

## A Six Sigma Analysis of a Cuban Transition

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### Introduction

President Fidel Castro, the Cuban octogenarian leader who has governed the country for the past 48 years, became seriously ill in July of 2006. He was provisionally substituted by his official successor, his 76 year old brother General Raul Castro, the Armed Forces Minister. A permanent power transfer will necessarily take place, for biological reasons, in a relatively short period of time. Such leadership change will not be swift or simple, given the half century of one-party government under the elder Castro. To avoid a possible crisis, as well as to move the country toward a pluralistic system, it is imperative for the Cuban Nation to undertake an in-depth look at how things political will develop.

Changes have surely been occurring for the past 25 years. The Cuba this analyst left during the Mariel Boatlift, in May of 1980, is in many ways very different from today's Cuba. For example, at the time there were no *dissidents* walking the streets of Havana, or receiving international awards abroad, or giving interviews to foreign radio stations, or receiving invitations from foreign diplomats. In the economic front, no form of private enterprise was allowed; not even a simple shoe-shiner, let alone today's partially foreign-owned tourist industry, with over two million visitors per year, including many small private enterprises such as *paladares* and guest houses, and entrepreneurs such as taxi drivers, guides, artists, craftsmen and even prostitutes that live from such tourism.

However, there is a need for further changes. Cuba needs a transition to a freer society, one sincerely inclusive -and not only tolerant of the above-mentioned activities for political and economic reasons. Cuba requires a pluralistic society, one that permanently incorporates differences in thought, and independent economic activity, instead of just allowing these on a temporary basis. And Cuba needs all these changes implemented without dramatic events that may endanger its citizens, or its material progress.

We read how "the regime had aged; the President was 80 years old and the average age of the cabinet was 67" (1). The above citation, which is applicable to the current Cuban situation, refers to General Porfirio Diaz in 1910. After his demise, Mexico entered a period of civil wars and revolutions that lasted 20 years. This is what we must avoid.

To help prepare conditions that favor a peaceful Transition in Cuba, we need to have a better understanding of the underlying problem. We approach this task following the best

traditions of Cuba's great XIX Century statesman, Jose Antonio Saco. Such is the model used for this paper, as well as for our research work throughout all of our time in Exile.

Our professional background is in industrial and systems engineering, a field well-known for its studies to improve and/or optimize organizations. One of the modern tools in use for achieving process and organization improvement is the Six Sigma methodology (2). It was initially successfully used to solve industrial problems (3), and more recently health, government, and education (4) ones. In this paper we use the Six Sigma methodology in the systematic study of the problem of a peaceful Transition in Cuba: "quite unique" (5).

In the following pages we briefly overview Six Sigma and then apply its first two phases (Define and Measure) to analyze the problem of a Cuban Transition. We believe that, at the current stage of the problem and with the information available, such two phases are the only ones that can feasibly be implemented with some real basis.

### Political Background

Four pre-conditions have been proposed by contemporary political scientists, to achieve a successful "reconstruction and stabilization" process. They have been thoroughly studied (6, 7) and even tried out in the recent Iraq and Afghanistan situations. They are:

1. Establishment of Personal Security (for citizens and former regime personnel)
2. Establishment of Law and Order (police, military and judicial areas)
3. Establishment of Critical Infrastructure (employment, healthcare, education)
4. Establishment of Effective Government (associations, unions, political parties)

These conditions should pursue, especially in the Cuban case, the establishment of a permanent, stable, independent and neutral political system; one that will pose no more, any security or international problem to the United States (US), as it occurred during the Cold War due to its alignment with the Soviet Union. Let's explain this with an example.

In the past, some US administrations fostered "friendly" regimes in several neighboring countries. For example, in 1952 Cuba had a young, growing democracy and an election coming. The two front-running nationalistic but democratic presidential candidates were Hevia and Agramonte. The third and weakest candidate, General Batista, was considered a *friend* of the US. He implemented a coup, taking over the country and receiving the recognition of the American government. The long-term result of supporting General Batista over the established democratic process was the creation of political conditions that generated revolution against Batista's regime and the establishment of the 50 year old, one-party dictatorship, which brought the mentioned military and political problems.

We contrast such decision with the American support for the democratic regime created by President Jose Figueres in Costa Rica. Figueres' regime was fairly independent in international terms, but still a strong member of the OAS and the Western World. We put forward that the US currently faces a similar decision regarding Cuba. For, the US supports a paced, phased transition to a pluralistic system in Cuba, or it risks that such a

transition does not take place at all, leaving open Cuba's future development as well as the nature of its international relations with the US.

### Systems Engineering and Six Sigma

Systems engineering analyzes an entity, its parameters, its constraints and objectives, through operating conditions such as system bottlenecks and flows. It uses engineering tools and math to optimize (find the most efficient setting of) the entire operation.

Quality Engineering looks at a system's operation via its inputs and outputs. It tackles its Sporadic Problems, which occur intermittently and randomly, and fixes them by Restoring the Status Quo. It also identifies and fixes its Chronic Problems, which are long term and permanent, by Changing the Status Quo. It does this by implementing four processes: Quality Assessment, which analyzes current status of the system; Quality Planning, which identifies issues for system improvement; Quality Improvement, which implements the improvements defined, and Quality Control, which assesses the system improvements and its steady-state implementations.

The Six Sigma methodology was first implemented in Motorola in the 1980s. Then, it was successfully extended by Hahn and Hoerl in GE, in the 1990s. The methodology is composed of five phases: Design, Measure, Analyze, Improve and Control, and is better known by its acronym: DMAIC.

When applying this methodology, we must start by defining and/or identifying what is (i) the entity of interest (here, the Cuban government and its opposition), what is (ii) the process to be modified (a Transition to a pluralistic system), and (iii) who is the ultimate customer who will benefit from the improvements obtained (the Cuban Nation).

In the rest of this paper we apply the first two phases of the Six Sigma methodology (i.e. Define and Measure), implementing some of the above-mentioned Quality Engineering tools. We then overview the remaining Six Sigma phases, summarizing future work.

### The Define Phase

This is the first step in Six Sigma methodology. In it, we identify and define what is the real problem (Transition), what are its root causes, what are its key ingredients, whether there are reference cases, how have they appeared, what are their characteristics, what has been done right or wrong in previous similar cases, and what have they achieved.

Specifically for the Cuban Transition case, we want to know and/or define the Transition mission and objectives. We want to know why a Transition is needed; compare the cost of moving forward versus lack of change (remaining the same). Finally, we want to know what impacts will the Transition have on Cuba's different strategic partners (i.e. countries such as the US, European Union, Latin America, etc.) or in different system elements (the elderly, infants, and other weaker strata of the general population).

We also want to define the project team, including its composition (who participates) and functions (doing what); define the project components (what gets done and when) and its support team (who collaborates) and functions (and how); to establish the operational definitions (working procedures); define appropriate Performance Measures (PM), and define the cost of poor quality (how expensive is doing nothing, as opposed to change).

To identify key transition characteristics, we benchmarked (looked at examples of) past successful and unsuccessful XX Century transitions from long-lasting, authoritarian, personal regimes (i.e. *tyrants* in the Greek sense), where a strong man was backed by an organized military-political party machine, in several Ibero-American countries: Chile, Cuba, Brazil, Argentina, Spain, Portugal, Mexico, Venezuela, Paraguay, Central America and the Dominican Republic. We assessed a transition as a success, by analyzing the type of regime that followed it (i.e. if eventually it stabilized as a pluralistic, open regime).

We considered essentially Ibero-American countries, because of their resemblance with that of Cuba (i.e. a strong-man, backed by a strong political-military machine). Two exceptions are the Mexican (PRI) and Salvadorian authoritarian regimes, where the political-military machine created a succession mechanism, which periodically replaced the strong-man (i.e. President) but not the system itself.

We did not consider, as *equals*, the transitions from the former communist, Eastern European regimes, for key conditions were different from those in Cuba. First, their regimes were imposed (and later controlled) from abroad (by the former Soviet Union) after World War II. Then, their transitions were due to the disappearance of such outside force, and not to the disappearance of the strong men that governed them. Finally, we consider that many of these transitions have not been very successful, as the regimes that followed them are far from democratic (Byelorussia, Russia, Ukraine, Rumania, Slovakia, the Central Asian Republics, etc.), with clear exceptions represented by Hungary, Poland, the Check Republic and the Baltic nations. Perhaps such occurred because their regime change also included a big change in economic system (which will also be the case, in Cuba). Hence, lessons from these other transitions should emphasize what not to do, and mostly concern economic, rather than political changes.

Finally, and for the sake of completion, we also considered other well-known political transitions, from autocratic regimes in other parts of the world.

Some examples of successful Ibero American transitions include:

- Spain, after Franco's death, in 1975.
- Portugal, after Salazar-Caetano, in 1973.
- Chile, after Pinochet's retirement, in 1989.
- Brazil, after the Generals retirement, in 1980.
- Mexico, after the PAN succeeded the PRI, in 2000.

Some examples of not so successful transitions include:

- Venezuela, after General Juan V. Gomez' death, in 1936.
- Brazil, after both of President Getulio Vargas' terms, in 1945 and 1954
- Argentina, after both of General Peron's terms, in 1955 and 1973
- Argentina, after the military dictatorship and the Malvinas war, in 1985
- Mexico, after General Porfirio Diaz' exodus, in 1911.
- Dominican Republic, after Rafael L. Trujillo's death, in 1961.
- Nicaragua, after the Somoza dynasty was overthrown, in 1979;
- Nicaragua, after the Sandinistas lost the elections, in 1990.
- Honduras, after General Carias Andino was deposed, in 1954.
- Guatemala, after General Jorge Ubico was deposed in 1944.
- El Salvador, after the military regime lost control, in 1979
- Haiti, after the Duvalier dynasty was overthrown,, in 1986,
- Cuba, after President Machado and the revolution of 1933.
- Cuba, after both of General Batista's exodus, in 1944 and 1959.
- Paraguay, after General Stroessner was overthrown, in 1989.

Some examples of transitions we considered, from other parts of the world are:

- Turkey, after Kamal Ataturk's death, in 1938
- China, after the death of Mao Tse Tung, in 1976
- Soviet Union, after Stalin's death, in 1953,
- Soviet Union, after the Brezhnev gerontocracy, in 1985
- Viet Nam, after the death of Ho Chi Minh, in 1969
- North Korea, after the death of Kim Il Sung, in 1994.

We synthesize below several key characteristics, fostering a successful Transition, which were deduced from analyzing and comparing these regime evolutions:

- Existing internal organizations
- Internal opposition cooperation
- Little intervention from abroad
- Some prior government opening
- Degree of internal peace and stability
- Environment for future economic growth
- Size and location of a country, regarding superpowers

Such conditions must exist, for a successful Cuban transition to take place. It is as much a historical responsibility for the Cuban government, to allow such conditions to develop, as it is also for the opposition, to have the talent to contribute to build them.

### Measure Phase

This is the second step of Six Sigma. It was Lord Kelvin who said that "we do not really know anything about an entity that we cannot measure". Hence, identifying/establishing good measurement variables and units is key, to assess progress and foster movement.

Several tools and activities contribute greatly to the establishment of good Baseline PM that, in turn contribute to implement an adequate measurement system. They include: Cause-effect diagrams (fishbone), Pareto charts and Checklists; Flowchart and process diagrams; Brainstorming and Affinity Analyses. With these activities we can plan and implement an effective data collection effort. This, in turn yields the measurements that Process Capability and Six Sigma procedures require, to assess the process.

Specific examples of activities of this phase include defining clear measurement systems to assess process objectives. In addition, detailed quantitative descriptions of the current state of affairs (e.g. production, consumption, socio-political, healthcare and education indices), for use as base line PM, are required. They serve to implement before vs. after comparisons and to measure process improvement. Some examples of these methods, in a Transition context, are given in the Appendix.

A detailed Transition Process Failure Mode and Effect Analysis (FMEA), describing what can fail, how, by what cause and with what consequences, is required. Also, cause-and-effect (Ishikawa) diagrams, describing how key factors impact Transition goals, are needed. Pareto charts, showing factor relative importance, are also necessary. All PM proposed to assess Transition success and progress should also include the reasons for their selection, as well as comparisons of present and projected values. See examples of FMEAs, Ishikawa and Pareto charts in the Appendix.

Transition PM are also meant to assess how this process actually fosters a more open society, politically and economically, as it moves forward (i.e. via a time series analysis). Below, we propose several variables to measure process progress, in time:

- Percent of government and private sector workers
- Percent population adhering to official and to independent organizations:
  - Clubs, unions, political associations, etc.
  - Civic and fraternal organizations, etc.
- Membership attendance to clubs, churches, libraries, lodges, etc.
- Percent GDP produced by both government and private sectors
- Number and Percent audience, of official and independent media
- Number of remaining political prisoners and exiles

Six Sigma and Quality Engineering methodologies also utilize QFD or Quality Function Deployment (also known as “House of Quality” or “the voice of the customer” who, in this case, is the Cuban Nation). QFD helps identify the “whats” (the customer desires). It also helps identify the “hows” (possible technical implementations). QFD also assesses the association between problem variables, as well as provides measures (or ratings) for their *relative importance*.

The Appendix shows a “House of Quality” for the Cuban Transition problem. The Rows show the “whats” and columns show the “whys”. From the QFD analysis we identified several key variables and provided a set of “ratings” obtained by counting “hits” in rows

and columns, and dividing by totals. There are several ways of producing a set of QFD ratings. In every case, the higher the ratings, the higher the variable importance. For the case in question, the ranking of customer desires given below:

- Political stability: 16.7%
- Establishment of a Civil Society: 14.8
- Economic Development/Reconciliation: 13%
- Political (Constitution and Parties): 11%
- Elections and the Judicial: 11%
- Media and Health/Education: 11%
- Labor and Business: 11%

### The Three remaining Six Sigma Phases

The remaining phases, Analyze, Improve and Control, cannot be specified at this time. The Cuban Transition process has barely started (with President Castro's illness, and substitution by his brother, General Raul Castro). It is still, too early to say.

The new administration, however, has started introducing minor changes and exercising some new policies. For example, on the political front, Raul Castro denounced corruption and introduced some measures to fight it, removing several cabinet ministers (9). On the economic front, General Castro allowed the importation of consumer products such as televisions and video disc players, has told the police to let pirate taxis operate without interference, has pledged to spend millions to refurbish tourist hotels, marinas and golf courses, has ordered one of the state newspapers to investigate the poor quality of service at state-controlled bakeries and other stores (10, and ASCE news clips in the Appendix).

Perhaps General Castro's most important step, so far, has been to pay the debts the state owed to private farmers and to raise the prices the state pays for milk and meat (10). We still have, however, to see whether the mentioned changes are substantive and sustained, or just cosmetic, and how the Cuban opposition and other key players, react to them.

To assess such changes, and for the sake of completion, we overview the tasks required in each of the three remaining Six Sigma phases, providing implementation examples.

The Analyze Phase includes developing the data collection plan, the list of *theories* or hypotheses, the power and sample size required for testing them and the implementation of such hypothesis tests. In addition, the derivation of correlation and regression models, as well as models for analyses of variance (ANOVAs) and Design of Experiments (DoE) using the data collected in previous phases..

Specific examples of the above include building lists of factors to be assessed, analysis of root causes for failures and problems, and the estimations of Transition factor impacts, both on the Cuban population as well as on the main countries affected by it.

The Improve Phase includes developing creative (outside the box) problem solutions and benchmarking them (comparing them to those implemented by the above-mentioned Transitions). This will help strengthen the implementation of the Improvement strategies proposed. The Transition needs to consider several strategies and their associated costs and impacts, so that these may be compared, traded-off, so that the final, preferred and most efficient strategy (or combination thereof) is identified.

Strategy quantification, enables the creation of a sorted list of preferred courses of action and their respective impacts. Such impacts include the direct, indirect and collateral costs of implementing the different strategies, and their socioeconomic and political impacts. Such costs allow defining counter-measures to help reduce negative impacts arising from some Transition decisions (e.g. the effect of higher prices on retirees). A Pilot plan with plausible results can then be constructed, including a working calendar.

The Control Phase includes the implementation of a process control plan, listing its required procedures, training and support, as well as the measurement and test plans to assess the improvements. Also needed are strategies for Transition stabilization, leading to the establishment of a permanent (political and economic) pluralistic society.

Finally, the Transition project final report, assessing its results, to verify that the proposed changes worked as intended, should also include a list of *lessons learned*. These should document the main problems occurred, their consequences, and their solutions.

### Discussion

This research constitutes a “work in progress”, to be continued as events unfold and we acquire more information. Such task will constitute our research thrust for the following ASCE meetings, as well as for other Cuban forums, during the next few years.

However, results from the first two phases (Define and Measure) provide the basis for the rest of the work. It is imperative to establish appropriate initial conditions, in order for a Transition to take place (or take off) at all. Then, as the Transition develops, additional and more detailed specifications will be defined.

There are many potential obstacles to surmount. One is the widespread belief that no one, from within the Cuban government, would be interested in having one. But history has proven such belief to be radically wrong. In many countries, high ranking officers from the government have helped develop a peaceful Transition, given the proper conditions. And we believe Cuba will not be an exception.

In Spain, a successful Transition, the process was started by General Arias Navarro, Franco’s head of the government, who fought with the Blue Division and the German army against the Soviets, during World War II. Transition was further pursued by Adolfo Suarez and Manuel Fraga, two of Franco’s important Falangist ministers.



On the other hand, during the Mexican revolution of 1911, an example of failed Transition, we find three distinct groups within General Diaz' government. Firstly, the *traditionalists* (Baranda), secondly, the *technocrats* (Limantour) and thirdly, the *reformists* (Reyes). Had they been heard, and had they arranged a Transition with the *opposition* (Madero), maybe Mexico would have avoided 20 years of civil wars and destruction.

The fact that people cannot act freely in Cuba at this time, even within government ranks, (remember the trial of General Arnaldo Ochoa and other Cuban officers in 1989), does not mean such people do not exist. The passing of President Fidel Castro may provide the real possibility of such *outings* to occur, if the right conditions are created.

The *key issue* is that a set of minimal conditions must be created. These should include the organization of a broad-based, cooperating, internal opposition, and the start of an open-minded dialogue between the different sectors of the Cuban Nation, under the guidance of an "Arbiter". Such minimal conditions do not exist at this time. And every effort to create them should be prioritized, both by the Cuban government and by the opposition, if a Transition is to occur.

A specific need for a Cuban Transition to take place is the presence of an Arbiter. There is large, mutual distrust between the Cuban government, the opposition and other external elements of this problem. An Arbiter will provide the necessary assurances, to all parts, regarding personal safety and process continuity, two main issues to consider. Such proposal is consistent with our past writings in this area (8), and does not contradict our previously mentioned research results regarding that foreign intervention hinders, rather than helps, the realization of a Transition.

History has shown how the successful Ibero American Transitions have occurred without *intervention* from abroad. However, "Intervention" is very different from "Arbitration". Intervention implies an active, unwelcome pressure from the outside. *Arbitration* means *facilitation* by mutual consent, from some mutually accepted third party.

For example, during the civil wars in Nicaragua and El Salvador, in the 1980s, Cuba actively supported one side, while the US actively supported the other. Neither could have acted as a mutually trusted and accepted Arbiter in these conflicts. However, the *Contadora* group of nations was a very successful Arbiter and facilitated the peace in Central America, which would perhaps not been achieved otherwise.

The US has had a long conflict with the present Cuban government, and has actively supported the Cuban internal and external opposition. Hence, the US has become part of the argument and cannot function as an Arbiter. Hence, a US intervention in the process, no matter how well-intentioned, would provide unnecessary excuses to those individuals and organizations actually unwilling to pursue such track, thereby diminishing the real possibilities of a Transition to take place at all

The Arbiter, in the Cuban case, should be a nation or group of nations that have not had active participation in the past fifty years of Cuban controversy. For example, countries from the European Union (e.g. Spain, France, Portugal) or from Latin America (Mexico, Costa Rica, Chile, Brazil), or better yet, from both regions, could provide such Arbiter function. For the three remaining sides, Cuban government, Cuban opposition and the US (the fourth, former Soviet Union, is no more), would eventually trust them and accept their decisions in the long and difficult Transition process.

### Conclusions

A Cuban Transition is not a Need; it is a Must! Without a desire to “Pontificate”, we suggest the following criteria, derived from our research about both Cuban history and successful political Transitions occurred in Ibero-America, to serve as reference points:

1. Transitions have evolved from the inside
2. Foreign pressures have proven negative
3. Cooperation between sectors is a must
4. National reconciliation is absolutely required
5. Assurance for all parts, requires of an Arbiter
6. But independent and non-partisan Arbiters
7. Possibly from Europe and Latin America.

### Acknowledgements

Many friends and colleagues, in ASCE, ASA, and elsewhere, have contributed to our research throughout the years. They are too numerous to be mentioned here, and we don't want to omit anyone. We appreciate them all, in particular the excellent comments of our paper's discussant, Dr. Alfred Cuzan of West Florida University.

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## Appendices:

Example of QFD

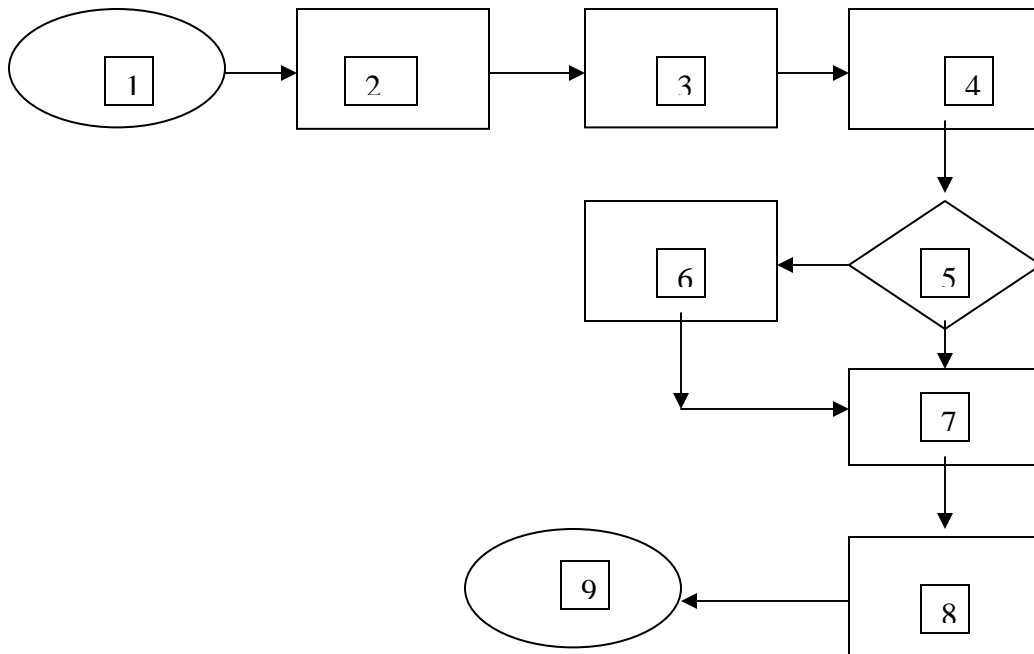
### Quality Function Deployment for Cuban Transition

	Constitution	Elections	Organizations	Pol. Parties	Armed Forces	Judicial Sys	The Media	Health/Educat	Industry/Comm	Count	Weight
Political Stability	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	9	0.167
Labor Policy		X	X	X		X		X	X	6	0.111
Economic Devel.	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	7	0.130
Social SafetyNet	X		X	X			X	X	X	6	0.111
Independence	X	X		X	X		X		X	6	0.111
Civil Society	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		8	0.148
Reconciliation	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			7	0.130
PersonalSecurity	X				X	X		X	X	5	0.093
Count	7	6	5	7	5	6	6	6	6	54	1.000
Weight	0.130	0.111	0.093	0.130	0.093	0.111	0.111	0.111	0.111	1.000	

### Examples of Ibero American Transitions

Country	Origins	Changes	Took Over	Internal Oppos	External Forces
Spain75	Civil War	Death	Falanx	Cooperate	None
Portugal-73	Economic	African War	Military	NonExist	None
Chile-89	Economic	Referendum	Civilians	Cooperate	None
Brasil-80	Insurgency	Stability	Military	Cooperate	None
Mexico-00	Economic	Election	Opposition	Cooperate	None
Cuba-44	Revolution	Election	Civilians	Cooperate	None
Paraguay	Economic	Coup	Military	NonExist	Yes
Argentina55	Economic	Coup	Military	NonExist	Yes
Mexico-11	Civil War	Insurrection	Chaos	NonExist	Yes
Dom.Rep61	Occupation	Assassin	Military	NonExist	Yes
Cuba-33	Insurgency	Insurrection	Chaos	NonExist	Yes

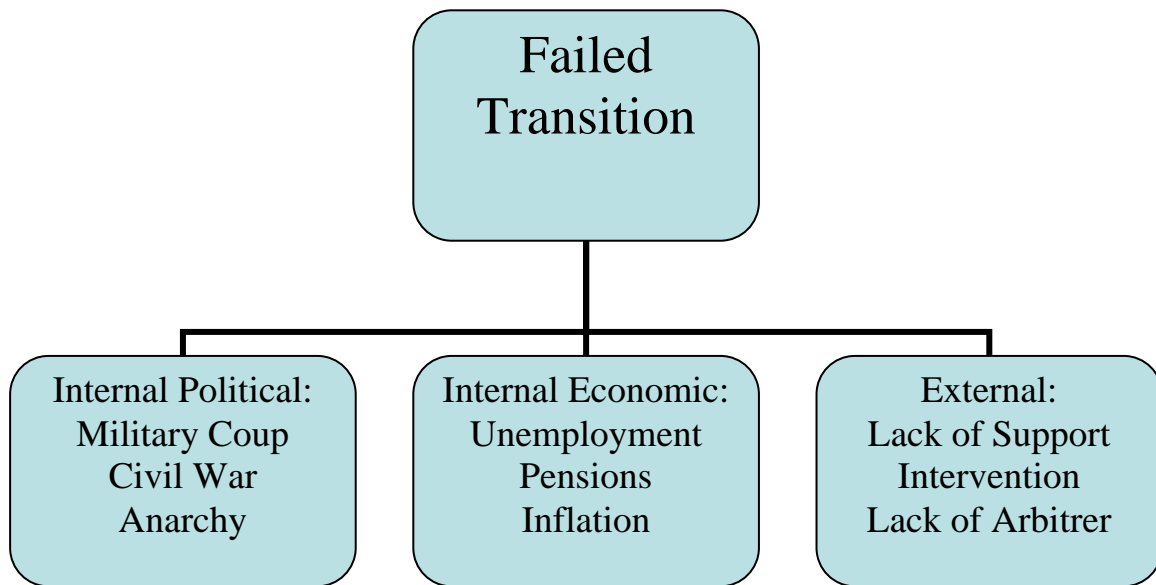
### Example of Transition Process Flowchart:



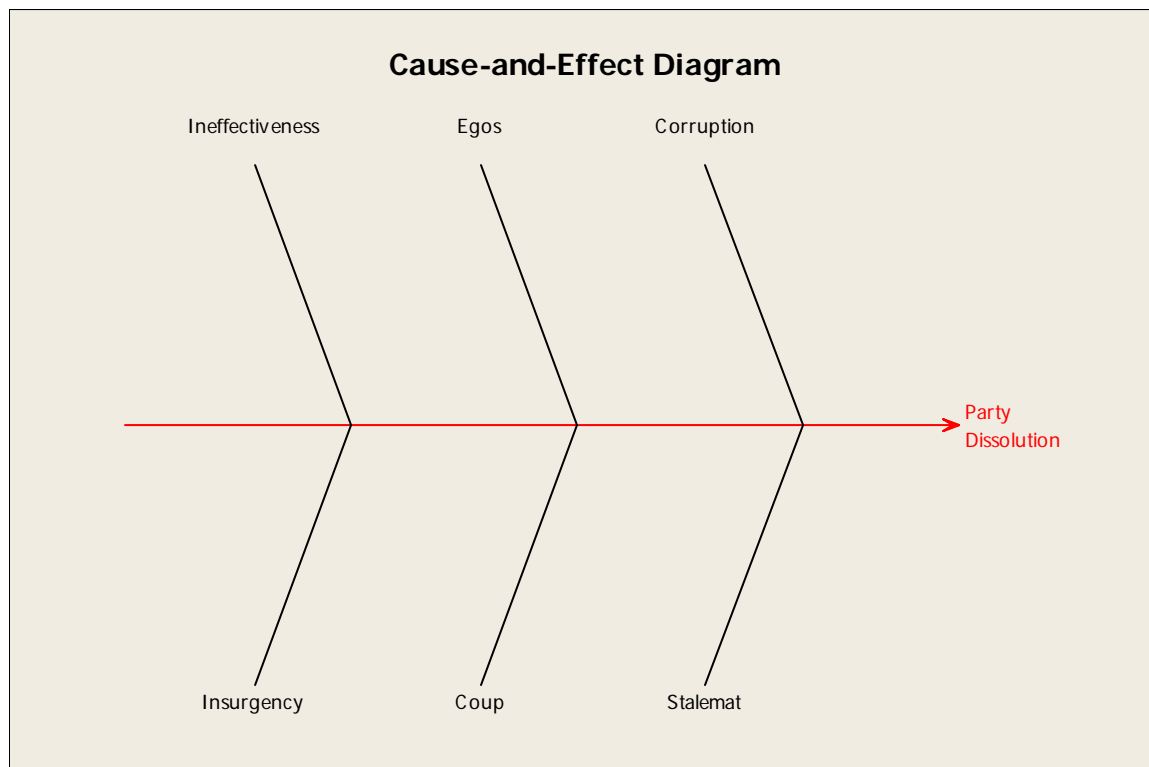
### Flowchart Content:

1. Start
2. Initiate Contacts
3. Establish Working Groups
4. Seek Arbitrer
5. Is it/them acceptable to all”
  - a. Yes: Go to No. ^
  - b. No: Find causes, negotiate and Go back to No. 4
6. Specify each side’s conditions
7. Are Conditions Acceptable?
  - a. Yes: Go to No. 8
  - b. No: Find causes, negotiate and Go back to No. 6
  - c. If stalemate; seek assistance from Arbitrer
8. Continue the process ...

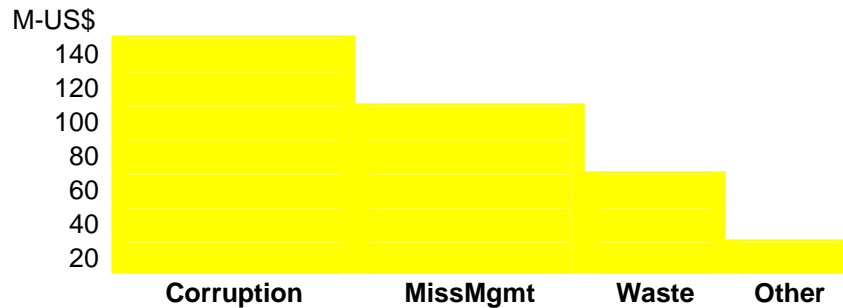
### Example of Transition Fault Tree Analysis



### Example of Transition Cause and Effect (Ishikawa) Diagram:



### Example of Pareto Chart for Crucial Few Problems



### Example of Transition Process FRACAS or Failure Reporting and Criticality Analysis System:

1. Failure Observation: complaints about unemployment
2. Failure Verification: check statistics
3. Failure Isolation: identify specific problem area
4. Failure Removal: provide assistance to unemployed
5. Root Cause Analysis: what events have raised unemployment?
6. Corrective Action: try out economic and political adjustments
7. Effective? Is unemployment decreasing?
  - a. Yes: proceed to No. 8
  - b. No: go back to No. 6
8. Incorporate Correction
9. Go to No. 1

## Example of Transition Failure Modes and Effects Analysis (FMEAs)

### Example of Functional FMEA

Item	Function	FailMode	Causes	End-Effect	Detection	Compensation
Political	Seek	Discredit	Corruption	lawlessness	corruption	arbitrage
Organizats	Consensus Peacefully	Splinter	Egos	apathy	stalemate	inspectors
		Disband	Lack of \$	insurgency	media	free press
		Barred	Coup	intervention	arrests	training
		Absorbed	Lack Ideas	civil war	violence	solidarity

## Examples of Raul Castro's Changes (ASCE Clips News Service).

Raúl Castro ha impulsado medidas para luchar contra la corrupción, la indisciplina laboral y aumentar la productividad de las empresas mediante modelos de gestión más eficientes. El general Castro no ha vacilado a la hora de regañar en público a algunos de los ministros que no han hecho los deberes ni en sustituir a los titulares de importantes departamentos, como Justicia, Recursos Hidráulicos, Transportes e Informática y Comunicaciones. Pero las reformas económicas que muchos esperaban de Raúl Castro, considerado más pragmático que su hermano, se han limitado a autorizar importaciones de DVD y aparatos electrónicos restringidas hasta hace unos meses para los cubanos y a crear mecanismos para asegurar el pago a los campesinos con el objetivo de impulsar la producción agrícola.

From: Un año de inmovilismo no despeja dudas (ASCE Clips; Julio 29/07.  
Etiquetas: [Castro](#), [Cuba](#), [Fidel](#), [Raul](#))

### Raul en el 26 de julio:

"Estamos en el deber de cuestionarnos cuantas cosas hacemos, en busca de transformar concepciones y métodos que fueron los apropiados en su momento pero han sido ya superados por la propia vida", manifestó. En el último año "han sido necesarios ajustes y prórrogas y no descartamos que haya que hacer otros en el futuro", dijo el general, que desde que asumió el poder, el 31 de julio del pasado año, no ha aplicado reformas económicas significativas.

"La nueva Administración tendrá que decidir si mantiene la absurda, ilegal y fracasada política contra Cuba o acepta el ramo de olivo que tendimos en el 50 aniversario de las Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias, cuando reafirmamos la disposición a discutir en pie de igualdad el prolongado diferendo con EEUU", recalcó.

## Cuba's Revolution Now Under Two Masters

By JAMES C. MCKINLEY Jr., July 27, 2007

Raúl Castro has taken several small but meaningful steps over the last year that suggest that he wants to open up Cuban society and perhaps move to a market-driven system, without ceding one-party control, not unlike what has happened in China. During the 1990s, he supported limited private enterprise and foreign investment, reforms his brother reversed four years ago.

Since becoming acting president, the younger Mr. Castro has twice offered to enter negotiations with the United States to end a half-century of enmity and sanctions. He repeated that stand on Thursday, noting that President Bush would soon be leaving office "along with his erratic and dangerous administration."

On the economic front, Raúl Castro has allowed the importation of televisions and video disc players. He has told the police to let pirate taxis operate without interference. He pledged to spend millions to refurbish hotels, marinas and golf courses. He even ordered one of the state newspapers to investigate the poor quality of service at state-controlled bakeries and other stores.

Perhaps his most important step, however, was to pay the debts the state owed to private farmers and to raise the prices the state pays for milk and meat. Cubans still live on rations and cope with chronic shortages of staples like beef. Salaries average about \$12 a month, and most people spend three-quarters of their income on food, according to a study by Armando Nova González, an economist at the Center for the Study of the Cuban Economy in Havana.