



THE BATTLE OF IDEAS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMIC POLICIES OF CUBA'S DEVELOPMENT MODEL



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ABSTRACT

The disputed models of society that were established at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century arrived in the last decade of the millennium with an unpredictable and brutal reality: capitalism considered the satanic mill of social ills became hegemonic in the planetary escalation as the most successful model of socioeconomic development; On the other hand, socialism, self-styled as the highest phase of capitalism, for upholding honorable principles of solidarity and social protection, by a hair's breadth, did not completely collapse in all the countries where it had access to political power. This controversial scenario, although quite evident, did not make it clear what the socio-economic development potential of both systems was, insofar as capitalism was still seen as a promoter of exploitation and social exclusion on a global scale, at the same time that socialism continued to sustain the argument in favour of human equality in few places. although he was weakened. In the midst of this environment, the question that is pertinent to investigate was: what are the socioeconomic material conditions of the socialist models that work with them if they are considered promoters of collective well-being. In particular, we investigate the experience of socialism in Cuba, seeking to identify how its economic development policy appropriates its socialist principles to achieve the dignity of man and, therefore, whether the degree of its development legitimizes its assumptions of a society situated at a higher level. stage to capitalism. Under the socioeconomic development approach, the research data revealed low economic and productive efficiency, marked by a backward and obsolete technological base, high external indebtedness, levels of regional and social inequality, with an incidence of poverty being the income of workers. quite depreciated monetarily. It was concluded that socialist principles – precisely the consideration of market functions and social/state ownership of the means of production – are methodologically erratic and were poorly treated in the formulation of Cuban economic policy, and therefore, cannot guarantee well-being. which they profess so strongly because of their theoretical insufficiency and practical inapplicability.

Keywords: Social sciences. Epistemology-Methodology. Development. Rationality.

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INTRODUCTION

The fundamental question that guides the objectives of this text is a very simple question that seeks to know if socialism is really presented as a model or phase of society superior to capitalism as prophesied by the German Ideology of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels? Although Marxism is full of affirmations about the historical necessity of socialism as the only alternative capable of promoting the overcoming of the contradictions, injustices, exploitations and inequalities that the capitalist system has been implementing since its consolidation in modern societies since the nineteenth century, its acceptance as a historical necessity of the oppressed classes is not a complete achievement until today. nor is it a finding that is easy to accept as true through empirical reality.

However, as we are interested in verifying where Marxist literature finds connection with the material and historical reality that it announces, we ask ourselves what substantial modifications, profound transformations in the fields of social protection and economic development have been able to produce in socialist societies. the present, making coherent their theoretical assumptions and probabilistic predictions.

With the intention of investigating the nature of socialist societies and their material and social conditions, clearing this controversial terrain full of contradictions, our purpose in this text is to analyze the experience of the Socialist Republic of Cuba, created in 1959, under the auspices of the principles of Marxist socialism as a way of contributing to the debate on the real experience of socialism that, Despite the immense academic production, little is known about its empirical and material reality.

We seek to understand these issues by taking up the theme of development, especially in its version of sustainable development that began to dominate the discourses and/or actions of governments in practically all countries, including socialist ones, from the mid-1990s, when environmental issues entered the political debate. In particular, we will address the development process by addressing the problem of the market and its associative relationship with the government's economic policy as a specific cut to characterize the degree of the political-economic circuit of the Republic of Cuba and its link with the material and social relations of well-being of its people. From this research angle, the notion of development that we adopt in the analysis is linked to ethical motivations and moral regulations that define the naturalness of economic exchanges in such a way that the development process consists of overcoming economic and social deprivations (scarcity of resources, hunger, lack of education, unemployment, diseases, freedom, etc.). material standard of living) that limit the expansion of substantive freedoms, intervening in the possibility of living well in basic conditions of social existence (SEN, 1999; SEN, 2000) that

serve the enjoyment of current and future generations. The place of the market is more than the space for the production of economic values that are realized through the production, supply and material consumption of goods responsible for the growth of income, of GDP, it is defined by attributes of normative efficiency that safeguard mercantile exchanges against *"exploitation and in favor of the public welfare"* (BRANDT, 1979, p. 12).

Proceeding in this way, we refer to the research, from a theoretical point of view, placing it within the sociological tradition that studies social relations as a result of the dimensions of economics and politics. This option is justified because Fernand Braudel (1985\1986), José Fiori (1999), Karl Polanyi (1944\2000), Max Weber (1972\2000), Antônio Gramsci (1987) and Gramsci (by SEMERARO, 1999), Amartya Sen (1999; 2000) among others, tell us that social development processes as well as markets are entangled in ethical ramifications and political motivations of social orders.

In this sense, Max Weber (2000) defines the specific methodology of sociology for the understanding and empirical explanation of the causes and effects of relationships, conceiving as a primordial principle the idea that social action³ between men is loaded with meanings constituted, at times, for multiple motivations that, in the case studied here, they privilege economic and political relations. One line of his exposition, for example, seeks to establish connections between the social actions of the economy and social orders, since such relations between economics and politics explain mutual dependence and the effects of these relations in terms of the effects that are sought to be achieved.

We insist on the theoretical referent defined by the connection between economy and politics or between market and state because socialist systems are referenced to a large extent by the differentiated planning with which the socialist state relates to the market sphere of its territory and how this relationship is the primary basis. the cause of the intended effects of material and social well-being and the justification for the consolidation of a model of sociability free of contradictions.

In this sense, thinking about how market socialization is processed means considering its connection with established political communities, because according to Sen

³ Max Weber understands "action" as "human behavior (regardless of whether it is an external or internal act of omission or permission) as long as the agent or agents relate it to a subjective meaning. Social action, in turn, means an action which, in terms of the meaning intended by the agent or agents, refers to the conduct of others, guided by it in its course (...). Meaning is the meaning subjectively sought: a) in reality "a" or in a historically given case, by an agent, or in "b" on average and approximately, in a given number of cases, by agents or; b) in a conceptually pure type, constructed by the agent or agents conceived as typical. This is by no means an objectively "correct" meaning or a "true" meaning obtained through metaphysical research. Therein lies the difference between the empirical sciences of action, Sociology and History, and all the dogmatic sciences, Jurisprudence, Logic, Ethics and Aesthetics, which aim to investigate the 'correct' and 'valid' meaning of their objects" (WEBER, 2000, pp. 3-4).

(1999) there are sufficient empirical reasons that indicate the systematic move away from social motivation based solely on self-interest, as exemplified by the case of Japanese industry in which behaviors are close to values such as duty, loyalty and goodwill. These same aspects have been identified by Giovanni Arrighi and Beverly Silver (2001) as the Asian responses of India, Japan, and China to Western domination. And why also in the decision of socialist societies like Cuba that seek to anchor their relationship with the market on the basis of principles such as justice, equality and the social welfare of their people and define their regulation by social objectives that contribute to the improvement of life. and social self-determination?

The analysis, therefore, of the process of mutual dependence and its practical effects must be seen through the meaning of the action of social groups, the primary objective-empirical principle for the study of any objective of society, through which it is possible to reach understanding. of the intertwining of socialization established by the identification of evidence of the intended meaning of the action. Max Weber (2000) exemplifies the evidence of the meaning of social action that is understandably possible when referring to the production, use, and function of socially used artifacts:

... Every artifact, a machine, for example, can only be interpreted and understood from the meaning of the human action (with a possibly very different purpose) that provided (or intends to provide) its production and use; without recourse to this meaning it will remain entirely incomprehensible. What is understandable in it is, therefore, its reference to human action, either as a means or as an end conceived by the agent or agents and which guides their actions. Only in these categories is the understanding of this class of objects oriented. We understand the actions of picking up firewood or pointing a rifle not only in a current way, but also for the reasons, when we know that the woodcutter performs this action to earn a salary or for personal consumption, or for recreation (...) or when we know that the shooter acts in this way obeying an order to execute someone, or fighting against a (rational) enemy or for revenge (in an affective, and in this sense, irrational way) (...) all of these are understandable connections of meaning, the understanding of which we consider an explanation of the effective course of action (Ibid., p. 5-6).

In summary, the foundations of Max Weber's integral sociology, constituted in the relationship of social action in interaction with the social formations developed in them, allow us to grasp the connections of meaning established – the interests represented – between the instituted orders of political associations, such as the State, in correspondence with the motivations of economic associations. such as the market, and its different agents involved, as well as to understand the mutual practical effects that result from this relationship, in terms of the results of the functioning of economic policy.

In fact, the socialist experiences in general, and that of Cuba in particular, are quite eloquent, for the reasons that we explore synthetically for their consideration, from which we can observe how the relationship between economic exchanges and normative statutes

is established throughout their socialist life, training, allowing us to investigate the intertwining of economic motivations with the devices and political conventions of the productive agents that operate in the constitution of the governmental economic policy for the development of Cuba to achieve the material and social well-being of its people, making evident from there the socialist principles defended and the expected material results that they demonstrate as a response to the connection of the causal processes and their empirical effects that emerge.

We consider it essential, however, to take into account the correlation between the State and the market for the analysis of Cuba, because, as we have indicated, historically there are no markets, and therefore no material development, without political and economic orders to which they are subject. inserted. Giovanni Semeraro (1999, p. 88), translating Antonio Gramsci, says that in his concept of civil society, the idea of "'homo oeconomicus' and the 'determined' market of civil society are not separable from the State and its superstructural complex". In Gramsci's view, according to this author, the dichotomy introduced by liberalism with the association of free economic initiative linked to civil society and legal-governmental activities linked to political society is part of an important methodological error that must always be unmasked, *pus de concorddo* with "all liberalism (...) it is a regulation of the State; privatization and nationalization are always state interventions. The State is the preliminary condition of any collective economic activity, it is the element of the market, it is even the market itself, the very political-legal expression by which a commodity (labor) is preliminarily devalued" (SEMERARO, 1999, p. 88). In this sense, there is no separation between the State and the economy, since the political order has the attribute of establishing the standard of economic exchanges, of regulating commercial disturbances (DAHRENDORF, 1997; SEMERARO, 1999; POLANYI, 2000).

This study, in this way, seeks to analyze the current situation of the Republic of Cuba from the investigation of its degree of economic and social development as an expression of the strong planned relationship between the market and the State that socialist systems attribute and impute to themselves as traces that provide the distinctive features of their model of society to the overcoming of capitalist contradictions. its main objective and reason for its existence. In particular, it seeks to correlate the socialist principles underlying its postulates with material, economic, and social objectives, and how they are instrumented by government economic policy to achieve these concrete objectives and results.

The research is limited to studying the Republic of Cuba and presenting a general scenario of its economic policy and the results achieved since 1959 when socialism was promulgated on the island. The database we used sought to cover the socioeconomic

conditions of the Cuban territory, seeking to emphasize the results and impacts of government policies for the social well-being of its people. The materials consulted were academic papers, theses, dissertations, scientific articles, magazines, newspapers (Granma, Rebelde, Trabajadores); consultations on information websites (www.cubacontemporanea.com); We also conduct informal conversations, participant observation, participation in meetings and thematic conferences on socialism.

The methodological procedures of the research were based on the following steps: i) elaboration of the research objectives; ii) collection of empirical material, bibliographic sources, documents, regional works; (iii) cataloguing of statistical data; (iv) informal conversations and participant observation; (v) systematization of the information collected; (vi) preliminary drafting of the article; v) and finally, the concluding drafting of the text.

The work is organized into two main parts in addition to this Introduction and Conclusion. The first part briefly addresses the socio-historical context of the emergence of socialism. Its main purpose is to outline the fundamental principles and theoretical-practical assumptions that define the field of socialist systems in general, and of Cuba, in particular.

The second part deals specifically with the empirical results achieved from the formulation of government economic policy throughout the socialist period. It precisely aims to verify the correlation of socialist principles with their concrete material results and their connection of meaning with the expected effects or developments.

Finally, we have some conclusive findings on the current state of the socialist camp in the Republic of Cuba.

CONCEPTUAL CONTRIBUTION. THE ASSOCIATIVE ORIGINS BETWEEN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT AND POLITICAL POWER RELATED TO THE FORMATION OF INTERNAL MARKETS AND POLITICAL POWER (STATE)⁴

As we announced at the beginning of this Introduction in a very synthetic way, one of the main controversies between the capitalist camp and socialism is based on the way in which the sphere of the market is viewed. The forceful critiques of socialism that situate exploitation, injustices, social inequalities, income concentrations and privatizations of the good point to the logic of how the market runs capitalist systems and how it is governed exclusively by one's own economic interest without taking into account the needs of others.

⁴ It is worth noting that the theoretical foundations that support this work, as well as this preamble, refer mainly to the political-economic contributions of José Fiori, Ferdinand Braudel, Max Weber, Karl Polanyi. Despite being aware of the different approaches and perspectives of these authors, we use what unites them, namely, in the arguments that markets and political orders develop intertwined.

their communities. It is precisely here that socialism asserts itself as an alternative model of human sociability, calling itself the highest stage of society to the extent that it defines itself as a promoter of social protection, equality, justice and the social redistribution of resources for collective well-being. being, therefore, affirming everything that the capitalist order had apparently denied to human society.

The main source of opposition between two systems is based on exactly the way the market operates. The economic determination of the market would explain all the ills of the capitalist camp, laissez faire or not, the subordination of politics to economics, and the regulation of the market, on the contrary, would justify the socialist euphoria of a higher presumption of leadership. of human society, in terms of quality and way of living well.

What happens is that in the theoretical field, as we have shown in a very summarized way, this dichotomy has been overcome very consistently by several authors such as Max Weber. Ferdinand Braudel, Karl Polanyi, Gramsci who guarantees that the market and the state conform to a very specific field of intertwining that defines the very nature of modern societies, capitalist or socialist, and therefore, that there are no states without markets and there are no markets without states. In this way, in fact, it is not the predominance or absence of one over the other that ensures the material and social progress of human systems, but the particular way in which this intertwining of the search for balance or equalization between more liberalization and/or social protection is connected. The material and empirical results of well-being would be effects of the "double movement" to use a very precise expression of Karl Polanyi (2001) in one of his main scientific works: *The Great Transformation: The Origins of Our Time*.

With the same point of view, Braudel (1986\1989) understands that the relations of economic exchange constitute the primordial feature of the existence of societies, possibly because without the substratum of material life there would be no possibility of any social survival, since it is basically through relations of economic exchange that allow the liberalization of the isolation of individuals and the satisfaction of their basic needs. In this sense, in the broad support of social and commercial life and of economic action aimed at satisfying primary needs, connecting everyone with everyone, they became the very reference on which the foundations of society were developed. But the historical nature of economic exchanges never meant the preponderance of markets in the orientation of social life, aimed at the acquisition of profitability, negotiation and profit. In many cases, the market relationship probably assumed a different, sometimes even accidental, role in many social formations (POLANYI, 2000).

So there are sufficient reasons to consider that the presence of the economy in social life does not mean sufficient reason to deduce from it the premise that a relation of profit necessarily arises from it. Max Weber (2000) states that economic action is guided by the search for the satisfaction of the most elementary needs of social existence, and considering that the availability of available means, resources, to satisfy them is limited, to the extent that it may imply, perhaps, restrictions on the satisfaction of the needs of third parties, since he postulates that economic action aimed at the immediate appropriation of resources to satisfy material needs uses other forms of non-economic means, such as political, religious, ethical and moral constellations, with a view to ensuring, through physical or peaceful coercion, the guarantee of subsistence and social reproduction of its members.

Although the typical, specifically modern market economy created in the nineteenth century, the self-regulating market that theoretically and by definition functions without extra-economic motivations, has operated under tension due to the double movement that, according to Karl Polanyi, pressures, at the same time, on the one hand, for an excessive liberalization from the "satanic mill" of the market, and on the other, for reasons of social protection derived from guidelines of security, justice, equality and improvement of the material life of the group of most unprotected people.

These considerations lead us to observe, therefore, that in the historical scenario the connection between the market and political orders predominated different forms of motivations that configured different political-economic associations. Before the end of feudalism, there were different associative modalities of economic action that guided the commercial exchanges established (internally and externally) between different peoples, through the market, and were directed, at different times, by the principles of domesticity, reciprocity and distribution, or the combination of the three, regardless of the nature of political power. It has been the patriarchal, local head of the domestic community, territorial lord, principalities, city-states with centralized power and even with a certain hierarchy in their social organization. It is true that the primacy of commercial exchanges was embedded in the substratum of the social relations that were inherent to it, such as religion, morality, and the political order, which guided commercial exchange mainly to guarantee the symmetry of the maintenance of the supply for the social reproduction of its members, since the principle of profit, business, accumulation, and negotiation rarely figured as the main element of economic action, because behavioral motivations were predominantly extraeconomic (Polanyi, 2000).

According to Karl Polanyi (2000, p. 76), the "market is the meeting place between producers and buyers for the purpose of exchange, purchase or sale (...) [whereas]

exchange, negotiation and exchange constitute a principle of behavioral economy that depends on market standards." The market standard, in itself, creates a specific institution, the market, which functions with its own goal of exchange and profit. The presence of the market standard, for example, depends on the definition of prices. But the mere existence or absence of a market in a given society does not define the complexity of its economic relations nor does it necessarily indicate the degree of productive development in modern terms as we understand it today, because, ultimately, markets have always existed as places that supply communities, provide diverse supplies, and/or even function as an essential element of a profitable activity.

Thus, the explanatory elements that led to the creation of the domestic market are associated with several interrelated factors. In the context of the medieval period, European political formations found their borders quite fluid, with their political power decentralized, and internally, within their precariously defined boundaries, cities were still well differentiated in relation to the countryside. In the sphere of local commerce, the economic activities carried out by the emerging bourgeois class were entirely regulated by a policy concerned with controlling production as a way of maintaining the equilibrium of the prices of products, which implied, in the commercial sphere, barriers in relation to entry of external goods. However, foreign trade, carried out by merchants and intermediaries who negotiated a large volume of products, escaped the commercial control of the cities and this had an impact on the supply and demand of products, which could cause losses to local merchants. or even increase the price of products of primary necessities of community life. These factors, listed in a general way, support the fact that the development of local trade and long-distance trade occurred separately, in a scenario woven by localized autonomous economies and decentralized political power, precariously articulated by long-distance trade that pressured local spaces. seeking to link them commercially with each other. This pendulum tension found an adequate response, with state action that, in a growing movement of political centralization, involved all economies, leading to the formation of the modern internal market or national economy.

Taking some fragments of Polanyi's (2000) analysis, we can see how he describes this process of origin of the internal market or national economy, in which state action is projected as a political instrument, to regulate the limits of economic exchanges, within the scope of national territories, in the face of the perception that exacerbated competition could lead to the proliferation of commercial disturbances and generate difficulties in the supply of populations, including rising prices and/or shortages of products that constitute basic needs of local populations, such as food.

In Western Europe, internal trade was actually created by state intervention. (...) By maintaining the principle of non-competitive local trade and equally non-competitive long-distance trade, carried out from city to city, the bourgeoisie made it difficult, by all means at its disposal, to include the countryside in the rhythm of trade and to open up indiscriminate trade between town and country. It was this development that forced the territorial State to project itself as an instrument of "nationalization" of the market and creator of internal trade. (...) The action of the State, which had freed trade from the limits of the privileged city, was now called upon to face two closely related dangers, which the city had already avoided, at that time, to which competition would finally lead. monopoly, but monopoly was even more feared than later, as it was often linked to the necessities of life and could therefore easily become a danger to the community. The remedy found was the total regulation of economic life, but now on a national scale and no longer only at the municipal level. (...) [because] any temporary intrusion of buyers or sellers into the market could destroy the equilibrium and disappoint the usual buyers and sellers, and the result would be the cessation of market functioning. The old suppliers stopped offering their products because they did not have a guaranteed price and the market, without sufficient supplies, would become a prey to monopoly (ibid., p. 84,87).

It is important to emphasize that the flourishing of the competitive, capitalist-type market did not occur outside the mechanisms of political power that, on the contrary, gave it structure and norms, although state power conditioned the limits of its operationalization. And even more so, if the impulse of state power allowed the flourishing of the self-regulated market and was subordinated, at various times, to the dictates of the exclusive treatment of profit, as also happened in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. analyzed by Karl Marx (1998), in *Capital*, it was precisely through the resource of politics that social forces tried to ensure the tense balance, throughout the history of modern societies, between the movement of market liberalization and that of self-protection, which between economic dynamics and social stability, progress with the associative life of political communities. The post-war European social welfare states and even the turn towards the end of the 1990s in Latin America indicate that the double movement has effectively operated in the modelling of the capitalist system, allowing it to adapt to different modalities of social welfare systems.

In short, the whole process of transformation of social life that led to the growing expansion of the use of procurement-oriented calculability, expressed in the market relationship, and which resulted in the dissolution of the functioning of economies driven by the principles of trade agreements. of mutual obligations was strongly influenced by the interconnections between different local spaces (villages, towns, cities) caused by the broad advance of the market and the centralizing territorial political tendency. On a certain level, this was linked, on the cultural level, to prolonged marriage relationships and the consequent distribution of goods that contributed to the dissolution of the domestic and community order to the extent that it detached individuals from their places of production

and collective references. They linked them in broader social networks, economically, through trade, and politically, through state coverage of centralized territories.

On a more general level, this cultural development spread through the growth of cities, resulting in the opening of new administrative jobs, public functions, valorization of the individual through fiscal interest, creation of schools, cultural-recreational spaces, health system, businesses. All this, at the same time, caused, little by little, a progressive displacement of learning possibilities and social references that slipped from the domestic space to the wider territory. The members of the groups, for example, no longer found protection and security in the community association, just as their moral guidelines ceased to be local customs or laws, while the institutionalized political power that was centralized opened new fronts of links through wage labor, making the community, now politically united to the state territory, it is no longer the central place of production, but the associated space of production and consumption (WEBER, 2000).

The economic trajectory of structuring the state management of planning the Cuban market and the guidelines of the economic policy aimed at the social protection of the development of this country, for these reasons, is the way in which we will approach this relationship to understand a socialist system. It will undoubtedly allow us to reinforce the empirical support base that people's material prosperity, economic dynamics, social stability, have never been incompatible dimensions and that, therefore, they only find refuge when political power is at stake. concerned with giving direction to a project of sociability reconcilable with the market in the right measure of protection of the wide range of material and social life of the different interests it represents.

These preliminary considerations allow us to make some sociologically pertinent interpretative observations based on the theoretical material consulted that we have the opportunity to deepen throughout the text, justifying them from an empirical point of view. In this sense, what we have exposed explicitly demonstrates that the name attributed to social systems, for the cases evidenced here, socialism or capitalism, by itself, does not guarantee their exploitative or social protection character in the contemporary era, no matter how hard Karl Marx tried. very precisely to diagnose the nature of the capitalist system as eminently exploitative in the emergence of this system in the nineteenth century. If its validity still exists, it is partial and we have the opportunity to clarify it, since we have pointed out that the capitalist system itself has incorporated so many transformations in favor of social protection that classical Marxism is insufficient to explain its contemporary essence. The European Social Welfare States were as self-protective as they were economically and technologically developed, so that the existence of exploitation and

inequalities were so peripheral that they did not affect the structural cohesion of the national social system, and indeed, instability. of their social cohesion mechanisms were produced by their own success and prosperity and could attract a series of migratory processes that would jeopardize the balance of the system by exerting too much pressure on their jobs and the social security of their nations.

In his recent research, Eli Diniz (2009) has identified five typologies of social models classified as capitalist systems that take into account values such as social justice, equality, redistribution of resources, environmental preservation driven by moral motivations and social duty, which, in other words, appear as socioeconomic constellations based on characteristics of nationalism and cultural traits that reconfigure the old vision of the liberalized market and its link with the State. According to this same author, one of the most characteristic features of the turbulence and dissatisfaction of the 1990s that characterized world politics and the situation of nation states would be the profile of the approaches to the concept of development which, by inverting the neoliberal vision, gains legitimacy the argument that the development process cannot take place if it incorporates ideas of economic stability. ethics and social justice, environmental sustainability as inseparable components to achieve collective well-being (DINIZ, 2009).

The last version of the self-regulated market collapsed along with the neoliberal fallacy that contradicted its predictions, which imposed the need to build another development model, capable of correcting and readjusting the errors and mistakes of the previous phase of pro-market development. From then on, a new ethos for development emerged, modeled on the version called sustained development (Sachs, 2000), whose main challenge would be to equate economic development with the preservation of environmental resources and social justice, so that dissatisfaction would be resolved. growth of large sectors of the Latin American population, due to the deterioration of living conditions since the 1990s.

Eli Diniz (2009) comments that this turning point of liberalism, without reins, inverted contemporary approaches, recovering the importance of the role of the State as regulator, inducer and coordinator of development: "the nature and quality of State interventionism thus take up a prominent role in the discussion on the paths of development, in the context of globalized capitalism, recognizing the relevance of different types of state action. In addition, it must be added (...) the importance of the function of state coordination to achieve greater growth and competitiveness of national economies (...). Instead of thinking, as in the heyday of neoliberal thought, in terms of polarities, such as the contrast between the statist-protectionist model versus the market economy; export model versus model

aimed at the domestic market; developmentalist matrix versus neo-developmentalism, I believe that the proposal of a close complementary relationship between the market, associative activity, economic micro-agents and the central aspects of current institutionality, that is, productive regimes refer to the organization of production through markets and related institutions, is more fruitful" (DINIZ, 2009, p. 12).

In summary, Eli Diniz's argument highlights the centrality of the State in the coordination of economic agents, public and/or private, to direct development strategies, aimed at "achieving collective objectives"; reversing this trajectory of "growth, associated with inequality in income distribution, a hallmark of the old pattern of development." The author concludes by saying that it is no longer possible "to emphasize economic expansion to the detriment of environmental resources. On the contrary, they represent inseparable aspects of a national project, which responds to the aspirations of the population as a whole" (DINIZ, 2009, p. 13).

However, even in the face of so much evidence, economic and social discrepancies persist in many global regions that justify the attribution that modern capitalist systems can assume as a constitutive aspect of their operating mechanisms the trace of exploitation, misery and the other social problems of criminality and prostitution that are their main traces as a social system because they often occur far from the national borders of the United States. The most developed capitalist systems through the processes of transnational or long-distance exchanges, but even in the most developed countries, he perseveres, those same problems continue to exist as the other less developed countries, only on a smaller, more partial scale, but with the same latent potential of capitalism, that is, its condition of self-annihilation. Even with problems within their reach, capitalism and its systems do not operate in international trade with the same logic that manages their domestic or national policies and, in addition, their unequal power – and their problems on a smaller scale – serve to impute to them the surplus of domination and that is why they are proving very useful outside their national territories.

Today, in summary, the references lead us to decide that the exploitation and domination attributed to capitalist systems are mechanisms and instruments used but in all their national territories – and most likely in those that are economically and socially weak and politically fragmented – and not in their national spaces that enjoy a high rate of development. both economic and social protection, which, by far, are not behind the social security system that socialist systems claim to offer their peoples.

MAPPING OF THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL SCENARIO OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST ASSUMPTIONS

THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE FORMULATION OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

The hegemonic transitions, therefore, that occurred with the constitution of high modernity from the nineteenth century, passing through the French and industrial revolutions, in Europe and that put an end to the old feudal regime, followed by the Russian Revolution of 1917, consolidated the civilizational models that have subsisted today in a conflictive manner: capitalism and socialism. Both political-economic orders, due to their own antagonistic character, promoted a dispute between them about which of them would be the most successful in putting into practice their objectives of coexistence and good social status among the communities in order to find consensus and governmental legitimacy among their political-economic assumptions.

Capitalism based on its fundamental principles of bourgeois revolutions was based on free economic initiative, individual freedom, free expression, private ownership of the means of production, free wage labor, technological and industrial progress, managed to reach levels of development with a high rate of material, technological and industrial progress with material levels of social life greatly increased in terms of social protection, as in the thirty glorious years, in Europe, 1940-1970, with the social welfare state (Polanyi, 2001). However, throughout many of the years of its civilizational experience, it has also produced, on the contrary, in many cases, levels of inequality and social exclusion, unemployment, income concentration and highly extreme poverty, although on a smaller scale, in less intensity, and more partial, as we have already said, in the countries considered more developed. In the latter, their dynamics are different because their domestic policy is specific to the other countries of the capitalist system – especially those considered less developed or underdeveloped.

In the last twenty years, for example, the neoliberal policy of "development" has produced a more drastic abyss of social exclusion since the 1990s, and the increase in poverty and social exclusion persists, on a planetary scale, where more people died in the world than in all the previous decades of the last century (Santos, 2001). More than 2/3 (approximately 4 billion inhabitants) of the world's population survive, at some point fall into a common pit of deprivation of "substantive freedoms" [conditions of health, education, social security, etc.] (Amartia Sen, 2000). In effect, there was an increase in the concentration of income and wealth by the hegemonic nuclei, followed by the socialization of losses for a large part of society (particularly for workers) with the growth of

unemployment, the precariousness and flexibility of the economy, labor relations, accelerated expansion of informal work. All these variables have repercussions in different ways in weakening the process of political legitimization of capitalist state governments.

However, as we understand, although capitalism has suffered many criticisms of its civilizing project due to the exploitation it generates, it remains hegemonic against socialism at the international level, despite presenting different configurations in the different continents in which it develops. These combinations make it quite plastic and adaptable to the local conditions and social forces where it is established. Its mobile and changing character was able to liberate servile work for free and salaried work, incorporating feminist demands from the 1960s/1970s, assuming commitments to environmental concerns since the 1990s, valuing the culture of the peoples and allowing social mobility through work and education. and incorporating concepts of social justice, equal rights, redistribution of resources and promoting robust systems of social protection that make their societies quite socially cohesive with a very stable homeostatic mechanism of external and internal balance.

If capitalism finds its intellectual support in the positivist sociological currents (from Saint-Simon to Emile Durkheim) and in the classical economists (from David Ricardo to Hayek), the socialist model finds its main theoretical formulators in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Unlike capitalism, socialism had its various assumptions that the inequality of society was not a condition of nature or a providential desideratum, but rather a social production. By placing in capitalism all forms of exploitation and social exclusion, its model of society consisted exactly of defending a social order based on social justice and the democratization of economic relations (BLANCO, 2014) and positioning itself as a negation and overcoming of the power of capital (LOUREDA, 2014).

It is in this sense that more than a few years later Marino Jorge (2014, p. 8) warned that the renewal of socialism should maintain the essential features of the socialist model, so it would tend to defend the following guidelines: i) full dignity of man; (ii) socialism means freedom of rights and equal opportunities for all citizens; iii) the predominance of social ownership over the means of production and the state enterprise as the main form of economic organization; iv) the regulation of the concentration of property in legal persons in such a way that it does not violate the limits compatible with the values of justice and social equity of socialism; v) the socialist principle of distribution with the collection of the results of work.

In the same vein, Margarida García Rabelo (2012) asks: what defines a socialist society? The same author responds to the Cuban model as follows:

In our country we also end up identifying socialist socialization with nationalization (nationalization); The incompatibility between planning and the market was assumed, by establishing a highly centralized planning, whose mandates were given as directives from the highest spheres of the economy to its lower levels, so that it would assume a vertical organization of production, without realizing the horizontal connections. A representation of the socialist economy was reached constituted by majority state ownership and cooperative ownership, as a minor form, a productive structure oriented preferably towards industry and planned centralization. Economic integration into the socialist system of the world economy is becoming more and more rapidly incorporated (ibid., p. 34).

However, despite the noble values of socialism, it ended at the end of the twentieth century in a deep crisis to maintain the proposed objectives. This crisis was accompanied by capitalist advances that led to a set of reforms through neoliberal policy, since the 1980s, in which many governments began to suffer the effects of the expansion of the market that led to their collapse. With the implementation of neoliberal policy⁵, the prophecy of the end of history was spread. This entire political process was strengthened with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of the socialist experiences of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union⁶. That was reason enough to pronounce on the centrality of the "economy/market" as a regulatory element of social relations, in particular, of the commodification of the political sphere. Fiscal adjustments, cuts in social spending, privatizations, as well as the spread of corruption in the public sphere, the informality of

⁵ In general terms, the neoliberal vision, which emerged in the 1980s with the exhaustion of the economic development model, is based on the following assumptions: a) reduction of the State due to its inefficiency in promoting development and public and social welfare; b) "expansion of Civil Society" as a control mechanism; and c) the free market as a stimulus for natural development (Sachs, 2000).

⁶ The political system of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was created in the context of World War II and with intense internal political disputes of a civil war against the power of tsarism. The system of the USSR was officially constituted with the Congress of Union Soviets represented by Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, Lithuania and Transcaucasia (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Crimea) in which the Declaration and Treaty on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was signed on December 30, 1922, with the presence of its three main leaders of the time: Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin (AGUIAR, 2003, p. 159) and with the Constitution of 1924, when the political system of the USSR was made official. The Soviet Socialist Republics (called Federated) were formed, 15 in total, followed by their territorial division: Armenia – No territorial division; Azerbaijan – 1 Autonomous Republic and 1 Autonomous Region; Belarus – 6 regions; Estonia – No territorial division; Georgia: 2 Autonomous Republics and 1 Autonomous Region; Kazakhstan – 19 regions; Kyrgyzstan – 3 regions; Latvia – No territorial division; Lithuania – No territorial division; Moldova – No territorial division; Russia: 16 autonomous republics, 5 autonomous regions, 47 regions, 10 nationality districts and 6 territories; Tajikistan – 5 regions; Turkmenistan – 5 regions; Ukraine – 25 regions; and Uzbekistan – 1 Autonomous Republic and 11 Regions (AGUIAR, 2003, p. 308). Aguiar (2003) presents three main causes of the disintegration of the USSR: i) Greek culture, with its rationalism, which, with equality and freedom, gave importance to individual rights by recognizing the importance of the social group; ii) Roman Law with its importance of individual law; iii) and the religious aspect. These three aspects were the main causes that led to the disintegration of the USSR in 1991. Associated with these three causal factors responsible for human social progress, the economic aspect would have been an event that would also have determined this disintegration due to the lack of importance given to the market: internal and external, in their relationship of coexistence and correspondence in the definition of the processes of human development and its material and social progress.

work, the precariousness of wages, the purchase of votes, were the most visible signs of this process of planetary ascent.

Thus, if capitalism expanded towards socialist models, leading them to their collapse despite being held responsible, so to speak, for imposing the most severe social sacrifices on the cities, it nevertheless presented itself as the most successful model of society that contradictorily encountered the alignment of its former opponents. On the other hand, in some regions where socialism was still standing, upholding its noble principles of human dignity, it was seriously weakened and at the cost of difficult social costs it continued to remain in operation, as is the case of the Cuban experience, for example, the object of analysis in this study.

In other words, in this controversial scenario, a very simple question arises: if capitalism, hegemonic on an international scale, is very weakened in various areas of social life, as has been said, how is it capable of remaining unshakable in current times? Is it considered the most optimistic solution to the various social ills? And if, on the other hand, the socialist experiences that believed themselves to be the most promising alternative to correct the abandonment of social protection – the highest phase of human societies – were to show themselves explicitly fragile to keep their own social system functioning, from where does their strength come from to stand and sustain the belief, in the midst of so many obstacles, that the principles of high social protection are exclusively theirs? And if it is – which is not clear – what are the reasons for the development that indicate its superiority?

What coherent and disinterested interpretation could be able to explain these highly controversial transitions in their most apparent manifestations that discredit "good people" and present bad capitalist systems as the best model of human development? The essence of our first study is to indicate at least some aspects for the clarification of these important contemporary issues.

SYNOPSIS OF THEORETICAL-PRACTICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS OF SOCIALISM

The objective of this topic is to identify the main theoretical-practical assumptions that guided the movements for the construction of socialist models that would be implemented from the beginning of the twentieth century in some European countries. The identification of them will allow us to understand what were the guidelines that the Cuban socialist model, in particular, adopted or appropriated for the implementation of its paradigm of society that it put into practice after its revolutionary conquest in 1959, on this island that rises in undulating lands in the middle of the green waters of the Caribbean Sea.

As we have said, the hegemonic transitions that took place in the nineteenth century in Europe with the consolidation of the capitalist system and the end of the old feudal regime led to the creation of the self-regulating market, and with it, the subordination of social relations. to the assumption of individual greed. According to Karl Polanyi (2001), this promoted the dispossession, displacement and destruction of human relations that previously conformed to the promotion of livelihoods, social status and cultural expressions, resulting in further degradation, exploitation and social inequalities with the enclosure of the countryside, rural exodus, concentration of the means of production, low salary payments, etc. All this at the same time broke the static equilibrium enjoyed by ancient societies and the self-regulated market prevailed, subordinating under the logic of accumulation at any price all the social relations that presented themselves in front of them, which with their acquisitive fury limited the conditions of existence of the villages and the satisfaction of their basic needs.

However, the exploitative characteristics of the capitalist production society are its main critical point in Marxist writings. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels exposed capitalist nature, saying that this system had as its main attribute the exploitation of labor through private property, which resulted in injustice and social inequalities that restricted the pressing conditions of human existence. The theoretical concepts that were formulated served as support to think about another alternative model of society that could put an end to capitalism, which according to them, would be socialist and/or communist societies.

Marxism, following the tradition of utopian thought and perfecting its theoretical interpretation, formulates the main conditions for the process of transition to the socialist model and the overcoming of the contradictions of capitalist relations. In *German Ideology* (1987), Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels identified that the engine of social history is the class struggle and that in the case of capitalist society, the working class would have a leading role in promoting the process of socialist transition, because according to them, two basic characteristics behaved: i) first, because of the amount it represented for the industrial order with an international character; ii) second, because their conditions of material existence based on scarcity, could allow the creation of a class consciousness, with the formulation of their interests, due to experience and experience the contrast of the unequal conditions of capital and labor expressed by wealth and poverty that is placed in extreme limits vis-à-vis the most oppressed class.

The constitution of the class consciousness necessary for the process of revolutionary transition could not occur without an institutional apparatus that would allow it to have its political existence: the political party. The Modern Prince, according to Antonio

Gramsci, would be the party that would have the responsibility of exercising the vanguard of the working class for the achievement of socialist objectives. Socialist objectives meant the transformation of the general state of affairs by which exploitation and inequality were imposed on the working class, so that men had to understand the entire state of affairs in which the worker felt humiliated, overwhelmed, powerless, despised (CABRERA, 2015). Carlos Cabrera (2015) affirms that one of the main objectives of revolutionary action foreseen by Marxism in the *Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts* would be to overcome all forms of alienation through the liquidation of the private property of production, and that this role would not be the work of the proletariat itself and the industrial proletariat that should promote the seizure of political power and the destruction of the bourgeois state machine. It is precisely here with the seizure of political power that socialism associates as the final objective of its intentions the promotion of ideas of equality, social justice and democracy.

The fertile field for the conquest of revolutionary victory, according to Carlos Cabrera (2015), would be in the most developed capitalist societies, since there the productive forces had reached the level of socialization necessary to replace private property with social property and would find their most conscious condition of organization capable of putting an end to capitalist society and bringing socialist society to completion. Lenin, however, added that the revolutionary process could also take place in those groups of countries that represented the weakest conditions, in which the capitalist system had produced a degree of more acute material scarcity, which linked the most underdeveloped areas, the inequality of development, therefore, was an indispensable condition for socialism. The Russian Revolution, in October 1917, took place in this context.

With the victory of socialism, some practical conditions for its implementation were presupposed. Since the modern socialist experience consisted of an innovative alternative in terms of social orders, the theoretical-practical apparatus of Marxism-Leninism only presents general schemas given the genuine character of the project, although they are quite useful for our initial purpose of understanding the referents. of the socialist model that would be built, starting in Russia, then in Cuba.

We can summarize the main contributions to the implementation of socialism:

- i) Destruction of the bourgeois state machine;
- ii) state centralization of the economy;
- iii) Replacement of private property by social property
- iv) To increase the participation of the People in State affairs
- (v) Acceptance of different forms of socialist property;

- (vi) The development of the principle of remuneration in accordance with the quality and quantity of work;
- vii) Development of individual and material interest associated with collective and moral interest
- (viii) The use of trade and commercial monetary relations within the framework of the State plan and the use of economic calculation.
- (ix) The construction of a federalization of national republics on the basis of law and self-determination
- x) The leading role of the party as the political vanguard of the working class (p. 30).

Margarida García Rabelo (2012) complements it with other words and summarizes that:

The socialist character of the economic system, strictly speaking, is defined on the basis of the form of ownership over the fundamental means of production, which determines what is the objective function of the feedback system, the character and mode adopted by the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of the results of social production, as well as the socioclassical interests that govern the economy and the prevailing ideology. The socialist character of a society is defined on the basis of socialist ownership of the fundamental means of production. Which is a relationship that defines the rights of an individual or group with respect to the use, enjoyment and possession of a good, in relation to other individuals (ibid., p. 36).

Raúl Castro himself, the current president of the country, reaffirms the synthesis of these premises, on the occasion of the closing of the IV Ordinary Period of Sessions of the VIII Legislature of the National Assembly of People's Power, on December 20, 2014, saying that it has a socialist character that will continue to be "the economic system that will prevail in our country based on the socialist ownership of the entire population over the means of production, from which the socialist principle must govern every second of its capacity and every second of its work" (GRANMA, December 22, Monday, 2014, p. 4)

THE PRODUCTIVE AND SOCIAL BASE OF CUBA'S ECONOMY

THE SOCIALIST EXPERIENCE OF THE CUBAN REPUBLIC: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES AND STATE ECONOMIC POLICY

As our interest is to analyze the experience of Cuba, which occurred in 1959, we will seek to study how the model of its economic policy appropriates the theoretical-practical supports of Marxism-Leninism to achieve the socialist objectives of well-being, equality, social justice and liberation of men from all the processes of human exploitation and inequality that degrade their existence. Considering that we have pointed out sufficient elements of its guidelines, we will focus the reflection by putting more evidence on what is

the fundamental center of the constitutive concept. of a socialist society, whatever the form of relationship between the State and the market and the different types of forms of property.

With the intention of presenting its guidelines in the most reliable way possible and leaving no room for partisanship, we will adopt the assumptions contained in the Constitution of the Republic of Cuba (2013).

The Constitution (2013) empties itself by pointing out that political regimes that are *"based on the exploitation of men by men determine the humiliation of the exploited and the degradation of the condition of the exploiters"* (p. 09), and that therefore, only socialism or communism when man has been freed from all forms of exploitation, slavery, servitude and capitalism, the entire dignity of the human being is achieved and our Revolution chose the dignity of the homeland and of the Cuban as the highest height."

In this text I summarize the core of Cuban socialism that is associated with human dignity, against all forms of exploitation or humiliation of man and at the service of dignity. Here the understanding of social systems is very explicit and leaves no room for doubt: capitalism symbolizes human slavery and socialism represents the overcoming of all forms of social degradation, that is, human liberation.

The Constitution places great emphasis on the fact that the motto of Cuban socialism is the full dignity of the human being (p. 10) and as a Socialist Republic it enjoys sovereignty and independence having as one of its main political values the democratic process (Art. 1) as a mechanism to enjoy freedom of expression, social justice and individual and collective good existence under the support of human solidarity. The socialist character, according to the Constitution, is irrevocable, and capitalism is its main enemy, it will never contaminate its political or economic sociability, because socialism has sufficient capacity for transformation from which it promotes the integral development of the human being (Art. 2), his well-being, his character and personality.

As a means of achieving the necessary degree of transformation of the material conditions for the promotion of socialism, the constitutional text defends that the economic system will be based on socialist property under state planning, in which the entire population owns the means of production, and therefore, the exploitation of men over men will be eliminated. The distribution of resources will be governed by the principle that each second has his capacity, each second his work (art. 14, p. 19).

It is noted, therefore, that the entire political and economic system of the Cuban socialist order appropriates exactly all the presuppositions and guidelines provided for in the theoretical thought of Marxism-Leninism, which, in summary, we can provide in the

following formulations: i) the centrality of the State in the political-economic order; ii) social property, leasing, state property; (iii) the redistribution of resources based on the principle of each according to his or her ability and according to his or her work; (iv) democratization of political processes; (v) the elimination of the exploitation of man over men by guaranteeing social protection: health, education, security; vi) and finally, with the ultimate goal, to promote the full dignity of man, from his material well-being, social justice, equality of rights and opportunities.

This confirmation of the regular predominance of general socialist assumptions finds a theoretical foundation based on the fact that the notion of model was considered revisionist and the Marxist schools did not accept the argument that each country built socialism according to its conditions and particularities, since socialism had regularities that it had to comply with throughout the world (HERNÁNDEZ, et. al., 2004). Thus, the general socialist guidelines, with exceptions, were based on the presuppositions of their main interpretative matrix that sustains them today: in the theoretical thought of Marxism-Leninism.

IMPLEMENTATIONS OF ECONOMIC POLICY STRATEGIES: FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

Taking into account, therefore, the lines of Cuban socialism, its presuppositions and its objectives, we are now interested in identifying what economic policies were adopted so that it could achieve its predefined purposes and how its presuppositions were incorporated to instrumentalize the conquest. of such intentions.

Let us consider that in general terms the economic policy of Cuban socialism is defined by the centrality of the State in the planning of the economy and in the social ownership of the means of production – leasing of state property – as a way of promoting the human good – being of the Cuban people. However, according to Julio Vázquez (2013) in the first phase of economic policy strategies, Cuba lived with a mixed economy in which,

"Agro-industrial units, majority commerce and part of minority businesses, (banks, transport, etc.), and state-owned, there were cooperatives and a private sector (shops, warehouses, kiosks, small workshops, artisanal industries and individual producers) in its area, until the end of the 1960s, which is articulated through the semi-presence market that integrates the necessary relations between the different economic sectors. The introduction of normal food consumption and another two years, in March 1962, and the revolutionary offensive eliminated all private and individual property (except in the agricultural and transport market) and, in practice, stripped the market of all its economic functions" (Ibid., p. 61).

From then on, in the institutional political plan, after the first Congress of the PCC (1975), the policy of economic development was characterized by the state centralization of the economy, the exclusion of market signals and the passive role of the currency. The political party is closely aligned with the State in the economic and social direction, so that social policy is incorporated as a whole into the model of economic development: education, health, work, housing, rest and security in the lives of all citizens. The centrality of the State in the economy can be represented by its hegemonic participation as the owner of the means of production. Until 1989, for example, the State represented 92% of the basic funds in agriculture; in industry, construction and transport – except for a small group of private operators – in major, retail and foreign trade, as well as in banking, it had a 100% share. Here is a demonstration that socialism and state ownership symbolized being the same thing and the rejection of the market and commodity relations because of their identification with capitalism (VÁZQUEZ, 2013, p. 61/62).

In summary, we can decide that from the point of view of Cuba's economic policy, its strategy is configured by two movements that have remained in force since the revolutionary period in a mixed way, alternating over time: i) a first movement after 1959, of greater state centralization and annulment of the role of the market in trade relations, although it coexisted with private activities ii) and the other, since 1989, of considering the market as an indispensable factor for economic and social development and semi-decentralization, despite the indispensability of the state figure, it has not been displaced from the center of the direction of the economy. From this framework, it is proposed that the economy and the different properties be more or less centralized, with more or less centralization of commercial activities. The development plan was therefore formed from this relationship between the market and the State, and since 1959, the orientation of economic policy has been guided, in a generalized way, by the beginning of industrialization and import substitution as a measure to increase the capacity of industrial capital and promote the creation of a national internal market with consumption capacity and self-sufficiency.

Margarida Rabelo (2012) helps us understand this periodization when she considers that the Cuban economic model moves from the basic models of the revolutionary moment to the current one:

(...) the first model was the structure of monopolistic state ownership, which functioned until 1989, according to which 90% of the means of production were in the hands of the state and an equal proportion of employment lay in the hands of the state, a highly centralized planning (...) and the passive role of the commodity forms [with an advantageous insertion of the socialist economy in the international sphere, good prices for sugar and oil]. The second moment could be defined as a semi-

decentralized model of social property, predominantly formed in the mid-1990s, as a result of several economic reforms aimed at curbing and stabilizing the great imbalances in the balance of payments after the collapse of the USSR (p. 29/30).

According to the author, the current economic model does not favor a positive insertion in the international market, despite the fact that the global scenario seems favorable to Cuban development – which is why economic growth is boosted by the good relations between the countries of the Center and the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India and China) – due to obstacles that do not encourage exports or technological innovation and do not attract foreign investment. I conclude by saying that the Cuban economy operates with a high degree of centralization that limits the development of initiatives by companies and territorial governments, restricting the generation of endogenous means of accumulation or the mobilization of internal resources. Trade imbalances and economic inefficiencies structure these constraints (RABELO, 2012).

As an example of this scenario, it seems that the purchasing power of exports has decreased, at the same time that the values of food imports have increased *pari pasu*, with the substitution of land, as well as the decapitalization of several productive sectors. In addition to this, an excess of rules and regulations persists, prevailing a verticalized productive organization, with low articulation with networks or production chains of goods and services, especially those destined for export. In addition, workers' incomes are not clearly correlated with the economic performance of companies. The explanation for this economic imbalance lies in the duality of the Cuban market that operates with a dual currency: commercial relations are processed in CUC (convertible peso) which is anchored in the dollar and payments are made in Cuban pesos, a currency with a rather devalued exchange rate, devalued in relation to the convertible pesos (CUC) (RABELO, 2012). The following figure shows the two monetary units of the Cuban economy: the Cuban peso (CAP) and the convertible peso (CUC), where 24 CAP = 1 CUC.

Figure 1. CAP Currency Unit – Cuban Peso and CUC – Convertible Unit of Value



The lucid analysis of Margarita Rabelo (2012) in explaining the low efficiency of the Cuban economy, technological backwardness and social problems, today, identifies its main contradiction, that is, the scarce understanding of the relationship between market and State that has not yet been understood, overcome, by the socialism of that country that assumed the incompatibility of this relationship. Julio Vázquez (2004), referring to the Soviet model of the same nature, in another way, showed the same problem of backwardness in trade relations when he stressed that in Moscow, on the social level, it did not solve elementary problems. He mentioned an experience in which, when he was returning from a scientific conference in Warsaw with several experts, he asked the secretary of the Cavre Institute, who was accompanying him in his own car, what he had bought in Poland, to which he replied: 'a pair of shoes for my grandchildren, because I can't find them in Moscow'. And he added in Russian, which in English we could translate as: 'you can't live like this' (p. 109). This experience, according to Vázquez, reflects the magnitude of the problems of socialist development and he concluded by saying that "I shared with Marxism that what replaced capitalism had to be superior to what capitalism had given us" (p. 109).

Margarida García Rabelo (2012) concludes by deciding that the set of these problems is explained by the knowledge that, although the planned direction of social production constitutes the defining element of the socialist economic system, it has now been interpreted in Cuba under a single and highly centralized form. However, it would be possible to see it differently through different indirect forms of regulation, with the active role of the market⁷, without replacing the direction of state institutions and other economic

⁷ The notion of the market, beyond what we present through the concept presented by Karl Polanyi (2000), refers to a factorization of the person and political systems. Economic factorization actually includes the characteristic aspect of the market in which such factorization is presented in institutional terms of economic

actors, exclusively through the use of administrative methods. The author concludes by stating that,

Experience has shown that incorporating the market into the social planning process allows for a better perception of demand, and a more varied menu of alternatives to respond to it. It can be an instrument at the service of socialism. [In the same way] without alienating it, there are various forms of existence of properties, as well as their management: the state ownership of productive enterprises and services; public property (municipal); joint ventures (not only of the State with foreign capital, but also with national private capital or cooperatives); the participation (wholesale or not) of the State in shares of large joint ventures; cooperative ownership; the delivery in usufruct of the state property; management contracts and many others (Ibid., p. 36)

The methodological error expressed by this content consists in highlighting that its negative balance reflects the belief that socialism is accessed by a traced path and the erroneous identification of the market with capitalism, of planning with state planning, as well as of the ultimate goal of socialism with the task of transition and not as a socialist society in itself. There has also been an overvaluation of the extra-economic power of the state and a one-way emphasis on the economic relations of social production. Although there are doubts in its implementation, these erroneous interpretations are being reviewed, so the Guidelines approved at the VI Congress of the PCC (2011) seek to correct them by proposing an improvement of the socioeconomic model:

In the first place, with regard to socio-economic heterogeneity, Guideline No. 2 defines not only recognition, but also the promotion of a diversity of forms of property, while the state enterprise will be maintained as the main form of economy. Guideline No. 1 defines: the socialist planning system will continue to be the main way for the direction of the national economy and must be transformed in its

exchange relations and the purchase and sale of market spaces. Economic factorization is responsible for the process of production and maintenance of the survival of the person and of political systems, therefore, of the supply and production of material wealth for the survival of political systems in conditions of human dignity. Labor is the main characteristic property of economic factorization, it is what provides the processes of material production and material prosperity. In short, economic fanatization occurs in the institutional form of the market, as we have already said, in its two spheres of commercialization: the domestic or domestic market and the external market. These two spheres of markets are complementary, coexist and operate simultaneously. However, the internal sphere is of great importance for the economic and material stability of the political system, since it constitutes the basis on which the possibilities of an economic and material situation are established, which can guarantee the conditions of dignity of the person in the political systems in which it operates. Its internal policy has different contours since it protects the forms of internal cooperation and sociability and opposes the forms of the current processes of exploitation that can arise from external negotiations if the political system does not have its internal market as the basis of its national economy as a reference, the external market representing simply the possibility of complementing the internal market and increasing wealth through forms of international cooperation without turning the foreign market into a without making the external market a form of competition with the internal market that occurs when national internal social groups function as a transmission belt for international economic interests and are contradictory to the national economy that encompasses the market in its two spheres of correspondence and complementary coexistence: the internal market and the external market, which are the same market of the National State.

methodological, organizational and control aspects. Planning will take into account the market, influencing it and considering its characteristics (RABELO, 2012, p. 38).

In this particular aspect of the relationship between market and state, we can decide, lies one of the main differences between socialism and other capitalist systems. One of the fundamental characteristics of capitalism is that there is no contradiction between its economic policy and its main function of maximizing profits through the socio-economic system, including its social protection system; on the contrary, economic policy ensures socio-economic benefits. This is because there are different models of market economies, and market relations do not necessarily mean less solidarity, social justice or concern for poverty, on the other hand, as Karl Polanyi (2001) shows about the European states in the 30 glorious years and in the North American (RABELO, 2012) there has been a great rhythm of economic and social development that has been mixed by the horizon and objectives pursued by the state economic policy.

Today, for example, many analysts are unaware of the recognition that "the American model is markedly different from the European, Japanese and Scandinavian models, but that it is recognized by a greater emphasis on solidarity and social justice, as well as by concern for poverty" – through high tax rates – and innovation, an area that boasts the highest standards in the world ranking (STIGLITZ, 2011 apud RABELO, 2012, p. 35).

It is a matter of understanding, as we emphasized, that modern political orders, in short, do not appear without their market configurations, so that economic models obey the political constellations that their societies collectively share, adjusted in turn with the values and principles that they define themselves as shaping their social relations and determining the practices of their behaviors in search of objective goals.

CONDITIONS OF THE MATERIAL INDICATORS OF HUMAN WELL-BEING: PRODUCTION, INCOME, GDP, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE, HDI

Once it was defined that the main objectives of socialism in general, and of Cuba, in particular, should be the search for the dignity of man through the promotion of social justice and socioeconomic development to the extent that its purposes were defined as a counterpoint to capitalism considered as an unequal and exploitative social system of men – although modern capitalist societies are the most developed in the contemporary world – this It does not yet authorize any number of social systems – capitalist or socialist – to overlap each other in terms of the welfare produced or which of the systems are best for societies for their improvements to communities in a way of living well.

For this reason, our purpose in this topic is to present a set of socioeconomic indicators with the aim of verifying whether Cuban socialism has managed to achieve, through its socioeconomic guidelines of state planning, the promised material and life improvement of the Cuban population, resolving the typical contradictions of capitalism, such as inequality, exploitation, political restrictions and conditions of poverty.

However, the way to verify the socio-economic increase of socialism cannot be done without a basic unit of verification that allows an acceptable and sufficient comparison of analysis. It is in this sense that the notion of development is a fairly appropriate theoretical category to typify the level of socioeconomic dynamics of modern societies independently of the economic models evidenced, despite the fact that the concept of development has been produced by capitalist societies to measure the progress of development in their social systems. It may also be very necessary to assess the degree of material and social progress of socialist systems, simply because both systems have as their ultimate goal the promotion of the development of society as a whole. In addition, the notion of development is used by both social systems because of its integral nature and rational validity because it allows for the verification of economic, political, social and environmental aspects. The HDI is added to the indicators of GDP, per capita income, salary ranges, the level of political participation, environmental indicators, and the cultural background of the nations.

The concept of development that guides this study is well defined by the argument of Amartia Sen (2000), who conceives it as the process by which societies promote the overcoming of scarcity and the reduction of substantive deficiencies in order to raise the expansion of the material standard of living and the conditions of human freedom. The relevance of the concept of development is also exclusive to what we propose because it implies a certain level of rationality, insofar as it is a deliberate process, a conscious, planned, intentional action, with objectives and goals at the end of which one wants to achieve; It involves time and resources (material and human), it requires a certain level of responsibility with respect to the guarantee of its purposes.

In this way, the process of development is presented as a by-product of the conscious action of the men in charge, in particular, and of society as a whole, in general. If socialism, therefore, announces itself as a society based on the dignity of man through social protection, social justice, equality, freedom and better material living conditions as a way of maximizing the potential of human resources, it is important from now on to check the link between its main indicators so that we can analyze to what extent it is achieving conscious action and profit developmental.

We will provide a summary of the period prior to the revolution of the productive and industrial system of 1959 to compare the dynamics of the period of socialism in Cuba.

Antonio Ricardi (1959) makes an intense analysis of the productive system in Cuba since the period of colonization and records that the main products exploited were linked to the production of the land. Agriculture occupied more than 45% of the active labor force on the island, and sugar production reached 50% of the cultivated land, followed by 11% of sugar cane, 9% of tobacco, 8% of bananas, 7% of corn, the remaining percentage was occupied by taro, cassava, coffee, coconuts, rice, yams, potatoes, pineapple, oranges and onions. Although there was a lot of political effort, the lands remained in the hands of large estates. The two world wars stimulated the production of sugar and its expansion over larger tracts of land, which led to the abandonment of agriculture, the cultivation of coffee and the so-called minor fruits. In the 1950s there was an increase in the areas dedicated to the cultivation of tobacco, rice, fruit and vegetables and, above all, coffee.

Table 1 – The Ownership of the Earth in 1949

The ownership of the land in 1949 was distributed as follows:	
Latifúndio azucareros	219,526 horses
Livestock and coffee plantations	248,498 horses
Small farms cultivated	119,279 horses
Uncultivated land	140,094 horses
Cities, roads, mountains	105,889 horses
Total.....	833,288 cavalry

Source: Antonio Ricardini (1959)

The proof of the existence of the latifundia could be verified by verifying that 75% of the 486,176 caballerias were owned by 1,167 people and companies. Despite the monopoly of the land, sugar production had a certain productivity, in 1902, for example, it had 171 mills and an annual production of 850,181 tons. In 1952, 161 engineers produced 6,000,000 tons.

The maintenance of livestock activities is equally important. Having been virtually wiped out in 1902 when it declined from about 2.5 million head of cattle to 800,000, it reached a recovery with World War II that served as a stimulus for livestock to serve as one of the main sources of food supply. In 1952, for example, cattle ranching occupied 459,020 cattle ranches, with more than 51,000 cattle ranchers, far exceeding the situation in 1902, when it had 197,000 cattle ranchers and 459,020 head of cattle.

In terms of economic importance, there is also tobacco. From 9% of the territorial extension it occupied in 1902, in 1952 it began to occupy about 20% of the productive area, having approximately 5,200 spaces that produced 80 million pounds of nicotine, with a

declared value of \$ 40.5 million, with exports for a total of \$ 39. million. In the same year of 1952, there were about 3,900 large, medium and small tobacco factories and 17 large and medium cigarette factories.

Coffee, in turn, in 1902 occupied only 1.6% of the cultivated area. In 1952 it occupied 6,800 caballerias with around 19,721 farms and a production of 700,000 quintals. It maintained some 522 roasting, industrialization and packaging work centers. In the ranking, coffee ranked fourth in productive importance. The agricultural reform of 1927 made a significant contribution to the development of coffee with the suppression of imports and the stimulation of exports. With the formation of the Cuban domestic market, coffee began to become more attractive to the local economy and exports were abandoned.

In addition to the main products such as sugar, livestock, tobacco and coffee, minerals (iron, copper, manganese, asphalt, gold), forestry production (cedar, mahogany and the like), poultry farming, beekeeping, fishing (canned lobster, crabs, bonito, shark, frog leg, etc.) and various manufactures such as fabrics, shoes, vegetable oil, paints, milk, preserves, pampadas de ponce and glass are included.

At the end of the study of the structure of Cuba's industrial economy, Antonio Riccardini (1959) listed the main branches of economic activities, which can be summarized in the following list:

Chart 1 – Main Branches of Economic Activities 1949

Groups	Work Centers	Classification	Estimated Investment (\$)	Busy workers
1	257	Cane, Sugar and derivatives	1.091.800.000	484.777
2	2.328	Tobacco, derivatives and related products	51.140.000	127.500
3.	321	Livestock, derivatives and annexes	14.939.800	8.744
4	522	Coffee, cocoa and annexes	10.890.000	6.550
5	13.341	Agricultural Industries and Annexes	51.766.000	45.135
6	788	Forests, timbers and annexes	11.968.360	12.465
7	341	Mining, metals and metallurgy	369.770.340	15.858
8	260	Marine and related industries	7.481.500	10.721
9	114	Fuels and Attachments	51.184.800	4.210
10	290	Motive power, gas, water	227.388.906	7.220
11	2.119	Transport and communications	554.418.500	48.470
12	472	Chemical-pharmaceutical and annexes	27.482.160	9.147
13	404	Buildings and annexes	19.937.900	18.325
14	51	Machinery, mechanics and appliances	4.682.800	959

15	11	Raw materials and basic resources	206.300	147
16	2.991	Food, beverages and annexes	51.245.000	32.897
17	1.154	Textiles, apparel and related products	67.870.000	23.833
18	1.254	Clothing, dressing table and annexes	8.533.300	23.833
19	1.228	Printing industry and annexes	32.570.100	11.047
20	119	Paper, cardboard, attachments and derivatives	7.278.500	2.571
21	1.372	Leather, fur and related industries	21.808.100	16.539
22	171	Kitchenware, toys and bazaar	2.141.930	1.910
23	61	Orthotics, Scientific	855.500	510
24	268	Joyeria, goldsmithing, costume jewelry	4.349.900	2.696
25	145	Pottery, glass, ceramics	3.012.700	2.015
26	120	Unclassified Miscellaneous Industry	2.561.670	1.501
\$30,502 \$2,697,281,566 903,344				

Source: Antonio Ricardini (1959).

The commercial system that articulated Cuban production, between 1902 and 1959, moved figures around 24,539 million dollars, of which 14,193 million corresponded to exports and 10,000 million to imports, producing a trade balance of 3,847 dollars. Sugar was the largest participant in total exports, corresponding to 82%, tobacco with 11% and other articles and products added the remaining participation, 7%. Foreign trade relations were established mainly with Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, England, Chile, Argentina and Canada. But the most important commercial exchange was with the United States, regulated by the Arancellaria reform of 1927.

Antonio Riccardi (1959) points out that the configuration of the Cuban internal market occurred during the first 50 years of the Republic when it occurred with the population increase that, together with the conditions of modernity, allowed the growth of cities, the concentration of people in urban centers and, with it, the appearance of various liberal work professions that at some point favored the diversification of production. The author records the emergence of hundreds of establishments and tents that generated approximately \$2,000 million annually in sales volumes, in the domestic market, both wholesale and retail.

In 1900 the island had 1,672,797 inhabitants and in 1952 it had a total of 5,415,000 inhabitants. In 1952, 39.9% corresponded to farmers, weighers and miners; 23.4% of construction workers are engaged in commerce and transport; 30% worked in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 2.8% professional services; 1.6%, in domestic and personal services; and 2.2% were classified as unemployed. Salary conditions vary between \$7.0 and \$11.0 per day, with 42.99% of workers earning this percentage; 27% of

them received salaries of \$5.0 to \$6.0 per day and the rest, 29.92%, received salaries of \$3.0 to \$4.99 per day. As you can see, the income of the workers wasn't that bad at all. They also enjoyed a set of rights that regulated their activities, which Antonio Riccardini (1959) summarized as follows: i) they received high salaries and consequently a high standard and quality of life; (ii) one month of paid vacation for each year of service, but 9 days each year for illness; (iii) to enjoy the so-called Summer Shift, the average day of paid rest, two days a week, during the months of July, August and September; (iv) freedom of association; v) freedom to work wherever you want; (vi) retirement and pension benefits upon reaching the maximum age limit due to supervening causes; (vii) benefit from compulsory insurance against accidents at work and medical assistance in any case; (viii) maximum working day of 8 hours, benefiting from an extra periodic when it is necessary to work longer or on public holidays (p. 174).

These enumerated aspects of Cuba's economic structure, in addition to its productive factors, interest us because of what they represent for the development process, as they indicate the beginnings of the configuration of the internal market of this country. The existence of the internal market is important because it allows, from the point of view of economic policy, to visualize the existence of a planned coordination that centralizes all commercial activities in the same direction, which means that it can lead to the realization of its social objectives in a planned way for national self-determination. In general, the colonial period did not produce an internal market because the colonial communities functioned as commercial warehouses of the large metropolises that drained all their resources, not allowing conditions for internal development, and also because the colonized peoples fell into a situation of slavery or servitude, which did not provide the capacity for consumption. Modernity, according to Florestan Fernandes (1979) – *Mudanças sociais no Brasil: aspectos do desenvolvimento da sociedade brasileira – no Topic: Atitudes e motivações desfavoráveis ao desenvolvimento*, produced a set of transformations that impacted all social relations; moved people from agricultural areas to urban centers; created conditions of freedom for the labor force, wages; produced population concentration; created an internal demand for consumption; it allowed the emergence of various jobs collaborating with the administrative facilities of the modern state apparatus, in municipalities, provinces and departments; He created a libertarian consciousness based on a pragmatic instrumental rationality capable of guiding the behavior of individuals in search of improving life. It can be said that the very existence of the internal market means a certain guarantee of the functioning of the development process and a guarantee of the survival of the society of which it is a part. It functions as the material base that makes possible the production of

wealth at the national level by processing its own local capacities and resources and seeking, through long-distance trade, goods that are absent in its territory. This operates in two dimensions: domestic and foreign trade. And indeed, its robustness occurs when its trade relations achieve a balance in the operations of its major economic spheres.

However, in the first 50 years of the Republic, the presence of the domestic market would not have been possible if Cuba had not had means of transport connecting its main administrative centers. Transmission lines are indispensable for connecting internal trade circuits and the substrate necessary for the constitution of the external market. Through rail, sea, air, and railroad, the Cuban nation connected its trading cities and promoted its internal exchanges and international trade. In 1952 it had 133,085 thousand motor vehicles, 60 airports throughout the country and 4,860 kilometers of railroads; 50 tons of ships ranging from 500 to 2,000 tons were proposed for transport with the foreign market.

Law No. 13 of 1948 specified the materialization of the internal or national market from the normative point of view, establishing in that year the aforementioned legislation the creation of the National Bank of Cuba with the purpose of reorganizing the Monetary Stabilization and also promoting funds for the promotion of industrial and commercial activities, directing and centralizing economic policy in the same administrative direction on the basis of Cuban nationality. As a concluding proposal of the general economic policy of this first period, we can say that it was driven by two main guidelines: i) the promotion of the process of industrialization of agro-export monocultures (sugar, tobacco, minerals); (ii) and imports of industrialized goods.

Despite the constitution of the Cuban internal market and economic planning aimed at import substitution as a way to enhance local productive capacities through industrialization, Alodia Alemán and Rosa Heredia (2013) confirmed that an export policy of few primary products such as sugar, coffee, tobacco, and some minerals still predominated. Agriculture was the predominant activity that, in 1958, estimated its costs at around 1,420 million pesos. Livestock accounted for 41.5 per cent of economic activity and agriculture for 23.2 per cent; the manufacturing industry contributed 46.5% of total production, with the sugar industry representing 14.3%, with the sugar sector totaling 38% of material production (ALEMAN and HEREDIA, 2013, p. 111).

The socialist model of production that emerged after 1959 reconfigured economic relations from another perspective of development with the aim of correcting the republican period guided by capitalist logic that had left in its wake territorial inequalities, economic and social backwardness in rural and suburban areas, until later promoting a more equitable and egalitarian social and economic development for its community.

Although we have clearly established the main socialist guidelines through which socio-economic policy will be conducted, it is necessary to reiterate its budget in order to follow its material results. Under the responsibility of the Communist Party of Cuba – PCC, it is in charge of defining the guidelines of the country's economic policy. In general, the assumptions formulated followed a paradigmatic line that has been maintained to the present day, except for particular variations. However, before the leadership of the PCC, the coordination of economic policy was directed by the Central Planning Board – JUCEPLAN, created in 1960. This institution was formulated as the first economic orientation and the process of territorial decentralization of development may have occurred unevenly among the different provinces during the republican period, with productive investments concentrated in Havana, Santa Clara and Santiago de Cuba, considered the three main national productive poles. The results achieved were restricted to the implementation of infrastructure, logistics, educational services, health, sources of employment, and raising the standard of living, with the limits of their achievements being diminished by financial scarcity and the absence of state institutions.

From 1975 onwards, the PCC began to define development policies by reorganizing institutional and economic conditions. The new policy prioritizes economic planning and political-administrative division, structuring the country into 14 provinces and 169 municipalities, plus the special municipality of the Isle of Youth. The results of this policy were debilitating and had little economic effect in territorial terms.

Thus, between 1976-1990, the territorial space was conceived as a physical support for productive sectors where the economic and social activities of men were carried out. In this period, the distribution of productive activities, of the labor force, was promoted; more attention was paid to the social aspect; state farms were created, the expansion of the road network, the construction of towns, the orientation of industrial investments (iron and steel, food, construction) and school equipment (ALEMAN and HEREDIA, 2013). Despite the effort to decentralize territorial development, economic and industrial stimuli have seen their main investments concentrated in the West, with 40.9% of investments, the Center (29.0%) and the East (30.1%). Alodia Alemán and Rosa Heredia (2013) found, however, that the direction of investments by prioritizing projects and plans aimed at promoting agriculture, industry and mining – activities that depended on resources and political decisions – ended up concentrating spending in certain territories, resulting in decentralizing effects on economic spaces, so that in the following years the territorial concentration of investments in them persisted spaces, producing, among other things, differentiated job offers and employment for the same territories, as can be seen in the following tables.

Table 2 – Volume of Investments in Millions of Pesos, by Territory, in the Period 1995-2001.

Tabla 10. Volumen de inversiones en millones de pesos, por territorio, en el periodo 1995-2001

TERRITORIO	AÑO 1995	AÑO 1997	AÑO 1999	AÑO 2000	AÑO 2001
Cuba	1 468,3 100 %	2 223,0 100 %	2 544,6 100 %	2 830,1 100 %	2 436,6 100 %
Occidente	833,5 56,76 %	1 307,3 58,80 %	1 694,1 66,57 %	1 966,6 69,48 %	1 460,6 59,94 %
Centro	310,3 21,13 %	411,1 18,49 %	388,8 15,27 %	402,7 14,22 %	424,0 17,40 %
Oriente	324,5 22,10 %	504,6 22,69 %	461,7 18,14 %	460,8 16,28 %	552,0 22,69 %

Fuente: elaboración propia a partir de ONE (2001).

Tabla 11. Total de ocupados en entidades estatales y mixtas, por región, en el periodo 1995-2001

TERRITORIO	AÑO 1995	AÑO 1997	AÑO 1999	AÑO 2000	AÑO 2001
Cuba	2 916,6 100 %	3 000,3 100 %	3 005,0 100 %	3 005,0 100 %	3 065,6 100 %
Occidente	1 265,1 43,37 %	1 370,9 45,69 %	1 374,6 45,74 %	1 380,2 45,93 %	1 438,0 46,90 %
Centro	778,8 26,70 %	772,1 27,73 %	777,4 25,87 %	773,4 27,73 %	758,3 24,73 %
Oriente	872,7 29,92 %	857,3 28,57 %	853,0 28,38 %	851,4 28,33 %	869,3 28,35 %

Fuente: ONE (2001).

Source: ALEMAN AND HEREDIA, 2013, p. 118-119)

The economic dynamics suffered multiple difficulties with the overthrow of the socialist system in 1990, particularly in the former USSR, and with this trade relations were disrupted, resulting in a decrease in economic activities. This situation is aggravated by the accumulation of problems facing the country, such as excess money in circulation, insufficient production equipment and technological obsolescence. To face the crisis, the country established a strategy to resist the socialist model, seek a new insertion into the world economy and safeguard fundamental social achievements. From then on, a plan was proposed to adapt the economy to the new scenario, adjusting the necessary measures for its dynamization. On the external front, a strategy was developed to promote: (i) traditional exports; non-traditional exports; and services, mainly tourism. Internally, three basic actions were defined: i) food; (ii) energy; iii) and one of spare parts and advanced technology (ALEMAN & HEREDIA, 2013, p. 118-119).

The guidelines for economic policy based on these proposed guidelines established the fundamental features that differentiated them from the period before the fall of European socialism, namely, a movement in consideration of the role of the market in reconceiving its economic functions and another in the sense of undoing the role of the state in the

monopoly of economic activities. allowing activities at the expense of private agents without the social function of the market perceiving its economic capacity of human sociability.

The set of political-economic actions was defined as follows:

(...) the acceleration of the process of opening up to foreign investment in search of capital, technology and market; the restructuring of foreign trade (geographical diversification); the search for new paths and forms of negotiation of external data; the legalization of the possession and use of foreign currency and the authorization of the entry of remittances from abroad; the adoption of a programme to improve domestic finances; the creation of basic units of cooperative production; the legal recognition of self-employment; the opening of agricultural markets and artisanal industrial products; the reorganization of the central administration of the State; the delivery of idle land to families for exploitation under conditions of usufruct; the partial reform of prices and the accounting system; the reform of the banking system; the territorialization of decisions; the improvement of business management and changes in the legal system (ALEMAN & HEREDIA, 2013, p. 119).

The negative effects of the economic slowdown of the 1990s were not only reduced to technological obsolescence, production backwardness and excess money in circulation, but were also expressed in the deterioration of the standard of living in relation to the fall in wages (where the wage pyramid remained inverted), social differentiation – territorial socio-economic inequality has deepened, with signs of social poverty – and visible levels of poverty: beggars in the streets, beggars collecting garbage in Havana. The average salary ranged from 194 pesos to 177 pesos in all Cuban provinces in 1994. In the City of Havana there was the highest salary (194 pesos) and in Guantamano the lowest was 177 pesos. However, from 2001 to 2011 wages maintained a relative growth. For this 2001-2011 time series, the salaries of workers in state-owned companies varied, in the City of Havana, between 266 pesos in 2001 and 456 pesos in 2011, an increase of 71.42% in value in a decade. Overall, the average increase was in the order of 63.82% for the country, for the 2001-2011 time series, of which the amount paid in 2001 was 284 pesos and in 2011, totaled 445 Cuban pesos (CUP). For all provinces, salaries were above 200 pesos in 2001 and closed in 2011 in the range of more than 400 pesos, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 3 – Average monthly salary in state and mixed entities by major provinces (em CAP)

Territory	Anus										
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Cuba	----	----	----	284	330	387	408	415	429	448	445
Havana	244	264	266	276	316	377	397	391	417	434	---

Villa Clara	245	252	262	276	327	376	399	406	430	458	456
Cienfuegos	257	280	286	285	332	389	407	420	424	458	470
Santiago de Cuba	234	241	251	260	310	360	390	382	399	450	436
Guantanamo	222	240	249	262	311	359	376	378	396	421	431

Source: compilation ALEMÁN Y HEREDIA, 2013.

Although nominal wages have increased by about 70% in the country in the last fifteen years, their real purchasing power has suffered a steady decline. José Luiz Rodrigues (2015) in his periodic writings on the web:cubacontemporanea.com site, in the thematic series *"Key factors in Cuba's current economic strategy" (II)* has shown that in order to understand the dynamics of productivity it is necessary to take into account the increase in wages. And they have accumulated real losses in their purchasing power, despite the nominal increases achieved. According to the author, if we look at the dynamics of the estimated minority prices for the period 1989 to 2013, we will see that the nominal value of wages in 2013 (471 pesos) has purchasing power equivalent to the nominal wages of 1989, with the value of 188 pesos. What the author highlights is the great deterioration in the purchasing power of workers' wages, which impacts labor productivity. Although a deterioration in wages has been demonstrated, it is important to remember that the salaries of garment workers are also increased through temporary stimuli from the state sector (in general, in CUC) that can include food, clothing, footwear and personal hygiene items (RODRIGUES, April 28, 2015, p. 1-2-3). If we want to have an idea of the wage level of the revolutionary period, it is enough to compare with the incomes of the workers from 1952 onwards who received salaries that varied between 90 dollars per month and 300 dollars per month to verify their monetary inferiority.

Despite the economic deterioration, the social protection system remained reasonable. In general, all provinces enjoyed basic sanitation coverage of more than 80 per cent in 1995, with the exception of Granma, which maintained 77.9 per cent sanitation coverage, Guantánamo (62.5 per cent) and Santiago de Cuba, which had the lowest level of sanitation, 51.1 per cent. The supply of drinking water also reached over 80% for the entire population, except in the cases of Holguín (76.7%) of available drinking water service, Guantánamo, 76.2% and Granma with 72.2% this service is available (ALEMAN AND HEREDIA, 2013). .

In terms of economic activity, some 60,000 industrial jobs (34 per cent of the sugar industry's labour force) were lost in 2002. During 2007, 24 more mills were closed and a total of 94 mills were deactivated. Agricultural land was also allocated to other occupations and in total around 90,000 jobs were lost. The unemployment rate for 1997 was in the range of 38% of the economically active labor force, that is, available for employment. Of

the 6,657.4 workers in working conditions, only 4,173.3 were employed, which indicates a high unemployment rate (ALEMAN AND HEREDIA, 2013).

But a decade later, in 2011, the strategic plan designed by the PCC for economic policy consisted precisely of increasing economic efficiency by increasing labor productivity, which between 1959 and 2009 had reached 0.4% productivity. Although according to José Luis Rodrigues (2015, May 4, p. 1-2-3) he found that one of the most important factors that impact labor productivity is related to economic investment, it was not this guideline that the country applied to try to produce economic efficiency since gross capital investments have fallen from 5,264 million pesos to 4,729 million. a reduction of 535 million, equivalent to 10% at current prices, at the same time that payments of the external debt had grown by about 97% - from 1,571 million to 3,106 million dollars (increase of 1,535 million dollars). In reality, the increase in labour productivity, which was recorded at around 10.7% between 2009 and 2013, is not explained by investments in hexa but by the reduction in state underemployment, i.e. layoffs of workers and the opening of self-employed economic activities. From 2009 to 2014, for example, the State laid off 596,500 workers from its administrative staff, which corresponds to 10% of total State employment (approximately 5,965,000 jobs). At the same time, self-employed activities grew in 2014, with approximately 473,475 workers, including around 144,595 women workers (RODRIGUES, 2015, May 4, p. 1-2-3).

The set of these problems of the Cuban socialist model was summarized very precisely by Vilma Hidalgo de los Santos (2012, p. 49) in her article *Fiscality, External and Internal Balance in the Cuban Economy: Advances and Challenges*. The author demonstrates how the imbalance of its economic policy is expressed asymmetrically by an imbalance between the fiscal dimension and the productive dynamics, provoking an attack on fiscal sustainability, creating a fragile situation of external finances and the loss of its purchasing power currency. The low industrial productivity of the domestic market, insufficient to meet the demand of the population, has raised the price levels of products, generating infringement processes and, consequently, has lost the purchasing power of the Cuban peso. This monetary excess is in circulation without a productive trail that balances the supply-demand relationship, producing the hyperinflation that characterized the 1990s, generating the need to replace the Cuban peso with a foreign currency: partial dollarization.

Vilma Hidalgo de los Santos (2012) describes this process as follows:

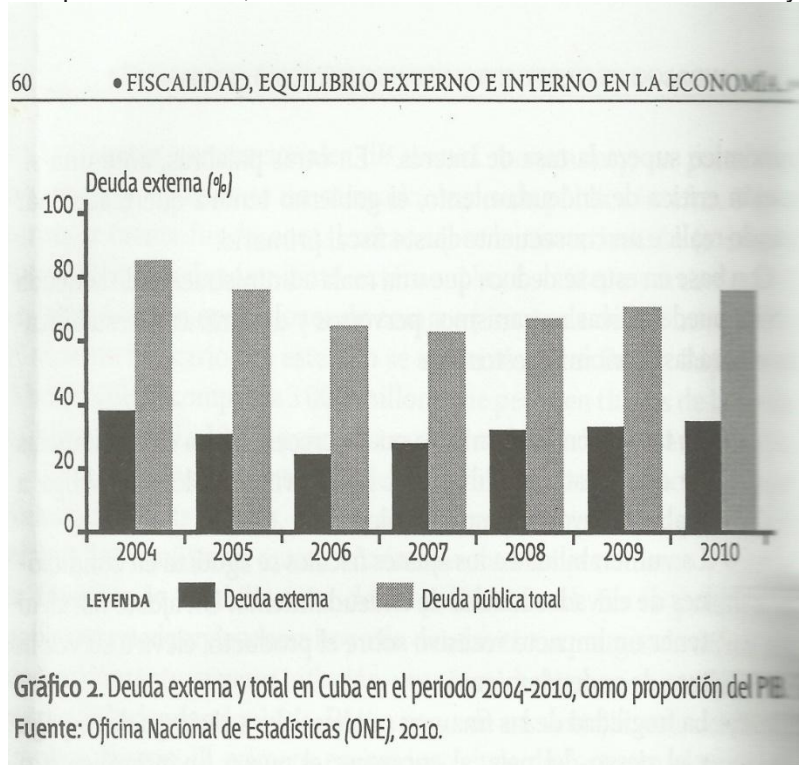
At the beginning of the 1990s, in the face of the abrupt fall in gross domestic product – GDP – associated with the collapse of the socialist camp – an inevitable situation of imbalance occurred. The policy of employment protection and the consequent fiscal deficits generated an injection of uncompensated circulating goods and

services that eroded – manifestly or implicitly – the purchasing power of the Cuban peso (CAP) and, consequently, the real income of families (...), but a distinctive aspect of this phase was the substitution of the currency. As the flows of dollars through remesas and tourism increased, the classic conditions emerged that gave way to the partial dollarization of the economy. Subsequently, the duality scheme was introduced as part of the economic program in the face of the crisis (Ibid., p. 49).

The monetary duplicity of the Cuban economy in this period synthesizes and responds to the socioeconomic imbalances of later periods that we are demonstrating in various ways. This, for example, has a direct impact on the direction of the economic policy of the domestic market, which has a great emphasis on the export of goods and services with high added value in the field of foreign policy, stimulating above all tourism and imports, mainly of food, with the consequent restrictions on domestic production expenditure that feeds technological backwardness. the deterioration of the purchasing power of workers' incomes in Cuban pesos and cuts in spending on social protection. The fiscal insolvency of the State tends to deteriorate its capacity to promote the development process, putting at risk its socialist principles in the face of an internal market marked by two commercial circuits that represent nothing more than economic and social inequality: i) a circuit that operates with a very devalued currency (Cuban pesos) in a context of technological backwardness, low productivity, low state subsidies and regulated prices, with a supply of goods that does not meet the demand of the national population; ii) an overvalued dollarized market circuit (CUC) that operates with inflated international prices to serve mainly the tourism sector, creating a market space that is quite restricted to foreigners and a few segments of the population that carry out activities that generate foreign exchange income.

According to Vilma Hidalgo de los Santos (2012, p. 52) in these conditions "the effect of imbalances – is expressed in inflationary tensions – and immediately falls on the loss of purchasing power of national currencies, limiting their ability to meet current expenditures (imported inputs) and capital". This situation could even worsen in inflationary macroeconomic terms with the mobilization of bank loans for non-state sectors in a scenario of non-payments by the business sector and immobilization of savings of Cuban families in the face of a demand for imported products that does not generate products or domestic currency, which generates more circulation without a corresponding trace of goods and services, in addition to increasing the fiscal deficits of the State, as we can see in the dynamics of public debt in the following table, as a result of this script.

Graph 2 – Taxation, External and Internal Balance in the Economy



(Source: DE LOS SANTOS, 2012, p. 60)

In geographical terms, the volume of investments in Cuban pesos (CAP) maintained the distortion between the three main regions. The highest level of investment is concentrated in the West, varying in 2001, from 1,460.6 million pesos to 2,835.1 million in 2011. For the same period (2001-2011), the Central provinces received 424.0 million in 2001 and reached it in 2011, with 551.4 million in state investments. Oriente, from 552.0 in 2001, reached 2011, receiving 928.1 million pesos. Overall, Cuba increased its investments from 2,436.6 billion pesos in 2001 to 4,341.1 billion in 2011, a growth in investments on the island of practically 100% in a decade. However, investments in 2014 were reduced by 535 million pesos, which represents a reduction of 10.2%, compared to previous years. If we take 1989 as a reference, for example, we will also see that investments were decreasing. In this period the investment rate was 24%, ten years later, in 1999, it was 6.8%, and in 2010, around 10%.

Vilma Hidalgo de los Santos (2012, p. 67) also concludes that this investment situation

explains the paradox in relation to the asymmetry between human capital investment and the technological environment (...). [And he ends his argument by stressing] that we are witnessing a vicious circle in which the Cuban economy finds itself and it will be necessary to overcome. The starting situation is characterized by slow growth, as a result of a low productivity of labor, a dependent and technologically backward productive structure, which coexists with an oversizing of

the public sector that threatens fiscal sustainability, a fragile situation of external finances and losses of purchasing power of the domestic currency (Ibid., p 67).

As a perspective to solve the problems presented, the author presents the two main problems and their other deployments: i) to solve, on the one hand, the imbalance between the fiscal dimension and the productive dynamics as one of the main sources of imbalances; ii) on the other hand, to resolve over time the inert monetary scheme that results in a system of prices, wages and costs that constitute a brake on efficiency and economic growth.

In addition, it considers it necessary, in the field of economic policy, to correct the financial situation which, in addition to requiring the elimination of the dual currency, requires the correction of the structural factors that explain it, that is: the lack of definition of the boundaries between state and business functions; lack of a law on the liquidation of the business sector, deficient system of invoicing and payments; treasury practices between companies within the same entity; excess of administrative mechanisms that limit business management and delays in the production process as a result of failures in the planning process. The same priority is to review the level of wages, because their significant decline in recent years has had a negative impact on the social structure and conspires to reduce labour productivity and monetary equilibrium: *labour must be considered the main source of income for the economic model balanced in fair measure with the increase in productivity. whose increase must focus on updating the redistribution of wealth produced in the form of wages.*

Meanwhile, at the end of the 1990s, in 1999, the social equity development index in Cuba remained at 0.93 for the City of Havana, indicating a good quality of life. The other indices were medium and included the cities of Santiago de Cuba (0.76), Guantánamo (0.73) and Granma (0.71) (ALEMAN AND HEREDIA, 2013). The gross domestic product – GDP of the country that accumulated negative growth since 1989 (-3%), 1991, (-11%), began to generate positive GDP indicators since 1994, with 1995 growing around 8%, 1999, growth of 5%, finally reaching 2001 with a weak performance of 0.5% of GDP. And in the previous period, that is, from 1970 to 1989, the average development of the national economy was 5.6% of positive GDP growth. Between 2013 and 2014, the average annual circular growth rate was 7%. For the year 2015, an average GDP growth rate of 4% is projected (RODRIGUES, 2015, March 4, p. 1-2). The following graph shows the dynamics of the gross domestic product for the 1989-2001 time series.

Graph 3 – GDP dynamics – period 1989-2002.

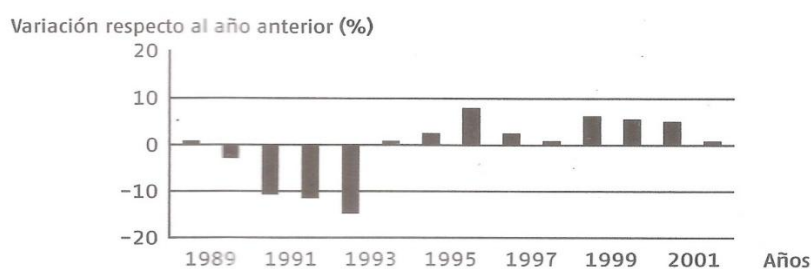


Figura 6. Dinámica del PIB (periodo 1989-2002).
Fuente: Oficina Nacional de Estadística – ONE– (2002), «Documentos presentados en la Asamblea Nacional del Poder Popular» (1996, 1999).

Source (Alemán & Heredia, 2013, p. 118)

The dynamics of GDP and national economic growth during these periods were greatly influenced by the total public debt and the capacity of the State to pay its debts and to have the credibility to assume new loans for national investments. What is perceived is that the debt has produced limitations in the development process due to its evident growth in the post-revolutionary years, which weakens the capacity to invest in development, since the expenses to pay debts and divisions are becoming more and more. Between 2008 and 2014, the payment service went from \$1,171 million to \$3,106 million, \$1,535 million or more, which represents a 97.7% increase in the payment service as indicated above (RODRIGUES, 2015, May 4, p. 1-2).

But once José Luis Rodrigues (2015, March 2, p. 1-2-3) reminded us that in the 1960s the external debt was practically non-existent, totaling only 291 million dollars in 1969. In 1982 the external debt was 2,914 million dollars, reaching a value of 6,165 million in 1989. Since then, it has increased considerably, in 1994, to reach 9,083 million dollars, in 2004, to compute an external debt of 13,802 million, which represents 33.6% of GDP. It increased again, in 2009, to a value of \$20,606 million (37% of GDP) and then in 2004 to \$25,512 million, or 40% of GDP.

The financial problems caused by external debts together with the decrease in investments, in recent years, have impacted the correlation of the country's trade balance and the dynamics of productive activities. If, on the one hand, between 2008 and 2013, imports fell from 32.4% to 18.8% of GDP, on the other, exports increased from 18.4% to 21.5% of GDP. The trade balance deficit of \$1.736 billion in 2008 turned into a positive balance of \$1.591 billion in 2013, representing 1.9% of the trade surplus. The report on the

construction of the Port of Mariel⁸ in the vicinity of the City of Havana shows the flow of export/import correlation for the year 2014, according to which 51% of port movements were imports compared to 49% of exports. Trade balance balances are sometimes independent of the percentage of imports/exports, which may have more to do with the prices of negotiable products (www.cubacontemporanea.com, 2015, April 15, p. 1-2).

In addition, economic sectors and social protection services suffered asymmetric effects. The construction business segments received investments, between 2008-2014, which increased from 6% to 16%, also business services/rental/real estate grew from 3.5% to 31.8% of investments. However, infrastructure (electricity/gas/water) was reduced from 18.4% to 13%. Likewise, the agricultural sector remained practically immobile with 8.3% of investments, with investments in industry (6.2% to 5.4%), mining (12.7% to 5.2%), hotels and restaurants (from 8.6% to 2.8%) decreasing.

If we take the period 2003-2010, for example, we will see the same economic dynamics. The gross domestic product (GDP) grew at an average annual rate of 6% with the following participation of the productive sectors: i) the branches of goods and services that make up the productive sector remained relatively stagnant; (ii) the segments that contributed to the increase in GDP were the so-called "other services" sector, which included the areas of trade and repair of personal effects, hotels and restaurants, financial intermediation, business services, real estate/rental activities, public administration and social security, science and technological innovation, education, public health and social assistance, culture, sports, other communal and personal service activities, as well as import duties (CASTELLANO, 2012, p. 23). Lázaro Peña Castellanos (2012) corroborated that there was a significant change in the composition of GDP in the 2000-2010 time series. In 2000, the goods production sector accounted for 25% of the country's GDP, while the basic services sector accounted for 16.9% and the other services sector for 58.1%. At the end of the decade, 2010, the participation of the three sectors remained at the following level: production, 18%; basic services, 16.7%; and other services, 65% of GDP. This dynamic also modifies the structure of export trade: i) the services segment – goods and services – which represented 42% of the country's total exports in 1993, until 2000, participating in 64% and in 2010, reached 69%. of exports. In 2008, professional services,

⁸ The Port of Mariel is a container terminal that was inaugurated in January 2014, located west of Havana, in order to promote commercial exchange on the island and with foreigners. The terminal has a 702-metre quay, a draught of 17.9 metres on the sides of the quay, 4 super-cranes for ships and a 27.7-hectare container stand with a total capacity of 820,000 tonnes. In 2014, the Port of Mariel moved 230,000 tons. The forecast for 2015 is that it will reach 260,000 tons of transiable goods (www.cubacontemporanea., 2015, April 15, p.1-2-3).

mainly medical services, accounted for 47% of export earnings in this segment (goods and services), while tourism, in the same period, contributed 21% of external earnings.

The author concludes that this economic model, due to the low production slowness, tends to prioritize exports of services, with a very specific emphasis on defining the obtaining of external income as the fundamental objective of its economic policy, but forgets to consider with equal urgency that the activity needs internal savings and investment for its balance and development. This is why the operating model of the economy during the period 2000-2010 is quite vulnerable to the context of increasingly specialized, demanding, and technologically innovative markets. And assuming external income as the main economic perspective – if the production of the internal market is balanced – means considering that the specialization of the branches selected for such a process will fall on the distribution of employment, the distribution of income and the definition of consumption (CASTELLANOS, 2012), which could generate social inequalities.

As for the social protection system, it suffered from less economic development. The newspaper Granma of November 2014 (*Headline: Water supply and sanitation: a strategy to follow*, p. 5) reveals difficulties in the supply of basic sanitation due to insufficient resources, although state policy indicates that work is being done to improve it. The newspaper reports that 73.5% of the entire Cuban population has access to drinking water through water pipes and that despite the fact that a large number of people receive water by other means, this does not guarantee the quality of the water. As of November 2014, 125 pieces of equipment from the INRH system have been recovered, while 117 remain to be recovered. Septic tank cleaning services cover approximately 50% of the population, but they are not enough, currently receiving 40,000 records a day from people who require service. The deputy director of the Aqueduct and Sewerage Business Group, Leonel Díaz, explains that of the 228 cleaning carts that exist, only 116 are operational and concluded that around 4,000 are needed to meet the country's demand. The same situation occurs with high-pressure cars, of which there are 46, although 80 are needed. The Director pointed out that the government's intention is to continue with the execution of pipelines by building more than 2,700 kilometers of conductors and some 13,200 kilometers of networks for prioritized cities: Havana, Camagüey, Las Tunas, Holguín, Santiago de Cuba, Trinidad, Manzanillo, Bayamo, Baracoa, Nueva Gerona, Guantánamo and San Pedrito (GRANMA, November 2014, p. 5).

Low investment in the social protection system is also reflected in energy infrastructure. To get an idea of the energy problems, it is enough to look at how many times the lights are cut in the City of Havana, the capital of the country, sometimes causing

days without electricity in a large part of the city. From this we can infer some findings for the local economy that ends up losing money due to lack of energy, automatic machines are deactivated and refrigerated stations can suffer losses due to loss of food that requires refrigeration for maintenance, in addition to the fact that the recurrence of blackouts can, quite efficiently, damage residential and commercial appliances.

The recurrence of productive insufficiency can be seen in the sugar sector, which has suffered absolescence and technological backwardness with repeated harvests with low efficiency. In Mayabeque, after repeated harvests without complying with the productivity plan, it is expected that in 2014 the harvest will be successful but prosperous, producing 54,966 tons of crude oil and 37,281 tons of final grain, in its three sugar mills (GRANMA, October 30, 2014, p. 6. *Headline: Will Mayabeque return to efficient harvests?*). In the 2013 harvest, of the 27 mills, some reached the plan, others more or less some came close (GRANMA, October 29, 2014, p. 3. *Headline: There is a possibility of increasing the number of compliers*). In this regard, suffice it to say that its figures were not very close to the 6 million tons produced in 1952, by the 171 mills of that period.

Figure 2 – Sweet News – Fulfill Sugar Bowls Small Safra Plan



Source: Granma, Wednesday, December 31, 2014, p. 1)

Figure 3 – There are possibilities of increasing the number of compliers



(Source: Granma, October 29, Wednesday 2014)

These examples that we have just mentioned, typical of the current model of Cuban economic development, find resonance from the political point of view in the speech of the Secretary General of the CTC and member of the Central Committee, in the conclusions of the First National Assembly Conference of the Association of Innovators and Rationalizers – ANIR, Ulises Guilarte de Nascimento, who stated in his speech that the current context of the Cuban economy faces difficulties such as the technological obsolescence of the industrial plant, the lack of financial resources to acquire spare parts and resources to increase production and the intensification of the economic, commercial and financial blockade maintained by the United States against Cuba that prevents the acquisition of many means for different sectors. The Secretary agrees with the guidelines of the Sixth Congress of the PCC, which defined as a strategy for the exit from the crisis to promote a policy of import substitution, encourage audacity, increase labor productivity and the policy of science, technology and innovation and the environment (TRABAJADORES, October 13, 2014, p.6. *Headline: Anir has the ability to capture the infinite creative potential of our workers*).

As we say, the explanation for GDP growth in recent years comes from measures to reduce underemployment, cut social spending, the opening of migration for Cubans to travel abroad for work reasons – which generates cash flow for the family – and the economic opening for activities on their own. account, distribution of land and not for

productive investments. We also reported earlier that the state sector, for example, reduced its labor force, in 2011, by 14.7% of public underemployment (cutting 624,000 employees) and a growth of the state sector by 471,000 workers, corresponding to a growth of 57.2% of the economically active labor force, carrying out activities such as preparation and sale of food, transportation of cargo and travel, rental of houses, homes and spaces, services of telecommunications agents. Cooperatives that work under a new form of management also collaborate with the increase in production. There are 498 business cooperatives, mainly engaged in gastronomic activities, retail trade in agricultural products, construction and technical services. Of these, 73% are in the City of Havana, Artemisia and Matanzas.

If we take the example of the Vehicle Reconstructor Cooperative (CRV) created eight years ago, we can see that the economic opening to self-financed activities tends to boost the productive sectors. In 2014, the CRV rebuilt around 300 vehicles belonging to the state's tourism and health sector. Workers who initially received an average of 2,500 CUP (104.16 CUC) now earn an average of 10,000 CUP (400.16 CUC), much higher salaries than those received in state sectors (www.cubacontemporanea, 2015, March 18, p. 1-2-3). Written by: Lisset Izqueiro Ferrer. Manchete: *Cuban cooperatives, with benefits and overcoming challenges*). Even if this example is successful, it is spontaneous and does not constitute the rule of the economic dynamics of the country and in a very simple way it is able to prove the existence of economic activities by the control of nationalization. It does not mean less socialism, but quite the opposite, it represents better wage incomes and a better perspective of material and social life for the workers.

In any case, the state strategy to boost economic efficiency in the face of a scenario of reductions in productive investments due to financial problems or trade restrictions includes as one of its objectives to promote economic openness for self-employed activities and stimulate foreign investment. The government itself has produced a reorientation of the conception of the market as a fundamental sector for economic dynamics. Since then, it has promoted greater space for state ownership and management mechanisms, with greater worker participation in the decision-making process, as illustrated by the case of the Cooperation for the Reconstruction of Vehicles. Law 118 of 2014, which sanctions foreign reinvestment, also expresses this economic course. Today, 200 joint ventures operate on the island, mainly dedicated to activities such as tourism, the production and marketing of nickel, petroleum derivatives, iron and tobacco. The State is obviously the majority shareholder (it owns 51% of the shares), but decisions are made jointly between the parties.

CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this study was to carry out an articulated analysis of the theoretical assumptions that constituted the conceptual apparatus of socialism and how they were appropriated or instrumentalized by the experience of Cuban economic policy to achieve its social and economic purposes of raising living standards and promoting the dignity of men.

The arguments presented and the empirical data collected for this purpose allowed us to reach some conclusive conclusions.

PROPOSITION 1. FIRST METHODOLOGICAL ERROR: CONSIDERATION OF THE INCOMPATIBILITY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE MARKET

The authors presented who referenced their theoretical arguments authorized us to say, as the first conclusive proposition, that the mixed character of market mechanisms with the political orders associated with them were methodologically interpreted in a wrong way by the experience of Cuban economic policy, which explains its main economic and social weaknesses. The contempt for the economic functions of the market as a strength of social processes, expressed, among other aspects, by the weak entry of workers, the deficiency of the minority internal market (PAC) associated with the monetary devaluation of the Cuban peso fully demonstrate the inconsistencies of the island's economic development. This political error of the Cuban government, in fact, is the effect of the Marxist consideration that the market, because of its link with the capitalist system, is responsible for all social ills. However, it is exactly there where the enigma that hides the success and prosperity of hegemonic capitalist systems and reveals the social fragility (territorial and social inequalities, poverty levels, low wage income) and economic inefficiency (technological backwardness, high doubts in external current accounts, low labor productivity) of Caribbean socialism is located. Here specifically, their political presuppositions find an obstacle to achieving their social purposes because of the simple belief that it is incompatible to think of the development process to raise material well-being without considering the economic functions of the market. That is to say, there is no development without the market, nor is there a State without a market, the State is the market itself.

PROPOSITION 2. SECOND METHODOLOGICAL ERROR: THE INCOMPATIBILITY OF PRIVATE PROPERTY WITH SOCIALISM

The second methodological error of Cuban socialism with a double effect and resulting from the first is to argue that private property in economic activity is incompatible

with socialism, or otherwise, that all economy must be exclusively state-owned. Marxism had considered private property to be responsible for exploitation and social exclusion based on the analysis of the reality of the nineteenth century, on the principle of consolidation of capitalism when it was motivated by typical patterns of a (self-regulating) market economy in which the essentially profitable orientation was the foundation of its logic and its operational dynamics and when social values were not yet densely consolidated with sufficient levels of social pressure. The most contemporary contexts of social configurations such as European states have shown that different modalities of economic management of property can coexist, because in truth, all economic activity is a form of political regulation. Which means deciding that the name of economic activity, whether private or social, does not strictly define the modality of the system – whether capitalism or socialism – but the type of regulation. The central problem here is economic regulation. It is the regulation of these domains that guarantees or is the way to avoid precisely the large ownership or concentration of economic means, so that the regulation obeys extra-economic fines or takes into account socially established principles and values. The trajectory of the last decade of socialism in Cuba was pressured by the overthrow of Eastern European socialism and was forced to undertake different modalities of economic management (private property, social property, mixed property, cooperatives, state property; reduction of the state sector and expansion of the particular segment) which, despite being incorporated into the strategies of the economic policy guidelines in a rather hesitant way, serves to show the Truth of the double methodological error: in truth there is no incompatibility of socialist systems or with the active presence of the market or with the multiplicity of forms of management of economic activities.

PROPOSITION 3. ASYMMETRIC EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC POLICY IN THE SPHERE OF MATERIAL AND SOCIAL LIFE

The methodological errors that we identified in the first conclusive propositions, their inconsistencies, produced deleterious effects that do not reach the proper account echoes in the Cuban literature and are entirely incomprehensible due to the regional sociological interpretation that tends to silence or attribute the causal factors to secondary events that do not contain explanatory power to elucidate their true reasons. If we observe the conditions of material and social life lightly or hastily and without paying attention, we have the following results: the dynamics of GDP for 1970-1989 were an average growth of 5.6%; between 1990-2001, average growth of 3.5%; 2013-2014, average of 7%; and projection for 2015 of an average annual growth of 4%. The HDI of the City of Havana reached a figure of

0.92, which means a good quality of life. The rest of the cities were within the range of 0.80, and the lowest indicators were presented in the cities of Santiago de Cuba (0.76), Guantánamo (0.73) and Granma (0.71). Salaries ranged from more than 200 CAP to less than 500 CAP in the 2001-2011 series. Social protection coverage (sanitation, water and electricity) reaches just over 80% of the entire population; education (100%), health (100%), housing (100%) (UNDP, 2021). Productive and social investments, as we have seen, decreased and the external debt reached 37% of GDP in 2004, totaling 25,512 million dollars. In regional terms, inequalities persist in the level of development at the territorial level with the concentration of investments in the West and lower expenditures in the Center and East. If we cross the aforementioned data, we will observe that average GDP growth, although it has been reasonable at around 4-5% per year in recent decades, is still blocked in terms of productive and social investments with the decrease in investments. due to the significant increase in external data. In short, there is a vicious circle of growth in public debt that limits productive and social investments, making the aspiration for a productive dynamic and efficiency that is incapable of increasing its productivity with low investments and using obsolete and backward technologies increasingly agonizing. In fact, it was this reality that forced the decentralization of productive activities in favor of wage earners, the reduction of state centralization with cuts to public employees and the reduction of social spending, in addition to forcing the market to be considered as a vehicle for development. economic.

PROPOSITION 4. THE THREE LOGICS OF THE FUNCTIONING OF THE INTERNAL OR NATIONAL MARKET

Although the economic and social indicators that we present indicate reasonable conditions of material and social life, in the areas of health, education, housing and the employment situation, seen from the point of view of critical sociology, reflect profound deficiencies, which is why it only serves for Cubans to live on the island. If we consider that the social protection of health, education, and housing services has good population coverage with acceptable quality of it, the question that does not want to remain silent is: how do *they survive with such low levels of remuneration to the extent that social assistance services do not buy food, clothing, material goods to guarantee material well-being?* Or if not, if you have a house, if you have an education, if you have a home, if you have housing, but you have conditions of food, clothing, and reasonable situations of material comfort? The observation we have made allows us to decide that the conditions

are scarcity, especially of food and consumption, for a large part of the population, in particular, those who operate in Cuban pesos.

The audacity of our findings for the supporters is not arbitrary because they find a descriptive explanation based on an empirical reality that is loaded with sociological sense that we will seek to explain based on the three logics of the functioning of the internal or national market to answer the very conscious question of how Cubans with such low incomes – practically the smallest in the world – survive.

The first level of the domestic market operates in convertible pesos indexed to the dollar exchange rate (CUC) allowing the exchange of goods in the main export/print trade that is articulated in a coordinated manner, stimulating the production of goods with high commercial value at international prices such as iron, tobacco, minerals (oil) and medicines and consumption of imported products to serve the commercial tourism sector at the local level (restaurants, restaurants, etc.). hotels, medium-sized stores, etc.), as well as inputs to supply the export industry or for joint ventures that demand artifacts for their commercial businesses in these aforementioned segments. This entire market level does not accept CAP, and only operates, in convertible pesos (CUC), which in some way indicates that it is restricted to foreign currency, therefore, in the tourism or international trade sector, and for people who do business or manage them.

The second level of the domestic market operates in Cuban pesos (CAP), a currency that is quite devalued in exchange terms (1 CUC = 24 CAP) that is for the exclusive use of the resident population, and acceptable in small stores that offer products generally subsidized by the state sector that guarantees low prices for products such as bread, eggs, local food, etc. sugar, salt, coffee, various fruits, clothing and appliances in general. Parallel to this low-cost domestic trade, social assistance stores operate that subsidize food and merchandise for the entire population through monthly installments for families, with the main objective of complementing the average wage income of the moment, the main products of the ration book being: rice, cereals, oil, sugar, salt, coffee, jams, toiletries, washing products, personal hygiene products. The main aspect of this economic level is that the salary payments of workers, whether state or counterpart, are computed in Cuban pesos, payments that devalue the exchange rate and greatly depreciate their purchasing power, not finding the worst situation, due to the state subsidy, which allows their relative consumption power to move the gears of this market level.

In truth, it is very dangerous to talk about the third level of the internal market because it is not formally recognized by the national authorities and operates in a clandestinity, at that social level of negation, especially in a socialist country, but all tourists

or foreigners at some point must address it: it *is the dark market*. The same market that Gabriel García Márquez found in his initial formative stage, at the beginning of the revolutionary period, in 1962, when he visited the island for the second time as an international reporter. It emerged, therefore, in a very specific context of absence of everything in Cuba, in which no eggs were found in the stores, as soon as the U.S. blockade was decreed, controlling the first items that appeared in local commerce through its silent engineering. There you can find all kinds of businesses, mainly the sale of tobacco and the most expensive, but precisely prostitution. Prostitution, in particular, is the activity that today most mobilizes the clandestine dark market on the island. Since prostitution is a prohibited activity in Cuba, there are no statistical data to prove it, so our analysis is based on participant observation and informal accounts of Cuban citizens who, for their safety, remained incognito. However, its prohibition is not sufficient reason to suppose that it does not exist, on the contrary, it is precisely there where its most visible manifestation is hidden, so it developed a strategy to operate in the streets of Havana in a diluted, diffuse and silent way without it identifying it, unless it recognizes its way of being. its features and characteristics. If we want to verify its impact on the national economy even though we do not have formal statistical figures available, we can decide that it moves sums infinitely higher than state payments for its workers or joint ventures with high economic efficiency and we can do the calculations. In the first place, it only operates with foreign currency (dollar or euro and its counterpart in CUC) with values that vary from 10 to 100 (CUC) per hour, in normal trading situations, being able to reach higher values in special cases or with excellent merchandise. The number of women involved in this profitable business is indefinite and indeterminate, but the truth is that there are many, and its main cascade effect is to question the work motivations of the formal segments by confronting their monetary income. To get an idea of the attractiveness that his body is selling, it is enough to compare the salary of a doctor at the University of Havana with many years of academic work or that of a worker at any state or mixed institution to conclude that the ticket to prostitution is infinitely superior to them. If my professor, who is a doctor, earns 50 CUC a month, I can make a lot of money two or three times more in one or two hours of fun. This indeterminate number of women who are dedicated to this type of business has had an impact on the local economy. They move the rental trade, shops and commerce in general that operate in CUC, in addition to helping their families in Cuban pesos (CAP). If, on the one hand, they are the guarantee of the force of gravity of the "unofficial spending" of the tourism sector or the magnet of attraction that makes the foreign currency that enters the island not want to return, on the other, the clandestine nature of their business means that

they cannot retain their hands on their resources and their money and need to spend them on goods that cannot be proven due to the impossibility of proving the origin of income, which reduces the scope of consumption to two edible years. or basic needs of low durability.

What we intend to decide is that if the character of the dark market is clandestinity, its generated income is illicit and that, therefore, a girl cannot get rich through informal work and if there is no source that accredits or justifies the origin of her money and that for that reason they have to get rid of them and lose money with superfluous expenses (food, clothing, articles of low durability) that are not the subject of state investigation. And the magic of the system, of course, consists in incorporating all these expenses derived from prostitution as tourist expenses if there is no concern to discriminate the chain of the social segment that is managed in the second instance, as is officially the prostitution it generates. Forbidden, it was as if it had never existed, appearing only in the first part of the expenses: the tourist sector, foreigners.

In summary, these three levels of functioning of the internal or national market in Cuba comprehensively explain its current socioeconomic situation. A first level that operates in dollarized currency carrying out commercial export/import transactions for the greatest trade of international attraction and good prices that guarantee state financial support for its territorial investments and mobilizes, internally, facilities and companies to serve the tourism sector with the same overvalued currency, although its business potential is increasingly eroded by the progressive deficits of public debt, which has an impact on the decrease in social protection coverage.

A second level of market that handles the Cuban peso currency in trade subsidized by the state sector, which means that this currency, although quite devalued, generates purchasing power for workers who receive their salary income in the CAP in an internal market that offers differentiated national products to provide opportunities. for the level of consumption that the currency allows. This market stratum conspires to maintain low wages and, consequently, the technological backwardness and inefficiency of labor productivity in this local industry to the extent that it is considered sufficient to maintain the supply-demand of a devalued commercial circuit that only serves to adjust the possible guarantee for the pure and simple social reproduction of those Cubans who only have access to financial income in Cuban pesos. At this level is the explanation of social inequality, the exploitation of labor and the low dignity of man that contrasts, for example, with the artistic, literary or sports segments that lead in one way or another to income -through their by-products-: the records. , films, books, medals/awards – in convertible pesos at current international prices.



The third level of the market, *the dark market, in fact, is the invisible hand* that like a key merges and operates, at the local level, the two previous strata, on the one hand, stimulating the greatest possible retention of foreign spending in the country, on the other hand, it serves as a catapult to heat up trade in convertible pesos and/or Cuban pesos. allowing better levels of material well-being for the people involved in it without putting pressure on state spending. Its commercial circuit of operation has the capacity to relax the pressure on the formal labor market through the search for employment – although there may be compatibility of functions for convenience or by legitimization of personal income – turning inactive workers into hands with strong consumption potential, I decide otherwise, creating the purchasing power of many people considered formally unemployed.

APPENDIX. THE U.S. ECONOMIC BLOCKADE AGAINST CUBA: THE REASON WHY CUBAN SOCIALISM DID NOT FALL AS WELL

Figure 4 – Fidel in 1959 at the Habana Hilton Hotel



(Source: Granma, Wednesday, December 31, 2014, p. 3)

Fidel's delight in the comfortable Havana Hilton Hotel receiving personalities who asked him for autographs on the occasion of the revolutionary party suggests, by its gentle and carefree air, a prophetic consolation that leads his thought to project that he knew the intentions of the United States against his homeland, that therefore he had sufficient guarantees in advance of the continuation of his socialist project. From this brutal impression we will begin this topic.

The main argument that we will present here in the form of a brief essay – it is not just any argument – is to affirm that the United States economic blockade against Cuba established in 1961, through a series of prohibitive mechanisms that restrict international exchange, has been, from the beginning, the main dynamo, the engine that feeds and inflates the Cuban people's spirits to resist and defend their socialist principles. His noblest feelings of struggle, resistance, patriotism and pride in being Cuban, by irony of fate, had been brought to light by his main enemy: the Americans.

The blockade is defined by a series of political instruments of economic boycott that prohibit U.S. companies and their signatories, even those based in other countries, from establishing commercial, financial and/or scientific relations with the island under penalty of monetary fines for them. According to Odette Díaz Fumero, among the main guidelines of

the extraterritoriality policy is the prohibition of subsidiary companies of U.S. companies located in third countries from maintaining any type of agreement with companies on the island, as well as selling goods and/or services whose technology contains more than 10% of components produced in this nation. even if the owners are from other regions. It also prohibits third parties from providing coverage to legal or natural persons in dollars, or from carrying out transactions in currency with Cuban entities or persons (Periódico-Trabajadores. Monday, October 13, 2014. *Headline: Extraterritoriality: Kidnapped Sovereignty, p.14*).

The title of his journalistic text: *Extraterritoriality: Kidnapped Sovereignty* is illustrative of the political appeal that exalts the sentiment of a heroic people who, with great honor, managed to free their people from oppression and foreign exploitation through the blood of their revolutionaries. Certainly we do not intend to deny the merit of the revolutionary process or its heroes, but we are interested in understanding the reasons that keep socialist principles alive in the face of a second-generation population that in reality does not know its own history because it did not participate in its ideals or why it is indifferent to it. This question is not far-fetched because it is common today – although it has been more common in previous times – the constant clandestine escapes to exactly the American territory. Miami, the target of many Cubans, sustains this observation from there, also the journalistic news is ordinary of the protest of Cubans against their own homeland.

Gabriel García Márquez in a very simple and very lucid way points out in an article written in 1978 the key to understanding the demands of the Cuban government against the blockade, presenting an argument that is quite absent in the debates, but with a headline that contains the same political appeal that inspires resistance and political resignation: *How does a people suffocate without removing a cannon?* Nor is it a question here of legitimizing the blockade and safeguarding the international contravention against anyone, but of putting things in debt at home. Without ignoring the limit of the democratic process and national sovereignty, but problematizing the limit of politics, we can consider as quite reasonable the recourse of the United States to establish commercial relations with Cuba, as well as its institutions based in other countries or the same organizations that maintain them to strengthen economic relations with it. For a very simple reason: *they are fierce political enemies because of their models of society, considered opponents and in a situation of silent strategic war*. It is important to decide that in a war situation you do not negotiate with the enemy to satisfy his needs. It would also be dishonorable for Cuba to request the right to negotiate with its declared enemy as well as to operate with its currency, an expression of everything that the island condemns. If it did not seem so ironic, the U.S.

measure could have been proclaimed in the same way by Cuba because it considered that everything that came from there would not be good news.

But, above all, this is the issue that has been the subject of complaints for some time and which, in a zigzagging effect, replaces everything that we have already had the opportunity to talk about in this text: the fragility of its economy and its scarce productive potential capable of allowing national authorities self-determination. If that is not clear to you, then let's follow the descriptive account of Gabriel García Márquez and let everyone clarify their doubts:

On that night, the first of the blockade (1961), there were some 482,560 automobiles, 343,300 refrigerators, 549,700 radio receivers, 303,500 televisions, 352,900 electric irons, 286,400 fans, 41,800 automatic washing machines, 3,500,000 wristwatches, 63 locomotives and 12 merchant ships in Cuba. All that except for the wristwatches, which were Swiss, had been made in the USA. Apparently, a certain amount of time had to pass before most Cubans did realize what those deadly numbers meant in their lives. From the point of view of production, Cuba suddenly found that it was not a distinct country but a commercial peninsula of the United States. In addition to the fact that the sugar and tobacco industry depended entirely on Yankee agreements, everything consumed on the island was manufactured by the United States, either in its own territory or in the territory of Cuba itself. Havana and two or three other cities in the interior gave the impression of the happiness of abundance, but in reality there was nothing that was not foreign, from toothbrushes to the 20-story glass hotels on the Malecón. Cuba imported from the United States almost 30,000 useful and useless articles for daily life. Even the best customers of that market of illusions were the same tourists who arrived on the West Palm Beach Ferry Boat and by the Sea Train from New Orleans, because they also preferred to buy the items imported from their own land without taxes. Creole papayas, which were discovered in Cuba by Christopher Columbus from his first voyage, were sold in refrigerated stores with the yellow label of Bahamian growers. The artificial eggs that housewives despised for their languid yolk and pharmaceutical flavor had the factory seal of the North Carolina farmers imprinted on the skin, but some clever winemakers washed them with solvent and smeared them with chicken poop to sell them more expensive as if they were Creoles. There was no consumer sector that was not dependent on the United States. The few factories of easy goods that had been set up in Cuba to make use of cheap labor were piled up with second-hand machinery that had already gone out of fashion in their country of origin. The best qualified technicians were Americans, and most of the few Cuban technicians gave in to the luminous offers of their foreign employers and went with them to the United States. There was also no spare parts deposit, since Cuba's illusory industry retorted on the basis that its spare parts were only 90 miles away, and a telephone call was enough for the most difficult part to arrive on the next plane without customs duties or delays. Despite such a state of dependence, the inhabitants of the cities continued to spend without measure when the blockade was already a brutal reality. Even many Cubans who were in the race to die for the Revolution, and some undoubtedly who really died for it, continued to consume with childish joy. Moreover, the pioneering measures of the Revolution had immediately increased the purchasing power of the poorer classes, and they had no other notion of happiness than the simple pleasure of consuming. Many dreams postponed for half a lifetime and even for entire lifetimes were suddenly realized. Only that the things that were sold out in the market were not immediately replaced, and some would not be replaced for many years, so that the dazzling stores of the previous month were left without remedies in the pure bones. Cuba was in those early years the kingdom of improvisation and disorder. In the absence of a new morality – which would still take a long time to form in the consciousness of the population – Caribbean machismo had still found a reason for being in that general state of emergence. The national sentiment was so stirred up by this irrepressible

gale of novelty and autonomy, and at the same time the threats of the wounded reaction were so real and imminent, that many people confused one thing with the other and seemed to think that even the scarcity of milk could be solved by shooting. The impression of a phenomenal party that Cuba at that time aroused among foreign visitors had a true basis in reality and in the spirit of Cubans, but in an innocent drunkenness on the verge of disaster (...). [later, with the weather] in the commercial center the first queues had appeared and an incipient but very active black market began to control the articles (...). After a night of work at the Prensa Latina Office, I went alone and was in a hurry in search of something to eat (...) I finally found a store (...) and a man was polishing the glasses on the counter. I asked for something to eat: I ordered fried eggs with ham, coffee with milk and bread with butter, and a fresh juice of any fruit. The man told me with a suspicious precision that there had been no eggs or ham for a week, no milk for three days, and that the only thing he could serve me was a cup of black coffee and bread without butter, and perhaps a little reheated macaroni from the night before. (...) It was an accurate prognosis. On March 12, 1962, when 322 days had already elapsed since the beginning of the blockade, the drastic rationing of food items was promoted. Each adult was assigned a monthly ration of three pounds of meat, one of chicken, six of rice, two of lard, one and a half of beans, four ounces of butter and five eggs. It was a ration calculated so that each Cuban consumed a normal quota of calories per day. There were special rations for children, depending on their age, and all children under 14 years of age were entitled to one litre of milk a day. (...) It was only in August 1963, when almost all the stores were closed because there was nothing materially to sell, that the distribution of clothes was regulated. (...) Despite the intense Soviet aid and the help of the People's Republic of China, and despite the assistance of numerous socialist and Latin American technicians, the blockade was then a reality. (...) And no one could have imagined, on the uncertain New Year's Day of 1964, that the worst times of that ironclad and soulless blockade were still to come, and that it would have to reach the extremes that even drinking water would run out in many homes and in almost all public establishments. (Published in Proceso N. 0090 – 01. July 24, 1978).

Gabriel García Márquez's precise description leaves no doubt about the island's economic dependence on international trade and particularly on trade with the United States, since there was no national industry that was a commercial warehouse between the Yankees. The consummate knowledge that this situation had been imposed by previous governments would not have the effect of holding the revolutionary process responsible and serving as a safe-conduct to the Revolution if the brutal truth that today leads to the process that Cuba's economic policy follows were not complied with. it renews the prioritization of external dependence on foreign capital in the face of a weak domestic/national industrial market that is insufficient to meet the needs of the population without the support of imports, especially food, which grow every day except for the country's supply.

Technically, the blockade has an innocuous effect to the extent that since its implementation the socialist camp that at that time was quite developed in the desire to maintain (such as the People's China, the USSR, the Latin American countries) helps Cuba. And despite the decline of Eastern European socialism, Cuba has maintained bilateral agreements with European (France, Spain, Germany), Eastern (China, Vietnam) and Latin American (Brazil, Bolivia, Venezuela, Mexico) governments and marketed through free trade consortiums such as Caricon (Central America-Caribbean countries) and

the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America – People's Trade Treaty – ALBA-TCP. The only negative response to the blockade, it is clear, consists of the negativity that Cuba assumed for itself by not prioritizing its economic and social self-determination based on its own resources and with the ample trade available to promote its development. What is not said is the need to verify that the blockade simply served to maintain the functioning of the island itself by serving as a promoter of the political stimulus of the feelings of resistance and resignation that it needs: *socialist conformism in a situation of scarcity – and basic material insufficiencies*⁹ – *to remain standing in a context of ideological war*. It also serves the Cuban government's purpose of appealing to international feelings of mutual aid toward the unjustified who are oppressed by a global superpower and who therefore do not develop as they should because they are oppressed for no reason. This served for Mexico to recently cancel the payment of 70% of a debt of around 500 million dollars and Russia 90% of a debt estimated at 35 million dollars, requesting payment from the former USSR. In March 2015, the president of the Paris Club, Bruno Bézard, announced that within weeks or months the renegotiation of the debt for that amount of between 15 and 16,000 million, which had remained unresolved since 1986, would begin (RODRIGUES, 2015, March 2, p. 1-2-3).

In truth, the most authentic option for Cuba would be to thank the United States for adopting such a beneficial measure that, throughout all these years, has only served as a boomerang effect whose only result has been to produce the support of its main political enemy: socialism. Here is the explanation of why Cuba does not fall either.

⁹ Under the workers' demand for better wage incomes, President Raul Castro's reputation is illustrative of the need to resist and defend socialism in conditions of scarcity and resignation. He says: "(...) We cannot leave room for selfishness and condition to develop and strengthen among our workers. We all want better salaries, but first we have to create wealth and then distribute it according to the contribution of each one (...) The economy must be placed at the height of the political prestige that this small Caribbean island has conquered thanks to the Revolution, the heroism and the capacity for resistance of our people. The economy is the main pending issue and we have the duty to face it definitively towards the sustainable and irreversible development of socialism in Cuba" (GRANMA, December 22, Monday, 2014, p. 5).

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