

CrossRef DOI of original article:

# Cuba -30 Years of Innovation and Socialist Goals

Tran Anh Cong<sup>1</sup> and Nguyen Anh Hung<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hanoi University of Social Sciences

*Received: 1 January 1970 Accepted: 1 January 1970 Published: 1 January 1970*

---

## Abstract

This article studies Cuba's 30 years of innovation and socialist goals. After the Introduction and before the Conclusion, the primary content of the article is divided into three parts. The first part looks at the general situation of Cuba's reform process over the past 30 years (1993-2023). The second part identifies, analyzes and demonstrates typical factors that directly impact the pace of development and expansion of cooperation in Cuba. The third part reviews and evaluates Cuba's prospects, orientation and development potential.

---

*Index terms*— cuba, factors, innovation, goals, politics.

## 1 Introduction

ver the past three decades, the process of socialist construction and reform in Cuba has had many positive changes. Both maintaining the core political ideological stance, and transitioning to a market economy; both focusing on national identity, and integrating and adapting quickly to international changes -have become fundamental trends and goals. This article researches, analyzes and evaluates the general situation of Cuba's reform process over the past 30 years , typical factors affecting Cuba and prospects, orientation, and room for development of Cuba.

General Situation of Cuba's Innovation in the Last 30 Years Since the Cold War (after 1991), Cuba entered a period entire of disadvantages and difficulties when its ally the Soviet Union and the Eastern European socialist system collapsed. Cuba has wholly lost its close political partners, and its economy no longer has support from them (because before that, in Cuba's economy, the Soviet Union and socialist countries accounted for 80% of export turnover, providing 95% of gasoline, 57% of food, 51% of meat and most office tools, transportation, essential consumer goods (Thao, 2020)). To overcome this situation, since August 1993, leader Fidel Castro and the Cuban government have issued and implemented a series of crucial political adjustment and socio-economic reform measures: organization, rearranging the structure of the government apparatus; improving management in state agriculture; allowing expansion of individual occupations; healthy national finances; legalize the use of foreign currency among people.

Regarding the legal foundation, the Constitution 1976 is still applied as the legal framework of the political system, still, there were edits and supplements in 1992 and 2002 to be compatible with new situations and trends. In the revision of the Constitution 1992, the most essential amendment was to affirm and prove that the Cuban State is a secular state and not an atheist state (recognizing and legitimizing symbols and organizations, related religious functions and activities); and, eliminate some restrictions on foreign investment and grant foreign corporations limited ownership rights in Cuba if they enter into joint ventures with the regime. In the 2002 revision, the most essential amendment was the increased assertion that the current social regime in Cuba is permanent and irrevocable.

The 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba (Partido Comunista de Cuba -PCC), which took place in October 1997, is considered an important milestone that initiated many adjustments, reforms, innovations of the entire Cuban political system after that. The Congress Document affirms that the typical political goals and ideals in Cuba cannot be changed, but at each different historical moment, there must be appropriate paths and measures. The principles of democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism are considered the leading factors ensuring that the Party is a tightly organized and energetic strategic advisory body (Thao, 2020). It is necessary to strengthen party discipline, and effectively fight against bureaucracy, and corruption in the Party

# 1 INTRODUCTION

---

46 and State. Priority must be given to developing a team of practical officers, young officers, female officers, officers  
47 of color and knowledge officers. The government apparatus needs to be restructured to limit administrative bloat,  
48 overlapping functions, and streamline staffing by 30-40% (redundant people receive 70% of salary until assigned  
49 to a new job position). The aspect of democracy and human rights must be emphasized, first of all the right to  
50 live, to be met and cared for in terms of food; grow up happily and healthily; to become a valuable, helpful person  
51 for society; enjoy equality, dignity and development. For economic development, it is necessary to thoroughly  
52 grasp four principles: (1) Only state directional targets, not specific targets; (2) Use domestic efforts primarily;  
53 (3) Focus on enhancing production and business efficiency as a critical task; and (4) Ensuring the socialist  
54 nature of economic reform processes.

55 Cuba still maintains the planned economic model, but there are many changes and more appropriate, practical,  
56 compelling directions. Accordingly, first, create a larger environment for forms of ownership and non-socialist  
57 production, business. Second, make the most of the possibilities to rectify, reorganize and consolidate the public  
58 ownership regime, consistently not turning to privatization. Third, add new financial balances and macroeconomic  
59 tools to the thinking, practice of economic and business management.

60 In the field of foreign affairs, after the Cold War, Cuba gradually established and expanded diplomatic  
61 relations with most countries in the world, and actively participated in many globally and regional international  
62 organizations. Cuba prioritizes developing all-round relations with socialist countries in Asia (China, Vietnam,  
63 Laos, North Korea); restore and diversify relationships (especially economic relations) with Russia and Eastern  
64 European countries (even though they no longer follow a socialist regime). Cuba also regained its role and  
65 strengthened relations with neighboring countries and Latin American countries, and that became favorable  
66 when in the first decade and a half of the 21st century, most governments of Latin American countries were  
67 led by leftist forces. In December 2004, Cuba founded and is a vital, crucial member of the Bolivarian Alliance  
68 for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA) -an alliance of many left-wing countries in Latin America. Cuba also  
69 has a unique, particular political, economic and social relationship with Venezuela when the left took power  
70 in the country from 1998 to present. In relations with the West, Cuba made a vital, a critical development  
71 when normalizing relations with Western European countries based on the Political Dialogue and Cooperation  
72 Agreement signed with the European Union (UE) in March 2016. Cuba still maintains a determined struggle but  
73 responds flexibly to the US embargo policy that has changed over the years of presidents. Under President Bill  
74 Clinton (1993-1994-1995-1996-1997-1998-1999-2000) and President Bush Jr. (2001-  
75 2002-2003-2004-2005-2006-2007-2008), the United States increased the embargo on Cuba  
76 by implementing the Torricelli Act (issued in 1992) and Helms-Burton (1996). Under President Barack Obama  
77 (2009-2010-2011-2012-2013-2014-2015-2016), this policy was significantly relaxed, so that  
78 from July 2015, the two countries restored diplomatic relations and opened embassies in each other's capitals.  
79 However, under President Donald Trump (2017-2020), the policy of siege and embargo was applied again. The  
80 administration of President Joe Biden, who took over at the beginning of 2021, has continued to apply and even  
81 extend the embargo and strengthen sanctions since, Cuba suppressed of the protest movement in the second half  
82 of 2021.

83 In recent years, the Cuban context has had some important changes, typically the promulgating of (1) Establish  
84 age limits for candidacy and number of terms for the position of President (The President cannot hold power for  
85 more than 2 terms and must be no more than 60 years old when first running for election); (2) Transfer the  
86 authority of the head of the State Council to the Chairman of the National Assembly (from now on, the Chairman  
87 of the National Assembly is also the Chairman of the State Council and the State Council is the standing agency  
88 of the National Assembly); (3) Establishment of a provincial council consisting of provincial and city leaders;  
89 (4) The positions of provincial chairman and mayor (in charge of executive duties) are supplemented and  
90 separated from the position of chairman of the provincial and city councils (previously, the concurrent position  
91 of chairman of the provincial and city councils, responsible for both the legislature and the executive); (5) The  
92 President and Vice President of a province or city appointed by the President must be approved by the provincial  
93 or city government; and (6) Expand the term of district council delegates to 5 years (previously 2.5 years).

94 In the middle of April 2021, the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba occurred. The Congress passed  
95 resolutions as the basis for the country's development in the current and upcoming periods: After the Congress,  
96 entering the second half of 2021, Cuba faced two significant challenges: the Covid-19 epidemic broke out, causing  
97 many adverse effects in all aspects, and protests broke out against the government largest over 60 years. Regarding  
98 Covid-19, this dangerous disease entered Cuba in March 2020 and quickly spread. As of September 24, 2021,  
99 832,286 Cubans have been infected (of whom 7,048 have died) with an increasing incidence (for example, in the  
100 second week of July 2021, from 5 to 11, there were an average of more than 3,000 new cases per day (Thoa, 2021)  
101 -a worrying number when compared to the total population of Cuba which is just over 11 million people). Cuba  
102 has prepared five types of epidemic vaccines, of which two have been successfully tested (Abdala and Soberana  
103 2). The government at that time organized vaccination for about half of the population and vaccinated everyone  
104 by December 2021. Regarding the protests, stemming from the lack of food and medicine, ineffective epidemic  
105 prevention methods and some less democratic measures by the government, on July 11-13, tens of thousands of  
106 Cubans in more than 50 municipalities nationwide have taken to the streets to protest (The Economist, 2021).  
107 The government crackdown left one person dead and hundreds arrested. On July 17, the Cuban Communist

---

108 Party also responded by organizing a massive protest in support of the government in the capital, Havana, with  
109 the participation of more than 100,000 people (Nicoll, 2021).

110 In 2022, the protest movement will no longer recur, and the Covid pandemic has altogether declined, still Cuba  
111 must overcome the severe consequences left by this pandemic and deal with the strengthening of the US embargo.  
112 In just the first 14 months of US President Joe Biden's administration (January 2021-February 2022), losses due  
113 to the economic embargo imposed by the United States on Cuba amounted to 6.35 billion USD (equivalent to 15  
114 million USD per day (Tuyen & Hai, 2022). On November 3, 2022, the 77th United Nations General Assembly  
115 passed a Resolution with a very high vote rate (185/193) calling for an end to the US economic embargo on  
116 Cuba.

117 Since 2017, the homosexual movement in Cuba has increased, demanding the legalization of same-sex marriage.  
118 The regulations on marriage and family in the new 2019 Constitution create conditions for that issue. On July  
119 22, 2022, the National Assembly (Asamblea Nacional del Podo Popular -ANPP) voted to finalize the draft of  
120 the new Family Code, which includes regulations officially legalizing same-sex marriage. The draft was put to  
121 referendum on September 25; Obtaining a rate of 66.85% of supporters, on September 26, the President of Cuba  
122 signed the law, published it in the Official Gazette and from September 27, 2022, the new Family Code officially  
123 took effect. This result is a signi cant step forward in expanding and developing human rights in Cuba, making  
124 Cuba the first socialist country and the 8th country in Latin America, the 32nd country in the world to legalize  
125 same-sex marriage.

126 During October 27-29, 2022, Cuba successfully organized the 22nd International Meeting of Communist and  
127 Workers' Parties (IMWCP) in [the capital] Havana. The meeting brought together 142 delegates representing 73  
128 communist and workers' parties of 57 countries across all continents, with the theme "Solidarity with Cuba and all  
129 struggling peoples. United, we will be stronger in the fight against imperialism, together with social movements  
130 and the masses, in the face of capitalism and capitalist policies, the threat of fascism and war; protect the peace,  
131 the environment, the rights of working people, solidarity and socialism".

132 On November 27, 2022, Cuba held elections for local people's council deputies. According to Cuba's National  
133 Electoral Council (CEN), the election was "a victory for the people" when it took place vibrantly, objectively,  
134 honestly with 5,728,220 voters (accounting for 68.56% number of people on the voter list), elected 12,422 delegates  
135 (with 44.1% female -this rate is higher than the 2017 election) who are responsible for directly managing issues,  
136 suggestions and complaints within the communities they represent. This is the first election held in Cuba since it  
137 restructured its electoral system and promulgated a new election law according to the 2019 Constitution. Local  
138 people's councils were officially established nationwide on December 17, 2022.

139 During the two days of December 9-10, 2022, the 5th Conference of the Central Executive Committee of the  
140 Communist Party of Cuba, term VIII, took place in [the capital] Havana. The conference discussed the political,  
141 economic, and social situation in Cuba and the pioneering role of party members when facing difficulties; at the  
142 same time, discuss the strategy of innovating, enhancing and perfecting the Cuban Communist Youth Union  
143 (Unión de Jóvenes Comunistas de Cuba -UJC). The conference also addressed some outstanding issues in Cuba  
144 today such as dealing with crime and speculation, promoting food production, the electrical energy situation and  
145 drug control.

146 In 2023, from January, Cuba assumed the Chairmanship in 2023 of "The Group of 77 and China"an alliance  
147 of 135 developing countries, designed to promote promote the collective economic interests of its members and  
148 create enhanced collective bargaining capacity at the United Nations.

149 On March 26, 2023, Cuba held the election of the Xth National Assembly (2023-2028), and this is also the first  
150 National Assembly elected according to the new provisions of the Constitution 2019 and the Election Law 2019.  
151 Yes. 6,148,876 Cuban voters (equivalent to 75.87% of Cubans eligible to vote) went to 23,468 polling stations  
152 to elect their highest representative. As a result, 5,565,640 votes (equivalent to 90.28% of the total votes) were  
153 valid, electing 470 National Assembly deputies (64% of which were new/first-time deputies) with an average age.  
154 46 and 53% are female, 20% are young people under 35 years old and 95.5% have a university degree or higher.

155 In his May-June 2023 speeches, President Diaz-Canel affirmed that Cuba's current socio-economic situation  
156 is still complicated and must overcome and deal with many difficulties and challenges caused by the severe  
157 consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic and the US embargo policy. To be able to develop economically, he  
158 believes that Cuba needs to promote a plan for macroeconomic and social stabilization, including anti-corruption  
159 policies (especially among government officials, the military, and food processing industry, civil aviation,  
160 telecommunications, nickel plating industry, cigar manufacturing); anti-inflation; reduce budget deficit; overcome  
161 the gap between wages and purchasing power; increase available foreign currency; promote domestic food  
162 production, gradually moving towards self-reliance on food security; restore the role of state-owned agricultural  
163 companies; focus on investing in food production with domestic and foreign capital, and implementing actions to  
164 ensure nutrition and national food sovereignty; restore tourism industry goals to and above pre-pandemic levels  
165 (in the first 5 months of 2023, Cuba welcomed 1,441,362 international visitors, an increase of 177% over the same  
166 period in 2022, and set the target welcoming 3.5 million international tourists this year 2023 (Vietnam News  
167 Agency, 2023)).

### 3 A) ADJUSTMENT OF THE POLITICAL POLICY OF THE CUBAN COMMUNIST PARTY

---

## 2 III. Factors Directly Affecting Cuba's Speed of Development and expansion of Cooperation

There are many factors that directly impact the speed of development and expansion of cooperation in Cuba, typically the following factors:

### 3 a) Adjustment of the political policy of the Cuban Communist Party

The adjustment of Cuba's political policy is comprehensive but cautious, step by step, not hasty, continuing tradition but updating and closely following reality.

First, determining the national vision is always a permanent and core issue for the country's political adjustments. Through the 8th Congress (April 2021), the Communist Party of Cuba determined to continue Cuba's path to socialism, building a country with sovereignty, independence, socialism, democracy, prosperous and sustainable. To do this, there must be four strategic pillars and driving forces for development:

(1) Building an effective State, creating vital changes in production and international integration; (2) Developing infrastructure, human resources, science, technology, and innovation; (3) Promote human development and social justice; and (4) Protect natural resources and the environment.

Second, determined to build a socialist society, not move towards a communist society. In previous traditional socialist thought, "socialism" and "civilized communist society" were considered the two highest socio-economic forms of humanity, inseparable and inseparable. Successfully building socialism will lead to a transition to a communist society, building socialism to advance to a communist society. This view is increasingly unsupported by people who believe that a communist society [civilized] is a fantasy. The increasing viewpoint of abandoning the goal of moving towards communism in Cuba has prompted the official inclusion of this provision in the Constitution -the fundamental law, with the highest legal effect, regulating the main and crucial national issue. Supported by many people, the Communist Party of Cuba and the Constitutional Reform Committee [led by President Raul Castro] decided not to include the provision "moving towards a communist society" in Cuba's new Draft Constitution... But after many fierce debates about removing or still including this regulation at the 8th Central Conference of the Communist Party of Cuba in December 2018, most delegates still voted to maintain such a regulation, and the National Assembly The Assembly approved it and the new Constitution in April 2019. However, in reality, Cuba has abandoned the goal of "moving towards a communist society". In recent years, "socialism" is still frequently encountered in social life, while the word "communist society" is rarely mentioned. Even at the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba in April 2021, there was no mention of "communism" and "moving towards a communist society", while repeatedly affirming and emphasizing "socialism" and "the work of building a socialist society".

Third, affirm the sole and supreme leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba. In each country, if there is one-party politics, the ruling party will have a much easier time in existence, organization, and operation because it does not have to deal with, suffer losses from competing opposition parties such as in a multi-party country, at the same time the leadership of that ruling party will be more centralized (per the "principle of centralization" popular in socialist countries). Therefore, when Cuba built socialism, the old Constitution 1976 Fourth, build and develop Cuban national socialist ideology. During the revolutionary struggle (1953) (1954) (1955) (1956) (1957) (1958) (1959) (1960) (1961) (1962), the name, style, strategy and ideology of the late leader Jose Marti became the driving force and guideline of organizational tactics and revolutionary activities, under the command of Fidel Castro. Entering the period of socialist construction, Marxism-Leninism was widely spread and applied. Both of these ideologies (Marti and Marx-Lenin) are officially recognized by the Constitution, becoming the core political ideology of Cuba. In 2016, Fidel passed away, and nearly three years later, the new Constitution 2019 officially added his ideas to the Cuban national socialist ideology... Researchers also evaluate the form, value, and meaning attaching importance to building and developing Cuban national political ideology through the order of recognition in the Constitution. If in the Constitution 1976, Marxism-Leninism was recognized first, followed by Marti ideology, then by the time of amending the Constitution in 2002, Marti ideology was placed close to Marxism-Leninism. And in the Constitution 2019, the order, values, and meanings of the Cuban leaders' ideology are put first, respectively: Marti ideology (tradition, revolution, beginning) -Fidel ideology (revolution, practical, modern) -Marxism-Leninism (reference, selection, application).

Fifth, rejuvenate the country's leadership team. Until the end of the first decade of the 21st century, Cuba was still led by veteran members who were over 75 years old at that time: Fidel Castro, Raul Castro, and other leaders of the revolutionary struggle (1953) (1954) (1955) (1956) (1957) (1958) (1959) (1960) (1961) (1962).

There is an urgent need to rejuvenate the national leadership team. Chairman Raul said that, besides victories, achievements, capacity, experience, opportunities..., health and age are also two essential factors of the leadership team, so since 2011, he has repeatedly proposed and proposed appropriate age levels for the Cuban national leadership: State leaders and members of the Party Central Committee must not be older than 60, Politburo members must not be more senior than 70 years old when taking office first position. This issue was considered and discussed during the 7th Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba in April 2016 and implemented per

---

228 the age-power logic sequence: transferring power from people holding high positions first, then lower positions;  
229 move state power first, then transfer party power (because the Communist Party is the political force, having  
230 power and leading the Cuban State; [but] state power is the nucleus of political power). In April 2018, Raul (87  
231 years old) handed over the Chairmanship of the State Council to Diaz-Canel (58 years old), and in July 2018,  
232 Diaz-Canel appointed 5 Vice Presidents, including two new people in their 50s. Then, at the 8th Congress of the  
233 Communist Party of Cuba, Raul resigned as First Secretary of the Party when he was nearly 90, and Diaz-Canel  
234 (61 years old) succeeded him. Many members of the Party Central Committee and members of the Politburo of  
235 Raul's time who were over the age of 75 also resigned during this period (such as former Second Secretary Jose  
236 Ramon Machado Ventura, who is 91 years old, and former Vice President Ramiro). Valdes Menendez -89, former  
237 Minister of the Armed Forces Leopoldo Cintra Frias -80...). Thus, the age of the current Cuban Party and State  
238 leaders has been significantly rejuvenated, with the majority being in their 50s and 60s (compared to the previous  
239 leaders in their 80s and 90s).

240 Sixth, encourage organizations and people to participate in political activities. Different from the period of  
241 revolutionary struggle (1953-1954-1955-1956-1957-1958-1959-1960-1961-1962) with  
242 very enthusiastic and vibrant participation in political activities combined with armed struggle of socio-political  
243 organizations and people, During the period of building socialism, the movement was much more "quiet". The  
244 reason is that during this period of nearly three decades, Cuban socio-political organizations were only "task-  
245 performing agencies" for the Communist Party, subject to the natural, complete direction of the Party and many  
246 limitations in work, activities. People are also hesitant to participate in political organizations and activities  
247 because participation must have specific goals, be public, and be consistent with the Party's goals. At the  
248 same time, many human rights and civil rights are needed. Their political activities are not regulated, limited, or  
249 prohibited by the relevant legal system, especially the old Constitution 1976; violations will be strictly handled and  
250 suppressed by the government. From 1992 until now, especially in recent years, in implementing political policy  
251 adjustments, the Communist Party of Cuba has become more open by encouraging organizations and people to  
252 participate in political activities. For organizations that have been considered "mission-sharing agencies" with  
253 the Party, their status, role, equipment, and more rights and responsibilities have been enhanced (especially  
254 the Committee to Protect the Cuban Revolution (Comités de Defensa de la Revolución -CDR) and Cuban  
255 Communist Youth Union). For the people, the legal system and the new Constitution 2019 expand, strengthen,  
256 and protect more human rights and civil rights, and are organized and encouraged by the Party to participate  
257 in exciting and popular political activities such as meetings, rallies, demonstrations, elections, referendums...  
258 These political activities are increasingly making Cuban politics more vibrant, diverse, and practical, however  
259 their impact has two present and sometimes very difficult to predict and control (for example, the homosexual  
260 socio-political movement that broke out in 2017 has brought significant progress in terms of concept, democracy  
261 and human rights to Cuba in September 2017). In September 2022, the Cuban government issued a new Family  
262 Code, legalizing same-sex marriage; on the contrary, the Isidro socio-political movement, taking advantage of the  
263 consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic, rose to they protested against the government in more than 50 cities  
264 nationwide in July 2021, becoming the largest protest in Cuba in the past 60 years, causing political instability  
265 and adversely affecting the prestige and leadership power of the Communist Party and the State of Cuba).

## 266 4 b) Promulgation and implementation of new socioeconomic 267 policies

268 The promulgation and implementation of new socio-economic policies is also a fundamental factor, affecting many  
269 aspects of Cuba today. As early as April 2011, the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba drafted and  
270 approved the "National Plan for Socio-Economic Development until 2030". By April 2016, the 7th Congress  
271 reviewed and introduced many amendments and supplements. By April 2021, the 8th Congress will continue to  
272 edit, update, and complete this plan with 200 appropriate and necessary issues (retaining 17, adding 18, amending  
273 165, and removing 92 issues (My, 2021)), and at the same time passed two critical resolutions: "Updating the  
274 conceptualization of the Cuban socialist socio-economic development model" and "Guidelines for updating Cuba's  
275 socioeconomic model for the period 2021-2026". In the spirit of the proposed policies, guidelines, programs,  
276 and plans, many new socio-economic policies of Cuba are currently being promulgated and implemented, with  
277 the primary goals and contents: (1) Ensuring public ownership of primary/essential means of production and  
278 consolidating a socio-economic development model that promotes the effective operation of state agencies and  
279 the enterprise system, as well as for the increased and effective participation of society in policy-making;

280 (2) Develop production and service provision activities that take full advantage of the country's strengths;

281 (3) Increase efficiency and competitiveness in all economic sectors. Gradually build a more open mechanism  
282 and environment for economic sectors. Quickly expand many scopes and fields of activity for the private economic  
283 sector (previously, in economics, private individuals were only allowed to participate in 127 fields, but now this  
284 has increased to more than 2,000 fields (My, 2021)); (4) Develop production and commercialization of agricultural  
285 and fishery products, ensuring self-sufficiency in food; (5) Ensure, protect and prioritize the overall development  
286 of strategic industries; (6) Ensure continuity and cohesion in monetary, credit, price, exchange rate and tax  
287 policies. Gradually increase national savings and ensure financial investment funds; (7) Focus on prioritizing  
288 the implementation of monetary unification measures (from January 1, 2021, eliminating the parallel circulation

## 5 C) THE EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND CIVIL RIGHTS

---

289 since 1994 of two currencies -the national peso and the convertible peso, forming a single peso with an exchange  
290 rate of 24 pesos = 1 USD). Reform wages and eliminate subsidies for many non-essential products; (??8) Quickly  
291 eliminate prejudices about foreign investment (FDI). Diversify and expand FDI sources in the medium and long  
292 term. Considering FDI as an essential factor in national development; (??9) Create conditions to develop and  
293 perfect the domestic market. Expand and diversify foreign trade activities and international cooperation;

294 (10) Affirming and emphasizing that the sustainability of socialism can only be successful based on protecting  
295 values and improving labor productivity, creating more material wealth associated with public distribution  
296 equality, improving people's living standards and quality of life; (??11) Ensuring necessary employment sources.  
297 Ensuring work is the individual need and perceived goal of each person; (12) Production resources must be  
298 evenly distributed geographically; (13) Always ensuring maintain the annual budget for social security at over  
299 50% of GDP (as in 2017, it was 51% of GDP (Anh, 2021)); ( ??4) Affirm, promote and concretize the principles  
300 of openness, fairness and equality in social security; (??15) Consolidate and develop the achievements of the  
301 revolution in health, welfare and social support, education, culture, sports, entertainment, security and citizen  
302 protection.

### 303 5 c) The expansion and development of human rights and civil 304 rights

305 In modern society, each citizen is like a primary cell of politics. Their role and level of political participation  
306 are proportional to the power they are equipped with -both in theory and in practice. Therefore, the affirmation  
307 and expansion of human and civil rights in Cuba today have developed the position, organization, and political  
308 activities of the people, becoming a vital factor influencing the political system. With the issue of human rights  
309 and civil rights, the new Constitution 2019 has removed many restrictions and prohibitions; edit and improve  
310 many rights recognized in the old Constitution 1976; at the same time, adding many new rights. Next, the  
311 documents of the 8th Party Congress in 2021 and laws (such as the new Election Law in 2019, and the new  
312 Family Code in 2022...) have developed, concretized, and put these regulations into practice, typically the  
313 following issues:

314 First, recognize private property rights. "Private ownership" is the occupation, use, and disposition of each  
315 human being about the means of production, consumption, and living, to meet their material and spiritual  
316 needs. Private ownership includes three types: individual ownership, small owner ownership and private capitalist  
317 ownership. Previously, in Cuba, only personal ownership was recognized, meaning that private ownership was not  
318 recognized (stipulated in Article 21 of the old Constitution 1976). At that time, two types of private ownership,  
319 smallholder ownership, and private capitalist ownership, were considered illegal because it was believed that those  
320 two types of rights used the time and labor of others (when it comes to taking advantage of, taking advantage  
321 of, exploiting) to create income and assets for individuals, and at the same time this is also the basis and driving  
322 force for the formation and development of a capitalist society -contrary to the goal of building socialism in Cuba.

323 However, due to the need to adapt and develop, many factors have arisen that push the Cuban legal system  
324 to soon recognize private ownership with all three types, for two primary reasons: (1) Before the 1959 revolution,  
325 Cuba was a relatively developed capitalist country, with all types of private ownership. When the revolution  
326 succeeded and entered the process of building socialism, despite the extensive and robust application of the  
327 prohibition of smallholder ownership and private capitalist ownership, the government only achieved the following  
328 results, as a result, in terms of form, because these two types of ownership have existed commonly before  
329 and contribute together with individual ownership to create the true nature of private ownership, they still  
330 implicitly exist; and (2) After the Cold War period, the Cuban economy, in addition to the two main economic  
331 components of the state economy/state-owned economy and the collective economy/cooperative economy, was  
332 formed. Developing two other economic sectors: joint venture/associated economy and private economy/self-  
333 employment economy. The benefits, efficiency and objective necessity have made Cuba accept and increasingly  
334 create conditions for these two new economic sectors, especially with critical nancial strategies and policies  
335 such as the National socioeconomic plan until 2030 introduced by the Communist Party in 2011 or the Foreign  
336 Investment Law passed by the National Assembly in 2014... But the development of two new economic sectors  
337 (especially the private sector) will lack resources and face fundamental obstacles if private property rights are  
338 not fully recognized. This is an urgent need that is addressed in the provisions of the new Constitution issued in  
339 April 2019: officially recognizing the role of the free market and private property rights.

340 Second, allowing citizens the right to hold multiple nationalities. "Nationality" is a legal-political relationship  
341 that is long-term, durable, highly stable in time, and not limited in space between a specific individual/natural  
342 person and a certain government/ state. Each individual can apply to renounce their current nationality  
343 with a legitimate need and reason or have their nationality revoked if they commit a serious crime related to  
344 honor, reputation, sovereignty, and national security. In addition, each individual can also apply for citizenship  
345 (naturalization) when they do not yet have citizenship; or use for two or more nationalities (multiple [national]  
346 citizenship) if relevant countries have regulations allowing this. Multinationality is increasingly widely used due  
347 to the growing need for integration and globalization and the many benefits it brings to both individuals/natural  
348 persons and the state/government.

349 Previously, Cuba only allowed its citizens to have one nationality, Cuban nationality (specified in Article 32

---

350 of the old Constitution 1976). But this regulation conflicts with the growing demand of Cubans wanting to hold  
351 multiple nationalities and the government's efforts to call for investment from the Cuban diaspora community.  
352 Therefore, the new Constitution 2019 has formalized the regulation allowing holding multiple nationalities in  
353 Article 36: "Having another nationality does not mean losing Cuban nationality...". Currently, Cuba is drafting  
354 new nationality laws in the spirit of this provision of the Constitution 2019, including guarantees and precautions  
355 against adverse effects that the multi-nationality mechanism may bring (for example, for Cubans who hold both  
356 Cuban and US citizenship).

357 Third, legalize the right to same-sex marriage. Homosexuals (LGBT) are a significant segment of the  
358 population present in Cuban social life. Previously, they had a long period of discrimination from different strata  
359 of the population and extreme, unequal treatment by the government. However, by the mid-1970s, discrimination  
360 began to decrease gradually, homosexuals in Cuba became more sympathetic, and the government increasingly  
361 introduced active policies to help and support them: since 1979, homosexuality has been legalized; since 1993,  
362 homosexuals have been allowed to serve openly in the military; since 2008, the right to change gender has been  
363 recognized; since 2013, enforce anti-discrimination laws against homosexuals in labor and employment; from 2018  
364 -in the provision of goods and services; from 2019 -in all other areas? With issues related to homosexuals, "same-  
365 sex marriage" has many impacts and receives the most attention from society. Article 36 of the Constitution  
366 1976 clearly notes: "Marriage is a voluntary union between a man and a woman who are legally married to  
367 live together.." and thus, same-sex marriage is illegal. But along with the trend of the government becoming  
368 more sympathetic and supportive of homosexuals, since the end of 2017, there has been a prominent public  
369 campaign by homosexual groups demanding to amend the Constitution to allow same-sex marriage. In July  
370 2018, the National Assembly for the first time passed the new Draft Constitution, in which Article 68 only  
371 stipulates that marriage is a family marriage "between two people", without specifying their gender, and thus,  
372 indirectly legalized same-sex marriage. This issue is of interest and support to many people in Cuba's leadership  
373 team, including President Diaz-Canel. However, the regulation allowing same-sex marriage was removed by the  
374 National Assembly on December 18, 2018, right after more than 82% in a significant referendum still wanted  
375 to retain Article 36 of the old Constitution 1976. There are many reasons for this mass opposition, but the  
376 most important reason is the influence and intervention of the Catholic church: priests are said to be the leaders  
377 in fiercely opposing same-sex marriage because their ideology and teachings always consider same-sex marriage  
378 to be "intrinsically chaotic and unacceptable" (Toan, 2021), and Catholicism is the state religion in Cuba with  
379 about 60% of the population according. Finally, in the new Constitution approved by the National Assembly on  
380 April 10, 2019, this regulation was amended to Article 82: "Marriage is a social and legal institution... based on  
381 free consent wishes and equality in rights, obligations and legal capacity of husband and wife...". It can be seen  
382 that the amendment does not return to Article 36 of the old Constitution 1976, but still creates conditions for  
383 legalized same-sex marriage, but with more inclusive and indirect language.

384 On that basis, the homosexual movement demanding the legalization of same-sex marriage is still going  
385 strong. Also from May 2019, the government combined with the Cuban Bar Federation to launch a plan to  
386 complete the legalization of same-sex marriage. The critical activity is drafting a new Family Code (replacing  
387 the old Family Code implemented in 1975), which includes provisions officially recognizing same-sex marriage. By  
388 September 2021, the new draft Family Code was presented and unanimously approved by the National Assembly  
389 on December 21, 2021, and then launched for widespread social consultation from February 15 to February 6,  
390 June 2022, receiving about 61% of opinions supporting same-sex marriage. The Cuban National Assembly last  
391 voted to approve the draft of the new Family Code on July 22, 2022, and put it to a referendum on September  
392 25, obtaining a vote of 66.85% (that is, about two-thirds) number of votes in favor. The new Family Code was  
393 officially issued, effective September 27, and the first legal same-sex marriage in Cuba was held on October 5,  
394 2022, in Manzanillo. This result made Cuba the first socialist country, the 8th country in Latin America, and  
395 the 32nd country in the world to legalize same-sex marriage. This is a significant step forward in the expansion  
396 and development of human and civil rights in Cuba.

397 Fourth, implement the "presumption of innocence" and "suspend detention" for the suspect. "Presumption  
398 of innocence" (or "presumption of innocence") is the assertion that every suspect is innocent until reasonably  
399 and legally proven guilty. "Suspension of detention" means that citizens have the right to request the court to  
400 suspend or cancel their detention document or block their rights if they find that document to be unreasonable  
401 and illegal. These are two basic principles that ensure human rights and citizens' rights before the law.

## 402 6 In

403 Cuba, the capitalist government's Constitution 1940 stipulated these principles, still, the socialist government  
404 eliminated them in the Constitution 1976 and related legal system, leading to a one-sided situation, abuse  
405 of power, irresponsibility of administrative civil servants and court and procuracy officials in the process of  
406 reviewing the case (recognizing, prosecuting, investigating, prosecuting, adjudicating, executing judgments),  
407 leading to many cases being mishandled according to the law, heavy on imposing authority and creating injustice,  
408 causing damage and discontent to the people. The new Constitution 2019 has begun to rectify that situation  
409 by introducing provisions for the presumption of innocence and suspension of detention. Specifically, Article  
410 95 affirms that all citizens are guaranteed "...the presumption of innocence until declared guilty through a final  
411 judgment of a court". Article 96 notes: "Anyone who is unlawfully deprived of their freedom or property rights,

## 7 D) UNITED STATES INTERVENTION

---

412 either by themselves or by a third party, has the right to submit a written suspension of detention to a competent  
413 court, according to the requirements specified in the law". In addition, citizens can, when necessary, "bring an  
414 appropriate action or procedure against administrative and judicial decisions" (Article 94) and sue government  
415 agencies and individual civil servants, court officials, and procuracy, demanding legal settlement and compensation  
416 if these groups and individuals operate negligently, abuse power, and are irresponsible, causing negative impacts  
417 on rights and interests of citizens (Article 99).

### 418 7 d) United States intervention

419 From the early 16th century to the late 19th century, Cuba was governed and had to depend closely on the  
420 Spanish government because it was a colony of this European country, and from the late 19th century until now,  
421 although having become an independent country and gone through many political institutions/ regimes, Cuba  
422 has always been dominated, manipulated and interfered with by the United States.

423 In January 1959, the revolutionary movement under the leadership of Fidel Castro overthrew the pro-American  
424 Batista dictatorship and established the people's revolutionary government. The United States immediately  
425 aggressively implemented a series of intervention and sabotage measures: hostile propaganda, inciting people  
426 to evacuate, diplomatic isolation, economic embargo, support for terrorist groups, and air strikes on the capital  
427 Habana... and culminated in organizing more than 1,500 exiled Cuban reactionary troops to land on Giron beach  
428 in April 1961 to destroy the fledgling Cuban government. The landing was crushed and the Cuban leadership's  
429 willingness to confront and publicize the socialist nature of the revolutionary cause further angered the United  
430 States, making a comprehensive intervention in Cuba throughout since then, it has focused on two primary areas:  
431 the economic embargo on Cuba (since February 7, 1962) and support for exiled Cuban reactionary organizations  
432 to sabotage and overthrow the Cuban government.

433 After more than half a century of tension, due to the needs of both Cuba and the United States, by the second  
434 term of US President Obama (2013-2014-2015-2016), relations between the two countries were more  
435 open and peaceful. In June 2013, the two sides agreed to promote an 18-month secret negotiation round (with the  
436 mediation of Canada and the Vatican). On December 17, 2014, Cuba and the United States normalized relations,  
437 ending half a century of confrontation. In April 2015, the United States removed Cuba from the list of "terrorist  
438 countries". In July 2015, the two countries opened embassies in each other's capitals. In March 2016, the US  
439 President visited Cuba for the first time after the 1959 revolution. In 2016, the US also abstained for the first  
440 time in voting to lift the embargo on Cuba at the United Nations General Assembly (previous times, all voted  
441 against it). During the two years 2015-2016, the two countries signed 22 cooperation agreements in the fields  
442 of anti-terrorism and drug trafficking, anti-informatics crime, sharing experiences in cancer treatment, oil spill  
443 prevention cooperation, security, and maritime cooperation (Vietnam News Agency, 2017)... The United States  
444 loosened many trade embargoes and eliminated some restrictions on money transfers, travel, customs, maritime  
445 regulations... for Cuba. The United States also limits, suspends, or completely stops many types of support for  
446 exiled Cuban reactionary organizations opposing the Cuban government (especially organizations based in the  
447 United States).

448 However, immediately after taking office in January 2017, new US President Donald Trump decided to tighten  
449 the embargo on Cuba and support exiled reactionary organizations opposing the Cuban government. The Trump  
450 administration has introduced and applied 243 additional economic embargoes on Cuba (My, 2022) and many  
451 incentives and funding for organizations that sabotage the Cuban government. The trade embargo during the  
452 last 20 months of Trump's term (April 2019-December 2020) caused a loss of 9.1 billion USD to Cuba (Nga,  
453 2021). On January 12, 2021, at the end of the Trump administration's term, the US State Department added  
454 Cuba to the "list of countries sponsoring terrorism", along with warnings about control and severe sanctions that  
455 the United States will impose.

456 Although candidate Joe Biden, when running for US president in 2020, promised to lift restrictions on Cuba,  
457 when he took power on January 20, 2021, Biden did not do so and continued to maintain the restrictions,  
458 policies, and embargo measures against Cuba of the previous Trump administration. In June 2021, the Biden  
459 administration continued its tradition of voting against the annual United Nations General Assembly resolution  
460 calling for an end to the US economic embargo on Cuba (this is the resolution passed for the first time). 29th  
461 with an absolute majority of 184 votes in favor, with only three abstentions and two against (the United States  
462 and Israel). Immediately after the large protest of the Isidro Movement against the Cuban government in mid-  
463 July 2021, President Biden declared his dissatisfaction with how the Cuban government handled and suppressed  
464 the government and promised to increase support for dissidents in Cuba. At the same time, he also introduced  
465 sanctions against a series of Cuban officials who once commanded, ordered repression of protesters, and loosened  
466 policies on immigrants from Cuba for political reasons. As a result, by the end of 2021 alone, about 300,000  
467 Cubans (that is, nearly 3% of the country's population) had evacuated to the United States (Hang, 2023), many  
468 of them due to discontent and opposition against the Cuban government.

469 In mid-May 2022, the United States lifted a series of restrictive measures and embargoes against Cuba,  
470 typically 3 issues. First, the Biden administration re-established the Cuban family reunification program that  
471 was discontinued many years ago, accelerating visa issuance. Second, remove the limit on money transfers to  
472 Cuba: during the Trump administration, each person in the United States could only send back to Cuba a  
473 maximum of 1,000 USD per quarter -this limit will now end. Third, develop aviation relations, sharply increase



---

474 flights between the United States and Cuba. However, soon after, on May 20, 2022, the Biden administration  
475 added Cuba to the list of a few countries in the world considered "not fully cooperating" in the fight against  
476 terrorism. The embargo policy against Cuba will still be extended in 2022 and 2023 (the US embargo policy is  
477 developed, suspended, or canceled by the government of this country... once a year, usually in September each  
478 year).

#### 479 IV. Prospects, Orientation, and Room for Development of Cuba

480 Looking at the process of building socialism, the reform process in Cuba over the past 30 years, and the typical  
481 direct impact factors, we can see Cuba's prospects, orientation, and development potential:

482 First, insist on the sole and comprehensive rule of the Communist Party of Cuba and build a socialist regime  
483 with Cuban identity. Specifically: (1) Strengthen, specifically, legalize the rule of the Communist Party and the  
484 single-party leadership regime in Cuba. Article 5 of the new Constitution 2019 recognizes this issue, but it is still  
485 general. It is necessary to promulgate additional laws and sub-law documents to concretize, and there should  
486 also be appropriate and essential explanations when the Election Law The current election in Cuba stipulates  
487 that no political party (including the Communist Party) can nominate candidates in elections to state offices,  
488 but why is the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba still nominated people to be elected by the  
489 National Assembly to key State positions;

490 (2) Practicing and widely spreading core political ideas in socialist construction, especially ideas with Cuban  
491 identity and Cuban people -such as Marti and Fidel ideas; (3) Increase both the quantity and quality of party  
492 members. In recent years, the average admission of about 40,000 party members each year is a pretty positive  
493 increase in quantity. However, the quality of party members is still somewhat lenient, not guaranteed, and the  
494 number of elderly party members is quite large (42.6% of party members are over 55 years old) (Castro, 2021a);  
495 (4) Use and promote the effectiveness of activities of political-social-professional organizations, especially the  
496 Committee for the Protection of the Revolution and the Communist Youth Union of Cuba;

497 (5) Leadership and strict management of media. The 8th Congress recognizes the role of the media (especially  
498 the internet) as a "double-edged sword": it can also be a tool for widely, quickly, promptly, and effectively  
499 transmitting guidelines and policies, the Party and State's plan to the people, can also be an effective tool for  
500 hostile forces to use propaganda against Cuba; and (6) Build and develop the great unity of the people around  
501 the Cuban Party and State.

502 Second, focus on economic development, use the economy as the driving force for social development, gradually  
503 transition to a socialist-oriented market economy, avoid dependence on capital through capital, equipment,  
504 technology. Specifically: (1) National economic development, along with the struggle for peace and steadfast  
505 ideological stance, are the critical tasks of the Party. Financial decisions must not depart from the revolution's  
506 ideals of justice and equality, nor must they weaken the great unity of the people; (2) Edit, supplement, complete  
507 and implement specific socioeconomic policies/solutions proposed from the 7th Congress in 2016: maintain 17  
508 policies, adjust 165 policies, eliminate remove 92 policies, add 18 policies and thus, reduce the overall 274  
509 old policies/solutions into 200 new policies/solutions; (3) Address the harmful effects of bureaucracy and poor  
510 human resource management, which are the causes and conditions for the emergence of corruption and other  
511 illegal acts that hinder improve productivity and labor efficiency; (4) Overcome irrationalities in the structure  
512 of the economic model, creating enough motivation to encourage labor and creativity; (5) More actively deploy  
513 the process of updating the socio-economic model, moving towards a harmonious and appropriate combination  
514 between the characteristics of centralized planning with autonomy and decentralization management required  
515 at intermediate levels; (6) National ownership of the primary means of production is the basis for the real  
516 power of workers. The state-owned enterprise system must prove in practice and strengthen its position as the  
517 dominant form of economy management. Implement a comprehensive reform of corporate structures to eliminate  
518 stagnation, permissiveness, lack of creativity, and passively waiting for higher-level instructions. Correct bad  
519 habits [both old and new], and at the same time, stimulate and promote the spirit of entrepreneurship and  
520 dynamism in the ranks of business and grassroots leaders, so that they become more and more autonomous,  
521 increase productivity, and achieve greater efficiency; (7) Promote productivity and operational efficiency of the  
522 state economic sector in areas that determine the country's development, while flexible and institutionalize  
523 non-state management forms. Forms of self-employment/self-employment are expanding significantly, with the  
524 types of licensed activities increasing from 127 to more than 2,000; ??8) Having enough capacity to regulate  
525 the market through indirect measures and increasingly simplified administration. Turn the people's unmet or  
526 unsatisfied needs into leverage for domestic production establishments, based on practical and reasonable use of  
527 physical and financial resources; (9) Promote production nationwide (especially for food). Limit imports, increase  
528 exports with diverse and competitive products; ??10) The State ensures the allocation of a significant source of  
529 foreign currency, and at the same time encourages remittances that Cubans living abroad send to relatives in  
530 the country; ??11) Apply standard payment in the new currency CUP from January 1, 2021, but still maintain  
531 a certain level of trading in the old currency CUC (one of the two old currencies that were previously parallel)  
532 to overcome a negative situation in the past five years, using CUC to smuggle goods from abroad into Cuba  
533 and then resell them domestically at high prices; and (12) Continue to implement measures to encourage foreign  
534 investment. Eliminate rigidity, shyness, or passivity in foreign investment solutions. Soon amend, supplement  
535 or replace the 2014 Foreign Investment Law (Law No. 118) with a new, expanded, convenient, appropriate and  
536 more effective law.

## 8 CONCLUSION

---

537 Third, comprehensively evaluate and implement social security issues; continue to promote its advantages in  
538 education and health. Specifically: (1) Never allow measures that harm vulnerable people or leave anyone in a  
539 helpless/abandoned situation;

540 (2) Overcome the phenomenon of waste and competition. Determining "saving" is the fastest and safest  
541 form of income. Adapt to what Cuba has and do not spend more than the country can provide; (3) The  
542 Cuban people's standard of living and consumption must be determined by legitimate sources of income and  
543 not by excessive subsidies or complimentary products and services. Eliminate the notion and need to rely [on  
544 government support] and level [subsidies and social benefits] in the welfare regime in Cuba; and (4) Maintain  
545 a free education and healthcare system for the entire population. Consolidate and promote the development of  
546 achievements in education and health. Strengthen "educational diplomacy" and "health diplomacy" in foreign  
547 policy.

548 Fourth, always be alert to plots and sabotage tactics of hostile forces at home and abroad. Specifically: (1)  
549 Deeply deploy ideological security work, maintain the Party's leadership and the direction of socialist construction;  
550 (2) Prevent, identify, properly evaluate and provide appropriate and effective handling of hostile forces' plots and  
551 tricks to sabotage and overthrow; (3) Enhance vigilance and prevent sophisticated and covert forms of sabotage  
552 through the implementation of "peaceful evolution", civil society, private capitalism, religious freedom, democratic  
553 sponsorship... ; and (4) Build a large, modern, complete internal security force, ready to detect, suppress and  
554 neutralize plots and tricks of sabotage and subversion by enemy forces.

555 Fifth, expand international relations and cooperation based on coexistence, mutual benefit, and mutual  
556 development, without interfering or infringing on each other's internal affairs; especially maintain and promote  
557 relations with traditional friends and socialist countries and soon fully normalize relations with the United States.  
558 Specifically: (1) Foreign policy must fully protect independence, fully demonstrate sovereign rights, and meet the  
559 needs and aspirations for solidarity and integration of the country and its people;

560 (2) Respect the principles and regulations of the United Nations Charter and international law; pursue peaceful  
561 resolution of disputes; adhere to the principle of noninterference [directly and indirectly] in the internal affairs of  
562 other countries and respect the principles of national sovereignty, equal rights and self-determination of peoples;  
563 Committed to promoting friendly relations and cooperation between countries in the region, as well as with other  
564 countries, regardless of differences in political, economic and social systems or levels of development; promote  
565 the spirit of tolerance and peaceful coexistence; total respect for the inalienable right of all countries to choose  
566 their political, economic, social and cultural systems as an essential condition for ensuring peaceful coexistence  
567 among countries (Castro, 2021b); (3) Strengthen solidarity and cooperation and sharing with countries with  
568 leftist governments in Latin America, especially with Venezuela, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Mexico, Argentina and  
569 encourage, cooperate and support leftist forces cholera in this area; (4) Continue to encourage and support  
570 the struggle for freedom and independence of peoples and countries around the world, especially Palestine and  
571 Western Sahara (Sahrawi); (5) Appreciate cooperation with signi cant powers and powerful developing countries  
572 -especially countries in the BRICS bloc (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa). Close and close relations  
573 with Asian socialist countries (China, Vietnam, Laos, North Korea); (6) Desire to promote respectful dialogue  
574 and build a "new type" of relationship with the United States. Identify why the United States is still hesitant as it  
575 is today: (i) the US predecessor Trump administration tightened the embargo on Cuba, leaving consequences that  
576 the successor Biden administration cannot change suddenly/quickly, (ii) the political and economic ideologies of  
577 Cuba and the United States are very different and contradictory, (iii) if the United States fully normalizes with  
578 Cuba, it will have to pay a massive amount of compensation (Cuba demanding the United States compensate  
579 302 billion USD due to the blockade and embargo policy -including 181 billion USD in human damages and  
580 121 billion USD in economic damages, while the United States only demands 8 billion USD in compensation  
581 from Cuba about damage because Cuba nationalized some US private companies (Tuan, 2021)), (iv) The United  
582 States must return Guantanamo to Cuba, losing an essential geostrategic base/facility, and (v) it is difficult to  
583 find a suitable solution for the large number of Cuban exiles who oppose the Cuban government living in the  
584 US; ???) Continue to promote relations with the European Union (EU) based on mutual respect and support,  
585 especially developing cooperative relations in the fields of culture, agriculture, and renewable energy; and (8)  
586 Enhance Cuba's position in organizations in the Latin American region (ALBA, CELAC, OAS...); consolidate  
587 and develop Cuba's relations with neighboring countries in Central America and the Caribbean; soon bring Cuba  
588 into the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

589 V.

## 590 8 Conclusion

591 The past three decades have been a long period of change in Cuba's innovation, development, and socialist goals.  
592 It is directly affected by many factors, typically the adjustment of the Cuban Communist Party's political policy;  
593 promulgating and implementing new socio-economic policies; the expansion and development of human and civil  
594 rights; and, United States intervention methods and activities. At this issue, looking comprehensively, it can be  
595 seen that Cuba has a positive outlook with solid, clear directions and vast room for development, but at the same  
596 time it must also deal with and overcome no-small difficulties and challenges to complete the reform process and  
597 its socialist goals.

Constitution 2019 replaced the Constitution 1976 (and amendments and supplements in 1992 and 2002), with many new regulations: (1) Recognizing private property and creating a freer market; (2) Prohibit discrimination based on gender, race, national origin, sexual orientation, gender identity or disability (this is the regulation that led to the legalization of same-sex marriage); (3) Ensure women's reproductive and sexual rights and protect women from gender-based violence; (4) Defining marriage as creating a social and legal organization (a family with at least 2 members); (5) Allowing to hold/hold multiple nationalities; (6) Restore the presumption of innocence and suspension of detention in the judicial system (these provisions were last enshrined in the 1940 Constitution); (7) Identify the importance of climate and its threats; (8)

Figure 1:



- 599 [My ()] [My ()] *207-cuba-ti%E1%BA%BFp-t%E1%BB%A5c-kh%E1 %BB%91n-%C4%91%E1%BB%91n-*  
600 *v%E1%BB%9Bi-c%E1%BA%A5m-v%E1%BA%ADn-c%E1%BB%A7a*, Th My . [https://www.rfi.](https://www.rfi.fr/vi/qu%E1%BB%91c-t%E1%BA%BF/20220)  
601 [fr/vi/qu%E1%BB%91c-t%E1%BA%BF/20220](https://www.rfi.fr/vi/qu%E1%BB%91c-t%E1%BA%BF/20220) 2022. p. . (Cuba continues to suffer under the US embargo  
602 after 60 years. *m%E1%BB%B9-sau-60-n%C4%83m*)
- 603 [Hang ()] *2n-t%C3%ADch/20230324-cuba-b%E1%BA% A7u-qu%E1%BB%91c-h%E1%BB%99i-d%C3%A2n-*  
604 *m%E1%BA%A5t-ni%E1%BB%81m-tin-v%C3%A0o-ch%C3%ADnh-quy%E1%BB%81n-v%C3%AC-kh%*  
605 *E1%BB%A7ng-ho%E1%BA%A3ng-m%E1*, Th Hang . <https://www.rfi.fr/vi/ph%C3%A> 2023. p. .  
606 (Cuba elects National Assembly: People lose faith in the government because of allround crises. *%BB%8Di*  
607 *-m%E1%BA%B7t*)
- 608 [An (2022)] Th An . <https://tienphong.vn/cuba-rong-cua-don-nha-dau-tu-nuoc-ngoai-post1470191>  
609 *Cuba is open to foreign investors*, 2022. 27/09/2022. (tpo#:~:text  
610 =TPO%20%2D%20Theo%20K%E1%BA%BF%20ho)
- 611 [Bye ()] V Bye . *Cuba, from Fidel to Raul and Beyond*, (London) 2020. Palgrave Macmillan Publisher.
- 612 [Castro ()] R Castro . 23/04/2021. [http://hdll.vn/vi/thong-tin-ly-luan/  
613 bao-caochinh-tri-cua-dai-hoi-lan-thu-viii-dang-cong-san-cu-ba-phan-1.html](http://hdll.vn/vi/thong-tin-ly-luan/bao-caochinh-tri-cua-dai-hoi-lan-thu-viii-dang-cong-san-cu-ba-phan-1.html)  
614 *Political Report of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba*, 2021a. (Part 1)
- 615 [Castro ()] R Castro . 28/04/2021. [http://hdll.vn/vi/thong-tin-ly-luan---thuc-tien/  
616 bao-caochinh-tri-cua-dai-hoi-lan-thu-viii-dang-cong-san-cu-ba-phan-cuoi.html](http://hdll.vn/vi/thong-tin-ly-luan---thuc-tien/bao-caochinh-tri-cua-dai-hoi-lan-thu-viii-dang-cong-san-cu-ba-phan-cuoi.html)  
617 *Political Report of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba (Final Part)*, 2021b.
- 618 [Cong and Ch (2018)] V Cong , Ch . *Cuba on the way to update a new development model*, *World & Vietnam*  
619 *Weekly*, (Hanoi) 2018. March 2018.
- 620 [Cat et al. ()] *Constitutional reform -Cuba's turning point*, Ng H Cat , D Lien , Th . No. 09/2018. 2018. Hanoi.  
621 (Front Magazine)
- 622 [Thoa ()] *Cuba -Journey to a medical powerhouse: Part 3: COVID-19 vac-*  
623 *cine boosts Cuba's economy?*, K Thoa . 14/07/2021. [https://tuoitre.vn/  
624 cuba-hanh-trinh-cuong-quoc-y-te-ky-3-vac-xin-covid-19-thuc-day-kinh-te-cuba-20210714083042528](https://tuoitre.vn/cuba-hanh-trinh-cuong-quoc-y-te-ky-3-vac-xin-covid-19-thuc-day-kinh-te-cuba-20210714083042528.htm)  
625 [htm](https://tuoitre.vn/cuba-hanh-trinh-cuong-quoc-y-te-ky-3-vac-xin-covid-19-thuc-day-kinh-te-cuba-20210714083042528.htm) 2021.
- 626 [Van ()] *Cuba attracts 1.9 billion USD in foreign investment despite US*  
627 *sanctions*, H Van . 09/12/ 2020. [https://baotintuc.vn/the-gioi/  
628 cuba-thu-hut-19-ti-usd-dau-tu-nuoc-ngoai-bat-chap-lenh-trung-phat-cua-my-20201209101346536.](https://baotintuc.vn/the-gioi/cuba-thu-hut-19-ti-usd-dau-tu-nuoc-ngoai-bat-chap-lenh-trung-phat-cua-my-20201209101346536.htm)  
629 [htm](https://baotintuc.vn/the-gioi/cuba-thu-hut-19-ti-usd-dau-tu-nuoc-ngoai-bat-chap-lenh-trung-phat-cua-my-20201209101346536.htm) 2020.
- 630 [Faiola and Krygier ()] *Cuba moves toward officially recognizing private property, foreign investment*, *Washington*  
631 *Post newspaper*, issue dated July 22, A Faiola , R Krygier . 2018. 2018. Washington.
- 632 [Staff ()] *Cuba reinserts "communism*, Reuters Staff . [https://www.reuters.com/article/  
633 us-cuba-constitution-communism-idUSKCN10J2YB](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-cuba-constitution-communism-idUSKCN10J2YB) 2018. 20/12/2018. (in draft of new constitution)
- 634 [Uriarte ()] *CUBA Social Policy at the Crossroads: Maintaining Priorities, Transforming Practice*, M Uriarte .  
635 09/10/2007. [https://www.oxfamamerica.org/newsandpublications/publications/research\\_  
636 reports/art3670.html/0A-Cuba\\_Social\\_Policy\\_at\\_Crossroads-en.pdf](https://www.oxfamamerica.org/newsandpublications/publications/research_reports/art3670.html/0A-Cuba_Social_Policy_at_Crossroads-en.pdf)Englishdocument  
637 2007.
- 638 [Thuy and Th ()] 'Cuba struggles to protect national independence in a new context'. L Thuy , Th . *Social*  
639 *Sciences Publisher* 2020. Hanoi.
- 640 [News ()] *Cuba tourism prospers in the first 5 months of 2023*, Vietnam News , Agency . 08/07/2023. [https://  
641 bvhttdl.gov.vn/du-lich-cuba-khoi-sac-trong-5-thang-dau-nam-2023-20230706150216993.](https://bvhttdl.gov.vn/du-lich-cuba-khoi-sac-trong-5-thang-dau-nam-2023-20230706150216993.htm)  
642 [htm](https://bvhttdl.gov.vn/du-lich-cuba-khoi-sac-trong-5-thang-dau-nam-2023-20230706150216993.htm) 2023.
- 643 [Minh (2020)] *Cuba will increase the minimum wage 5 times from*, L Minh . [https://bnews.  
644 vn/cuba-se-tang-luong-toi-thieu-5-lan-tu-1-1-2021/180718.html](https://bnews.vn/cuba-se-tang-luong-toi-thieu-5-lan-tu-1-1-2021/180718.html) 2020. January 1, 2021,  
645 14/12/2020.
- 646 [Tuyet and Th ()] *Cuba's breakthrough economic reforms from 2000 to present*, Ng Tuyet , A Th . 2016. Hanoi:  
647 Culture Publisher.
- 648 [News (2017)] 'Cuba's comments on President Donald Trump's policies'. Vietnam News , Agency . Special  
649 Reference Document 2017. July 5, 2017. Hanoi. (172) .
- 650 [Napp ()] *Cuba's Constitution of*, Napp . 26/08/2021. [https://www.constituteproject.org/  
651 constitution/Cuba\\_2019.pdf?lang=en](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Cuba_2019.pdf?lang=en) 2021. 2019.
- 652 [Napp ()] *Cuba's Constitution of 1976 with Amendments through*, Napp . 26/08/2021. [https://www.  
653 constituteproject.org/constitution/Cuba\\_2002.pdf](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Cuba_2002.pdf) 2021. 2002.
- 654 [Hong ()] *Cuba's economic reform: Money speaks*, L Hong . 31/07/2013. [https://doanhnhansaigon.vn/  
655 thoi-su-quoc-te/cuba-cai-cach-kinh-te-dong-tien-len-tieng-1049925.html](https://doanhnhansaigon.vn/thoi-su-quoc-te/cuba-cai-cach-kinh-te-dong-tien-len-tieng-1049925.html) 2013.

- 656 [Sanchez ()] *Cuba's neighborhood watches: 50 years of eyes, ears*, I Sanchez . [http://](http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM)  
 657 [www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM](http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM) 2010. 27/09/2010. (5gq3GU 2Qz-  
 658 FyRWT84\_YNvI3mgOy7tg?docId=CNG.cd0ab4 16a2c7901c0abb23f392c5057d.ad1)
- 659 [Thale and Castro (2019)] *Cuba's New Constitution*, G Thale , T G Castro . [https://www.wola.org/](https://www.wola.org/analysis/cubas-new-constitution-explained/)  
 660 [analysis/cubas-new-constitution-explained/](https://www.wola.org/analysis/cubas-new-constitution-explained/) 2019. 26/02/2019.
- 661 [Nicoll ()] *Cuba's president slams social media 'hatred' after protests*, R  
 662 Nicoll . 17/07/2021. [https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/7/17/](https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/7/17/cuba-president-slams-social-media-hatred-after-protests)  
 663 [cuba-president-slams-social-media-hatred-after-protests](https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/7/17/cuba-president-slams-social-media-hatred-after-protests) 2021.
- 664 [Perez ()] *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution*, L A Perez . 2014. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 665 [My ()] *Cuba: Constitution abolishes same-sex marriage after consulting the people*, Th My . [https://www.](https://www.rfi.fr/vi/quoc-te/20181219-cuba-hien-phap-bo-hon-nhan-dong-gioi-sau-khi-lay-y-kien-nguoi-dan)  
 666 [rfi.fr/vi/quoc-te/20181219-cuba-hien-phap-bo-hon-nhan-dong-gioi-sau-khi-lay-y-kien-nguoi-dan](https://www.rfi.fr/vi/quoc-te/20181219-cuba-hien-phap-bo-hon-nhan-dong-gioi-sau-khi-lay-y-kien-nguoi-dan)  
 667 2018. 19/12/2018.
- 668 [Mai ()] *Cuban health: Incredible achievements*, Ph Mai . 11/04/2014. [https://anninhthudo.vn/](https://anninhthudo.vn/y-te-cuba-nhung-thanh-tuu-kho-tin-post199769.antd)  
 669 [y-te-cuba-nhung-thanh-tuu-kho-tin-post199769.antd](https://anninhthudo.vn/y-te-cuba-nhung-thanh-tuu-kho-tin-post199769.antd) 2014.
- 670 [Minh and Th ()] 'Developing democracy in Cuba through the people's representative agencies'. A Minh , T Th  
 671 . *Journal of Political Theory* 2020. 2020. Hanoi. (02) .
- 672 [News (2019)] 'Difficulties in reform in Cuba'. Vietnam News , Agency . *Reference Document* 2019. November  
 673 10, 2019. Hanoi. (292) .
- 674 [Cibercuba ()] *El 61% de los cubanos consultados está de acuerdo con el Código de*  
 675 *las Familias*, Cibercuba . 28/04/2022. [https://www.cibercuba.com/noticias/](https://www.cibercuba.com/noticias/2022-04-28-u1-e199482-s27061-61-propuestas-codigo-familias-cuba-positivo)  
 676 [2022-04-28-u1-e199482-s27061-61-propuestas-codigo-familias-cuba-positivo](https://www.cibercuba.com/noticias/2022-04-28-u1-e199482-s27061-61-propuestas-codigo-familias-cuba-positivo) 2022.
- 677 [Frank and Acosta (2019)] M Frank , N Acosta . [https://www.reuters.com/article/](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-cuba-constitution-referendum-idUSKCN1QE22Y)  
 678 [us-cuba-constitution-referendum-idUSKCN1QE22Y](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-cuba-constitution-referendum-idUSKCN1QE22Y) *Cubans overwhelmingly ratify new socialist*  
 679 *constitution*, 2019. 26/02/2019.
- 680 [Toan ()] *Homosexuality & Same-Sex Marriage: The Catholic Church's Per-*  
 681 *spective*, H D Toan . 05/05/2021. [https://hdgmvietnam.com/chi-tiet/](https://hdgmvietnam.com/chi-tiet/dong-tinh-hon-nhan-dong-tinh-quan-diem-cua-giao-hoi-cong-giao-41869)  
 682 [dong-tinh-hon-nhan-dong-tinh-quan-diem-cua-giao-hoi-cong-giao-41869](https://hdgmvietnam.com/chi-tiet/dong-tinh-hon-nhan-dong-tinh-quan-diem-cua-giao-hoi-cong-giao-41869) 2021.
- 683 [Gordy ()] *Living Ideology in Cuba: Socialism in Principle and Practice*, K A Gordy . 2015. Ann Arbor:  
 684 University of Michigan Publisher.
- 685 [Thao ()] *National independence, socialism and updating the socialist model in Cuba*, Ng V Thao . 2020. Hanoi:  
 686 Political Theory Publisher.
- 687 [Nhi (2018)] *President Miguel Diaz Canel -the first leader of Cuba to speak out*  
 688 *in support of samesex marriage*, Th Nhi . [https://saostar.vn/love-wins/](https://saostar.vn/love-wins/tong-thong-miguel-diaz-canel-nguoi-lanh-dao-dau-tien-cua-dat-nuoc-cuba-len-tieng-ung-ho-hon-r)  
 689 [tong-thong-miguel-diaz-canel-nguoi-lanh-dao-dau-tien-cua-dat-nuoc-cuba-len-tieng-ung-ho-hon-r](https://saostar.vn/love-wins/tong-thong-miguel-diaz-canel-nguoi-lanh-dao-dau-tien-cua-dat-nuoc-cuba-len-tieng-ung-ho-hon-r)  
 690 [html](https://saostar.vn/love-wins/tong-thong-miguel-diaz-canel-nguoi-lanh-dao-dau-tien-cua-dat-nuoc-cuba-len-tieng-ung-ho-hon-r) 2018. 20/09/2018.
- 691 [Cen (2022)] *Resultados Finales que incluyen Cuba y el exterior*, Cen . [https://web.archive.org/web/](https://web.archive.org/web/20220926172154/https://www.eleccionesencuba.cu/process/results)  
 692 [20220926172154/https://www.eleccionesencuba.cu/process/results](https://web.archive.org/web/20220926172154/https://www.eleccionesencuba.cu/process/results) 2022. 27/09/2022.
- 693 [My and Tr (2021)] 'The 8th National Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba: Consolidating the goal of  
 694 building prosperous and sustainable socialism'. V My , Tr . *Communist Magazine* 2021. June 2021. Hanoi.  
 695 (967) .
- 696 [The Cuban government cracks down on protesters The Economist ()] 'The Cuban government cracks  
 697 down on protesters'. 15/07/2021. [https://www.economist.com/the-americas/2021/07/15/](https://www.economist.com/the-americas/2021/07/15/the-cuban-government-cracks-down-on-protesters)  
 698 [the-cuban-government-cracks-down-on-protesters](https://www.economist.com/the-americas/2021/07/15/the-cuban-government-cracks-down-on-protesters) *The Economist* 2021.
- 699 [Tuyen and Hai ()] *The UN General Assembly passed a resolution condemning the US*  
 700 *embargo on Cuba*, L Tuyen , H Hai . 04/11/2022. [https://vtv.vn/the-gioi/](https://vtv.vn/the-gioi/dai-hoi-dong-lhq-thong-qua-nghi-quyet-len-an-lenh-cam-van-cuba-cua-my-20221104123103858.htm)  
 701 [dai-hoi-dong-lhq-thong-qua-nghi-quyet-len-an-lenh-cam-van-cuba-cua-my-20221104123103858.](https://vtv.vn/the-gioi/dai-hoi-dong-lhq-thong-qua-nghi-quyet-len-an-lenh-cam-van-cuba-cua-my-20221104123103858.htm)  
 702 [htm](https://vtv.vn/the-gioi/dai-hoi-dong-lhq-thong-qua-nghi-quyet-len-an-lenh-cam-van-cuba-cua-my-20221104123103858.htm) 2022.
- 703 [Nga ()] *The US trade embargo caused losses to Cuba of more than 9.1 billion USD*, Tr Nga . 23/06/2021. [https://](https://baomoi.com/lenh-cam-van-thuong-mai-cua-my-gay-thiet-hai-cho-cuba-hon-9-1-ty-usd/c/29451638.epi)  
 704 [baomoi.com/lenh-cam-van-thuong-mai-cua-my-gay-thiet-hai-cho-cuba-hon-9-1-ty-usd/](https://baomoi.com/lenh-cam-van-thuong-mai-cua-my-gay-thiet-hai-cho-cuba-hon-9-1-ty-usd/c/29451638.epi)  
 705 [c/29451638.epi](https://baomoi.com/lenh-cam-van-thuong-mai-cua-my-gay-thiet-hai-cho-cuba-hon-9-1-ty-usd/c/29451638.epi) 2021.
- 706 [Hieu and Huy ()] 'The vitality of the Cuban revolution from updating the new model of socialism'. L T Hieu ,  
 707 H X Huy . *People's Public Security Political Theory Magazine* 2021. 2021. (10) .
- 708 [Miller and Lu ()] *These Are the World's Healthiest Nations*, L J Miller  
 709 , W Lu . [https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-02-24/](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-02-24/spain-tops-italy-as-world-s-healthiest-nation-while-u-s-slips)  
 710 [spain-tops-italy-as-world-s-healthiest-nation-while-u-s-slips](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-02-24/spain-tops-italy-as-world-s-healthiest-nation-while-u-s-slips) 2019. Bloomberg.
- 711 [Tuan ()] V A Tuan . <https://www.hcmcpv.org.vn/tin-tuc/cuba-doi-moi-khong-ngung-khong-voi-vang-149187>  
 712 [Cuba innovates constantly, without haste](https://www.hcmcpv.org.vn/tin-tuc/cuba-doi-moi-khong-ngung-khong-voi-vang-149187), 2021. p. .

---

713 [Anh ()] *Why is Cuba still "rich" after 60 years of US embargo?*, Ph Anh . 03/06/2021. [http://hot.bmgnews.](http://hot.bmgnews.net/tai-sao-cuba-van-giau-sau-60-nam-bi-my-cam-van/)  
714 [net/tai-sao-cuba-van-giau-sau-60-nam-bi-my-cam-van/](http://hot.bmgnews.net/tai-sao-cuba-van-giau-sau-60-nam-bi-my-cam-van/) 2021.

715 [Sesin ()] *With significant constitutional changes, Cuba's leaders aim for their sys-*  
716 *tem's survival*, C Sesin . 24/07/2018. [https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/](https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/significant-constitutional-changes-cuba-s-leaders-aim-their-system-s-n893641)  
717 [significant-constitutional-changes-cuba-s-leaders-aim-their-system-s-n893641](https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/significant-constitutional-changes-cuba-s-leaders-aim-their-system-s-n893641)  
718 2018.