



SOCIAL JUSTICE IN CUBA

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION
BI-MULTILATERAL SPAIN AND UE

BELLAGGIO, MAY 2008

GROWTH REPORT BY THE WORLD BANK

Post-WW II Success Stories

Country	Period of high growth**	Per capita income at the beginning and 2005	
Botswana*	1960-2005	210	3,800
Brazil	1950-1980	960	4,000
China	1961-2005	105	1,400
Hong Kong, China*	1960-1997	3,100	29,900
Indonesia	1966-1997	200	900
Japan*	1950-1983	3,500	39,600
Korea*	1960-2001	1,100	13,200
Malaysia	1967-1997	790	4,400
Malta*	1963-1994	1,100	9,600
Oman*	1960-1999	950	9,000
Singapore*	1967-2002	2,200	25,400
Taiwan, China*	1965-2002	1,500	16,400
Thailand	1960-1997	330	2,400

After World War II, 13 countries sustained 7% growth over 25 years or more.



SOCIAL JUSTICE, ECONOMIC GROWTH, FIGHT POVERTY AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

- “Economic growth is absolutely important to eradicate poverty and uplift the standard of living of people,”

The 13 countries had at least five things in common.

Fully exploited the world economy

Maintained macroeconomic stability

Mustered high rates of saving and investment

Let markets allocate resources

Had committed, credible and capable governments



IS SOCIAL JUSTICE A SERIOUS CONCERN OF SPANISH AND EU COOPERATION TOWARDS CUBA?

- SOCIAL JUSTICE IS JUST A PIECE OF A BROADER SET OF POLICIES BETWEEN SPAIN AND CUBA. (HUMAN RIGHTS, TRADE, INVESTMENT, MIGRATION,,LAW AND ORDER, CULTURE, ETC...)
- SINCE 1993 SPAIN AND EU HAVE BEEN THE MAJOR DONORS TO CUBA
- DURING “PERIODO ESPECIAL” MOSTLY HUMANITARIAN AND FOOD AID
- AFTERWARDS, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION, ASISTANCE TO VULNERABLE GROUPS AND TECHNICAL ASISTANCE
- AID CHANNELLED MAINLY TRHOUGH NGO'S
- SPAIN'S AID COMING FROM CENTRAL GOVERNEMENT AND “COMUNIDADES AUTÓNOMAS”.
- IN THE END THIS IS TAXPAYERS MONEY THAT SHOULD BE SPENT IN A SENSIBLE WAY

SPAIN'S ODA CUBA, 2001-2006

(Euros)	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
ODA AECI	2.270.000	4.100.000	1.570.000	738.900	865.664	951.505
DECENTRALIZED ODA	8.517.000	10.035.000	11.271.000	11.862.035	10.876.831	12.034.947
ODA COMUNIDADES AUTÓNOMAS	5.370.000	6.800.000	7.700.000	8.404.071	7.464.796	8.503.846
TOTAL BILATERAL ODA	10.787.000	14.135.00	12.841.000	13.334.723	14.187.903	16.990.543

•SPANISH COOPERATION WITH CUBA 2007

TOTAL ODA 2007	16.950.000
<i>TOTAL AECID</i>	6.950.861
DECENTRALIZED ODA	13.000.000

SECTOR	BUDGET 2007 (EUROS)
<i>INSTITUTIONAL BUILDING</i>	1.479.000
<i>FOOD AID</i>	2.931.334
HIGHER EDUCATION	1.123,595
HEALTH SECTOR	600,000
ELDERLY PEOPLE	120.000
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	35.432
CULTURAL COOPERATION	211,500
<i>GENDER</i>	250.000
VARIOUS TECHNICAL ASSIT.	200,000



SAPNISH COOPERATION WITH CUBA 2008 (FORECAST)

BILATERAL AID	4.415.000€
NGO'S	3.3240.330€
MULTILATERAL FUNDS	2.700.000€
DECENTRALISED COOP.	13.000.000€
TOTAL	23.439.330€



DECENTRALIZED COOPERATION BY REGIONS 2006

COMUNIDAD AUTÓNOMA	BUDGET 2006 (EUROS)
Andalucía	2.562.471,43
Asturias	820.000,00
Cantabria	109.237,64
Castilla la Mancha	467.946,00
Cataluña	295.791,24
Galicia	302.500,00
Islas Baleares	182.491,61
Islas canarias	446.450,20
Madrid	432.268,00
Murcia	227.370,07
Navarra	268.647,22
País Vasco	2.639.315,43
TOTAL	8.754.488,84

EUROPEAN COMMISSION GRANTED 143 M€ TO CUBA FROM 1993 – 2004, OF WHICH 90 M € HUMANITARIAN AID.

SINCE 2003 ONLY CO-FUNDING WITH NGO'S

SINCE 1996 THE COMMON POSITION IS THE ONLY LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR EC RELATIONS WITH CUBA

TOTAL ODA RECEIVED BY CUBA

AID VOLUME	2002	2003	2004	2005
ODA M \$	61	70	90	90,
ODA BILATERAL	82	86	78	78
	%	%	%	%-

PRINCIPAL DONORS (Volumen de AOD bruta millones de US\$) (media 2004-2005)*	
1. España	14
2. Estados Unidos	10
3. Canadá	8
4. Gran Bretaña	8
5. Agencias Árabes	6
6. Fondo Global	5
7. Suiza	5
8. Japón	5
9. Francia	4
10. CE	3

* Venezuela not included



POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITS WHEN ADRESSING SOCIAL JUSTICE ISSUES WITH CUBAN GOVERNEMENT

■ POSSIBILITIES

- CUBA IS A FAIRLY EGALITARIAN COUNTRY, PROUD OF ITS ACHIEVEMENTS IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.
- SOCIAL NETWORK ALREADY EXISTS AND COULD EASILY BE IMPROVED WITH SOME INVESTMENT AND BETTER MANAGEMENT.
- CUBAN PEOPLE ARE WELL TRAINED AND USED TO ENJOY SOCIAL SERVICES.
- THERE IS A LOT TO BE DONE IN PUBLIC POLICIES, AND LIBERALIZATION OF ECONOMIC CAPABILITIES.

■ LIMITS

- FIRST STEP TOWARDS COOPERATION IS TO BE SURE OF NEEDS AND FAILURES
- CUBA IS A MEDIUM INCOME COUNTRY. DOES NOT FIT IN MOST DEVELOPMENT PLANS OF INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES
- SUSPICION OF WESTERN AID. THEY REQUIRE UNCONDITIONAL HELP IN THEIR OWN TERMS
- THERE IS NO REAL GRASSROOTS PARTICIPATION. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IS CONSTRAINED TO LOOK AFTER THE ELDERLY. NO ROOM FOR OTHER KIND OF SOCIAL WORK
- LAW 26 MAY 2006 ESTABLISHES NEW LIMITS TO INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE PATH TO RECENTRALIZACION OF THE ECONOMY
- VENEZUELA IS THE MAJOR DONOR WITHOUT CONDITIONALITY



WHAT WORKS IN TERMS OF APPROACH, METHOD, AND ACTORS.

- **APPROACH**

- **UNDER THE PRESENT REGIME:**

- 1- CUBAN GOVERNMENT HAS ALWAYS MAINTAINED A CORE GROUP OF SOCIAL SERVICES EVEN UNDER HARD CIRCUMSTANCES. THIS IS A GOVERNEMENT CONCERN AND INTERNATIONAL AID CAN ONLY SUPORT GOVERNEMENT POLICIES, UNDER THE RULES OF MAY 2006 LAW

- 2.- RESPECT LOCAL RULES. NO VISIBILITY AND CHANNELLED TRHOUGH OFFICIAL ORGANISATIONS. PARADOXICALLY, CUBA USES ALL THE INDEPENDENT ACTORS IN OTHER COUNTRIES TO COLLECT FOREIGN AID OR TO OFFER ITS COOPERATION

- 3.- SOME INTERESTING EXPERIENCES LIKE UNDP PDHL ATTEMPT TO REACH DIRECTLY THE BENEFICIARIES, ALTHOUGH UNDER OFFICIAL SCRUTINY

- 5.- UNLESS A CHANGE IN THE REGIME, SOCIAL JUSTICE ISSUES WILL CONTINUE TO BE A SENSITIVE ASPECT OF GOVERNEMENT POLICIES, THAT CAN ONLY BE SUPPORTED BY FOREIGN AID



WHAT WORKS IN TERMS OF APPROACH, METHOD, AND ACTORS.

■ IN A TRANSITION SCENARIO

- ONE OF THE MAIN CONCERNS IN A TRANSITION SCENARIO IS TO PRESERVE THE SOCIAL ADVANTAGES OF REVOLUTION
- INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD BE READY TO SUPPORT CUBA TO MAINTAIN SOCIAL POLICIES IN AN OPEN ECONOMY
- INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS AN INCENTIVE TO PROMOTE CHANGE, AND CUBAN CITIZENS SHOULD PERCEIVE THIS AS A SAFEGUARD IN TIMES OF CHANGE
- IN THIS CASE FOREIGN AID MAY USE ALTERNATIVE PARTNERS TO IMPLEMENT COOPERATION PROGRAMS IN SOCIAL FIELDS



WHAT WORKS INTERMS OF APPROACH, METHOD, AND ACTORS.

■ **METHOD**

- **!!! TELL THE TRUTH!!!**. WE CAN NOT PRETEND THIS SYSTEM IS A “STANDARD WAY OF GOVERNMENT”. WE SHOULD REMIND THE GOVERNMENT OF ADVANTAGES IN TAKING A DEMOCRATIC COURSE OF ACTION. ISOLATION IS NOT A GOOD METHOD, BUT COMPREHENSION AND SUPPORT DO NOT WORK EITHER.
- CRITICAL ENGAGEMENT MIGHT BE MORE USEFUL, UNLESS THE GOAL OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS TO MAINTAIN THIS SITUATION

■ **ACTORS**

- THE ONLY ACTOR ALLOWED TO PLAY IN THE COOPERATION FIELD IS THE STATE UNDER ITS VARIOUS SHAPES. THERE IS NO SPACE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY, AND RECENT LAW ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION (MAY 2006) MAKES IT CLEAR.
- CHURCHES AND DISIDENT ORGANISATIONS ARE THE ONLY “INDEPENDENT” ACTORS THAT RECEIVE FOREIGN FUNDS, UNDER SUSPICION AND WITH DIFFERENT GOALS.
- WE CAN TRY TO REACH PEOPLE DIRECTLY OR THROUGH RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS, BUT IN THE END THIS IS A DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS PATH.



SPAIN'S ROLE IN THE FUTURE OF CUBA

- SPAIN'S POLICY TOWARDS CUBA HAS ALWAYS BEEN TO HELP THE CUBANS TO ENJOY THE SAME LIBERTIES AND WELFARE AS THE SPANIARDS DO, (MANY CUBANS ARE DIRECT DESCENDANTS OF SPANIARDS)
- THE METHODS TO ACHIEVE THIS MAY VARY, BUT IT IS IMPORTANT TO STRESS THAT EVERY PUBLIC DECLARATION OF POLITICAL LEADERS IN SPAIN, AIMS AT CONTRIBUTING TO A DEMOCRATIC CUBA FOR ALL THE CUBANS.
- SPAIN'S COOPERATION WITH CUBA HAS NEVER BEEN INTERRUPTED, AND WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT, TRADE, INVESTMENT AND TOURISM BETWEEN CUBA AND SPAIN HAVE REACHED IMPORTANT FIGURES SINCE THE 90'S.
- CUBAN'S WELFARE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE CAN ONLY BE IMPROVED IF THERE IS A CHANGE OF POLICIES IN THE ISLAND. SOME CHANGES HAVE BEEN MADE RECENTLY, BUT THE SYSTEM IN ITSELF IS NON AMMENDABLE.
- IF SOCIAL JUSTICE IS CONCERNED WITH THE REDUCTION OF INEQUALITIES, THEN IN CUBA THESE INEQUALITIES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED, AND THIS MEANS TO FOCUS ON WHO ENJOY RIGHTS AND WHO DO NOT HVE THESE LIBERTIES. WHO ENJOY THE ADVANTAGES OF GOVERNMENT AND WHO DO NOT.



SPAIN'S ROLE IN THE FUTURE OF CUBA

- IF A NEW CITIZENSHIP LAW WAS PASSED IN SPAIN TO ALLOW THE GRAND SONS OF SPANIARDS TO OBTAIN SPANISH NATIONALITY, BETWEEN 1,5 AND 2 MILLION CUBANS WOULD BE ENTITLED TO BECOME SPANIARDS.