

Cuba: Fictional Socialism and Real Capitalism*

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Introduction

The work that you have in your hands is a compilation of 6 articles presented in installments in the newspaper *Revolución Obrera*¹. Undoubtedly, reading and studying it will show you a deep controversy that has developed for decades among revolutionaries around the world, but especially among communists.

The Cuban process has held a prominent place as a symbol and emblem among many revolutionaries. However, the materialist dialectical analysis of its program, tactics, and development allows us to clearly see the significant differences between this process and what truly constitutes a communist revolution led by an authentic Workers' Party, where power is fully handed over to the working class and a true revolutionization of society is unleashed, as demonstrated by the workers and peasants in Russia and China during their socialist periods.

An accurate and objective understanding of what the Cuban process was, not only allows us to attribute the true value it had as a revolutionary process that confronted imperialism, but above all, helps us comprehend the reasons behind the current situation being experienced on the island.

This is the focus of the present document, which we hope has fulfilled its purpose.

*<https://blogrevolucionobrera.blogspot.com/2016/03/cuba-el-socialismo-ficcion-el-verdadero.html>

¹RL: Translates to *Workers' Revolution Newspaper*.

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1 In Cuba: Bourgeois Diplomacy, Business and Lies

The dialogues between the governments of Cuba and the United States, the prisoner exchange, and the initial measures taken to “ease” relations, as well as the possible restoration of diplomatic relations, have been in the media these days: from the apologists of imperialism, who take advantage of the events to portray it as a new proof of the alleged failure of socialism and communism, to the most fervent pro-Castro supporters who are stubbornly insisting on the fiction of socialism, and even the Vatican priests who served as intermediaries... all of them, imperialists, bourgeois, and petty bourgeois, have had their say, portraying a simple business affair between capitalists as something extraordinary; behind these speeches, declarations, and manifestos, there are class interests that do not represent those of the proletariat.

First of all, it is necessary to state that the current negotiations have their reason for being in the global economic crisis of capitalism, where the rulers of the United States seek to adjust diplomatic relations in order to export surplus capital from their country and prevent Russia, which has been taking advantage for 50 years, and China, which has become the second largest trading partner of the Cuban government and the main partners of Chinese imperialists in the Caribbean area, from gaining further advantage.

The blockade that the US government imposed on the island 50 years ago was a punishment against the Cuban people for their support of the pro-Russian regime, but it has become ineffective in the face of the needs of expansion and capital accumulation: economic interests prevail over political differences.

On the other hand, it is necessary to reiterate that socialism has not existed in Cuba. With the triumph of the revolution in 1959, Cuba went from being a semi-colony of Yankee imperialism to Russian social-imperialism. And with the collapse of the latter in the late 1980s, the Cuban government has been gradually removing the appearance of socialism that the Castro regime had. And these are not calumnies; it is enough to look at the webpage

of the Communist Party of Cuba and the conclusions of its latest Congress.² By the way, *Granma*, the central organ of that party, has a link offering the island to foreign investors - Cuba: Investor's Guide, 2014 ESP - just like the lackeys of all the semi-colonies do. It couldn't be clearer!

Behind bourgeois diplomacy and lies, there are the business interests of the ruling classes, both of the North American imperialists and Cuba, which makes it necessary for the revolutionary proletariat to speak out again on the fictional socialism that covers up true capitalism, analyzing the economic and political regime of Cuba; on the false internationalism and anti-imperialism of its rulers; on the revisionist character of the Communist Party of Cuba... in short, on the issues that differentiate socialism and capitalism, the proletariat from the bourgeois.

2 The Cuban Economic Regime

It is said and generally accepted that socialism exists in Cuba, as well as that its leaders are communists. Even by the petty bourgeois and opportunistic groups, the island is taken as an example to follow by other nations. Nothing could be further from the truth: there has been no socialism in Cuba, nor are its leaders communists, and their example is a disgrace for other nations.

Socialism is a social-economic system that has special characteristics that are contrary and antagonistic to capitalist relations. What characterizes capitalism is the production of commodities based on wage exploitation; a social system where the social character of production is confronted with private appropriation and where the anarchy of production reigns; where the social labor of the proletariat is privately appropriated by the bourgeois. Socialism, on the other hand, aligns the social character of production that capitalism already has with the social character of appropriation; where the means of production are not only nationalized, but also placed in the hands of the workers so that they can direct production, which can be planned, not only ending the anarchy that characterizes capitalism but also breaking with foreign dependence and overcoming the contradiction between the countryside and the city by putting agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor.

In the case of Cuba, before the revolution that brought the Castros to power, capitalist exploitation coexisted with the exploitation of peasants by

²Report by Raúl Castro to the Sixth Congress, April 17 2011.

large landowners, and the whole country suffered from the semi-colonial exploitation and oppression of imperialism, mainly the United States. It was a country fundamentally focused on sugar cane production and export, famous for tobacco production and the export of cigars, which were almost exclusively used by the wealthy elites of other countries. It was also known for rum production and being a tropical paradise where world magnates spent their dollars in casinos, bars, hotels, and brothels.

The revolution that brought the July 26th Movement to power in 1959 didn't change much, even though its leaders suddenly became communists overnight and called their revolution socialist.

The fact is that after gaining independence from the United States, Cuba fell under the domination of Russian social-imperialism. It continued to rely on monoculture and the export of sugar cane, with its industry and technology dependent on the new rulers who guaranteed most of the products that were not produced on the island and subsidized a large part of social spending. The fall of the Russian empire in 1989 revealed the country's dependence, resulting in a deep economic and social crisis. It can be rightly said that from 1959 to 1990, there was no socialism in Cuba, but rather state monopoly capitalism similar to that existing in Russia.

To prevent a possible uprising caused by the crisis, the government opened the island to foreign investment in the 1990s, mainly directed towards tourism, which became the main source of income, replacing sugar cane during that decade.

Today, after more than 50 years of the revolution, Cuba depends on tourism, sugar cane, cigars, coffee, cocoa, and the export of some minerals. Large luxury hotels have been established again; although there are no casinos and open prostitution was abolished with the revolution, it now exists in a disguised form. There are no longer prostitutes, they are called "jineteras," and only some of them receive cash (referred to as "divisa" on the island, meaning dollars), while others exchange their bodies for clothes, cosmetics, and other luxury items that are difficult for the average Cuban to access, purchased by their clients in large supermarkets and luxury stores that only a few Cubans have access to because payment is also in dollars. Officially, there are no unemployed people, but the so-called "inventors" are a growing group of individuals who try to find ways to make a living or supplement their salaries. Additionally, there is a powerful black market controlled by state officials, many of whom are members of the government party, who traffic in essential items such as eggs, beef, housing, gasoline, soap, toothpaste, and

other items stolen from the state.

Both illegal arms and ivory trafficking, as well as drug trafficking, have been other forms of currency income for the island, and all these shady and secret businesses have been protected by the State. One notable case that caught worldwide attention was that of high-ranking military officials who were tried for corruption and drug trafficking between 1989 and 1991, in which distinguished career military personnel such as Antonio de la Guardia, Amado Padrón, Martínez Valdés, and the historic General Arnaldo Ochoa paid with their lives as scapegoats of the regime when it was no longer possible to continue hiding the government's business dealings that had been ongoing since the 1970s, as attested by Jorge Masetti in his book *El Furor y el Delirio* (Itinerary of a Son of the Cuban Revolution). Masetti was an international agent of the Cuban government in secret military and commercial operations and is the son of Argentine journalist Ricardo Masetti, founder of the Prensa Latina agency, who died during a guerrilla adventure in Salta, northern Argentina, in 1964.

Some comrades, deceived by appearances, believe that the undeniable progress achieved by the island in terms of health, education, and housing until the end of the last century were signs of socialism, when in reality they only responded to the need to appease class struggle and social discontent. Improvement in the living conditions of the masses is not synonymous with socialism, as can be seen in imperialist countries, where the bourgeois, as part of anti-communist propaganda, also granted some social benefits to their workers until the 1990s, showing that one could live well in capitalism without the need for revolution.

In recent years, as a way to alleviate the crisis and the limited growth of the economy, Cuban rulers have opened their doors even more to foreign investment in all areas, including the extraction of nickel, oil, cobalt, and other minerals.

The so-called Mariel Special Development Zone, an area of over 450 square kilometers, is a free trade zone - as they are called in Colombia - where foreign investors can invest without paying taxes and without being subject to the country's legislation. It is considered by the Cuban government as the main center for attracting foreign investments for the industry.

Today, China is one of the most important partners of the Cuban government, along with Venezuela, Spain, Canada, the Netherlands, Brazil, Mexico, Italy, France, Germany, Algeria, Russia, and Vietnam, among others, which stand out among the over 46 countries that have investments and operations

in over 400 companies on the island.

In addition to this, there is the rise of so-called “self-employment” authorized by the government and the free delivery of land for individuals to use. This is a way to legalize and formalize the black market, as well as to free the State from social obligations by generalizing openly capitalist relationships.

The Cuban government calls all of this “*updating the Economic and Social Model*,” a euphemism for saying that their plan is to completely replace state monopolistic capitalism with unrestrained capitalism, including cutting social benefits that guaranteed housing and basic food for all citizens, in the words of Raúl Castro: “in order to increase the efficiency and productivity of work, so that stable levels of production and *availability of basic products and services can be guaranteed at unsubsidized prices that are also accessible to all citizens.*”³ (emphasis added).

As can be observed, in Cuba’s fictional socialism, the means of production have been in the hands of the bourgeois embedded in the State, and exclusively for their own benefit, accumulating profits in the bureaucracy, just like the bourgeois in Russia after the defeat of the workers following the death of Stalin in 1956. The workers have never had control over the means of production nor have they participated in economic planning; production has followed the logic of profit, first from the Russian imperialists and now also from American, European, and Asian imperialists, as well as the interests of capitalists from other countries. Cuba has remained a paradise for exploiters.

One more thing, the blockade, which has been used as a battle cry to justify the surrender of the island to the Russian imperialists, is nothing more than a lame excuse. In fact, the blockade imposed by the United States served the Russian imperialists to acquire absolute dominance over the island and place it in their sphere of influence as a supplier of sugar cane and receiver of their goods, including much of their outdated machinery; it hindered the development of basic and independent industries and thwarted any attempt at self-sufficiency and self-supply. This condition was accepted by the Cuban leaders from the very beginning, believing that the Russian imperialists were protecting them from the Yankees. The hardships of the island and its limited development are not due to the blockade, but to its semi-colonial dependence on Russian imperialism.

But that’s not all, the blockade is a fallacy to not only hide the Cuban

³Report to the Sixth Congress, April 17, 2011.

leaders' commitment to Russian imperialism, but also their own incapacity to govern society. Despite the blockade, Cuba has always maintained relations with other countries and has had the possibility to free itself from imperialist dependence, but its bourgeois has never been interested in that.

The blockade imposed by the United States on the island also served the Russian imperialists and the Cuban leaders to maintain a vast anti-American imperialist propaganda, to whom they have always blamed for the misfortunes of the Cuban people, and the people have believed it.

Today, the Castros continue to use the worn-out argument of the blockade, portraying themselves as dignified and making its lifting a condition for normalizing diplomatic relations with the United States, when in fact the blockade ceased to exist many years ago: "In 2013, Cuba maintained trade relations with over 160 countries," according to the 2014 Investor's Guide published on *Granma's* website, the central organ of the Cuban revisionist party.

Finally, we would like to include some of Jorge Masetti's conclusions, of whom the fervent Castro supporters may claim renounced the leaders of the island because they executed his father-in-law, Antonio de la Guardia, and surely this fact influenced the history he tells. However, it is irrefutable that every event narrated in his book has empirical evidence, among other things, because it is the story of his life. And the most instructive thing is that since that time, the late 1990s, he was denouncing what everyone recognizes years later:

"It is still painful to note that Cuba, which prided itself on having eradicated prostitution, now practices it massively. Fidel Castro's new allies are international capital, which he tries to seduce at any cost, regardless of the origin of the capital or how it exploits and leaves workers in their home countries without jobs.

Previously, professing a religion in Cuba was an obstacle that prevented access to university, but today the Pope has become Fidel's privileged interlocutor.

Cuban military hierarchs have transformed into prosperous entrepreneurs.

Today, Cuba is a destroyed country, a humiliated society. Cubans who do not receive dollars from abroad have no other option but to prostitute themselves. The dollar has become the top priority

for both ordinary citizens and the government.

The great guerrilla commander of the Americas and first in everything is now not even a caricature of himself; he is simply and plainly: Cuba's First Pimp."

3 The Cuban Political Regime

Just as in the social relations of production, the Cuban revolution only changed the form of capitalist exploitation, the same thing happened with the political regime of bourgeois dictatorship. The dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista was replaced by the dictatorship of the new sectors of the bourgeois, particularly by the leaders of the July 26th Movement, who two years later joined forces with the Cuban revisionist and pacifist party to form the Communist Party of Cuba, an instrument in the hands of the Russian imperialists through which they exerted domination over the Cuban people.

The Cuban leaders, including Ernesto Guevara, had the opportunity to break ties with the new czars, who had already been exposed as false socialists and communists by the international proletariat, led by the parties of China and Albania, but they did not. Under the pretext of defending the revolution from imminent Yankee imperialist aggression, they sought shelter under the wing of the Russian imperialists as well.

This dependence not only prevented the advancement of the revolution in the economic and social spheres (state capitalism disguised as socialism), but also determined the character of the state and the system of government: the dictatorship of a clique entrenched in a party disguised as communist, and more specifically, the dictatorship of the Castro brothers and their allies.

The privileged bureaucracy, common to all bourgeois states, remained intact, only changing their names; the permanent professional army, common to all bourgeois states, only changed its slogans. The separation of the people from the administration of the state, common to all bourgeois states, not only persisted but was aggravated as workers and peasants were even deprived of the bourgeois freedom to criticize the rulers - in the 1960s, at the direction of the Russian imperialists, the "Military Units to Aid Production - UMAP" were created, also known as "work camps," where all critics or dissidents were sent, a reactionary measure that the imperialists and Trotskyism attribute to alleged Stalinism. In Cuba, as in all capitalist countries, the masses are unarmed and powerless to elect, remove, or replace state officials.

The “Committees for the Defense of the Revolution - CDR,” organizations that can be considered the only democratic institutions, in the sense that all inhabitants participate in them as they are neighborhood organizations and elect delegates to the “National Assembly of People’s Power,” have no real power and rather serve a police and population control function.

The entire experience of the workers’ movement confirms that a true proletarian revolution cannot leave the bourgeois bureaucratic-military machine standing: it must destroy it; it must create a new type of state, replacing the permanent professional army with an armed people, replacing the privileged and separate state bureaucracy with legislative and executive bodies of the masses at the same time, where state officials are eligible and removable at any time, and their salaries are not higher than those of the common worker. This is the criterion by which the scope of any true revolution in relation to the state can be measured.

These issues, regarding the new type of State necessary to carry out the complete emancipation of the workers, were precisely the problems being discussed by the International Communist Movement at the time of the Cuban revolution. The proletariat had already been defeated in the USSR, and it was the new bourgeois, socialist and communist in word but imperialist in fact, who had taken control of society and it was this bourgeois who entered into collusion with the new rulers to govern the destiny of the island.

The Cuban rulers have never been socialists or communists; their program is limited, just like the national liberation wars led by the bourgeois and the petty bourgeois, to achieving independence from Yankee imperialism. A nationalist and utopian program in the era of imperialism, as it is always subject to the tutelage of one imperialist power or another, regardless of the will and desires of the people. This has been clear to the labor movement since the emergence of imperialism as the highest and final stage of capitalism: the liberation of oppressed countries is not possible without the revolutionary transformation of society. In other words, the colonial problem of imperialism is part of the worldwide proletarian revolution, and the struggle of peoples for their liberation can only succeed if it is united with the struggle of the proletariat for socialist revolution.

4 Nationalism as a Program

Since the beginning of the last century, the labor movement understood that in the transition from capitalism to its imperialist phase, the world had been divided into a *handful of oppressive, exploitative countries and an immense majority of oppressed, exploited countries*. The colonial policy of direct domination characteristic of the phase of free competition capitalism had developed to the point of achieving the conquest of all unoccupied lands on the planet by the developed imperialist countries, thus giving way to the struggle for a new division of an already divided world. This is a world where the domination of monopolistic associations of large entrepreneurs prevails, domination through the network of capital, and translates into the economic, financial, and military subjugation of politically independent countries by a few imperialist countries. This is *the semicolonial domination of oppressed countries with the heaviest, most bloody, and most exploitative yoke of capitalism: financial capital*.

The imposition of monopolies in capitalist economy led to the political monopolization of social life, meaning that in the political superstructure of society, the tendency towards freedom, characteristic of the early days of capitalism, was replaced by the *tendency towards subjugation, and the intensification of oppression over countries and nations*.

Hence, attempting to solve the problem of the liberation of oppressed countries separately and without annihilating the power of capital in such countries, or before annihilating it, is bourgeois politics: fighting against imperialism without exceeding the limits of capitalism. It is necessary to defeat the bourgeois and the landowners, the social and lackey classes of the imperialists in oppressed countries.

Therefore, the problem of national liberation of oppressed countries became part of the general problem of the proletarian revolution, of the international struggle of labor against capital, of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Socialism, the only means to suppress the oppression of some countries and nations over others, to pacify the national struggle by undermining differences, and to provide a new and superior material basis for national equality, full freedom of separation or union of nations, and the freedom of nations to exist as independent states.

To overthrow the bourgeois and landowners to solve the national problem in the era of imperialism is a “forgotten” condition, avoided and silenced by opportunist and petty bourgeois anti-imperialist reformism in its vain

pretension to solve the national question of imperialism according to the bourgeois and without touching its power. The bourgeois cannot solve the national problem of imperialism because it is itself an oppressive class of peoples, nations, and countries; because its policy to unite nations is the policy of imperialism: exploitation, oppression, annexations, military conquests, preservation of private property.

In that sense, the proletariat does not support the national movement simply because it is anti-imperialist. They support and ally with it on the condition that it is a truly revolutionary anti-imperialist movement, one that does not oppose the workers' struggle against capital, does not hinder their independent struggle and organization, and does not restrict the agitation and propaganda of their program in the revolutionary education and organization of the large popular masses, especially the peasants, to establish a strong class alliance with them.

When this is forgotten or ignored, one ends up endorsing, in the name of proletarian internationalism, the bourgeois "anti-imperialism" of European social democracy or Latin American Bolivarianism; justifying support for recognized dictators who claim to be "anti-imperialist" but are in fact mere puppets of interimperialist struggle; promoting support for certain imperialist countries to confront others, which means submitting to and supporting imperialism, as can be seen now in the attitude of revisionist and petty-bourgeois democratic parties towards conflicts in the Middle East and Syria.

In that bourgeois nationalist line, the Cuban rulers became pawns in the struggle of Russian imperialism, not out of ignorance, because precisely at the beginning of the 60s, the revolutionary proletariat, led by the Communist Party of China, denounced the Russian rulers as socialists in word and imperialists in deed (social imperialists) representatives of the new bourgeois that had usurped power in the Soviet Union and was in dispute for a new distribution of the world along with Yankee and European imperialism.

As an instrument of social-imperialism, the Cuban leaders founded the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America - OSPAAAL, also known as the "Tricontinental," whose program has never gone beyond "achieving the national independence and sovereignty of our peoples (understood as independence from Yankee imperialism, because they minimize Europeans as enemies and do not consider Russians and Chinese as imperialists) and thus contributing to a world of peace and dignified humanity," as said by its International Executive Secretary on the occasion of the 49th anniversary of that farce. That was the reason why only revision-

ist parties and some petite bourgeois democratic organizations were invited to the foundation of that organization in 1966, and not the Marxist-Leninist parties of the time.

But in addition, the Cuban leaders ended up serving as attack dogs in various countries where the Russian imperialists disputed territory with the Yankees. Cuba participated in several wars in Asia (Yemen and Syria) and in Africa (Angola, Ethiopia, Congo, Zaire, Guinea-Bissau, Western Sahara Arab Democratic Republic), providing economic, logistical, and political support to revisionist parties and various guerrilla groups of the Latin American petty bourgeois, who all ended up either making peace with imperialism and the internal enemies of the people, as the guerrillas of El Salvador and Guatemala did, or becoming lackeys of the Yankee imperialists again after conquering power, as in the case of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. By the way, the Sandinistas persecuted, imprisoned, and killed the Communists immediately after overthrowing Somoza in 1979 when they denounced their betrayal of the promises made to the workers and peasants.

But this is not an unfortunate coincidence, as Castro's followers may argue, but the inevitable result of separating the struggle for national liberation from the working class's struggle for socialism, of trying to turn anti-imperialism into a separate program. This is what Lenin and the Communist International referred to, and this was the basis for the controversy of the Peruvian Communist leader José Carlos Mariátegui against the confusion that arose around the Peruvian American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) in the second decade of the last century. As is known, the APRA, which claimed to be anti-imperialist in Mariátegui's time and which some Communists referred to as the Latin American Kuomintang, is also now a pro-Yankee bourgeois party in Peru.

With apologies to the reader for the length of the text, we publish excerpts from Mariátegui's theses *On Anti-Imperialism to the First Latin American Communist Conference (Communist International)* held in Montevideo in 1929:

“The fundamental difference between us in Peru who originally accepted the APRA (as a project for a united front, never as a party or even as an effective organizer of struggle), and those outside Peru who later defined it as a Latin American Kuomintang, is that the former remain faithful to the revolutionary, socio-economic conception of anti-imperialism; the latter, meanwhile,

explain their position by saying: ‘We are leftists (or socialists) because we are anti-imperialists.’ Anti-imperialism thereby is raised to the level of a program, a political attitude, a movement that is valid in and of itself and that leads spontaneously to socialism, to the social revolution (how, we have no idea). This idea inordinately overestimates the anti-imperialist movement, exaggerates the myth of the struggle for a ‘second independence,’ and romanticizes the idea that we are already living in the era of a new emancipation.

[...]

For us, anti-imperialism does not and cannot constitute, by itself, a political program for a mass movement capable of conquering state power. Anti-imperialism, even if it could mobilize the nationalist bourgeois and petty bourgeois on the side of the worker and peasant masses (and we have already definitively denied this possibility), does not annul class antagonisms nor suppress different class interests.

The taking of power by anti-imperialism, if it were possible, would not represent the taking of power by the proletarian masses, by socialism. The socialist revolution will find its most bloody and dangerous enemy (dangerous because of their confusionism and demagogy) in those petty bourgeois placed in power by the voices of order.”

Here is the deepest reason why the Cuban rulers now, after the Russian imperialists showed their true face, are opening the doors of the island to financial capital, big monopolies, and imperialist companies from America, Europe, and Asia, and why there is an interest in restoring relations with their former enemy, US imperialism. This is where nationalism as a program ends.

5 A Proletarian Revolutionary Party or a Reformist Bourgeois Party

We have already said that the Cuban leaders became communists overnight, merging their July 26th Movement, a small-bourgeois nationalist organiza-

tion, with the old Cuban revisionist party, into the Communist Party of Cuba - PCC. For a better understanding of where the current PCC came from, it is necessary to give a brief history of it.

The Cuban Communist Party, which has nothing in common with the current Castro party, was founded in 1925 as part of the efforts of the Communist International to provide the working class with its independent political party in all countries. Its founders were Julio Antonio Mella, Carlos Baliño, José Miguel Pérez, and Alfonso Bernal del Riesgo. Venezuelan exiles such as Pio Tamayo and Gustavo Machado also participated in its foundation. Its first general secretary was José Miguel Pérez, who years later participated in the founding of the Communist Party of the Canary Islands.

The Communist Party of Cuba, a section of the Communist International as they were called at the time, emerged in secrecy and had intense activity in those conditions until 1938. It is worth noting that during that period, the Communist Party of Cuba managed to channel the people's indignation, which in the general strike of 1933 brought down the government of Gerardo Machado, known for his crimes against the people as "the donkey with claws."

In 1939, after being legalized, the party changed its name to the Communist Revolutionary Union - UCR, and in 1944 to the Popular Socialist Party - PSP. Such name changes were due to the fact that in that party, as in most communist parties on the continent, reformist ideas prevailed and they ended up being appendages of the liberal bourgeoisie; in Colombia, the bourgeoisie itself said that the Communist Party (mamerto⁴) had become the little Liberal Party in the 1940s.

During those years, under the leadership of Blas Roca, one of the "historic leaders" of the so-called Cuban revolution, the Popular Socialist Party supported the presidential candidacy of the future dictator of the island: Fulgencio Batista. In the period from 1940 to 1944, two of its most notable leaders, Juan Marinello and Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, were ministers in Batista's cabinet. The PSP characterized Batista as "one hundred percent Cuban, a jealous guardian of patriotic freedom, an eloquent and popular speaker... a leading figure in our national politics, an idol of a people who think and watch over their well-being... a man who embodies the sacred ideals of a new Cuba and who, through his democratic actions identified with the needs of the people, carries the seal of his courage" (According to the newspaper *Hoy*, the official organ of the PSP, on June 13, 1944).

⁴RL: *Mamerto* is slang for a member of the "Colombian Communist Party."

Despite the favors granted in the 1940s, Batista declared the PSP illegal in 1953. Nevertheless, in that same year, the PSP condemned as “coupist and adventurous activities of the bourgeois opposition” the attack on the Moncada Barracks carried out by Fidel Castro and his friends. Subsequently, in 1957, the PSP changed its attitude towards the July 26 Movement led by Castro and Guevara: in meetings of its top leaders with Ernesto Guevara and later between Fidel Castro and Ursinio Rojas - a member of the political bureau of the PSP - they made a cooperation agreement that allowed them to reach victory together in 1959.

In 1961, two years after the triumph, the PSP merged with the July 26 Movement, the Revolutionary Directorate of 13 March, and other organizations to form what they called the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations - ORI. In these organizations, a fierce internal struggle for the future of the revolution ensued, where while Anibal Escalante was expelled for his open and shameless commitment to the Russian imperialists, the revolutionaries were also defeated, and in addition to being expelled, they were condemned to ostracism.

What was discussed in the ORI? Nothing more and nothing less than the attitude towards the divergences that arose between the Russian revisionist social-imperialist party, led by Khrushchev, and the Communist Party of China, led by Mao Zedong, and towards the path that the Cuban revolution should take. “God creates them and they get together,” says the popular adage, and Cuba was no exception: the petty-bourgeois democracy joined forces with revisionism to expel the revolutionaries, culminating their work with their open surrender to social-imperialism and leaving the island as a semi-colony of the new tsars.

A characteristic aspect of Cuban rulers is the appearance they give in public events and what they really do in private. In the case of the expulsion of Escalante, this was just a trick, a smoke screen, to give the appearance that the new rulers maintained independence from Russia; in reality, Escalante was rewarded and sent to Russia, from where he returned a few years later as a spy, he was “tried” for “counterrevolutionary activity” in the late 60s and “sentenced to 15 years in prison;” a sentence that he never served, but was sent to Czechoslovakia, from where he returned again to die in the 70s due to complications after a surgical intervention.

But returning to the history, in March 1962, after the purge of “sectarianism,” the ORIs were unified into the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba - PURSC, which finally adopted the name Communist Party of Cuba

- PCC in October 1965, which it retains to this day.

In summary, Blas Roca and his revisionist clique, open agents of social imperialism in Cuba, won over the petty-bourgeois democrats Castro and Guevara to their cause, who were not ignorant of what was at stake. Even Roca had no problem resigning as secretary general of the party to give it to Fidel Castro in exchange for the top position in the government.

A great discussion arose about the future of humanity: between advancing the World Proletarian Revolution or giving in to imperialism, renouncing the revolution behind the lie of “peaceful coexistence, peaceful emulation, and peaceful transition;” between persisting in the struggle for the abolition of all forms of exploitation and oppression by deploying the Proletarian Cultural Revolution and making the Dictatorship of the Proletariat all-powerful while conserving the Proletarian Party, or surrendering power to the bourgeoisie with the lie of the “state of the whole people” and renouncing class independence with the fallacy of the “party of the whole people.” Faced with such divergences, Guevara limited himself to saying that “the dispossessed cannot take sides,” minimizing the depth of the disagreements, but in fact, both he and Castro did take sides... for the social-imperialists, who after 40 years of plunder left Cuba adrift.

Castro, in various interventions, fiercely attacked Mao Zedong and socialist China in open defense of Khrushchev and Russian social-imperialism, ending up becoming a pawn in the hands of the new czars.

It is important to note that the Cuban case was the subject of great discussions and struggles within communist parties, especially in Latin America. Just to refresh the memory of revolutionaries or for those who do not know history, and apologizing to the reader, we introduce a lengthy quote from the pronouncement of the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist) in April 1967, which clarifies the character of the new rulers of the island.

It is necessary to say that the X Congress of the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist) in 1965, classified the well-known Second Declaration of Havana - from February 1962 - as the “***Communist Manifesto for Latin America.***” However, as there were reservations about some positions of the Cuban leaders, the Congress approved to make a critical examination and define a position on the matter. Therefore, the 1967 Declaration is a brave self-criticism of which the communists in Colombia are heirs, and which the turncoats who still call themselves the Communist Party of Colombia (m-l) renounced:

“Our party already has enough evidence to take a fundamental position on the Cuban issue.

1. It was Fidel Castro himself who proclaimed himself a Marxist-Leninist, and it was the Cuban leaders who declared themselves Marxist-Leninists. But the Marxist-Leninist field is clear, defined, and sharp enough; it is the heritage of the world proletariat and not a barren land that anyone can arbitrarily appropriate with false arguments.
2. It was also Fidel Castro himself who signed in Moscow with Khrushchev, on the eve of his downfall, a declaration that is still valid today because it has not been withdrawn, in which he states that he agrees with the Soviet revisionists in their international policy ‘even in matters of detail.’
3. It was with Khrushchev himself that he committed to improving his relations with Latin American revisionists, and through tricks such as using Monje from Bolivia and Arismendi from Uruguay as a screen, he convened in Havana for November 1964 all the revisionist garbage of the continent, a conference from which a resolution was issued directed squarely against the Latin American and world Marxist-Leninist movement.
4. It was Fidel who responded to the call of the Soviet revisionists and attended the global revisionist leadership conference in Moscow in 1965 to plan the division of the world communist movement, so that no one would have any doubts about his real alignment with revisionism.
5. It was the Cuban leaders themselves who demanded that our party give up the ideological struggle against revisionism as a condition for supporting it at the time of its restructuring.
6. It was Fidel Castro himself who offered, in an interview with an American journalist, to not assist the Latin American revolution in exchange for the United States not attacking Cuba.
7. The leaders of the Cuban Revolution themselves have publicly declared themselves neutral in the ideological struggle

between Marxists-Leninists and revisionists, thus adopting an unsustainable position from a principled standpoint.

8. It is the leaders themselves who banned the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideology in Cuba, while spreading and teaching, on a large scale and without any limitation, the revisionist materials of the Soviet clique.
9. It was Fidel Castro himself who exempted the Soviet revisionists from responsibility in the dirty maneuvers of the unacceptable Chilean revisionists, even affirming that the Soviets were being deceived by the Chilean revisionist clique, when the reality is that current Soviet leaders are the world's leaders of revisionism, its brain and its guide.
10. It is Fidel himself who, in 1963, did not allow a commission of Red Cross nurses to enter Cuba, who has allowed the setting up of an emigration office run by the Yankees in Havana to allow the departure of political exiles.
11. It was Fidel Castro himself who erased from the list of attendees of the Tricontinental Conference all the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America, with the exception of the Bolivian one, whose delegates were later excluded in a frankly reprehensible manner.
12. It was Fidel himself who took advantage of the meeting of numerous revolutionary leaders and the world's attention on the Tricontinental Conference to slander the People's Republic of China and its leaders headed by Comrade Mao Zedong.
13. It is the Cuban leaders themselves who sponsor numerous groups that are enemies of the Party of the proletariat and therefore anti-Marxist in the continent and in a far-reaching maneuver discrediting the armed struggle for the seizure of power by the people.
14. It has been Fidel himself who in numerous speeches has tried to lump together the Chinese comrades and the Soviet revisionists in relation to the problem of Vietnam, trying to ignore against all evidence the resolute support and the frank and total aid of China to the cause of the people in South

and North Vietnam. Such criticism is valid, as the facts show, for the Soviet revisionists, but to extend it to the Chinese comrades is an injustice, a clear violation of the truth, a willful confusion aimed at deceiving the peoples.

15. It was the Cuban leaders who recently refused to attend the fifth Congress of the Albanian Labor Party, as if to leave no doubt about their real alignment against the Marxist-Leninist movement.
16. They are the ones who have spread on a large scale the basic error that Marxist-Leninist communist parties are not needed to lead the Latin American revolutionary process, thus attacking a principle which is the touchstone of the revolution at this historic stage: the role of the proletariat in the revolution. And those who in theory or in practice deny the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution, can be anything else but not communists.
17. It is the Cuban leaders, headed by Fidel Castro who have maintained a false position on the role of the masses, the role of the Party of the Proletariat and its historical necessity.
18. It is Fidel Castro who has affirmed, against all evidence, that the subjective conditions in Cuba before the revolution were '7 or 1 rifles,' and it is he himself who affirms, against all Marxist criteria: 'I alone am capable of making the revolution in Brazil.' Statements like these are a synthesis of his petty bourgeois conception of history, of the role of the proletariat, of the class struggle and of the perspectives of the revolution.
19. It is the Cuban leaders who attribute to the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry the leading role in the revolution.
20. It is he, Fidel, who dictates, or tries to dictate, who is and who is not revolutionary in Latin America, and accuses the others of doing so, joining the revisionists and attacking in continuous error, which cannot be accidental, the movements that have a Marxist-Leninist inspiration.
21. It is the theses of the Cuban leadership that place the military above the political in the revolutionary process, leading

numerous revolutionaries into fatal errors.

22. It is they who rely more and more on the great mass of small landowners of the countryside and the city, without worrying about the political repercussions of this predominance, the material basis of revisionism.
23. They are the ones who have yielded to the Soviet designs to establish their economic and political domination over Cuba, abandoning the path of their own efforts, abandoning the path of authentic industrial development, resigning themselves to economic dependence on the exterior.
24. Cuban leaders have made sugar cane monoculture the goal of economic development, falling for the thesis of 'industrial specialization,' a neo-colonialist piece of the Soviet revisionists. The plans in this respect of 10 million tons by 1970, if fulfilled, would only deepen Cuba's dependence on the outside world, now on the Soviet Union as before on American imperialism.

It is evident that an economic policy of this kind must have as a tacit and confessed presupposition the peaceful coexistence with imperialism and submission to revisionism.

All this, and many more things that it would be prolix to enumerate, can only happen because the Cuban leaders are not Marxist-Leninists as they claim; because the proletariat is not in power in Cuba; because, consequently, Cuba is not socialist as they claim; because the bourgeoisie has taken over the Cuban revolution with a Marxist mask, that is to say, with methods and systems exactly denominated by Lenin, revisionism.”⁵

In this valuable document, the comrades recognized their mistake of thinking with desires, that is, due to subjectivism: “It would have been enough for us to have made a correct assessment in the initial phases of the process to have made this rectification more timely. For example, to consider how it was possible for someone to first make the revolution, then declare

⁵the bold letters are from the original, see Documents 2, Communist Party of Colombia M. L., May 1975, Editorial June 8, pages 99 - 103.

themselves socialist, then Marxist-Leninist, and subsequently, to fill the void and by decree, create the ‘communist party.’ ”

And since that time, the party predicted the future of the island: “the perspective of the Cuban revolution is one of regression. Its dependence on the Russians will become greater every day as a result of misguided policies. The Cuban people are very revolutionary, but the Cuban leadership deceived the people and the revolution. And one of the specific ways of this deception is the low level of politicization that has been provided to it through the widespread teaching of modern revisionism, the explicit prohibition of the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the purge of leaders who hold it or are closer to it.”⁶

To summarize, Cuban leaders have never been socialists or communists; they were expelled and persecuted by Castro’s dictatorship, which served social-imperialism. The Communist Party of Cuba is a bourgeois reformist party; hence, the open re-establishment of capitalist relations, without the socialist facade, was only a matter of time, as can be clearly seen now. Therefore, for revolutionaries, the re-establishment of relations between the governments of Cuba and the United States, which caused so much publicity, is not strange but the natural consequence of the interests of the bourgeoisie of both countries.

Some revolutionaries, inspired by Cuban anti-imperialism (false in the eyes of its leaders but true in the hearts of the people), still hold hope in the Cuban leaders. However, a closer look at their trajectory reveals their open commitment to the Russian bourgeoisie, who are socialists in name but imperialists in practice, since the very beginning of the revolution and popular insurrection, which fell into the hands of the petty bourgeoisie and revisionists.

Their discourse, apparently radical against Yankee imperialism and their former support for guerrillas in other countries, was only part of the Soviet imperialists’ agenda in their inter-imperialist dispute for global hegemony. Thus, it is not surprising that their current commitment is to the false peace agenda (including that of FARC and the Santos government), promoted by imperialists (Yankees, Russians, and Chinese) with whom they need good relations for their businesses.

But as *there is no evil that lasts a hundred years*, the revolutionary Cuban people, who were able to overthrow several dictators in the 20th century, who

⁶Ibid.

heroically endured years of isolation and blockade, will also put an end to the Castro clan in the 21st century. This will happen sooner rather than later, but in order not to repeat the history of handing over their struggle to a new sector of the bourgeoisie, they need to summarize their bitter history of enslavement to the monoculture of sugarcane and correct the bourgeoisie's design to turn their territory into a brothel for exploiters from all countries. But the most important and decisive thing is that the Cuban proletariat organizes itself as an independent political party, as a Revolutionary Communist Party, built on the firm basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and guided by a Revolutionary Program.

Such an organization will be the only one capable of leading the people's struggle to build the new type of state that ends the privileges of the bureaucracy, guarantees direct democracy for workers and peasants with the general arming of the people, and, supported by that invincible force, breaks all dependence on imperialists and ends capitalist exploitation forever. Communists around the world are certain that this will happen despite the vicissitudes and will continue to support, as they always have, the Cuban people's struggle for their liberation.

The perspective of the Cuban revolution is one of regression. Its dependence on the Russians will become greater every day as a result of misguided policies. The Cuban people are very revolutionary, but the Cuban leadership deceived the people and the revolution. One of the concrete forms of this deception is the low level of politicization that it has achieved through widespread teaching of modern revisionism, the explicit prohibition of the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the purge of leaders who are bearers of it or closer to it.

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