

Future plan *Cubanos Unidos* 1.0.

New social model brings Cubans together instead of keeping them apart

The Future Plan *Cubanos unidos* 1.0 accompanies the transition from the current communist regime to a full parliamentary democracy.

Part 1 examines the sources of inspiration.

Part 2 discusses the content.

Nine domains cover all aspects of society. The implementation has to take place in three steps and the red thread is the respect for one's own identity. The goal is to use the potential of the country for the benefit of the population. That requires the cooperation of everyone. *Cubanos unidos – United Cubans* is the appropriate slogan.

Part 3 covers the practical implementation.

The provisional Government of independent experts will be assisted in a transition period by Advisory Councils. An International Donor Conference is coming right up while a UN peacekeeping force ensures safety. The methodology of the Strict Progressivity makes Cuba a full democracy: first local and then at the provincial and the fereal level.

Part 4 exposes the further action

This concept has to be further supplemented and refined into a **Future Plan *Cubanon Unidos* 2.0**. The challenge is to find a wide consensus around it. Because when communism collapses, a unique momentum is coming up to reorganize society on a different footing.

1. The INSPIRATION

This plan has several spiritual fathers.

These are on the macro level the positive elements of capitalism and communism.

Capitalism creates a welfare machine on the basis of a decent education and the search for peace. That allows growth and innovation in a climate of freedom. And communism wants to realize a happy society by banishing poverty and inequality and giving everyone a job.

On the level of Cuba seizes the text back to the progressive Constitution of 1940 and the original goals of the Cuban revolution. The *26th of July Movement* wanted to replace the dictatorship of Batista by a democracy with freedom of expression and association. A mixed economy had to make Cuba less dependent on the sugar cane. And an agricultural reform wanted to bridge the gap between the city and countryside. A just tax system should the Cuban companies allow to compete with the American ones. But those ambitions were only partly fulfilled.

This Future Plan maintains the positive achievements of the past sixty years, including the education system and health care.

This text contains furthermore ideas that are taken from the Liberation Theology and the proposals of people and opposition movements in Cuba and the diaspora.

We found last but not least inspiration in the passionate texts of poet and writer José Martí (1853-1895). The pioneer of the independence of Cuba strove for independence, anti-racism, social progress and an ethical humanism. He stressed the importance of the own identity, advocated a universal pacifism and feared as anti-imperialist the North American economic and cultural domination. The man hoped that Cuba would become a beacon of hope for Latin America. His language, of for instance his manifesto *Nuestra America*, sounds 125 years after his death archaic. But many ideas are still current.

The title is taken from his one-liners: *Juntarse ésta es la palabra del mundo – unite, is the most important word in the world.*

2. The FUTURE PLAN

Cubanos unidos is a syncretic plan. It contains a cocky synthesis on the basis of all the aforementioned sources of inspiration. Each component contains the motto *Cubanos unidos – United Cubans*. Because it is our intention to bring the people instead of keeping them apart. The implementation takes place in three steps. And the common thread is the anchoring of the Cuban identity. All that is given shape in the nine domains.

THREE STEPS

Step 1 – Draw out the lessons of the past

It is the role of history to avoid that the mistakes of the past will repeat themselves.

Step 2 – Set up and streamline the new beacons

De Plan designs for all the domains of society new milestones or beacons. The future policy gets form around those anchor points.

A major challenge is matching all these beacons, since this will allow a more smoothly drive of the society.

Step 3 – Vision in the short and the long term

We outlined on this basis a vision about the nine domains, which include all aspects of society:

1 ° in the short term by the provisional Government of ‘Eminences grises’ and experts from home and abroad (see below – 3.1).

The actions are identified by the letter S.

2 ° in the medium and long term by the full Cuban Government.

The actions are identified by the letter L.

This approach is diametrically opposed to the current organisation of the society. Thus, the public sector largely dismantled. And all the services, such as the army, play in a slimmed-down role another function.

The RED THREAD: anchoring the Cuban identity

The red thread through all the actions is the anchoring of the Cuban identity. These includes six components.

1 ° the Crown jewels.

Cuba is synonymous with sugar cane, cigars, rum, nickel and music (culture). The Future Plan wants up to develop that natural and intellectual capital with respect for people and the environment. (see below – 2.9) These Crown jewels forms the most important asset of the country in the international arena.

Example: the cigar brands Cohiba, Patagás, Romero y Julieta, Montecristo and Hoy the Monterrey.

2 ° The egalitarian society.

The planned economic reform (see below – 2.5) need social adjustment. (see below – 2.6) That has to ensure the preservation of the current egalitarian society.

Example: higher wages for managers are coming up, but the difference with the lowest wages will remain limited.

3 ° Redistributive mechanisms

These will spread the expected increase in prosperity over large sections of the population. They will prevent the concentration of wealth in the hands of a small elite.

4 ° balance between hard and soft values.

Stimulating the economy (see below – 2.5) goes hand in hand with paying attention to the weakest groups (see below – 2.6) and taking care for the environment (see below – 2.9).

Example: no dismantling of the public health care, but their reinforcement
Example: pensions guarantee a dignified life for the elderly people

5 ° attention to quality

Economic growth is associated with attention to the durability, the respect for what man and nature can handle, the promotion of culture and the quality of life.

Example: the promotion of public transport limits the private traffic
Example: the army also performs humanitarian tasks
Example: the Government actively promotes art and culture

6 ° freedom

For the Cubans freedom is a valuable asset. Because they have known in their history only a short period of freedom. However, it's important in guiding these. (see below – 3.4)

NINE DOMAINS

The new vision in the Future Plan is given shape on nine domains. These cover all facets of society. Their order is not important, since all of them are intertwined and have to be implemented at the same time.

DOMAIN	DRAW OUT LESSONS OF THE PAST	NEW BEACONS	IMPLEMENTATION
1. Governance	The free will is stronger dan dictatorship	Respect for freedoms & apply the principle of subsidiarity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ° Review of the Constitution ° Three policy levels ° Clean up of the legislation ° Strict rules for the administrators ° Upgrading of the Parliament ° Democracy following the Swiss model ° New role for civil society organisations
2. Administration	Bureaucracy kills dynamics	Directing in the first place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ° Only core mission ° Size of the administration according to the needs ° Comparative exams ° New staff regulations ° Higher Training Institution ° Serving role
3. Demographics	Falling birth rate, emigration and aging put age pyramid on his head	Higher birth rate restores demographic balance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ° 2,1 children per woman ° Immigration of ex-exiles ° Family policy
4. Finance	Dependence from foreign countries strengthenes parasitism	Balanced budget by the introduction of flat tax	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ° Solution for the debt mountain ° Zero Budget Control ° Introduction of flat tax ° Creation of an Investment Fund
5. Economy	Wild capitalism and planned economy disrupt the economy. Without guidance ends	Mixed economy with the Government as Director	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ° Selling state companies ° Promote small businesses

	the transition to mixed economy into chaos.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ° Agricultural reform ° Improvement of the basic infrastructure ° Higher productivity ° Quotas
6.Social	Hammock-policy and erosion of social networks weaken the cohesion	Positive stimuli empower people & equal treatment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ° Hammock becomes a safety net ° Equal treatment ° Minimum support ° Strong social policies ° Strong social networks ° Fair sharing of the burden
7.Justitie	Arbitrary Justice undermines basic trust in man and society	Truth Commission symbolizes the restauration of righteousness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ° Free the prisoners of conscience ° Reconciliation monuments ° Independent High Council ° Screening of the judges
8.Values	The ' I ' orientation is an acid that undermines society	A change of mentality makes ethics climb on the ladder of values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ° Code of ethics ° Implement soft values with a hard hand ° Mandatory civil service
9.Ecology	Wild growth of economy and tourism threaten nature	Departing from what nature and man can handle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ° Durability ° Technical innovations ° 'Decarburisation' of society

2.1. Governance

Lesson from the past

No paranoid and corrupt dictatorship can sustain in the long term. Not even with a hard indoctrination, censorship and repression. Finally overcomes the free will of man.

New beacons

Respect for the freedoms and application of the principle of subsidiarity.

Implementation in the short term – by the Provisional Government

S1 – Preparing constitutional revision

In cooperation with the Constituent Assembly (see below – 3.4) will a new Constitution be drawn up. These anchors the fundamental freedoms and explains the role of the *trias politicas*: the Executive Power (the Government), the Legislative Power (the Parliament) and the Judiciary (an independent justice). Cuba is a Republic with a president who is elected by the Parliament and who has largely a ceremonial function.

S2 – Development of three policy levels from low to high

The new structure is the antipode of the current centralism of the communist government. In application of the subsidiarity principle, the decision-making will take place at the lowest possible level, and as close as possible to the citizens. This means that first the local policy level has to be expanded. The decision-making, as far as possible, at the local level emphasizes the crucial role of the municipalities. In Switzerland, for instance, these manage till forty percent of the funds.

The second level are the provinces. That get great powers in education, health, culture and the infrastructure.

The rest powers as the legislation, the currency, Defense and Foreign Affairs remain Federal.

S3 – Black List

A Black List of persons who have misbehaved or personally enriched themselves is coming up. And when crimes have been committed, they are deferred to the Truth Commission. (see below – 2.7)

S4 – Clean up the legislation

Only rules that are positively assessed, are extended for a certain duration. All new legislation has by definition a temporary character. (see below)

S5 – Rules for the political staff

There will be a limited number of members of Parliament and ministers. They are well paid, but can handle at the same time only one mandate: on the municipal, the provincial or the federal level. In addition is the term of office limited to two legislations. This approach prevents the creation of political dynasties and the flow of political talent. The political deontology ensures a correct implementation of the mandates. (see below – 2.8)

S6 – Gradual transfer of competence

The transfer of competences to the democratically elected politicians will take place at different speeds: first municipal (in 2019), later provincial (2021) and finally Federal (2022). (see below – 3.4)

Implementation in the medium and long term – by the Cuban Government

Giving shape to a administrative organization inspired by the Swiss model.

L1 – Magic Formula

Strive for the application of the ' magic formula ' at all policy levels. In the democratic decision-making to the Swiss model participate all major parties to the Government. Together they represent a vast majority of voters.

The decisions are taken on the basis of a broad consensus. And everyone implements these loyal and collegial.

L2 – Upgrading of Parliament

Every law has a mandatory expiration date. As a result, the legislation will be periodically adapted to the developments in society. The Central Crossroads Bank manages the legislation.

L3 – Open Government

Transparency and openness characterize the governance. In the application information technology will be used.

Example: the Central Crossroads Bank for Legislation is available on the internet.

L4 – New role for the civil society

In its current form comes the monopoly of the Communist Party Organizations to an end. They will have to act in competition with analog organizations.

Example: the citizens join the Trade Union of their preference.

2.2. Administration

Lesson from the past

A leaden bureaucracy kills the dynamism of a society.

New beacon

The administration handles primarily as Director.

Implementation in the short term – by the Provisional Government

The administration is managed by a College of civil servants that is composed of 'Eminences grises' and experts from home and abroad. They will be recruited for a limited duration on the basis of their competences.

S1 – Determination of the key functions

The Provisional Government determines which sectors and activities belong to the competence of the state. These include the key sectors: the energy supplies, education and health care.

S2 – Determine the extent

The Provisional Government determines the needs in function of the size of the administration.

S3 – Notice and competitive examinations

All civil servants are subjected in notice. The government organizes at the same time competitive examinations.

S4 – Black List

As for the governors (see above – 2.1) will a Black List of persons in the administration who have misbehaved or enriched themselves be drawn up. Who has committed criminal facts, will be referred to the Truth Commission (see below – 2.7).

S5 – New staff regulations

A new staff regulation pays attention to all aspects of the civil service of the future.

Example: great attention to a deontological code (see below – 2.8)

S6 – Creation of a Higher Institute of Administration

That is responsible for the training and formation of the officials in setting up cooperation with similar institutions in other countries (for example France).

Implementation in the medium and long term – by the Cuban Government

The gradual replacement of the foreign experts by the new generation of Cuban officials.

L1 – Invest in a administrative ‘culture’

Features of the civil service of the future are: a great performance, a low threshold, an accessible service and a transparent functioning. It is important to invest permanently in a contemporary administrative culture. Officials play a serving role. They helps the citizens, encourage them and works together with them.

L2 – Dynamic management

A procedure is coming up for adjusting the staff according to the changing needs. Also will a periodic adjustment take place of the staff regulations.

L3 – Promotions

In line with the Higher Institute of Administration an independent Institution for Promotions will be set up.

2.3. Demographics

Lesson from the past

For lack of a family policy evolves the Cuban dictatorship into an inverted age pyramid. The birth rate of four children per woman in the 1960s has fallen into 1.45. Many Cubans refuse to put 'new slaves' on the world. Furthermore there is the massive emigration of young people. And thanks to the good quality of health care gets the population older every year. Today the average age is 38 years. And soon thirty percent of the population will be older than sixty.

New beacon

A policy in the long run requires a healthy age pyramid with a birth rate of 2.1 children per woman.

Implementation in the short term – by the Provisional Government

S1 – Immigration Politics

Encourage and guide the return of former exiles and their families.

S2 – Stimulating family policy

Positive stimuli increase the birth rate.

Example: a pension credit for who gets children

Example: tax benefits for families

Example: increase in child support-money

Example: extension of the maternity leave

Implementation in the medium and long term – by the Cuban Government

Annual adjustment of the policy on the basis of the demographic evolution. And taking additional measures if necessary.

2.4. Finance

Lesson from the past

Dependence on financial help from abroad – first from the Soviet Union and then from Venezuela – undermines the self-reliance and strengthens the parasitism.

New beacon

Flat tax guarantees the balanced budget.

Implementation in the short term – by the provisional Government

S1 – Get rid of the historical debt

Getting rid of the \$23 billion debt from the past by remission and/or participation in the economy. The same goes for the claims for compensation for the nationalizations under the Communist Government. (see below – 3.2)

S2 – Implementation of the Flat Tax

Introduction of that income tax which is easy to collect. Everyone pays a fixed percentage at source. With that money the regular functioning can be paid.

The flat tax was introduced before with great success in 23 countries.

The advantages are:

- ° a full transparency,
- ° closing all loopholes, exceptions and subsidies,
- ° the cheap inking because no heavy administration is required,
- ° encouraging of the saving.

When everyone pays the same percentage, people will experience these tax as being fair and less evasion will take place.

S3 – Creation of an Investment fund

That manages the income from privatisations in the economy. (see below – 2.5)

That money will be used via allocations for the development of public infrastructure, the innovation and the international promotion of Cuba.

S4 – Temporary financing of the social redistribution (optional)

In the short term can (optional) some money of the Investment Fund be used for the payment of higher pensions, relieving social needs and urgent investment in education and health care.

These expenditures will be in the long run paid by the income of the flat tax.

Implementation in the medium and long term – by the Cuban Government

L1 – Management Investment Fund

The careful management of the money from the Investment Fund pays attention to the sustainable needs. Prestige-expenditure should be avoided.

L2 – Zero Budget Control

A tool to maintain the financial orthodoxy is the performance every four years of a Zero Budget control. That reexamines all expenditure from scratch.

2.5. Economy

Lessons from the past

Neither the wild capitalism, neither the planned economy lay the foundations for a sustainable economy.

In the period 1920-1950, when the wild capitalism ruled, American multinationals drained the country. But the present central planning with his paranoid state control is equally pernicious. Many companies, with their dilapidated Soviet-designed machines, are plundered by officials and managers. And the lack of innovation and investment makes of Cuba a developing country. Especially in the agricultural sector is the situation disastrous. The country provides less than 20% of their own food needs.

The example of the former Soviet Union teaches us that the transition to a capitalist economy without a strict guidance, flows into chaos.

New beacon

A mixed economy with the Government as Director. These determines in the strategic sectors the quotas and lays through regulation the fundamentals for sustainable economic growth.

Example: a proper model of Joint Ventures combines the free enterprise with the preservation of the identity and the embedding in Cuba.

Example: the growth of tourism evolves with the extension of the tourist infrastructure.

Example: a fixed price for passenger transport protects the travelers and guarantees the drivers a normal wage.

Implementation in the short term – by the Provisional Government

A transparent economic vision without intermediaries is the best medicine to reduce the cancer of the Black Economy and the corruption.

S1 – Selling large State-owned enterprises

The selling of the enterprises at market prices.

For lack of own capital, foreign investments are needed. The management of these foreign companies has to take into account social adjustments. (see below – 2.6)

S2 – Promote small businesses

Equally important is the promotion of the growth potential of the *cuentalpropistas* or small businesses. The Government can loan under conditions agricultural plots and workspaces to cooperatives or private persons. And in the context of microfinance are small amounts borrowed to start economic activities. This approach improves the accountability and the motivation of the participants, gives their dignity back and let them contribute in building a better world.

S3 – An agriculture restructure

The upgrading of the agricultural sector prevents Cuba from being overrun by the U.S. agro-industry. The country remains in this way independent of the fluctuating prices on the international market.

Example: cooperation with agricultural departments of foreign universities leads to the eradication of the scourge of marabú.

Example: development of the potential growth sectors such as dairy production, poultry and pig farming and potato processing.

Example: promotion of the export of organic products, since the agriculture sector uses no pesticides or hormones.

K4 – Improvement of the basic infrastructure

The money from the Investment Fund (see above – 2.4) will be used for the improvement of basic infrastructure. Priority are the development of public transport and the opening-up of the countryside.

K5 – Increasing the performance level

A change of mentality has to increase the performance level of the workers.

Example: introduce the principle of 'just wages for a job done'

Example: a correct remuneration and higher salaries for managers

Example: structural investments in education and training.

Implementation in the medium and long term – by the Cuban Government

L1 – Sale of State-owned enterprises

The Cuban Government brings the sale of all state-owned enterprises to a good end. Similarly the exploitation of gas and oil reserve of an estimated 15 to 20 million barrels.

L2 – Promoting the development of small enterprises

Microfinance has often success on the long run. Successful entrepreneurs can take ownership of the plot or the workspace they're using.

The establishment of a climate that stimulates the development of new economic activities.

L3 – Self-sufficiency

A sustainable agricultural policy makes Cuba self-sufficient.

The construction of new homes and socio-cultural facilities makes life in the countryside again more attractive.

L4 – Optimization of the basic infrastructure

The Cuban Government outlines a vision for the infrastructure works in the medium and long term.

Example: investing in the port infrastructure in function of the economy and tourism

Example: renew the Carretera Central from La Fé to Baracoa.

2.6. Social

Lesson from the past

The investment in social policy of the past decades have created a hammock. These is characterized by patronage, parasitism and profiteering. As a result, the country remains socially underdeveloped. In addition, weakened the social cohesion by the erosion of civil society organisations.

New beacons

Positive stimuli empower the people & an equal treatment of all persons.

Implementation in the short term – by the Provisional Government

S1 – A conclusive legal framework

The basis of a sustainable social policy is a legal framework that protects the rights of the workers.

Example: all employees receive a minimum wage and a social protection.

S2 – Hammock becomes a safety net

People are responsible for themselves and their families. And those who can't do so, get

support according to strict rules. The development of strong Social Services goes hand in hand with providing positive incentives. These stimulate people to look for work.

Example: limit benefits in time.

S3 – Equal treatment

The Backpack Principle gives people with disabilities a contribution to bridge the distance with the ordinary citizens. This measure strengthens the egalitarian nature of society.

S4 – Social Economy

Projects in the social economy pick up the people who can't after all participate to the normal economy. The weakest persons work in function of their possibilities part-time or as an volunteer.

Implementation in the medium and long term – by the Cuban Government

L1 – A strong social policy

The society needs a strong social policy. The intensive support of the most vulnerable in their search for a job or any other activity prevents their marginalisation.

L2 – Stronger social networks strengthen the cohesion

The Government creates a climate that encourages the development of social networks.

L3 – Fair spread

Linking the duration of the career to the evolution of life expectancy spreads the pension costs honestly over the generations.

2.7. Justice

Lesson from the past

An arbitrary justice undermines the basic trust in man and society.

New beacon

The Truth Commission symbolizes the recovery of righteousness.

Implementation in the short term – by the Provisional Government

S1 – Release of the prisoners of conscience

S2 – Establishment of a Truth Commission

Under the auspices of the International Court of Justice in the Hague punishes a Truth Commission those responsible of crimes. There will be no witch hunt, but will get a fair trial. Only when Cuba come to terms with his past, can the country build to its future.

S3 – High Council for Justice

An independent Commission of domestic and foreign lawyers reshapes the judiciary and guarantees an independent judiciary. An independent High Council of Justice is watching over the case-law and nominates the judges.

S4 – Screening

The credentials of the candidate judges are screened during hearings in Parliament.

Implementation in the medium and long term – by the Cuban Government

L1 – Guarantees for Justice

Justice is a key Department. Ensuring a fair case-law lay the foundations for living together harmoniously.

L2 – National reconciliation monument(s)

It's impossible to compensate the suffering of sixty years of Communist dictatorship. However, that suffering must be recognized. Cuba needs a national reconciliation monument and monuments in all cities where the wounds of the past can heal with composure.

Example: transformation of the Plaza de la Revolución in Havana into the Plaza de la Reconciliación and set up a monument in front of the statue of José Martí.

2.8. Values

Lesson from the past

The acid of the 'I'-orientation in the top five of the most important values undermine the foundations of society. These are 'me and the rest can choke', 'grab as much money you can', 'don't trust anyone', 'devil-may-care', and 'get the good stuff'.

New beacon

A change of mentality makes the ethical conduct climb on the ladder of values.

Implementation in the short term – by the Provisional Government

A Code of Ethics: soft and hard approach

Society needs an Code of Ethics to builds up confidence.

These has to be imprinted on the one hand with a soft hand through education and the media.

Example: critical dealing with programs that promote grab culture, crime and drug use.

On the other hand needs these Code of Ethics an implementation with an iron fist.

Example, a code of ethics for politicians, judges and civil servants.

Example: members of the opposition manage the properties of the ministers during the fulfilment of their mandate.

Example: strict rules of conduct for lobbies and interest groups.

Implementation in the medium and long term – by the Cuban Government

Change of mentality

Cuban society needs a change of mentality around twelve attitudes:

- ° seriousness and commitment,
- ° control,
- ° face up of responsibility,
- ° loyalty,
- ° respect,
- ° loyalty,
- ° sustainability,
- ° transparency,
- ° quality and
- ° fair trade.

This approach leads to a social surplus in plural:

- ° an open culture of debate,
- ° stronger networks,
- ° more civic engagement,
- ° a greater solidarity and
- ° the better use of the potential of the society.

Example: the replacement of the military service by a compulsory civilian service.

Experiencing values leads to a fundamental change:

- ° fear is converted into hope
- ° distrust, contempt and hate make way for tolerance and inclusion.

2.9. Ecology

Lesson from the past

The wild growth of economy and tourism threaten

New beacon

The starting point of each action is what nature and man can handle.

Implementation in the short, medium and the long term

1 – Sustainability

The pursuit of sustainability is the common thread in all aspects of the policy.

Example: sustainable tourism has great potential.

2 – Technological innovations

Technological innovations may help in the growth towards more sustainability.

Example: the promotion of renewable energy.

3 – Decarbonisation

Reduce the CO² emissions.

Example: taxes on greenhouse gas emissions.

3. The IMPLEMENTATION: towards a seamless transition

There will be no *tabula rasa*. The challenge is to create a seamless transition from the current regime into a parliamentary democracy. Three procedures will prevent that Cuba ends up in a power vacuum or in an economic, social and political chaos. Those are the entry of an international peace-keeping force, the organisation of a donors' Conference and the appointment of a Provisional Government of technocrats, assisted by Advisory Councils. The government guides Cuba according to the methodology of the Strict Progressivity to a full democracy.

3.1. INTERNATIONAL PEACE-KEEPING FORCE accompanies transition

During the collapse of the Communist regime threatens a dual sword of Damocles the national security.

1 ° The extensive manpower of the army, the police and the Secret Service is highly trained and well armed.

When the country becomes more democratic, these people threaten to lose their jobs and privileges. A possible 'conservative' counter-movement has to be neutralized in advance.

2 ° If the security policy relaxes, the danger exists on an major increase in crime.

The solution is the temporary presence of an **International peacekeeping force** under UN flag. These disarms the army, the police and Secret Service. The peacekeeping force maintains order and ensures the safety of the institutions and persons who accompany the transition process, in anticipation that the new security force becomes operational.

3.2. DONOR CONFERENCE

An international aid programme supports Cuba in the implementation of the Future Plan. That is named after the historical leader Jose Marti.

The Provisional Government makes in advance an inventory of the needs and the requirements. A conference under the auspices of the United Nations searches for a maximum fulfilment of this demand.

Cuba needs, more than money, know-how and expertise in channelling the transition process. Recently retired foreign experts can support that process. Cooperation agreements with foreign universities offer also perspectives because Cuba has a high quality education.

3.3. PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT assisted by Advisory Councils

The responsibility in the transitional phase lies with the Provisional Government of technocrats: 'Éminences grises' from home and abroad who make temporarily their know-how available.

They won't play any role in the Cuba of the future.

The Provisional Government has fullness of autonomy and determines the policy. The presidency rotates and is single.

Advisory Councils assist these administrators. Working groups will be established around all themes, in which organizations and individuals can make a substantive contribution.

3.4. Methodology of STRICT PROGRESSIVITY

The transition from the Communist regime to a full democracy will take place through the methodology of Strict Progressivity. These grows from down under: first local and then in the provinces and federal. Political ideas and visions have to mature. And also the people has be be prepared. The communist regime took the past sixty years care of all aspects of everyday life, and judged what was good for its inhabitants. No one was allowed to have an own opinion.

The phased introduction of a democracy from low to high prevents an impending chaos and the danger that the newly acquired freedom will be nipped in the bud.

Proposal of timeline

2019 – the first municipal elections (term of office three years)

2021 – the first provincial elections (five-year term of office)

The provincial councils nominate the representatives of a federal constituent Assembly that prepares the functioning of the future Parliament and the future Government.

2022 – the second municipal elections (five-year term of office)

2023 – the first national elections lead to the installation of the Parliament and Government. At that moment the Provisional Government seizes power. Possibly can a number of key departments temporary remain in the hands of the 'Éminences grises'.

4. Refining the text

In his coherence contains the Future Plan *Cubanon unidos – United Cubans* a global vision. These is situated at a higher level than all the proposals who are formulated so far. This blueprint presents a structural solution for the gigantic problems the post-Communist Cuba will be faced with.

This text is only a design. This Future Plan 1.0 should be further supplemented and refined into a Future Plan 2.0. The challenge is to find around this new plan even before the collapse of the communist regime a broad consensus. Because at that moment an unique momentum is coming up to organize the society on a new base.

Only when all the noses face in the same direction and everyone stands loyal behind the implementation, a society can be realized in which all Cubans, without exceptions, van achieve the highest possible degree of happiness. At that moment can the dream of José Marti become a reality: Cuba as a beacon of hope for the Latin American countries/

Koenraad The Wolf
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