

Cuba: Remaining Communist in a Globalized World?

A contemporary study on Cuban development

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Abstract

With the increasing globalization and international trade, a nation's international relations become equally important. Due to the lack of economic development, this importance is something Cuba also has been forced to face within the last couple of years, but the struggle is to balance economic growth and international adaption with a socialist ideology.

As a nation, Cuba has been the center of a series of historical events. These includes explorer Cristóbal Colón taking his first steps on the Cuban soil on his voyage to find a new route to India, and the Cold War. Both events and the consequences of same, has come to define Cuban development. Cuba has since Colón been fighting against imperialism, a fight that is very visible ideologically and developmental. Cuba have experienced the best and worst sides of capitalism and have for several years taken a series of initiatives which were initiated by the Revolution with Fidel Castro as the main character. But now Cuba finds itself at a crossroad. After years with no economic improvement, a new constitution was created in 2019 along with a series of developmental initiatives, initiatives that symbolize a new step, taking matters into their own hands. The change within the regime is represented by political adjustments. A series of liberal development goals are representing these adjustments and internationalization has once more become a tool for the Cuban economy. While the more capitalist goals are outlined, the importance of socialism and Revolutionary values have not become less important. Socialism is, and have been since the Revolution, of utmost importance. Taking the side of the working class, enabling free healthcare and school for everyone had always been an important part of the Cuban economic model. The question now is whether a series of seemingly capitalist initiatives will mean sacrificing some of these key features of the Cuban ideology. Foreign presence within Cuban production used be a thing of the past. Fidel Castro has already once given the country back to the Cuban people due to US businesses and tourists taking over the island. The question is whether these development goals are working against the achievements of Fidel and a signal that Cuba are returning to the path before the Revolution?

The goal of this thesis is not to predict the future of Cuban development, but rather outline the current that is and will be taking place on Cuban soil. The thesis is an analysis of the new constitution along with the development documents creates and the findings will be presented along with possible pattern that will increase the understanding and direction of the development and ideological values.

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1. Introduction

Cuba, the biggest island in the Caribbean Sea. Its size and location have made it a country of interest for foreign nations since Cristóbal Colón went ashore in 1492. It was considered the key to the Caribbean. All ships gathered in the harbour of Havana before they returned to Europe with treasures from all over Latin America. This also made the sea around Cuba a place of interest for pirates from all over the world (Waldron, 2012). This interest has been maintained up until today, though it is no longer the interest of pirates.

After the Spanish-American War, the Cuban briefly believed their neighbours to the North had won them their freedom. This was not the case and Cuba once more found themselves occupied by yet another imperialist country. After the Revolution of 1959, Cuba became a socialist nation and the revolutionary leader Fidel Castro, did everything in his power to move away from the capitalism associated with US interference. This resulted in a collaboration with the Soviet and all private initiatives became banned in 1968 (Amara, 2016). Though Cuba did no longer rely on the US and voluntarily cooperated with the Soviet, it still developed a dependency due to the favourable prices provided by the Soviet Union.

The presence of foreign nations has left a series of traces in the Cuban identity, which the welcoming of the Revolution is an evidence of. Fidel Castro has frequently addressed the conflict between Cuban and the US, often denouncing the actions by the US.

It (the US) was strengthening its ties with Somoza and Ydigoras, who are typically corrupt, despotic and reactionary. Those are the instruments on which the United States can count. It cannot count on Brazil, Mexico, or any other decent Latin American country. (LANIC, 1961)

This is an example of both the US' interference in Latin America and Castro's disapproval of these actions. It showcases how he defines Nicaragua and Guatemala as traitors to the rest of the Latin American countries, due to their cooperation with the US at the time. Fidel Castro's rhetoric, together with the Cuban history of occupation, have influenced the Cuban society and culture. Since Fidel Castro officially became head of state in 1979, he was determined to improve the wellbeing of the working class (Brenner et al. 2008 :3). During the years with Fidel Castro as head of state, Cuba went through a series of changes, the most important being: Giving back the country to the Cuban people,

the working class. But since the collapse of the Soviet, Cuba's economy has been suffering and the import has been increasing, while the export has not experienced the same development (OEC, 2020).

After years of economic struggle, Cuba is now at a crossroad. Cuba needs a change of plans regarding future development, but how is it possible to adapt to an increasingly globalized and capitalist world without leaving some of the Revolutionary and socialist values behind?

On February 2019, Cubans went to the polls to vote on a new constitution, a constitution that were going to change the country's political and economic order. This was the first time in 43 years that the public were given the opportunity to express either their support or opposition to the proposals that were going to be part of the new constitution. The voting turnout were 84 percent and almost 87 percent of the votes were in favour (Guerrero, 2019). The amount of votes in favour of the proposals suggests that the Cubans considered the adjustments as the right move for the future of Cuba.

Along with the new constitution, a new development document was created for the 7th Congress meeting in Cuba, this time not only including a five-year development plan, but also a long-term that withholds goals until 2030. The constitution and development document represents the post-Castro era in Cuba. After the death of Fidel, his younger brother Raúl Castro was chosen as successor and took over until 2018 where Miguel Díaz-Canel was appointed the President of Cuban Republic (Liss, 2018). Cuba had the same head of state for over 31 years, and to have a change happening within 10 years must be considered a fast transition. Guerrero argues that the political changes that are currently taking place is initiated by the change of political leaders (2019), the result of the constitutional election furthermore confirms this.

Cuba strives to become more visible on the international market. They have for a long period of time prioritized trade with other Latin American and Caribbean countries, but Cuba is yet to go through an industrial revolution and are still dependent on the import of products.

Due to the theme of my thesis being about a country that has been known to sort the available information carefully in regards of international access, which also explains the gap of knowledge within this area. The limited information early in the writing process, forced me to change focus several times and due to the limited information available about the topic. This will be further addressed in the literature review.

1.1. Problemformulation

The introduction already provided insight into the areas that will be addressed in this thesis. As outlined, the Cuban economy is facing a series of economic issues which are the consequences of

previous political decisions. What furthermore makes the Cuban economic development an area worth further exploration, is their attachment to the socialist ideology and how previous initiatives to correct the downwards spiral of the Cuban economy, has not had the desired effect. This pattern has caused the government of Cuba to improve their presence on the international market. The foundation of the thesis has been created via research and general literature within areas that overlap with my topic, e.g. tourism. However, the challenges also confirmed me that I had chosen the right area to research, since the lack of information clearly reflected a gap of knowledge, which makes it relevant and important to investigate.

The perspective that has been chosen for the thesis, is the one of the Cuban State. To understand the steps taken to improve the economy while striving to become more visible globally, the national perspective will be of greatest importance, also in order to understand the ideological connection. To fully comprehend the developmental initiatives and the intentions behind, the country's historical, political, and cultural background will also be considered.

I have a series of expectations regarding the findings of the analysis, based upon the research outlined in the literature review, but focusing on a single factor I believe will limit the findings and not define the entirety of the development and hereby not fill out this knowledge gap. While remaining open for findings within the research material, my research question will help limit the research field. This will help me achieve an understanding of cultural and international aspects of the research and help me define this development within Cuba.

The problemformulation that underlies this thesis and that builds the framework for the analysis and discussion of the steps taken towards internationalisation and ultimately improving the economic development, therefore is as follows:

- ***What is Cuba's vision for the national development and what are the ideological consequences?***

This problemformulation creates a foundation for the research of Cuba's visions for the national development, the socialist ideology that has been the trademark of Cuba since the revolution in 1959 and also gives the option for further exploration regarding general development and ties to the past within the framework. The definition of national development, will within my research include all initiatives taken in regards of development, including those relating to the international relations.

The ideological aspect of the research will be of interest due to the link between development and ideology that has been created by the Cuban State since the Revolution in 1959. Therefore, it will be of great importance to find out whether development and socialism still are considered

interchangeable in the new constitution and development plan. By adding an ideological aspect to the research, I also hope to create an understanding of the types of developments that can be considered options for countries that are deeply connected with their past and ideological values.

How the analysis is exactly carried out and proceeded will be explained in chapter 4 regarding the methodology. But first, a comprehensive overview of previous research that has been carried out within this field, outlining the gap of knowledge that I seek to fill out with this thesis.

2. Literature review

According to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the most advanced societies should first transform to communism. This transition will culminate into a democratic society without social classes and bureaucracy (Marx & Engels, 2018: 123, 223). The first step in this working-class revolution, is to put the proletarian people in power and thereby win a democratic society. The proletarians will use the newfound power to move the production from the previous power holders and put in under the control of the state (2018: 25). Along with their 10 steps on how to transition into a communist society, they mention confiscation of the property of all emigrants, centralization of all communication and transportation to the State and how communism abolishes all religion and morality and acts in contrary to past historical experience (2018: 24, 26).

Cuba officially became a communist country in 1962 during the presidency of Fidel Castro. His supporters referred to the political direction as Fidelismo (Liss, 2018: 3). He became the very symbol of the victory over the bourgeois dictatorship and the imperialism, completing one of the main steps towards a communist society according to Marxism.

The Cuban economy have been struggling since the collapse of the Soviet Union, their main ally. This is primarily due to the Cuba trading with other communist countries, instead of depending on the world economy (Lane 2009: 99). Though the country experienced economic issues, Fidel Castro was a man who never stopped believing in the cause and for over thirty years he has always ended his speeches with “venceremos” (we shall overcome) or his famous words that today are printed on the Cuban pesos, “patria o muerte” (homeland or death). According to Liss, this shows his belief in the revolution, the political direction and his unwillingness to accept a defeat (2018: 9).

Due to this lack of willingness, Cuba transferred into the *special period*. It was not until 2016, after Fidel Castro’s resignation, that his brother and the new president, Raúl Castro took over the political power, that reforms with a more liberal outlook were implemented. These political reforms slowly

helped the Cuban economy recover (Font & Riobó 2013: 17, 20). The government loosening the control of the import along with Cuban refugees living in the US being able to freely visit their relatives in Cuba again, have made it easier for the locals to access goods from other countries (Waldron 2012). What initiated the option of a more widespread international direction, was the partial removal of the US embargos. Barack Obama, the president of the United States (US) at the time, lifted in 2009 some of the restrictions that had been imposed on Cuba for several decades. These included the removal of family travels to Cuba and remittances to family members in Cuba (Sullivan 2011: 22). In 2016 the US further eased the restrictions, allowing flight from the US to Cuba, increasing the contact between the people of the two nations. What followed was a record breaking 4.75 million tourists visiting the island of Cuba in 2018, the majority from North America (CEIC). Along with an improvement of income in the tourist-section, Kevin J. Fandl mentions that US citizens quickly started travelling to the island to assess the basis of possible business opportunities, though the options are currently still limited to either opening hotels or restaurants (2017: 295). He goes on to talk about the growing expectations from both the US and Cuba, of renewing a trading agreement, though both parties have reservations due to their history of not being able to see eye to eye after the revolution in 1959[1].

These transitions made in a communist country as Cuba, in order to adapt to a more modern way and create a more competitive economy, David Lane explains as desperate measures in order to avoid a collapse of the state socialism. He specifically mentions the transition into a more capitalist society along with either creating a multi-party democratic system or remaining under a single Communist Party rule (Lane 2009: 99).

When researching the Cuban tourism industry, several scholars make suggestions in regards of what should be improved in order for the tourism industry to flourish in Cuba, though they are currently experiencing an increase in the numbers of tourist visiting the island (Henthorn et al. 2010; Hingtgen et al. 2015; Thomas et al. 2015; Clausen et al. 2017). Some of the things mentioned in this context are the lack of internet availability, their dual currency system and opening for more professions within the tourism industry (Thomas et al. 2015: 11; Hingtgen et al. 2015: 189, 191). Hingtgen provides an elaborate overview of what is currently holding back the Cuban economy in terms of a more capitalist development. In most contexts he points to the communist political system as a limitation for the economic development primarily in context of the tourist industry. He mentions the state gaining all the leverage, lack of business knowledge among the citizens, criminalizing advertising, unreliable power e.g. Though the cons of opening a business in Cuba seems overwhelming, some of

the pros are the high level of security, free healthcare and education, high social capital and a high-quality natural environment (2015: 188; Hayway 2008). These arguments contain the best and worst associations to the communist ideology. Taylor and McGlynn takes it a step further and ask the question: “Can capitalism be used to save socialism?”. They look back at the Cuban government’s effort to separate the Cubans from tourist and how the plan failed (2009: 409).

With a struggling economy, tourism is an opportunity for Cuba. They describe Cuba as a country that does not has the desire nor resources to build a consumer-based society like other capitalist countries. This is primarily due to the Cuban governments awareness of the problems that occur along with tourism and therefore relies on developing neighborhoods depending on the high level of social capital (2009: 410). Taylor and McGlynn argues that even though most Cubans are interested in access to an increased selection of consumer goods etc., they do not wish to give up the communist society structure brought by the revolution (2009: 411).

What furthermore seems to be a repetitive argument as an obstacle for the development of more capitalistic reforms, is the long history of being controlled by foreign nations, most recently the US[2] (Fandl 2017; Font & Riobó 2013; Hayward 2008; Lane 2009; Thomas et al. 2015). Though Raúl Castro has opened the Cuban economy for privatization while holding on to the socialistic ideology initiated by the revolution, O’Sullivan outlines the difficulty of predicting the future of the Cuban development, economically and ideologically (2012: 322). Though the Cuban government calls the reforms a process of socialist renewal, O’Sullivan asks whether it can be identified as capitalist restoration. If the core values of the revolution are embraced by the Cuban people, along with a significant degree of state control remains, Cuba will maintain their socialistic character and their revolutionary spirit (O’Sullivan 2011: 287), but O’Sullivan has since his article in 2011 become unsure about this conclusion. He interprets the political development as “[...] leading to capitalism.”, while at the same time calling it “[...] premature to announce the death of Cuban socialism as an inevitable consequence of the process of economic reform.” (2012 :323). While keeping in mind that the study was conducted before the partial removal of the US embargo, he mentions the troubled relationship with the US and therefore elaborates the importance of the success of the implementation of the economic reforms in order to improve the economic development of Cuba. Since the study by O’Sullivan, research has shown that the transitions where happening too fast. Raúl Castro’s plan was not able to be executed in the planned amount of time (Mesa-Lago et al. 2013), the Cuban people were simply not prepared for the fast transitions.

Catherine Krull investigates how Cuba previously have coped with the globalisation. Here she mentions the cooperation between Cuba and Venezuela, a cooperation that is based on the socialist ideology and geographical proximity. Both countries are fighting for a Latin America without US interference. She points at this partnership as an important factor in regional internationalisation in Latin America. Together Cuba and Venezuela have founded ALBA (Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of the Americas) in 2004 and since its creation several other Latin American countries have joined the treaty to strengthen trade between Latin American countries. “The partnership has prompted Latin American unity [...] (Krull 2014: 127)”

While plenty of research has been done within tourism in Cuba and that the scholars agree on a series of problems that needs to be faced before the industry can achieve its full potential, the research within the developmental measures are limited. The research that has been conducted is contradicting regarding the ideological future of Cuba, though the current political direction points towards a capitalist society are pointed out by several scholars.

3. Theory and Concepts

This part seeks to outline the theoretic concepts of the research and create a better understanding of the theme of this paper. It provides a contextualisation that is highly necessary to understand the framework. This is furthermore relevant for the approach applied in the analysis (cf. Chapter 5).

3.1. Historical Context

To understand the development in Cuba, you need to be aware of their colonial history. Cuba has since the European discovery in 1492 and up until the Revolution in 1959 been under foreign influence. This started with the Spanish colonisation from 1492 to 1898, where they gave up Cuba after the Spanish-American war (Brenner et al. 2008: 5). The US played a big role in the Spanish-American war and after being victorious, the Cubans thought they had won their independence, but this was not the case. The US was aware of the armed Cubans and how they could complicate the occupation (Pérez 1972: 253). In order to solve the hostility from the Cuban people, they created the Teller Amendment, which said that the US “[...]hereby disclaims any disposition of intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.(McKinley, 1898)” Nonetheless, US kept occupying Cuba for several years after and

the US outlined the *Platt Amendment*. The Platt Amendment made Cuba a protectorate of the United States and made it possible for the US to intervene in Cuban affairs along with buying or leasing land (Brenner et al. 2008: 7). This secured a special relationship between the US and Cuba, a relationship that favoured the US. In the mid 1920's, the US owned 22 percent of Cuba's land area and by the 1950's, 59 percent of all Cuban exports went to the US, including 80 percent of the exported sugar, meanwhile 76 percent of Cuba's imports came from the US (Paterson 1994: 29). The increasing amount of US businesses in Cuba, led to an increased demand for English-speaking Cubans and therefore the Cuban upper class started sending their children to school in the US in order for them to secure their future within a US business. This meant that the Cuban upper class identified with the US values and all US brands conveyed a sense of a higher status (Brenner et al. 2008: 6).

The US still feared instability in Cuba and decided in 1933 to remove the unpopular Cuban President, Gerardo Machado. Their intentions were to replace Machado with a candidate that was more open minded towards the requests of the US. But the plan did not work out and an uprising primarily by the military sparked. Unfortunately, the uprising was not successful, and the US managed to recruit the initiator, Fulgencio Batista, and suppress the nationalism. The result was that Batista rose to power and in correlation to the US interests he became the President of Cuba. Batista overthrew the government in 1952 and thereby made himself a dictator. The reason for the lack of protests from the Cuban people, was that they associated the government with the theft of Cuban nationalism, by either the ruling mafia or the US (Amara, 2016).

Due to the previous suppressing of Cuban nationalism, it ended up dominating Cuban politics up until the triumph of the Cuban revolution in 1959 (Brenner et al. 2008: 8). The leader of the revolutionary troops was Fidel Castro, who became the president of Cuba and shaped the development of the country. Fidel had no intentions of cooperating with the US and categorized Cuba as one of six terrorist states, stating that Cuba is an enemy of the United States of America (Brenner et al. 2008: 11). Fidel's intentions were to reinvent the Cuban identity without any foreign interference and the socialism was an important part of this new identity. He furthermore nationalised US owned businesses in Cuba, which resulted in the US imposing an embargo on the exports to Cuba in 1960 and the embargo was extended shortly after to include almost all exports to the island along with restrictions on sugar import from Cuba. Sugar was the primary export of Cuba and Fidel Castro started looking for a new market to export their goods to and their socialist companion the Soviet Union welcomed them with open arms. The Soviet paid overpriced for the Cuban products and became the primary market for Cuban export and import (Amara et al. 2016). The dependency on Soviet grew

and an alliance was formed. The Soviet furthermore sold artillery and other military equipment to protect themselves from primarily US interference. What seemed to save the Cuban economy, ended up hurting it. Due to the Cuban dependence on the trade with the Soviet Union, the collapse of their main ally, caused a great amount of damage to the Cuban economy.

3.2. (De)Coloniality

The arrival of Cristóbal Colón on the continent of America in 1492, marked the beginning of America as a colonised continent. The Spaniards took control of the island today known as Cuba and utilized the workforce of the indigenous people along with slaves imported from Africa (Menzote 2008: 7). A lot of the indigenous population ended up dying, due to the illnesses the Spaniards brought to the continent. This was the case in Cuba, where it almost wiped out the entire indigenous population.

Looking at more recent concepts of coloniality, the term neo-coloniality has replaced the traditional concept of colonization. After liberalism swept through Latin America, a neocolonial order appeared between 1880 and 1930. This meant that the Latin American countries' dependence on the export economy increased. Intervention from The United States increased and created social tensions. However, the neo-coloniality also meant that few got richer while the majority experienced their living conditions getting worse, as Cuba experienced under US influence. The US was the main buyer of natural resources in Latin America and thereby influenced the continent through trade, economic and political pressure, and military intervention. "*A just war is in the long run far better for a man's soul than the most prosperous peace.*" (Walt, 2011, par. 2), President Theodore Roosevelt said in 1905, when he gave the US the rights to militarily intervene in any country of the western hemisphere if things that were not in the interest of the US were about to happen, which explains how neo-coloniality was imposed on Latin America in general by the US.

The fact that most history, especially regarding the colonisation of Latin America, is written from a Eurocentric point of view and thereby might end up attributing to the colonial power matrix, needs to be kept in mind when aiming to define the concept of coloniality. When seeking to understand the Cuban transition from the neoliberal model to a communist ideology, decolonial thinking contributes to this understanding. The aim of decoloniality is to move away from the previous capitalistic system and Eurocentrism that followed coloniality, which has been very visible in the Cuban development. Ramón Grosfoguel explains it as a European system of notions of epistemology being forced upon the former colonies (Grosfoguel, 2009, p. 16). The concept of decoloniality made its first appearance in the 1990's deriving from the Peruvian sociologist who outlined the concept of "coloniality of

power”, Aníbal Quijano (Mignolo, 2010: 17). Mignolo furthermore argues that coloniality and therefore also decoloniality should not be considered a model or theory, but instead it is necessary to remove oneself from the hegemonic and Eurocentred matrix of knowledge. By the Eurocentric matrix of knowledge, he refers to the standpoint of the colonisers, e.g. Europe. This means that Mignolo argues that as a researcher you need to be particularly aware of this matrix when researching within the field of coloniality. The concept of coloniality implies thinking de-colonially, without thinking about coloniality (Mignolo, 2010, p. 11). It becomes clear, that decolonial thinking is strongly related to the Cuban transition in the years after the revolution. Taking all of this into consideration, it become obvious how these concepts have had a big influence on the development of culture and the current political course of Cuba.

3.3. Socialism in Cuba

As briefly outlined in the literature review, socialism and hereby also communism is often linked to Karl Marx and therefore helps define the political development of Cuba.

In the first years after the Revolution in 1959, Fidel Castro was very careful with the use of communism and did not publicly declare himself a communist until after the US tried to attack Cuba the first time in 1961 and had the support of the Cuban people (Amara et al. 2016). The motive behind the Revolution was to overthrow Fulgencio Batista, a Cuban military man who had gained his power by overthrowing the previous Cuban president. Batista’s control of the country was furthermore supported by the US because he acted according to their interest. The goal was to remove Batista from power and give it back to the Cuban people. This was the first step in order to move away from the neoliberal capitalist ideology forced upon them by the US government.

The Cuban transition from capitalism to communism was characterized by a series of achievements. The first was to avoid being too dependent on the world market, which meant reducing the reliance on the sugarcane industry. The plan was to achieve this via industrialisation and create a more diverse agricultural production. By doing this Cuba would furthermore not depend as much on imports and make them self-sufficient in food production (Pérez 2005: 258). These changes were going to be implemented by using the funds from other socialist countries like the Soviet Union, but as outlined in Chapter 3.1, the collapse of the Soviet Union, caused the Cuban economy and socialist plans to fail. Cuba is currently “adjusting” communism (Roy & Walter 2016: 531) since the US has annulled parts of the sanctions and the growth of the economy has been limited. The adjustment is

not only supposed to help the economy recover but will also create more occupational options for the Cuban people e.g. they can open their own business.

Cuba has had a socialist political system since 1969, which is based on a one-party system. Cuba is furthermore constitutionally defined as a Marxist socialist state. Socialism negate capitalism and Karl Marx even argues that capitalism is the counterpoint of socialism (Marx & Engels 2018: 89). Randhir Singh follows in the steps of Marx and describes how problems involving production, culture or politics will become easier to solve once capitalism has been removed from a society (2006: 98). This indicates that the Marxist socialist doctrine not only would solve the problems brought to the island primarily by foreigners, but also serve as a decolonial tool symbolising a new beginning for Cuba as a fully independent country.

3.4. Path Dependency

Path Dependency Theory argues that the past affects our future. If you look at policy development, the Path Dependency theory would argue that the previous step will encourage the next step to be in the same direction (Gains et al. 2010: 27).

Cuba has previously made reforms in a more liberal direction, unfortunately the Cuban Government felt like they lost control of the development of the country and went back to previous ways, as they withdrew the reforms in 1998 (Font & Riobó 2013: 20). Arthur (1994) and Pierson (2000) argues that the persons involved in an initial plan will already have made a commitment in that path, since they have already learned to deal with a system in a particular way, which makes a predictable and similar path easier to develop and understand. Pierson furthermore argues that the reason for the predictability within politics, is that there is no universal rulebook to what better strategy is. He mentions how long-term changes have fewer consequences than short term changes. By this he means that gradually changing direction has lower risks than making a radical change of direction within politics.

The Cuban authorities rejected economical adjustments after the collapse of the Soviet Union and instead transferred into what is known as the *Special Period*. The Special Period is characterized by bad economic growth and la búsqueda (the search). La búsqueda refers to the search for wellbeing and general survival for the Cuban people, describing the daily struggle as all were encouraged to be creative and productive in order for the economy to improve (Toro-Morn et al 2002: 33). I believe the Path Dependency theory will assist in the search to define and outline the political changes within

the Cuban society in order for them to adapt to a globalized world, after a long period with economic struggles and imposed sanctions.

4. Methodological Considerations

This section's purpose is to outline the framework for the analysis and hereby serve as a set of guidelines for the analysis in Chapter 7. Some epistemological and ontological considerations will be presented. The considerations within this chapter, forms the foundation of choices made in regards to research strategy and methods. These will be followed by a presentation of the research material, limitations and end with the presentation of the method of analysis.

4.1. Epistemological and Ontological Considerations

Epistemology is a theory of knowledge, what can and should pass as acceptable knowledge (Bryman 2016: 690). Bryman furthermore argues that epistemology is concerned with discussing whether the social world should or could be researched with the same principles as the natural sciences. This means that there is only one truth, and the purpose is to find it. Applying this to my research which is of the interpretive character, the knowledge is very much constructed from the Cuban state's point of view, making it very subjective. The purpose of this research, as will be outlined in the next part, is to achieve knowledge from a Cuban standpoint regarding the developmental priorities in a globalized world. I am seeking an understanding of Cuba's struggle to balance ideology and economic growth. Historical events will furthermore assist in creating the knowledge and hereby the understanding of the data.

Ontological considerations are concerned with the nature of social phenomena. Bryman asks whether they are [...] beyond our influence or a product of social interaction? (Bryman 2016: 4) The stance that I take as a research regarding these considerations, will influence the outcome. The two main paradigms within ontology are *objectivism* and *constructivism*. I will be concerned with constructivism in continuation with the epistemological theory outlined above. Constructivism argues that social entities are the outcome of social interactions between individuals (Bryman 2016: 375). Cuba has a strong connection to their culture and identify with historical events like the Revolution of 1959. They are furthermore initiating an internationalisation process, seeking to adapt to the international market and an increasingly globalized world.

4.2. Research Design

To achieve an extensive in-depth knowledge within the research-area, I have chosen a qualitative approach. The qualitative approach will create a theoretical and analytical insight with a descriptive approach. Along with the considerations in the previous part, it will generate a comprehensive knowledge regarding the initiatives taken by the Cuban government in order to adapt the international market and how historical events might influence the future of Cuba. In order to achieve this, several methods will be applied for the analysis of the data.

To answer my problem formulation I need to look at Cuban values, development and other things that will help me to understand the process of internationalisation and adaptation that I know from research and experience from travelling is of utmost importance for the future of Cuba. Cuba is guided by the socialist ideology, more specifically by Marxist theories and the leader of the Revolution, Fidel Castro (cf. Chapter 5.3.), therefore most decisions is made and controlled by the state.

Since I am looking for the Cuban point of view, the Cuban understanding of globalisation and their relation to their ideology, I will be searching within documents drafted by the Cuban state. Hereby I will primarily get the governmental point of view, while focusing less on the micro level. This is partially due to the difficulty of getting Cubans to talk freely, which I experienced while travelling in Cuba. A heavier weighing factor is the international aspect. In order to answer my problemformulation, I need to analyse it from a macro level.

The understanding of international policies and the future of the economy and the relations to the ideology, will only be achieved through official documents and hereby create an understanding of the initiatives and how they might be connected with previous experience, maybe pointing towards a pattern of *path dependency* and decolonial values.

As preparation of the research material for the analysis, I am using coding. Coding will help be attaining the in-depth knowledge I am searching for and will therefore create an overview of the types of development and ideological references that the research material withholds. According to Graham Gibbs, coding assist in defining what the analysed data is about, while exemplifying a theoretic idea (2007: 38). In this research it is primarily developed through research of Cuba and the theoretical approaches outlined in Chapter 5. While Socialist and (De)Colonial categories derive from the theoretical approach, the Development category is outlined as a way to not only identify and code other types of development and approaches that are linked to international relations.

Hereby I will look for subjects that refers to the three main categories: Socialism, (De)Colonialism and development, which represents the predefined codes. The goal is not to find the exact words, but

instead labelling the aspects that refers to one, or maybe more of the main categories. The coding-system will provide me with an understanding of the contexts in which they appear, along with the role of the socialist ideology and possible references to (de)coloniality. Hereby the context is also an important aspect of the analytical approach.

When carrying out the analysis, I will be referring to the data in the appendix, where a short description of the context is included in English, while the page, column and line number in the official document is written as a reference point. The context is a part of the research material that has been added to a category within the coding is summarized.

4.3. Research Material

As outlined in Chapter 2, the aim of this research is to look into the Cuban development in relation to the international market, and whether it affects their ideology to move in a more liberal direction and how their history with colonisation might also plays a role in their developmental choices. In order to discuss the problem formulation, I will investigate the Constitución de la República de Cuba of 2019, along with development plans of the 7th Congress.

A constitutional referendum was held on February 2019 for the new constitution to be approved. 90.61 percent of the votes were in favour and hereby Cuba had a new Constitution, that were implemented the 10th of April 2019 (Mena 2019).

A constitution is “the basic principles and laws of a nation [...] that determine the powers and duties of the government” (Merriam-Webster’s collegiate dictionary, 2020). It is a collection of a countries fundamental rules and/or precedents that forms the legal basis and therefor in many aspects is the foundation of the nation and principles which the people identifies with and therefore assist in the understanding of a countries development in the past, present and most likely the future. The Constitution of 2019 is Cuba’s fourth constitution. All the previous constitutions have reflected the type of development that occurred in the country e.g. the Constitution of 1940, which showcased the liberalism that swept through the country due to the US’ presence after the Spanish-American war. The great amount of changes after the revolution of 1959, became obvious in the constitution of 1976, where the socialist ideological substituted the liberal (Amara, 2016). This indicated that the Cuban Constitution in many aspects is the foundation of Cuban development and therefore will work as the groundwork for the analysis. By analysing the Constitución de la República de Cuba of 2019, I will get an understanding of the basic structures of the country and it will serve as a reference point

throughout the analysis, since it has been updated very recently and therefore will help to outline and understand the plans for Cuban development and the role of the Cuban socialist ideology.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Cuba has been going through a series of adjustments of their national development model to adapt to the international market. These adjustments reflect Cuba's effort to adjust their socialist development model to the international market and create an economy that is less dependent on the sugarcane industry along with strengthening the Cuban industrialisation, hereby decreasing the import (Amara et al. 2016). They therefore outline the intentions for the future of the development. The series of developmental adjustments includes the most recent ones presented in the documents from the seventh assembly of the Cuban Congress, these documents which includes *Lineamientos de la Política Económica y Social del Partido y la Revolución*, regarding the period of 2016 to 2021, that defines the economic and social guidelines. Every five years the Communist Party have a Party Congress where they discuss the country's priorities in regards of politics and economy, this also includes information regarding the previous goals and their implementation into the society, which is represented in the *Conceptualización* and gives a comprehensive understanding of the Cuban development model and what they are looking to improve. At the recent Party Congress, Cuba did not only develop the five years plan, but also a development vision for 2030, the *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Económico y Social hasta el 2030*. Parts of all the three plans will be included in the analysis in the search for defining a developmental pattern in Cuba.

Documents from the seventh assembly, along with the 2019 constitution, will create an improved understanding of the Cuban development in relation to the international market and the ideological consideration that might affect the choices. The aim of the selected research material through the analysis will outline the Cuban development and how it relates to the theory, while answering the problem formulation.

4.5. Method of Analysis

As mentioned in Chapter 4.2., I will be using a qualitative approach. Taking the previous considerations into account I will be applying a thematic analysis as the method for the qualitative documents presented in Chapter 6.3. I believe this will be the best approach in order to answer my problem formulation and hereby get a comprehensive understanding of the documents created by the Cuban government in order to consolidate their ideological standpoints and their developmental

initiatives. While coding the research material, the thematic approach will be applied and will be looking for defined codes, while also adjusting the codes according to the findings within the documents, creating a reciprocity between the theories and research material. As outlined in the Chapter 4.2., the defined coding categories will be Socialism, (De)Coloniality and Development.

“[...]for some writers a theme is more or less the same as a code, whereas for others it transcends any one code and is build up out of groups of codes.” (Bryman 2016: 584). My definition of themes belongs to the first category. The themes correspond to the coding categories I will be using for the analysis and relates to both the data and my focus of research. They will provide me as a researcher with the theoretical understanding of the research material and hopefully contribute with subjects I have not discovered while researching the focus area of Cuban development and ideology, filling out the knowledge gap. It will also supply me with a framework for the analysis. The categorisation will help structure the material as well as it helped the various other sources of empirical data, and relevant subjects. The thematic analysis will lead to a discussion of the major findings.

5. Analysis

As explained in the methodology section of this paper (cf. 4.), the three main concepts derived from research and the theory, namely development, culture and ideology, have been defined in the context of their implementation in the Cuban Constitution and the National Development Plans of the 7th Congress in order to build the foundation for the thematic analysis. The Cuban Constitution of 2019 differ from the previous Constitution of 1976. These differences include the recognition of private property, opening for foreign investments, creating a ten-year limit for the presidency, restoring the presumption of innocence etc. The development document was created for the seventh congress meeting and withholds the plans for the future development of Cuba, which is separated into three parts. Within each defined category, the findings that relates to this category will be listed according to the document it belongs to.

This analysis will help shed light on the question presented in the problem formulation. In this section, the three concepts will be analysed one after another within both documents, with the Development Plans being divided into three minor sections. After the analysis, there will be a summary of the main findings. This analysis will guide to the main discussion, where reflections will be critically applied to the arguments found throughout the analysis. As mentioned in the methodology section, it will be divided into three parts: Socialism, Decoloniality and Development.

5.1. Socialism

5.1.1. La Constitución de la República de Cuba (2019)

The Constitution does not differentiate between Karl Marx and anti-imperialist thoughts. He is mentioned several times throughout the document, which underlines the importance of his socialist theories in Cuban society. Marx's ideas are mentioned in the constitution as social emancipation and as the ideology of Cuba, along with the ideas of Engels and Fidel Castro (CRC¹ p. 1, col 1). The socialist ideology is furthermore ratified throughout the constitutions as the central component of economic and social development and described as irreversible (CRC p. 2, Capítulo 1, Artículo 5; P. 3, Capítulo 2, Artículo 19; P. 4, Capítulo 2, Artículo 27; P. 4, Capítulo 2, Artículo 30; P. 6, Capítulo 3, Artículo 84). Communism is directly mentioned as a more humane ideology (LCDLRC P. 2, col. 1). Considering the mentioning of the Cuban history, this probably refers to the foreign influence that have influenced the development in the past. Cuba has relied on foreign demands and the mentioning of communism as more humane, could be interpreted as a step away from the dependence of the past, refusing the decisions of the past to influence the future.

In *Artículo 4* of the constitution it says that the citizens of Cuba have the right to fight with arms against anyone who has the intentions of overthrowing the political and social order that is established by the 2019 constitution, referring to the socialist ideology. In *Artículo 229*, at the very end of the constitution, *Artículo 4* is once more mentioned. Here it is underlined that the article is not reformable, along with *Artículo 16*, where the development of international relations is outlined according to anti-imperialist principles. This suggests the importance of these two sections, the distancing from coloniality and the people's right to defend the country against foreign ideological- and developmental influence in general.

When reading through the Constitution, the quote “*de cada cual según su capacidad, a cada cual según su trabajo*” stands out (CRC p. 5, Artículo 65). This translates to “*from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs*” and is a quote by Karl Marx. The quote refers to free access to goods and the distribution of it along with capital and services. Marx argues that this will be possible with a fully developed socialist/communist system, the productive forces will be so developed that it will be able to satisfy everyone's needs (Marx 2001: 20). The quote has through the years also been diligently used as a slogan during socialist movements and is perceived as the basic

¹ Partido Comunista de Cuba (2019): La Constitución de la República de Cuba 2019

principle of communism (Becker 1844: 34). The context in which this quote is used in the constitution, furthermore underlines its socialist value. Along with the quote is it describes how everyone has the right to receive remuneration for their work, based upon the quality and quantity, which is the principle of socialistic distribution.

5.1.2. Documentos del 7mo. Congreso del Partido

5.1.2.1. *Conceptualización del Modelo Económico y Social Cubano*

The type of development that Cuba follows, is referred to as *Modelo el Concepto de Revolución*. The model is described by referring to a quote by Fidel Castro, where he describes revolution as something that changes everything that needs to be changed, is equality and freedom, it challenges powerful forces both nationally outside the social realm and internationally. “*Revolution is unity, it is independence, it is fighting for our dreams of justice for Cuba and for the world which is the basis of our patriotism, our socialism [...]*” (DCP² p. 2, col. 2, l. 3).

Within the conceptualization the socialist ideology plays a big role in order to describe the plans for Cuban development. While listing the different aspects of Cuban development, which includes the challenges and possibilities, it concludes that updating the Cuban development model is essential and possible to preserve and consolidate the Cuban socialism (DCP P. 4, col. 2, l. 11). The keywords in this context includes: Socialism and independence. Guaranteeing “[...]the irreversibility and continuity[...]” of socialism by strengthening the principles that represent the foundation of the ideology is mentioned as one of the motives behind the developmental updates (DCP p. 4, col. 2). The four main areas of development in Cuba are listed as: Production, distribution, exchange and consumption. In this context a new type of development is furthermore mentioned: *Sustainable development*. It is described that Cuba will achieve a sustainable socialist society through the revolutionary consciousness, efficiency, rational use and saving of natural resources. Sustainable development is described as “[...]la prosperidad con justicia y equidad sociales en armonía con el medio ambiente[...]” (DCP p. 4, col. 3, l. 1), which translates to “*prosperity with social justice and equity in harmony with the environment*”. Which means that not only are they interested in achieving profitable adjustments that are aligned with the socialist ideology, but sustainability must be taken into consideration as well. Sustainability is also mentioned in the context of the essential foundations

² Partido Comunista de Cuba (2017): Documentos del 7mo. Congreso del Partido aprobados por el III Pleno del Comité Central del PCC el 18 de mayo de 2017 y respaldados por la Asamblea Nacional del Poder Popular el 1 de junio de 2017

of the socialist society in Cuba. The Cuban people are the main objective, their love to the country, patriotism, anti-imperialism, and internationality, along with ideological priorities as respect for others and the environment. The essential foundations will also be part of the new adjusted development model. They are primarily the results of Marxism and the actions and thoughts of Fidel Castro Ruz (DCP P. 5, col. 1). In this context is it underlined that Cuba is a socialist democracy, based upon the participation of the Cuban people to exercise sovereign power, which means that the Cuban government acts as representatives of the Cuban people.

The very basic principles of the Cuban social society are presented within this part as well and are listed as free access to education, health services, equality, effective national security in order to secure sovereignty and access to national culture along with international, as long as it corresponds with the objectives of socialism (DCP P. 11, col. 1; P. 11, col. 2; P. 12, col. 1; P. 12, col. 3).

The conceptualisation also includes an explanation of the main transformations that will be included in the adjustment of the Cuban development model. Decentralization is one of the adjustments. This implies that the government will no longer oversee all matters, but instead some will be transferred to a more local level. Another adjustment will be to improve the democratic participation, especially in regards of solving issues that relates to the Cuban citizens (DCP P. 5, col. 3, l. 1). The democracy in Cuba, is what you call a *people's democracy*, which means that everything is controlled by the a party, in Cuba's case *Partido Comunista de Cuba (PCC)*, and is a very centralised type of democracy, which furthermore limits or even eliminates the activity of political opponents (Bell 2015: 408).

What is furthermore worth pointing out when it comes to the socialistic references within this part of the document, is the development of the private sector, which will be further addressed in the part regarding decolonialism. It is described as a temporary transfer of some of some parts of the production and it is emphasized that this is not a privatization, since the state still acts as the main power and is able to regulate the market. It is simply a means to attract capital from foreign investors along with employment and technology (DCP p. 6, col. 1, l. 2). In order to control international investments and businesses within Cuba, they will be closely monitored by *cadres*, which are indoctrinated leaders with the purpose of promoting the interest of a revolutionary party (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 2020), in this case the Cuban government. The control will be carried out in order to protect the sovereignty and socialism of Cuba (DCP P. 6, col. 1, l. 28)

All of the transformations of the development model are considered necessities in order to adapt to a more globalized world and improve the Cuban economy, they are considered means to move forward with a clear vision of the future and needed in order to continue the construction of socialism in Cuba

and make it irreversible while removing threats to the Revolutionary mindset of Cubans (DCP p. 13, col. 1, Consideraciones finales; P. 13, col. 2, l. 1).

5.1.2.2. Bases del Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Económico y Social hasta el 2030

While the direct socialist mentions within this part of the development plan is limited, the very purpose of the developmental changes of the National Plan of Development until 2030 is linked directly to the socialist ideology and is the result of [...] *a comprehensive analysis of the current situation* [...] in Cuba. The intention of the long-term development plan is to consolidate the Cuban sovereignty, independence, and democracy, while consolidating the socialist state (DCP p. 15, col. 1, l. 12; P. 16, col. 3, objetivos específicos: 1). Along with these statements, is Cuba's human potential outlined as their most important strength. As a socialist state with education being available and free for all Cubans, one of the strengths is the education system. The well-being and quality of life of the Cuban people has always been a high priority for the socialist society. Due to this being one of the strengths of Cuba along with being one of the main pillars of Cuban development, the development plan includes preserving these values. These values furthermore include that no one will be discriminated on the basis of gender, race, religion or sexual orientation. (DCP p. 20, col. 3, Desarrollo Humano; P 21, col. 1, objetivos específicos: 1)

What is furthermore emphasized is the mentioning of how the socialist system has existed since the triumph of the Revolution in 1959 and the conservation and memory of the historical and ideological event is furthermore mentioned as important to conserve as part of the future development (DCP: p. 19, col. 1, l. 6; P. 21, col. 3, objetivos específicos: 23.).

5.1.2.3. Lineamientos de la Política Económica y Social para el Período 2016-2021

The **short-term** development points out that the socialist ideology will continue to be the main direction for Cuban development, this refers to the state being the regulator and will continue to have influence within all sectors. The states control will be strengthened both internally and externally (DCP p. 23, col. 1, Lineamientos generales: 2.; P. 32, col. 3, Lineamientos generales: 271.). The Plan furthermore also states that the gradually separation of the state and the business-functions, also defined as a external factor, will continue to be carried out (DCP p. 32, col. 2, Lineamientos generales: 256.).

The role of the state and the social redistribution is ratified with the same quote used in the constitution: “*From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.*” (DCP p. 24, col. 2, Lineamentos generales: 33). The quote by Karl Marx, as outlined in the analysis of the constitution (c.f. Chapter 7.1.), refers to the redistribution of goods and wealth in fully developed socialist state. This is the goal of to achieve this fully developed socialist society in the short-term development and therefore before the year of 2021. The consolidation of the socialist ideology is furthermore defined in *Lineamento General: 216*, where the importance of consolidating the conquest of the Revolution, referring to free medical care, education and social security.

All banks in Cuba are state owned, this means that the state is fully in control of the loans granted to the Cuban people. This is also addressed in the short-term development, as the goal is to diversify the offering of loans and other banking services to the public. This includes granting loans to the newly established private sector in Cuba (DCP p. 24, col. 2, Lineamentos generales: 36.). This is further elaborated in *Lineamentos Generales: 37*. Here is it described how it is a necessity to improve the banking services in order to assist the privately owned businesses, this is especially directed towards the businesses that are within the production areas assessed by the Cuban state as assisting the national development. Along with the opening of public finances for private businesses, the control of the use of these financial resources owned by the state, will also increase. Part of this will be to include cadres in the external economic relations. As previously outlined (cf. Chapter 7.2.1.), cadres’ objective is to promote the revolutionary cause. The purpose of this initiative is to make sure that these finances are put to use in a ethical responsible use in accordance with the values of the Revolution (DCP p. 25, col. 1, Lineamentos generales: 53.; P. 25, col. 2, Lineamentos generales: 63.).

The constitution outlines that the very foundation of the Cuban society and the socialist ideology is of great importance. The mentioning of Marxism, statements regarding the irreversibility of the ideology along with the consolidation of the power of the state underlines this. The equality of the people is of great importance and historical references to events regarding repression by imperialist powers are plenty. The Revolution is centred as the very birth of a more humane socialist state where the capitalists are no longer were in control.

The three parts which constitutes the *Documentos del 7mo. Congreso del Partido*, creates a complete picture of the Cuban development. The importance of the socialist ideology and the Revolution is outlined in all three parts of the document. The socialist ideology is the main inspiration for the development, which emphasizes the role of the Cuban state, despite more developments being

directed more towards foreign influence within the economic development. The human capital of Cuba is outlined as an opportunity, which can be linked to the socialist priority of providing free and high quality education to all Cuban citizen. This is furthermore connected to the Marxist notion of improving the living conditions of the working class. Meanwhile the state's separation from business-affairs is also a developmental goal along with decentralisation, but banks are still state-owned. When a goal that could be considered connected with capitalist values are represented, the manifestation of the socialist ideology follows shortly after.

5.2. (De)coloniality

5.2.1. La Constitución de la República de Cuba (2019)

US THE PEOPLE OF CUBA, inspired by the bravery and patriotism of those who fought for a Homeland of freedom, independence, sovereignty, democracy, social justice and human solidarity, forged by the sacrifice of our ancestors; by the natives who refused to submit; by the slaves who rebelled against their masters; by those who awakened the national consciousness and the Cuban need for homeland and freedom [... (CRC p. 1, col. 1)

These are the very first lines of the Cuban Constitution of 2019 and creates a picture of a very patriotic nation with a strong connection to their history. They mention their ancestors, the native Cubans and the slaves. This awakens the Cuban national feeling and outlines the content of the constitution. This first part afterwards mentions the wars of independence against the Spanish conquistadores, along with the military occupation of the yankee imperialism. This very much sets the tone regarding their past and their perception of the occupation of both Spain and the US. This tone is visible throughout the Constitution as it mentions never returning to a capitalist regime, where the people is exploited and that Cuba is guided by anti-imperialist thoughts inspired by Karl Marx and Fidel Castro (CRC p. 1, col. 3). Another example of this type of resentment towards colonialism is in *Capítulo 2, Artículo 16*, where it is described how all international relations are based upon anti-imperialist principles and that any relations, political or economic can never take place under coercion. Taking into consideration the historical context jf. Chapter 5.1., these articles relates to Cuba's past as a colony and therefore being under the influence of a foreign nation when it comes to political and economic interests. This makes it clear that Cuba has no intention of bowing down to any foreign power. When

this is said, Cuba is still opening the country for foreign investments and recognizing private property, which historically has been linked to imperialism and colonisation (cf. Chapter 3.1.).

Since the Constitution not only outlines the international relations and the people's rights, but in special connection to cases that connects with colonialism and furthermore ratify that these articles cannot be changed by future reforms, reflects the Cuban history and its importance in regards of identity. The fact that the Cuban state allows their people to arm themselves in case of a threat against the socialist state, furthermore suggests that the state interprets a change of ideology with foreign interference and imperialism as an attack on the state of Cuba. This is very strongly connected to the notion of decoloniality, due to the link that can be made to historical happenings, such as US attacks on Cuban territory.

5.2.2. Documentos del 7mo. Congreso del Partido

5.2.2.1. *Conceptualización del Modelo Económico y Social Cubano*

A series of historical events are listed as events that has shaped the development of the Cuban State. The very foundation of these historical events is the Revolution in 1959. The US tried to maintain their dominance within the country after the revolution, with the help of the bourgeois within Cuba. This caused the new government to change the ownership of property and initiated the drastic changes towards a socialist society, ending the colonial capitalist rule (DCP p. 2, col. 3, l. 3). It furthermore describes how the Cuban people have been experiencing multiple types of aggression, which has caused the country to use a great amount of resources in order to assure the national security, despite the lack of materials. The document elaborates the lack of materials, by referring to the embargo and the US's general hostility towards Cuba and how it has caused financial damage to the country and its development (DCP P. 2, col. 3). While it explains the decolonial development that the country has and still is going through, it also mentions the importance of the support Cuba received from the Soviet and that the *Modelo el Concepto de Revolución* and hereby that the socialist rule would not have survived without this support, along with other socialist countries. The document furthermore describes the consequences of imperialism and capitalism, which includes inequality and high levels of poverty. Cuba's relationship with both Soviet and the US is established several times throughout this part of the document (DCP p. 3, col. 1; P. 3, col. 3). With these descriptions of the Soviet and the US, you get an understanding of which countries are perceived as friends and enemies. What seems to be the determining factors are ideology and history. What confirms the hostility towards the US, is the mentioning of anti-imperialism as one of the important values of the Cuban people and will

help the country advance in regards to development, listing this as one of the best current ethical traditions (DCP p. 4, col. 1, l. 15; P. 4, col. 3, l. 44). It is furthermore stated that the defence of the revolution will continue as long as imperialism exists (DCP p. 5, col. 1, 7)).

While capitalism often equals bad consequences according to the Cuban government, it also acknowledges the benefits. Some of the benefits mentioned are technology, food production, transportation and science (DCP p. 3, l. 24). But what stands out in this part, is not only the mentioning of capitalism in a positive context, but also how this knowledge is an opportunity for a socialist country like Cuba, in order to solve some of the developmental issues they are facing.

The need to cooperate with other countries is a big part of the new development model. The internationalisation-process is assumed to be characterized by imperialism and a threat to peace and security. This assumption is created on the on the basis of the US and their allies wish to keep their imperialist domination and hereby supporting transnational corporations' dominance, inequality and underdevelopment (DCP p. 13, col. 2).

The most important international cooperation is within Latin America and the Caribbean (DCP p. 10, col. 2, c). This will according to the document lead to a more effective defence against imperialism. In this context it is furthermore mentioned that Cuba will continue to build relations with other socialist countries and Cuba will take action in order to defend their sovereignty, also when it comes to changes within the Cuban relations to the US (DCP p. 13, col. 3, l. 1).

5.2.2.2. Bases del Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Económico y Social hasta el 2030

The primary decolonial focus within this chapter, is directed towards the US. The US is mentioned as partially to blame for the problems the Cuban economy has been facing and that it is not possible to overcome these problems within a short period of timer, therefore they are a part of the long-term development plan and is one of the main motivations behind it (DCP p. 14, col. 2). The development plan also points out future challenges, which includes a complex international situation since cultural hegemony is increasing. This is very likely referring to imperialism and capitalism and hereby the US. The context of the US and the label as “future challenges”, the very problematic relationship between Cuba and the US along with Cuba's plan to promote the increasing international demand for a total removal of the US embargo (DCP p. 17, col. 2, objetivos específicos: 16), confirms this assumption. When diving into Cuba's relation with the US, the Guantanamo Bay has long been a subject of conflict. At the bay the US has a military base, which has existed since the Spanish-

American War in 1898. US presence in Cuba has for many years not been welcome, but was part of the *Platt' Amendment* that included that the US was allowed to intervene if Cuba's sovereignty was threatened and they were allowed to lease areas of the island. In 1934 this was partially changed. The US was no longer allowed to interfere if the Cuban sovereignty was believed to be threatened, but US presence in Guantanamo was consolidated and the US will pay a yearly rent for the area. The rental of the area can only terminate if both Cuba and the US come to an agreement (Sweeney 2007: 683). This also explains the importance of *objetivo específico 17*. Here the promotion of [...] *the increasing international demand for the return of the illegally occupied territory of Guantanamo Bay* [...] is mentioned as part of the long-term development (DCP p. 17, col. 2). Seen from the current Cuban anti-imperialist and socialist point of view, the reason behind using the word *illegally*, could be argued that since this was part of a negotiation with a newly independent country and therefore should be deemed invalid.

Based on the anti-imperialist values in Cuba, due to their colonial history, the goal of complying with international environmental commitments and working towards solutions that will include all countries and not give privilege to countries that historically has contributed to deterioration (DCP p. 20, col. 3, *objetivos específicos*: 21), refers to colonial powers as the US and many European countries that has taken advantages of colonies. Anti-imperialist values generally are a high priority for Cuban development as it is another thing that is prioritised when it comes to promotion and preparation of the next generations within Cuba. The young Cubans should be trained in critical thinking towards pro-imperialist, annexationist, consumerist and colonial messages (DCP p. 21, col. 3, *objetivos específicos*: 25.). This way they will be prepared and not be corrupted by imperialist and capitalist influence, but instead prioritize socialist and revolutionary values.

While decolonial values seems to influence the development of Cuba, the concept of recapitalization has found its way into the long-term development plan. *Objective 5*. describes how recapitalization will be used as a tool by the Cuban state (DCP p. 21, col. 3). Recapitalization is when a business accumulates more debt in order to reinvest the money in the company in the hope of turning it into profit (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 2020). In the Cuban development plan until 2030, it will be the Cuban government that recapitalize private businesses in order to support the development of the private business sector, which is one of the new types of business models introduced to the Cuban market.

5.2.2.3. *Lineamientos de la Política Económica y Social para el Período 2016-2021*

The decolonial statements and subjects referring to capitalism have lesser of a role compared to the two previous parts of the document, but just like in the long-term development, recapitalization is also a goal. Here it is described as a means to save businesses if they show insufficient working capital (DCP p. 23, col. 2, Lineamientos generales: 10).

The need for the state-control of businesses could be explained with *Lineamento general: 4. at page 23*. The state does not allow accumulation of property, materials, or economic wealth, which could be linked to Cuba's history with imperial forces taking advantage of the country and controlling the business environment (cf. Chapter 5.1.). What also relates to the same historical conflict, is a part that relates to tourism. While tourism has previously been addressed, the role of the private in this sector has not. In the short-term development the private ownership within accommodation, gastronomy and other types of businesses within the service sector, will continue to develop alongside state owned businesses in same industry (DCP p. 30, col. 3, Lineamientos generales: 212.).

Another important part of the Plan worth mentioning, is the cultivation of knowledge, which is similar to the what was outlined in the long-term development plan (cf. Chapter 7.2.2.). Cultivating the knowledge of Cuban history and culture, though the values of the Revolution and hereby the socialist values, is important in order for Cubans [...] *to assume a critical and decolonized position towards products of the capitalist hegemonic cultural industry* (DCP p. 27, col. 1, Lineamientos generales: 117).

While tourism has previously been addressed, the role of the private in this sector has not. In the short-term development the private ownership within accommodation, gastronomy and other types of businesses within the service sector, will continue to develop alongside state owned businesses in same industry (DCP p. 30, col. 3, Lineamientos generales: 212.).

The main findings within this part, includes the expressions of hostility towards imperialist powers not only being visible through the mentioning of historical events that includes the US, but also by including articles that describes how Cuba will be granting asylum to anyone who fight against imperialism, colonialism and other forms of domination. While the resentment is obvious, the aim for a better economy via foreign investments is also a part of the Constitution, which outlines how Cuba is trying to balance their ideals and what is necessary to reverse the economic development. Opening for foreign investments includes diversification of the exportation, in regards of the export destinations and the type of products to be exported, but also the investments within the country. This

is an important part of the improvement of the economy, since Cuba seeks to become more self-sufficient in the long run. Learning from the foreign investors and gradually take over the production of goods and be able to utilize the knowledge gained by allowing privatisation for both by Cubans and foreigners. The state of Cuba will help the privately owned businesses to succeed by making use of recapitalization, primarily with focus on businesses that assist the development.

The privatisation also includes the tourism industry. Privately owned hotels, restaurants etc. will exist alongside the state owned. The tourism industry also plays an important role in the development of the future economy and the improvement of Cuba's image will help increase the number of tourists visiting the island. What furthermore will become a threat towards Cuban internationalisation, is the according to the development plans, the increasing cultural hegemony. This reflects the decolonial standpoint often taken by the Cuban government.

While internationalisation shall assist in improving the economy, it is important for the Cubans to maintain anti-imperialists and think critically when it comes to capitalist messages. The values of the Revolution must persist, and it is the role of state to cultivate this type of knowledge. The importance of good relations with other Latin American and Caribbean countries is part of the defence towards capitalist messages and imperialistic powers as the US. The hostility towards previous foreign unwelcomed interference in the country, is furthermore accentuated by the numerous mentions of imperialism and the US' influence on Cuban economy, eg. due to the embargo, while also mentioning their presence in Guantanamo as a threat to their sovereignty. Cuba's history as a colony is obvious when analysing the documents, especially the Revolution, which gives the reader the impression that it is considered the liberation from colonial rule in the eyes of Cubans.

5.3. Development

5.3.1. La Constitución de la República de Cuba (2019)

The mentioning of general development is limited within the constitution, but one mention or rather the lack of mentioning, is worth pointing out. As outlined in the beginning of this chapter, the constitution of 2019 differs from the previous, by not mentioning the requirements for marriage. In the Constitution of 1976, it says that a marriage is a voluntary union between a man and a woman, making same sex marriage illegal (Constitution of 1976, Capítulo 4, Artículo 36). This article has been removed in the new constitution and hereby makes no requirements regarding marriage, but also does now mention whether it is now considered legal. The reason for this could be that the topic divides

the Cuban people, probably due to changes that occurred after the revolution. After the revolutions in 1959, male homosexuals suffered from discrimination, while some were sent to labour camps and during the AIDS epidemic of the 80's, people suspected of having contracted the virus, were quarantined, which primarily were homosexuals (Leiner, 2019: 7).

What is outlined, is how the general development of foreign investments will be governed by the state, hereby pointing at future development continuing to be in the hands of the Cuban state and regulated accordingly (CRC p. 4, Capítulo 2, Artículo 28).

5.3.2. Documentos del 7mo. Congreso del Partido

5.3.2.1. *Conceptualización del Modelo Económico y Social Cubano*

Cuba has not been able to recover economically at the desired pace and carry out the desired developmental transformations, which according to the document was due to the underdeveloped economy. Among economic reasons are a bad development of import and export, along with technological obsolescence in regard to the industrial sector and infrastructure (DCP p. 3, col. 2, 1. 40). What furthermore did not have the desired effect, was the dual currency system that was implemented (DCP p. 3, col. 2). Instead of stabilising the economy, it caused the Cuban people to desire to get a job within the service industry in order to get access to foreign currency and hereby get paid more as a waiter or taxi driver, than as a doctor that only receives their pay check from the state and therefor in Cuban pesos. This also caused a lot of newly educated to look for work abroad (Henthorne 2018: 118). There are mentioned several areas which will be primary focus of the developmental measure that will be taken, it is considered a redesign of the development model. One of these areas are regulation, specifically the redesign of the currency system. The Cuban peso will be the only currency and the parallel society will no longer be present in the Cuban society (DCP p. 8, col. 3, Capítulo 3).

Another new initiative is the five main of ownership that has been introduced, these include a mix of state owned, privately owned and non-profit organisations (DCP p. 6, col. 3, Capítulo 2.1). The new types of ownership introduced makes it possible for birth Cubans and foreigners to open businesses that are privately owned.

The adjustments outlined in the Conceptualizacion are once more described as adjustments and that the goals for the development will be gradually achieved.

5.3.2.2. Bases del Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Económico y Social hasta el 2030

The long-term development plan outlines a lot of developmental initiatives that relates to production within Cuba. These initiatives include increasing the productivity and general improvement of the sector in order to become more competitive on the international market (DCP p. 15, col. 1, l. 15). Here is being self-sufficient and focusing on increasing the export, while also diversifying the foreign trade, an important part.

Cuba has for many years been dependant on the sugar production, which has made them very vulnerable to changes within the international market. The US bought sugar quotas from Cuba, which gave them a sense of economic security, but also made them neglect alternate crops. Cuba became a monoculture within production and were dependant on the US and European sugar consumption. An example of this is the First World War in 1914, where Cuba became the biggest distributor of sugar in the world, due to the sugar beet trade in Germany and Russia Collapsed, which previously had been the biggest distributors. During these years, the Cuba became the new world market leader of sugar exportation and the price of a pound of sugar went from 3 cent to 22 cents. The growing demand for sugar made Cuba remove coffee and banana plantation to accommodate the demand for sugar. This meant that when the First World War ended in 1918, the trade routes reopen and the world market was flooded with sugar, which made the prices slumped and the Cuban economy suffered the consequences of their mono culture (Amara et al. 2016). Therefor taking steps towards diversifying the Cuban export is an important part of adapting to the international market and becoming less vulnerable to changes. Another goal is to draw attention to the Cuban presence within the international market along with promoting Cuba as a safe and attractive destination (DCP p. 16, col. 3, objetivos generales: 4; P. 17, col. 2, objetivos específicos: 18.). This is for the purpose of making it more attractive for foreign investments and tourism, which is also mentioned in connection to the environmental developments that it seeks to achieve. It is the intention of Cuba to implement sustainable consumption and production within the tourist industry, which will furthermore make it more profitable for Cuba and desirable as a tourist destination (DCP p. 20, col. 2, objetivos específicos: 5.; P. 20, col. 2, objetivos específicos: 14.). This is furthermore confirmed in *objetivo específico 9*. Here is the competitiveness of the tourism sector mentioned as important to strengthen in order to increase the income from the service industry, while also promoting the Cuban culture internationally (DCP p. 18, col. 1).

While tourism, diversifying the production and the general image of Cuba is important parts of the general development within Cuba, climate change is also a part of the long-term development. It is a

goal for Cuba to achieve international cooperation in order to face the consequences of climate change and pollution in general. This is also part of the strategies for transforming the production sector of Cuba. Here it directly states that it is a goal for the Cuban production to [...] *not have a negative impact on environmental sustainability* (DCP p. 22, col. 1, 10.). Within this chapter, the technological situation within production, is also mentioned. It is the intention of the Cuban government to use international technology in the production sector, which will create competitive advantages (DCP p. 22, col. 1). This is primarily due to the lack of technological advancement within Cuba, since they do not have the industrial knowhow to produce the technology, making it necessary to retrieve this knowledge from either importing technology or from foreign investors and foreign businesses within Cuba. This will over time make them able to become more self-sustainable and the import will decrease.

5.3.2.3. Lineamientos de la Política Económica y Social para el Período 2016-2021

Changes that relates to general development and will create a better understanding of the research area, are plenty in the five-year development plan.

The focus on the Cuban Peso as the sole currency in Cuba has a high priority. It is the goal to strengthen the Cuban Peso, hereby improving the value by generally strengthening the Cuban economy (DCP p. 24, col. 1, Lineamientos generales: 19.). The first step to achieving this goal is to make a monetary and exchange unification, which removes the current dual currency system which originally was implemented in order to aid the economy after the collapse of the Soviet, but did not have the desired effect.

The international relations have been addressed in the previous parts of the collections of documents for the 7th Congress meeting regarding development and this is also the case in the third and last part of the document. The goal is to improve international relations within the five year mark and this will be amongst other things, be done by compliance with commitments done (DCP p. 25, col. 2, Lineamientos generales: 62). What furthermore relates to the international relations, is the importance of the balance between import and export. Cuba has for many years had a high import rate, primarily due to the lack of development within the production sector (DCP p. 24, col. 1, Lineamientos generales: 19.; P. 25, col. 3, Lineamientos generales: 74.). In order to change this, the diversification of the exported goods plays an important role. As previously described, Cuba created a monoculture where they became dependent on the international demand for sugar (cf. Chapter 7.2.2.). This is according to the short-term development plan, all about to change by exporting more products and hereby protect the Cuban economy from the future instabilities of prices and demands, while also

increasing the efficiency within companies that are linked to foreign trade and make sure that the goods and services that are destined for the international market have the highest quality standards (DCP p. 15. col. 2, Lineamentos generales: 68.; P. 25, col. 2, Lineamentos generales: 67.; P. 25, col. 2, Lineamentos generales: 72.). The diversification does not include the products for exporting, but also the foreign investments within the Cuban borders. The Cuban business environment has previously been dominated by US presence, which furthermore made them vulnerable for changes within the US economy. In order to avoid this, the foreign investments in Cuba also needs to be diversified by accepting investors from different countries (DCP p. 25. col. 3, Lineamentos generales: 78.). What furthermore needs to be included is the process of learning from these foreign investors, which once more is emphasized in the long-term development plan (cf. Chapter 7.2.2.). It is of great importance that Cuba does not become too dependent on foreign presence in the production sector. The goal is to learn from them and over time be able to carry out the production themselves and move closer to the goal of being self-sufficient (DCP p. 26, col. 3, Lineamentos generales: 108.). While international relations are of high importance, the focus on Latin American and Caribbean relations are just as important, if not more, as it is listed as an continuing goal from the previous five year development plan (DCP p. 26, col. 1, Lineamentos generales: 87.).

To become self-sufficient is of great importance according to the development plans. It is part of a desired chain reaction that the Cuban state hopes becomes the achievements of the developmental initiatives. This is furthermore connected to the diversification that are being implemented in the Cuban economy in order to be less dependent, this very much connects to the theory of decoloniality as they do not wish to repeat the mistakes by previous reforms resulting in a monoculture supported by the US. This is also why the increase of the export is of great importance. If Cuba does not change the import/export development, where the import has continued to rise while the export has remained relatively unchanged. The import substitution will create economic balance and help Cuba achieve the successful implementation of developmental initiatives and become less vulnerable on the international market. Another link within this chain reaction the government wishes to achieve, is Cuba's improvement of its international image. By improving their image, Cuba strives to become more desirable for both tourist and foreign investors.

6. Discussion

This chapter's purpose is to discuss the findings within the analysed documents and whether they can be defined as ideological changes or a step towards a more capitalist society. The opinions of others will be included to support and critically discuss the findings. Lastly, literature and statistics on the current political and socio-cultural situations in Cuba that is found helpful to answer occurring questions, will also be included in this part.

The decoloniality aspects weigh heavily throughout both documents, especially Cuba's relationship with the US as an imperialist and capitalist country, representing values that are not welcomed in Cuba. The referral to the US occupation of Guantanamo and the US' imposed embargo is a recurring topic during the analysis. Though Cuba is trying to become a country that is more open regarding foreign investments, while also becoming more active within the international market. While this is an important part of improving the Cuban economy, Cuba's past as a colony and the fear of their sovereignty being threatened is a recurring subject. This fear is primarily directed towards the US, though advancements have been made.

The advancements are partially due to opening of the private market in Cuba along with the presence of foreign businesses and investments in general. In 2016, the establishment of the first US factory was approved. The new factory is producing around 1000 new tractors each year, tractors that will be sold to Cuban farmers (Martinez et al. 2020: 80). This is a good example of the benefits both the US and Cuba will gain from the development goals of the Cuban government regarding the adaptation to the international market. This is also a link in the technological advancements that will improve the efficiency and knowledge, since the Cuban workers will gain knowledge about the technology that is a part of the production of, in this case, tractors. In 2015 the US furthermore opened accounts within the state-owned Cuban banks, to facilitate transactions and to allow US credit cards to be accepted as a means of payment (Martinez et al. 2020: 81). As the previous example, this shows the initiation of achieving the development goals. By allowing the US, and other countries, to open accounts within the Cuban bank system, foreign currencies will also become easier accessible. This will hopefully in the long run help eliminate the desire for working within the service industry to easily access foreign currency from foreign tourists. This development will furthermore be strengthened by putting an end to the dual currency system, since

Since January 2017, the US and Cuba has signed 22 bilateral agreements (Cabañas 2017: Representaciones Diplomáticas de Cuba en el Exterior 2017). These agreements cover areas as health,

environmental protection, and law enforcements. This suggests that the relationship between the counties are slowly improving, due to the mutual interest in economic growth.

Whether this mutual interest is costing Cuba its socialist ideology is also worth questioning.

Some of the initiatives by the Cuban government point towards a more competitive national market. The decentralisation of some of the previous assignments of the Cuban state, allowing private owned businesses and allowing foreign businesses on Cuban territory.

The first years after the Revolution in 1959, these types of initiatives would not have been welcomed and not even drafted. The US and Cuban relationship were very strained following the nationalisation of foreign businesses and furthermore by several attacks planned by the US, ending with the Cuban Missile Crisis due to the Soviet placing missiles on Cuba (Amara. 2016). During these historical events, Cuba became increasingly anti-imperialist and considered capitalism as corruption of a society. This is emphasized throughout the documents and the analysis via the importance of educating the next generations to be critical to capitalist messages and by consolidated with the numerous descriptions of Cuba as an anti-imperialist country.

Considering the bad economic development that Cuba experienced due to the monoculture of production and the Soviet collapse, change was needed, the question is whether these corresponds to the values of the Revolution and the Marxist doctrine?

Cuba has previously been a traditional economy, since the state has been the center of the economy and hereby everything owed by it, which is the characteristic of this economy system (Orr 2012: 9). The findings within the documents describes the importance of the socialist ideology and the role of the state, but the new initiatives regarding future development points towards a market economy, where the government's role is diminished as the market is opened for privatisation. Besides from the limited role of the state, a market economy is characterized as being controlled by supply and demand. While you have the freedom to decide what type of business you would like to open, the risk of losing money is present (Orr 2012: 25).

The important role of the state is frequently mentioned in all documents, while in the developmental plans it also often appears alongside the mentioning of privatisation of business and foreign investments (e.g. DCP p. 23, col. 2, Lineamentos generales: 10; P. 25, col. 1, Lineamentos generales: 53.; P. 25, col. 2, Lineamentos generales: 63.). This represents their fear of foreign interference within the country, but still it is considered a necessity according to the role within the analysed materials. Embracing privatisation and foreign investments, while maintaining some state control, is a possibility. Cuba does not need to sacrifice their socialist ideology, where the role of the state is of

great importance. The middle path includes a mix of privately and state-owned businesses (Orr 2012: 43). Economically it is an option to have a free market while maintaining some government control and social safety net, an e.g. of this is the recapitalization that will be initiated by the state if necessary (DCP p. 21, col. 3).

While this is considered an option from an economic perspective, it could be the opposite regarding the ideological considerations. As outlined in Chapter 5.3., Cuba has been guided by Marxist principles since the Revolution. Marxism is considered the contrast to Capitalism and very little has been written by the German philosopher on the topic of international trade. In some of Marx's early writings he addresses the topic and cannot be labelled a *protectionist* nor a *free trader* but does acknowledge that a free trade/market economy is more compatible with a capitalist economy. He furthermore argues that a market economy is a useful tool to generate economic development, more useful than protectionism/traditional economy (). This would suggest that the Cuban state's steps towards a free market, in order to achieve economic development, would be approved by Marx. What contradicts this assumption is the standpoint of not protecting neither protectionism or free market taken by the philosopher Engels in 1845, also on behalf of Marx, outlining that their intent is not to defend one system more than the other, but rather "[...] *criticising both systems from our own standpoint. Ours is the communist standpoint* (Marx & Engels 2010: 34)." It is considered a universal belief among economists, that Marx did not even have a theory of international trade. Marx argued that a capitalist system cannot exist without foreign trade (Marx 1894: 110, 470), hereby it can be interpreted that Marx perceived capitalism as a system applied globally and kept alive via the international market.

A third standpoint is taken by Reza Ghorashi, who argues that Marx's standpoints from the 19th century cannot be transferred to a current situation like Cuba's. According to her, globalisation is to blame (Ghorashi 1995: 39). A country is simply not able to exist in an increasingly globalised world, without any international connections, politically or economically. Ghorashi furthermore argues that the lack of Marxist theories regarding foreign trade, is due to Marx approving all initiatives that will improve the position of the working class and its struggles, meaning that every initiative that will assist a society in becoming more socialist can be considered approved (Ghorashi 1995: 43).

Marifeli Pérez-Stable describes the Cuban ideology as revolutionary nationalism and hereby an abandonment of Marxism. The basis of this assumption is the "[...] *Cuban economy's reinsertion into Western capitalism* [...]" (2007: 268)", mentioning reforms as the decriminalization of the dollar and development of tourism. While an argument like that could be applied to the Case of Cuba, that

is not the result of this analysis, due to the multiple mentions of Marxism and socialism throughout the documents.

The development plans outline a series of goals meant to be carried out before 2030. The developmental initiatives can be discussed by applying the Path Dependency theory. The theory can be linked to the development of Cuba in two ways. The first way includes capitalist dependency, where it could be argued that the history is repeating itself. As outlined in Chapter 5.1., Cuba has up until the Revolution been dependant on the US, especially the demand for sugar and products for import. Due to the collapse of the Soviet and the consequences it has had for the Cuban economy, it could show a pattern of Cuba slowly returning to the capitalist ways to save the economy. This argument is based upon the several developmental goals that point towards a market structure seen in capitalist countries like the US. These goals are outlined in the analysed development plans and include recapitalization, privatisation, decentralisation, foreign investments and focus on tourism. What is furthermore worth pointing out is that all of this will be regulated by the state, which brings us to the second theory regarding path dependency. Cuba has a one-party system which is built on Soviet principles and dates back to the years that followed the Revolution (cf. Chapter 3.1.). Cuba has been following socialist/Marxist principles for half a decade. Hereby the role of socialism in the Constitution and Development Plans could be explained with path dependency. These roles include the Marxist standpoint being part of the constitution of 2019, Revolutionary, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist values, along with the state regulations and the continuation of free access to education, healthcare and social benefits (cf. Chapter 3.3.).

The theory would furthermore argue that Cuba at some point will return to the previous ways, socialist or capitalist, depending on the standpoint taken.

A third possible theory regarding the international development cannot be linked to path dependence. The development goals and ideological considerations that Cuba is aiming for, which includes best of both worlds when it comes to capitalism and socialism, could be similar to those of communist Vietnam and China. In China and Vietnam, the communist systems went through a series of renewals, which included social and economic liberalization programs with incorporated capitalist elements such as allowing private businesses to exist. This was implemented while the countries maintained their one-part structure (Pérez-Stable 2007). Pérez-Stable also points at symbolic ideological adjustments, e.g. the collective memory. Things that the Cuban State has used to influence the memory, and hereby the ideological structure of the country, is propaganda, Communist Party documents and the official journalism. These has all been focused on the confrontation with the US.

Is also worth pointing out that the socialist State of Cuba is part of the Constitution of 2019 and that the capitalist measures as privatisation, tourism and foreign investments could be considered not coincide with the Constitution, but according to the dictionary, state socialism is defined as “*An economic system with limited socialist characteristics that is effected by gradual state action and typically includes public ownership of major industries and remedial measures to benefit the working class* (Merriam-Webster’s collegiate dictionary, 2020).” This definition, with the mentioning of measures that will benefit the working class, is similar to the previously mentioned argument made by Ghorashi in connection to what initiatives can be considered approved by Karl Marx.

While this chapter discussed the findings of the analysis, the conclusion will serve to specifically answer the research questions, taking up upon concerns raised in this chapter, as well as reflecting more on the positive achievements of.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this section is to present the results of the conducted research, answering the problem formulation outlined in Chapter 1.1. To answer my problem formulation, I will be dividing it into two, the first focusing on the national developmental, the second on the possible ideological consequences of these developmental initiatives.

According to the findings in the analysis, Cuba has every intention to maintain the political structure, with the exception of doing minor decentralisations of State affairs, while also opening for foreign investments and focus on tourism. The socialist State is continuously emphasized with mentioning of Marxist theories and Revolutionary values.

It is increasingly hard for a nation to be self-sufficient due to the increasing globalisation. Cuba has a vision of becoming more self-sufficient, but are limited in regards of technical knowhow, which they acknowledge. *So, what is Cuba's vision for the national development?*

Based upon the analysis, this lack of knowledge within technology and production in general, is one of the driving forces behind the internationalisation. By allowing foreigners to open businesses that especially relates to the general development within the production sector, Cuba will gain this technical knowhow and in the long run overtake these areas of production and become less dependent on import and foreign investment. The measurements are a mix of the old path mixed with new initiatives.

The strategy of opening a communist country for privatisation, has previously been done with success by countries like China and Vietnam. This means that you do not necessarily lose your ideological values, but instead this strategy enables a socialist country to afford the continuation of these values (e.g. free education and healthcare). This concludes that Cuba is not forced to be path dependant. The option of implementing measures that are considered capitalist to adapt to the international market, while remaining faithful to the Revolution and hereby also the 2019 Constitution, is an option.

Looking at the *ideological consequences* of Cuba's developmental visions, Marxist theories outlined in the discussion, can help explain this. While the discussion points at numerous standpoint that can be taken when looking into the challenges the socialist ideology is facing during initiatives like privatisation and foreign investments, it furthermore points at the workers being the main focus both by Marx and state socialism. The development plans and the constitution both repeatedly outlines the importance of the working class since this makes up the majority of the Cuban population due to the history of the country (cf. Chapter 3.1.). While the privatisation will open up for a competitive market,

it is of great importance that no one is lost in the process, which is also explained with the use of a quote by Karl Marx, which very much embodies this standpoint: *from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs*. When this is said, there will still be ideological consequences of the decisions made in regard to foreign interference in the Cuban economy. While Cuba has allowed US businesses to evolve within their borders, they are still taking measurements to avoid the history repeating itself and become overly dependent on the demands of a single country. Cuba is, according to the analysed documents, holding on to the core ideological values while adjusting what needs to be adjusted in order to achieve developmental goals, this includes the State giving up some of the control.

Cuba is still going through a process of decolonialisation and the repetitive mentioning of socialism in connection to more free market initiatives, along with the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist values, confirms this. Decoloniality is a process and Cuba still has a long way to go, which is affirmed though the need to constantly legitimize the developmental initiatives outlined and carried out in the Cuban society.

8. Limitations

Several aspects of this research can be picked up and continued for further investigation. An area that could be broadened in order to achieve a better understanding of the course of the development, is the analysis of the development plans and the constitutions. When this is said, my focus has been to show the current development initiatives related to ideology and possible historical ties. The reason for not including more development plans nor constitutions, is partially due to the timeframe, but mainly due to the extensiveness of the documents. Since all documents are in Spanish, a great amount of time has been used on the process of coding. The 2019 constitution were available in English, but I wanted to code and analyse the documents in their original language in case something was lost in translation.

What furthermore might have ended up unintentionally affecting the thesis, is my educational background and nationality. I have a bachelor in Spanish language and culture, which at times makes it hard for me to stay objective, due to my knowledge regarding foreign interference in Latin America and the Caribbean. This makes me prone to sympathise with former colonised countries as Cuba.

On the other hand, my nationality makes me unintentionally biased due to the historical connection between Europe and the Caribbean and the decolonial perspective of the thesis. This could implicate

that the project has been done from a Eurocentric point of view, which could have compromised the outcome, especially since we are analysing a type of development where their standpoint is anti-capitalistic and includes decoloniality and therefore speaks against the Eurocentric perspective of previous colonial powers.

Stating our limitations should serve as a guide for possible future research and the resources that should be pursued in this connection. This project can be used as a foundation for further research by including development plans of the past and previous constitutions, possibly making the outcome more reliable or maybe confirming my findings.

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10. Appendix

Socialism

2019 Constitution	
Reference	Context
Page 1, column 2, line 7	Marxism
P. 1, col. 2, l. 3 bot.	Marxism
P. 2, col. 1, l. 2	Communism = humano
P. 2, Capítulo 1 (Principios Fundamentales), Artículo 1	Cuba = Socialist state
P. 2, Capítulo 1, Artículo 4	The socialist system is irreversible
P. 2, Capítulo 1, Artículo 5	The communist Party = superior leading political force of society and State. Preserves and develops moral and civic values
P. 2, Capítulo 1, Artículo 13g	The state consolidates the socialist ideology
P. 3, Capítulo 2, Artículo 16n	Cuba bases it's relations to socialist countries on friendship, cooperations and mutual aid.
P. 3, Capítulo 2, Artículo 18	A socialist economy system
P. 3, Capítulo 2, Artículo 19	Socialist planning = central component of economic and social development. Balancing resources and needs.
P. 4, Capítulo 2, Artículo 27	The socialist state plays a leading role in the production of goods and services.
P. 4, Capítulo 2, Artículo 30	The concentration of property is controlled by the state, which guarantees a fair redistribution of wealth (according to socialist values)
P. 4, Capítulo 2, Artículo 32h	The state promotes art if is according to humanist principles and values of a socialist society

P. 5, Capítulo 2, Artículo 65	Everyone has the right to get paid according to the quality and quantity according to socialism: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work"
P. 6, Capítulo 3, Artículo 84	Parents are responsible for teaching their kids socialist values.
P. 16, Capítulo 4, Artículo 229	En ningún caso resultan reformables los pronunciamientos sobre la irrevocabilidad del sistema socialista establecido en el Artículo 4, y la prohibición de negociar bajo las circunstancias previstas en el inciso a) del Artículo 16.

Conceptualización	
Reference	Context
P. 2, col. 1, l. 5	Socialism as a strategic purpose, updating the model is continuing the revolution.
P. 2, col. 2, l. 33	Cuba is constructing socialism = contradictions will happen
P. 2, col. 2, l. 8 f.b.	Cuba considering experience from other countries, especially socialist countries
P. 4, col. 2, l. 11	After listing the strengths and possibilities of Cuba, it concludes that it is essential and possible to update the Cuban Model of development in order to preserve their socialism.
P. 4, col. 2, l. 30	Strengthening socialism is the goal with the developmental updates
P. 5, col. 1, l. 8	Socialist democracy
P. 5, col. 1, 6)	Socialist planning is a fundamental component in development
P. 5, col. 2, c)	Ensure that social distribution is connected to the moral work a person is doing and this will satisfy the material and spiritual needs.
P. 5, col. 3, d)	Perfect the Cuban State, since it is the leader of the economic and social development = functions that are inherent to it (social policies) and decentralize some power to local levels and develop policies for cadres .
P. 5, col. 3, Capítulo 2	The importance of property relations in a socialist country - must contribute to the society. + The purpose of non-state-owned

	companies: Generate jobs, launch initiatives, increase income to the State and contribute to the objectives of socialist development.
P. 6, col. 1, l. 2	The TEMPORARY transfer of some means of production to private ownership, does not equal privatization because the state still acts as the main power and can regulate. Regulations = follows principles of socialism. + Foreign owned companies is a way to attract capital, financing, technology, employment etc.
P. 6, col. 1, l. 28	Foreign companies will be monitored by cadres in order to protect the environment, sovereignty and socialism. The state will regulate companies' participation in international economy. Import and export substitution is encouraged by the state.
P. 6, col. 2, l. 26 f.b.	There is a media company owned by the people but regulated by the government.
P. 6, col. 3, Capítulo 2.1	Five main forms of ownership of production: Socialist property of the people, cooperative ownership, mixed property, private property, and ownership of political/social organizations
	1.a Socialist property: Owned by all the Cuban citizens = belongs to the Cuban people, the State acts as representative of the owner - the revolutionary leading role (workers/working class) eg. Health, education, sports etc. - Two types of ownership within this category (1. Owned by the entire town = have the main role in production of goods and services - covering expenses with income and, obtaining profit and fulfil their social responsibilities)
	1.b Socialist property: Budget Units = Management systems eg. Public administration
	2. Cooperative ownership = the type that is recognized by the model is socialist (based on the collective work and cooperation)
	3. Mixed property = between national entities of different forms of ownership or foreign investors. Makes it possible to attract foreign investors, the State regulates and makes sure the rules are followed.
	4. Private property = Certain activities approved by the State. Can be both Cuban and foreign. Profit is regulated via taxes.

	5. Ownership of political/social entities = foundations, social organizations, religious groups ect. Non-profit organisations.
	RESPECT FOR WORKERS MENTIONED IN ALL FIVE
P. 11, col. 1, d)	Control = Monitoring in order to correct deviation (popular control), preventing and detecting crimes and deviations. Control and evaluation of the model updates and its impacts. It is important in order to protect the peoples rights and ensure accountability at all levels.
P. 11, col. 1, Capítulo 4	The importance of social policy, essential to the development model of Cuba. Contributes to the well-being of the citizens. The consolidation of socialism is achievable with the increase of efficiency and productivity = social justice. Balance between social development and economic is the foundation of the new development model.
P. 11, col. 1, a)-i)	The essence of Cuban social society
P. 11, col. 2, 4.1	The state guarantees free access to education and health services.
p. 12, col. 1, l. 17	Access to culture, national and international - in correspondence with the objectives of socialist development.
P. 12, col. 3, l. 8	The importance of social security in order to reduce inequality. Leaving no one homeless.
P. 12, col. 3, l. 18	Raising the quality and standard of living as an essential part of the progress within economic and social development. This includes modern communication, information and promoting rational consumption in accordance with the socialist society and care for the environment.
P. 13, col. 1, Consideraciones finales	The transformations of the development model is to be able to adapt and move forward with a vision of the future - a necessity to continue the construction of socialism in Cuba and make it irreversible.
P. 13, col. 2, l. 1	Seeks to eliminate what affects the Revolution.
P. 13, col. 2, l. 26	The next generations of Cubans are responsible for the implementation of revolutionary solutions related to development.

Bases del Plan Nacional hasta 2030	
Reference	Context
P. 15, col. 1, l. 12	The purpose of the developmental changes is to consolidate their sovereignty, independence, socialism and democracy.
P. 16, col. 3, objeivos generales: 1.	Consolidate the socialist and democratic state.
P. 16, col. 3, objeivos específicos: 1.	Strengthen socialist democracy and its principles.
P. 18, col. 2, objetivos específicos: 2.	Restructure the participation of the state, in order to maintain the socialist property.
P. 19, col. 1, l. 6	Cuba has a high human potential after successful education and policymaking of more than fifty years (since after the revolution - socialist change)
P. 20, col. 3, Desarrollo humano	Well-being and quality of life has been a priority of the Cuban socialist society since the revolution. The aging population is a great challenge - puts preassue on social security costs.
P. 21, col. 1, objetivos específicos: 1.	Preserve the policies for access to education, health, social security e.g.
P. 21, col. 1, objetivos específicos: 4.	Strengthen the study of Cuban history with focus of Martí and the Revolutionary thinking and construction of socialism.
P. 21, col. 2, objetivos específicos: 16.	Specific attention to groups with special needs and vulnerable.
P. 21, col. 2, objetivos específicos: 19.	Equality and no discrimination no matter gender, race, religion, sexual orientation etc.
P. 21, col. 3, objetivos específicos: 23.	Conservation of the history of the Revolution.

Lineamientos de la Política Económica y Social (2016-21)	
Reference	Context

P. 23, col. 1, Lineamentos Generales: 2.	Socialist planning will continue to be the main direction for the economy - the State exercises regulations and and influence.
P. 23, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 10.	If a business show financial losses and insufficient working capital, it may be transformed (recapitalization/nationalized) or go though a liquidation. NO BANKRUPTCY LAWS IN CUBA
P. 24, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 33.	In order to advance in the reestablishment of the functioning of the socialist distribution law, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."
P. 24, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 36.	Diversify the offering of loans and other banking services to the public (all banks are stare owned in Cuba).
P. 24, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 37.	Imporve the necessary banking services in order to assist the privately owned businesses, especially those who help development and agriculture.
P. 25, col. 1, Lineamentos Generales: 53.	Increase control of the use of financial resources of the State.
P. 25, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 63.	Control of cadres and other officials that intervene in external economic relations, to ethical conduct in accordance with the principles of the Revolution.
P. 26, col. 3, Lineamentos Generales: 104.	The importance of educating Cubans to carry out the important roles within development instead of depending on foreign workers and investments.
P. 27, col. 3, Lineamentos Generales: 116.	Continue to consolidate the conquests of the Revolution (medical care, education, social security etc.)
P. 28, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 148.	Gradually eliminate the supply book.
P. 30, col. 3, Lineamentos Generales: 216.	Ensure that tourist activities respond to the culture associated with the Revolution.
P. 32, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 256.	The separation between the state and business-functions will gradually continue to be carried out.
P. 32, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 265.	Continuing the development of prosperous and sustainable socialism.

P. 32, col. 3, Lineamentos Generales: 268.	Continue improving organs of Poder Popular (the Cuban parliament) in order to consolidate the socialist democracy.
P. 32, col. 3, Lineamentos Generales: 271.	Strengthen the State's internal and external control.

(De)coloniality

2019 Constitution	
Reference	Context
P. 1, col. 1, l. 6 bot.	Historical reference: Fighting more than 50 years against the yankee imperialism and the political corruption
P. 1, col. 2, l. 3 bot.	Cuba is guided by anti-imperialist thoughts inspired by Fidel Castro and Marx.
P. 1, col. 3, l. 4	Emphasizing the cooperation with Latin America and Caribbean countries
P. 2, Capítulo 1, Artículo 13b	Focus on the state's defence of Cuba's independence and sovereignty
P. 2, Capítulo 2, Artículo 16 + 16a	The Cuban republic base all international relations on antiimperialist principles
-II- 16a	Relations/economic/political cooperation can never happen under coercion, threats etc.
P. 3, Capítulo 2, Artículo 16e	Condemns colonialism and imperialism
P. 3, Capítulo 2, Artículo 16j	War in connection with conquista as international crime and it is Cuba's duty to have solidarity with the attacked.
P. 3, Capítulo 2, Artículo 17	Will grant asylum to those who fight against imperialism, colonialism, and other forms of domination
Capitalism	Context
P. 1, col. 2, l. 1.	Historical reference: Fighting more than 50 years against the yankee imperialism/capitalist exploitation

P. 1, col. 3, l. 2 bot.	Cuba shall never return to a capitalist regime
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Conceptualización	
Reference	Context
P. 2, col. 3, l. 1	Mentioning the US and their try to dominate Cuba even after the revolution, with the help of the bourgeois in Cuba = the new government transformed property ownership... Ending colonial capitalist stage
P. 3, col. 3, l. 15	Cuba's relations with the US and Soviet
P. 2, col. 3, l. 47	Cuba's relations with the US and Soviet
P. 3, col. 2, l. 8	Monetary system - no neoliberal formulas
P. 3, col. 3, l. 15	Imperialists claim for global domination remains
P. 4, col. 1, l. 15	The people's values: e.g. Anti-imperialists
P. 5, col. 1, 7)	The revolutionary protection will continue as long as imperialism exists
P. 10, col. 2, c)	Economic integration and cooperation with other countries is promoted (Especially with Latin American countries)
P. 12, col. 2, l. 8	Guaranteed attention to the people to fought in the revolution, cadres and retired officials who have dedicated their lives to the society.
P. 13, col. 1, l. 1	The state regulates advertising - In order for capitalist and colonizing messages are not promoted or national symbols are disrespected.
P. 13, col. 1, consideraciones finales	The implementation of the adjustments of the model takes place under the embargo of the USA and the AGGRESSIVENESS of the enemies of the revolution who seeks to destroy it.
P. 13, col. 2, l. 23	The youth plays an important role in achieving the visions of the Nation: Sovereign, independent, socialist, democratic, and sustainable.
P. 13, col. 2, l. 26 f.b.	The internationalization process is assumed to be characterized by imperialism, threatening international peace and security. The US

	and its allies seek to keep their imperialist domination, working against more just forces and sustainability, which opposes transnational corporations dominance, inequality and underdevelopment.
P. 13, col. 3, l. 1	The importance of promoting political alliances within Latin America and the Caribbean (Mentioning ALBA & CELAC), resolving differences in a peaceful matter. This will secure the defence against imperialism. Relations with other socialist countries will continue to be build, while Cuba will take action in order to defend their sovereignty and national interests when it comes to changes in US - Cuban relations (with special focus on the embargo)
Capitalism	Context
P. 2, col. 3, l. 17	Ending colonial capitalist stage
P. 3, col. 3, l. 15	Capitalism persists

Bases del Plan Nacional hasta 2030	
Reference	Context
P. 14, col. 2, l. 1	The embargo imposed by the US is partially to blame for the bad Cuban economy and is impossible to overcome in a short term. This is primarily the cause for developing a plan for long term development (2030-plan)
P. 16, col. 1, Visión de la Nación	The vision of Cuba (VISION (the situation to be achieved) = sovereign, independent, socialist, democratic, prosperous and sustainable.) reflects the history of the country (the revolution). It also takes future challenges into account: a complex international situation with increasing cultural hegemony.
P. 17, col. 2, objevitos específicos: 16.	Promote the increasing international demand for a total removal of the US embargo.
P. 17, col. 2, objevitos específicos: 17.	Promote the increasing international demand for the return of the illegally occupied territory of Guantanamo Bay

P. 20, col. 3, objetivos específicos: 21.	Ensure compliance with the international environmental commitments and work towards that solutions includes all countries without giving privilege to countries who has historically contributed to environmental deterioration (probably referring to former colonial powers - Europe and USA)
P. 21, col. 1, objetivos específicos: 6.	Promote and reaffirm the adoption of altruism, justice, patriotism and anti-imperialism.
P. 21, col. 3, objetivos específicos: 25.	Prepare the new generations to critically interpret and reject the harmful pro-imperialist, annexationist (taking over a country's territory by force), consumerist, colonial and individualistic messages.
Capitalism	Context
P. 21, col. 1, objetivos específicos: 5.	Strengthen the purchasing power and recapitalization (it will strengthen the new privately owned, increasing their depth to the state but giving them the opportunity to succeed - could also be a way to buy into the private businesses and control)
P. 21, col. 3, objetivos específicos: 25.	Prepare the new generations to critically interpret and reject the harmful pro-imperialist, annexationist (taking over a country's territory by force), consumerist, colonial and individualistic messages.

Lineamientos de la Política Económica y Social (2016-21)	
Reference	Context
P. 23, col. 2, Lineamientos Generales: 4.	The State does not allow accumulation of property, materials or economic wealth. (History of foreigners controlling the business-environment of Cuba and not benefitting the Cuban people) and continue updating the regulations so it does not contradict the socialist ideology.
P. 27, col. 1, Lineamientos Generales: 117.	Through the values of the Revolution, cultivate knowledge of Cuban history and culture while having a critical decolonized position regarding products from the capitalist hegemonic cultural industry.

Capitalism	Context
P. 24, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 22.	Gradually increase the purchasing power of income, maintaining macroeconomic balance and the priority of recapitalization. (stable economy within the state = better recapitalization)
P. 24, col. 3, Lineamentos Generales: 48.	Continue developing incentives that promote non-state forms of management (private market)
P. 28, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 144.	Expand work in the non-state sector.
P. 28, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 151.	Continue to adapt to a market with a greater amount of non-state companies in Cuba.
P. 30, col. 3, Lineamentos Generales: 212.	Non-state (private) within accommodation, gastronomy etc. Within the service industry will continue to develop alongside state owned options.

General development

2019 Constitution	
Reference	Context
P. 4, Capítulo 2, Artículo 28	The law decides how the development of foreign investments in Cuba
P. 4, Capítulo 2, Artículo 26	The state creates business organisations that will help develop the economy (services and production)
P. 6, Capítulo 2, Artículo 75	The state protects the environment and recognizes its close connection with the sustainable development of the economy
P. 8, Capítulo 2, Artículo 108i	The National Assembly discuss and approve the plans relating to economic and social development

Conceptualización	
Reference	Context
P. 2, col. 2, l. 3	Referring to the revolution as development, summed up by a quote by Fidel Castro from 2016
P. 3, col. 2, l. 8	Monetary system - foreign currency

P. 3, col. 2, l. 48	Listing of developmental issues
P. 3, col. 3, l. 51	The strengths of Cuba that will help them advance
P. 4, col. 3, l. 8	How to achieve a sustainable socialist society
P. 5, col. 2, a)	Define the roles of the new owners of private production
P. 5, col. 2, b)	Redesign the monetary system, prices and income + induce economic measures that align with the interests of the country.
P. 5, col. 3, d)	Improve the citizen participation of democracy
P. 6, col. 3, Capítulo 2.1	Five main forms of ownership of production: Socialist property of the people, cooperative ownership, mixed property, private property, and ownership of political/social organizations
	1a Socialist property = belongs to the Cuban people, the State acts as representative of the owner
	1.b Socialist property: Budget Units = Management systems e.g. Public administration
	2. Cooperative ownership = the type that is recognized by the model is socialist (based on the collective work and cooperation)
	3. Mixed property = between national entities of different forms of ownership or foreign investors. Makes it possible to attract foreign investors, the State regulates and makes sure the rules are followed.
	4. Private property = Certain activities approved by the State. Can be both Cuban and foreign. Profit is regulated via taxes.
	5. Ownership of political/social entities = foundations, social organizations, religious groups etc.. Non-profit organisations.
	RESPECT FOR WORKERS MENTIONED IN ALL FIVE
P. 8, col. 3, Capítulo 3	The update of the development model = redesign = Four areas
	a) Socialist planning = Centralized - The state acts in the interests of the society. Consolidating the socialism, making it irreversible. Assuring long term development, assured by long- and mid- term development. ENVIRONMENTAL DEVELOPMENT
	b) Regulation = The Cuban currency is the only currency. There is a exchange rate that respects foreign currencies, which encourages import/export substitution. Exchange rate is regulated in order to

	control the access to foreign currency and the amount of money in circulation. Taxes is a tool to redistribute wealth = people with lower income are protected. Controlling the prices. Preventing monopoly and other things that contradicts the interests of the society.
	c) Management of the state and government = transparency which ensures public examination and that you are held accountable for scrutiny. Substitution of imports will diversify the economy and the national market. Economic contracting (effective economic management). Economic integration and cooperation with other countries is promoted (Especially with Latin American countries)
	d) Control = Monitoring in order to correct deviation (popular control), preventing and detecting crimes and deviations. Control and evaluation of the model updates and its impacts. It is important in order to protect the people's rights and ensure accountability at all levels.
P. 12, col. 2, Capítulo 4.2	The updating of the development model = work will be the main income.
P. 12, col. 2, Capítulo 4.2	The right to form grassroot organizations, but has to follow the law and statutes of CTC.
P. 13, col. 2, l. 1	The results of the adjustments will be gradually be achieved.

Bases del Plan Nacional hasta 2030	
Reference	Context
P. 15, col. 1, l. 15	1. Increase GDP, sustainable development, prove well-being of population
	2. Guarantee the dominance of the socialist property of the people.
	3. Consolidate a development model with socialism, sustainability etc
	4. Increase income levels, higher effectiveness and competitiveness taking international standards into account.
	5. Improve national defence...

	6. Guarantee security and order to strengthen the implementation of the development plan, preventing and confronting enemy activity national and international.
	11. Develop services and productions that take advantage of the competitive advantages in order to create a better transition to the international economy.
	13. Better self-sufficiency and increase export.
	17. Promote foreign investments.
	18. Expand and diversify foreign trade, especially in regards of export.
	22. Restoring the purchasing power of the Cuban Peso.
P. 16, col. 1, Visión de la Nacion Para el 2030	VISION (the situation to be achieved) = sovereign, independent, socialist, democratic, prosperous and sustainable.
P. 16, col. 3, Objetivos generales: 4.	Promote the presence in international economy.
P. 16, col. 3, objevitos específicos: 3.	Confrontation and prevention of corruption and general crime.
P. 17, col. 1, objevitos específicos: 11.	Promote higher levels of investments, domestic and foreign.
P. 17, col. 2, objevitos específicos: 15.	Promote an international and national political environment that favours the national development.
P. 17, col. 2, objevitos específicos: 18.	Promote the image of Cuba as an attractive and safe destination.
P. 18, col. 1, objetivos específicos: 7.	Promote the sustainable development of the construction industry - with greater efficiency.
P. 18, col. 1, objetivos específicos: 8.	Strengthen the competitiveness of the tourism sector, the purpose is to increase the income from service and promote the Cuban culture.
P. 18, col. 1, objetivos específicos: 9.	Strengthen the industry - better competitiveness internationally.
P. 18, col. 1, objetivos específicos: 11.	Promote the development of exports = competitiveness on international market.
P. 18, col. 2, objetivos específicos: 3.	Investments in infrastructure.

P. 18, col. 2, objetivos específicos: 5.	Promote foreign investments in infrastructure = the risk is will be shared.
P. 18, col. 2, objetivos específicos: 7.	Guarantee sustainable energy (e.g. Wind power)
P. 18, col. 2, objetivos específicos: 10.	Improve competitiveness of transport and logistics infrastructure and services
P. 18, col. 2, objetivos específicos: 11.	Make Cuba a centre of logistics regionally (Caribbean)
P. 19, col. 1, l. 35	Due to the starting conditions of Cuba and limited capacity of generating technology, foreign investments are the only solution.
P. 20, col. 2, objetivos específicos: 5.	Environment: Implement sustainable consumption and production in e.g. Tourism and the lifestyles of the Cubans.
P. 20, col. 2, objetivos específicos: 14.	Take measures for restauration and social development of tourism and adaption to climate change.
P. 20, col. 3, objetivos específicos: 20.	International cooperation to face climate change and pollution
P. 22, col. 1	6. Have a strong relevance to the internal market, generates jobs, supply of demands etc.
	7. They seek to use international technology in production, generating competitive advantages.
	10. Do not have a negative impact on the environmental sustainability

Lineamientos de la Política Económica y Social (2016-21)	
Reference	Context
P. 23, col. 1, Lineamientos Generales: 3.	Recognizes cooperative, mixed, private property of Cubans or foreigners and are subject to regulation by the state.
P. 24, col. 1, Lineamientos Generales: 19.	Consolidate and strengthen the the Cuban Peso.
P. 24, col. 1, Lineamientos Generales: 26.	Create an adequate relationship between the import and generation of foreign exchange earnings (export)

P. 24, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 40.	Moneytary and exchange unification
P. 25, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 62	Improve international relations through strict compliance with commitments made.
P. 25, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 65.	Promote the establishment of companies and alliances aborad that improves Cuba's position in foreign markets.
P. 25, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 67.	Increase efficiency in companies that are linked to foreign trade.
P. 25, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 68.	Diversify the destinations of exported goods, while maintaining a good relationship to main trading partners
P. 25, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 72.	Make sure that the goods and services destined for international markets have the highest quality standards.
P. 25, col. 3, Lineamentos Generales: 74.	Import substitution
P. 25, col. 3, Lineamentos Generales: 75.	Control import demands that will come from non-state-owned companies.
P. 25, col. 3, Lineamentos Generales: 78.	Increase foreign investments at an important source of development. + Favouring different countries investments, diversification.
P. 26, col. 1, Lineamentos Generales: 87.	Continue to improve relations with Caribbean and Latin American countries.
P. 26, col. 1, Lineamentos Generales: 90.	Increase the demands and control of investors.
P. 26, col. 3, Lineamentos Generales: 108.	Focus on the process of learning from foreign businesses and at some point, be able to carry out production without depending on foreign businesses.
P. 29, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 170.	Exploit the full possibilities of tobacco sale to the external market.
P. 29, col. 2, Lineamentos Generales: 177.	Increase sugar production and diversify the export markets
P. 30, col. 1, Lineamentos Generales: 191.	Recover and increase production of materials to ensure the improvement of tourism, housing and industrial.

P. 30, col. 3, Lineamentos Generales: 209.	The importance of tourism to stimulate the economy and development.
P. 30, col. 3, Lineamentos Generales: 210.	Continue to improve Cuba's competitiveness within tourism - having a "quality-price"-relationship.
P. 31, col. 1, Lineamentos Generales: 218.	Improve organisation and control of services provided by private carriers.
P. 32, col. 1, Lineamentos Generales: 250.	Increase the participation of national producers (import substitution)