**Development Kritik Answers**

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**Glossary**

**Development –** the deliberate efforts of leaders to promote the growth of economic activity and output in a particular area.

**Economic rationality/logic –** a framework for understanding social and economic behavior, which is typically associated with the pursuit of profits.

**Export Processing Zones (EPZs) –** an area, within which goods may be landed, handled, manufactured or reconfigured, and exported without the intervention of the customs authorities.

**Foreign Direct Investment (FI) –** investingin United States businesses by foreign citizens (often involves stock ownership of the business).

**Globalization –** the process of international integration of culture, products, knowledge, etc. Globalization involves the disintegration of boundaries between nations, and in the context of this kritik, refers mostly to the process of making capitalism a universal feature of all nations.

**Imperialist –** the policy of extending the rule or authority of an empire or nation over foreign countries, or of acquiring and holding colonies and dependencies.

**Multinational Corporations (MNCs) –** A corporation that has its facilities and other assets in at least one country other than its home country.

**Neoliberalism –** the name given to an economic ideology that promotes the reduction of the public sector and the expansion of private sector. This system seeks to reduce regulation and government manipulation of businesses and trade.

**Transnational capital –** provides capital formation, financial structuring, and merger and acquisitions advisory services to emerging growth companies.

**Washington Consensus –** a term used to describe a set of core policy prescriptions that US leaders would frequently implement when dealing with developing countries.

**Worker-Engineer-Public-Control (WEPC) model –** an alternative model of economic development that envisions growth led by the people who work, as opposed to foreign investors and policymakers.

**Perm Solvency – 2AC**

**[ ] Combining the criticism with traditional economics is effective --- the alt cedes economics and makes it destructive.**

**Thompson, Jr, Vice Dean and Robert E. Paradise Professor of Natural Resources Law, Stanford Law School, 2003**

(Barton H., SYMPOSIUM: SYNERGY OR CONFLICT: THE ROLES OR ETHICS, ECONOMICS, AND SCIENCE IN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY DECISIONS: PANEL: What Good Is Economics?, U.C. Davis Law Review November, 2003 37 U.C. Davis L. Rev. 175)

Far from being inherently inconsistent with environmental ethics, **economics may actually be essential to accomplishing ethical ends.**¶ **Economics** can be used in at least four partially overlapping ways. First, it **can be used as a normative tool to determine the appropriate type and level of environmental protection. This is the realm of cost-benefit analysis, where the economic benefits of various environmental proposals** in the form of avoided health injuries, increased recreational opportunities, species value, and the like **are balanced against the economic costs of lost jobs, new equipment, and reduced consumer choices. Much of the criticism of economic analysis in the environmental context has focused on this normative use of economics. To the environmental moralist, cost-benefit analysis errs** at the outset **by focusing on** the Heaven-rejected "lore of nicely-**calculated** less or more" n2 **rather than the ethical importance** of a healthy and sustainable environment.¶ **Beyond the question of whether cost-benefit analysis uses the correct criteria, critics also object to how the government makes cost-benefit comparisons. Critics, for example, have challenged the methods used to measure the benefits of environmental programs, the decision to measure benefits based on individuals' current preferences, the comparison of benefits and costs that environmental moralists find economically "incommensurable," and the decision to discount future benefits (such as lives saved many decades from now due to current environmental protection** measures). n3¶ **Economics, however, can be used for purposes other than normative evaluations of potential environmental measures. A second use to which economics is frequently put, for example, is as a diagnostic tool to determine why society is not achieving the desired type and level of environmental protection** (regardless of how the desired types and levels of protection are determined). **Garrett Hardin's famous discussion of the [\*178] "tragedy of the commons" is a good example of this diagnostic use of economics: when a common resource is free, users enjoy all of the benefits of use but share the losses and thus tend to overutilize the resource**. n4 Used as a diagnostic tool, **economics can help point to the reasons for, and thus the most effective solutions to, a wide variety of environmental problems**.¶ Third, **environmental advocates can use economics as a strategic political tool to help overcome opposition to environmental measures and increase the chances of successful adoption.**

**Perm Solvency – Economic Engagement Good**

**[ ] Economic engagement that develops local resources and capacities is a necessary pre-requisite to combatting capitalist exploitation.**

**DeMartino, Professor of international economics at the University of Denver, No date**

(George DeMartino is a Professor of international economics at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies of the University of Denver and holds a PhD in economics from the University of Massachusetts. Accessed 5/19/13, “Ethical Economic Engagement in a World Beyond Control,” Under Review Rethinking Marxism, p.6-7)

Notably, the book (and other Gibson-Graham work of the past decade) turned a careful eye to the question of how to cultivate an economic subject that could open up to the possibilities associated with economic difference. Gibson-Graham explored abstractly in their theoretical work and concretely in their community work the stubborn resistance to imaging and welcoming opportunities to live differently. **Even those harboring anger and resentment toward a capitalist system that exploited and then discarded them**—for instance, workers rendered unemployed by capital flight—**often refused to engage the idea of creating alternative enterprises under worker control** (Gibson-Graham 2003). Instead, they aspired to return to employment in the capitalist sector that, they felt, had abused them. What is it about the human psyche, Gibson-Graham asked, that so often prevents actors from recognizing, imagining and welcoming opportunities to live differently? What bodily processes interrupt the capacity to grab hold of the chance to break free from practices that are recognized as oppressive? And how in practice do we overcome the fear, resignation, anger and resentment that block the exploration of alternative economic identities? In A Postcapitalist Politics, “An Ethics of the Local” (2003) and other work Gibson-Graham explore the power of language and theory, but also interpersonal encounter and collaboration, in confronting and overcoming these obstacles. What they would later come to call “hybrid research collectives” came to serve as the chief practical vehicle for pursuing projects of economic emancipation. The collective joins university and community-based researchers with other community members in joint projects to inventory already existing alternative economic practices and indigenous resources and capacities, and to imagine and pursue economic practices and build economic institutions that defy traditional conceptions of just what economic forms are and are not achievable and sustainable. **A central goal is to proliferate economic forms—to generate a vibrant economic ecosystem populated by all sorts of economic species—rather than to pursue a pre-defined set of models of economic engagement. Implicit in the project is the need to inquire into economic alternatives without judgment**; to silence the reflexive skepticism that haunts the academic mind so as to allow for the “frothy spawn” (Gibson-Graham 1996) of new and as-of-yet unimagined progeny. **Of equal importance is the task of promoting safe spaces within which economic agents who are marginalized and emptied of aspiration regenerate themselves as vibrant economic subjects who recognize the potency of their agency in making the world anew.**

**Neoliberalism Is Inevitable**

**[ ] Neoliberalism is inevitable and movements are getting smothered out of existence—no alternative economic system.**

**Jones, Masters at Oxford, named one of the Daily Telegraph's 'Top 100 Most Influential People on the Left' for 2011, author of "Chavs: The Demonization of the Working Class", 2011**

(Owen, The Independent, UK, "Owen Jones: Protest without politics will change nothing", 2011, www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/owen-jones-protest-without-politics-will-change-nothing-2373612.html)

My first experience of police kettling was aged 16. It was May Day 2001, and the anti-globalisation movement was at its peak. The turn-of-the-century anti-capitalist movement feels largely forgotten today, but it was a big deal at the time. To a left-wing teenager growing up in an age of unchallenged neo-liberal triumphalism, just to have "anti-capitalism" flash up in the headlines was thrilling. Thousands of apparently unstoppable protesters chased the world's rulers from IMF to World Bank summits – from Seattle to Prague to Genoa – and the authorities were rattled.¶ **Today, as protesters in nearly a thousand cities across the world follow the example set by** the **Occupy** Wall Street protests, **it's worth pondering what happened to the anti-globalization movement**. Its **activists did not lack passion or determination. But they did lack a coherent alternative to the neo-liberal project. With no clear political direction, the movement was easily swept away by** the **jingoism and turmoil that followed 9/11,** just two months after Genoa.¶ Don't get me wrong: the Occupy movement is a glimmer of sanity amid today's economic madness. By descending on the West's financial epicentres, it reminds us of how a crisis caused by the banks (a sentence that needs to be repeated until it becomes a cliché) has been cynically transformed into a crisis of public spending. The founding statement of Occupy London puts it succinctly: "We refuse to pay for the banks' crisis." The Occupiers direct their fire at the top 1 per cent, and rightly so – as US billionaire Warren Buffett confessed: "There's class warfare, all right, but it's my class, the rich class, that's making war, and we're winning."¶ The Occupy movement has provoked fury from senior US Republicans such as Presidential contender Herman Cain who – predictably – labelled it "anti-American". They're right to be worried: those camping outside banks threaten to refocus attention on the real villains, and to act as a catalyst for wider dissent. **But a coherent alternative to the tottering global economic order remains, it seems, as distant as ever. Neo-liberalism crashes around, half-dead, with no-one to administer the killer blow.**¶There's always a presumption that a crisis of capitalism is good news for the left. Yet in the Great Depression, fascism consumed much of Europe. The economic crisis of the 1970s did lead to a resurgence of radicalism on both left and right. But, spearheaded by Thatcherism and Reaganism, the New Right definitively crushed its opposition in the 1980s.**This time round, there doesn't even seem to be an alternative for the right to defeat**. That's not the fault of the protesters. In truth, **the left has never recovered from being virtually smothered out of existence. It was the victim of a perfect storm: the rise of the New Right; neo-liberal globalization; and the** repeated **defeats suffered by the trade union movement.**¶But, above all, it was the aftermath of the collapse of Communism that did for the left. **As US neo-conservative** Midge **Decter triumphantly put it: "It's time to say: We've won. Goodbye.**" From the British Labour Party to the African National Congress, left-wing movements across the world hurtled to the right in an almost synchronised fashion. **It was as though the left wing of the global political spectrum had been sliced off. That's why, although we live in an age of revolt, there remains no left to give it direction and purpose.**¶

**Neoliberalism Is Inevitable – Economic Logic**

**[ ] Rules of the market are inevitable --- incorporating them into political calculations is key to successful reforms.**

**Assheuer, Jacques Derrida Professor of Humanities, UC Irvine, Founder and President, International College of Philosophy and Director of Studies, School of Advanced Study in the Social Sciences, 2000**

(Thomas, Paris 2000 “Intellectual Courage: An Interview” Culture Machine, Vol 2)

Q: In your book The Other Heading **you conceive Europe as a political project**. Can one continue to do so after the long and tough discussions about the European currency, the Euro? **Or should one not say that Europe is** on the way to becoming an enterprise which is **defined by monetary criteria**, a kind of enterprise that co-ordinates the trade of merchandise?¶ JD: This is an effect to whose **risks** I have alluded (**economism**, monetarism, **'performative' adaptation so as to be competitive in a global market**, often after brief and supposedly scientific analyses). It seems to me that **one must indeed oppose to it a resolutely political project. That is the stake of many of the tensions between the different European governments, and within each** of them, but **also among the social forces that dominate Europe**. I should add some qualifications, since you wish to talk about **'intellectuals':** the necessary **resistance** to **economism** or monetarism **need not take the form of demonising incantations, of magical protestations based on incompetence, against an entity called** the 'Euro' or **evil, manipulative bankers**. Even if one need not believe just anyone or anything about this topic, **one should not ignore the constraints of the laws of the market; they exist, they are complex, they require analyses which even the institutional 'experts' themselves have not completed.** Perhaps **one must oppose another political logic, but also another socio-economic logic** (informed, demonstrative**), to the current dogmas of 'liberalism'**. Perhaps **the Euro is not in itself an evil. There could be another social and economic framework for the 'transition** to the Euro'. **Each nation state** of Europe **has its own calculations and** its own **historical responsibilities** in this respect. Those of Germany and France are particularly grave, as you know. Finally, even if my sympathies, as you well know, go towards a political resistance (of a certain political Europe) to a Europe which would be a mere administrator of its economy, the concept of the political which saturates that discourse does not satisfy me completely yet. It transfers upon Europe, and the boundaries of Europe, a tradition of the political, of the nation state, that begs many questions, and I have reserves about it. There again, one would require a long discussion; I refer to my publications.

**Neoliberalism Solves Poverty**

**[ ] Neoliberalism has lifted hundreds of millions out of poverty.**

**Pipe, staff writer at The South Australia Globalist, 2011**

(Nicholas, The South Australia Globalist, "The Global Financial Crisis", 2011, [www.perspectivist.com/business/the-global-financial-crisis](http://www.perspectivist.com/business/the-global-financial-crisis))

**When assisted by the other neo-liberal views of globalisation and foreign investment, this economic growth** leads to other social benefits; it **“trickles down” to marginalised populations**, while open borders ensure the most efficient distributions of goods worldwide. As a result, **closing the gap between affluent and marginalised populations** is encouraged. Ergas summarises **the effects of this phenomenon as: “(liberalism) works**, **while** the **interventionist prescription doesn’t. Ask the hundreds of millions of Chinese, Indians and Vietnamese whom liberalisation has lifted out of poverty.”**¶ **The benefits of neo-liberalism are clear**, and **it is fallacious to overlook them when judging the system** itself in **the wake of the GFC. Yet there is something else** that **any critic** of neo-liberalism **must consider – the fact that, like it or not, neo-liberalism is here to stay. As Chris Brown notes, the system has become hegemonic and so deeply entrenched in society that its ideals are now part of how things really are. You only have to look at the US Government’s need to bail out** and protect **several corporations** at the height of the GFC to **see how deep rooted the neo-liberalism system is,** and how its influence lives on.

**Cede the Political Turn – 2AC**

**[ ] The Perm is key economics is inevitable --- it’s only a question of using it for progressive ends --- they let economics get coopted to crush the alt.**

**Thompson,Jr, Vice Dean and Robert E. Paradise Professor of Natural Resources Law, Stanford Law School, 2003**

(Barton H., SYMPOSIUM: SYNERGY OR CONFLICT: THE ROLES OR ETHICS, ECONOMICS, AND SCIENCE IN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY DECISIONS: PANEL: What Good Is Economics?, U.C. Davis Law Review November, 2003 37 U.C. Davis L. Rev. 175)

**Even environmental moralists who reject any economic tempering of ethical obligations may find normative economic arguments useful for supplementing their ethical entreaties. Although environmental moralists might believe that non-economic criteria should be used** in judging the merits of environmental goals, many **politicians, voters, bureaucrats, and courts are far more attuned to wealth-maximization arguments**. Indeed, Professor Christopher Stone's contribution to this symposium suggests that **arguments based on non-economic precepts of environmental ethics have played only a marginal role in legislative debates and judicial decisions** over the past several decades. n9 If this is correct, **environmentalists have a strong strategic reason to look for arguments that resonate more robustly with key decisionmakers.** Even if environmental ethics currently play a stronger role than Stone suggests, environmentalists might wish to broaden their base of support by [\*181] making economic arguments in favor of their goals.¶ In some cases, economic arguments are clearly supplemental to and thus separable from arguments based on environmental ethics. The famous battle between the Tennessee Valley Authority and proponents of the endangered snail darter over completion of the Tellico Dam is an example. Environmentalists opposed the dam because it risked causing the extinction of the snail darter, threatened to eradicate the last free-flowing stretch of the Little Tennessee River, and required the flooding of a beautiful valley. But environmentalists were not hesitant to argue that the dam also made no economic sense, costing more in federal funds than it was ever likely to produce in benefits. Indeed, while the environmental arguments led to a Supreme Court decision enjoining further construction of the dam under the Endangered Species Act, n10 the **economic arguments almost won the day politically when Congress balked at stopping construction on the almost-completed dam to save the economically "worthless" snail darter. The cabinet-level Endangered Species Committee, which Congress created to decide the fate of the dam, voted unanimously not to exempt the dam from the Endangered Species Act because it concluded that the dam was economically not worth completing.** n11 Unfortunately, **neither the environmental nor the economic arguments were capable of overcoming political support for the dam, which Congress ultimately exempted from the Act**. n12¶ **Environmental opposition to the federal reclamation program, which constructed hundreds of dams in the western United States during the 20th century in an effort to expand irrigation, provides another example of the effective use of normative economic arguments.**

**Cede the Political Turn – 1AR**

**[ ] Economics inevitable --- using it for progressive means is key.**

**Thompson, Jr, Vice Dean and Robert E. Paradise Professor of Natural Resources Law, Stanford Law School, 2003**

(Barton H., SYMPOSIUM: SYNERGY OR CONFLICT: THE ROLES OR ETHICS, ECONOMICS, AND SCIENCE IN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY DECISIONS: PANEL: What Good Is Economics?, U.C. Davis Law Review November, 2003 37 U.C. Davis L. Rev. 175)

**Environmental moralists are naturally skeptical of economics. Economics appears to speak of human wants,** individual preferences, **and self-interested behavior, while most variants of environmental ethics emphasize the importance of the entire biotic community**, the relevance of societal values, and the need to look beyond one's immediate interests. **Used as a normative tool, economics can clash with environmental ethics**. Used in other contexts, economic analysis accepts a world that the environmental moralist rejects.¶ **Environmental moralists may wish for a different world. Yet economics remains an undeniable and powerful force.** The **environmental moralist who wishes to accomplish immediate change must confront economic truths and learn to utilize economic analysis in support of the environment.** As discussed, **economics can supply supplemental arguments for protecting** and improving **the environment, provide insight into why even environmentally enlightened individuals often harm the environment,** help **defuse opposition to** valuable **environmental measures, and furnish new and more effective tools for accomplishing environmental goals.** In many of these contexts, **environmental moralists can make use of economics without undermining ethical precepts** or education.¶ **Recent studies raise the additional** and intriguing **possibility that environmental moralists might be able to use economic tools to help develop new environmental mores, encourage environmental altruism, or both. Social scientists still know little about how governmental policies affect societal norms** and the willingness of individuals to behave altruistically. **At least some economic incentive systems**, however, **may encourage** environmental **altruism. If so, environmental moralists might find economics not only a tool for immediate environmental change but for longer-term shifts in the way in which society regards and treats the environment.**

**There Is No Alternative**

**[ ] No alt --- it’s utopian nonsense that causes ecological and social catastrophe.**

**Barnhizer, Prof of Law, Cleveland State U, 2006**

(David, ‘Waking from Sustainability's "Impossible Dream”,’ Geo Int’l Envtl L Rev, pg. l/n)

Grand **utopian visions**, and even smaller utopias based on an ideal of pastoral communities harmoniously husbanding local resources, simply **are not reflective of the reality faced by** the vast majority of **people**. E.F. **Schumacher's argument that "small is beautiful" may appear to be an elegant solution** for how we can all live comfortable and rewarding lives within enriching community bonds, **but it is not going to happen**. n56¶ "**Small is beautiful" has become an impossible dream for all but a few communities. The process of impossibility is driven by population growth, the breakdown of local communities through migration**, the infusion of **multicultural diversity, and a materialistic ethos that has altered our sense of** what constitutes [\*619] **quality of life**. The most obvious driving forces include increasing urban densities and coastal development requiring massive infrastructures and supportive supply systems, overall population levels, and the distortions of population distribution and age demographics. **To these can be added quality of life demands caused by people in economically impoverished countries who can see how material life is led in richer countries and the spread of interdependent economic systems that allow global production** and distribution **systems to penetrate** what had been largely **closed economic and cultural systems. These conditions are not reversible.¶ My concern here is related to the speed at which societies are approaching various kinds of large-scale dislocations, injustices, strife, and even disaster.** I do not want to resort to doomsday prophecies or set a clear date on which critical resources will be irreversibly depleted, such as was done in the Club of Rome's Limits to Growth report in 1972. n57 In addition to being destructive and careless, humans are also adaptive and resilient. **Placing hard and fast deadlines on when chaos occurs and the worst effects are generated is unwise and chancy at best**. n58 But **if it is unwise or at least extremely difficult to make accurate and detailed predictions** involving "doom and gloom" scenarios, **it is equally unwise and foolhardy to ignore that the equivalent of ecological and social tectonic plates with massive disruptive potential are shifting underneath the surface of our** national and **global systems. Failing to prepare for** the most likely **consequences reaches the level of gross irresponsibility.¶ We face a combination of ecological, social, and economic crises. These** **crises involve the ability to fund potentially conflicting obligations for the provision of social benefits, health care, education, pensions, and poverty alleviation**. They also include the need for massive expenditures to "fix" what we have already broken. n59 Part of the challenge is that in the United States and Europe we have made fiscal promises that we cannot keep. **We also have vast economic needs for [\*620] continuing wealth generation as a precondition for achieving social equity on national and global levels**. Figuring out how to reduce some of those obligations, eliminate others, and rebuild the core and vitality of our system must become a part of any honest social discourse. Even Pollyanna would be overwhelmed by the choices we face. **There will be significant pain and sacrifice in any action we take. But failing to take prompt and effective action will produce even more catastrophic consequences.**

**There Is No Alternative – Capitalism**

**[ ] No alternative to capitalism --- even socialists agree.**

**Wright ,Vilas Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin, 2007**

(Erik Olin, “Guidelines for Envisioning Real Utopias”, Soundings, April, www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/Published%20writing/Guidelines-soundings.pdf)

To be a radical critic of existing institutions and social structures is to identify harms that are generated by existing arrangements, to formulate alternatives which mitigate those harms, and to propose transformative strategies for realizing those alternatives. There was a time when many intellectuals on the Left were quite confident in their understanding of each of these: theories of class and political economy provided a framework for identifying what was wrong with capitalism; various contending conceptions of socialism provided models for alternatives; and theories of class struggle and socialist politics (whether reformist or revolutionary) provided the basis for a transformative strategy. Today **there is much less certainty among people who still identify strongly with Left values of radical egalitarianism and deep democracy. While Left intellectuals remain critical of capitalism, many acknowledge** – if reluctantly – **the necessity of markets and the continuing technological dynamism of capitalism. Socialism** remains a marker for an alternative to capitalism, but its **close association with statist projects of economic planning no longer has much credibility, and no fully convincing alternative comprehensive model has become broadly accepted.** And **while class** **struggles** certainly **remain a central source of conflict** in the world today, **there is no longer confidence in their potential to provide the anchoring agency for transforming and transcending capitalism.**

**Cuban Government Will Check Capitalism**

**[ ] Cuban globalization is inevitable and can occur without altering its economic system.**

**Shreve, J.D candidate at the Indiana University Maurer School of Law, 2012**

(Heather Shreve is the Executive Articles Editor for the Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies, and a J.D candidate at the Indiana University Maurer School of Law. Accessed 5/16/2013, “Harmonization, But Not Homogenization: The Case for Cuban Autonomy in Globalizing Economic Reforms,” p. 386-387. [JZ])

Ultimately, all of the forces found in these theories make it difficult for a state like Cuba to resist change, as predicted by Larry Catá Backer. Moreover, globalization itself accounts for all of these changes—it is both the transformative trigger and the answer to Cuba’s motivation to reform. From a case study of Cuba, a historically resistant country, the overwhelmingly unavoidable nature of globalization becomes obvious; **in the words of Fidel Castro, globalization is an “inevitable phenomenon.”** However, **the mere fact that globalization is inescapable for Cuba does not mean that Cuba must change its ideological basis or goals in order to globalize; Castro conditioned his declaration by saying that globalization was not inevitable if it was an imposition of neoliberal globalization.** Today, under the leadership of Raúl Castro, it is clear that, contrary to Backer’s 2004 prediction, **a fundamental change of ideology is not a requisite for Cuban reform. Instead, Cuba changes its economy within the context and the understanding of its own Marxist-Leninist goals, rather than mirroring the Chinese or the neoliberal forms of globalization**. The very fact that Cuba is reluctant to globalize or is not globalizing for altruistic, market-based reasons does not negate the significance of its reforms. Indeed, the importance of the reforms is that Cuba, as a state, decides to implement changes, albeit in a new model, to remain in power and to engage the global economy. **Moreover, in the context of globalization, the fact that these changes are not accompanied with fundamental changes to the Cuban Marxist-Leninist framework is an even stronger argument that global harmonization does not require ideological homogenization, linear changes, or a simplistic one world model. Globalization is infinitely flexible, complex, and diverse. Globalization in today’s world no longer requires homogenization; Cuba does not need to either adopt a neoliberal or Maoist version of economics to globalize. Instead, it can remain Marxist-Leninist while entering into the global economy.** Just as neoliberal policies are not the only concept of globalization, as seen in China, so too Chinese Maoism is not the only alternative form of globalization. The fundamental differences between China and Cuba are vast—for example, the focus of the Cuban reform differs from that of the Chinese, the decision by Cuban officials to shun Chinese “market socialism” in favor of limited Communist reforms, and the histories and cultures of the two countries differ.

**Venezuela is Already Capitalist**

**[ ] The critique’s demand for total rebellion is stuck in the past – Venezuela’s socialism is so successful because it engages with capitalism.**

**Harris, Professor at DeVry University, 2007**

(Jerry Harris is a professor at the DeVry University of Chicago and holds a Masters of Education in History, Globalization, and Political Economy. “Bolivia and Venezuela: the democratic dialectic in new revolutionary movements,” in Race & Class, 49:1 July 2007, p. 18-19)

**The temporary coup,** followed by a hard-fought two-month strike in the oil industry**, radicalised Chavez and his movement. This process was similar to the radicalising of Cuban leader Fidel Castro as a result of the US-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion. Revolutionary paths are always deﬁned in part by the opposition, the two opposing sides linked in a process of action and reaction.** It was only after this failed invasion that Castro declared a socialist direction for Cuba, as Chavez did after three attempts to oust him from ofﬁce. His intent was made clear at the World Social Forum in Brazil, where Chavez stated: ‘We must reclaim socialism as a thesis, a project and a path, but a new type of socialism, a humanist one that puts humans, not machines or the state, ahead of everything.’ **But the process in Venezuela is signiﬁcantly different from the Cuban experience. Most capitalists have not ﬂed the country but continue to operate their corporations and make proﬁts, and Venezuela is ﬁrmly linked to the transnational economy rather than niched into some socialist bloc. In fact, Chavez signed a new contract with Chevron-Texaco in the middle of the oil strike provoked by his pro-US opposition.** There have been no nationalisations; nor is socialism mentioned in the new Constitution. As Latin American scholar Steve Ellner explains, **the approach envisions an extended process of revolutionary change which is without precedent in history and which some claim may take several decades to complete. The end result will be a complete replacement of old structures created by the Chavista government and movement . . . replacing the current capitalist system with a mixed economy or association of medium-sized cooperatives. Clearly this strategy is Gramscian and does not follow the insurrectionary approaches advocated by Lenin and Che Guevara. Ellner adds that the Chavistas are committed to a ‘peaceful democratic revolution [and] have ruled out the suppression of the existing institutions controlled by their adversaries in economic, political and state spheres and instead opted for parallelism’.** However**, a war of position is a far from static process. In fact, the opposition has plunged the country into repeated crises, initiating confrontations that it continues to lose. In response, participation and mobilisation have been key to the continuing battle for change, with an expansion of programmes and goals after every major confrontation. This is the dialectic in Gramsci’s concept of position and manoeuvre, one state of affairs leading to another in a process of advance. In consolidating the transformational process, radical forces in state positions have united with social movements to help build counter-hegemonic space throughout civil society. This is where the PT and ANC failed, causing severe political contradictions to develop between the state and organised social sectors. But in Venezuela, the link between the state and social movements has, for now, a revolutionary character and expanded potential that is lacking in countries where autonomist power remains isolated from the government.**