

# Cuba & the

# “War on

# Terrorism”



Gerardo Hernández

Fernando González

Ramón Labrada

Juan Torres

Antonio Guerrero

**Free the Five**  
**Cuban Prisoners**  
**Held in U.S. Prisons**  
Nat'l Comm. to Free the Five (415) 821-7575

Scene from million-strong Mayday 2002 march in Havana, Cuba

Noam Chomsky, speaking in London in 1996:

***"The US terrorist campaign against Cuba is the longest and most brutal terrorist war ever launched by one state against another in history."***

## **Cuba and the "War against terrorism"**

---

### **Contents**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Cuban Government statement on September 11, 2001  | 3  |
| Introduction  | 4  |
| Fidel Castro denounces US war moves   | 8  |
| Their democracy and ours - Fidel Castro on MayDay 2002  | 12 |
| Fidel Castro in Santiago de Cuba, June 8, 2002  | 14 |
| More than nine million Cubans take to the streets   | 16 |
| Castro leads socialist march in Cuba  | 16 |
| Text of Amendment to Cuba's Constitution  | 18 |
| From "Call to endorse constitutional modification bill"   | 19 |
| "Our rights must also be respected..."  | 20 |
| The fraudulent claims of the Bush administration  | 22 |
| The latest Bush-camp 'axis of evil' allegations   | 22 |
| Cuba signs up to Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty...  | 22 |
| ... and denounces Israel's occupation of Palestine  | 23 |
| Why the US charges Cuba with sponsoring terrorism.  | 24 |
| Cuba –terrorised state  | 25 |
| Fidel Castro reponds to US government statements concerning biological weapons                  | 27 |
| George W Bush and his terrorist friends   | 31 |
| Guilty of fighting terrorism  | 33 |
| Message of the Miami Five to the American people  | 36 |
| Statement by Olga Salanueva Arango, wife of René González (one of Miami 5) to Cuba's Parliament | 37 |
| Cuba resources and contact information  | 39 |

***Cuba and the "War Against Terrorism"*** was compiled and edited by Steve Ludlam and John Smith, with help and collaboration from other members of Sheffield Cuba Solidarity Campaign.

Please contact Sheffield CSC if you would like to sell help distribute these pamphlets (**big discounts for bulk orders!**).

Sheffield CSC c/o Ros Makin, 43 Burcot Road, Sheffield S8 9FD [ros@makin.free-online.co.uk](mailto:ros@makin.free-online.co.uk)

## **Statement from the Government of the Republic of Cuba**

*City of Havana, September 11, 2001*

The Government of the Republic of Cuba has received with pain and sadness the news of the violent and surprise attacks this morning (September 11) on civilian and official installations in the cities of New York and Washington, and the resultant numerous casualties.

Cuba's position against any act of terrorism is well known. It is impossible to forget that our people have been the victims of such actions, promoted from U.S. territory itself, for more than 40 years.

For both historical reasons and ethical principles, the government of our country totally rejects and condemns the attacks mounted on the above-mentioned installations and offers its sincerest condolences to the U.S. people for the painful and unjustified human losses those attacks provoked.

At this bitter time, our people express their solidarity with the U.S. people and their total disposition to cooperate, as far as their modest possibilities allow, with that country's public health or any other institution of a medical or humanitarian nature, in terms of attention, care and rehabilitation of the victims of this morning's incidents.



*"Cuba – Against Terrorism and against War"*

**Instead of commercial advertising, this is what you see around Cuba. This photo was taken near Trinidad by Steve Ludlam.**

The new US national security doctrine, first implemented against Afghanistan and now to be implemented with devastating violence against Iraq, is "regime change". President George W. Bush has declared a long list of regimes he wants to change. Iran, Iraq, the Palestinian National Authority, Cuba, North Korea, China, Zimbabwe, Libya, Syria have all been shown the evil eye. But what is so new about this policy? After all, no one has done more regime-changing around the world than the US (with the UK a distant second). The difference is that now, as well as mounting covert "regime change" operations, they are doing so overtly; instead of relying on secret armies and unreliable proxies, they are going to do the job with their own military forces; and instead of pretending that they respect international law, they now say "we are the law".

September 11 itself was the anniversary of one infamous regime-change - the 1973 military coup in Chile, orchestrated by the US government under President Nixon and Henry Kissinger. Another was what the CIA considered their "most perfect coup": the installation of the Ba'ath dictatorship in 1963, which happened to be the first step in Saddam's rise to power. This coup was marked by the execution of thousands of workers, leftists and intellectuals on lists prepared by the CIA<sup>1</sup>. These are just two "regime changes" - of literally hundreds, which have taken place on all continents. The whole world knows this is true because it has happened to them!

## **Cuba withstands four decades of attempted regime change**

For four decades the Cuban people have withstood a campaign of terrorism, assassination attempts on its leaders, subversion of all kinds, and economic warfare. So many times have the CIA tried to kill Fidel Castro that his survival is something of a miracle. Eight US Presidents have tried without success to starve the country, to cripple its economy, to foment strife and civil war. The first airplane hijacking and the first-ever terrorist attack upon a civilian aeroplane were both committed by Cuban counter-revolutionaries working closely with the CIA.

Despite forty years of relentless efforts, the US colossus has never succeeded in overthrowing Cuba's revolutionary government. This gov-

---

<sup>1</sup> See Said Aburish, "The Brutal Handshake" for references

ernment took power on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1959, following an armed struggle, culminating in an insurrectionary general strike, which toppled the US-backed military dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. This victory inaugurated a socialist revolution, which, in the words of Cuba's constitution, "ended the humiliation of imperialist domination".

## **The secret of Cuba's survival**

The US rulers have different reasons for desiring "regime change" in different countries. In Cuba's case, the US wishes not merely to "change the regime" but to change the social system created by the Cuban revolution. This is a system which guarantees free education and health care, access to the land, protection against unemployment, the right to participate in culture; a system which puts workers in the management of factories, students and teachers of their places of learning, people over their communities. It is a system that relies on the armed people to defend itself against imperialist aggression.

Since 1991, the US has stepped up its pressure on Cuba. When the Soviet Union collapsed, the US pressed its remnants to cancel their economic links with Cuba, and in an eight-month period Cuba lost 85% of its foreign trade. Yet, through the hard work, creativity and capacity of struggle of millions, Cuba has survived. Without help from any bank or government, despite eleven years of austerity, Cuba has not shut a single school, hospital or old people's home. Infant mortality, already lower than anywhere else in the Third World, has declined further and is now lower than in the United States itself.

Levels of consumption of food, clothing and other essential of life declined sharply after 1991. But basic nutritional needs were met and UN indicators show that overall public health has actually improved in Cuba over these years.

With hard work and amazing creativity, Cubans have taken hold of their predicament and turned it around. A good example is the almost overnight nation-wide conversion to organic farming, necessitated by the sudden halt in supplies of fertilizer and pesticides which were previously received from the USSR and eastern Europe in exchange for Cuban sugar. Cuba's green revolution has been an astonishing success: because the farmers are literate, because the land is theirs, because the city is involved in the urban agriculture movement, because

they have scientists in abundance, because they share all their knowledge with farmers around the world.<sup>2</sup>

Another astounding achievement is the development of a world-class biotechnology industry, achieving great success by pooling their considerable scientific resources in a way that the capitalist pharmaceutical industry cannot. Cuba has invested hundreds of millions of precious dollars collected from tourists to finance this achievement.

How has Cuba, whose eleven million people are separated from the United States by just 90 miles of ocean, managed to resist four decades of US efforts to effect "regime change"? The survival of the Cuban revolution more than ten years after the collapse of the USSR shows that there is something different about Cuba. Most of the time, Cuba is completely ignored by the western mass media and by opinion formers. Whenever Cuba does get mentioned, it is almost invariably stigmatised as some sort of Stalinist police state in the Caribbean. The more that Cuba refuses to conform to this defamatory stereotype, the more it is ignored altogether - which is why the information contained in this pamphlet will be new to most readers.

On a 1997 visit to Cuba, I asked many people what they considered their biggest accomplishment since the economic blows of 1991. I expected to them to name the survival of the health and education system, or the continued reduction in infant mortality. But most responded emphatically "that we have preserved our unity".

The secret of Cuba's success, of the survival and extraordinary accomplishments of the Cuban revolution, is contained in these words by Fidel Castro, from his speech to a Havana multitude on May 1<sup>st</sup> of this year (see p34 for more from this speech):

*"Never, over more than four decades, has force been used against our people. The revolutionary process grows out of the closest unity and cooperation of all our people, under a consensus without precedent in any other country in the world, unworkable and even unimaginable in a society of exploiters and exploited.*

*"A cultured, rebellious, brave and heroic people such as the Cuban could never be ruled by force, nor can a force exist that would rule it because the Cuban people is the force. Never would our people stir up rebellion against themselves because they are the revolution, they are*

---

<sup>2</sup> [for information about organic agriculture in Cuba, see websites and other sources at the end of this pamphlet]

*the government, they are the power. It is with their courage, intelligence and ideas that they have defended themselves from the most powerful empire the world has ever known.”*

## **Contents of this pamphlet**

This pamphlet is an anthology of short articles and excerpts from speeches which tell the story of how Cuba's people and government have responded to September 11 and its aftermath.

In its pages, you will learn about the most gigantic popular mobilisations not just in Cuba's history but possibly in all human history. The high point occurred on June 13, 2002, when 9 million Cubans (of a total population of 11.5 million) joined in 800 simultaneous demonstrations across the length and breadth of the island.

This is followed by a section that relates the long history of terrorist attacks against Cuba, and how Cuba responds to US government charges that Cuba is guilty of state-sponsored terrorism and is attempting to acquire weapons of mass destruction.

The final selection focuses on the case of the Miami 5.

One reason for the extraordinarily huge size of popular mobilisations in Cuba during 2002 was the trial in Miami of five young Cuban revolutionaries, who, at great personal sacrifice, had left their beloved families and beloved island to pretend to defect to the USA. Their mission was to infiltrate US government-sponsored terrorist groups based in Miami and help thwart terrorist attacks against their country.

They were caught, and – outrageously – charged with serious crimes, including terrorism and murder. Following a trial marred by blatant bias, they were convicted and given long prison sentences.

Campaigning to free the 5 unjustly imprisoned Cuban revolutionaries is important for their own sake. It is also a powerful way of exposing the rank hypocrisy of the US government's so-called “war on terrorism”.

Visit the websites (see end of this pamphlet) devoted to the campaign for their release, and read the wonderful, inspirational speeches they delivered from the dock.

Make defence of the Miami 5 and defence of Cuba into an integral part of the struggle against terrorism and war!

As they say in Cuba, we shall win!

¡Venceremos!

December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2002

# Fidel Castro denounces US war moves

*Excerpts from a speech by Fidel Castro on September 22, 2001, in which he responded to President George Bush's address two days earlier to a joint session of the U.S. Congress, in which he declared war on Afghanistan.*

*At the time of the speech the U.S. government had named its planned military assault "Operation Infinite Justice". Sensitive to charges that Bush was claiming God-like powers, the name was subsequently changed to "Operation Enduring Freedom."*

Compatriots:

No one can deny that terrorism is today a dangerous and ethically indefensible phenomenon, which should be eradicated regardless of whatever deep origins it may have, whatever the economic and political factors behind it and those responsible for these factors in the world.

The unanimous anger stemming from the human and psychological damage inflicted on the people of the United States by the sudden and shocking deaths of thousands of innocent people whose images have shaken the world is perfectly understandable. But who benefited? The extreme right, the most backward and right-wing forces, those in favour of crushing the growing spirit of rebellion in the world and sweeping away everything progressive that is still left on the planet.

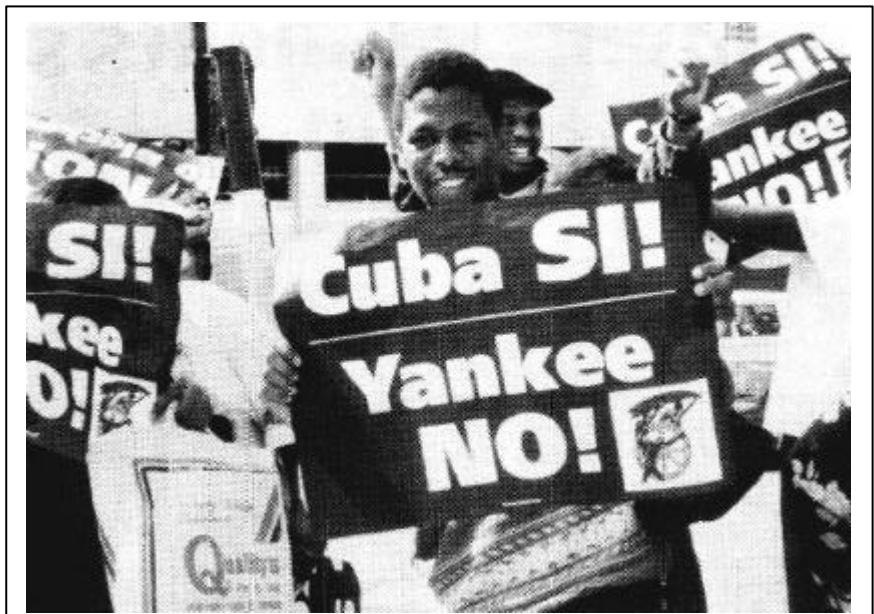
It was an enormous error, a huge injustice and a great crime, regardless of who organized and is responsible for such an action. But, in the name of justice and under the peculiar and bizarre name of "Infinite Justice," the tragedy should not be used to recklessly start a war that could in reality unleash an infinite massacre of people who are also innocent.

In the last few days the foundations... for such a war have been hastily put into place. No one can say that it wasn't thought out well in advance, something that was just waiting for an opportunity.

Those who, after the so-called end of the cold war, continued arming themselves to the teeth and developing the most sophisticated means to kill and exterminate human beings were aware that investing fabulous sums in military expenses would give them the privilege of imposing absolute and complete domination over the other peoples of the

world. The ideologists of the imperialist system knew very well what they were doing and why they were doing it.

In the wake of the shock and sincere sorrow felt by every people on earth for the atrocious and insane terrorist attack against the people of the United States, the most extremist ideologists and the most belligerent hawks, already placed in privileged positions of power, have taken command of the most powerful



Pro – Cuba demonstration in Durban, South Africa, welcoming Fidel Castro to the UN Conference on Racism in early September 2001

country on the planet whose military and technological capabilities would seem infinite. Its capacity to destroy and kill is enormous while on the other hand its habits of equanimity, serenity, thoughtfulness, and restraint are minimal. ...

The first victims of whatever military actions are undertaken will be the billions of people living in the poor and underdeveloped world with their unbelievable economic and social problems, their unpayable debts and the ruinous prices for their basic commodities; their growing natural and ecological catastrophes, their hunger and misery, the massive undernourishment of their children, teenagers, and adults; their terrible AIDS epidemic, their malaria, their tuberculosis, and their infectious diseases that threaten whole nations with extermination. ...

Can there be any hope left after listening, barely 36 hours ago, to the speech made by the President before the U.S. Congress?

I will avoid the use of adjectives, qualifiers or offensive words towards the author of that speech. These would be absolutely unnecessary and inopportune when the tensions and seriousness of the moment advise thoughtfulness and equanimity. I will limit myself to underlining a few short phrases that say it all:

*“We will use every necessary weapon of war.”*

*“Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign unlike any other we have ever seen.”*

*“Every nation in every region now has a decision to make. Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists.”*

*“I’ve called the armed forces to alert and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act and you will make us proud.”*

*“This is the world’s fight, this is civilization’s fight.”*

*“I ask for your patience [...] in what will be a long struggle.”*

*“The great achievement of our time and the great hope of every time, now depend on us.”*

*“The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. [...] And we know that God is not neutral.”*

*I ask our compatriots to reflect deeply and calmly on the ideas contained in several of the phrases I’ve mentioned:*

*“Either you are with us or you are with terrorism.”*

*“No nation of the world has been excluded from the dilemma, not even the big and powerful states; none has escaped the threat of war or attacks.”*

*“We will use any weapon.”*

*“No procedure has been excluded, regardless of ethical consideration, regardless of the threat however fatal it may be—nuclear, chemical, biological, or any other.”*

*“It will not be a short battle but a lengthy war, lasting many years, unparalleled in history.”*

*“It is the world’s fight; it is civilization’s fight.”*

*“The achievements of our times, and the hope of all times, now depend on us.”*

Finally, an unheard-of confession in a political speech on the eve of a war, and no less than in times of apocalyptic risks: *“We do not know the course of this conflict, but its outcome is certain. And we know that God is not neutral.”*

This is an amazing assertion. When I think about the real or imaginary parties involved in this bizarre holy war that is about to begin, I find it difficult to distinguish where there is more fanaticism.

On Thursday, before the U.S. Congress, the idea was laid out of a world military dictatorship under the exclusive rule of force, irrespective of any international laws or institutions. The United Nations, totally ig-

nored in the present crisis, would have no authority or prerogative whatsoever. There would be one single boss, one single judge, and one single law.

We have all been ordered to ally ourselves with the U.S. government or with terrorism.

Cuba speaks with the moral power of the country that has suffered the most and the longest from terrorist attacks, the one whose people do not shake with fear of anything because there is no threat or power in the world that can intimidate it. And with this moral power Cuba proclaims that it is opposed to terrorism and it is opposed to war. Although the possibilities are now remote, Cuba reiterates the need to avert a war of unforeseeable consequences whose very authors have confessed not to have the slightest idea of how events will unfold. Likewise, Cuba reiterates its willingness to cooperate with every country in the total eradication of terrorism. ...

Cuba will never declare itself an enemy of the people of the United States, a people who today are subjected to an unprecedented campaign to sow hatred and a spirit of vengeance, so much so that even the music that sings to peace has been banned. On the contrary, Cuba will make that music its own, and even our children will sing their songs to peace however long the already announced bloody war lasts.

Whatever happens, the territory of Cuba will never be used for terrorist actions against the people of the United States. And we will do everything within our reach to prevent such actions against that people. Today we are expressing our solidarity while appealing for calmness and peace. One day they will admit we were right.

Our independence, our principles and our social achievements we will defend with honor to the last drop of blood, if we are attacked! ...

The world will become aware, and will raise its voice in the face of the terrible drama that threatens it and of which it is about to suffer.

As for Cubans, this is the precise time to proclaim more proudly and resolutely than ever:

**Socialism or death!**

**Homeland or death!**

**¡Venceremos!**

# Fidel Castro, from speech to more than a million Cubans gathered in Havana on MayDay 2002

“Latin America exhibits the greatest differences between the richest and the poorest. ... For 50 years we have been told that the hundreds of thousands of children who die every year due to neglect and hunger; the millions who work for pitiful salaries cleaning car windshields or shoes, or being traded or sexually exploited instead of going to school, represent democracy and respect for human rights. ...

“It doesn't occur to them that the economic, political and social system that they defend is a total negation of all possibility of equality, freedom, democracy, human dignity and justice. ...

“What kind of democracy and human rights can exist in these conditions? It would be like trying to grow flowers in the middle of the Sahara desert...

“Events in Argentina, that is today embroiled in an unbelievable economic and political chaos that has reduced the country to hunger ... point to nothing less than the swan song of neoliberal globalization. Such a crisis inevitably produces a complete lack of ethics and values...



**Fidel Castro addressing mass demonstration in Havana, May 1<sup>st</sup> 2002**

“People’s protests are crushed with amazing violence. Tear gas, people dragged through the streets, brutality exercised against masses by the police armed with shields and swathed in the strangest helmets and outfits giving them the appearance of recent arrivals from a distant planet, are the methods used to defend that democracy and their citizen’s human rights.

“Similar scenes have never been witnessed in our country. Never, over more than four decades, has force been used against our people. The revolutionary process grows out of the closest unity and cooperation of all our people, under a consensus without precedent in any other country in the world, unworkable and even unimaginable in a society of exploiters and exploited.

“A cultured, rebellious, brave and heroic people such as the Cuban could never be ruled by force, nor can a force exist that would rule it because the Cuban people is the force. Never would our people stir up rebellion against themselves because they are the revolution, they are the government, they are the power. It is with their courage, intelligence and ideas that they have defended themselves from the most powerful empire the world has ever known.

“Such a political phenomenon had never before occurred in our hemisphere.”

## Youth lead Mayday celebrations

In revolutionary Cuba, mass demonstrations are invariably led by youth, and order is kept not by police but by elementary-school children. On MayDay 2002, a ten year old child was one of the main speakers. From one journalist’s report:

*“Ten-year-old Lazarito Castro held the multitudes truly in awe as he spoke. Lazarito had no notes or written talk. As he himself said, he was “speaking from my heart.” He said, “While in many parts of the world the workers are holding demonstrations and marches for the most elemental right of a person to work, in our country what we do is celebrate, because these rights are already won, they have become reality and are guaranteed for the future.*

*“I tell you this as a Cuban Pioneer, who, like hundreds of thousands of Pioneers across this country, appreciates the workers in their great effort so that the children can have more classrooms, more computer labs, more televisions and videos.”* (from <http://www.workers.org/cuba/index.php>)

## From speech by Fidel Castro to rally held in Santiago de Cuba on June 8, 2002

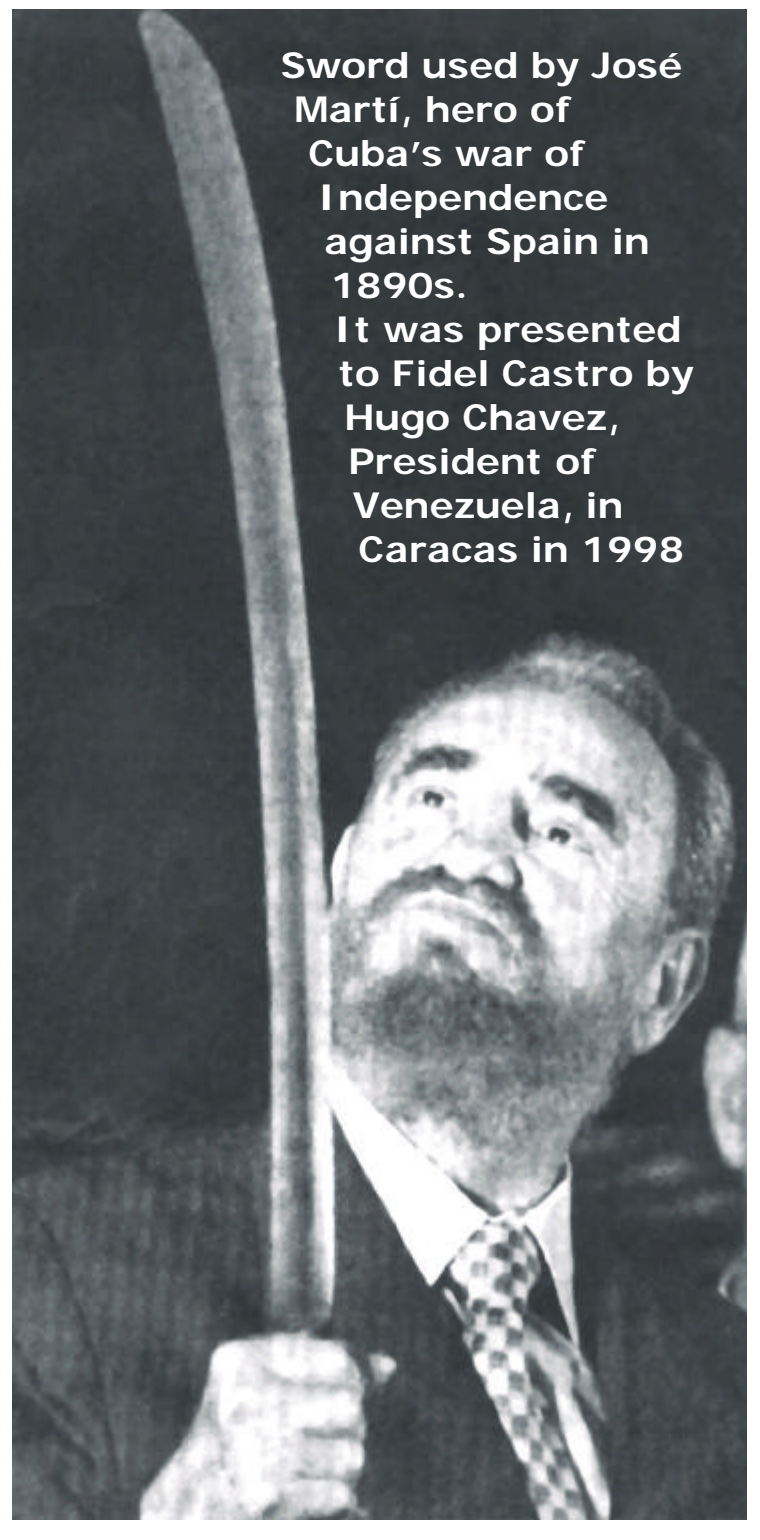
...we watched closely as the demonstration formed, all night long, since the first caravans started off at one o'clock in the morning, and we watched it rain for hours... it seemed that we were up against an insuperable challenge, and when we saw tens of thousands here at four in the morning under a heavy rain, and hundreds of thousands marching on foot through the city and in caravans of trucks on the highways, standing up to all the hardships, it was hard to believe that this enormous multitude could still be here when the sun came up. But that's the way the people from the eastern provinces are, (APPLAUSE) that's the way the people of Santiago de Cuba and Guantanamo are. (APPLAUSE)

Really, we have seen you do the impossible, and it was very important for you to be here today.

I'll start my speech right away, before it starts to rain again.

Compatriots from Santiago de Cuba, Guantánamo and all of Cuba:

I had said that we would all respond to Mr. G.W. Bush. Our children, our teenagers, our young students; our workers, farmers,



**Sword used by José Martí, hero of Cuba's war of Independence against Spain in 1890s.**

**It was presented to Fidel Castro by Hugo Chavez, President of Venezuela, in Caracas in 1998**

professionals; our journalists, historians, artists, intellectuals, scientists; the fighters of yesterday and of today; the youths, the adults, the elders and especially the mothers, the sons and daughters, and the close relatives of all those who have suffered themselves and their loved ones during 43 years of brutal terrorism, aggressions and a murderous blockade maintained by successive U.S. Administrations against our people. They have all been tearing to pieces Mr. W. Bush's statements in Miami.

He went too far in his speech. He was rude. He insulted, he lied, and he threatened. He would only need to add now that the heroic people he pretends "to free", have all been forcibly mobilized to take part in the huge and enthusiastic demonstrations of Sancti Spíritus and Holguín before, and in this enormous rally held today here, in Santiago de Cuba.

Perhaps no other country has ever witnessed such an imposing, combative and sound political movement. Perhaps, never before a small nation had the strength of character and the courage to resist such a powerful adversary. This is an unprecedented confrontation that is taking place in a new historical stage between the force of just ideas and the murderous ideas of brutal force....

The miserable insects that live in 60 or more countries of the world chosen by him [GW Bush] and his closest assistants --and in the case of Cuba by his Miami friends-- are completely irrelevant. They are the "dark corners of the world" that may become the targets of their unannounced and "preemptive" attacks.

Not only is Cuba one of those countries, but it has also been included among those that sponsor terror; and, on top of it all, the cynical fabrication that Cuba produces bio-weapons; they simply overlook the fact that the entire world knows it is a colossal lie.

What is the difference between this philosophy and methods and those of the Nazis? Why is it that so many governments are trembling with fear and keeping silent?...

Many peoples of the world will look hopefully to the American people as the only one capable of putting a straightjacket on, or stopping, the bigots in their lust for power, abuse and conflict.

Many peoples in the world showed their unanimous solidarity with the American people after the attacks of September 11; our noble and generous people did too, and certainly not out of hypocrisy or fear.

## More than nine million Cubans take to the streets

CUBANS filled the streets, from one end of the island to the other, to say "yes" to the constitutional reform proposed by representatives of civil society declaring the socialist system untouchable, and pronounce a loud "no" to the fascist methods outlined by George W. Bush under the cloak of the anti-terrorist crusade, in a speech made at West Point.

At 8:00 a.m. today, June 12, President Fidel Castro set off with more than one million residents from Havana and other cities, the packed throng taking four hours to pass in front of the U.S. Interest Section...

Throughout the rest of the country, in all municipalities, provincial capitals and rural settlements, the march was irrepressible. It is calculated that more than nine million people took part in 800 marches and 2,230 rallies. The march's size is without precedent in the world...

- from report in *Granma Internacional*

---

## “Castro leads socialist march”

*Wed Jun 12, by Vivian Sequera, Associated Press Writer*

HAVANA (AP) - Defying calls here and in Washington for democratic reforms, Fidel Castro led a march of hundreds of thousands of people Wednesday to ratify as "untouchable" the one-party socialist system that has ruled this Caribbean island for four decades....

"Long live socialism! Down with the lies!" Castro shouted — referring to President Bush ( news - web sites)'s May 20 Cuba policy speeches, in which Bush promised not to lift American trade and travel restrictions until Cuba holds competitive elections and undertakes other democratic reforms....

The Havana event coincided with about 800 marches around the island involving several million of the nation's 11 million citizens, the government said. Fidel Castro said 1 million people — about half the capital's population — were expected to participate in Havana alone....

State television, which carried the Havana march live, also showed images of large marches in the central and eastern provincial capitals of Matanzas, Ciego de Avila, Camaguey, Holguin, Santiago and Las Tunas, the Isle of Youth off the main island's southern coast, and in the western provincial capital of Pinar del Rio.

"This is democracy," said one sign carried in the Havana march. "Fascism, no! Revolution, yes!" read another, referring to Castro's recent description of Bush's international policies in the war against terrorism as "fascist."

Castro called for a massive march here and in cities across the island to support the amendment, announced one month after activists submitted a proposed referendum for deep reforms in the socialist system.

The proposed constitutional amendment declaring Cuba's socialist system to be "untouchable," and the mobilization, appear to be Castro's response to the Varela Project, the proposed reform referendum....

Varela Project organizers submitted more than 11,000 signatures to Cuba's National Assembly on May 10, demanding a referendum asking voters if they favor civil liberties, such as freedom of speech and assembly, the right to own a business, electoral reform and amnesty for political prisoners.

Most Cubans first heard of Project Varela in mid-May when former President Jimmy Carter mentioned it in his live, uncensored television address to the Cuban people....

The proposal asks lawmakers to ratify that "Cuba is a socialist state of workers, independent and sovereign, organized with all and for the good of all, as a unified and democratic republic, for the enjoyment of political liberty, social justice, individual and collective well-being, and human solidarity."

**Honduran student highlights contribution of Cuban internationalist doctors** (from report in *Granma Internacional*)

CURRENTLY, more black Honduran students are studying medicine in Cuba than all those registered in that Central American nation's principal university during its entire history, noted student Luther Castillo Harris, from an ethnic group in Honduras' Mosquitia region.

In a heart-rending testament of his country's realities, the student from the Latin American Medical School in Havana commented that only in Cuba is there a legislature that is representative of the country's racial and social makeup. He said that there are eight ethnic groups in Mosquitia and none of them are represented in the Honduran government. "Cuba is blazing the way for the hemisphere"...

*Luther Castillo Harris was elected by overseas students to represent them in the special session of the National Assembly of Peoples' Power on 26 June, 2002*

# Text of Amendment to Cuba's Constitution

The Socialist Revolution rescued Cuba from a humiliating imperialist domination and turned it into a free and independent nation founded on the close unity, the cooperation and the consensus of a learned and rebel people of brave and heroic men and women [who have] defended themselves from the aggressions of the most powerful empire that the history of humanity has known;

Despite the tight blockade and the economic war imposed by the government of the United States of America aimed at suffocating and humiliating our people, the Cuban nation has risen to the challenge in these glorious years of the Revolution to achieve high educational, cultural and social indicators, with an illiteracy rate of 0.2%, an elementary school attendance rate of 100%, a junior high school attendance rate of 99.7%, an infant mortality rate of 6.2 per one thousand live births; with 590 doctors, 743 nurses and 630.6 hospital beds for every 100,000 people and a life expectancy at birth of 76 years, all of these among many other fundamental achievements that provide a healthy and dignified life with justice for every citizen;

The great transformations that have occurred in our society after the Revolutionary victory have opened up unexpected avenues for the people's incorporation into the real leadership of a society in which they have assumed a new and always growing protagonist role. ... a new electoral system has emerged [in which] it is solely the people that have the right to chose, nominate, elect, control and recall their representatives. ...The people's mass involvement in the elections in numbers in excess of 95% is an expression of their endorsement and support of the Revolution;

The crude measures of further aggression against Cuba announced by the President of the United States of America Mr. George W. Bush — encouraged by the Miami terrorist mob at the commemoration of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of the Yankee neocolonial republic that resulted from the imperialist war that snatched freedom from the Cubans— when he stated his aspiration to overthrow the Cuban political system and destroy the work of the Revolution.

[The National Assembly resolves] To ratify our people's identification with each and everyone of the principles on which the Constitution of the Republic is founded, particularly with its Economic, Social and Political Foundations consecrated in Chapter I, underlining that:

Cuba is an independent and sovereign socialist State of workers organized by all its people for the wellbeing of all, as a unitary and democratic Republic, for the enjoyment of political freedom, social justice, individual and collective wellbeing, and human solidarity.”

Signed by delegates from mass organisations to Cuba’s National Assembly: (CTC); (ANAP); (CDRs); (OPJM); Association of Combatants of the Cuban Revolution; (FMC); (FEU); (FEEM).

## From “Call to endorse constitutional modification bill” issued June 14, 2002

... June 14 is the day that we commemorate the birth of Maceo and Che, two great symbols of the revolutionary intransigence that most characterizes our country’s heroic struggle from 1886 to date...

On the same day from 10:00 a.m. copies of the relevant papers will be available at 129,523 points across the country for all citizens with the right to vote and who wish to endorse the constitutional modification bill presented by the Extraordinary Assembly of the leadership of the mass organizations. These points will remain open until 12:00 a.m. on Tuesday, June 18.

Facilities have been considered for those citizens absent from their homes due to being in another part of the country for personal or work reasons, student boarders, personnel in military or security units whose work takes them away from their place of residence, and those absent for health or other reasons. No compatriot will be denied the right to sign. ...

The heavy rain affecting the entire island continues exercising its influence over our national territory, already saturated by water. But neither the rain, distance or difficulties on the ground will prevent any compatriot from access to his or her prerogative.

With the now proverbial capacity for organization acquired by our people, their education and political awareness, we will undertake this important step in eliminating any doubts anyone may have as to how the people of Cuba feel and think.

In this way, millions of Cubans will also be able to give a conclusive and appropriate response to an uninvited "liberator," Mr G.W. Bush

“Our rights must also be respected...”

**Speech by Fidel Castro to special session of the National Assembly of People’s Power June 26, 2002 (excerpts)**

*Comrades:*

(...) A group from the extreme right has taken power in the United States and we know about the agreements and commitments it had made with groups from the Miami Mob to destroy the Cuban Revolution. Fate added the peculiar circumstances that it was those groups that, using electoral fraud, were decisive in getting Bush elected president. ...

September 11 ... [was] the moment for the super powerful nation to examine its conscience, and not to stir up, multiply and capitalize on the ridiculous hatreds accumulated over decades. It should have kept calm, [instead] the most powerful nation declared a world coup d’état on September 20, 9 days after the condemnable terrorist act when, on the warpath, it declared that every country had to decide whether it was its ally or its enemy. The United Nations lost what little authority was bestowed on it ... The other 184 states, which usually spend time voting for conventions that are almost always well meaning but never implemented, this time lost even their right to speak.

Since then only the shocking sound of irrationality, of threats and weapons has been heard.

Dangerous things started happening ... On May 6, the United States accused us of doing research into biological weapons; on May 20, Bush’s speeches in Washington and Miami; on May 21, they once again included Cuba on their list of countries which sponsor terrorism; on June 1, Bush’s incredible statements in West Point.

On May 20, the president of the United States dedicated an entire day to Cuba and the Revolution. What a great honor! He remembers us, therefore we are! ...

He didn’t try to explain why, after four decades of U.S. aggression, terrorism, blockade and economic war —and a good measure of political conscience, education, heroism and popular support was needed to withstand all that— they have not been able to destroy or weaken a Revolution which has done nothing for the people.

Mr. Bush added, among other nonsense, that when every other nation in the hemisphere has chosen the path to democracy, I chose, " *to jail*,

*to torture and exile Cuban people for speaking their minds*". This slanderous reference to the use of torture in our country was made by none other than the head of a State [which has] trained tens of thousands of Latin Americans in special schools, who in turn are responsible for hundreds of thousands of cases of torture, disappearance and death. ... If Mr. Bush were able to point to a single case of torture in Cuba over the more than four decades of Revolution we would be prepared to erect a solid gold statue in honor of his memory ...

Mr. Bush said that "if Cuba also begins to adopt meaningful market based reforms", that is capitalism, "then, and only then, I will work with the United States Congress to ease the ban on trade and travel between our two countries."...

We are not willing to allow our sovereignty to be violated or to allow the norms that govern diplomatic behavior to be flouted in a humiliating manner. ... We are not the ones attacking, being hostile to or blockading the United States. We are not demanding that its constitution and political and economic system be changed. We show the strictest respect for the rights of other countries. Our rights must also be respected.

Finally, a point that we cannot overlook: the slur and insult when he said in Miami that *"trade with Cuba would do nothing more than line the pockets of Fidel Castro and his cronies"*.

Mr. Bush, I am absolutely not like those corrupt characters that you honor with your friendship in this world, or like those who, following capitalist and neo-liberal recipes, seized the State and transferred billions of dollars abroad, a large part of them laundered by famous and influential U.S. banks. Fond as you are of large fortunes, being a millionaire yourself and the son of a millionaire, you will perhaps never be able to understand that there are people who cannot be bribed and who are indifferent to money.

I was not born completely poor. My father owned thousands of acres of land. When the Revolution triumphed, this land was handed over to workers and farmers. I take pride in saying that I do not have a single dollar. All my fortune, Mr. Bush, would fit in your shirt pocket. ...

It is not my purpose to offend you personally, but I can tell you this because ... together with our valiant and heroic people, I lost long ago any notion of fear.

**Long live socialism!**

# The fraudulent claims of the Bush administration

## **The latest Bush-camp 'axis of evil' allegations**

In May 2002, John Bolton, a right-wing political appointee to the US State Department, dramatically alleged that Cuba was developing biological weapons and selling the technology to Iran (Financial Times 7 May 2002). His speech coincided with ex-President Carter's call for the blockade to end. Carter disputed Bolton's claims, and Secretary of State Colin Powell, not exactly a dove in world affairs, conceded that the State Department's concern was simply that Cuba *'has the capacity and capability to conduct such research'* – along with half the states and universities in the world, presumably... (*Guardian 15 May 2002*)

Then the State Department's Head of Intelligence, Carl Ford, told the US Senate that Cuba does not have a biological weapons programme, but, because of its sophisticated biomedical industry, it had the potential to develop such weapons. He conceded, under questioning, that Cuba's sale of biomedical equipment to Iran was no different to similar sales to Iran by Nato states. Democratic senators have accused Bush of using the 'war on terror' to pursue a political campaign against Cuba. José de la Fuente, who ran Cuba's biotechnology centre before he 'defected' to the US in 1999, insists he never saw or heard of any biological weapons development in Cuba. (*Financial Times & Guardian, 6 June 2002*)

Hypocrisy is scarcely an adequate description of the stance of the US, which has blocked the international biological weapons treaty because it will not tolerate any weapons inspectorate visiting US biological warfare facilities or biotechnology business in general. Ironically, the standard excuse of the US and the UK for having a biological weapons capacity is the need to develop antidotes to weapons that might be used against them. If Cuba did ever develop such a capacity, it would at least be able to use that excuse without hypocrisy, since it has been attacked with biological weapons – from the US – on several occasions as the factsheet below explains.

## **Cuba signs up to Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty...**

On 14 September 2002, Cuba announced to the 57th UN General Assembly that it would sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Felipe Perez Roque, Cuba's Foreign Minister, stated:

“Until today, and despite the fact that it has not developed and has no intention to develop nuclear weapons ever, Cuba has not been a State party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, for it is an insufficient and discriminatory instrument allowing the establishment of a club of nuclear powers without any concrete disarmament-oriented commitments.

However, as a signal of the clear political will of the Cuban Govern-



ment and its commitment to an effective disarmament process that ensures world peace, our country has decided to adhere to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In doing so, we reaffirm our hope that all nuclear weapons will be totally eliminated under strict international verification.

”In addition, and despite the fact that the only nuclear power in the Americas pursues a policy of hostility towards Cuba that does not rule out the use of force, Cuba will also ratify the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean, known as Treaty of Tlatelolco, that had been signed by our country in 1995.”

### **... and denounces Israel’s occupation of Palestine**

Later in his speech, Felipe Perez Roque expressed Cuba’s outrage at US sponsorship for Israeli state terrorism against the Palestinian people:

“Mr. President: Why have we not seen the same zeal with which the war in Afghanistan was unleashed to seek a just and lasting solution to peace in the Middle East?

Why have some even refrained from uttering a single word to condemn the aggressions against the territory of Palestine and the crimes against its people?

Why has there not been any condemnation of the selective assassinations and the use of the armed forces against the civilian population?

Why are there assurances of impunity for the actions of the Israeli army, thus restraining the Security Council?

Why have there not been any firm actions to implement the Security Council resolutions ensuring the proclamation of an independent and sovereign Palestinian State, with East Jerusalem as its capital?

Why is the only superpower on the planet acting differently from one case to the other?

Why is there no end to the plight of the Palestinian mothers whose children are also murdered as the innocent people on September 11?"

### **Why the US charges Cuba with sponsoring terrorism.**

The US State Department gives three reasons for placing Cuba on its list of 'terrorist states'.

Cuba is said to harbour Basque separatists. In fact, they are there under an agreement with the Spanish government, which does not want them extradited. The US State Department accepts that these Basques are not involved in any terrorist activity.

There are fugitives from US justice living in Cuba, including some Black Power militants from the 1960s, and political activists from Puerto Rico. Again, the State Department accepts that none are involved in terrorist activity.

Cuba is alleged to have contacts with Colombian guerrillas and to have facilitated meetings between them and the Columbian government. This, of course, is also true of the US itself, as well as of other Latin American governments, like Mexico and Venezuela, that are not on the State Department's list.



Cuban youth on MayDay march

## Cuba –terrorised state

Cuba, far from being a terrorist state, has been terrorised for over 40 years by the US and US-based terrorists.

Noam Chomsky, the Nobel Prize Winning linguistics professor and tireless opponent of abuses of state power, put it like this in a speech in London in 1996: *"The US terrorist campaign against Cuba is the longest and most brutal terrorist war ever launched by one state against another in history."*

That war has included:

The failed Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, funded and organised by the US government, escorted by the US Navy, and including a bombing campaign (including napalm bombs) by B-26 bombers accompanied by US navy fighter jets from the aircraft carrier Essex.

Waves of terrorist bombings. The CIA's Operation Mongoose listed 300 Cuban targets for terrorist attacks. US-based terrorists have bombed all manner of economic targets, napalmed farms, machine-gunned trains from the air and hotels from the sea. In one particularly vicious series of bombings, revealed by a CIA whistleblower, bombs were concealed in dolls in toy shops.

Cuban offices have been bombed all over Latin America, in New York and Washington, in Europe, including London: all by Miami-based

### Where are the terrorists?

"There is no terrorist sanctuary to compare with Florida, currently governed by the President's brother, Jeb Bush... General Jose Guillermo Garcia has lived comfortably in Florida since the 1990s. He was head of El Salvador's military during the 1980s when death squads with ties to the army murdered thousands of people. General Prosper Avril, the Haitian dictator, liked to display the bloodied victims of his torture on television. When he was overthrown, he was flown to Florida by the US Government. Thiounn Prasith, Pol Pot's henchman, lives in New York. General Mansour Moharari, who ran the Shah of Iran's notorious prisons, is wanted in Iran, but untroubled in the United States.

"Al-Qaeda's training camps in Afghanistan were kindergartens compared with the world's leading university of terrorism at Fort Benning in Georgia... [which trained] some 60,000 Latin American special forces, paramilitaries and intelligence agents in the black arts of terrorism.

**John Pilger** –from "The New Rulers of the World"

groups trained and supported by the CIA. And most recently, in 1997, a series of hotel bombings resulted in the murder of an Italian tourist.

In the worst single incident, in 1976, a Cuban airliner was blown up in flight by a bomb planted by CIA-trained, US-based terrorists, killing all 73 people on board, including the entire Cuban junior mens and women's fencing teams.

Multiple hijackings of Cuban aircraft to the US, for which not one hijacker has been punished.

In all, the Cubans have counted over 600 plots to assassinate Castro. Some, famously, were contracted out by the CIA to the Mafia, including the exploding cigars fiasco.

Appallingly, not least in the light of the recent allegations, Cuba has also been subjected to biological terrorism.

CIA agents introduced swine fever to Cuba, the first infections ever in the Western Hemisphere, 500,000 pigs were slaughtered. (1971)

A poultry virus was introduced by a Canadian government official who admitted he'd been paid to do it by the US government.

In 1996, a crop-duster flew from the US and released a cloud of crop eating insects which attacked food crops across central and western Cuba. Cuba began a case against the US at the UN biological weapons convention in Geneva.

Far worse, In 1981 113 people, including 83 children, died of Dengue Fever that a Miami-based terror group called Omega 7 boasted it had released inside Cuba.

In all, since 1959, there have been over 2000 terrorist attacks on Cuba and Cubans by US agents and by US-backed terror groups based in Miami. 3478 Cubans have been killed in these attacks.

If Cuba was a terrorist state, and killed US citizens in the same proportion to population size, it would have had to murder nearly 90,000 Americans to keep up with US-based terror in Cuba.

But, of course, there has not been a single such terrorist attack, either on the US or on any other state, by or from Cuba.

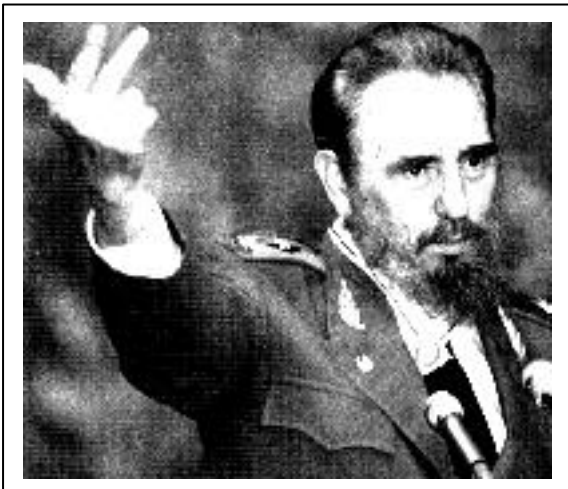
In the wake of September 11th, when US diplomatic missions all over the world were shut down as a precaution, the US Interests Section in Cuba stayed open.

So which is the terrorist state, the US or Cuba? Draw your own conclusions!

# Fidel Castro reponds to US government statements accusing Cuba of developing biological weapons

May 11, 2002

(...) Mr. John Bolton, an Under Secretary of State, the one for Arms Control, no less... in an aggressive speech against Cuba given at the Heritage Foundation, famous for its ultra-rightwing stance, [stated:]



*"In addition to Libya and Syria, there is a threat coming from another BWC [Biological Warfare Convention] signatory, and one that lies just 90 miles from the U.S. mainland—namely, Cuba...*

*"For four decades Cuba has maintained a well-developed and sophisticated biomedical industry, supported until 1990 by the Soviet Union. This industry is one of the most*

*advanced in Latin America, and leads in the production of pharmaceuticals and vaccines that are sold worldwide. Analysts and Cuban defectors have long cast suspicion on the activities conducted in these biomedical facilities.*

*"Here is what we now know: The United States believes that Cuba has at least a limited offensive biological warfare research-and-development effort. Cuba has provided dual-use biotechnology to other rogue states... "*

The international press immediately picked up Mr. Bolton's string of Olympic-size lies, which is exactly what he wanted.

... We demand proof. Let them produce even the tiniest piece of evidence! They do not have any, and they cannot have them because they simply do not exist...If a Cuban scientist from any of our biotechnology institutes had been cooperating with any country in the development of biological weapons, or if he or she had tried to create them on his or her own initiative, he or she would be immediately presented in a court of justice as we would consider it an act of treason to the country...

It is a slanderous invention, a fabricated lie, to say that Castro considers terror as a legitimate tactic for furthering revolutionary objectives. Actually, everybody knows that our revolutionary movement never used such methods that do not fit in with our doctrine, our principles and our concept of the armed struggle...

Never were the civilian population and innocent people the victims of our actions. Our tactic always was to fight against heavily equipped enemy units. Presently, you want to call terrorism any armed resistance, regardless of the legitimate causes that may justify it. Along that line you could end up applying such definition to the struggle of the American colonists who rebelled and fought against English domination. George Washington and those who after long years of war and enormous sacrifices conquered the independence of the United States of America were not terrorists.

Someone has failed you badly, Mr. Bolton, when they told you about my speech at the university of Teheran. ... In my remarks to the students in Teheran, there is not one single paragraph that resembles the one you dishonestly included in your speech ... I never said that *"Iran and Cuba in cooperation with each other could bring the United States to its knees"*. I did say that imperialism was bereft of ideas, that ideas are more powerful than weapons and that one day imperialism would crumble. I also said that *"the Iranian people with heroism and not with weapons defeated the Shah, and this showed the power of ideas. Also, there could never be anyone in the world so powerful that could not be defeated by ideas."* ...

I made not the slightest mention of the use of weapons in that struggle. In fact, I said just the opposite. That is what I think, that is how I saw it then and that is what I said. I am not in the habit of hiding my thoughts or manipulating my words. ...

It should also be said that when I visited Iran, I had the honor of getting to know a great country with a culture that goes back thousands of years, a country with deep religious beliefs and a great spiritual strength; a country wanting to eradicate poverty, fighting against drug trafficking and other such plagues, determined to bring education, health, employment and well being to more than 60 million people. Not one of the many leaders I talked to said anything to me about biological weapons or any other kind of weapon.

What enormous differences in culture and customs with those of the West could I perceive. ...

Thousands of years of history accumulate in that part of the world, which must not be destroyed nor their people annihilated. Billions of people in the world have seen with deep indignation the televised images of the terrible events in Palestine. ...

[Mr Bolton] lies shamelessly when he tells the American and world public opinion that the United States believes that Cuba has at least a limited offensive biological warfare research and development effort. This statement is as false as it is grave.

Our researchers and doctors are educated with an elevated concept of solidarity and ethics. Millions of people in the world can testify to that. They work for the well being and health of human beings. For 40 years, 34,307 Cuban medical doctors and health workers have worked free of charge in a large number of poor countries saving the lives and safeguarding the health of millions of people. Nobody in the world could beat them in their dedication and their willingness to make sacrifices.

At this very moment, 2,671 of them are working in isolated and inhospitable places in Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa. It would be very difficult to persuade these men and women to produce viruses and bacteria to kill children, women, old people or the people of any country. ...

Even under the conditions prevailing in the special period, which resulted from the cruel blockade by the United States, 8,053 youths from Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa are studying medicine in our country free of charge, a career that costs more than \$200 thousand in the United States.

In spite of Bolton's lies and those of many others like him, Cuba enjoys great prestige because of the health services it has provided to humanity. That is, for its true fight against another kind of terrorism that many chose to ignore: the diseases that kill more than 11 million children every year, whose lives could be saved were it not for the selfish attitude of the industrialized world. An incalculable number of people survive or recover their health thanks to the selfless work of the doctors who come from a poor small country and treat them with vaccines and preventive methods or therapies developed by Cuba. (...)

We have even offered hundreds of scholarships to study in the Latin American School of Medical Sciences to U.S. youngsters who don't have the money to study medicine in their country.

Cuban children are vaccinated against 13 diseases and enjoy wonderful health. The infant mortality rate for every thousand live births is

lower than that of the United States itself. Medical care is guaranteed to one hundred percent of the population absolutely free of charge. In the United States... 16 percent of the people do not have medical insurance, and that includes more than 10 million children. ... what gives them the moral right to claim from over there, and who is going to believe their heinous slander that we Cubans are developing biological warfare programs?

On the other hand, never in the 43 years of the Revolution's history has anyone in our country launched or taken part in a terrorist act against the United States from our territory. Not one drop of US blood has been shed nor has any US company lost a single screw due to terrorist acts originated in Cuba.

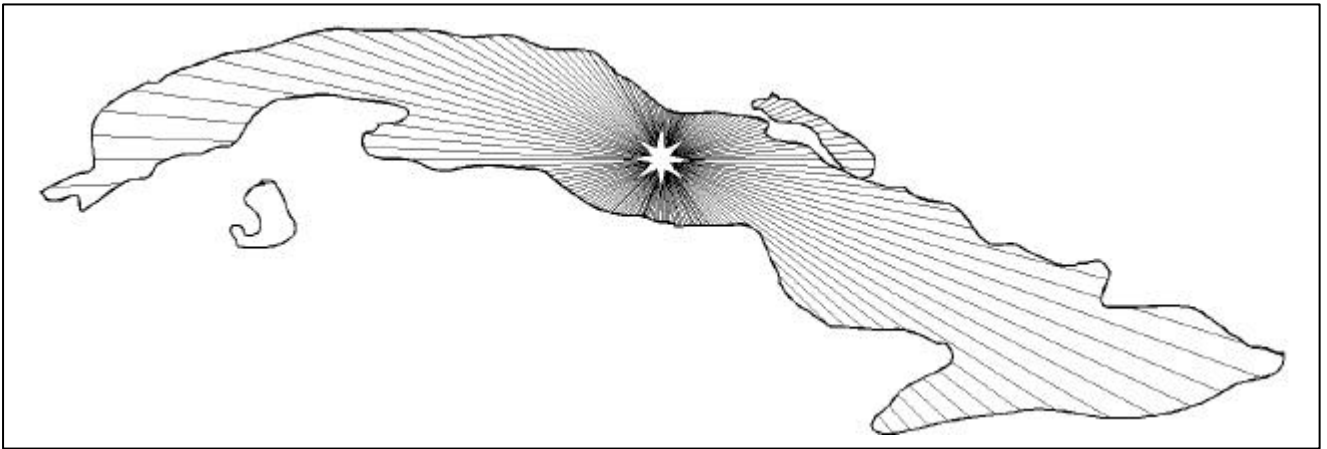
... Thousands of our compatriots have died and tens of thousands of acts of sabotage have been recorded as part of terrorist actions and US aggression against Cuba. Can their spokesmen deny these facts? [What about] the powers given to U.S. government officials to effectuate out of court executions and to kill people anywhere in the world?... I have personally often been the target of these sinister plans. That was how they operated in the past. Have they or haven't they gone back to such disgusting methods? Why doesn't Mr. Bolton tell us a little bit about that subject?

As for weapons of mass destruction, Cuba's policy has been irreproachable. No one has ever produced a single piece of evidence that any program for developing nuclear, chemical or biological weapons has been set up in our country. Those who have no sense of ethics, or who fail to understand that the government of Cuba abides by truth and transparency, might at least understand that it would have been utterly stupid to behave in any other way... it would be a mistake to use them in battle against an enemy that has a thousand times more of those weapons and that would be only too happy to find an excuse to use them.

From a political point of view, we are living in an era when there are and there will be weapons much more powerful than any produced through technology, namely: the weapons of morality, reason and ideas; with them no country is weak but without them no nation is powerful.

Adherence to such a maxim requires exceptionally strong convictions, steel nerves and talent. They should know by now that, as far as the Cuban people is concerned, the ideals that inspire freedom, dignity, love of one's homeland, its identity, its culture and the strictest sense of

justice that human beings can conceive of are more valuable than anything on Earth. These are not weapons of mass destruction, but rather weapons of mass moral defense, and we are willing to fight and die for them.



### **George W Bush and his terrorist friends**

If you've never heard of the Miami Five it may be because the Bush family is not keen on the world finding out more about their long-standing family connections with terrorists in the Miami Cuban exile community, links which began when George Bush recruited exile mercenaries in Miami in 1960 for the CIA's failed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, and which have surfaced ever since, most recently with Florida Governor Jeb Bush's appointment of the Cuban Dictator Batista's grandson to the Florida Supreme Court.

Long-time anti-Cuba terrorist Orlando Bosch was one of the prime suspects in the bombing of the civilian Cubana flight in 1976 that killed all 73 passengers and crew, until September 11 the bloodiest single terrorist outrage in the history of the Americas. He was imprisoned for the bombing in Venezuela. But according to the recent book *Cuba Confidential\** by the prize-winning New York Times journalist Ann Louise Bardach, Bosch was released in 1986 after the intervention of a new US Ambassador, Otto Reich. Under Reagan and Vice-President George Bush Snr, Reich had been the State Department's chief spin-doctor in the Iran-Contra drugs and terrorism operation, but escaped prosecution although his office was found by the US Comptroller General to have illegally used public funds to engage in 'prohibited, covert propaganda activities'.

On his release Bosch returned to the US and was jailed, having left the US in violation of parole following conviction for a rocket attack in Miami on a Cuba-bound Polish freighter. Refused permission to remain in

the US, the US Attorney General's office said that Bosch was 'unwavering in his advocacy of terrorist violence, and has repeatedly expressed and demonstrated a willingness to cause indiscriminate death and injury'. According to President George Bush Sr's Justice Department, Bosch had participated in more than thirty terrorist acts. But Bush sr pardoned him after a campaign by Florida Representative, Miami-Cuban Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and by her campaign manager, Jeb Bush (George W's brother). Bosch now lives in Miami. In 2000 President George W Bush made Ileana Ros-Lehtinen his spokesperson on human rights, and, in a procedure that circumvented Congressional approval, appointed Otto Reich Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs.

In his drive for political support, Florida Governor Jeb Bush has helped secure the release of other anti-Cuba terrorists, according to Bardach's book. Bardach notes that while the Justice Department was picking up terrorist suspects after September 11, convicted anti-Cuba terrorists were being released from US jails with the consent of the Bush administration.

The book reveals that in 1984 Jeb Bush began a close association with Camilo Padreda, an intelligence officer in the Batista military dictatorship destroyed by the Cuban revolution. Bush and Padreda were respectively chairman and finance chairman of the Dade County Republican Party. Padreda later pleaded guilty to defrauding the state's housing and urban development department of millions of dollars. In the 1980s Jeb Bush was an employee of the prominent Cuban exile Miguel Recarey, who assisted CIA attempts to assassinate Castro in the 1960s.

In the 1980s, according to Bardach's book, Jeb Bush persuaded President George Bush Sr to permit Recarey's hospital business to provide publicly-funded medical care and field hospitals to the terrorist 'contras' in Nicaragua. Recarey was later charged with the US's biggest ever Medicare (health insurance) fraud and is now a fugitive. In 2002, Jeb Bush secured the appointment of Raoul Cantero, the grandson of the Cuban dictator Batista, as a Florida supreme court judge, despite his lack of experience. Cantero had previously represented the terrorist Bosch, acted as his spokesman, and proclaimed him a 'great Cuban patriot' on Miami radio.

*\*Ann Louise Bardach (2002) Cuba Confidential: Love and Vengeance in Miami and Havana (New York: Random House)*

# Guilty of fighting terrorism

## Who are the Miami Five?

The 'Miami Five' are Gerardo Hernández, Antonio Guerrero, Ramón Labañino, René González and Fernando González. They are Cuban agents who infiltrated the ultra-right terrorist groups in Miami, funded and protected by US government agencies, that have been carrying out violent actions against Cuba for forty years. Nearly 3500 Cubans have been murdered in their attacks. The five were arrested in 1998, held in solitary confinement for 17 months and sentenced in 2001 after a 7-month trial in Miami. The sentences were: Gerardo Hernandez, two life sentences plus 15 years; Ramon Labañino, a life sentence plus 18 years; Fernando Gonzalez, 19 years in prison; for Rene Gonzalez, 15 years in prison; Antonio Guerrero, a life sentence plus 10 years.

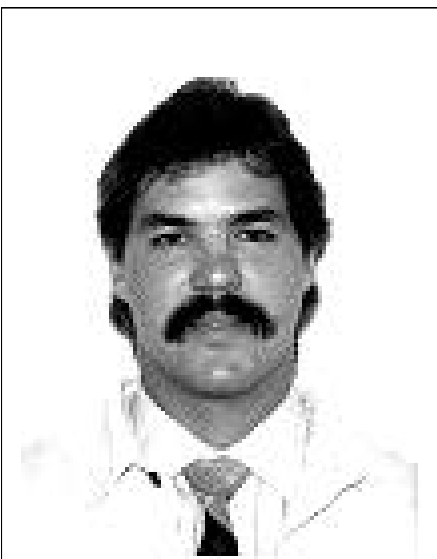
The severity of the sentences reflected the introduction of the charge of espionage against the US. In the trial, however, it was clear that the



April 20, 2002 anti-war march in San Francisco



**René González**



**Ramón Labaniño**

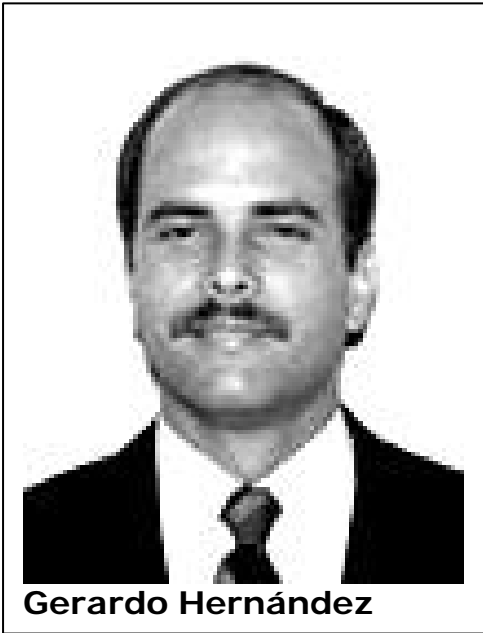


**Fernando González**

five had never sought access to state information that would threaten the national security of the United States, the definition of espionage in US law. Testimony to this effect was provided by FBI officials, the former head of the Southern Command, the former US Army deputy chief of staff intelligence, and the former assistant deputy chief of naval operations. Even prosecution witness General James Clapper, former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), acknowledged that the five had not committed espionage against the US.

The additional life sentence for Gerardo Hernández arose from the charge of conspiracy to commit murder. He had been passing information about 'Brothers to the Rescue', a Miami terrorist group that was carrying out low-flying incursions into Cuban airspace, threatening civil air safety and buzzing Havana at rooftop level. In 1996, after repeated warnings and complaints to the US authorities, Cuba shot down two of these planes after they refused to turn back from Cuban airspace. Hernández had nothing to do with these events, and no evidence was presented that he did.

Ricardo Alarcón, the President of the National Assembly in Cuba commented that, 'Never before in the history of the US had anyone been found guilty of first degree murder without a single witness, without a shred of proof, without putting forward even circumstantial evidence.'



**Gerardo Hernández**



**Antonio Guerrero**

A US attorney appointed by the court to represent one of the five was so appalled by the sentences he has since campaigned across the world for justice, including a retrial out of Miami-Dade. Miami-Dade is the home of the terror groups and of the powerful anti-Cuban movement, where Governor Jeb Bush recently appointed the grandson of the overthrown Cuban dictator Batista to the state supreme court, where anti-Cubans control the government and media. Jurors in the trial complained of being harassed and threatened by anti-Cubans. A year after the trial, the US attorney's office, that had insisted the five would get a fair trial in Miami-Dade, successfully argued that a fair trial was not possible in Miami-Dade for another defendant involved in a case arousing the fury of the anti-Cuban community. That defendant was US Attorney General John Ashcroft, who had infuriated the anti-Cubans by ordering the return to his family in Cuba of the kidnapped child Elian Gonzalez.

In November 2002, the US National Lawyers Guild announced an appeal for a retrial on the ground of 'deliberate misrepresentation of fact and law' by the US attorney's office.

The people of Cuba are intensely proud of these five young men, and furious at their treatment at the hands of US "justice". All over Cuba photos of the five appear over the slogan 'Guilty of Fighting Terrorism'.

Cuba's mass organisations, and the world-wide Cuba solidarity movement, have launched a campaign to Free the Five! Please add your voice! This is an integral part of the struggle against terrorism and war!

For more details, including the addresses to write to the five, visit the websites or write to Cuba Solidarity Campaign – see the addresses at the end of this pamphlet.

While incarcerated awaiting trial and the subsequent life sentence, José Martí Press published a book of poems by Antonio Guerrero entitled, 'From my Altitude'. Here is one of them:

### **To my son**

Your are my hand  
if faraway friends I cannot greet  
You are my voice  
if in the tribune of ideas I cannot speak  
You are my smile  
if in the hour most pure I cannot console  
You are my dream  
if the moment arrives I cannot dream

---

### **Message of the Miami Five to the American people**

We are five loyal Cubans who ... are the victims of a terrible injustice. We have been accused of endangering the security of the United States ... but we are just Cuban patriots and it was never our intent to cause any harm to either the values or the integrity of the American people.

Our tiny nation, which has heroically survived four decades of aggression and threats to its national security, of subversive plans, sabotages and destabilization, has every right to defend itself from its enemies who keep using U.S. territory to plan, organize and finance terrorist actions, breaking your own laws in the process. ..Neither with our attitude nor our actions have we in any way interfered with, or jeopardized the security of, the American people. What we have certainly done is contribute to exposing terrorist plans and actions against our people, thus preventing the death of innocent Cubans and Americans.

Why is it necessary for Cuban patriots to stay away from their loved ones and postpone an otherwise joyful life with their families and people to carry out the honorable duty of protecting their homeland?

Why are the U.S. authorities tolerant with these terrorists who act against our country? Why don't they investigate or take action against

the terrorist plans denounced by Cuba or try to prevent the numerous attempts against the life of our leaders?

Why is it that the professed authors of these and other terrorist actions are still loose in South Florida as was clearly established during the trial?

Who trained them and who is allowing them to carry out their plans?

Who is really endangering the security of the United States of America?

...

It would be in the best interest of the American people to get rid of the bad influence of such extremists and terrorists who cause so much damage to the United States by breaking its own laws.

We have never done anything for money. We have always lived modestly and acted humbly, living up to the sacrifices of our own people.

We have always been moved by a strong sentiment of human solidarity, love for our homeland and contempt for that which goes against the dignity of the human being.

... We declare ourselves not guilty and simply take comfort in the fact that we have honored our duty to our people and our homeland. Our loved ones understand the depth of the ideas that guide us and they will take pride in our sacrifices for Humanity in this struggle against terrorism and for the independence of Cuba.

*(signed) René González, Ramón Labañino, Fernando González Llort, Antonio Guerrero, Gerardo Hernández June 17, 2001*

**“I have every reason to affirm that this is the most democratic socialism in the world”**

***[From Granma on-line report of speech by Olga Salanueva Arango to Cuba's Parliament, the National Assembly of Peoples' Power, on 26 June 2002]***

*"IN the United States I experienced the crudest aspects of capitalism, when my husband was detained and isolated in Miami's federal jail, leaving me unprotected and without any contact with him," affirmed Olga Salanueva Arango, the wife of René González, one of the five Cubans imprisoned in that country.*

*"In Cuba, before we went to the United States, I was the wife of a defector and I didn't lose my rights, I continued to occupy the same senior administrative and political positions I held previously.*

*My daughter and I continued living in our own house in Cuba, nobody asked who I was and I was received all the rights granted to any Cuban citizen. Even when they knew at my daughter Imita's school that we were going through the procedures to leave the country, she was selected in her school as a youth leader on her own merits."*

She related how, once in the United States, given that she didn't leave the island on a raft but in a legal manner, "I was not benefited under the Cuban Adjustment Act. My first job was in an home for the elderly, collecting up the dirty sheets of people who had left Cuba many years before and had been abandoned." Olga recounted how her second job was selling cemetery plots.

*"In those four years," she continued, "I did not have any of those famous benefits that certain companies give to some of their workers, I had no vacations or medical insurance.*

*"When I was pregnant I didn't receive the benefits offered by my country to expectant mothers. Due to inadequate care I started to hemorrhage during the pregnancy, due to lack of money." She told how she went to a friend's private clinic and the clot was removed without anesthetic, so as not to damage the fetus."*

Olga explained that when she went into labor with her second daughter, she was asked for a load of documentation in the midst of the labor pains. *"The great right granted to my second daughter, Ivet, for being a U.S. citizen was medical insurance, but only to cover the costs of her first year of life.*

*"My daughter was diagnosed as having a heart murmur. René was already imprisoned in Miami, charged with being a Cuban agent. I took my daughter to another specialist and he confirmed that the first diagnosis was false, a fraud so that we would have to pay for a risky operation, which could have cost her life.*

*"With René being arrested, I lost the house, credit cards, the car. I was deported without my American daughter, whom they sent to me later. Now," she commented, "I have been denied the opportunity of traveling to the United States with my younger daughter, who hardly knows her father.*

*"I am accused of being a terrorist. My history must be known in the United States. They are preventing me from going to see him with my younger daughter.*

*"I have every reason in the world to confirm that Cuban socialism is the most democratic in the world."*

## Cuba resources and contact information

Cuba Solidarity Campaign will put you in touch with Cuba. Join up and you will receive their regular award-winning magazine **Cuba Sí**, and access to a wide variety of books, CDs, videos, travel information, and information on how to get involved in Cuba support activities.

**Cuba Solidarity Campaign:** [www.cuba-solidarity.org.uk](http://www.cuba-solidarity.org.uk)

c/o The Red Rose Club, 129 Seven Sisters Road, LONDON N7 7QG  
Telephone: 020 7263 6452 Fax: 020 7561 0191 E-mail: [office@cuba-solidarity.org.uk](mailto:office@cuba-solidarity.org.uk)

If you are in the Sheffield area, please write to the producers of this pamphlet. Contact **Ros Makin, 43 Burcot Road, Sheffield S8 9FD**  
[ros@makin.free-online.co.uk](mailto:ros@makin.free-online.co.uk) *Big discounts available for bulk orders!*

There is a wealth of information available about Cuba on the internet. We don't need to give you lists of Cuban newspapers, solidarity organisations, photo displays, because they are all grouped together in several key sites.

These are

[www.ibiblio.org/cuba/links.html](http://www.ibiblio.org/cuba/links.html)

[www.cubasolidarity.net/cubalink.html](http://www.cubasolidarity.net/cubalink.html) and

[www.nscuba.org/websites.html](http://www.nscuba.org/websites.html)

For news from Cuba, visit the webpage of **Granma, daily paper of the Communist Party of Cuba**. This link is to an English-language version:

[www.granma.cu/ingles/index.html](http://www.granma.cu/ingles/index.html)

For further information on some of the themes in the introduction we would highlight in particular the following URLs:

**Cuba Organic Support Group:**

[www.cosg.supanet.com/cosghome.html](http://www.cosg.supanet.com/cosghome.html)

Last but not least, the **5 Cubans jailed in the US for fighting terrorism:**

[www.freethefive.org/](http://www.freethefive.org/)

[www.antiterroristas.cu](http://www.antiterroristas.cu)

