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Fidel's Speech at 6th Non-Aligned Countries Confer.

S.G.

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YOUR
EXCELLENCIES,
GUESTS,
COMRADES,

I would like to ask that the first moments of this solemn even be dedicated to the memory of a beloved friend when we admired, a hero of his country's liberation and revolution, a man who guided the Algiers Summit Conference brilliantly in 1973 and who did much for the strength and prestige of the non-aligned movement, the late President of Algeria, Houari Boumediene. How it grieves us that he cannot be with us in Cuba to share this occasion in our movement's history. I ask this worthy Conference to observe a minute of silence in his memory.

Mr. Chairman, Junius Jayawardene, I would like to express my sincere recognition of your constant concern for the future of our movement and democratic respect for the dissimilar components of this powerful association of countries and the wise prudence you have shown in every difficult situation our non-aligned countries have had to face in the past three years - which have not been easy. In spite of distance and economic problems, your small country has made a noble and worthy effort to live up to the honourable responsibilities entrusted to it in Colombo.

I thank you all for the tremendous honour you do us with your presence here. I greet all of you warmly and welcome you on behalf of our people.

I would also like to fraternally greet the new countries that are joining our powerful movement at this Conference: Iran and Pakistan, which become members following the toppling of the Shah's throne and the breaking up of the aggressive, reactionary CENTO military alliance; Surinam, Bolivia, tiny brave Grenada; and the indomitable people of Nicaragua, the recent historic march of whose heroic, self-sacrificing fighters brought freedom to Sandino's homeland and dignity to our America.

Ethiopia and Afghanistan now accompany us with a new revolutionary character, and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe has full member status.

Our family is growing and increasing in quality, which is the way it should be.

The Philippines, Saint Lucia, Dominica and Costa Rica are new observers and we have a number of guests, including Spain - whose gesture of sending a new delegation to this Conference for the first time we view as a hope for friendly and useful relations with all the peoples of the world. For it did not allow itself to be drawn into the aggressive NATO military bloc which would only jeopardize the brilliant future of that self-sacrificing people whose historical, cultural and blood bonds with the nations of our America are so solid. We also need friends in industrialized Western Europe that are not tied to the imperialist wagon.

Ninety-four states and liberation movements are represented here in full members of this Sixth Summit Conference. This Summit Conference is therefore, the one with the largest attendance and with the greatest number of non-aligned and national liberation movement leaders ever held.

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This is not something for which our modest country should take credit rather it is an unmistakable sign of the vigour, strength and prestige of the movement of non-aligned countries.

All efforts to sabotage the Havana Summit Conference have proved futile. All pressures hectic diplomatic efforts and intrigues to prevent this Conference from being held in our country were in vain.

The Yankee imperialists and their old and new allies - in this case I refer to the Chinese government - didn't want this Conference to be held in Cuba.

They also engaged in dirty scheming, saying that Cuba would turn the movement of non-aligned countries into a tool of Soviet policy. We know only too well that the U.S. government even got hold of a copy of the draft final declaration, drawn up by Cuba, and made feverish diplomatic contacts in an effort to modify it. We have irrefutable proof of this.

We believe that the draft - which was submitted to all the member countries earlier than at any other Conference and was then redrafted to include many of their suggestions - is a good one but subject to improvement. Improvement means strengthening, not weakening it. In any case, since when does the United States have the right to involve itself in the non-aligned movement and decide how our documents should be drawn up?

What is the reason for the reactionary opposition to Cuba?

Cuba isn't exactly a country that is inconsistent towards the imperialists; Cuba has never ceased to practise a policy of close solidarity with the national liberation movements and all other just causes of our times; Cuba has never hesitated to defend its political principles with determination, energy, dignity, honesty and courage, nor in over 20 years, has it ever stopped fighting against the aggression and the blockade imposed by most powerful imperialist countries in the world simply because Cuba carried out a genuine political and social revolution just 90 miles from that country's coast.

It is all too well known - and has been admitted and officially published in the United States - that the authorities of that country spent years organizing and methodically plotting to assassinate the leaders of the Cuban revolution, using the most sophisticated means of conspiracy and crime. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that these deeds were investigated and publicized by the U. S. Senate, the U.S. government has not yet deigned to give any kind of an apology for those vituperative and uncivilized actions.

The true measure of a revolutionary people - the unblemished conduct of a country that cannot be bribed, bought or intimidated - is given by the imperialists' hatred.

In our international relations, we express solidarity with deeds, not fine words. Cuban technicians are now working in 28 countries that belong to our movement. In the vast majority of those countries because of their economic limitations, that co-operation is provided without charge, in spite of our own difficulties. Right now, Cuba has twice as many doctors serving abroad as does the UN World Health Organization. Noble, self-sacrificing Cubans have died thousands of miles

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away from home while supporting liberation movements, defending other peoples' just causes and fighting against the expansionism of the South African racists and other forms of imperialist attacks on human dignity and the integrity and independence of sister nations. They express the purity, selflessness, solidarity and internationalist consciousness that the revolution has forged among our people.

What charges can be brought against Cuba? That it is a socialist country? Yes, it is a socialist country, but we don't impose our ideology or our system on anyone, either inside or outside the movement, and being socialist is nothing to be ashamed of. That we had a radical revolution in Cuba? Yes, we are radical revolutionaries, but we don't try to impose our radicalism on anyone, least of all on the non-aligned movement.

That we maintain fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community? Yes, we are friends of the Soviet Union. We are very grateful to the Soviet people because their generous co-operation helped us to survive and win at some very difficult and decisive moments in our people's life, when we were even in danger of being wiped out. No people has the right to be ungrateful. We are grateful to the glorious October Revolution because it ushered in a new era in human history, made it possible to defeat fascism and created a world situation in which the people's self-sacrificing struggle led to the downfall of the hateful colonial system. To ignore that is to ignore history itself.

Not only Cuba but also Vietnam, the Arab countries under attack, the peoples in the former Portuguese colonies, the revolutionary processes in many other countries throughout the world, and the liberation movement that fights against oppression, racism, Zionism and fascism in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe Palestine and elsewhere owe a debt of gratitude to socialist solidarity. I wonder whether the United States or any other NATO country has ever helped a single liberation movement anywhere in the world. In fact, I am convinced - and I have said so on other occasions - that without the power and influence which the socialist community exerts today, imperialism harassed by the economic crisis and by the shortage of basic raw materials, would not hesitate to divide the world again. It has already done so more than once. It is even threatening to do so again and, in point of fact, is creating special intervention forces aimed menacingly at the oil-exporting countries. To cite just one example of this: the United States has unilaterally decided to respect no more than a three mile limit of maritime sovereignty.

If membership in the non-aligned movement depended on betraying our deepest ideas and convictions, it would not be honourable for me or for any of you to belong to it. No revolutionary has the right to be a coward.

There are some who have made an art of opportunism. We Cuban revolutionaries are not and never will be opportunists. We know how to sacrifice our own national economic interests whenever necessary, to defend a just principle or an honourable political position. We Cubans will never renege on what we said yesterday, nor will we say one thing today and do something else tomorrow.

We are firmly anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, anti-neo-colonial, anti-racist, anti-Zionist and anti-fascist because these principles are a part of our thinking; they constitute the essence and origin of the

movement of non-aligned countries and have formed its life and history ever since its founding. These principles are also very fresh in the life and history of the peoples we represent here.

Was any country that now belongs to our movement really independent more than 35 years ago? Is there any member that hasn't known colonialism neo-colonialism, fascism, racial discrimination or imperialism aggression, economic dependency, poverty, squalor, illiteracy, and the most brutal exploitation of its natural and human resources? What country doesn't bear the burden of the technological gap, a lower standard of living than the former metropolises, unequal terms of trade the economic crisis, inflation and underdevelopment imposed on our peoples by centuries of colonial exploitation and imperialist domination?

Cuba will be in the front line defending these principles, independence, and the unique, prestigious, fraternal and ever more constructive and influential role of the non-aligned movement in international life, so the energetic and rightful voice of our peoples may be heard.

Moreover, I believe that, if you thought Cuba had no position of its own, was not completely independent or lacked the loyalty and honesty it owes the movement in line with its concepts and goals, you would not have given your generous co-operation, confidence, interest and enthusiasm to this Sixth Summit Conference.

Throughout our revolutionary life, no one has ever tried to tell us what to do. No one has ever tried to tell us what role we should play in the movement of non-aligned countries. No one told us when or how to make the revolution in our country, nor could anyone have done so. By the same token, on one, except the movement itself, can determine what it should do and when and how to do it.

We have worked tirelessly to create the material and political conditions to make this event a success. We have respected and we will continue to totally respect the rights of all members of the movement. We have fully and scrupulously fulfilled our duties as host country and will continue to do so. Our views will not always coincide with those of each and every one of you. We have many close friends at this Conference, but we don't always agree with the best of them. We hope that everyone will speak out with the greatest freedom and honesty and feel that he is being heard with interest, respect and consideration. The combined experiences of all of us gathered here can produce tremendous results. Certain topics are controversial, and certain words may seem strong. If anything we say displeases anyone, please understand that we do not mean to hurt or wound. We will work with all member countries - without exception - to achieve our aims and to implement the agreements that are adopted. We will be patient, prudent, flexible, calm. Cuba will observe these norms throughout the years in which it presides over the movement. I declare this categorically.

We have grown and advanced. Fortunately, Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands are now fully independent countries, after a heroic and unequal struggle. Today as sovereign states, they are prestigious and influential members of our movement. Just six years ago, at the Algiers Summit Conference, they were only liberation movements.

Vietnam is united and free after 30 years of extra-ordinary and admirable struggle.

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The Shah is no longer the Shah. CENTO no longer exists; Somoza is no longer in power; and the fascist Gairy no longer rules tiny, heroic Grenada. These unquestionable victories for independence, progress and freedom. Our causes triumph because they are just.

Growing numbers of peoples are joining our ranks as they break the bonds of colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism and other forms of oppression and dependency. In one way or another, all these struggles have been supported by the movement of non-aligned countries, and these are victories for us as well.

Nevertheless, imperialism has not ceased its tenacious efforts to maintain its subjection, oppression and occupation of other peoples and countries whose causes demand our resolute support.

First of all, I refer to the long-suffering courageous Palestinian people. No more brutal pillage of a people's rights to peace and ~~existence~~ has occurred in this century. Please understand that we are not fanatics. The revolutionary movement has always learned to hate racial discrimination and pogroms of any kind. From the bottom of our heart, we repudiated the merciless persecution and genocide that the nazis once visited on the Jews, but there's nothing in recent history that parallels it more than the dispossession, persecution and genocide that imperialism and Zionism are currently practising against the Palestinian people.

Pushed off their land, expelled from their country, scattered throughout the world, persecuted and murdered, the heroic Palestinians are a vivid symbols of the most terrible crime of our era.

Piece by piece, Palestinian lands and the territories of neighbouring Arab countries - Syria, Jordan and Egypt - have been seized by the aggressors, armed to the teeth with the most sophisticated weapons from the U.S. arsenal.

The just Palestinian and Arab cause has been supported by world progressive opinion and our movement for nearly 20 years. Nasser was one of the prestigious founders of this movement. Nevertheless all U.N. resolutions have been scornfully ignored and rejected by the aggressors and their imperialist allies.

Imperialism has sought to impose its own peace, using betrayal and division. An armed, dirty, unjust bloody peace will never be a true peace.

The Camp David agreement is a flagrant betrayal of the Arab cause and of the Palestinian, Lebanese, Syrian, Jordanian - all the Arab peoples, including the Egyptians. It is a betrayal of all the progressive peoples of the world who, at the United Nations and all other international forums, have always supported a just solution to the problems of the Middle East, one that would be acceptable and honorable for all and guaranteed by all.

True peace in the Middle East can never be built on such injustice such a Machiavellian policy, such betrayal and such a flimsy basis.

Instead of one gendarme for the Middle East, the Arab world and Africa, imperialism now wants two: Israel and Egypt. If peace really exists between Egypt and Israel, why does Egypt need all the weapons is getting - even though they aren't as sophisticated and modern as the ones that are going to the Israelis? How will these arms be used except against the peoples in the area, including the Egyptians themselves?

International policy should be ethical. The movement of non-aligned countries should roundly denounce the Camp David agreement. Moral

censure, at least, is essential.

We have witnessed ten years of imperialist manoeuvres, deceit and crimes in Zimbabwe. Six million Africans there are oppressed by a tiny arrogant and genocidal racist, fascist minority. We should firmly denounce and reject the so-called internal settlement and Muzorewa's puppet regime, which is a mockery of Africa's conscience, and give the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe - sole legitimate representative of its people - the non-aligned movement's all-out support and solidarity.

The people of Namibia are also suffering from South Africa's scorn mockery and disrespect for United Nations' orders and resolutions - and South Africa is fully supported by the NATO powers, including the United States. Racist South African troops that have no right to be there are depriving the Namibian people of their independence and imposing a bantustan system on that long-suffering country, in defiance of the international community and world public opinion.

South Africa itself constitutes the most shameful blot for the peoples of Africa and the world. Human dignity cannot help but be offended by that repulsive stronghold of the nazi-fascist spirit that remains in the southern cone of Africa, where 28 million Africans are oppressed, exploited, discriminated, against and repressed by a handful of racists. Who spawned that system? Who supports it? They say the South African racists even know how to make atom bombs. I ask: against whom are they likely to be used? Against the Black ghettos of Pretoria? Will they, perchance, be used to block the just and inevitable liberation of the people?

Why are the Rhodesian and South African racists allowed to bomb Mozambique, Zambia, Angola and Botswana almost daily, murdering with impunity thousands upon thousands of refugees and citizens of those countries as well? Why are the Zionist aggressors permitted to bomb the Palestinian refugee camps and Lebanese towns daily? Who supplies them? Isn't this undeniable proof of imperialism's aggressive role and the type of peace and order it wants for our peoples? Or isn't it a crime to kill a child, an old man, a woman a Black adult, a Palestinian, a Lebanese? Can these methods and these concepts be differentiated from the methods and concepts that fascist Germany used? Reports of genocidal acts of this nature are broadcast daily, even by the imperialist press agencies, as if to accustom us to accepting such deeds with resignation and meekness.

Another problem that concerns African and world opinion is that of Western Sahara. Cuba has no particular dispute with Morocco, whose government maintained diplomatic and trade relations with us even in the most critical period of the U.S. blockade of our country; but looking at the matter from a principled point of view, Cuba expresses its total support of independence for the Saharan people, considering the occupation of their territory to be utterly unfounded and their desire for free self-determination to be unquestionably just. Cuba was a member of the U.N. commission that investigated the desires of the Saharan people prior to the conflict and can attest to the fact that 99 per cent of the inhabitants want independence. We congratulate Mauritania on its courageous decision to renounce all territorial claims and hope that Morocco will reconsider its policy on Western Sahara, a policy that not only isolates it and weakens its international position but also exhausts and impoverishes it economically. The right to independence of the valiant Saharan people and the POLISARIA Front, their legitimate representative, should be recognized by all.

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We support the people of Cyprus in their struggle against the foreign occupation of a part of their territory and for the development of peace and fraternal coexistence by all components of that sister country's population.

Cuba's position on the problems in Southeast Asia is crystal clear. For our people, Vietnam is sacred. We once swore that we were willing to die for Vietnam.

No other people of recent times has paid such a high price in sacrifice, suffering and death in order to be free; no people has made a greater contribution to the national liberation struggle; no other people has done so much in this period to create a universal anti-imperialist consciousness. Four times as many bombs were dropped on Vietnam as were used in World War II; the most powerful imperialist country had its claws cut off in Vietnam; Vietnam taught all oppressed nations that no force can defeat a people that is determined to fight for its freedom. The struggle in Vietnam reinforced the respect and dignity of all our peoples.

Now, when Vietnam has been made the victim of intrigue, slander and encirclement by the Yankee imperialists and of betrayal, conspiracy and aggression by the government of China, Cuba offers it its firmest support.

With all their talk about the problem of the Vietnamese refugees the direct result of colonialism, underdevelopment and the 30-year war of aggression - why don't the U.S. government and its allies even mention the two million Palestinians scattered all over the world and the hundreds of thousands of Zimbabwean, Namibian and South African refugees who are dispersed, persecuted and murdered in Africa?

What right does China have to teach Vietnam a lesson, invade its territory, destroy its modest wealth and murder thousands of its people?

The Chinese ruling clique that supported Pinochet against Allende that supported South Africa's aggression against Angola, that supported the Shah, that supported Somoza, that supports and supplies weapons to Sadat, that justifies the Yankee blockade against Cuba and the continued existence of the naval base at Guantanamo, that defends NATO and sides with the United States and the most reactionary forces of Europe and the rest of the world has neither the prestige nor the moral standing to teach anybody a lesson.

We also support the Lao People's Democratic Republic against the Chinese government's threats of aggression and expansionsim.

Cuba's position on the problem of Kampuchea is known. We recognize the only real, legitimate government of Kampuchea, which is the People's Democratic Republic Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and we endorse Vietnam's solidarity with that fraternal country. People keep saying that Vietnam sent fighters to support the Kampuchean revolutionaries. Why don't they don't they say that the bloody clique that had seized control of the country, in complicity with China and imperialism, provoked and attacked Vietnam first and that there is indisputable documentary proof of mass murders perpetrated against Vietnamese men, women, old people and children.

With all our energy, we condemn the genocidal government of Pol Pot and Leng sary. Three million dead accuse them.. Even Sihanouk has admitted that some of his relatives were murdered. It is a shameful thing

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for the progressive forces of the world that such crimes could ever have been committed in the name of the revolution and socialism.

Nevertheless, Cuba mindful of its obligations as host country offered the facilities for both parties to be present in Havana until the movement comes to a decision in this regard. It is inexplicable that, while some oppose the expulsion of Egypt that allied itself with the United States and Israel, openly betraying the noble Arab cause and the Palestinian people, efforts are being made to condemn Vietnam for its acts of legitimate defence against aggression and the fiction is maintained that Pol Pot's bloody government, an affront to all mankind, still exists.

The movement should preserve its unity and always seek a peaceful solution to any difference that may arise among its members, but it is equally bound to maintain impartiality, realism and political logic in its decisions. Tanzania was also obliged to defend itself against Uganda's aggression and to support the patriots of that country against the repressive regime. Now, the legitimate, revolutionary government of Uganda is represented at this conference. Why should we deny this right to People's of Kampuchea?

We firmly support the Korean people's struggle for the reunification of their country. We denounce the unjust division and virtual occupation of a part of their territory by U.S. troops. We denounce the inconsistency and hollowness of the U.S. government's promises, for, far from reducing those troops, it is reinforcing them and increasing their aggressive potential.

In our America, we reiterate our firm and staunch solidarity with the fraternal people of Puerto Rico, whose right to self-determination and independence is stubbornly denied by the colonizing power Puerto Rico - just like Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa Palestine and other countries needs our help, and we must give it unhesitatingly and unswervingly, in spite of the strong pressures that the United States constantly brings to bear on all countries in this regard. We support Belize's right to independence, which is being held back mainly by the opposition and threats of the bloody, pro-Yankee satrap who oppresses Guatemala. The people of Belize are completely different from the people of Guatemala - ethnically, culturally and historically - both of them need freedom equally.

The new Nicaragua requires maximum co-operation from the international community for the reconstruction of the country, which was destroyed by nearly half a century of the Somoza dynasty, spawned by the Yankee Marines. It is only right that we give it our solidarity.

Bolivia, whose territories were cut up a century ago in a war promoted by imperialist interests, aspires to have an outlet to the sea, and this is absolutely justified and vital. We therefore consider it our duty to support it.

We are opposed to the continued existence of any kind of colonial enclave in this hemisphere. Cuba needs solidarity, too. Our country is suffering from a criminal, savage economic blockade imposed by the United States - a blockade which is even applied to medicines - and a part of our national territory is still occupied by force.

Does the United States have the right to try to prevent our development at all costs? Does it have the right to own military bases in another country against the will of its people? All these topics and struggles about which we are concerned and that require our solidarity contain a constant, invariable element: the

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action of imperialism. Can our movement ignore it? Is it extremism on our part to set forth the facts clearly?

Even though the underdeveloped countries, which suffer from poverty and very low living standards and life expectancies, have the least to lose in a war, we cannot be insensible to the need for world peace. If we were, it would mean giving up hope of a better future for the peoples. We do not support the thesis that a world nuclear war is inevitable. That fatalistic, irresponsible attitude is the surest path to the annihilation of mankind in a universal holocaust. Never before has mankind had that technological possibility. We cannot be so stupid as to ignore it. For the first time in history our generation has had to confront these risks.

In our world today, mountains of ever more deadly weapons are piling up, along with mountains of problems of underdevelopment, poverty, food shortages, squalor, environment pollution, school and housing shortages, unemployment and an explosive population growth. Such natural resources as land, water, energy and raw materials are beginning to be in short supply in various parts of the world.

The developed capitalist societies not only created wasteful and untenable models for standards of living and consumption but also, unfortunately, propagated them throughout a large part of the world. Many countries in our area conceive of development only as the aspiration to get to be and live like New York, London or Paris.

One way or another, the world economic crisis, the energy crisis, inflation, the depression and unemployment oppress the peoples and governments of a large part of the earth. Very few, if any, of the members of our movement are free of these difficulties because we bear the brunt of these calamities.

The struggle for peace and for a just economic order and a workable solution to the pressing problems that weigh on our peoples is in our opinion, increasingly becoming the main issue facing the movement of non-aligned countries.

Peace, with the immense risks that threaten it, is not something that should be left exclusively in the hands of the big military powers. Peace is possible, but world peace can only be assured to the extent to which all countries are consciously determined to fight for it peace not just for a part of the world, but for all peoples. Peace, also for Vietnam, the Palestinians, the patriots of Zimbabwe and Namibia, the oppressed majorities in South Africa, for Angola, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, Ethiopia, Syria, Lebanon, and the Saharan people. Peace with justice, peace with independence, peace with freedom. Peace for the powerful countries, and the small countries. Peace for all continents and all peoples. We understand perfectly well that we will not achieve it without a tenacious, resolute struggle, but we should believe in the possibility of achieving it in spite of imperialism, neo-colonialism, racism, Zionism, expansionism and the other regressive elements that still exist in the world. The strength of our united countries is very great. Never before have the forces of progress and the advanced political awareness of the peoples attained such high levels. Even within the imperialist, reactionary countries themselves, important progressive sectors are determined to struggle for the same ends. The important role that the people of the United States and world opinion played in ending the criminal imperialist war against Vietnam should never be forgotten.

We must demand peace, detente, peaceful coexistence and disarmament. We must demand and win them because they will not come about by spontaneous generation, and there is no alternative in today's world if we

are to preserve the very existence of mankind.

We must encourage every step that leads along this path. Therefore, we should welcome the SALT-2 agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States and the future steps that may be expected in this field. At the same time we should denounce the reactionary forces that support the cold war and that, mixed up in the dirty business of arms sales, destruction and death, oppose the ratification of these agreements in the U.S. Senate.

We realize, however, that, though these steps are positive and important, they are still far from the ideal of denuclearization that continues until all nuclear weapons have disappeared, which, in the end, would be the only fair and equal state of affairs, for all nations and would mean the end of the arms race.

The day should come when mankind resolutely condemns arms production and trade.

More than \$300 billion a year is spent on arms and other military expenditures throughout the world, according to statistical publications and this figure may be a conservative one.

The U.S. armed forces alone, for example, use 30 million tons of oil for these purposes - more than all the energy used by all the countries in Central America and the Caribbean put together.

\$300 billion could build 600,00 schools, with a capacity for 400 million children; or 60 million comfortable homes, for 300 million people; or 30,000 hospitals, with 18 million beds; or 20,000 factories, with jobs for more than 20 million workers; or an irrigation system for 150 million hectares of land - that, with the application of technology, could feed a billion people. Mankind wastes this much every year on military spending.

Moreover, consider the enormous quantities of young human resources, scientific and technical resources, fuel, raw materials, and other items. This is the fabulous price of preventing a true climate of confidence and peace from existing in the world.

We marxists consider war and weapons to be historically and inevitably tied to the system of man's exploitation of man and to that system's insatiable greed in seizing the natural resources of other peoples. Once, in the United Nations, I said, "Put an end to the philosophy of war will be ended."

Socialism does not need arms production to keep its economy going it doesn't need armies whose purpose is to seize the resources of other peoples. If the slogan of unity and fraternity among all peoples and men reflected today's reality, there would be no need for arms either to attack and oppress people or to win freedom and defend it.

No matter how long or utopian the path may seem and no matter how harsh the setbacks and even betrayals within the progressive movement, we should never become discouraged or stop persevering in our struggle to attain these objectives. It is absolutely necessary to demand in all international forums and organizations that we move from rhetoric to deeds. †

These questions lead us directly to the topic of economics.

More and more statesmen and leaders in our movement are stating the need to place this matter at the centre of our concerns. You are statesmen who wrestle every day with the knotty economic questions of your countries.

You know full well what the great difficulties are: the constantly rising foreign debt, a shortage of foreign currency, the soaring prices of fuel and other import products, unequal terms of trade, low prices on the foreign market that constantly and increasingly rob us of the products that are the fruit of our peoples' labour, inflation, the rise from this state of affairs.

Progressive governments that are making a noble effort to develop and increase the well-being of their countries are overwhelmed and may even be wiped out by economic difficulties and unfair, unpopular conditions imposed by the international credit agencies. What political price haven't many of you had to pay because of the rules laid down by the International Monetary Fund? We Cubans, who were excluded from that institution because of an imperialist dictate, aren't quite sure whether that exclusion was a punishment or a privilege.

Some governments placed in power by the people's revolutionary struggle suddenly find themselves faced with horrifying conditions of poverty, indebtedness and underdevelopment that prevent them from responding to even the most modest hopes of their peoples.

I am not going to tell you half-truths, nor am I going to hide the fact that social difficulties are much greater when, in any of our countries, a small minority controls the basic wealth and the majority of the people are completely dispossessed. In short, if the system is socially just, the possibilities of survival and economic and social development are incomparably greater. Some countries present the phenomenon of growing economies with equally growing poverty, illiteracy, the increasing number of children who have no schools to go to, malnutrition, disease, begging and unemployment - all of which show in no uncertain terms that something is wrong.

The underdeveloped countries - some optimistically prefer to call them developing countries, when in fact, the gap separating their per capita incomes and standards of living from those of the developed countries is constantly widening - contain 65 per cent of the world population but account for only 15 per cent of total world production and only 8 per cent of industrial production. The conglomerate of countries, in this category, which have no natural energy sources, now have a foreign debt of over \$300 billion. It is estimated that around \$40 billion a year goes to servicing this foreign debt - more than 20 per cent of their exports. Average per capita income in the developed countries is now 14 times greater than in the underdeveloped countries. In addition, the underdeveloped countries contain more than 900 million illiterate adults. This situation is untenable.

One of the most acute problems facing the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries - the vast majority of the members of our movement - is the energy crisis. The oil-exporting countries - all which are in the underdeveloped world and almost all of which belong to the movement of non-aligned countries - have always been supported by the rest of our countries in their just demands for the revaluation of their product and an end to unequal terms of trade and the wasting of energy. These countries now have a much greater economic potential and negotiating capacity with the developed capitalist world. This is not the case of the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries. Sugar, bauxite, copper, and other solid minerals, peanuts, copra, sisal, tea, cashews and agricultural products in general are terribly underpriced on the world market. The developed capitalist countries selfishly raise their tariffs against those few products that our countries manufacture and even subsidize goods that compete with ours, whenever possible. The European Economic Community and the United States do this for example with sugar. The prices of the equipment, machinery industrial articles,

and semi-finished products that we import are raised constantly; the privileged exporters of these goods charge ever higher prices for them. It is easier for them than for the underdeveloped countries to pay for fuel. They even export tens of billions of dollars' worth of arms annually and often buy oil with this money. The Shah of Iran was one of their favourite multimillionaire clients, until he was rightly overthrown not long ago. Most of the surplus money from oil sales is deposited and invested in the richest, most developed capitalist countries. These funds are also used to supply them with fuel. But what recourse do the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries have?

It is absolutely necessary to be aware of this reality because the situation in many countries, a large number of which are members of this movement, is truly desperate. We should consider and discuss this matter. A solution must be found. Imperialism is already manoeuvring to divide us; it is trying to isolate the oil-producing countries from the rest of the underdeveloped world, blaming them for the economic crisis - whose cause really lies in the unjust order established in the world by the imperialist system. And, what is even more dangerous it is looking for pretexts and covering up its aggressive plans against the oil-exporting countries.

Cuba isn't bringing this topic up in order to defend interests that affect it directly; Of course, we suffer from the indirect effects of the international economic crisis and the low prices established for our products in Western markets, but we have an assured supply of oil which we purchase with sugar, whose price is directly proportional to the price of oil and other articles which we import from the socialist area.

Nevertheless, we should point out that, if all the sugar produced in Cuba - nearly 8 million tons in the 1979 harvest, the largest production of cane sugar in the world - had been sold to the western world at the price now being paid on the so-called world market - around 8 cents a pound - it wouldn't have paid for the fuel that Cuba uses, at its present price.

We must look for solutions to the energy crisis, but not only for the developed countries that already use most of the energy produced in the world; basically, we must also find solutions for the underdeveloped countries.

We appeal to the sense of responsibility of the large oil-exporting countries in our movement, asking them to strike out courageously, firmly and boldly in implementing a wise and far-sighted policy of economic co-operation, trade and investments in our underdeveloped world because their future depends on ours.

I am not asking you to sacrifice your legitimate interest; I am not asking you to stop all-out efforts to develop and raise the well-being of your own peoples; I am asking you to stop trying to safeguard your future. I am inviting you to join us and to close ranks with us and struggle together for a really new international economic order whose benefits will extend to all.

No money can purchase the future, for the future lies in justice, in our consciousness and in the honest and fraternal solidarity of our peoples.

The solution to the economic problems faced by our countries requires a tremendous, responsible, conscious and serious effort of a world nature.

Those of us meeting here represent the vast majority of the peoples of the world. Let us close ranks and unite the growing forces of our vigorous movement in the United Nations and in all other international forums to demand economic justice for our peoples and an end to foreign control over our resources and the theft of our labour. Let us close ranks in demanding respect for our right to development, to life and to the future. Enough of building a world economy based on the opulence of those who exploited and impoverished us in the past and who exploit and impoverish us today and on the poverty the economic and social underdevelopment of the vast majority of mankind. May a firm determination to struggle and concrete plans of action come out of this Sixth Summit Conference: deeds, not just words.

Perhaps this speech inaugurating this Conference has been somewhat undiplomatic, not quite in line with protocol, but no one should doubt the complete loyalty with which I have spoken.

THANK YOU.

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