

31 OCTOBER 2017

PALABRAS EN CAMBIO

CUBAN STORIES FROM ARTICLE 1 TO 66

LA REVOLUCIÓN ES

02

CHAPTER XV

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

ARTICLE 137.

This Constitution can only be modified by the National Assembly of People's Power, by means of resolutions adopted by roll-call vote by a majority of no less than two-thirds of the total number of members; except [where the modification] regards the political, social and economic system, whose irrevocable character is established in Article 3 of Chapter I, and the prohibition against negotiations under aggression, threats or coercion by a foreign power as established in Article 11.

If the modification has to do with the integration and authority of the National Assembly of the People's Power or its Council of State or involves any rights and duties contained in the Constitution, it shall also require the approval of the majority of citizens with the right to vote by means of a referendum called upon for this purpose by the Assembly itself.

At the beginning of 2017, we welcomed to Havana two artists who currently live in Amsterdam. They did not come to delight us with news of the diminishing goodness of life in the first world, nor did they come to pay homage to the official Cuban mythology. Their visit was motivated by a desire of sharing specific art practices that open new directions and generate skills for the autonomous organization of those who, a few decades ago, were nonchalantly called the Dutch working class.

These practices or procedures were formed in the late nineties, when global elites managed to impose everywhere the so-called neoliberal revolution, unleashing an abrupt transformation in all social spheres, including that of the art world. In an interview done in 2015 with one of the artists, those years were remembered by recounting that “art as a place for reflection and as an instrument to process critical thought was left behind as a model. The belief that we (the artists) could contribute to social change through art was totally displaced,

and instead we had to transform ourselves into our own brand and for this we had to take care of our individual interest. More than ever we all became rivals of each other, mutual competition was installed as a normal way of relating to one another.” Through different creative pathways, a crucial insight they came to formulate was the awareness of working for a different public. And their response to this opened an itinerary that led to a fruitful working relationship with the Cleaners Union of the Netherlands. This organization of precarized workers has a solid and defined bottom-up structure that unites cleaners of different languages and cultures.

Together with the workers and their daily problems, these artists rediscovered the centrality of words and the awareness of their use for challenging or reproducing the dominant neoliberal common sense.

Palabras en Cambio seeks to map the exhausted constitutionality instituted in Cuba in 1992, contrasting it with stories out of conversations with Cuban workers from different generations.

This is a work attempting to make visible **the actual social dynamics** that these workers describe, which are marked by the existing improved state capitalist logic as well as by a society that has been incapable of imagining socialist alternatives, **in the face of a steadily rising tide of pro-capitalist common sense.** By doing so, this compilation of stories encourages us to take part in the social arm wrestling about the ongoing definition of a new legality in Cuba, before we see a repetition of what has happened in the Netherlands, where a neoliberal regime has been established which today reigns while receiving very little social response.

Palabras en Cambio also invites us to think collectively about what kind of society we need, if we want to prevent history from once more becoming a distant script written against us. We are talking of ‘we’, not the Cubans in general but of actual Cuban workers, we labouring classes speaking among ourselves, a ‘we’ sounding from below.

Taller Libertario Alfredo López, Havana

CHAPTER III FOREIGNERS

ARTICLE 34.

Foreigners residing in the territory of the Republic are considered equal to Cubans:

- in the protection of their persons and assets;*
- in the enjoyment of rights and fulfilment of obligations recognized in this Constitution, under the conditions and with the limitations that the law establishes;*
- in the obligation to observe the Constitution and the law;*
- in the obligation to contribute to public expenditures in the manner and amount that the law establishes;*
- in submission to the jurisdiction and decisions of the tribunals of justice and authorities of the Republic.*

The law establishes the instances and manner in which foreigners may be expelled from the national territory, as well as the authorities empowered to make this decision.

We are two artists currently living in Amsterdam, but born in different places. One of us spent a childhood in the Netherlands during a period of widespread anti-authoritarianism, while the other did so in a period of dictatorship in Argentina. For one of those coincidences of life, in 2001, we both happened to be in the place of the other's childhood. One lived in Buenos Aires, on the days of 19 and 20 December 2001, an insurrection emerged in response to a crisis rooted in the neo-liberal policies of the nineties.

In the same year in the Netherlands, the other experienced the rise of process of right-wing populism and saw the abrupt acceleration, provoked by the assassination of the leader of this movement in 2002. The place of an anti-authoritarian childhood suddenly turned into a country of fear and intolerance. From that moment on, Dutch society began a new historical phase, producing a different reality. Strangely enough, for the rest of the world the image that stems from of the seven-

ties- the image of the Netherlands as a progressive place- still predominates over the actual state of affairs. On what factors does the construction of a country's image depend?

If we think of the idea that some of today's Cubans have about USA, we can say that it does not correspond to the current situation in that country.

In regard to the reality of the Netherlands, it is impossible to disconnect the actual fear and intolerance from the process of transformation of its economy during the nineties. The consequences of this transformed economy had an impact that was only felt much later, when the changes became effective and the new reality became tangible.

It is certainly impossible to compare the impact of changes in the Netherlands with that of the crisis in Argentina or with what the contemporary developments in Cuba imply. But what can be observed are the similarities in the transformation processes each of these countries underwent.

In our own experience, both in the Netherlands and in Argentina, the processes prior to a change have ruled out perspectives that have not been recovered. In the case of Cuba, we can at least appreciate that the process of the country's reform is now at a key juncture. Cuba is no longer the same country as the one in which the 1992 Constitution was drafted, and the words of this constitution do not have the same validity they did then.

In January 2017 we had conversations with various people in Havana about the conditions and the experiences of their day-to-day which help to understand this moment of transition in their lives. We offer these reflections in forty-three stories of their reality, contrasting the Cuban Constitution's words.

*Cecilia Vallejos and Matthijs de Bruijne,
Amsterdam*

J *Man, 42 years old, higher education, documentary maker and business owner.*

D *Man, 25 years old, secondary education, unskilled worker at fairs.*

P *Man, 60 years old, higher education, school as well as private teacher.*

M *Woman, 68 years old, retired school teacher and owner of child daycare centre.*

V *Woman, 28 years old, higher education, cultural heritage consultant and researcher.*

C *Woman, 36 years old, higher education, anthropologist, state employee.*

T *Woman, 67 years old, higher education, retired registered nurse and domestic worker.*

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE STATE

ARTICLE 1.

Cuba is a socialist State of workers, independent and sovereign, organized with all and for the good of all, as a united, democratic republic, for the enjoyment of political freedom, social justice, individual and collective welfare, and human solidarity.

J I have worked since I was 14 years old, probably even before that, since I was 12. The first place I worked was in a coffee machinery workshop next to my house and owned by my uncle. This was the way my curiosity about working began. With the money I earned there I paid for high school and university, bought stuff for myself and

helped with the economy of the house. After graduating from university, I started my master's degree and I worked for the state for two years. Later, I met someone who introduced me to the world of handicrafts and this was my start in this area, in something very small. To the extent that this small business was growing in size, revenues went up. Today, I have several spots where I sell the handicraft pieces. I used to work alone and now I have hired workers. I pay them fifty pesos a day, an amount that very few people in this country earn.

ARTICLE 2.

The name of the Cuban State is Republic of Cuba; the official language is Spanish; and its capital is the city of Havana.

D The minimum and maximum salaries depend on where you work. For instance, if you work in a cafeteria in Havana you will not get the same pay as you get working in Guanabacoa. There you'll get seventy or eighty pesos, while in Havana they would pay you a hundred and fifty pesos. Also, if

you work in a cafeteria that is for foreigners they pay you much more, plus what you can make in tips. This way you get a more or less regular salary. Therefore, there is no minimum and maximum, since all the wages vary. The minimum salary for a self-employed worker is, I believe, fifty Cuban pesos a day even though there are people that work for twenty pesos.

ARTICLE 3.

In the Republic of Cuba, the sovereignty resides in the people, from whom all of the power of the State emanates. That power is exercised directly or through the Assemblies of the People's Power and other organs of the State derived from them, in the manner and according to the rules established by the Constitution and the laws.

All citizens have the right to fight, using all means, including armed struggle, when no other recourse is possible, against anyone attempting to overthrow the political, social, and economic order established by this Constitution.

**NOSOTROS SI PODEMOS
Y LO ESTAMOS
DEMOSTRANDO.”**

FIDEL

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P Fidel taught us to be optimistic, he did not teach us to lie. Along with that, I also learned that I only have one life and that I want to be optimistic but realistic as well. I have a family and as of today, I don't have **any other valuable assets** besides the house where I live. This is something for my children, for them to feel satisfied once I am gone. So that when I am physically no longer here, they do not speak of me with a certain distrust.

ARTICLE 4. *The national symbols are those that have presided for more than one hundred years over the Cuban struggles for independence, for the people's rights, and for social progress: the flag with the solitary star; the Bayamo anthem; the coat-of-arms with the royal palm.*

M The fact that the young people are moving to other countries - I've personally experienced this, and it makes me worry.

It happens to all sorts of families in Cuba. For example, my only nephew is in Argentina right now. Young people do not leave Cuba

because they are against it, it's not due to political issues. They leave in search of wealth, in search of a better economic situation. It is to be able to achieve a certain level of well-being. I asked them why do you want to go, what motivates you? And they replied: "We are leaving and it is true that we have to work hard abroad, we even have three jobs, but in the end we can manage to buy a car."

They think that way: **they look for wealth, well-being** and there are lots of them. Personally I am very interested in this topic and I feel frustrated, because I think we have done things quite wrong when the younger generations really desire other things now and do not value all we have done so far. This hurts, it tears us apart.

ARTICLE 5. *The Communist Party of Cuba, Marxist and Marxist-Leninist, the organized vanguard of the Cuban nation, is the superior leading force of the society and the State, organizing and guiding the common efforts aimed at the highest goals of the construction of socialism and **advancement toward the communist society.***

V In Guanabacoa, the same thing has happened that happens in almost all of Cuba, or at least in Havana. After self-employment was approved, that type of work has multiplied, it's being advertised and supported by many opportunities, so there was **an explosion of self-employment**. In addition, the state planned to expel up to 500.000 employees from their work centres and this has meant that all those jobless people were suddenly available to jump into this new condition, to begin new businesses by themselves. For example, it happens that in the same block there are sometimes up to five different cafeterias.

ARTICLE 6. *The Union of Young Communists, an advance organization of the Cuban youth, has the recognition and encouragement of the State in its preeminent function of promoting the active participation of the young masses in the tasks of socialist construction, and of suitably training the youth as **conscious citizens**, capable of assuming greater responsibilities each day for the benefit of our society.*

P I think that solidarity is a value and I am convinced that values are inculcated. We are born devoid of everything. As a person, I am a product of a society. Then I think that as I am teaching you, as well as inculcating, I develop certain skills in you and that is also where I can instil well-defined, well-taught human values.

Obviously this depends on the degree of interiority of the person who is teaching. We, as a consequence of our natural historical development, are egocentric. We're like this because maybe the lack of community has made us prone to hoarding.

Therefore, the value of solidarity - we have it somewhere, it's part of us. But to stop being selfish to show solidarity is a very long process. This process is so long that perhaps none of us will be able to see a society in which there are no leaders who do not want to seize or appropriate what is left over.

ARTICLE 5
The Cuban Socialist State
recognizes and promotes the
mass and social organizations that serve
as the historic people's structures,

which gather in their respective sectors
and associations to defend the national economy
and the educational, scientific, technical,
and cultural advancement of the country;
b) as the Power of the people, in the service of
the people themselves, guarantees
that there will be no man or woman capable
of working who lacks an opportunity to obtain
an employment with which he [or she] can
contribute to the goals of society and fulfil his
[or her] personal needs;

ARTICLE 8
The State recognizes, respects,
and guarantees the rights of
the people to work. It is the responsibility of the State
to guarantee the right to work.
Guarantees the right to work
and decent means of subsistence;

ARTICLE 9. *The State:*
a) implements the will of the
working people and
-- channels the efforts of the nation in the
construction of socialism;
-- maintains and defends the integrity and
sovereignty of the fatherland;
-- guarantees the freedom and full dignity of
men, the enjoyment of their rights, the exercise
and fulfilment of their obligations, and the total
development of their personality;
-- sustains the ideology and the norms of coex-
istence, and of conduct typical of the society free
from exploitation of man by man;

-- protects the creative work of the people, and
the property and wealth of the socialist nation;
-- directs the national economy in a planned
manner;

-- ensures the educational, scientific, technical,
and cultural advancement of the country;
b) as the Power of the people, in the service of
the people themselves, guarantees

that there will be no man or woman capable
of working who lacks an opportunity to obtain
an employment with which he [or she] can
contribute to the goals of society and fulfil his
[or her] personal needs;

that there will be no person incapacitated
for work who lacks decent means of subsist-
ence;

that there will be no ill person lacking
medical attention;

that there will be no child lacking a school,
food, and clothing;

that there will be no youth lacking the
opportunity for study;

that there will be no one lacking access to
study, culture, and sports;

c) works to achieve that no family lacks a
comfortable home.



**PELIGRO
ROTO**

D At work you always have to be there and do things well. Not just this, you need to make sure no one messes up your things, to not be affected by it. Because you know that if you left a thing there, it stays there. It might happen that you put it there, you get distracted for a moment and someone moves it. Then when your boss comes and says: "But this was missing!" Well, when this happens, you've already lost.

You have to be alert all the time. Being constantly cautious, looking at people: "Do not come into my part, in my business." Right now, I'm working freelance. I work without a license, because it is not possible otherwise - my bosses don't want that. With a license they'd have to pay more taxes and all that. In this job, as my own colleagues say "This is a lion's den" where you can't be distracted for a single moment because the strong eat the weak.

As a self-employed person, you don't have sick days. By law it does exist, but in practice the boss simply tells you: "Did you get sick? And who looks after my business then?"

I have worked with forty degrees of fever with a tooth abscess and a swollen face - bad, very bad. I even worked when I had a broken arm, when I had a twisted ankle. I've worked being in terrible physical conditions, feeling bad. In exceptional cases, if you are sick you are replaced. But don't even think of being absent for a week, only when it is for two or three days your boss will put someone in your shift. If it is for a longer period, forget it - you lose the job.

They don't pay you. The days you don't work, you get no pay.

I think the feeling of fear is always present, there'll always be fear of something. To be caught doing the wrong thing. I've done many dangerous things that scare me. They can bring serious problems. If I see that it is the only solution to solve a problem, I try to overcome the fear, accommodate it, and add a little courage to do what I need to do. There are situations where it's worth taking risks to achieve something.

We always live with constant risk, so fear is something we put aside very easily. If I can't sell my stuff here, I take a risk and do it any-

way. The fear disappears because it's more important to be able to eat. I think fear is something quite common in the Cuban. And a very surmountable thing.

ARTICLE 10. *All the organs of the State, their directors, functionaries and employees, operate within the limits of their respective authority, and are obliged to strictly observe socialist legality, and to ensure respect for it in the life of the entire society.*

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J What is said is one thing, and reality is another. That's the problem in Cuba, that nothing is established. Probably it's like that in the whole world, but in Cuba the give and take with the inspectors is constant. There's always a business between inspector and self-employed worker. Corruption is a parallel world. It's kind of "I let you live but you let me live as well." Things have to be solved in mutual agreement with them, otherwise a business you've been building for years could be suddenly screwed up.

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I got a fine of five thousand pesos because I could not sell incense. In addition to the fine, they confiscated it. I asked: "But why both?" and the inspector responded: "Watch out! There can be three things: I can confiscate it, I can give you a fine and I can imprison you and take away your vendor's license." Then I said: "But then I'm out of work and that's it?" and he answered: "It's up to you how you do it."

ARTICLE 11

The State exercises its sovereignty:

- a) over the entire national territory, comprised of the Island of Cuba, the Island of La Juventud, the other islands and adjacent keys, the interior waters, and the territorial seas on the expanse established by the law, and the air space extending over these;
- b) over the environment and the natural resources of the country;
- c) over the natural resources, both living and nonliving, the waters, the beds, and the subsoil of the maritime economic zone of the Republic, on the expanse established by law, according to the international practice.

The Republic of Cuba repudiates and considers illegal and void any treaties, pacts or concessions entered into under inequitable conditions, or those disregarding or diminishing its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

C Right now, especially after Fidel's death, I think Cuba is going to enter capitalism. But we are going to be a poor country within capitalism. In other words, we will be a country within a capitalist society but our position in the world will be that of a country without resources. And misery will begin to emerge in a way that we never knew before. We are going to be a country like Venezuela, like Guatemala or even worse. It is like that saying: "We left Guatemala ['Guate-bad'] to get into Guatepeor ['Guate-worse']" ... out of the frying pan and into the fire.

We come out of a long term government to get into something else that is the vortex of current capitalism.

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ARTICLE 13.

ARTICLE 13. The Republic of Cuba grants asylum to those persecuted for their ideals or struggles for democratic rights against imperialism, fascism, colonialism and neocolonialism; against discrimination and racism; for national liberation; for the rights and demands of the workers, peasants, and students; for their progressive political, scientific, artistic, and literary activities; and for socialism and peace.

P Today, families are very worried about what they are going to put on the table, how they will dress their children, how they will arrange for healthcare. These are problems we have, problems that we live with. That's why education has to respond entirely to the historical moment that society is in. Education can't be separated from the changes and the phenomena that occur in our current society.

Perhaps the students have a relative who is stranded in Panama and now has to return or continues living there, or in any other country. Maybe there is a relative who has not been able to reach a decent way of living since he left. So on the one hand we justify that Cuban migration is above all economic, and in many cases it has a political meaning. But the main factor is the economic one, looking for a way to send money back home and help the family. And if I as a person who has emigrated could not accomplish that dream and stayed halfway having to return, that as an isolated event, makes one think. And although the family doesn't really notice it, the children hear this and

they bring these thoughts with them to the classroom. They have these concerns and talk about this situation when sometimes a certain topic brings about a conversation on this issue. The school has to be up to its own moment. You have to float in your time, you cannot sink.

ARTICLE 14. *In the Republic of Cuba, the system of economy based on socialist ownership of the means of production by all the people prevails, and the suppression of exploitation of man by man. Also in effect is the principle of socialist distribution: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." The law stipulates the regulations which guarantee the effective fulfilment of this principle.*

J I am in a process to be a winner. For me, to be a winner is to achieve those goals and standards you set for yourself. You wanted to have a little more comfort as you accomplished things over time. In my case, this is getting recognition in the area of handy-craft or art field work, so to speak.

It also means that socially, your achievements are appreciated. And it's about personal satisfaction – the need to have some self-esteem. You can't feel like a loser, because you simply do not do that. Otherwise go and work at the sugar cane plantation, there you are not going to be a winner or a loser. Simply don't compete with anything or anyone. Do gardening or activities like that. What I want to say is that people who get up at four in the morning and say, "I'm going to work and at five in the afternoon I go back home" and that's it, they have no ambition more than perhaps becoming a team leader, so to speak. This ends up as something very limited. I believe that just being self-employed has the image that you feel like you're a winner. This doesn't really appeal to Cubans, people do not like it. In Cuba, to say 'success' is bad.

Success has to do with feeling good about yourself, which is complicated, because this has earned me a number of enemies already.

ARTICLE 15. *The following are the socialist State property of all the people:*

- a) the land that does not belong to small farmers or cooperatives comprised of them, the subsoil, mines, natural resources, both living and non-living, within the maritime economic zone of the Republic, and the forests, waters, and routes of communication;
- b) the sugar mills, factories, fundamental means of transportation, and all enterprises, banks, and installations that have been nationalized and expropriated from imperialists, large estate owners, and the bourgeoisie; as well as factories, economic installations, and scientific, social, cultural and sports centres constructed, promoted, or acquired by the State, including those that it may construct, promote, or acquire in the future. These assets may not be transferred as property to natural or juridical persons, except in the special cases wherein the partial or total transfer of any economic end is intended for purposes of the country's development, and does not affect the political, social, and economic foundations of the State, with prior approval from the Council of Ministers or its Executive Committee.

Se necesita:

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- ~~Auxiliar de limpieza~~
- ~~Pantrista~~

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As for the transfer of other rights over such assets to State enterprises and other authorized entities, action shall be taken in conformity with that provided in the law.

There are laws made by the state that are really bad. Behind it, there's always an opportunistic person benefiting from your situation, someone who actually has some kind of power over your situation. This is also seen in state jobs. I've worked in the warehouse of Berroa as a grocer. There the boss came saying: "Do this; do that; go unload that container." That happened all the time. He also said: "Stay after closing time, to organize all the merchandise." Obviously hours of overtime that were never paid out. So all this was for saying afterward: "OK, thanks a lot, now you can go home."

We all know the boss is no an angel, everyone knows and you can easily see it. But since he's the boss, he has that power over you and exploits you anyway. He takes advantage of your situation and by the end of the month he says: "I will be

generous with you and I am going to give you a bottle of oil." Is really being generous giving you something that isn't even his?

Your boss will never be your friend, nor a partner, because almost always the employer will be exploitative. In a state job or in a private job, actually in whatever job, there are always quarrels between the boss and employees. One day, the boss comes into work upset, having argued with his wife and starts taking it out on you. As a worker you have to shut up, otherwise you may lose your job.

Of course he has the power and authority and he can dismiss me at any time. Well, fire me, then. Finally, I will not starve, because I will go to the streets and I will find a way to make a living. All in all, I think as a boss you can exploit only as long as I find it feasible, because I'm the one who regulates this exploitation.

ARTICLE 16. *The State organizes, directs and controls the national economic activity according to a plan that guarantees the programmed development of the country, with the aim of strengthening the socialist system; satisfying the material and cultural needs of the society and its citizens with constant improvement; and promoting the development of the human being and his dignity, [and] the country's progress and security. In the preparation and execution of the programs of production and development, an active, conscious role is played by the workers in all branches of the economy, and of those in the other areas of social life.*

During the first year of the self-employment boom, around 400,000 people entered this sector. An astronomical figure. That figure later decreased, because even though people could start a private business, after a while, many turned out not to be sustainable.

Statistical studies have been carried out. They show that in the period of a year over fifty percent of the cooperatives that started

up as a private business had to close before the end of the same year, because the business wasn't really profitable.

The people that actually started the business didn't have the proper knowledge and to make things worse, the demand for this type of places wasn't enough.

Almost all these ventures, including cooperatives, are mainly in services, not in production. Services face a limited demand but production offers other possibilities to economically exploit a certain product. The state has not allowed this, ventures were only allowed in service industries. We can see now that this is an obstacle.

Personally I don't believe the number of self-employed people will keep rising. It has reached a limit and until the state expands the gap a little more I don't think another self-employment boom could happen.

attributions, functions, and regime of relations are regulated by the law.

These enterprises and entities meet their obligations solely with their financial resources, within the limitations established by the law. The State is not responsible for the obligations contracted by the enterprises, entities, or other juridical persons; nor are the latter responsible for those of the former.

J Personally, I won't work for the state anymore, or it would have to be in an extreme situation. It is not convenient from the point of view of time, of administrating well what you want to do in relation to the available resources. Working for the state will never be something where you feel you're the owner of something or that you can have anything. Or that you have an economic distribution you can manage on your own.

When you work for the state, you don't administrate something that's yours, instead **the state practically administers you**. On the other hand, the dynamic of self-employment, this maelstrom that you've seen,

means every day you're thinking of something you have to do. I like that, it fits my character, because I like to have something different to do each day. I like having goals, challenges, concerns and I like having dreams and aspirations. Ambitions, but in a good sense of the word, not in the bad sense. If I were to work for the state again, it would have to be for an attractive remuneration. After all, ambition is ambition.

ARTICLE 17. The State directly administers the assets comprising the socialist property of all the people; or will be able to create and organize enterprises and entities to administer them, of which the structure,

ARTICLE 19. *Amendments proposed by the State legislatures*

Այս լո հետ, առան օ շրջութեալ պլինթը բար հեղալ է
միասուն հետ պարզութեան, ետք և այս տակտու-
թայութեաց ան ոչ ծանու պար պար բար տակտ քարզութեաց
միա պարագայուն ու հեղարդու առ պար միանա ու
. առանձին առ ան բար

զուշանք, ըստիւ ու զարգութ ա հետիմուր չ է Ա
ըստիւ ու ա պահա, առօս զարգութ, ըստ
ամի շատազգ ետանից ու լուսութիւն ու ուժ և
շատազգ լուսութիւն ու ուժ ա պահա, առօս
ամի շատազգ ետանից ու լուսութիւն ու ուժ և
շատազգ լուսութիւն ու ուժ ա պահա, առօս

ARTICLE 50 | Small business finance tips from the experts

تیسیون کیمیا ایجاد کنند و این روش را می‌توان در تولید مواد شیمیایی مهندسی از جمله مواد پلیمری، مواد نرم، مواد سرامیکی و مواد پلاستیکی استفاده کرد.

ՏԵՂՄԱՆ ԱՐԴՅՈՒՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՎՐԱ ԱՐԴՅՈՒՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՎՐԱ

ARTICLE 21. Personal ownership of the income and savings derived

from the person's own work, of the housing that is possessed with a fair ownership title, and of other assets and objects that serve to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the person is guaranteed.

Also guaranteed is ownership of the means and instruments of personal or familial work, which may not be used to procure income derived from exploitation of the work of others.

The law establishes the amounts of personally owned assets that are seizable.

PI think I have to plan my future very well after being a professional, being well regarded by everyone. Because they tell me: “Please don’t even think about retirement yet!”

So, if I receive comments like that, I think it's a bit contradictory that when I'm sixty-five years old and I retire, I'll receive just four hundred fifty pesos. What for? For people to say: "Look at that man, he was an academic and see what he's doing now, just selling silvery gimmicks to be able to

live." I've heard others talk about retirees like that. Honestly, I think perhaps I will not have the benefit of witnessing Cuba completely transformed, when everything falls into place. I do believe this will happen. I have confidence in it, but I don't think it will be in my lifetime.

ARTICLE 25

The State recognizes the right to inheritance of the individually owned housing, and of other assets of personal property.

ARTICLE 24. *The State recognizes the right to inheritance of the individually owned housing, and of other assets of personal property.*

The land and the other assets linked to production comprising the property of small farmers are inheritable, and may be adjudicated only to those heirs who are working the land, but for the exceptions and according to the procedure that the law establishes.

The law specifies the instances, conditions, and the manner in which assets of cooperative ownership may be inheritable.

ARTICLE 23

The State respects the right to inheritance of the individually owned housing, and of other assets of personal property.

For me it is better to go to another country, have a fixed routine in whatever job, take your wife, have a house, work in the morning or in the afternoon and to sleep at night. So, after a year you already collected your money, you make a trip and you enjoy. Of course, maybe this is bad because you have to work and work, but at least you achieve something.

I wouldn't mind having a life like that, even if it's somewhere else. I would live much better than here. In Cuba you do much

much more, but you do not gain anything. I worked selling food, selling iced drinks, churros and other fried snacks on the beach. I worked for the state as a guard, worked in coffee shops, I was a butcher. Even tried to have my own stall of take-away lunch and still with all that, what have I accumulated? **What do I have?** A fan and a bed. Oh, I have a cabinet as well!

ARTICLE 25. *The expropriation of assets of public utility or social interest and with due compensation.*

The law establishes the method for the expropriation and the bases on which the need for and usefulness of this action are to be determined, as well as the form of compensation, taking into account the interest and the economic and social needs of the person whose property has been expropriated.

V The recent opening towards self-employment was intended to solve **the actual needs that existed in the population**. But by expanding services only a small part of

PRODUCTOS LIBERADOS

- * ARROZ * GRANOS * AZUCAR
- * REFRESCOS * VINOS Y LICORES
- * DULCES EN CONSERVA
- * HUEVOS
- GALLETAS CONFITURAS
- PRODUCTOS PARA EL ASEO
E HIGIENE DEL HOGAR
- * PRODUCTOS CARNICOS Y DEL MAR



nos une
el barrio



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these needs is solved. The point is, the field of services depends on production, but this is not something that has been opened.

That's why there are millions of restaurants in Havana even though the resources needed to maintain them are not present. There are no funds to expand them so they can actually meet the population's needs.

Համար օնակ պահպան
-հայուս տեսակի ու շքառան
անհա պահպան ու հանձնութեան ու
ամ տուժաբար վիճակ ու համարութեազ ան ու
ընհոգքարու ան տան համար ման ու մեր ան
.ան լա պահպան առ ու համարութեան

ARTICLE 26.

ARTICLE 27. *The State protects the environment and natural resources of the country. It recognizes their close link with the sustainable economic and social development for making human life more sensible, and for ensuring the survival, welfare, and security of present and future generations. It corresponds to the competent organs to implement this policy. It is the duty of the citizens to contribute to the*

protection of the water and the atmosphere, and to the conservation of the soil, flora, fauna, and all the rich potential of nature.

DA friend of mine recently came back from the United States, where she worked in a slaughterhouse in Nebraska, where according to one account five thousand cows are killed each day. Just imagine that!

In the slaughterhouse she was paid fourteen and a half dollars per hour. That was her salary. Then she married a millionaire and stopped working.

So I think, instead of being here doing all I'm doing, I could go to Nebraska. I can start working there, earn fourteen and a half dollars killing cows, which is not bad at all. I would pay everything I have to pay monthly, the rent of a house, the light, the water, insurance and all that, but I would also know that after six months, at least, I would have the money to buy a computer, a laptop.

Right now I am working every day and if I get two hundred pesos a day, in ten days I have a thousand pesos. In a month, six

thousand pesos, worth about two hundred and fifty dollars. The thing is that in a month I also have to eat, buy myself clothes, smoke, invite my girlfriend somewhere, buy me a sweet on the street if I want to. Soon I have to buy myself shoes for instance. And this is the way it goes: there is always something, always a reason I have to spend money.

CHAPTER II

CITIZENSHIP

Cuban citizenship is granted
by birth or naturalization.

ARTICLE 28. Cuban citizenship by birth:
(a) those born in the nation;
In fact, however, with the exception of those born in the United States, who are citizens of the United States.
The law grants to those born in the United States dual citizenship.
Establishes that foreigners born in Cuba may be citizens of both countries;
and those born in Cuba may be citizens of both countries;
those born abroad of Cuban parents or mother;
or who are citizens of another country;
those born in a Cuban territory or mother;
as, with their compatriots with whom they have settled;
thus far in the past;
those born outside the national territory;
of a foreigner or mother who is a citizen of the Republic of Cuba, who has lost Cuban citizenship.

ARTICLE 29. Cuban citizenship by naturalization:
(a) those foreigners who acquire Cuban citizenship
through naturalization within the following conditions:
those who come to the United States to live;
those who leave the United States to live;

ARTICLE 30. Cuban citizenship by naturalization:
(a) those foreigners who acquire Cuban citizenship
through naturalization within the following conditions:
those who come to the United States to live;

ARTICLE 32. *Cubans may not be deprived of their citizenship*

except for legally established causes. Nor may they be deprived of the right to change it.

Dual citizenship shall not be allowed. Consequently, when a foreign citizenship is acquired, the Cuban citizenship shall be lost.

The law establishes the procedure to be followed for formalizing the loss of citizenship, and the authorities empowered to decide on it.

C At the beginning of this year they modified the law for Cubans who enter the United States.

There are people that left Cuba recently, people who sold everything they had, their house, all their things and who are now in the United States as newcomers, waiting for their situation to be resolved. All these people now will have to come back and the question is: where will they return to? This will be a group of **Cuban refugees within our society**. We can already say it's not clear how these people are going to be integrated into the country again. And besides this, how are they going to come back to their families?

CHAPTER IV FAMILY

ARTICLE 35. *The State protects the family, motherhood and matrimony.*

The State recognizes in the family the fundamental cell of the society, and attributes to it essential responsibilities and functions in the education and training of the new generations.

Those who directed and fundamentally those who had certain responsibilities in key positions in Cuba have seen that their dedication to work has prevented them from providing enough care for their children. They couldn't be with them in the most important moments. That considerably affects the fundamental cell of society, which is the family. I worked for this society. My expectation was that everything I have done I did it for the society. To have a better society, and I have no doubt that this is possible and that there will be a better

society, but I think there was a problem. In order to work more, we neglected the family. To be able to take that, our society, to what we have so far: have a guaranteed education and a health system as well few other things. This has cost a lot of people in this country a high price.

Најава око јавне поддршке за деца и младе који живе у сиротини и који су угрожени здравствено и социјално развојем, али и за деца и младе који живе у сиротини и који су угрожени здравствено и социјално развојем, али и за деца и младе који живе у сиротини и који су угрожени здравствено и социјално развојем.

Тај Статут је усвојен, али не уређен, па се не може користити као законски документ, па ће се усвојити и уредити.

ARTICLE 38. *The parents have the duty to provide nourishment*

for their children; to help them to defend their legitimate interests and in the realization of their just aspirations; and to contribute actively to their education and integral development as useful, well-prepared citizens for life in a socialist society.

It is the children's duty, in turn, to respect and help their parents.

PA neighbour of mine, a woman working at the airport as well as a party activist, has a tangled-up life. Every morning she leaves her house at seven in the morning and comes back at five in the afternoon or even later. What does this mean for her?

What about her kids in the meantime? In a conversation we had, she said to me: "The money I earn, it is not from the state. But to really meet the demands of my job, as I want to do, I wonder if I'm being a good or a bad mother by leaving my children alone at home for so many hours?"

"If I would stay at home and later they say: Mommy! I want a pair of Adidas, I want some jeans, I want this or that... then I won't be able to give them these things." Perhaps this situation makes you think that, as a mother, you have a debt with your children, since they would say after all: my mother wasn't home very often, so I always did my homework with someone she paid to do this for her. And the mother would then think: yes son, but I dressed you up, bought shoes for you, I gave you food and took care of your health.

CHAPTER V EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ARTICLE 39. *The State guides, fosters, and promotes education, culture and sciences in all their manifestations.*

In its educational and cultural policy, [the State] adheres to the following principles:

a) bases its educational and cultural policy on the advances of science and technology, the Marxist and Martian ideology, the Cuban progressive pedagogical tradition, and the universal one;

b) education is a function of the State, and free of charge. It is based on the conclusions and contributions of science, and on the closest relationship between study and life, work, and production.

The State maintains an extensive system of grants for students, and provides multiple facilities for study for workers, so that they may reach the highest possible levels of knowledge and skills.

The law specifies the formation and structure of

the national system of education, as well as the scope of compulsory schooling, and defines the basic general training that every citizen must acquire, as a minimum.

c) to promote the patriotic education and communist training for the new generations, and the preparation of children, young people, and adults for social life;

To implement this principle, general education and specialized [instruction] of a scientific, technical, or artistic nature are combined with work, research for development, physical education, sports, and participation in political, social and military training activities;

ch) artistic creativity is free as long as its content is not contrary to the Revolution. Forms of expression of art are free;

d) in order to raise the level of culture of the people, the State will take measures to promote and develop artistic education, the vocation for the creation of artistic culture and the capacity for its appreciation.

e) creative and investigative activity in science is free. The State encourages and facilitates research, and prioritizes that which is aimed at solving the problems related to the interest of

society and the benefit of the people;

f) the State fosters the workers' incorporation in scientific work and the development of science.

g) the State guides, fosters, and promotes physical culture and sports in all their manifestations as a means of education and a contribution to the overall training of citizens;

h) the State defends the identity of Cuban culture, and oversees the conservation of the cultural heritage, and the artistic and historical resources of the nation. It protects the national monuments and sites notable for their natural beauty, or for their recognized artistic or historical value;

i) the State promotes the participation of citizens in the implementation of its educational and cultural policy through the country's mass and social organizations.

M In schools the limitation lies in the teachers' lack of motivation.

We know that for certain reasons teachers have not been very motivated, because their salaries weren't matching the level of dedication and rigorousness they should have to to their job well. Frequently this

has affected the level of the teaching and learning process and this can be seen in the teachers themselves, how little motivation they have to do their job, in the necessary commitment for fulfilling this task. Of course it has to do with the ethical, as well with the educational training each group of teachers have received, but nowadays sometimes this is not the case.

It seems that the level of requirements has picked up again but I think there is still a lot to be done about it. Since the late seventies and early eighties education in this country has cracked a bit.

Essentially, I think that in the process of selecting the teachers, the vocation, a very important aspect for their job, has been overlooked. In that sense, we had a deficit of teachers with true professional vocation for teaching. And regrettably the people who today occupy those positions may not be those who have liked to educate the most. I believe that this is the main problem with current education. The people teaching today have searched for an occupation to solve a job placement problem. They looked

for an economic backing without having what is necessary to fulfil this task, a particular quality that not everyone has. This has been happening and I think it is one of the primary causes of the bad practice of teachers that we have had lately in our schools.

ARTICLE 40.

Citizens shall enjoy their fundamental rights and freedoms without discrimination on the basis of race, sex, language, religion, political opinion, social origin or any other criteria. They shall have the right to form associations and to participate in public life.

CHAPTER VI

EQUALITY

ARTICLE 41.

All citizens have equal rights and are subject to equal duties.

The cayos that I know are calluses of the feet, and the ones on the maps [a cayo in Spanish is a small island, but this sounds like callo, a callus or footsore]. Maybe one day I can save and be able to gather the money to go to a cayo, even if it is the tiniest of all of them. I think a person should live in his or her place, and as this place is not a desert but an island with cayos, I want to go there. It is not a luxury. Then how am I going to get there? I am sixty years old and my bankbook only has a single page written.

ARTICLE 42.

Discrimination based on race, colour of the skin, sex, national origin, religious creeds, or any other type offending human dignity, is prohibited and

punished by the law.

The State's institutions educate all, from the earliest age, in the principle of the equality of human beings.

I have had the situation of some children rejecting one boy in particular, at the beginning of the course. Now it is no longer like this because I have worked with him. This boy is very well behaved and very kind, he shares a lot, he isn't selfish, but because of his skin colour the other children wanted to reject him. Not all, but some.

The rejection came from one child to the other, a thing that can influence the rest of the children, saying to him: "You are black and I do not share my toys with you."

This can not be. Here we tell all the kids that this cannot be this way, one's colour here does not matter. Because if you are black and I am more white than you this doesn't really mean anything. Here what matters is who everyone is, that you are able to be friends with the others, that you share with others. You cannot say to anyone that because he is black you are not sharing

CARLOTA

Iya acanarav

ndumba

bacheche

MARIANA.

heredera!

(IYA ACANARAN NDUMBA BACHECHE
MADE, BUENA EVELENTE ARTE /)
O-YORUBA O-SANTU

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anything with him. If that person is as good as you are.

As the person responsible for children in a day care centre, I have to be careful what I tell to each one, as well be aware to what extent I can confront them.

ARTICLE 43.

The State establishes the right, won by the Revolution, of its citizens, without distinction based on race, colour, sex, religious creeds, national origin, or any other type offending human dignity to:

- have access, in keeping with their merits and abilities, to all positions and State and administrative jobs and of production and services;*
- reach any rank of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and of Security and internal order, in keeping with their merits and abilities;*
- be given equal pay for equal work;*
- have a right to education at all national educational institutions, ranging from elementary schools to the universities, which are the same for all;*
- be given medical care in all medical institutions;*

-- live in any sector, zone or area and stay in any hotel;

-- be served at all restaurants and other public service establishments;

-- use, without any separations, all means of transportation by sea, land and air.

-- enjoy the same resorts, beaches, parks, social centres and other centres of culture, sports, recreation and rest.

M There has been a substantial decline of comradeship, of that companionship that was there before. **People went more for their self-interest**, their personal selfishness. That earlier strength of spirit no longer exists. Competition is now the main thing, which means trying to live better than others. To wear branded clothing is also a way to compete, and it affects those who have less possibilities. And clearly this happens among children, too.

There is a big contradiction here, I think. The people who live in popular neighbourhoods have had the possibility of having an education at all levels, and they still do, yet this isn't enough. What is still lacking is the

influence of the family over their children in a positive manner.

Parents have to give their children the tools to behave ethically in all kinds of situations. There is a crisis of these values, and even if a parent has these values you don't pass them on to your kids because you haven't got the time - you have to work. You're leaving your child in a hostile environment and while you're not with them other people shape their education. Your job is being done by someone else and you run a big risk. Some parents say: "But how come? I am not like this, I have an education and I've tried to give my kids everything." My answer is: "Yes, you've given them stuff, material things, but the spiritual side, which is very important, was lacking. I mean affection, timely support and all the ways to properly guide your kid."

It doesn't mean as a parent you weren't there, but you were just dedicated to other things. To your work, fundamentally. Here in Cuba, people are much too devoted to work to properly handle those other important tasks that require our attention.

ARTICLE 44. Moral and mental enjoyment, educational, economic, political, and social rights.

The States studies of creates all the conditions that will lead to the implementation of the principles.

CHAPTER VII

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS, DUTIES AND GUARANTEES

ARTICLE 45. *Work in a socialist society is a right and duty and a*

source of pride for every citizen.

Work is remunerated according to its quality and quantity; when it is provided, the needs of the economy and of society, the decision of the worker and his skill and ability are taken into account; this is guaranteed by the socialist economic system, that facilitates social and economic development, without crises, and has thus eliminated unemployment and the “dead season.”

Non-paid, voluntary work carried out for the benefit of all society in industrial, agricultural, technical, artistic and service activities is recognized as playing an important role in the formation of our people's communist awareness. Every worker has the duty to faithfully carry out tasks corresponding to him at his job.

Here, more than anything, the point is to survive. To live well, you need many jobs, a minimum of two jobs is necessary for a middle class standard of living, because with less you cannot reach what is considered a good life. Two jobs is the minimum, but you need two good ones to be middle class. So the topic of work, it is a hard reality. Here in a regular job you earn about eight dollars a day, and for Havana this is not enough. However the people in Oriente work for much less than that. Success for them would be to come to Havana and make eight dollars a day.

For me, success would be to go to Canada to cut trees and make enough to be able to live there. I'd love that. It's really odd, because there I'd be a worker and need to work each day but I'd feel happy doing that, because I'd have my house and say in a month I can go on a trip to some other places. Maybe this isn't possible but then maybe it is. At least here, I can't even think of this "maybe", because here every day is working, every day is waiting for an opportunity.

I believe opportunities will always show

up, and if you pay attention you can improve your life. Success means being ready for a change toward something much better.

ARTICLE 46. *All those who work have the right to rest, which is guaranteed by the eight-hour workday, a weekly rest period and annual paid vacations. The State contributes to the development of vacation plans and facilities.*

If there's a day when one of my employees doesn't want come to work, they can do that. The same if they want to go someplace, that's fine, they can take a vacation. **But they aren't paid.**

I do my best to maintain a minimum salary of fifty pesos for every employee, whether they sell or do not sell anything. If they sell a bit more than usual they're encouraged with a little more money. The minimum wage it isn't stipulated by the state, it's an agreement you make with each employee, according to how the sales are going, but there's a minimum wage that's fifty pesos or

the equivalent of this, 2 CUC per day.

Some people own restaurants where the salaries are exactly what each worker makes in tips. Meaning these workers don't even have a salary. Some people are exploiters.

ARTICLE 47. *By means of the Social Security System, the State assures adequate protection to every worker who is unable to work because of age, illness or disability.*

If the worker dies, this protection will be extended to his family.

When I retired, just fifteen days after I pensioned off as a school teacher, I began working in some refreshment stands at the exit of Calvario, where the trucks to Batabanó leave. There I finished very late at night and I had to walk quite far to get back home. Plus, in that kiosk I had a number of torrential rains, that was awful. After that, I decided to work in Mantilla, in another kiosk of a person I knew in the field of education. The problem in this place was that the owner drank a lot. One day he

would bring a certain amount of products and later he would say he brought another quantity. Then I was unable to count neither the money nor the products and so the accounting was always a bit vague. The thing was, there was always either money or products missing in the kiosk. That's why I decided to quit this job.

ARTICLE 48. *The State protects, by means of social aid, senior citizens lacking financial resources or anyone to take them in or care for them and anyone who is unable to work and has no relatives who can help him.*

I think that the salary once you're retired is not enough because years ago the salaries were so low. You lived with that, although it was clear a little more was needed.

Now that I'm pensioned off and I'm also a self-employed person, my economic situation isn't very good but I can more or less cover my needs. Luckily I have the help of my son and also the pension of my father, who I'm taking care of. But even with all

this, it isn't enough. I'm fortunate that I'm not like many former colleagues who can't do anything due to illness. And I have other retired colleagues who no longer work just because they don't want to, though they are still in good health. They just live with their retirement salary. **How do they live?** Well, with many difficulties.

ARTICLE 49.

The State guarantees the right to protection, safety and hygiene on the job by means of the adoption of adequate measures for the prevention of accidents at work and occupational diseases.

He who suffers an accident on the job or is affected by an occupational disease has the right to medical care and to compensation or retirement in those cases in which temporary or permanent work disability ensues.

Officially, laws that protect labour do exist, but these are cumbersome, complicated and manipulated laws. Ultimately, your boss has power and more money than you, so that person will always rule the situation. Why would I get into a situation

that offers no chance to win? Why waste my time and stop earning my money to protest about something? To accuse someone of what?

It's better to not react, because in the time it takes to complain about a protection or better working conditions, you can just go and find another job. In the end what will you gain protesting? If it would be like in Sweden, that they offer a contract and I break my finger working, they would pay compensation. Here they wouldn't pay anything, my boss would say: "Go home and get better."

In general the labour protection is up to you, depending on how careful you are in doing things at work. If the oven catches fire and you try to turn it off, possibly the one who has to pay for the oven is you. This is the daily reality.

ARTICLE 50.

Everybody has the right to health protection and care.

The State guarantees this right:

-- by providing free medical and hospital care by means of the installations of the rural medical

service network, polyclinics, hospitals and preventive and specialist treatment centres;
-- by providing free dental care;
-- by promoting the health publicity campaigns, health education, regular medical examinations, general vaccinations and other measures to prevent the outbreak of disease. All of the population cooperates in these activities and plans through the social and mass organizations.

I have been a nurse for thirty-nine years. I fell and fell up until today I'm very happy to have a career in what I studied. I've been head of the nursing department, as well as section chief. What I studied was useful for continuing to work until today, because even though I'm already retired, every time I'm needed I'm there. I value the stage of my work life very much, because it's not only about everything I've learnt, but about what my knowledge was able to contribute to everyone who needed it.

I've worked with people who I know are very grateful for what I've given them. And they've also been able to build on what I

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passed on to them. Many of my students reached a degree in nursing or became doctors in the field of nursing. At the same time they developed into other fields such as teaching, hospital administration, or anaesthesiology and intensive care practice.

I have worked thirty-nine years for the state and now I get a pension for all those years. This means I have a chequebook to rely on. If tomorrow, I can't do anything or I don't want to do anything else, there's a specific day of the month on which I receive my retirement payment and with that I'd try, more or less, to keep living.

ARTICLE 51 *Everyone has the right to an education. This right is guaranteed by the free and widespread system of schools, semi-boarding and boarding schools and scholarships of all kinds and at all levels of education, and because of the fact that all educational material is provided free of charge, which gives all children and young people, regardless of their family's economic position, the opportunity to study in keeping with their ability, social demands and the needs of*

socio-economic development.

Adults are also guaranteed this right, and education for them is free of charge, with the specific facilities regulated by law, by means of the adult education program, technical and vocational education, training courses in State agencies and enterprises and the advanced courses for workers.

M I learnt to read and write under a bush, sitting on a stone but at the time there were many stimulation mechanisms. Back in the day, in the sixties, more precisely in 1964 and '65 science labs and companies supported the schools of Sierra Maestra. They made contributions, they donated everything, food, clothes, shoes and even toys. They also took the financial responsibility to bring children from La Sierra to Havana, supporting those that already demonstrated some talent, that could give much more and possibly turn into remarkable professionals. Those children were brought to the city to study and the companies took care of everything, supporting them and providing them with everything

necessary for their development. **All this was made by this revolution.**

To really talk about the learning process of that time is an incredible thing. Because many of those teachers going to La Sierra were volunteering, they did so out of vocation. Those that went there, were driven by true vocation. And I am talking about that whole group of teachers that were the first to take La Sierra after Fidel's call.

ARTICLE 52 *Everyone has the right to physical education, sports and recreation.*

Enjoyment of this right is assured by including the teaching and practice of physical education and sports in the curricula of the national educational system and by the broad nature of the instruction and means placed at the service of the people, which makes possible the practice of sports and recreation on a mass basis.

M In the educational field, there were all sort of festivals for elementary schools as well as for high school. They were tremendous events from the point of view of the

quality with which they were put together. There were possibilities that today no longer exist since, regrettably, with the Special Period in Cuba (*el Período Especial*) **the possibilities were limited a great deal**. Right now it is starting to get back in track, stabilizing these kind of activities. But back then, resources were available, because at that time all the changes that later occurred in the socialist context, had not yet happened.

Fundamentally we had a lot of support from the Soviet Union, financially. We developed a lot, there were so many great activities!

There was the student's home where all students had opportunities to develop some cultural manifestation. After that there was a period of fifteen or twenty years where I think this type of event slowly disappeared from the schools.

ARTICLE 53. *Citizens have freedom of speech and of the press in keeping with the objectives of socialist society. Material conditions for the exercise of that right are provided by the fact that the press, radio,*

television, movies and other organs of the mass media are State or social property and can never be private property. This assures their use at the exclusive service of the working people and in the interest of society.

The law regulates the exercise of these freedoms.

Already for three years in my neighbourhood, there's a very peculiar place where they used to sell sweets and bread. One day they put a sign on the window announcing: "We moved to Máximo Gomez." It seems that in the street where they were before, sales weren't going that well.

In fact, I went to buy a cake there once, something I am not going to do again unless I have no other choice - the quality has gone down a lot. The place is this type of distasteful cafeteria, a space with a huge wide screen with women undressing all the time, and playing loud reggaeton. The background music is not the music of the screen, where something else happens. So, you listen to "José-Jose" while you look at "El Chacal", besides with all that noise you can't ask the clerk anything because she can

not hear you because the sound is so loud that it's impossible to communicate. In this place they also have a microphone they use **to mess with passersby**. This is the only sweetshop we have around.

ARTICLE 54. *The rights of assembly, demonstration and association are exercised by workers, both manual and intellectual; peasants; women; students; and other sectors of the working people, [rights] to which they have the necessary ability (*los medios necesarios*) to exercise. The social and mass organizations have all the facilities they need to carry out those activities in which the members have full freedom of speech and opinion based on the unlimited right of initiative and criticism.*

D In reality, **the self-employed workers are always alone**. This stuff of 'All workers let's unite', doesn't apply here. In other countries, there are demonstrations of groups defending the same ideals, for example to protect animals, and who demonstrate peacefully in public. Right now, here this isn't allowed. So, if it's not

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even possible to protest in favour of some animals, imagine protesting for working rights and conditions. Impossible.

For instance, if I know you because we both work on our own, it means we're in the same field of activity, but we're not going to organize a campaign protesting something that affects us both. The issue of trust isn't that simple.

Here you can not trust anyone. Maybe you can trust those very close to you, people you've known from a very young age. You can do this for certain things, minimal ones, but for matters that are massive or for major undertakings, forget it.

For big things like public demonstrations or bringing together a large number of people, well, it's not possible. Here, this can't happen.

ARTICLE 25
Till the next election, the State, at the time of the election, shall be entitled to one vote in the election of the President and Vice-President.

ARTICLE 26

ARTICLE 25. *Article 25 is inserted in the original copy of the Bill. It can only be inserted by the Government of India.*

ARTICLE 58. Freedom and inviolability of persons is assured to all those who live in the country. Nobody can be arrested, except in the manner, with the guarantees and in the cases indicated by law. The person who has been arrested or [who is a] prisoner is inviolable in his personal integrity.

To achieve anything, respect is something very important. It's fundamental. I respect in order to be respected. If I don't do this, I also can't demand that you respect me. First of all, I have to respect you and I need to have a discipline in what you're demanding of me. When there is neither respect nor discipline, there's chaos, there are problems, because these two things are essential in every situation - for work, for friendship and for being in a society. There has to be respect. If this is lacking, or discipline is lacking, there's simply nothing.

ARTICLE 60.

Confiscation of property is only applied as a punishment by the authorities in the cases and by the methods determined by law.

One day I happened to see how an old man selling peanuts on the street was being treated by a police inspector. He ended up arresting him. **If you sell without a vending license**, they can seize all your merchandise and give you a fine of at least 1.500 pesos. If it's a common product like food, they'll just keep it for themselves in the police office. This old man selling peanuts was in his seventies or perhaps older and he was in the street selling small packs of peanuts for one Cuban peso. How come that a man who's so old, is not just having his merchandise confiscated, but also being arrested? Just give him a fine, don't take him to jail for a thing like that!

ARTICLE 61.

Penal laws are retroactive when they benefit the accused or person who has been sentenced. Other laws are not retroactive unless the contrary is

decided for reasons of social interest or because it is useful for public purposes.

J Security there is none, what there is, is courage and a lot of fear. So, you have to overcome this fear. Precisely now, in one place where I'm selling, there are many works inspectors who I have to bribe to continue selling my product. This is because today in Cuba, there's a ban on selling incense. What can be wrong with selling incense?

If you say, 'I'm paying, where do I have to sign?' The inspector will tell you, 'No, we're not going to authorize you to sell that.' So, it's an authoritarian attitude on their part because they simply do not want you selling this particular product, and that's it. So you either have to take the risk or you lose. If you have a certain merchandise, you have to try to sell it anyway.

ARTICLE 62.

None of the freedoms which are recognized for citizens can be exercised contrary to what is established in the Constitution and the law, or contrary

to the existence and objectives of the socialist State, or contrary to the decision of the Cuban people to build socialism and communism. Violations of this principle can be punished by law.

D I'll tell you frankly: **there is not a single Cuban who hasn't done something illegal!**

When I worked in the warehouses and took something with me, there was a moment of fear when it came to passing the exit fence. Every time I did that, I thought 'Oh, if they catch me now, they're going to sack me and I'll be in a huge mess!'

But I had to do that, because what I was stealing was really expensive. I couldn't have bought it. It was something as simple as a pack of coffee. I've seen people losing their job for a pack of coffee, because they could not buy it.

Normally a pack of coffee costs almost what you would earn in a month. So if you take a pack with you, you have the value of a monthly wage.

The funniest thing is, if you're caught stealing something, they'll just fire you and

nothing else. At least in my case, working in the warehouses, if I stole a single pack of coffee, my boss probably took three. That's the real reason the boss would only say: "You stole a pack of coffee from me, go away!"

ARTICLE 63. *Every citizen has the right to file complaints with and send petitions to the authorities and to be given the pertinent response or attention within a reasonable length of time, in keeping with the law.*

J Actually the ethics you apply with your employees vary according to your ideology.

It is not something you completely follow as it is. You have your own ethical code and you establish it with your workers.

In the accountancy it only appears that I pay thirty pesos, in the case of self-employment the true salary is never visible in the contract. **It is something between us, between me and the employee.** In the papers it appears that I only pay thirty pesos because if I declare what I actually pay this person

then I have to pay more to the state. Look at all the manoeuvering you have to do!

That's why here we can't be totally honest, because in Cuba the person who is honest creates a problem for himself.

ARTICLE 64. *Everyone has the duty of caring for public and social property, accepting work discipline, respecting the rights of others, observing standards of socialist living and fulfilling civic and social duties.*

D Almost always, in a workplace that belongs to the state, there's money going round, because **there's a lot of theft** happening. Otherwise no-one would even work for the state. Personally, I'll only work for the state if I have the chance to take something home with me, even if it's some soap.

In Cuba, on a daily basis, you have to consider many factors and you have to carry it in a very delicate manner. To be clearer: getting something extra, money or whatever, is simply what you manage to steal during work. The trick is to get some side benefit

from the work you're doing, because in reality the job itself isn't useful. The salary I earn with it, is basically nothing: it vanishes in two days. That's why people still prefer to work for the state, even if the state company exploits and mistreats you.

ARTICLE 65. *Defence of the socialist homeland is the greatest honour and the supreme duty of every Cuban citizen.*

The law regulates the military service which Cubans must do.

Treason against one's country is the most serious of crimes; those who commit it are subject to the most severe penalties.

P Solidarity is not a chimera, I can not call it a utopia either, but I think it is something embryonic. It is very difficult for me to give something of what I have, to give something to serve others. We only do this in extreme cases. If I see an accident or danger, I go and do something about it, because I think this should be this way. But the thing is to make this happen not only when

I am challenged by urgent matters but also when challenged by daily situations. The ability to react is another edge of solidarity and like this I believe that there are many more.

Among my colleagues I have tried to promote a proverb, an idea that says: "Today you give me a fish and I eat today. Tomorrow you give it to me again and I will eat again, but the solution is not that you give me something every day but that you give me a job."

ARTICLE 66. *Strict fulfilment of the Constitution and the laws is the bounden duty of all.*

J The issue of the private sector in Cuba is that **the competition is truly violent**. There are resentments, there are jealousies and gossips, all things that are characteristic of the Cuban.

It seems that the thing is to try to screw the other, to be able to move up yourself. Because of that 'hay de todo en la viña del Señor', as the popular saying puts it: it takes

all kinds. Sometimes this is complex, because relationships or friendships between co-workers are broken, but the thing is to move on, to take risks. In short, the issue of competition is a vulgar matter, a rude thing and almost always one of conflict.

SI NO TARDAS MUCHO,
TE ESPERO TOPA LA
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COLOFON

Palabras en Cambio

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