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국제학석사학위논문

**A Comparative Study on  
Determinants of Foreign Policy:  
Cuban Medical Diplomacy and  
Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy**

외교정책 결정요인 비교연구  
: 쿠바 의료외교와 베네수엘라 석유외교

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서울대학교 국제대학원

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**A Comparative Study on  
Determinants of Foreign Policy:  
Cuban Medical Diplomacy and  
Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy**

Thesis Presented by

**Chae Eun Kim**

Graduate Program in International Area Studies  
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**A Comparative Study on**

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**Cuban Medical Diplomacy and Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy**

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## **Abstract**

### **A Comparative Study on Determinants of Foreign Policy: Cuban Medical Diplomacy and Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy**

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International Area Studies Major  
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‘Oil-for-Doctors’ program, implemented between Venezuela and Cuba, has received high attention as one of the representative resource exchange diplomacy. This agreement called for Cuba’s provision of medical resources, including medical professionals, health clinics and among other things, in exchange for Venezuela’s supply of petroleum at fixed number of barrels per day.

Cuba’s medical diplomacy has been praised for furnishing full medical scholarships to ELAM for the young from other countries, offering health care service to developing countries and executing emergency relief in disaster areas in terms of the claim of ‘medical internationalism’ . Venezuela has been implemented its oil diplomacy to promote the Venezuela-based integration of LACs and pursuit the uni-polar system popularizing the anti-Americanism by providing its oil to neighbor countries at preferential price.

The main purpose of the thesis is to examine the determinants of the Cuban medical diplomacy and the Venezuelan oil diplomacy focusing on four variables of Rosenau`s Pre-theory; individual variable, governmental variable, systemic variable and societal variable. I would like to verify how those variables affected the policy-making of both diplomacies by implementing the comparative analysis. Then, the current collapse of Venezuelan oil diplomacy would be examined on why its diplomacy faced crisis whereas Cuban medical diplomacy has been smoothly expanded by analyzing the change of variable.

**Keywords:** Foreign Policy, International Relations, Cuban medical diplomacy, Venezuela oil diplomacy, Pre-theory

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# Table of Contents

<b>Abstract (English)</b> .....	i
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	iii
<b>List of Tables and Figures</b> .....	v
<b>I. Introduction</b> .....	1
<b>II. Background</b> .....	4
2.1 Foreign Policy Analysis and International Relation.....	4
2.2 Cuban Medical Diplomacy.....	7
2.3 Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy.....	11
<b>III. Literature review</b> .....	14
3.1 Cuban Medical Internationalism: Symbolic Capital and Critics.....	14
3.2 Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy: Failure and Limitation .....	17
<b>IV. Analytical framework</b> .....	19
4.1 Research Questions .....	19
4.2 Analytical Framework: Rosenau’s theories.....	20
4.3 Methodology .....	30
<b>V. Research on determinants of Cuban Medical Diplomacy</b> .....	24
5.1 Individual variable.....	24
5.2 Governmental variable .....	26
5.3 Systemic variable .....	32

5.4 Societal variable .....	36
<b>VI. Research on determinants of Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy .....</b>	<b>41</b>
6.1 Individual variable.....	41
6.2 Governmental variable .....	43
6.3 Systemic variable .....	48
6.4 Societal variable .....	50
<b>VII. Comparative Analysis .....</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>VIII. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>Abstract (Korean) .....</b>	<b>73</b>

## List of Tables and Figures

[Table 1] Energy Union by Venezuela's impetus .....	12
[Table 2] Five factors of the Rosenau's Pre-theory .....	20
[Table 3] Rosenau's Pre-theory by Nation Type.....	21
[Table 4] Analysis model .....	23
[Table 5] Organization of Cuban Healthcare system .....	27
[Table 6] Country cooperated with ELAM project .....	31
[Table 7] Social Missions .....	47
[Table 8] Branches of Citizen and Electoral .....	54
[Table 9] Individual variables .....	55
[Table 10] Governmental variables .....	56
[Table 11] Systemic variables .....	58
[Table 12] Societal variables.....	61
[Figure 1] Cuban Health Cooperation by region 2009-2014 .....	8
[Figure 2] Infant mortality rate in Cuba (deaths per 1,000 live births) ..	9
[Figure 3] Venezuela's net oil export revenues 1975-2015 (billion \$) .....	11
[Figure 4] Economic Aid from the Soviet Union 1960-1990(\$ Mil) .....	35
[Figure 5] Oil profit between Oil Company and state .....	44
[Figure 6] The result of votes for Chavez in presidential election (%) ...	51
[Figure 7] Voting Intention by Proximity to Misiones (%) .....	52
[Figure 8] Opinions on Chavez administration of Voters (%) .....	53

# **I. Introduction**

The utilization of resource has been historically changed by the development of technologies and leaders' wisdom for a long time. By doing so, the way how the nations make the best use of the maximum resources has been the vital benefit of specific regions or nations as the uneconomic phenomenon, such as current trend of boundaries being diminished and corporations becoming international, had been accelerated. The question of which nation aggressively develops the resources or how they use the development as a nation's integrated resources linked to the key prerequisite for national advancement across their society, politics and economy.

Diplomacy can be briefly defined as the management of relations between countries, called 'Foreign policy', from state perspective. Besides diplomacy with its perspective is considered a peaceful movement, nonetheless it may occasionally generate conflict and war. In fact the content of diplomacy has been expanded, several terms related to the diplomacy appeared in the perspective of modern diplomacy; resource diplomacy, oil diplomacy, virtual diplomacy, science diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, knowledge diplomacy, etc.

The term 'Resource diplomacy' has become relatively commonplace in recent years. Gary A. Hill described the 'Resource diplomacy' as the politico-economic relationship between producer-governments and consumer-governments with the

function of intermediary by multinational enterprises<sup>1</sup>. In that sense, the resource diplomacy could be considered the all of the activities to secure and access to the resources that the nations desire for the purpose of the nations' economic advancement by using necessary diplomatic means with the various resources such as information, technologies, capital, etc.

In this context, a cooperative relation is able to be established between a state which has the resource and a state which needs the resource. In other words, the transactions that is impossible to be solved as one of the economic problems had been occurred between resource-rich country and the country that needs the resource, as a result, fresh diplomatic ties have been settled in the process of utilizing and coordinating it. The 'Oil-for-Doctors' program implemented between Venezuela and Cuba is one of the proper examples.

After Hugo Chavez was elected Venezuelan president in 1999, and the partnership, which is established as one of the subdivision of the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA), between Venezuela and Cuba was firstly concluded in 2000. The purpose of this first agreement was to strengthen their alliance both politically and economically.

Venezuela and Cuba left a significant legacy in foreign policy history as one of the resource diplomacies. Although the types of their resources of foreign policy

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<sup>1</sup> Hill, G. A. (1975). Resource Diplomacy: The Role of Natural Resources in International Politics (No. TR/A-TR-23). UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN

itself are different, in the aspects of each background, both countries have established similar circumstances for implementing their diplomacy. As Venezuela is known for oil-rich country, oil diplomacy had been strongly practiced with abundant oil resource which was able to secure ample funds as well as to exercise political leverage across Latin America. Around the same time, Cuba began in earnest sending medical professionals to the developing countries, so-called 'Medical Diplomacy', as missionaries for the Cuban internationalism based on numerous health human resources. Besides both countries have powerful leaders with similar ideology which penetrates coessential philosophy, and same political enemy, United States which imposed economic sanction on both countries.

For such backgrounds of the diplomacy, Cuban medical diplomacy and Venezuelan oil diplomacy have been focused in terms of the waning influence on international relation. But while Cuban medical diplomacy has taken off in a big way, Venezuelan oil diplomacy crumbled under the economic crisis in the long run. The next section will focus on explaining the foreign policy theories to analyze the roots of both diplomacies. Then overall drift of Cuban medical diplomacy and Venezuelan oil diplomacy will be interpreted.

## II. Backgrounds

### 2.1 Foreign Policy Analysis and International Relations

All theoretical discipline has a 'ground' which stands for the conceptualization of fundamental and elementary level at which phenomenon occurs in the fields of study. As International relations (IR) has also ground, it forms the ground in solely and collectively acting decision-maker between nations or beyond nations. In a way IR shares equal ground with social sciences<sup>2</sup>.

The development of foreign policy analysis (FPA) in the field of IR would be classified into three major phases. In the first period, from mid-1950s to mid-1960s, simplified nature of foreign policy interpreted by realistic view began to appear. As there is a room for discussion, it is clear that the three pioneering work have solidified the foundation of analysis on foreign policy; *Decision Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics* (1954) written by Richard C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck and B. Sapin; *Pre-Theories and Theories of Foreign Policy*(1964)written by James N. Rosenau; *Man-Milieu Relationship Hypotheses in the Context of International Politics*(1956) written by Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout.

Snyder, Bruck and Sapin introduced decision-making as a methodology to the

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<sup>2</sup>Hudson, V. M. (2005). Foreign policy analysis: actor-specific theory and the ground of international relations. *Foreign policy analysis*, 1(1). p.1

study of both political phenomenon and, especially, analysis of international politics. They argued that interpretation and preference of policymakers integrated in the decision-making would outline what governments selected. The work of Snyder and his colleagues stimulated other scholars to study on the actors which are located under the nation-state level in more depth. According their assertion, decision-making is depicted as ‘group behavior’ that is considered a fundamental determinant of various actors’ motivation, flow of communication and information, and competition area of related-actors.

Pre-theory of James Rosenau laid the foundation for generalization of supranational application of nation-state’s foreign policy behavior in a systematic way. He emphasized the need of integration of diverse levels of analysis from individual leaders to international system. Rosenau referred, ‘the best way to indicate exactly what a pre-theory of foreign policy involves is to outline the main ingredients of pre-theory and then indicate how the author has integrated these ingredients into his own particular pre-theory<sup>3</sup>’.

Harold and Margaret Sprout indicated that understanding output of foreign policy related to analysis on the level of interstate system without considering implementation of foreign policy associated with strategy, determination, and intention was misguided<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Rosenau, J. N. (1980). *The scientific study of foreign policy*. Nichols Pub Co.

<sup>4</sup> Hudson, V. M., & Vore, C. S. (1995). *Foreign policy analysis yesterday, today, and tomorrow*.

The three theoretical cornerstones have highly influenced on analyzing foreign policy behavior. Arguments summarized by those scholars are highlighted as follows.

- *Knowledge about the particularities of the people making foreign policy decisions is critical to understanding the nature of these choices.*
- *Information about these particularities needs to be incorporated as instances of larger categories of variation in the process of building cross-national, middle-range theory*
- *Multiple levels of analysis, ranging from the most micro to the macro, should be integrated in the service of such theory building*
- *Concepts and theories from all the social sciences can contribute to this theory-building endeavor*
- *Understanding the foreign policy-making process is at least as important, if not more important, than understanding foreign policy outputs.*

*Valerie M. Hudson and Christopher S. Vore(1995)<sup>5</sup>*

From the late 1960s until the early 1970s, explicit methodology, Comparative Foreign Policy (CFP), has engaged academy's attention. However, soon the interest towards CFP approach has diminished and multifarious methodologies has been emerged since the early 1970. Currently the main stream of studying foreign policy can be characterized into five methodologies; middle-range theory, case studies, international relations theory, comparative foreign policy theory and domestic politics perspective<sup>6</sup>.

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Mershon International Studies Review, 39(Supplement 2). p. 213.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 214.

<sup>6</sup> Steve Smith. 1987. "Foreign Policy Analysis and International Relations". Millennium: Journal of International Studies, Vol. 16, No.2. p.346.

## **2.2 Cuban Medical Diplomacy**

As Ebola emergency had devastated West Africa, the international community has implemented humanitarian effort to support the victims. At that time, though United States have sent 4,000 troops for planning to build field hospitals, World Health Organization (WHO) pointed that the most urgently need is medical workforce to provision health service for victims. Nonetheless the major part of the support by United States and other developed countries was funding, Cuba sent the largest number of medical workers in the world to the field to fight the epidemic.

It is not the first that Cuba has played a significant role in medical relief. The Cuban history of humanitarian relief goes back to the moment of the Cuban Revolution which was upraised in 1959. Che Guevara, a member of guerrilla fighters in the Cuban Revolution, dreamed that all medical workers would make the full use of the knowledge of their medical service of the revolution and the people. It was the backbone of the Cuban Medical Diplomacy. In the aftermath of the earthquake of 2010 in Haiti, Cuba has provided the largest medical expeditionary force and, besides covered 40% of the victims. Besides, Cuba tried to offer health contingent and medical supplies even to United States in 2005. Hurricane Katrina that has caused the deaths of nearly 1,300 peoples and the damages of over 200 billion dollars attacked the southern United States. In response to the Hurricane Katrina, Cuba suggested providing 1,586 medical staffs and 36 tons of medical

supplies to United States<sup>7</sup>, but the White House refused the suggestion.

For decades Cuba has exported medical professionals not only to the developing countries but also to the developed countries, and has dramatically expanded its mission of internationalism and humanitarianism. There are currently nearly 50 thousands Cuban health workers carrying out internationalism in nearly 60 developing countries.

**Figure 1 - Cuban Health Cooperation by region 2009-2014**

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
America	31	25	24	26	25	25
Africa and Sub-Saharan	0	30	29	29	29	30
Middle East and North Africa	3	3	3	3	2	2
Eastern Asia and Pacific	8	8	8	7	8	9
Middle Europe and East Europe	4	2	2	1	1	1

Source: BVSCUBA & MEDICC Review (2015)

Table 1 shows the number of regions with Cuban Health Cooperation from 2009 to 2014. Despite the US trade sanction that has kept Cuba in political and economic difficulty over the past five decades, Cuba has wielded medical leverage on other countries by establishing cooperative ties based on its medical resources.

Cuban medical internationalism programs are able to be classified into two categories; short period of emergency relief, and healthcare support for long periods of time. As mentioned above, the emergency relief for short period of time was

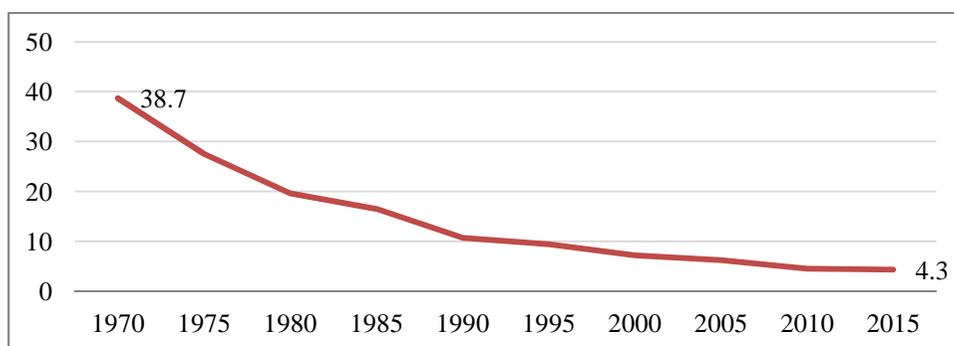
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<sup>7</sup> Huish, R. (2014). Why does Cuba 'care' so much? Understanding the epistemology of solidarity in global health outreach. *Public Health Ethics*, 7(3), p.77.

firstly begun implementing by sending medical workers to Chile in 1960 due to the earthquake. From the dispatch in Chile, Cuban medical program had been expanded to numerous disasters, by doing so, in response to the sustainable and effective medical program, Fidel Castro finally made a decision of establishing the Latin American School of Medicine (ELAM).

ELAM is considered a symbol of humanitarian medical education. It invites thousands of young people from the globe with providing full scholarship and, turned out many well-trained students after completed an intense six-year curriculum. Clearly, Cuba has continuously established and modified the healthcare system that supports its proactive global health cooperation. The revision of the healthcare system has achieved remarkable results in Cuban healthcare sectors. Cuba has kept the low infant mortality rate; 4.3 deaths per thousand live births was recorded in 2015. It has dramatically decreased from 38.7 deaths per a thousand live births in 1970 to 4.3 in 2015 as follows.

**Figure 2 - Infant mortality rate in Cuba (deaths per 1,000 live births)**



Source: Anuario Estadístico de Salud, Cuba (2015)

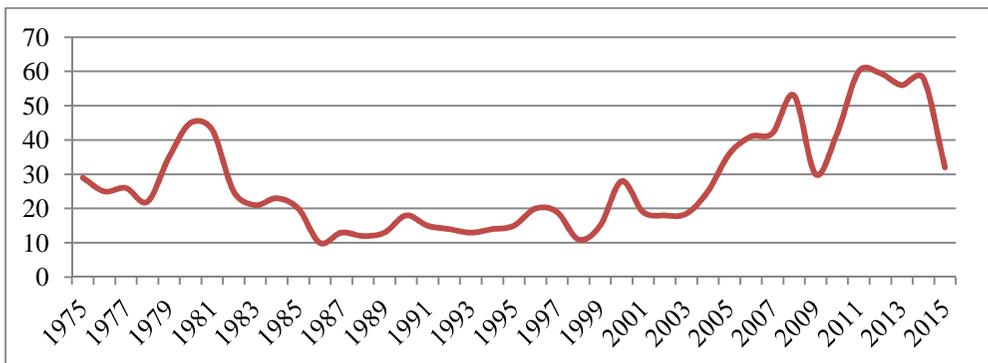
According to the premature neonatal, neonatal, and post neonatal of Cuba, mortality presents continuous diminution as time goes by. In addition, Cuba ranked first place on the maternal mortality per 100,000 in the world. Based on the astonishing accomplishments in healthcare sector, Cuba has launched five special cooperation initiatives since 2000. First program is a joint project to focus on HIV-AIDS in 19 countries by sending medical professionals, a stock of anti-retroviral drugs and diagnostic equipment. The second makes a major agreement with Venezuela such as 'Barrio Adentro' and 'Operación Milagro'. The 'Henry Reeve Emergency Medical Contingent', the third initiative, was established as a prompt response to be dispatched to disaster areas within 24 hours. The fourth was a program, 'Psycho-pedagogical, Social and Clinical-Genetic Study of Disabled People', carried out in Cuba, later implemented in Venezuela, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Bolivia and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. Last initiative, called '*Mais Medicos para Brasil* through PAHO/WHO', was signed between the government of Brazil and Cuba. In addition Cuba has played a more proactive role in formulating trilateral collaboration that a third country or agency offers resources for Cuban health service between Cuba and another country.

As such, Cuban medical diplomacy could have implemented based on the solid domestic healthcare system. Indeed, it has been the cornerstone in the history of Cuban foreign policy. There have been advocacies and critics on the Cuban medical diplomacy for decades. I will go into details in the section after next.

## 2.3 Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy

Venezuela is a country well known for one of the world's largest oil reserves, and is one of the top-ten producing countries of crude oil. As the heavy oil belt, called Faja Petrolifera del Orinoco (FPO), has verified as a largest oil deposits in the world, it contains an estimated 270 billion barrels of oil that was able beat out Saudi Arabia in 2011 which was leading oil reserves in the world. Oil was called 'instrument of national development' by Hugo Chavez, the former President of Venezuela, as well as the pillar of the Venezuela's foreign policy. Chavez administration has utilized oil revenues on not only governing the nation but also wielding huge influence among Latin America, both internally and externally. High oil prices in the 2000s, as shown the Venezuela's net oil export revenues as follows in Figure 3, were the one of the major driving force for the successes of the oil diplomacy.

**Figure 3 - Venezuela's net oil export revenues 1975-2015 (billion \$)**



Source: OPEC Revenues Fact Sheet by U.S. Energy Information Administration (2016)

One of the representative foreign policy under Chavez administration is to take advantage of oil profit to establish partnerships that endeavor to resist the imperialism of the United States. These partnerships and alliances stimulated the formation of energy integration among Latin America. The integration has been the backbone of being included in Chavez’s ‘Energy Union’ as one of the Bolivarian revolution.

**Table 1 – Energy Union by Venezuela’s impetus**

<b>Petrosur</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cooperation development of Venezuelan Orinoco Belt</li> <li>- Development of natural gas and oil in Argentina</li> <li>- Establishment of oil refiner complex in Brazil</li> <li>- Cooperation project of connection of gas pipe among 3countries</li> <li>* Member countries : Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Venezuela</li> </ul>
<b>Petrocaribe</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Supply annually 20 mil oil to Caribbean countries at global rate</li> <li>- Caribbean countries pay 60% of purchase, rest of it paid for spot of cash at 1% of interest rate</li> <li>- Establishment of ALBA-Caribe for social development for Caribbean countries by Venezuela</li> <li>* Member countries : 18 Caribbean countries</li> </ul>
<b>Petorandino</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Promotion of strategic solidarity in oil and energy</li> <li>* Member countries : Andean Community of Nations</li> </ul>

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Venezuela

In the early 2000s, Venezuela began carrying out a foreign policy plan that contained petroleum as a tool of aid for Venezuela’s neighbor countries. The Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA) is an alliance founded against U.S. imperialism and neoliberal agenda. The Oil-for-Doctors program, partnership between Cuba and Venezuela, practically encouraged the launch of ALBA. In

addition, Petroamerica (PTA) initiative was put forward by Venezuelan government to form energy integration among the Latin America and Caribe within the framework of ALBA. Venezuela offers nearly millions barrels a day of oil to Latin America and Caribe on preferential prices.

Venezuela's foreign policy based on oil revenue has been expressed such as 'petropolitics', 'oil diplomacy', 'oil-based diplomacy', 'petro dollar diplomacy' and Venezuelan 'dollar diplomacy'<sup>8</sup>. Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy has been utilized as a competent weapon that enables Venezuela to lay the foundation for strong barrier of Chavismo's Bolivarianism.

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<sup>8</sup> Poertner, M. (2011). Venezuelan oil diplomacy and voting in the UN General Assembly. *Journal of International Service*, 20(1), <http://www.american.edu/sis/jis/upload/6Poertner.pdf>

### **III. Literature review**

#### **3.1 Cuban Medical Internationalism: Symbolic Politics and Critics**

Cuba's Medical Internationalism has highly been estimated in the past twenty years among several authors. Julie Fensilver has researched Cuban medical diplomacy and medical internationalism in depth of examination by writing several articles as well as a book called 'Healing the Masses: Cuban Health Politics at Home and Abroad'. In addition other scholars, such as Robert Huish, John M. Kirk, Michael Erisman, Sarah A. Blue, have researched extensively it in aspects of success, failure and limitation of Cuban medical diplomacy.

Julie M.Fensilver defines 'Medical diplomacy' as collaboration between countries to enhance partnerships and to yield health benefits in terms of a formation of soft power. She argued that Cuba acquired what she coined 'symbolic capital' which is regarded as prestige, good will, and influence for developing countries, and 'material capital' which includes aid, credit, and trade in the international society<sup>9</sup>.

For more detailed discussion, she presented three reasons for why Cuba began conducting medical diplomacy in spite of its domestic economic difficulties; First,

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<sup>9</sup> Feinsilver, J. M. (2008). Oil-for-doctors: Cuban medical diplomacy gets a little help from a Venezuelan friend. *Nueva Sociedad*, 216, p.273

the revolutionary government had received huge assistance from other nations in the period of the revolution, therefore Cuba should give back the support to international society by means of implementing medical diplomacy as a humanitarian contribution. Second, Cuba carried out its medical diplomacy as an instrument of soft diplomacy. Lastly, Cuban medical diplomacy is a the only method of obtaining symbolic image, including prestige, good will, and influence, as one of the countries which is on hostile relations with United States.

Robert Huish defined Cuban medical internationalism as solidarity. He appraised that the very nature of its medical internationalism is that the normative ethics of the projects are not included into a framework of charitable aid which is regarded as top-down action of collaboration with power<sup>10</sup>. As mentioned before, he suggested it is profoundly grounded in a conceptualization of ‘solidarity’ rather than direct ‘aid’ of which the main framework is mainly based on responsibility, charity and altruism.

He also claimed that the effects of Cuba’s medical internationalism can be divided into three categories in terms of the framework of solidarity; solidarity remuneration, solidarity bartering, and long-term solidarity investment.

John M. Kirk is also one of the scholars that agreed that Cuban medical internationalism regarded its health approach as an egalitarian framework. He

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<sup>10</sup> Huish, R. (2014). Why does Cuba ‘care’ so much? Understanding the epistemology of solidarity in global health outreach. *Public Health Ethics*, 7(3), p.8.

valued highly the existence of the Latin American School of Medicine (ELAM) which demonstrates the Cuban philosophy.

In contrast, some scholars disagree with the above-mentioned argument by criticizing the method Cuba has implemented its health-care diplomacy as a business of humanitarianism.

Sarah A. Blue gave a credit for the value of Cuban medical internationalism, however, also focused on the paradoxical impacts on Cuban domestic impacts, such as devalued salaries of health workers as well as the disadvantage of dual economy in Cuba. She highlighted that economic earning for both the government and Cuban health workers whose shortage of access to hard currency in a dual economy stimulates them to find it out abroad<sup>11</sup>. Maria C. Werlau agreed the idea of Sarah citing proclaim of a Cuban doctor, 'We are the highest qualified slave-labor force in the world<sup>12</sup>'. In addition she emphasized that Cuba officially began debating the revenues of medical internationalism in the context of the significance to their domestic economy, and argued Cuba has to focus on its own internal contradictions.

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<sup>11</sup> Blue, S. A. (2010). Cuban medical internationalism: Domestic and international impacts. *Journal of Latin American Geography*, 9(1), p.45.

<sup>12</sup> Werlau, M. C. (2013). Cuba's health-care diplomacy: the business of humanitarianism. *World Affairs*,

### **3.2 Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy: Failure and Limitation**

Some scholars see Venezuelan foreign policy, called 'oil diplomacy' as well, under the Chavez government had been formed in pursuit of establishing international solidarity with the conflicted poverty and pushed for uni-polar domination. In contrast Venezuelan oil diplomacy has been also criticized for militaristic, inconsistent, and prejudicial to national stability.

According to Javier Corrales, Chavez administration has demonstrated its incompetence in two areas; the domestic oil crisis and splitting potential allies. He pointed two principal elements for decrease of oil productivity in Venezuela; first is to prefer loyalists more than experts, and second is to prefer state-owned company over private oil corporations. In addition, Javier criticized that Chavez demonstrated himself incongruity not only in economic management but also in diplomatic order. Considering several diplomatic problems, such as 'Mision Milagro' which was regarded as medical malpractice under the cooperation with Peru, supporting specific candidates in Mexican and Peruvian presidential election, and 'maletgate' which is a detection at a Buenos Aires airport of passengers that regarded as a cash transfer from Venezuela government to electoral campaign<sup>13</sup>, it is unquestionable that Chavez was worst-positioned players in the international world.

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<sup>13</sup> Corrales, J. (2009). Using social power to balance soft power: Venezuela's foreign policy. *The Washington Quarterly*, 32(4), p.108

Adam Cott argued that Chavez government has implemented misguided economic and political policies with the corrosion of state-owned oil firm by demonstrating that the resource curse is not the reason of national instability but is an outcome of structural problem. Author emphasized that the deterioration of major state-owned oil company has gone through 'brain drain' and its inefficient management and debt would threaten the Venezuela's oil productivity as well as its growth.

## **IV. Analytical framework**

### **4.1 Research Questions**

In the previous section, the backgrounds and the purpose of the thesis has been explained. The main objective of this thesis is to comparatively analyze the determinants of implementing the Cuban Medical Diplomacy and the Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy. In order to do so, three research questions would be presented to bring the scope of the thesis into focus.

#### **- Research Question 1**

Why were the Cuban Medical Diplomacy and the Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy able to be implemented as a weapon or tool of their nation's strategy?

#### **- Research Question 2**

What are the factors that have placed the Medical Diplomacy and Oil Diplomacy at the nation's major foreign policy in Cuba and Venezuela?

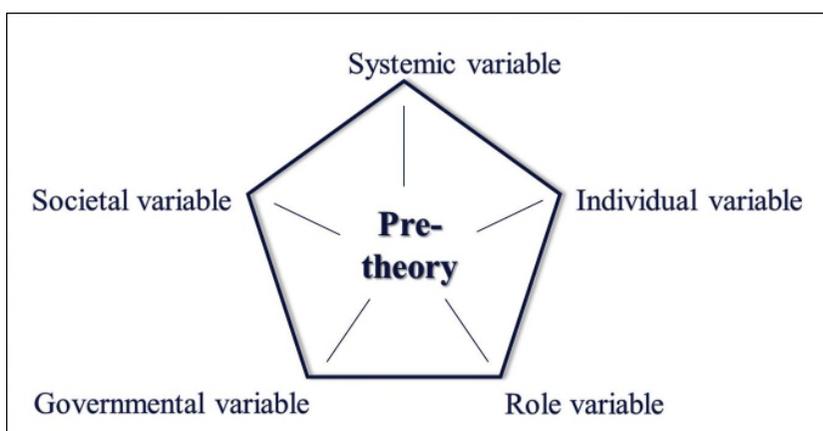
#### **- Research Question 3**

And to conclude, Chavez's oil diplomacy at this point in time was considered aborted diplomacy whereas Castro's medical diplomacy has been amicably implementing so far. How these changes of variables did make the Venezuelan oil diplomacy being collapsed vis-à-vis the Cuban Medical Diplomacy?

## 4.2 Analytical Framework: Rosenau's theories

Rosenau has contributed to theorize the foreign policy in an attempt to link between external and internal circumstance of foreign policy by introducing several variables and proposing the way of integrating the variables. He categorized potential forces of foreign policy into five clusters as follows in table 2.

**Table 2 – Five factors of the Rosenau's Pre-theory**



Source: Produced by Author

First, Individual variable refers to the characteristics of person that involved in decision-making in a country. It includes all aspects of decision-maker such as belief, values, talent, experience and background, which refer to the unique characteristics of decision-maker that determines the direction of foreign policy. As such, it emphasizes the inherent values, talents and prior experience of decision-maker. The core of the individual variable is to analyze to what extent and by which means has influenced on decision-making of foreign policy. The role variable is

explained as “the external behavior of the officials that is generated by the roles they occupy and that would be likely to occur irrespective of the individual characteristics of the role occupants<sup>14</sup>”. Aside from the peculiarity of the decision-maker, they should act considering the ‘role’ they have formulated their position. As for governmental variable, it reflects “a government’s structure that limit or enhance the foreign policy choices made by decision-makers<sup>15</sup>. In one word, policy-maker use governmental variable in order to achieve specific objectives in its foreign policies. The fourth factor, systemic variable, “includes any nonhuman aspects of a society’s external environment or any actions occurring abroad that condition or otherwise influence the choices made by its officials”<sup>16</sup>. It would be affected by the characteristics of international system and the way global actors behave. Last variable is comprised of the non-governmental aspects of society that affects its external behavior.

**Table 3 – Rosenau’s Pre-theory by Nation Type**

Geography and physical resources	Large Country				Small Country			
	Developed		Underdeveloped		Developed		Underdeveloped	
State of the economy	Open	Closed	Open	Closed	Open	Closed	Open	Closed
State of the politics	Role	Role	Individual	Individual	Role	Role	Individual	Individual
	Societal	Individual	Role	Role	Systemic	Systemic	Systemic	Systemic
	Governmental	Governmental	Societal	Governmental	Societal	Individual	Role	Role
	Systemic	Systemic	Systemic	Systemic	Governmental	Governmental	Societal	Governmental
Rankings of the variables	Individual	Societal	Governmental	Societal	Individual	Societal	Governmental	Societal
	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	India	Red China	Holland	Czechoslovakia	Kenya	Ghana
Illustrative examples								

Source: Rosenau James N. ‘The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy’, P.113.

<sup>14</sup> Rosenau, J. N. (2006). The Study of World Politics: volume 1: theoretical and methodological challenges. Routledge, p.172

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 173.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 173.

According to the Table 3, Rosenau argued that countries are able to be categorized by geographic size, level of economy, and political system. As arise 8 types of nations from the variables, he suggested that foreign policy making would stem from at various levels of analysis for each nation type. In addition, Rosenau distinguished four types of foreign policy. He rearranged the independent variables that influence the foreign policy as three elements, which are environmental, structural, and leadership, and categorized four types of policy, such as preservative adaptation, promotive adaptation, intransigent adaptation, and acquiescent adaptation.

This paper analyzes Cuban medical diplomacy and Venezuelan oil diplomacy focusing on the basis of four variables in consideration of the distinct of those resource diplomacies; individual variable, governmental variable, societal variable, and systemic variable. Although Rosenau's theory has been criticized for its limitation of significance, it offers relatively precise guidelines within the variables. As both diplomacies were determined by various elements including not only internal and external environment but also policy-makers, these inter-connective elements would be suitable for comparatively analyzing and explaining the diplomacies assigning to four categories.

### 4.3 Methodology

**Table 4 – Analysis model**



Source: Produced by Author

The research questions will be responded through qualitative research on the basis of previous works, articles, etc. This thesis of the methodology will concentrate on the theoretical framework which contains the Rosenau's Pre-theory with the four major variables. Cuban Medical Diplomacy and Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy will be respectively analyzed based on the four variables. Then, those variables will be comparatively examined in terms of the disparate result of the diplomacies. In conclusion, it will be focused on examining the changes in the variables at this moment in order to find which variable roundly influenced on its diplomacy.

## **V. Research on determinants of Cuban Medical Diplomacy**

### **5.1 Individual variable**

#### **5.1.1 Ideology of the Cuban Revolution**

According to the Cuban specialist, most of them have endorsed that Cuban ideology stems from organic interrelationship along with the Cuba Revolution. Valdes Nelson(1975) noted that the ideology of Revolution was widely initiated with “Martiano” perspective<sup>17</sup>.

“Martiano” stems from the Jose Marti’s ideology which shaped revolution’s principle ideology. He is inspirer and organizer of the Cuban revolution, and underlined both altruism and voluntarism. What he hoped for Cuba before the revolution was to transform Cuba into a republic of social equilibrium.<sup>18</sup>

At first, the driving force of Revolution from Cuban citizen is based on ‘salvation’ as predilection. The objectives of the 26<sup>th</sup> Movement was to save the country and Patria. Independence and sovereignty, considered as worldwide standard guideline of the present nations, are unequivocally associated with the 20th

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<sup>17</sup> Valdés, N. P., & Nelson, P. (1975). Ideological roots of the Cuban revolutionary movement (No. 15). Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Glasgow.

<sup>18</sup> Rodríguez, C. R. (1953). José Martí and Cuban Liberation. New York: International Publishers.

century's independence conflicts and instructor including Jose Marti. Given Kapcia (1997) pointed out that it was supported by the conception of national salvation which is the strong purpose of the revolutionists.<sup>19</sup> The complimentary healthcare and education system was originated from the principle goal called 'saving nation and lives' by revolutionists.

Secondly, the notion of salvation is adapted into redesigning of the revolution functioning as Bolivarian alliance with Venezuela. Delivering Patria has currently converted to extricating Latin America from imperialism against United States, as demonstrated by standing the sculpture of Jose Marti in Havana. Commencing identifying Bolivar and Marti in Latin America, the image of two leaders, Cuba and Venezuela, have been delineated as being the packmen of contemporary obligation. As such, the propaganda has spread across the Latin America and its perspective has abundantly deeply affected on Cuban education.

### **5.1.2 Military Leader**

Fidel Castro was not a person whose ideology was based on communism at the first time. He joined the 'Partido Ortodoxo' which was an anti-communist political party in Cuba in 1947, and soon, was inspired by the work of Karl Marx. In

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<sup>19</sup> Kapcia, A. (1997). *Ideology and the Cuban Revolution: Myth Icon, Identity. Ideologues and Ideologies in Latin America*, London, Greenwood.

response to the Batista dictatorship, he and his political colleagues, who were former member of the Partido Ortodoxo, established an organization, called ‘Movimiento (The Movement)’, in order to plot a revolt. However, his grand plan failed and continued to guerrilla war against Batista regime. In 1959 Castro had victoriously concluded his guerrilla campaign to acquire the control of Cuba.

Cuba was the only communist government capable of allocating troops overseas and accomplishing its purposes on the battleground. In addition Castro government has supported revolutionary movements for other nations<sup>20</sup>. Its objectives were not only to counter U.S. as military competition but also to propagate its revolutionary ideology.

## **5.2 Governmental variable**

### **5.2.1 Reform of the National Health System**

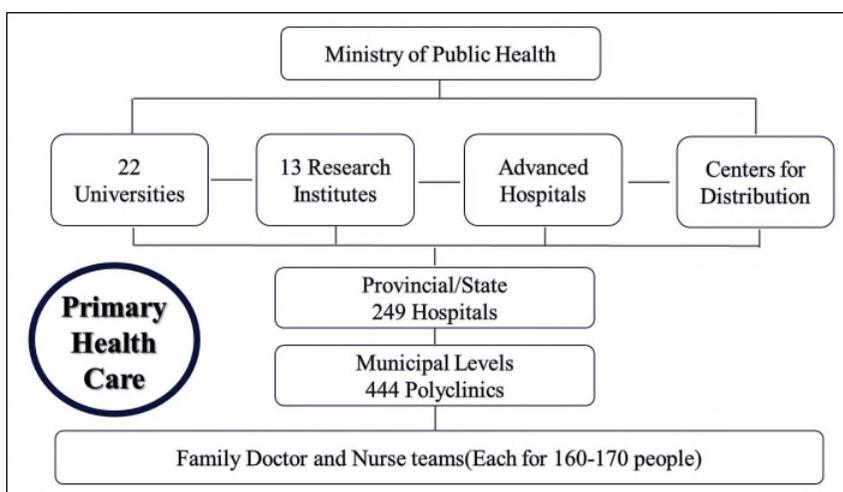
In response to the ideology of Cuban Revolution, Castro government began building an integrated National Health System (NHS) in the 1960s. According to Feinsilver, The health-sector reform has grown firm roots on the basis of three aspects: (1) the revolutionaries’ experience of miserable poverty of agrarian population and their supply of medical care service for them, (2) the case of

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<sup>20</sup> Domínguez, J. I., Tulchin, J. S., & Espach, R. H. (2001). Cuban Foreign Policy and the International System. Latin America in the New International System.

reciprocal aid societies that furnished prepaid medicine to their members; and (3) large numbers of the doctors' advocacy of social medicine<sup>21</sup>.

**Table 5 – Organization of Cuban Healthcare system**



Source: Vice Ministry for Education & Research, Cuban Ministry of Public Health (MINSAP), 2010

Cuba's NHS consists of three tiers: township, state, and national. The Ministry of Public Health, the highest authorization in national level of public health, controls over the state and municipal health departments, universities, research institutes, advanced hospitals, medical distribution centers and other adjuncts<sup>22</sup>. It is responsible for distributing medical supplies, training workforce, researching and developing medical technologies through the affiliated organizations. Thereby,

<sup>21</sup> Mason, S. E., Strug, D. L., & Beder, J. (Eds.). (2010). Community health care in Cuba. Chicago, IL: Lyceum Books. p.29

<sup>22</sup> Whiteford, L. M., & Branch, L. G. (2007). Primary health care in Cuba: the other revolution. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, p.42

Cuban people can receive three steps of health care services. As Cuban model of service delivery depends on a referral system, the first step embarks on the Family Doctor Program. The program provides a family-medicine team, called Basic Health Team (BHT), for approximately 120 to 150 families with a comprehensive family-medicine consultation approach in the community level. The second step represents the health service provided by polyclinics, nursing home, home for at-risk women, and other medical centers at the municipal level. Lastly the final step offers hospital-based care with an emphasis on the high-advanced medical treatment at the provincial level.

As the Rural Medical Service (RMS) began to be implemented, Rural Health Service Centers were established in January 1960 and it transformed into the polyclinics in 1963. Polyclinics, charged with implementing ambulatory care at municipal level and comprised of general practice physician, nurse, gynecologist, obstetrician, pediatrician, and social workers, performed provision of medical service for child care centers, workplaces, and residents<sup>23</sup>. Besides a statistics information system was firstly shaped to assess the effectiveness of the polyclinics' activities.<sup>24</sup> As more and more limitations had been generated on the function of the polyclinic, the system of polyclinic has also been developed and advanced during the next three decades.

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>24</sup> Novás, J. D., & Sacasas, J. A. F. (2004). From municipal polyclinics to family doctor-and-nurse teams. Cuban Medical Research.

The health-care system reform was one part of the enormous social conversions including universal social security, certified food ration, minimum cost housing, universal free education, and so on<sup>25</sup>.

### **5.2.2 Primary Health Care system**

According to the Declaration of Alma-Ata, “Primary health care is essential health care based on practical, scientifically sound and socially acceptable methods and technology made universally accessible to individuals in the community through their full participation<sup>26</sup>”. As WHO has emphasized on the importance of primary health care system, Cuba has been recognized as the most successful country in primary health care system.

The Family Doctor Program (MEF), first pillar of the NHS, officially began in 1984. It was called ‘Basic Health Team (BHT) which is consists of family physician-nurse teams that has provided primary health care service at community level with emphasis on a continuous patient observation to monitor and prevent disease and mortality. Group Health Team (GHT) was organized to support the BHT, and they consist of nurse, gynaco-obstetrician, geriatrician, pediatrician, psychiatrist and social workers as a team. In essence, considering the Cuban PHC model, MEF

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<sup>25</sup> Feinsilver, J. M. (2003). Overview of the Cuban Health System. The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, Politics, p.25

<sup>26</sup> World Health Organization. (1978). The Declaration of Alma-Ata: Primary Health Care is the Key to Health for All. Geneva: World Health Organization/UNICEF

take charge of surveillance, coverage and access.

### **5.2.3 Establishment of the ELAM**

One reason for the success of the human resource-based Primary Health Care as well as the backbone of the Cuba's health diplomacy could be proceed from the securement of the stably educated workforce offered by the Latin American School of Medicine (Escuela Latinoamericana de Medicina, ELAM). The ELAM has played a pivotal role in capacity building of medical personnel with an emphasis on not only technical training but also cultivating moral virtue, medical internationalism.

The ELAM project was initiated by the idea of Fidel Castro as one of the policies known as the Integral Health Plan for Central America and the Caribbean (Programa Integral de Salud, PIS) in November 1999. The project converted Granma naval academy into a medical school and launched first course with 1,933 students from 18 countries. Cuban government has invited thousands of students who have difficulties accessing medical education due to the economic reason with full scholarship every year. Furthermore one of the remarkable aspects is that ELAM allowed 10 students from United States in 2001 as one of the remedies for

relieving the sanction of the US embargo<sup>27</sup>. Given that the ELAM has accepted the students who come from Africa, Latin America, Caribbean, and Asia, according to the report in 2013, the number of the students' country of origin totaled 113.

The requirement for applying ELAM needs 4 basic elements: 1) from a low-income or underserved community, 2) between 18 and 25 years-old at time of application, 3) high school graduates or bachelor degree, 4) pass admission tests. Cuban government covers not only the tuition fee but also living cost such as dormitory, uniforms, textbooks, 100 pesos for each student as basic expenditure, etc. The curriculum is designed to six-year program, and after completed whole semesters students must voluntarily work in an impoverished place of their nation for one year. By doing so, Cuban government has implemented empowering the social accountability which is the root of the Cuban medical internationalism.

**Table 6 – Country cooperated with ELAM project**

Country	Established Year
Yemen	1976
Guyana	1984
Ethiopia	1984
Uganda	1986
Ghana	1997
The Gambia	2000
Equatorial Guinea	2000
Haiti	2001
Guinea Bissau	2004
Venezuela	2007

Source: Vice Ministry for Education & Research, Cuban Ministry of Public Health

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<sup>27</sup> Jorge C. Rios. (2016). When Demand Exceeds Supply: A Story of Caribbean Private Medical Education. MD FACC FACP. Xlibris,

The impact of the ELAM project was able to be recognized around the globe, and then it spontaneously reached to other developing countries to share sustainable method. Cuba's public health goals contributed to establishment of medical schools in several countries such as Yemen, Guyana, etc. Hugo Chavez, and Fidel Castro signed an agreement with response to the build-up of 'humanist' physicians.

## **5.3 Systemic variable**

### **5.3.1 U.S. embargo against Cuba**

Castro government has faced global hurdles since he decided to nationalize assets of United States in Cuba territory as called 'final independence of Cuba'. At that moment Cuba's government has been able to obtain approximately 4 billion dollars of assets whereas the major amount of foreign investment has been evacuated along with severance of diplomatic relation with U.S. that removed military supplies and economic aid from Cuba. In 1961 President Eisenhower cut the ties with Cuba through the issue of the Trading with the Enemy Act (TWEA) that permitted the U.S. president to force economic sanctions targeting a country which is hostile to U.S. during the period of war. Then, President Kennedy in 1962 subsequently signed a proclamation which banned the importation of all goods from Cuba into the U.S.

The Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) was

authorized by the Cuban Assets Controls Regulations (CACR) for issuing the specific regulations to carry the sanction into effect. The Treasury Department was also authorized to impose penalties to U.S. citizens up to 50,000 dollars for noncompliance with the Cuba<sup>28</sup>. U.S. congress passed the Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement Act to permit U.S. corporations to export agricultural and medical products to Cuba under the limited exceptions<sup>29</sup>. In addition U.S. specifically issued the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act and the 1996 Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act to strengthen the sanctions.

The aftermath of U.S. embargo could not only withhold the access to U.S. market but also interrupt Cuba's trade with other countries. In other words, U.S. had disturbed the Cuba's environment of trade by adopting various measures; severs Cuban approach to international financial organizations; forbids Cuban research institutes from the purchase of equipments made by U.S. corporations or their foreign affiliates; bans traveling to Cuba for U.S. citizens; interferes the cultural and scientific exchanges between Cuba and the third countries; forbids U.S. dollar transactions between Cuba and other countries in non-Cuban territory.

To sum up, the U.S. economic sanctions are extra-territorial in two major

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<sup>28</sup> Clark, H. L. (1999). Dealing with US Extraterritorial Sanctions and Foreign Countermeasures. U. pa. J. int'l econ. L., 20, p.64

<sup>29</sup> Gordon, J. (2012). The US embargo against Cuba and the diplomatic challenges to Extraterritoriality. Fletcher F. World Aff., 36, 63. p.64

aspects. First, the sanctions against Cuba prevented foreign companies run by U.S. citizens from taking a business with Cuba. Second, the specific regulations for sanctions prohibited foreign people from exporting goods that are of U.S. origin or that include components of U.S.

### **5.3.2 Collapse of the Soviet Union**

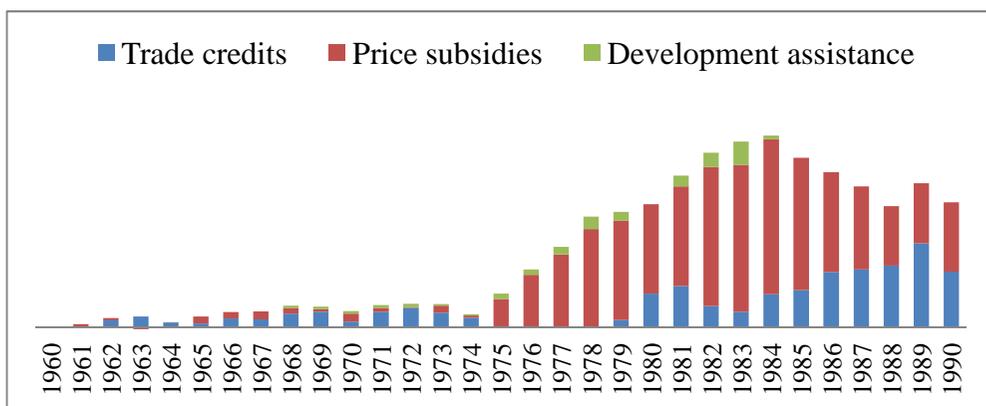
Castro government has established profound diplomatic ties with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) since Deputy Premier Anastasias Mikoyan of USSR visited the Havana in February 1960 to sign a USSR-Cuba trade agreement firstly after the Cuban Revolution. As Cuban economy deeply depends on sugar export, the USSR decided to purchase over 2.7 million tons of Cuban sugar based on the agreement in 1960. In addition USSR also started supplying oil, then, the first shipment of USSR entered to the Cuba with oil in exchange for Cuban products in April 1960.

Soviet Union accounts for over 80 percent of Cuba's exportation for approximately three decades as the major supplier of oil, equipment, food, and other vital resources. USSR has offered favorable exchange rate on Cuban sugar in exchange for its oil as Moscow supplied oil at low cost. It has been estimated at nearly 5 billion a year, and USSR has annually purchased over 5.5 million tons of

Cuban sugar.

Though the Cuban revolution had been successfully institutionalized, their economic policy making has faced the failure in terms of the sugar harvest for the decade of the 1970s. The crucial failure in economic policy shifts led Cuban government to move toward an economic integration with the East European Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA)<sup>30</sup>. The decision for integration into CMEA forced Cuba to focus on producing sugar and other products in response to the import of oil and manufactured items.

**Figure 4 – Economic Aid from the Soviet Union 1960-1990(\$ Mil)**



Source: William M. LeoGrande and Julia M. Thomas (2002)

As Figure 4 shows, USSR aid has been estimated at nearly 65 billion dollars for three decades, from 1960 to 1990. The price subsidies have rapidly climbed from

<sup>30</sup> Prevost, G. (2012). Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution. *Headwaters: The Faculty Journal of the College of Saint Benedict and Saint John's University*, 24(1), p.27

1975, and its development assistance has been gradually increased as well, which means that Cuba had been highly depended on economic integration with CMEA. Therefore, when this market was removed with the collapse of USSR, the shock of Cuban economy was beyond their furthest concern.

Drastic change has dealt a severe blow to the whole Cuban economy with the collapse of the USSR and CMEA at the end of 1991. Given that Soviet Union and CEMA has accounted for over 85 percent of Cuba's foreign trade at the first stage of agreement and Cuba was immensely dependent on their supply of food, oil, and machines, their collapse sent massive shock waves to Cuba. In that sense, Cuba was deprived of not only its favorable price but also its dominant market for its export from socialist group countries. The termination of these subsidies and assistance, which are estimated as 3 billion to 4 billion dollars a year, diminished Cuba's capacity to import up to 74 percent <sup>31</sup>. In conclusion this shocking situation forced Cuba to boost its medical diplomacy as a desperate method for recovering its economy as well as its global image.

## **5.4 Societal variable**

### **5.4.1 Civil Society in Cuba**

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<sup>31</sup> Leogrande, W. M., & Thomas, J. M. (2002). Cuba's quest for economic independence. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 34(02), p. 342

The discourse on the concept and range of the 'civil society' has been in progress in terms of the counter-revolutionary view, however many Latin American nations have denied the prevalent view of civil society, emphasizing that it is oriented toward empowering the dominant oligarchy<sup>32</sup>. As such the controversy on the civil society between socialist country and liberlist country has led the scholars to consent that civil society is a sector where ideological theses are created.

Anthony McGrew(1998) stated that civil society is an agency, institution, movement, cultural force and social relationship which is both privately and voluntarily organized as well as not controlled by the government<sup>33</sup>. The definition, mentioned above, is the one of the general concept discussed in contemporary social science sector.

Jorege Luis Acanda(2002), who is a professor at the university of Havana, accentuated that civil society is a term intimately related with neo-liberal order which is against socialism and totalitarian. Its liberal use of term has arise the political difficulty in the ambiguities in the way the definition has been adopted in contemporary social science. Though it is possible to assume that no civil society exists in Cuba which is definitely the socialist country, the Cuban civil society could be recognized as the amplification of organizations that are not only non-governmental but also anti-governmental. He also argued that Cuba doesn't need a

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<sup>32</sup> Acanda González, J. L. (2006). Cuban Civil Society: I. Reinterpreting the Debate. NACLA Report on the Americas, 39(4), p.33

<sup>33</sup> McGrew, A. G. (1998). The globalisation debate: putting the advanced capitalist state in its place. Global Society, 12(3), p.69.

civil society that implicitly is incompatible with a totalitarian country in terms of rightwing sectors, because they had already the best civil society which is consist of grassroots organizations under the Cuba's constitution.

Friedman(2006) argued that Cuban civil societies have become a sector where it consolidated the political hegemony of the totalitarian revolutionary plan which is associated with social equality and justice. Juan Carlos Espinosa(1999) divided 'Associative life in Cuba' into three categories; socialist civil society(authorized under decree-law 54), alternative civil society(not authorized or ilegal) and informal civil society<sup>34</sup>.

#### *ARTICLE 54*

*The rights of assembly, demonstration and association are exercised by workers, both manual and intellectual; peasants; women; students; and other sectors of the working people, [rights] to which they have the necessary ability (los medios necesarios) to exercise. The social and mass organizations have all the facilities they need to carry out those activities in which the members have full freedom of speech and opinion based on the unlimited right of initiative and criticism.*

*The Constitution of the Republic of Cuba(Amended in 2002)*

The Constitution of the Cuba stipulates the recognition of the civil society in Article 54 under the Chapter VII which specifies 'fundamental rights, duties and guarantees'. Under the protection of Cuban law, a number of civil societies hav been organized and performed as follows.

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<sup>34</sup> Espinosa, J. C. (1999). Civil Society in Cuba: The Logic of Emergence in Comparative Perspective. Cuba in Transition, 9, p.353

- Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios (FEU) [Federation of University Students]*
- Central (previously Confederación) de Trabajadores de Cuba (CTC), [Confederation of Cuban Workers]*
- Federación de Mujeres Cubanas (FMC) [Federation of Cuban Women]*
- Comités de Defensa de la Revolución (CDR) [Revolutionary Defence Committees]*
- Asociación Nacional de Agricultores Pequeños (ANAP) [National Association of Small Farmers]*
- Fundación Fernando Ortiz, [Fernando Ortiz Foundation]*
- Fundación del Nuevo Cine Latinoamericano, [New Latin American Cinema Foundation]*
- Fundación Antonio Núñez Jiménez de la Naturaleza y el Hombre [The Antonio Núñez Jiménez Foundation for Nature and Man]*
- Fundación Nicolás Guillén, [Nicolás Guillén Foundation]*
- Fundación Alejo Carpentier, [Alejo Carpentier Foundation]*
- Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Centre*
- John Paul II Centre for Bioethics*
- Cuban Union of Writers and Artists (UNEAC)*
- Cuban Union of Journalists (UPEC)*
- Cuban Union of Lawyers*

*Francisco and Leticia, 2007<sup>35</sup>*

Cuba's NHS has been operated with intersectoral coordination among the state, social organizations and governmental agencies by implementing various activities for achieving the objectives which clarifies that all Cuban people have a right to receive free health care services. NHS also emphasized the community participation as one of the guiding principles, for example, the *Comités de Defensa de la Revolución* raised 524,351 of blood donors in concurrence with trade unions.

The cooperative integration between civil society and NHS has had a positive effect on improvement of health care in Cuba. The *Federación de Mujeres Cubanas*,

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<sup>35</sup> Francisco R.O. and Leticia A.V. (2007). Civil Society and Health System in Cuba. A case study commissioned by the Health Systems Knowledge Network.

consists of specialists such as physicians, educators and so on, was organized in 1962, and has implemented numerous projects in family planning, reproductive health and sex education in the communities in collaboration with the Ministry of Health and Ministry of Education. In that sense Cuba government established the equivalent structures at local and provincial level which presented civil societies was able to work in its own sphere under the community healthcare system.

## **VI. Research on determinants of Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy**

### **6.1 Individual variable**

It is obvious that typical Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy which has become a much-talked-about issue in academic circles of foreign policy has been implemented by the one of the most powerful leaders in Latin America, Hugo Chavez. To understand the major history of the Venezuelan Oil Diplomacy, we must look at Chavez's ideology, belief, grown-up backgrounds, etc.

#### **6.1.1 General-turned-president**

The conspicuous figure of the revolutionary begins with baseball. Hugo Rafael Chavez Frias was born in poor farming village and able to get scholarship to the Venezuelan Academy of Military Sciences, a topnotch college, thanks to his talent for baseball. He finally achieved a degree in military science and engineering and paved the way for becoming the member of an elite unit by joining the army.

#### **6.1.2 Political Philosophy: Bolivarian ideology**

Ideology amalgamates with the links among the social actors of each group so that it allows the actors to reconcile their common needs and social problems as a major agenda. Chavez's contentious policies have originated in the ideology of the revered Latin American independence hero, Simon Bolivar. In that sense, Chavez's

keynote of policy has been established in consideration with the legacy of Bolivar to sustain public support and to attain legitimacy. So much has been researched and written on the achievement and failure of Simon Bolivar's independence movement. His legendary victories on ousting Spanish empire from Latin America made Simon Bolivar exceedingly popular and push him into the political symbolism.

In the context of the 1999 Constitution of Venezuela, Chavez reflected the identity of Simon Bolivar to the bases of the Constitution in terms of the Article one.

*Article 1: The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela is irrevocably free and independent, basing its moral property and values of freedom, equality, justice and international peace on the doctrine of Simon Bolivar, the Liberator. Independence, liberty, sovereignty, immunity, territorial integrity and national self-determination are unrenounceable rights of the Nation.*

*1999 Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela*<sup>36</sup>

'Revolutionary Bolivarianism' is a progressive ideology of socialist-revolutionary origin which has invoked the name of the "Liberator" Simon Bolivar<sup>37</sup>. The spread of the 'Revolutionary Bolivarianism' was able to be immensely appeared in the period of Chavez government. Chavez has established the comparable ideological platform by expanding the Bolivar's economic concepts of unification of Latin America, Pan-Latin Americanism. He has frequently stated 'Simon Bolivar' as the method of inspiration for his unique brand of Bolivarian

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<sup>36</sup> 1999 Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela(in English translation from the original legal text), Title 1, Art. 1.

<sup>37</sup> Anselmi, M. (2012). Chavez's Children: Ideology, Education, and Society in Latin America. Lexington Books. p.66.

socialism. Phillip Price(2009) depicted the identity of Simon Bolivar in today's Venezuela as a 'Ubiquitous'. The propaganda regarding his ideology or his image can be found in all places where Venezuelan people are easy to access such as public transportation, television, etc. Chavez could have continuously gained the public support by distinguishing himself from the corrupt bipartisan system with adopting the ideology of Bolivar.

## **6.2 Governmental variable**

### **6.2.1 Control of state-owned oil firm, PDVSA**

PDVSA(Petroleos de Venezuela, S.A.), is currently the Venezuela's state-owned petroleum company of which the main services are to supervise the exploration, refinement, production, exportation of oil as well as natural gas. It is the third-largest oil corporation and has played a major role as a single most important company in Venezuela. OPEC and US Geological Survey reported that Venezuelan oil reserves surpass the oil production of major Middle Eastern producers, such as Saudi Arabia. In that sense, Venezuela is currently world's largest oil country thanks to the discovery of the Orinoco Belt which contains approximately 297,740 million barrels of oil as well as the largest oil resources in the world.

The first Venezuelan oil company, 'La Nacional Petroleo del Tachira', was

established in 1878 and officially began the oil production late after 1914 due to the lack of most basic tools for collecting crude oil. Soon, in 1920s Venezuela has become an oil country which has been able to gain the attention of the international arena. At the instigation of the Venezuela, the five oil producing countries, Venezuela, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, formed the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries(OPEC) in 1959. Venezuela subsequently founded its public oil corporation, Corporacion del Petroleo(CVP) to oversee the foreign oil companies which have carried out oil-exploitation in Venezuela and to collect oil-drilling rents from them. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) advised that all oil companies need to be competitive in terms of the decrease of tax rates as well as non-establishment of national oil corporation whereas Venezuelan government considered the other direction for the oil company.

Since the issue of potential nationalization of the oil company has come to the force all over the nation in the early 1960s, Venezuelan government began operations for enacting bills, such as the Income Tax Law and the Hydrocarbons Reversion Law, to acquire supremacy on control of oil business.

**Figure 5 – Oil profit between Oil Company and state**

	Company	State
Until 1935	92%	8%
1974	6%	94%

Source: Uk-Heon Hong(2010). P.17.

Figure 5 shows the changed result of the effort of Venezuelan government for obtaining maximum oil income for approximately forty years by amending those bills. Companies have gained 92% of profit for oil industry whereas the state has obtained the only 8% of it until the 1930s. However the distribution rates of oil income were reversed as the companies could get 6% and the state gained 94% in the early 1970s due to the on amendment of the bills.

As Venezuela voted to nationalize the oil industry in 1973, Venezuelan government in 1976 finally made a decision for creating the PDVSA, the state oil company which is the umbrella organization for four subsidiaries: Maraven, Meneven, Corpoven and Lagoven. These subsidiaries were the reorganization of fourteen expropriated foreign oil companies<sup>38</sup>. The CVP, existing oil company of Venezuela, included in the structure of PDVSA.

Despite the nationalization of PDVSA, the board of directors of PDVSA embarked upon prosecuting the internationalization policy against the national agenda. In accordance with Tinker-Salas (2005), PDVSA had turned out to be ‘state within a state’<sup>39</sup>. Due to the International Monetary Bank (IMF)’s pressure for opening of PDVSA to foreign investment, the second Perez administration’s proposal of internationalization policy had raised controversy all over the nation.

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<sup>38</sup> Hong, U. H. (2010). The Chávez Government’s Petroleum Policies and Economic Development in Venezuela. *라틴아메리카연구*, 23(2), p, 17.

<sup>39</sup> Tinker-Salas Miguel. (2005). Fueling Concern: The Role of Oil in Venezuela, *Harvard International Law Review*.

The board of PDVSA has pursued the establishment of subsidiaries in foreign countries and payment of tax to those countries to minimize, and to hide the contribution on oil income from Venezuelan government.

Venezuelan government finally entrusted the PDVSA with oil price discretion due to the pressure of PDVSA. Therefore decision right of the oil price for government has become so uncontrollable for fifteen years until the Chavez's seizure of power. Under the management by Luis Gusti, new executive in PDVSA, PDVSA has implemented the establishment of subsidiaries in foreign countries, acquisition of local companies by adopting the Petroleum Opening Policy, called 'Aperatura Petrolera' as an internalization policy. According to the official data, PDVSA has contracted 32 agreements for management from 1992 to 1997 including oil exploration, development of oilfield and so on. Along with it, 4 strategic associations, 1 association contracts and 8 contracts for exploration at risk and profit-sharing have been signed with private investors and subsidiaries.

The appearance of Hugo Chavez in presidential campaign has noticeably brought a transformation in the oil industry of Venezuela. As Chavez criticized the private-opening of petroleum, in addition, he came up with measures to create a determined legal instrument for controlling the oil industry by pushing forward a new Organic Hydrocarbons law, issued in 2001. According to this law the oil industry should be linked to the nation's development and guarantee rational utilization of resource as well as environment conservation. 2001 reform raised the

royalty from 0% to 30% as well.

Chavez administration declared that PDVSA has to comply with the government's social priorities in 2002. Partial petroleum income, obtained from the increase of oil price, was spent to public health and education by Chavez. PDVSA had to invest at least 10 percent of their annual investment budget to social development projects. Chavez government established 'FONDESPA (El Fondo para el Desarrollo Económico y Social del País<sup>40</sup>)' to channel budgetary assistance from PDVSA to development projects. It was the first official national fund created to invest the surplus-profit of oil to the country's development program.

**Table 7 – Social Missions**

Mission	Sector	Objective
Ribas Mission	Secondary and Vocational Education	To offer secondary education
Sucre Mission	Higher Education	to offer higher education
Barrio Adentro Mission	Health	to guarantee access to integral health services
Mercal Mission	Food	to guarantee access of basic food items to low income families
Identity Mission	Citizenship	to provide citizenship
Vuelvan Caras Mission	Employment	to provide comprehensive training
Guaicaipuro Mission	Indigenous rights	to promote the rights of indigenous

Source: PDVSA

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<sup>40</sup> The Fund for Social and Economic Development within in the Country(in English)

As Venezuelan government has begun prioritizing social policies by means of the establishment of presidential-led 'Social Missions' targeting lower-income groups, PDVSA has been instrumental in funding the Social Missions. Table 7 presents the detailed information of each social project.

In 2006 president Chavez proclaimed that the Venezuelan government would seize the preponderance of stake in 'strategic associations' that Venezuela released its oil industry to restricted private companies. Besides He highlighted that the rise in tax on oil income is a further step in increasing financial support for social investment, which has ascended by 60% at that moment.

## **6.3 Systemic variable**

### **6.3.1 Oil Boom**

It is unquestionable that oil reserve is traditionally vital for Venezuela's economy. Oil resource takes full charge of nearly 95 percent of Venezuelan exports as well as approximately half of its national budget revenue. In that sense Venezuela is profoundly dependent upon global oil price which means that Venezuelan economy has been highly vulnerable to it.

When Hugo Chavez was first elected president in 1988, the global price of oil was less than 10 dollars a barrel. After Ali Rodriguez had been elected president of

OPEC at the instigation of the Chavez, the oil price has climbed from 10 dollars to over 30 dollars per barrel. In that sense Venezuela has experienced enormous growth after the bottom of the economy crisis in 2003, and this situation has been analyzed in response to ‘oil boom’ driven by the increase of oil price. Though Venezuela had suffered a harsh economic growth collapse from 1980s to the early 2000s, Chavez administration began experiencing the political stabilization from the quarter of 2003 through the economic extension.

As a windfall tax on oil profits was carried into effect in 2008 along with the rise of oil price, which hovered between 100 dollars and 125 dollars, following the global recession, petroleum corporations had gained immoderate earnings.

### **6.3.2 The absence of Regional Energy Integration in LACs**

An official discussion on regional energy integration not only has been remained before 1930s but also transformed into practical level; The Recíproca de las Organizaciones Empresarial Latinoamericana (ARPEL), Comisión de Integración Eléctrica Regional (CIER), Organización Latinoamericana de Energía(OLADE).

The plan of Regional Energy Integration, which was a part of ‘Initiative for the Americas’ at the instigation of US government, has been returned in 1990s. The objectives of this initiative were to attract the foreign capital through open industry

and the privatization, and to promote the development of energy industry. Despite of various effort of implementing energy integration in Americas including U.S. the driving force of the regional energy integration plan has been languished. In the 5<sup>th</sup> Hemispheric Energy Ministers Meeting held in Mexico City in March 2001, the ministers and heads of delegation of the energy sector gathered to define and support the practical framework of energy integration, but with little success and fruitless. In addition the reference of the ‘energy integration’ was entirely removed even in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Summit of the Americas, which was held in Quebec City of Canada on April 2001.

The reason why the light of energy integration has been disappeared at that moment was that neoliberal policy clashed with the existing politic direction of Latin America and the Caribbean in response to the Initiative for the Americas. In essence there has been lead to the perception that the neoliberal projects was not able to come up to the expectation going through repeatable financial crisis in Latin America. Therefore the protest against the reform has been expanded in all of social and politic sectors. As support for the re-nationalization of energy has been expanded, the leftist governments came to power in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, etc.

## **6.4 Societal variable**

### **6.4.1 Strong public support for Chavez’s Policy**

Hugo Chavez had been riding a wave of public approval during his tenure. After his first political step with military coup was failed in 1992, with subsequent imprisonment for 2 years until 1994, he changed the approach more effectively to obtaining power on the basis of political method, campaign. Though, in the early 1998 campaign, he began at less than 9 percent in the polls, his vigorous and persuasive campaigning which is to promise anti-corruption and to pledge oil revenue for poverty aid raised him up toward the status of president. Hugo Chavez was elected Venezuelan president in December 1998 with majority of the votes, over 56%. Presidential election reports for victory of Chavez from Venezuelan National Election Commission (Consejo Nacional Electoral, CNE) showed the following results.

**Figure 6 – The result of votes for Chavez in presidential election (%)**

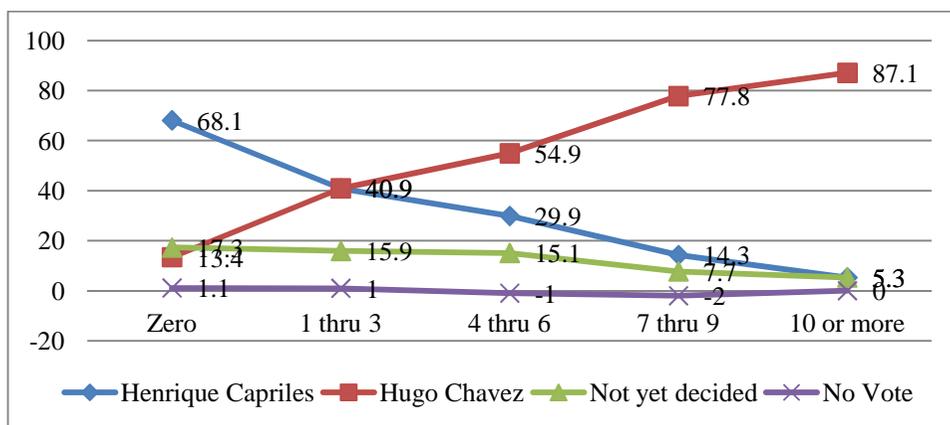
	1998	2000	2006	2012
Total rate of vote	63.5	56.4	74.7	80.7
Chavez's rate of vote	56.2	59.8	62.8	55.1
Gap between Chavez and second rank	12.4	22.2	25.9	11.2
Chavez's rate in total voters	33.4	32.1	46.3	43.7

Source : CNE

As Figure 7 shows, a strong majority of Venezuelans had given their ballots for Hugo Chavez in four times of presidential elections from 1998 to 2012. Clifford Young (2012) stated the ‘Misionesii’ who are the beneficiaries of the social programs under the Chavez’s administration as the driving force of continuity of stable public support for Chavez. According to the Table Figure 8, it is obvious that

his myriad of beneficiaries who are his strongest popular support have played a role of buffer or cushion for previous election. In detail, over 87 percent of likely voters, who are Misionesii, demonstrated resounding results of support. Therefore Bolivarian Missions could be a best example of the significance of social programs in clarifying regime stability.

**Figure 7 – Voting Intention by Proximity to Misiones (%)**



Source : Ipsos Public Affairs, Venezuela (2006)

In spite of Chavez’s victory it is noticeable that the possibility of overturn in the election had existed. According to the Ipsos data, during the previous Chavez administration there have been severe criticisms of the state’s policies on crime, corruption, and employment. However he could be remained firm as president in the 2012 election due to his solid support from the Misionesii as well as Chavistas who are contented with his policy.

In regards with Figure 8, it is unquestionable that Venezuelans have been content

with the Chavez's major policy direction with over 60 percent of respondents indicating Venezuela is on the right track. The respondents of the survey were heavily weighted toward the poor. Over 55 percent said that they consider themselves Chavista, which is pro-government, and more than 35 percent of their level of family income is up to BS. 650,000. 36 percent was from BS. 650,001 to 1,500,000. In essence majority of them had favorable view of Chavez's oil control - 76%.

**Figure 8 – Opinions on Chavez administration of Voters (%)**

	Likely voters	Registered voters
Chavez's oil policy brings benefits to the great majority of Venezuela	66%	66%
The poor in Venezuela now have a higher standard of living than 8 years ago.	62%	62%
Nationalize private companies when it's in the national interest	62%	61%
Foreign exchange controls	63%	61%
Increasing state control over oil industry	76%	76%

Source : Ipsos Venezuela, 2006<sup>41</sup>

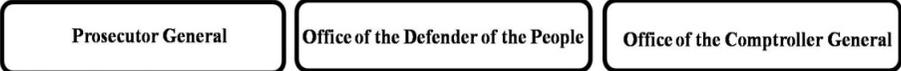
According to the 1999 Constitution, Chavez government created two additional branches of Federal government; the citizen and electoral branches. The office of the Prosecutor General, the office of the Defender of the People, and the office of the Comptroller General are the three entities which are consist of Citizen Power.

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<sup>41</sup> 24 November 2006, The Associated Press-IPSOS Poll Venezuela Pre-election Study, Ipsos Venezuela.

Besides their own role, these three entities have respectively executed as the Republican Moral Council submitting documents according their activities to the National Assembly and have played an educational role of the defense of values of civil right and democracy. It demonstrates that the Chavez's policy towards Venezuelan citizen not only guaranteed citizen's right but also produced public's support.

**Table 8 – Branches of Citizen and Electoral**



Source : Produced by Author

## VII. Comparative Analysis

Some differences and commonalities were found through the analysis on variables of both diplomacies. In this section, I will look into those differences and commonalities by each variable.

**Table 9 – Individual variables**

	Cuba	Venezuela
Military-based	Cuban Revolution in 1959	Military Coup in 1992
Ideology	"Martianism"	"Bolivarianism"

Source : Produced by Author

Leaders of both countries, Fidel Castro and Hugo Chavez, relatively share common ideology as well as political backgrounds, in addition, their ideologies significantly influenced on their diplomacies. They are both military veterans, and secured the support from the army during their tenure.

Cuban Medical diplomacy has been implemented based on revolution's principle ideologies, such as altruism and voluntarism. Chavez administration has characterized his oil project and his government as New Socialism. '21<sup>st</sup> century socialism' advocated equality, integrated development of the citizen which features an anti-capitalist society. This ideology had been the bedrock of Venezuelan oil diplomacy in terms of the Chavez's oil policy. In terms of the ideology of 'Martianism' and 'Bolivarianism', the notion of Martianism could be adapted into

redesigning of the revolution functioning as Bolivarian alliance between Cuba and Venezuela. In that sense it is considered that both ‘Martianism’ and ‘Bolivarianism’ had a common ideological origin.

**Table 10 – Governmental variables**

	Cuba	Venezuela
Form of Government	Communist System : President-led Policy-making	Federal System of democratic government : Centralized Bureaucracy
Associated Agency/System	Reform of National Healthcare System(NHS) : Primary Healthcare System : Latin American School of Medicine(ELAM)	State-owned oil firm : PDVSA

Source : Produced by Author

Though factors of policy-making process and government are generally able to be transformed into the legal form of government, it is practically shaped in accordance with the level of nation’s social-cultural environment, the form of president’s leadership, and so on. In the case of enclosed-developing country, even with socialist system, has been affected by the external factors of government, therefore the government has implemented simple level of administrative missions without its power on policy-making progress.

Cuban government is well known for its socialist system, in that sense, Cuban government has been controlled by the decision of Fidel Castro, the commander-in-

chief of Cuba. He heads both executive bodies which are the Council of Ministers and the Council of State. His younger brother, Raul Castro, serves as vice-president of both executive bodies. The government of Cuba has highly bureaucratic as well as centralized political system that was possible to block or to contain the influence of globalization on the island. Its system allows its government to behave as a unified rational actor in the outline and performance of diplomacy.

In contrast the government of Venezuela is federal republic with presidential system. Although Castro couldn't keep the promise of free election to the public, Chavez has been elected the President for four times under the free electoral system. Therefore the controversy over convincing Hugo Chavez dictator or not would be somewhat put on end in terms of the electoral results.

Important determinants of governmental variables in Cuba are reformed National Health System, Primary-Care Health System and ELAM. In essence, the reform of NHS and the establishment of ELAM would be regarded as the origin of the resource for the instrument of the Cuban Medical Diplomacy. The lack of the number of medical workers at the period of pre-Revolution could have been transformed into the sustainable procurement of regular level of healthcare professionals through the education and training of ELAM. In addition, WHO announced that healthcare system of Cuba has to be praised as one of the best performers on the quality of its health-care system.

Chavez administration set a stable foothold to implement the oil diplomacy by

amending the Ley Organica de Hidrocarburo which abolished 32 operation contracts with multinational corporations. It is to invalidate the service of the consignment production and to establish the joint-venture company which Venezuelan government owned over 51 percent of stake through joint investment with PDVSA. Therefore Chavez government could secure the right to crude oil by vending all quantity of oil by PDVSA.

It is obvious that both governmental variables are indispensable elements for both diplomacies. In case of Cuba, its governmental variables have immensely influenced on the secure of the resources, specifically medical human resources. In respect of Venezuelan governmental variable, it has impacted on the leader's control of the resource, which was able to preserve the leader's regime.

**Table 11 – Systemic variables**

	Cuba	Venezuela
U.S. Policy	Economic sanctions on Cuba : Defense of democracy in LACs	Sanctions on Venezuela : Chavez's hostility towards U.S.
International System and Alliance	Collapse of the Soviet Union : Serious economic crisis in Cuba  Cooperation with Venezuela : Barrio-Adentro Program	Rise of the need of Regional Energy Integration in LACs  Oil Boom : Increase of global price of oil

Source : Produced by Author

Given the U.S. policy for both countries, Cuba and Venezuela have shared identical environment of which United States displays hostility. Anti-Americanism was forced both countries to establish the solidarity with neighbors to counter the United States.

Fidel Castro decided the implementation of comprehensive reforms by nationalizing foreign factories and plantations to deviate from the U.S. economic dominance on their nation. He denied being a communist at the first time, however, he finally officially announced that communism would dominate Cuban politics, in 1961. Under the guise of the defense of democracy, economic sanctions were imposed against Cuba by United States.

The United States has imposed several sanctions against Venezuela due to the various reasons. Bush administration ordered the sanctions due to the poor record on human trafficking in 2004 against 6 countries including Venezuela. In 2008, U.S. imposed it on aides to Chavez administration in retaliation for his ejection of the U.S. ambassador as well as against PDVSA in 2011. In accordance with those sanctions, Cuba and Venezuela have a mutual enemy, United States which is the world's biggest power.

Cuba's alliance with the USSR was intended to oppose the hostility of United States. Due to the economic sanctions from the United States, Castro government decided that the survival of Cuba depends on the solid foothold of the partnership with the USSR. Indeed, the collapse of the USSR and the European communist

countries shattered the Cuban economy. Exportation of the service and items diminished from approximately 6 billion pesos in 1989 to 2 billion pesos in 1993. In conclusion the collapse of USSR was fatal to the Cuban economy. Cuba responded to this economic upheaval by reopening its economy to foreign direct investment. In such brutal circumstance, Cuba needed an enormous market for its advantageous biotechnology products and medical human resources, thereby, they tried to formulate a dependence upon Cuba's medical capability through its medical diplomacy. In that respect, the Barrio-Adentro program, with the support and cooperation from Venezuela to Cuba, was the largest scale of the result of the medical diplomacy in the history of Cuban medical diplomacy. The cooperation with Venezuela consequentially hastened the expansion of Cuban medical diplomacy within LACs. These systemic variables in its turn reflect the reason that Cuba had to implement the medical diplomacy. In such an environment, medical diplomacy was the unavoidable way for Cuba to solve the economic crisis and to establish the cooperative relationship, assuming that the secure of medical resources have been improved.

Chavez government has promoted the integration with LACs by reducing reliance on United States and expanding anti-USA sentiment within LACs through its own oil resource. At that moment, the energy union among LACs doesn't exist yet, Chavez government would try to utilize the absence of the regional energy union to exchange the oil at low price for the political support from neighbors.

In spite of the decline in production of oil in Venezuela, the biggest reason behind the Venezuelan oil diplomacy's success was that high price of oil was able to preserve the deficit of production. Though the output of oil has been decreased, the continuity of economic growth, increase of national income and expansion of state finance was caused by the high climb of oil price. Therefore, its governmental variable have immensely influenced on the secure of the resources of Venezuela in terms of increase of oil price

**Table 11 – Societal variables**

	Cuba	Venezuela
Popular support	Active participation of Civil Societies	Solid public support for Hugo Chavez : Strong assent to Chavez's oil policy

Source : Produced by Author

When it comes to the societal variable in terms of the public support, Cuba's societal variable has affected its diplomacy collaborating with governmental variables. Venezuelan societal variable took effect on the control of resources by assisting the preservation of leader's regime, like its governmental variable.

Cuban government has promoted the participation of the civil societies in its national health-care system by adopting the right of social organization in Article 54. The Primary Health-care System of Cuba has been operated with the intersectoral coordination among the state, governmental organizations and civil societies. In that

sense, the operation of Primary Health-care system, as well as the NHS, profoundly depends on the cooperation with civil societies.

The solid public support validates not only in Chavez's oil policy but also in Chavez administration itself. As Hugo Chavez has invested largely oil revenues to social welfare programs, he has received unconditional support from disadvantaged groups. By spending over 60 percent of government budget to social programs, so-called Bolivarian Missions, the positive results of his policy began appearing in various sectors of education, health-care, housing, environment, rights and interests of natives, culture, etc.

Though Venezuelan people generally somewhat think that Venezuelan oil revenues should be shared only with its own people, which is slightly against the policy of which provided oil benefit to other Latin America and Caribbean countries, the strong public support itself unswervingly affected to the extension of Chavez administration's power so that Chavez could continue his oil diplomacy .

## **VIII. Conclusion**

This thesis provided a comprehensive and in-depth study on Cuban medical diplomacy and Venezuelan oil diplomacy. It comparatively analyzes both representative diplomacies on the basis of four variables of Rosenau's Pre-theory; individual, governmental, systemic and societal.

The result of the comparative analysis explicates that both diplomacies showed commonalities in terms of individual variable, systemic variable, and societal variable. As leaders shared 'common ideological root' as well as political backgrounds, their ideologies significantly influenced their objectives of diplomacies. It is obvious that both governmental variables are indispensable elements for both diplomacies. In case of Cuba, its governmental variables have immensely influenced on the secure of the resources, specifically medical human resources. In respect of Venezuelan governmental variable, it has impacted on the leader's control of the resource, which was able to preserve the leader's regime. According to the U.S. policy for both countries, Cuba and Venezuela have shared identical environment that United States displays hostility. Anti-Americanism was forced both countries to establish the solidarity with neighbors to counter the United States. When it comes to the societal variable in terms of the public support, Cuba's societal variable has affected its diplomacy collaborating with governmental variables. Venezuelan societal variable took effect on the control of resources by assisting the preservation of leader's regime, like its governmental variable.

On the other hand, in terms of the securement of resource, Cuba and Venezuela lay emphasis on the impact of the different variables. Governmental variable has principally affected Cuban medical diplomacy in the aspect of resource security whereas systemic variable played a significant role in Venezuelan oil diplomacy.

Although both diplomacies have been respected in terms of diplomatic leverage, Venezuelan has oil diplomacy crumbled under the current economic crisis with extreme inflation. In the case of collapse of Venezuelan oil diplomacy, it needs to focus on analyzing the change in each variable. The most influential variable on it is considered the systemic variable, specially the decrease in oil price. This systemic variable widely affected not only governmental variable but also other variables. Due to the fall in oil price, Venezuelan government couldn't secure the proper budget more than they expected, then, it would have negatively influence on the operation of government agency, such as PDVSA with facing domestic economic crisis. Its hyperinflation has made Maduro government losing popular support and relying on repression to stay in power. In that sense, the change of systemic variable wielded tremendous influence when it comes to oil diplomacy.

In addition, this paper also encompasses the limitation. Given that this thesis only comparatively analyzed the determinants of both diplomacies, placing ranks and examining inter-relation could not be considered profoundly. It would be valuable to identify and analyze variable's ranks and inter-relation as a part of Rosenau's theories by adopting practical method.

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## 국문초록

### 외교정책 결정요인 비교연구 : 쿠바 의료외교와 베네수엘라 석유외교

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쿠바 출신의 의료 인력을 베네수엘라에 파견하는 대가로 베네수엘라는 석유를 쿠바에 무상으로 지원하는 ‘의사를 위한 석유(Oil-for-Doctors) 협정’은 대표적인 자원 교환 외교로써 당시 많은 조명을 받았다. 의료 국제주의를 실천하고 있는 쿠바의 의료외교는 재난 시 긴급구호를 위한 의료 지원을 시작으로 개발도상국 대상 유학생 의료인력 무료양성사업 및 의료서비스 제공 등을 지원함으로써 다양한 국가와 경제적, 외교적, 인도적 관계를 동시에 구축해온 외교 사례로 평가 받고 있다. 베네수엘라는 자국 부의 원천인 석유를 이웃 중남미 국가들에게 저렴한 가격에 제공함으로써 자국 중심의 라틴아메리카 통합을 도모함과 동시에 반미 정서를 확산하여 다극화 세계질서를 추구하는 강력한 석유외교를 추진해 왔다.

쿠바의 의료외교와 베네수엘라의 석유외교 정책결정과정에서 영향을 미

치는 요인을 로즈노우의 예비 이론의 5가지 차원 중 개인 변수, 정부 변수, 체제 변수 및 사회 변수를 중심으로 탐구하는 것이 본 연구의 목적이다. 본 논문에서는 쿠바와 베네수엘라의 자원외교정책 추진에 영향을 미친 결정요인을 각 차원 별로 비교 분석하여 어떠한 결정 요인이 각 외교정책 결정과정에 어떻게 작용하였는지 살펴보았다. 차원 별 비교분석을 통해 살펴본 두 외교는 개인, 사회, 체제 차원 측면에서 공통점을 공유하고 있는 사실을 확인할 수 있었다. 이와 같이 흡사한 외교정책 결정요인을 기반한 두 국가는 현재 각기 다른 국면을 맞이하고 있는데 순조롭게 항해하고 있는 쿠바 의료외교와는 달리, 베네수엘라 석유외교는 사실상 붕괴에 직면해있다. 이는 자원 확보를 담당한 체제 변수의 변화가 크게 작용했다고 판단되며, 차후 변수의 변화가 외교에 영향을 미친 사례에 관한 연구의 필요성도 제고해 볼 수 있겠다.

핵심어 : 외교정책, 국제관계, 쿠바 의료외교, 베네수엘라 석유외교,  
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