as a means for the promotion of values such as artistic freedom (of expression), social cohesion and equality."

In this regard, local actors become essential to CR and community needs are prioritized as well through a bottom-up approach. Furthermore democratic and human rights values are encouraged, specifically those related to artistic freedom of expression, equality and cohesion, as well as a sustainability approach as international treaties and political agendas have increasingly influenced international cultural policy and politics. As this project is delegated by EU institutions onto EUNIC as a decentralized organization, there is expected general results from this approach to collaboration: "increased people-to-people contacts between European and local stakeholders; concept of European Spaces of Culture, fostering a continuous process of improvement in cultural relations practices; New collaboration models identified for doing cultural relations; Learn from the pilot projects in order to enhance cooperation and pooling of resources; Evidence-based policy recommendations for European Spaces of Culture as structural financial instrument for European cultural relations; Monitoring & evaluation methodologies for cultural relations activities." (EUNIC, n.d.) Since there has only been pilot

projects in 2019 and this year new ones will continue the impact of this pilot projects is still yet to be know in depth, as well the fact that EUNIC's cultural relations approach establishes not to have a strong set of outcomes expectation.

Finally, European Spaces of Culture has a specific project aimed at northern Central American countries, that is Triángulo Teatro. This project will be the first Latin American project to be analysed in the repertoire of EUNIC projects with this region.

### **Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador: Triángulo Teatro**

European Spaces of Culture has an on-going project in Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala. The project is called *Triángulo Teatro* and its defined as “a programme of theatrical performances which revolve around the contemporary interpretation of European dramatic art.” (EUNIC, 2020) This project is done with members of EUNIC such as Centro Cultural de España Tegucigalpa, Centro Cultural de España Guatemala, Centro Cultural de España San Salvador, Alliance Française San Salvador, Alliance Française Guatemala, Alliance Française Tegucigalpa, Società Dante Alighieri Comitato di Guatemala, Centro Cultural Alemán de Tegucigalpa and EU Delegations to El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala (Ibid) as well as local partners such as Laboratorio Teatral de Artes Landívar in Guatemala, Escuela Nacional de Arte Dramático in Honduras and Asociación Azoro in El Salvador. (Ibid) As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, Germany, France and Spain are amongst the leading nations for cultural cooperation with Latin American countries, in this case Italy is a member that participates and from the LAC counterpart, Central American countries do not tend to appear as a leading cultural cooperation countries but with European Houses of Culture they become a focus in recent EU-LAC relations.

Triángulo Teatro's project emerges in the context of northern Central American Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI's). “In Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala, possibilities to produce performing arts are limited, due to a lack of public funding, limited consumption of cultural products and exhibition spaces, making it difficult for the sector to professionalize and to establish itself as a stable economic sector.” (EUNIC, n.d.) Therefore, this EUNIC project aims to professionalize the sector by collaborating with it and strengthening these areas of consumption and circulation of cultural products and services in the region. Furthermore, “Triángulo Teatro aims to respond to these needs with a programme of cross-border creation

and (digital) mobility of cultural products throughout the region. Production and circulation of plays between the countries (albeit now virtual) should create a larger market and access to a bigger audience, improving capacities, awareness and cultural exchange in the region.” (Ibid) This project aims to create a common market and flow of cultural activities within this region in LAC, as well as following some of the guidelines of European Spaces of Culture on fostering cross-border collaborations.

One of the aims of European Spaces of Culture is to create more bottom-up approach to its CR. The latter is being done by having a stronger dialogue with local partners and civil society. In Triángulo Teatro’s case it was “through a public call to theatre companies in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, the partners are collaborating on plays which vary in style and format. The productions are being staged in all three countries to promote cross-border cooperation. Triángulo Teatro also includes a professional development programme for the theatre sector, encompassing a technical training support programme. The project also offers information about European dramaturgy: links of interest and plays, both in the original language and translated into Spanish.” (Ibid) Furthermore, the theatre plays that are staged are mainly from Spanish dramaturgists such as Luis O’ Malley, José Zorrilla, Juan Mayorga, Tomás Afán Muñoz and Antonio Rojas. (Triángulo Teatro, 2020, p.1) Besides the previously mentioned Spanish plays, there is only one play from another European dramaturgist, Yasmina Reza from France.

Furthermore, there is a technical training aimed to the theatre sector in the northern triangle countries (Triángulo Teatro, n.d.) as the strengthening of the capacities helps the sector grow and professionalize, which is one of the main goals of this EUNIC approved pilot project. From the side of the audience “it allows for a better access to the knowledge of contemporary European culture, through an interesting, varied and quality theatre offer.” (Ibid) In this protagonism and interest in European culture and its promotion, Triángulo Teatro shows a bottom-up relation to its European counterparts which does not hold a mutual and fair cultural cooperation model such as the intentions of a democratic approach to ICR exchanges. Even though this pilot project started in 2020 and in the midst of the 2020-ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, they have conducted five documented activities: a virtual theatre festival, two events of the world theatre day, a series of conferences on contemporary dramaturgy and a follow up cycle of dialogues on the same topic. (Triángulo Teatro, n.d.) The activities are diverse and adapted to digital spaces due to the restrictions on the world health crisis.

The main showcasing of the selected theatre plays from the main three countries involved was during the virtual theatre festival named: *Festival Virtual de Teatro. Triángulo Teatro (Circuito Europeo Teatral Centroamericano)* – Virtual Theatre Festival. Triángulo Teatro (European Circuit Central American Theatre). One of the intentions of this virtual encounter is “to create a new way to maintain theatre active and show the world the transformative power of art.” (Ibid) The world theatre day was celebrated with two theatre plays, from theatre companies from El Salvador and from Spanish dramaturgists texts. (Triángulo Teatro, n.d.) Furthermore, this theatre play within the EUNIC pilot project “promotes artistic creation, allowing cross border cooperation and mobility of cultural products in innovative formats.” (Ibid) Therefore, this project incentivises through EU institutions the sub-regional integration of Central American cultural sectors.

Besides the theatre plays one of the other events that became virtual is the conferences on contemporary dramaturgy. *Ciclo de conversatorios: Dramaturgia contemporánea* is a monthly gathering with the participation of a European dramaturgist, where he introduces his work and career together with the theatre company that chose his text (Ibid.) The only two documented conferences are that of one of the Salvadorian theatre company *Proyecto Dionisio* and that of the Honduran theatre company *Casa del Teatro Memorias* (EUNIC, n.d.) in both cases from Spanish dramaturgists.

### **Projects with EU delegations**

Another of the areas of work of EUNIC with the LAC region is that of cultural relations projects with EU Delegations in the region. EU Delegations are those based in countries outside the EU, created to represent EU’s interests abroad. Furthermore, the EU has over 140 representations that have been in action for over 50 years (European Commission n.d.) under the European Neighbourhood Policy And Enlargement Negotiations with the European External Action Service (EEAS), which has worked on cultural relations instruments with EUNIC and EUNIC works under EEAS general international cultural relations agenda.

The EEAS aims to make EU's external relations “more coherent and efficient, thereby increasing the European Union's influence in the world” (Ibid) and the delegations in Latin America are: Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Haiti, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, el



Salvador, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad y Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela. (European Union External Action Service, n.d.) From approximately 33 countries that conform the LAC region, 23 have a EU delegation in their territory, it must be noted that the main ones missing are islands, most of them of non-Spanish speaking with the exception of Puerto Rico. More specifically in cultural cooperation from EUNIC members there is only the following documented projects: CLIC (Cuba) and Gender Equality for Art (Bolivia). In the following subsections there will be an analysis of both of these EUNIC delegations projects.

### **Cuba – CLIC Culture to Connect**

EUNIC performs projects with EU Delegations in 10 countries outside of the EU in a medium to large scale. (EUNIC, n.d.) Two of these ten supported EU projects are based in Cuba and Bolivia, CLIC – Culture to Connect and Gender Equality through Art respectively. The main objective of CLIC is to develop Cuban CCI's and “exchange, capacity building and co-creation activities, the project also aims to stimulate innovative and resilient urbanism in Havana.” (EUNIC, 2021) Therefore its clear that this EU funded project has similar values to those in the core of the European Houses of culture in relation to cooperation and exchange. As well it has the dependency factor, which seems a top-down and traditional approach to cultural cooperation in Europe, as it establishes the European counterpart as the one that enables capacity building for this project in Cuba.

Moreover, this EUNIC project focuses on the artistic disciplines of music, cinema, design, visual arts, architecture and urbanism (Ibid) and is set in one of the most important cities of the LAC region in regards to arts. Cuba has been known for its pioneering music and dance genres that led it to influence Spanish-speaking countries artistic production and be known worldwide. “Cuba has one of the highest artistic education rates in the region and hosts important cultural institutions and events.” (Ibid) It is important to note these specific traits as it makes it one of the strongest countries in the region in terms of artistic output. Even though it is a country that has struggled in a lot of other areas such as economic and social domains, as well where technology has not development as other countries of the region, creativity in the arts has been a strong characteristic of its national identity, as well as arts as having arts be related to being a “source of sustainable development and social inclusion” (Ibid). The latter has been something that has been strengthened in the present times in EUNIC's work and translates into CLIC's

human rights and democracy discourses, through the aim of having this cultural cooperation project be inserted in the social reality where its implemented.

CLIC has a spirit of exchange in its foundation, though based in the strength of Cuban CCI's and its professionals. More specifically CLIC establishes that it “supports the organisation of exchange, educational, research, promotion and co-creation activities around four strategic areas” these are: (Ibid)

- “Supporting the development of Cuban cultural industries
- Strengthening the capacity of creators and professionals linked to them
- Inserting Cuban artists in professional networks and markets in Europe
- Stimulating innovative, inclusive and resilient urbanism in Havana”

From CCI's in Cuba, there is a special focus on the youth and professionalization. It is stated that all CLIC activities are “driven by the idea of promoting young Cuban talent and connecting Cuban artists and professionals with European counterparts, thus strengthening their capacities.” (Ibid) Therefore, besides promoting the work of Cubans, there is an interest in connecting them to European artists and CCI's in that region. The latter action is perceived as related to capacity building, another key value and aim of EUNIC's work. Besides developing the CCI's in Cuba and the skills of its professionals in the creative and cultural sectors, there is an underlining of EUNIC's values such as those related to the last strategic area of CLIC: inclusivity, resilience and innovation.

In cultural cooperation or cultural relations, mutual exchange is a primary component, CLIC project is based on this value. It is “based on the exchange of experiences and knowledge, for which Cuban and European experts from the most varied disciplines participate: cinema, dance, fashion, music, architecture and visual arts.” (Ibid) Besides the diversity of artistic disciplines, there is a true involvement of local actors since the beginning of the project. It is stated that: “in the first phase of the project, the focus has been on boosting existing local initiatives and existing local structures in the cultural industries” (Ibid). One interest of EUNIC is to work with existing contexts and needs, which is something that is reflected in projects in the LAC region such as in the Cluster Fund.

Furthermore, it's important to note the EU actors involved and leading this Project. First, the CLIC Project is “funded by the EU Delegation to Cuba, is coordinated by the Spanish Agency for International Development (AECID) and implemented together with the EUNIC cluster in Cuba” (Ibid). This comes to show the ongoing leadership of Spain in the Caribbean region.

Furthermore, the Spanish Embassy in Cuba is one of the main representatives, its counsellor is in charge of the project and mentions that “EUNIC Cluster to strengthen the EU as a key partner in cultural cooperation in Cuba.” (Ibid) Therefore, Spain is not only establishing power in the region but fostering other EU members and counterparts to do cultural cooperation with Cuba. Moreover, the Cluster in Cuba has specific aims such as “find synergies and increase the impact of its cultural cooperation activities” and they add that “the EU Delegation in Cuba has allocated a budget for this EUNIC Cuba initiative.” (Ibid) The Cluster Funds projects have a focus on providing capital to make cultural cooperation with member states and EU delegations abroad such as the Cuban case.

The Cuba EUNIC Cluster was formed in 2018 (Ibid) but CLIC started in 2020 and continues in 2021 with the following co-organizers: EUNIC Cuba, Spanish Agency of International Cooperation for Development (AECID), EU Delegation to Cuba, *Clandestina* (Sustainable Cuban fashion brand), Havana World Music Festival, *Inteligencias Colectivas* and the International School of TV and Cinema (Ibid). This shows that besides EUNIC and EU member states, there are direct local actors as co-organizers.

In 2020 alone the EUNIC CLIC project has produced 5 joint activities in fashion, film, music, dance and heritage (Ibid). One of them has a focus on sustainability – *Calentamiento Global* – an emergent experience on sustainable fashion and furniture brands; *Incubando*, where Cuban producers and directors undergo a week of training and networking with European filmmakers, scriptwriters and producers; *Primera Base*, 3 bands – *Raúlito Prieto*, *Los Monos Lácteos* and *Kill the Party* – where selected from a music contest, which have their music produced and launched on an online platforms and get integral training on management and marketing; *Réquiem Siá Kará*, a Spanish dance company in Cuba, a French choreographer and an Italian composer co-choreographed a piece of contemporary dance to be presented in Cuba and Europe; lastly, *Inteligencias Colectivas Cuba* – an online platform to identify, research and scale constructive solutions that are the results of processes of collective intelligent and emergent heritage. (Ibid) Some of the underlining areas of work of CLIC in all its activities are in relation to CCI’s capacity building, promotion, exchange and showcase with the EU in a wide variety of artistic disciplines.

Furthermore, there was EU members involved in making these activities happen as a part of EUNIC, besides local partners such as: EUNIC Cuba, Spanish Agency of International Cooperation for Development (AECID), EU Delegation to Cuba, *Clandestina* (Sustainable

Cuban fashion brand), Havana World Music Festival and its young musical bands competition “*Ira Base*”, *Inteligencias Colectivas*, the International School of TV and Cinema. (Ibid) It must be noted that no local or national governmental authorities are involved in the process, this can enable the EUNIC Cluster in Cuba to directly address the local and national CCI’s in the private sector and independent artists but having no involvement from a governmental institution in the host country can set the ground for unequal relations.

### **Bolivia – Gender Equality through Art**

Besides CLIC in Cuba, there is another documented project of EUNIC with EU Delegations, this project is based in Bolivia: *Altavoz Gender Equality through Art*. As its name states there is a direct connection of this cultural project to the issue of gender equality. This EUNIC project with the EU Delegation in Cuba looks to establish this topic in the Bolivian cultural sector with special emphasis on civil society. About this they state that they aim to: empower the Bolivian cultural sector and for it to “promote equality, gender equity and sexual diversity and to strengthen its link to civil society organisations.” (EUNIC, 2019) Further adding that one of the goals is to “change public opinion, the challenges of *machismo*” (Ibid) in Bolivia.

Moreover, one of the aims is to promote gender equality and sexual diversity culture, as well as challenge the existing *machismo* culture in the context of human rights discourse and agendas. In the case of Bolivia, human rights have become an increasingly stronger topic of debate but not necessarily in the cultural sector. (Ibid) Therefore this is one of the concerns and goals of this project, tackling specifically human rights related to gender equality and sexual diversity, which are as well linked to the sustainable development goals, an interest to EUNIC’s cultural relations approach at the present time.

One of the main concerns of EUNIC in Bolivia is the bureaucracy, as well as not developing top-down approaches as EUNIC members. Moreover, this human rights and democracy discourse agendas are dictated by EUNIC members involved in this project, in this case the Goethe Institute seems very active, as well as the Spanish Cultural Center and Alliance Française. (Ibid) In this case Sabine Hentzsch, director of cultural programming of the Goethe Institute in this country, discusses that they do not want to tell local actors what they should do, but help with networking and giving spaces that can be used for “meetings, actions, programmes and

projects.” (Ibid) In this latter conception of EU cultural cooperation with Bolivia, Europe becomes a partner and enabler that foster democratic and human rights in this context.

This project has the purpose of establishing more democratic approaches in the way it operates, in order to enable that same democratic outcome is essential to EUNIC’s understanding of cultural relations. The role of the EU delegation in this EUNIC project is more of an enabler and partner than that of a executor/co-executor and knowledge sharer.

The Cluster Fund is the main primary fund for EUNIC members abroad to implement cultural relations projects abroad. (EUNIC, 2020) Furthermore, the latest goals of EUNIC’s Cluster Fund are: (Ibid)

1. “Contribute to the principles of international cultural relations and to the implementation of the new EUNIC Strategic Framework of 2020-2024
2. Support local cultural scenes worldwide in response to the current Covid-19 pandemic
3. Strengthen cooperation amongst EUNIC cluster members and partners on the ground
4. Deliver the local cluster strategies
5. Raise the profile of EUNIC through improved quality of EUNIC clusters’ projects”

These goals reflect the on-going EUNIC values and goals, as well as contemporary concerns developed by the COVID-19 pandemic that started in 2020. One characteristic that can be seen in projects that started in 2020 is that they had to adapt to online formats or different restrictions depending the country and the measures taken towards the cultural sector. Furthermore, the projects for 2021 have a similar tendency of adaptation to online or hybrid formats, as well as addressing current problems and inequalities that emerged stronger during the pandemic.

## **Brazil**

### ***Casa Europa 1968 – FLIP***

On EUNIC clusters, Brazil has two clusters just as Argentina. In Brazil’s case it has clusters in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, two of the main important cities of the country. Those of which sometimes work together but their financing schemes are different. (EUNIC, 2018) This particular EUNIC Cluster Fund project is framed under the relation between Brazil and the historical events of Europe in 1968. In this year there was a lot of social unrest in Brazil, especially student movements emerged as contesting the repression of the dictatorship and

demanding a change. (Donoso Romo 2018, p.54) The EUNIC project Casa Europa 1968 is conformed by some of the pressing issues of that time, such as freedom of speech and they make several activities in relation to the student movements 1968 in Brazil and other European countries such as France and Czech Republic. One of the activities was in a literature festival in Paraty in 2018 they did several readings and panel discussions inside a Baroque church, where Brazilians and Europeans reflected on the 1968 legacy and their concerns on freedom of speech in the context of the 2018 elections. (EUNIC, 2018) The members and partners involved are “Alliance Française, British Council, Goethe-Institut, Instituto Cervantes, Institut Français du Brésil, Istituto Italiano di Cultura and Instituto Cultural da Dinamarca, SESC-SP/RJ/National, SENAC SP, FLUP RJ, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro City Governments, São Paulo Bienal Foundation, Itaú Cultural, MITsp, Instituto Moreira Salles, Instituto Tomie Ohtake, FLIP. (Ibid)

Moreover, Brazil is one of the clusters that have generated projects that think on a regional scale. This country’s clusters sometimes work together with neighbouring countries clusters to generate joint projects that not only address Brazil’s national concerns but regional topics as well. (Ibid) There is no mentioning of which projects have been done in partnership with neighbouring countries, as well as they do not seem to be documented through EUNIC.

### ***Casa Europa Rethinking the Future of Museums - FLIP***

Case Europa is once again the one presented in the International Literary Festival in Paraty (FLIP) but in this time dedicated to museums in 2019. EUNIC established a programme on “the Future of Museums” after the 2018 fire in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro. Some of the speakers were Brazilians and other Europeans in the cultural sector, as well as the programme had collaboration with the Frankfurt Book Fair. (EUNIC, 2019)

In this second participation of Casa Europa within the FLIP festival, there was funding from outside the EUNIC Cluster Fund as well. Some of the EUNIC Members that were involved were: British Council, Goethe-Institut, Instituto Cervantes, Institut Français du Brésil, Alliance Française, Instituto Italiano di Cultura. (EUNIC, n.d.) But as well there was support from EUNIC Global, Delegation of the European Union to Brazil and Frankfurt Book Fair/German Foreign Office (Ibid). Some of the topics that were addressed were those related to accessibility of museums and matters of cultural memory. (Ibid)

This EUNIC project has as part of its objectives values such as inclusivity and awareness, as well as Exchange of Brazilian practitioners with European ones. The main concern of this project is mutual dialogue in the contexts of museums.

### ***Youth Wind and Percussion Orchestra***

Youth Wind and Percussion Orchestra is a project based in Brasilia and its main objective is to include young people (EUNIC, 2019) restructure their musical education and professionalize the musical ensemble. (EUNIC, 2020) Furthermore they aim for this young people to be closer to “advancing exchanges of knowledge and experiences by promoting presentations, concerts and master classes with European artists.” (EUNIC, 2019, 2020) The Youth Orchestra project does have a direct concern with knowledge sharing, this is something that is present in other EUNIC projects in Latin America. Moreover, knowledge sharing seems to be conceived in a unilateral way, contrary to a notion of intercultural dialogue that EUNIC has as a driving objective.

Furthermore, some of the institutions involved are: Alliance Française Brasília, Instituto Cervantes Brasília, Goethe-Zentrum Brasília, Embassy of Italy, Embassy of Poland, SESC, EU Delegation to Brazil (EUNIC, 2019) and Embassy of Portugal/Instituto Camões. (EUNIC, 2020) In the institutions involved there are some recurring EU members that are present in other projects, adding Poland and Portugal to this project.

## **Mexico**

### ***Flash Act***

Just after Brazil, Mexico is the second country with which the EU has the most projects through the Cluster Fund and overall publicly documented projects of EUNIC in Latin America. There is two projects of the Cluster Fund projects that EUNIC has with Mexico is Flash Act and Music Femlab. In the case of Flash Act, this is a project that aims to “develop new forms of collaboration between art, science and technology and to promote systemic thinking and citizen participation in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean in the current context of the pandemic.” (EUNIC, 2021) Furthermore their goals involve generating “a multidisciplinary network supported by a virtual platform, in order to promote new initiatives and innovative

formats of collaboration around artistic creation and scientific communication in Mexico and neighbouring countries.” (Ibid) This EUNIC Cluster Mexico led project involves not only the aforementioned country but as well Panama, Guatemala, Honduras and Dominican Republic.

As it is stated by EUNIC, this project has been proposed in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, this project is focused on trans disciplinary art “with a goal to promote, through the resulting projects, direct experiences, critical thinking and active participation that significantly transform humans’ relationship with our environment, as well as creatively join the Sustainable Development Goals. (Ibid) Therefore, besides the pandemic context which forces cultural relations into online formats, there is a concern to address social issues, especially those related to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG’s) which are a priority on EUNIC’s strategic framework. (EUNIC, 2020) The sustainable development goals are themselves part of the human rights and democracy discourse, as they are tackling social, political, cultural and economic issues in the world-systems structure.

There are 3 exchanges which are planned to be done under this project: Flash ACT Lab (prototype on science, art and technology on a weekend), Flash ACT Encounters (workshops and consulting with experts) and Flash ACT Festival (presentation of results to international jury). This project overall seems to reflect the cultural relations principles that EUNIC has developed through recent times, as well as their contemporary political agenda, showcased in their Strategic Framework.

Furthermore, some members and partners involved are: Goethe-Institut, Insitut français, Centro Cultural de España, Alliance Française; Centro Cultural de España in Guatemala, Centro Cultural de España in Nicaragua, Centro Cultural de España in Dominican Republic, Embassy of France in Honduras, Alliance Française in Costa Rica, Embassy of Germany in Guatemala, Embassy of Germany in Costa Rica; IRD (Institut de Recherche pour le Développement), Mexico City; Centro de Cultura Digital, Mexico-City; Universum, Science Museum, Mexico-City; FundAHrte - Fundación Alemán Healy, Panama Estudio Nuboso, Panama. (EUNIC, 2021)

### ***Music Femlab***

The other EUNIC Cluster Fund project with Mexico is Music Femlab. This project aims to “promote intercultural encounters in Mexico City focused on women who are part of the



electronic music scene.” (EUNIC, 2019) Music Femlab was produced during Women’s Month and it has a focus on women and gender equality issues in the national context. (Ibid)

This project has a spirit of dialogue, human rights and capacity building. The project is described as exacerbating “peer-to-peer dialogue spaces of mutual learning for the professionalization of local participants” and targeting “women, representing 20% of a male-dominated sector in a local context of structural violence against women.” (Ibid) Moreover, Music FemLab is “a space for the exchange of experiences, co-creation, and networking, in which gender becomes a crosscutting issue and a central one to the experience of participants.” (Ibid) It has 3 formats: creative tandems, laboratories and co-creation presentations, and will stage 4 encounters. Due to its relation to gender equality, this project is founded under a basic human right (United Nations and the Rule of Law, n.d.) as well as under sustainable development goals, such as gender equality. (Departamento de Asuntos Económicos y Sociales, n.d.)

Furthermore, some of the members involved are: AECID / Spanish Cultural Center in México, Goethe-Institut, British Council, Instituto Italiano di Cultura, Alliance Française, Austrian Embassy, Polish Embassy, Swedish Embassy / Swedish Institute, Portuguese Embassy / Instituto Camões; EU Delegation to Mexico; Casa del Lago - National Autonomous University of Mexico. (Ibid)

## Uruguay

### *E(uropean) U(ruguyan) Comics para el futuro de nuestro medio ambiente*

The last two EUNIC Cluster Fund projects that are documented by this institution are E(uropean) U(ruguyan) *Comics para el futuro de nuestro medio ambiente* in Uruguayan and Migration – Verbal Portraits in Argentina. Both countries only have one project in their territory under EUNIC Cluster Funds projects.

The Uruguayan project is focused on climate change and environmental issues, as well as a variety of SDG’s on this topic. Such as SDG 13: Climate Action. (United Nations Development Programme Latin America, n.d.) This project is concerned on these issues and stresses its importance to Uruguayan and European policy makers and describes that the project consisted in European and Uruguayan comic artists produced comics on these topics. (EUNIC, 2020)

This focus on environmental issues that serve societal concerns shows a connection to EUNIC's purpose to generate cultural relations with third countries on a human rights and democracy perspective, addressing concerns from the international community.

Furthermore, this collaboration will be showcased at the Montevideo Comics Festival and will consist as well of workshops and talks in relation to environmentalism through the comics (Ibid). This project had the following institutions involved: Centro Cultural de España, Goethe-Institut, Instituto Cultural Anglo Uruguayo, Alliance Française de Montevideo, Camões - instituto da Cooperação e da Língua, Instituto Cultural Suecia-Uruguay, Instituto Italiano de Cultura, Fundación Tsakos, Instituto Iberoamericano de Finlandia, Delegación de la Unión Europea en Uruguay, Embassy of France in Uruguay, Montevideo Comics, Universidad ORT Uruguay, Fridays for Future. (Ibid) In the case of this project there is a lot of partners of different countries involved from the European counterpart, in the official communication of EUNIC there does not seem to be any particular member taking the leadership on this project.

## **Argentina**

### ***Migration – Verbal Portraits***

As mentioned before, Argentina together with Brazil are the only two Latin American and Caribbean countries that has two clusters in its territory. In Argentina's case is Buenos Aires and Córdoba. (EUNIC, 2017) The following project aims to create a dialogue around the topic of migration, in relation to the EU's migration challenges and the history of migration in Argentina. (Ibid) Therefore this project aims to create a dialogue on the context of human mobility that has impacted both of the regions involved.

Furthermore, this project had three main activities: two conferences with the Cultural Ministry, collaboration with the European Film Festival in Buenos Aires and a multidisciplinary exhibition. (Ibid) In this particular project there was an involvement of a national cultural institute, which can propose an equal start in the bilateral relation in the cultural cooperation amongst EU members and the LAC counterparts. The members and partners involved in this project are only the EUNIC Clusters in Buenos Aires and Cordoba. (Ibid)

Overall the aforementioned EUNIC projects have a strong human rights and democracy discourse, as they are based on EUNIC's values, Strategic Framework and the EU international

cultural relations strategy, which are in themselves embedded in human rights and democracy values. There is a stronger concern about human rights and democracy in some EUNIC projects more than others, which is reflected in their discourse. Some of the projects that did directly address human rights or democratic contexts in the LAC countries are: Argentina – Migration Verbal Portraits, Bolivia – Gender Equality through Art, Brazil – Casa Europa 1968, Casa Europa Youth Wind & Percussion Orquestra, Mexico – Flash Act, Mexico – Music Femlab, Uruguay – E(uropean) U(ruguyan) Comics para el Futuro de Nuestro Medio Ambiente,. These projects either were concerned with specific human rights such as gender equality (e.g. Gender Equality Through Art or Music Femlab), political rights such as citizen participation (e.g. Flash Act) as well as those sensibilizing about conflictive contexts in their countries (e.g. Brazil – Casa Europa 1968), as well as Comics para el Futuro in regards to concerns on environmental issues (See Table 1 for EUNIC’s projects per country and in relation to human rights and democracy discourse).

Country	Project	Human Right & Democracy value
Brazil	Casa Europa 1968	Freedom of speech
Brazil	Youth Wind and Percussion Orquestra	Education
Mexico	Flash Act	Citizen participation, environment
Mexico	Music Femlab	Gender equality
Argentina	Migration Verbal Portraits	Mobility, peace, safety
Bolivia	Gender Equality Through Art	Gender equality
Uruguay	(U)ruguay (E)uropean Comics para el Futuro de Nuestro Medio Ambiente	Environment

Table 1. EUNIC’s projects per country in relation to human rights and democracy. EUNIC, n.d.

“Projects”. EUNIC Global. Retrieved on 01/06/21. <https://www.eunicglobal.eu/projects>

Moreover, it must be noted that there is a diversity of actors involved in EUNIC’s projects, even amongst member states. Though there is a diversity of actors, there is some main political actors such as Spain, France, Germany, followed by Italy, Portugal, Sweden and to a lesser extent Austria, Finland, Denmark and Poland (See Figure 1), The main three Member States that were involved have strong traditions of cultural diplomacy and cultural cooperation, meanwhile the most active member, Spain, has a colonial relation to the region and the Spanish language is the most spoken language in the region.

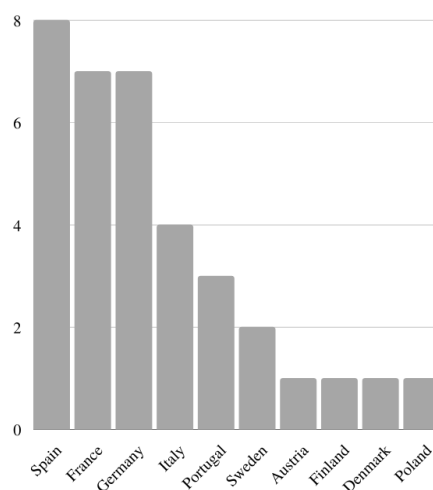


Figure 1. EUNIC Members number of projects with countries in Latin America or the Caribbean. EUNIC. n.d. “*Projects*” EUNIC Global. Retrieved on 01/06/21. <https://www.eunicglobal.eu/projects>

## Conclusions

*“By using human rights language is referred to human rights standards, which guarantees individual artists and expressions already so there is standards already. We do not have to recreate it...”* Dr Srirak Plipat – Freemuse director (EUNIC, 2020)

The previous discussion on EUNIC’s projects with the LAC region in the context of EU-LAC cultural relations and their democracy and human rights discourses showcases value-systems of these regions political and social agendas. The human rights and democracy discourse of EUNIC is based in the values and strategic framework of the institution. The main human rights discourse is in relation to mutual understanding and equality perspectives in EUNIC’s work with external countries or regions, as well as through the specific human rights that the projects aim to develop in each of the contexts or the democratic values that are a part of the conception of the projects.

Moreover, EUNIC’s projects are directly linked to human rights such as freedom of speech, citizen participation and gender equality, as well as they aim to foster democratic contexts through education and peace building (See Table 1). Some of the power relations that derive from historical contexts between these two regions are the colonial relations, such as the consistent involvement of countries like Spain in the region, as the listed partners showed in

different projects. Also by the leadership of the EU and the European political leadership in human rights and democracy discourses when collaborating with the Latin American region.

EUNIC's overall work is characterized by a wider conception of culture, including arts. Some of the arts and creative disciplines involved are: theatre, music, cinema, design, visual arts, architecture, urbanism, photography, music, comics, opera and museums. Moreover, their projects have a human rights and democracy discourse through the institutional values portrayed in EUNIC's work, such as the ones mentioned beforehand: mutual listening and understanding, equality, freedom of speech, citizen participation, education and peace. In regards to power relations, there is a colonial relation portrayed in the leadership of Member States with a colonial past with LAC region, besides socio-political inequalities of these regions that are reflected in Europe having a more cohesive regional organization, while Latin America mainly works on a bilateral relations basis as seen with EUNIC, instead of multilateral. Finally, fair cultural collaboration or cooperation is addressed by having cultural relations that are based in mutual understanding and listening, as well as looking for more fair exchanges with their partners abroad and to have a process that is more bottom-up and that includes and prioritizes local needs.

Furthermore, fair cultural collaboration recognizes hierarchies between actors involved in these exchanges. EUNIC's work actively engages in generating equal exchanges and putting attention to local needs. This line of work is challenging world order hierarchies and the secondary identity of Global South counterparts. Beyond power relations that can be affecting EU-LAC cultural relations discourse, specific nations in Latin America showcase a strong political leadership on a bilateral basis, which further problematizes the regional integration.

In the European counterparts case, there is a need to think of the LAC region outside of its past, so true equal grounds can take place. As in human rights and democracy discourses, equality is a necessary component. Furthermore, discourse as discourse in human rights and democracy is one level of fostering fair cultural cooperation in international organizations work, such as EUNIC.

Moreover, this research focused on these types of discourses in EUNIC's projects with the LAC region. Through the discursive acts that were produced by EUNIC, it is noticeable that there is a strong sense of dialogue building from EUNIC, as a political actor that aims to represent democratic values. This is showcased as well through constant debates where consensus on

topics such as fair exchanges is discussed. The consequences of an unequal world-system and post colonial societies, directly affects human rights and democracy in cultural relations.



Figure 2. EUNIC projects in Latin American and Caribbean countries.

EUNIC. n.d. “*Projects*” EUNIC Global. 01/06/21. <https://www.eunicglobal.eu/projects>

Finally, some other projects in the LAC region have a focus more related to development and professionalization of CCI’s such as in the material from Triángulo Teatro – Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and CLIC – Cuba, where exchange with Europe is part of the proposal or in Casa Europa - Rethinking the Future of Museums, where it is a dialogue on a specific discipline of the CCI’s, in this case it is museums. Besides, there are some projects in which knowledge sharing is a strong component in what the project looks to achieve such as Cuba (CLIC Culture to Connect) and Brazil (Youth Wind & Percussion Orchestra). The concept of knowledge sharing has a top-down relation, where the European counterpart gives the “know-how” to the creatives and artists in the LAC region. There seems to be a connection between this and the spirit of exchange between cultures, but it this notion can fall into post-colonial critique of dependency relations to be discussed further in EU-LAC cultural relations.

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## **CANADA AND JAPAN TWO-LEVEL GAME IN THE COMPREHENSIVE AND PROGRESSIVE AGREEMENT FOR TRANS-PACIFIC PARTNERSHIP (CPTPP)**

Fabiola Faustini

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### **Introduction**

The Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) – also known as TPP-11 or TPP11 – is a “new generation” trade agreement signed by 11 member countries of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). This agreement is a substantial evolution of the previous Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) signed in 2016, which never entered into force after the withdrawal of the American counterpart under the Trump administration.

The CPTPP is a broad-concept, “deep and comprehensive” free trade agreement that provides well-defined regulations on investments, intellectual property, e-commerce and more. (Gaith, 2019, pp.1–2) This is a multilateral and trans-regional free trade agreement as it includes members from different regions of the world, Asia and South East Asia (Brunei, Japan, Malaysia, Singapore and Vietnam), Asia-Pacific (Australia, New Zealand) and Latin America (Chile, Mexico, Peru) and Canada. Thanks to the ratification of the first six countries, namely Canada, Japan, Australia, Mexico, New Zealand, and Singapore, the agreement entered into force in December 2018.

This paper discusses the CPTPP in that the process of negotiation has been long and tortuous, and both domestic and international factors played a critical role. Moreover, it explains well how two countries, Canada and Japan, which are taken into consideration in this case study, have taken and will take a leading position to further the negotiations. Their role has been essential, and they, on their behalf, have been influenced by both internal and international factors.

Henceforth, this paper aims to investigate the conditions under which Canada and Japan were pushed to promote and conclude the CPTPP after the retreat of President Donald Trump from the previous TPP. The paper will focus on the domestic and international reasons that pushed

Canada and Japan to become promoters of this agreement and why they promote this type of trans-regional economic integration. To do so, the paper will apply Putnam's two-level game.

Henceforth, the structure of this article follows these points. The first paragraph will focus on the theoretical framework, the two-level game theory. Secondly, the following paragraph will present the historical background of the CPTPP. After that, the paper will follow the analytical framework analyzing the domestic factors and international factors that influenced Canada and Japan. Lastly, the goal in the last paragraph is to explain how international factors played a critical role in signing this agreement.

### **Theoretical framework**

In 1988, Robert Putnam came up with the Two-Level Game strategy where national and international level negotiations occur in each state's foreign policy decision-making. Indeed, domestic and international factors are strongly linked together. Domestic groups achieve their interest at the national level (Level 1) by pressuring the government to adopt favourable policies, and elite or politicians seek power by constructing a coalition among groups. At the international level (Level 2), the national government seeks to maximize their own ability to satisfy domestic pressure - while minimizing the adverse consequences of foreign development. (Putnam, 1988; Schoppa, 1993) In other words, in Level 1, leaders and decision-makers are influenced by some intra-national pressures. In this regard, labour unions, domestic lobby groups, and local governments aim to ensure that the agreement meets the interests of these domestic actors (Kennedy, 2012). On the other hand, in Level 2, leaders and decision-makers are influenced by external factors such as international governments and politics and other influences outside the domestic sphere.

The negotiation of both the TPP and TPP11 suggests the application of this theory because national and international negotiations took place at the same time and domestic and international factors influenced the reaching of this agreement and its outcome. Putnam's two-level-games model examines the influences of domestic politics, political elites' preferences, economic performance, and external impacts. Moreover, on the other hand, this paper will investigate the international conditions and reasons that make them pursue this agreement, predecessor of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP).

## **Introduction of the CPTPP and its background**

The CPTPP is different from traditional free trade agreements (FTAs), which are bilateral deals, are not suited anymore for today's interconnected world. This agreement creates one of the world's largest free-trade areas by GDP (13.5% of the world GDP), alongside the new Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). It is interesting to address the negotiation behind the CPTPP because this agreement requires domestic economic reforms among the FTAs in the Asia-Pacific region. On the other hand, the Chinese-led trade agreement Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) does not include such a requirement. Moreover, the CPTPP has both economic and political validity and importance because it promotes global-value chains (GVCs) based on intra-industry trade in the Asia-Pacific, and it strengthens regional security and political ties among the parties.

The CPTPP has kept 30 chapters part of the original text of the TPP in the final text of the agreement. However, the parties removed or changed those issues that were priorities for the United States and were considered too stringent that prevented the creation of a common consensus. Compared to the TPP, the CPTPP is more limited to the scope and removed the excessively binding measures imposed by the US regarding the protection of technological measures, satellite signals and security for internet service providers. In addition, changes have been made with respect to the TPP regarding drug patents, which now deviate greatly from American standards. (Schott, 2013)

US President Trump withdrew from the deal to protect the domestic economy, promoting and reiterating his "America First" approach, which promoted the renegotiation of existing trade agreements and imposed trade restrictions. Although the pact would have included about 40% of world GDP with American participation, it still remains the most powerful and significant pact in force. (Government of Canada, CPTPP, 2020)

## **Canada's two-level game in the CPTPP negotiations**

Canada joined the TPP-12 negotiations in 2012 because it was considered one of the most significant trade initiatives around the globe that intended to boost trade and production among the member countries, eliminate barriers to trade goods, services, and investments, eliminating import tariffs, and create jobs. However, at the time of the negotiations, there were several concerns in the domestic field among both high-level politicians and civil society.

Later, in the negotiations for the CPTPP, Canada played a significant role to promote a successful signing of the agreement. International factors, Canada's position in the international trade system, and its economic liberalist thought were essential during the negotiations. Henceforth, this paragraph will be divided into two sections that analyze both domestic and international factors in two-level game logic. Canada faced a difficult task in complementing both international and domestic levels in order to negotiate a favourable outcome.

### ***Level 1: Canada and its domestic pressure to boycott the CPTPP***

In this paragraph, this paper intends to summarize the main points that influenced Canada's role in the CPTPP, taking into consideration Canada's national political actors that attempted to create coalitions with supporters and bargain with opponents to build support.

As two-level game theory suggests, domestic pressures will often greatly influence a government's flexibility when internationally negotiating a multilateral trade agreement. For this reason, Canada joined the TPP negotiations late rather than the other parties. (Government of Canada, CPTPP, 2020) In the beginning, many politicians and lobbyists were not convinced that this agreement was worthy of support (Mainly). In some sectors, businesspersons – especially of the auto manufacturing and dairy farming – were worried that Canada's opening to the Asia-Pacific region could have challenged the competitiveness of its domestic industries.

The National Union of Public and general employees (NUDGE) defined the CPTPP as an “affront to democracy and a threat to economic equality” because it creates a private system for foreign investors and it will favour powerful corporations in Canada, damaging workers. Moreover, the NUDGE attacked this agreement for exacerbating income and wealth inequality and “do nothing to stop climate change.” (NUPGE, 2018)

Moreover, as for the TPP, many politicians in Canada believed that this agreement would have undermined access to affordable medicines, harmed Canada's auto and dairy industries, and would have undermined Canada's ability to protect culture because it contained the weakest reference for the cultural diversity of any modern free trade agreement. Pressures from the agricultural sector tried to boycott the CPTPP because they assessed that it would have favoured the growth of multinational commodities traders and processing companies, not farmers.

Another two points of the CPTPP that were highly contested were cultural diversity and environment. The agreement does not refer to gender equality or Indigenous rights. This opposition has been supported by the administration in charge that negotiated the TPP. Indeed, Canada requested cultural provisions due also to the domestic issues regarding Quebec and other minor issues such as with the Inuit. (Shinoda, 2020, p.11) The other parties did not accept Canada's request for the cultural exception, which should have modified the text of the agreement (Goldman, Kronby, Webster, 2017). In this regard, negotiation with Japan's Chief Negotiator Umemoto was essential. Umemoto tried to persuade Canada to separate the culture provision from the agreement and make it a side letter, as Vietnam had done with their labour issue. This proposal was accepted in July 2018, which led to the agreement's finalization. (Shinoda, pp.11–12)

The environment chapter has weak protections as in the original TPP. The Green Party of Canada mainly contested this controversial point. In the end, the Trudeau government achieved to modify the preamble that now aligns with its progressive aspirations. However, it does not change that the treaty lacks obligations regarding the environment. (NUPGE, 2018)

The Green Party of Canada (GPC) also posed some concerns and pressured the Trudeau Liberal government to reject the agreement. The other concerns regarded Intellectual Property (IP), price and market for Canadian dairy, and rules of origins (RoO). The GPC assessed that the IP chapter extended both patent and copyright periods. Henceforth, they claimed that the cost of pharmaceuticals would have increased and would have created repercussions in the Canadian health care system and for Canadian consumers.

Regarding food sovereignty, opponents to the CPTPP claimed that increased trade in food commodities would have undermined small-scale local farming and shifted production to large factory farms and agribusiness corporations, increasing the environmental footprint of the food chain. (Kennedy, 2012, p.13) The Dairy Farmers of Canada (2012) lobby group, representing 13,500 farms and 215,000 jobs across Canada, touted the Harper government's balanced effort to enter TPP discussions without yielding to international pressure to abandon the supply management system.

Lastly, the opposition assessed that the Rules of Origin chapter in the CPTPP would have encouraged the trend of off-shoring manufacturing jobs from North America to countries with lower labour and environmental standards and enforcement, undermining Canada's auto manufacturing sector and resulting in a loss of Canadian jobs. In conclusion, intra-country

opponents claimed that only wealthy investors and multinational corporations would have benefitted from the agreement.

Nevertheless, within the country, some lobbyists supported the CPTPP assessing that it included measures that would create new opportunities for a broad range of national industries and sectors, including agriculture, aerospace, forestry, industrial manufacturing, metals and minerals, fish and seafood, as well as environmental, financial and professional services. Moreover, they favoured the agreement because, through preferential treatment, Canadian exporters would enjoy an advantage over their competitors. Moreover, contrarily to the TPP, the CPTPP introduced enhanced rules and obligations that ensure more transparency, predictability, and consistency for those Canadians that want to trade and invest in the CPTPP markets. Henceforth, this kind of agreement provides greater certainty and reduces the time and costs of participating in international trade.

In other words, many actors at the national level supported the agreement because they saw the opportunities in creating and promoting a fair and competitive business environment. With strong provisions, the CPTPP help protects and advance Canadian interests, such as the protection of the environment, labour rights and preservation of the right to regulate in the public interest while enhancing trade and investment with CPTPP markets.

### ***Level 2: International factors***

Undoubtedly, international factors are led by both economic and political motivation. Even though the absence of the United States is obviously important – given the size of its economy and its relevance in the international trade system in terms of goods and services –, the CPTPP has nonetheless been a significant achievement for the parties involved.

For Canada, this agreement is a landmark agreement that sends a strong signal to the international community that its interest in diversifying its trade, particularly with Asia in serious, especially in an era of change in the north-south trade. Canada has internationally achieved remarkable success because it gained free access in Asia, one of the fastest-growing regions globally, and Japan, the world's third-largest economy by GDP. The CPTPP is the best outcome in Canada's trade liberalization strategy in Asia. While the US is sidelined, Canada now has the opportunity to significantly increase its trade in goods and services with CPTPP parties. (Goldman, Kronby and Webster, 2017)



In economic terms, once fully implemented, the CPTPP will establish a free trade area in which Canada will achieve preferential access to seven new markets in the Asia-Pacific, namely Australia, Brunei, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore and Vietnam. It also strengthens its ties with three existing FTA partners (Chile, Mexico and Peru). (Government of Canada, Benefits for the CPTPP, 2019) The Canadian government supported the idea that the agreement would have strengthened and diversified Canada's trade and investment in the region, leading to the creation of new jobs and increased prosperity for Canadians.

Moreover, the CPTPP results in comprehensive tariff elimination across all sectors. Indeed, once fully implemented, 99% of tariff lines among CPTPP parties will be duty-free. In this way, Canadian exports will increase and expand trade across a wide range of sectors, both agricultural and industrial.

Significantly, this agreement offers an opportunity to position Canada as a "hub" for global commerce with preferential access throughout the Asia-Pacific region. In addition, it is considered as an ambitious outcome that sets new standards for rules on trade and investment in the region and promotes and reinforces Canada's commitment to the rules-based international system and global free trade. In conclusion, Canada enjoys a new, diversified and more inclusive market.

(Politically) In political terms, the US exit made Canada, a "bigger fish in a smaller pond." (Ciuriak, 2018) With the United States out of the deal, Canada will benefit both economically and politically because it can play a more proactive role in the agreement. Moreover, the higher the number of states, the higher the probability that there is a wide divergence of interests. Indeed, given its global role, the US in TPP-12 complicated the negotiations, and its absence made it possible to reach an agreement accepted by all and eliminated the heterogeneity. All countries could indeed negotiate on the same level, and Canada, as the North-American counterpart, could benefit from the new and revised TPP. As a matter of fact, at Canada's request, the agreement has been named the Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), which underlines that Canada plays a bigger role in the TPP-11 than it played in the previous agreement.

Secondly, the signing of the CPTPP will possibly improve mutual interstate relations, increase cooperation, security and trust within the region. Especially with the emergence of new threats, such as climate change, illegal immigration, terrorism and organized crime, states are increasingly committed to regulating these challenges. Indeed, regional and interregional

cooperation can help address these non-traditional security issues by creating a safer environment. Countries may also be driven by the desire to extend the areas of cooperation with their trading partners.

### **Japan's two-level game in the CPTPP**

Japan is the second country that ratified the Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership on 6 July 2018. The conclusion of the CPTPP, in the long run, will contribute to Japan's growth strategy. Japan is a standard-bearer for free trade agreement in the region, and this agreement can further strengthen its position; henceforth, its role is essential to create free and fair 21<sup>st</sup> century rules in the Asia-Pacific Region, thus countering the rise of protectionism and nationalism in the region. (CSIS, 2018)

Japan found in the CPTPP the opportunity to create a legal framework to implement the contents of the TPP, which, as previously highlighted, promotes liberalization and facilitation of trade in goods and services and investments, as well as establishes new rules in a wide range of sectors including intellectual property, e-commerce, state-owned enterprises and the environment in the Asia-Pacific region. The agreement is a response to the US withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership in January 2017. Japan took the lead in negotiating with the other member parties in an attempt to establish a new trade bloc without the United States.

As in the previous one, this section applies Putnam's two-level game model that provides the analytical framework explaining how Japan's leaders tried to reach an agreement with representatives of foreign countries while making efforts to get the agreement accepted by domestic political actors, including the legislature, the local governments, and interest groups.

#### ***Level 1: Japan's domestic factors that influenced its position in the CPTPP negotiations***

Japan's policy toward the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement has been controversial at political, academic, and public levels. The domestic debate on the TPP literally divided public opinion in Japan, and academic analyses are argumentatively divided into pros and cons. This paragraph examines the policy-making process and the domestic pressure that characterized Japan's participation in the CPTPP. Indeed, opposition and support at the domestic level must be taken into consideration.

In March 2012, the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan firmly opposed the Trans-Pacific Partnership because of the imposition of tariff elimination without exemptions, and this measure was considered to be excessive in the party's ideas. Indeed, the LDP would have ratified the agreement only in the eventuality of some exemption for tariff elimination for sensitive commodities – such as rice. (Jamitzky, 2015) A year later, the Abe government accomplished a great achievement for Japanese diplomacy, obtaining the exemption of five important items (rice, wheat, beef/pork, sugar, and dairy products) from tariff elimination.

Prime Minister Abe maintained the same position in the TPP and the CPTPP. He clearly stated that Japan would protect the relevant areas for its national economy, but it would have shown flexibility to reach an agreement. It was clear what Japan needed to protect and could not compromise the five categories of agricultural products defined in the Diet resolution. (Shinoda, 2020, pp.4–6)

In the CPTPP negotiations, the Japanese government made a firm policy not to change any provisions on market access in order to seek an early agreement and requested the other negotiating partners do the same. In Japan, agricultural interest groups demanded a lowering of the minimum access level of certain products with the absence of the United States. However, in the case of beef imports, safeguard measures were to be introduced when the import reached 590,000 tons. The agricultural interest groups wanted this trigger level of imports lowered in the absence of US beef imports. But the Japanese government did not yield. If Tokyo requested the revision of market access, the other negotiating partners would bring their requests to change provisions on service, investment, and government procurement, making an early agreement impossible. Agriculture Minister Ken Saito told the agricultural interest groups that the trigger level would not change as Japanese farmers would receive the same subsidy even without US beef imports. (Shinoda, 2020, p.10)

### ***Level 2: international factors influencing Japan's leading position***

Since the TPP agreement required ratification by the governments with more than 85% of GDP of all the signatory nations, without the United States, it could no longer be effective. Facing US withdrawal, the Japanese government began pursuing an agreement with the remaining 10 other nations and played a critical role in promoting the signing and the ratification of this new and comprehensive agreement.

Japan is concerned with protectionist measures in many parts of the world. Indeed, on several occasions, it strongly assessed its firm commitment to collaborate in keeping the markets open, allowing the free flow of goods, services and investment. Moreover, Japan is committed to advancing regional economic integration and strengthening the rules-based international trading system. (Ciuriak, 2016)

During the process of reaching the TPP-11, Japan was instrumental in leading the way. Initially, Japan seemed not very motivated in promoting the TPP without the US. On the contrary, Japan felt sure that the US would have come back at some point. Nevertheless, Japan noticed that it would have been difficult to see the US return in the agreement. Henceforth, it subsequently started to play a relevant role in filling the gap left in Asia by the US withdrawal that has also been recognized also by US trade official Wendy Cutler. (Terada, 2019)

One of the most relevant political motivations is that Japan plays a crucial role as a regional leader who has the ability to make multilateral and regional free trade agreements attractive. From a regional perspective, it could also be argued that the signing of this agreement and Japan's regional position have spurred the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) negotiations.

Economically, among the 11 countries, Japan's service industry, electronics, manufacturing, information technology, finance, logistics, and intellectual property are the strongest. Apart from Canada and Australia, no other country in the bloc can compete with Japan in those fields. After the full implementation of the agreement, Japan is expected to experience a US \$71 billion increase in national GDP. The US exit allowed Japan to exert its leadership in regional trade agreements. Moreover, Abe's position on multilateralism and regionalism further strengthen Japan's role in this negotiation. In the late 90s, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI, now METI) assessed that "the era of bilateralism [was] over" (Terada, 2018); since then, this position has never changed. At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Japan became "proactive" in the context of regional collaboration in East and South-East Asia and the Pacific. (Park, 2006)

The Abe administration has been involved in the implementation of the CPTPP for several important reasons. Japan hopes that the CPTPP agreement can become a model for other multilateral trade agreements, including the RCEP. The CPTPP strengthens Japan's hand in RCEP negotiations, which should help it make RCEP a high-quality trade deal. Furthermore, Japan is pressing for the involvement of other nations in the new TPP, such as Taiwan, South Korea, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines are already interested as it would allow firmly

establishing trade rules with high standards of liberalization in Asia. Finally, this agreement places Japan on a strategic plan vis-à-vis China, which is pushing for an increasingly important role in the Asia-Pacific region. Japan plays a balancing game against China politically but has its economic interests aligned with trade with China. Thus, notwithstanding prior indications of intent to join the negotiations, Japan's actual entry into the TPP talks in 2011 coincided with developments in East Asian regionalism – namely the launch of negotiations toward a Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) that included China.

In the short term, the CPTPP makes Japan the largest political, economic, and diplomatic winner. After Washington's withdrawal, Tokyo has become a bellwether in promoting the agreement. This is Japan's diplomatic victory. However, benefits are always accompanied by challenges, and in the long run, it may not secure its advantageous status because it will be increasingly dependent on emerging economies in agriculture, animal husbandry, fishery and middle- and low-end industries. But still, with profits gained from the high-tech, finance and service industry, Japan will still maintain its prosperity for a long time. (Zhou, 2018)

In conclusion, Japan's policy on the TPP can be regarded as an effort to facilitate “international integration” as part of “international cooperation” in the world of “mutual interdependence.” Japan's policy on the TPP and the RCEP can be identified as endeavours to promote the regional integration of the Asia Pacific. In conclusion, the Japanese government participated in the TPP negotiations to support its free trade tradition, achieve regional integration based on international cooperation, and pursue Japan's national interests. (Akimoto, 2019, p.14)

### **International factors that led to the ratification of the agreement: Canada and Japan promoters of the CPTPP**

Japan has been the key to Canada's inclusion, participation, and ratification of the CPTPP. Domestic factors have undoubtedly influenced the international position of the two countries, taken into exam. However, the international environment and the factors that influenced the countries' governments are the reasons that pushed Canada and Japan to promote the CPTPP. Like Canada, Japan had resisted joining the negotiations despite its deep interest in creating the ground rules for free and open international commerce. Japan's reluctance partly reflected the fact that influential national stakeholder groups – like in the agriculture industry – were not in favour of free trade agreements.

Domestic factors have undoubtedly influenced the international position of the two countries taken into exam. However, the international environment and the factors that influenced the countries' governments are the reasons that pushed Canada and Japan to promote the CPTPP.

Canada and Japan have been key partners in the CPTPP, which resulted in the demonstration of Canada and Japan's shared commitment to furthering the principles of an open, inclusive, effective, and rules-based trading system. These two countries have long shared strong political ties that have recently spread in new political, security (such as peace and security cooperation) and economic areas becoming more comprehensive and substantive. Furthermore, Canada and Japan share many common values, especially the vision of an economically integrated region that would provide plentiful opportunities for their cooperation – according to the principles of APEC long-term goal of free trade and open investments. (Global Affairs Canada, 2013) The two partners have worked and continue to work together on several issues of shared interest, including protection of intellectual property rights, trade facilitation, structural reform, and secure trade and human security. (Global Affairs Canada, 2013)

Canada and Japan have committed to both deepening their bilateral strategic partnership and cooperate in the multilateral system. They are strong allies in supporting the rules-based multilateral system. (Global Affairs Canada, 2021) Abe and Trudeau both agreed that the CPTPP should and will be a model for future agreements promoting a new type of 21st-century type of free and fair rules-based trade. (Ljunggren, 2019) Moreover, leaders in the promotion of free trade areas, Canada and Japan would work to expand the number of nations inside the CPTPP.

Since they are strong allies in supporting a rules-based multilateral system, Canada and Japan are also committed to deepening their bilateral strategic partnership and cooperating in the multilateral system. They are both members of several multilateral institutions such as the APEC, G7, G20, International Monetary Fund, Asian Development Bank, ASEAN Regional Forum, and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (Global Affairs Canada, 2021) In conclusion, these international factors and shared goals favoured the cooperation between these two countries in the CPTPP. Their leading position has been essential to coordinate and accommodate every state's interests and lead to the final achievement of achieving the signing and ratification by 11 states in the Asia-Pacific of the CPTPP. Moreover, their historical ties and international factors favoured the deepening of Canada and Japan's bilateral ties.

## Conclusions

After analyzing the salient points of this free trade agreement and having used the two-level game model to analyze Canada and Japan's positions, conclusions can be drawn on the reasons that led Japan and Canada, in particular, to act as promoters of the CPTPP. Firstly, the main political motivation is that Japan has set itself as a standard-bearer of the ideal of free trade by trying to shape the structures of trade flows in Asia and the Pacific region, trying to normalize trade and investment. (Katada, 2021)

In addition, Japan has promoted and consolidated political and security relations with the signatory states of the agreement within a well-regulated and defined framework. Despite the traditional commitment within the GATT / WTO, after the Seattle débâcle, Japan has adopted a more regionalist approach to strengthen cooperation between countries on both sides of the Pacific. Another reason is the ongoing trade war between the US and China, the growing US disinterest in multilateral regional and free trade agreements, and the "power vacuum" in the Asian region. From an economic point of view, although the agreement does not provide for the immediate total elimination of customs duties, many products have benefited from the partial or total reduction of duties.

From the Canadian point of view, this CPTPP will benefit both countries, and Canada, in particular, will gain preferential access to Japan, the world's third-largest economy, an advantage amplified in particular by the lack of the US in the agreement. In general, the Canadian government estimates an increase in national GDP of about 4.2 billion USD, higher expectations due to the US exit. This is the deal with the best tariff reduction outcome Japan and Canada have ever negotiated.

Furthermore, Japan is relevant because it is a significant participant in GVCs and one of the largest importers of food products, so the reduction of tariffs in this sector helps both exporting and importing countries, such as Japan. Furthermore, following the US recession from the previous TPP, the two countries have pushed for the signing of a new agreement because they share common goals in the fields of science, technology and innovation.

In conclusion, the CPTPP member countries, led by Japan and Canada, announced that they are proud to have concluded this agreement, sending a clear message to the international community, and especially to the USA, claiming that open markets, integration economy and

international cooperation are the best means and tools to create economic opportunities and prosperity.

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## **EUROPE’S “CIVILISING MISSION”: VIOLENCE OR A “MORAL IMPERATIVE”?**

Afonso Ferreira Marques Morango

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### **ABSTRACT**

Since the 15th century, the entire western hemisphere and significant parts of Asia have come under the dominion of European powers. Civilisation became, from the middle of the 19th century onwards, the centrepiece of European colonial doctrine in relation to the overseas territories. The superiority of Europe was an implanted belief, going hand in hand with contempt for the cultures and history of these peoples, who became the antipodes of progress and knowledge. Colonialism, associated with policies of violence, has various readings: the colonisers believed in the legitimacy of this intervention because it was the only way to expand the Eurocentric civilising project; for the colonised, colonialism was synonymous with barbarism, subjugation and an absolute lack of freedom. This work seeks to address not only the legitimising logics of the political action of the colonisers on the colonised and the way in which the European powers exercised their violent domination of the colonised areas in the name of a “Civilising Mission”, but also seeks to question colonial continuities in the present. The lines of thought that demarcated the Old and the New World in the colonial era persist structurally in modern Western thinking, so we can speak of neo-colonialism or disguised colonialism, as violent as it once was. At present, there are many challenges to transform and end situations of oppression and exploitation that persist in many regions of the world and that are clear manifestations of this colonialism that never ceased to be present. Nevertheless, the defence of an “imperial ethic” as a guarantee of order, stability and security, fundamental to economic flourishing, continues to be defended by various authors, for whom colonialism is synonymous with order, stability and development. If we adopt an even more daring attitude, it might be questionable whether the action of some World Institutions does not carry the same feeling of superiority which existed in the Colonial Mission of the past.

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### **Introduction**

The birth of Modern Europe is closely linked to all the transformations that took place between the 12th and 18th centuries. The opening to the world, at the beginning of the Modern Age, is linked to the birth of a New Europe which became the “Old Continent” as opposed to the regions which were now being discovered, conquered and occupied. Europe was born of the relations it maintained with the rest of the world. “The encounter with what was to become the New

World gave to Europe a new identity as the Old World, and along with this came a new notion of civilization, which in turn was variously contrasted to ‘primitive man’ and to the barbarian who had to be remedied by civilization.” (Delanty, 2019, p.138) The first great moment of modern colonialism was reached around 1775, when the whole American continent and large parts of Africa and Asia were governed from Europe. In the following 50 years, while the Americas were being liberated, the Europeans extended their control in Asia. Most of Africa remained unexplored until the last quarter of the 19th century. A second moment of European colonial expansion occurred around 1900, when half the earth’s surface and a third of its population were colonial possessions. On the eve of the First World War, Europe was the clock of the world. (Rémond,1994, p.273) It is interesting to note that the great modern empires were built by the great democracies that had proclaimed human rights, such as England and France. Already in the 15th and 16th centuries, the “benevolence” of Portuguese and Spanish navigators was justified with a narration of the Discoveries as journeys to places without civilisations or politically organised territories. The “primitive” populations were there, empty and passive, waiting for Europeans to enter History. Hans Morgenthau speaks of “weak states” or “politically empty spaces”: “Another typical situation that favours imperialistic policies is the existence of weak states or politically empty spaces, which are attractive and accessible to a strong state. This is the situation out of which colonial imperialism grew.” (1966, p.36)

This paper aims to answer the question of how violence was present in both modern European imperialism and the “insidious colonialism” of our times. The reading and analysis of work carried out both in the field of Political History and Mentalities and in the field of Sociology lead me to defend the thesis that violence was a reality in the “Civilizing Mission” of Europe, but that the violent aspect of Imperialism is still present in our world. After presenting a brief approach to the concepts of imperialism and colonialism, I will analyse the perspectives of some authors on this subject, however, without exhausting the subject and without forgetting that European Imperialism also brought some benefits to the colonised regions.

## **Analysis**

In the 15th and 16th centuries, the use of firearms gave Western states a means of domination, despite the fact that in this period when the European Discoveries began, China was the most technologically advanced country in the world. For Antony Alcock, China simply “turned its back on the outside world” and Europeans became the protagonists of this expansion. (2002,

p.111) The historian Samuel Huntington argues that the fundamental reason for Europe's expansion was technological: the discovery of ocean navigation processes and the development of military means for the conquests. "The West has beaten the world, not by the superiority of its ideas, values or religion, (...) but rather by the superiority in applying organised violence. Westerners often forget this fact; non-Westerners never do." (Huntington, 1996, p.57) The search for wealth in far-off lands became easier and trade was no longer the only way to obtain this wealth. It was necessary to impose the superiority of arms. During the 15th and 16th centuries, the Iberian states embarked on an unprecedented adventure of conquest and occupation of vast territories in Africa, Asia and America, even dividing the seas through the Treaty of Tordesillas. Navigation was, for some years, a monopoly of the Iberian Peninsula. This Iberian exclusivity was overthrown in the 17th and 18th centuries by the northern European states- Amsterdam and London occupied in the 17th century the place that Lisbon and Seville had occupied throughout the 16th century. It is a fact that Expansion is part of the modernisation process in Europe. Through new administrative institutions, the European powers now govern certain areas with new rules.

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, colonisation meant occupying territories, appropriating their material resources, exploiting the workforce and interfering with the political and cultural structures of these territories. All this led to a fragmentation of colonised societies, while imperialism represented a 'global system': "Imperialism is characterized by the exercise of power either through direct conquest or (latterly) through political and economic influence that effectively amounts to a similar form of domination: both involve the practice of power through facilitating institutions and ideologies. [...] Unlike colonialism, imperialism is driven by ideology and a theory of sorts in some instances even to the extent that it can operate as much against purely economic interests as for them." (Young,2001, p.27) The term "colonization" is often associated with the coercive incorporation of peoples into an expansionist state. R. J. Horvath states that the main difference between colonialism and imperialism is the presence of a significant number of settlers from the colonising power in the colonised state. (1972, p.47) The Portuguese statesman Adriano Moreira says that colonisation always translates into the imposition of an unknown higher power on a group of people and its territory, with a different cultural system, usually of different ethnicity, and a different political project. The colonizer takes the capital and the technique and demands the land and the work of the natives. (Moreira, 1996, p.438)

The idea that Europe is a radically different and superior space to the rest of the world has appeared since the 16th century (Goody, 2006) when the West imposed on the world its interpretation of space and time, of the values and institutions needed to manage that same space and time. Europe, with its “exceptional conditions”, represented the apogee of progress. Colonization is millions of human beings who have been “wisely inculcated by fear, the inferiority complex, trembling, genuflection, despair, servility”, as Aimé Césaire denounced. (1955, p.12) This violence was aimed at reducing the colonized to an inferior being who inhabited a zone of non-being (Fanon, 1952, p.26), a being with the potential to be human, if he were converted and domesticated, through education and work, civilizing virtues of an industrialized and capitalist Europe. We must not forget that, at the beginning of the 20th century, 27% of the world’s population came from Europe; 44% of industrial production came from this continent, with Germany, the United Kingdom and France being the main industrial powers; Europeans controlled the main merchant routes and 91% of the capital invested in the world belonged to Europeans. Civilizing became, from the middle of the 19th century onwards, the central objective of European colonial doctrine, the European powers adopted, as part of their government strategy, the political mission of civilizing indigenous peoples. The concept of ‘civilisation’ contained several assumptions that legitimised the superiority of ‘European culture’ and the possibility for ‘other’ cultures to benefit fully from this encounter; it implied that the colonial subjects of European metropolises were inferior, incapable of self-government. In Portugal, for instance, there was a belief that the country had a special predisposition, due to its moral and material superiority, to accomplish this task. These convictions and prejudices were legally legitimate. Rémond evokes both “mission civilisatrice” and the “burden of the white man” (Kipling, Apud Palmer, p.638), crying them out as a “sincere justification of the colonial work”: “Europe believes in duties towards other continents, its civilisation is universal, it must gradually raise other peoples to the same level of civilisation. It is the [...] ‘burden of the white man’, to whom its superiority creates obligations.” (Rémond, 1994) All the canons of progress and civilization were defined by Europe, which had almost the messianic mission of ‘saving the world’. Of course, this “mission of civilization” was not foreign to the economic and political interests of the European powers.

The result of this European supremacy was a new phase of colonialism which led to 85% of the world being under the domination of Europeans. Notable exceptions to this European domination include Japan, also in an imperialist project, Thailand, Iran and Afghanistan. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 marks the beginning of this new phase of colonialism which

differs from previous ones in that it is no longer based solely on economic objectives, although this motivation is still present in the colonial project. “Colonial politics is the daughter of industrial politics (...).” (Ferry, 1890) Alongside economic motivation, the movement towards the conquest and occupation of territories was encouraged by political ambitions, since the European powers now exercised a hegemony over the territories outside Europe; this was the centre of decision as regards international relations; it was in London, Paris, Brussels, Berlin or The Hague, where the destinies of the world were decided. Disraeli, an English politician of the 19th century, thinks that the Empire was not an economic necessity but a spiritual one and the prerequisite for the greatness of his country. In 1859, Darwin’s thesis on the origin of the species led to the idea of “Social Darwinism” and, in this sense, some countries are fighting among themselves for Empires. This was the case of France, which, faced with the supremacy of Germany and the United Kingdom, was increasing its colonial expansion on the African continent. According to S. H Roberts, France believed that the world would be much less rich if French civilisation, heir to the Industrial Revolution, disappeared. (Roberts, Apud Alcock, 2002, p.205)

With the sharing of Africa, at the Berlin Conference, entrepreneurs and scientists were filling the map of Africa from their knowledge and scientific horizons, from ‘their’ idea of Africa. The period between 1880 and 1910 was marked by the conquest and occupation of almost the entire continent by the imperialist powers and the consequent creation of the colonial system; Africa became a set of colonies submitted to the domination of European powers. Africa not only lost its sovereignty and independence, but also saw its cultural values threatened. Contrary to what many treaties and legislation of the time in favour of colonialism wanted to make appear, African leaders were aware of this European invasion and were determined to fight to maintain their autonomy and freedom. In 1895, the King of the Mossi (in the present Upper Volta Republic), in the presence of the French, declared: “I know that the whites want to kill me to take my country, and yet you insist that they will help me to organise it. For me, I think my country is doing very well as it is. I don’t need them. I know what I lack and what I want: I have my own merchants; consider yourself happy not to have your head cut off. Leave now and, above all, never come back.” (Crowder, Apud Boahen, 2010, p.4) There are many cases of resistance to European invasion, but Africans were not aware of the new European reality arising from industrialisation and the affirmation of capitalism. The Europeans who now arrived in Africa no longer came just to trade trinkets and cereals for gold and slaves; they were now colonisers with other political ambitions associated with new needs imposed by capitalism and

which the new European armaments helped to achieve. The English poet Hilaire Belloc sums it up well: “Whatever happens, we have got the Maxim Gun and they have not.” Those who defended this “moral imperative” of Europe to colonise have, over the years, reproduced the idea of the inability of self-government of those who did not have the happiness of being European and white and thus justified colonialism in territories incapable to administer themselves. In 1951, the British Foreign Minister Herbert Morrison (Labour Party member) considered the independence of the African colonies to be something comparable to “giving the key to the door, a bank account and a rifle to a 10-year-old child.” Contrary to the idea that “Queen Elizabeth had dealt with the Great Mogul of the Indian subcontinent with genuine respect” (Palmer, 2007, p.632), racism grew along with imperial expansion.

After the Second World War, an anti-colonial wave swept over practically the entire planet: from 1947 (independence of India) to 1990 (self-determination of Zimbabwe, 1980, and Namibia, 1990), what was commonly described as contemporary European colonialism in Asia and Africa came to an end. For many authors, if in 1935 “colonialism suffocated Africa with its tourniquet”, it was an ephemeral phenomenon: “In the space of about forty-five years, from that year onwards, more than 90% of the African territory had freed itself from colonialism, which remained only to the south of the Limpopo (...). In the history of peoples and a continent, this period is more than brief.” (Boahen, 2010, p.919) However, we have to agree that what ended with the independence processes of the 20th century was a specific form of colonialism (foreign territorial occupation), and not colonialism as a mode of domination, hence the concept of neo-colonialism to characterise the dominance that the former colonial powers continue to hold over their former colonies, particularly in Africa and the Americas. Many of these populations today continue to be victims of racism, xenophobia, expulsion from their lands to pave the way for major mining and agro-industrial projects and property speculation, police and paramilitary militia violence, trafficking in people and organs, slavery, euphemistically called “slave labour”, and environmental degradation. We must agree that the effects of the brutality of the colonial meeting, beyond the end of the colonial empires, persist. Colonisation, as a system of denial of human dignity, symbolises an immense space-time of suffering, oppression, resistance and struggle, what is now called the Global South. Andrew Heywood relates neo-imperialism to neo-colonialism and characterises it as “the process by which industrially developed powers control foreign territories by economic and cultural domination, while respecting the formal political independence of the territory.” (Heywood, 2000, p.245) For many contemporary authors, territorial imperial domination, carried out by the military, has



been replaced by another, executed by executives in suits and ties. Poor countries have been given the trappings of sovereignty, while western capital retains control of profitable resources. This relationship is called “neo-colonialism” and “neoimperialism”. According to Sousa Lara, neocolonialism is related to activities and manifestations that do not fit into the formal framework of colonialism but lead to similar results. Direct subordination is not present, but “there is a material, consistent and identifiable subordination.” (Sousa Lara, 2002, p.16) In fact, the main decisions concerning their economy are taken by more developed nations, leading to a deterioration of the terms of trade, just as in the 19th century the main centres of decision were located in Europe. This economic neo-colonialism can take the form of technological, scientific and cultural domination. It therefore being exempt only from the political aspect. This neocolonialism thus appears as a disguised form of colonialism. According to the Portuguese politician Sousa Lara, neo- colonialism is related to practices that eventually lead to old colonialism, although without formal political, legal and administrative control.

For the Portuguese sociologist Boaventura Sousa Santos (2018), this new form of colonialism is longing for historical colonialism and there are those who show it publicly. Sousa Santos cites an article entitled “In defence of colonialism”, published in 2017 in the *Third World Quarterly* scientific journal by Bruce Gilley, of Portland State University, where the author states that “western colonialism was, as a rule, both objectively beneficial and subjectively legitimate in most of the places where it occurred. In general, countries that have embraced their colonial heritage have been more successful than those that have despised it. The anti-colonial ideology has imposed serious harm on the peoples subject to it and continues to prevent, in many places, sustained development and a productive encounter with modernity”. Corruption and the failure of the rule of law are cited as the main or only reason why post-colonial countries do not “develop”. For example, Jackson and Sorensen (2003, p.21) argue that countries like Nigeria or Congo “are so poor, inefficient and corrupt that they are not even capable of effective government.” However, this same corruption, for some thinkers, conceals the effects of a neo- colonialist policy where “political domination has been replaced by a more subtle but no less efficient, effective economic domination.” (Heywood, 2011, p.352)

## **Conclusion**

We can therefore conclude that Europe’s “civilising mission” over the last four centuries has been very violent and the effects of this brutality persist after the waves of decolonisations. Of

course, for the colonising countries, imperialist action is justified and legitimised because it contributed to expanding the Eurocentric civilising project; however, for the colonised countries, colonialism expresses barbarity, “millions of men torn from their gods, their lands, their habits, their life, dance and wisdom.” (Césaire, 1955, p.12) While we can find some benefits from Imperialism, namely economic expansion and new patterns of public administration and health to the dominated regions, this colonial adventure also meant often brutal and inhumane exploitation. We must even consider that the negative impacts were much greater and the most important of these was the loss of sovereignty and independence of many colonised peoples, especially on the African continent, which can no longer choose its own destiny. “Colonialism (...) has thus deprived the states of Africa of the possibility of gaining experience in diplomacy and international relations” and this loss of independence was very serious because “it represented the loss of the right to take charge of their destiny, to plan their own development, to manage their economy, to determine their own strategies and priorities. In short, colonialism deprived Africans of one of the most fundamental and inalienable rights of peoples: the right to freedom.” (Boahen, 2010, p.927)

Europe’s “Imperialist Mission” led to the division of the world into two distinct universes: that of the colonizers of the North and that of the colonizers of the South, and life in the colonized world was not governed by the standards or the knowledge and techniques used in the ‘old world’. Whoever lived in the colonies was considered almost subhuman, devoid of the ability to think, destituted of knowledge and like my grandmother, a Portuguese white woman living in a colony, said “teaching a black man something is like washing his face: he never goes white.” Cultural difference led to the mentality and practice of racism: “Races not only different but scientifically inferior to ours (...), with a way of thinking and feeling coming from their so diverse social organisation, from their own so different physical organisation, with an opposite moral and religion to ours, absolutely incapable, scientifically speaking, of adapting their rudimentary and short term development brains to our complicated theories and high concepts.” (Ornellas, 1903, p.13) This author wrote about Portuguese colonialism. For Sousa Santos, colonial violence has translated into multiple forms of destructive violence. Besides being economically exploited, those who live in the once politically colonized spaces continue to be oppressed, do not have the right to have a voice, to express their knowledge and to talk about their realities and experiences. The liberation of many territories after the Second World War seemed to mean the possibility of thinking and acting politically in a radical way, beyond the

colonial project; today, however, these peoples limit themselves to choosing the “best” dependency, the “least bad” situation of neo-colonialism.

If we take a more daring stance, we know that the criticism that matters today is that which few people want to make, that criticism which is uncomfortable, that which deconstructs the “good intentions” of the good of today: is there or is there not a neo-colonialism (and feeling of superiority) in UN or UNICEF actions towards African countries? Is there or is there not a neo-colonialism (and feeling of superiority) in aid programmes for poor countries? Is there or is there not a neo-colonialism (and a feeling of superiority) in the desire and actions to bring democracy to other peoples? All these are other forms, disguised, of the “burden of the white man”, and more harmful than the old ones, precisely because they are now totally disguised. The Europeans of the past were no worse than we are, and yet they committed terrible actions that we find repellent today. Are we not doing exactly the same, while apologising for the “good” buzzwords of the moment (development, democracy, equality, freedom)? Various international economic activities and bilateral agreements interfere with the autonomy of African states. The vast majority of these activities are promoted by the United Nations and its various agencies in humanitarian and war-related matters, by political alliances and non-governmental organisations. In addition to the imposition of economic models, “freedom” is also imposed, which is identified with democracy and this in its turn is identified with the West. Every time a revolt occurs at some less developed point on the planet, two public explanations always arise: ethnic conflicts or the overthrow of authoritarian regimes. The political value of democracy is more or less important depending on the possibilities of openness to international trade and the geopolitical consolidation of war. The arms business, luxury goods or “development assistance” programmes of the IMF and World Bank increase the external debt of the poorest countries which is complemented by privatisation. In the name of ‘development’, ‘freedom’ and ‘democracy’, the West uses the international institutions created after the Second World War to continue its ‘Civilizing Mission’ in many places on earth. In most cases the action of NGOs only serves to divert the people from class struggle to harmless and inefficient forms of collaboration with their oppressors. For many authors, the work of NGOs only leads to a political world where the appearance of solidarity and social action disguises a conservative conformism with the international and national power structure. For Sousa Santos “The great trap of insidious colonialism is to give the impression of a return, when what returns has never ceased to be.” He was right when the First President of free Mozambique stated: “There is not and never will be human colonialism, democratic colonialism or a colonialism that respects the

interests of the People. (...)” Portuguese colonial-fascism, because it is in its nature, commits the most barbaric and filthy crimes. (Machel, 1977, p.109).

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