



FIDEL CASTRO

# Main Report

Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba

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## INTRODUCTION

Distinguished Guests,

Comrade Delegates:

These are unusual, difficult times. No country is isolated from the rest of the world today. No country lives or could live in a glass house. What one nation—no matter how small—does, can have repercussions in other nations. The importance of each event and new experience is proved by the presence of the worthy representatives of more than 140 Parties and democratic, progressive and revolutionary organizations from all over the world here in this Congress.

The strength of a small country such as Cuba is neither military nor economic but moral. The last country to free itself of Spanish colonialism, it has become the first nation in this hemisphere to free itself of Yankee imperialist domination, the first to choose the way to higher forms of socioeconomic life and the first to take the road of socialism in our continent. Everything in our way of life is new, and it has not been easy. We had to confront the most powerful imperialist country in the world, just 90 miles off our coasts, and fight against reactionary ideas that have existed for hundreds and even thousands of years and the bitter hatred of the exploiting classes. We had to stand up against isolation, hostility, threats, libel and an implacable campaign launched by the monopolies that control a large part of the world's mass media. To continue advancing, we had to defy attacks and even run the risk of being exterminated. Not everything we did was wise; not all our decisions were correct. In no revolutionary process have all actions and decisions been the right ones. Yet, here we stand, nearly 22 years after January 1, 1959. We have not renounced a single one of our ideas or revolutionary principles. This honest, firm, staunch, heroic, irreproachable political attitude is characteristic of our Revolution. Fear and vacillation have never spread through our people's ranks. We have never hesitated to recognize our errors and mistakes and sometimes this requires more courage than risking your life.

The stock of experience and revolutionary ideas that we inherited from our own history and that of mankind is our most precious treasure. Through practice and example we should constantly add to this stock. This is a sacred duty for all revolutionaries that demands the most rigorous criticism and self-criticism and the most complete honesty.

Will the Cuban experiment be interrupted? Will imperialism manage to wipe Cuba's example off the face of the earth? Never! Storms are sweeping through our hemisphere and the rest of the world, and the ultrarightist reactionary forces are entrenching themselves in power in the strongest imperialist country in the world; but we still say "Never!" Cuba can be erased physically, but it will never be humiliated or subjugated; it will never surrender, and we are firmly convinced that our example will endure. As Martí said, "The seas to the north and south will meet, and a serpent will be hatched from the egg of an eagle before we stop trying to make our homeland free and prosperous."

Ever since the time of the Paris Commune, real Communists have been noted for their heroism. In all of history no one has surpassed them in their capacity for self-sacrifice, spirit of solidarity, dedication, self-denial and readiness to give their lives for their cause. No other political idea in the course of the development of human society has been taken up so strongly or elicited such selfless devotion as communism. The best and purest feelings of human beings have been expressed throughout the battles to do away with the age-old exploitation of man by man. Only the first Christians, in the time of imperial and pagan Rome are comparable to Communists. Marx, Engels and Lenin were not bearers of mystical ideas, however, and their self-sacrificing followers did not seek their reward in another world. It is here on earth where man's future should be changed, and they were ready to face the cruelest repression and unhesitatingly give their lives to do this—that is, give everything in exchange for nothing for themselves but everything for others.

It is infuriating to note that, in our time, the word "revolutionary" is still being used sometimes to describe people who are not at all upset by either the exploitation of some people by others or the cruel inequality which this exploitation implies—and who, in fact, promote it. The bourgeoisie sometimes calls reactionaries "revolutionaries." We cannot deny that anyone who struggles to obtain his homeland's independence from a colonial or neocolonial power or for freedom from tyranny is a revolutionary, but there is only one higher way of being a revolutionary in today's world: that of being a Communist, because Communists embody the idea of independence, freedom, true justice, equality among men and, what is more, internationalism—that is, brotherhood, solidarity and cooperation among all the peoples and nations in the world. When the ideas of independence, freedom, equality, justice and fraternity among peoples and nations are combined, they are invincible.

This is what we want to be: Communists. This is what we want to keep on being: Communists. This is our vanguard, a vanguard of Communists, backed by the people, a people of Communists. There has never existed, nor can there exist, any force in the world that can prevent this.

This is the first thing that we want to state, repeat and proclaim on opening our 2nd Congress.

We do not want this report by the Central Committee to the 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba to be too long—but, unfortunately, it will have to be quite extensive. Therefore, we will try to summarize our record for the 1975-80 period, our goals and the general guidelines for our future national and international policies.

We should begin by saying that the economic plan approved in the 1st Congress could not be carried out in full. As early as September 28, 1976, we explained to the nation that, in view of the plummeting price of sugar, worldwide inflation, the deterioration in trade relations and the aggravation of the international economic crisis, the economic goals set for the five-year period could not be met. We told the people the truth very frankly.

We did not achieve the 6-percent annual growth rate that we had proposed, but we did attain two thirds of that goal. The admirable, heroic efforts that our working people and the members of our Party made and their tremendous achievements in the hard and difficult years between 1975 and 1980 should not go unrecognized. Remember that many capitalist countries—even developed ones with larger resources than we have—were forced

to retrench, cutting back production in some years, while their indices of inflation, unemployment and socioeconomic crisis rocketed. Our socialist country, with an underdeveloped economy, advanced in the sphere of material production and registered important social progress during this five-year period.

All the experience of this period has been considered in drawing up the economic directives for the coming five years, employing the most realistic criterion possible, based on reliable figures. The main idea is to surpass, not fall short of these goals; to pledge the Party to carry out the possible, not the impossible. This is a matter of responsibility, honor and prestige that in no way absolves us of our duty to do our utmost, for we would be neither honest nor revolutionary if we were to do otherwise.

## I. SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT/GENERAL ASPECTS

The present 1976-80 five-year period, which is just ending, has witnessed tremendous advances in the organization of our economy in the struggle to create the conditions needed to raise efficiency in the use of our productive resources as well as in terms of meaningful gains in our economic development and in meeting our people's needs to an ever greater extent, even though it has been a period filled with objective difficulties, both inside the country and on the international scene, that have kept us from achieving everything we had set ourselves to do.

In referring to our prospects for the present five-year period in the report to the 1st Congress of the Party, we warned that, even though the Soviet Union and other socialist countries had guaranteed a satisfactory—even profitable—price for our sugar, this was not true of the capitalist countries, and we pointed out the impossibility of making firm predictions as to how our convertible currency income from the sale of our main export product would develop in the next five years.

In the first four years of the present five-year period, the price of sugar averaged 9 cents a pound—that is, around \$200 a ton, or around 55 percent of its world average production cost—having fallen off sharply from the levels of the last two years of the preceding five-year period, when it averaged 30 cents a pound in 1974, a little more than 21 in 1975 and even went up to 63 cents. In contrast to the drop in the price of our main export product, the prices of the imports our country needed to purchase on the world market continued to rise, keeping up with the galloping inflation that still affects the capitalist world. In 1980, the last year in the five-year period, the price of sugar began to recover, though—naturally—it has not yet begun to compensate for the previous four years.

This situation has meant that our trade relations with the capitalist world, the so-called terms of exchange, dropped 53 percent between 1975 and 1979. Thus, with the same physical volume of exports, we were not able to acquire as many products in this five-year period as in the 1971-75 one.

The interest rates on our foreign debt and on the loans we obtained to pay for equipment, turn-key plants and other products on the world market also rose sharply during these years of capitalist crisis, as did freight rates and rental fees for ships to transport our merchandise.

In addition to these difficulties of an international nature, our agricultural economy was hit by several plant and animal diseases at the end of the five-year period. A third of our sugarcane plantings were hit by mildew, which reduced our sugar production considerably in 1980; for two years in a row, blue

mold blight affected our tobacco harvest, destroying a fourth the crop in the first year and nearly 90 percent in the second. Then African swine fever struck our hogs early this year in the eastern part of the country.

Quick responses to natural disasters—all of which hit at the same time, strangely enough—resulted in their being surmounted and effectively controlled in a very short time.

In spite of all this and of our successful efforts to introduce institutional and organizational changes whose diversity, complexity, depth and scope are perhaps unmatched in all the years of Revolution, we have scored a positive achievement—an acceptable economic growth rate, particularly considering the present world situation and the conditions facing the non-producing underdeveloped countries. Over these five years the annual average increase in our Gross Social Product has been 10 percent at constant prices.

Not only have we attained this rate of growth, but we have also improved our efficiency in various ways. Labor productivity has risen at an annual rate of 3.4 percent, which means that the wage element is 2 *centavos* less in each *peso* of overall production costs. Preliminary studies show that imput of materials, the chief component in productive consumption, also dropped in relative terms, as reflected in greater efficiency in the use of raw materials, energy and fuel—although we are still far from achieving the efficiency we should and can obtain.

During this period, a significant initial effort was made to increase exports and replace imports, especially those from the capitalist market. Exports have increased more than imports compared to the previous period.

These changes in the proportion and structure of our foreign trade, determined by our commercial exchange with CMEA countries have helped, in large measure, to counter the negative effect that constantly fluctuating international prices and devastating unequal terms of trade, set by developed capitalist countries, have on our economy—and on the economies of all the underdeveloped countries.

Industrialization became the most important factor in our country's economic development during this five-year period, in fulfilling the 1st Congress agreements. National economic integration advanced, and the country's infrastructure was extended. Investments rose to 13.2 billion *pesos*, a 75 percent increase over the previous five-year period and three times as much as during the 1966-70 period. Some 4.57 billion *pesos*—35 percent of the total—were invested in industry. This was three times as much as in the previous five-year plan and 1 billion *pesos* more than the total amount invested in industry between 1961 and 1975. Agriculture received only 19 percent of the investments, a considerable drop from the 40 percent earmarked for this sector in preceding periods, when 25-30 percent of all investments went into industry. This fact is in correspondence with the agreements of the 1st Congress on the emphasis in the industrialization process during the 1976-80 five-year period.

## SUGAR INDUSTRY

Sugar production during the five harvests included in this period showed a 25 percent increase over the previous five-year period. The 1979 sugarcane harvest of 7,992,000 tons was the second largest in the country's history.

Industrial capacity increased by more than 10 percent, and better use was made of facilities, especially in the early years of

this period. The average recovery rate was 84.5 percent, as compared to 82 percent in the previous period. In 1980, oil consumption was one gallon for every ton of sugarcane that was ground, half as much as in 1976.

Investments in the sugar industry rose to 968 million *pesos*, more than double the amount for 1966-70, which had been the previous peak investment period. More than 40 sugar mills were enlarged or modernized; two new ones were incorporated in the 1980 harvest, one in Pinar del Río and the other in Camagüey; two are nearly finished; and ground has been broken for two others in 1980. These sugar mills—the first to be built in Cuba in the last half century—were designed by Cuban technicians, and approximately 60 percent of their equipment was made in Cuba.

Our railroad system was improved, and 195 diesel locomotives were added. The network of cane-conditioning centers was extended. Four new bulk-loading sugar terminals went into operation, increasing our sugar exports loaded in this way by 53 percent.

Nine of the 10 scheduled torula yeast plants were completed; a factory for making bagasse panels was finished, and two others are under construction.

Agricultural yields in sugarcane rose from 49,900 *arrobas* per *caballería* [17.33 tons per acre] in 1971-75 to 60,200 [20.89 tons per acre] in 1976-80, in spite of the sugarcane rot that hit 30 percent of the 1980 crop, interrupting the steady increase begun in 1973.

Crop care has improved: 2.5 times as much land was nitrogen-fertilized in 1980 as in 1975; herbicide treatment increased by over 40 percent. This year, sugarcane fields were given the best hand weeding since the triumph of the Revolution.

An additional 10,000 *caballerías* [331,474 acres] of sugarcane were planted, twice as much cane was irrigated—a total of 34,800 *caballerías* [1,153,490 acres]—and ten new sugarcane varieties were introduced.

The sugarcane harvested by combines rose from 25 percent of the total in 1975 to 45 percent of the total in 1980, and daily productivity per canecutter increased by 53 *arrobas* [1,342 lbs.]. Moreover, 75,000 fewer cutters were needed.

There are over 75 schools and polytechnic institutes related to the sugar industry with a capacity for 45,000 students. Twenty-six of these schools and the National Training Center for the Sugar Industry were built during the five-year period. Moreover, four of our universities offer courses to train specialists for the sugar industry and the National Center for Sugar Training was built.

The sugar industry and sugarcane agriculture were integrated this year and four agroindustrial complexes are being set up.

This year various measures have been taken to improve the performance of this important sector. A weekly rest period and a system of bonuses were introduced for working night shifts in the mills; wages of all sugar mill and sugarcane enterprise workers were raised by 15 percent; a seniority component was added to the wages of industrial workers and combine operators; the wages of agricultural workers were raised; and incentives were established for continuing work through the harvest and meeting quality standards.

Under a program of incentives sugarcane workers will be able to purchase certain articles that are in great demand. Special work tools has been improved.

This year, the industry has been reinforced by 541 more university graduates in various specialties. A stock of basic equip-

ment and spare parts has been set aside to deal with the problems that arise during the harvest.

Sugar production will continue to be the cornerstone of the economy and should attain a peak level of efficiency. Sugarcane supplies and industrial capacities will have to be increased to ensure that all the sugar mills operate for the 150 harvest days; the waste of work-time must be reduced; the rate of recovery must be raised; new refinery capacities must be added and the efficiency of the existing ones improved; the production of machinery for sugar mills must be further stepped up and the by-products industry developed; sugarcane yield must be raised and impurities eliminated; all methods of cultivation must be used and weeding improved; better use must be made of machinery in harvesting, planting and cultivating sugarcane; work productivity must be raised and the number of top canecutters' brigades increased; agroindustrial complexes must gradually be developed; and priority attention must be given to social problems so as to improve the quality of services and living conditions in the sugarcane communities. In short, better organization is required, in order to obtain greater efficiency.

## AGRICULTURE

Seriously affected by plagues, diseases and negative climatic conditions, agricultural production—including sugarcane production—grew at an annual rate of 3.5 percent.

Arable land increased by more than 850,000 cleared hectares [2,099,500 acres]; dam capacity by 2.6 million cubic meters, and irrigated land increased from 44,700 *caballerías* [1,482,000 acres] in 1975 to more than 63,000 [2,099,500] in 1980. The tilling of state farms is now fully mechanized and the mechanization of cultivation has advanced. The number of tractors has increased from 54,000 in 1975 to 70,000, with greater average power.

The use of fertilizers has risen from 959,000 tons in 1975 to 1.574 million tons in 1980, pesticides from 7,400 to more than 11,000 tons and herbicides from 11,500 to more than 16,000 tons.



More than 1,000 construction projects were finished, including 555 dairies with room for 109,000 cows, 95 nurseries for 73,000 calves, and 61 poultry farms and feeding facilities for 160,000 hogs.

Root-crops production went up from some 45 million quintals [2,250,000 tons] in 1971-75 to more than 90 million quintals [4,500,000 tons] in 1976-80, while 30 percent more vegetables were produced in this five-year period than in the previous one.

While 20 percent less land was planted to rice, the yield was 44 percent higher, so that total production was increased.

Tobacco was severely hit by blue mold blight, drastically reducing exports.

Citrus fruit production increased 60 percent over the previous five-year period, rising to more than 400,000 tons in 1980, half for export. Seven packing plants were built and refrigeration and loading facilities were enlarged.

Efforts to recover coffee and cacao production were begun by improving the plantations; some 2,000 *caballerias* [66,295 acres] of coffee have been planted; state prices on coffee and cacao seeds were raised 34 percent while workers' wages increased 20 percent; and the socioeconomic structure of productive areas began to change. The last coffee harvest yielded 24,000 tons.

Although the cattle population decreased by 7 percent, mainly due to a 20 percent reduction in the agricultural sector, 55 percent of the herds are composed of milk cows. Pasture variety has been improved, hay production and silo-storage capacities doubled and numerous molasses and *cush-cush* mixing plants were set up.

Over 3.7 billion liters of fresh milk were produced, for a 54 percent increase over the 2.44 billion liters produced in the previous period.

Pork production increased from 140,000 tons in the period 1971-75 to about 290,000 tons in 1976-80. Poultry production nearly doubled in the past five years. More than 2.1 billion eggs were produced in 1980, 300 million more than in 1975; the annual laying rate is 240 eggs per hen, 4 units higher than in 1975.

Three hundred million seedlings were planted, forestry classification was completed on 440,000 hectares of land [1,086,800 acres] and silvicultural work was increased.

More than 5,600 university agricultural specialists and 15,000 intermediate agricultural technicians were graduated in this five-year period.

Agricultural development will be attained if we achieve a significant improvement in our yields; use high-quality seeds; apply the proper technology and increase the amount of irrigated land; improve livestock feed, management and hygienic conditions; increase the number of milk-giving cows and increase the birthrate of the herds; multiply the cattle population on both state and private farms; implement labor regulations to make optimum use of the working day; and link wages to full-scale tilling of plots. Reforestation should be continued and additional measures taken to protect flora and fauna.

## BASIC INDUSTRY

Basic industrial production increased at an annual rate of 5 percent.

Installed capacity in the electric power industry increased by 1,069 megawatts, practically doubling the 1975 capacity. Electric power production grew at an 8.7 percent annual rate,

while fuel consumption decreased from 319 grams per kilowatt-hour in 1975 to 285 in 1980. In 1980 electricity reached 74 percent of all homes, compared to just over 70 percent in 1975 while per capita electricity consumption rose from 705 kilowatts-hour in 1975 to 1,028 in 1980.

Five hundred million *pesos* were invested in the electric power industry; 11,900 kilometers of lines were installed, and the connection on 220 kilovolt lines is being completed.

In spite of this progress, we are still not meeting maximum demand due to persistent difficulties in transmission, distribution and operation by individual units and the system in general, aggravated by the excessive demand for electric power, which must be reduced by launching a vigorous campaign and taking firm measures.

Special light meters are being installed throughout the state sector and rates have been increased for these installations and for individual users as well, in order to promote the saving of electricity.

Some 5.5 million more tons of oil were processed than in the previous period. Kerosene consumption increased, though distribution difficulties have persisted. A plant for manufacturing kitchen stoves was completed. Oil and gas prospecting continued, but known reserves are still insignificant.

Complete-formula fertilizer production reached the 4.5 million ton mark in comparison to the 3.3 million tons produced in the previous period. Nitrogen fertilizer production tripled.

Construction began on the Sancti Spiritus paper complex, which will have a production capacity of 60,000 tons of paper and surplus pulp for other paper mills. Work also began in Havana on a cardboard and bristol board plant. Investments were made in plants for the production of chlorine, industrial gases, glass containers, recapping, rubber industrial items and tires for agricultural equipment.

Geological prospecting, which covered only 5 percent of the country in the previous period, now covers 15 percent.

Nickel production has not changed during this period, but overhauling of the Nicaro and Moa plants continues and two new plants, each with an annual capacity of 30,000 tons, are being built.

The iron and steel and machine industry grew at an annual rate of 6.7 percent; more than 1,000 sugarcane combines have been manufactured; steel smelting increased from 1.1 million tons in the previous period to more than 1.5 million tons in this one, while the production of corrugated bars increased by 60 percent; 9,500 buses were built compared to 5,500 in the previous period; the production of refrigerators increased from 182,000 to 210,000, radios from 223,000 to more than 670,000 and television sets from 25,600 to almost 225,000; the manufacture of wire and electric cables, batteries, and agricultural equipment increased and spare part production almost doubled the figure for the preceding period.

About 440 million *pesos* were invested in this sector and several projects—a laminating system in the Antillana steel plant, the sugarcane combine factory, a battery factory, two plants for irrigation components, one for producing wheels and bearings and a stainless steel smelting plant—have been completed.

More than 5,000 workers are receiving on-the-job training, and another 3,389 have already been as skilled workers. More than 12 million *pesos* worth of iron and steel and machine products were exported in 1980.

During the next few years, steps must be taken to save energy; use installed capacities to the fullest; improve maintenance service and strengthen technological and operational plant discipline; reduce blackouts; improve fuel distribution; raise efficiency in starting up new construction works; increase the manufacture of spare parts, and of equipment for turn-key factories and production lines.

## CONSTRUCTION

Seven billion *pesos* were spent on construction projects in the 1976-80 period, about 2.8 billion more than in the previous five years.

While 480 million *pesos* were spent on industrial projects in the 1971-75 period, these expenditures came to more than 1.35 billion *pesos* in the present five-year period, in which more than 300 construction projects were completed. There has been a delay in completing some investment projects, however.

The number of hydraulic projects increased by more than 29 percent. Work began on 27 large dams, 24 of which have already been completed, and on numerous small ones. One hundred and forty-one kilometers of main canals were dug, and irrigation systems were built for almost 300,000 hectares [741,000 acres] of land, some of which will be used next year. More than 1,000 agricultural projects were completed.

More than 836 kilometers of roadbeds were built, and 7,800 kilometers of thruways, highways and roads were graded—thousands of kilometers of which have been paved, including 334 for the national thruway. Improvements were made at more than 25 airports and landing strips. Twice as many port projects were completed in 1976-80 as in the previous five-year period.

Educational facilities were doubled. Whereas schools for 180,000 secondary school students were built between 1971 and 1975, the increase in the present five-year period was for 400,000. Twenty-four nursery schools were built in the 1971-75 period, and around 200 were finished in the last five years. Four hospitals have been built and three others enlarged, making 3,000 more hospital beds available. Seventy other health care facilities were built. In the field of tourism, 22 new hotels were built.

Housing construction was one of the branches of our economy with the most problems; nonetheless, the Ministry of Construction built 83,000 units, a figure similar to the number built in the previous five-year period. There was a 60 percent increase in hydraulic projects, with 3,360 kilometers of conduits and 335 kilometers of sewers built.

Around 125 million *pesos*' worth of construction work was done in 10 foreign countries.

The construction materials industry has nearly doubled its capacity since 1975, permitting an increase in sales to the population. The new factories that have been built include two cement plants, with a capacity for turning out nearly 3 million tons of cement; 33 crushed rock and sand plants, two asbestos cement complexes; three concrete pipe plants; two lines for plumbing fixtures; and two for tiles. Cement production in the previous five-year period had totalled 8.2 million tons; the present figure is 13.4 million.

We should work on projects that reduce the consumption of materials, especially those that must be imported. The number of projects under construction should be reduced. We should

improve their quality and reduce the time for planning, building and putting these works into operation.

## TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

Transportation has grown by 31 percent.

More than 35 million tons of merchandise were handled by our country's ports in 1980—an all-time high and 35 percent more than in 1975. Twenty-five million tons of this amount was in foreign and 10 in coastal trade.

Twenty-three oceangoing ships have been added to our national fleet. Deadweight rose from 550,000 tons in 1975 to 815,000 tons now. Coastal shipping increased by 10 percent, from 87,000 tons deadweight in 1975 to 128,000 tons in 1980.

Our ports handled an average of 638,000 tons of dry cargo a month in 1980 (as compared to 553,000 in 1975), and 30 million *pesos* were invested in port facilities.

Warehouse facilities with a total floor area of 300,000 square meters were built, and 74 new cold storage chambers were put into use.

Railroad freight increased by 26 percent. Twenty million people traveled by train in 1980, 82 percent more than in 1975.

One hundred and two heavy-duty locomotives and 1,860 freight and passenger cars have been added. More than 750 kilometers of track in the central railroad were built.

Trucking increased from 7.7 million tons of freight in 1975 to some 15 million tons in 1980, an annual increase of almost 14 percent. A total of 3,987 trucks were added.

More delays linked to port operations occurred in loading and unloading ships, railway freight cars and trucks, in the last three years, but the situation has improved significantly in the last six months, due to greater organizational and mobilizing efforts.

Bus transportation increased by 17 percent between 1975 and 1980, and 10,800 units were added during this period, more than 9,000 of them built in Cuba. Havana now has 2,400 city buses; in 1975, it had 1,400.

Taxi service did not improve in this five-year period.

The number of airplane passengers on international flights tripled, reaching 194,000 in 1980. Seven planes were added; the Havana and Camagüey airports were remodeled, and new airports were opened in Las Tunas, Bayamo and Manzanillo.

Communications services were considerably improved. All the provincial capitals and other cities now have direct dialing with Havana.

A modern microwave system and radio and television transmitters were installed; the range of medium-wave broadcasts was increased, covering more than 90 percent of the nation, and telex services were increased. Four hundred and thirty kilometers of coaxial cable were laid. International communications services were enlarged and modernized, incorporating the use of satellites.

Trains have not always run on schedule; service has been poor and operational and maintenance norms have been violated. Havana's bus service faced some critical situations during part of this five-year period. Measures were taken to offer 26,000 trips a day during the last few months of the present year—reaching our goal of 29,000—over 50 percent more trips than before.

These difficulties in transportation must be overcome, since they have made it impossible to fully exploit available resources and consolidate our investment efforts. Special attention should be given to offering more efficient service.

## FOOD INDUSTRY

Production in the main branches of the food industry rose by 14 percent, with increases in the production of pasteurized milk, cheese, butter, yogurt, ice cream, wheat flour, pasta and fruit and vegetable preserves.

The production of alcoholic beverages was increased by 33 percent, and that of beer, by 15 percent. Soft drinks production was 20 percent higher in 1980 than in previous years. New production lines were introduced in the meat industry.

This branch faced difficulties during the five-year period due to shortages of packing and raw materials and because of delays in some investments.

Over 360 million *pesos* were invested in the food industry. Two wheat flour mills, six bakeries, four candy factories, six soft drinks plants, three cannery lines, several oatmeal and corn flakes factories, two for producing animal meal, a glucose plant, eight pasteurization plants, 16 ice cream storage plants and the citrus fruit complex on the Isle of Youth were completed, and new facilities were installed for processing evaporated milk.

We should improve the quality and appearance of products, offer more variety, make the greatest possible use of raw materials, diversify packaging, increase recycling and develop our citrus industry in general.

## LIGHT INDUSTRY

Light industry grew by 23 percent. Textile production, which had been 600 million square meters for the previous five-year period, rose to more than 750 million square meters for this five-year period. Two hundred and forty million ready made clothes were manufactured, as compared to 197 million in 1971-75.

Twenty-one million pairs of shoes were made in 1980, but this figure is still relatively low. Laundry soap production was lower in 1976-80 than in the previous five-year period, but the production of detergents rose by 19 percent. Toothpaste production increased by 16 percent. The production of corrugated cardboard boxes was 60 percent higher in 1980 than in 1975.

More than 400 million *pesos* were invested in light industry. A textile mill with a capacity for producing 60 million square meters of cloth a year went into operation in Villa Clara; a factory for turning out 10 million towels a year and a textile plant with an annual production capacity of 20 million square meters of cotton sacking were inaugurated in 1980. Three factories for making school desks went into operation, practically doubling previous output, and two new corrugated cardboard box factories increased production by 120 million units a year.

Production suffered because of shortages of raw materials, equipment failures, investment delays and the lack of rigorous quality controls.

Production lines should be diversified and quality raised. Special attention should be given to work clothes.

## FISHING

The 1976-80 fishing catch amounted to some 930,000 tons, 29 percent more than in the previous five years.

The 1978 catch was a record 213,000 tons. The establishment of a 200-mile limit for our territorial waters and the abrogation of some fishing agreements placed limitations on our high-seas fishing fleet. During the 1976-80 period, we exported more

than 400 million *pesos*' worth of seafoods—more than twice as much as in the previous five years.

Over 600 million *pesos* were invested. Twenty-one large trawlers, four refrigerator ships and an oil tanker were added to our fishing fleet.

We must work to increase the catches of our fishing fleets, especially our high-seas fleet; maximize our exploitation of the resources of the continental shelf; obtain larger catches from our ponds and reservoirs; and provide more fish for the population.

## FOREIGN TRADE

During this five-year period, the main features of our foreign trade have been the improvement in trade terms with the other socialist countries and the reduction of imports from the capitalist area.

A series of measures were taken during this five-year period to mitigate the negative effects that the world economic crisis has on our economy. Credit and price agreements with other CMEA countries, the coordination of five-year plans, guaranteed supplies of fuel and other raw materials, and other steps have decisively contributed in this regard.

Hard currency imports were reduced to an absolute minimum, and efforts were made to switch purchases to the socialist area. All this had positive results.

Seventy-eight percent of our total trade in 1979 was with the other members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), as compared to 56 percent in 1975. Sixty-seven percent of this was with the Soviet Union, as compared to 48 percent in 1975.

Foreign trade operations were streamlined, with emphasis placed on exports, increasing our traditional export products and including small quantities of a wide range of new export items.

Trade with the developing countries increased during this period but is still relatively low.

Exports should be increased by finding new markets and streamlining operations, raising the quality of our products, coordinating the operations of all enterprises, studying the possibilities for including new products in our trade with the socialist area and promoting trade with the developing countries.

## ECONOMIC COOPERATION

International cooperation continued to develop during this five-year period.

Within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, special emphasis has been placed on developing the production of sugar, citrus fruits, nickel, machinery for the sugar industry and computers; geological prospecting; and science and technology. Cuba is a member of the Council's banking system and participates in a series of multilateral programs in other member countries. Bilaterally, the mixed commissions systematically provide the operational procedures for fulfilling intergovernmental agreements related to investment projects and other forms of economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

We have received soft credits and grants from governments and international organizations, most of which were used for health and education.

This year, 4,300 specialists, mainly from the other socialist countries, have provided technical assistance in Cuba, while 11,000 Cubans are working in more than 30 developing countries.



During this five-year period, we have purchased important industrial plants by means of compensatory operations, using a part of production to pay off their purchase price.

All forms of multilateral and bilateral cooperation, with international organizations and others, will be further developed in the coming years; new financing methods will be used. Efforts will be made to improve the contracting and delivery of supplies for turn-key plants. We should make the best possible use of foreign technical assistance while continuing to help the other developing countries.

## SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Some 80 million *pesos* a year have been invested in scientific and technological work carried out by more than 23,000 workers, including 5,300 university graduates.

The most important results have been the selection of new sugarcane varieties, the addition of new pasture varieties, the development of equipment for the sugarcane industry, advanced technologies for the recovery of nickel and cobalt, electronic equipment and computers. The work done to eradicate African swine fever was extremely successful. The Center for Animal Health was inaugurated in this period.

The research program for the joint Soviet-Cuban space flight was of major importance.

The national system of standardization, weights and measures and quality control was partially implemented and more than 6,000 norms were established.

A nuclear research center will soon be built and work must be done to develop solar and other energy sources, protect the environment and use natural resources more rationally. The plan for scientific and technological development with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member countries should also be developed.

## RETAIL TRADE AND SERVICES TO THE POPULATION

Sales to the population grew by about 20 percent compared to 1975, but they still do not meet the people's needs completely.

The levels of basic foodstuffs were maintained. An important increase was registered in the distribution of root vegetables—59 percent more in 1980 than in 1975. Eggs, yogurt, butter and other products are no longer rationed. Various kinds of preserves, cheese, milk and other products were offered for sale without being rationed but at higher prices. Difficulties were encountered in the supply of coffee, rice and cornmeal. The farm market for unrationed produce began operating this year. The number of people getting meals in nursery schools, workers' and school cafeterias was increased.

In 1980, average daily food intake included 2,866 calories, 244 more than in 1975, and 74.5 grams of proteins, 3.1 more than in 1975.

A considerable boost was given to the distribution of durable goods, made possible by the people's increased purchasing power; the extension of the country's electric power network; and increases in national production levels and imports from other socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union.

In the preceding five-year period, around 460,000 television sets, 160,000 refrigerators, 890,000 radios, 82,000 washing machines and 28,000 fans had been distributed. In this one, the approximate figures were 770,000 television sets, 420,000 refrigerators, 1,350,000 radios, 465,000 washing machines and more

than 400,000 fans. This means that, for every 100 homes with electricity, the number of television sets rose from 33 to 74 between 1975 and 1980; refrigerators, from 15 to 38; washing machines, from 6 to 34; and radios, from 42 to 105, or just over one per family.

The distribution of industrial articles for personal use, as men's and women's clothing and some notions and toiletries, was improved. Footwear supplies, however, were insufficient.

Advances were achieved in the sphere of personal services, though their quality has been uneven. With regard to repairs of household appliances, the material base has not been adequately developed to keep up with distribution.

Ninety-one million *pesos*' worth of housing repairs and maintenance work was done during the five-year period, but this was still not enough. The last two years of the period also saw increased sales of building materials to the population.

The workers' cafeterias should be improved, both in terms of supplies, which were adversely affected in the last five-year period, and in terms of the quality of the cooking and variety of dishes. Increases in the number of more expensive and normally priced unrationed goods should not have adverse repercussions on the consumption of rationed items. Sales of locally produced arts and crafts should be promoted, as should sales of building materials to the population and reconstruction and maintenance work on housing. Services in general should be improved, offering the public higher quality, greater cleanliness and better service.

## PUBLIC HEALTH

Health services were increased and improved during the five-year period. Four hospitals were completed and three enlarged, providing an increase of some 3,000 hospital beds, thus raising the ratio in 1980 to 4.9 beds for every 1,000 inhabitants. Fifty polyclinics were completed among the new and remodeled facilities, 25 dental clinics, 17 old people's homes and 12 homes for the physically handicapped began operating. The number of doctor's visits per inhabitant rose from 4.1 in 1975 to 4.6 in 1980, and dental visits, from 0.8 to 1. Infant mortality for babies under a year old dropped from 27.3 for every 1,000 live births in 1975 to 19.3 in 1979, and the mortality rate for children from 1 to 4 years old dropped by 10 percent. Deaths in childbirth dropped from 68.4 for every 100,000 live births to 47.4 in 1979.

Life expectancy is now nearly 74 years for women, over 71 for men and almost 73 for both sexes.

Four thousand six hundred and eighty-eight doctors were graduated in this period. We now have one doctor for every 626 inhabitants; in 1975, this ratio was one for every 1,000. One thousand and fifty-five dentists were graduated; we now have one dentist for every 2,600 inhabitants. Moreover, 8,870 middle-level technicians and 12,641 nurses were graduated, and a B.S. in nursing is now being offered.

A boost was also given to the construction of medical schools. Their enrollment rose from 5,973 in 1975 to nearly 14,000 in the present school year, and enrollment in dental schools rose from 862 to over 2,000. Eight polytechnic institutes in the field of health were opened, and their enrollment rose from 13,500 in 1975 to 19,500 in 1980. A Health Development Institute was created. The work of the Tropical Medicine Institute was strengthened and it is now playing a very important and useful role.

Inconsiderate treatment in hospitals and polyclinics led to complaints from the people. This situation was improved in the

last few years—especially during 1980—by the most diverse kinds of solutions, including the purchase of several million *pesos*' worth of medical equipment and an incentive program for the nursing personnel.

Total production of medicines rose from 108 million *pesos*' worth in 1975 to around 137.3 million *pesos*' worth in 1980, to meet 81 percent of our needs. A semisynthetic antibiotics plant and an optical complex are in their final stages of construction, and other projects are either in the planning stage or under construction.

Public health expenses rose to 445 million *pesos* in 1980—22 times as high as they had been in any year prior to the Revolution.

More than 2,500 Cuban health workers are now working in 27 different countries.

The quality of medical care is being constantly raised, but more concern should be given to developing humane and sympathetic relations with patients and their relatives. Moreover, all polyclinics should be brought into the community health program, better use should be made of existing facilities, maintenance should be improved, health legislation should be applied and complied with and an all-around program of health education should be developed.

## EDUCATION

Education has been constantly improved. During the last five years, 1,293,000 students were graduated from the 6th grade (nearly twice as many as in the previous five-year period), 575,000 from junior high school (a 620 percent increase), 105,000 from senior high school (340 percent increase), 194,000 as skilled workers and technicians (a 400 percent increase), 62,700 from college (a 200 percent increase) and 67,900 as elementary school teachers (a 260 percent increase). Practically all students graduated from the 6th grade in the 1979-80 school year continued studying.

Some 25,700 students were graduated as junior high school teachers and 4,800 as physical education instructors; 115,000 adults were graduated from secondary school and 41,000 from the Worker-Farmer Education Program. The Manuel Ascunce Domenech Pedagogical Detachment has already graduated 9,597 teachers. Enrollment in special education for the handicapped has doubled. Approximately 16,000 foreign scholarship students are studying in Cuba, as are over 35 percent of our people.

Photo: Sandra Levinson



More than 970 schools, worth about 800 million *pesos*, have been built, with a capacity for over 550,000 students; these include 258 junior and senior high schools in the countryside, 251 urban junior high schools, 150 elementary schools, 63 polytechnic institutes, 13 military schools, four vocational schools, six schools for training nursery school educators and five teacher-training schools. Equipment has been purchased for 877 laboratories and workshops.

We now have 216,900 teachers, 51,400 more than in 1975. All of our elementary schools teachers have obtained teaching certificates, and 152,407 students—103,131 of whom are workers—are being trained as teachers.

The Ministry of Higher Education was created to direct a network of 39 colleges and universities. Enrollment figures for this level rose from 84,000 in 1975 to more than 200,000 in 1980, including 30,000—mainly workers—in extension courses. More than 20,000 students were graduated from higher education in the 1979-80 school year—more than double the number of students enrolled at all levels of the university prior to the Revolution.

Nursery schools were integrated in the organic structure of our educational system, and total capacity was increased from 47,000 to 87,000. In 1975, only slightly over 2 percent of the nursery educators had received specialized training; now, that figure has risen to 20 percent.

In 1980, some 1.34 billion *pesos*, or 137 *pesos* per person—16 times as much as in the year before the Revolution came to power—were spent on education.

The Che Guevara Internationalist Detachment and the Frank País and Augusto César Sandino Elementary School Teachers' Contingents are working in Angola and Nicaragua. All in all, more than 3,500 teachers and educational consultants are doing internationalist work in 20 countries.

The balance sheet for our educational system is encouraging, but it has not been free of difficulties; there have been disciplinary problems, and the students in some schools—especially the boarding schools—have not shown the proper respect for public property and personal effects.

Work will continue to improve the quality of education and link work and study more closely. Science and technology clubs will be promoted, as will vocational activities. Our schools facilities will be improved, and primary and secondary education will be consolidated in general. Steps must be taken to improve higher education. All adolescents, young people and workers will be urged to finish the 9th grade; adult education, women's advancement and technical and professional training will be boosted. Education will continue to receive priority attention as one of our people's important goals.

## CULTURE

We can feel satisfied with our achievements in the field of culture. A very creative atmosphere has prevailed in this important sector of social work.

The joining of various cultural agencies into a single Ministry of Culture, the work done by the National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba (UNEAC) and the consolidation of our young artists' social organizations have resulted in a coherent cultural policy.

People's Cultural Councils were set up to coordinate and promote cultural activities. People's Power has worked hard to

provide the basic cultural facilities that were needed in each municipality; 117 such centers have already carried out 86,000 cultural activities. Cultural weeks and festivals have been held in various municipalities, and the Saturday afternoon entertainment in Havana's Cathedral Square and the cultural soirées on Heredia Street in Santiago de Cuba have become quite famous.

In line with our art education policy, 8 new vocational schools are under construction and more than 5,000 students are enrolled in our 16 basic and 21 intermediate art schools and in our Art College.

The amateurs' movement has been consolidated. We now have around 33,000 amateur groups, with more than 250,000 members. In 1975, there were only 18,000 groups, with around 200,000 members.

The more experienced theater groups have been stabilized, and work has been done with *nouveau*, musical and itinerant theater groups. The opening of the National Theater was highly significant.

The prestige of the National Ballet of Cuba has continued to grow. The three ballet festivals organized in our country attracted the most outstanding international figures in the world of dance.

Cuban music now has greater influence than before among young people and the rest of the population. Eight million records, and 2.96 million musical instruments were produced.

October 20 has been named Cuban Culture Day. A Study Center on Martí and a Cuban Music Research and Promotion Center were created. Laws were issued on our cultural patrimony, national and local monuments, municipal museums and copyrights. Ninety-one new national monuments and 59 local ones have been created. The country now has 78 museums, more than 40 of which were founded during the last five years. The original section of Havana will be restored.

Progress has been made in defining the main guidelines for artistic and literary production. Measures will be taken to change the traditional concept of plastic arts and assign them a broader social role, relating artistic work to production.

More than 200 million books were published (5,000 different titles). The Juan Marinello Printing Complex in Guantánamo, which can turn out 30 million books a year, has started up operations. Book sales have increased considerably, rising from an average of 4.1 books per reader in 1975 to 6 in 1980. The production of children's books also increased—to 29 million (489 titles). Reading clubs now have 5,000 members.

Cuba's movie industry produced 36 full-length features, 196 documentaries, 260 newsreels and 72 cartoons. Forty-one movie theaters were built, and the laboratory for making color movies went into operation.

The Casa de las Américas has consolidated its well-deserved international prestige.

The 3rd CARIFESTA held in Cuba was a great success. Hundreds of foreign artists have visited Cuba, hundreds of Cuban artists have performed in other countries, winning 223 prizes and honorable mentions in international contests. The Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra Prize, awarded to illustrious Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier, was especially important.

All the workers in this field of activity have been evaluated, and ways and means have been found for promoting stability in this sector.

Cultural activities should fill more of our leisure time; the amateurs' movement should be promoted; art should be taught



in our schools; and our mass media should be used more effectively to promote culture and stimulate the arts to make an active contribution to production of material goods.

## SPORTS

Our sports movement continued advancing during this five-year period. Twice as many people took part in sports activities as before, and participation in recreational activities and physical education also rose.

Ninety-four sports facilities were built, and seven athletes' training colleges and five for training specialists were opened. Four thousand eight hundred middle-level technicians and our first 663 higher-level physical education technicians were graduated. The sporting goods industry turned out slightly over 11 million *pesos*' worth of items in 1980.

We held on to our first place in the Central American Games and second in the Pan American Games—winning more medals in both events than ever before. In the Olympics, we rose from 14th place in 1972 to 8th place in 1976 and to 4th place in the 1980 Moscow Olympics (in which some capitalist sports powers did not participate). Several Cubans hold Olympic and world records; we are the world champions in boxing, baseball and women's volleyball; and we have also done well in other sports, some of which, such as handball and field hockey, were practically unknown in Cuba up until 10 years ago.

Nevertheless, we lack young athletes in many sports who can maintain our present standing or raise it—as shown by the few new Cuban athletes who participated in the Moscow Games and our somewhat poor performance there in several sports. This was mainly due to the fact that we have not always promoted mass participation in sports but have pushed individual champions, placing more emphasis on winning every event—no matter how important—than on developing new athletes.

The critical, objective analysis begun on these problems should lead us to correct our mistakes and obtain better results.

We provide technical assistance in this field to more than 30 countries, and around 200 young people from 14 countries are studying in our sports schools.

Better use should be made of our sports facilities, and mass participation—especially by schoolchildren—in sports, recreation and physical education should be increased as one of the best ways of spending leisure time and guaranteeing a strong sports movement.

## TOURISM

Four thousand three hundred rooms were added to our tourist capacities, 2,800 in hotels and 1,500 in villas. Twenty-two hotels were built, 21 of which have already been opened.

Around 340,000 foreign tourists (not including Cubans living abroad) visited our country during this period, more than 100,000 in 1980 alone—2.6 times as many as in 1975.

Around 10,000 Cubans visited other socialist countries.

Seven million Cubans made use of tourist facilities within the country. Camping, tourist trips and tours were promoted.

The quality of services should be improved significantly, better use should be made of existing facilities and more choices should be offered.

## LABOR POLICY AND SOCIAL SECURITY

The organization of labor was somewhat bogged down in the early years of the five-year period, but 725,000 jobs were normed in 1980, and 8 percent more workers' wages are linked to their fulfillment of norms. At present, the wages of 1.12 million workers are linked to productivity, and more than half a million have been included in the bonus system.

A general wage reform was approved this year and already benefits more than a million workers. When fully applied, it will mean a total wage increase of around 670 million *pesos* a year. The reform raised the wages of workers with the lowest incomes. Its application is conditioned on improving labor organization and linking wages and productivity. In order to help underwrite the added expenses entailed in the wage reform, a retail price reform is planned—to compensate for it in part. Other measures will also be taken, including offering the people more goods and services.

Women workers now constitute 32 percent of the total labor force (27 percent in 1975). Around 11,000 young people are working and gaining new skills in other socialist countries, and 20,000 workers are providing technical assistance and doing construction work abroad.

The government issued a decree on the labor rights of internationalist workers. A law was issued prohibiting the creation of any more traditionally fixed salaries. It was agreed to gradually apply the system of directly contracting the labor force, which will be applied later on in Havana and City of Havana Provinces.

A law on work safety and hygiene was issued, and the Institutes of Work Safety and Labor Medicine were created. A social security law was issued that provides more, better quality welfare services. The number of people receiving social security benefits was increased by more than 150,000, to nearly 700,000, and 715 million *pesos*—122 million more than in 1975—were set aside for this purpose.

In order to strengthen labor discipline, two legislative decrees were issued, one empowering the administrations in the work centers to impose and apply disciplinary measures and the other curbing infractions of discipline or responsibility by administrators and other officials.

We should consolidate the organization of work, struggle to raise productivity, set better norms, finish implementing the wage reform and watch its results, give a boost to the bonus system, promote the creation of useful new jobs, coordinate the graduates from the various specialties more closely with the needs of our economy and ensure that measures on labor safety and hygiene are applied.

## THE ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

Positive steps have been made in gradually applying the Economic Planning and Management System to increase efficiency, use our natural resources to better advantage and raise the economic consciousness of our political and administrative cadres.

Important tasks have been carried out in planning, and the plan has begun to play its proper role as the guiding factor in economic activity. Methodology in formulating annual and five-year plans has advanced, and efforts are now concentrated on development projections up to the year 2000. Schedules for drawing up the plan have been improved each year, and partici-

pation by the enterprises and workers has increased. Such categories as investments, costs, profits and profitability have been included; plans have been developed for the various economic sectors; and the organizational basis for developing territorial planning has been created.

The system of economic contracting is being established and developed, even though difficulties have arisen due to lack of full understanding of the importance of such contracts in carrying out the plan. The process of drawing up and approving the regulations governing contracts has been slow, and delays have occurred in establishing the state arbitration agencies which provide an important link in economic discipline.

The State Committee for Statistics was created, and a national network for data collection was organized, with offices in all the municipalities. Statistical information systems have been set up at the national and local levels, and complementary services have been provided in an effort to eliminate requests for unauthorized and overlapping information.

Systems of classification and codification for economic activities are being drawn up, an inventory has been made of basic materials and their value and several surveys and censuses that are very important for the economy have been completed. A struggle is being waged to achieve higher efficiency and quality in statistical services, and preparatory work is under way for the population and housing census that will be made in 1981.

The State Committee for Finances was set up, and since 1979 budget-making has been extended to the municipal level. The Organic States Budgetary Law was adopted, budgetary income from enterprises and other sources has been set, the enterprises are drawing up their financial plans in line with financial norms, a national accounting system has been put into operation and rates of amortization have been set according to the regulations governing the amortization fund, but we still have a great deal to do on these last points.

Banking has been restructured, and collections and payments among state agencies have been reinstated. The cash plan is being drawn up to permit planning, control and analysis of the money in circulation. The system of short-term credits has been established for enterprises, and the National Bank controls the funds for wages and investments. The savings bank is being set up with a view to facilitating and encouraging individual savings accounts.

The State Committee for Prices was established. Its first function was to register and determine rates and prices, following which it set surcharge and discount rates so that commercial enterprises and food services could operate on the basis of cost accounting. Regulations were established for planning, calculating and registering costs, and, what is even more important, the 1981 plan was based on the new wholesale prices set by the price reform. Retail prices are being adjusted now.

The State Committee for Technical and Material Supply was established after this activity was reorganized on a nationwide basis throughout the country. Procedures have been simplified and made more flexible, and norms have been set for the use of storage facilities and conservation of products and for inventories and material consumption—in which delays, nonfulfillment and lack of discipline are still evident. Efforts are being made to recover raw materials and other inputs and to reduce idle stock, creating the basic conditions to establish a system of state reserves.

The basic factors in developing labor organization and determining wages have been established. A monetary incentives plan based on efficiency has been drawn up and applied to 200 enterprises, and other sociocultural measures are also being used on an experimental basis. In the next five-year period, this system should be extended to all enterprises, in the interests of the workers and of the economy as a whole.

The State Committee for Standardization was established and has laid the basis for ensuring product quality in the next five-year period.

An institute for computer technology was established and has begun to establish new networks, develop old ones and organize collective computer centers to provide certain services in the provinces.

Computer equipment is gradually being introduced in enterprises; automated management systems—and, to a lesser extent, computer systems for technological processes and projects—are being designed.

Progress has been achieved in the training of economic cadres and administrators. Some 10,000 have been trained in the National School of Management (which has recently become a college) and in the provincial school. For various reasons, however, 30 percent of the directors and deputy directors of enterprises have not attended these schools, and the resources available for this purpose have not, therefore, been fully used. Starting with the 1980-81 academic year, regular university courses are being offered in economic management.

In the general education system, more than 6,000 technicians were graduated from the university and more than 18,000 from polytechnical institutes, specializing in different economic branches.

The network of enterprises has gradually been organized and the number reduced from 3,050 to 2,420, some 95 percent of which are implementing the basic elements of cost accounting—though with limitations, shortcomings and disciplinary failures which must be overcome.

General regulations have been drawn up for the enterprises, determining their degree of autonomy and independence in economic matters, but they have not yet been fully applied.

More information has been issued on the system this year, but it is still not enough.

The basic elements and main factors of the Economic Planning and Management System were established during this five-year period. When we decided to implement this system, we were aware that it would be a long time before we could hope to reap any benefits from it, but we have been pleasantly surprised—we have obtained positive results right from the start.

The difficulties involved were analyzed at the two plenary meetings, called by the National Implementation Commission, set up by the Party Congress, and it was decided to adjust the system to meet existing conditions and eliminate errors and shortcomings.

In the next five-year period, all the parts of this system will be developed and improved as much as possible, and everyone—the Party, first of all, but also the central state bodies and agencies, enterprises, workers, mass organizations, economic and administrative cadres and economic managers—will have the revolutionary responsibility and political duty to struggle constantly and make every effort to carry out the aim and decision to implement this system, in spite of all shortcomings.

We are duty-bound to keep trying to strengthen and improve our work, thus steadily increasing the economic efficiency of the enterprises and our economy as a whole.

## INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS

In the period since the 1st Congress, the revolutionary state has made considerable progress in institutionalization.

On February 24, 1976—anniversary of the beginning of the 1895 war of independence—our socialist Constitution was promulgated, after being approved by 97.7 percent of the voters in a plebiscite in which 98 percent of the eligible voters took part. It was a clear, free, honest and popular decision.

Throughout 1976, a substantial change was made in the politico-administrative division of the country. Fourteen provinces and a special municipality directly subordinate to the central power were formed, replacing the six old provinces; 169 municipalities replaced the 407 old ones. The 58 regional divisions, midway between the municipal and provincial levels, were eliminated. The new territorial division has made it possible to bring the leadership levels closer to the grassroots, facilitating the tasks of direction, organization and control by the state, the Party and the various political and mass organizations. It has given a more rational dimension to the provinces and municipalities and made it possible to greatly reduce the number of administrative employees and cadres. This radical transformation, how-

ever, has caused many difficulties throughout the process of its implementation, since it made it necessary to reorganize all the state, political and mass institutions, upsetting the normal work pace for a while.

Within these new territorial frameworks, the bodies of People's Power were created throughout the country. Elections of delegates and deputies were organized and held, and the corresponding Assemblies were set up—the most important step taken by our Revolution in the institutionalization process.

The bodies of People's Power created the best possible conditions for the exercise of socialist democracy, the highest form of democracy, by institutionally facilitating the masses' participation in governing the society, at both the local and national levels.

More than 10,000 delegates to the 169 Municipal Assemblies, elected in completely democratic procedures and constantly responsible to the masses, represent our people at the local level. They are empowered to appoint and replace the administrative leaders and officials at the municipal level and make basic decisions on local affairs. They also elect the delegates to the Provincial Assemblies and Deputies to the National Assembly, the highest-ranking state agency, mainly from among their own members.

The local bodies of People's Power are in charge of the main activities in services related to education and public health, sports, culture, recreation, community services, the storage of agricultural produce, retail trade, public restaurants and related units; repair services, local transportation and many activities related to industrial production. These basic institutions of our state have engaged in intensive economic, administrative and socioeducational activities, making a meaningful contribution to the central government agencies in such important activities as the sugarcane harvest, the tobacco harvest and investment controls, paying increasing attention to the activities they control.

The delegates have met regularly with their electors, and the Assemblies and their executive bodies have also met regularly.

The delegates have done self-sacrificing, outstanding work in their electoral districts as representatives of the people. They have analyzed and tried to find solutions for the problems raised by the people, even though they have not always been able to give the best possible reply to the issues raised.

The achievements of People's Power may be described as a victory for our people and their socialist Revolution and have confirmed the correctness of the decisions, adopted by the 1st Congress with regard to their creation.

In spite of these advances, however, some important aspects of the functioning of these institutions must still be improved. In the next five years, we should work hard to further bolster the prestige and authority of our representative institutions and increase the role of delegates and deputies, giving them more support so they can carry out their functions better. We should struggle to eliminate the causes that have led many rendering-of-accounts sessions to become mere formalities. We should strengthen the activities of the local administrations; improve the functioning of the delegates, assemblies, executive committees and administrative leaderships; and keep up a permanent struggle against the tendency toward bureaucratic mismanagement, stickiness in problem-solving, red tape, negligence and indifference to the problems and needs of the population. The local bodies of People's Power should be more demanding with regard to the administrative dependencies, enterprises and units, so as to make them work more efficiently in providing adequate solutions to the problems raised by the people and to give them satisfactory explanations when immediate solutions are not possible.

In order to adjust the government's activities to the Constitution and to the Economic Planning and Management System, the central state administration, composed of the Council of Ministers, its Executive Committee and the main agencies was reorganized in 1976. In the first phase, there were 43 such agencies, which were reduced to 35 in the second phase of rationalization, that started in January this year. In the same process, state arbitration and such central agencies as the State Committees for Finances, Prices, Statistics, Technical and Material Supply and Standardization and the Institute for Computer Technology—all of which have an important role to play in the Economic Planning and Management System—were established. The institutions of the central government have been simplified and improved, but more work is required to make our state administration less bureaucratic and more efficient in expediting matters at all levels. We should bring more technical rigor to our studies of organizational mechanisms and define the functions and relations between these institutions and the local bodies of People's Power more clearly.

The juridical and fiscal bodies were also restructured during this period, to make their organization fit the new political-administrative division and the bodies of People's Power better, and several laws related to the work of these bodies were issued. Nevertheless, in spite of these changes, important shortcomings in the administration of justice were observed, both in the field of juridical regulations and in their practical application. These shortcomings are now being overcome by the People's Supreme Court and the Attorney General's Office, but it will also be necessary to undertake an overall revision of legislation related to the judicial system and to study and define more concretely

the activities of the Ministry of Justice with regard to the functioning of these bodies.

As we said in the Main Report to the 1st Congress, the current Constitution obliges us to complete the process of eliminating the legality set up by the society of exploiters and to establish our own legality—socialist legality—in its place. To do this, we must eliminate thousands of anachronistic clauses contained in old laws, codes and regulations that were created by bourgeois society and replace them by socialist juridical norms.

The fruitful legislative work, done by the National Assembly, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers and its Executive Committee, during the years that have passed since the 1st Congress, has made a considerable contribution to the development of socialist legality in our country. This experience reveals the advantages of having a legislation plan, establishing priorities with a view to promulgating laws to meet our development needs.

#### THE 1981-85 PERIOD

The drafting of the 1981-85 five-year plan has been in progress for the past two and a half years and its target figures are included in the economic and social guidelines that will be submitted to this Congress.

According to the agreements reached after coordinating plans with the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Vietnam and Mongolia; those that are close to completion with Rumania; and those in advanced stages of discussion with Hungary and Poland, trade with these countries will increase by 30 percent from the current five-year period, while credits will double. In drawing up these agreements, nearly 900 items—three times as many as in this period—and the quantities that will be imported each year, have been specified. Careful plans have also been made for trade in the capitalist market, on which our economy still depends to a certain extent. In short, we consider that the plan has been conceived on a realistic basis.

The plan enables us to forecast a general annual economic growth of approximately 5 percent during the period 1981-85, which will be higher than the 4 percent achieved in the current period.

A significant feature of this plan is its marked emphasis on increasing exports and replacing imports, in an effort to reduce our dependency on foreign markets. The plan projects a higher growth in exports than in the Gross Social Product and a lower average annual growth in imports than in our overall economic growth. The volume of traditional exports will be increased and priority will be given to new export lines. We will try to attain a 15 percent reduction in imported resources for each *peso's* worth of production.

The plan is aimed at gradually meeting our people's needs, especially those that have not yet been met, and at solving some of the bottlenecks in our economy. In this regard, it is not basically an investment plan, although investments will grow by 15-20 percent, including some that will contribute significantly to our economic development. The rate of accumulation, or the part of the national income earmarked for the expansion of production, investments included, will be slightly lower than it has been in the current period.

The tendency will be to complete investment projects under way rather than to start new ones, and to shorten construction, assembly and testing periods.

Priority will be given to industrial projects and housing, with a view to completing approximately 200,000 new houses in the coming five years—two and a half times as many as in the current period.

Some 1,200 specified projects and programs will be initiated and 1,000 of them completed.

The plan envisions the completion of some 500 industrial projects and programs out of a total of 560, more than 250 schools, approximately 150 health care centers and more than 1,000 agricultural installations.

The resources allotted for the construction of storage facilities have been doubled compared to the 1976-80 period; special attention will be given to cold-storage plants and to loading and unloading terminals, in an effort to solve a traditional bottleneck in our economic management due to insufficient storage capacity (and the consequent deterioration of products). The Plan will also seek to alleviate transportation problems, giving priority to resources for port facilities.

Resources for building maintenance will be doubled and the network of aqueducts and sewage systems will be extended considerably, mainly in the cities of Havana and Santiago de Cuba.

The projected volume of construction in other countries will be several times higher than that for the present period and more than twice as many workers will be involved.

Sugar production is expected to increase by from 20 to 25 percent over the figures for the present five-year period. An important investment plan will be applied in this branch, to increase daily potential milling capacity by 13-15 percent. At least eight new sugar mills will be completed in the next five years. The construction of other mills, to be completed in the next five-year period, is also under way.

Sugarcane agriculture should average more than 70,000 arrobas per *caballería* [148.20 tons per acre] nationally—and 80,000 to 90,000 [169.44 to 190.44 tons per acre] in some provinces. More than 50 percent of the cane should be cut by machine. Twenty thousand more *caballerías* [662,948 acres] of land will be planted to sugarcane, and more than 30 percent of the total area will be irrigated. The number of combines and tractors will be increased, and their distribution will be improved. Some 50,000 housing units will be built in order to improve the living conditions of sugarcane agriculture and sugar industry workers.

The generation of electricity will be increased by more than 50 percent, and 1,000 to 1,200 more megawatts of electric power will be used. At the same time, work will continue on the Juraguá nuclear-power plant and the water pumping storage plant for the central part of the country. Problems will still arise during peak load periods, but they may be considerably reduced if the measures that have been proposed for this purpose are taken. For example, meters will be installed to measure how much electricity the 5,400 or so state enterprises that consume 55 percent of the energy provided by the national system require at peak load times. This will make it possible to set high rates for these large state consumers, to discourage unnecessary consumption. Moreover, the new rate for home owners that has just gone into effect should encourage them to be more sparing in their use of electricity. As a contributory measure, sales of fluorescent lights will be promoted, for these lights provide better illumination with a reduced consumption of electricity. At present, every 100 family units use an average of only 18 fluorescent lights; by 1985, this figure should be raised to 250, for an average of two and a half of these lights in every home.

A 10-15 percent increase in available fuel is planned. The enlargement of our refineries will result in considerable increase by the end of the five-year period for domestic production of by-products, including liquefied gas and kerosene for home use. The production of processed lubricants will also rise. Investments in this branch, which will be more than two and a half times those made in the last five years, will include finishing the remodeling and enlargement of the *Ñico López* and *Hermanos Díaz* Oil Refineries.

Work will continue on the first stage of the new refinery in Cienfuegos and on beginning the supertanker base in Matanzas.

Nickel production will rise when the overhauling of the *Moa* and *Nicaro* plants is concluded and when the *Punta Gorda* plant goes into production near the end of the five-year period. Construction will be begun on the new *Las Camariocas* Nickel Plant, and on a plant to process the zinc, lead, pyrite and barium oxide deposits and produce sulphuric acid in the *Castellanos* Mine, *Pinar del Río*.

In the field of chemistry, fertilizer production should increase by 30 percent; pharmaceuticals, by 25 percent; and inner tubes and tires, by around 50 percent, by modernizing and enlarging existing plants. The production of liquid chlorine and caustic soda will be more than doubled. The production of industrial gas will rise by more than 40 percent, and increases will also be registered in soap, make-up and cosmetics. Plant capacities for producing detergents will be used to better advantage, and a liquid detergent plant will be built, with a capacity of 15,000 tons per year.

The investment program for this branch includes building a concentrated insecticide plant, beginning work on a plant to produce semi-processed resins (for use in making paint) and resins for artificial wood panels, enlarging our salt works and modernizing our soap and tennis shoe factories. Salt production in the next five years will be 50 percent greater than at present, bottle production will be doubled, and the production of paper and pasteboard will be increased by more than 50 percent.

The first stage of the new plate glass factory will go into operation in *Pinar del Río* Province, and the factory in *San José de las Lajas* will be enlarged. A bottle factory will be opened in *Las Tunas*.

The Paper Combine in the *Uruguay* Sugar Mill and a new toilet paper line in the *Técnica Cubana* Plant will go into operation. The *Damují* and *Pulpa Cuba* Paper Mills will be modernized and enlarged, and the *Santa Cruz del Norte* pasteboard and bristol board factory will go into production.

The third stage in the enlargement of the *Antillana* Iron and Steel Plant will be begun, as will construction of the integrated iron and steel plant in *Holguín*. The production of corrugated steel bars will be 15-20 percent greater in the next five years than in the last period, and the production of sugarcane combines will be more than doubled. The production of buses and trucks will be increased by more than 40 percent—especially in the case of 11-meter city buses. The production of batteries will be more than doubled, and the production of irrigation equipment in the *Manzanillo* and *Cienfuegos* factories will also be increased.

More spare parts will be produced by making better use of existing capacities and opening up some new ones.

A plant for turning out discs for plows and harrows, the *Martyrs of the 26th of July* Farm Implements Plant, a sugarcane trailer plant and a number of diesel and gasoline engine repair shops will go into operation.

The construction of equipment and turn-key plants will be developed both to replace imports and for export. Railroad passenger coaches will be built, and the production of transistor and other radios and television sets will be more than doubled. Color television sets will be produced in Cuba for the first time.

The production of kerosene burners and spare parts for them will also increase.

Textile production will go up by 50-60 percent. The spinning mill will go into operation, with a capacity for turning out 15,000 tons of thread, as will the Santiago de Cuba Textile Combine, which will be able to turn out 80 million meters of cloth a year. Our tanneries and shoe factories will be modernized, and other investments will be made to produce higher-quality, longer-lasting, more comfortable shoes and increase the variety of styles. The production of mattresses, pads and household furniture will also be increased considerably.

Cement production will reach 4.5 million tons in 1985, which will make it possible to both meet our national needs and increase our exports; the production of crushed stone and sand will be increased by 14 and 40 percent, respectively, in comparison with the current five-year period. Construction of 50 prefabricated panels plants will be begun, and 35 of them will be completed by the end of the next five-year period, in order to fulfill our ten-year housing construction plan. Investments will be made in the building materials industry to meet the need for installation and finishing materials.

Production in the food industry will increase at an average annual rate of 4 to 4.5 percent. Meat production will jump more than 20 percent over this year's figures, and more canned meat will be made available; the production of processed fruits and vegetables will be nearly doubled, with the citrus fruit industry playing a major role.

The production of alcoholic beverages will be increased considerably; half again as many bottled soft drinks will be available as were produced in this period and beer production will also be increased, stressing quality. The five existing breweries will be modernized; a new one will be built in Camagüey, and construction will begin on another one, at the end of this five-year period, to start up in 1986-90. Five lines of soft drinks will be installed in four new plants, and two new bottled mineral water plants will be opened. As the damaging effects of blue mold blight are overcome, the production of cigars and cigarettes should recover.

In the fishing industry, gross catch is expected to grow by 10 percent a year, and aquaculture will be given a boost by creating 10 fingerling-breeding centers and more than 20 hatcheries.

In agriculture, significant growth is anticipated in coffee, tobacco, citrus and other fruits, grain and especially root and other vegetables.

Thirty-three new reservoirs and other water projects will be built by 1985, an additional 18,000 to 19,000 *caballerías* [596, 653 to 629,800 acres] of land are expected to be placed under irrigation (not including sugarcane fields). There will be many more tractors. As to soil nutrients, the use of fertilizers is expected to increase by 40 percent and some 3,500 kilometers of secondary roads and 30,000 housing units will be built in agricultural areas.

It has been decided that all the state agricultural enterprises, including the sugar mills and cattle farms, should produce enough vegetables, over and above those to be sold to the state, so they

can supply their workers' cafeterias and the families of farmers and sugarcane workers. Additional offers of food will be available in the farm markets of unrationed produce.

Citrus fruit production should be about two and a half times as high and milk production about 30 percent higher in this five-year period. The production of beef, pork and poultry will increase on a sustained basis, and egg production will surpass the high levels already achieved. It has been decided to develop grain production, especially beans, in order to replace imports and meet the people's needs.

Railroad passenger transportation should improve with the completion of the central railroad and the construction of railroad switch points, stations and spurs. Urban passenger transportation will be reinforced with the addition of over 2,500 buses, to meet most of Havana's transportation needs. Some of the buses now operating in Havana, plus more than 4,000 Girón V buses, will be added to the fleets in other cities. Around 13,000 new taxis, 16 new planes for long- and intermediate-range flights and over 30 ships will be added to our transportation system. The national thruway will be extended approximately 250 kilometers. More than 600 kilometers of roads will be built and 1,000 kilometers of the existing ones will be repaired.

An additional 84,000 telephone lines will be strung; a coaxial cable will be laid in stages, for completion in 1985; and city-to-city direct dialing will be introduced throughout the country.

The standard of living will rise throughout the period, with emphasis on individual consumption—which will increase by more than 4 percent a year. Social consumption will increase at an annual rate of about 3 percent.

Real per capita income in 1985 will be 15 to 20 percent higher than it is at present.

In the field of nutrition, daily consumption should reach 3,155 calories and 81.7 grams of proteins per person. From 250 to 300 pounds of root and other vegetables per person will be raised annually. The production of other basic food products will also increase, though not to such high levels.

Supplies for restaurants and other eating places should also be increased, with priority placed on improving the quality of workers' cafeterias, which had dropped in the last few years.

Textile supplies will be increased by around 3 percent per year, and towels, by 150 percent. More work clothes will be produced. In shoe production, emphasis will be placed on quality and styles, with some increase in quantity.

The plan also calls for using resources to produce labor safety and hygiene devices.

The availability of household appliances and other durable goods—television sets, refrigerators, radios, washing machines, electric fans and, for the first time, air conditioners—will be increased substantially. A plant will be installed to reactivate 50,000 television tubes a year. Some 30,000 cars—double the figure for the previous years—will be sold to workers on the basis of need and other specific qualifications and approximately 60,000 motorcycles will be made available to the people in general.

More than a million new stoves—mainly kerosene burners—will be produced and stove repair shops will be opened. Fuel supplies will be increased and deliveries to individual consumers will be improved.

A series of new food and industrial products will be sold in the parallel market, gradually reducing the number of rationed



products and providing an outlet for surplus goods, without affecting low-income families.

Price reductions on such important retail products as medicines and price increases on items whose production costs have risen are now under study. While this price reform will produce an increase in overall expenses, this increase will remain well below the income increases that are being made through the wage reform and the introduction of the bonus system.

An income tax for farmers is also under study, with a view to having them contribute along with the rest of the people, to the development of our economy and the financing of such important public services as health and education. Income taxes on farmers' cooperatives will be lower than the individual farmers' income tax.

Major advances will also be made in public health: the number of hospital beds for every 1,000 inhabitants will be increased from 4.9 to 5.2, and we will have one doctor for every 440 instead of 626 inhabitants and a dentist for every 1,900 instead of 2,600 inhabitants. Ten new hospitals, 80 polyclinics and twice as many old people's homes as were built in 1976-80 will be completed.

In the next five years the structure of school enrollment will change in line with the overall educational development and the expected modifications in the age pyramid. To cope with this situation new schools will be built at all levels of education.

By 1985, we will have nursery schools for 12 percent of all children under the age of 4 (the present figure is 11 percent), day schools with lunch programs for 30 percent of the children between 6 and 11 (the present figure is 20.8 percent), junior high boarding schools for more than 40 percent of our young people between 12 and 17 (the present figure is 35.7 percent) and university facilities for 3.9 percent of the population over 17 years old (the present figure is 3.4 percent). Repair brigades will be organized to work on 100 junior high schools a year.

Cultural and recreational facilities will continue to be increased: 40 new movie theaters will be built and several theaters remodeled.

Thirteen new hotels will be completed, and existing installations will be repaired and modernized, providing nearly 6,000 additional rooms.

While setting modest goals, the plan provides for major improvements in the standard of living, and economic development as well. In view of the present world situation of economic crisis and the fact that ours is an underdeveloped country subjected to economic blockade and U.S. imperialist aggression, an average annual growth rate of 5 percent will undoubtedly constitute a great victory. We are, therefore, duty-bound to do everything we possibly can to ensure that the socioeconomic guidelines discussed in this Congress and the goals set for the five-year plan are implemented fully.

Many needs, desires and hopes are not reflected in this plan, and, in our eagerness to solve the people's problems, we always tend to be idealistic and impatient, seeking to meet all their needs as quickly as possible, but we must be realistic, aware of our limitations. Our people understand this when we explain it to them, when we point out the reasons why we were unable to achieve all we had hoped to in a given period.

We should work to implement this plan, adapt it to our immediate needs and ensure that it responds to the people's basic demands and necessities, while at the same time working toward

long-range solutions that we will not be able to provide now nor put into practice until after the next five years.

## PERSPECTIVES FOR THE YEAR 2000

The first steps toward drawing up what has since come to be known as the Strategy for Socioeconomic Development through the Year 2000 were taken a little more than two years ago. Hundreds of specialists and administrative cadres from all agencies have worked hard to draw up principles and goals for our country's future development.

These studies are still in a preliminary stage, but the aim is to make our next five-year plan on the basis of long-range perspectives.

The main goal of our country's socioeconomic development is to finish creating the technical-material base for socialism by means of socialist industrialization and a sustained rise in the efficiency of social production; gradual economic evolution toward a rational structure of production that will permit relatively high, sustained growth; the development of economic specialization, cooperation and integration both nationally and with foreign countries; increasing satisfaction of the people's material and spiritual needs; and their integral development—so Cuba gradually attains the level of development of the European countries that belong to the CMEA.

The sugar industry, mining and metallurgy, the machine and electronics industries, the chemical industry and the industries that produce consumer goods should be given priority in this development program.

Constant increases should be maintained for sugar, our main export product, and sugarcane by-products should be promoted, diversified and increased.

In mining and metallurgy, the most efficient methods must be used to extract full value from existing mineral deposits, on the basis of low-energy technologies and growing integration with the machine industry, increasing steel production as much as possible.

The machine and electronics industries must increasingly guarantee a supply of the machinery, equipment and spare parts needed for industrialization, combining domestic needs with export possibilities.

Photo: Frank Stewart



Development in the chemical industry should combine options for production based on sugarcane by-products with those based on national resources that use little energy.

In the industrial sectors that produce consumer goods, especially in the food and light industries, development must be based on meeting consumer demands and increasing export products promoting local arts and crafts.

Agricultural production should continue to be one of the most important factors in our economy, growing at higher rates and on a sustained basis. To accomplish this, agricultural yields will have to be increased through more rational use of land, water and assigned resources; crop rotation; the development of a national animal feed program; improved animal and plant protection; and stepping up the creation of additional agricultural cooperatives.

The sectors of production that provide transportation, communications and trade services must be developed to meet the production, distribution and consumption needs of the economy.

Our country's industrialization also requires that the inter-relationships among the various branches of the national economy be strengthened and that large productive complexes be established to permit the best possible use of available resources.

Prospects for integrating three major production complexes—one for sugarcane and agriculture, one for food, agriculture and industry and one for mining, metallurgy and machinery—are good.

As a key factor in economic development, the country will have to set aside considerable resources for an increasingly complex investment program to expand the machine and equipment industry; enlarge our construction capacities and building materials industry; develop our projects infrastructure; and organize, plan, manage and make investments on a much broader and more sophisticated scale.

The policy of saving energy and using it efficiently should continue; more electricity should be generated for our economy, basically in nuclear power plants; and domestic energy sources—especially the renewable and non-conventional ones—should be developed.

Knowledge of our country's natural resources and their efficient use and protection is essential for extending the national raw materials base. Generally speaking, our country has few natural resources, and some of our known resources are being used up; others are not expected to last past the end of this century. This is why our arable land, forest, water resources, insular shelf and mineral reserves should all be considered strategic resources.

Scientific-technical progress should be closely linked to the main lines of productive development. Since this is the case, standardization, weights and measures, quality controls and improvements in designing more sophisticated technological equipment are going to play an important role. At the same time, improvements must be made in planning and managing scientific and technical efforts, especially in terms of introducing scientific-technical advances in production.

Our labor resources will be a primary factor in our socio-economic development during the next 20 years. In order to make the most of this labor force, technologies must be carefully selected so advanced techniques are introduced wherever necessary, yet other, less costly measures that require a larger labor force can also be used where feasible and rational.

The number of technicians and their specialties should be closely linked to this question of how our labor resources are

used, keeping in mind, too, the needs other underdeveloped countries may have for our cooperation in technical assistance.

The rational growth of the volume, quality and variety of domestic consumer products should be a constant priority, in order to meet basic social needs, guarantee development of our socialist way of life and follow the principle of distribution based on work productivity and quality.

The demand for additional food products, durable goods and other industrial goods should gradually be met through national production.

Special attention should be given to the individual's general development by creating the material conditions that will encourage him to express himself in cultural, artistic, scientific and educational activities and participate in sports, physical education and national tourism mainly to meet his needs for rest and recreation. The amount of free time should therefore be increased, and it should be used more rationally.

Housing needs can only be met through integral development based on an extensive, sustained construction program, the selection of housing units according to the composition of the family group and the building sites, and the extension of community services.

Public health should be consolidated and improved in this period. Out-patient services and house calls should continue to be increased and preventive medicine extended. Similar efforts should be made in the field of dentistry.

As regards hospitals, the hospital beds/population ratio should continue to be increased. A qualitative change in emergency services is envisaged so as to provide higher quality, faster service. More specialized medical attention should be given to workers, and social services for old people and the handicapped should be broadened.

Hygiene and epidemiology should continue to receive more attention, especially as regards measures to eliminate environmental pollution, reducing its effects on the population, especially in industrial areas.

The educational system in the coming period should respectively concentrate on consolidating past achievements while simultaneously developing training and advancement facilities for skilled workers at the higher and intermediate levels.

The labor force should be distributed throughout the country so as to transform the territorial structures, promoting a more effective distribution of productive activities, the fullest and most rational use of natural and human resources and more balanced and intensive development in the more backward provinces; gradually raising the standard of living throughout the country to the same level; and adopting measures to guide population shifts within the country and structuring a consistent urban system.

Our economy's foreign relations should stimulate development, promote the growth of our traditional exports, and boost export of products with added value which traditionally were not exported. Exports should rise and surpass imports.

These aims should be achieved by means of broad international cooperation that is mainly aimed at deepening economic and scientific-technical integration within the framework of the CMEA—especially with the Soviet Union—and actively promoting specialization and cooperation in production and a deepening of our economic relations with other underdeveloped countries (especially those in Latin American and the Caribbean), keeping in mind the positive trend toward recovery of the country's natural resources, that creates opportunities for Cuba to participate

in the the economic and commercial associations set up in this region.

In the coming years, we should finish drawing up our plans up to the year 2000. In this regard, a general outline of socio-economic development should be made together with other socialist countries, setting forth the best way to achieve long-range development, structuring our programs and specific measures for guaranteeing their implementation and defining the main lines in which our country can participate in the socialist international division of labor.

The creation of this outline will require a great effort, close coordination among all the agencies in the country, better organization and strict discipline. Its successful conclusion should provide our country with an overall view of where it is headed, a long-term economic program that will guide the work of the Party, the government and all the people. We have tried to draw up our five-year plan within the framework of this program as a concrete expression of our goals—a plan whose fulfillment should be our main economic task.

## II. THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES

We will now turn to the work done by the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR]. In view of the tense circumstances that prevail at present, it is especially important to analyze the progress that has been made by the military, in order to determine the policy to be followed and take the concrete measures that are needed to guarantee the continued strengthening of our country's defense capacity.

During the last few years, the organizational structure of our Armed Forces has been improved, reducing the number of posts in command and logistics sectors and simplifying their structure and the line of command so as to create more favorable conditions for strategic deployment in the defense of the national territory.

The central state administrative agencies' and local bodies of People's Power's participation in tasks related to our country's defense has been especially important. More systematic links should be established with the FAR in this regard to prepare the national economy and the country as a whole for the mass participation of the people in case of war.

Accordingly, the FAR should continue to increase their mobilization capacity and combat readiness, complete and consolidate their organizational work at all levels and give special attention to mastering arms technologies both now and in the future. The combat readiness and preparation of our chiefs and general staffs should also continue to be improved to keep up with the latest advances in military science.

In line with the guidelines drawn up by the 1st Congress, a new recruiting policy was established for drafting more and more young men with an ever higher cultural level, men who are more generally capable in every sense, for active military service. This policy should be consolidated in the future, setting the draft age at 18 or 19, so as to enable young men to finish their secondary education and acquire the required psychological and physical maturity before doing their military service.

A new system has been developed for drafting the graduates of technological and senior high schools before they continue their university studies. With this system it is often possible to use the reduction of up to a year's military service as a reward, and to facilitate their entering college later on. As a result, marked progress has been made in training our soldiers, and our col-

lege ranks have been enriched with the presence of young men with a more extensive political, moral and patriotic background.

The Society for Patriotic and Military Education was formed to prepare the new generations for military service and educate children and adolescents in our people's fighting spirit and in love of the FAR, promoting participation in sports that may be applied to military life and patriotic-military activities.

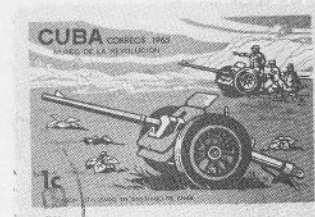
During the next five-year period, top priority should continue to be given to the training of reserves, using a plan which, while maintaining the present number of reserve troops, will enable us to make qualitative improvements, concentrating on the individual preparation of the officers, sergeants, semi-skilled workers and the specialists we need. In this regard, it is absolutely necessary to maintain the policy of drafting skilled personnel for the units, providing adequate training for most of our workers, while ensuring that all key personnel stay on the job so as to guarantee the continuity of production and services in special situations.

The files of draft cards in all our work centers should be consolidated in the next few years, as should the inventory of economic means and equipment, whose technical readiness coefficient should be raised. All this constitutes a social necessity, both for increasing the mobilizing capacity and combat readiness of the FAR and for achieving greater control over and implementing the nation's economic plans.

Our new officers who have been graduated from military academies in both Cuba and the Soviet Union have gained experience by working with the troops. In many cases, they have obtained degrees. For example, some have already received degrees as Candidate Doctors in military, technical and social sciences, and others are working toward similar degrees.

The 1st Congress of the Party advocated that the living and working conditions of the officers and troops be gradually improved, in view of the complexity of the tasks and missions they fulfill and the social importance of their work. In spite of the attention that has been given to this activity and the progress that has been made in many respects, we are still far from meeting our goal of providing housing for thousands of men who are working selflessly, at times even risking their lives, away from their families for months or even years at a time while carrying out internationalist missions—men who are working with revolutionary dedication to defend our country and our people's creative work and who, with their exemplary conduct and spirit of self-sacrifice, have made it possible for the Revolution to carry out its sacred internationalist duties.

The organizational and ideological work of the Party's branches and grass-roots organizations, combined with the political activity of the chiefs, political cadres and officers, has had an influence on the life of the FAR. The Party's branches and grass-roots organizations have adapted their methods and work styles to the specific conditions of military life, improving the Party's work of educating cadres and combatants, guaranteeing the successful completion of the units' missions, and strengthening discipline and the central command more efficiently.



The Marxist-Leninist training of officers, the teaching of social sciences in our military academies and the political training of combatants and civilian workers show the efficient political work of the Party and other organizations in the FAR.

With regard to the Party's training of its members, three levels of education have been set up to promote the large-scale, systematic study of Marxism-Leninism by Party members and candidates.

The sustained efforts of the political bodies, Party organizations and their members to increase their own and all other personnel's political-ideological understanding has had very positive results and should be acknowledged.

The Army of Working Youth has become a school in which thousands of young men are shaped by working under difficult conditions. It continues to make an important contribution to our country's economy while maintaining its status as an organized military force.

During the present five-year period, members of the Army of Working Youth cut 3 billion *arrobas* of sugarcane—almost 20 percent of all the hand-cut cane in the country. One hundred and seventy-two members of the Army of Working Youth have become Heroes of the Sugarcane Harvest as participants in the high-yield canecutter's movement. In construction work, its members have completed a total of 58 projects, mainly schools, worth approximately 70 million *pesos*, and have also done an outstanding job on the central railroad, laying 422 kilometers of track.

Our Armed Forces could not have achieved their present development or been so excellently equipped without the exceptional aid of the USSR—which, ever since the difficult days of the attack at Playa Girón, has generously supplied us with the armament necessary for our defense. Selfless, exemplary, modest and efficient Soviet advisers have been working with us for the past 20 years.

We must increase our defense capacity so not only our regular troops but all the people are ready for action.

The vitally important task of creating Territorial Troop Militias is already under way. Our Party, the state and the political and mass organizations should give them top priority as an indispensable part of our country's defense system. The Militias, together with our regular troops and the reserves, will constitute the great people's army of our Revolution as was stated on May Day of this year in response to the Yankee imperialists' threats and military maneuvers against Cuba. The way the broad masses of our people have responded to this idea is yet another proof of their patriotism and revolutionary spirit, whose highest expression is their willingness to prepare for the all-out defense of their country's sovereignty and the achievements of socialism. Millions of men and women now claim this right, expressing their firm political convictions. Needless to say, our arms reserves are limited, but we will not rest until every Cuban who wants to defend his neighborhood, his municipality, his work center and his country—block by block, inch by inch—has a rifle, a grenade or a mine and has been given the necessary training for carrying out his sacred duty of defending his homeland to the death.

The idea of the Territorial Militias must be combined with the principle that every Cuban patriot—man or woman, young or old—should always be ready to fight and destroy the enemy under any circumstances, even if part of our territory were to be occupied by the imperialist aggressors. Our country must become a hard nut for the Yankee imperialists to crack and a deadly thorn in their side if they attempt an aggression.



Photo: Sandra Levinson

No summary of the work done by our Revolutionary Armed Forces in this five-year period would be complete without mentioning the rapid, resolute and brilliant missions of internationalist aid in Angola and Ethiopia that the Party entrusted to them. Thousands of miles away from their homeland, our troops—who included a high percentage of members of the reserves—together with the heroic Ethiopian and Angolan combatants unhesitatingly fought and defeated the aggressors, who, at the service of imperialism, were threatening the territorial integrity, independence and revolutions of those two sister African nations.

For the first time in history, one of the peoples of our hemisphere, descendants of the hundreds of thousands of slaves who were cruelly uprooted from Africa by the voracity of colonialist rule, sent thousands of its best sons to help peoples who were fighting for liberty and dignity in Africa.

Imperialism and international reaction unleashed a violent slander campaign against our country because of these acts of solidarity, but the peoples of Angola and Ethiopia and all other progressive and revolutionary forces fully appreciated Cuba's noble and selfless gesture, which constituted a brilliant and beautiful internationalist chapter in the history of the revolutionary movement.

We Cuban revolutionaries talk reluctantly about the solidarity we have given other revolutionary movements or peoples, for we consider this to be nothing more than our internationalist duty. However, on an occasion such as this, it is only fitting that we honor those men who willingly gave their lives far from their country for the noble cause of liberty, justice and human dignity. It is also fitting for us to express our deepfelt gratitude to and love for the tens of thousands of our fellow countrymen who are standing guard, together with their Angolan and Ethiopian brothers, in trenches in southern Angola, Ogaden and elsewhere and those who are helping to defend other countries and training their armed forces.

This has been no easy task. Therefore, we should also express our gratitude to the chiefs, officers, political bodies and Party grass-roots organizations, general staffs and soldiers who,

in spite of the absence of thousands of their commanding officers and specialists, have managed to increase the fighting capacity and combat readiness of our Armed Forces and to master new types of arms and technical means of combat, thus increasing our firing power and the fighting ability of our troops.

More than 100,000 Cubans—the initial troops and their successive replacements—have been sent to Angola and Ethiopia as members of our Revolutionary Armed Forces.

We are much stronger in military terms now than ever before. Our people, whose sons are ready to fight to the death in any part of the world, unhesitatingly risking their lives 1,000 times for their homeland, will never be vanquished.

The dauntless members of our Revolutionary Armed Forces deserve the respect, recognition and love of our people.

### III. THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR

As regards the Ministry of the Interior [MININT], the efficiency and exemplary attitude that have characterized its members in all these years of heroic and extraordinary struggle declined somewhat in certain fields. Not so against the counterrevolutionary enemy, against whom their fighting spirit and impressive efficiency have never flagged. However, the MININT attends to countless tasks, all of them of fundamental importance to the country and the Revolution. Some showed a tendency towards bureaucratism and a weakening sense of discipline and rigor. The dark spots cannot stop us from seeing the sun, but we want our Ministry of the Interior to always be a spotless sun.

We are working hard to overcome these difficulties, and progress has been made and positive results obtained.

Our State Security has detected, firmly opposed and neutralized the actions organized against our country by imperialism, the CIA and what remained of internal counterrevolution. Political and economic espionage has been carried out during the last five years, and the enemy concentrated its efforts against our trade relations. It also promoted diversionary activities, seeking to create ideological laxness and destabilization within the country. Security countered these plans and hostile acts, confirming their role as firm, unflinching and powerful defenders of the interests of the people and their Revolution.

Our security bodies strictly observe the principle of never using violence against a captured enemy. Their operational capacity and intelligence work have benefited from this policy, which has heightened their authority and revolutionary morale.

Together with the other bodies that make up the Ministry of the Interior, State Security played an outstanding role in the important international events that were held in our country, such as the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students and the 6th Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Special mention should be made of the comrades who, with proverbial revolutionary stoicism, carried out delicate missions within the ranks of the enemy throughout these years.

The heroic, self-sacrificing members of our Border Patrol, who keep a close watch over every inch of our coasts, also merit our people's recognition.

With regard to internal order, the Revolutionary National Police, during the greater part of the last five years, did not respond as it should have to the call for a redoubled struggle against robbery and theft and in the other tasks assigned to it. Other problems included lack of due rigor on the part of the cadres; insufficient discipline, faulty selection of personnel and lack of decision and firmness in the struggle against antisocial elements.

The main difficulties lay in the command and in some legal mechanisms that did not promote a more active and efficient struggle against crime.

Firm steps were taken early this year to eradicate these problems, and, even though their work is not yet perfect, the members of our Revolutionary National Police are, in general, doing a more effective job.

One of the first steps in this direction was taken in late 1979 with the adoption of strong measures to neutralize highly dangerous elements with serious crime records.

This measure, the scum's departure for the United States and better operational work against delinquency reduced crimes against property, which had been on the rise since 1975.

The number of reported burglaries in 1980 was 23 percent lower than in 1979, and robbery also dropped considerably, this year's figure being 23 percent lower than the one for 1975.

Traffic accidents, which had been on the rise in the first few years of the period, are now decreasing, and the number reported for 1980 (19 percent less than for 1979) was the lowest for any of the last few years.

Though fewer in number, these accidents are having more serious consequences, with more people killed or hurt, and greater material losses. We must never cease to perfect our struggle against negligence, which is at the root of all traffic accidents.

Special mention should be made of the decisive role that the men and women of the Ministry of the Interior and the rest of our fighting people played concerning the events at the Peruvian Embassy and the U.S. Interests Section and the antisocial elements' departure from Mariel. Our Revolutionary National Police, in particular, was mobilized for several months, and it carried out its tasks with a high sense of responsibility, thus making an outstanding contribution to this important political and moral victory of our homeland.

Important progress has been made in the field of fire prevention. Special mention should be made of our firemen's calm, courage and efficiency when the lives and property of our people are endangered.

In compliance with the established policy a national program has been launched to improve our penitentiary system and modernize its facilities. During this period, over 78 percent of the eligible prison inmates have agreed to do socially useful work, with the corresponding pay.

In coordination with the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of the Interior is giving special attention to minors with behavioral problems.

During the most difficult days of the war in Angola, the Special Troops battalion of the Ministry of the Interior joined our glorious Revolutionary Armed Forces in supporting the Angolan patriots in their struggle against the South African racist invasion, fighting heroically and carrying out very important missions. During the last five years, the Ministry of the Interior has also provided internationalist cooperation and advice in several other countries.

Many difficult tasks await the members of the Ministry of the Interior.

A college offering technical and professional training courses for a total enrollment of over 900 has already been established, and steps are being taken to set up specialized graduate courses.

In the future, we will work to increase requirements and controls, demand more discipline at all levels, strengthen our cadre policy, give priority to operational work, do away with bureaucracy and intensify our political work for the fulfillment

of specific tasks. Within the Revolutionary National Police, in particular, leadership has been strengthened and steps have been taken to improve working conditions, to provide better equipment for patrol units and to raise the cultural and technical level needed to guarantee top quality operational work.

We are fully convinced that the members of the Ministry of the Interior will continue to improve their ideological education and combat readiness.

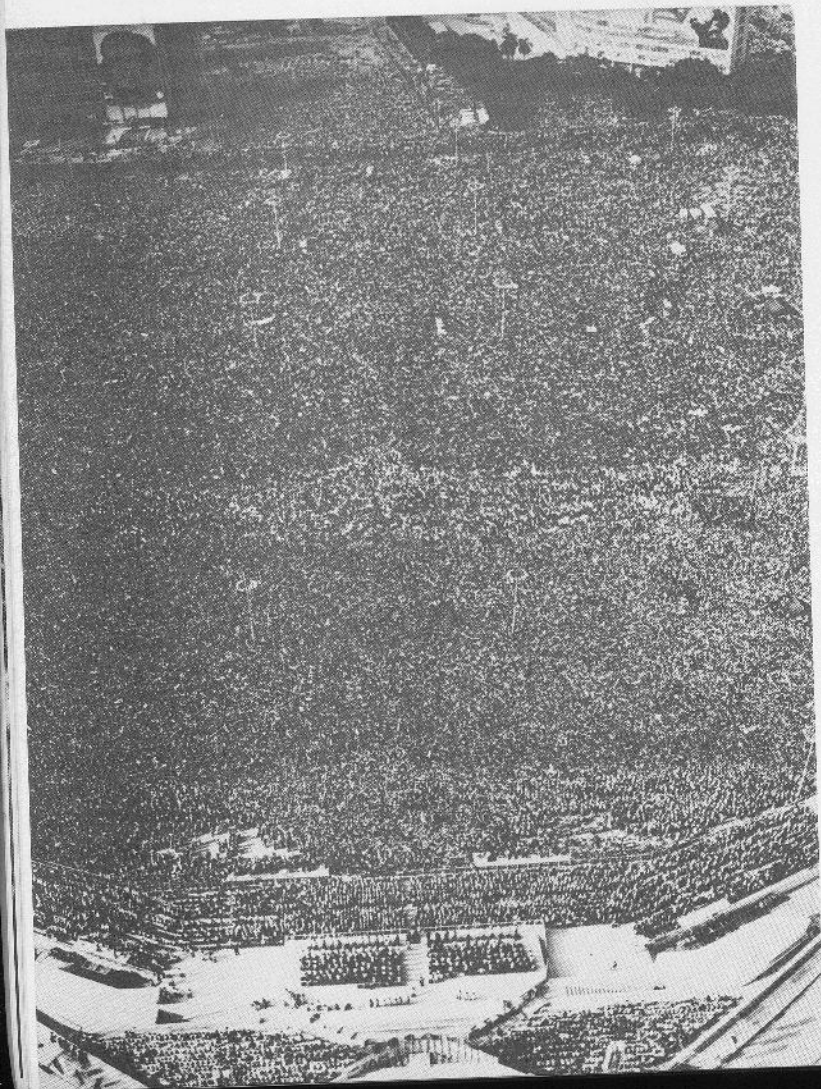
This unbreakable, firm shield of our homeland will be constantly strengthened, and its members—exemplary in their sense of responsibility and dedication to duty—will always merit the support, trust, love and respect of our people.

#### IV. MASS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Undoubtedly, the mass organizations have played a decisive role in our country throughout this period.

They have successfully mobilized their forces in daily confrontations of our class enemies, both at home and abroad. In the political sphere, ever since the triumph of the Revolution and during the period we analyze, they have worked to consolidate power in the hands of the working class, the farmers and other manual and intellectual workers in both urban and rural areas by means of revolutionary vigilance and ideological confrontation in the streets and factories; the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideology thus contributing to its predominance in the country; they strive to raise production and achieve greater savings and efficiency, strengthen our socialist economy and

Photo: Juventud Rebelde



create and develop the relations of cooperation and comradeship inherent in socialism.

The mobilizing and work capacity of the mass organizations have made a decisive contribution to the success of the Revolution in the spheres of education, health, culture and sports and in our society's moral and spiritual development.

The mass organizations have been and are powerful allies of the Party, constituting links that ensure close ties between the Party and the broad masses.

#### THE WORKERS' ORGANIZATION

The Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions [CTC] has 2,383,000 members—who constitute 97.1 percent of the active labor force, or 4.7 more than in 1975.

The 14th Congress of the CTC—a continuation of the 13th Congress, to which our unforgettable comrade Lázaro Peña devoted the last days of his fruitful life—was held during this five-year period.

The basic decisions of the 13th Congress have been implemented. This was a starting point for revitalizing our trade union organizations and enabled the working class to make a greater contribution to our country's development.

With regard to the decisions adopted by the 14th Congress, the trade unions have clearly made progress in strengthening their internal activities; improving the trade union structure; promoting their members' political, cultural and technical training; promoting socialist emulation; guaranteeing worker's rights; applying labor discipline; linking wages to productivity; boosting the sugarcane harvest, the innovators' and rationalizers' movement and internationalist missions; and contributing to our country's economic, political and social development.

The CTC's structure and work methods are geared toward improving the work of the grass-roots organizations and strengthening the links between the top leadership bodies and the grass-roots organizations. There is growing awareness of the importance of and the need for maintaining and reinforcing these efforts in the future.

This was the 20th year in which our workers' movement has participated in the people's sugarcane harvests. During the current period, an average of 44,146 volunteer canecutters were mobilized each year and the last cane-cutting plan was surpassed by 10 percent.

Since 1977, the trade union movement has organized special Sundays of voluntary work on the anniversaries of the October Revolution and other important events. Five of these special Sunday work sessions were held, for a total of 8.069 million man-days of work. The last one, dedicated to the 63rd anniversary of the October Revolution and the 2nd Congress of the Party, had the largest participation: 1,710,000 workers.

Workers and trade union leaders have taken an active part in implementing the Economic Planning and Management System. Thirty are economists working in the trade union movement at present, and another 30 trade union cadres are studying economics. Over 300 cadres have been graduated from the various levels of the national and provincial schools of economic management, and more than 400,000 workers have attended lectures on economics, but these figures are still not high enough.

During the current period, the trade union movement continued to participate in the discussions of national economic plans and their projection; 1.445 million workers participated in

the discussion of the 1980 plan. We must work to continue developing and improving this trade union movement activity.

The National Association of Innovators and Rationalizers was created in 1976. This organization, which is directed by the trade union movement, has more than 33,000 members, who have introduced 14,872 innovations in the current period, resulting in a saving of 127.228 billion *pesos* for the national economy.

During the period, important goals were set for strengthening and furthering socialist emulation, and emulation indices were directly linked to economic tasks and the strengthening of work discipline.

Two hundred and thirty-two thousand more workers are participating in socialist emulation now than in the previous period; the number of workers in the vanguard workers' movement in the various sectors of the national economy has also increased.

During the last five years, 178 workers were declared National Heroes of Labor, and the Council of State awarded Jesús Menéndez Medals to 34 vanguard workers in 1980.

More than 19,580 work centers have won Moncada Awards in socialist emulation.

In honor of the 2nd Congress of the Party, the National Committee of the CTC revised more than 500,000 work norms and included over a million workers in the program linking norms and wages and 500,000 in the bonus payment plan. This goal was fulfilled by more than 100 percent.

One of the main achievements of the trade union movement during the period was related to the cultural and technical advancement of workers.

The campaign to have everyone finish the 6th grade was completed successfully. Some 862,500 adults finished the 6th grade between the 1974-75 course, with which this campaign began, and October 1980. This is still a tentative figure, and it is estimated that more than 900,000 adults will be graduated from the 6th grade in this period.

The historic magnitude of this task can be appreciated by comparing its results with the fact that, in the 12 years prior to the 1974-75 course, only a little over 500,000 adults were graduated from the 6th grade. Now, in half the time, we have achieved nearly double the results. Since the triumph of the Revolution, a total of 1,397,636 working men and women have finished the 6th grade in our country.

Inspired by this success, the trade union movement is now undertaking the task of having everyone finish the 9th grade. This will undoubtedly constitute another victory for our workers in the field of education and lead to greater technical and productive development of our socialist Revolution. The trade union movement has set itself the goal of having at least 700,000 graduates from the 9th grade by 1985. At present, the enrollment figure totals 131,974 workers.

During the last five years, 34,567 Cuban trade union cadres and 414 from other Latin-American, Caribbean and African countries have studied in our trade union schools at all levels.

Progress has also been made in the amateur artists' movement and sports. Three amateur artists' festivals have been held, in which more than 181,000 workers participated.

Every year an average of 900,000 workers participate in sports activities organized by INDER [the National Institute of Sports, Physical Education and Recreation]. Participation in the Workers' Games rose from 620,934 in 1976 to more than 1.589 million in 1980.

The trade union movement has worked hard to implement the decisions adopted for strengthening labor discipline. Encouraging progress has been obtained as a result of more rigorous, efficient work along these lines.

Great efforts have been made in training workers and trade union cadres how to cope with infringements of labor and social security legislation. More than 250,000 grass-roots trade union leaders have attended seminars for this purpose, and trade union locals throughout the country have organized study groups on six different aspects of this legislation. Over a million copies of the most important labor and social regulations have been printed, as have 200,000 copies of the Social Security Law.

Not enough has been done in the field of work safety and hygiene, however, where limitations and shortcomings have been noted in compliance with regulations and supplying the workers with the proper equipment and safety devices. The state agencies are largely responsible for this.

One of our trade union movement's most important goals is to increase the workers' political and ideological consciousness through their participation in the struggle to promote economic development; education; political studies; useful voluntary work; a better understanding of the theory and increased practice of the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism; our country's defense; the self-sacrificing work of the members of our Armed Forces; workers' guard duty; and the struggle against the remnants of the past and for the development of a truly socialist attitude toward work, society and social property.

Our workers' movement is stronger now than ever before. It fully supports the Party and the Revolution. Its commitment to socialism and internationalism is a living monument to the immortal ideas of Marx and Engels: "Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose by their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite."

## THE FARMERS' ORGANIZATION

The National Association of Small Farmers [ANAP] has 192,646 members, in 3,507 grass-roots organizations throughout the country: 1,017 agricultural production cooperatives, 2,180 credit and service cooperatives and 310 farmers' associations. Its members continue to play an important role in the production of tobacco (they raise 79 percent of the national total), coffee (60 percent) and root crops and vegetables (47 percent). Moreover, they own 27 percent of the cattle and 18 percent of the land planted to sugarcane. In the last sugarcane harvest, 367 brigades of ANAP cancutters were organized—100 more than in 1975.

ANAP has also worked to set up and develop credit and service cooperatives, which constitute an intermediate form of cooperation, laying the bases for future cooperation and ensuring that the farmers are not asked to engage in nonproductive tasks. The organization has also worked to set up mutual help brigades (in coordination with the Federation of Cuban Women [FMC]) and cancutters' brigades as simple forms of cooperation. All this has promoted the farmers' gradual incorporation in higher forms of production.

In line with the decisions of the 1st Congress of the Party and the 5th ANAP Congress (the latter held in May 1977), farmers began to join cooperatives on a completely voluntary basis.



Prior to 1975, there were 43 productive cooperatives—which were then called “agricultural societies”—in the farming sector. Founded in the early 1960s, this movement gradually spread: by the end of 1978, there were 363 cooperatives, with a total of 1,246 *caballerías* [41,301 acres] of land.

The 8th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee agreed that the process of establishing new cooperatives should be accelerated, and ANAP intensified its work along these lines: 654 new cooperatives, covering more than 10,000 *caballerías* [331,474 acres] of land, were created in 1979 and 1980.

Thus, by the end of September 1980, there were 1,017 agricultural cooperatives in the country, covering 14,007 *caballerías* [485,100 acres] of land, or 11.4 percent of the total land area owned by farmers. Twenty-five of these cooperatives are quite large—from 35 to 150 *caballerías* [1160 to 4972 acres] in size. There are 26,454 cooperative members now, 30 percent of whom are women. Women have been very influential in changing working and living conditions for farm families.

These achievements, obtained in a very short period, are the fruit of hard work and their quality augurs well for the movement.

In general, cooperatives have high yields—twice or even three times as much as the individual lots that were incorporated in the cooperatives—thanks to the introduction of mechanization and technology.

It costs an average of 70 *centavos* to produce a *peso*'s worth of agricultural produce. This is a highly encouraging index, especially if we take into consideration that our tobacco crop was hard hit by blue mold blight, and our sugarcane, by smut.

ANAP has cooperated not only with the Ministries of Agriculture and the Sugar Industry but also with the various state agencies that promote the social and cultural advancement of farm families—the Ministries of Education, Public Health and Culture; INDER; and the Cuban Institute of Radio and Television.

ANAP waged a campaign to get all farmers who could study to finish the 6th grade during the period, and 31,376 of them have done so.

The organization will continue to promote more active, knowledgeable participation by farmers in economic manage-

ment, using socialist emulation for this purpose; the results so far have fallen short of expectations.

Likewise, it will work to obtain better results as regards the payment of fees, for this is not yet altogether satisfactory.

The 1st National Meeting of Cooperative Farmers, held recently, showed that progress had been made in raising production and adopting higher forms of work and social living. With the support of the Party and the state agencies, ANAP will keep developing and consolidating the cooperative movement. The 6th ANAP Congress, to be held next year, will be influential in working to achieve this goal.

The achievements scored by the cooperatives in the socio-economic and political fields open up excellent prospects for this higher form of production which our Revolution should have promoted earlier. Now we are advancing at a good rhythm, though not rushing or taking risks. Our farmers' great patriotism, revolutionary spirit and humanity are guarantees for success. Now, with the full backing of the Party and the state, they will make up for lost time. Healthy emulation between state farms and cooperatives and between agricultural workers and farmers is already under way, which will benefit our homeland, the Revolution and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

#### THE WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION

Eighty percent of all Cuban women 14 and over belong to the women's organization, which celebrated its 20th anniversary this year. Its 2.42 million members include workers, farmers, students, housewives, career women and members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and Ministry of the Interior.

Cuban women, led by the FMC, have worked hard during this period to carry out the decisions of the 2nd Congress of the FMC and the 1st Congress of the Party concerning full equality for women.

The results attained during the period were examined in depth in the 3rd Congress of the FMC, held this year.

Great progress has been made promoting the integral development of women and their full and effective participation in all the political, economic, social and cultural aspects of building a socialist society. As a result, 141,500 women have started to



work and a far greater number have remained in the labor force, occupying a much wider range of posts. The 77,000 women who now hold technical jobs account for 60.2 percent of all such workers and 55 percent of the women who have joined the labor force in this five-year period—a considerable increase over the previous period.

Improved conditions—accompanied by serious ideological work and practical guidelines—have made it possible for more women to work.

As a result of the Party's policy on the promotion of women, they now represent 32 percent of the labor force, and this level must be maintained.

There must be strict on-going compliance with employment policies for women to prevent favoritism or discrimination in hiring and promotion, especially in regard to the new system of direct contracting which should open up job opportunities for women, particularly in the agricultural sector and the local arts and crafts industries under People's Power. Higher forms of agricultural production in the peasant sector will also offer more opportunities for women—many of whom already hold jobs in the farmers' cooperatives.

It is fitting to acknowledge the outstanding attitude of working women. They account for 39.4 percent of the student-workers and their prestige on the job has been recognized in trade unions elections: 42.7 percent of local leaders and 32.6 percent of executive committee members are women.

Women's participation in the workers' movement is extremely encouraging and they have also been more active in the Party, the UJC [Young Communist League] and other social and mass organizations, but less so in People's Power. Work in this area must be continued.

The Federation of Cuban Women has made a valuable contribution placing women in leadership posts, working diligently to remove the obstacles that prevent this.

FMC activities during this period have also included incorporating 1,498,000 women in the Militant Mothers for Education Movement, which has provided the schools with its all-out support; seeing that 200,000 housewives finished primary school and that hundreds are now going to finish junior high; providing women workers for the sugarcane, coffee, tobacco and other harvests and as social workers in preventing crime, the voluntary incorporation of 55,000 women in health brigades to work in mother-and-child-care programs, and, especially during this period, in the vaccination of housewives and pre-school children and in the realization of 389,000 PAP tests in 1979 and more than 223,000 in the first six months of 1980. Our women are equally outstanding in the defense of the homeland as well-trained members of the Civil Defense.

It is impressive to see how much Cuban women have developed politically and ideologically, their work in internationalist tasks and their combat readiness in defense of the homeland, their staunch and resolute participation in the struggle our people waged against provocations by our enemies inside and outside the country. The FMC works constantly for the ideological advancement of its members and cadres, 27.7 percent of whom have finished basic and intermediate courses either in Party schools or in the FMC's Fe del Valle school, which also trains women cadres from Africa, Asia and Latin America as part of the FMC's program of international solidarity.

The FMC has done outstanding and valuable work in the international field and it enjoys great prestige in the international and women's organizations with which it has working relations.

The Federation has made every effort to comply with the recommendation made by the 8th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee on the need for self-financing, strictly controlling expenditures and increasing income through a policy of austerity. In this way, it covered 80 percent of its budgeted expenditures.

In fulfillment of one of the decisions adopted at the 3rd Congress of the Federation, structure and work plans are now being analyzed with a view to strengthening and improving work methods and internal operations.

The theses and resolutions adopted at the 3rd Congress of the FMC advocated an on-going struggle to achieve full equality for women. Our Party, together with the state, the UJC and mass and social organizations, reaffirm their resolute and firm support in reaching this goal.

Only through socialist revolution can women's status be raised so that she is no longer a slave, a sex symbol or a victim of the cruel social discrimination imposed by a class society, but enjoys full equality, dignity and opportunity. We have not quite attained this, but the Federation and all revolutionaries are advancing toward this historical, just and essential goal of our Revolution, which will benefit the country as a whole. For the future of mankind, it is imperative that society should benefit from the spirit of sacrifice, the sense of responsibility and the political, administrative and human qualities with which women have been endowed.

#### THE COMMITTEES FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION

During this five-year period, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution [CDRs] have again proved indispensable in promoting and carrying out tasks that range from defending the country to educating the people politically and ideologically and supporting community activities.

The theses and resolutions adopted at the 1st Congress of the CDRs, held in 1977, helped strengthen internal operations and raise the members' political consciousness. That Congress of our broadest mass organization once again showed our people's full support for the Party and for building socialism in our country.

The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution have diligently carried out their main task, that of revolutionary vigilance, by increasing mass participation in nighttime neighborhood guard duty to a daily total of over 30,000, in answer to the call of the 8th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee. This has helped lower crime and other antisocial acts committed against the interests of our working people and the security of our revolutionary State.

The CDRs' significant role in raising revolutionary consciousness was clearly shown in the tremendous people's marches that took place in April and May, in answer to provocations made by antisocial elements and enemies of the Revolution.

April 19, May 1, May 17 and September 27 were climactic points in the March of the Fighting People and will go down in history as decisive battles waged and won by our people in dignified response to the activities carried out by the internal and external enemies of the Revolution.

CDR support of economic, social and cultural activities was demonstrated in the recycling of more than 81 million pounds of paper and cardboard, 224 million of glass containers and almost 500,000 ounces of postage stamps, worth tens of thousands of dollars.

More than a million parents or relatives have received the Exemplary Parents' Award for their support to education every year. Meetings with parents to discuss educational questions have proved to be an effective way of developing close family-school relationship, and the CDRs have been especially helpful in strengthening Parent-Teacher Councils and other activities in support of education.

The antipolio vaccination programs have been successfully carried out, and 100,000 blood donations more than in the previous five-year period were made. The CDRs have successfully participated in many preventive and curative programs under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Health.

The CDRs have been an enthusiastic element in mobilizing the masses to do voluntary work to help develop a communist awareness. CDR members helped out more than 50 million times in agriculture and in sprucing up their towns and cities, and other tasks during this five-year period.

From the moment People's Power was conceived, the CDRs were its strongest ally, playing an active role in the elections, in preparing the meetings for the delegates to render accounts to their constituents and in spreading information about this important tool of socialist democracy.

In implementing the agreements adopted at their 1st Congress, the CDRs have stepped up the work of collecting dues and implemented a policy of austerity and savings. As a result, the organization managed to become completely self-supporting this year.

This powerful mass organization—which recently completed its 20th year of devoted, meritorious work—has a membership of 5,321,000. Membership rose by more than 500,000 in the last five years, and the organization worked actively to promote, on a priority basis, the incorporation of young people who had just turned 14.

The concept of the CDRs, an original idea of the Cuban Revolution, which was the first to ever have created them, has been a contribution to the world revolutionary movement. Striking terror in the ranks of the counterrevolution, they are a groundswell of fighting people; and in staunch support for the Party, they brought revolutionary joy, enthusiasm, organization and discipline to our fighting people's march.

## STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

The Federation of University Students [FEU] and the Federation of Students of Intermediate Education [FEEM], with a combined membership of more than 450,000, have helped to raise the quality of education and have gained influence and experience in mobilizing the students.

The FEU and the FEEM have made the link between work and study one of their major tasks.

The student organizations have also made great efforts to channel young people into priority majors and to see that university graduates serve where they are most needed.

Their efforts to incorporate young people into the Manuel Ascunce Domenech Pedagogical Detachment—some of whose members have served with such distinction in the Che Guevara Internationalist Detachment—have also been noteworthy.

During vacations, students have been mobilized to work in the countryside, weeding the canefields and doing other agricultural tasks, and this work has had positive results.

Among their basic tasks, these organizations should continue working to ensure the students' taking full advantage of

the workday; systematic individual and collective study; an increase in the students' respect for their teachers, in their social programs and in their care for social property; and a proper attitude toward study, work and the principles on which our society is based.

Substantial changes were made in student emulation last year. This should lead to better results and greater student participation. Greater recognition for outstanding students; better dissemination of student emulation results and the definition of the incentives to be used will also help ensure the success of this activity.

Student assemblies on communist education and student merits and demerits have helped to foster proper social and educational attitudes and develop a spirit of criticism and self-criticism among young people. They should be continued and improved.

In the coming years, the FEEM and the FEU should continue to represent the students and correctly channel their concerns and interests. At the same time, the state agencies should support the student organizations by solving whatever problems can be solved and explaining clearly and convincingly why others cannot.

Both organizations should guarantee that their grass-roots structures function with stability and quality, encouraging mass participation in sports and cultural activities and the proper use of leisure time.

It is encouraging to see our students participating in our people's struggle for revolutionary excellence. Today's young students are more patriotic, internationalist, cultured, aware and revolutionary than ever—as shown in this generation's first great battle, waged last April and May, when our students took to the streets with a fighting spirit that showed their great potential and proved that the efforts the Revolution had made regarding its young people had not been in vain. We can state with absolute certainty and optimism that the young people who are being trained in our classrooms are worthy heirs to our Revolution, guaranteeing its continuity and further advance.

## THE JOSE MARTI PIONEER ORGANIZATION

The José Martí Pioneer Organization [UPC] extended its ranks to include 7th-, 8th- and 9th-grade students and now has 2,200,000 members.

The Pioneers should continue strengthening their ranks by adapting their activities to fit the characteristics and interests of junior high school students; improving the selection, training and work of Pioneer guides; and studying the amount of time they should give to Pioneer activities. The UPC must give priority to these activities and the Young Communist League should give them constant attention.

For the first time last year, 9th-grade Pioneers were evaluated and the most outstanding selected to be considered for admission to the UJC. This means that more demands can be made and higher quality required of those joining the UJC, for they will have had the benefit of a Pioneer background.

Additional Pioneer facilities have been built. A total of more than 84,000 Pioneers now participate on a regular basis in the scientific-technical clubs for vocational training that meet in Pioneer Centers and Palaces, the largest of which is the beautiful and useful Ernesto Che Guevara Pioneer Palace, built during the last five-year period, and accommodating 45,000 Pioneers.

During this period, 1.4 million Pioneers also used the Pioneer camping facilities, some of that number on more than one occa-

sion. In this period better use has been made of these installations in terms of capacity, activities, and better scholastic results in the continuity of the overall educational program.

We should continue our efforts to provide the best maintenance and repair work for these facilities so they may play their social role.

We now have 484 school gardens and 630 plots tended by 195,700 Pioneers throughout the country. This activity is an important part of the children's work education, and all institutions concerned should take the necessary measures to guarantee the stable growth and functioning of this work.

Children—whom Martí called "the hope of the world"—are much more than a hope: they are our future guarantee of scientific development, technology, a high cultural level and increased communist awareness. Our Pioneers, who embody the future of our Revolution, are growing up in an atmosphere of love and concern that emanates from all our society. In the future we will spare no efforts or resources to fully develop their marvelous aptitudes.

We are proud of the strength, prestige, organizational ability, political education and fighting spirit of our mass organizations—including, of course, the FEU, the FEEM and the Pioneers.

Thanks to them, our Party's ties with the people are very strong. These organizations have participated in all the great battles of our Revolution, because you cannot build socialism 90 miles away from Yankee imperialism without the kind of alert, energetic people they have in their ranks. Our homeland's heroic and bright future would be inconceivable without them, alongside the Party.

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Our social organizations continued to broaden and improve their efforts to solve the specific problems faced by the various professional sectors of the country.

The National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba [UNEAC]—which, in close coordination with other cultural organizations, has consistently promoted Cuban artistic and literary efforts—held its 2nd Congress, strengthened its leadership, considerably improved the work of its various sections, broadened its international ties and prestige and set up branches in various



Photo: George Cohen

provinces during this period. It is now evaluating the need for additional branches. In the coming period, it should improve its organizational structure and get its members more involved in its activities and the general tasks of building socialism.

The Union of Journalists of Cuba, which held its 4th Congress during this period, has worked actively to raise the professional, political and ideological level of journalists so they can make a more effective contribution to our revolutionary press. The organization has decided to step up its activities, emphasizing its members' commitment to a journalism that is critical, militant and creative.

The Union of Cuban Lawyers and the National Association of Economists of Cuba were established to represent these two important professional groups, that are playing an ever greater role in our society's development.

Over the years, all our professional and social organizations have enlarged the scope of their work. Our Party will continue to give them the attention and support they require.

## V. THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

During the last five years the Young Communist League has improved its work organizing many activities to help our young people develop politically and ideologically.

The 11th World Festival of Youth and Students was successfully held in our country in the summer of 1978 in recognition of our people's struggle and of the international prestige won by the Cuban Revolution and its worthy youth.

The participation of more than 2,000 organizations representing a wide range of political views and more than 20,000 young people from 145 countries attested to the Festival's scope, universality and historical importance.

This successful event was carefully organized by the UJC, the mass and social organizations, state bodies and all the people, under the leadership of the Party.

The Festival gave us valuable experience in mobilizing the people and boosting socioeconomic plans by means of special emulation programs. The collection of more than 78 million pesos was a people's victory that went far beyond the quotas set and made it possible to finance the main aspects of that event and set up a fund for building the new Pioneer Palaces and camps and other social works that will be opened in the next few years.

The Code on Youth and Children was issued during the Festival, and, because of its content and importance, it should be given more publicity and attention by the relevant agencies.

During this period, the Young Communist League has also improved leadership and grass-roots activities, but there are still deficiencies, mainly in systematic criticism and in linking its members to the other young people it must mobilize to carry out tasks in each school or work place.

Since the 1st Congress, the UJC has improved its methods for selecting new members, choosing an increasing number of them from the working class; giving special attention to exemplary young communist students; raising membership age to 30; and setting up the category of candidate to membership for younger students.

As a result of this work, UJC members and candidates increased to more than 422,000 in June 1980—83,000 more than in December 1975. Following the guidelines set forth by the 1st Congress of our Party, the UJC increased the number of working-class members to 79,000—almost twice as many as in 1975—and accepted 25,000 new student members and candidates.

It is also significant that 41.8 percent of UJC members are women—an increase from 30 percent in 1975—as well as 14.3 percent of its professional cadres—an increase from 5.3 percent at the start of this period, but still a low figure.

The Young Communist League should continue its present policy on membership growth, giving priority to young workers in production, education and services, particularly young manual workers.

Keeping in mind that one of its tasks is to work with all the young people of the country, the UJC should continue stressing the political and ideological education of young students, with a view to training more young Communists of quality and merit within this group that is so important to the organization.

The UJC also improved its efforts to train its members for Party membership: 84,955 UJC members joined the Party during this period, representing 35.5 percent of all new Party members.

The UJC must develop this important activity and improve the quality of these promotions.

The UJC cadre policy has shown positive results in the makeup of the leadership bodies, but there must also be a struggle for a greater cadre stability in the UJC, Pioneer organization and the other student organizations.

The Young Communist League has worked to fulfill its specific role in the country's economic development, especially in crash programs, 7 of which have been completed and 17 of which are still being carried out. In addition, it has strengthened the Technical Youth Brigades, which now have more than 100,000 members, stepped up its efforts in other aspects of socioeconomic development, surpassing the targets set for 1980. We should get our young workers to participate more actively in the daily struggle for production, offering their enthusiasm and their ideas to help fulfill plans.

Our youth organization has worked quite successfully for higher promotion and for a general improvement in educational activities, but some of our young Communists have not been militant or firm enough in dealing with the indiscipline and negative attitudes toward study, work and the care of social and private property that are still evident among a handful of young people who violate the most basic rules of social behavior. Our young Communists are now fighting these attitudes resolutely.

The encouraging results of these efforts—especially in recent months, when revolutionary awareness in our universities has deepened—show how effective adequate political and ideological work among our students can be. The UJC should react with all due concern and attention to any symptom of weakness, softness or lack of discipline among our students.

In their ideological work, the Young Communist League, the student and Pioneer organizations have given special support to defense activities and patriotic and military education. The attractive programs through which young people visit historical sites deserve special mention: during the last five-year period more than 300,000 young people learned about our heroic past in this way. The Society for Patriotic and Military Education has given a new dimension to this activity, coordinating efforts so that even better results can be achieved.

Young people's interests and concerns are also adequately reflected in a broad range of publications that present revolutionary ideas in an attractive way. Nevertheless, we must study the possibility of improving the quality of these publications, increasing their pressruns, avoiding publishing delays and solving circulation problems within our possibilities.

For 15 years, the newspaper *Juventud Rebelde*, in addition to providing better coverage of general news, has played an important role in mobilizing young people, reflecting their interests and their activities in building socialism.

Young people's cultural groups, such as the *Hermanos Saíz* and the *Raúl Gómez García* Brigades and the New Song Movement, have been given a big boost during this period. They have now a total membership of more than 5,000 young artists, many of whom are participating increasingly in national and international events, and more high-quality works.

The Party has guided the structural consolidation of the Young Communist League so that the scope of its efforts and activities has been expanded and its influence among young people has been strengthened.

It is our objective that the UJC, the student and Pioneer organizations continue developing their own personalities, their own roles and undertake their tasks in an ever more active, enthusiastic and creative way.

It is very important for the Party to improve its working methods and style in dealing with our youth organizations. It is particularly important for our executive bodies and grass-roots organizations to evaluate the UJC's and the students' work on a regular basis, clearly indicating where the difficulties lie. Every effort must be made to see that working relations between the Party and these organizations are fully developed. The members of the Communist Party that work within the UJC's leadership bodies and grass-roots committees can be very influential and they should give their close attention to these bodies. We must try to detect the weaknesses that show up in the UJC and in our student and Pioneer organizations as quickly as possible, determine why they occur and help these organizations correct them, using their own intelligence and revolutionary awareness.

We have boundless trust in our young people.

Young people are strengthening the ranks and schools of our glorious Revolutionary Armed Forces and, taking over from the heroic combatants in our Rebel Army, are firmly, selflessly and valiantly defending our people's achievements in a disciplined manner.

Day after day, in extremely difficult conditions, young people stand guard on our coasts and beaches, fighting against infiltrated and hidden enemies, proud to be members of our Ministry of the Interior.

Heroic, self-sacrificing young people are right now at their battle posts on the desert plains of Ogaden, in the trenches at Lubango, in Cabinda and in many other places. In those places they have their Sierra Maestra. There they are defending those people's rights to freedom, food, dignity and life itself. At one and the same time, they are struggling for them and for us, for the revolution and socialism.

Many of our exemplary, self-sacrificing internationalist workers—who, in more than 30 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, far from their families, are working under difficult conditions, austere, without fanfare but with dignity, offering their services to other people—are young people, as are hundreds of thousands of our workers who, day after day, give their best efforts to advance the Revolution in our factories, workshops, classrooms and countryside or at sea.

The Revolution is not over; it has just started down the long road of history. Today's young people face the challenge of developing science and technology, fully conquering nature, raising social and political consciousness, fulfilling our internationalist duties, constructing socialism and advancing toward communism.

They will meet the challenge, just as their predecessors met theirs. They are better prepared, in every way, to be the worthy heirs of present-day revolutionaries and carry on our people's tradition of glorious victory.

## VI. THE PARTY

Our Communist Party, the Revolution's finest expression and guarantee par excellence of its historic continuity, has some very important successes to its credit as it enters this Congress. We have every right to be proud of the fact that our Party is much stronger, better organized, more experienced, more cultured and even more deeply and solidly rooted in the respect and affection of the working masses than ever before.

In our 1st Congress, special attention was given to the social composition of Party ranks (the jobs held by its members and candidates) and to the need to promote its growth in the country's most important socioeconomic sectors. It was also decided that the number of women in the Party should be increased, as much as the conditions in each place permitted.

In fulfillment of these goals, a broad growth process took place during the five-year period, in which the number of Party members and candidates rose from 212,642 on December 31, 1975, to 434,143 in July 1980. Thus, our Party ranks more than doubled in the five-year period.

In the midst of this work, quality remained the main criterion for acceptance in the ranks of the Party. Our leadership levels and the grass-roots organizations have been very careful to uphold this principle.

It is noteworthy that the main increase in our members and candidates took place in the sectors that had been given priority—especially in the sugar and other industrial sectors, transportation, education and construction. Important results were also achieved in agriculture and public health. The number of Party nuclei was increased from 20,344, in December 1975, to more than 26,500 at present. The fact that during the last three years grass-roots organizations were set up in 3,195 work centers—2,222 in production and 808 in education—that either had not had any before or were newly established is a positive factor that has doubtlessly enabled our Party to further increase its direct influence among the working masses and its possibilities for supporting and controlling the work of those centers in which it functions.

A significant improvement has been achieved in terms of the work composition of the Party. The Party members who are directly linked to production and services now make up 47.3 percent of the total membership compared to 36.3 percent of the total in December 1975. In absolute terms, 2.9 times as many Party members and candidates are directly linked to production and services now as in 1975.

Thus, the aim of having workers in these work categories constitute the nucleus of the Party—an aim expressed in the Thesis on Party Life that was approved by the 1st Congress—has been fulfilled.

As a result of this growth, the Party members and candidates who are linked to production, services and education—including professionals and technicians—now constitute a considerable majority (62.3 percent) of all Party members and candidates.

These results doubtlessly have a positive influence on the Party's work, guaranteeing that its social composition will continue to represent the most revolutionary class in society and enabling us to exercise greater influence among the working masses.

It is worth noting that in view of the large growth registered in Party membership during the last few years, systematic, steady work is required from now on to train these new members in Party work habits and discipline. We should also continue to give priority attention to the work of attracting new members for the Party, in order to preserve and continue improving the work composition we have already achieved.

During this period, the percentage of Party members and candidates who are women rose from 14.1 in December 1975 to 19.1 in July 1980.

The Party organizations and leadership branches—especially the grass-roots organizations and municipal committees—did a lot of intense and complex work, above all in the last three years, to achieve these aims.

We view as very positive the fact that 35.5 percent of those admitted to Party membership in the last five years came from the UJC—which shows that, in spite of the extensive work done to stimulate growth in the period, the UJC is still one of our main sources for new Party members.

During the five years that have passed since the 1st Congress was held, the Party grass-roots organizations and leadership branches have, generally, made correct use of the points set forth in the Statutes and in the regulations on the application of disciplinary sanctions.

During the period, better use was made of sanctions within the Party, making them serve as a serious warning and educational measure for all Communists. Throughout the country, there were more sanctions taken within the Party than expulsions in this period.

In each case, the Party has acted in accord with the principle of being neither too tolerant nor too inflexible with members and candidates who make mistakes and commit errors.

We should recognize that criticism and self-criticism are not yet practiced as extensively as they should be in the daily activities of the grass-roots organizations and leadership branches of the Party, even though they are absolutely necessary for tackling and correcting the weaknesses and shortcomings that arise in the individual and collective activities of our cadres, members and candidates—especially in the grass-roots organizations and leadership branches—but some encouraging results have been noted since the Secretariat of the Central Committee adopted an agreement in this regard. The Party branches and organizations should continue to give special attention to rigorously carrying out this norm for Party activities.

The Party is determined not to take a single step backward in its struggle against bad work, weaknesses and shortcomings and to firmly maintain a demanding approach and uphold the discipline of its members and candidates so they will serve as examples for the rest of society.

The Party Statutes approved in the 1st Congress went into effect on January 1, 1976.

Over the years, our cadres, members and candidates have come to understand that the Statutes are the basic law in Party life. Their study and an effort to apply them rigorously became a daily task for all Cuban Communists, who are keenly aware of the need to faithfully apply democratic centralism as a *sine qua non* for the Party's ideological and political cohesion and unity of action. We also have a deep understanding of the importance of fulfilling the rest of the Leninist principles on leadership and organization that are set forth in the Statutes.

The 1st Congress called for regulations to be drawn up and put into practice, and this was done. They facilitate and guaran-

tee fulfillment of the provisions contained in the Statutes. The cadres and other members and candidates have begun studying them.

The application of these documents has helped to increase and deepen the role and work of the Party at all levels and to improve the mechanism used by the leadership branches and grass-roots organizations in their relations with the state institutions, the UJC and the mass organizations.

The Party should continue striving to make effective use of the various mechanisms it can call on in its relations with the UJC and the mass organizations, since they constitute irreplaceable links with the working masses and the people in general.

The Party's work in economic activities has been a very important factor contributing to the advances and successes achieved in this field. It has engaged in a sustained and growing effort in the sphere of control, coordination and support for our country's development plans.

The activities carried out by Party members, grass-roots organizations and leadership branches—with their auxiliary apparatus at all levels—have been directed toward boosting and consolidating the Economic Planning and Management System, improving the mechanisms of economic leadership and raising the quality of production. Serious efforts are now being made to further increase the role of our vanguard detachment in economic management, efficiency and organization, to strengthen the authority of the administration and boost and advance our economic programs, placing particular emphasis on priority sectors of the economy. The activities related to sugarcane agriculture and the sugar industry, agriculture in general (including cattle raising), dock work, construction work, the investment and industrial activities, transportation, services and the correct use of our human and material resources, leading to an increase in production and productivity, are outstanding among these efforts.

We must continue advancing in this regard, improving our economic management mechanisms and correctly guiding the whole productive process, in line with our policy of being more demanding and efficient in economic matters.

It is important to keep on strengthening the auxiliary apparatus of the leadership branches by incorporating skilled cadres in them. In the specific case of the auxiliary apparatus of the Central Committee, we should seek to have cadre efficiency and quality contribute more and more to facilitating the work of the Political Bureau and Secretariat.

During this period, the control and advisory activities that the higher-ranking branches carry out with the lower-ranking ones, including the grassroots organizations, have helped improve the work style and methods of the Party.

Providing Party cadres and members with reports on positive and negative work experiences so these can be generalized or eradicated, as the case may be, has also a positive effect.

Difficulties still remain, however. We must give Party cadres and members more training so they can carry out their functions better and apply other measures to make up for the shortcomings that still exist.

In the leadership branches and grass-roots organizations of the Party, there has been a great improvement in collective work at all levels, regular meetings have been held, and the members have come to understand that the plenary committees are responsible for knowing about and making decisions concerning the most important matters within their spheres of competence. Nevertheless, these same leadership branches and organizations,

including their plenary bodies, still do not always analyze, discuss and decide basic problems in the best way. The Party should keep working systematically in this regard.

In the assemblies held in the grass-roots organizations and at the middle levels of Party leadership, the advances and difficulties observed in the work in each place and territory were critically analyzed as part of the process leading up to the 2nd Congress. Members of the leaderships of the nuclei and Party committees were elected, and work goals and plans for their terms were approved. These processes were characterized by free, broad participation in the analysis and approval of the various topics discussed.

Our cadre policy is integrally linked to the Party's leadership role in economic, political and social spheres. During the last five years, the necessary steps were taken for implementing and controlling the directives approved by the 1st Congress of the Party in this regard.

The main emphasis was placed on selecting and placing cadres. We should keep working to ensure that cadre placements are made in line with the established norms, weighing all the necessary objective and subjective factors, including political, ideological, moral, cultural, technical and professional qualities and the essential practical experience. At times, these aspects have not been given enough attention in drawing up proposals, and we should ensure that such situations do not occur again.

One aspect of our cadre policy that has not been given enough attention is the need to draw up a list of substitutes so we will know which comrade is best suited for filling each position. In the coming years, we should make such a list. The larger the number of candidates from among whom we select these cadres, the better chance we will have of selecting the most capable ones.

We must improve the mechanisms that will enable us to obtain information on the results of each cadre's work in his present position, his achievements, his shortcomings and his prospects, so we can make a deeper, more objective evaluation of him.

The Party, the UJC and the mass organizations have worked to carry out the orientation that their leadership branches contain a large proportion of workers linked to production, education or services. Eloquent proof in the provincial and municipal committees of the Party, held in 1980, these workers constituted 33 and 53 percent of their leadership bodies, respectively. At the end of the UJC's 1979 assembly process, workers linked to production, education and services constituted 33.7 and 52.4 percent of its provincial and municipal committees, respectively. The mass organizations also achieved the established proportions for the composition of their leadership bodies in the last assembly processes they held.

These results will doubtlessly produce a clearer class approach to matters, more discipline, collective work and self-sacrifice. They will also help these bodies to give closer attention to the grass roots.

As a whole, the efforts made during this period to implement our cadre policy were successful, but we should still do more exacting, in-depth work in this regard.

The Party schools, founded 20 years ago, have done a good job in providing political and ideological training for cadres. During the last five years, 24,512 comrades were graduated from these schools, and 519 obtained their B.A.s in social sciences.

As a result of a sustained effort to provide additional training for teachers, important advances have also been made in rais-

ing the scientific level of education. More than 90 percent of our teachers are college graduates or are working toward their college degrees.

The work of the UJC schools and those of the mass organizations has been improved considerably.

These schools have also trained more than 1,200 students from other countries—who, in addition to the theories taught them in the classroom, have also learned about Cuba's experiences in building socialism.

In spite of these results, the Party, UJC and mass organization schools should continue to improve their work so as to reach the scientific level required for the ever more complex training of cadres for building socialism.

The program of the political study circles has been further developed, with satisfactory results in terms of raising the political and ideological level of Party and UJC members and all the people. It is absolutely necessary to continue improving them and to do away with the formalism that sometimes arises in them.

During the past five years, 81,324 Party members and candidates have taken courses in Marxist-Leninist theory. Of them, 16,034 were graduated from the basic courses in the provincial Party schools, and 65,290 from Political and Ideological Advancement Schools.

The experience gained confirms that these schools constitute the main means for providing Party members with Marxist-Leninist training. More than 2,000 comrades—most of whom are Party activists—work in them, either as teachers or principals. In the next five years, more of these schools will be opened, and the level of their teaching will be raised. The courses for candidates, begun in September 1976, have served as a valuable means for training these comrades.

Not enough workers in the field of journalism, art, education and science are studying Marxism-Leninism. The pertinent trade unions and state and social institutions should give this important task more attention.

During the last five years, an important advance was made in raising the educational level of Party cadres. The agreement of the 1st Congress on the need to finish senior high school was implemented, and 75.5 percent of them now have this level of education (as compared to 16 percent in 1975).

Those cadres who have not yet reached this level should continue studying until they do.

The general educational level of Party members and candidates has risen considerably since 1975, when 60.3 percent of them had only an elementary school education. Now, 80.7 percent have finished at least the 8th grade, as proposed in the agreement of the 1st Congress. In spite of these achievements, however, all Party leadership levels should urge Party members who do not have physical or intellectual handicaps to finish the 9th grade. It is also important to push for and promote technical, professional and on-the-job training and to insist that all Communists are duty-bound to keep on studying and learning.

As a result of the agreements of the 1st Congress of the Party, the teaching of Marxism-Leninism has developed favorably throughout the national system of education. Hundreds of teachers have been trained, and great efforts have also been made in other aspects of this work. In order to continue raising the quality of this activity in the next five years and make up for the shortcomings that still exist, more attention should be given to teacher-training to guarantee that, during the next five-year period, all students be given classes in Marxism-Leninism, that our

teachers receive better training and methodological guidance and that the need for reference materials be met.

Not enough research was done in the field of Marxist-Leninist theory in the last five years, and this activity should be stepped up, increasing the number of research projects, ensuring that the topics studied are closely linked to the needs of socialist construction in our country, strengthening the scientific institutions that work in this field and publicizing and applying the results obtained.

The National and Provincial Control and Revision Committees of the Party began functioning one and a half years ago on a small scale, making careful, in-depth analyses of each case and thus acquiring the required experience for extending this delicate activity.

Positive, encouraging results have been obtained. The purity of the Party has been rigorously defended, and some errors and injustices that had been committed toward Party members and candidates were rectified. The tasks of revision have played an important role in the control of the finances and other resources administered by the Party. In the coming years, the work of these bodies, carried out in the fullest spirit of justice, will continue to be developed and extended.

We are pleased to be able to state that, at the highest levels of the Party the principles of collective leadership have been solidly applied. Both the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of our Party have met hundreds of times in the past few years, and the Central Committee has held its plenary sessions as scheduled. The most disparate international topics of a state and Party nature have been analyzed collectively. No important questions were decided in any other way. The rigor with which this essential principle of Marxism-Leninism was applied in our leadership is truly exemplary and a source of pride. No manifestations of factionalism or exclusive groups appeared in our leadership, and the principles of Party democracy, democratic centralism and the most rigorous discipline govern all Party activities.

We have grown a lot in the last few years, and we have grown well. We have not sacrificed—nor will we ever sacrifice—quality for quantity. Today, more of us have the great responsibility of being Party members and candidates, but this only shows how much exemplary revolutionary spirit has grown among our people. With this impressive strength, how could we possibly fail to overcome all difficulties? Above all else, the morale, authority, prestige and revolutionary example of Communists must be maintained, and, the more we equate being Communists with being outstanding in terms of work, self-sacrifice and revolutionary selflessness, the closer we will come to this goal. We will be the vanguard not because of what we think of ourselves but because of what the people think of us. It is a difficult but worthy and stimulating task to be the vanguard of a vanguard people, to be Communists in a country of Communists. The deepest, most permanent link with the masses has been, is and will always be the guiding force of our Party. Let us all pledge to protect our Party's revolutionary purity and our unity and ideology. By doing so, we will serve not only our homeland but also the world cause of socialism and communism.

## VII. THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

At a certain point during this five-year period, it became clear that a number of bad habits were spreading in our country. Perhaps it was felt that the institutionalization of the country,

socialist legality, the creation of People's Power and the progressive implementation of the Economic Planning and Management System would, in themselves, perform miracles and that everything would get much better automatically without the essential, basic efforts of man. What is worse, there were increasing signs that the spirit of austerity was flagging, that a softening up process was going on in which some people tended to let things slide, pursue privileges, make accommodations and take other attitudes, while work discipline dropped. Our worst enemies could not have done us more damage. Was our Revolution beginning to degenerate on our imperialist enemy's doorstep? Was that an inexorable law for any revolution in power? Under no circumstances could such a thing be permitted. It showed that demands for orderliness should never be neglected in a revolution. So these problems were discussed openly, measures were taken and the pernicious tendencies began to be surmounted. But that is not enough. We must be constantly on guard and alert in our demands so we can deal firmly with the first signs of petit bourgeois, accommodating or undisciplined attitudes and even the slightest evidence of corruption. This should serve as a warning and an example. Our people's unanimous support for the struggle to achieve higher standards and against all signs of softness and accommodation shows how thoroughly our masses have absorbed the moral principles of the Revolution and demonstrates that, far from degenerating, our revolutionary process is growing stronger all the time. It has been said that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. It is also the price of the Revolution.

Our people's communist and internationalist consciousness has undoubtedly increased in recent years. When we say this,

Delegate to the Second Party Congress

Photo: Sandra Levinson



we are not speaking only—or even mainly—of the important cultural and theoretical advances that have been made. I am primarily referring to specific circumstances in which our people show that consciousness. Throughout the country, attitudes toward work, organization, higher standards, combativity and revolutionary firmness are all at a much higher level. This is especially evident in our working class and has been brilliantly shown by our intellectual workers as well. Tens of thousands of teachers, doctors and other professionals and technicians have worked with dedication here and enthusiastically undertaken difficult and honorable missions abroad. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers and reservists in our Revolutionary Armed Forces have expressed their willingness to participate in Cuba's internationalist aid to sister countries that were under attack and millions of our compatriots lead exemplary, genuinely proletarian, austere, collectivist, honest and disciplined lives.

This, of course, does not mean that we have always done the best possible political and ideological work or that we can cross our arms and say we have won the battle.

It is necessary to understand the special situation in which for over 20 years Cuba has been waging its confrontation with imperialism in the realm of ideas. The existence, just a few miles from our coasts, of the richest, most aggressive capitalist country in the world, a paradise of individualism, gambling, drugs, prostitution and other alienating vices has forced us to respond courageously to this open and unending challenge.

The United States has always been the sworn enemy of our nation. Ever since the beginning of the 19th century, Spanish colonial rule and the powerful *criollos* who owned most of the coffee and sugarcane plantations and hundreds of thousands of slaves fostered a strong annexationist, anti-independence current in our country. Many of those landowners considered the preservation of the slave system through annexation to the United States more important than national independence. They feared that a slave uprising in the struggle for independence would cost them their socioeconomic privileges or that Spain, pressured by England, would emancipate the slaves. This explains why Cuba was the last country in the Americas to obtain its independence from Spain—nearly 100 years later than the other Spanish colonies in the region. Annexationism did not, however, prevent the development of a strong patriotic movement, which fully demonstrated its strength and desire for freedom in the heroic wars of 1868 and 1895.

Yankee intervention, the imposition of the Platt Amendment, the seizure of the country's wealth and the installation of a neocolonial regime frustrated our people's desires and were a rude blow to our national spirit. In practice, we were annexed to the United States. The Yankee system, ideology, laws, culture, habits, customs, prejudices and vices became a part of our neocolonial dependent way of life. Our economy became an appendage of U.S. monopoly capital, and Cuba became another piece of Yankee property.

Before 1959, a steady stream of Cubans wanted to leave their underdeveloped country and move to the metropolis, but the United States imposed a number of restrictions to limit to a few thousand this economic migration.

After the victory of the Revolution, the United States opened its doors to Cuban war criminals, torturers, embezzlers of public funds, plantation owners, urban real estate magnates, big businessmen and others of that ilk. At the same time, it went to great lengths to rob us of our engineers, doctors, administrators



and even middle-level technicians and skilled workers. It took advantage of its position as the world's most developed, richest country—with a much higher standard of living and wages than Cuba—to try to bleed us of our skilled personnel and thus destroy the revolutionary process, linking this policy to economic blockade, threats and aggression of all kinds. The Revolution valiantly took up the challenge and permitted everyone who wanted to leave to do so. We were quite ready to create a new homeland and make our socialist Revolution with men and women who had freely decided to stay; we also began to develop our schools and universities—in which hundreds of thousands of specialists and skilled workers have since been trained.

Millions of individuals—the vast majority of our people—preferred to live here under economic blockade and the threat of annihilation rather than abandon their homeland. It was our socialist Revolution, with its unselfish, heroic struggle, that forged our Cuban patriotic national spirit once and for all. A new generation of doctors, engineers, teachers and technicians has been trained in the years since the triumph of the Revolution, taking their place alongside the many intellectual workers who remained loyal to their homeland. Now we have many more trained, aware revolutionary workers than we had before, and our technicians are at present serving in more than 30 foreign countries.

Imperialism, however, has never stopped attacking our Cuban national spirit, constantly putting it to the test. It employs the gross exhibition of wealth, most of which was plundered from the world's underdeveloped peoples; constantly bribes and incites our citizens to desert and betray their country; and takes advantage of the separation of tens of thousands of Cuban families to restrict legal travel to the United States while encouraging, publicizing and welcoming as heroes anyone who leaves Cuba by such illegal means as hijacking boats, taking hostages and committing monstrous murders—all to feed its cynical propaganda.

In spite of the tremendous efforts the Revolution has made to promote socioeconomic development—especially in education—some social disgrace from the past still remains: a total lack of national feeling on the part of some combined with the fact that the socioeconomic conditions in our developing country still produce some declassed, antisocial, lumpen elements that are receptive to imperialist enticements and ideas.

For these reasons, a bitter ideological struggle has been waged by our imperialist enemy and the Cuban Revolution—a struggle that has been and will continue to be fought not only in the realm of revolutionary and political ideas but also in the sphere of our people's patriotic national feelings. Imperialism refuses to resign itself to a revolutionary, socialist Cuba; a Cuba that has freed itself from the United States forever; a Cuba that has held out and gained prestige in its struggle against the Yankee giant; a Cuba in which patriotic feelings are deeper, more solid and more lasting than ever.

It is true that our country has a modest way of life, one without luxuries or extravagance, but we are fully convinced of the justice of our ideas, our dignity and our morale and perfectly capable of using these qualities to defy all the rotteness of the imperialist consumer society. This time, the imperialists were stopped by our people's courage and could not skim off our specialists and trained personnel. This time they got our scum.

The People's Marches—an outpouring in response to the acts of provocation at the Peruvian and Venezuelan Embassies,

to the Mariel flotilla and to the Yankee military threats—will go down in history.

Never before have there been such huge mass mobilizations in our homeland. Once again, they underestimated our people's level of consciousness. The Revolution and the masses decided, once and for all, to take up the challenge. We remained perfectly calm while the imperialists ground out their version of what happened in the Peruvian Embassy. The antisocial individuals themselves—whom the capitalist news agencies started off calling “dissidents”—showed what kind of people they really were, so all our enemy's lies were exposed to ridicule. The people demonstrated that their strength, unity, awareness, fighting spirit and discipline were unbeatable. Young people won their first revolutionary laurels in the vanguard of this great political and ideological battle. While Cuba made the cleanest sweep in its history, the masses were tempered and tremendously strengthened in the struggle, and their spirit of patriotism and defense of the principles of socialism and proletarian internationalism were deepened. The struggle also boosted production and discipline and helped us find solutions for our own internal weaknesses. The enemy once again learned that our people cannot be challenged with impunity.

We consider the battle that the masses waged last April and May to be one of the most important political, ideological and moral victories the Revolution has won in its entire history.

As we have already noted, it is significant that this struggle had positive repercussions in the national effort to eradicate a series of ideological problems that had been gaining ground in this period.

The people's repudiation of the scum also meant that they repudiated undisciplined behavior, sponging, accommodation, negligence and other such negative attitudes. The position the people took, coupled with the political, legal, wage and administrative measures adopted during the past few months, has led to a much greater demand for higher standards and more order in our society. We intend to continue striving to find permanent solutions for these problems.

It is still too early to determine how this policy has affected the Cuban community abroad. Following our people's indignant reaction to what was going on and the repeated acts of provocation at the Venezuelan and Peruvian Embassies, their visits were reduced to a minimum. Our policy on this will be determined by the attitude the new U.S. administration takes.

We'll have to see whether or not Mr. Reagan suspends the right of U.S. citizens and residents to travel to Cuba. It is also essential that visits here in the case of individuals of Cuban origin be allowed only to those who have never engaged in any hostile acts against this country, who left Cuba legally and who are willing to respect the Revolution. Drastic measures will be taken against anyone who attempts to engage in any counterrevolutionary activities. Our policy will be based on these considerations, disregarding any profit that accrues to Cuba from such visits.

One of the factors that contributed to a certain degree of laxity in socioeconomic activity was that frequently people were not as critical and self-critical as necessary.

It became evident that this phenomenon was widespread and even affected the Party to a certain extent. In some places, the general attitude was formal, conformist and basically petit bourgeois in the sense of avoiding problems with everybody—as if the Revolution itself were not always trying to straighten out

problems involving injustice and poor work. In the administrative sphere, this trend had negative effects on labor discipline, control and adequate use of resources.

It has been said, with good reason, that our political and ideological work cannot be abstract but must be firmly linked to specific national and international socioeconomic tasks. While we continue to give our Party cadres and members and the people in general theoretical training and staunchly defend Marxism-Leninism against all distortion, we must also be especially concerned with the workers' economic education within the framework of the principles and laws of socialism; with the moral training our children and young people receive; and with raising the communist and internationalist consciousness of all our compatriots. We should continue to promote voluntary work giving it special emphasis as an essential factor in creating a new attitude toward work and society. Generally speaking, the experience of this recent period has reinforced our belief that elements of a moral character should continue to play a major role in our Revolution, because they make us invulnerable to bourgeois ideology; strengthen our spirit in the face of the enemy's threats and acts of aggression; and make the people an invincible army, ready to fight for their cause no matter what the cost.

Aware of the importance of this front, our Party is waging a determined ideological battle. Since the 1st Congress, this battle has included systematic work, including plans, special activities, campaigns, exhibits, mass meetings to commemorate important dates in history, and such major events as the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students, the 6th Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, the March of the Fighting People and the first Soviet-Cuban spaceflight.

The economic education of workers has been a major topic for the mass media and in all Party propaganda, but we still have a long way to go in this direction. Our propaganda should place more emphasis on production problems; present information on the most useful experiences; and, in general, provide a deeper, more consistent view of what is happening.

Mass ideological training, especially the training of children and young people in the principles of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, requires systematic work. Historical events should be used to show these young people that our revolutionary process combines the purest national patriotic traditions with the universal principles of socialism and is part of the world revolutionary movement. The Party has encouraged the movement of history activists to contribute to this task.

The principles of internationalism have been set forth broadly and consistently in our work of revolutionary orientation. We have made every effort to ensure that the true image of the Cuban Revolution is projected abroad, explaining both our successes, shortcomings, and difficulties and our socioeconomic advances in building socialism. Our people's political understanding is impressive, and they are kept informed about the main aspects of the world situation.

We will continue our efforts to give all our people a scientific concept of nature and society so old prejudices are eradicated while developing new customs and habits that tend to strengthen fraternal relations of solidarity in our socialist society.

In recent years, the Party has worked diligently to find ways of keeping its cadres and members more effectively informed on important matters that require their attention, and today we have the valuable contribution of at least 7,000 non-professional

lecturers. This has helped a great deal, but we are working to guarantee better theoretical training and follow-up courses for them. Through the Party's publishing plan, more than 600 political and ideological titles were printed during this period and have been widely distributed and promoted in the libraries set up in our grass-roots organizations. The Party's graphic propaganda has improved, but its content and artistic quality could still be better. We have an efficient system for organizing and holding meetings, exhibits and other political activities. The People's Opinion Teams have continued to ask the people what they think about specific problems. This can be an effective tool for Party work and should be further developed.

The Party has given priority to improving the quality and political-ideological level of the material that appears in the mass media. In compliance with the thesis of the 1st Congress on the written press, radio, television and movies, a number of complementary documents have been adopted, including the resolution of the Political Bureau on attention to the Party newspaper and other press organs; norms for circulating and distributing publications; a definition of the structure and staff of newspapers and magazines; a policy on radio and TV programming and principles and standards for countering propaganda.

The mass media have made major gains in reporting on our socioeconomic development and ideological confrontation with imperialism in this period.

Our written press has continued to grow, and a significant effort has been made to ensure that each province—including the special municipality of the Isle of Youth—has its own newspaper. These papers have a total daily run of over 264,000. New publications for children and young people, for workers and for state and scientific use have appeared. The daily national pressrun is now up to 930,000, an average of one newspaper for every eight readers. Noteworthy results have been achieved in distributing 1.2 million newspapers daily and more than 5 million magazines and tabloids each month. The technical base of our written press will be modernized as much as possible in the next few years.

*Granma*, the official organ of our Central Committee, has played an outstanding role in keeping our people informed, guiding them and helping to raise their level of education and revolutionary consciousness. It has also carried out its responsibility of setting an example for the rest of the mass media in implementing Party guidelines.

The magazine *El Militante Comunista* [The Communist Party Member] has improved the quality and approach of its articles.

New municipal radio stations have been set up (two are especially directed at students attending schools in the countryside), color TV programming has been increased, and Channels 2 and Tele Rebelde have been joined so as to make better use of technical and human resources. Investments in new equipment have resulted in considerable technological improvements in both media, especially radio. Radio Havana Cuba has maintained the high quality of its political, ideological and professional programming, broadcasting the truth about Cuba in eight languages and increasing its programming by 27 percent, with few people.

Efforts have been made to improve program quality, in compliance with the agreements of the 1st Congress and the 8th Plenary Meeting on Programming. Programs for children and young people have been increased, as have informational and

cultural programs; sports programs have been broadened and diversified; 60 percent of all TV programming is nationally produced; high quality feature serials have been shown, though sustained efforts must be made to reach greater stability. More films from the socialist countries have been shown on TV; there has been more extensive programming via satellite; and special summer programs were broadcast during this period.

We do not feel fully satisfied, however, with the work done by our mass media. There are still many shortcomings. It is necessary to improve quality both in information and in the analysis and criticism.

Because of their importance in the Party's ideological work, we should take special note of the efforts made by the Institute of the History of the Communist Movement and the Cuban Socialist Revolution. In its six years of existence, this Institute has laid the bases for its scientific work and done far-reaching historical research which has led to the publication of valuable books and other important works in progress.

Generally speaking, our ideological work has advanced, but we should keep working to overcome the shortcomings that still exist.

Our grass-roots Party organizational work should be improved so that every nucleus and every Communist is an active defender of and propagandist for Party policy. We must also unify all our ideological work and make the best possible use of the political education system, agit-prop work, the mass media, cultural outlets, sports, recreation and other avenues of expression.

Ideology is, first of all, consciousness; consciousness is revolutionary militant attitude, dignity, principles and morale. Ideology is also an effective weapon in opposing misconduct, weaknesses, privileges, immorality. For all revolutionaries ideological struggle is today in the forefront; is the first revolutionary trench.

Socialism is a relatively new system in mankind's history, for it has only been in existence for a few decades. Right from the start, it was opposed by imperialist threats, hostility, intervention and aggression. Fascism made a brutal effort to destroy the first socialist state only 24 years after it had been founded. The socialist camp was built on the rubble and ruins that the Nazi hordes left behind them in the most devastated parts of Europe, which were also the continent's least developed areas. It hasn't been easy, and circumstances have hardly been propitious for spreading socialist ideas.

Our enemy has used every means at its disposal to continue fighting socialism. On the military front, it has forced the socialist countries to invest huge sums of money in defense. Politically, it has made every effort to subvert, destabilize and discredit the socialist countries.

This reality should not be underrated—especially by our country, which is so close to the United States. Only by consistently applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism can we be strong, invulnerable, invincible.

Ours is a state of workers who exercise revolutionary power. The Party and its members must always be solidly, closely and deeply linked to the masses. They must engage in rigorous criticism and self-criticism. They must not deviate from collective leadership, internal democracy, democratic centralism and the strictest discipline. They must lead a life of austerity and embody the spirit of self-sacrifice, unselfishness, selflessness, honesty, solidarity and heroism that should characterize every Communist.

Every Communist should be a staunch fighter, convinced of

the absolute justice of his cause; he should be studious, hard-working, demanding and deeply committed to his people. The Party exists through and for the people. Bureaucratic and petit bourgeois attitudes are completely alien to its principles. The strongest, closest ties should exist between the Party cadres and members and the people, mainly based on the example set by revolutionaries and the confidence inspired by their commitment to the people.

Authoritarianism, demagoguery, a know-it-all attitude, vanity and irresponsibility are inconceivable in Communists, for they should always have a fraternal and humane attitude toward others and—especially—an internationalist spirit that, while including deep-rooted patriotism, is based on an understanding that their homeland is more important than any individual and that mankind is the most important of all.

If a Communist Party in power commits or tolerates serious errors of principle, those errors will prove very costly to the revolutionary process—as history has shown. Betrayals have done great damage to the world revolutionary movement.

Is socialism in any given country irreversible or not? It is utterly irreversible if the principles are applied. Our people have demonstrated this. We are at Yankee imperialism's doorstep, yet we do not fear its power, do not dream of its wealth, do not accept its ideology and are not destabilized by its actions.

Have we made mistakes? Of course we have. Have we always been consistent in strictly applying each and every principle, and are we, therefore, unblemished, exemplary Communists who have never done anything wrong—even out of lack of understanding, incompetence or ignorance? No, but it has always been our policy to be honest, loyal to our principles and dedicated to the revolutionary Cuban people. The Party's close links with the masses make it stronger and guarantee that it will consistently apply the principles that will make it invincible.

In our country, Marxist-Leninist ideas are also profoundly linked to our people's patriotic, heroic traditions. Céspedes, Agramonte, Gómez, Maceo and Martí are, for us, inseparable from Marx, Engels and Lenin. They are linked in our consciences, just as patriotic thinking is linked to internationalism; national liberty to equality and social justice; the history of one country to the history of the world; and our homeland to mankind. The foundations of the country in which we are now building socialism were laid with the sweat, blood and heroism of our predecessors, and today we are doing what they did when they founded our homeland.

Let us follow the example of those who created our homeland and who opened up a new path for mankind. Let us adhere to these ideas loyally, and no force on earth can separate our Party from our people or deter our people from their revolutionary course.

We still have a long way to go and many problems to solve as we build socialism, but history has already shown that our ideas are far superior to and infinitely more humane than those of capitalism. The clock of history never turns back. Capitalism, with its egoism, crime and vice, will disappear, just as feudalism and slavery did; and, even if one country should take a step backward, mankind never will.

## VIII. WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION

Several important events have taken place on the international economic scene since the 1st Congress of our Party was

held five years ago. These include the worst crisis that has hit capitalism since World War II, followed by a period of stagflation and the worsening of living conditions in the underdeveloped world.

During the last 30 years, the imperialist monopolies extended their operations on an ever larger, more international scale; gained control of a larger part of the world market; and got their hooks into all branches of production and services.

The monopolies' huge amounts of accumulated capital were invested in ways that caused major changes in the structures of economic activities in the developed capitalist world.

Huge monopoly profits also accelerated the processes of internationalizing economic life, whose main vehicle has been the so-called transnational corporations, imperialist monopolies characterized by the impressive size of their financial, technical and organizational resources; by the world scale of their operations; and by the great geographic and product diversification of their activities.

None of these changes that have taken place in the capitalist world would have been possible without the upsurge of state monopoly capitalism.

The growing identification of the interests of the monopolies and the state apparatus has taken on decisive importance during the last 30 years.

The refusal of the governments of the developed capitalist powers to make even the slightest concession to the underdeveloped countries that have been struggling for years to achieve a new international economic order reflects the role of those powers as tools of the large monopolies, which are the ones that are really interested in maintaining the present economic order, based on exploiting and plundering the natural resources and work of the peoples of the so-called Third World.

The development of the "military industrial complex" is the most dangerous expression of the upsurge in this identification of state and monopoly interests.

The 1974-75 crisis was followed by a period of economic stagnation and instability, combined with a steady inflationary rise in prices—that is, by the phenomenon of stagflation. The ruling financial oligarchies in the imperialist world have failed both to recover their growth rates of the '60s and early '70s and to keep unemployment from rising. Their most renowned experts' predictions for the next two years are more and more pessimistic. They have also failed to control runaway inflation—but, in any case, inflation is one of the resources that monopolies use to increase their profits, in spite of the crisis, by reducing the real wages of the workers and exacerbating the unequal terms of trade with the underdeveloped countries.

The unemployment rate in the countries that belong to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which include the main imperialist powers—the United States and such less developed capitalist countries as Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey, was 3 percent between 1960 and 1973, according to official figures, and rose to around 5.2 percent between 1974 and the first quarter of 1980. This means that around 24 million people are out of work, and it is estimated that this figure will rise to 25-27 million people by the end of 1981. In the United States alone, more than 8 million people go from one place to another in search of work. Estimates for Latin America list 30 percent of the work force as totally unemployed. Unemployment is especially high among young people. In the United States, this situation is even worse for

blacks, Latins and the members of other minority groups. In general, unemployment in the underdeveloped countries normally fluctuates between 15 and 40 percent of the population of working age. We do not have exact statistics on this, but it may be assumed that the figures are even higher now.

Meanwhile, inflation in the aforementioned OECD member countries rose from 7.9 percent in 1979 to 13.9 percent in mid-1980.

Another factor in the present capitalist crisis consists of what is emerging as a veritable crisis of neocolonialism.

OPEC is a case in point.

The rise in the price of oil generated a flow of capital toward the OPEC countries which though unequally distributed was impressive. This flow of resources, however, was not entirely used to the advantage of those countries, due to the specific characteristics of their socioeconomic structures, the narrow limits of their markets and their technical limitations for absorbing more than a certain amount of productive capital. The result of this situation was the creation of a financial "surplus" that is estimated to have been around \$36 billion a year between 1974 and 1978. It rose to \$68 billion in 1979 and will probably reach \$115 billion in 1980. This money was mainly sent to the developed capitalist countries—where it was placed in short-term, highly liquid investments (especially in the United States, Western Europe and the so-called Eurocurrency market)—instead of being recycled in a way to benefit the underdeveloped countries.

Because of this, the developed capitalist economies were not as hard hit by the hikes in the price of oil, since the recycling of surplus funds offset the negative side of their balances of payments. The underdeveloped oil-importing countries, however, received no such compensation and were forced to pay high prices for their oil imports as well as put up with traditional unequal terms of exchange, aggravated by inflation.

The way in which the OPEC countries with the main surpluses have acted does not, however, diminish the historic importance of OPEC's action, for this was the first time in the post-war period that a group of underdeveloped countries dependent on the capitalist powers to a greater or lesser degree managed—thanks to the present world correlation of forces and the support of the other underdeveloped countries (that have not been given due consideration and support in return)—to strike a blow against the neocolonial structures, defending the price of their basic export product and changing the rules of the imperialist game in a key sector.

In addition to the economic crisis, there is also the crisis that broke out in 1971-73 in the sphere of monetary relations. This crisis stemmed from the United States' imposition of dollar hegemony and was aggravated by the present capitalist economic situation, but, in essence, it reflects more basic contradictions within the system, mainly expressed in rivalries between different monopolies and imperialist powers that—at times, spectacularly—pit the United States, the European Economic Community and Japan against one another in their struggles for markets for their capital merchandise and raw materials.

The monetary crisis has also exacerbated the economic problems of the underdeveloped countries, which are especially hard hit by monetary instability, that aggravates their structural imbalances, makes their imports more expensive, lowers the actual value of their exports and often nibbles away at whatever reserves they have. Moreover, the collapse of the capitalist monetary system has not even had the positive effect of putting an end to

the International Monetary Fund, which has survived the crisis, among other reasons, because it has been shored up by the United States and other imperialist powers, which use it as a monetary-financial gendarme in the underdeveloped world. Making the most of the difficult situation faced by the underdeveloped oil-importing countries—now overwhelmed by burgeoning deficits in their balances of payments and by crushing foreign debts—the IMF imposes onerous conditions for loans, promoting the most reactionary domestic policies that hurt the people with in those countries and make them easy prey to imperialist exploitation and dependency.

Another factor that should be considered a characteristic of the present world economic situation is the serious and unprecedented financial crisis now hitting the underdeveloped oil-importing countries, whose deficits in the current accounts in their balance of payments rose from \$12 billion in 1973 to an average of more than \$42 billion between 1974 and 1978 and to \$53 billion in 1979 and will rise to an estimated \$70 billion in 1980. As a result, the foreign debts of these countries rose from \$118 billion in 1973 to \$343 billion in 1978 and it is estimated that they will increase to much more than 400 billion in 1980. This crisis arises not from contingency factors but from the structural conditions linked to the very nature of underdevelopment

and dependency. We can see the present financial mechanisms offer no possibility for its solution.

How are these huge debts and deficits financed?

Basically, with resources from the so-called official assistance for development, a crumb—0.3 percent—of the Gross National Product of the capitalist powers, through foreign private investment funds, government loans and (for a handful of countries) commercial loans from international banks. In other words, these enormous deficits are mitigated by the always unpredictable and usually meager contributions of a handful of capitalist powers, obtained by the recipients' accepting the generally onerous conditions imposed by the large banking-financial consortiums placing the natural resources and work of their peoples in hock, mortgaging their present and future exportations and reducing their essential imports for development and for the very survival of the vast majority of the people—in short, by accepting greater dependency, larger indebtedness, more exploitation and more underdevelopment. This is the situation, in brief.

What prospects does imperialism offer the underdeveloped world?

It is significant in this regard that the World Bank—that creature of the United States and the other imperialist powers whose demagogic attitude are well known—predicts that by 1990

Photo: Center for Cuban Studies Archives



(within 10 years) the underdeveloped countries' annual deficit in the current account of their balance of payment will have risen to nearly \$128 billion annually. It even forecasts how this monstrous figure will be financed: \$66.6 million through the so-called government funds for development, \$16.4 million through foreign private investments and \$44.7 million through commercial bank loans. As may be observed, the World Bank is not trying to solve the problem. Rather, it is limiting itself to magnifying it and projecting it into the future. This position, however, is of great strategic significance, since imperialism hopes to be able to cope with the ever more serious financial difficulties of the underdeveloped world, turning those difficulties into a profitable business—that is, perpetuating the dependency of the underdeveloped world by using an eye-dropper to dispense assistance for development and especially by exploiting the situation in such a way that it reaps maximum benefits from the profits of foreign private investments and interest payments on its bank loans. In line with this imperialist strategy, backwardness, and underdevelopment, hunger and poverty and unequal terms of exchange would persist, and these countries' deficits and debts would increase even more. The underdeveloped world would remain underdeveloped—only more so. Imperialism would be the same, only richer, and mankind would be the same, only with a billion more people living in the most abject poverty.

As the representative of Cuba stated in the 16th Regional FAO Conference for Latin America, "Every five days more than a million people are born, 90 percent of them in the underdeveloped countries that face such major problems as technical backwardness and a lack of material input for food production. This world population now totals 4.3 billion. It will reach some 6.4 billion in the next 20 years, and 80 percent of those people—more than 5 billion—will live in what is known as the Third World.

"Every year, some 25 million children in the underdeveloped countries die before their fifth birthday, most of them from curable diseases and hunger.

"... The forests are disappearing at the rate of nearly 20 million hectares [49.4 million acres] a year. . . .

"Erosion, loss of organic material, salinization and other factors have transformed millions of hectares a year—just about equal to Cuba's entire arable land—into deserts and arid soil. . . . Ten years ago, the world population in agricultural areas was one person per 0.5 hectares [1.24 acres]. In 20 years' time, it will be one person per 0.25 [0.62 acres]. . . ."

In 1974, at the initiative of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved a declaration supporting the program for a new international economic order.

Nevertheless, after more than six years of negotiations, little if any progress has been made in implementing its demands. Through their representatives in the various UN agencies, the capitalist powers have systematically refused to accede to any of the legitimate demands presented by the underdeveloped countries and most recently have even refused to agree with them on the main points and methods for discussing these problems in the new worldwide round of negotiations proposed by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the underdeveloped countries in general.

The struggle for a new international economic order, however, has had the positive result of uniting the underdeveloped countries in a single front—a phenomenon that, in view of their tremendous economic, political and social heterogeneity, can only be explained on the basis of a generalized contradiction be-

tween them and imperialism, a contradiction that includes the governments of countries that are allies of imperialism on the periphery of the underdeveloped, dependent world but are no longer ready to accept unchanged the system of inequality and exploitation to which the monopolies of the capitalist powers subject them.

In view of the strategy employed by the most reactionary circles of imperialism it is necessary for the underdeveloped world, the socialist countries, other progressive forces throughout the world and even the more realistic sectors in the developed capitalist powers to unite in tackling the serious crisis with which mankind is now faced.

In the 34th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, in October 1979, speaking on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, we voiced the pressing need to create an additional fund of at least \$300 billion (1977 real values), to be distributed in the form of donations and long-term soft credits among the underdeveloped countries, granted annually over the next 10 years. More than a year has elapsed since this proposal was made, yet, in spite of the support it received in various forums of the United Nations, there has been no decision to set an international mechanism in motion to promote this flow of resources. During this same period, the situation in the underdeveloped world—and in the developed one, as well—has continued to deteriorate, and more and more people are calling for a massive transfer of financial resources to the underdeveloped countries, not only as a contribution toward solving some of their most pressing problems but also as a means for stimulating a real demand that can help push the developed capitalist economies out of the stagnation in which they are bogged down.

In our days large-scale international cooperation is required if we really want to raise the peoples' standard of living, pull most of mankind out of underdevelopment and preserve international peace.

The arms race must be stopped. The present stockpiles of nuclear weapons are already large enough to destroy the world many times over, as was noted about two years ago in a UN report, which also stated that, according to conservative estimates, the stockpiles of nuclear warheads (not counting the so-called tactical nuclear weapons) contained 1.3 million times as much explosive power as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

Figures on arms expenditures are just as incredible. These runaway expenditures have caused enormous imbalances in the capitalist economy and constitute one of the main factors in its present inflation.

Tens of millions of people—including hundreds of thousands of scientists, technicians and engineers, some of whom are the elite of the world's skilled personnel—are working to maintain and increase these war resources. Hundreds of millions of tons of nonrenewable resources, including the most sensitive reserves of energy and other raw materials in the world, are consumed in the arms race. From 5 to 6 percent of the Gross National Product of some powers is now spent on war preparations each year, amounts that, in the '70s, averaged \$350 billion a year—some one billion dollars a day, \$40 million an hour or \$700,000 a minute. At present, annual arms expenditures amount to around \$90 per capita for the entire world's population—more than the annual per capita income of hundreds of millions of people in the underdeveloped world.

Those expenditures do not benefit anybody. They are completely unproductive, and the matériel turned out becomes

quickly obsolete and can only be scrapped.

This folly is even more striking when it is contrasted to the amount of money needed to solve some of the most pressing problems facing the world's population.

The senseless arms race, which can break out into the most destructive, universal holocaust at any moment, must not continue. It is absolutely necessary to end this suicidal policy if we wish to guarantee a future of peace and well-being for all mankind.

## IX. FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign policy—its complex development and our Party and government's participation in it—has been a constant concern in the work done by the Party leadership in the 1976-80 period.

These five years have been filled with events. Many peoples have joined the growing family of progressive, revolutionary countries.

Angola's firm, heroic struggle was still in progress in late 1975. Under the leadership of the MPLA and President Agostinho Neto, the Angolan people emerged triumphant a few months later, effecting a change in Africa's political life and opening up new horizons for all the peoples of black Africa by helping to consolidate the independence of some and strengthening the liberation struggles of others.

One of the most encouraging aspects of recent events in Africa is that, in spite of the lamentable death of President Neto, the Angolan Revolution has been strengthened.

The Ethiopian people's victory over the clumsy, traitorous Somali invasion that took place because of Siad Barre's outrageous ambitions was also very significant.

The consolidation of the Ethiopian revolutionary process under the firm revolutionary leadership headed by outstanding African combatant Mengistu Haile Mariam and the first steps toward creating a Marxist-Leninist Party there will also have tremendous repercussions in the continent.

Another revolutionary milestone in Africa was the victory of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, which, after a long armed struggle firmly backed by the Front-Line States and benefiting from the solidarity of all the other progressive peoples, got the Government of the United Kingdom to sign an agreement that forced the Rhodesian racist minority to hold an election in which the people of Zimbabwe voted in a genuine people's government headed by Robert Mugabe.

Mozambique is consolidating its independence and advancing along the road of socialism, led by FRELIMO and Samora Machel, its brilliant, capable leader.

In Southeast Asia, the criminal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique—that had subjected Cambodia to inhuman conditions of oppression and, backed by China, blocked the construction of socialism in the old Indo-Chinese area—was overthrown. This victory by the Kampuchean people was threatened by military pressure from China, whose rulers launched an unprincipled attack on Vietnam. Once more, the Vietnamese people, Party, government and Armed Forces made a contribution to the struggle for peace, national independence and socialism by inflicting a humiliating defeat on the Chinese invading forces.

In Afghanistan, the triumph of the April 1978 Revolution did away with the pro-imperialist, reactionary, feudal regime and established a progressive people's government.

Later on, in a heroic and exemplary struggle, the Iranian people overthrew the Shah, imperialism's gendarme in the Middle East.

Our part of the world was the scene of other important struggles in the peoples' confrontation with imperialism. After a heroic unyielding battle, the Nicaraguan people, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, overthrew the brutal Somoza tyranny; rooted out that bloody, exploiting regime, which had been created and maintained by U.S. imperialism; and started a truly anti-oligarchic, anti-imperialist, deep-rooted people's revolution.

The great upheaval in Nicaragua came a few months after the resounding victory scored by the Grenadian people, who, led by the New Jewel Movement, gave a boost to the struggle in the former European colonies in the Caribbean.

The important peoples' victories that have been won in the last five years should not, however, lead us to have a distorted view of the international scene—much less underestimate the great dangers that threaten the peoples' peace and national liberation.

The threat posed to international détente by the most reactionary sectors of imperialism—a threat denounced by the 1st Congress—has become more and more evident and has led to the interruption of international détente, whose incipient, difficult progress—made possible by the Soviet Union's foreign policy of peace (expressed in the 24th and 25th Congress of the CPSU)—was noted in 1975. The threats of the cold war period have been renewed, and there are real possibilities of a generalized international conflict.

Imperialism—especially U.S. imperialism—must bear full responsibility for this aggravation of the international situation.

The United States organized and orchestrated a world campaign concerning the supposed military superiority of the Soviet Union, aimed at justifying Washington's and its allies' new escalation of the arms race.

Taking advantage of the nefarious position of the Chinese Government and its leaders' betrayal of socialism and internationalism, U.S. imperialism set about weaving an alliance with China and Japan, aimed against the Soviet Union.

U.S. imperialism seized on the toppling of the Shah in Iran and the later development of a clearly anti-imperialist people's process as a pretext for increasing its military presence in the Indian Ocean, enlarging its installations at the Diego Garcia base and trying to turn that vital part of the world into a U.S. possession. For this purpose, it took steps to set up bases in Kenya, Somalia, Egypt and Oman.

The United States compelled the NATO member countries to increase their military budgets in 1978 while, just a few hundred miles from Washington, where this decision was made, the United Nations was holding its Special Session on Disarmament.

The United States forced its European NATO allies to agree to having 572 intermediate-range missiles placed in Europe, aimed against the Soviet Union, in the near future. This decision was a very serious, adventurist, dangerous step. Remember that the presence of a few dozen intermediate-range missiles near the United States brought the world to the brink of war in October 1962.

In this same period, the United States also decided to create powerful intervention forces—rapid deployment forces—that pose a threat to all the peoples of the world, especially those in the progressive, revolutionary countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that are struggling for their liberation.

The U.S. policy is what lies behind the United States' position on the Middle East and its opposition to recognition of

Palestinians' national rights and the Arab countries' aspirations of recovering the territories torn from them by Israel. Since 1977, the United States has turned its back on world negotiations on the Arab-Israeli problem and set about imposing the Camp David Agreements and increasing its opposition to the Palestinian cause.

Moreover, U.S. imperialism which has not resigned itself to accepting the independent democratic social transformations that some Latin-American and Caribbean peoples are carrying out, has reacted to the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua and the revolutionary insurgency in El Salvador with an arrogant attempt to reaffirm its rule in Central America and the Caribbean, an area in which it brazenly declares it has a "special interest."

Under the pretext of protesting against the presence of a small group of Soviet military personnel in Cuba—a group that has been in our country since the 1962 October crisis, as all the U.S. administrations since then have known perfectly well, and which the Carter administration raised in a demagogic deliberate attempt to offset the 6th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries—the U.S. Government set up a command post in Florida with special forces for making a rapid Yankee strike in any Latin-American country. Other results of this campaign included the approval of a \$42 billion hike in the military budget and an appropriation of \$33 billion for the construction of MX nuclear warhead plants.

The U.S. Government's military development throughout the world and its threatening language were accompanied by the decision to postpone ratification of the SALT II Treaty.

All this took place prior to the events in Afghanistan.

In that country, imperialism and the international reaction's savage acts of provocation, subversion and interference against the Revolution, plus the divisions among and serious mistakes committed by the revolutionary Afghans themselves, brought the situation to such a point that the USSR had to help save the process and preserve the victories of the April 1978 Revolution. The United States used this as a pretext for trying to justify the hawkish turn of its foreign policy, which had been begun several years earlier, and its adoption of more aggressive measures against the Soviet Union.

The new Afghan revolutionary leadership seems to be consolidating itself at present, and we hope that the situation in the area will continue to be normalized, on the basis of full sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, peace and good relations among all the states in the region. Cuba has striven to improve the relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan and Iran—all non-aligned countries—in order to contribute to these goals.

There is no doubt that imperialism is once again trying to turn back the course of history and—with renewed aggressiveness—reassume its role as international gendarme and obstacle to the social and political changes that are taking place in the world.

This already tense and dangerous international panorama was further complicated by the explosive situation in Poland. What happened there was partly a result of imperialism's subversive policy toward the socialist countries and its long-range design to penetrate, destabilize and wipe out socialism in Eastern Europe, thus weakening and isolating the USSR and, if possible, destroying socialism throughout the world.

Especially in Poland, imperialism is orchestrating a sinister act of provocation directed against the socialist camp. The success the reaction has had there is eloquent testimony to the fact that a revolutionary Party in power cannot deviate from Marxist-Leninist principles, neglect ideological work and divorce itself

from the masses; and, when the time for rectification comes, this should not be done on the basis of concessions to the class enemy either inside or outside the country.

We firmly hope that the Polish Party will be able to save the situation through its own forces—and Polish Communists are duty-bound to use their own forces and their own efforts to counteract the antisocialists and counterrevolutionaries—but there is not the slightest question about the socialist camp's right to save that country's integrity and ensure that it survives and resists at all cost imperialism's onslaught.

Under the current international circumstances, this is the best service they can render not only to their own homeland, but to the cause of socialism, the revolutionary and progressive world movement, détente and peace as well. We are confident that the courageous sons of this heroic people and their communist vanguard will be able to recover from initial setbacks by overcoming past errors, raising their fighting spirit, leaning on the healthy forces of the country and taking advantage of the enormous moral, patriotic, and revolutionary reserve of the working class.

Under these circumstances, the November 4 election in the United States was especially significant, as it took place in the midst of the U.S. economic disaster (a result of the continued worsening in the crises that characterize the already critical situation of world economy) involving massive unemployment, especially among blacks and young people; a lower real income for all U.S. workers due to runaway inflation; and a desire for political change among many people, while others simply stayed away from the polls.

The international situation, in which the United States has continued to lose hegemony and prestige, cleverly exploited by the contending political parties as well as the people's frustration and skepticism about badly managed situations such as that of the hostages in Iran, who were not freed in the end, also helped defeat the Carter administration.

In a country that prides itself on its "representative democracy," 47.1 percent of the eligible voters stayed away from the polls. The Republican candidate was elected by 26.7 percent of the total number of eligible voters.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to overlook the meaning of the U.S. election. Reagan's electoral triumph is a right-wing victory that signifies a clear move in that direction by an important sector of U.S. public opinion. This is confirmed by the defeat of the most liberal senators, including some who were firm advocates of ratifying the SALT II Treaty. The apparent national backing that the election returns give Reagan opens up the possibility that he may throw caution to the winds and return to his earlier aggressiveness in supporting the most reactionary plans in the Republican Party platform.

All these events and the atmosphere surrounding them on the international political scene confirm the position we took at the 1st Congress—namely, that détente is what the peoples want, that it is an essential condition for mankind's survival and that it is constantly threatened by the most reactionary sectors of imperialism, which simply will not accept it.

There is still a possibility of saving détente, even though it is in serious danger in the current difficult situation. That possibility is dependent, first of all, on the Soviet Union's firm and constant policy of peace, on the support the other socialist countries give that policy and on the backing it receives from all other progressive forces. One essential element that no one can ignore



is that the USSR is fully prepared to throw back any kind of attack aimed at subverting it. A nuclear adventure against the Soviet Union would be suicidal for those who made the attempt. Even the most aggressive imperialists are aware of this. Moreover, the allies of the United States will not follow its lead docilely, since that would mean their own destruction at the outset of a global war.

Still, it would not be wise to ignore or underestimate imperialism's aggressive capacity. It has a dangerous military arsenal—especially in terms of nuclear weapons—which it is making every effort to increase and improve technically. It is also extending and modernizing its international network of military bases in every area, arrogantly encircling the Soviet Union. The United States is working hard and using every possible means to reduce the contradictions that exist within the Atlantic alliance, in order to rebuild its military alliances in Southeast, Central and Southwest Asia and maintain the Rio Treaty as an aggressive, antisocialist pact.

U.S. imperialist policy has an ally in the Government of China, whose leaders are fomenting aggression by NATO, proposing that it step up the quantity and technical development of its arms; inciting and aiding the United States in its efforts to turn Japan into a springboard for attacks against the Soviet Union; openly continuing its nuclear preparations, developing carriers for nuclear warheads and proclaiming that the USSR is the enemy to be destroyed; and trying to expand into Southeast Asia by threatening its neighbors in ASEAN and attacking Vietnam, forcing that country to interrupt its peaceful national reconstruction and socialist construction in order to defend itself. They are also playing a similar role in Africa and Latin America, allying themselves with the most reactionary forces and making friends with the most repressive representatives of every corrupt regime.

This is why we must prepare for the serious difficulties that may arise in international life.

Tens of thousands of atomic weapons hang over mankind's head, like a sword of Damocles. Never before has man gone through such an experience. It may be said that the most important problem of our epoch, for all peoples, is to avoid the outbreak of another world war. Absurd as it may seem and unbelievably catastrophic as its outcome would be, that is a real danger. The peoples will not remain indifferent to it.

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries can also play an important role in the struggle to maintain peace and avoid a war that would devastate the world. The fact that the numerical majority of countries in the international community, including almost all the developing countries, now belong to this Movement, makes it an international force that nobody can ignore, one whose influence in almost all world events is ever on the rise.

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, born of the peoples' age-old struggles to break the chains of colonialism and foreign domination, has become an immeasurably valuable instrument in their efforts to consolidate their independence and overcome backwardness and poverty.

The 6th Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which the Movement did us the honor of holding in Havana in September 1979, was a solid demonstration of the Movement's strength and of its influence on international policy. In spite of all U.S. imperialism's efforts to play down the importance of that 6th Summit Conference and negate the basic anti-imperialist orientation of the Movement, in its

general declarations and in the way it took up each of the specific international problems it examined, the Movement ratified its anti-imperialist nature as well as its independent position and made a valuable contribution to peace and the great efforts that the developing countries are making to do away with injustice, inequality, oppression and racism and to achieve real socio-economic development.

After the Summit Conference, the Movement had to confront the insidious, systematic activities of our peoples' enemies, who also tried to take advantage of the complex international situation to sow division in the Movement and hinder and weaken our countries' joint action. In spite of all these obstacles, the Non-Aligned Movement has intensified its efforts to implement the decisions of the 6th Summit Conference and has preserved its unity.

Cuba is serving as Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at a time when international tensions have been sharpened. Many conflicts have developed, new focal points of tension have broken out in various regions and some non-aligned countries are at loggerheads with others. At the same time, the international economic crisis and the lack of solutions for the underdeveloped countries' problems and difficulties make things more difficult for the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.

Cuba has sought to find solutions which are both fair and unifying in tackling the differences that have arisen between some of the member countries—differences that, in certain cases, have led to some opposing others—for it is aware that the Movement must preserve its internal unity if it is to fulfill its important role in the international political arena. Considering that the military confrontations between Iraq and Iran are seriously damaging to both countries, pose a serious threat to peace in that region and the rest of the world and harm the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries economically, Cuba decided shortly after the outbreak of the conflict to offer its services as a mediator as part of its duties as Chairman of the Movement. We will not desist in this effort as long as there is any possibility of helping to restore peace.

Not only the two countries that are fighting each other but all the other members of the Movement have expressed their unanimous appreciation for our attitude, which has also won the approval of the international community as a whole.

Cuba will continue to carry out its responsibilities as Chairman of the Movement. It has devoted and will continue to give its best efforts to this purpose, convinced that the non-aligned countries must strengthen their cohesion and solidarity in these circumstances and redouble their struggle to attain peace, a just economic order and a correct solution for the serious problems that affect our peoples.

Our country's position as one of the large group of underdeveloped and developing countries that has been called the Third World is also expressed internationally in our sustained, firm and militant position in demanding recognition of these countries' demands. During the last five years, Cuba has sent delegations to represent her actively in all the international forums in which the problems that affect the relations between the industrialized and the developing countries were discussed. Others have sought to disguise these contradictions under the deceptive name of "North-South relations," but they cannot disguise the basic differences between the former colonial countries and their imperialist successors, on the one hand, and our

exploited countries, on the other, and the relations that link us with the socialist countries.

The battle for a new international economic order is really a continuation of the struggle for emancipation from colonial rule and imperialist plunder. This is but a small part of a long historic battle, and mankind must stop at this point and consider whether it prefers to solve these old problems—which are now aggravated—by means of confrontation or through cooperation. This was the underlying theme of the statement which Cuba presented to the 34th General Assembly of the United Nations on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The choice has not yet been made, and there is still time to try to coordinate the interests of the developed capitalist countries in seeking constructive solutions. It is a very difficult, perhaps romantic and singularly logical task, and one that would do a great service to peace.

As may be seen, it is impossible to isolate Latin America and the Caribbean from the rest of the international situation. In referring to our more immediate area, however, we have sought to give its problems the importance they deserve—especially as regards our relations with the United States, a neighbor which all our Latin American and Caribbean lands have in common.

The 1st Congress of our Party made a special mention of the crisis of the U.S. foreign policy as well as of the irreconcilable contradiction between U.S. imperialism and the interests of the Latin American and Caribbean countries.

The prolonged economic crisis of international capitalism has made it increasingly evident that the United States can no longer soothe the countries of the region with promises of reform. The U.S.A. is bringing pressure to bear on oil-producing countries like Mexico and Venezuela to sacrifice their long-term programs for the exploitation of their nonrenewable resources for the sake of the immediate economic needs of the Yankees, who obstinately pursue consumerism and squander energy resources. The underdeveloped non-oil-producing countries, on the other hand, bogged down by the galloping balance-of-payment deficits, are straightjacketed by the International Monetary Fund—whose strings are pulled in Washington—to force them to adopt policies that will not only stifle their economic development but also generate more poverty and suffering for their workers.

The United States has no market for what the Latin American and Caribbean countries can potentially produce on their own, neither does it have financing to promote their industrial development. The only alternative “solution” it offers them is continued dependence on the Yankee transnationals, on-going deformation of their economies and the perpetuation of the unbearable structure of their economies, where over 80 percent of what is left of the national income after it is skimmed by foreign plunders is grabbed by a monopolist and oligarchic minority.

The alternative offered by U.S. imperialism to the colonial Puerto Rico is not freedom but final annexation.

This invariable imperialist policy has led the United States to renounce its mendacious “human rights” rhetoric and renew its support for neofascist military regimes.

Reagan's electoral victory has serious immediate implications for Latin American political life. In its international approach to the major problems of war and peace, the United States will be forced to take into account the real factors of the world situation, the undeniable potential of the socialist countries and the cautious stand of its allies. On the Latin American scene, however, the U.S. imperialists feel freer to carry out their

reactionary schemes. Therein lies the evident danger for Latin America of Reagan's election to the presidency.

Reagan has not hesitated to proclaim that he considers reactionary oligarchies and fascist military dictatorships to be valuable allies who should not be needlessly harassed with the mention of human rights and with whom it is recommended that tolerance be used.

He has questioned the validity of the Panama Canal treaties. He has used a threatening tone when talking about Cuba. He has shown hostile ideological, political and economic intentions against Nicaragua and has wielded the threat of intervention over Central America, starting off with offers of economic, military and technical aid to the brutal rulers of Guatemala and El Salvador. He also expressed the wish to enlist support for his policy from the three most powerful countries in the area: Argentina, whose violations of democracy and liberty he offers to forego; Brazil, whom he courts; and Mexico, whom he seeks to force together with Canada into an undesirable and unequal political and economic alliance with the U.S. in order to bring both countries under perpetual U.S. domination.

Reagan's Latin American policy is all the more dangerous as it expresses the aspirations and intentions of an important section in the U.S. finance capital and transnationals, of aggressive wings within the Pentagon and the CIA, and is presented to the people of the United States as being in the U.S. interest for reasons of national security, allegedly threatened both by Latin American “subversion,” wherein Cuba plays an outstanding role, and by a secret and ominous intervention of the Soviet Union in the area.

It is evident that these positions of the in-coming U.S. administration encourage and inspire the confidence of military fascists in Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia. They encourage those who cater to the interests of the genocidal regimes of Guatemala and El Salvador. The defeat of Manley's government in Jamaica provides imperialist plans with a useful tool in the Caribbean.

However, events also show that it is no easy task for imperialism to impose itself in its former backyard. The resounding victories of the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada and the irrepressible struggle of the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala should be taken into account together with other factors when analyzing the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The readiness of the masses to fight—which has reached unprecedented levels—should be especially underscored. The fact that revolutionary national liberation movements with a strong social content are on the rise and that mass movements in various countries reach new heights indicates that the system of imperialist and oligarchic domination in this region is going through a

Grenada's leader, Maurice Bishop, at 2nd Party Congress

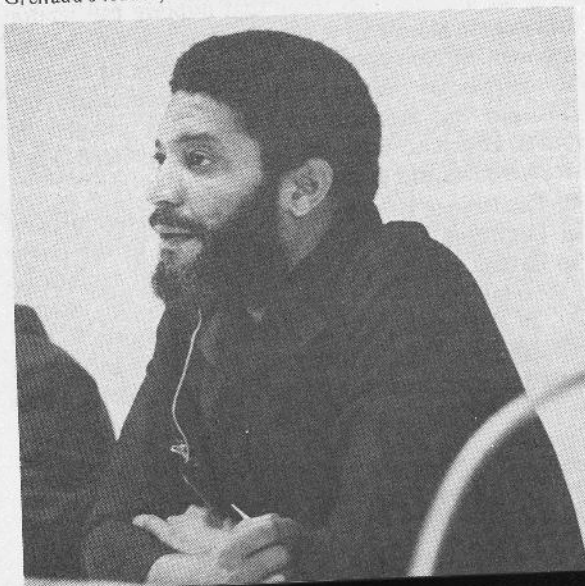


Photo: Sandra Levinson

more and more profound crisis; while at the same time revealing the maturity reached by the movement of the workers, peasants, youth, women and all other sections of the population, now led by experienced vanguards.

The heroic struggles of these Central American and Caribbean peoples are graphic examples of this progress.

This readiness to fight manifested itself also in the staunch resistance of the Bolivian people to the onslaughts of the military who have failed to put them down. In Chile and Uruguay, Pinochet and the Montevidean gorillas sought to thwart with pseudo-democratic masquerades the people's resolve against the neofascism they represent.

Additionally we could say that during the period we are now analyzing, the Latin American working class clearly showed that it was both mature and strong, and that its trade union movement is powerful. In Peru, Ecuador and Colombia strikes of unprecedented magnitude took place; and the workers of Argentina have continued their struggle.

The unity of the revolutionary forces in some countries and the progress achieved in this sense in others have been a significant factor in the triumphs and advances of the Latin American revolutionary movements for national and social liberation. This unity has also promoted solidarity with the struggle in various countries.

In Latin America the active participation of the Christian forces which go beyond the conservative—at times reactionary—stands of the Christian-democratic parties in the region and actively join the struggle for national liberation, democracy and social change of our peoples becomes increasingly important. The fact that leftists are joined in the shoulder-to-shoulder battle by Christian revolutionaries, including occasionally Catholic priests and high-ranking clergy, is a notable aspect of the great historic changes that are taking place in our countries.

When referring to the revival of the people's forces we must not overlook another new element in the Latin American situation: the presence of the social democrats.

In Latin America and the Caribbean social-democratic trends and organizations have always existed. But then social democracy in Europe, center of the Socialist International, did not view them as important enough. At present, however, Latin America has become a permanent stage for social democrats. To a large extent, this is due to the attempts of that ideological and political trend to achieve world hegemony in the process of changes that the general crisis of capitalism has opened up. That presence also reflects the economic interests of the financial capital of some European countries.

In spite of the well known ideological differences we find between Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries and social democrats, in the first analysis, under today's historical conditions, the participation of social democrats and the social democratization of old bourgeois and oligarchic Latin American parties show a positive balance. They join forces and extend the battlefield against U.S. imperialist domination in Latin America. Moreover, social-democratic propaganda contributes to the sociopolitical awakening of the masses where Marxist-Leninist ideas are totally repressed.

A new feature in the political structure of the continent is the fact that the countries with greater industrial growth—the strongest in the area—are trying to escape total U.S. domination and seek an independent position.

Mexico has a long tradition of independence. The discovery of huge oil resources, which makes Mexico an ever more coveted

objective for the imperialists, enables the Mexicans to pursue a policy of economic resistance which provides a stable foundation for its independent position. That has been the international stand of López Portillo's Government, whose definitions concerning the decisive issues of peace, energy and development have been definitely progressive and whose support for the principle of non-interference and sympathy for the just causes of the peoples in this hemisphere and friendship and respect for Cuba have been significantly influential on today's Latin American political scene.

Against this background the straightforward and categorical message of the President of Mexico to the new President of the United States acquires greater significance, demanding "non-interference, respect for the internal processes in countries that search for definitions, that are mature and capable of exercising self-determination."

It is very important to take into account that if Brazil were to make democratic changes and implement transformations for which broad segments of the people, mainly the working class, are struggling, it would be included in the trend of independence against Washington. After the failure of the "Brazilian miracle" and the unmasking of the pernicious role of transnationals and foreign capital which have introduced dangerous malformations in Brazil's economy, the fact remains, however, that the economic growth—unequal but noticeable—in Brazil generates interests which clash with those of U.S. imperialism. The world's inevitable economic tendency makes Brazil—destined not to be a simple pawn in the U.S. imperialist policy and to express its own interests—a potential opponent of the United States.

All this adds new and complex elements to the Latin American and Caribbean political struggle, which the revolutionary forces will have to evaluate. But obviously they are not aimed at strengthening U.S. imperialist stands but, on the contrary, limit its capacity for maneuvering when faced with the peoples' struggle.

In our Main Report to the 1st Congress we said that "The Communist Party of Cuba considers itself a modest but reliable detachment of the international communist movement" and we went on to say: "Our Party participates in this program with independent criteria but, at the same time, with full loyalty to a common cause, together with the Communists of all countries." We should state before the 2nd Congress that our Party's leadership has strived to fulfill those postulates to the letter.

We then spoke of the need and advisability of strengthening relations with other revolutionary and progressive organizations on the continent and in the rest of the world. In this period, ties with parties, organizations and movements with which we have for many years cooperated in the most fraternal way have not only consolidated but new bonds have also been forged with an increasing number of parties and progressive political forces brought forth by the political development of the masses in those countries.

The Communist Party of Cuba has had frequent and fruitful contacts—at times at the highest level—with socialist and social-democratic parties and personalities, both from Latin America and Western Europe.

In the future, we will continue to adhere to the strategic orientation of working for the broadest possible unity to achieve our goals and thus contribute to their realization. In this connection, we will work with all those willing to do something to promote peace and détente—regardless of their class character or their political views or religious beliefs. We will also join forces

with all those patriotic governments and anti-imperialist movements that in one way or another challenge Washington's domination. In this context, we consider it necessary to promote and support all the actions and attitudes of the governments and political forces of the region that constitute an expression of sovereignty and defense of legitimate national interests.

Our official foreign policy is inspired by the same principles and strategic considerations.

For that reason we are increasingly close in our friendship and comradeship, in the first place, with the Soviet Union, which has always shown fraternal solidarity with our country and to whom we are linked by indestructible bonds of friendship, with the German Democratic Republic, with the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Poland and the Socialist Republic of Rumania, all of whom are our associates within the Council for Mutual Economic assistance. We also maintain relations of close friendship and cooperation with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is an inseparable sister of revolutionary Cuba. Strong bonds link us to the Lao People's Democratic Republic and such bonds have been renewed with Kampuchea, after its liberation from the infamous Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. We maintain ties of mutual friendship and comradeship with the People's Republic of Korea, which struggles for the reunification of its people.

Although we condemn its foreign policy positions and for that reason have no political relations with China, we do maintain normal inter-state relations which find expression in the trade sphere.

Our inter-state relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania develop normally.

It is only natural that our links with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in particular with those that belong to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, are of a permanent character and grow in intensity. It goes without saying that we enjoy the strongest and closest relationship which embraces an identity of views on the main international problems with those that have opted for socialism or adopted a socialist orientation: Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Congo, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Madagascar, Benin, Sao Tomé and Guinea in Africa; Algeria, Democratic Yemen, Iraq, Syria and Libya among the Arab countries. Our relations with Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe are excellent. We have established diplomatic relations with Iran. Friendship and close joint work within the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries characterize our relations with India.

Although we have no diplomatic relations with some fellow member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, diplomatic relations have only been broken off in the case of the Republic of Somalia which took that step when we opposed its intervention against Ethiopia, and in the case of Morocco, which suspended relations with Cuba because our country, in fulfillment of its internationalist and non-aligned duty, gave its support to the people of Western Sahara and recognized the existence of the Sahara Arab Democratic Republic.

Latin America is still the arena of political contradictions which must perforce express themselves in relations between Cuba and its neighbors in the area. This explains the fact why apart from our well-known and irreversible rejection of regimes

such as those of Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Guatemala or El Salvador, there are still cases where the respective governments are solely responsible for the absence of diplomatic relations.

Recently, the use of violence in entering embassies and the improper and illegal use of the right of asylum by small groups of delinquent elements who faced no political persecution of any kind, and tried to ensure their departure from the country without fulfilling legal formalities at the expense and under the protection of other governments, which normally denied them visas through regular channels, determined the decisive response of the Government of Cuba. It made our relations with some governments difficult, especially with that of Venezuela, which preferred to protect those elements instead of coming to agreements that would guarantee the respect for and the security and immunity of the diplomatic missions, while rigorously maintaining at the same time the principles, the norms and the objectives of the right of asylum.

The situation between the two governments has worsened even more as a result of the monstrous attempt to exonerate those responsible for the horrid crime committed off Barbados.

All those who believed that the threat of a propaganda drive against Cuba in other countries might force the Cuban Government to accept erroneous solutions have now seen for themselves that Cuba is sufficiently confident of the correctness of its policy to defy any campaign and firmly maintain its principles. In the long run, the truth cannot be concealed from the peoples of the world who will know our country's real situation and Cuba's true posture.

The incidents involving the Embassy of Peru ended in a reaffirmation of Cuba's principled stand.

In the United Nations General Assembly, the United States pressure—to which some of the most repressive Latin American governments readily yielded—gave rise to a division within the Latin American group and a shameful political blockade which prevented our country from becoming a member of the UN Security Council to which it was rightfully entitled by its international standing and its holding the chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement, in spite of having obtained continuously a clear majority in votes—which reached the overwhelming figure of 90. Under these circumstances, Cuba gave up in favor of the friendly and deserving Government of Mexico. Interference against Cuba established a negative precedent in the United Nations and harmed Colombia's international authority and prestige. The latest voting in the United Nations—which prevented Costa Rica from obtaining a seat in the Security Council—represented a sanction against those who had seconded the interference with Cuba's election to this high UN body. Nevertheless, we can say that a significant number of Latin American and Caribbean governments have rejected continuous U.S. pressure aimed at curtailing their relations with Cuba. This applies not only to member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement like Guyana and Panama, or those, like Nicaragua or Grenada, in which recent revolutionary changes have taken place. Others, like Ecuador—which has resumed a civilian democratic path, chose to follow Mexico's outstanding example of long-established traditions of Latin Americanism that does not yield to the influence of those who work against the unity of our homelands.

It is necessary that the Party Congress reiterate its resolve to maintain relations of friendship and cooperation with all who

show respect for our country, regardless of differences in ideology or social systems.

We must insist before Latin America public opinion that unity in Latin America and in the Caribbean is for us a permanent objective and that we view it as the best instrument to attain Our America's historical goals and the democratic and independent consolidation of our countries.

This five-year period has proved that the policy set out by the Party concerning relations with capitalist countries is correct. This policy is based on the possibility of maintaining ties of fruitful cooperation and mutual respect, regardless of differences in social systems. It differentiates between countries with an average level of development that have not yet become great powers and those with greater economic power that have never possessed colonial territories and avoid hegemonistic attitudes. It likewise takes into account the inevitable contradictions existing between major capitalist powers which lead them to positions that are not always unanimous; this has made it impossible for Yankee imperialism to have greater success in its policy of blockade against revolutionary Cuba and to stifle it economically and politically.

Those relations with the developed capitalist countries have been subject to the ups and downs of the political events that have occurred in them. Thus, the defeat of the Scandinavian social democrats or of the Liberal Party led by Trudeau in Canada created temporary difficulties but did not stop an important commercial exchange with those countries.

Our ties with Finland are excellent and tend to increase. As to Spain, traditional relations continue to prevail, which were encouraged by the visit of the President of the Spanish Government, Adolfo Suárez, to our country.

Relations with the member countries of the European Economic Community have not been homogeneous and have not always been easy. Nonetheless, we can inform the Congress that economic and financial movement has not been interrupted even with those countries with which we have had circumstantial political friction. Japan is one of our most important clients. There has been an increase in political exchange and an improvement in the possibilities for economic exchange with the Federal Republic of Germany, and the level of our exchange with Italy is stabilizing. There is high level communication with France, and significant economic exchanges have taken place. The plenitude of those relations, however, has been hindered because the principled stands of the Cuban Revolution on colonial remnants in Latin America have not been understood by certain circles in France.

Comrades, it is not possible to refer to each and every one of the situations we face in our contacts with the international community; however, we should stop to examine the problems with our closest neighbor, which is, at the same time, the major capitalist power of our times and the hegemonic and decisive element with regard to our Latin America.

Relations with the United States sum up our major contradictions in the international arena. Although there are permanent and unsurmountable elements in those contradictions, resulting from the socialist character of the Cuban State and the imperialist nature of the United States ruling system, it does not justify the extreme hostility by successive U.S. governments towards Cuba which is most of all the result of their obstinacy in rejecting the slightest possibility of existence of socialist countries in the area, and of their hopeless determination to sweep

revolutionary Cuba off the map of Latin America and the Caribbean. The 1st Congress adopted the principled policy of the Central Committee of the Party, based on our willingness to settle the historical differences created by the acts of aggression of the United States imperialist governments and, consequently, on the possibility of discussing the normalization of our relations with that country, as well as on Cuba's firm stand not to take official steps to that end unless the United States is willing to lift the blockade, discuss the issue of Guantánamo and refrain from violating Cuba's sovereignty.

Some time during the early stage of Carter's administration, there seemed to be a certain inclination among the leaders of the United States along the path of negotiations. Carter undoubtedly made some gestures toward Cuba; at the beginning of his term he cancelled spy flights, allowed United States citizens to travel to Cuba and proposed the creation of an Interests Section.

Cuba was receptive to these gestures, but in the end the reactionary ideas of some of his advisers prevailed over the less aggressive trends in the State Department under Vance and Muskie, and the relations became tense once again.

There are some current problems pending. The case of Mariel has not been solved; it has simply been suspended. If the U.S. authorities keep encouraging illegal departures from our country and it is impossible to solve pending problems on family reunification, then Cuba believes it has all the right to authorize the departure from any part of the country of all those citizens who wish to do so. The United States created this problem and it is now up to it to solve it.

The construction of socialism as a completely free and voluntary task is still a principle of our revolutionary process. It implies freedom of emigration. What does the United States have to say on this when it speaks so complacently of human rights and freedom of movement for the citizens of the world? Cuba is ready to come to reasonable and constructive agreements on this matter.

With regard to skyjacking, the attitude of the Cuban Government will depend on the policy the United States will adopt for those who hijack Cuban planes or vessels to go to the United States, encouraged by the authorities of the country. If it applies drastic measures, then we shall also apply them to those who hijack U.S. planes or vessels to come to Cuba. If it is tolerant, then we shall also be tolerant. This is another matter we are prepared to discuss on an absolutely reciprocal basis.

Reagan's election introduces an element of uncertainty—rather of danger—in U.S.-Cuban relations.

No president can be judged before he assumes office. No one knows right now just what Reagan's plans are. We must judge strictly according to the Republican platform, the public statements made by the presidential candidate and the ideas openly expressed by the advisers of the new President of the United States. The intentions they have expressed are extremely reactionary and dangerous. There is no doubt that it has been a success of the extreme right in the politics of the United States. It is the duty of the peoples to be realistic, to have no illusions, and prepare themselves to staunchly oppose the policy announced by imperialism and by the reactionary group that has just come to power.

It would have been better to wait until January 20 for the new President to be installed in office and study his official statements as the head of the United States Government. But our

Congress starts today, and it is our most sacred duty to prepare the Party and the people for the struggle we may have to wage in the future.

Statements have been made threatening the world, Latin America, and Cuba in particular.

Reagan and his advisers are trying to attain military superiority and negotiate with the socialist camp from a position of strength, but this idea is simply absurd. This would lead to an unbridled arms race in the midst of the worst international economic crisis the world has recently had to suffer. It would be equivalent to declaring that the peoples are fatally doomed to destroy themselves mutually. This might apply when harquebuses [an obsolete portable firearm—*ed.*] and crossbows were in use, but not in our era of thermonuclear arms. Does anyone have the right to play with the survival of the human race?

In our opinion Reagan will be unable to solve any of the main problems affecting the United States: inflation, unemployment, energy crisis, economic recession, vice, drugs, violence, crimes, corruption, and his ideas on foreign policy can endanger world peace.

Kissinger—one of the future President's current advisers—is hanging on to the obsolete, reactionary and fascist geopolitics of dividing the world into spheres of influence, which is equivalent to freezing progress and change throughout the world, suppressing the national independence of any country and its right to decide on what socioeconomic regime is best suited for it. The socialist countries will not accept this, nor will the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world. It is an illusion, but a disturbing and dangerous one. Cuba will categorically oppose these stale and Machiavelian objectives.

Reagan and his advisers have announced that they intend to establish an alliance with the rightist, reactionary and fascist forces in this continent. But the peoples of Our America will never submit themselves to this ignominious subjugation. The workers, the farmers, the intellectuals, the students will know how to resist such cruel fate. Our hemisphere's recent history has demonstrated our peoples' combat capacity. It is useless to despise, ignore and underestimate them; Nicaragua, El Salvador, Grenada and Guatemala have proven that so doing is an error.

How many Yankee and fascist soldiers will be needed to subjugate hundreds of millions of Latin Americans? There are no longer any Switzerlands in Our America. Chile and Uruguay are eloquent examples of such illusions. There are no longer any masks to disguise our oppression. There are no longer military or repressive mechanisms developed by the U.S. intelligence agencies, no matter how cruel and sophisticated they may be, capable of curbing the insurgency of the peoples. Who can prevent our peoples from fighting sooner or later? Oppression will not last forever, terror and fear will not rule forever. The awakening of the peoples has become more frightening than anything the oppressors have devised to subdue them. One must be blind not to see that. The crueler internal tyranny is, the stronger imperialist oppression becomes, the more rebellion there will be! And this rebelliousness will be invincible!

It is truly incredible that in today's world some should speak of military interventions and of applying the "big stick" policy again in our continent. They should best awake from such dreams. Others also dreamed of dominating the world and turned into ashes. Currently the peoples have many varied forms of struggle. Latin America and the Caribbean have a population of over 300 million; their surface area is twice that of the United States.

Reagan has said that in Vietnam the mistake was not making war but losing it. In Latin America the mistake of making war might represent a greater defeat than that of Vietnam. Who has told Mister Reagan that making war means the right to win it?

There is talk even about a probable intervention in Central America. All Latin American peoples will fight with determination and courage against Yankee intervention in their territories. If Yankee marines or intervention forces land in Central America, the people of the United States will again witness the painful scene of their soldiers' coffins arriving home. Those who go to kill Latin Americans will also have to resign themselves to die. The blame will fall on those who refuse to acknowledge the lessons of history and the irreversible changes that have taken place in our world. No one is threatening life in the United States, but no one will accept, without a determined and heroic struggle, the threat of the United States against our lives.

The time has come to say that Latin American peoples do not fear anything or anyone; that, outraged, they reject the stick and furthermore scorn the imperialist carrot. The myth must cease! Blackmail must cease! The repulsive intent of intimidating Latin American patriots, the sons and daughters of Bolívar, of San Martín, of O'Higgins, of Sucre, of Hidalgo, of Morelos, of Morazán, of Maceo and of Martí must cease!

Reagan and his advisers speak of a military blockade of Cuba, under any pretext, including if, as they assert, the Soviet Union were to carry out an action in any other part of the world. This is a repulsive and cynical thought.

Cuba will be ready to defend itself against any military blockade or imperialist Yankee invasion! In this country the struggle shall not cease as long as one single patriot remains capable of fighting, and there are millions ready to do so to their last drop of blood. "Whoever tries to seize Cuba," Antonio Maceo, the Bronze Titan said, "will gather the dust of its soil drenched in blood, if he does not perish in the struggle."

The world knows that the United States authorities conceived, organized and promoted the assassination of leaders of the Cuban Revolution and of other governments. The CIA was the center of those repulsive practices. What can be expected now of that institution when Reagan's advisers state that it will have carte blanche, and when no less a person than Goldwater will be the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee?

We believe that one of Reagan's first statements should be that his administration shall not organize, authorize or allow any CIA plans to assassinate leaders of other countries.

We sincerely hope that these practices will not be repeated; otherwise, the United States Government would be institutionalizing and stimulating the worst form of terrorism in the world, and it will be held responsible and will answer for all the consequences of its acts.

If there is an olive branch, we shall not reject it. If hostility continues and there is aggression, we shall respond strongly.

Cuba believes that for the world it is a historical necessity that normal relations exist among all countries, based on mutual respect, on the acknowledgment of the sovereign right of every one and on non-intervention. Cuba considers that the normalization of its relations with the United States would improve the political climate in Latin America and the Caribbean and would contribute to world détente. Cuba, therefore, is not opposed to finding a solution to its historical differences with the United States, but no one should expect Cuba to change its position nor yield in its principles. Cuba is and will continue to be social-

ist. Cuba is and will continue to be a friend of the Soviet Union and of all the socialist States. Cuba is and will continue to be an

internationalist country.

Principles are not negotiable.

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*Speech given by Commander in Chief Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the Council of State and the Council of*

*Ministers, at the mass rally to close the 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, held in Revolution Square on December 20, 1980, Year of the 2nd Congress.*

Distinguished Guests;

Dear Compatriots:

Today I will be briefer than on other occasions. The main ideas have been expressed in the course of the Congress and I don't want to be repetitious. It has already become a tradition for our Congress, the Congress of our Communist Party, to come to a close here in Revolution Square amidst our communist people.

This is the third time this year that we meet in the Square. I believe that, as far as mass mobilization in our capital is concerned, 1980 has been the most extraordinary year ever.

It's impossible to forget the glorious days of the March of the Fighting People. It's impossible to forget how much the people of our capital and of Havana province have done for the Revolution this year: April 19, May Day, May 17, September 27 and today.

I remember thinking on each of these occasions that it couldn't possibly be repeated. It seemed impossible for that multitude that gathered along Fifth Avenue on April 19 to ever gather again, but it wasn't too long afterward that we saw a similar crowd gathered here in this Square. And then I was sure that a rally such as the one on May Day would never be repeated. And yet, we again had the opportunity to see that same multitude gathered on May 17, and again on September 27, and again today in Revolution Square.

The people of the two Havana provinces must be given recognition and thanks for their great, extraordinary support for the Revolution and the Party.

Today you have demonstrated in practice what we said at the Congress about our Party's solid, profound and indestructible ties with the masses. Thus the great truth that the Party is the Party of our people and that the Party exists through the people and for the people is hereby confirmed.

Our basic problems were analyzed in depth by the Congress. However, I would say, as we said this afternoon, that the basic characteristic of our Congress was its internationalist character.

We can assert that the world's revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces were present at our Congress. We could assert that the world's healthiest, most honest forces gathered here at our Congress. In fact, there were times when it was hard to tell whether it was a Cuban Congress or a Congress of the world's revolutionary forces.

The guests who spoke at our Congress outnumbered the Cuban delegates who spoke. And, of course, not all the guests spoke since that would have been impossible, but those who did conveyed to our people and Party the message from the main forces that are changing the world today. Those who spoke illustrated the changes that are taking place, particularly in our hemisphere, because there we heard the message, the warm, fraternal and solitary voice of Nicaragua through Comrade Humberto Ortega, who is known, admired and esteemed by our

people as one of the principal masterminds and strategists of the Nicaraguan people's victorious struggle. There we heard Cayetano Carpio, that hero who has devoted his whole life to the cause of liberating his people, the people of El Salvador, and who brought us the message of all the united revolutionary organizations in El Salvador. We heard the words of our brilliant, staunch and upstanding friend and brother Bishop. We heard the message of the Chilean revolutionaries through that veteran fighter who is so highly esteemed in our country, Luis Covalán, the secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, who suffered fascist repression in his own flesh and who expressed his people's will to struggle with words that recall his country's national anthem, namely, "on the side of reason must also be strength." We heard with profound emotion and we might even say that we shed tears together with Rodney Arismendi, that friend of our country who is so highly esteemed and admired, that extraordinary man who for many years, shoulder to shoulder with his people, championed solidarity with our Revolution. We heard messages from our Angolan brothers and sisters, from our Mozambican brothers and sisters, from our Ethiopian brothers and sisters, from our Guinean brothers and sisters, our African brothers and sisters. We heard messages from our Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Lao brothers and sisters, from our Afghan brothers and sisters, from our Arab brothers and sisters; messages from our brothers and sisters the French and Portuguese Communists, who embody the most consistent positions and ideas of the workers' and revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries. We heard the message from our dear brothers and sisters from the socialist camp and, most especially, from our dear and inseparable Soviet Union. And we had the pleasure to hear, in the words of that tireless fighter, of that hero of the cause of communism, Henry Winston, the message from the most pure and the most honest of the U.S. people.

Those who gathered here represent the healthiest, purest, most consistent of the fighters for the cause of liberation, democracy, social justice and peace. This is why we felt so stimulated at the Congress and also because it reveals the extent of the prestige of our country and our Revolution and of the trust that the world's revolutionary and progressive forces have placed in it. It also reveals the tenacious and heroic efforts our country has been making to contribute to the world revolutionary movement and international solidarity. Our country has gained a great deal of prestige in these years. However, we do not struggle to win prestige. Our Revolution's prestige derives from our loyalty to principles. And more important than the prestige is the confidence that all the world's revolutionaries must have that Cuba can always be counted on, that the Revolution's loyalty to the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism is not only the line followed

by this generation but will also be the line followed by this generation of the Pioneers, whose representative spoke here this afternoon, and the line followed by the future revolutionary generations.

Our Congress did not only discuss international matters, it also dealt with national affairs. The Congress was the crowning point of a period of work that lasted many months during which our problems were analyzed down to the last detail from a critical and self-critical standpoint, all the way up from the Party nuclei to the Party Congress.

The fundamental problems were analyzed, a review of our work in the last five years was made and on balance the results were undeniably positive. What our people have done in such a brief period of time in every sphere is really incredible: the progress made in building socialism and developing our economy; the number of plants we've built amidst the international economic crisis; the extraordinary progress made in education, public health, culture, social development, institutionalization of the country; in the establishment of People's Power; in the development of socialist democracy; and, above all, the progress made within our mass organizations, the Young Communist League and the Party.

We must take into account that the number of workers in our Party has almost tripled, which means that our Party has become more proletarian and, therefore, more Marxist-Leninist and more revolutionary.

Our Party worked in drawing up the future plans and our Congress approved the economic guidelines and the 1981-85 five-year plan. The plan was carefully and prudently drawn up on very realistic bases. Therefore, we hope we will not only meet it but even surpass it.

Our Party analyzed and approved some basic ideas regarding the country's future development up to the year 2000. We can now allow ourselves to think not only in terms of one year or five years but also in terms of 20 years, basing ourselves on real factors and the elements of security provided by our close economic relations and our coordination plans for development with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries.

Thus, as far as our country's economic development is concerned, we can look toward the future with more confidence and assurance than ever before.

However, the most important, the most revolutionary thing about this Congress was the composition of our Central Committee. The leadership of our Party was given a strong dose of worker cadres, a strong dose of women and a strong dose of internationalist fighters.

Therefore, our masses are represented on the Central Committee not only indirectly through the Party but also through Party members heading the mass organizations, chiefly our worker organization and our women's organization. Also included are representatives of our farmer organization and of our largest organization, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution.

Therefore, a direct link between the Party and the masses has been established at this Congress. Furthermore, the principle has been established that no matter where a Party member, whether man or woman, happens to be, in Cuba or outside Cuba, working in production or the services, holding down an administrative job or doing scientific work, or engaged in any other kind of activity, the Party will not forget him or her. This means that the extraordinary honor, the very great responsibility of belonging to the top leadership of our Party can be earned by cutting cane,

working in a mine, working in a laboratory, managing a factory or a farm, being a trade union leader, leading a province or a mass organization on a nationwide or provincial level.

We believe that our Central Committee has been greatly enhanced by the presence of new members closely linked to the masses.

Our Party has developed a great deal and now has some 450,000 members and candidates. It is no longer a conglomeration of organizations, and nobody remembers what organization they came from. Our Party is now composed of a single solid trunk. Our Party is now something new, a Party that has developed throughout these past 22 years. It's no longer a question of the history of the war or before the war or the struggle in the underground. It is in fact also a question of the history written by new generations, of the heroic history of our people in these 22 years of struggle. This is already reflected in the leadership of our Party, although that leadership includes men who fought in the Sierra, who took part in the struggle against bandits, in the October Crisis and who fought in Angola and in Ethiopia. The fact that through our Revolutionary Armed Forces more than 100,000 fighters have fulfilled internationalist missions is really extraordinary.

This is why our Central Committee can now present a legion of heroes: heroes of the revolutionary struggle in our country, heroes of internationalism, Heroes of Labor, heroes of material and intellectual work, heroes of Party work, a group of men and women who have amassed extraordinary merits. And the principles that were observed in electing the Central Committee were also observed in electing the Political Bureau. And thus, Comrade Vilma Espín, Comrade Roberto Veiga, Comrade José Ramírez Cruz and Comrade Armando Acosta were elected alternate members of the Political Bureau. Therefore, the women, the workers, the farmers and the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution are directly represented in the Political Bureau of our Party. In our opinion, this is an extraordinary step forward that will raise the efficiency and quality of the work of the leadership of the Party and the entire country.

Now then, we believe that one of the basic tasks fulfilled by the Congress was that of preparing the Party and our people for the difficult international situation we're going through, preparing the Party and our people for any eventual confrontation with imperialism.

Needless to say, we have made it clear to Mr. Reagan that we're not afraid of his threats. If there's something we dislike very much, it's being threatened by anyone. We don't like anyone to try to intimidate us. We just don't like it. Besides, our people forgot what fear means a long time ago. Our people lost the taste of fear a long time ago.

We're aware of the fact that the international situation is a difficult and complex one. We're aware that there's a real danger of war. We're also aware of the need to struggle and to mobilize world public opinion in order to put a stop to the arms race, to put an end to international tension, to eradicate the danger of war. We can contribute to this objective within the limits of our modest forces. We know full well what kind of a world we're living in.

As we said in the Main Report, never before has humanity lived through such times as these, with the existence of enormous nuclear arsenals, with tens of thousands of nuclear weapons pointing in all directions. We know that there's a great dan-



ger that a worldwide conflict may break out some day, and we believe that humanity, particularly our people, must be aware of these dangers and mobilize in order to struggle against them, each person fighting with all his strength. The fact remains that a certain attitude must be taken in view of these realities.

We are threatened by a number of dangers. Of course, should a world conflict break out, it would affect every nation without exception. However, since our country is located in this part of the world, close to the United States, apart from the danger that any world conflict would represent for us, we're constantly being threatened by imperialist attacks, and in view of these realities it is necessary to adopt a certain attitude.

On occasion, the imperialists speak condescendingly about their being willing to lift the blockade, willing to spare our lives, if we stopped being internationalists, if we withdrew our fighters from Angola and Ethiopia, if we severed our close ties with the Soviet Union. Needless to say, for us it is neither a pleasure nor a whim to have thousands of our fighters in other lands. However, the day that we call back a single man—a single one—it will be because he's no longer needed or because of an agreement between the governments of those countries and us, but never as a concession to imperialism! And our ties with the Soviet Union will never be broken. Never! Those ties will exist as long as the Soviet Union and Cuba exist, because we're a revolutionary people, because we're a consistent people, because we're a staunch, loyal and grateful people, because we loathe opportunism! And if we were to choose between treason and death we would prefer death a thousand times over!

Principles are not negotiable. There are people in the world who negotiate with principles, but Cuba will never negotiate with principles! And we're sure that neither this nor future generations will ever negotiate with their principles!

What right does the United States have to tell us who our friends should be?

So they threaten us with maintaining the economic blockade? Let them maintain it for 100 years if they want to. We're ready to resist for 100 years—that is, if imperialism lasts that long. They threaten us with naval blockades? Let them impose that kind of blockade and they'll see how much the Cuban people can endure!

If we had to disperse all over the country and till the land in order to survive, and do it with oxen and plows, hoes and picks, we'd do it that way, but we'd go on resisting. If they think that we're going to surrender because we run out of electricity or buses or fuel or whatever, they'll see that they'll never bring us to our knees, that we can resist for one, ten or as many years as necessary, even if we have to live like the Indians that Christopher Columbus found here when he landed 500 years ago.

One thing, though, we wouldn't be using spears or arrows. We'd have a rifle, a grenade or a mine in our hands. Maybe a tank, a cannon or a bazooka, or an antiaircraft gun, anything we could lay our hands on! The imperialists better not have any hopes. We might as well tell them to stop having hopes—and to stop threatening us!

If they were to decide to attack us, then they better get ready to see men, women, old people and even children—even the little Pioneer who spoke here today—in action. If they dare invade our country, more Yankees will die here than in World War II, because we will not stop fighting under any circumstances: in the front lines, in the rear, in the underground. We



Photo: Center for Cuban Studies Archives

will not stop fighting as long as a single drop of blood remains in our veins.

This is what we should be willing to do and it is what we're willing to do! Of course, we'll see what happens: we'll see what happens, because we're neither short of fighters nor are we unarmed. If they want to spare themselves a lot of effort and decide to drop 20 atom bombs on us, let them go ahead and do it. We've already gone through the experience of being threatened with atom bombs, and I don't remember a single citizen of this country—not a single one!—losing any sleep over it. Without histrionics of any kind, we would prefer a thousand times over to die than to surrender! We will not make a single concession to imperialism. We will not renounce a single one of our principles!

The peoples of the world are not so weak today, and I believe that the day when all the peoples of Latin America are as willing to defend their country as Cuba is to defend itself, as willing as Nicaragua is, as willing as Grenada is, imperialist domination in this hemisphere will disappear. And we could have added the willingness of the Salvadoran revolutionaries and the Guatemalan revolutionaries. The imperialists are threatening to intervene in Central America, as if this will intimidate the Central American revolutionaries. The revolutionaries in El Salvador and Guatemala have been fighting out in the open and in the underground for 20 years and they would find it much easier to fight against the invaders than against the henchmen who serve the Yankees and who still have a uniform, a flag and a national anthem of their own.

Humberto spoke of Sandino here. Those were different times, the balance of forces then was not what it is today and neither did the mighty international revolutionary movement nor the solidarity that exist today exist then. It is true that Sandino defeated the Yankee invaders with a handful of poorly armed men, and the invaders had to get out, leaving Somoza and the National Guard there—until the end came for Somoza and the National Guard in the same way that it will eventually come for all the Somozas and their henchmen in this hemisphere.

Therefore, there are two basic conclusions we can draw from this Congress. One, the work, the efforts to boost production and the services. I said there are two conclusions and we must live up to them. The first thing we have to do is to tackle all our difficulties head-on and devote ourselves to work, to the services. We must redouble our efforts, work more efficiently and be more

demanding in agriculture, at school, in the hospitals, everywhere. In short, I would say we must work more and better than ever before.

Second, we must prepare ourselves to defend the country. In other words, these are the two basic tasks: production and defense. We must organize the Territorial Troops Militia and prepare the Party and the people to fight under any circumstances. We must support the motion made by the militiaman who spoke on behalf of the Regiment of the Territorial Troops from Pinar del Río in regard to raising funds to purchase arms and devoting our free time and even part of our vacation time to the training program, in order not to affect the economy.

One thing must not clash with the other. Work in production and the services must go hand in hand with combat training. We must prepare ourselves, there's no doubt about that. We must rely principally on our training rather than on the enemy's sanity. We must rely in our own forces and not on the enemy's common sense. This is why now more than ever before, we must become a people of workers and soldiers.

We're in the midst of the sugar harvest and it's going well. The accumulated potential output average is 88 percent, a figure that was never reached in December last year, not even on a single day. The workers in the sugar mills and the canefields are working with exceptional enthusiasm, and I believe that they personify the spirit of struggle and work that prevails throughout the country.

When we resume our activities, when all the delegates to the Congress return home, they should be guided by the idea and the commitment of giving full support to production, the services, the sugar harvest and the tasks of defense. We're not going

to start wondering whether the Yankees will spare our lives or not. What we should concern ourselves with is preparing ourselves for the struggle and letting them know—as we said in the Congress—that they're going to find “a hard nut to crack and a deadly thorn in their side.” These are the two basic ideas we should take away with us from the Congress.

Comrade delegates to the Congress and compatriots, we must say that we have plenty of reasons for feeling satisfied, in fact, for being proud of the results of this Congress, of being proud of what our Party is today, of the quality of the Party, the quality of the men and women who represented it at this Congress. We're proud of this proof of the ties between the Party and the masses, of the people's support for the Revolution, of their support for the Party, support that you have demonstrated here today before the representatives of over 140 revolutionary progressive and democratic organizations from all over the world.

I believe that I'm conveying the feelings of every member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau accurately by saying that we have always had great confidence in our people and that today that confidence is greater than ever! That we, who have always been optimistic, feel more optimistic than ever! That we, who have always felt committed to the Revolution, today feel more committed than ever!

Long live our glorious Communist Party!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live the people!

*Patria o muerte!*

*Venceremos!*

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