

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 1

BRS Assigned Document Number: 000012780

AFS Number:	PA0609015792	Entry Date:	
Classification:	UNCLASSIFIED	Status:	[STAT]
Language:	Spanish	Country:	
Document Date:	05 Sep 92	Category:	[CAT]
Report Type:	Daily report	Report Date:	09 Sep 92
Report Number:	FBIS-LAT-92-175	UDC Number:	
Report Series:	Daily Report	Start Page:	3
Report Division:	CARIBBEAN	End Page:	14
Report Subdivision:	Cuba		
Report Volume:	Wednesday Vol VI No 175		

Dissemination:

City/Source of Document: Havana Radio and Television Networks

Author(s): Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers, at a ceremony marking the 39th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks and the 35th anniversary of the Cienfuegos uprising at the Media Center in Cienfuegos-live]

Report Name: Latin America

Headline: Moncada Barracks Anniversary Ceremony Described

Subheadline: Fidel Castro Speaks

Source Line: PA0609015792 Havana Radio and Television Networks in Spanish 2256 GMT 5 Sep 92

Subslug: [Speech by Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers, at a ceremony marking the 39th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks and the 35th anniversary of the Cienfuegos uprising at the Media Center in Cienfuegos-live]

FULL TEXT OF ARTICLE:

1. [Speech by Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers, at a ceremony marking the 39th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks and the 35th anniversary of the Cienfuegos uprising at the Media Center in Cienfuegos-live]
2. [Text] Relatives of the combatants of 26 July and of 5 September, distinguished guests, glorious athletes, people of Cienfuegos [applause], fellow countrymen: As usual, we have a little problem we have been unable to solve. We cannot see some of the people at this

Approved for Release

Date 25 JULY 97

UNCLASSIFIED

01

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 2

rally because they are behind that wall of reporters and cameras [applause]. Apparently, we have not yet invented a way of doing this while leaving the area open so we can see the public. I hope, comrades whom I cannot see, that you will be patient and perhaps this will be repeated on television and then you will see this better. I apologize for this. Nonetheless, you can hear me, right? [crowd shouts: yes] You are well there? [applause] Good.

3. As we all know, today we commemorate a double event. The 26th of July and the 5th of September. This is the first time we have not commemorated 26 July on its exact date. Some observed that I have been present at all 26 July commemorations, but because this time I had unavoidable international commitments, they decided to postpone the 26 July celebrations. It is a great honor, but not exactly a great favor. One could have considered that since I have spoken at all 26 July celebrations of the Revolution, I could be spared this one time. [crowd shouts: no]

4. Then, there is also the coincidence that Cienfuegos gained the merit of being the site for the 26 July commemoration, which is a national festivity, and Cienfuegos was the site of the great, historical action of 5 September. On that day in 1957, we were still fighting in the city of Cienfuegos. It was a truly decisive, fierce battle.

5. The 26 July commemoration was assigned to Cienfuegos and since 5 September was close, Cienfuegos has had the privilege of celebrating two great historical events. [applause]

6. Cienfuegos won this privilege because of its work, efforts, and struggle. It was not that the others have not made important efforts. It was truly not easy to pick a province, but we picked Cienfuegos. This province faced the most difficult 26 July in the history of the Revolution and the most difficult 5 September in the history of the Revolution. We do not know how many new difficulties we might have to confront.

7. I ask you, however, are we facing them? [crowd answers: no] I ask you if we are willing to confront the difficulties and problems that might arise? [crowd answers: yes] That is, of course, the answer of the Cienfuegos people and I am also sure it would be the answer of all our compatriots because Cienfuegos has its history; a history rich in merits and patriotism.

8. Since the war of 1868, during which very important battles were waged, and the war of 1895, and throughout the Republic... [pauses] Well, now that I mentioned the war of 1895, we must not forget that the most famous battle of that war was fought in Cienfuegos. That was

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 3

the war fought amid bad weather when the invading forces of Maceo destroyed an enemy column.

9. As I was saying, throughout our neocolonial history, Cienfuegos was always in the frontlines of patriotic and revolutionary struggles. It was present in the last liberation war with its heroic deed of 5 September. It was present in the struggle against the bandits and in the struggle against mercenaries of the Bay of Pigs. Forces were deployed from Cienfuegos to fight the mercenaries. Cienfuegos has always been ready to fight; Cienfuegos has maintained a firm stance at all moments of the history of the revolution.

10. Cienfuegos is currently involved in exemplary work. I asked Comrade Nelson [not further identified] what were, in his opinion, the most interesting things to highlight at this celebration in Cienfuegos. He told me the active participation of the people and of the masses in problem-solving tasks was the most interesting. [applause]

11. Cienfuegos has thus achieved palpable results in facing difficulties-it reached its harvest goal and even went beyond it; it fulfilled its cultivation of sugarcane and field-clearing tasks; it fulfilled production plans for roots and vegetables and even went beyond them. Its hog-breeding industry has faced very difficult problems because of a lack of grains and animal feed in the poultry industry.

12. Cienfuegos has confronted problems with services and resources, but it has managed to improve its gastronomic services. It has had excellent results with its health and educational programs.

13. Last year Cienfuegos had an infant mortality rate of 8.1 percent-one of the lowest in the country. I believe it was the second lowest, one of the two lowest in the country. It is achieving results in all of its activities. I can say Cienfuegos is an example of what should be done during the special period. [applause]

14. It is precisely here in Cienfuegos that the Revolution developed some of its most important industrial development programs. I have explained in the past that because it is near a bay, because of its geographical position and its ever present cooperation in all activities, some of the largest factories in the country were built here: The top fertilizer production industry and the top cement production industry.

15. Cienfuegos has multiplied its power generation capabilities, the construction material industry has developed considerably and we were totally immersed in our creative work-we were concluding the first

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 4

phase of the Cienfuegos refinery, oil refinery, and the construction of the first electronuclear plant in the country-when this difficult period overtook us.

16. I can say that one of the provinces most affected in the area of industrial production during this special period is precisely Cienfuegos. Later I will again discuss this topic because I will not continue without pointing out that one of the characteristics of this event is its (?dual effect). We are honoring Cienfuegos' revolutionaries and I will also pay deserved homage to our glorious Olympic athletes, [applause] who achieved such extraordinary successes during the recent Olympics. I will not discuss this at length because we already spoke at the reception, and what was said there was published in the newspapers and was broadcast on television, which currently is our mass media par excellence.

17. It is enough to remember that they obtained more than twice the number of medals won by all of the Latin American and Caribbean countries together. It is enough to remember that they won twice as many gold medals won by the Latin American and Caribbean countries with Canada, which is a large country with considerable resources. They won seven times the number of gold medals won by all the other Latin American and Caribbean countries.

18. Therefore, as I said when I welcomed them-or a portion of them, because not all of them arrived together as some were already on vacation-I told them we had the privilege of ranking in first place in the world in gold medals per capita, according to our population. If the results of the Olympiads were measured according to the gold medals per capita of a country, we would be in first place in these Olympiads. [applause]

19. This country is in a special period, this country is blocked by the empire. Many are surprised. Many persons have sent us messages congratulating Cuba. They are surprised, they are marveled. With all the propaganda against our Revolution as Barroso was saying, with all the slander and lies, yet the world has had to admit what we can attain. These sports achievements are evidence of the social development of our people.

20. How many years would others need to achieve what we have attained? If there is no social change, if there is no social justice, if there is no social development, unfortunately our Third World brothers will never attain the laurels our people have reached in the field of sports.

21. Naturally, we must also consider social development and the revolutionary awareness of the people. The spirit, the awareness, and

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 5

honor of the athletes have had great influence on these successes. In a highly commercialized world, certain athletes in certain sports events are offered so many things to buy them. There is not enough money nor will there ever be enough-as I told the athletes-to buy an athlete with honor and dignity, or to buy a revolutionary. [applause]

22. It is not only the techniques, but also the spirit that many times determines a competition. That is why we are still surprised that in the most recent Panamerican Games, we won more gold medals than the United States. This had never happened before in this hemisphere, never. We must admit that it was gold and gold medals for the honor, dignity, courage, honesty, and self-respect of our athletes and our people. [applause]

23. Therefore, I was urging them to start preparing now for the next Olympiad in spite of the special period and all the problems we may have-that way we are showing how much can be done with so little. The material wealth, the wealth of some countries-the wealth just a few countries have accumulated based on the past and present exploitation of a large part of the country-is not enough for attaining the successes that a small Third World country like Cuba can attain with the Revolution.

24. I carefully listened to the words of the Puerto Real mayor, our friend Barroso. Barroso was well-known from the very first day he arrived in our country, when he spoke on television to explain the solidarity work his people were doing for Cuba. He said something very beautiful. He said material goods are not as important as the political solidarity with the Revolution. Nonetheless, we also appreciate these material goods, not because of their intrinsic value, but because of what they symbolize.

25. Comrade Chavez, president of the city of Havana people's government, was telling me that many of the ambulances of the city of Havana were operating with the tires they [the Spaniards] collected and sent to Cuba. The Spaniards' sentiments of friendship, which is great, extensive, and strong, were mobilized with the purpose of helping us in practical issues. As they say, they get everything they can obtain that can be useful for the country. In this case, the ship that brought their donations brought motors, buses, spare parts, oils, lubricants, medications, foods, a print shop, in other words, a long list of materials they collected throughout various parts of Spain.

26. Barroso explained to me it is easier when this is collected near a port than when it is collected from a city in the interior, far from the coast. It is than more expensive to transport many of these products. Aside from the intrinsic value, the message these donations

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 6

bring is very stimulating. It is very stimulating to know that there are people in the world, and not just a few people in the world, who are worried about our problems and worried about helping us in these difficult moments.

27. Mandela, the African National Congress leader from South Africa, participated in the 26 July 1991 commemoration. Therefore, we thought it was a good idea on this 26 July and 5 September to have the participation of a solidarity friend, a symbol of the international solidarity with our country.

28. This is why we invited the mayor of Puerto Real, to have someone from that growing solidarity movement participate in this ceremony. His heartfelt words on the afternoon of 5 September were encouraging. It is encouraging to know there are many people like them in the world. It is encouraging to realize they view Cuba as a hope today. They view Cuba as a discordant voice, as he said, in a uniform world. He meant in a world where the powerful establish the guidelines; in a world where few dare to disagree openly with the empire's unipolar power.

29. He knows Cuba does not hesitate; he knows Cuba is firm; he knows Cuba is determined to fight. He cited a few examples that are very illustrative of the state of things in that First World, the Third World, and what he termed the Fourth World, which consists of the belts of misery that surround opulence formed by dozens of millions of people in the developed capitalist world. Perhaps later on we will touch on this idea.

30. The most important aspect of this commemoration is that it is being held during the special period; a serious, acute special period. In these times, we must remember our heroes and combatants of those revolutionary deeds. We must be very aware of what is at stake, that the entire history of this country is at stake. In this generation's struggle, we are risking the last drop of sweat and the last drop of blood spilled during our history-from 1868 to today. The independence of the Cuban nation is at stake. Not only the Revolution and socialism, but the Cuban nation is at stake, because we must decide if we are going to resign ourselves someday to lose socialism, the Revolution, our independence, and the nation.

31. This is an age-old struggle well-known throughout history. Those who know U.S. history know that the United States always wanted to own Cuba-almost from the earliest period of the U.S. Republic, almost from the first years following its independence. Also well-known is the story of the ripe fruit: Cuba was to fall in the hands of the United States like a piece of ripe fruit. The U.S. attempts to buy the island of Cuba is also well-known. Also known is

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 7

the entire history of the Platt Amendment and the events in Puerto Rico, but the United States has not given up its dream of being the master-as it was for a long time-of our country. It is precisely the Revolution and socialism that freed us from this and for the first time truly gave us freedom, independence, and dignity. [applause]

32. We do not want to be something else. We do not want to be Yankees. We want to be what we are. Cuban, and Latin American, and internationalist. We want to speak Spanish. We want to keep our culture, despite the fact that we sometimes have to use English because we have no choice because it has become an international language. The English colonized a large part of the world and with the advent of the Yankee empire they turned English-which is really a rather simple language-into the language of international conferences. I repeat, we want to be what we are. It is a matter of knowing if we are going to continue being what we are or if we are going to lose forever the opportunity to be what we are and what we want to be. [applause]

33. This is what is at stake in this special period. This is what is at stake in our struggle. This is what is at stake in our resistance. Difficult times are difficult times. During difficult times, the number of hesitant individuals increases; during difficult times-and this is the law of history-some people are discouraged, some hold on, some give in, some betray and some desert, which has happened in all the eras and in all the revolutions.

34. In my opinion, however, it is during the difficult times that men and women are truly put to the test. It is during difficult times that you find out who is really worth something.

35. Difficult times are the best measure of each person; of each person's character; of each person's courage and value; of each person's conscience; and of each person's virtues. Above all, the virtues of a people and patriotic and revolutionary virtues will never be lacking; have never lacked among these people and will never be lacking among these people. [applause]

36. We the revolutionaries, however, must be highly aware of the problems and difficulties. There are people who are not conscientious, there are people who do not understand, and there are even people who will never understand. There are people who do not understand the meaning of the fatherland and independence. There are people who do not understand history and the roots of a people. There are people who do not understand the meaning of patriotic and revolutionary dignity. There are people who do not understand this and we must fight against all those people.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 8

37. Some (?might not realize) this is a struggle. The special period also involves a political struggle-against imperialism, its campaigns, and slogans. It [the United States] has never directed the hundreds of hours of radio transmissions against any other country as it did against Cuba. It has used a barrage of reactionary propaganda against the Cuban Revolution to weaken and soften it.

38. All the resources that the empire directed against the socialist countries and the international communist movement, they now devote to a single purpose: to fight Cuba, to weaken Cuba, to defeat Cuba, to crush Cuba. The capitalist mentality cannot accept the idea that the Cuban people have had the audacity to challenge them and carry out a revolution of moving forward. It can much less accept that Cubans are determined to forge ahead with the Revolution, even though the European socialist bloc sank. [applause]

39. They who have called us lackeys so many times, who have called us a satellite country so many times, cannot admit that we are the most independent people of the world. They refuse to admit we are the Earth's most courageous people because we are near them and are challenging them. [applause]

40. We could say that the [Americans'] great dream of the past 30 years has been to crush Cuba. They could not accomplish that, but since the collapse of (?foolish) socialism-which served as our support and whose solidarity played a very important role in this struggle of ours against the empire for our identity and independence-the Americans believe this is their great opportunity to crush us. They believe we are not and will not be capable of resisting. They believe or want to believe this but, of course, they have not lost a second in working toward that goal.

41. The disappearance of the socialist bloc was, in fact, a great tragedy for our country. The disintegration of the USSR was an even greater tragedy and some day history will demand that the offenders take responsibility for this. The disappearance of the socialist bloc, the disintegration of the USSR, and the disappearance of socialism in the USSR has done extraordinary damage, and will continue to cause us extraordinary damage for an indefinite time.

42. One of its effects was widespread demobilization of the worldwide revolutionary movement's moralization movement. It caused widespread demoralization and confusion. We were not going to be demoralized, nor were we going to become confused. The disappearance of the USSR and the emergence of a situation in which the empire virtually became a unipolar master has caused a good deal of fear worldwide. (?For the time being). We were not going to be frightened. Our decision, our only decision, our only alternative was to

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 9

struggle. It is necessary, however, for our fellow countrymen, all the revolutionaries, and the militant revolutionaries to have a clear idea of what the disappearance of the socialist bloc and the disintegration of the USSR has meant to Cuba-not in the political sphere because we have always been politically strong.

43. We are proving this under the most difficult circumstances. Our revolutionary process has always been very strong. Many here were confused and left following a (?rag) ball. They were not capable of thinking with their own heads, and they listened to the songs of sirens of a certain political rhetoric and certain theories. Yes, we had that type of problem, but politically speaking our party was very clear, because fortunately it learned to think with its own head. We now have to ask where are those who were not clear, and where are we, the ones who were clear? The former disappeared, yet we are here, struggling. [applause]

44. For a long time we have known from a military point of view, that if there was an imperialist attack, we were going to have to struggle alone. We have known this for a long time. It has been a long time since we prepared the theory of the war of all the people and the military concept of our defense. We have advanced very much in this field, because we felt we were capable and we feel we are capable of defeating an imperialist aggression with the war of all the people. [applause]

45. Naturally, we received large amounts of weapons from the former USSR, for which we are and will always be eternally grateful. In our solidarity spirit with the rest of the world, we were willing to run the risks of a nuclear war during that October crisis. Very soon, it will be 30 years since that crisis. What a courageous and heroic role of our people. What exemplary strength. We are familiar with such experiences. We are strong in our concept of the war of all the people to defend the Revolution and the country.

46. Where did it hurt us the most? It was in the economic field. It would be advisable to give you some information. We have already given this information, but this information always has to be repeated. We have to repeat it so the revolutionaries will know it and the confused ones will not try to confuse us, and so that those who have made bona fide mistakes will know what to do and will have elements to make judgments.

47. It was, however, the economic area that was hit the hardest by the socialist bloc disaster. I have some data here; (?I have many), but I do not wish to fill your heads with them. (?Instead of words), I will quote figures to give you a sense of what the disappearance of socialism in Europe meant to our economy.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 10

48. I will tell about the (?analyses that have been made). How much has our ability to import suffered in billions of dollars at current market prices, how much have we lost in terms of export prices? In other words, the difference between the prices we quoted, based on an agreement with the USSR and other countries, and the prices we receive in what we call the trash heap of the world market, where surplus sugar ends up.

49. Because we no longer quote the prices we used with the USSR, if we compare those prices with current ones, we lost \$2.469 billion in sugar sales to the USSR, and we lost \$270.5 million in sales to Eastern Europe. We lost \$30 million in nickel and \$14.4 million in other products. As a result of a reduction in credits we previously received-we never received credits from the World Bank and international financial organizations controlled by the United States-we lost \$1.463 billion. I am talking about an annual loss; this is per year. We lost \$162 million in credits from East European countries. We lost \$13 million in credits from the Soviet international investment bank.

50. We also lost \$80 million because of higher import prices. We lost \$144.6 million due to difficulties in locating products, for example, citrus products. We are losing \$55 million in locating others. We are losing a total \$4.734 billion per year, rather \$4.701 billion per year for the reasons I listed, and they are not the only ones. Those are direct losses caused by a reduction in the prices we used to quote for our exports.

51. In indirect losses caused by the destabilization of supplies, problems involving export production, and certain financial (?problems) we lost another \$1 billion. All these adds up to \$5.7 billion compared to 1989. We are comparing 1992 to 1989.

52. This comparison indicates that the purchasing power of the country in 1989 was that of \$8.139 billion. According to our estimates, the purchasing power of 1992 will be \$2.2 billion. Look at the difference in purchasing power, look what all of this brought us: The difference between \$8.139 billion and \$2.2 billion-which is what we have for this year. With this disaster, our country has lost 70 percent of its purchasing power. This is a terrible blow on the economy.

53. I am not telling you this to discourage you, because I know you are not the type that becomes discouraged. [applause] I am telling you this so that you will have an idea of the economic harm done by all this and what feats we have to do to solve with \$2.2 billion what we previously solved with over \$8 billion in imports. We have to do

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 11

quite a great feat. [applause]

54. How have our people reacted? How has the majority of our people, the core of our people, the soul of our people reacted? How have the true revolutionaries, who constitute the arm and the basic muscle of the Revolution, reacted? They did not react with panic, nor did they become demoralized. They reacted with a determination to struggle. They followed the line drawn by the party, by the Revolution. They followed the logical line that must be followed in these circumstances.

55. What could we do? Take down our flag? [crowd shouts: no] Surrender? [crowd shouts: no] Abandon our struggle? [crowd shouts: no] Give up the Revolution? [crowd shouts: no] Give up socialism? [crowd shouts: no] No, just like you say.

56. We have done what we had to do: Struggle. It is possible that very few people have had to go through a more difficult trial.

57. We are also fortunate because of the qualities of our (?people). We had already considered the possibility of a special period in times of war in case of a total blockade against the country. We had no other alternative but to implement the principles of the special period in times of peace which, despite the difficulties it may pose, is not as difficult as a special period in times of war. The situation would be much more difficult in a period of war. We were always willing to withstand a special period in times of war. We were always willing to resist a total blockade of our country, and had there been a total blockade we would not have folded up our flags, nor would we have surrendered.

58. How have our people reacted in different areas? With true feats. We must acknowledge the efforts of our laborers, workers, efficiency experts, innovators and technical youth brigades who have planned, innovated, invented, sought solutions, and fabricated parts on any lathe-very often searching for scrap metal to keep the factories going and to keep transportation and general construction equipment in working condition. This equipment came from many countries from which parts were not sent. For the second time in history we were faced with the same problem, but this time it was more serious. At the beginning of the Revolution, we had capitalist equipment, and now the same thing was happening with socialist equipment, but the workers were determined to make the combines work as much as possible.

59. Our people's response to the mobilizations was admirable. (?They have supported) the people who were mobilized from the capital and the rest of the country. During the past two years, in the capital

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 12

city alone, approximately 500,000 have worked in the agricultural field-500,000 citizens produced food. Millions of people have worked in the agricultural field over the past two years. They have produced food, vegetables, and weeded sugarcane.

60. Previously, herbicide was used to weed the sugarcane. At present, a large portion of the sugarcane is weeded by hand. Agricultural workers, mobilized city dwellers, field workers, Armed Forces members, Ministry of the Interior combatants, student work brigades, students, young people, professionals, doctors, [words indistinct], and instructors participate in this work to face the great inconveniences caused by this situation. Of course, under these circumstances-the collapse of the Socialist bloc-the U.S. economic blockade inflicts much more harm. When the Socialist bloc existed, we had access to credit and the supply of oil, raw materials, and food was guaranteed. When we had a guaranteed market, the economic blockade harmed us but not as much as the present when the Socialist bloc and the Soviet Union no longer exist.

61. The U.S. Government intensifies the blockade more and more* and devises new measures against Cuba, which even harm the sovereignty of third countries. The U.S. Government is still not satisfied and wants to subject our country to even more difficult trials. The U.S. Government does everything possible so we cannot buy fuel in the market. It goes to greater efforts so we cannot have money to buy and pay for the little fuel the country is receiving. The U.S. Government undermines every Cuban effort to increase its exports and every Cuban effort to enter into partnerships with capitalist enterprises. The U.S. Government undermines even the smallest effort that Cuba makes to export its new products, which Cuba is developing as never before and with a power it never had before.

62. This is why under these circumstances the U.S. blockade has become even more harmful. I think this gives you an idea of the difficulties we have been encountering. Now look what the people have done. Public transportation has been decreased by nearly one-third. Nevertheless, hundreds of thousands of workers, students, and other people ride bicycles. I can point out an example. In the capital, bus trips have decreased from 30,000 to approximately 10,000 daily. A similar situation occurs in the rest of the country. We see how the people participate in finding solutions with modest resources such as bicycles.

63. Dozens of thousands of oxen have been incorporated into agriculture to till and cultivate the land. The railroad-transportation that turns out to be most economical-is being studied as much as possible. That is, however, not true for railroads only. Trash collection services, as well as other services virtually all

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 13

over the country, have incorporated the use of horses, mules, and small carts. Even taxi services have been replaced in many cities, including this one, by horse-pulled carts.

64. This is a revolutionary people; a people determined to tackle problems; a courageous people. To solve food problems and find solutions for this country, families, citizens, and groups of workers have cultivated patios, tenements, and open spaces everywhere.

65. Who would have said that amid such difficult circumstances our country would be able to say what no Latin American country can; what no Third World country and not even many developed capitalist countries can say: We started the new school term and not one child or teenager was left out of school. [applause] The new school term started and not one university student- those who were already attending and newly admitted ones-was left out of the university.

66. It is already September and in this year of the special period, the infant mortality rate is under the figure registered for the same period last year and any other previous year. [applause] We are living a special period and not one worker lacks work or protection of a considerable part of his salary if he cannot be relocated. We are living a special period and not one citizen has been abandoned in this country. [applause] We are living a special period and we produced 7 million tons of sugar, 7 million tons of sugar. [applause]

67. We have not only produced that, but we have been able to sell it, after we had lost the markets of the socialist sphere. We have not only been able to sell the sugar we produce, but we have more demands for sugar and more commitments for sugar that we cannot meet. It is unbelievable that under the conditions of the special period, we have produced 7 million tons of sugar with 30 percent of the resources [applause] that we traditionally used in the harvest, [applause] with 30 percent of the resources. [applause]

68. We have done it, and in what conditions. We have no herbicides, we have no fertilizers. Great efforts are being made by our research workers and scientists. They are seeking formulas to fertilize the crops through biological means and to control plagues through biological means. Such great efforts are being made to seek new, more resistant varieties. They are making such great efforts to find a method to feed the cattle, which were left without cereals or fodder.

69. This has seriously affected some production, such as the production of milk. The flocks were suddenly left without any feed, and this demanded a tremendous effort to implement new techniques, such as rotating feeding grounds for livestock, planting sugarcane

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 14

for producing sacharina, [a type of fodder made from sugarcane] and legumes. There are many new measures that are being implemented. In some provinces, these measures are beginning to yield good results, but these could not compensate for the total elimination of fodder for cattle.

70. Great efforts are being made to feed cattle by different means, mainly using sugarcane byproducts. How about the hogs, that were also left without any feed?

71. Great efforts are being made to utilize what little we can import to produce something, for example the production of eggs. We are always awaiting the arrival of a ship that will bring us some cereal. The lack of stability in supplies has greatly harmed productions. Great efforts are being made by our experts, research workers, and scientists to save the cattle and maintain the conditions that will allow us in the future to increase production. Our people have responded well.

72. Not a single contingent has been disbanded. We maintain the tens of contingents we had organized for construction, and many of them are doing other activities. A large group of them are working in priority works, because we maintain our priority programs. In the first place is the food program, in spite of all these difficulties. Perhaps I have not mentioned the tremendous efforts we are making to produce protein in water reservoirs. We have built hundreds of installations in recent times to multiply the production of fresh water fish so the people will have that food available.

73. I was telling you, however, that the priority programs will continue to be implemented. We are working hard at it. The food programs, as well of those of the pharmaceutical and biotechnological industry, are progressing. Maybe they are not progressing at the rate we wish. Yet they are marching forward, at a good clip, despite difficulties. We have had to stop many social programs. We do not have enough fuel for cement production. We do not have enough fuel for construction materials. We do not have enough fuel for equipment. Consequently, we must establish a very strict order of priorities. Now, we can ask this. Could a capitalist country resist such a blow on its economy?

74. During our history, our economy suffered heavy blows from outside, in the previous and in this century. Who has not heard of the drastic price drop after World War I? Who has not heard of prices, particularly that of sugar, in the 1930's? Yet the economy of our country was never dealt so terrible a blow as the one I just described with information and figures. Would a capitalist country have been able to withstand this blow? Would a capitalist country

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 15

have been able to produce 7 million tons of sugar under these circumstances? Would a capitalist country have been able to make a fair, equitable distribution of the available products, as we are doing in our country? [crowd answers: no] Would a capitalist system have been able to reduce the child mortality rate even further under these circumstances? [crowd answers: no] Would a capitalist country have been able to guarantee a job or protection for all citizens of the country? [crowd answers: no] This was a terrible blow. Would such a country have been able to guarantee schoolrooms for all teachers and professors? [crowd answers: no] Would such a country have been able to guarantee books, professors, teachers, and classrooms for all children in the country? [crowd answers: no] What capitalist country would have been able to do this in the midst of difficult conditions and in the presence of such a terrible blow?

75. Only the Revolution and only a socialist country, a truly socialist and revolutionary country, could have resisted such a blow. [applause] What would have been the fate of these people had they been under a capitalist society? What would have been the fate of these people under these circumstances?

76. Notwithstanding the low price of sugar, our ability to buy products with sugar revenues has never been worse than now. Let us mention one example. I told you this harvest yielded 7 million tons; of that total we have to discount local consumption and the rest is exported.

77. The sugar we export is barely enough to buy the fuel we are consuming, because one of the worst things compared to the past is that upon the triumph of the Revolution in 1959 and 1960-when the first U.S. measures against Cuba were imposed-1 ton of sugar bought about 8 tons of petroleum; 8 tons with 1 ton of sugar. Pay attention: Today, 1 ton of sugar at so-called world market prices, buys only 1.4 tons of petroleum; with 1 ton of sugar we buy 1.4 tons of petroleum.

78. That correlation of sugar and petroleum prices never existed before. We had agreements with the USSR before petroleum prices skyrocketed as a result of crises in the Middle East and certain international developments. The price of petroleum increased between 10 and 15 times and those are the prices that are more or less maintained today. Stop to think what buying only 1.4 tons of petroleum with 1 ton of sugar means.

79. I said we signed agreements with the Soviets on the price of sugar and when petroleum prices increased, the price of sugar also increased. That is why for nearly the past 30 years 1 ton of sugar-based on agreements we had with the Soviets-bought about 7.5 tons of petroleum. Our people today have to pay 1 ton of sugar for

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 16

1.4 tons of petroleum. This ratio could even increase or decrease depending on increases or decreases in the price of petroleum. I am, however, now talking about current prices.

80. This means every thermal plant, every locomotive, every truck, and every vehicle is consuming sugar. It is as if we filled them with tons of sugar instead of tons of fuel. Today our automobiles are running on sugar at the lowest ratio-at a 1 to 1.4 correlation.

81. This means that for every 1.4 tons of petroleum used, we are using a ton of sugar. You know what it costs to produce sugar-to cut, transform, transport, and develop it. In other words, to cut the sugarcane, transport it, develop the sugar, store it, and export it.

82. Look at the situation and see if the obstacles are great. With this correlation of prices between sugar and petroleum, what would have happened in this country if we had a capitalist society? A society in which the means of production were private property? This is why I am telling you that only socialism and only the Revolution would have been able to withstand a blow as terrible as the one dealt to us by virtue of events that have nothing to do with us; by virtue of events that are not our responsibility but the responsibility of others. This is why I am saying on this historical date, at this historical commemoration, that if in the past I believed very much in socialism, I believe in it a lot more now. [applause] If in the past I believed in the Revolution, I believe in it much more now. [applause] If in the past I believed in social justice, I believe in it a lot more now. If in the past I believed in the people, I believe in them a lot more now. [applause]

83. You may encounter simpletons who believe the empire is going to give Cuba a gift. The empire has never given anyone anything. From the time it emerged in the world, it has exploited people. When the smallest concession is made to the empire it demands more, and when another concession is made it demands more, and the more that is done the more it demands. This is why we follow Che's philosophy: You cannot make the smallest concession to the empire. This is the philosophy the history of our country has taught us. If imperialism were to regain its possession of Cuba, it would be to exploit it to the marrow of its bones, not to give it a gift of petroleum, not to reduce infant mortality, not to give every child a classroom, not to give every citizen a job, but once again to return to illiteracy, unemployment, poverty, gambling, drugs, and prostitution.

84. There may be simpletons who believe Cuba may have some other alternative other than the struggle. I am saying on this historic date, before this brave and revolutionary people, that if that were the alternative-to return to being what we once were, to cease to be

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 17

what we are and want to be-we revolutionaries would prefer a thousand deaths, [applause] and the revolutionaries will have to be reckoned with for a long time in this country.

85. Cienfuegos is one of the provinces most affected by the socialist disaster. The nitrogen manufacturing plant is closed. Production at the cement manufacturing plant is at its minimum. Many manufacturing industries are closed. The refinery, whose first stage was completed, could not start operations for lack of fuel. Similarly, many of the industrial installations created by the Revolution will remain partially or temporarily paralyzed. We will start them all some day if we succeed in preserving the homeland, the Revolution, and socialism. [applause] Cienfuegos is the province that has suffered the most. Yet I ask this. Has a single Cienfuegos resident been left without a job and protection? [crowd answers: no] Could a single mother from Cienfuegos or any other place in the country say that her son could not go to school at the opening of the school year? Could a single mother say that she did not get medical attention, similar or better than that she had received earlier? Could a single mother say that her son was left without doctors or medical attention, that her son's risk increased? [crowd answers: no]

86. In other words, this province, one of the most affected, would have had to make terrible sacrifices had it not been for the Revolution and socialism. [applause] Does this mean we are doing everything perfect? No. Does it mean that everyone is doing his fair share of work? No. We know it. This analysis should lead us to the awareness on the need for every militant, each party and state leader, every worker and technician, to make his best effort wherever he is. Unfortunately, there will always be lumpen and sleazes who attempt to solve their problems at the expense of someone else's work. This will not discourage or stop us. We will try more and more to seek ways so the fruit of work can go to those who produce or render a service to the society. [applause]

87. Meanwhile, however, under the circumstances, when it is necessary to make the distribution according to this situation, we have no choice but to give the sleazes and lumpen their share of bread and everything else. It is not that we like it, but it is our duty. This will not prevent us, however, from improving the dining rooms at manufacturing plants and working centers whenever possible and whenever we can make distributions to those who work and produce.

88. I have one subject left. It is very important for Cienfuegos as well as for the nation. I regret having to speak longer on this subject but well, it is not every year we celebrate a 26 [July] and a 5 September together. I want to tell you that a few days ago-on 2 September-I made a quick visit to the Juragua Nuclear Power Plant. I

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 18

guess everybody in Cienfuegos more or less knows by now what I talked about with the workers building the nuclear power plant.

89. We have had no choice but to stop the construction of this project-one of the most important to Cienfuegos, and possibly one of the most important to the country. I met with the workers. It was raining, yet we held a vigorous, revolutionary ceremony. I explained to them why we had to stop this project, even if only temporarily.

90. Those reasons-to make sure they are well understood- are the same reasons we presented to the Government of Russia in proposing a halt to this project. As you well know, Russia declared itself heir to the former USSR, its commitments and rights. We advised the Russian Government of the reasons we have found ourselves forced to make this sad decision. If you will be so kind, I would like to read them to you even though it might take some time, if your patience allows me to do so. [applause]

91. This is an important issue for national public opinion, as much as for international public opinion. The reasons we gave to the Russian authorities were as follows: In 1972, when the top levels of government of Cuba and of the Soviet Union agreed to begin collaboration on the introduction of nuclear energy, an advantageous opportunity was open not only to Cuba, but also to the Soviet nuclear industry to develop and perfect its technology in a country with conditions very different from that of Europe, and which would make it possible for them, as it actually happened, to expand their market of exports to other regions. In this context of mutual advantage for both governments, the steps were begun for the nuclear power plant of Juragua.

92. The essential element for reaching an accord of that nature were the relations of friendship and trust established over many years between our peoples, and the political will to support a fair exchange comprising reasonable credits for an investment of that type. On this basis, a serious and solid agreement was reached for the conception, construction, beginning of operation, fuel supply, and maintenance during the useful life of the nuclear power plant; as well as the guarantee for safe exploitation of the plant. The intergovernmental agreements for economic and technical cooperation included the delivery of two 440-megawatt nuclear reactors-Project B-318-under appropriate credit conditions and joint responsibility by both parties in the execution of this project, which included a total Soviet supply of technology and technical aid. Successive accords were signed.

93. The 14 April 1976 accord established payment terms of 25 years, beginning on 1 January 1981, or the year following the year of

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 19

delivery after 1980, with an interest rate of 2.5 percent. The 17 April 1981 accord established a 12-year term, two years after delivery of the final supply required for the start-up of operations, with an interest rate of 4 percent. The 10 April 1986 accord established a 12-year term with a five-year grace period following the delivery, and 4-percent interest. The 29 December 1990 accord was signed under the same conditions as that of 1986. In other words, a 12-year term, plus a five-year grace period. Finally, on 6 October 1989, an intergovernmental accord was signed for construction cooperation on the Juragua Nuclear Power Plant in the Republic of Cuba.

94. These are the accords signed with them regarding the construction of this plant. The truth is that we were making progress toward building four reactors, and studies were underway for construction of a nuclear power plant in the eastern part of the country.

95. An analysis of the level of construction of the nuclear power plant demonstrates the serious and sustained effort which Cuba has conducted under the most difficult conditions in order to fulfill the accords.

96. So we see that the first block of the nuclear power plant is in the following condition: 90 percent of the civil engineering has been completed; more than 95 percent of construction of the auxiliary sites are close to completion and some are ready to begin operation; more than 350,000 square meters of concrete have been poured; about 7,000 tons of equipment and almost 3,000 tons of technical pipes have been installed; 60 to 80 percent of supplies to begin operation of the block have been obtained. More than \$1.1 billion has been invested so far. We have invested more than \$1.1 billion there, and a city has been built with more than 2,000 housing units.

97. An industrial base which supports the construction of the nuclear power plant, roads, railroad tracks, a polytechnical school, a port for large ships, and the other projects required for the technical and service infrastructure of this colossal project have been built. Our country has not spared any effort in creating a solid foundation of scientific and technical support for the assimilation of nuclear energy and the introduction of nuclear science and technology into the national economy. Toward that end, approximately 2,000 professionals and thousands of skilled workers have been trained in this field. A [words indistinct] base has been created for this activity and for the institutions and entities that support this program.

98. These are the reasons we gave to the Russian authorities. Cuba

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 20

has set a magnificent example of respect for what was agreed to, despite delays in building the nuclear power plant resulting from uncertainty about the automatic system to be used to monitor the plant, a consequence of the tragic accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, which forced the Soviet organizations to review and improve the specifications for this kind of equipment.

99. In reality, this type of reactor is nothing like the Chernobyl reactor. The Chernobyl reactor uses different technology. The reactors we are building here are the safest in the world, and are the kind that exist in almost all countries. Anyway, the Chernobyl accident forced the Soviet organizations, as it says here, to carefully review everything concerning the safety measures, monitoring, etc.

100. We continued by telling the Russian authorities that to these delays were added other delays that resulted from the serious internal difficulties in the Soviet Union and later from the radical and dramatic changes which have been occurring in the cooperative relationship between Cuba and Russia, for which we are not in the least responsible.

101. Under the most difficult conditions, the Cuban Government has harbored the hope that we could preserve the conditions of cooperation on the Juragua Nuclear Power Plant in order to conclude its construction even after the cancellation of other vitally important accords. Based on these considerations, we have been working toward that aim, and during the first part of April 1992, we met with the Russian delegation responsible for reviewing cooperation on the Juragua Nuclear Power Plant.

102. Unfortunately, the Russian authorities, after completely altering commercial trade relations between our two countries and unilaterally suspending all cooperative relationships, had proposed continuing construction of the nuclear power plant under terms and conditions that make this completely impossible, since we have verified that even though they are offering us credit to cover part of the Russian organizations' expenses, the new conditions under which the project would have to be completed would be as follows.

103. The credit would not cover all the supplies and services from Russia, the CIS, and other countries; nor the delivery of equipment, instruments, and materials additionally produced under agreement between the parties, including replacements for broken parts. Cuba would have to obtain part of the automatic system directly from a third country without being able to rely on a Russian guarantee. The conditions and payment forms for the special assembly of the basic equipment; adjustment and start-up work; the training of personnel

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 21

who would work at the plant; installation, testing, and start-up of the automatic control system to be supplied by the Russians; services; and technical assistance would be very different, and the supplies would be delivered f.o.b. instead of c.i.f. as had previously been agreed upon.

104. This means that we would have to transport all this equipment, which we had agreed would be delivered to us by the USSR fleet. On what ship? One of the things I did not mention when I spoke of the difficulties is that in the past, a large portion of our imported and exported products were transported on Soviet and socialist countries' ships. Even though our fleet has grown, it is not large enough.

105. Today, practically all importing and exporting has to be done by us, with our fleet, or by leasing ships with convertible currency.

106. To propose that Cuba must pay approximately \$200 million in cash to Russian organizations and arrange for credits in addition to those that were formerly agreed to, for approximately \$200 million more from third countries for the completion of the nuclear power plant, means that one is not taking into account the fact that Cuba is resolutely confronting the intensification of the economic embargo which the U.S. Government has imposed on us for the last 30 years. We do not have access to credit resources from international financial organizations, from other countries, or of any other type.

107. This, moreover, does not take into consideration our country's economic difficulties, which have forced us to declare a special period in peacetime due to the 60-percent reduction in imports because Russia suspended the traditional trade relations between our two countries.

108. We gave expressed objections to the new conditions proposed to finish this project to the delegation that visited us in April. They advised us that the definite, official version of the Russian proposals would be completed in May. We decided to wait for this version before making a decision on the problem. Time passed and the documents that were promised were never submitted. Meanwhile, with every passing day, we invested more human and material resources in the project. For us, it is too burdensome to wait any longer.

109. These facts have brought us to the painful conclusion that to continue the project under the new conditions proposed and with so many obstacles, difficulties, and delays in defining the path we should follow, on a solid, realistic basis-is something that our economy cannot bear under the current circumstances. Therefore, we have decided to propose to the Russian Government that this project be temporarily suspended. If in the future there is a change in the

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 22

conditions that have forced us to make this decision, Cuba will be ready to evaluate the resumption of construction, as I explained to the construction workers at the nuclear power plant.

110. We have been pouring resources into the project everyday, every year. We have already invested \$1.1 billion. For what? To wait who knows how long before we can turn on a light bulb in that plant, without any guarantee as to deliveries? Even right now, without a guarantee of the deliveries of the nuclear fuel this plant will need? Under the conditions I have just explained, which are the arguments we used when speaking to the Soviet authorities, it would truly be insane to continue investing millions of work hours and numerous resources into a continuation of that project.

111. The technicians-and there are hundreds of Soviet technicians ... [corrects himself] Russian technicians, or from the CIS, or whatever, good technicians and good collaborators; we have no complaints about them-but there are hundreds of them, and today we have to pay them in hard currency for their cooperation. We have to spend approximately \$300,000 a month. For example, with \$300,000 a month, which is more than \$3.5 million per year, we can obtain raw materials for six million pairs of plastic shoes. That is how much we have to pay the technicians. [applause] Is it fair under these circumstances to continue committing those resources, as we have explained in our arguments, in order to be able to turn on a light bulb who knows when? Once, 12,000 men worked there; today, almost 7,000 workers work there, between 6,000 and 7,000 workers. Is it fair that such magnificent workers be used for that project at the present time? I explained all this to the workers. I explained to them that this suspension could be final. It all depends on the conditions that the future may bring. But we are going to maintain the hope that somehow the project may be resumed, that some solution might appear in this regard that will completely justify the effort.

112. It was very hard for those workers. There are comrades who have invested a considerable part of their lives in that project. They had great hopes. We are simply not going to undo any of that. I explained to them that the workforce must be transferred to other areas in which quicker results can be obtained. I proposed to them that civil engineering workers basically be moved into tourism, into building tourism projects. We would send them to Varadero, not on vacation, but to build there. We would send them to Cayo Coco, Isle of Youth, different areas where we are developing very important tourist centers that should yield substantial hard currency income for the country in less time and in a more secure form.

113. There is a great brigade of assemblers there. We must keep this brigade of assemblers organized, not disperse their strength. We

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 23

should not disorganize them. We must keep the various forces there organized, united. These assemblers can work in the sugar industry-that is, in repair and maintenance-prioritized industries, different activities in the country, because they are some of the best welders this country has. We must keep them organized and give them duties, even if they are not all in the same place. But we must maintain the organization.

114. Besides this construction force that we can transfer to other areas, we must leave a considerable number there in the upcoming months. We must still continue trying to invest some cement and other materials, because if we want to preserve these construction works, we must cover them up-they cannot be left in their present stage-to preserve them, and maintain the hope that perhaps one day we can resume the work. We must continue to invest and work. A considerable number of workers should therefore remain there for a time, performing construction tasks to preserve the equipment and technology.

115. A group of maintenance workers should also remain there. We will need a certain number there. But besides these construction forces, we have those who were to work at the nuclear plant. Approximately 1,500 workers have been trained over many years. There are hundreds of engineers and technicians. We propose not to disperse these forces either. We should give them employment there in maintenance and other things, but we should keep these forces. We must keep all these human resources, who we have trained and prepared for the construction and operation of the nuclear power plant.

116. There are few countries with a labor force as qualified as this one, as well-trained and experienced as the force we have there. Our proposal is not to disorganize or disperse it. I explained to everyone that no worker-construction workers or those who would work the nuclear plant in the future-would be left without a job. That is the principle we have followed to-date. [applause] I explained these details to the workers. I must say that I explained this to them with great frankness, I read them these materials, I added some arguments. Although I knew what a hard blow it was for many of the workers, for all of them, their reaction was formidable. It was extraordinary. I invited all of them to this ceremony. I told them that I had gotten ahead of myself when I explained the problem to them, [applause] and that we had to explain it to the rest of the country, the rest of the provinces, the rest of the country during the ceremony, and naturally the international press will disseminate this news as well.

117. The workers' response was excellent. It was what we had hoped for. There they are, ready to work, anywhere, [applause] ready to work wherever they are assigned so as to keep this extraordinary

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 24

family of builders and workers of the nuclear power plant united. I should say that on that day, as is natural, there were men and women who cried. Even nature wept that afternoon. I told them that nature could weep, but we could not weep except out of patriotism and emotion, as many of those there cried. [applause] We were truly amazed at the spirit of these comrades. They are a force we cannot lose for any reason. We must always be prepared and ready for anything.

118. If we must definitively halt the work, then we will do so. If we must gather this work force together once again and send them there again, we will do so. I promised them that we would even have to recall good workers who at one time had worked there, but had moved on to other activities. Far from reducing this construction force, we should increase it so as to rely on it at any time. These are the things we must do during the special period. These measures were delayed, as we explained there. We were waiting and waiting, discussing and discussing it, always with the hope that we would find some solution, until the time came when it was very clear to all of us that we had to take this measure.

119. I do not know if I explained here, if I already told you, that with this we were going to save 1.2 million tons of oil from the first two reactor units. As you know, the units the electricity industry has kept in operation are the most efficient. We are making efforts in many directions. I do not much like to talk about the efforts we are making, so the enemy will not know too much or be too aware. But we are not forgetting other directions, other fronts, the search for other sources of energy, the possibilities of using certain rivers. We are not forgetting about oil, prospecting for it. We have taken a number of steps in that direction. We have been looking for technology to increase the production of our own oil, which this year will be about 1 million tons. We are not neglecting a single program: biotechnology, the pharmaceuticals industry, tourism-I have already told you this- energy, food production for the populace.

120. Because we are not abandoning, nor will we abandon, our struggle. We will not rest for a single second. That is our most sacred commitment. I have already today explained to you the reasons for this. ~~We are~~ going to struggle. We are going to resist. We are never going to surrender, and imperialism will have to put up with the Cuban revolutionaries for a long time to come. [applause]

121. If we work well; if we struggle intelligently; if we keep our unity, firmness, and spirit; if we are able to rise to the occasion; if we never want to fail in the reliance other nations of the world have placed on us, the reliance all revolutionary and progressive people in the world have placed on us, and all the poor people in the

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FBIS Concatenated Daily Reports, 1992

Document 5 of 5

Page 25

world, who see Cuba as a symbol of struggle and resistance-a symbol we cannot abandon, a symbol we cannot destroy, a symbol we cannot betray-we will move forward. We will find solutions to our problems. We will never forget that this is the nation of 1868 and 1895, of Moncada and 5 September, of the mountains and the plains, the underground struggle, the glorious internationalist missions. [applause]

122. We will never forget this, or that we are the descendents of those who fought for 10 years, of those who endured [Spanish General Valeriano] Weyler's plan of concentration. He did something that the U.S. Government is trying to do today: make our people surrender out of hunger; kill our people, workers, farmers, women, and children through hunger. Weyler already tried to do that once at an extremely high cost, and he did not succeed. He did not succeed in making our people surrender. [applause] Imperialism will succeed even less, because of the glorious and beautiful traditions our people and the Cuban nation have stored up.

123. That is why today, on this historic date, I recall very rightly and justly those words Camilo [Cienfuegos] spoke during his final speech at the old Government Palace, when he recalled the lines of Bonifacio Byrne: If one day my flag is torn into tiny pieces, our dead, raising their arms, will still know how to defend it. [applause] Just as we will know, just as we will know [repeats] how to defend our dead, our heroes and martyrs, all those who have died throughout the glorious history of our nation.

124. Because we know that if one day imperialism were able to again take over this land-where, as Maceo said, they would have to get the blood-soaked dust of our earth, if they did not die in the struggle [applause]-we know that if imperialism were able to take over this land once again, the memory of our martyrs and heroes would be erased. The struggle of more than 150 years ... [corrects himself] or of much more than 130 years, would be lost. Not even the remains of our heroes would be left. There would be nothing that would recall their memory, not a single symbol, not a single statue, not a single tomb, not a single martyr's name on any of our hospitals, schools, cooperative farms, or factories.

125. We know this, and we know what the return of imperialism and capitalism to our country would mean. This is why, as Byrne said, our dead will defend our flag, and with our hands and lives and hearts and blood we will know how to defend our dead. Socialism or death, fatherland or death, we will win! [applause]

UNCLASSIFIED