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**OA/ID Number:** 13669  
**Folder ID Number:** 13669-005

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**Folder Title:**  
Cuban Independence Day 5/22/89 [OA 6265] [2]

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**MAY 22, 1989 WHITE HOUSE CELEBRATION OF  
CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY (MAY 20, 1902)**

**Audience:** Approximately 200 Cuban-Americans representing

- Republican leadership from around the country
- Business and civic organizations around the country
- Elected officials, principally from the state of Florida (State senators and legislators, city mayors and councilmen)
- Outstanding individuals in different fields

**Topics:**

- Celebration of Cuban Independence Day
- United States Policy on Cuba

(See attached resolution approved unanimously by the RNHA National Convention in San Diego on April 22, 1989)

**Suggested Speakers:**

The President of the United States

The Secretary of State

The Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

STATE DEPT. -

MACDONALD

NSC

GATES

FNS

NELSON

Attachment

**REPUBLICAN NATIONAL HISPANIC ASSEMBLY (RNHA)****DEMOCRATIZATION OF CUBA**

The 1989 RNHA National Conference RESOLVES:

1. To express its support for the policy of the Bush Administration of withholding diplomatic recognition of Cuba until such time as the government of Cuba:

- frees all political prisoners;
- conforms to accepted international standards regarding respect for human rights, such as adherence to each and every one of the principles contained in the International Declaration of Human Rights;
- allows complete and unrestricted operation in Cuba of organizations whose purpose is to monitor compliance with standards for observance of human rights;
- adopts a policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states, particularly by ending all its activities and logistic support for terrorism and subversion in Angola, Ethiopia, Yemen, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama and all other countries in which it is now engaged;
- allows free and unrestricted travel to and from Cuba for all persons, including present citizens and residents of Cuba; and
- takes concrete and specific steps to allow the restoration of representative democracy in Cuba, beginning with a national plebiscite or elections with full guarantees of expression, assembly, political organization and habeas corpus.

2. To declare its strong support for the policy of the Bush Administration to oppose Cuba's reentry to the Organization of American States (OAS) until the above conditions are met.

3. To declare its strong support for Radio Martí and for the establishment of TV Martí as the only means for bringing objective news and information about Cuba and the world to the long-suffering people of Cuba.

4. To declare its solidarity with the people of Cuba who, but for the totalitarian regime that oppresses them, would take their place alongside the other peoples of the Western Hemisphere who live in freedom and with democracy.

5. To request the National Chairman to undertake appropriate and effective follow-up actions to bring this resolution to the attention of the President, the Chairman of the RNC, the Secretary of State, and leaders of Congress, including the Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of the House and Senate Committees on Foreign Relations.

**APPROVED UNANIMOUSLY**

April 22, 1989



THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

May 17, 1988

Greetings to everyone gathered at City Hall in celebration of the 86th anniversary of the independence of Cuba

Dear Friends:

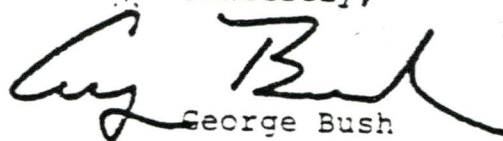
Best wishes to all of you as you mark the 86th anniversary of Cuban independence. This is a special time for freedom-loving people because it gives us an opportunity to reflect not only on the liberties we enjoy, but also on ways to help those less fortunate.

Americans owe a great debt to the Cuban people. We will always remember that back in 1776, when George Washington's troops were dreadfully short of food and supplies, the ladies of Havana banded together and raised 1.2 million livres for the cause of American freedom.

I am absolutely, unalterably committed to Cuba Libre, and neither I nor the President will ever falter or waver in our support.

Barbara joins me in sending best wishes and congratulations to everyone present and may our dream be realized soon.

Sincerely,

  
George Bush

E210  
.B6  
1974  
WHRC

±: *Encyclopedia*  
of the

AMERICAN  
REVOLUTION

by

*Mark Mayo Boatner III*



Bicentennial Edition



David McKay Company, Inc.  
New York

This aroused great indignation in the West, and in 1787 James Wilkinson negotiated directly with authorities in New Orleans, becoming the principal agent of Spain in her dealings with the Separatists (or Secessionists). Although the conspiracy was suspected almost from the beginning, and Wilkinson was exposed by Daniel Clark in *Proofs of the Corruption of . . . Wilkinson* (1809), the secessionist plan collapsed before any of its principal organizers could be prosecuted. (See also the end of the article on SPANISH PARTICIPATION. . . .)

A close associate of Wilkinson in the "Spanish Conspiracy" was Aaron BURR, but the "Burr Conspiracy" was another movement, although WILKINSON was involved.

SPANISH PARTICIPATION IN THE COLONIAL WARS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, including the postwar period. In the article on the COLONIAL WARS, c. 1560-1763, the role of Spain in this period of American history is outlined. The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, was the first to rearrange the colonial map of America, and "Some commentators have gone so far as to call it the beginning of the diplomatic history of the United States, because its articles are the root of later important questions of American diplomacy," writes Bemis. (*Diplomatic Hist. of the U.S.*, 7) By this treaty Spanish rights were recognized in Fla. (including most of the southern part of Ga.) and the regions now known as Mexico, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. The Treaty of Paris, 1763, ending the Colonial Wars, eliminated French holdings in North America, giving Spain the former French possessions west of the Mississippi, and taking from her the Fla. territory, except for the Island of New Orleans (retained by France but ceded immediately to Spain). (See MANCHAC) Spain acknowledged the

rights of Britain to maintain her troublesome log-cutting settlements in the regions now known as Honduras and Nicaragua. Britain, in turn, relinquished Cuba to Spain. Bemis writes:

"Another provision of the treaty of Paris that was full of later importance for the diplomatic history of the United States was the regulation of the navigation of the Mississippi River. Because France retained the 'island' of New Orleans as a part of Louisiana, the river flowed between French banks [*sic*] on its last 220 miles to the sea. In order that this might not interfere with the navigation interests of British subjects upstream . . . the treaty declared that the navigation of the Mississippi should be 'equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France. . . .'" (*Ibid.*, 10-11)

At the outbreak of the American Revolution Spain shared the French desire to get vengeance on Britain, and her foreign minister, Grimaldi, favored going to war with France against Britain as a pretext for conquering the latter's traditional ally, Portugal. Grimaldi failed to lead his country into this course of action and Spain limited herself to furnishing secret subsidies to the colonists, \$200,000 (a million livres) to HORTALEZ & CIE., and another \$197,230 in war matériel. In 1778 she loaned \$74,087 to POLLOCK and Thos. Willing. (Later Spain loaned \$174,011 to Jay, bringing her total subsidies and loans to about \$645,000, as compared with French subsidies of almost \$2,000,000 and loans of over \$6,000,000. Bemis, *op. cit.*, 24.) Floridablanca succeeded Grimaldi in 1777 and in a memorandum dated 17 Oct. '77 reviewed the reasons why Spain opposed open war against Britain: Charles III did not wish to appear to be dominated by his nephew Louis XVI, the Spanish gentry liked England and were antipathetic to France, a peaceful

settlement had been reached with Portugal and war with Great Britain would interrupt the latter country's extensive trade with the peninsula, and war would jeopardize the vast holdings of Spain in the New World. (Nickerson, *Turning Point*, 408) Spain's objection to the American Revolution from the start was that an independent America would push into her possessions in Louisiana and Mexico (Bemis, *op. cit.*, 11), and that the dangerous notions of independence would spread to Spanish colonies. She was so right.

Floridablanca also hoped to use non-intervention as a weapon to win certain diplomatic goals, while still refraining from assisting the Americans in achieving their dangerous independence. Recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca were Spain's main aspirations; she hoped then to recover Fla., Jamaica, gain full control in Central America (by expelling the British settlements mentioned earlier), and she even aspired to a share in the Newfoundland fisheries. (*Ibid.*, 33) Floridablanca's approach to this problem, which could have resulted in a diplomatic masterpiece, was to threaten Britain with mediation of her dispute with France. His price was Gibraltar.

"Really if Great Britain had accepted . . . she would have been left in a position much better than she was forced to accept in her final defeat [comments Bemis].\* \* \* France would have been sorely embarrassed because of her guaranty of the independence of the United States. She would have been obliged either to accept or to refuse. If she had accepted she would have deserted her American alliance. If she had refused she would have abandoned her Spanish affinity." (*Op. cit.*, 33)

George III refused to accept the Spanish offer, fortunately for France and America, and on 12 Apr. '79 Spain allied herself with France by the con-

vention of Aranjuez. The two countries agreed to fight the war until Gibraltar was won for Spain. Other objectives were outlined, and both powers agreed not to make a separate peace. By this treaty Spain did not recognize American independence. Bemis comments that France's alliances with the U.S. (1778) and Spain (1779) insofar as American independence was concerned were "incompatible, almost bigamous." (*Op. cit.*, 34)

On 21 June '79 Spain declared war on Great Britain. Her military efforts were concentrated on an effort to take Gibraltar, a dream that was shattered at Cape St. Vincent, 16 Jan. '81. (See end of article on NAVAL OPERATIONS) Spanish authorities in Havana refused the request of Gov. Rutledge to send a fleet and army for the defense of Charleston in the spring of 1780 (Ward, *W.O.R.*, 698), and Spain declined to join the French in operations against the British in North America. They did, however, show substantial interest in capturing British posts in the West, and in this they were fortunate in having the extremely capable Gen. Gálvez in command at New Orleans. In 1779 Gálvez took the river posts of Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez. The next year he took Mobile, and he forced the surrender of PENSACOLA, 9 May '81. These conquests did little to further the American cause at the time, but they assisted in later diplomatic relations by shifting possession of these places from Britain to Spain. (Bemis, *op. cit.*, 34 n.)

A British retaliatory expedition was stopped at St. Louis, 26 May '80. A Spanish expedition against Detroit captured Ft. St. JOSEPH, Jan. '81, and subsequently the Spaniards claimed that by virtue of having held this place (near the S.E. coast of Lake Michigan) for 24 hours they had conquered the St. Joseph and Illinois valleys! Between

Sept. '79 and Oct. '82 the Spanish conducted minor operations in HONDURAS and NICARAGUA, and they captured the undefended Bahamas in May '82. See also JAMAICA and WEST INDIES IN THE REVOLUTION. On the west bank of the Mississippi the Spanish held military posts at St. Louis, New Madrid, and Arkansas. In 1797 they gave up their posts at Memphis (San Fernando) and Confederation (near the junction of the Tombigbee and Black Warrior rivers in Ala.). In 1798 they gave up Vicksburg (Nogales), Natchez, and Ft. St. Stephens (on the Tombigbee, 60 airline miles N. of Mobile). In 1798 they continued to hold New Orleans, Mobile, Pensacola, St. Marks, and St. Augustine. (*Ibid.*, map 6, p. 76; Scribner's *Atlas*, 88-89)

John Jay had been appointed agent to Spain on 27 Sept. '79 and held his post there from Jan. '80 to May '82. Although he failed in his mission of negotiating an alliance—he was not recognized by the government—his presence was useful to Floridablanca, who still was trying to coerce Britain into ceding Gibraltar, and the foreign minister did give Jay a loan of \$174,011.

"Floridablanca's persistent flirtations with a British envoy at the Spanish Court, Richard Cumberland, finally drove Vergennes to map out a compromise peace—at the hands of neutral mediators—which would have left the United States in the lurch. Fortunately for American independence George III refused to let Gibraltar go or to recognize any Spanish proposals for the disposition of his colonies. The Cumberland negotiations broke down. The United States and Spain were to come into opposition again in the final peace negotiations. The principal value to the United States or to France of Spain's belligerency was the moral effect of lining up another European country in

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the war against Great Britain." (*Ibid.*, 35)

Spain had joined the League of ARMED NEUTRALITY in 1781.

Postwar boundary disputes between Spain and the U.S. after 1783 were generally the same as those the new country had with Britain, but they also involved the knotty problem of Mississippi River navigation. Spain refused to recognize the part of the Anglo-American treaty that set the 31st parallel as the northern boundary of Spanish Florida, claiming a line 100 miles northward, at 32° 22' (through Vicksburg), and extending between the Mississippi and the Chattahoochee. In 1784 Spain refused to let American shipping pass freely along the lower Mississippi. On 15 May '85 Don Diego de Gardoqui arrived as minister to the U.S., and he was instructed by his government to make no concessions with respect to navigation of the river. On 20 July Congress authorized John Jay to negotiate with Gardoqui, and on 24 Aug. they instructed him particularly to stipulate the U.S. right to free navigation of the Mississippi. Needless to say, this made a deadlock inevitable, and on 29 Aug. '86 Congress authorized Jay to cede this point in return for a favorable commercial treaty with Spain. This came only after a bitter debate and with a vote of 7-5; since 9 states would have to ratify a treaty that might result from Jay's new instructions, the situation seemed hopeless and negotiations broke down. By the Treaty of San Lorenzo (Pinckney's Treaty), signed at Madrid, 27 Oct. '95, Spain recognized the Mississippi and the 31st parallel as boundaries and gave the Americans free navigation of the river as well as the right for three years to deposit goods at New Orleans; thereafter, if need be, they could deposit goods at another point to be designated. Meanwhile a

Know on op-ed write

David Rozys 647-9242

insert on human rights - U.N. human rights comm. resulted in resolution.

We expect the Sect. Gen.

(Smith/Blessey)  
May 18, 1989  
Draft Three  
CUBA

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY  
ROOM 450, OEOB  
MONDAY, MAY 22, 1989

*B.R. Remarks  
on Cuban Ind.  
Day 5/20/88*

My friends, it is truly a pleasure to be with you to celebrate this wonderful occasion: The 87th anniversary of Cuban independence.

1989  
1902  

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87

Now, I know that the official anniversary is Saturday, not today. Let's get that straight [PAUSE] . . . after all, Pearl Harbor.

But, you know, I would be delighted to be here on any day. For we Americans owe a debt of gratitude to the Cuban people.

*Letter from G.B.  
5/17/88*

That debt dates back to 1776, when George Washington's troops were dreadfully short of food and supplies. Some of you may remember how the women of Havana banded together and raised 1.2 million livres for the cause of American freedom.

*State Dept  
Background notes  
Cuba*

One hundred and twenty-six years later, another people fought bravely for the cause of freedom. For it was on May 20, 1902, after a long and brutal struggle, that the Cuban Republic was born.

1902  
1776  

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126

apostle of Cuban liberty

George Washington

Background paper on event  
Bartlett's p. 671

We gather here to remember that victory. And the fact that freedom knows no boundaries. Perhaps it was the Abraham Lincoln of Cuba, that great patriot Jose Marti [Mar-TEE], who said it best. He remarked, "To beautify life is to give it an object."

letter from GR 5/17/88

My friends, our object is human liberty. And a free, united, and democratic Cuba. As President, I am absolutely, unalterably committed to Cuba Libre. And I will never falter in that support.

I know that you are with me. And so is America. For we oppose those who mock the rights we treasure: rights of speech, religion, assembly, and economic freedom. And in response, our demand is plain and simple: "Democracy, Mr. Castro -- not some time, not some day, but now."

State NSC

This morning, I call on Fidel Castro to free all political prisoners. And to conform to accepted international standards regarding human rights. I challenge him to allow unrestricted access to organizations monitoring their compliance. And a policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states.

On this, Cuban Independence Day, I challenge Castro to take concrete and specific steps to begin democracy's electoral process. And to allow free and unrestricted travel to and from Cuba for all persons -- including present citizens and residents.

US of blocking

phantomas - political prisoner

This I pledge: Unless these conditions are met -- basic conditions, elemental -- we will oppose Cuba's re-entry to the Organization of American States. And this, too, I promise: We will continue Radio Marti. We will create TV Marti. We will see that the people of Cuba know the truth -- about their dictator, and about the world.

Cuban Statement  
Cuban Book

Committed to the concept

In short, we want to advance that day when Cuban Independence Day achieves a new and richer meaning:

- Freedom from the evil of tyranny and oppression;
- Freedom from the economic misery wrought by communist misrule;
- The freedom that can liberate lives and lift the human heart -- yes, the freedom of democracy.

To achieve that freedom, heroes must lead the way. Well, in a sense they already have, and are. For Cuba can claim many heroes -- those who struggled valiantly almost ninety years ago, and those who struggle today.

Heroes, for example, like Dr. Claudio Benedi, here in this audience, who has condemned -- eloquently, repeatedly -- Castro's

87 yrs ago (1902)

St. Bernard Notes  
Cuba  
Encyclopedia  
B. Bonfina  
p. 356

Note from Tony Benerdi 5/17/89  
Cross Record  
5/20/86  
36241

Bio

~~violations~~ of human rights. Or another great patriot of the Western Hemisphere -- a hero for the ages.

I'm referring, of course, to Armando Valladares. He spent 22 years in Castro's prisons. And he wrote a book about that ordeal, and his ultimate release. It's titled Against All Hope. And it describes how he survived beatings, starvation, and unspeakable horror.

*Against All Hope*

I'm sure many of you have read this unforgettable tribute. A tribute to the arching human spirit -- to that will to live which helped endure the cruelest of regimes. A tribute, also, to the courage of the Cuban people -- resolute and unafraid.

My friends, that courage has helped you endure. And it will one day unite a million free Cuban-Americans with their long-suffering Cuban brothers.

For if hope can stay alive in the heart of Armando Valladares, surely we will see Cuba free again.

Thank you for coming here, God bless you, God bless America, and Viva Cuba Libre.

# # # #

*Against All Hope*  
*RR's Remembrance  
Cuban Indep. Day  
5/20/88*

5/16/89

## Cuban Event

Cuban - "Welcome to our House"

Nilo Merendez - composer  
Green Eyes

Perez Prado - musician

Job's wife - Columbus

Mexican Story

Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown  
Casablanca

Broad areas of policy

Not interested in better interests

Cuban support

Military adventurism (Africa)

Cuban-Soviet relationship

Inst. guarantees in human rights

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# AGAINST

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The Prison Memoirs of -

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**IN ST**

n Memoirs of

**ALL HOPE**

Armando Valladares

*Translated by Andrew Hurley*



Alfred A. Knopf New York 1987

**A**gainst All Hope is Armando Valladares' dramatic and harrowing account of his twenty-two years in Castro's prisons—from his arrest at the age of twenty-three (for being philosophically opposed to Communism) until his release in 1982, the result of an international campaign of protest.

His story opens with the classic arrest in the night: the house searched, the family terrorized, the man taken away... But what follows is shockingly unexpected, because nothing has prepared us for Valladares' eloquent and devastating testimony about the outrages committed by the Cuban government against its own people. From the very beginning, as he waits in his prison cell for the inevitable sentence, he makes us witness to the new Revolution's incessant brutality—the notorious firing squads are at work just outside his window. And when he is transferred to the infamous Isla de Pinos (where he will watch the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion) and he begins the endless days of violence and harassment, putrid food and squalid living conditions, illness and forced labor, solitary confinement and the indifference of outside humanitarian agencies, we experience this life with him and his fellow prisoners, many of them former friends and allies of Castro.

We share, as well, his elaborate and hazardous attempt to escape, which fails and leaves him crippled... the hunger strikes that bolster his spirits and those of his companions, even as they provoke the authorities' desire to break the prisoners, to make them recant... his meeting with a fellow prisoner's daughter, the woman he will eventually marry... his poetry, which is smuggled out and published in Europe and America, winning him the attention of writers and public figures around the world... and, above all, the relentless enmity of the government, which tries to intimidate and discredit him until the very end, when France's President Mitterrand personally intervenes with Castro in Valladares' behalf.

An indictment of a cruel regime and the suffering it has imposed, this book is also an irrefutable, unforgettable revelation of one man's courageous efforts to survive "against all hope."

Colección «Cuba y sus Jueces»

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

"History of Cuba in  
Relation to the United  
States and Spain"

Por  
DR. HERMINIO BORTELL VICÁ

Ediciones Universal. Miami, 1972.

EDUARDO J. TEJERA

LA AYUDA CUBANA A LA LUCHA POR  
LA INDEPENDENCIA NORTEAMERICANA



THE CUBAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE  
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE



EDICIONES UNIVERSAL  
P. O. BOX 353 (Shenandoah Station)  
Miami, Florida 33145. USA.

Simon sailed from Cape Haitien in the last days of July. (55).

So enthusiastic was De Grasse, that before hearing about the negotiations in Havana, he dispatched the frigate *Concorde* with a letter to Rochambeau. In this letter of July 28, the first one since his arrival in Cape Haitien, De Grasse gave an explicit account of all the events that had occurred within the past weeks (56). He informed him that they had recruited an army of 3,000 men, plus 100 artillerymen, 10 cannons and other material. Above all, he stated that: «The Saint-Domingue (Haiti) Colony has no money, but I will send a frigate to Havana in quest of it, and you may depend upon receiving this amount; one million two hundred thousand livres.» Whem this letter reached Rochambeau's hands, it filled him with joy for it was the first good news in months, and it promised the beginning of a new phase in the War. Here is an incomplete text of the letter:

Cape Haitien, July 28, 1781

«I shall be obliged, to employ the fleet promptly and to good purpose, so that the time may be spent to profit sufficiently against the enemy naval forces and their land forces; but I shall not be able to use the soldiers long; they are under the orders of the Spanish who will need

(55) Charles Lee Lewis: *Admiral De Grasse and the American Independence*, p. 138. The author states: «De Grasse persuaded Señor de Salavedra, Spanish director general of customs, then residing in Cap. Francais (Cape Haitien), to arrange for raising the money in Havana.»

(56) Charles Lee Lewis: *Admiral De Grasse and The American Independence*, p. 138.

them then. All this expedition having been arranged only on your request and without being restricted by the French and Spanish Ministers, I have thought myself authorized to take everything on myself for the common cause; but I do not dare to change all the plan of their campaign by employing for a long time so considerable a body of troops. I have read with great sadness, of the distress in which the Americans find themselves and the necessity of prompt aid which you request. I have conferred with, M. de Lilliantcourt who has taken command of the government and I have induced him to give me from the garrison of Saint-Domingue (Haiti) the regiments of Gatianis, Agémois and Touraine, totalling 3,000 infantry, 100 artillerymen, 100 dragoons, 10 fied cannons, and some seize guns and mortars. All will be embarked on 25 or 26 ships of war which will leave this place on August 3 and reach as soon as possible Chesapeake Bay... The Saint-Domingue (Haiti) had no money, but I will send a frigate to Havana in quest of it, and you may depend upon receiving this amount; 1,200,000 livres (57).»

As may be observed, undoubtedly the letter gives reasons for rejoicing to the troops of Washington, La-

(57) This letter is a translation made by the author of this essay, and taken from different sources, mainly from French books, pertinent to this topic. Henri Doniol: *Histoire de la participation de la France A L'Etablissement Des Etats-Unis D'Amerique*. Vol. IV, p. 649. Jean-Jacques Antier: *L'Amiral De Grasse; Héros de L'Independance Americaine*, pp. 204-205. Stephen Bonsal: *When The French Were Here...*, p. 116, the original letter is in the French Archives.

fayette and Rochambeau. It not only informed of the recruitment of troops in Cape Haitien, but promised the solution to the embarrassing financial problem.

The frigate *Aigrette*, the fastest in the French Fleet, was chosen to collect the funds in Havana. Tre voyage from Cape Haitien to Havana was very dangerous, for the English ships maintained a tight watch in the area, after the French Fleet had entered the waters of the Antilles. According to the historian, M. Antier, the *Aigrette* and its two reinforcements, were forced to sail through the Keys in order to evade the «British men-of-war» which were anxious to intercept a French ship in order to learn about their plans in the tropics but above all, about the War in America (58). Fortunately, the *Aigrette* was able to reach Havana safely without any confrontation with the English.

Apparently, the contacts in Havana were, Lieutenant General and new Governor of Cuba, Juan Manuel de Cagigal and his aide-de-camp, don Francisco de Miranda, the future forerunner of the Spanish American independence (59). Cagigal was well known for his adventuresome spirit, as well as for his commercial ambitions. He was one of those who prepared and led the only Spanish expedition, together with Louisia-

(58) Jean-Jacques Antier: *L'Amiral De Grasse; Héros de L'Indépendance américaine*, pp. 205-206. M. Antier wrote: «En longeant la cote nord de Saint-Domingue, puis celle de Cuba, la frégate devait se confondre avec la haute terre et échappé à la croisière anglaise. Mais restait un mauvais passage entre les deux îles, très surveillé et fréquenté par les Anglais, dont c'est le trajet habituel de la Jamaïque au continent américaine.»

(59) José Manuel Pérez Cabrera: *Miranda en Cuba* (1780-1783) (La Habana), Academy of the History of Cuba, 1950, pp. 16-19.

na Governor, Bernardo de Gálvez, in America, mainly against English positions in Pensacola, Mobile and other towns in Mississippi. Cagigal also joined Spanish Admiral Solano in giving chase to British ships in Cuban waters (60).

The history of Miranda, the leader of the Spanish American independence, is well known; however, unfortunately, his decisive participation in the collection of the funds needed to finance the Yorktown Campaign is one of the least known aspects in the life of this extraordinary man (61). The truth is that Miranda, together with other Cubans (Creoles), was one of the persons who organized the collection of the funds requested by Saint-Simon. The money was collected from different sources, primarily by the *ladies of*

(60) Herminio Portell Vilá: *Historia de Cuba en sus relaciones con los Estados Unidos y España* (Jesús Montero, La Habana, 1938). Tomo I, pp. 92-96. Charles Lee Lewis: *Admiral De Grasse and the American Independence*, p. 139. Marshall Count de Rochambeau: *Memoirs; Relative to the War of Independence of the United States*. (French, English and American Library. Paris, 1838, pp. 60-61.)

(61) José Manuel Pérez Cabrera: *Miranda en Cuba*, p 17. The author states: «Miranda, who commanded the voluntary Anglo-american forces in the fortunate expedition to Pensacola, and who also supplied Admiral M. De Grasse with the immense resources for his entry into Chesapeake». In the judicial trial against Miranda during the French Revolution in 1792, for accusations of treason led by Robespierre and Marat, his defense attorney Chauveau-Lagarde argued that Miranda had always lent imminent services for the cause of freedom, and that it was he who had handed the funds to Saint-Simon in Havana, to defray the expense of the Yorktown Campaign. This interesting allegation is in the judicial work, *Annales Du Barreau Français ou Choix Des Plaidoyers Et Mémoires*, Claude Chauveau-Lagarde, «Plaidoyer Pour Le général Miranda». (Paris: Guibert, Libraire-Editeur, 1847), pp. 1-78.

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Havana. They offered their jewelry and diamonds to the American cause (62). Great sums were also offered by Havana merchants and many private entities. Apparently, in the light of the documents examined, the funds donated by the *ladies of Havana* came from some type of women's association or lodge which existed at the time. This theory has not been proven, but everything indicates that it is correct (63).

It is most probable that the funds proceeded from women's associations that had proliferated in great numbers, not only in Cuba but also in the rest of the Continent. These women's organizations had a patriotic character and appeared as cultural centers. In South America numerous of these associations existed, like the one from Buenos Aires which was one of the largest. The history of these lodges or lyceums, is full of noble pages, due to their nationalistic character and the important services they rendered during the independence wars. In Cuba, these lodges were always the center of patriotic activities. Therefore, it would not be incorrect to affirm that the funds collected for the American War came from these organizations.

Charles Lee Lewis, historian and biographer of De Grasse, having done research in the Archives of France, and as such, able to examine the original letters and documents of the French Admiral, has

(62) Charles Lee Lewis: *Admiral De Grasse and the American Independence*, p. 138. Stephen Bonsal: *When the French Were Here...*, pp. 119-120.

(63) José Manuel Cabrera: *Miranda en Cuba*, pp. 16-17. Stephen Bonsal: *When The French Were Here...*, pp. 119-120. The author says: «the millions that was supplied Saint-Simón to pay his troops by the ladies of Havana».

said about the Cuban ladies: «The public treasury was assisted by individuals, ladies even offering their diamonds. Five hours after the arrival of the frigate *Aigrette*, sent by De Grasse, the sum of 1,200,000 livres was delivered on board» (64). The efforts of Miranda were instrumental in this endeavor. Due to the protection of the public authorities, he helped organize the vast collection.

The contributions of the *ladies of Havana* and merchants were decisive in the collection of the funds, for due to these generous contributions the larger part of the whole sum was raised. Now that we have presented this historical data, the reader will probably ask why would ladies and merchants of Havana be interested in the American independence cause. There are two reasons that seem important. First, the population of Havana always manifested a special hatred for anything English, as these had militarily occupied Havana in 1762, looting businesses and leaving behind a strong aversion for all things British. The Cubans and especially the inhabitants of Havana never forgot the excesses of the invaders. The memory of these events undoubtedly contributed in motivating the Cubans toward supporting the American rebels against Great Britain (65).

(64) Charles Lee Lewis: *Admiral De Grasse and the American Independence*, p. 138; See the interesting quotation taken from Rochambeau's *Diary* in Appendix III.

(65) Herminio Portell Vilá: *Historia de Cuba en sus relaciones con los Estados Unidos y España*. Vol. I, pp. 80-100. Emerico S. Santovenia: *Armonías y conflictos en torno a Cuba*. (México. Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956), pp. 11-43. The author says: «During the occupation of Havana by the British, there were excesses similar to those of the Spanish domina-

The roots of the probable motivations of the merchants are inherent in the despotic monopolistic system exercised by the Spanish Crown upon its overseas colonies. We must recall that the Cubans were not permitted to trade with other nations except Spain, and all goods had to be transported exclusively in Spanish ships. This had drastic negative consequences on the backward economic development of the Island as it did not permit the natural and harmonious growth of industry and trade (66). During the struggle for American independence, the Crown liberalized somewhat these prohibitive measures, permitting the Cubans to supply foodstuff and resources to the Thirteen Colonies. Juan de Miralles, of Havana, was the person who made the first commercial contracts between Havana and Charleston. Cuban merchants saw in the new Republic to the North, a contributing factor toward economic prosperity and as the reason for the sudden trade liberalization (although limited) policies by the Spanish authorities (67).

Henceforth, the reason why many merchants sympathized with the American independence cause and contributed to the collection of the funds, in order

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tion... in addition to the large ransom paid in accordance with the truce understanding, the victors practiced many abuses, robbed great amount of money... and destroyed and stole parts of the National Archives without justification» p. 11).

(66) J. Alvarez Díaz; A. Arredondo, R. M. Shelton and J. F. Vizcaíno: *Cuba. Geopolítica y pensamiento Económico*. (Miami: School of the Economists of Cuba in Exile, 1964), pp. 50-90.

(67) Herminio Portell Vilá: *Historia de Cuba en sus relaciones con los Estados Unidos y España*. Vol. 1, pp. 99-110. Francisco de Arango y Parreño: *De la Factoría a la Colonia* (Revised by the Minister of Education, Havana, 1936...)

to help the American patriots at a time of severe economic crisis for the Continental Congress. What the merchants could not foresee was that the liberal policies would be short lived, for immediately after the American independence was won, in the aftermath of the Yorktown surrender, the Crown re-established its old despotic and monopolistic system. This shift of policy angered the Cuban people and was the cause of serious uprisings and revolts in the country; for example, the tobacco growers protest (68). We have digressed somewhat from the main topic as we consider it important to point out some of the probable motives that prompted the *ladies of Havana* and the merchants to contribute to the American cause.

This is, the history of how the Cubans helped in a most effective manner, the rebels of the Thirteen Colonies. This contribution was decisive because the immense funds collected at Havana financed the historic Yorktown Campaign. It would be an error to say that since Cuba at the time was a colony of Spain, all the inhabitants of the Island were also Spaniards. Although this is true from the legal

(68) Herminio Portell Vilá: *Historia de Cuba en sus relaciones con los Estados Unidos y España*. Vol. 1, pp. 74-75. The author states: «It is a singular coincidence that in the months of organization of the Philadelphia Congress which on the 4th of July, 1776, would proclaim the independence of the Thirteen Colonies, the Spanish authorities of Cuba were facing a protest movement by the Cubans with revolutionaries aims. This protest had its origin in the abuses produced by the monopoly of the tobacco grown in the Island and the injustices committed with the «vegueros» who solicited loans to pay their expenses... The truth is, as we have seen, that while the War of Independence of the United States began, Cuba was also on the threshold of revolution...»

I CHALLENGE HIM TO ALLOW UNRESTRICTED ACCESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS MONITORING THEIR COMPLIANCE. AND A POLICY OF NON-INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES.

ON THIS CELEBRATION OF CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY, I CHALLENGE CASTRO TO TAKE CONCRETE AND SPECIFIC STEPS LEADING TO FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS AND FULL DEMOCRACY. A USEFUL FIRST STEP WOULD BE TO ACCEPT A PROPOSED PLEBISCITE IN CUBA.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *cw*

FROM: CURT SMITH *CS*

SUBJECT: REMARKS FOR CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

I. SUMMARY

At 2:30, on Monday, May 22, you will address about 230 members of the Cuban-American community in Room 450. The event is to celebrate the 87th anniversary of Cuban Independence Day which occurs on Saturday, May 20.

II. DISCUSSION

The enclosed remarks discuss freedom, and the U.S.-Cuban relationship. The text also challenges Castro to take steps to bring democracy to Cuba.

(Smith/Blessey)  
May 18, 1989  
Draft Four  
CUBA

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CUBAN INDEPENDENCE DAY  
ROOM 450, OEOB  
MONDAY, MAY 22, 1989

My friends, it is truly a pleasure to be with you to celebrate this wonderful occasion: The 87th anniversary of Cuban independence.

Now, I know that the official anniversary was Saturday, not today. Let's get that straight [PAUSE] . . . after all, remember Pearl Harbor.

But, you know, I would be delighted to be here on any day. For we Americans owe a debt of gratitude to the Cuban people.

That debt dates back to 1776, when George Washington's troops were dreadfully short of food and supplies. Some of you may remember how the women of Havana banded together and raised 1.2 million livres for the cause of American freedom.

One hundred and twenty-six years later, another people fought bravely for the cause of freedom. For it was on May 20, 1902, after a long and brutal struggle, that the Cuban Republic was born.

We gather here to remember that victory. And the fact that freedom knows no boundaries. Perhaps it was Cuba's George Washington, that great patriot Jose Marti [Mar-TEE], who said it best. He remarked, "To beautify life is to give it an object."

My friends, our object is human liberty. And a free, united, and democratic Cuba. As President, I am absolutely, unalterably committed to Cuba Libre [KOOPA LIBREH]. And I will never falter in that support.

I know that you are with me. And so is America. For we oppose those who mock the rights we treasure: rights of speech, religion, assembly, and economic freedom. And in response, our demand is plain and simple: "Democracy, Mr. Castro -- not some time, not some day, but now."

*sign of respect  
in Spanish*

This morning, I call on Fidel Castro to free all political prisoners. And to conform to accepted international standards regarding human rights. I challenge him to allow unrestricted access to the United Nations and other organizations monitoring their compliance. And a policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states.

On this, Cuban Independence Day, I challenge Castro to take concrete and specific steps leading to free and fair elections

and full democracy. A useful first step would be to accept a proposed plebiscite in Cuba.

I challenge Castro to allow Cuban citizens who wish to leave Cuba to do so -- a fundamental human right guaranteed by free nations.

I challenge Castro to show that Cuba is truly independent by sharply reducing the Soviet military presence.

This I pledge: Unless Castro is willing to change his policies and behavior, we will maintain our present policy towards Cuba. I also want to make it clear that we oppose Cuba's re-entry to the Organization of American States. And this, too, I promise: To help break down the monopoly on information that Castro has maintained for 30 years, we will continue Radio Marti. We will push forward our proposal for TV Marti. We will see that the people of Cuba know the truth -- about their dictator, and about the world.

In short, we want to advance that day when Cuban Independence Day achieves a new and richer meaning:

-- Freedom from the evil of tyranny and oppression;

-- Freedom from the economic misery wrought by communist misrule;

-- The freedom that can liberate lives and lift the human heart -- yes, the freedom of democracy.

To achieve that freedom, heroes must lead the way. Well, in a sense they already have, and are. For Cuba can claim many heroes -- those who struggled valiantly almost ninety years ago, and those who struggle today.

Unsung heroes, for example, like long-time political prisoner Alfredo Mustelier Nuevo [MOOSTEHLEHR NOOEHVVO] who refuses to give up -- who, despite deteriorating health, continues his hunger strike for freedom.

Heroes like Dr. Claudio Benedi, here in this audience, who has condemned -- eloquently, repeatedly -- Castro's violations of human rights. Or another great patriot of the Western Hemisphere -- a hero of our times.

I'm referring, of course, to Armando Valladares [VAHLAHDAHRES]. He spent 22 years in Castro's prisons. And he wrote a book about that ordeal, and his ultimate release. It's titled Against All Hope. And it describes how he survived beatings, starvation, and unspeakable horror.

I'm sure many of you have read this unforgettable tribute. A tribute to the arching human spirit -- to that will to live which helped endure the cruelest of regimes. A tribute, also, to the courage of the Cuban people -- resolute and unafraid.

My friends, that courage has helped you endure. And it will one day unite a million free Cuban-Americans with their long-suffering Cuban brothers.

For if hope can stay alive in the heart of Armando Valladares, surely we will see Cuba free again.

Thank you for coming here, God bless you, God bless America, and Viva Cuba Libre.

# # # #



***BOLETIN  
ESPECIAL***

EQUIPO DE OPINION DEL PUEBLO, DOR PCC PROV. HOLGUIN

**A Public Survey  
on the Quality of Health Care  
in the Province of Holguín, Cuba**

- A Confidential Report by the Cuban Communist Party •

## CUBAN AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION

*The Cuban American National Foundation is an independent, non-profit institution devoted to the gathering and dissemination of data concerning the economic, political and social welfare of the Cuban people, both on the island and in exile. The Foundation supports the concept of a free and democratic Cuba.*

*The Foundation promotes an objective view of Cuba and Cubans, and an objective appraisal of the Cuban government and its policies.*

*The Foundation supports a general program to enlighten and clarify public opinion on problems of Cuban concern, to fight bigotry, protect human rights, and promote cultural interests and creative achievement.*

## FOREWORD

This confidential report by the Cuban Communist Party, based on a public opinion survey in the Cuban province of Holguín (pronounced ohl-GEEN), evaluates the quality of health care in that country. Of 10,756 opinions taken, 87.6% were unfavorable, effectively demolishing the myth of "great accomplishments" in the field of public health that has been propagated by the Castro regime for almost thirty years as one defense of its dictatorial rule.

In reviewing each hospital, dental clinic, laboratory, and other health care facility in Holguín Province, the survey reveals such shocking accounts of women dying during childbirth due to medical incompetence; pregnant women afraid to be hospitalized; contaminated operating rooms; and the grossest negligence on the part of medical staffs.

Of particular note is the report on the Lenin Hospital, long-touted as the Revolution's showcase hospital. There, the people say, most operations become infected; hygienic conditions are poor; there are no syringes and other vital instruments; and that they have lost confidence in the hospital because of the many errors in diagnoses.

The Communist Party concludes that, despite Fidel Castro's personal attention and the efforts of the government and party, "the people are not satisfied with the medical care." This fact, however, is not published by the Cuban media, nor is it admitted at medical forums, and it is not reflected in the false statistics that the Cuban government sends to international bodies such as the World Health Organization.

It may be of interest to recall that in Grenada, among the documents seized was a dossier given by the Cuban government to Maurice Bishop with instructions on how to prepare and maintain two sets of statistics: one for international consumption and a confidential set which reflects reality.

This report brought before you - which contains a side-by-side English translation provided by the Cuban American National Foundation - is the confidential one, the true set, the one which reflects the reality of health care in Cuba. And that reality, in the words of the Cuban people, is that "Cuba may be a medical superpower in the number of doctors, but in quality it is below that of years past."

*Ambassador Armando Valladares*

"If we speak of social development, logically we must include the famous public health system. How can the successes of the Revolution and public health not be recognized if no country in the world in such a short period of time has made similar progress? ...[And] not only has there been a quantitative increase in medical services but there has also been an extraordinary qualitative increase."

*Fidel Castro  
July 26, 1988  
Santiago de Cuba*

## PROLOGO

Este informe confidencial del Partido Comunista de Cuba, basado en una encuesta de opinión pública realizada en la provincia de Holguín, valora la calidad del cuidado a la salud pública en ese país. De las 10,756 opiniones tomadas, un 87.6% fué desfavorable, demoliendo totalmente el mito de los "grandes logros" alcanzados en el campo de la salud pública que durante casi 30 años ha venido propagando el régimen castrista para defender la permanencia de esa dictadura.

Al revisar cada hospital, clínica dental, laboratorio y otros centros de salud en la provincia de Holguín, la encuesta revela espeluznantes datos de mujeres que mueren de parto por incompetencia médica; mujeres embarazadas que temen ser hospitalizadas, salones de operación que están contaminados; y la más crasa negligencia por parte del personal médico.

De especial interés es el informe sobre el Hospital Lenín, que por años ha venido siendo el hospital vitrina de la Revolución. Allí, cuentan, la mayoría de las operaciones se infectan; las condiciones higiénicas son malas; no hay jeringuillas y otros instrumentos de vital importancia; y el pueblo ha perdido la confianza en el hospital por el sinnúmero de errores en los diagnósticos.

El Partido Comunista concluye que, a pesar de la atención personal de Fidel Castro y los esfuerzos del gobierno y del partido, "el pueblo no está satisfecho con la atención médica". Esto, no obstante, no es publicado por los medios de comunicación cubanos, ni admitido en los foros médicos, ni reflejado en las estadísticas falsas que el gobierno cubano envía a organismos internacionales, como la Organización Mundial de la Salud.

Resulta interesante recordar que entre los documentos recuperados en Granada, se hallaba un dossier entregado por el gobierno de Cuba a Maurice Bishop con instrucciones sobre cómo preparar y mantener dos juegos de estadísticas: uno para consumo internacional y un juego confidencial que refleja la realidad.

Este informe que les presentamos - que muestra una traducción al inglés página por página suministrada por la Fundación Nacional Cubano Americana - es el informe confidencial, el verdadero, que refleja la realidad de la salud pública en Cuba. Y esa realidad, en las propias palabras del pueblo cubano, es que "Cuba será una superpotencia en el número de médicos, pero en calidad está por debajo de la de hace años".

*Embajador Armando Valladares*

"Si vamos a hablar del desarrollo social, lógicamente tenemos que incluir la salud pública. Y cómo no van a reconocer nuestros adversarios los éxitos de la Revolución en la salud pública si ningún país del mundo, en tan breve tiempo, alcanzó similares avances...Y no sólo se ha producido un incremento cuantitativo de los servicios médicos, sino también un extraordinario incremento cualitativo."

*Fidel Castro  
26 de julio de 1988  
Santiago de Cuba*



# ***BOLETIN ESPECIAL***

EQUIPO DE OPINION DEL PUEBLO. DOR PCC PROV. HOLGUIN

## INTRODUCTION

"To maintain and preserve the health of the people and to raise their life expectancy to a maximum" is an all-level task in the program of the Cuban Communist Party.

To attain this goal, innumerable resources are invested throughout the country and a special interest is shown at all Party and Cuban Government directorate levels.

To keep the Party directorate informed of the evaluation made by the people, of the services provided by the Health Sector in the 14 municipalities of the province, the People's Opinion Section of the DOR [Revolutionary Orientation Department]\* Provincial Committee analyzed the opinions polled during the second semester of 1987.

\*[Brackets signify translator's notes.]

## INTRODUCCION:

" Mantener y preservar la salud del pueblo y elevar al máximo sus expectativas de vida " es una tarea jerarquizada en el programa del Partido Comunista de Cuba.

Para lograr este objetivo se invierten gran cantidad de recursos a lo largo de todo el país y se muestra especial interés en todos los niveles de dirección del Partido y el gobierno cubano.

Para que la dirección del Partido conozca la valoración que hace el pueblo del servicio que brinda el Sector de Salud en los 14 municipios de la provincia, la Sección de Opinión del Pueblo del DOR del Comité Provincial, analizó las opiniones recepcionadas en el segundo semestre del año 1987.

**GENERAL EVALUATION**

From a total of 10,756 opinions, 87.6% are unfavorable. In comparison with the same period of the previous year, there was an increase of 3% (chart 1).

As noted in chart 3, the percentage of unfavorable opinions decreased only in the municipalities of Báguanos, Mayarí and Frank País; the increase is significant in Gibara (8.9%), Banes (8.3%), Sagua de Tánamo (15.3%), and Moa (13.6%).

In Rafael Freyre, Antilla, Holguín, Cacocúm, Urbano Noris and Cueto, the increase was minor.

We believe that in the case of Calixto García it is not timely to establish comparisons, because during 1987 the information on the municipality was sketchy and very irregular.

As in the previous analyses conducted, positive opinions reflect the people's recognition of the efforts being made by the Revolution and the achievements attained in this important sector.

Notwithstanding the above, unfavorable opinions evidence that despite Party and Government efforts and the special attention on the part of Comrade Fidel [Castro] to provide optimum quality in services rendered at health centers, the population is not totally satisfied with the attention they receive.

As can be noted from the report, criticisms that continue to be reiterated the most are those regarding the lack of attention, negligence and abuse of patients, which we have pointed out in previous reports. Therefore, we consider that more should be demanded towards complying with the principles of Medical Ethics, and that direct work with each one of the sector staff should be intensified.

VALORACION GENERAL

De un total de 10 756 opiniones, son desfavorables el 87,6%, en comparación con igual período del año anterior, hubo un ascenso de un 3%. -- (gráfico 1).

Como se observa en el gráfico 3 el porcentaje de opiniones desfavorables sólo descendió en los municipios de Báguanos, Mayarí y Frank País, el ascenso es significativo en Gibara (8,9%), Banes (8,3%), Sagua de Tánamo (15,3%) y Moa (13,6%).

En Rafael Freyre, Antilla, Holguín, Caocum, Urbano Noris y Cueto el ascenso fue a menor escala.

Consideramos que en el caso de Calixto García no es oportuno hacer la comparación porque durante el año 1987 la información del municipio fue pobre y muy irregular.

Como en los análisis hechos anteriormente en las opiniones positivas se manifiesta el reconocimiento de la población por el esfuerzo que realiza la Revolución y los logros obtenidos en este importante sector.

No obstante a esto en las opiniones desfavorables se evidencia que a pesar del esfuerzo de nuestro Partido y Gobierno y de la atención especial que tiene el compañero Fidel por lograr una total optimización en los servicios que se presta en las unidades de salud, la población no está totalmente satisfecha con la atención que en ellas recibe.

Como se podrá observar en el informe las críticas que más se reiteran están dirigidas fundamentalmente a la falta de atención, negligencias y maltratos a los pacientes, cuestiones que han sido señaladas anteriormente en nuestros informes, por lo que consideramos que aún se debe elevar la exigencia en el cumplimiento de los principios de la Ética Médica y que el trabajo directo con cada uno de los trabajadores del sector debe intensificarse.

## PROVINCIAL MATTERS

As in previous analyses, in 539 opinions the need to increase fumigations against mosquitoes, and other insects and rodents in all the provinces and municipalities continues to be reflected.

Ninety-seven opinions polled in the Sagua de Tánamo municipality raised the need to gather the pigs that roam the urban zones.

## FAMILY DOCTOR

This plan is the creation of the Commander in Chief [Fidel Castro], and as can be determined from the positive opinions, the plan has been very well received by our people, who also have acknowledged the benefits it provides and its importance in preventive medicine and health control.

Unfavorable opinions, which account for 64.9%, point out the deficiencies in several consultation centers, and also give suggestions to improve, according to the people's criteria, the invaluable services offered at these centers.

The most repeated concerns are the following:

- At consultation centers, the issuance of health certificates takes too long (8-Banes).
- Many doctors do not comply with regulations; do not make rounds (attention is not the best) (63 opinions)
  - \* Banes.
  - \* Consultation center #36; the three at El Coco junction (Holguín).
- The La Güira consultation center is closed in the afternoon (3-Banes).
- They wonder why so many consultation centers have been built in urban areas, where all medical resources are at hand, and none have been built in the rural areas (135 opinions). Rafael Freyre, Cueto, Banes, Mayarí, Cacocúm, Urbano Noris, Báguanos.
- Scandals in consultation center #17 (20 opinions).
- There exist consultation centers which have been completed and are not in operation yet (65 opinions). La Agraria-Cacocúm, Aguas Claras-Holguín, Veguitas-Banes.
- They wonder what the motives are for not expanding to all neighborhoods and municipalities (10-Holguín).

CUESTIONES PROVINCIALES:

Como en análisis anteriores en 539 opiniones se continúa señalando en todos los municipios de la provincia la necesidad de intensificar las fumigaciones que combatan los mosquitos, otros insectos y roedores.

En 97 opiniones del municipio Sagua de Tánamo se plantea la necesidad de recoger los cerdos que están en las zonas urbanas.

MEDICO DE LA FAMILIA:

Este plan, creación del Comandante en Jefe es muy aceptado por nuestro pueblo en las opiniones positivas, reconociendo los beneficios que aporta y la importancia que tiene en la prevención y control de la salud.

En las opiniones desfavorables, que representan el 64,9%, se señalan -- deficiencias en algunos consultorios, en otros se hacen sugerencias que mejorarían, según el criterio de la población, el valioso servicio que en estas unidades se presta.

Las cuestiones que más se reiteran son:

- En los consultorios la firma de los certificados tarda mucho (8-Banes)
- Muchos médicos no cumplen con lo que está establecido, no hacen terreno, (la atención no es la mejor (63 opiniones)
- . Banes
  - Consultorio # 36, los tres del cruce El Coco (Holguín).
  - En el consultorio de la Güira no trabajan por la tarde (3 Banes)
  - Se preguntan por qué en la zona urbana, donde existen todos los recursos médicos se han hecho tantos consultorios y en la zona rural ninguno (135 opiniones) Rafael Freyre, Cueto, Banes, Mayarí, Caocum, Urbá no Noris, Báguanos.
  - Escándalos en el consultorio # 17. (20 opiniones).
  - Hay consultorios terminados y no han comenzado a funcionar (65 opiniones). La Agraria-Caocum, Aguas Clara- Holguín, Veguitas-Banes.
  - Se preguntan los motivos por lo cual no se extiende a todos los repartos y municipios (10-Holguín).

- The family doctor needs to take more steps to become a specialist (6-Holguin).
- He does not solve any of the workers' problems; they still have to go to the polyclinic (13-Holguin).
- Some doctors do not live at home and when they are needed at night they are not available (5-Holguin).
- The doctor always has a different ailment (4 opinions)
  - \* Consultation center #9-Holguin.
- These are open only to 6pm (18 opinions)
  - \* Aguas Claras and the Lenin District (Holguin).
- Consultation centers that have no doctors (9 opinions)
  - \* #50 - Banes.

#### SUGGESTIONS

- Family doctor consultation centers should be made available in rural areas (32)
  - \* Cueto.
  - \* Holguin.
  - \* Mayari.
  - \* Banes.
- Stricter rules must be enforced on family doctors who refuse to work (6-Holguin).
- The family doctor is much needed in the municipality (10-Cacocum).
- The doctor should possess injections [syringes] to lower the blood pressure to avoid going to the hospital (8- Banes).

#### AIDS [SIDA]

With reference to this illness, called the "Plague of the 20th Century," favorable opinions indicate a high degree of confidence and satisfaction on the part of the population regarding the measures taken by the Cuban Ministry of Public Health to prevent massive contamination; TV programs broadcast to that end are evaluated as good.

Notwithstanding the information given, 78 opinions affirm that throughout the province there are "X" cases of AIDS.

The following suggestions are also made:

- That the analyses that are being done in Havana also be done in the rest of the provinces (15 opinions).
- They should take into consideration prisoners who can be carriers because there are homosexuals (7 opinions).

CONFIDENCIAL

Hoja # 4

- El médico de la familia tiene que dar más pasos para llegar a ser especialistas. (6-Holguín)
- A los trabajadores no le resuelve ningún problema, de todas formas -- hay que ir al policlínico (13-Holguín).
- Algunos médicos no viven en las casas y cuando se necesitan de noche no se encuentra (5-Holguín).
- La doctora siempre tiene una afectación diferente (4 opiniones)
  - . Consultorio # 9-Holguín
- Sólo funcionan hasta las 6,00pm (18 opiniones)
  - . Aguas Claras y el Distrito Lenin (Holguín)
- Consultorios que no tienen médicos (9 opiniones)
  - . # 50 - Banes

SUGERENCIAS

- En las zonas rurales deben hacer consultorios del médico de la familia (32)
  - . Cauto
  - . Holguín
  - . Mayarí
  - . Banes
- Hay que ponerse duro con algunos médicos de la familia que no quieren trabajar (6-Holguín)
- El médico de la familia hace mucha falta en el municipio (10-Cagocum)
- El médico debe tener inyecciones para bajar la presión, para no tener que ir al hospital (8-Banes).

SIDA:

En relación con esta enfermedad, llamada la "peste del siglo XX" en las opiniones favorables se evidencia un alto grado de confianza y satisfacción del pueblo por las medidas que ha tomado el Ministerio de Salud -- Pública cubano para prevenir la contaminación masiva, se valoran de buen grado los programas que en relación a esto ha transmitido la televisión -- cubana.

No obstante a la información que se ha dado en 78 opiniones se asegura que en distintos lugares de la provincia hay x casos de SIDA.

Además se hacen las siguientes sugerencias:

- Que los análisis que están haciendo en La Habana lo hagan también en las demás provincias (15 opiniones)
- Se deben tener en cuenta los presos que pueden ser portadores porque hay homosexuales (7 opiniones).

- The AIDS video should be broadcast to the whole population (10 opinions).
- A medical investigation should be conducted to detect all AIDS cases (3 opinions).
- AIDS tests should be made on all women who change sexual partners frequently and on those who go out with foreigners (22 opinions).
- It should be demanded that all blood donations and tests be thoroughly analyzed in order to avoid contamination with AIDS (7 opinions).
- Preventive measures must be taken (25 opinions).
- Measures must be taken on homosexuals (53 opinions).
- The whole population, especially the youth, should be provided with information (53 opinions).

CONFIDENCIAL

HOJA # 5

- El video del SIDA se debería pasar a la población en general. (10 opiniones)
- Hacer una investigación médica para detectar todos los casos de SIDA (3 opiniones)
- Se debe hacer la prueba del SIDA a todas las mujeres que cambian frecuentemente de pareja y las que andan con extranjeros (22 opiniones)
- Deben exigir que todas las donaciones de sangre y pruebas sean bien analizadas para evitar el contagio del SIDA (7 opiniones).
- Deben tomar medidas preventivas (25 opiniones)
- Que se tomen medidas con los homosexuales (53 opiniones)
- Deben darle información a la población en especial a la juventud, ---- (53 opiniones).

**GIBARA MUNICIPALITY**

Of all opinions 93.6% are unfavorable, an increase of 8.9% over the same period in 1986.

One hundred and twenty-seven hospital-related opinions say:

- Attention is poor and there is patient abuse (68 opinions)
  - \* In one week, there were two deaths in the operating room; they call it "Room 8" [referring to the Cuban game of charades, where the number 8 signifies "death."]
  - \* At the lab, the women engage in chatting.
  - \* Several patients have died on surgeon Pujol.
  - \* Doctors make patients wait because they keep watching for the arrival of a truck, wondering what goods will be distributed.
  - \* Sometimes it is 9am and there are no doctors in the Emergency Room.
  - \* Most Emergency Room doctors are new and inexperienced.

**Needs**

- There are few doctors (41).
- At the hospital, to meet programmed activities, a taxi must be hired daily (3).
- There are broken windows (4).
- There is no boiled water for the children in the respiratory unit (6).
- Hepatitis patients have to undergo tests at Chaparra or Puerto Padre (2).

**Suggestions**

- Add another lab technician to do the tests on children.

**Polyclinic**

- Poor attention is given to patients (49)
  - \* Often, the Ophthalmology consultation is cancelled.
  - \* There is no control of patients' files registry.
  - \* Tests are lost.
  - \* Workers encounter difficulties in getting their health card.

Del total de opiniones el 93,6 %, son desfavorables, 8,9 % más que en igual etapa del año 1986.

En 127 opiniones relacionadas con el Hospital se plantea que:

- Hay mala atención y maltrato a los pacientes (68 opiniones).
  - . Le dicen la "Sala 8" en una semana se han muerto dos en el salón de operaciones.
  - . En el laboratorio las compañeras se ponen a conversar.
  - . Al cirujano Pujol se le han muerto varios pacientes.
  - . Los médicos tardan en atender a los pacientes por estar atentos al carro que llegó y qué van a distribuir.
  - . En ocasiones a las 9.AM no hay médicos en el Cuerpo de Guardia.
  - . Los médicos del Cuerpo de Guardia en su mayoría son nuevos, sin experiencia.
- Necesidades.
  - . Hay pocos médicos (41).
  - . En el hospital para cumplir las actividades programadas hay que alquilar un taxi diariamente. (3).
  - . Hay ventanas rotas (4).
  - . No hay agua hervida para los niños en la sala de respiratorio (6).
  - . Los enfermos de hepatitis tienen que hacerse los análisis en Chapparra o Puerto Padre (2).

Sugerencias:

- Poner otra técnica en el laboratorio para que haga los análisis a los niños.

Poliolínico.

- Mala atención a los pacientes (49).
  - . La consulta de Oftalmología se deja de realizar con frecuencia.
  - . No hay control del registro de las historias Clínicas.
  - . Los análisis se pierden.
  - . A los trabajadores se les dificulta obtener el carné de salud.

- Shortage of doctors; there is one for three sectors (161 opinions).
- Abuse by doctors (17)
  - \* otolaryngologist.
  - \* the doctor in sector #2.

**Suggestions**

- The urologist should improve his temper (4).
- Conditions must be improved for the patients awaiting their tests (7).

**Velasco Polyclinic**

- At times it is 9am and no doctors are in yet (10).
- There are few doctors (9).
- Evidence of favoritism in the Obstetrics Room (8).

**Suggestions**

- That a hospital be built in accordance with the existing population in that area (20).

**Dental Clinic**

- Attention is inefficient; only a few patients are seen daily; the comrades go out very frequently (6).

**Piloto Pharmacy**

- On Sundays they have problems in returning small change (4).

**Medical Post:**

**Floro Pérez**

- Doctors are seldom there (119).
- It is closed on weekends (14).
- It is suggested that better attention be given to the people (12).

**Los Alfonsos**

- It was declared a model and there is not one doctor (28).

- Falta de médicos, hay uno para tres sectores (161 opiniones).
- Maltrato de los médicos (17).
  - . Del otorrino.
  - . De la Doctora del sector # 2.

Sugerencias:

- El Urólogo debe mejorar su carácter (4).
- Hay que mejorar las condiciones para que el público pueda esperar -- los análisis (7).

Policlínico de Velasco.

- A veces son las 9.AM y no hay médicos (10).
- Hay pocos médicos (9).
- Manifestaciones de amiguismo en la consulta de obstetricia (8).

Sugerencias:

- Que se construya un Hospital de acuerdo a la población existente en la zona (20).

Clínica Dental.

- La atención no es eficiente, se atienden pocos pacientes en el día, las compañeras salen con mucha frecuencia (6).

Farmacia Piloto:

- Los domingos tienen dificultades para dar el vuelto (4).

Posta Médica:

Floro Pérez

- Casi nunca hay médicos (119).
- Los fines de semana está cerrada (14).
- Se sugiere prestar una mejor atención al pueblo (12).

Los Alfonsos:

- Se declaró modelo y no hay un médico (28).

**Caletones**

- Good attention (12).

**Home for the Elderly**

- It is suggested that the PCC [Cuban Communist Party] investigate several senior citizens who have breakfast and dinner at the Home and are doing business [on the side] with their food quota [ration-card] (12).

**Other general comments**

- Ambulances are being used for pleasure rides and also for personal business (11).
- The doctor prescribes medications which are not available in the pharmacy (2).
- If doctors continue to issue health certificates, the School-in-the-Country will have to be cancelled because all the children are sick (18).
- Public Health has lowered its guard in the attention provided the population (7).

**Suggestions**

- Something must be done with the new doctor who now holds Zayda's position; she abuses the patients (31).

**RAFAEL FREYRE MUNICIPALITY**

Out of 318 opinions, 65.7% are unfavorable, a 4.8% increase over the same period last year.

Regarding hospital services, 75.8% are unfavorable; the complaints most heard are regarding:

- The quality of services and attention has gone down (108 opinions)
  - \* Doctor Juana María (orthopedist) leaves her work post on occasion and does not say where she is going.
  - \* There is lack of confidence in lab analyses results.
  - \* A woman died during childbirth because she was not attended to promptly and adequately (6).
  - \* Favoritism is practiced when giving out appointments.

Caletones.

- Buena atención (12).

Hogar de Ancianos.

- Se sugiere que el PCC investigue algunos ancianos que comen y desayunan en el Hogar y están haciendo negocios con la cuota de la bodega (12).

Otros comentarios generales.

- Las ambulancias se están cogiendo para pasear y resolver problemas personales (11).
- El médico manda medicamento que no hay en la farmacia (2).
- Si los médicos siguen dando certificados no se podrá efectuar la Escuela al Campo porque todos los alumnos están enfermos (18).
- Salud Pública ha bajado la guardia en la atención a la población (7).

Sugerencias:

- Tienen que hacer un trabajo con la Doctora nueva que vino por Zayda ya que maltrata a los pacientes (31).

Municipio Rafael Freyre.

De las 318 opiniones son desfavorables el 65,7 %, 4,8 % más que en igual etapa del año anterior.

Del servicio del Hospital son desfavorables el 75,8 %, las cuestiones que más se señalan están relacionadas con:

- Ha perdido calidad en el servicio y en el trato (108 opiniones).
  - . La Doctora Juana María (Ortopédica) en ocasiones abandona su puesto de trabajo y no dice dónde está.
  - . No hay confianza con el resultado de los análisis que se realizan en el laboratorio.
  - . Murió una señora de parto porque no fue atendida en tiempo y forma (6).
  - . Manifestaciones de amiguismo al repartir los turnos.

- There are no specialists in Pediatrics (40).
- Several consultation room doors are falling down (8).
- Fifty opinions acknowledge that attention has improved.

**Punto Fijo Polyclinic**

- It is suggested that measures be taken regarding elements [people] who do not let the doctor work (16).

**Fray Benito Polyclinic**

- Good services are being rendered to the population (10).

**Pharmacy**

- In the evenings, there are no salespersons (6).
- At the Santa Lucía one, service is very slow (15).

**Medical Post:**

**Melones**

- The doctor does not come to consultation any more and nobody knows why (10).

**BANES MUNICIPALITY**

Unfavorable opinions are 96.2%, an increase of 8.3% over the same period in 1986.

Of the hospital-related opinions, 83.8% are unfavorable and they point out that:

- Patients are not given good attention (101)
  - \* The doctor orders electrocardiograms and they [the EKGs] never turn up.
  - \* Appointments with specialists are delayed up to 4 months.
  - \* At times no rounds are made in the men's ward.
  - \* There are two orthopedists and they give out very few appointments.
  - \* While the skin specialist is on vacation he is not replaced by any other doctor.

**Needs**

- There are never any working materials for X-rays (6).
- Installation of the elevator remains unfinished (5).

- No hay especialistas en Pediatría (40).
- Hay algunas puertas de las consultas que se están cayendo (8).
- En 50 opiniones se reconoce que el trato ha mejorado.

Polioclínico Punto Fijo.

- Se sugiere que hay que tomar medidas con los elementos que no dejan trabajar al médico (16).

Policlínico Fray Benito.

- Prestan buen servicio a la población (10).

Farmacia.

- Por la noche no hay dependientes (6).
- En la de Santa Lucía el servicio es muy lento (15).

Posta Médica.

Melones.

- El médico ya no viene a la consulta y no se sabe por qué razones (10).

Municipio Banes.

El 96,2 % de las opiniones son desfavorables, 8,3 % más que en igual etapa del año 1986.

De las relacionadas con el Hospital son desfavorables el 83,8 % en ellas se señala que:

- No hay buena atención a los pacientes (101).
  - . El médico indica los electros y no aparecen.
  - . Las consultas de especialistas se demoran hasta 4 meses.
  - . En ocasiones en la sala de hombres no pasan visita.
  - . Hay dos ortopédicos y reparten pocos turnos.
  - . Cuando el especialista de piel se va de vacaciones no ponen a otro.

Necesidades:

- . Nunca hay materiales para trabajar en Rayos X (6).
- . No terminan de instalar el elevador (5).

- Pregnant women are afraid to go to the hospital to give birth (7).
- At times the doctors are unable to diagnose the illness of the patient (18).

#### Suggestions

- The State should analyze the possibility of building a dining room (7).
- Baby-sitters should be allowed to remain because they are needed in the ward (8).

#### Nicaragua Hospital

- Medical attention is bad (59).
- There is evidence of "*sociolismo*" [favoritism] (4).
- Surgical procedures are not performed due to lack of X-ray materials (3).
- There is no anesthetist for an urgent Caesarean (8).
- The operating room is almost always contaminated (12).

#### Suggestions

- A good repair is in order (3).

#### Polyclinic

- Patients in the *Comunitario* were transferred to the *Integral* and the patients are very inconvenienced (12).
- Pediatrics appointments are given out in the morning and consultations are at 2pm and this affects the patients who live in the country (16).
- Consultations for pregnant women are twice a week and they never start on time (20).
- Doctors do not treat patients properly (5).
- Tests cannot be conducted due to lack of water (3).

#### Deleite Polyclinic

- Attention and behavior [towards patients] are not good (21)
  - \* Patients are admitted and they are not seen again.
  - \* When doctors are lying down they do not want to get up to see a patient.

- Las mujeres embarazadas tienen miedo de ir a parir al Hospital (7).
- En ocasiones los médicos no pueden diagnosticar cuál es la enfermedad del paciente (8).

Sugerencias.

- El Estado debe analizar la posibilidad de la construcción de un comedor (7).
- Las niñeras no debían quitarlas porque hacen falta en la sala. (18).

Hospital de Nicaragua.

- Hay mala atención médica (59).
- Hay manifestaciones de sociolismo (4).
- Se dejan de realizar operaciones por falta de materiales de Rayos X - (3).
- No hay anestecista para realizar una cesaria urgente (8).
- Casi siempre el salón de operaciones está contaminado (12).

Sugerencias:

- Se le debe hacer una buena reparación (3).

Policlínico.

- Pasaron los pacientes del Comunitario para el Integral y los pacientes pasan mucho trabajo (12).
- Los turnos de pediatría se reparten por la mañana, las consultas son de 2.PM y esto afecta a los pacientes del campo. (16).
- Las consultas de embarazadas no comienzan a la hora establecida y sólo trabajan dos días a la semana (20).
- Los médicos no tienen un correcto trato con los pacientes (5).
- No se pueden hacer análisis por falta de agua.(3).

Poliglínico de Deleite.

- La atención y el trato no es bueno (21).
  - Ingresan a los pacientes y después no los vuelven a ver más.
  - Los médicos cuando están acostados no quieren levantarse para atender algún enfermo.

**Suggestion**

- Behavior towards patients must be improved and better attention should be provided (7).

**Cañadón Polyclinic**

- Service is bad
  - \* When the stomatologist [dentist] comes, his assistant is absent, and vice versa; when both are in, there is no water.
  - \* There is only one doctor for the entire population.
  - \* Lack of a lab technician.

**Dental Clinic**

- Prostheses are of poor quality (30).
- Appointments go from one month to the next when there are so many stomatologists (15).

**Pharmacy**

- The pilot is declared a model, but at times they maltreat customers; the attention is not good (5).
- At the semi-pilot (near the shoe-repair shop), the comrades barely work; they talk their lives away and take their time to attend to customers (3).

**Los Pinos**

- In this community there is no medical assistance of any kind, there is not even one nurse to heal a wound (9).

**Las Mulas**

- Neither the doctor nor the ambulance are there when needed (25).

**Ambulances**

- Those of Guardalavaca and Cañadón are used for personal affairs (8).
- When there is a patient to be taken urgently to Holguín, the ambulances do not appear.

**Suggestion**

- The Deleite ambulance must not be taken away (15).

Sugerencia:

- Se debe mejorar el trato con los pacientes y darle una mejor atención (7).

Policlínico de Cañadón.

- El servicio es malo.
  - Cuando viene el Estomatólogo no está la ayudante y viceversa, y si están ambos no hay agua.
  - Solo hay un médico para atender a toda la población.
  - Falta de Técnico en el laboratorio.

Clínica Dental.

- Las prótesis tienen mala calidad (30).
- Los turnos tardan de un mes para otro, habiendo tantos estomatólogos. (15).

Farmacia.

- La piloto es modelo pero muchas veces maltratan a los clientes, no hay buena atención (5).
- En la Semi-Piloto (cerca del taller de zapatos) los compañeros casi no trabajan, viven hablando y se tardan en atender (3).

Los Pinos.

- En esta comunidad no hay asistencia médica de ningún tipo, no existe ni una enfermera para curar una herida (9).

Las Mulas.

- Ni el médico ni la ambulancia están cuando se necesitan (25).

Ambulancias.

- La de Guardalavaca y Cañadón son utilizadas en otras funciones particulares (8).
- Cuando hay un enfermo que se debe llevar urgente para Holguín no aparecen las ambulancias.

Sugerencia:

- No deben llevarse la ambulancia de Deleyte (15).

### General Opinions

- There is little concern on the part of the doctors, they wait to the last minute; when they transfer a patient to a better hospital it is because he cannot be saved (17).
- Some gynecologists are negligent, and when women cannot deliver, doctors do not practice the required Caesarean section, endangering the lives of mother and child (6).
- Doctor Yoelia has little experience (4).
- Many children get medical certificates and do not attend the school-at-the-country (13).
- Sick relatives of municipal doctors and nurses get more food quotas than the rest of the population (6).

### Suggestions

- Mental patients should be picked up (20).
- Public Health should clarify rumors of a tuberculosis outbreak (28).
- At least once a week, doctors in Banes, specialists in Orthopedics, Pediatrics, Ophthalmology, should visit the areas that are far away from the municipality (6).

### ANTILLA MUNICIPALITY

Unfavorable opinions are 89.9%, up 4.3% from the same period in 1986. Of the 714 hospital-related opinions, 81.2% are unfavorable.

In 369 opinions, it was reiterated that there are few doctors; that a pediatrician, surgeon and gynecologist are needed; and that the appointments granted for the different specialists do not meet the needs of the people.

Also, 46 point out that on any given day, doctors are absent and consultations begin late.

A lack of concern on the part of the doctors is expressed in 98 opinions.

Fifty-three opinions state that to get a test done, one has to stand in line from the previous day, and that often tests cannot be done because there is no water.

Twenty opinions express that the comrade in charge of the electrocardiograms is frequently absent and patients are not advised. Also, that the X-ray technician maltreats patients and seldom is at his work post.

Twenty-two opinions express that Doctor Nora maltreats her patients.

Opiniones generales.

- Hay poca preocupación de los médicos, lo hacen a última hora, cuando trasladan al enfermo a un hospital con más recursos es porque no tiene salvación (17).
- Algunos Ginecólogos que son negligentes y a veces hay mujeres que no pueden parir, que deben hacerle cesaria y no la hacen, poniendo en peligro la vida de la madre y del hijo. (6).
- La Doctora Yoelia tiene poca experiencia (4).
- Hay muchos alumnos que no van a la escuela al campo porque — consiguen certificados médicos (13).
- Los familiares de los médicos y enfermeras del municipio tienen más dietas por enfermedad que el resto de la población (6).

Sugerencias.

- Los enfermos mentales deben ser recogidos (20).
- Que Salud Pública de una explicación sobre el brote de Tuberculosis que se comenta que hay (28).
- Que aunque sea una vez a la semana, los médicos de Banes, especialistas como Ortopedia, Pediatría, Oftalmología, visiten las zonas distantes del Municipio (6).

Municipio Antilla.

El 89,9 % de las opiniones son desfavorables, 4,3 % más que en igual etapa del año 1987.

De las 714 opiniones relacionadas con el hospital el 81,2 % son desfavorables.

De forma reiterada se plantea en 369 opiniones que hay pocos — médicos, haciéndose mención a la necesidad de pediatra, ginecólogo, cirujano y que los turnos que reparten para los distintos especialistas no satisfacen las necesidades de la población.

De igual forma se señalan en 46 comentarios que a diario faltan médicos y que las consultas comienzan tarde.

En 98 opiniones se dice que hay poca preocupación de los médicos.

En 53 opiniones se plantea que para hacer análisis hay que hacer la cola el día anterior y que a veces no se hacen por falta de — agua.

En 20 opiniones que la compañera de los electros se ausenta con bastante frecuencia y que no se le avisa a los enfermos, además que el técnico de Rayos X, no atiende a los enfermos de la mejor forma y casi nunca se encuentra en su puesto de trabajo.

Se dice en 22 opiniones que la Doctora Nora tiene mala forma para tratar a los pacientes.

### Suggestions

- Services and behavior towards patients must be improved (53).
- There should be more concern over the emergency shift (9).
- The emergency doctor must remain in the Emergency Room (14).
- More specialists should be brought in (3).

### Polyclinic

- There are expressions of bad treatment and poor service as follows (90):
  - \* There is no one who can provide information.
  - \* There is no consultation schedule.
  - \* On Saturdays, at the Gynecology consultation they only take 10 [appointment] cards.
  - \* There are few doctors.
  - \* For three weeks, there has been no pediatrician.

### Suggestions

- The scheduling of doctors' consultations must be improved (30).
- Acupuncture technicians should be brought in (31).

### Pharmacy

- A stricter control of alcohol sales is suggested (56).

### General Opinions

- There are few doctors in the municipality (14).
- The physiotherapist does not have the adequate facilities for the exercises (12).

### Suggestions

- An investigation should be conducted on the skin rashes and the diarrheas that the population is suffering (83).
- All children should be vaccinated against "Meningo" [meningitis] (40).

Sugerencias.

- Deben mejorar su servicio y el trato a la población (53).
- Que se preocupen un poco más por el Cuerpo de Guardia (9).
- El médico de guardia debe permanecer en el cuerpo de Guardia. (14).
- Deben traer más especialistas (3).

Policlínico.

- Hay manifestaciones de mal trato y mal servicio expresado de la siguiente forma: (90).
  - No hay nadie que pueda dar una información.
  - No hay programa de consultas.
  - Los sábados sólo recogen 10 tarjetas en la consulta de Ginecología.
  - Hay pocos médicos.
  - Hace tres semanas que no hay pediatra.

Sugerencias:

- Se deben planificar mejor las consultas de los médicos (30).
- Deben traer técnicos de Acupuntura (31).

Farmacia.

- Se sugiere tener un control más estricto en la venta de Alcohol (56).

Opiniones Generales.

- En el municipio hay pocos médicos (14).
- El compañero que da fisioterapia no tiene un lugar adecuado para aplicar los ejercicios (12).

Sugerencias.

- Se deben investigar las causas de las erupciones en la piel y las diarreas que sufre la población (83).
- Debe vacunar a todos los niños contra la Meningo (40).

## BAGUANOS MUNICIPALITY

Of all opinions, 93.1% were unfavorable, a decrease of 4.4% from the same period last year.

Of hospital-related opinions, 91.3% are unfavorable and the main concerns pointed out are regarding:

- Deficient service and maltreatment of patients
  - \* Comrade Reyna Viera treats people badly.
  - \* Doctors arrive late for consultations.
  - \* Doctors lack knowledge and responsibility; they err in diagnoses.
  - \* There are consultation offices closed for lack of doctors.
  - \* Appointments to see specialists are delayed very much.
  - \* There are few resources at the hospital, and doctors take too long to transfer cases as required.
  - \* Doctors from out of town leave early.

### Others

- There is broken equipment and they do not bother to fix them (13 opinions).
- The hospital is considered poorly managed (11 opinions).

### Tacajó Hospital

- At times the water given to patients is not drinkable (4 opinions).
- There are few doctors (1[?] opinions).
- Not all the resources to be used to perform medical checkups can be guaranteed (8 opinions).
- Consultations are delayed very much (6 opinions).

### Polyclinic

- There are few doctors and the employees do not give patients their best treatment (37 opinions).
- At times there are no lab technicians (6 opinions).
- The comrade for social work is not very efficient (3 opinions).
- There is an automatic plant that is deteriorating, instead of being used (24 times).

Municipio Báguanos:

Del total de opiniones, son desfavorables el 93,1%, en relación con igual período del año anterior hubo una disminución de 4,4%.

De las relacionadas con el hospital son desfavorables el 91,3%, las principales cuestiones que se señalan están relacionadas con:

- Maltrato y deficiente servicio a los pacientes:
  - La compañera Reyna Viera tiene mala forma.
  - Los médicos llegan tarde a la consulta
  - Los médicos tienen poco conocimiento y responsabilidad, se equivocan en el diagnóstico.
  - Hay consultas cerradas por falta de médicos.
  - Los turnos para los especialistas tardan mucho
  - En el hospital hay pocos recursos y los médicos retienen demasiado los casos que necesitan remisión.
  - Los médicos que vienen de afuera se van temprano

OTROS

- Hay equipos rotos y no se preocupan por arreglarlos (13 opiniones)
- Se considera que el hospital está mal dirigido (11 opiniones).

Hospital de Tacajó:

- En varias ocasiones el agua que le dan a los enfermos no es potable (4 opiniones).
- Hay pocos médicos (19 opiniones)
- No se garantizan todos los recursos para realizar los chequeos médicos (8 opiniones)
- Las consultas tardan mucho (6 opiniones)

Policlínico:

- Hay pocos médicos y los empleados no utilizan el mejor trato con los pacientes (37 opiniones).
- Algunas veces no hay técnicos de laboratorio (6 opiniones)
- La compañera que atiende servicio social no tiene un trabajo muy eficiente ( 3 opiniones)
- Hay una planta automática que se está echando a perder en vez de ponerla (24 veces).

**Pharmacy**

- Employees abandon their work to shop at the produce mini-market (8 opinions).

**General Opinions**

- The optical store is almost always closed (11 opinions).
- Municipality doctors transfer cases to evade responsibilities and not face the situation (6 opinions).
- The municipality does not have the facilities to shelter doctors from out of town (17 opinions).

**HOLGUIN MUNICIPALITY**

Of all comments, 91.4% are unfavorable; in comparison to the same period of last year they increased by 0.3%.

Hospital-related unfavorable opinions are 89.9%.

Regarding the Vladimir Ilich Lenin Hospital specifically, it is expressed that:

- Attention is lacking and the public is treated badly (335 opinions)
  - \* Emergency Room doctors get lost; specialists are seldom available; the number of doctors does not meet the needs; service is slow; at times either there are no stretchers or the stretcher bearers have disappeared.
  - \* In the Psychiatrics ward, at times there is only one nurse and there are no syringes available.
  - \* Some doctors and nurses argue in front of patients.
  - \* One nurse changes the medications prescribed by the doctor.
  - \* The elderly are treated badly.
  - \* Good attention is given only to friends and to those who have important positions.
  - \* Pregnant women are left to die in the delivery room.
  - \* Most of the operations become infected.
  - \* There is non-compliance with the administration of medications prescribed for in-patients.
  - \* Ultrasounds lack quality.
  - \* CPV's do not treat patients well.
  - \* Delays in getting admitted for surgery.
- Poor food quality, they give very little, and at times there is not enough (101 opinions).

Farmacia:

- Los empleados abandonan el trabajo para comprar en la placita (8 -- opiniones).

Opiniones Generales:

- La óptica casi siempre está cerrada (11 opiniones)
- Los médicos del municipio remiten los casos para salvar responsabilidad y no enfrentar la situación (6 opiniones)
- El municipio no tiene condiciones para albergar médicos de afuera -- ( 17 opiniones)

Municipio Holguín:

Del total de comentarios son desfavorables el 91,4%, en relación con igual período del año anterior aumentó un 0,3%.

Relacionadas con los hospitales son desfavorables el 89,9% de las opiniones.

Del hospital Vladimir Ilich Lenin en específico se manifiesta que:

- Hay mal trato al público y falta de atención (335 opiniones)
  - En el cuerpo de guardia los médicos se pierden; casi nunca hay especialistas, la cantidad de médicos no satisface las necesidades, el servicio es lento; en ocasiones no hay camillas o los camilleros no aparecen.
  - En psiquiatría, en ocasiones, hay una sola enfermera y ni jeringuillas tienen,
  - Hay médicos y enfermeras que discuten delante de los pacientes
  - Enfermera que cambia los medicamentos que manda el médico.
  - A los ancianos los tratan mal
  - Sólo atienden bien a los que tienen amigos en el hospital, o tienen algún cargo.
  - En el salón de partos dejan morir a las mujeres
  - La mayoría de las operaciones se infectan
  - Hay falta de exigencia en el cumplimiento de los medicamentos indicados a los pacientes ingresados.
  - Los ultrasonidos no se realizan con calidad
  - Los CVP no tienen el mejor trato con los pacientes
  - Demora en el ingreso para las operaciones
- Mala calidad de las comidas, dan muy poca y en ocasiones no alcanza ( 101 opiniones).

- Hospital garments of in-patients are in the worst hygienic conditions; they are not dried properly (85 opinions)
  - \* When there are visits they give out new garments and later they are taken away.
- Doctors lack knowledge (38 opinions)
  - \* The Orthopedics specialty is no good, patients do not come out well.
  - \* Doctors cannot find out what the illnesses are.
  - \* The people have lost confidence in the hospital due to the errors in diagnoses.
- The fifth floor does not have the same maintenance as the other wards (3 opinions).
- Pediatrics lacks the instruments to cure children (4 opinions).
- Three X-ray machines are broken (2 opinions).
- General assistants were laid off and now everything is dirty and no disinfectants are used (23 opinions).
- Ambulance service is deficient (4 opinions).
- Information is not brought down on time (14 opinions).

#### Suggestions

- Why isn't a shelter built for the families of in-patients? (41 opinions).

#### Pediatrics Hospital

- Service and treatment of patients are both deficient (59 opinions)
  - \* There are few doctors in the Emergency Room; at times there are students only, who make mistakes often; injections are given by students with only three months of classes.
  - \* They admit children with diarrhea who are not given any medicine.
  - \* Evening attention is bad.
  - \* When the comrade who distributes the medicines is on vacation, no one replaces him.
- When one side of the Pediatrics ward gets fixed, the other side breaks (5 opinions).
- The treatment given to the housed nurses is bad; poor attention is paid to them (8 opinions).
- The food being given to mothers accompanying sick children was cut down in order to give it to the employees (7 opinions).
- The children are suffering from the heat, because there are no fans (23 opinions).

- La ropa de los pacientes ingresados está en pesimas condiciones higiénicas, no tienen un secado correcto (85 opiniones).
  - Cuando hay visita ponen ropa nueva y luego la quitan
- Hay falta de conocimientos en los médicos (38 opiniones)
  - La especialidad de ortopedia, no sirve, los pacientes no quedan bien.
  - Los médicos no dan con las enfermedades
  - La gente ha perdido confianza en el hospital por las equivocaciones en los diagnósticos.
- El 5to. piso no tiene el mismo mantenimiento que las demás salas. ( 3 opiniones)
- Faltan instrumentos de curaciones en la sala de niños ( 4 opiniones)
- Hay 3 equipos de Rayos X roto (2 opiniones)
- Quitaron auxiliares generales y ahora todo está sucio y no le dan -- desinfectantes (23 opiniones)
- El servicio de ambulancia es deficiente ( 4 opiniones)
- No bajan la información a su debido tiempo (14 opiniones)

Sugerencias

- Por qué no le construyen un albergue a los familiares de los pacientes ingresados (41 opiniones).

Hospital Pediátrico:

- Hay deficiencia en el servicio y el trato que reciben los pacientes (59 opiniones).
  - En el cuerpo de guardia hay pocos médicos, en ocasiones sólo hay alumnos y se equivocan con frecuencia, ponen a inyectar a alumnas que sólo llevan 3 meses de clases.
  - Ingresan a los niños con diarreas y no le dan medicinas.
  - La atención nocturna es mala
  - Cuando el compañero que prepara las medicinas sale de vacaciones -- no hay quien lo sustituya.
- El pediatra lo arreglan por un lado y por el otro lo rompen. (5 -- opiniones).
- El trato que se le da a las enfermeras albergadas es malo, le dan -- poca atención (8 opiniones).
- Le recortaron la comida a las madres que están acompañando a sus hijos para dársela a los empleados (7 opiniones)
- Los niños están pasando calor por falta de ventiladores (23 opiniones).

**Polyclinics:**

**Díaz Legrá**

- The lack of doctors is resulting in maltreatment of patients (164 opinions).
- Patients are attended without the doctors having their medical histories on hand (9 opinions).

**Suggestions**

- Caridad, the head nurse, must be replaced; she is a dictator and mistreats the people (1[?] opinions).

**Máximo Gómez**

- There seldom is a general practitioner available (10 opinions).
- Doctors do not serve their required annual assignments in the country (3 opinions).
- There are difficulties with vaccines for children (15 opinions).
- Doctors are frequently absent from consultations (7 opinions).
- At times there are no doctors at night (2 opinions).

**Alex Urquiola**

- It is in poor condition (19 opinions).
- Many friends of doctors and nurses enter consultation offices without appointments or patients' approval (6 opinions).

**René Avila**

- Attention in Gynecology is bad (6 opinions).
- The Doctor in Sector 3 is rude (3 opinions).

**Alcides Pino**

- The nurses who will attend the Congress were chosen without taking into account their attitudes, conditions and [political] trajectory (20 opinions).
- At the polyclinic, Lucy is not the one in command and she is the head nurse (36 opinions).

**La Plaquita**

- One arrives at 8:00am with a child and leaves at 11 or 12 (4 opinions).

Policlínicos:

Díaz Legrá

- La falta de médicos está causando maltrato a los pacientes (164 opiniones).
- Atienden a los pacientes sin historia clínica (9 opiniones)

Sugerencia:

- Caridad la Jefa de enfermeras debe ser sustituida, es una dictadora, maltrata al pueblo. (1e opiniones).

Máximo Gómez

- Casi nunca hay médicos de medicina general (10 opiniones).
- Los médicos no hacen terreno (3 opiniones)
- Hay dificultades con las vacunas de los niños (15 opiniones).
- Los médicos tienen frecuentes ausencias a las consultas (7 opiniones).
- En ocasiones no hay médicos por la noche (2 opiniones)

Alex Urquiola:

- Está en mal estado (19 opiniones)
- A las consultas entran muchos amigos de los médicos o enfermeras sin tener turno y sin pedir permiso a los pacientes (6 opiniones).

René Avila:

- Es mala la atención en ginecología (6 opiniones)
- La Dra. del Sector 3 tiene mala forma (3 opiniones)

Alcides Pino:

- Eligieron a las enfermeras que van al Congreso sin tener en cuenta sus actitudes y las condiciones y trayectoria (20 opiniones)
- En el policlínico no manda Lucy, es la Jefa de enfermeras. (36 opiniones).

La Plaquita:

- Llegas a las 8,00am con un niño y sales a las 11 ó 12 (4 opiniones)

**San Andrés Polyclinic**

- Service is the worst, the people are very unhappy (11 opinions).

**Suggestion**

- Build a hospital in accordance with the existing population (8 opinions).

**Julio Grave de Peralta**

- There are few doctors (5 opinions).

**Pharmacies**

- There is a lack of many medications (45 opinions).
- Delay in service (17 opinions).
- Need for another pilot pharmacy in the center of town (24 opinions).
- Need for a pharmacy at Piedra Blanca (8 opinions).
- Pacifiers are being sold to some people under the layette card [ration card for mothers] but salespersons give them to other people in large quantities, to do business [on the side" (4 opinions).
- At the one across the park they change medications (2 opinions).

**Suggestion**

- All salespersons in the pharmacy across the park must be changed (3 opinions).

**Dental Clinics:**

**Manuel Angulo**

- In the prosthesis department they give you an appointment and then see you three hours later; the quality of the work is not among the best (16 opinions).

**Mario Pozo**

- The quality of the personnel doing the prostheses is poor (9 opinions).
- They summon everyone for 3pm and do not start calling until 4pm, even if there are only a few persons (10 opinions).

**Artemio Mastrapa**

- Very few appointments are given out daily (8 opinions).

Policlínico de San Andrés:

- El servicio es pésimo, hay mucho descontento en la población (11 -- opiniones).

Sugerencia:

- Construir un hospital acorde a la población que existe ( 8 opiniones)

Julio Grave de Peralta:

- Hay pocos médicos (5 opiniones)

Farmacias:

- Hay muchos medicamentos en falta (45 opiniones)
- Demora en el despacho (17 opiniones)
- Necesidad de otra farmacia piloto en el centro del pueblo (24 opinio- nes).
- Necesidad de una farmacia en Piedra Blanca (8 opiniones)
- Están vendiendo los tetos por la hoja de canastilla para algunas -- gentes y para otros los dependientes se los dan por cantidades para negocios (4 opiniones).
- En la de frente al parque cambian los medicamentos ( 2 opiniones)

Sugerencia

- Deben cambiar todas las dependientes de la farmacia de frente al -- parque (3 opiniones)

Clínicas dentales:

Manuel Angulo:

- En el departamento de prótesis citan para una hora y te atienden a las 3 horas y la calidad de los trabajos no es la mejor (16 opinio- nes).

Mario Pozo:

- Hay poca cali , en el personal que realiza las prótesis (9 opinio- nes).
- Citan para las 3 pm y llaman a las 4pm sin haber tanto personal. -- (10 opiniones)

Artemio Mastrapa:

- Dan muy pocos turnos diarios (8 opiniones)

#### I.T.H. Maternity Home

- The doctor leaves at 9:00pm and only one nurse stays (5 opinions).
- There is no variety of sweets for the patients (10 opinions).

#### Blood Bank

- The snack given to the "cederistas" [members of the neighborhood watch committee] who donate blood is very poor (7 opinions).

#### La Gira Infirmary

- There is a lack of medications, and often the nurse is absent (40 opinions).

#### Physiotherapy (Miró)

- Mistreatment from some technicians who keep patients waiting for a long time while they keep on talking (13 opinions).

#### Home for the Elderly (Mayarí Road)

- Some of the elderly have a bad and sickly appearance; they are dirty (15 opinions).

#### General Opinions

- Appointments for the stomatologist are given every 30 days (11 opinions).
- Doctors prescribe medications which are not available at the pharmacies (4 opinions).
- Doctors have little knowledge (13 opinions).
- There are too many family doctors and at polyclinics there are no doctors to service the people (16 opinions).
- In the province there is no reagent available to perform the hepatitis test (11 opinions).
- Public Health does not have union leaders to truly represent the interests of the workers (42 opinions).

#### Suggestions

- Havana should be imitated; there, all hospitals have been repaired and, here, we have the new hospital out of service (14 opinions).
- A new polyclinic is needed between Pueblo Nuevo and Alex Urquiola; all others are too distant and there is no bus service (8 opinions).

Hogar Materno I.T.H.

- El médico está hasta las 9,00pm y sólo se queda una enfermera (5 opiniones).
- No traen variedad de dulces para las pacientes (10 opiniones)

Banco de Sangre

- Es pobre la merienda que le dan a los cederistas que donan su sangre (7 opiniones).

Enfermería de la Gira:

- Faltan medicamentos, así como muchas veces falta la enfermera (40 - opiniones).

Fisioterapia (Miró)

- Maltrato de algunos técnicos que se ponen a conversar y los pacientes tienen que esperar mucho rato (13 opiniones)

Hogar de ancianos:(Carretera de Mayarí)

- Algunos ancianos tienen mal porte y aspecto, están sucios (15 opiniones).

Opiniones generales:

- Los turnos para el estomatólogo los dan cada 30 días (11 opiniones)
- Los médicos mandan medicinas que no aparecen en las farmacias (4 -- opiniones)
- Los médicos tienen poco conocimiento (13 opiniones)
- Tantos médicos de la familia y en los policlínicos no hay médicos para atender a la población (16 opiniones)
- En la provincia no hay reactivo para hacer el análisis de la hepatitis (11 opiniones).
- Salud pública no tiene dirigentes sindicales que representen fielmente los intereses de los trabajadores (42 opiniones)

Sugerencias:

- Hay que imitar a La Habana que no queda ningún hospital sin ser -- reparado y aquí tenemos el nuevo hospital parado (14 opiniones).
- Hace falta un policlínico entre Pueblo Nuevo y Alex Urquiola, los que hay quedan muy lejos y no hay rutas de guagua (8 opiniones).

**CALIXTO GARCIA MUNICIPALITY**

Of all the opinions received (41), 53.6% are unfavorable.

We should clarify that during 1987 the flow of information from this municipality was very poor and irregular; thus, we do not find it objective to evaluate this year against the same period in 1986.

The opinions received express that:

- At the Buenaventura hospital, there is little attention paid to pregnant women by the nurses (1 opinion).
- At the Mir polyclinic, doctors start consultations late (4 opinions).
- At the Buenaventura polyclinic, they do not give the first appointments to the farmers (2 opinions).
- Melecio Guerrero, the chauffeur, spends all day at home with the ambulance parked there (2 opinions).

**Suggestion**

- In the surrounding neighborhoods there should be a car on call during the night; if someone gets sick, there is no way to get him out (2 opinions).

**Calixto García**

**Positive**

- From now on, Sabanazo will improve greatly with the inauguration of a pharmacy and an infirmary (5 opinions).
- At San Agustín, the doctor has good manners and works the hours that are necessary (6 opinions).

**CACOCUM MUNICIPALITY**

Unfavorable opinions represent 97.7%, 1.1% over the same period of 1986. The main polyclinic-related deficiencies mentioned are:

**Cacocúm**

- The service and treatment given to the people is not good (99 opinions)
  - \* Bureaucracy has increased and the attention to patients has decreased.
  - \* Consultations are at 8:15am and they almost always start at 8:30 or 8:45.
  - \* Consultation offices get crowded with people who are alien to the place.

Municipio Calixto García:

Del total de opiniones recibidas (41) son desfavorables el 53,6%.

Debemos aclarar que durante el año 1987 el flujo de información de este municipio fue muy pobre y de forma irregular, por lo que no consideramos objetivo hacer ningún tipo de valoración con igual período de 1986.

Las opiniones recepcionadas planquean que:

- En el hospital de Buenaventura hay poca atención a las mujeres embarazadas por parte de las enfermeras (1 opinión)
- En el policlínico de Mir el médico empieza tarde la consulta (4 -- opiniones).
- En el policlínico de Buenaventura no le dan los primeros turnos a los del campo (2 opiniones)
- El chofer, Melecio Guerrero, se pasa todo el día en su casa con la ambulancia parqueada (2 opiniones).

Sugerencia:

- En los barrios debe haber un carro de guardia por la noche, cuando hay un enfermo no hay que en qué sacarlo (2 opiniones).

Calixto García:

Positivas:

- Sabanaso a partir de ahora va a tener una gran mejoría con la instalación de la farmacia y la enfermería ( 5 opiniones).
- En San Agustín el médico tiene buen trato y trabaja las horas que sean necesarias (6 opiniones).

Municipio Caocum:

Las opiniones desfavorables representan el 97,7%, 1,1% más que en igual etapa del año 1986.

En las relacionadas con los policlínicos las principales deficiencias que se señalan son:

Caocum:

- No es bueno el trato y el servicio que se le brinda al pueblo (99 opiniones).
  - Se ha aumentado el burocratismo y la atención al paciente ha disminuido).
  - Las consultas son a las 8,15 y casi siempre empiezan a las 8,30 o a las 8,45.
  - Las consultas se llenan de personal ajeno

- \* The Director lacks proper social behavior.
  - \* When seeing the patients, the doctors do not read their medical histories.
  - \* The doctors keep on talking among themselves even if there are patients waiting.
  - \* Doctors prescribe the wrong medications.
  - \* Electrocardiogram results are not ready for 12 days.
  - \* Nurses do not provide good service.
  - \* No appointments are given for the dermatologist, the ophthalmologist, etc.
  - \* There is nothing with which to cure a wound.
- The polyclinic is too distant from the town (19 opinions).

#### Antonio Maceo Polyclinic

- It is abandoned; when it rains it gets flooded (5 opinions).
- There are only two doctors (57 opinions).
- Doctors do not provide their best attention (8 opinions).
- One has to wait a long time for a Stomatology appointment (5 opinions).

#### Pharmacy

- There is a shortage of medications and when they arrive there are very few (10 opinions).

#### Red Cross [Ambulances]

- The one at the factory is always broken and when fixed it is used for something else (8 opinions).
- The polyclinic has three ambulances but only one driver (6 opinions).

#### General Opinions

- At night, the Public Health Directorate cars are used to drink rum in and go partying (9 opinions).
- Public Health is in worse shape than in 1960, the majority have no ambulances, doctors are scarce, they do not fumigate (6 opinions).
- The increase in infant mortality is due to the inexperience of the doctors in the municipality (12 opinions).

- La Directora no tiene buen trato.
- Los médicos no cogen la historia clínica al atender a los pacientes.
- Los médicos se ponen a conversar aunque tengan pacientes esperando.
- Los médicos recetan medicamentos equivocados.
- Los electrocardiogramas tardan hasta 12 días para saber el resultado.
- No hay buen servicio por parte de las enfermeras.
- No dan turnos para el dermatólogo, oculista, etc.
- No tienen conque curar una herida

- El policlínico está muy distante del pueblo (19 opiniones)

Policlínico Antonio Maceo:

- Está abandonado, cuando llueve se llena de agua (5 opiniones)
- Sólo hay dos médicos (57 opiniones)
- Los médicos no tienen la mejor atención (8 opiniones)
- Hay que esperar mucho tiempo para poder coger un turno para estomatología (5 opiniones).

Farmacia:

- Hay falta de medicamentos y cuando estos llegan son pocos (10 opiniones).

Grúa Roja:

- La de la fábrica siempre está rota y cuando está buena 10 dan otro uso (8 opiniones)
- El policlínico tiene 3 ambulancias pero con un sólo chofer (6 opiniones).

Opiniones generales:

- Los carros de la Dirección de Salud Pública los cogen de noche para tomar ron y fiestas (9 opiniones),
- Salud Pública está peor que el 60, la mayoría no tiene ambulancias, faltan médicos, no fumigan (6 opiniones)
- El aumento de la mortalidad infantil es por la inexperiencia de los médicos que tiene el municipio (12 opiniones)

### Suggestions

- The people are asking that a doctor visit here at least twice a week, until the family doctor arrives (3 opinions).
- The work of Public Health management must be improved in the municipality; a lot of favoritism is evident (3 opinions).
- Why are mass mobilizations towards the polyclinic not carried out? (13 opinions).

### URBANO NORIS MUNICIPALITY

Of all opinions, 94.1% are unfavorable; an increase of 4.1% over the same period of last year.

Hospital-related opinions indicate:

- Difficulties in services provided the population (33 opinions)
  - \* New doctors do not consult patients properly and refer them to the polyclinic.
  - \* The ambulance lingers on until it has two or three cases to be transferred to Holguín.
  - \* For emergency services, at times one has to wait half a day.
  - \* Marcia García (X-rays) is not qualified for this job.
- When will we have a decent hospital? (46 opinions).
- The expansion work has deteriorated (8 opinions).

### Suggestions

- The hospital must be improved so that the workers may have better working conditions (5 opinions).
- Allowance should be given for two visits per week at night for [the benefit of] working families (18 opinions).
- The specialists who come from Holguín should do so once a week instead of once every two weeks (7 opinions).

### Polyclinic

- Service and attention are not good (36 opinions)
  - \* Consultations are scheduled for 8:00am and do not start until one hour later.
  - \* The doctor in children's sector 3 arrives at 9:00am and she treats people badly.
  - \* Doctor Flora treats patients in a bad way.

Sugerencias:

- El pueblo pide que nos visite un médico aunque sea dos veces a la semana, mientras venga el médico de la familia (3 opiniones)
- Se debe mejorar el trabajo de dirección de Salud Pública en el municipio, se manifiesta mucho amiguismo (3 opiniones)
- Por qué no se hacen movilizaciones de masas para el nuevo policlínico (13 opiniones)

Municipio Urbano Noris:

Del total de opiniones el 94,1% son desfavorables; 4,1 más que en igual etapa del año anterior.

Las opiniones relacionadas con el hospital señalan:

- Dificultades en el servicio que le presta a la población (33 opiniones).
  - Los médicos nuevos no atienden los enfermos correctamente, los mandan para el policlínico.
  - La ambulancia espera que haya dos o tres casos para salir con la remisión para Holguín.
  - En las consultas de urgencias a veces hay que estar medio día para atenderse.
  - Marcia García (Rayos X) no tiene la capacidad necesaria para esta función.
- Cuando tendremos un hospital decoroso (46 opiniones)
- Ha decaído el trabajo de ampliación (8 opiniones)

Sugerencias

- Deben mejorar el hospital para que los obreros tengan mejores condiciones de trabajo (5 opiniones)
- Deben poner visitas dos veces a la semana de noche para los familiares que trabajan (18 opiniones)
- Los especialistas que vienen de Holguín deben hacerlo semanal, no quincenal (7 opiniones).

Policlínico

- La atención y el trato no es bueno (36 opiniones)
  - Las consultas tienen que empezar a las 8:00am y lo hacen una hora después.
  - La doctora del sector 3 de niño, llega a la consulta a las 9,00am y su trato es malo.
  - La Dra. Flora utiliza mala forma con los pacientes.

- \* In Gynecology, at times there are as many as four or five nurses.
- \* The population has increased and the sectors remain the same as they were in 1977.

#### Suggestions

- They should work nights (8 opinions).

#### La Camilo Medical Post

- It goes for days without a doctor (32 opinions).
- At night, in emergencies, there are no ambulances; the one assigned to it remains at the municipality because of the poor condition of the road (32 opinions).
- It only provides medical services from 9 to 3 pm (64 opinions).
- Little attention is given to the medical post (20 opinions).
- The dental service is not being provided (32 opinions).
- It has been abandoned for a few months (20 opinions).

#### Ambulances

- They are always broken down due to lack of care (21 opinions).

#### Pharmacy

- The La Camilo one is closed during working hours for no reason at all and does not service the people (14 opinions).
- At the pilot one, there are long lines all the time (3 opinions)
  - \* There are difficulties in the preparation of medicines, especially on Saturdays and Sundays (34 opinions).
- There is never any distilled water; therefore, no injections are being administered (10 opinions).

#### Stomatology Clinic

- The stomatologists argue in front of the patients (6 opinions).
- The farm workers do not have the opportunity to be consulted due to the system of the clinic (19 opinions).
- The quality of service has declined (12 opinions).

#### General Opinions

- Medical attention during August was bad, the comrade we had left for San Andrés (29 opinions).
- Why was Marcos transferred to the hygiene center if he is a pediatrician and needed in the municipality? (20 opinions).

- En la consulta de ginecología en ocasiones, hay hasta 4 ó 5 enfermeras.
- La población ha aumentado y los sectores se mantienen igual que en el 1977.

Sugerencias

- Deberían trabajar por la noche (8 opiniones)

Puesto médico La Camilo

- Se pasa días sin médicos (32 opiniones)
- En caso de urgencia nocturna no hay ambulancia, la que tienen asignada permanece en el municipio por el mal estado del camino (32 opiniones).
- Sólo presta servicios médicos de 9 a 3 pm (64 opiniones)
- Se le da poca atención a la posta médica (20 opiniones)
- El servicio del dentista no se está cumpliendo (32 opiniones)
- Está abandonado desde hace algunos meses (20 opiniones)

Ambulancias:

- Están siempre rotas porque no se cuidan (21 opiniones)

Farmacia:

- La de la Camilo en horario de trabajo la cierran sin motivo alguno y no le presta el servicio a la población (14 opiniones)
- En la piloto siempre hay grandes colas (3 opiniones)
  - Hay dificultades en la confección de las medicinas, fundamentalmente los sábados y domingos (34 opiniones)
- No aparece el agua destilada por eso no se está inyectando (10 opiniones)

Clínica estomatológica:

- Los estomatólogos discuten delante de los pacientes (6 opiniones)
- Los trabajadores del campo no tienen oportunidad de atenderse por el sistema que tiene la clínica (19 opiniones)
- Ha decaído la calidad del servicio (12 opiniones)

Opiniones generales

- La atención médica en el mes de agosto fue mala, la compañera que teníamos se fue para San Andrés (29 opiniones).
- Por qué trasladaron a Marcos para el centro de higiene, siendo pediatra y haciéndole falta en el municipio (20 opiniones).

**CUETO MUNICIPALITY**

Unfavorable opinions represent 96.7%, 4.2% above the same period in 1986.

Regarding the hospital they indicate that:

- Attention and treatment are not good (48 opinions)
  - \* Cytologic [Pap smear] tests get lost.
  - \* Only 10 oculist appointments are given within a six-month period.
  - \* There are few doctors.
  - \* Doctors do not transfer the sick, even when seriously ill.
  - \* The emergency doctor at times cannot handle serious cases.
- The cleaning is not good (9 opinions).

**Marcané Hospital**

- Attention and treatment are not good (54 opinions)
  - \* Doctors do not want to work.
  - \* There is little [sense of] responsibility.
  - \* Stomatologists do not want to work.
  - \* Patients die and there are no doctors.
- The cleaning is not the best; there is a bad smell in the men's ward (one opinion).

**Suggestion**

- There are no resources, it is a learning center; different specialists should come (11 opinions).

**Polyclinic**

- There are difficulties in the service and treatment given to the people (118 opinions)
  - \* Patients arrive at 5:00am and at 8:00am they are told there are no appointments.
  - \* There are five doctors and four go on vacation.
  - \* Patients are told to arrive at 8:00am and they do not start consulting until 9:30am.
  - \* Doctors are unable to diagnose some illnesses.
  - \* They give good attention only to their friends.
  - \* Doctor Alfonso drinks a lot of alcohol.

Municipio Cueto

Las opiniones desfavorables representan el 96,7%, 4,2% más que en --- igual etapa del año 1986.

Del hospital se señala que:

- La atención y el trato no son buenos (48 opiniones)
  - Las pruebas citológicas se pierden
  - Sólo dan 10 turnos para el oculista en 6 meses.
  - Hay pocos médicos
  - Los médicos no remiten a los enfermos aunque estén graves.
  - El médico de guardia a veces no puede atender los casos graves.
- No hay buena limpieza (9 opiniones)

Hospital de Marcané

- La atención y el trato no es buena (54 opiniones)
  - Los médicos no quieren trabajar
  - Hay poca responsabilidad
  - Los estomatólogos no quieren trabajar
  - Se mueren los pacientes y no hay médicos
- La limpieza no es la mejor, en la sala de hombres hay mal olor --- (una opinión).

Sugerencia:

- No hay recursos, es un centro de aprendizaje, debían venir diferentes especialidades (11 opiniones).

Policlínico:

- Hay dificultades en el servicio y el trato que se le brinda a la --- población. (118 opiniones)
  - Los pacientes van a las 5,00am y a las 8,00am le dicen que no hay turnos.
  - Hay 5 médicos y le dan vacaciones a 4
  - Citan a los pacientes para las 8,00am y empiezan las consultas a las 9,30am.
  - Los médicos no saben diagnosticar algunas enfermedades.
  - Sólo atienden bien a las amistades
  - El Dr. Alfonso ingiere mucha bebida alcohólica.

- "T" D.I.U. is never available; people say that in Jagüeyes they sell it for 10 pesos (7 opinions).
- The water tank spills over almost daily (2 opinions).

#### Suggestions

- The elderly should be seen first (9 opinions).
- Doctors should improve their attention (5 opinions).
- Measures should be taken; doctors who are drunks are admitted in the polyclinic (16 opinions).

#### Marcané Polyclinic

- The general practitioner is often absent (35 opinions).
- Doctors only prescribe Papavar and Gravinol (5 opinions).

#### Maternity Hospital

- There are problems with the doctor making the rounds; some days she goes at dinner time (7 opinions).
- On the week of a non-working Saturday, rounds are made on Friday and then not again until Monday (10 opinions).
- There is nothing with which to supplement the diet; it must be brought from home (9 opinions).

#### Pharmacy

- It provides poor service, there are delays in waiting on the customers, employees spend their time talking, there is poor management (103 opinions).
- Another pharmacy is needed (2 opinions).

#### Suggestion

- There should be a better assignment of salespersons to wait on customers (15 opinions).

#### Ambulances

- The chief does with them what he pleases (9 opinions).
- Ambulances are rotting away because there is no garage (100 opinions).

#### Birán

- Why is it that, occasionally, the doctor and the ambulance are away from the polyclinic? (12 opinions).

- Nunca hay D.I.U "T" y se dice que por Jagieyes han ido vendiendo a 10 pesos (7 opiniones)
- El depósito de agua casi todos los días se derrama (2 opiniones)

Sugerencias:

- Deben consultar primero a los ancianos ( 9 opiniones)
- Deben mejorar la atención de los médicos (5 opiniones)
- Deben tomar medidas, en el policlínico se admiten médicos borrachos (16 opiniones)

Policlínico de Marcané:

- El médico de medicina falta con frecuencia (35 opiniones)
- Los médicos sólo recetan papaver y gravinol (5 opiniones)

Hospital Materno:

- Hay problemas con el pase de visita de la doctora, hay días que va a la hora de la comida (7 opiniones)
- La semana de sábado no laborable pasan visita el viernes y después hasta el lunes (10 opiniones)
- No hay con qué reforzar la dieta, éstas hay que traerlas de la casa (9 opiniones)

Farmacia:

- Presta un mal servicio, se demoran en despachar, las empleadas se pasan el tiempo conversando, hay mala administración (103 opiniones)
- Hace falta otra farmacia (2 opiniones)

Sugerencia:

- Debe haber una mejor distribución de los dependientes en su despacho (15 opiniones)

Ambulancias:

- El Jefe hace lo que le da la gana con ellas (9 opiniones)
- Las ambulancias se están echando a perder por falta de un garaje (100 opiniones).

Birán:

- Por qué en ocasiones el médico y la ambulancia faltan del policlínico (12 opiniones)

**Alto Cedro**

- The doctor refused to see a patient and he died (24 opinions).

**General Opinions**

- Doctor Mariano gives bad service; after consulting female patients he seduces them (35 opinions).
- There are doctors who do not want to get up when a seriously ill patient arrives (8 opinions).
- Public Health is working badly (4 opinions).
- Doctors of the municipality have little knowledge (10 opinions).
- The sublime [sic] nurse treats the patients badly and tells them obscene words (15 opinions).
- Dr. Miguelito maltreats patients (29 opinions).

**MAYARI MUNICIPALITY**

Unfavorable opinions account for 75.8%; a 6.5% decrease from the same period of last year.

Those related to the hospital refer to:

- Lack of attention, little concern and maltreatment (257)
  - \* In July, no Orthopedics appointments were given.
  - \* Evidence of favoritism.
  - \* To have a gastro [gastrochemogram] done, one must go to Cueto.
  - \* There is no ophthalmologist though the position exists.
  - \* Deaths have occurred during childbirth for lack of attention (113 opinions).
  - \* Poor attention from the Emergency Team.
  - \* Gynecologists wait to the very last minute to decide on giving a patient a Caesarean section.
  - \* There is a two-month wait for surgery.
  - \* Mistreatment on the part of shift heads.
  - \* One sole gynecologist has to mind the consultation and the emergency rooms.
  - \* Doctors have little experience.
  - \* On occasions there is no doctor for emergencies.
  - \* Doctors are so busy talking that they barely pay attention to the patients.
  - \* Emergency Room doctors begin work late.
  - \* No receptionist is capable of providing information to the people.

Alto Cedro:

- El médico se negó a atender un paciente y éste falleció (24 opiniones)

Opiniones generales:

- El Dr. Mariano da un mal servicio, después de consultar a las pacientes las enamora (35 opiniones)
- Existen médicos que llegan pacientes en mal estado y no se quieren levantar ( 8 opiniones)
- Salud pública está trabajando mal (4 opiniones)
- Los médicos del municipio tienen pocos conocimientos (10 opiniones)
- La enfermera excelsa trata mal a los pacientes con palabras obscenas (15 opiniones).
- El Dr. Miguelito tiene maltrato con los pacientes (29 opiniones)

Municipio Mayarí

El total de opiniones desfavorables representan el 75,8%; 6,5% menos que igual etapa del año anterior.

Las relaciones con el hospital se refieren a:

- La falta de atención, poca preocupación y maltrato (257).
  - En la especialidad de ortopedia en el mes de julio no había turno
  - Manifestaciones de amiguismo
  - Para hacerse un gastro hay que ir a Cueto
  - No hay oftalmólogo, existiendo la plaza
  - Se han producido muertes de partos por falta de atención (113 opiniones)
  - Mala atención en el cuerpo de guardia
  - Los ginecólogos esperan los últimos momentos para decidir en la cesarea de una gestante.
  - Para operarse hay que esperar más de dos meses.
  - Maltrato de los Jefes de turnos
  - Un sólo ginecólogo tiene que atender el cuerpo de guardia y la sala.
  - Los médicos tienen poca experiencia
  - En ocasiones no hay médico de guardia
  - Los médicos apenas atienden los pacientes por estar conversando.
  - Los médicos del cuerpo de guardia comienzan a trabajar tarde
  - Ninguna portera sabe darle información al pueblo.

- Ambulances generally fail to take patients to the Lenin [hospital] and are used for personal business (3 opinions).
- Relatives caring for patients overnight do not have one place to get a snack (5 opinions).
- When a patient has to be taken home, the emergency car has disappeared (6 opinions).
- The chiefs get to work after the workers (5 opinions).
- The hospital expansion is very ugly, there are broken faucets, lack of cleanliness, disorganization (17 opinions).
- In the Emergency Room there is only one restroom for both men and women (6 opinions).
- There are beds in the hallways of the old hospital while there is one floor that is empty (4 opinions).

#### Suggestions

- Measures must be taken with the problem that exists in the hospital (9 opinions).
- Why not build a Burn Ward? (10 opinions).
- There are deficiencies in the hospital that must be eliminated (4 opinions).
- Patient-sitters should be given food at hospitals (4 opinions).

#### Guatemala Hospital

- In order to go for a consultation, one must get up at 3 or 4 in the morning (8 opinions).
- The children's pajamas are in very bad shape (3 opinions).
- No food is given to patient-sitters even if they come from far away (3 opinions).

#### Positives

- Good service is given in Stomatology (14 opinions).
- It works better than the hospital at Mayari (10 opinions).

#### Nicarao Hospital

- The Emergency Team gives poor medical attention (17 opinions).
- In one ward, there are several beds stored away because there is no gynecologist (5 opinions).
- On occasions the sick do not have water during the night because it is turned off (8 opinions).
- The X-ray technician (Lescay) treats people badly (6 opinions).

- Las ambulancias en su mayoría fallan para llevar enfermos al Lenia y se utilizan en asuntos particulares ( 3 opiniones)
- La gente que cuida enfermos por las noches no tienen donde comerse ni un dulce. (5 opiniones)
- Cuando hay que llevar un enfermo a su casa el carro de guardia no aparece (6 opiniones).
- Los Jefes llegan al centro después que los obreros (5 opiniones)
- La ampliación del hospital está feísima, hay plumas rotas, no hay limpieza, hay desorganización (17 opiniones)
- En el cuerpo de guardia sólo hay un baño para hombres y mujeres. -- (6 opiniones)
- El hospital viejo tiene camas en los pasillos habiendo en el edificio viejo un piso que no se usa. (4 opiniones)

Sugerencias:

- Hay que tomar medidas con el problema que existe en el hospital --- (9 opiniones)
- Por qué no se hace una sala de quemados (10 opiniones)
- En el hospital hay deficiencias que hay que eliminar (4 opiniones)
- En los hospitales a los acompañantes debe dársele comida (4 opiniones)

Hospital de Guatemala:

- Para poderse atender en las consultas hay que levantarse a las 3 ó 4 de la mañana (8 opiniones)
- Los pijamas de los niños están en malas condiciones (3 opiniones)
- No le dan comida a los acompañantes, aunque sean de lejos (3 opiniones).

Positivas

- Se presta buen servicio en estomatología (14 opiniones)
- Tiene mejor trabajo que el hospital de Mayarí (10 opiniones)

Hospital de Nicaro:

- Hay mala asistencia médica en el cuerpo de guardia (17 opiniones)
- Por falta de un ginecólogo hay una sala con varias camas guardadas (5 opiniones)
- En ocasiones los enfermos no tienen agua por la noche porque cierran la llave (8 opiniones).
- La técnica de Rayos X (Lescoy) da mal trato al pública (6 opiniones)

- Attention is not good for patients with no accompanying friends or relatives (5 opinions).
- Doctors are inexperienced (11 opinions).
- Relatives have had to buy medications for patients because there were none in the hospital (4 opinions).
- At times there is no milk for the patients (3 opinions).

#### Guaro Polyclinic

- A doctor or nurse is needed (8 opinions).

#### Community Polyclinic

- There are deficiencies in service and mistreatment (185 opinions)
  - \* More patients go in without an appointment than there are patients in the waiting room.
  - \* There is only one doctor for six sectors.
  - \* House-call service is bad.
  - \* Materials for X-rays are never available.
  - \* Only a few Stomatology appointments are given out.
  - \* Dr. Lemo does not give much attention to patients in the polyclinic but he treats them well in his own consulting office.
  - \* At times there is no equipment to take the blood pressure.
  - \* The Orthopedics consultations do not meet the needs.
- There is disorganization stemming from management itself (3 opinions).

#### Levisa Polyclinic

- There is a lack of specialized doctors (25 opinions).
- At times it is 9:00am and no one knows if a specific doctor is coming at all (10 opinions).
- The Gynecology consultation does not fulfill the needs (4 opinions).
- The Stomatology room does not give good night service (12 opinions).
- In general, there are not many complaints of favoritism (11 opinions).
- The treatment given by doctors and nurses is bad (14 opinions).

- No hay buena atención a los enfermos que no tienen acompañantes --- (5 opiniones)
- Los médicos no tienen experiencia (11 opiniones)
- Hay familias de pacientes ingresados que han tenido que comprar medicamentos por no haber en el hospital (4 opiniones)
- Hay ocasiones no hay leche para los enfermos (3 opiniones)

Polioclínico de Guaro

- Falta un médico o una enfermera (8 opiniones)

Polioclínico Comunitario:

- Hay deficiencias en el servicio y maltrato (185 opiniones)
  - Pasan más pacientes a las consultas sin turnos que los que se encuentran en el salón de espera.
  - Hay un sólo médico para 6 sectores.
  - El servicio médico a domicilio es malo.
  - Nunca hay material para Rayos X.
  - Dan pocos turnos en estomatología.
  - El Dr. Lemo no atiende bien a los pacientes en el polioclínico y en su consulta particular las atiende bien.
  - En ocasiones no tienen el equipo para tomar la presión
  - Las consultas de ortopedia no satisfacen las necesidades
- Hay desorganización partiendo de la misma dirección (3 opiniones)

Polioclínico de Levisa

- Hay falta de médicos en las especialidades (25 opiniones)
- A veces son las 9,00am y no se sabe si viene o no determinado médico (10 opiniones)
- La consulta de ginecología no satisface las necesidades (4 opiniones).
- El salón de estomatología no brinda un buen servicio de noche (12 opiniones)
- Hay poca exigencia en general de manifestaciones de amiguismo. --- (11 opiniones)
- El trato de los médicos y enfermeras es malo (14 opiniones)

### Pharmacy

- At the ones in Nicaro and Levisa, customers have to stand in line for a long time (19 opinions).

### Positives

- It has improved since the sales system was changed (28 opinions).

### Dental Clinic

- Very few appointments are given out daily (21 opinions).
- Evidence of favoritism in order to enter (5 opinions).
- Appointments are given out in one month for the next (4 opinions).

### Ambulance

- Four ambulances have turned over because chauffeurs are hired without screening who they are (3 opinions).
- In the Cosme Batey zone, patients cannot be transferred because there is no ambulance (3 opinions).
- The one in the Guaro maternity home is never there (7 opinions).

### General Opinions

- There are doctors who take part in cock fights (3 opinions).
- Nicaro and Mayari doctors err in the diagnoses made on many patients (9 opinions).
- In Mayari, doctors are not rendering good service to the population (4 opinions).
- There are good technicians who have fulfilled internationalist missions but cars are given only to doctors, even if they are bad (4 opinions).

### Suggestions

- Doctors should not recommend that patients try to get medications from abroad (USA) (2 opinions).
- A polyclinic should be built with at least 10 beds for in-patients (4 opinions).

### "FRANK PAIS" MUNICIPALITY

Of all opinions, 58.6% are unfavorable, 25.8% less than the same period last year.

Farmacia:

- En la de Nicaro y Levisa los usuarios permanecen mucho tiempo en la cola (19 opiniones)

Positivas

- Ha mejorado desde que quitaron el sistema de despacho que tenían -- (28 opiniones)

Clínica dental

- Dan muy pocos turnos diarios (21 opiniones)
- Manifestaciones de amiguismo para entrar a la consulta (5 opiniones)
- Los turnos los dan de un mes para otro (4 opiniones)

Ambulancia

- Se han volcado 4 ambulancias porque ponen choferes sin analizar --- quienes son (3 opiniones)
- En la zona de Cosme Batey no se pueden remitir los enfermos por falta de ambulancia (3 opiniones)
- La del hogar materno de Guaro nunca está en su puesto (7 opiniones)

Opiniones Generales:

- Hay médicos peleando gallos (3 opiniones)
- Los médicos de Nicaro y Mayarí se equivocan en los diagnósticos que hacen a muchos enfermos (9 opiniones)
- En Mayarí los médicos no le están prestando buen servicio a la población (4 opiniones)
- Hay técnicos buenos que han cumplido misiones internacionalistas, - pero sólo le dan carros a los médicos aunque sean malos (4 opiniones)

Sugerencias:

- Los médicos no deben recomendar que busquen medicinas al extranjero (USA) (2 opiniones)
- Que se construya un policlínico que tenga por lo menos 10 camas para ingresar (4 opiniones)

Municipio "Frank País"

Del total de opiniones son desfavorables el 58,6%; el 25,8% menos que en igual etapa del año anterior.

Regarding the hospital, it is stated that:

- The service provided is not good (20 opinions)
  - \* During consultations, doctors are always accompanied by unknown persons.
  - \* Dr. Jorge Félix does not stay in his place when on emergency duty.
- There are no pre-employment forms available (4 opinions).
- Workers wear street clothes because uniforms are not available (3 opinions).

**Suggestions**

- In cases of patients with headaches, the doctors must send them in immediately (15 opinions).

**Positive**

- It is recognized that there are changes in the attention and the treatment given the patients (56 opinions).

**Cánanova Hospital**

- There is no one in charge of the reception desk (9 opinions).

**Positive**

- The attention by doctors and employees is good (11 employees).

**Dental Clinic**

- Does not have the conditions to service the population (8 opinions).

**Optical**

- When the comrade who works there has any problem, there is no one else to deliver the work done and it can take up to three-and-a-half months (12 opinions).

**SAGUA DE TANAMO MUNICIPALITY**

Of all opinions, 96.2% are unfavorable; 15.3% more than in the same period last year.

Hospital-related opinions point out that:

- Neither the attention to, nor the treatment of, patients is good (422 opinions)

Del hospital se plantea que:

- El servicio que se presta no es bueno (20 opiniones)
  - Los médicos en las consultas siempre están acompañadas de personas ajenas
  - El Dr. Jorge Félix no permanece en su puesto cuando está de guardia
- Nunca hay modelos pre-empleo (4 opiniones)
- Los trabajadores visten con ropa de la calle por no tener uniformes (3 opiniones)

Sugerencias:

- En los casos de pacientes con dolores de cabeza el médico debe mandarlo a pasar enseguida (15 opiniones)

Positiva:

- Se reconoce que hay cambios en la atención y el trato a los pacientes ( 56 opiniones)

Hospital de Cananova

- No hay nadie que atienda la recepción (9 opiniones)

Positiva

- La atención de los médicos y demás empleados es buena (11 opiniones)

Clínica dental

- No reúne las condiciones para prestar servicios a la población (8 opiniones)

Optica

- Cuando la compañera que trabaja allí tiene problemas no hay otra persona para entregar los trabajos y se demora hasta 3 meses y medio (12 opiniones)

Municipio Sagua de Tánamo

Son desfavorables el 96,2% del total de opiniones, 15,3 más que en igual etapa del año anterior.

Las opiniones relacionadas con el hospital señalan que:

- No es buena la atención ni el trato que reciben los pacientes (422 opiniones).

- \* In most deliveries by Doctor Rosa, the babies die.
  - \* Caesarean sections are performed too late.
  - \* Dr. Serrano has bad manners and is homosexual.
  - \* There are two orthopedists and they only work two days a week; appointments must be requested one day ahead.
  - \* While emergency doctors are waiting for their relief they do not want to see any more patients.
  - \* Some doctors prescribe and say the same things to everyone.
  - \* There is evidence of favoritism.
  - \* Dr. Abelardo mistreats the public, his work is bad, and he drinks alcoholic beverages.
  - \* Doctors authorize transfers when patients are dead.
  - \* At times the operating room cannot be used.
  - \* Dr. Tamayo releases in-patients while still not well.
- There are practically no specialties in the hospital (50 opinions).
  - It does not have all the resources necessary (7 opinions).
  - Hospital cars are broken and there is no interest in fixing them (26 opinions).
  - The director and the administrator mistreat the workers (45 opinions).

#### Suggestions

- Pay more attention to patients admitted for observation (45 opinions).
- Allow relatives to bring food to the patients (4 opinions).
- Food should be provided to patient-sitters from distant areas (6 opinions).
- The lack of specialists has resulted in risks to the patients; the Party should intervene in this (10 opinions).

#### Community Polyclinic

- Employees go for breakfast and stay out for two hours (2 opinions).
- There are two general practitioners and yet they have consultations only twice a week (6 opinions).
- Doctors leave the interns by themselves at consultations (20 opinions).
- The peasants must lose two days when they go to see the doctor (8 opinions).

- A la Dra. Rosa la mayor parte de los partos que atiende los niños se le mueren.
  - Las cesareas se hacen después que se pasan de tiempo
  - El Dr. Serrano tiene mala forma y es homosexual.
  - Hay dos ortopédicos y sólo dan dos consultas a la semana y hay que sacar los turnos un día antes.
  - Los médicos del cuerpo de guardia no quieren atender a los pacientes cuando están esperando el relevo.
  - Algunos médicos a todos los pacientes les dicen y recetan lo mismo.
  - Hay manifestaciones de amiguismo
  - El médico Abelardo tiene mal trato con el público, su trabajo es malo e ingiere bebidas alcohólicas.
  - Los médicos dan las remisiones cuando los pacientes están muertos
  - El salón de operaciones muchas veces no se puede utilizar
  - El Dr. Tamayo le da el alta a los enfermos sin estar bien
- No existe en el hospital casi ninguna especialidad (50 opiniones)
  - No tiene todos los recursos necesarios (7 opiniones)
  - Los carros del hospital están rotos y no hay interés por el arreglo de los mismos (26 opiniones)
  - El Director y el Administrador tienen mala forma al tratar a los trabajadores (45 opiniones)

Sugerencias:

- Dar un poco más de atención a los pacientes que ingresan en observación (45 opiniones)
- Deben dejar que los familiares le lleven alimentos a los pacientes. (4 opiniones)
- Deben darle comida a los acompañantes de lejos (6 opiniones)
- La falta de especialistas ha traído riesgos en los pacientes, el Partido debe intervenir en esto (10 opiniones)

Polioclínico Comunitario

- Los empleados salen a desayunar y se están dos horas fuera (2 opiniones).
- Sólo dan dos consultas de medicina teniendo dos médicos cada semana. (6 opiniones)
- Los médicos dejan a los internos solos dando consultas (20 opiniones).
- Los campesinos para verse con un médico tienen que perder 2 días (8 opiniones).

- Appointments are given out at 2:00pm and the following day the doctor does not work (10 opinions).
- Appointments are given out at 2:00pm and the people have been there since 4:00am (45 opinions).
- The jeep is used for all the activities of the municipality and not for what it has been assigned (4 opinions).

#### Dental Clinic

- The workers do not meet the date set for pick-up and there are no dentists (23 opinions).

#### Ambulances

- There are ambulance drivers who sell coffee and other contraband articles in the black market (21 opinions).

#### Pharmacy

- The milk of magnesia is sold by the pound; they buy it and resell it at a higher price (3 opinions).
- Nursing bottles are sold by the box at 20 or 25 cents each, and are immediately resold in the park for 2.00 [pesos] (30 opinions).
- The pharmacy is full of people, and while there are four or five workers, only one is serving the customers (40 opinions).
- The pharmacy administrator has the State car for his personal use (9 opinions).

#### Suggestions

- A pharmacy should be built in the Square (7 opinions).
- [Teething] rings and pacifiers for babies should be sold under the maternity [ration] plan (9 opinions).

#### General Opinions

- The nurses are told that there are no gowns and later they are sold to friends or at the fair (15 opinions).
- Health personnel did not participate much in the carnivals because the hygiene was bad (9 opinions).
- Cuba may be a medical power because of the number of doctors, but in quality it is below past years (9 opinions).
- The Public Health Director was awarded a trip to the socialist bloc, but he did not earn it, his sector is in very bad shape (12 opinions).

- Los turnos se reparten a las 2,00pm y al otro día el médico no trabaja (10 opiniones)
- Los turnos los reparten a las 2,00pm y el personal está desde las 4,00am. (45 opiniones)
- El jeep lo utilizan para todas las actividades del municipio y no para lo que está asignado (4 opiniones)

Clínica dental:

- Los trabajadores no cumplen con la fecha de entrega que se indica y nunca hay dentistas (23 opiniones)

Ambulancias:

- Hay choferas de ambulancias que son traficantes de café y otras cosas clandestina (21 opiniones)

Farmacia:

- La leche magnesia se vende por la libre, la compran para después venderla más cara (3 opiniones)
- Venden los biberones por cajas a 20 ó 25 centavos y en el momento lo revenden en el parque a 2,00pm (30 opiniones)
- La farmacia está llena de personal, hay 4 ó 5 trabajadores y nada más hay despachando uno (40 opiniones)
- El Administrador de la farmacia tiene el motor del Estado para uso particular (9 opiniones)

Sugerencias

- En la Plazuela deben poner una farmacia (7 opiniones)
- Las rosas, y tetexas para niños deben venderse por plan materno. -- (9 opiniones)

Opiniones generales:

- Se le dice a las enfermeras que no hay batas y después se la venden a sus amistades o en la feria (15 opiniones)
- El personal de Salud intervino muy poco en los carnavales ya que la higiene era mala (9 opiniones)
- Cuba será una potencia médica en cantidad de médicos pero en calidad está por debajo de los años pasados (9 opiniones)
- Le dieron un viaje al Director de Salud Pública a los países Socialista, no se lo ha ganado, tiene el Sector muy malo (12 opiniones)

### Suggestions

- The Party must "shake the tree" [weed out the incompetents] at Public Health (8 opinions).

### MOA MUNICIPALITY

Of all the opinions, 77% are unfavorable, 13.6% above the same period the previous year.

The hospital-related ones indicate:

- When the food is not burnt, it is too salty (3 opinions).
- At times the Emergency Team is found only after 40 minutes (19 opinions).
- There are some doctors who do not treat patients adequately, prescribing medications without even knowing what the illnesses are (5[?] opinions).
- Irán Leyva, the director, carries large numbers of chickens in a small car that does not even have a license plate, and takes them to the Square (2 opinions).
- Pereira, the pediatrician, mistreats the mothers and patients, and is a hard drinker of alcohol (6 opinions).
- There are few appointments for the orthopedist (12 opinions).
- There is much bad talk about Tony, the gynecologist; he is always drunk and mistreats his patients (20 opinions).
- In Gynecology, they wait too long to perform a Caesarean section (16 opinions).

### Las Coloradas Polyclinic

- Many analyses get lost due to lack of organization and control (15 opinions).
- At night, no on-duty doctor can be found during the established schedule (10 opinions).

### Nurses School

- It is suggested to give it more attention because it is totally demolished (12 opinions).

### General Opinions - Suggestion

- If there are so many doctors in Cuba, why don't they send us a urologist that is so badly needed? (34 opinions).

Subtendencias

- El Partido debe sacudir la mata en Salud Pública (8 opiniones)

Municipio Mea

Del total de opiniones son desfavorables el 77%, 13,6% más que en igual período que el año anterior.

Las relacionadas con el hospital señalan:

- La comida cuando no la queman queda salada (3 opiniones)
- Muchas veces el cuerpo de guardia se encuentra sólo hasta 40 minutos (19 opiniones)
- Hay algunos médicos que no atienden bien al paciente, recetándole medicamento sin saber qué enfermedad tienen (5 opiniones)
- Irán Leyva, el Director está cargando pollos por cantidad en un carrito que ni chapa tiene y los lleva para la Plazuela (2 opiniones)
- El pediatra Pereira tiene maltrato con las madres y pacientes y se dedica a la bebida alcohólica (6 opiniones)
- Pocos turnos para el ortopédico (12 opiniones)
- Se habla mal del ginecólogo Tony, vive embriagado y no trata bien a las pacientes (20 opiniones).
- En Ginecología esperan demasiado para hacer una cesarea (16 opiniones).

Policlínico Las Coloradas:

- Muchos análisis se pierden por falta de organización y control (15 opiniones)
- Por la noche no se encuentra ningún médico de guardia en el horario establecido (10 opiniones)

Escuela de enfermería:

- Se sugiere darle más atención ya que está totalmente destruida. --- (12 opiniones)

Opiniones Generales: Sugerencia

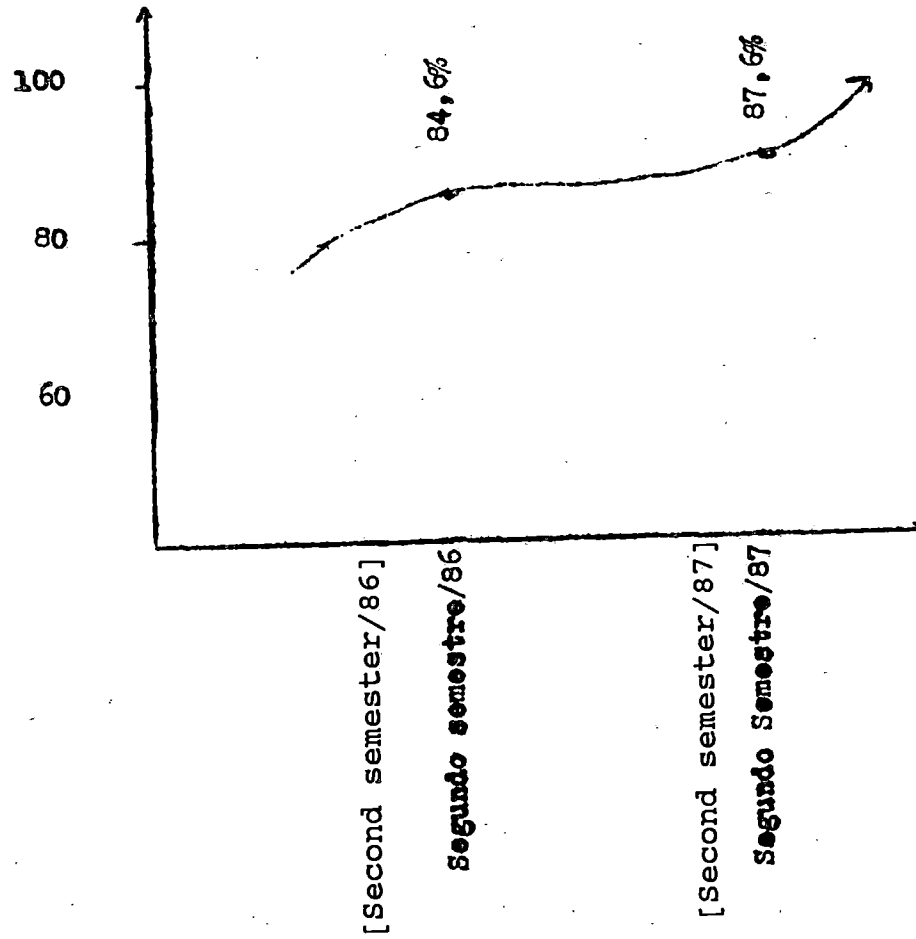
- Si en Cuba hay tantos médicos por qué no mandan un Urólogo que tanta falta hace (34 opiniones).

[CHART #1]

GRAFICO #1

[COMPARISON OF UNFAVORABLE OPINIONS]

COMPARACION DE LAS OPINIONES DESFAVORABLES



COMPORTAMIENTO DE LAS OPINIONES POR MUNICIPIOS GRAFICO # 2

[RESULT OF OPINIONS BY MUNICIPALITY CHART # 2]

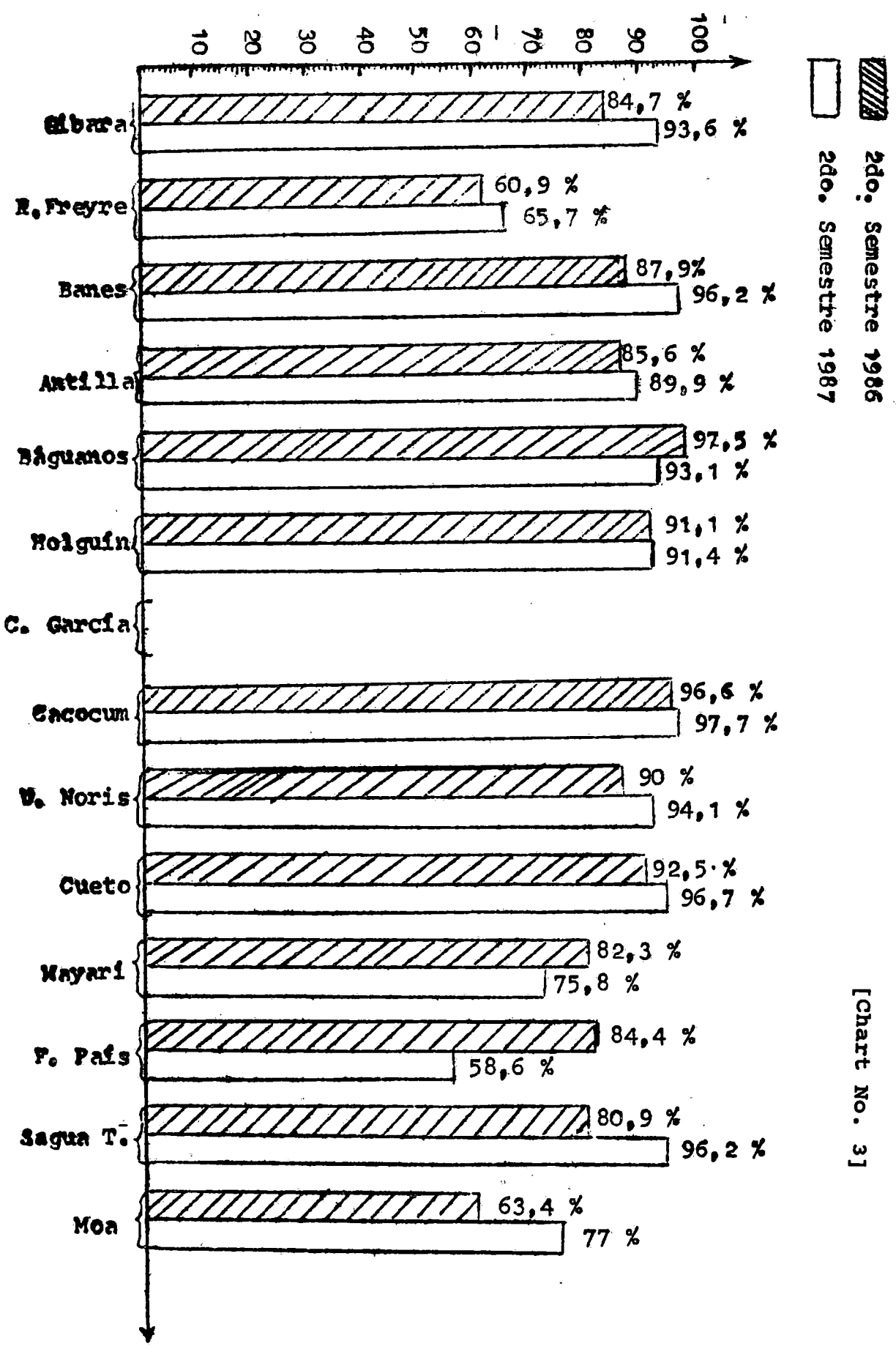
<u>N/O</u>	<u>MUNICIPIOS</u>	<u>TOTAL DE OPINIONES</u>	<u>TOTAL DE NEGATIVAS</u>	<u>[PERCENTAGE] PORCIENTO</u>	<u>TOTAL DE POSITIVAS</u>
1	Gibara	813	761	93,6	52
2	Rafael Freyre	318	209	65,7	109
3	Banes	638	614	96,2	24
4	Antilla	1296	1166	89,9	130
5	Báguanos	397	370	93,1	27
6	Holguín	1764	1613	91,4	151
7	Calixto García	41	22	53,6	19
8	Cacoajun	313	306	97,7	7
9	Urbano Noris	733	690	94,1	43
10	Cueto	762	737	96,7	25
11	Mayarí	1028	780	75,8	248
12	Frank País	162	95	58,6	67
13	Sagua de Tánamo	1211	1165	96,2	46
14	M o a	227	175	77	52
	Médico de familia	671	436	64,9	235
	SIDA	382	279	73	103
	<u>TOTALES</u>	<u>10 756</u>	<u>9 418</u>	<u>87,6%</u>	<u>1 338</u>

[COMPARISON OF UNFAVORABLE OPINIONS BY MUNICIPALITY]

COMPARACION DE LAS OPINIONES DESFAVORABLES POR MUNICIPIOS.

Gráfico No. 3

[Chart No. 3]



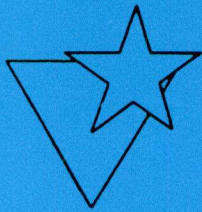
[CHART # 4]  
**GRÁFICO # 4**

[OTHERS]

MUNICIPIOS	TOTAL DEL MUNICIPIO	HOSPITALES			POLICIALES			OTROS					
		TOTAL	NEG.	%	TOTAL	NEG.	%	TOTAL	NEG.	%			
Gibara	813	127	127	100	-	315	289	91,7	26	371	345	92,9	26
Rafael Freyre	318	207	157	75,8	50	26	16	61,5	10	85	36	42,3	49
Banes	638	272	256	94	16	114	106	92,9	8	252	252	100	-
Antilla	1296	714	645	90,3	69	154	154	100	-	428	367	85,7	61
Báguanos	397	219	200	91,3	19	27	27	100	-	151	143	94,7	8
Holgadín	1764	917	825	89,9	92	332	332	100	-	515	456	88,5	59
O. Garrofa	41	1	1	100	-	6	6	100	-	34	15	44,1	19
Caocum	313	-	-	-	-	205	205	100	-	108	101	93,5	7
Urbano Noris	733	132	117	88,6	15	54	54	100	-	547	519	94,8	28
Cueto	762	137	123	89,7	14	169	169	100	-	456	445	97,5	11
Mayarí	1028	547	354	64,7	193	266	266	100	-	215	160	74,4	55
Frank País	162	114	47	41,2	67	-	-	-	-	48	48	100	-
Sagua de T.	1211	661	633	95,7	28	95	95	100	-	455	437	96	18
Moa	227	135	83	61,4	52	25	25	100	-	67	67	100	-

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IS CUBA  
*CHANGING?*  
*CHANGING*

Susan Kaufman Purcell

*CHANGING*  
*CHANGING*  
*CHANG*  
*CHAN*

28

The Cuban American National Foundation

## CUBAN AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION

*The Cuban American National Foundation is an independent, non-profit institution devoted to the gathering and dissemination of data concerning the economic, political and social welfare of the Cuban people, both on the island and in exile. The Foundation supports the concept of a free and democratic Cuba.*

*The Foundation promotes an objective view of Cuba and Cubans, and an objective appraisal of the Cuban government and its policies.*

*The Foundation supports a general program to enlighten and clarify public opinion on problems of Cuban concern, to fight bigotry, protect human rights, and promote cultural interests and creative achievement.*

# **IS CUBA CHANGING?**

Susan Kaufman Purcell

**The Cuban American National Foundation**

**1989**

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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"Is Cuba Changing?" is reprinted with permission from *The National Interest*, No. 14, Winter 1988/89, pp. 43-53.

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New Year's Day, 1989, will mark the thirtieth anniversary of Fidel Castro's revolutionary victory over the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. While it can be predicted confidently that the ritual of public celebration will be properly observed, one can be equally certain that it will be accompanied by much private anxiety on Castro's part. For he faces problems of unprecedented severity. The Cuban economy cannot generate sufficient foreign exchange to pay for the imports the country needs. At the same time, the Soviet Union, which currently provides an estimated \$4.5 billion a year or \$12 million a day in economic and military assistance to Cuba, is reassessing its commitments abroad because of its serious economic crisis at home. Castro has grown dependent on Moscow's largesse to maintain Cuba's highly unproductive and inefficient socialist command economy. Soviet aid also allows Castro to pursue his "proletarian internationalist" foreign policy of supporting Marxist guerrillas and governments in the Third World.

There is some evidence that the Soviets' economic difficulties have already produced some changes in Cuba's behavior. In October 1988, for example, Cuba agreed to withdraw its approximately fifty thousand troops from Angola within twenty-four to thirty months, despite earlier vows that they would remain there until apartheid was abolished in South Africa. Cuba has also increasingly indicated its desire for improved relations with the United States. This would strengthen the likelihood that the United States would lift its long-standing economic embargo, thereby enabling the cash-hungry island to obtain hard currency from U.S. tourism, trade and investment.

These developments argue for a reassessment of U.S. policy toward Cuba. Relations between the two countries since the 1959 revolution have been hostile almost from the start. From the U.S. point of view, the main stumbling block to a so-called normalization of relations has been the combination of Cuba's revolutionary foreign policy and its alliance with the Soviet Union. A related impediment, which has loomed particularly large for the important Cuban-American community in the United States, has been the nature of the Cuban regime: a personalistic communist dictatorship characterized by widespread abuse of human rights and denial of basic political freedoms.

If Cuba's behavior is indeed changing in ways that benefit the United States, Washington should consider adopting policies that might reinforce the process. Before making such a decision, however, and before deciding what policies

would best serve those ends, it is essential to understand better the changes that are occurring. Are they merely tactical and superficial, aimed at enabling Castro to get hard currency, while maintaining his alliance with the Soviets, his anti-American foreign policy, and his control over the Cuban people? Or is there evidence that they represent a major reorientation of Cuba's policies that will render Washington's traditional approach toward Havana outmoded?

**I**n his speech in July 1988 commemorating the thirty-fifth anniversary of his famous assault on the Moncada barracks, Fidel Castro acknowledged that Cuba is facing the worst economic crisis in the history of the revolution. He blamed the crisis mainly on external developments beyond his control. He acknowledged, however, that the Cuban people bore some responsibility for the sorry state of affairs. He minimized his own role, although no major economic decisions are made without his approval.

One of the main explanations he offered for Cuba's economic difficulties is the falling price of oil. This may come as a surprise, since Cuba imports 90 percent of the oil it consumes, and the decline in prices apparently should have worked to its advantage. That it did not is due to the special arrangement that Cuba has worked out with the Soviet Union, which supplies nearly all the island's oil.

Oil imports from the Soviet Union account for 30 percent of the country's total imports. In the late 1970s, the Soviets began allowing Cuba to sell on the spot market whatever oil it did not consume. When oil prices were high, oil replaced sugar as the number one export in terms of hard currency earnings. In 1986, however, oil prices fell 50 percent and in the following year Cuba's earnings from this source were cut in half. The 1988 figures are not expected to show much improvement, and the outlook for 1989 remains poor.

The price of Cuba's other major export, sugar, also declined between 1980 and 1985. Yet although the Cuban economy remains as undiversified and dependent on sugar as it was before the revolution, the impact of the falling sugar prices was cushioned by Soviet subsidies. Approximately 80 percent of Cuba's sugar was not sold on the world market during this period, but to the Soviet bloc, at prices that ranged between one-and-one-half times the world market price in 1980 to ten times that price in 1985. Between 1985 and 1988, sugar prices doubled, but Cuba was actually hurt by this development in 1987, when, because of a decline in its sugar production due to unfavorable weather conditions combined with labor's decreasing willingness to work, it had to purchase nearly a million tons of sugar on the world market to meet its export

commitments to the Soviet bloc for 1986-1987.

Finally, Cuba was hard hit by the devaluation of the dollar. Cuba's exports are paid for in dollars, but because of the U.S. trade embargo, it cannot use them to buy goods from the United States, where full value for its devalued dollars could be obtained. Instead, it must buy from Western Europe and Japan, whose currencies appreciated in relation to the dollar. The result was an increase of between 30 and 40 percent in the prices Cuba had to pay for imports it needed, but which were not available from the Soviet bloc. The dollar's devaluation also increased Cuba's debt to the Paris Club, which is denominated in Western European currencies.

All this has produced a serious hard currency shortage. Cuba needs an estimated \$1.2 billion in hard currency each year, in addition to its imports from the Soviet bloc, to maintain the economy at a minimal level of performance. In the last year or so it has had to manage on about half that amount. As a result, economic activity declined 3.5 percent in 1987, following two years of stagnation. In contrast, Cuba's economy had officially expanded at an average rate of 7.2 percent annually between 1981 and 1985.

Cuba's present economic difficulties are part of a longer-term trend. The country's gross national product today, for example, is more or less the same as it was in 1958, before the revolution. At that time, Cuba had between six and seven million people; now it has ten million. On a per capita basis, it ranked third in the hemisphere in 1958; now it is considered one of the poorest countries in Latin America in per capita terms. Cuba's poor, however, are not in as desperate economic straits as many of their counterparts in the hemisphere because of their access to free health care, free education, and subsidized food and clothing.

Castro usually blames Cuba's poor economic performance mainly on the U.S. embargo, which makes Cuba spend more for imports, and denies Cuba access to advanced technology and dollars from U.S. tourists and investors. Paradoxically, however, Castro also has repeatedly argued (as have some Americans) that the embargo has been a failure. It has not, for example, prevented Cuba from purchasing elsewhere what it cannot get from the United States. Cuba has succeeded even in buying U.S. goods and acquiring new U.S. technology with the help of an enterprise created in the late 1970s called CIMEX, which operates in Panama, Mexico, Canada, Spain, and other countries.

The two positions on the embargo are not necessarily contradictory. The embargo has failed in the sense that it has not prevented Cuba from getting access to Western goods and technology needed to keep its economy function-

ing. It has succeeded, however, in raising the economic costs that Castro must pay for his anti-Americanism, revolutionary adventurism, and military alliance with the Soviets.

**T**he other explanation for Cuba's poor economic performance over the years is socialism. Like the Soviet Union, Cuba has a highly centralized command economy that is notorious for its squandering of resources and rampant corruption. Productivity is also extremely low because the Cuban people refuse to work, in protest against the system. Unlike the Soviet Union, however, Cuba's command economy responds to the wishes of one man whose desire for total control, combined with his charismatic, mercurial personality, make for a much less rational, orderly, and predictable decision-making process than that centered in Moscow.

The problems with Cuban-style socialism were already apparent by 1968, when Castro launched his so-called revolutionary offensive to rid Cuba of most of the last important vestiges of private property and thereby give himself complete control over the Cuban economy. The offensive also involved replacing material incentives with moral ones, while simultaneously rekindling the ideological fervor of the population so that it would work hard without tangible rewards. The offensive's first test was in 1970, when the "new Cuban man" was exhorted to achieve an unprecedented ten million ton sugar harvest.

The harvest fell well short of its goal and left the economy in ruins. This gave the Soviets the opportunity they had been waiting for. In 1968, they failed to increase their supplies of oil to Cuba in an attempt to force Castro to abandon his revolutionary pursuits abroad and to focus instead on making the Cuban economy more productive. Castro responded by purging high-ranking members of Cuba's Communist party who had been leaders of the Popular Socialist Party (PSP), the old pre-revolutionary Communist party allied with Moscow. He also directly challenged the Soviets ideologically by implementing moral incentives at a time when Moscow was experimenting with material ones. The economic failure of the revolutionary offensive symbolized by the inability to achieve a ten million ton harvest, combined with the ideological failure of moral incentives, allowed the Soviets to impose upon the unwilling Cuban leader a series of important economic and political reforms. In 1972, in a number of secret accords with the Soviets, Castro agreed to restructure as well as to create some new state and party institutions patterned on the Soviet model. These were to give Cuban communism a more democratic and less personalistic facade. The country also agreed to formalize its economic ties with the Soviet bloc by

joining COMECON.

The impact of the agreement was limited by the spectacular rise in sugar prices in the mid-1970s. The sugar boom initially did for Cuba what the oil boom did for Mexico, allowing Castro to postpone making changes in order to increase economic productivity. Instead, he was able to use the greatly increased revenues to paper over Cuba's problems. Sugar was also used as collateral to secure generous loans for ambitious but highly unrealistic development projects. When sugar prices declined several years later, Cuba was left deep in debt, its economic problems unsolved. Castro had no alternative then but to integrate Cuba's economy more closely with that of the Soviet bloc, and once again impose economic austerity.

Castro also tried to increase Cuba's hard currency earnings in order to decrease his dependence on the Soviets and undercut growing popular discontent. His target then was the Cuban-American community, a group for which he repeatedly had expressed strong contempt. In 1977, he decided to wring large sums of money from the Cuban-Americans by allowing them to visit their relatives in Cuba and charge them for services he knew they would not use. The bulk of the community arrived the following year, and, as anticipated, spent hundreds of thousands of dollars.

What Castro had not anticipated, however, was the reaction of the Cuban people. Having long been told that their relatives in the United States were poor and exploited, they were suddenly presented with compelling evidence to the contrary. Such disillusionment resulted in the massive Mariel exodus of 1980, during which more than 125,000 Cubans fled the island for the Florida coast.

At about the same time as Castro's decision to tap the Cuban-American community for hard currency, he also decided to follow the Soviet lead by allowing the introduction of some material incentives in order to reduce popular discontent and revive the economy. So-called *trabajadores por cuenta propia* or self-employed workers, such as plumbers, were authorized by the state to do private work for a fee. In 1980, he expanded Cuba's use of material incentives by launching the free farmers' markets, which permitted a measure of guided free enterprise. They were an immediate success, providing Cubans with a broad selection of agricultural products whose quantity and quality surpassed that of the state farms and cooperatives. Several years later, Castro also experimented with production bonuses and a program that allowed Cubans to build, buy, and sell private homes on the open market.

**T**he experiment with material incentives was short-lived. Castro found its successes threatening, both to the ideological underpinnings of the revolution and his control over the Cuban people. In 1982, he began to restrict the farmers' markets, claiming exploitative high prices and profits by middlemen and producers as the justification. By late 1984, he began to remove the Soviet-backed technocrats and planners who had advocated the reforms. And in 1986, he called for an all-out rejection of the Soviet-inspired program, blaming it for "many vices, distortions and, worst of all, corruption." Instead, he urged Cubans to return to a purer and more doctrinaire form of Marxism that had no place for material incentives and considered private profit and property anathema.

The so-called "rectification" campaign followed. Launched in February 1986 and still in effect, it is an ideological update of Castro's failed revolutionary offensive of 1968. Providing for increased economic centralization and moral incentives instead of material ones, its prospects for success are even dimmer than those of the earlier effort. Today, the revolutionary fervor of the population has all but died. Following the announcement of the rectification campaign, for example, billboards throughout Havana began proclaiming, "Now indeed we are going to build socialism." The intensely negative and cynical reaction of the Cuban people, who asked what had been going on during the twenty-seven years since the revolution, prompted the abrupt removal of the signs.

The Cuban people also know that the Soviet Union is trying to revive its own failing economy by decentralizing and providing more market incentives, while their country is going in exactly the opposite direction. They know from their own experience that moral incentives do not work. Finally, they are aware that Gorbachev is critical of what Castro is doing. All of this contrasts with the situation during the revolutionary offensive of 1968, when Cubans were less informed and the evidence of socialist economic failure was less compelling. Today, Cubans avidly read the Spanish edition of *Moscow Daily News* (a publication they once regarded as excruciatingly boring), for accounts of *perestroika* and *glasnost*. (Cuban newspapers do not carry such information.) Since 1985, they also have been listening in large numbers to Radio Martí in order to get information about Cuba and the world which their own government will not broadcast.

The Cuban people are expressing their weariness, cynicism, and diminished ideological fervor in a number of ways. Over the past few years, an unusually large number of high-level military and civilian elites have defected. These

former officials speak of widespread alienation, particularly among the young, and of extraordinarily high suicide rates. They claim that Cuban jails hold more than one hundred thousand prisoners who have been arrested for theft, assault, and similar crimes resulting from the growing economic hardship and scarcity. And they report that the rising discontent has resulted in riot training for the police and the purchase of the first riot helicopters.

Given the nature of the Cuban regime, it is difficult to know exactly whether current levels of discontent pose a serious challenge to Castro's rule. Opponents of the government cannot organize or demonstrate. There is no independent press, television or radio. Committees for the Defense of the Revolution report "suspicious" behavior to authorities, and one can never be sure who is working for the pervasive security or intelligence apparatus. At the same time, people are totally dependent on the government for their jobs, homes, education, food, clothing, and health care, which makes opposition a very risky and potentially costly business.

Although the rising discontent may not prove lethal to the regime, Castro nevertheless cannot afford to ignore it. Nor can he fail to heed signs that his rectification campaign is doomed to failure. Both coincide with a serious crisis in the Soviet economy. This combination of factors constitutes the real crisis facing Cuba today.

**D**espite the Soviet Union's severe economic problems, it is not yet clear whether the \$4.5 billion it provides annually to Cuba can or will be cut drastically. For while Cuba is the single largest recipient of Soviet aid in the Third World and accounts for 50 percent of Moscow's foreign assistance budget, it is also true that Moscow receives a substantial return on its Cuban investment.

Cuba is an important Soviet outpost and ideological ally in the U.S. "sphere of influence." It serves as a base for Soviet submarines and aircraft and greatly enhances Soviet intelligence-gathering capabilities along the Atlantic coast of North and South America. Perhaps of equal importance, Cuba advances Soviet interests in the Third World by engaging in behavior that would be unacceptable if done by the Soviets. It gives military support to Marxist guerrilla groups struggling for power, and helps consolidate and protect Marxist governments. Diplomatically, Cuba has enhanced Soviet contacts and influence with the so-called Non-Aligned Movement, as well as with developing countries within the United Nations.

Yet Cuba is not a Soviet puppet that automatically does Moscow's bidding. Although the interests of the Soviet Union and Cuba often coincide, Cuba has

disregarded Soviet advice or resisted Soviet pressures in those few cases where their interests have diverged. In foreign policy, for example, Moscow advocated the “peaceful road to socialism” in Latin America throughout the 1960s. Havana, in contrast, actively supported Marxist insurgencies throughout the region.

Moscow has shown great restraint in using its considerable leverage to force Havana to accede to its wishes. The Soviets recognize that Castro’s temperament and personality would not allow him to be an obedient servant of Moscow and that efforts to transform him could produce unpredictable results. From time to time, they have signaled their unhappiness with Castro’s behavior by imposing sanctions, such as their 1968 failure to increase their delivery of oil to Cuba. Yet when Castro rejected their advice and launched his revolutionary offensive and campaign for a ten million ton harvest, they patiently waited for his doomed and costly experiment to run its course. As long as the U.S. embargo remained in place, the Soviets know that the Cuban leader would ultimately have no other alternative to themselves.

Castro has even fewer options today. He is worried that the new technocratic elites rising to positions of power in the Soviet Union will be far less tolerant of Cuban inefficiency and the huge waste of Soviet resources. He also fears a weakening of the Soviets’ ideological commitment to communism and to East-West competition. These developments, in addition to the new detente between Moscow and Washington, could severely reduce Cuba’s importance to the Soviet Union and make the continuation of Moscow’s massive economic outlays to Havana doubtful.

Castro reportedly said as much to Gorbachev when he visited Moscow in November 1987. During a personal meeting with the Soviet leader, Castro claimed that many of the Soviet Union’s economic reforms could be devastating to what Castro calls “the Fourth World”—the socialist (as opposed to market-oriented) developing countries.<sup>1</sup> Castro also expressed concern that as the Soviet economy became more decentralized and as industries became more autonomous, factories trying to improve their balance sheets might give priority to cash-paying customers and fail to meet their commitments to Cuba.

Gorbachev tried to reassure his ally by telling him that the economic

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<sup>1</sup> Interview on October 11, 1988, in New York City with Gustavo Pérez Cott, former vice president and deputy minister, State Committee for Technology and Supplies, Cuba, who defected to the United States in January 1988.

liberalization measures were mainly tactical; they would enable the Soviet economy to revive and, therefore, would enable Moscow to meet its commitments to developing socialist countries. Gorbachev also noted that Castro's fears regarding the behavior of autonomous enterprises were unfounded, since orders requested by Moscow to comply with the Soviet Union's international commitments would continue to take priority.

At the November 1987 meeting, Castro also asked for aid and a hard currency loan. The Soviets agreed to give Cuba \$450 million, a sum volunteered by Cuban Vice President Carlos Rafael Rodríguez. The first installment arrived in December 1987, with other disbursements completed by March 1988.

In January 1988, however, reports began to circulate internationally that Moscow had cut its aid to Cuba for 1987. The reality is quite different. The data regarding Moscow's alleged reduction of aid to Havana were cooked up by the National Bank of Cuba, at the time of Cuba's debt negotiations with the Paris Club, and used to justify Cuba's inability to meet its financial commitments. The figures referred not to real decreases, but to delays in the delivery process. In fact, goods in Soviet ports destined for Cuba at the time of the report equalled five times the supposed "shortfall" in Soviet aid. In the event, the Soviets *increased* their aid to Cuba by an estimated 10 percent in 1987.<sup>2</sup>

The conventional wisdom remains that the Soviets will be unwilling or unable to maintain, let alone increase, the high levels of aid they currently provide to Cuba. Such claims have been made before, when Moscow was providing far less economic and military assistance to Cuba, and its overseas empire was considerably smaller and less costly. Nevertheless, they seem somewhat more credible this time because of Moscow's economic problems and the apparent determination to do something about them.

If the Soviets do indeed reduce their aid to Cuba, they are likely to cancel some of the major development projects they had planned to finance—for example, a second nuclear plant for the island's western provinces. Such projects—the soon-to-be completed nuclear plant and oil refinery in Cienfuegos, two thermal electrical plants, the supertanker base in Matanzas, a pipeline from the new oil fields in Jaruco to Cienfuegos, and a textile plant in Santiago—help account for the approximately 50 percent increase in Soviet aid over the past five years.

Military assistance is in theory another area of possible cuts. The main motivation would not be economic, since military aid does not constitute a big eco-

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<sup>2</sup> Interview with Pérez Cott.

conomic burden on the Soviets, given their large war industry. Instead, Moscow would act to reinforce its improved relationship with Washington. According to U.S. State Department figures, Soviet bloc military aid to Cuba from 1982 to 1986 came to nearly \$8 billion. It allowed Cuba to build the largest combat force in Latin America, with approximately 300,000 military personnel, as well as a militia that exceeds one million. The rest of Latin America together imported military equipment worth \$9.3 billion during the same period.

So far, however, the Soviets have made no such cuts. Despite the economic burden that Cuba represents, Moscow apparently is reluctant to risk taking steps that might unravel the Castro regime. Instead, Cuba seems willing to cooperate with Moscow's efforts to extricate itself from politically costly conflicts in some regions of the Third World. Cuba has also decided to seek better relations with the United States in order to solve its hard currency problems and lessen its economic dependence on the Soviet Union.

This explains Castro's decision to negotiate with the United States and South Africa over the removal of its estimated fifty thousand troops from Angola. It also explains his decision, immediately after his November meeting with Gorbachev, to revive the 1984 immigration agreement with the United States. Cuba suspended the agreement in May 1985, to protest the beginning of broadcasts by Radio Martí. The action had taken Washington by surprise, since the negotiations leading to the agreement occurred *after* the law establishing Radio Martí was passed. U.S. attempts in 1986 to revive the agreement failed when the Cubans insisted on a medium-wave frequency to broadcast to the United States. In November 1987, however, Cuba suddenly dropped its demand for both a radio frequency and the cancellation of Radio Martí.

Other signs of Cuba's desire for improved relations with the United States, as well as with other Western nations, followed. In April 1988, Castro invited Cardinal O'Connor to visit Cuba. He then promised to release some of the 429 political prisoners, whose existence he had denied previously, and to allow them to emigrate to the United States. He permitted a number of Catholic priests to return to Cuba in order to offset the shortage of priests on the island. For the first time since the revolution, human rights groups from the United States and other Western countries were allowed to inspect Cuban jails and speak with prisoners, while several Cuban human rights activists, in turn, were permitted to visit the United States.

Finally, Castro and other high-ranking officials began to change the way they spoke about the United States. They dropped their hostile, confrontational rhetoric, and repeatedly mentioned their desire to discuss the U.S.-Cuban

bilateral relationship with U.S. government representatives. They specifically mentioned their wish to see an end to the U.S. embargo, which would give them access to trade, technology, investment, and tourist dollars from the United States. In the meantime, Cuba began to invest heavily in its own tourist industry and to woo tourists and investors from other capitalist countries.

**H**ow significant are the recent changes in Castro's foreign and domestic policies?

In the area of foreign policy, the evidence is still very mixed. On the one hand, Castro's willingness to negotiate the removal of Cuba's troops from Angola, in exchange for the withdrawal of South African troops and the independence of Namibia, represents an important reversal of his earlier position. As recently as 1986, at the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Zimbabwe, Castro announced that he would keep Cuban troops in Angola "so long as apartheid exists in South Africa." Furthermore, Castro had never before indicated a willingness to participate in direct negotiations with either South Africa or the United States over the Angola issue.

As of late 1988, there was still no final agreement on a specific timetable for the Cuban withdrawal. In fact, there are now an estimated fifteen thousand *more* Cuban troops in Angola than there were at the start of the negotiations, making for an overall estimated total of fifty thousand. (Castro claims the Cuban troop reinforcements were necessary to prevent the defeat of MPLA forces by the South Africans during the negotiating process.) Furthermore, the Cubans have moved some of their troops to within six miles of Angola's border with Namibia, where Cuba has also recently constructed two 3,500-meter airstrips with hangars and maintenance facilities.

From one perspective, it does look as if Cuba has conceded a great deal in order to accommodate the Soviet's desire to withdraw from Angola and to lay the groundwork for an improved relationship with the United States. After thirteen years of fighting, Cuba has agreed to remove its troops from Angola before UNITA is defeated and eliminated as a threat to continued MPLA rule. Castro will now be faced with the problems of what to do with the fifty thousand troops who must return to Cuba.

From another perspective, however, it looks exactly the opposite. The Cubans have accepted an agreement that allows the self-proclaimed Marxist MPLA to retain control of the Angolan government and to continue receiving Soviet aid. The agreement also prohibits South Africa from sending troops to Angola or providing aid to UNITA. It does not prevent the United States from

aiding UNITA, although the odds are good that a Democratic-controlled Congress will cut off further aid once negotiations are completed. Without outside aid, UNITA's fighting capabilities, and therefore its negotiating position, will be severely weakened. At the same time, Cuba has achieved the independence of Namibia and the likely installation of a Marxist government there under the control of SWAPO. As for the fifty thousand returning troops, it will not be difficult for Cuba to absorb them, since under Cuban law their jobs have been kept for them.

The possibility remains, of course, that the agreement will break down. In that case, the Cuban military situation in Angola will be stronger than it was before the negotiations, both in terms of numbers and geography. Cuba will also be in a better position to aid SWAPO militarily, should the opportunity arise.

It is therefore quite premature to conclude that Angola represents definitive proof that Castro has decided to abandon "proletarian internationalism." Moreover, Cuba's behavior elsewhere in the Third World remains more or less as it was. Several thousand Cuban military and civilian advisers remain in Nicaragua, Cuban aid to the Marxist guerrillas in El Salvador continues, and the Cuban presence in Panama has increased. Thousands of Cuban troops are still in Ethiopia, and large numbers of Cuban military advisers help prop up Marxist regimes throughout the Third World.

In terms of Cuba's apparent desire to improve relations with the United States, the signals are also ambiguous. The more positive interpretation is that Cuba made a concession to the U.S. by dropping its insistence that Radio Martí first be disbanded before the immigration agreement could be revived.

The other interpretation is far less charitable to Cuba. Given the rising discontent on the island, Castro needs an escape valve. The revived agreement will permit twenty thousand Cubans with close relatives in the United States to emigrate annually. An additional three thousand former political prisoners and their families will be allowed to do the same during the first year of the agreement, as will others in the future, subject to U.S. law. At the same time, few of the 2,746 "undesirables" whom Cuba agreed to take back may ever return to Cuba. Upon learning of the agreement, those awaiting repatriation in jails in Louisiana and Georgia rioted and seized hostages, giving up only after the U.S. government agreed to review their repatriation on a case-by-case basis under U.S. law. From this perspective, nothing has changed. Castro is doing what he has always done—using immigration or creating refugees as a way of defusing internal political and social pressures.

Castro's decision to allow delegations of human rights activists to inspect Cuban prisons also cannot be considered a gesture of good will. It is the product of a number of new developments, including the publication in 1986 of *Against All Hope* by Armando Valladares, who spent more than twenty years as a political prisoner in Cuban jails. The book, which became a world-wide best-seller, made it impossible for Castro to continue denying the existence of political prisoners in Cuba. It also embarrassed human rights groups into finally focusing their attention on Cuba, after years of concentrating only on the fate of political prisoners held by right-wing Latin American dictatorships.

Castro allowed a group from the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to visit for a somewhat different reason. For years, the United States delegation to the commission tried without success to get the commission to condemn the abuse of human rights by the Cuban government. Finally, the United States shifted tactics and asked instead for an official examination of the human rights situation in Cuba. By then, an international campaign had made people aware that Cuba had long been abusing human rights while few had been paying any attention.<sup>3</sup> In order to prevent a vote that even Castro realized he was going to lose, the Cubans took the initiative and invited an inspection group to their country.

The UN group made its inspection in mid-1988, although several private groups had been allowed to inspect the jails and speak with the prisoners somewhat earlier. All found the prisons to be in better condition than they had been led to expect, and the prisoners with whom they spoke reported no torture or other atrocities. The small group of Cuban human rights activists who were allowed to visit the United States in the summer of 1988, however, told a different story. According to them, and to other reports that filtered out of Cuba, Castro had refurbished the prisons in preparation for the visits, and the small number of long-term political prisoners or *plantados* who had refused to move into the redone prisons had been severely beaten and denied access to the visiting human rights groups.

Castro's treatment of two human rights organizations within Cuba also can be interpreted in two ways. In one sense, it represents an important breakthrough, since such organizations have never before been allowed to exist or function. But the groups have never been formally recognized, only tolerated—

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<sup>3</sup> The excellent film *Nobody Listened*, written and directed by Nestor Almendros and Jorge Ulla and released in 1988, deals with this theme.

and that only up to a point. After the visiting human rights groups left Cuba, bands of Cubans organized by the regime taunted and attacked the Cuban human rights activists. This is familiar behavior in Cuba, where the government often unleashes such groups against individuals regarded as “counterrevolutionaries.”<sup>4</sup> Recently, Ricardo Bofill, the leader of one of the groups, left Cuba rather than suffer harassment by the government.

Castro’s apparent change of heart toward organized religion is also problematic. His meeting with Cardinal O’Connor and his decision to ameliorate the shortage of clergymen by allowing twenty foreign priests in are obvious attempts to build bridges to the Catholic Church. This may well work to Castro’s advantage. The church has reportedly agreed not to take a stand against dictatorial rule in Cuba, as its counterparts did in the Philippines, Chile, and other non-democratic regimes. Also, the rapprochement with the Catholic Church should be seen in the context of a long interview that Castro gave to Frei Betto, in which the Cuban leader spoke favorably of liberation theology, which blends Marxism and Catholicism. Furthermore, there is no evidence that government officials have stopped keeping lists of those Cubans who try to practice their religion so as to deny them job promotions and membership in the ruling Communist party.

Finally, the campaign to attract many more tourists from Western countries seems to be an important sign of the government’s increased tolerance of capitalist influences. Castro however has not portrayed it as such, but rather as an attempt to solve Cuba’s serious hard currency shortage. Any investment in the tourist industry would be under the rules of Cuba’s foreign investment law, which requires foreigners to channel their payments to Cuban workers through the government which in turn pays the labor force. There are also signs that the government intends to limit severely the opportunities for contact between the tourists and the general population. Cubans, for example, will not be allowed to use the hotels, beaches, and new facilities during the tourist season....

**T**he difficulties in interpreting the recent changes in Castro’s behavior may help explain the absence of consensus over how we should respond to them. Those of more liberal persuasion prefer to accentuate the positive. They want the United States to take advantage of the new situation in order to overturn tra-

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<sup>4</sup> For a graphic account of such behaviour during the Mariel incident see *Insider: My Life as Revolutionary in Cuba* by José Luis Llovio Menéndez (New York: Bantam Books, 1988).

ditional policies toward Cuba that they believe have failed. They define failure as Castro's continued hold on power, despite repeated U.S. efforts to overthrow him. They charge that despite the embargo, Cuba is able to obtain whatever it wishes to buy. They argue that American attempts to isolate Castro in the hemisphere have backfired. Today, Cuba has diplomatic relations with all but a handful of Latin American nations and is admired for having stood up to the powerful United States.

People of this persuasion believe that the changes currently underway in Cuba should be met with revisions in U.S. policy. By this they usually mean initiating talks with Cuba leading to lifting of the embargo so as to allow trade, investment, and tourism to flow between the two countries. They assume that the establishment of normal relations between Washington and Havana will do more to open up Cuba's closed and tightly controlled economy and political system (irrespective of Castro's efforts to prevent this from happening) than the traditional U.S. emphasis on sanctions. As proof, they often cite the Mariel exodus, when more than 125,000 Cubans fled to the United States following a glimpse of the "good life" in the form of their visiting Cuban-American relatives.

Those of a more conservative bent, in contrast, believe that the recent changes are little more than a public relations campaign aimed at getting naive Americans to make unilateral concessions that will allow Castro to weather Cuba's current crisis. They argue that U.S. policy toward Cuba has worked and continues to work. Castro is no longer seen abroad as a charismatic revolutionary hero, but rather as a ruthless dictator and an abuser of human rights who has ruined Cuba.

Most conservative-leaning people therefore believe that instead of trying to encourage a thaw in relations with Cuba, the United States should toughen its policy. The Soviets would then have to decide between pressing Castro to implement a Cuban *perestroika* and *glasnost*, or continuing to waste billions of dollars each year on their tropical communist ally. In either case, the United States cannot lose. If Cuba becomes more open economically and politically, that is good for the United States. And if the Soviets have to keep bankrolling Cuba, that is better than what they believe the more liberal policy would lead to—the American subsidy of a Cuba that remains under Castro's control and militarily allied with the Soviet Union.

There is, however, a possible middle ground. The recent changes in Cuban policy argue for some kind of positive response by the U.S. At the same time, their ambiguity justifies proceeding with caution. If the United States were to

lift its embargo against Cuba, it would be impossible to reimpose it. Washington must therefore be far more certain than it now is that Castro wants a constructive relationship with the United States, and not just American dollars to reinforce his control over the Cuban people and to subsidize his foreign policy.

The current situation is ideal for testing Castro's intentions. Because both Cuba and the Soviet Union are experiencing severe economic problems, Castro needs relations with the United States much more than Washington needs relations with Havana. The initiative for improved relations should therefore continue to come from Cuba. There is no compelling reason for the United States to take the lead.

Each time that Cuba takes the initiative, the United States must insist on a balanced and comparable negotiating agenda. Cuba has always had a small bilateral agenda and a large one. The small agenda includes immigration, political prisoners, cooperation on hijacking, and the settlement of outstanding claims. The large one includes ending the embargo, withdrawing from the Guantánamo base, and normalizing relations.

Washington can now build upon the recent immigration agreement by agreeing to negotiate other items of mutual interest on the smaller agenda. As in the case of immigration, both sides would compromise over the same kind of issue. Following the Reagan administration's lead, the United States would not discuss the future of Guantánamo or the embargo in return for possible Cuban concessions over fishing rights or political prisoners.

The United States must keep in mind that Castro is not Gorbachev—at least, not yet. He continues to resist making precisely those economic and political reforms that make the Soviet leader attractive to the West. By giving Castro premature access to the hard currency he so desperately needs, the United States will allow him to postpone indefinitely an economic and political opening in Cuba.

Washington should be favorably disposed towards a more normal relationship with Cuba; but this must follow, not precede, a Cuban *glasnost* and *perestroika*. Only then should the United States turn its attention to the larger bilateral negotiating agenda and explore further whether the Cuban leader has really changed.

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## THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CUBA

*Armando Valladares*

*After twenty-one years of imprisonment in Havana, on charges of «counter-revolutionary activities» by the Cuban communist regime, Armando Valladares was set free by the end of 1982, thanks to the intervention of French President François Mitterrand. During Valladares' imprisonment, the Spanish dramatist Fernando Arrabal wrote: «The most elementary rights which were hardly ever denied in Franco's prisons, are denied to this martyr.» Valladares is now 47 years old.*

January first, 1984 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of Fidel Castro's tyranny, making it one of the oldest in the world. It is inconceivable to retain power for such a time, backed by tanks, bayonets and the terror of the Political Police, without violating human rights. This cannot be disclaimed even by the staunchest defenders of Castro's savagery against the Cuban people.

Human rights in Cuba have been almost systematically violated since 1959, and this could be considered the badge of the revolution.

Every civil right has been suppressed, like: freedom of organizing or belonging to an independent trade union, freedom of journeying within the country, and even the right to be released on completing a prison term.

On account of this situation, which has affected the country for the last quarter of a century, any person may be arrested

with no legal proceedings whatsoever, on charges of spying for the Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.), terrorism, murder attempt or any other story concocted by the Political Police, without evidence of any kind, or only on the basis of the notorious «confessions» violently extorted, and be sentenced to death by a firing squad. According to some very conservative estimates, a total of about 40,000 persons have been executed in Cuba since Castro assumed office in 1959. We may conclude that many of these people were free of any punishable guilt, and that others had committed offenses or violations of the law which in no way would justify the death sentence application. The innocence of a great many of these victims may be inferred owing to the fact that, in no case, had they the remotest chance of defending themselves in compliance with the procedures guaranteed in the most elementary constitutional state.

I myself was sentenced to a prison term of thirty years for having merely expressed anti-Marxist ideas, in an irregular trial in which not a single piece of evidence was presented against me. The officers in charge themselves told me that they could not prove my guilt, though they were convinced that I was a potential enemy of the revolution.

Presently, eleven provincial law-courts impose death penalties in Cuba, and in the medieval fortress-prison of La Cabaña in Havana, there is a special security court mainly devoted to judge political dissidents and human rights activists. This was the very court which, only a few months ago, sentenced to death several labour activists who had made a go to organize a free trade union similar to *Solidarity* in Poland.

Moreover, this court recently imposed a death penalty upon prominent Cuban lawyers and human rights activists such as: Doctors José Redell Soto, Abelardo Triay, Emilio Valdés Arnau, Félix Casuso and Nicasio Hernández de Armas. During the same proceedings Doctors Aramís Taboada, Francisco Morúa and Israel Tamayo were sentenced to thirty

years' imprisonment. After the suicide of the Cuban Minister of Justice, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós, and the stir-up created by the «farce of the lawyers,» these sentences were revoked and the members of the victims' families were told that a new trial would be held.

It is important to note that the violation of human rights in Cuba is not due to the initiative of appointed officials or groups acting on their own. The violation of human rights in Cuba is institutional. It is set up by laws and decrees.

Thus, Article 52 of the socialist constitution in force since 1976, reads: «Citizens are granted freedom of speech and press, in accordance with the goals of socialist society.»

Therefore, a Cuban is only free to speak out in favour of Marxism and applaud his political leaders.

Castro himself has said: «All criticism is opposition, all opposition is counter-revolution.»

The Vice-President of the Cuban State Council and former Minister of dictator Batista, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, in an interview to Madrid's *Diario 16* on Saturday, October 10, 1983, when asked about the underground groups which are fighting in Cuba for union liberties and for the respect of human rights, answered as follows:

«Maybe there exist people on the island who have these festive ideas about union liberties, but I predict that they will be ridiculed.»

When in 1981 Amnesty International addressed the Cuban government demanding the abolition of death punishment, the same Carlos Rafael Rodríguez answered that death punishment was necessary in Cuba. Impudently and in contempt for man's dignity, the Cuban hierarchs admit in statements of this sort their totalitarian and criminal vocation.

In 1983's annual report of Amnesty International, the execution of 29 Cubans for plotting against Castro is denounced.

It is also denounced the execution of the political prisoners Abilio González and Rodolfo Alonso, twenty-one and twenty-eight years old, respective being my ill-fate to have seen them off when they were carried away before the firing squad... likewise in the case of the three García Marín brothers, executed for having occupied the Vatican Embassy in Havana.

A few weeks ago three clergymen were executed as part of this systematic policy. They were members of Jehovah's Witnesses Congregation and were caught with a mimeograph used to print excerpts from the Bible. Accused of «abetting armed insurrections,» they were sentenced to death and executed. The victims were Jesús Prieto Suárez, twenty-seven years old and town-chairman church minister; Saúl Rey, county parrish, and Efremer Noriegas Barroso, twenty-one, preacher. For the time being, the minister of the Jehovah's Witness Church in Las Villas province, Julio Olivera Alberto, and two other clergymen, are sentenced to death there and awaiting execution.

In Cuba, the absence of religious freedom is also institutional. Article 54 of the Constitution reads: «It is illegal and punishable to oppose faith, or religious belief, to the revolution.» In May 1983, in Santiago de Cuba province, the university student Carlos Alberto Gutiérrez, aged twenty-three, member of the Communist Youth Organization, was executed on charges of «terrorism.» This young man's only crime was to paint anti-Castro slogans on the walls of Santiago de Cuba, as leader of a group of students discontented with the government. In Sancti Spiritus province, eleven peasants were executed at the beginning of March 1983, accused of trying to blow up the dam on the Zaza river. In fact, these peasants were looking forward to creating a union and had organized a protest against the confiscation of their crops and other abuses, permanently subduing the productive sectors of the country.

Presently, there are about 40 persons sentenced to death for alleged political crimes and awaiting execution in a «death

row» in the Combinado del Este prison in Havana. It should be noted that all executions in Cuba are carried out with the aftermath approval of Fidel Castro, or at least it is so enacted by the laws in force.

Another threat for life and physical safety of Cubans are the so-called «suicides» in the dungeons of Cuba's State Security Department, and through «disappearances while trying to furtively leave the country by sea.» This form of physical elimination has been applicated recently, among others, to one of the members of the expeditionary force of the yacht *Granma*, captain Noelio del Pino; to the labour leader and ex-member of the executive staff of C.T.C., Rogelio Iglesias Patiño, and the minister of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, Indalecio Ara.

The «suicide» file has been used to cover up the missing of Eurípedes Núñez, labour leader and former general secretary of the workers' union of the Havana-based tobacco factory H. Uppman; of Javier de Varona, philosophy lecturer at Havana University; of Dr. José Janet, physician and human rights activist; in like manner, years ago were eliminated the commander of the Revolutionary Directors' Board and former Foreign Trade Minister, Dr. Alberto Mora. This would be merely for the sake of mentioning the most conspicuous cases of well-known characters, since the list of anonymous victims, of ordinary men whose names never leak out, reach alarming figures.

As far as the guarantees of the fundamental citizens' rights are concerned, such as the principle that no one may be arbitrarily arrested, it should be noted that the situation has worsened in Cuba to an unmatched standard in the history of the island after Fidel Castro's rise to power. In fact, throughout Cuba such repression is constantly exerted and the situation most closely resembles a state of siege or martial law.

Both the State Security forces and the ordinary police are entitled to arrest citizens on mere suspicion or anonymous

denunciation, and hold them under inquiring proceedings for unlimited time. Some cases like that of Elizardo Sánchez Santa Cruz, economy lecturer and dissident, who was confined for nearly two years in the State Security Department dungeons and subjected to all kinds of burdens trying to extort confessions involving other people and a self-indictment.

As part of this handling of detainees held under trial, different sorts of physical and mental tortures are applied. A typical case is that of the physician Mario Zaldívar, a former practitioner of the Havana Military Hospital, alternately subjected to freezing and heating chambers as well as beatings, which caused him such powerful traumatisms that now, in an effort to hush up the matter, he has been sent to Holguín prison to serve a prison term far from any outdoor contact. Details of the case of this physician come into focus to give evidence that not even the members of this noble profession are respected, even though the cases involving ordinary citizens add up thousands, making up a daily increasing register. Another significant case is that of the lawyers previously mentioned, and who have been held in solitary confinement in the cells of the State Security Department in Havana nearly for six months.

In Cuba, people may not only be arbitrarily arrested for investigation, but also, by equally unrighteous procedures, they may be imprisoned for long terms on account of the «pre-criminal dangerousness act.» The repressive forces always have this bill on hand in order to deprive of his freedom any citizen they want with no legal proceedings whatsoever. This constitutional violation of human rights is set up by Articles 76 and 77 of the Penal Code, and through its application, a police officer may construe that any citizen will commit a crime in the course of time and he may arrest him so as to prevent this. Last September, dissident Ricardo Bofill was kidnapped and held captive for weeks for having spoken to two French journalists, being sent to a psychiatric hospital

and, ultimately, given a twelve year sentence. At present his whereabouts are unknown.

From 1959 to the present, joint forces of the Cuban Home Office have carried out different mass arrest and imprisonment «raids» on the basis of the «pre-criminal dangerousness act.» These «raids» have resulted in the imprisonment of nearly ten thousand people, throughout the country. Some of these people were among the prisoners sent to the United States through Mariel passage in 1980, while others still remain in jail or, after serving their terms, they have been sentenced again, thus their imprisonments are endless ones. Therefore, and owing to the fact that Cuban courts are nothing but a shield for the illwill of the Home Office, Cuba's inmate population can be estimated in one hundred and thirty thousand citizens deprived of freedom, being political prisoners about fourteen thousand.

In the Combinado del Este prison in Havana, there are about twelve thousand prisoners. In the same province there are fourteen more prisons. Prisons, the so-called «correctional farms» and the concentration camps, come to about two hundred penitentiary facilities throughout the country.

The prisoners undergoing the worst situation are rebels who reject political rehabilitation programmes. They have been kept for over three years, without clothing, in shut-up cells with no natural or artificial lighting, deprived of mail or any other form of contact with the outer world. Lacking medical care they even suffer beatings and harrassment of all sorts.

After twenty years in jail, they are the most ancient prisoners throughout America; including the Spaniard Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo, Roberto Martín Pérez, the poets Ernesto Díaz and Jorge Valls, and the Baptist minister Humberto Noble Alexander, who has already completed his term, with him another 20 people who have not been released because they reject the political rehabilitation programmes.

Part of this information on the present state of human rights in Cuba comes from an out of the record report prepared by a group of judges who smuggled it out of the country.

For years, Castro has hushed up the outcry of the tortured, and buried his dead secretly. A curtain of secrecy and indifference has fallen relating these crimes and atrocities of the Cuban regime. The same governments, politicians, intellectuals and press who rend their garments over the violations of human rights in Chile, Argentina or Guatemala, close their eyes and say nothing about Castro's crimes.

The twenty-five years of dictatorship, the lack of all freedom, the persecution, tortures, executions, terror and violations of human rights which characterize the criminal nature of the Cuban regime admit no refutation or can be construable.

It is not by cheering up tyrants, supporting them, helping them and backing their crimes, that we are helpful to the cause of Freedom, Justice and the respect of Human Dignity. It is not by singing praises for those who subdue and murder their own people, that we will attain the development of society toward the ideal of perfection cherished by all men of good will on earth.

23/2/03.

FOR. MRS. MARTHA VALLADARES.

ESTIMADO HERMANO, APENAS UNAS HORAS QUE SELLÉ UNA BOLITA PARA TI, Y AHORA ACABAN DE TRAER DOS JÓVENES DE LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS (PABELLONES DE CASTIGO) Y ME ACABO DE ENTERAR AL TRATO QUE LES ESTAN HACIENDO EN ESAS ERGASTULAS. LAS TORTURAS VAN DESDE LAS PSÍQUICAS A LAS FÍSICAS. PERO AHORA SE HAN ESTRE-MADO COMO NUNCA ANTES EN LAS CELDAS DE LA MUERTE. SI ENTRAS DE REPENTE PENSARÍA QUE ESTA PINTADA DE ROJO PERO NO, HERMANO MÍO, ES LA SANGRE DE LOS MARTIRIZADO. AHORA TIENEN UNA NUEVA DIVI-SIÓN, TE IMAGINA CUAL. ESTÁ PUES BIEN, TIRAN LOS PERROS "PASTORALEMAN" PARA ENTRENARLOS EN LOS CORREDORES, CIERRAN LOS PASILLOS, Y ENTON-CE COMIENZA LA FIESTA, CUANDO SACAN LOS PRESOS, CONVIRTIENDO LOS PASILLOS EN COLISTO ROMANO, Y LOS PASILLOS EN VERDADERAS PIERAS. POR MUCHO QUE SE TEATE DE EXPLICAR, ME ES IMPOSIBLE, NO HAY PALAB-RAS PARA DESCUBIR LA ESCENA, SOLO VIÉNDOLO PUE-DES CREELO, O DESPUÉS PODRÉ VER ESTOS INFORTUNA-DOS CON LAS HERIDAS DISSEMINADAS EN EL CUERPO Y CON ALGUNAS INFECTADAS Y CON SUEÑOS. LE CUENTO ESTO PERO QUÉ SE QUE COMPRENDE COMO HA SUCEDIDO ESTO ABUSO. SEMEJANTE A LOS DE SAN RAMÓN Y TRES MACÍOS. Y AQUÍ ESTAMOS MANIATADOS, CON UNA INCOMUNICACIÓN COMO NUNCA ANTES. COMPRENDE COMO HA DE ESTAR EL ANIMO DEL PERSONAL AL TENER QUE SOPORTAR ESTO, Y OÍRLOS VOCIFERANDO POR LA "R.H.C." SOBRE LOS DERECHOS DE LOS RECLUSOS, Y LOS MALTRATOS QUE SUFREN EN CHILE Y OTROS PAISES DE AMÉRICA?  
NOS HACE FALTA DENUNCIAR LO QUE ESTA PA-SANDO AQUÍ. CHAO. B.O.L.

Facsimil de la carta  
de Humberto Noble Alexander

**LETTER FROM THE BAPTIST SHEPHERD  
HUMBERTO NOBLE ALEXANDER**

*Taken secretly out of the prison where he is confined. This prisoner completed his 20-year sentence two years ago and has not yet been released. The authorities stick to it on the ground of his religious activity within prison.*

From the Cuban political penitentiary «Combinado del Este»  
Prison, Havana.

February 23rd, 1983

For: Mrs. Martha Valladares.

Dear Brother:

Just a few hours ago I sealed up a letter-bullet for you, and now they have just brought in two youths from «Human Rights» (Punishment Section). So now I have learned of the treatment they are receiving in those dungeons. The torture is both mental and physical. But now they have made it harsher than ever before in the death cells.

If you were to suddenly enter there, you'd think the walls

NOTE: Humberto Noble Alexander was released on June, 1984; that is, more than two years after having completed his 20-year sentence.

were painted red. But no, Brother, it is the blood of the martyred. Now they've invented a new pastime. Can you guess what it is? Well, they bring in their German shepherd dogs to train them in the corridors. They lead in the prisoners, close up the halls, and all is set for the games to begin. The dogs become genuinely wild beasts and the corridors turn into a Roman coliseum. No matter how hard I try I could not word a description of this scene, only seeing is believing, or seeing these poor men with wounds scattered over their bodies and infected with worms in some places.

I tell you all this because I know you understand how another abuse has taken place, like that of San Ramón and Tres Macios.

And here we are, with hands tied up, being isolated like never before. You can understand how people's spirits are having to bear with all this and then hear them yelling on «R.H.C.» (RADIO HAVANA CUBA) about prisoners' rights and the maltreatment suffered by prisoners in Chile and other American countries.

We must give out what is happening here.

*Chao*

## CUBAN JAILS FOR WOMEN

*By former female political prisoners*

### 1. May 20th, 1961 - Mother's Day

We were 100 women held in Guanabacoa's jail and they wanted to transfer us to Guanajay prison, where conditions were unbearable. We tried to resist this and so 20 were taken to a cell where from, later on, they were taken out by 60 guards who started to beat them. The prison was fenced in by some 600 armed men and women. They finally took these 20 women away in a cellular car and subjected the remaining ones to water hoses at a pressure of 200 to 300 pounds which threw us on the floor. To one of the women prisoners who was six months pregnant, they directed the hose to her womb to provoke an abortion. Many of us ran to protect her with our bodies. The water pressure left severe marks on our skin for about two months. After the water, the men beat us again.

### 2. June to December, 1961

Guanajay prison. The conditions were terrible, with no medical care at all. Due to the lack of health care, 21 year old Lydia Pérez died in January while in labour. When her husband, who was also a prisoner in another jail, heard the news, he killed himself.

We endured the most thorough searches during which all our personal belongings were taken away, in July, August and September.

These searches always ended with beatings and punishments. One night, one of the women became severely ill and vomited continually. We all started to yell calling for a doctor, but our screaming was ignored. We endeavoured to be heard, and we were indeed. The guards started shooting at us. The marks of the bullets were all over the walls. Then they came into the cells and beat us unmercifully. More than 50 women were left wounded.

In December 1961, 50 year old Julia González-Roquete passed away. She was suffering a painful tooth ache but no medical care whatsoever was given to her. When her condition worsened she was taken to die elsewhere away from her cell. She died from septicemia. Her husband was in prison too and their children in the United States. She was buried scarcely 12 hours after her death.

### **3. July 4th, 1962**

A new stronger disciplinary system was enforced. Unreasonable punishment was constantly inflicted. Relatives' calls were suspended for more than half of the inmates. At midday on the 4th of July, four women were summoned to the Administration where from they were pushed out into a totally locked up truck with the sign «Furniture» on it. One of them managed to escape and ran into the prison yard yelling warnings about the transfer. Immediately four or five men held her and started beating her. In the meantime about 150 armed men and women came into the prison yard walking towards those «in galleys» (Note: «In galleys» means those of us kept inside the cells and not allowed to step out into the aisle) and shouted out 25 of the names, saying afterwards: «Transferred.»

The yard turned into a battlefield: screams, insults, threats, beating, curses, the sound of cracking skulls, blood. Within the cells, many of us remaining «in galleys»... being not able

to do anything for them but to despair and yell. A young black woman, Juana Drake, was taken out of her cell and beaten all along the way while the militia man shouted at her: «Keep moving you rotten nigger...» This girl was again sentenced to three more years after having completed her first three-year term, and put with criminal female prisoners, for having written on the wall the sentence: «We have the right to be free,» in English, Spanish and French.

A total of 65 women prisoners were taken to a military airport in sealed-up trucks with no ventilation at all, being told they were sent to Russia, and suffered abuse during the journey. They were transferred to Oriente province at the eastern end of the island. In Santiago city, they were again jammed into police cage trucks and started on their way to Baracoa's jail, for a trip lasting a full day and night without water or food. A baby girl, born in prison only 23 days before, went with us through this ordeal. The guards gave her no water either for the first hours. When finally some water was provided, it turned out to be salty. The baby had some, and it made her so sick that it was a miracle she survived. Later, she was christened Milagritos (Little Miracle.)

In Baracoa the punishment was even worse. Six months without medical care, with hardly any water and lousy food until January 13, 1963, when we were transferred back to Guanajay prison. At the arrival they tried to have everyone naked to carry out «a thorough search,» with women who had not been able to change the clothes they were still wearing after six months!! They tried to do the same to those of us who remained «in galleys.» When we resisted to be stripped of our clothes, we were savagely beaten. One of us, Sylvia Perdomo, now residing in Miami, was so violently pulled by her hair that her «pony tail» was completely torn off. We were heavily kicked on breasts and wombs. Two of the guards pulled apart the legs of one of us while a third one kept kicking her genitals. This lasted up till 5 in the morning

— and what they left behind was a group of women feeling that for quite a few days could not even eat, full of sores, bleeding and cold, as the temperature was 5° C, and we only had our pijamas on. We were kept «in galleys» for over six months, with no visits, or food bags that when received, usually contained a few pounds of sugar, powder milk, chocolate and some home-made dessert.

#### **4. July, 1963**

We were still «in galleys» when one night Manolo Martínez, Chief of Prisons called in to us. We knew that he was going to create problems as usual, because he is mentally deranged. Since our punishment period was about to finish (from January to July) we agreed not to do anything to arouse his anger. We remained silent in order to avoid trouble, but on noticing our silence he became hysterical and started to send women into «tapiadas.» These are cells with steel plates on the doors and windows allowing no light to come through, and as to sanitary facilities, there is only a hole in the floor. He started to call names out up to 40 chosen at random. He kept them in the «tapiadas,» without ventilation and in total darkness, with no beds or even water to wash themselves, and with the same uniform for over 40 days. They only had one meal a day of boiled corn flour and two small glasses of water per day. Many were bitten by spiders and rats. When taken out, they were unable to open their eyes in daylight for several days.

#### **5. February, 1964**

The guards sent women prisoners into seclusion again for a period of six months: this time there were 64 of them.

#### **6. November, 1964**

Two months after releasing the second group of the «tapiadas,» Captain San Luis of the Prison Department, consue-

tudinary drunkard, came into the galley. He was drunk and carried a gun. Once in the galley, he began to insult us. We got scared and asked him to leave as he was drunk and he started firing his gun on to the ceiling. Some militia men appeared and took him away but later on he took revenge sending 60 women prisoners into the «tapiadas,» this time for a period of four months. Almost all of them were covered up with fungus, athlete's foot and other ulcerations, and one of them was under a hypoglycaemic coma because she was denied a teaspoonful of sugar she badly needed. Many became ill with liver and bladder diseases, as well as ulcers.

## **7. January, 1965**

Every 10 or 16 months we were taken out for inquiries — what we thought about God, the revolution, Cuba, the USA, the rehabilitation programmes (indoctrination), what we would like to do if we were free, etc. It was an annual test of our minds. In this occasion, 60 women refused to submit themselves once again to go over this sort of mental torture, but they were taken by force, by men who twisted back their arms along the 250 metres from the «tapiadas» to the office. Others were beaten with sticks and carried away in cellular cars. At the arrival all of them were beaten on their wombs and kicked. If they refused to face the inquiry, the guards continued to beat them in the office.

During these beatings those of us in the «galleys» could only shout «cowards and murderers» to them, whilst awaiting our turn to be beaten. A women prisoner still in jail, was so badly hurt that for over five days she lay on the floor, unable to move or utter a single word. Our pleads for medical aid for her did not succeed. For months there was blood in her urine.

## **8. November, 1966**

Forced labour was put into effect, but we resisted. More

beating, more of us in «tapiadas» and more confinements. The guards brought female inmates from the penitentiary — who were mentally ill, physically and morally degenerated — and lodged them in cells above ours. For 30 consecutive days and nights, without a minute rest, they made a «tin beating» hitting the cell bars with tin plates. The noise was hellish. The nerves reached a degree of edginess and the head looked like going to burst. It was impossible to rest or sleep. Not satisfied with all this, the guards turned on loudspeakers at full blast with static sounds of the Communist Anthem «The International.» After 30 days we could not stand it anymore. Suddenly the noise stopped, but for 2 days I still kept hearing it in my brain. Now, the silence also did not allow us to sleep. It was a crushing experience. The noise had pierced our brains.

## **9. February 14th, 1965**

We were given an ultimatum. Either we would do forced labour the guards would bring back the convicted women prisoners into our cells. That would have killed all of us. We started to work from 7 to 11.30 a.m. and from 1.30 to 5 p.m. removing the grass with shovels.

Upon returning to our cells we were locked up until next day. The food continued to be awful. For four months we only had boiled eggs and Russian canned mincemeat. After the third month I threw up just looking at it. I became ill with hepatitis. For more than 15 days I only ate bread, water, sugar and a piece of tomato and lettuce that I had managed to smuggle from the field. From November 8th, 1965 up to April, 1967 we were kept in «tapiadas.» Exactly for 17 months. On April 18th, we were removed from Guanajay prison to make room for the men that could not be kept in other prisons, and we were taken to Guanabacoa's jail before going to a concentration camp, ironically called «Free Amer-

ica.» We were about 400 women approximately 45 to a cell, with hardly any space to move like in galleys, for a full month.

In the concentration camp (sort of a farm confiscated to their rightful owner) the discipline, work and punishment increased. Two large aisles were turned into galleys. In one of these (50 × 70 feet) they kept 350 women, and in the other (12 × 34 feet) the remaining 50. They set up a «Court» for trials, with a jury formed by 3 or 4 militia men who punished us almost for nothing, cancelling our visits, mail, bags or food parcels. Every Monday a «Court» was held with an average of 25 punished. I personally had my visits, mail, and food bags cancelled for three months — just because I picked up a mango, that had fallen from a tree.

A girl whose parents were about to leave the country and who was doing her best to avoid the cancellation of their last visit, was accused of «looking with hatred to a militia woman,» and punished for six months.

Another one had a three-month punishment for not having gone to work under a severe asthma fit that almost prevented her from breathing.

We did not have any warm clothes at all. We only had two denim uniforms, two pieces of underwear and a bedsheet to cover us up. We tried to get newspapers to put them between our clothes and bodies and inside our stockings. After two months of severe winter, a flannel undershirt was provided to women over 60 years old.

Our meals: breakfast at 6 a.m. consisting of hot water with dark brown sugar. At 12 noon boiled noodles or a light bean soup (sometimes of the «Guanina» type, that is, food for porks) and a piece of bread. At 5.30 p.m. bean consomé with Russian canned mincemeat or corn flour, boiled eggs or rice and a piece of bread. The guards knew that we were going to be hungry during the night, but did not allow us to take the bread into the cells. Sometimes I managed to hide it under my clothes because I could not sleep with an empty

stomach. By then I had acquired hyperchloridia and my bladder hardly functioned (if I went with an empty stomach for a long while I would feel terrible pains.) I still had hepatitis and my nervous condition gave way to uncontrolled heartbeats. I lost 38 pounds. Once I became so critically ill, that I had to be injected two intravenous serums, and I was given some vegetable soup. That was all the medical care I received. Next day I was back again on the highly greasy canned Russian meat and the boiled eggs that by then I was unable to swallow.

Things became worse. New prison rules granted a visit every 30 days and authorized receiving or writing one letter every 45 days. The guards did everything possible to force us into the Rehabilitation Programme.

In October, 1969, it was the birthday of one of the inmates and we wanted to celebrate it by singing and dancing for her. The militia men did not like this and they suddenly break into the cell for an inspection. They broke everything that came across and beat us with wrapped electric wires, sticks and machetes. I saw seven guards (four males and three females) beating one of my fellow inmates. When I tried to help her, they hit me on the back with a machete. One of the scars they left me is still visible.

That day ended with a balance of broken arms, a head with 14 stitches, three inmates with broken ribs, and all with signs of the beating. One of the girls was so seriously wounded that for a month we were afraid she might lose one of her eyes.

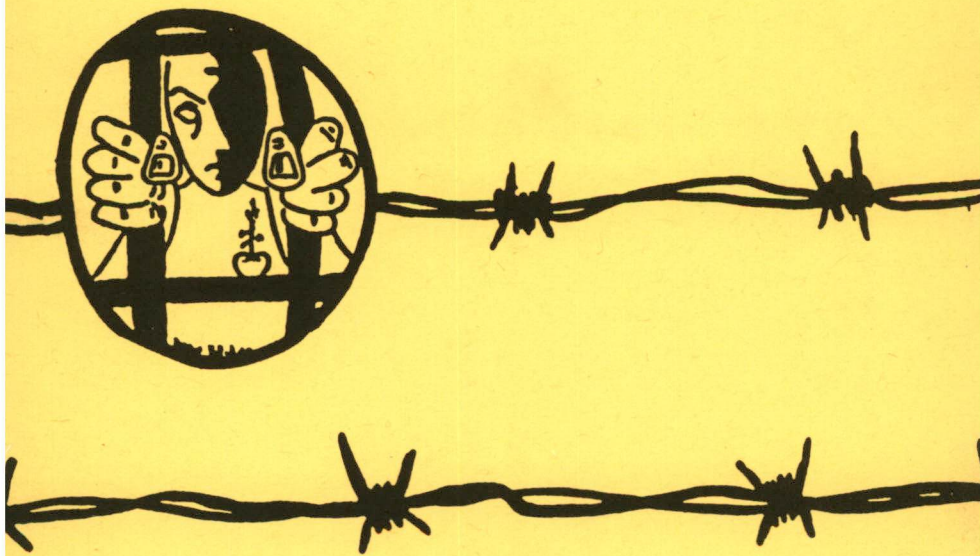
The women still in prison in this concentration camp «Free America» recently named «Nuevo Amanecer» (New Dawn) are still enduring the worst conditions without enough food, medical care, almost without visits or mail, facing the cruel reality that while a lot is said about political prisoners in other parts of the world, the plight of Cuban prisoners remains ignored.

**Report signed by:**

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PRISONS  
AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS  
IN CUBA



**PRISONS  
AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS  
IN CUBA**

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COMITE  
PRO DERECHOS HUMANOS  
EN CUBA  
CLAUDIO COELLO, 41-1.º  
MADRID (ESPAÑA)

## **PRISONS AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN CUBA**

It is impossible to make a precise count of the penal population in Cuba, including all types of prisoners, men, women and children. However, without exaggerating, we can state that, according to the latest information received from Cuba, there are now between 140,000 and 150,000 ordinary prisoners (and this estimate probably remains short). There are no less than 35,000 young men who are now imprisoned because of the Compulsory Military Service (S.M.O.), and at least 15,000 political prisoners. Of the nearly 3,000 political prisoners reprieved in 1978 and 1979, about 200 maintain a position of rebellion by rejecting the established rehabilitation and work plans. The rest of the political prisoners, who have been sentenced from 1967 to the present, together with «rehabilitated» prisoners who have completed 14 to 16 years of their prison sentences, are working. The new prisoners in Cuba, since 1967, are directly assigned to the work and rehabilitation plans in prisons, concentration camps and «open fronts».

### **PRISONS AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS. THEIR ORGANISATION**

We have a good knowledge of the prisons, concentration camps and other penal establishments in Cuba, although here we will only be referring to those on which we have been able to compile specific information. The regime constantly

deactivates some institutions and builds other new ones throughout the Island. And not all of them appear in this report.

There are hundreds of prisons which are commonly designated by the kilometre point where they are located along a given road. For example, «Kilómetro Siete» is an establishment situated at kilometre 7 on the Camagüey-Nuevitas road. All the prisons, concentration camps, encampments, etc. are numbered in the different regions of the country. There are nearly 50 regional areas throughout the Island, and each regional area has a «Command Post» or «Base» which controls the prisons of different types which are located in its territory. There are also the so-called «Open Fronts», composed of numerous brigades, which may in turn consist of 50, 100 or 200 prisoners. Each «Front» has thousands of prisoners at its disposal, who are moved as soon as they finish a job in a given place. The Open Fronts contain ordinary, political and Compulsory Military Service (S.M.O.) prisoners, all working together. The regime sends prisoners who are considered less dangerous, or those who will soon be completing their terms, to these Fronts. The main incentive of these establishments is the offer of a pass for prisoners so that they may visit their homes once every 45 days.

#### **THE SO-CALLED «OPEN FRONTS»**

There are at least six Open Fronts in Havana. These Fronts do not have anything to do with the other prisons. The «Sixth Front», for example, extends from San Antonio de los Baños to Jagüey Grande, in Matanzas province. These prisons are specialised in mechanical works, electrical installations, plumbing, and all types of construction.

All the Country Secondary Schools (ESBEC) have been built by prisoners. The regime obtains a skilled workforce

from among the political prisoners, and for this reason all the prisons, Open Fronts, etc. contain political, ordinary and Compulsory Military Service prisoners. As of the end of November, prisoners had built no less than 150 schools. The civilian personnel, and particularly skilled civilians, are of minimum numbers in these projects. Prisoners have also constructed about 25 schools which are designated by the regime as «Teacher Training Units», where the primary thing, as in all the schools, is «allegiance to Marxism-Leninism». Furthermore, prisoners have built more than 20 polytechnic schools, particularly in Oriente and Camagüey. Other constructions have been carried out in the sugar plants throughout the Island.

In its issue of April 20, 1973, the government weekly *Bohemia* admitted the use of «counter-revolutionary» prisoners in public works. *Bohemia* informed, in 1973, that in addition to «contributing to agriculture, and particularly to the sugar harvest» (which is the most labour-intensive job in Cuba), the political prisoners had completed a whole series of works and were actively employed in others, including:

- In the province of Havana, they built three secondary schools, 135 dairy farms and 6 cattle breeding centres, 344 housing projects, and other works.
- In Pinar del Río, they were building 48 housing units and 8 secondary schools, in addition to working in a prefabricated materials plant, two carpentry shops and four government establishments.
- In Matanzas, they built a dairy farm, a hog breeding farm, a prefabricated materials plant, a mortar factory and a carpentry shop, in addition to carrying out the works for enlargement of two penal institutions.
- In las Villas, they built 2 secondary schools, 10 dairy farms, a group of silos, 3 manufacturing plants and a penal unit inside a prefabricated materials plant.

- In Camagüey province, they constructed 28 dairy farms, 24 housing units and a secondary school.
- In Oriente province, they were mainly employed in the construction of prefabricated materials plants within penal institutions, and in the adaptation and construction of such institutions.

The labour required by this quantity of projects indicates that legions of thousands and thousands of political prisoners were put to work in Open Fronts.

In the newspaper *Granma*, such things as «Brigades of the Ministry of the Interior sent to Camagüey» can often be read. These are brigades of prisoners under the control of the Ministry of the Interior. The word «prisoner» is taboo and the regime avoids using it in public, although prisoners are precisely what most abound in the workforce of the country.

The second-in-command of prisons and other penal establishments in Oriente, a second lieutenant known as «Papito Struch», once stated: «Prisoners are a primary workforce.» His words were quite true.

Even prisoners sentenced to only thirty days, and those who, for lack of money, cannot pay required fees, are sent to concentration camps, open fronts, encampments and hostels (the latter are institutions where prisoners sleep, being transported to work sites in other places). Prisoners are crowded together in lorries and trailers when transported.

There are also concentration camps for «punished persons» of different State departments. They are told that they are not prisoners, but that they may not leave the assigned workplace until they are given a pass. These «punished people» are sentenced by «Work Boards». If they try to escape, they are tried by the so-called «People's Courts» and sent to a different type of concentration camp with stricter surveillance and greater repression. Farming or construction work is involved. The Communists have reached such a high

level of impudence, that they have created «Prisoners' Work Boards», composed of the most submissive and unconditional prisoners who collaborate out of personal interests. These «Boards» punish their own companions.

The body called D.E.S.A. (Development of Social and Agricultural Constructions) has a workforce in which almost 60 % of the workers are prisoners. Let's take a look at some figures on this organisation for the first nine months of 1974: works were carried out for the amount of \$348,510,910 in construction and assembly, \$23,395,400 more than in the preceding year. 93 farming and ranching constructions were carried out, 85 school works, and 10 miscellaneous works (including the new prisons built), plus 9,314 homes.

## PRISONS IN PINAR DEL RIO PROVINCE

### *The notorious «Ñato»*

The provincial prison here is known as «Cinco y Medio» (Five and a Half), since it is located at this kilometre point along the Pinar del Río-Luis Lazo road. It is directed by the captain of the Ministry of the Interior, Emigdio González, better known as «Ñato». This individual is quite sadistic, and he has earned his rank by his acts against prisoners: beatings, barbaric inspections, etc. «Ñato» has placed young political prisoners together with degenerate ordinary prisoners to have them violated; he has flooded cells and corridors, letting the water rise to over one metre (after previously building containment walls), etc. One of «Ñato's» phrases has become famous: «The revolution has only reached Artemisa (a region which now belongs to Havana), and from there to here, me and Cheda give the orders» (Cheda is the Provincial Chief of Prisons and Penal Establishments in Pinar del Río).

At «Cinco y Medio», there are political prisoners, some

2,500 ordinary prisoners, and Compulsory Military Service (S.M.O.) prisoners. A group of political prisoners there, who have rejected rehabilitation, are kept in nothing but underclothing, in walled-up cells.

There are cells at «Cinco y Medio» which, although intended for only two prisoners, have seven or eight sleeping on the ground. The punishment dungeons or «chapels» are collectively known as «The Toaster», since they are located next to the kitchen and the heat is unbearable, in winter as well as summer. It is a security prison, of the so-called «closed» type. The prisoners work in a prefabricated materials plant, a book-binding shop, a propaganda print shop, and shops for carpentry and the manufacture of handicraft items, etc. There is a women's section this prison.

The following are other prisons and concentration camps in Pinar del Río province:

**G-2 of Pinar del Río:** Near Pinar del Río and «Cinco y medio». It has underground torture cells.

**Loma de los Coches:** Prisoners' encampment in the area of «Cinco y Medio». The prisoners here work on construction. In this place, formerly a military installation, thousands of persons have been executed by firing squad. There are ordinary and political prisoners here.

**El Cuajaní:** Concentration camp near «Cinco y Medio».

**Cárcel Occidental de Mujeres:** Opened in 1981. Near the village of Bauta, in Havana. 2,500 prisoners.

**Llamazares:** Another concentration camp, on the Luis Lazo-Pinar del Río road.

**La Granjita:** Near «Cinco y Medio», with about 300 prisoners, including Jehovah's Witnesses.

**El Jovero:** Command Post of the Guane Regional Area, which has an extension of 3,397 km<sup>2</sup> and comprises Guane,

Mantua, Sandino and Las Martinas. It has 21 construction sectors of country secondary schools.

**Sandino 1 and 2:** About 1,500 political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners in each unit. Unit 3 was previously the largest, with about 2,000 prisoners. It was deactivated not long ago.

**Combinado de Sandino:** Independent of the other prisons, with several hundred inmates. It contains a prefabricated materials plant and different workshops.

**Sandino:** At the present time, a new prison is being built near the concentration camps Sandino 1 and 2. It is a security prison. Prisoners are working on the construction of this penal establishment, just as happens all over Cuba.

**Taco-Taco:** Political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners. This place is famous as a result of an incident in which 8 deaths were produced among ordinary prisoners. It is surrounded by 6 fences, a wall and other security systems. It is under the command of Lieutenant Breto, known by the nickname of «The Jackal of Taco-Taco». He has earned this name by his abuses.

**El Brujo:** Located on the old estate known as «El Sitio», near Puerto de la Coloma. It is a mixed concentration camp, with political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners.

**La Tranquilidad:** In the first years of the revolution, it was a torture camp, particularly for rebellious peasants. People were tied up and submerged in wells up to their neck to make them confess what they were allegedly concealing. Those under accusation were also taken to the cave called «El Indio», where thousands of bats lived. There, they were tied, hands and feet, and thrown into the cave, with guards watching the entrance. This penal establishment contains cells known as «lockers», into which several people are placed without room to lie down. Access is by a place known as Fierro.

**El Baly:** In Los Palacios. It is particularly used for punished military personnel of the Ministry of the Interior. There are also other prisoners in a different part of this area, separated from the military men.

**El Caribe:** In Alonso Rojas, Consolación del Sur. It has three fences, and contains political and ordinary prisoners. It is a maximum security centre.

**La Vigía:** Near Mantua, for minors. Over 1,000 prisoners. It is a fenced-off centre, with several barbed wire fences and sentry boxes.

**La Majana:** Concentration camp on the south coast of Pinar del Río. Contains S.M.O. prisoners.

**El Corajo:** In San Luis. Concentration camp with S.M.O. prisoners.

**Herradura:** In Consolación del Sur. It operates with what is called «El Combinado». Over 600 political prisoners, working with prefabricated materials (another concentration camp).

**El Corojal:** Mixed concentration camp in Candelaria.

**Fajardo:** In San Cristóbal, with about 1,500 prisoners. Mixed concentration camp.

#### «OPEN FRONTS», PRISONS AND CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN HAVANA PROVINCE

In Havana province, there are currently eight «Open Fronts» for work, independent of the prisons, concentration camps, encampments and hostels. The «Fronts» have dozens of brigades, which pertain to different sectors.

**La Cabaña Prison:** Set within the military fortress of the same name, whose construction was completed in 1774. It currently contains about 400 political prisoners, most of whom

are between the ages of 18 and 20. Other prisoners have been sent there for having attempted to escape from concentration camps, open fronts, the country itself, etc. There is always an average of about 3,000 young S.M.O. and ordinary prisoners. Groups of prisoners are frequently sent out to work sites. They are transported to concentration camps in lorries and trailers, like animals. Transfers take place from dawn to night. Orders can be heard on the loudspeakers, calling out for one group or another, because the trailers are waiting. And so, like animals, like modern slaves, the prisoners are transferred to work centres throughout the Island.

This is perhaps the prison where the Cubans have been executed by firing squad. Just as has been denounced by Amnesty International and the Report on Human Rights of the OAS (Organisation of American States) and other organisations, the executions have not ceased in Cuba since 1959. In 1982, nearly one hundred prisoners were shot to death in this prison.

**G-2 of Havana:** Located in a former school of the Marist Brothers, a Catholic religious order, in La Víbora. This centre, the Cuban Ljubljana, the capital of terror, has been operating in this district since 1963. Its basements are equipped with the most refined torture methods, including artificially cooled cells where the water on the ground turns to ice. Other cells can be artificially heated, and still others measure only one-half metre, where the prisoner is held for weeks, standing, until he confesses. And these are but some of the horrors.

**El Morro:** A genuine centrifuge of prisoners, where the «club-helmet» method is used. This prison, which is a bivouac of Havana, was built by the Spaniards in 1630. It has been deactivated and reactivated several times. It currently contains political prisoners awaiting trial. There is a stable average of about 3,500 to 4,000 ordinary prisoners who, the same as the political prisoners, are crowded in underground

galleries, hungry and lacking in medical care. Hundreds and hundreds of them sleep on the ground because there is not enough room, and there is not even running water.

El Morro is a centre of repression. For psychological reasons, the new political and ordinary prisoners are terrorised with constant inspections. The guards place their helmets on prisoners and then strike them with clubs. The poet Miguel Sales, whose case has become known, was clubbed twice in this way while at El Morro. Political prisoners who have been at El Morro have informed that, in two months' time, 6,000 political and ordinary prisoners were admitted. When the sugar harvest time arrives, the number of daily arrests increases. It should be noted that, in each of the 148 central sugar plants of the Island, six to ten prisoners' camps are installed during the cane harvest. They consist of sheds which cover only the minimum needs, without the slightest comfort. The groups of prisoners exit from El Morro constantly. It is a real centrifuge.

**Melena 1 and 2:** In Melena del Sur. These two units contain a total of over 3,000 ordinary prisoners. They work in prefabricated materials plants and in other types of jobs. S.M.O. prisoners are also held here.

**Melena del Sur:** In the area of Melena 1 and 2. It is a concentration camp for persons under fifteen years of age. There are more than one thousand youths and boys of as little as ten years of age.

**Guanajay Prison:** About 750 or 800 S.M.O. prisoners and some political prisoners, who carried out skilled jobs. Carpentry work is done: chairs, desks, blackboards, etc.

**Valle Grande:** One of the latest and largest concentration camps. Located on the road from Havana to Pinar del Río.

**Combinado de Carpintería de Guanajay:** This unit is being constructed with prisoners along one side of the prison. It is a penal establishment of the security type with two

fences and sentry boxes every 50 metres. The Communists have stated that it will be the largest carpentry plant in Latin America. That's how they make their «wonders».

**Valle del Perú:** It has an extension of 625 «caballerías» and is located between Jaruco and San José de las Lajas. The political prisoners and many ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners began to work in this area in 1968 on dairy and forage crop plans. It is 40 kilometres from Havana and the prisoners have built 33 dairies, three calf rebreeding centres and three large cattle raising farms. The prisoners also built a primary school, whose pupils attend to a farm of 17 hectares.

**Cuba-Bulgaria:** Another concentration camp, holding about 2,000 prisoners. It is in the area between San Cristóbal and Guanajay.

**Los Valles de Picadura:** Another of the regime's showcases with prisoners at work. It is an extension of land stretching from the Jibacoa area to the boundaries of Matanzas province.

It is a project of broader scope than «Valle del Perú», with dozens of dairies and other ranching facilities. This programme is led by Ramón Castro, brother of the Cuban dictator. Los Valles de Picadura features modern installations, and it has been toured by all the high Communist officials who have visited Cuba, from Brezhnev to Boumedienne; as well as by Miterrand, and delegations from Perú, México, Sweden, England, Canada, etc.

**San Alejo:** A concentration camp in San Nicolás de Bari, near Río Seco.

**El Mamey:** Another concentration camp in the same area as the preceding establishment. Particularly contains political and S.M.O. prisoners.

**Arco Iris:** Concentration camp for minors. Contains about 1,500 youths. Located near the village of Santiago de las Vegas.

**Nueva Vida:** Concentration camp for about 1,500 minors. Also in the area of Santiago de las Vegas.

**Capitolio:** Concentration camp for youths under fifteen years old. There are boys of nine, ten and eleven years of age here. In the Palos area.

**Mulgoba 1 and 2:** Unit 1 is for females and unit 2 for males under fifteen years of age. The prisoners are guarded by police officers of the Ministry of the Interior. There are about 300 girls and over 500 boys. These minors have been accused of theft, vice, etc.

**San Juan:** Concentration camp between Cayajabo and Cabañas (mixed).

**San Ramón:** Mixed concentration camp, that is, with political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners.

**Santa María del Rosario Prison:** Ordinary prisoners.

**La Nena and La Paloma:** Concentration camps in the former estates of these names, between Artemisa and Guanajay (mixed). Near the former hospital of La Esperanza. In Havana, there is another concentration camp for ordinary prisoners, where there was a police academy.

**La Condesa and Somarriba:** Among other concentration camps in the Güines area. There are dozens of them in this highly fertile agricultural region.

**Güines Prison:** In the village of the same name. Ordinary prisoners and minors.

**Fontanar:** Construction of homes for military men and foreigners. Political and ordinary prisoners. They sleep in «hostels».

**Cayo La Rosa:** San Antonio de los Baños. Ordinary and political prisoners. Prefabricated materials plant (concentration camp).

**Malagamba 1, 2 and 3:** S.M.O. prisoners in San Antonio

de los Baños. Thousands of these youths are held here. Their number is uncountable.

**Virgen de Regla:** Concentration camp for female ordinary prisoners. Its name comes from the former estate in San Antonio de los Baños.

**El Pitirre:** At the end of the Padrón road. Holds 1,000 minors.

**Comet Cart Factory:** San Antonio de los Baños. This establishment has been enlarged, and over 400 political and ordinary prisoners work here.

**Primera and Calle 176:** Flores District. Homes are built for the Soviets and other foreigners. Apartment buildings are also constructed. Political and ordinary prisoners. They are taken to the «La Gallega» hostels (Campo Florido) in lorries to spend the night.

**La Gallega:** Concentration camp at Campo Florido. About 400 ordinary prisoners.

**Arroyo Naranjo:** Concentration camp for minors. About 600 young men.

**The New Habana del Este Prison:** On Vía Monumental. In 1980, 13,500 political and ordinary prisoners were being held here. It contains a section for homosexuals and a building which acts as a bivouac. One of its installation has 99 strict-punishment cells.

This prison holds hundreds of political prisoners who refuse political rehabilitation. They are kept naked, without medical care, incommunicated and locked in walled-up cells for up to four years, since 1980. When these prisoners fulfill their prison term, they are not set free.

**Pedro Pi:** Between Jamaica and Cuatro Caminos. Political and ordinary prisoners. Construction of housing and other jobs.

**La Clarita:** Concentration camp between Guanajay and Artemisa (political and ordinary prisoners).

**Combinado del Este for Children:** Located to the left of the HABANA DEL ESTE prison. About 2,000 children are held here. The prison is equipped with an operating room so that the minors do not need to be taken out of the installation.

**La Bertiel:** Near Guanajay, in the direction of Artemisa. Assembly of vehicles imported from France and other countries. Bus chassis of different types (concentration camp).

**San Antonio:** Concentration camp in Bahía Honda. Political and ordinary prisoners.

**Jaruco 1 and 2:** Concentration camp, unit 1 for adults and unit 2 for minors.

**Nuevo Amanecer:** Concentration camp for female political and ordinary prisoners. On the Punta Brava-Guatao road. It was opened when «América Libre» became too small and was closed.

**13 and Paseo:** Off-limits. Prison for minors. It is for admissions and evaluation.

**Quivicán:** Concentration camp for ordinary prisoners and some political prisoners, who performed skilled jobs. It is a large installation, with three or four thousand prisoners.

**Alamar:** Brigades of political and common prisoners who work in housing construction, also in Guanabo and Jibacoa.

**Guanabacoa:** Many brigades of political and ordinary prisoners construct apartment buildings in the districts of Nalón, Debeche, Villa Elena, Pomo de Oro, Ampliación de Guanabacoa, La Loma and others. In particular, apartment buildings are built for military men and foreigners. Many of the prisoners used here, come from zones 1 and 2 of La Cabaña and from hostels located in San Miguel del Padrón, where there are five buildings with fences and sentry boxes. The command post is located in «La Gallega», Campo Florido. There are work plans with political and ordinary prisoners in the so-called «Triángulo de Catalina» and in

«Bacuranao». In Guanabacoa, prisoners were used to build a Dairy Complex. In Cojímar, they built a teachers' institute, as well as country schools 3 and 4 in Ariguanabo and homes in Belena and Baracoa.

**Güira 1 and 2, Marquetti:** These and other concentration camps, in Güira de Melena. S.M.O., ordinary and political prisoners. There are minors under 15 years old here, too.

**Combinado del Lápiz de Batabanó:** Minors work here, packing pencils in boxes. About 300 prisoners.

**Castillo del Príncipe:** In the city of Havana itself, at Calzada de Zapata. It held 5,000 ordinary prisoners, and has now been deactivated:

**Castillo de Atarés:** In Havana city, on the hill of the same name. It has been used as a torture centre because of its underground cells. It is currently used as a military prison.

**Santa Amalia Farm:** In Havana, exclusively for military personnel of the Ministry of the Interior. About 2,500 prisoners.

**Artemisa Banana Plan:** With punished civilians and ex-prisoners, political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners. It lies in an extensive area of Artemisa as far as Alquízar. Thousands of prisoners work here. These are persons punished by different government bodies, who have been tried by the «work boards». If they attempt to escape, they are tried by the so-called «People's Courts». Insane persons are also put to work in the «Plan Plátano» or Banana Plan, earning 30 pesos a month. They are under the control of the Psychiatric Hospital, formerly Mazorra, and of guards.

**La Castellana:** Men's prison. In the Mazorra area.

**Halls and Prisons of G-2:** The so-called National Psychiatric Hospital (formerly Mazorra) has one part which is displayed to visitors, and particularly to medical delegations, as a «showcase». The Ministry of the Interior has two halls.

They are under its jurisdiction. One is «V́ctor Barahona», with about 100 beds. The other is the «Paredes» Hall, for 50 or 60 cases. The Ministry of the Interior also has about 200 cells and dungeons. Many prisoners and ex-prisoners have passed through it, among them, Angel Laborde, V́ctor Sira, the poet and writer René Ariza, and Jorge Arcala Rodríguez, 19 years of age and resident of San José de las Lajas, who was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on charges of having torn a poster with picture of Leonidas Brezhnev, at the time of the latter's visit to Cuba. These young peasant had torn off a piece of the poster and used it to pick his teeth. He was moreover accused of «political unreliability» and a false testimony was presented, as happens in most cases prosecuted by the political police, to justify the bureaucratic apparatus.

The patients of the former Mazorra Asylum, who are charges of the Ministry of the Interior, include one who is notorious throughout the land. His last name is Mederos and this «patient» is one of the champions at beating the prisoners of the political police who fall into his power. The «electro-shocks» at this establishment know no limits, and there is no appropriate scientific criterion for them. We have seen many young men in prisons with the marks of electro-shocks on the sides of their head.

Political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners work in hundreds of places more in Havana. In the former «Merceditas» and «Gómez Mena» central sugar plants, which now bear other names, political prisoners are currently building two sugar polytechnics. Here, while the young people «study», they will be utilised in the work of the sugar industry.

**Ceiba Plan:** In this area of the province of Havana, which comprises Ceiba del Agua and environs, the political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners have built five country schools, roads, homes, and half-board primary schools. The tourists who see crews of workers building roads or fences do not

suspect that they are prisoners. The prisoners are currently building a university teaching affiliate. A plan for citrus and other fruit is being carried out on an extension of 386 «caballerías».

**Parque Lenin:** This was also built by prisoners and ex-prisoners. It covers an extension of several «caballerías» between Havana and Santiago de Las Vegas. The buildings were constructed by prisoners, ex-prisoners and a few civilians. It is another of the «wonders» achieved by the system. Its restaurant, «Las Ruinas», serves all types of drinks and foods. In other establishments of the park, one can find everything that is not freely sold in the rest of Cuba: crackers, candy, hot dogs, etc. This park was devised by the government as a way of collecting money, selling almost everything at prohibitive prices.

**Stone Crushing Plant:** This installation is being built by a large number of prisoners in San José de las Lajas, in the Cuatro Caminos area. A brigade of political and ordinary prisoners are used here. The Communists hold that this will be the largest stone crushing plant in Cuba, with a capacity of 800,000 cubic metres.

**Isle of Pines:** This is one of the eleven regional areas of the province of Havana, with 2,199 km<sup>2</sup>. From 1963, a pilot plan of forced labour was started. It was called the «Morejón Plen», since a lieutenant of that name, a henchman of the Ministry of the Interior, is the person responsible for directing the repression against thousands of political prisoners there, in the former «Presidio Modelo», which was constructed by the Machado government between 1926 and 1928 for ordinary prisoners.

In 1963, what the Communists called the «Special Camilo Cienfuegos Plan» was started. This plan was spoken of as a civilian project in the press, but it involved the forced labour of more than 10,000 political prisoners, situated in the four

circulars, two buildings and sheds in the concentration camps designated «Mella» and «La Reforma». The prisoners carried out agricultural jobs, constructed and operated dairies, laboured in two stone and marble quarries, carried out different constructions, etc. They were divided into «blocks», which were in turn divided into brigades of 50 and 100 prisoners. Balance of the «Special Camilo Cienfuegos Plan»: completed in 1967, it showed a balance of several dozen prisoners murdered, shot, dead from starvation in hunger strikes, jabbed by bayonets, mutilated or driven mad.

To erase those years of torture and murder in the forced labour camps, the idea arose of turning the Isle of Pines into the «Isle of Youth», a demagogic name concealing another plan. Work, this time with the students from the primary, secondary, college preparatory and other schools.

The new plans are based on another form of slavery, and it was thanks to the forced labour of prisoners, that the main foundations were laid for the overall utilisation of the Isle of Pines. It cost the death, blood and sweat of modern slaves, in the midst of the 20th Century. The system has adopted other methods, but it continues to make use of scientifically devised slavery. The prisoners who do not work are not released upon completing their terms. Pressure is even applied by denying medical care, in the aim of getting more «rehabilitated» prisoners to work. Thousands of psychological and hunger-based methods, derived from the Soviet experiments, are used to attain their ends. The present Isle of Pines Plan comprises 84 new secondary schools, built by prisoners. Schools are now operating with over 20,000 students, both Cuban and foreign (above all Africans), who take care of thousands of «caballerías» of land, primarily with grapefruit orchards. The Plan will be developed to cover 2,000 to 3,400 «caballerías», utilising the work of more than 40,000 young men and women, most of them between the ages of twelve and fifteen, although primary school children are also used. The

citrus fruit plans and others, on both the Isle of Pines and in Cuba, which are carried out with students, are under the responsibility of the State Farming Association of the so-called National Agricultural Reform Institute. This Institute, as is generally known, has not benefited any peasants, but quite to the contrary, it has dispossessed them of their lands, as is the rule with Communism.

To wind up these brief notes, let's see what Captain Antonio Núñez Jiménez, now ambassador in Perú, wrote about the «Special Camilo Cienfuegos Plan»:

The «Special Camilo Cienfuegos Plan» is being carried out on the Isle of Pines, and it is a beautiful example of what a country in Revolution is capable of achieving: Treasure Island becomes a rich grapefruit production area and is developing a magnificent cattle industry, with the effort and work of thousands of young people in the farming columns.

No remarks are necessary here. It was the prisoners who gave their lives, blood, sweat and suffering.

## **MATANZAS PROVINCE**

**Castillo de San Severino:** Closed prison, with inhospitable wards, built in 1692 by the Spaniards. Today there are some 700 political and ordinary prisoners. It contains a prefabricated materials plant, where the prisoners are used. The prison was deactivated, but later reactivated.

**Agüica:** Security concentration camp, with several fences, barbed wire entanglements and sentry boxes every 50 meter. Over 1,300 prisoners are held here.

**Caballero Milián:** For political prisoners. In Pedro Betancourt, concentration camp with several fences and sentry boxes with armed guards. There are prefabricated materials plants.

**Porfuerza:** Concentration camp devoted to agricultural labours.

**Santa Rita-Baró:** Several encampments in this agricultural area.

**Jicarita:** In Bolondrón. Concentration camp for ordinary, political and S.M.O. prisoners.

**Canasí:** Several concentration camps.

**Ciénaga de Zapata:** Located in the largest regional area of the Island, which likewise comprises Jagüey Grande, with 4,460 square kilometres. Several thousand prisoners are used for work throughout this region.

## LAS VILLAS PROVINCE

**Centro de Seguridad Nieves Morejón:** Between Guayos and Sancti Spíritus. About 360 prisoners are held here, in three buildings, with about 120 in each one. There are political prisoners on work and rehabilitation plans. This prison was opened in March 1973, with the personnel from Manacás. The prison has a capacity for 1,500 men. New section are now beign completed.

**Nieves Morejón:** Name of a former estate. Here there is a quarry where prisoners are employed. This installation, together with the «Gua» and «Arriete» quarries, also in Las Villas and where prisoners also work, are considered the largest on the Island.

**El Condado:** In the middle of the country, near the village of the same name, 20 km. from Trinidad. This was a centre for interrogations and tortures, not for condemned prisoners. Surrounded by electric fences.

Another installation, exactly the same as the preceding one and called «El Serrucho», to the north of Ciego de Avila, has a capacity for 500 prisoners and the same mission: interrogations and tortures to obtain confessions.

**Santa Clara Prison:** «A prison which looks like a factory». This is the provincial prison. It is near the capital, on the road from Esperanza to Antón Díaz. It was opened in February 1973. It has two sections for political prisoners of the Rehabilitation Plan in transit to other prisons. Capacity for more than 2,500 prisoners, with several platforms to allow construction of other bays or sheds. It contains a prefabricated materials plant, known as the «Prefabrication Centre». It does not look like a prison, but rather, like a factory in which civilian workers are employed. There are gardens in front and around it, trimmed trees, etc. It covers a large extension, and it is a security prison.

**Ariza:** Security prison, located at the entrance of Cienfuegos, on the road to Rodas. More than one thousand prisoners on the Rehabilitation Plan. There is a prefabricated materials plant.

**Palma Sola:** Women's concentration camp, located in the Placetás district. Over 800 female political and ordinary prisoners. There are also some male prisoners here. Farming plan.

**Tres Palmas:** Women's prison. With 500 ordinary prisoners.

**Aguada de Pasajeros:** There are several concentration camps in this area, with thousands of prisoners. In Cienfuegos and Sancti-Spíritus, there are also concentration camps which the Communists cover up with the designation of «farms».

**Cárcel de Remedios:** In the same village, with about 300 ordinary prisoners and some political prisoners.

**Santa Isabel de las Lajas:** Several concentration camps with political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners. (These installations have no names, since they have been designated as «Typical» and given an order number since 1967. For example: Typical 1 of Santa Isabel de las Lajas, Typical 2,

etc. They have a capacity for about 500 prisoners each.

**Los Mangos:** Hundreds of Jehovah's Witnesses were kept in this concentration camp for political prisoners.

**El Condado and La Campana:** In the Escambray area.

**El Capiro and La Cochiquiera,** to the south of Las Villas, currently deactivated. Hundreds of executions took place here, particularly of rebellious peasants from Cartagena, Parque Alto, Tres Pinos, etc. The persons executed were thrown into wells then under construction. Hundreds disappeared without their families ever having been notified of their fate.

**El Cayo Diego Pérez:** Located to the south of Zapata Swamp. In 1961 and 1962, prisoners were taken to this mosquito-infested area. They had been accused of homosexuality, vagrancy, etc. The main thing is that they were «politically unreliable». Here, in the swamp, they carried out forced labour. In 1964 and 1965, it became a centre for another type of prisoners: the so-called «psycho-selected» persons, accused of graft, etc. (In all these past times, it was enough to be the owner of a car, a house or any other property, for a person to be tried on some mock charge, since these people were considered politically unreliable for the Communist regime and the objective was to dispossess them of their belongings.) From 1968 to 1972, there were political prisoners here, and in 1973, S.M.O. military prisoners began to be sent to this establishment.

## **CAMAGÜEY and ORIENTE PROVINCES**

**«Kilo Siete» Prison:** This is a security prison with political and ordinary prisoners. More than 2,500 prisoners are held here. Located in Camagüey province. Operates as a prefabricated materials plant. The section for ordinary

prisoners is a den of corruption. In 1974, there were more than 40 murders here in fights between ordinary prisoners, with many of these brawls being due to reasons of regional rivalry, between men from Havana and Camagüey. This regional war began with the death of an ordinary prisoner named Quijada, who was murdered by an inmate from Havana.

The garrison encourages these fights.

***Kilo Siete y Medio, Kilo Nueve and Kilo Doce:*** These are other concentration camps.

***El Mambí:*** This is considered to be one of the largest concentration camps in Cuba. The Communists say that is the largest «farm». It is in the Florida area, and contains political and S.M.O. prisoners. Plans are carried out for the breeding of chickens, turkeys and other fowl; hog and cattle breeding; crop raising, etc. There are over 3,000 prisoners.

***Morón Prison:*** With walled-up cells for rehabilitation of political prisoners. About 450 prisoners.

***Falla:*** Concentration camp, with over 1,000 young S.M.O. prisoners.

***Chambas:*** Near Punta Alegre. Concentration camp for political and ordinary prisoners.

***El Anoncillo:*** This is one of the many «bases» or «command posts», with some 8,000 political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners under its control. Near the city of Camagüey.

***La Loma:*** This is a sub-base, with about 1,500 prisoners of different types, including political prisoners.

***La Majasera:*** On the Cubanacán road. About 3,000 political and ordinary prisoners. This is another concentration camp.

***Florida:*** In this regional area, a series of facilities were started up for dairy operations, cattle breeding, etc. What was

called the «First Ring» began here, comprising an extensive area. They are now working on the «Fifth Ring», built by thousands of prisoners, and particularly political prisoners. The project covers an area as far as Holguín, in Oriente province.

**Marchena 1, 2 and 3:** Near Hatuey and the former «Siboney» plant. There are thousands of prisoners in these concentration camps.

**13 y Medio:** Concentration camp near Vertientes. In this same area, there are four «farms» for female political and ordinary prisoners, and one for male political prisoners. There is also a «farm» for girls under fifteen years of age.

**El Corojal:** In Gaspar, concentration camp for political and ordinary prisoners.

**La Caoba:** In Ciego de Avila. A concentration camp for different types of prisoners, including political prisoners.

**La Matilde:** 7 km. from Siboney, with three fence enclosures. Political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners. This establishment is equipped with torture cells, of the type known as «lockers». There are two concentration camps for political prisoners.

**Siboney:** Two concentration camps for political prisoners, with three fence enclosures and sentry boxes. There is a centre for breeding German shepherd dogs, which come from West Germany. They are distributed in all the concentration camps to pursue escaped prisoners. Each concentration camp has six sheds and over one thousand dogs.

Some of our companions who have been there, say that the drinking water is hot, since it comes from the Siboney power plant. The food is terrible, as is the case in almost all the prisons.

**La Matilde 1 and 2:** Concentrations camps.

**Martí:** Near here there is a fairly large concentra-

tion camp with three fence enclosures and sentry boxes.

**Hatuey:** Near this village, there is a closed prison with political, ordinary and young S.M.O. prisoners. About 4 km. away, there is another establishment.

**Ciego de Avila:** Several «mixed» concentration camps. There is one which exclusively for S.M.O. prisoners.

**Jatibonico:** In this area, there are four concentration camps.

**Lumumba:** Concentration camp in the Cubitas area.

**Guangirtri:** This is the name of the village, constructed by political prisoners and others, 20 km. from the city of Camagüey and 6 km. from Siboney. Prisoners continue to work on different plans in this region.

**Cuban-Bulgarian Friendship Dam:** Near Sibaniai and Siboney. (Prisoners have worked on almost all the dams and reservoirs of the Island.)

**Cunagua:** There is a concentration camp for political and ordinary prisoners, near the old Cunagua power plant.

**Sector Number 9, at Manga Larga:** There are infernal swamps and beaches here, infested with mosquitoes and other insects. On the Morón-Camagüey road. Prisoners in other establishments are terrified of being sent here. (The sectors are numbered 1 to 15.)

**Gimam Bay:** Near Vertientes. About 600 prisoners, including political prisoners.

**El Jagüeyal:** Another concentration camp, with about 1,000 prisoners.

**U.M.A.P.:** These are the Spanish initials for «Military Units for Production Assistance». It was the first method used to mask a pilot plan for the agricultural and general economic development of Camagüey province. It is the province with the largest number of prisoners on the Island. Measuring

26,346 km<sup>2</sup>, Camagüey is the second largest province in terms of extension. It is also the least densely inhabited province of Cuba, with 31 inhabitants per square kilometre. With the workforce of political prisoners, for the most part, and some ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners, an effort is being made to create another Cuban «wonder» ...a «wonder» like those of the ancient world, built by slaves.

U.M.A.P. operated from 1964 to 1966 with thousands and thousands of S.M.O. prisoners who refused to join that organisation. Other prisoners who had attempted to escape from different establishments —civilians, «politically unreliable» persons, etc.— were crowded into lorries and trailers and, without any trial at all, they were carried off to U.M.A.P. The history of the murders committed here is quite long but almost unknown to the world. Individuals without political ideas resisted and died here, not daring to attempt to denounce the horrors they had witnessed and experienced to the world.

Hundreds of Jehovah's Witnesses were also taken to U.M.A.P. and there they were harassed and mishandled in different ways. Many were murdered. Some Catholic priests were also sent to U.M.A.P., together with members of other Churches.

**City of Camagüey:** Political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners were used to build a University composed of 25 buildings. The Communists who are in charge of these works hold that this will be the largest university in Latin America. They continue to produce their «wonders» with the slave labour of prisoners.

**Montecarlo District:** Here, houses have been built for Russian technicians and military personnel, and for other foreigners of the Socialist camp who direct different plans in Cuba. There are also plans in operation for the construction of homes for military personnel of the Army, Ministry of the

Interior and other repressive bodies. These housing plans cover the whole Island, with priority for members of the New Class.

In Guanabacoa, to speak of another example now known to us, in the Debeche district, the buildings were constructed for military personnel stationed at La Cabaña Prison. In the Flores district, on Quinta Avenida (Fifth Avenue) in Havana, homes were built for Russians and other foreign Communists. This is the case in most of the main Cuban cities and other towns where the Russians are directing different projects, including military plans.

***The New G-2 of Santiago de Cuba:*** This is another modern torture centre. The modern G-2 prison, of new construction, is in the Versailles district, near the airport, and it is equipped with underground cells and cells with small windows and fixed concrete louvres, in the shape of inverted «V»s, so that the prisoners can not see out. This is the system which is used in all the G-2s. There are thousands of mosquitoes in the cells, since once they get in, they cannot easily get out. In the summer, the prisoners are given blankets to cover themselves, instead of sheets. A choice must be made between allowing oneself to be eaten by the mosquitoes, or suffocating from the heat of the blanket.

Other torture techniques include high and low temperature cells.

The heat or cold is adjusted, intensifying it to almost unbearable levels. There is a dark corridor through which the new prisoners are led, threatening them with obscene words to make them hurry. Another system used is to prevent prisoners from sleeping during weeks and months. Every fifteen or twenty minutes, or even more frequently, the prisoner subjected to this torture is called by the guards. Sometimes it is for an interrogation, other times it is only to ask whether the prisoner called for the jailer, others to ask whether he needs anything, in short, any excuse is good to keep the prisoner

awake. Days and days go by like that, without the prisoner being allowed to sleep. It is a premeditated plan. This system was used on some of the Colombian fishermen who were imprisoned at Santiago de Cuba, including Marcos Avendaño Yépez, who was not permitted to sleep for fifteen days, in addition to being administered what was apparently pentothal or some other drug. Several prisoners have been murdered in fabricated «escape attempts». One prisoner who had been at this G-2 in 1972 spoke to us of the machine-gunning of an insane man who spent all his time screaming: «You're all a bunch of sons of b...! I'm not a Communist!» The screams and cries of the prisoners being tortured in different ways affect the other prisoners. The G-2 of Santiago de Cuba is sadly notorious for all the abuses committed there.

***El Castillito:*** According to some reports, this establishment has recently been deactivated. We have not yet been able to confirm this point, since some persons say that it continues to operate as a dependency of the political police.

***Boniato: A sadly notorious prison:*** Located near Santiago de Cuba, in Puerto Boniato (amidst the mountains of the same name, in an area of great natural beauty). In this beautiful place, under the Communist rule, dozens of prisoners have starved to death in hunger strikes in which they lacked all medical care. These people included Esteban Ramos Kessel, Ibrahín Torres Martínez, Olegario Charlot Pileta and José Luis Castillo del Pozo. A number of prisoners have also been murdered in false escape attempts, as in 1971, when the survivors of the Baracoa expedition, commanded by the patriot Vicente Méndez, were killed. There are about 1,600 ordinary prisoners. This establishment operates as a prefabricated materials plant. Throughout the Island, there are several dozens of these plants, where the prisoners are forced to carry out tough labour. Boniato is a prison of sad memory.

At the present, political prisoners are held there who refuse rehabilitation. The building has been caged in between two high walls, which are connected to each other by cyclone fencing. There are closed-circuit t.v. systems for surveillance of corridors, and microphones. This establishment now holds the poets Ernesto Díaz Rodríguez, Jorge Valls, Roberto Martín Pérez, the ex-commander Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo, a Spaniard, and hundreds of others. Naked, incommunicated and lacking in all medical care, they never go out of their walled-up cells.

**Baracoa and Holguín:** Security prisons. From 800 to 1,000 political and ordinary prisoners in each of these establishments. The prisoners carry out a variety of jobs.

**Palmas Altas:** Security prison, in Manzanillo, on the road to Holguín, with political and ordinary prisoners. Over 600.

**Guantánamo:** Security prison. Over 700 political and ordinary prisoners. In all the aforementioned districts, there are concentration camps.

**El Mijial:** A historical site of our war of independence. There are 2,600 to 3,000 political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners here.

**Tres Macios:** Concentration camp, with 2,500 to 3,000 ordinary and political prisoners. In the «locker» cells of this prison, dozens of our companions have been tortured. On one occasion, the national chief of Prisons and Penal Establishments, Medardo Lemus, visited this prison and said to the jail guards: «You got carried away. You've been putting too much pressure on these people.» The strange thing is that these tortures continue there and in other places on the Island. Lemus was playing to the gallery, because there were prisoners assigned to the Plan listening, as well as some who had been tortured.

**San Ramón:** Also equipped with «locker» cells. Over 3,000 political and ordinary prisoners.

**Santa Lucía:** In Holguín. 800 political and ordinary prisoners (concentration camp).

**Playa Manteca:** In Mayarí, with 700 to 800 political and ordinary prisoners (concentration camp).

**La Caoba:** Between Palma Soriano and Contramaestre. Near Dos Ríos, where our apóstol, José Martí, died. There are 800 political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners there. There is also a breeding centre for German shepherd dogs (concentration camp).

**Women's Prison:** One of many found throughout all the provinces of the Island. This one is near Siboney, Santiago de Cuba. Political and ordinary prisoners.

**El Caney:** Several encampments and concentration camps.

**El Brujo:** Concentration camp, near Santiago de Cuba. There are about 1,000 ordinary, political and S.M.O. prisoners here.

**Fernando Chenique:** Concentration camp, in Bayamo, with over 1,500 political and ordinary prisoners. In the second half of November 1974, *Granma*, the official Communist Party Organ in Cuba, reported that this «farm» (concentration camp) was one of the winners of «National Emulation», for having achieved a large rice harvest (emulation of prisoners).

**La Manga:** Concentration camp with about 900 political and ordinary prisoners, in Bayamo.

**La Majasa:** Concentration camp with over 1,000 prisoners, in Campechuela.

**Mangos de Baraguá:** Concentration camp with several hundred political and ordinary prisoners. As is known, it was in this area of Oriente province that the protest of General Antonio Maceo took place against the Zanjón Pact in 1878.

**Manatí:** Concentration camp with more than 3,000 political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners.

**Yarigua:** Concentration camp for political, ordinary and S.M.O. prisoners.

**Chafarinas:** There are eight concentration camps in this area. Guantánamo región. The camps include, among others: «La Clemencia 1 and 2», and «La Piña».

**Potosí:** In Victoria de las Tunas. Concentration camp for 3,000 women prisoners. They work on looms inside the camp itself. It is the largest establishment for female prisoners in Cuba.

If the Cuban regime were to allow an inspection in the country, it would be found that there are many more concentration camps. Some doubt their existence, just as some doubted in Stalin's times.

But there is one clear reality: Castro has been maintaining a Marxist dictatorship for more than a quarter of a century. And Marxism cannot remain in power without concentration camps.

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