

# U.S. LEFT: SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA ?



Recently, the Guardian newspaper published a series of articles on Cuba which distorted the socialist process in that nation. Due to the character of said series, and its implications in these historical moments, a number of organizations developed and signed a response to the editors of the Guardian. The document was submitted jointly by CASA, Center for Cuban Studies, Cuba Resource Center, EL COMITE-MINP, MASA and the PSP. Following we reprint the document and once again salute Revolutionary Cuba in the XXIV anniversary of the heroic attack on Moncada.

This is a time when the left and progressive forces need to sharpen our understanding of the Cuban revolution and begin our own counteroffensive against the imperialist campaign of lies and distortions. Today, Cuba is emerging from a long period of struggle to overcome underdevelopment and at the same time survive the economic, political and cultural blockade criminally imposed on the Cuban revolution by U.S. imperialism.

This struggle has been carried out on many fronts. Cuba has faced open battles and invisible warfare. It has confronted the cowardly complicity in the freeze of trade and diplomatic relations imposed on most of Cuba's sister Latin American nations. And it had to deal with trade restrictions as a result of the embargo in countries as far-flung as Western Europe and Japan.

During all this period, in spite of the difficulties confronted by the Cuban people, the revolution has maintained an unbroken record of proletarian internationalism—materially aiding struggles from Latin America to Indochina, from the Middle East to Africa.

Based on the revolutionary spirit, courage and combativity of the Cuban people, the correct application of Marxism-Leninism to their own conditions, and a unified and tested leadership, the Cuban revolution has evaluated its development over the years and moved into a period of institutionalization—the consolidating of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the advancing of socialist construction.

The Cubans have systematized and deepened socialist democracy through the building of their new form of

government. Earlier, the trade union movement was fortified and revitalized, with new elections for leadership of locals reorganized along their corresponding economic sectors, the regularizing of monthly production assemblies and the placing of union secretaries on an equal basis in plant councils alongside the manager and the party representative.

The Federation of Cuban Women, the leading mass organization in the struggle for the full equality of women, set higher goals for the incorporation of women into production and their promotion as political cadre. The need to set the conditions for reaching these goals was further affirmed in the new Family Code, discussed throughout the country and approved by the Cuban people in 1975.

## WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE

The mass organization of small farmer ANAP, held its fifth congress this spring, advancing the development of socialism in the agrarian sector and deepening the worker-peasant alliance. In the fall, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution will hold their first congress, to summarize the work of the CDR and set goals to improve their community-based mass functioning.

All of these mass organizations, as specific organizational forms through which the people make their needs known and meet their needs, have aimed at a more profound relationship with the people and with their vanguard organizations, the Cuban Communist Party and the Young Communist League. In the party's last congress in 1975 and the league's congress this year, both organizations stressed their determination to further concentrate their growth among those workers directly linked to production and to services, and to work more closely and effectively with the mass organizations.

The essence of these achievements and objectives were expressed and codified in the new, socialist constitution, approved by the Cuban people in 1975.

All of these developments have taken place 90 miles from the United States, in an area of the world regarded by U.S. imperialism as its strategic stronghold.

Can we forget the meaning of this first socialist state, not only in the Western Hemisphere, but in Latin America as well? We can only compare the significance of the Cuban revolution for the peoples struggling against U.S. imperialism throughout Latin America with the meaning of the October revolution for oppressed and exploited peoples around the world.

By establishing trade relations, cultural exchanges and diplomatic relations with Cuba, peoples and governments around the world have challenged the will and power of U.S. imperialism. In our country, people have systematically defied the imperialists and broken the blockade by traveling to Cuba and working side-by-side with Cuban comrades in socialist construction on the island.

## U.S. STRATEGY DEFEATED

The U.S. strategy to strangle the Cuban revolution has itself been defeated. Now, in relation to Cuba, it is the United States which stands isolated in the world. At this very moment, the U.S. government has been forced by the resistance to its criminal policy to exchange lower level diplomatic personnel with Cuba.

Yet the battle to definitively end the blockade is not over. Strong opposition remains—spurred on by a wide variety of reactionary forces, including the sugar interests, gusano community and the most backward sectors of the

imperialist bourgeoisie, who still refuse to recognize the defeat of the blockade.

While the struggle to end the blockade continues, the U.S. imperialists have already begun their ideological offensive of misinformation and diversionism against the Cuban revolution to replace their 17-year-long blockade of silence. From Howard K. Smith's hour-long editorial trying to describe Cuba as a "militarist society" to the New York Post and US magazine, Cuba is being portrayed in the usual anticommunist stereotypes, adding charges of racism, sexism and "Cuba-as-a-Soviet-puppet" to their arsenal of images.

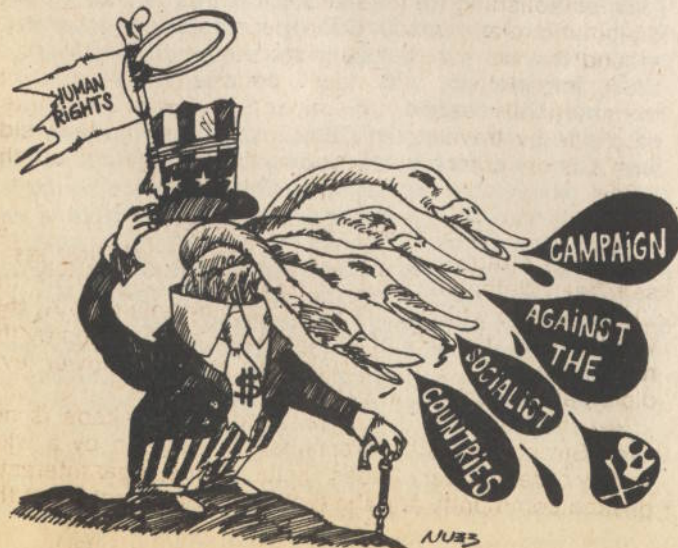
It is ironic that just at this time the Guardian should publish a series which has the effect of misinforming, disorienting and disarming the U.S. progressive and revolutionary people. The series was written by a member of the League for Proletarian Socialism (May 18, 25 and June 1). It was published ostensibly in the interest of promoting a "fraternal" discussion on the nature of socialist Cuba and with the aim of building solidarity with Cuba.

### SLANDEROUS ATTACK

The result, nevertheless, has not been to promote fraternal, constructive discussion, but rather a disgraceful and slanderous attack against a socialist country. We are not interested in responding point by point and thereby dignifying the baseless and confused positions of this group, which fails to address a subject demanding honest and serious investigation and study—particularly when it concerns the struggle of a whole people.

Still, it is necessary to briefly summarize the series' major assertions about Cuba. In essence, it states that Cuba is a dependent tool of the Soviet Union, though only "out of necessity"; in addition, that the Cuban Communist Party, because it has ignored class struggle within the revolution and because it has isolated itself from the Cuban masses, has provided the conditions for the emergence of a new bureaucratic class. These articles apply a narrow interpretation of Cuba's relationship with the Soviet Union. Using an unscientific approach, the series confuses socialist aid and capitalist dependency, drawing conclusions that are not based on a class analysis of Cuban society, but rather upon rumors, undefined terms and misrepresentations of historical fact.

We should look more closely at the concept of dependency. Under capitalist relations, dependency implies either direct or indirect control over the political and economic structure of a nation, subordinating the needs and interests of that dependent nation to the drive for



profits of the ruling class in the dominating nation.

In this sense, the dominating nation determines all fundamental political and economic policies of the dependent nation. The bourgeoisies in those dependent countries owe their survival as a ruling class to this relationship with the dominating nation.

On the other hand, every socialist revolution can and should rely on the proletarian internationalism of already existing socialist states in its transition from capitalism to socialism. Even Cuba, a small island with limited resources, has contributed immeasurably both to new socialist countries and to revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Socialist aid benefits all parties involved and is a direct cause of the strengthening of the socialist system worldwide. The support which the Soviet Union has given Cuba is instrumental in the survival and growth of that revolution. This relationship is based on the needs and interests of the Cuban people, which they themselves have defined. All of the agreements between Cuba and the Soviet Union have been between equals, never imposed. The Soviet Union neither controls nor owns anything in Cuba other than its own embassy. This is the difference between capitalist dependency and socialist aid.

Unlike this series' concept of solidarity, we believe that solidarity must be based on a concrete historical analysis, with the understanding that external factors can influence a process, but they cannot determine it. Upholding the universal principles and lessons of socialist revolution, every revolution has to develop its own road, based on the social, economic and historical reality of its people and the correlation of forces in the world at any given moment. Among the things we can learn from the Cuban revolution are precisely its view of international solidarity and its self-critical attitude toward errors. These strengths are reflected in the continuing ideological development of the Cuban vanguard as well as the Cuban people, and in their consistent refusal to dictate strategy or tactics to other revolutionary struggles or socialist states.

From the beginning, the Guardian insists on its "respect," "admiration," and "support" for the Cuban revolution. Nevertheless, it published a series of articles which can only be regarded as a form of ideological diversionism about the nature of the Latin American continent's revolutionary vanguard.

The history of U.S. imperialism's use of state-to-state relations to attempt to undermine socialist revolution is well known. Today, important sectors of the imperialist bourgeoisie recognize that the blockade is a failure and therefore are considering changing their policy toward Cuba. This is accompanied by sophisticated anticommunist campaigns geared toward distorting the perception of socialism in Cuba among the people in this country. Why does the Guardian choose this moment to publish a series which objectively contributes to the Carter administration's campaign of diversionism? Is there a real desire to clarify, to contribute constructively?

Clearly, the Guardian has a political line which is reflected in its content and selection of articles over time. Generally speaking, the Guardian's news coverage of Cuba has been superficial. And yet, in the first series of articles of any depth on Cuba, the Guardian is quick to let others speak in an unprincipled, arrogant and chauvinist manner about Cuba's alleged "fatal flaws."

This is consistent with the Guardian's view of the world, where Cuba and Latin American countries are seen not in relation to the United States, to each other, or in terms of their own historical trajectories, but rather, from what the Guardian perceives to be the meaning of these struggles within the framework of "superpower contention."

Continued on next page

## CUBA cont.

The Guardian approves of certain Cuban positions (i.e., Angola) and criticizes others (relations with USSR). In the process, it abstractly separates out certain aspects of the Cuban revolution to either withhold or bestow its approval, according to whether or not these aspects coincide with the Guardian's political line. Noting its political perspec-

ive, we must also consider that the Guardian has never carried out consistent, constructive, and principled investigation, analysis and practice in relation to Cuba or to Latin America. This is an area of enormous strategic and tactical importance both to U.S. imperialism and to the U.S. revolutionary movement.

For these reasons, we must question the sincerity behind the words "respect," "support" and "admiration" which the Guardian waves about without substance.

## SANTUCHO(cont.)

and worked with the people. He worked on the railroads laying ties. "The work of the FRIP in the north was very interesting, because the local population there is very reserved, they have suffered centuries of exploitation and didn't trust the lumberjacks, especially those from the cities. But they were able to win acceptance and organized the recovery of the unions from the bureaucrats. At the same time they put out the FRIP's bulletin, which put forward a socialist line and produced bi-lingual newspapers in Spanish and Quechua, the local language."

**But would you synthesize the current situation: What prospects does the PRT have at the moment?**

"Currently the Party dedicates itself totally to the fulfillment of the lines voted on in the 'Mario Roberto Santucho' Executive Committee, which met

in August of 1976. It is a priority to develop and consolidate the Marxist-Leninist Party of combat in the proletariat, give the Party and union organizations a high level of organization and prepare it for qualitative advances. *'Go with strength to the masses, unite with them for the unity of the revolutionary organizations, for national and social liberation, determined to win or die for Argentina.'*

"In Argentina, imperialism and the military have lined up on one side, and the people and the revolutionary vanguard on the other. This polarization, clearly perceptible on the political level has its material base in the situation of dependent capitalism. Dependent capitalism is submerged in a structural crisis which has been continuing and increasing for more than half a century. It is now accelerating and has reached an antagonistic level of contradiction with the proletariat and the people.

"It is certain that this process is decisive. There is not a home in our

country that does not mourn a son, daughter, parents, brother or sister, dead, disappeared or imprisoned. At this moment there are no men and women of the people who are not confronting or preparing to confront the military, who in 1930 began a process of militarization which has never consolidated itself.

"The course of the war in our country presents two aspects: first, the impossibility of a military victory over the people and second, the possibility that in the future, with a new defeat of the military, imperialism will decide to intervene directly.

"Both aspects are internally related and constitute a cry of alert that our Party makes to all the progressive and democratic peoples of the world. 'Actively promote solidarity with the Argentine people and denounce the fascist dictatorship, totally isolating it.'

*"Only strong international pressure can contribute to sparing the suffering of the people of my country and the rest of Central and South America. In this sense, there is much that the democratic peoples of the world can do."*

## BAKKE Cont.

special programs have been implemented are administered by whites. The decision-making power of such programs lies completely with white administrators. The courts that have reviewed the Bakke case have no representation of minorities. These racial injustices have not been eliminated. There is still a big gap between the percentage of minorities in the population and the percentage of minorities accepted in the program. In fact, in the four years that the program has been in existence, only 26 Blacks and 33 Latins were accepted to Davis Medical School while some 336 whites have been accepted. Where then is the reverse racial discrimination? Even with special programs, minorities are still suffering from the lack of equal opportunities.

Moreover, the Bakke case provides another example, of which there are many, of the reality that the existing social institutions in this country are not concerned with satisfying the needs of the people—particularly minorities. In this case both the University of California and the courts (as all other institutions in this system) have taken a position that goes against the interests of minorities and of the entire working class in general. In the past these institutions have made limited concessions such as the special admissions program at Davis only after many battles were

waged by oppressed and working people. They were forced to make concessions. As long as the people were organized and struggling, the dominant classes were forced to create programs to meet the demands of the people. But now we are faced with the threat of losing the limited concessions that were gained. This is a constant threat under the present society. Until we can destroy the existing social system, with all its supportive institutions, and create a new one based on the satisfaction of human needs, we are left with the only alternative—that of continuing the struggle.

Therefore, we must defend our rights and prevent the University of California and the courts from eliminating the special admissions program at Davis Medical School. What is at stake in the Bakke decision is the future of all programs that are aimed at meeting the particular needs of minorities. If the decision is upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, it could mean that thousands of people will be deprived from entering professional schools, from receiving decent jobs and social services, as well as from training and future promotions. All people directly or indirectly affected must unite and struggle to overturn the Bakke decision. The struggle concerns us all: workers, students, professionals, men, women, whites, non-whites, etc. We must exercise pressure on the Supreme Court to overturn the lower court decisions. End the racist attacks on minorities—Unite the multi-national working class!