



# Cuba

## The Legal Framework and the Defence System

### National Legislation

#### Systems and Concepts

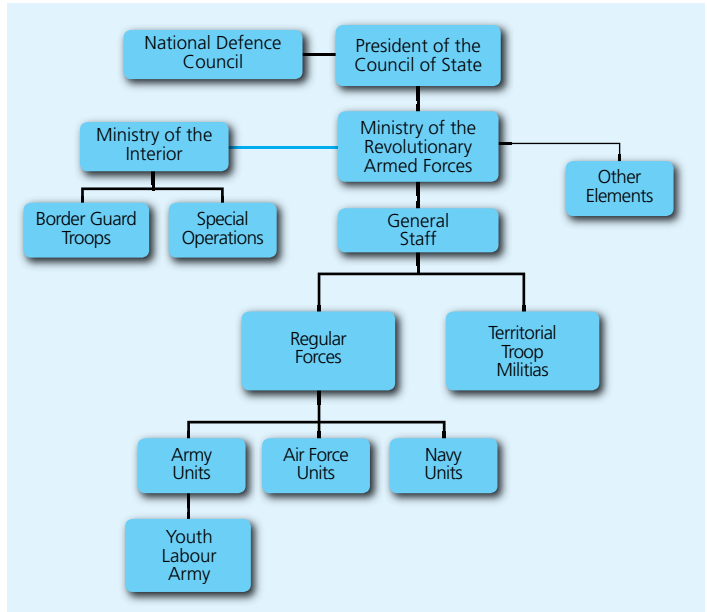
- Decree Law on the Organization of the State's Central Administration (DL Nº 67 - 1983/04/19. Last amendment: DL Nº 147 - 1994/04/21)
- National Defence Act (Nº 75 - 1994/12/21)
- Civil Measure System Act (Nº 170 - 1997/05/08)

#### Military Organization

- Military Penal Procedure Act (Nº 6 - 1977/08/08)
- Military Crime Act (Nº 22 - 1979/02/15)
- Decree Law on Social Security for Expatriates performing Civil or Military Missions (Nº 90 - 1985/12/02)
- Decree Law of Social Security for the Revolutionary Armed Forces (Nº 101 - 1988/02/24. Last amendment: DL Nº 222 - 2001/08/14)
- Act of Military Courts (Nº 97 - 2002/12/21)
- Act of Military Prosecution (Nº 101 - 2006/06/10)

**Source:** Compilation based on the legislation above mentioned. For constitutional provisions see Chapter 1.

- Advisory and assistance functional relationship
- Command reporting line



### Functions

#### Branches of Government

The National Defence Council is established and prepared during times of peace to conduct the country under conditions of state of war, during a war, in the general mobilization or state of emergency. During exceptional situations it is the highest organ of state and political power. It is presided over by the President of the Council of State, and it also includes the First Vice President of the Council of State, and five more members appointed by the Council of State at the President's proposal. The Provincial, Municipal and Zone Defence Councils are established and prepared during times of peace to conduct operations in their respective territories, under conditions of state of war, during a war, the general mobilization or state of emergency.

The system also includes the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution, as a territorial organization of the masses whose objective is to mobilize the whole population in the efforts for the defence of the Revolution.

The National Assembly of People's Power has the Powers granted by the Constitution and is permanently involved with defence related issues through the National Defence Committee.

#### Ministry Level

The Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces is the organization in charge of directing, executing and controlling the enforcement of the Government and State policy for preparing the country for their defence, the defence of sovereignty and the preparation and accomplishment of the armed struggle.

#### Military Level

The General Staff assists the Minister in the conduction of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (*Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias*).

The Revolutionary Armed Forces are the basic military institution of the Government. They are made up of the regular troops and the Territorial Troop Militias (*Milicias de Tropas Territoriales*). The regular troops include ground, air and maritime units. The Youth Labour Army (*Ejército Juvenil del Trabajo*) is part of the ground troops of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

The Army is the territorial grouping of forces and resources of the Revolutionary Armed Forces. It has a Military Council, made up of the Chief of the Army, the Presidents of the Provincial Defence Councils of the Army territory and other members appointed by the Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces. The Provincial and Municipal Staffs are military organs that are subordinate to the Chief of the Army of the respective territories.

Some organs under the Ministry of the Interior, such as the Border Guard Troops and Special Operations, are part of the Territorial Defensive System and accomplish the missions imposed by the corresponding Defence Councils and the organs and directorates of the Ministry of the Interior, in accordance with the plans approved for exceptional situations.

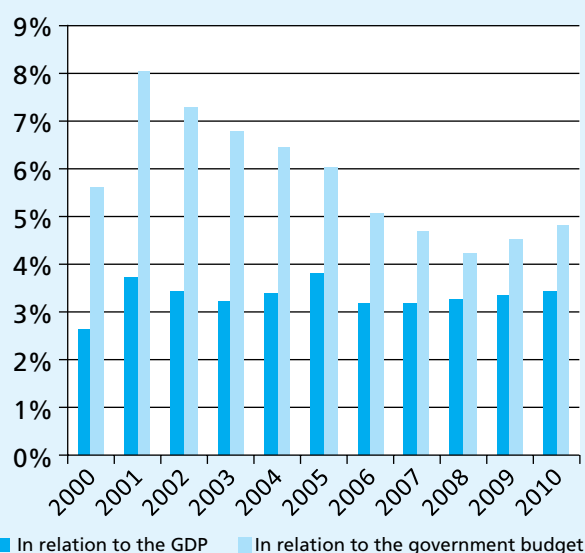
The Production and Defence Brigades (*Brigadas de Producción y Defensa*) constitute the armed organization of the Zone Defence Council, for developing the mass participation of citizens in the War of All the People (*Guerra de Todo el Pueblo*).

**Source:** Compilation based on the *Ley de Defensa Nacional* (Nº 75 - 1994/12/21) and websites of the Cuban Government.

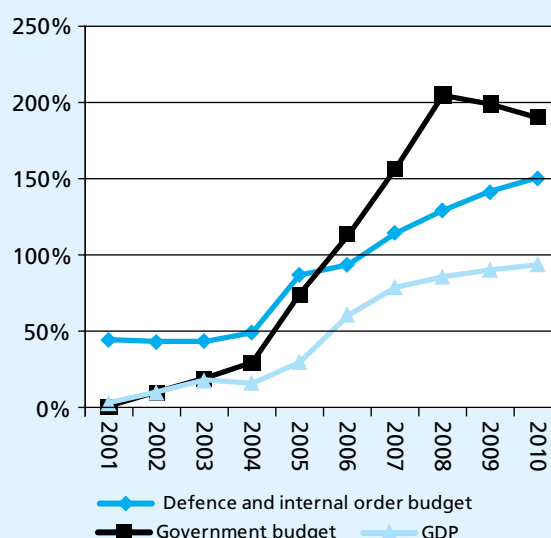
## The Budget

Year	Defence and Internal Order Budget		Government Budget		GDP	
	Domestic Currency	US\$	Domestic Currency	US\$	Domestic Currency	US\$
2000	879,600,000	36,650,000	15,587,400,000	649,475,000	32,685,000,000	1,361,875,000
2001	1,273,800,000	53,075,000	15,771,000,000	657,125,000	33,819,800,000	1,409,158,333
2002	1,261,800,000	52,575,000	17,193,200,000	716,383,333	36,089,100,000	1,503,712,500
2003	1,267,300,000	52,804,167	18,622,400,000	775,933,333	38,624,900,000	1,609,370,833
2004	1,316,500,000	54,854,167	20,241,400,000	843,391,667	38,203,000,000	1,591,791,667
2005	1,649,700,000	68,737,500	27,156,400,000	1,131,516,667	42,643,800,000	1,776,825,000
2006	1,707,900,000	71,162,500	33,326,500,000	1,388,604,167	52,742,800,000	2,197,616,667
2007	1,892,400,000	78,850,000	39,992,600,000	1,666,358,333	58,603,900,000	2,441,829,167
2008	2,021,600,000	84,233,333	47,493,100,000	1,978,879,167	60,806,300,000	2,533,595,833
2009	2,126,200,000	88,591,667	46,611,500,000	1,942,145,833	62,278,600,000	2,594,941,667
2010	2,206,100,000	91,920,833	45,267,800,000	1,886,158,333	63,461,893,400	2,644,245,558

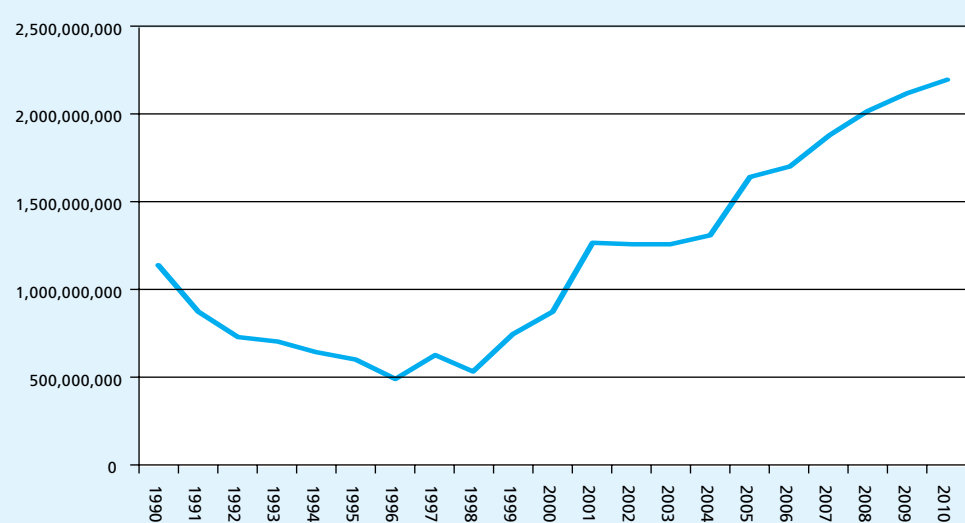
## Defence and Internal Order Budget (in %)



## Comparative Increase (in %)



## Evolution of the Defence and Internal Order Budget (in Local Currency)



The average budget for defence and internal order in the 1990s was \$ 716,530,000 Cuban Pesos.  
In the 2000s, the average was \$ 1,539,680,000 Cuban Pesos.

**Source:** Compilation base on *Anuario Estadístico de Cuba* (annual reports 1995-2009) and *Panorama Económico y Social. Cuba 2009*, National Statistics Office of the Republic of Cuba. The figures correspond to execution of the State budget. 2010: *Ley del presupuesto del Estado*. GDP 2010: Estimation by the Ministry of Economy and Planning. Exchange rate: 1 Cuban Peso (non convertible) = 24 US Dollars.



**Political Definitions**

**Policy Guidelines**

The Republic of Cuba builds its national defence on its aspirations of fair, true and valid peace for all States, based on the respect for the people's independence and sovereignty and the right to self-determination, as well as on its commitment to the principles consecrated in the United Nations Charter and other international treaties Cuba is a party to.

The Cuban people have endured, since their very origins, a constant threat to their security and territorial integrity. Thus, in line with their patriotic sentiment and more vigorous courage upon the victory of the Revolution in January 1959, the country has actively been involved in its own defence and the conquest of socialism, following the experiences of the Mambi Army and the Rebel Army, massively integrating, since their creation, to the militias of workers, farmers and students as well as to the rendering of military service.

**Cuban Military Doctrine**

It is defined as the set of scientifically grounded ideas and concepts adopted by the State in relation to the essence, objectives, nature, particularities and consequences of war; the country's preparation to engage in it successfully and try to avoid it; and the methods applied to conduct and direct it in order to confront a military aggression.

Military doctrine is based on deterrence: it understands that the political, material and human cost of a military aggression against Cuba would be prohibitive and, consequently, would lack any perspective of success.

**War of All the People**

It is the basis of the military doctrine. It is understood as the strategic defensive conception of the country and it is based on the deployment of the territorial defensive system.

**Territorial Defensive System**

Set of political, economic, military, legal, security, internal order and civil defence measures and activities organized and performed in times of peace by State bodies and organizations, economic entities, social institutions and citizens, in the different levels of the political-administrative sector with the aim of guaranteeing the defence of the country.

Cuba is territorially organized in 14 provinces and 169 municipalities.

The mission of the defence zones is to conduct the armed fight in their areas; support the actions of regular troops and Territorial Troop Militias; maintain the internal order; protect the civil population; ensure the stability of production and services, guarantee the provision of supplies and the preservation of life. Production and Defence Brigades are organized and a Council of Defence, integrated by voluntary civilians, operates in each area.

**Source:** *Ley de la Defensa Nacional* (Nº75 - 1994/21/12). Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Informe Cuba vs. Bloqueo 2009*.

**Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces**

On October 16th, 1959, the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces was created in accordance with Law Nº 600 of the Council of Ministers. This Ministry brought together the Rebel Army, the Revolutionary Navy and the National Revolutionary Police.

Current minister: General of the Army Corps Julio Casas Regueiro

Previous ministers:  
General Raúl Castro (1959 – 2008)  
Augusto Martínez Sánchez (1959)

**Reports Submitted to the United Nations**

1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
✘	✘	✘	✘	✘	✘	✘	✘	✘	✘			

Register of Conventional Arms: ✘ Register of Military Expenditures: ◆

**Source:** Compilation based on reports submitted to the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms and the United Nations Instrument for Reporting Military Expenditures

**Blockade**

Cuba considers the embargo imposed by the United States as an act of genocide by virtue of paragraph c, Article II of the 1948 Geneva Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and as an act of economic war, according to the provisions of the declaration regarding Maritime War adopted by the 1909 London Naval Conference.

Cuba will continue to denounce the US policy's extraterritoriality, while demanding strict observance of international law, particularly claiming the people's right to their self-determination and State sovereignty.

**Source:** Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Informe Cuba vs. Bloqueo 2009*. Granma Newspaper, *Informe sobre Bloqueo al 57 periodo de la Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas*. Declaration of the Government of the Cuban Republic, January 11, 2002.

**Guantanamo Bay Naval Base**

The U.S. Naval Base in Guantanamo Bay is a facility covering 117.6 square kilometers in Cuba's national territory, occupied since 1903 as the result of an Agreement on Coal refueling and Naval Stations signed by the U.S. and Cuban Governments, based on the enforcement of an amendment approved by the US Congress and signed by President McKinley in March 1901, known as the Platt Amendment.

**Platt Amendment (1901)**

It entitled the United States to intervene in Cuba, as a condition for US troops' withdrawal from Cuban territory and the independence of the island.

In line with this clause, the aforementioned Agreement on Coal Refueling and Naval Stations was signed in February 1903 in Havana and Washington, respectively, and it actually included two areas from Cuban territory: Honda Bay and Guantanamo Bay, although a naval base was never established in the former.

Article II of the Agreement literally stipulated the right of the United States to "do anything necessary for these sites to be in condition to be used exclusively as coal refueling and naval stations and for no other purposes."

In addition to this Agreement signed in February 1903, on May 22 of that same year the Permanent Treaty of Relations between Cuba and the United States was signed, and included the eight (8) clauses of the Platt Amendment literally taken and converted into the articles of the Treaty.

Twenty one years later, on May 29, 1934, in the spirit of the American "Good Neighbour Policy," under the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a new Treaty of Relations between the Republic of Cuba and the United States of America was signed, which annulled the 1903 Treaty and thus the Platt Amendment.

This new Treaty definitely excluded Honda Bay as a possible base, but maintained the permanence of Guantanamo Naval Base, as well as the regulations governing it.

The supplementary agreement also stipulated that the United States would pay the Cuban Republic for the lease of 117.6 square kilometers —i.e. 11,760 hectares including large part of one of the best bays in the country— the amount of two thousand dollars on an yearly basis, which currently amounts to 4,085 dollars per year, payable in annual checks which Cuba has refused to collect.

The Cuban government's position regarding the legal status of the American Naval Base at Guantanamo is that, being under the legal form of a lease, it does not grant a perpetual right but a temporary one over that part of the territory, for which, in due course, as a fair right of our people, the illegally occupied territory of Guantanamo should be returned by peaceful means to Cuba.

This military enclave is precisely the central place where American and Cuban soldiers find themselves face to face and, therefore, where utmost calmness and sense of responsibility are required.

Cuba has made enormous efforts to implement an especially careful and fair policy.

In spite of the considerable increase in military personnel required by the operation, we believe it does not represent a threat of any sort to the country's security. Therefore, we will not increase highly-trained Cuban military personnel or means at the premise perimeter. Such

highly qualified personnel are also adequate to ensure people's security in the area against any risk that may arise as a result of the transfer of foreign prisoners to that base.

Cuba will make its best efforts to maintain peace and mutual respect in that site, as it has done in the last few years.

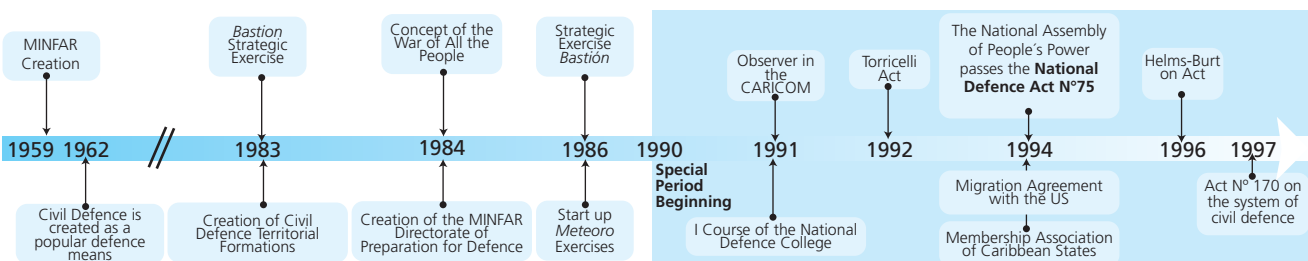
A basic principle of the Cuban policy for addressing this potentially dangerous issue between Cuba and the United States, which has persisted over the years, has been to prevent our claim from being a first priority or placing especial focus on this subject, considering the numerous and serious differences existing between both countries, and recognizing that, in recent years, a more calm environment of mutual respect has reigned over the matter.

**Source:** Declaration of the Government of the Cuban Republic, January 11, 2002. Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Libro Blanco. Informe Cuba vs. Bloqueo 2009*.



**1934 Treaty**

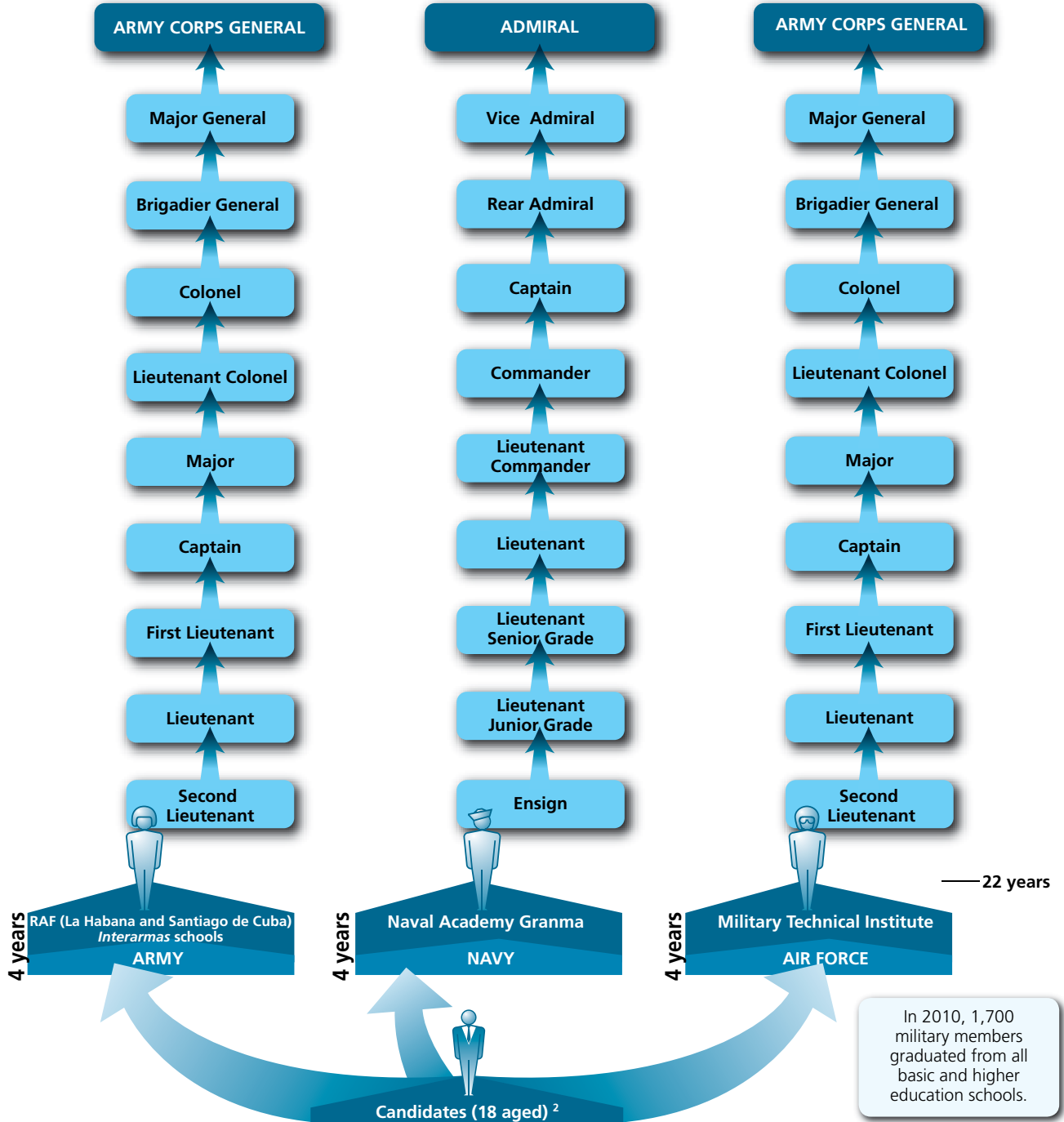
It revokes the 1903 Coal Treaty thus invalidating the Platt Amendment. It maintains the presence of the Guantanamo Naval Base.





**Military Career**

**Commissioned Officers' Career Path <sup>1</sup>**



1 Command Corps includes officers who have been educated at military academies from the beginning of their professional careers.

2 The age of 18 years have been considered for comparative purposes, but it can vary based on school requirements.

**Camilo Cienfuegos Military Schools**

Young people of both sexes, who have graduated from secondary school (nine levels), and want to become officers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR), can enter these military vocational preparatory centres.

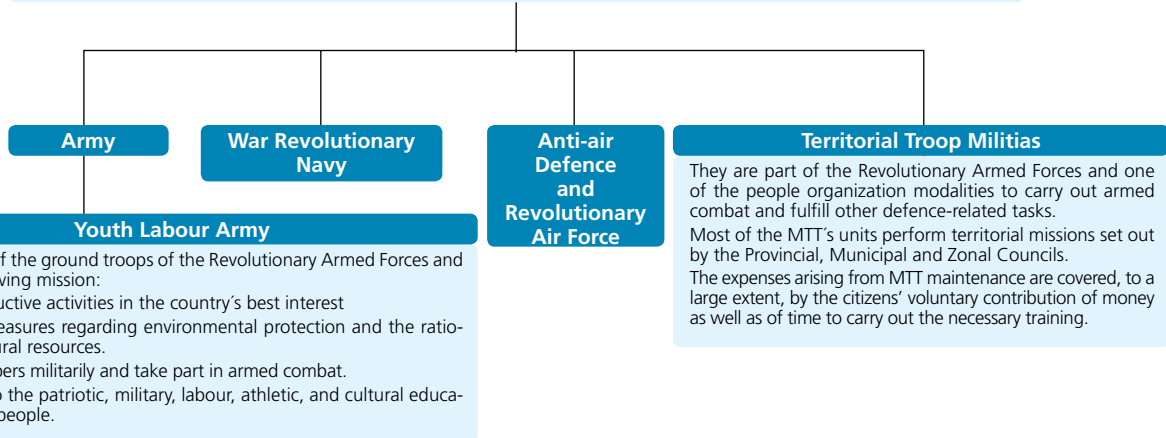
Camilo Cienfuegos Military Schools are under the direction of the FAR; there are fourteen of them across the country. Bachelors in science and arts are graduated from these colleges. The graduates are directly admitted to the military instruction centres where FAR soldiers are trained.

**Source:** Compilation based on *Ley de la defensa nacional* (Nº 75 – 1994/12/21), website of the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, Granma Newspaper and *Gaceta Oficial de Cuba*.

### The Revolutionary Armed Forces

#### General Mission

The Revolutionary Armed Forces are the main military institution of the State, whose main mission is to combat the aggressor from the very first moment and then, with the entire people, conduct the war during the time necessary, under any circumstance, until the victory is attained. (*Ley de Defensa Nacional*, N° 75 – 1994/12/21, Sec. 34).

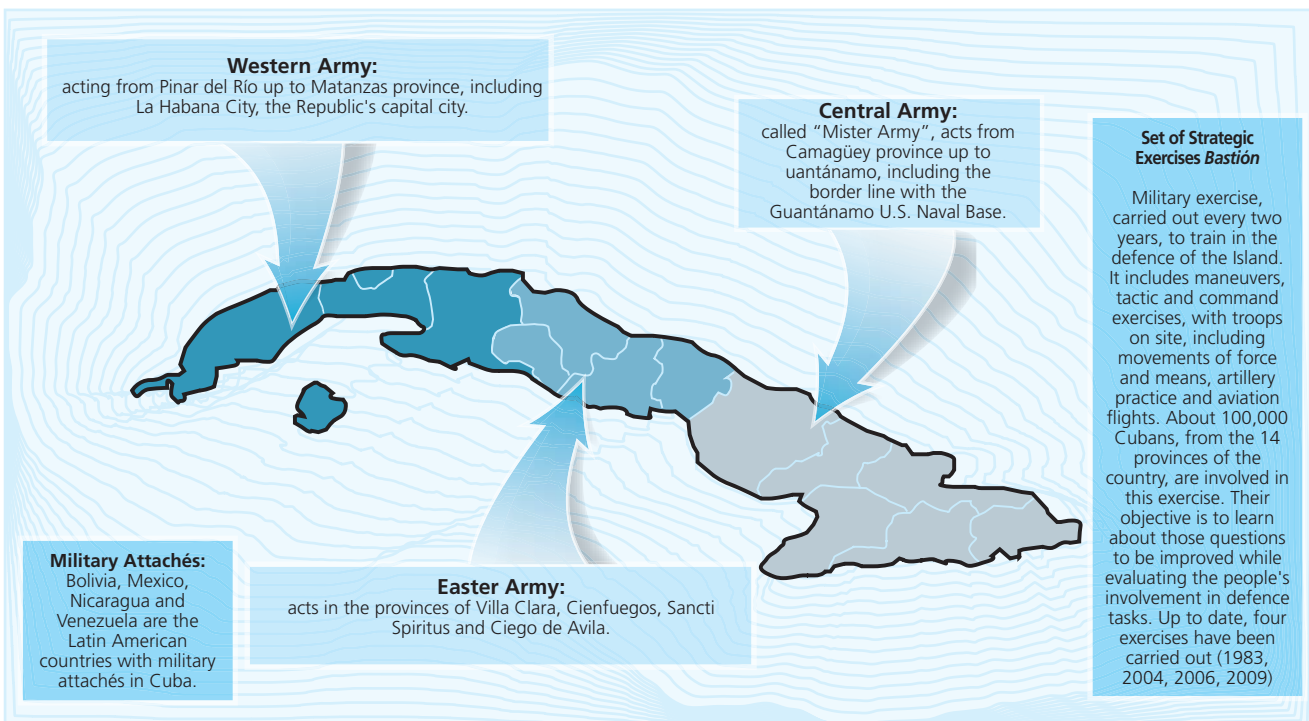


### Military Service

According to the National Defence Act, the military service is compulsory for all male citizens and voluntary for women. The military service lasts two years and is carried out at Armed Forces' and the Ministry of the Interior's facilities.

The main objective is training citizens to carry out the defence of their country from their positions in the Military Service Reserve (up to 45 years of age), the Territorial Troop Militias, the Production and Defence Brigades or to perform any other responsibility assigned to them.

The Military Service Reserve also has to complete the regular troops. Part of the combat means is kept during peace times, only a minimum portion of the resources stays active, particularly those positions which involve greater training and specialization.



Source: Compilation based on *Ley de la defensa nacional* (N° 75 – 1994/12/21) and information presented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cuba, *Gaceta Oficial de Cuba* and Granma newspaper.





**Defence and National and International Community**

**Fight against Drug Trafficking**

Even though Cuba is not an important consumer or producer of illegal drugs, its territorial ports, waters and airspace are susceptible to drug trafficking from the countries of origin. That is the reason why, during the last 10 years, the Cuban Government has been following a policy of anti-drug trafficking operations across the country through awareness campaigns. As part of the Ministry of the Interior structure devoted to fight drug trafficking, the Cuban Government has set up the National Anti-Drug Directorate. Said directorate conducts the Ministerial System of Drug-Fighting, which addresses, in an operative and strategic way, international drug trafficking, its impact on internal trafficking and other associated crimes.

**Hacha Operation**

It began in 2001 to disrupt air and sea trafficking, recover narcotics, and deny refuge to drug smugglers within Cuban territory and waters; this is done through the Ministry of the Interior, the border Guard Troop and the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (War Navy and Air Force). During the operations, the Government uses military helicopters, the border Guard Troop and patrol ships as well.

**People's Shield**

In effect since 2003, it has the objective of minimizing drug availability in the internal market.

**Cooperation with the United States**

The United States has an appointed representative of the US Coast Guard (1) in the Section of Interest (2). Said representative acts as the main leader in the anti-narcotic cooperation with the hosting country in specific cases. Cuban authorities give the representative constant access to Cuban-led actions against drug trafficking, including information of crime investigations, with the names of the suspects and the ships involved.

(1) Its main mission is to fight illegal migration.

(2) The United States of America has a Section of Interest in (USINT) in La Habana, which represents the American citizens and the Cuban Government. It operates under the legal protection of the Swiss Government. Section of Interest personnel offer the whole range of consular services to American citizens.

**The Armed Forces and the Economy (1)**

During the last years, the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) have increased their role in Cuban economy. The need arising during the "special period" and the need to streamline the economy have accelerated this trend towards participation.

Significant elements of the economy are under the control of the Forces or coordinated by military officers who are on duty or retired.

Many of the most dynamic economic sectors - tourism, agricultural products, tobacco, among others- are managed by the FAR.

The main example within this economic scheme is the **Military Industrial Union (UIM)**, whose mission is to ensure the repair of armament and the technique applied in FAR ground, air and sea units. The General Repair Base system and other industrial companies have facilities all across the country (12 industries operating in 16 facilities throughout the island, located in 8 of the 14 provinces - Santiago, Camagüey, Sancti Spiritus, Villa Clara, Cienfuegos, Matanzas, Habana, and La Habana city). It includes large workshops specialized in tanks, artillery, aviation, naval aspects, radio communications, transportation, radars and metallurgic production.

**The FARs are present in other main sectors:**

**Habanos S.A.:** exporter and distributor of Cuban tobacco abroad.

**Comercio Interior y Mercado Exterior:** initially, this company focused on imports and exports. It has expanded to businesses operating in dollars (supermarkets, gas stations, car rentals, travel agencies, real estate and cable and satellite television services).

**Industria Cítrica:** mixed company held by the Cuban Government, mainly consisting of the Youth Labour Army, and an Israeli company.

**Instituto Nacional de la Reserva Estatal (INRE):** supervises national strategic reserves in case of emergency pursuant to Section 128 of the national defence Law.

**GAESA (Grupo de Administración Empresarial S.A.):** assets and currency management mainly.

**Unión Agropecuaria Militar:** funded in 1990, composed of farms and food production centers.

**Main other firms with military management**

<b>Aero Gaviota</b> (airline/tourism).
<b>Agrotex</b> (agriculture).
<b>Almest</b> (tourism, real estate).
<b>Antex</b> (technical consultancy).
<b>Almacén Universal</b> (free trade zone).
<b>CIMEX</b> (foreign exchange).
<b>Complejo Histórico – Militar Morro Cabaña</b> (military museum, monuments).
<b>Cubanacán</b> (tourism).
<b>División Finanzas</b> (currency recovery).
<b>Gaviota S.A.</b> (tourism).
<b>Geo Cuba</b> (cartography, real estate, mining interests).
<b>Sasa S.A.</b> (automobile services and spare parts).
<b>Sermar</b> (exploration in Cuban waters, naval repairs).
<b>Tecnotex</b> (imports/exports).

(1)The economic crisis arising in the 1990s has led to constant changes in the role of the Revolutionary Armed Forces in Cuban economy. This section is only a brief summary of such role.

**Source:** Compilation based on information provided by the websites of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Revolutionary Armed Forces; Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, *International Narcotics Control Strategy Report*, march 2010; Cuba Transition Project, Cuba Facts 9; and *Juventud Rebelde*, april 2010.

### Civil Defence

Cuba is conceived "as a system of defensive measures of state nature". Those measures are executed in peace times and in exceptional situations to protect the population and the national economy in the event of natural disasters or other type of contingencies, including those caused by environmental deterioration.

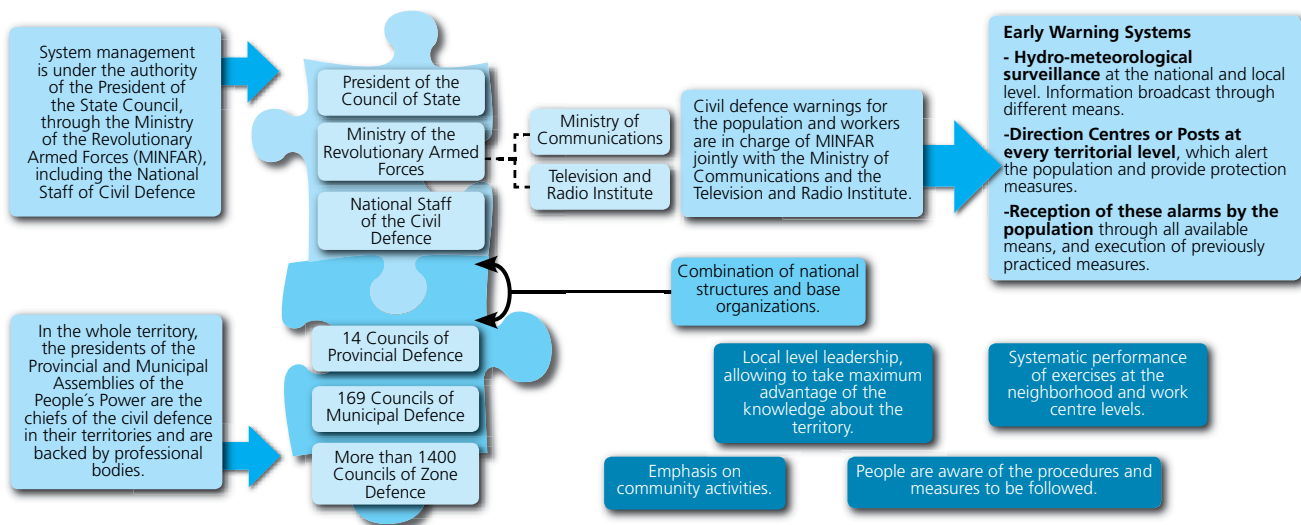
The Cuban territory is organized in 14 provinces. Within each province, the conception and practice of the Defence Councils in the defence areas are key in case of disasters. In exceptional situations, in the municipalities, more than 1,400 defence zones are activated; these zones have been the basis of the territorial defence structure since 1984.



#### Civil Defence Principles

- Direction at the highest level
- Multi-faceted protection
- National and institutional scope.
- Differentiated form for protection planning and organization.
- Effective cooperation with the Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior
- Organization consistent with the country's socioeconomic development.

The defence areas, in exceptional situations, become the ultimate State representative bodies, thus assuming authority in these territories.



#### National Staff of the Civil Defence

It is the system's main body in charge of ensuring compliance with civil defence measures, rules and international agreements related to civil protection to which the Cuban Republic is a party; it is also in charge of coordinating international cooperation and aid in catastrophes. It maintains work relations and close and fluent cooperation with institutions committed to human life and environment protection and with the mass media as well. Likewise, it coordinates its actions and closely cooperates with non-governmental organizations, such as the Cuban Red Cross, the International Red Cross, Red Crescent organizations and others, which provide humanitarian aid in case of disaster.

#### Meteoro Exercise

This training has been conducted in Cuba since 1986. The exercise aims at the preparation and performance of actions to respond in extreme situations of hydro-meteorological or technological disasters. The 2010 Meteoro Exercise was, for the first time, divided into two stages: from May 21-23, and from June 25-26. The first stage is intended to reduce vulnerabilities related to hurricanes, draughts and adverse health events; as well as the preparation of the Defence Councils at every level (direction and command bodies). The second stage focuses on the procedures to be followed in case of high intensity tidal waves and earthquakes.

#### Response to Tsunami warning as a Result of the Earthquake in Haiti

Nearly 30,000 people were evacuated as instructed by the Municipal Defence Council (CDM) in Baracoa, province of Guantánamo, due to the tsunami warning arising from the earthquake that struck Haiti on January 12, 2010. Soon after the CDM issued the warning, local residents in high risk areas were evacuated in less than one hour to the city's highest areas.

#### Examples of Emergency Actions in Baracoa

Baracoa was struck by the phenomenon known as well as Hurricane Ike in March and September 2008. Early warnings allowed residents to leave their homes in advance and guarantee the safety of 40,000 people.

Source: Compilation based on *Ley del sistema de medidas de defensa civil* (Nº 170 – 1997/05/08); website of the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces; National Staff of the Civil Defence, *comunicués* and *Guía para la realización de estudios de riesgo para situaciones de desastres*, 2005.





## Analisis:

# The Armed Forces in the Cuban Transition

### Rafael Hernández

Political scientist. Director of *Temas* magazine.

The Revolutionary Armed Forces (RAF) perform strategic activities for national defence, which continues to be a priority after the end of the cold war. However, their roles and focus during the political transition process and Cuban reinsertion in the Hemisphere have changed. In their not-so-new functions as political and administrative officials, Cuban service men have become instrumental to the reforms. However, claiming that they are the masterminds of the political transition would be a mistake.

The military component of Cuban foreign policy has changed since the end of the cold war. The same generals who won the Angola campaigns have implemented the reduction of military means and troops, as well as the assumption of new roles by the RAF. Subject to restrictions and fundamental changes as deep as those undergone by the rest of the society, they have experienced a transformation comparable only to the one occurred when they became professionals in the '60s.

The new roles of the RAF have not been a threat to system stability. On the contrary, the Cuban regime have shown better skills than others in the region to restructure its military officer's agenda --following a long period of intense warfighting outside their territory and amidst tough economic realities-- and to make them not only compatible with but functional to a complex transition that has been transforming the Cuban socialist system itself.

### The Military in the Economic, Political and Legal Scenarios of the Transition

In 1989, the trials of high officials of the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (MINFAR) and the Ministry of the Homeland<sup>1</sup> (convicted on charges of negotiation with drug trafficking organizations, corruption, abuse of power and fraud), the fall of the Berlin Wall, the dissolution of the Eastern European socialist bloc, the military retreat in Africa and the negotiation of the Central American conflict would open a new stage in Cuba, which was given a name taken from military contingency plans: *the special peace time period*.

In addition to the crisis and disarticulation of the socialist camp, the new international context created by the end of the cold war drove the economic redesign of the defence system. This adjustment, however, can be traced back to the beginning of the '80s when the military relations with the URSS<sup>2</sup> were redefined and the US threat regained momentum.<sup>3</sup> After the economic meltdown and the termination of their missions abroad,

1 *Causa Uno. Fin de la conexión cubana*, (La Habana: Editorial José Martí, 1989).

2 The URSS informed Cuba that it would not extend its defence umbrella over the isle vis-a-vis American threats in 1981-83, except for weapon supply. *Entrevista de Raúl Castro a El Sol de México (II Parte)*, (La Habana: Editorial Capitán San Luis, April 24, 1993).

3 General Alexander Haig's proposal, known as "going to the source" in the Central American conflict. Alexander M. Haig Jr., *Caveat: Reagan, Realism and Foreign Policy*, (New York: Macmillan, 1984).

the RAF were too big and costly. From 1990 on, procurement of weapons, weapon systems and pieces of equipment was greatly reduced. This reduction mainly affected the air force and the navy and emphasized the classical role of the army and the Territorial Troop Militias (TTM) as the core of the defence system.<sup>4</sup>

The RAF have been the object and the subject of transition policies. The 1992 constitutional reform established the National Defence Council, as the supreme political and military body in times of war, made up of the president, the vice president and five State Council members. Provincial, municipal and defence areas were created as well. These and other concepts were subsequently transcribed in the new national defence act. Their current role can only be understood if, in addition to these constitutional issues, their place in Cuban political process is properly analyzed.

Since 1959, the command structures, first emerged from the Rebel Army and then from the Revolutionary Armed Forces, took over the positions from which the country's political and economic conduct was exercised. Their presence in the Cuban Communist Party's Central Committee or the Council of Ministers is not new.<sup>5</sup> Its origin has been in the three main organizations opposing the dictatorship in 1958 (*Movimiento 26 de Julio*, *Directorio Revolucionario Estudiantil 13 de Marzo* and, to a lesser extent, *Partido Socialista Popular* –communist), the military structures of which attributed officer ranks to many of their leaders. However, their social and professional background was not military but civilian, and so were their main activities all along the process. Nobody in Cuba would deem them today as military men.

Although the presence of men in uniform within the current CCP's Central Committee is quite smaller than it was in the first one, of 1965, the politician profile of governing members originated from the RAF has become higher since the '90s. Despite the election of Raul Castro, former RAF Minister as President of the Republic, however, it would be wrong to assume that political decision-making in Cuba belongs

to the military. Key agencies involved in the new Cuban policy, including those controlling foreign investment, tourism, banking and finance, foreign relations, global economy, most of CCP apparatuses and provincial chiefs' offices are under civilian control, and so are those in charge of justice, culture, education, the National Assembly, trade union, rural, women and juvenile organizations' leaderships.

The two most outstanding features of the new role of the RAF in the economy have been their extension to non traditional industries and their involvement as the laboratory for new forms of economic organization. In addition to agriculture, since the '90s, they have expanded their activities to investment in and construction of strategic-importance buildings, such as those for tourism. As regards the second feature, the RAF's economic experiments have contributed to the debate of ideas among Cuban experts and economists since the late '80s, particularly involving business organization.

Although the background of military men in certain government positions has risen, their roles do not match what has been called the 'soldier entrepreneur' in other countries.<sup>6</sup> Cuban military have not been awarded exclusive areas or "feuds," nor do they exercise discretionary decision making authority over reserved areas of specialization and action. When a high-rank officer is appointed to a civil function, his responsibility and authority cease to respond to the RAF or to specific military interests. Finally, service men do not invest personal assets in private sector undertakings, as nationals' investment in private businesses is illegal in the Isle. On the other hand, public order and protection of life and property are shared with other agencies, including the Defence Committees, the physical protection committees (in charge of the security in every public venue), business and bank protection services, and so on.

The main issue for the RAF in the long run would be to maintain the current balance between their fundamental mission, namely the defence of the nation, and the multiple roles assigned in the political transition. For that purpose, it should require to ensure those roles do not overstep certain limits, so the nature of the military institution is not affected and their social functions and their role within the political system remain unharmed.

4 Military expenditures would plunge from 4.2% of the GDP in 1989 to 1.6 % in 1995, which in absolute terms would mean a 4.7-fold reduction in military spending, while the almost 300,000 troops went down to just 70,000. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *Cuba - Military Expenditures, Armed Force, GNP, Central Government Expenditure and Population, 1985-1995*, (Stockholm: SIPRI, 1997).

5 Some authors point out that this is the expression of Cuban society's militarization. Marta San Martín y Ramón L. Bonachea, "The Military Dimension of the Cuban Revolution", in *Cuban Communism* ed. Irving L. Horowitz, (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1972), p. 389.

6 Consuelo Cruz and Rut Diamint, "The New Military Autonomy in Latin America", *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 9, Number 4, (October 1998).