

Cuba: The Second Revisionist Congress of the "Communist" Party

In the years of the Great Depression, during the decade of the 1930s, there was only one country that did not suffer the devastating consequences of economic decay. On the contrary, in that country, the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Comrade J.V. Stalin, the economy was flourishing. As industrial production in the capitalist countries deteriorated, as the working class and peasantry of those countries became victims of unemployment and hunger, the situation in the Soviet Union was one of growth and expansion. As Comrade Stalin pointed out in his "Report to the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik)" in 1934:

"While industry in the principal capitalist countries at the end of 1933 shows on the average a reduction of 25 percent and more in volume of production as compared with 1929, industrial output in the USSR has more than doubled during this period, i.e., it has increased more than 100 percent."

It was the socialist system itself which gave rise to this economic superiority. As Stalin explained, it was not due to any miracle. Within three or four years, through the construction of a socialist economy in a formerly backward country, they were able to avoid the consequences of the worldwide economic crisis, which was lashing the capitalist countries, without exception. They were able to achieve an island of progress amidst a world in crisis. They were able to achieve this because they had eliminated the capitalist elements. In industry 99% of the sector, and in agriculture (in the area of grains) 84.5% of the sector were socialist property. (*Ibid.*)

But instead of upholding the Soviet Union under Stalin as the model for socialist construction, as well as the Soviet model for the state of the proletarian dictatorship, today a variety of countries, groups, and individuals throughout the world, proclaim to have various other models. They seek to deceive the proletariat and peasants internationally, calling these false models "socialist." They try to hide the fact that today there is no socialist country in the world. Nevertheless, this sad fact is the truth, and has been the truth since the restoration of capitalism in the USSR after the assassination of Stalin in 1953.

Today a "socialist" mask is used to conceal present-day versions of imperialist exploitation. One country, which has been upheld as a model for revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies, and which has been more influential than any other, is Cuba. Its heroic struggle and defeat of U.S. imperialism inspired many revolutionaries and anti-imperialist forces worldwide. But Cuba has gone from being a semi-colony of U.S. imperialism to a semi-colony of Russian imperialism. In the words of Fidel Castro himself, the Cuban economy 20 years after the revolution is totally subject to the economic crisis of the world capitalist system, and completely dependent on its exports of sugar, that is, a dependency characteristic of a

colonial-type economy.

Cuba—Model of Semi-Colonial Dependency

Castro's report to the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, published in *Gramma*, December 28, 1980, is a very revealing document as to the true situation in that supposedly socialist country. In contrast to Comrade Stalin's Report previously mentioned, which outlined the superiority of the socialist system and the progress achieved by the Soviet masses, Castro's report drew a picture of an economy in disaster. Explaining the failure of the "5 year plan" of 1975-1980, Castro proves the fact that for the supposedly "socialist" countries the plan is not a plan, but a "guess" as to what they hope to achieve. Speaking of the Russia of today and the Eastern European countries, the Bolshevik Union of Canada analyzes that their "economies are not planned at all except for projected growth rates like any capitalist country. It is not a plan, it is a guess on the progress of the anarchy of production." (*The Political Meaning of the Assassination of Stalin*, p. 135)

According to Castro, the Cuban plan failed because of the world economic crisis, "... the plummeting price of sugar, worldwide inflation . . . and the aggravation of the international economic crisis." (*Gramma*, p. 6) He states, "Sugar production will continue to be the cornerstone of the economy." (*Ibid.*, p. 7)

This almost total dependence on sugar is a characteristic of a colonial-type economy. Imperialist countries seek to reap superprofits out of the colonies and semi-colonies by extracting their natural resources. They seek to convert the agricultural system into one that is oriented to only one, or a few products, which bring the most profits to the imperialist country. This form of monoculture (one-crop) also destroys the country's capacity to produce the necessary foods to sustain its population, thereby forcing them to import food from the imperialist country. It is but another form of national enslavement, which impedes the country's economic development, keeping it in a growing and permanent dependency.

As long as Cuba remains in this dependency, it will be subject to the fluctuations of the world price of sugar. This was the situation under U.S. domination. This is the situation in any colony or semi-colony oriented toward the production of agricultural crops for export to the imperialist countries. Twenty years ago, the Cuban economy was dependent on the U.S. market. Today, it is dependent on the Russian market and Comecon countries.

As does any imperialist country or group of imperialist countries, the Russians and the Comecon countries have monopolized the foreign trade of Cuba. "Seventy eight percent of our total trade in 1979 was with the other members of the CMEA, as

compared to 56% in 1975. Sixty seven percent of this was with the Soviet Union, as compared to 48 percent in 1975 . . . Foreign trade operations were streamlined, with emphasis placed on exports, increasing our traditional export products..." (*Ibid.*, p. 7)

One of these "traditional" products is nickel. But instead of being used in a way that would help the development of a truly socialist and independent economy, nickel is but another natural resource (the most important metal that Cuba has) which goes to make up the exports to Russia and the Comecon countries. Nickel is very important in preparations for the coming imperialist war, because it is used in the manufacture of steel.

Citrus fruits are another export product. They export half of the total production of 400,000 tons. A large part of Cuba's "planned" industrial development is in the building of plants for the processing of sugar, fruits, and nickel, all geared for export. It is a typical form of colonial exploitation. Often it is the only form of industrial development that is permitted. The Sixth Congress of the Communist International made an analysis of this process:

"Only where manufacture constitutes a very simple process (tobacco industry, sugar refineries, etc.) or where the expense of transporting raw material can be considerably decreased by the first stage of manufacture being performed on the spot, does the development of production in the colonies attain comparatively large dimensions. In any case, the capitalist enterprises created by the imperialists in the colonies (with the exception of a few enterprises established in case of military needs) are predominantly or exclusively of an agrarian-capitalist character, and are distinguished by a low organic composition of capital. Real industrialisation of the colonial country, in particular the building up of a flourishing engineering industry, which might make possible the independent development of the productive forces of the country, is not accelerated, but, on the contrary, is hindered by the metropolis. This is the essence of its function of colonial enslavement: the colonial country is compelled to sacrifice the interests of its independent development and to play the part of an economic (agrarian-raw material) appendage to foreign capitalism, which at the expense of the labouring classes of the colonial country, strengthens the economic and political power of the imperialist bourgeoisie in order to perpetuate the monopoly of the latter in the colonies and to increase its expansion as compared with the rest of the world." (*Sixth Congress*, p. 72, (sec. 12))

It is precisely this form of development of the production of raw materials and agricultural products, geared toward the enrichment of the imperialists, that is being implemented in Cuba. As Castro says: "Within the framework of the CMEA, special emphasis has been placed on developing the production of sugar, citrus fruits, nickel, machinery for the sugar industry. . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 7)

There is another type of imperialist exploitation in which the capitalists extend a loan to finance the building of a plant, and are repaid by a percent of the products of the plant. In other words, the imperialist country hides its investments behind an enterprise supposedly owned by the "nation." It is really the local bourgeois that are the owners of these enterprises — this is the fraud of "national property."

These plants are constructed to utilize technology that will be obsolete before the country could pay for them. Profits are guaranteed to the investor by paying them with products of the plant. Thus, even when there is a shortage of funds, the loan payment is guaranteed. If the productivity level goes down,

the local bourgeoisie can lower the salaries, and also crush whatever form of protest which may arise, in order to guarantee production. There are no risks for the imperialists, but there are risks for the local bourgeoisie, and suffering and continued oppression for the workers, and continued dependency on the imperialist system.

Precisely this form of exploitation, tying Cuba even more to Russian imperialism, characterized the past 5 year plan.

As Castro said: "During the five-year period, we have purchased important industrial plants by means of compensatory operations, using a part of production to pay off their purchase price." (*Ibid.*, p. 7)

Many self-proclaimed revolutionaries and communists throughout the world can clearly analyze this form of imperialist exploitation in the colonies and semi-colonies of the U.S., France, Germany, etc. But they are blind to exactly the same type of exploitation on the part of Russia and the Comecon countries, behind a mask of "internationalist aid."

Cuba Disagrees with Socialist Economic Laws

The Castro regime has obviously not followed the path of socialist development of the Soviet Union of the time of Stalin. The model followed by Cuba, under which she has paraded as the vanguard of socialist revolution and a model of socialist progress, is the revisionist model of Russia and the Comecon countries of Eastern Europe. It is the model of China, which guaranteed that China never developed socialism.

In his last work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, Stalin launched a strong polemic against the revisionists who were trying to reverse the progress achieved under socialism, to institute capitalism again in the country. He explains the reason why the socialist system must emphasize basic industry, the production of the means of production.

The revisionists, who implemented their ideas after the assassination of Stalin, wanted to emphasize light industry, the production of consumer goods, which is more "profitable" in the short range. They wanted to follow the same law of value that governs capitalist production and capitalist accumulation. Stalin pointed out that if it were this law that guided socialist economy, "... it would be incomprehensible why our light industries, which are the most profitable, are not being developed to the utmost, and why preference is given to our heavy industries, which are often less profitable, and sometimes altogether unprofitable." (*Ibid.*, FLP, p. 22)

Stalin pointed out the consequences of such a policy. "The effect would be to destroy the possibility of the continuous expansion of our national economy, because the national economy cannot be continuously expanded without giving primacy to the production of means of production." (*Ibid.*, p. 23)

The Cuban economy, instead of following this law, follows the revisionist policy of placing emphasis on light industry. In his report, Castro gives statistics explaining that heavy industry only grew by 5%, while light industry grew 23%. The level of investment in machine industry is almost equal to that in light industry (440 millions of pesos, and 400 millions, respectively) in the five year period. Castro himself reveals the future he offers to the Cuban people for "the year 2000": "... so Cuba gradually attains the level of development of the European countries that belong to the CMEA." (*Grammar*, p. 9) In other words, the model of Poland, for example, which has

“Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in particular.” (*Foundations of Leninism*, Stalin Works: 6, p. 73, FLPH, 1953 edition)

A revitalizing spectre is begining to haunt the order of world capitalism — the spectre of Marxism-Leninism, of Stalinism, the spectre of Bolshevism. No longer will the workers movement proceed without Bolshevism. We vow to our great teachers and leaders that we will do our utmost to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of Bolshevism. Ours is the duty of breaking the stranglehold that opportunism has had on the workers of the world. We will no longer diddle-dwaddle in the swamp that was laid before us in the past three decades.

CUBA . . .

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debts of more than \$21 billion to the western imperialist banks, shortages of energy, food shortages, rising prices, declining agricultural production, declining national income, industrial production, etc., in other words, all the evils of a capitalist economy in crisis. He offers exploitation of the workers and peasants, the imposition on the workers of productivity norms, together with political repression.

It is essential for the international proletariat, as well as for the peasants, that is, for the world revolution for socialism and communism, and for genuine national emancipation, that the fraud of Cuba as a socialist country be unmasked. It does not matter how often Castro says that they are “communists,” or that they want to go on being “communists.” The truth lies more in the facts than in the words. Castro’s Report is quite revealing as to the deeds of the Castro regime, and shows that the Cuban economy today is a dependent, semi-colonial economy. It demonstrates that Cuba exchanged U.S. semi-colonialism for Russian, and it is on the way to a decadent economy.

In coming articles, we will deal more with the agrarian question in Cuba, 20 years after the seizure of power by Castro and his followers. We will also demonstrate how the Cuban government exploits the Cuban workers, and why the Cuban workers face the same problems as workers in any dependent capitalist country. We will demonstrate that the working class is not in power in Cuba, and that the Cuban revolution represented a victory for the petty bourgeoisie and the national reformist bourgeoisie.

ATLANTA: TERROR IN THE BLACK NATION

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that humanity must either pass over to socialism, or for years, nay, decades, witness armed conflicts of ‘great’ nations for an artificial maintenance of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges, and all sorts of national oppression.” (Lenin, “Socialism and War”, *Collected Works*, 1930, Vol. 18, p. 224) It is only the socialist revolution that can end the murders, terror, and misery of capitalism.

When the war comes, it must be clearly branded as an imperialist war that serves only the interests of a few imperialists who use the workers of different lands as cannon fodder in their pursuit of maximum profits. The working class and oppressed peoples must unite to work to transform this coming imperial-

We will defend and uphold the orthodoxy of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We will educate the proletariat and toiling masses to once again be able to say as Lenin said:

“The millions who are pondering over the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more realizing the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war and the imperialist peace . . . which inevitably engenders imperialist war that it is impossible to escape that inferno, except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution.” (The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution” LCW 33:56)

We will proceed forward, holding high the great banner of the international proletariat — Working Men of All Countries Unite!

ist war into a civil war against our “own” bourgeoisie, and for socialism. But to do this tomorrow, we must get off our knees today. We must combat all the chauvinist hysteria and all nationalist schemes that divide the working class and preach subservience to “our” capitalist class. We must combat all pacifist illusions of preventing war while imperialism remains intact, or adopting pacifist methods of struggle that are no threat to the military machinery of imperialism. The alternative is to guarantee that there will be more mass murders — more Atlantas, more Atticas, more My Lais.

Atlanta is a sign of the shape of things to come. Therefore, now is the time to get prepared for the battles that lie ahead.

WHO SHOT R.R.? (from pg. 20)

“change” to protect the spies’ covers. Since then, the CIA, of course, has denied any use of clergy, a denial no one but a demented fool would believe. (For more on this topic, see “Mercenaries and Missionaries Have Falling Out,” *Bolshevik Revolution*, no. 3, March-April 1980, p. 5.)

If there was a conspiracy to shoot Reagan, and if Reagan had died, that would have put the presidency in the hands of George Bush, not only of Rockefeller’s various organizations, but also former director of the CIA. If there was a motive for the shooting other than madness, making Bush president just more than two months into Reagan’s first term is likely one of them.

The Hinckley family also had close connections to the Bush family. Hinckley, Sr.’s eldest son Scott was invited to dine at the house of his good friend Neil Bush, son of George, the day of Reagan’s shooting, only to have his brother’s act cancel social affairs as the Hinckley family went into seclusion. Scott Hinckley is himself a capitalist, a vice-president and member of the board of directors of his father’s company.

Was this a conspiracy? At this point we do not know. At minimum it shows the degeneracy of a ruling class kid whose father funded a life of irresponsibility and perverse fantasy. Yet there are still many unanswered questions. Did someone plan to “elect” Bush, who was a featured speaker at the Trilateral Commission plenary, who is former CIA director and overseer of U.S. imperialism’s dirty work which utilizes missionaries, and whose son gives personal invitations to the Hinckley family? Was a cover for a hit arranged by using a deranged, crazed drifter like Hinckley, Jr.?

To these questions we have no answers. In any case, it is certainly not beyond the scruples of the imperialists to perpetrate such a conspiracy, as they have done so many times before and will continue to do so long as their bloody rule continues.