

CUBA AND CEYLON

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“... What is Cuba’s history but that of Latin America? What is the history of Latin America but the history of Asia, Africa and Oceania? And what is the history of all these peoples but the history of the cruelest exploitation of the world by imperialism?...”

II — Declaration of Havana

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CUBA and CEYLON

A SYMPOSIUM



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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

People in Ceylon, like people everywhere else in the world, are tremendously interested in the problem of Cuba. Moreover, the fact that Cuba, like Ceylon, is a small island strategically placed in the middle of a big ocean coupled with the fact that both had been dependent colonies of European Powers for over 450 years has undoubtedly given an added interest to contemporary Cuba in Ceylon.

This symposium includes a wide range of reports, articles and other material reflecting not only the impact of Cuba on this island but also the many interesting questions which developments in Cuba have raised in international affairs.

March 8, 1963

Tribune Publications

SPEECH MADE BY THE HONOURABLE
T. B. ILLANGARATNE

*Minister of Food, Trade & Shipping
on the National Day of Cuba.*

I would like to thank you for inviting me to be the chairman of this meeting to commemorate the Cuban National day. At the same time I consider it a great honour.

Every independent nation has its own National Day. This day is connected with the cultural, religious, political and economic aspect of the nation.

The National Day of a country which had become free after being under the colonial yoke is accepted as a real National day complete with every aspect of freedom; because a country which is subject to another country does not feel the true values of freedom. All resources of that subject nation are being exploited by that colonial power. As a result the people of that enslaved nation are brought up in an environment of complete subjugation. Everything up to the extent of their flesh and blood is under slavery and subjugation. Therefore they should be very careful in organising the struggle to free their country from the colonial yoke. Their struggle should not be delayed, for they might be betrayed. At the same time they should not be hasty. In organising their struggle they must take into account the strength of the enemy as well as their own strength and be sure of supporters. Lack of these things might lead to the loss of what they have already gained. We have experienced these in our own country.

Independence is a legacy to some nations, some get it by chance, while some have to fight hard to achieve it. Most

people do not realize the value of something gained without a struggle. National Independence is also the same. It is the bounden duty of the common man to preserve the freedom they had won. Its preservation or destruction lay in their own hands. The value of freedom would be felt only when the people were about to lose it and then it might be too late. So that it is a sacred responsibility of the people to safeguard that hard won freedom.

It is the sole duty of every nation to defend their rights and freedom. To achieve these aims they should possess certain ideals and their means and methods should be clear. Every organisation in the country should strive to achieve this aim. If the Governments, Trade Unions, Public Corporations, and co-operative organisations work with genuine patriotic feelings then any country will be able to raise its head as a nation.

Every nation should share an interest in international problems. Now it is clearly seen that the people of Ceylon are prepared to have most friendly and cordial relations with newly independent countries like Cuba on a basis of peaceful co-existence.

Before I wind up my speech I wish all success and courage to our Prime Minister who is now on an important Peace Mission.

Long Live Cuba - Ceylon Friendship

CUBA IS OURS

BY THEJA GUNAWARDHANA

Every revolution had a guiding philosophy. Cuba chose the path of political revolution to overthrow the tyranny of monopoly, imperialism, and local reaction of such imperialist collaborators like butcher Machado and Batista. It was pledged to take the same path of social revolution eschewing the easy way and eschewing the seeking of pretexts from facing a world of socio-economic reality. The philosophy of the Cuban revolution has roots spreading deep into the history of Cuba, which is the history of Spanish and American colonization and the subjection to the policies of monopoly imperialism. Latin American agriculture had become an appendix of monopoly capital enshrined in the *latifundia* — a typical colonial appendage of US corporations. Cuba's revolution was basically anti-colonial and anti-imperialist and blazed a trail for not only all Latin America but for the newly independent colonies in Asia and Africa which face the threat of neo-colonialism and for those who have to hrow off their chains.

The Cuban revolution provided an object lesson not only for Latin America but the whole world — that the struggle of a people more alert, more united to safeguard national independence bears great results, that commensurately the desire of the ex-colonialist becomes greater to re-control and re-enslave its prey, that it would accelerate its measure to isolate the valiant one, strangle her revolution and thereby attempt to repre and weaken the national

liberation movement and national independence, that as long as the Cuban people maintain their solidarity and their struggle they will achieve final victory and inspire and strengthen the struggle of others to safeguard national independence, that as long as the Cuban revolutionary leadership refuses to compromise her national sovereignty and her integrity to this curious paper tiger with "nuclear teeth" the paper tiger will prove his credentials so well as to prove that he is still a paper tiger only with paper teeth.

We salute the revolutionary Government of Cuba for her uncompromising stand in the recent "remove offensive bases and offensive weapons" arm-twisting demand with simultaneous taking for granted that Cuba would bow like a sycophant and say to the UN spider, "Come to my parlour, Sir". But Castro asked a very simple question: "Lumumba invited you and where is he now?" The offensive bases and offensive weapons went without taking inoffensive Guantanamo base with them. This paper tiger with nuclear teeth is very inoffensive in other ways for Guantanamo remained.

The Soviet delegate to the UNO Nikolai Fedorenko said: "The lesson of the Cuban crisis should be applied to the settlement of other major international disputes, that Khrushchov's stand on the Cuban crisis has shown the extreme flexibility of the Soviet Government's policy, that it was important to follow the path of reasonable compromise."

The Cuban representative at UNO, Carlos Lechuga declared that negotiations carried over the Cuban crisis had not reached any agreements acceptable to Cuba, that Cuba upheld the 5-point demand Fidel Castro made on October 28, 1962 (cessation of economic blockade and pressure, cessation of subversive activity against Cuba, cessation of piratical attacks launched from bases in USA & Puerto Rico, cessation of violations of Cuba's air space and territorial

waters by US aircraft and war-ships and withdrawal of US base at Guantanamo). He said US insistence that an undertaking not to invade Cuba depended on the inspection of Cuban territory was "shockingly insolent" and that she would not give up her right to take the necessary measures to meet imperialist aggression and to possess weapons of her choice. This reply embodies the glorious vindication of the uncompromising spirit of the Cuban revolution. Cuba does not surrender, does not lose heart or compromise. Cuba has proved herself worthy of the support of the whole world because she is forever loyal to the invincible revolutionary principles. She has a thousand battles to fight, the daily battle of work and unceasing effort to build up her economy and educate her people, at times halting this effort to win battles with weapons and return once more to the daily work, with gun on back — the faithful sentinel born out of suffering and a tortuous path.

On the eve of October 28th, 1962 Raul Castro, Vice-Premier and Minister of Revolutionary Armed Forces declared in Santiago commemorating the 3rd anniversary of Camilo Cienfuegos, a legendary hero of the revolution, "We are more united than ever, we are united as one. If the imperialist aggressors venture an invasion they will find their graves here and seven million Cubans standing erect and ready to fight to the last man. We are for peace, for peaceful settlement of differences but what we cannot negotiate is the sovereignty and rights of our people. Our sovereignty and our rights cannot be negotiated but should be fought for." Referring to Kennedy's so called assurances not to invade Cuba, Raul said, "We remember the same remarks made very solemnly before the imperialist mercenaries' invasion of Giron beach. The Revolution will continue to march forward." Cuba has no illusions about the words of honour of imperialists.

And therefore in the hearts of those struggling at great odds for national independence the memory of this brave

stand is immortalised, immortalised for its humanistic background, immortalised for its principled stand., however small the nation be compared with its giant adversary. The non-Marxist Cuban Revolution projected quicker on to the socialist path, by the acts of the USA, is today one of the most inspiring embodiments of a Marxist revolution. Cuba offers the lesson that any independent country and ex-colony which has to safeguard its national independence and avert the reversibility of the revolution or its new freedom, must needs understand the real nature of imperialism.

I remember Fidel's words on Jan. 1st, 1961 at the Plaza Civica: "The revolution is established. Attack and counter-revolution is also planned, and inflamed. A fight to death between the two forces is inevitable. It is inevitable that we destroy that force of death. Only those who harbour illusions can imagine it to be otherwise. Either counter-revolution destroys revolution or revolution destroys counter-revolution. Other forces have other objectives and other tactics. Other forces know what are the resources on which they count. The fundamental basis of the counter-revolution in Cuba is the basis of the great foreign monopolies, that is to say the basis of the great imperialist forces. Few governments can say "No" to these powerful forces. But to this power to which many say "Yes" our people of Cuba say "No".

These words how true then, how prophetic for today. How well they enshrine the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Cuba knows very well the source of war., the source of counter-revolution and how to ensure a lasting peace. Lenin in "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" said "Politically imperialism is always a striving towards violence and reaction" and commenting on monopoly capitalism i. e. imperialism in "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky" written after the October Revolution said "Pre-monopoly capitalism at its zenith in the 70's of the 19th

century was by virtue of its fundamental economic traits distinguished by its relative attachment to peace and freedom. Imperialism i. e. monopoly capitalism which finally matured only in the 20th century is by virtue of its fundamental economic traits distinguished by the least attachment to peace and freedom and by the greatest and universal development of militarism everywhere."

History has borne out the truth of Lenin's words. Reality as it is today, minus the myopic view, also bears this position out. Imperialism is today what it was then. If it is more restrained, it is because of the might of the forces of socialism, of the forces of peace and the strength of the national liberation struggle. But the munition makers continue to make munitions for that is the basis of the strength of the imperialist, monopoly capitalism. Therefore Cuba has to be prepared, never lessening its vigilance for it knows imperialism has been proved according to Marxist-Leninist theory committed to violence, war, plunder, counter-revolution and not by any stretch of imagination to peaceful co-existence. And the great lesson the recent crisis in Cuba offers to the world is that **peaceful co-existence is not dependent on agreement between great powers but must be based on principled negotiation which respects national sovereignties** with no prospect, of such negotiation, Cuba must needly struggle on. In the final analysis it is clear that victory of a country's revolutions is fundamentally based on its own strength, resources and struggle.

Co-existence between great powers especially of opposing systems is a worthy one, only if the nature and policy of imperialism is changed. Only the strength of national independence can compel the imperialist to accept the policy of peaceful co-existence and thereby guarantee peace. Otherwise, history has proved, pretence at co-existence is a phoney thing, a facade, a temporary expedient, a compromise of principle. Imperialism learned to co-exist with the Soviet

Union only after it had shown its strength. Even so imperialist co-existence was not co-existence based on the concept of peace but based on the concept of counter-revolution and military bases and guided missile bases round the entire socialist world. But the socialist world remained true to the policy of peace led by the Soviet Union. Till recent times it was a policy based on principles, based on the sure foundation of the solidarity of the international working class, the liberation movement of the peoples, on the movement against colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and the mass peace movement which was not merely pacifist but dynamically against war and stressing the need of the just armed struggle to disarm invasion, counter-revolution and aggression, while striving for peace. Just because offensive weapons are in the possession of monopoly capitalist imperialism, one cannot wipe out the fundamental difference between the just and unjust armed struggle, one cannot lower revolutionary standards. If one sacrifices the tenets of revolutionary theory because of the offensiveness of nuclear warfare, one increases its offensiveness and bludgeoning power as a tool for bargain, for compromise. The paper tiger in spite of his "nuclear teeth" is prepared to go to the brink of nuclear brinkmanship but he stops there unwilling to commit suicide due to the strength of the socialist world and solidarity of the peoples of the world. When the paper tiger came to the very edge of the precipice, Cuba stood head unbowed, backbone erect, firm and undaunted. Lenin in "State and Revolution" warns against emasculating the essence of revolutionary teaching, of obliterating the revolutionary soul of Marxism.

The world is grateful to Cuba for not resorting to ambivalence, for not vulgarising its revolution by sophistry, for preserving intact its revolutionary soul, for its uncompromising defiance of Washington, for believing in the justness and ultimate victory of her march to her rightful

destiny, her destiny she has chosen uncompromisingly. Cuba should have convinced those who are either too blind to see or refuse to see the validity of the basic characteristic of the present epoch. The basic characteristic, the hallmark of this epoch is that it is the epoch of the liberation of those enmeshed in the open mesh or hidden stranglehold of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

But the Cuban revolution was also blessed. During her early economic crisis the strength of the socialist world rallied round her. This rallying point was the result of the heroism, sufferings and fruits of the toil of the people of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and European and Asian People's Democracies. Cuba acted with great humanism, restraint and tact in the recent crisis to defend the solidarity of the socialist world.

For integrating the great truths of the Marxist dynamic philosophy whose ideas can make of life a beautiful reality, with the concrete reality of Cuba's non-Marxist revolution not on its path of socialist reconstruction, the significance of the epochal Cuban revolution is historic. It is an inspiration. It is no one's satellite. It refused tacit neutralisation from its revolutionary path. The crisis of U.S. imperialism, "the most important force of the world system of imperialism" (Second Havana Declaration) is being enacted in Cuba. Naturally, it is the crisis of world imperialism.

With such a people it is a privilege to join hands. With her destiny is inevitably linked the destiny of Asia and Africa and the rest of Latin America. She has proved hired mercenaries, spy plane flights, piratic ships, guns, paper tigers with nuclear teeth, aggression, nuclear weapons — none of these things will solve the U.S.—Cuban "difficulties" except honourable negotiation and failing that, armed struggle.

May Ceylon be the fortress for the enshrinement of Afro-Asian-Latin American solidarity. May Ceylon enshrine

the reality of this dream by generating forces against the tricks and plans and manoeuvres of imperialism at bay—not dead, dying, but alive and kicking yet.

For this we need to emulate the example of Cuba in the evolution of collective leadership, in the increasing of productive forces of our society, the unification of progressive and revolutionary forces, the emancipation of our economy, the courageous creativeness of our people united in a broad, dedicated, cohesive, national unity and above all elevating the political consciousness of our people, making them a working partner in state development as Cuba has done.

Cuba has held high the banner of national independence and sovereignty. She has not betrayed the struggle of all the oppressed peoples. Let us not betray her struggle by delaying to bridge her isolation through Afro-Asian-Latin American solidarity.



CEYLON and CUBA

The packed Town Hall meeting on January 1 celebrating Cuba's National Day and the wide representation on the platform demonstrated once again how broad-based and strong are the feelings of solidarity and support that the people of Ceylon entertain toward the gallant people of Cuba.

The Cuban revolution is now four years old but it is particularly in the last two years that its meaning has been most forcibly brought to the attention of the people of Ceylon. Both international events and the work done by the Cuban Embassy, which was opened seven months ago, in explaining the nature and meaning of events in that country have contributed to these developments.

The similarities between Ceylon and Cuba are so extensive that it is only natural that Ceylonese should feel great interest in, affinity with and affection for the gallant people of the "flaming island" of Cuba. Both countries are islands; both have been subjected to imperialist rule; both have small populations; both have inherited a plantation economy from foreign rule; both face similar problems in the fields of defending their independence, rapidly developing their economies and raising the material and cultural standards of their people.

Within the four years that have passed since the victory of the Cuban revolution, the people of Cuba have ended the political and economic power of imperialism within their country by nationalising imperialist-owned property and carrying out a successful land reform.

On the basis of their own efforts and with the extensive help of the socialist countries — in particular, the Soviet Union — they have begun to change their backward, colonial economy into an advanced, socialist one. Their national

economy has been growing at the rate of 6% each year despite the heavy commitments they are forced to make on defence and the economic blockade imposed by US imperialism. This rate of growth, which will nearly double in the near future, is already three times greater than the annual rate of economic growth in Ceylon since independence.

The Cuban people, under their outstanding revolutionary leader, Fidel Castro, have also accepted Marxism-Leninism as their guiding philosophy and, on this basis, begun to integrate their revolutionary parties into a united party of the socialist revolution.

Although there are also important concrete differences between the Cuban and Ceylonese situations, Cuba's example in uniting its revolutionary and progressive forces on the basis of a common programme, its bold steps to end imperialist and feudal power in its country, its firm decision to advance along a socialist path in association with the rest of the socialist countries, its courageous defence of the gains of its revolution and its resolute smashing of the power of reaction, contain lessons that are vital to Ceylon.

It is, therefore, no wonder that the people of Ceylon should have demonstrated so strongly in favour of Cuba last October and the Committee of Solidarity with Cuba should contain representatives of all progressive parties and the major trade unions and public organisations. When the 3-man delegation from the Solidarity Committee, now visiting Cuba, returns, the people of Ceylon will be able to learn still more about the gallant little country, which has raised the banner of real freedom in the midst of the so-called "free world" and is building socialism on the very doorstep of the greatest imperialist power of the modern world.

Forward, Friday, January 4th 1963.

**Let Not Small Cuba
Be Attacked
DOWN WITH U.S.
IMPERIALISM**

THE history of Cuba is the history of all the cruelly exploited countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by imperialism. The triumph of the Cuban Revolution symbolizes the future triumph of the struggle of all Latin American peoples against U.S. imperialism and the monopolies draining out billions of dollars to the "Free World."

Today the crisis of imperialism is in Latin America. Hence Cuba receives the fullest share of the onslaught of a ferocious imperialism at bay. For this reason and respecting the valiant struggle of small Cuba in the jaws of a monster, anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces all over the world express their solidarity with the Cuban people who are in the vanguard of the Latin American revolution.

Spanish rule from the 16th century, a brief British interregnum for a year in 1762, Spanish once more till 1898 giving way to U.S.A. in 1899 — this is the brief summing up of foreign rule in Cuba. The liberation movement of Cuba went on quietly all through this time under the leadership of Jose Marti, Maximo Gomez, Carlos Cespedes,

Antonio Maceo, Calixto Garcia, and others till it reached its zenith, under the leadership of Fidel Castro who led his country to freedom, from the early fifties, after a hard, bitter and unequal struggle ending the tyranny of Batista on January 1st 1959.

Hard work lay ahead. 700,000 Cubans without work, 500,000 farm labourers starving for 8 months in the year, 100,000 small farmers working on land not theirs, 30,000 underpaid teachers, 200,000 insanitary hovels, 200,000 living cramped in tenements, 90% rural children with hookworm, 247 brothels in Havana alone, 2,200,000 Cuban families paying 1/3 of their income as rents. 72.5% of the land cultivated were owned by 8% American Sugar Companies Banks, Oil Refineries, sugar mills, electric, telephone and transport systems were all foreign — owned. Within 3 years Cuba has provided land for 100,000, nationalized foreign companies after economic blackmail was set afoot by them, liquidated illiteracy, reduced rents, eliminated 90% of unemployment, suppressed racial discrimination, exterminated gambling, vice and corruption.

All this has been achieved with the help of the socialist world under constant U. S. harassment, political and economic pressures, embargoes, pirate planes setting sugar - cane fields on fire, hired mercenaries setting fire to key installations, exploding the ship La Coubre, parachuting weapons for subversion, tons of explosives secretly landed on Cuban waters by U.S. pirate boats to promote sabotage and terrorism ending in the 1961 abortive invasion of Playa Giron which ended in a miserable fiasco, making the Central Intelligence Agency (which had advised Kennedy that Cuba was all ready for a counter revolution) a laughing stock. U.S. action against Cuba caused not fear in any circles but disgust.

Once more frantic efforts to attack Cuba are being set afoot. Mercenaries are being equipped and trained

in camps set up in Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. While U. S. military personnel are being evacuated from the U. S. occupied Guantanamo Base in Cuba hundreds of mercenaries are being daily transported to Guantanamo base. Provocative flights over Cuba are organised while the boundaries of Cuba's territorial waters are also being violated. The counter revolutionaries have prepared aircrafts with Cuba identification marks for provoking an incident providing an excuse for aggression. On 24th August 1962 at 11-30 p.m. there took place under cover of night a cowardly bombardment of Sierra Maestra hotel in the vicinity of which thousands of children granted scholarships live. On 30th August this year the U. S. government announced that two small ships believed to be Cuban fired at a U. S. unarmed aircraft over international waters and that in case of similar incidents the U. S. forces would use the necessary means for their protection. This is an invention; a ruse so common to U. S. A. Cuba has faced so many provocations and spotlighted attention on them in the U. S. A. and the U. S. had nothing to say on those occasions. Only the Organization of American States is further manipulated with poor results.

On the excuse that Cuba is importing arms from the Soviet Government, President Kennedy has called for the transfer of 150,000 reservists into active service and threatened the NATO countries for transporting armament shipments to Cuba. The armaments were for Cuba's defence from U. S. Aggression and not for aggression against the U. S. A. The Soviet government has warned on September 11th that no attack on Cuba would go unpunished and that it has the right to give aid to any peace-loving state which faces an aggressor. A piratic attack on a British ship in mid-September is proof of US hysteria.

The U.S. insists upon the right to maintain military bases and forces in countries bordering the Soviet Union, but it denies to U. S. S. R. the right to export arms to Cuba for defence purposes.

The Cuban people are marching on the road to socialism against this background of a threat of brutal force. But they are a valiant people. They work with gun in hand. They are vigilant, guarding the frontiers of their motherland day and night. The revolutionary spirit of the Cubans and Latin Americans is mounting, far from being crushed, for Cuba speak for all peoples who are against imperialism Her voice finds an echo all over the world. The whole world must condemn the U.S. acts of subversion and aggression.

CEYLON PEACE COUNCIL

30. 9. 62.



FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

BY SONNY PARANAVITARNA

Four years ago today, the cubans who struggled for freedom, who shed their blood and whose lives were squeezed by the clutches of a tyrant, drank for joy on the dawn of a new era. Batista who terrorised Cuba fled hurriedly with a suitcase full of dollars leaving the destiny of a nation to its own fate.

Ramesh Sanghvi and R. K. Karanjia describe the scene in a silent street of the city of Havana on the eve of the New Year of 1959 :

“ Across the street of Havana, the procession of the black cadillacs rolled on as soldiers and sentries saluted the rulers of the land. Only the citizens looked at them with disdain and hatred. There was no cheer for the dictator. Only a young unemployed youth spat viciously and with clenched fist muttered, “ The hearse to the cemetery ”.

Fidel Castro's Rebel Army was still marching from all directions with its column commanders, Raul Castro, 'Che' Guevara, Camilo Cienfuegos and Juan Almeida.

The forgotten exit of hated Batista formed a curious contrast to the welcome given to the Rebel Army. The sea of heads and the cries of victory are thus briefed by Karanjia and Sanghvi :

“As the bells began to peal a warm welcome to the New Era and the pale of light dawn spread over Havana, the entire population poured into the streets. Flags in red and black with magical number 16 inscribed on them, began to wave from every house top”.

“This was not an ordinary Latin American palace revolution, Cuba was undergoing a peoples’ revolution”.

In such midst were the remnants of the past gloomy regime faded into obscurity and in such warmth in the hearts of the cubans, Fidel was embraced by the people who sang :

“Fidel has arrived
Fidel has arrived
Now, we cubans are free
From the claws of a tyrant.”

The first Chapter of the revolutionary struggle was over. The next task was to take over the reins of the government. Fidel was not greedy for power or high office. This is clearly seen from the announcement and the composition of the members who took over the governmental control. Manuel Urrutia was named as the President and Jose Miro Cardona became the Prime Minister.

The weeks that followed the liberation, at the beginning of 1959, were weeks of gaiety and unanimity. Although in that period, Fidel was not in the government, he appeared in the eyes of all as the man of unity.

Conservatism and radicalism are extremely apart. Liberation became inevitable to free Cuba from political and economic collapse. Cuba had immediate problems and it is this task that heavily fell upon its leaders.

Fortunately, the revolution had this exceptional piece of luck. No one could put forward a group of a programme except two or three parties that honoured the uncordial

courage of their active members but had been discredited by their general silence and inertia.

Already there appeared a difference of opinion between the two sections. Already the people thought they could distinguish a right, a left and a centre within the cabinet.

The growing dissatisfaction and widening differences between the two, Urrutia on one side and Fidel on the other, became a growing concern for the liberators and the liberated.

Jean — Paul Sartre the French philosopher confirms this:

“ This conflict seems significant to me. As often happens of the great popular movements, there was a two headed power, the real authority wasn't legal and the legal authority wasn't real. And the legalistic government, in deciding on its principles committed the same error as its predecessors in 1949, in 1933. It fought the effects instead of laying the blame on causes.

As Fidel said, “ They wanted revolution not too much revolution ”. But the demands were such, it had to forge ahead a path that was not so smooth.

He understood that it was time to assume power. The liberation was finally going to be transferred to a revolution.

Agrarian reform was a pre-condition of the revolution. May 17th 1959 was the day of truth for all the cubans. The government promulgated the agrarian reforms. Practical, detailed, realizable without delay, the provisions of the law were more radical than the preceding indications. From the proclamation date on, foreigners, either as representatives of an association or even in their own right, would no longer have the right to acquire the slightest parcel of national soil.

The latifundios were suppressed. No one must hold more than 30 caballerias.

Among the others, the legacy that Batista had left behind at the doorstep of the revolution could be found from the social conditions that Cuba suffered more than inherited.

75% of an agricultural country was owned by 8% of the property holders, a few dozens rich cuban families and the giant U. S. and cuban sugar and cattle companies. Tens of thousands of rural cubans lived in misery in marginal lands, in swamps and in trackless mountains where their grandfathers had been driven by the ruthless expansion of the sugar monoculture, which produced sugar and rigid quotas and let millions of acres of land lie fallow to become overrun by brush and weed.

Cuba's illiteracy was as high as any other Latin-American country.

A third of the nation's school age children never attended school at all and one could go far in the mountains to find a guajiro able to write his name.

A million of cuban women and children had never worn shoes, 95% of them suffered from debilitating and often fatal scourge of intestinal parasites in consequence.

Half a million campesinos had never tasted milk since babyhood, nor meat in their lives, and 5% of the total population suffered from tuberculosis.

Of the total cuban labour force of 2,204,000, some 36,000 persons were wholly unemployed throughout 1957. 150,000 were employed only part of that time, during three to four month sugar zafra; 154,000 worked without pay. Of the 1,539,000 cubans who were gainfully employed during 1957, 954,000 earned less than 75 pesos a month, in a country

where the peso was artificially kept at par with the dollar and had scarcely more purchasing power in Havana than it would have had in New York or Washington.

It was in midst of these evil conditions of Cuban society, economic ruination and political bankruptcy that the Cuban Revolution had to deviate from 'humanism' to socialism.

For the extreme radicalization, we cannot blame the Cubans. They meet situations which force them to such measures. Robert Taber in his *Biography of a Revolution* says :

"They were primarily concerned with their own country, its independence and well being. Given a fairer shake, they would not have gone so far, so fast. If the United States is alarmed by the radicalization of the Cuban Revolution, it has itself to thank, for most of the radical measures of the Castro regime have been taken in direct reaction to threats from Washington."

The revolutionary government had to face other problems too. The reforms naturally produced a build up of a potential counter-revolutionary sentiment inside the country.

It would be too much to expect to make a revolution without meeting opposition from affected sectors of the population. The landlords whose income had been halved, the latifundistas whose empires were marked for expropriation, the disgruntled bankers and businessmen, whose profits had been nipped by credit and import restrictions, the professional and civic 'leaders' had no role to play.

The other blows and counter-blows followed almost one after the other.

The three big oil companies refused to refine the soviet crude oil, which was an outright defiance of a 1938 statute that required the refineries to process all government owned oil from whatever source.

Infuriated by the oil crisis, the U. S. President cancelled the sugar quota, some 700,000 tons.

Fidel had warned that he would respond to every act of economic aggression with a counter blow, "glope por golpe" against what remained of the U. S. investments in Cuba; taking everything, he said "down to the nails in their shoes."

On 6th August 1960, he nationalized the electric power and telephone companies, the oil refineries and all of the sugar mills. Washington retaliated on 19th October by banning all exports to Cuba except medicines and foodstuffs.

By the end of the year, 200,000 cubans had been added to the employed rolls, more than 600 agricultural and fishing co-operative were flourishing. Thousands of former share-croppers, squatters and tenant farmers now held title to their own plots. Sugar production was up. The revolution constructed ten thousand new schools, twenty five thousand houses, hundreds of miles of new roads. Several electrification and sanitary projects were proceeding apace. Camp Columbia, Batista's military fortress, had been converted into Ciudad Liberted and Ciudad Escolar Camilo Cienfuegos, named after the revolutionary hero rose in the Sierra Maestra.

Despite the economic sanctions, blackmail and political threats, Cuba has cleared many death traps.

Playa Giron showed the enemies of Cuba with what determination the people of Cuba will preserve their hard won independence.

It had also defeated most courageously onslaughts and attacks that came through Punta del Este and O. A. S.

Fidel Castro analysed the erratic manoeuvres and the dangerous situations that lie ahead when he addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations in September 1960.

He said "End the philosophy of plunder and the war will cease."

Dr. Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, Cuba's Minister of Industries outlined the goals of Cuba's first plan for economic development during the next four years.

"The overall rate of growth will be 12% with the acceleration of the production per capita of steel, cement, electric energy, tractors, textiles, shoes etc. production of 8.5 to 9 million tons of sugar, initiation of the transformation of the sugar industry into sugar chemical industry. To implement these measures, there will be investments of over one thousand million pesos. Two hundred and five industrial plants will be installed. Cuba will endeavour to reach self-sufficiency in the production of foodstuffs; the value of exports will increase by 75%."

Cuba's honest and sincere intentions are well defined by Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado, the President of the Republic of Cuba when he addressed the students of Chile.

"In the exercise of our sovereignty, we have limited our action to the launching of an ambitious programme aimed at the full development of our country. Our efforts, however have been adversely affected by verbal and economic aggressions, derogatory campaigns, diplomatic pressures and even by insults to the government of our country. At the present time international conspiracies against Cuba are being tried, in order to isolate us, and concerted efforts are

under way to make the Cuban Revolution fail. We attack no one and Cuba does not threaten anyone's peace. We are only preparing for the defence of our territory and our sovereignty." We saw the truth of these words when we witnessed the events in the recent past that directly affected Cuba: 'le Coubre', Punta del Este, O. A. S., Playa Giron and the naval blockade that nearly precipitated a nuclear war.

The Cuban government and people are essentially pacifist. They reject and oppose war but they will defend their revolution. They have indicated that they are ready to resolve, through normal diplomatic channels and in a friendly way, the heated conflict with the United States Government. We hope for success in this, since such an understanding between the two neighbours properly, would strengthen continental scrupulousness for the peaceful solution of all conflicts, for absolute respect for the free development of cultural, political and economic life and for condemnation of any criminal attempt to interfere with the sovereign will of the Cuban state.

❖ CUBA ❖ PEACE
❖ CO - EXISTENCE
❖ VICTORY

* WHO HAS WON ? The question is still being asked as to who has "won" in the Cuban crisis. A very common answer is that the USA has won the day because the Soviet Union had withdrawn its missiles and even its bombers. It would appear that only many reactionary papers and groups tend to believe (wishfully no doubt) that the USA has inflicted a major defeat on the Soviet Union, but a few in the anti-imperialist camp also lend support to this view by declaring that the Soviet Union had "let down" Cuba by not staging a tough showdown over the question of the missiles. These two views stem from the logic which insists that the existing cold war must be pushed to a hot (world) war in order to resolve the growing conflict between capitalism and socialism. If one believes in this concept of international affairs, then it would be correct to say that the sooner the showdown between capitalism and socialism comes, the better it would be for mankind. Cuba and the Cuban people would then have only been mere cogs in this overall clash between the forces of capitalism and socialism. But there is another view which has greater validity: that peaceful co-existence can provide the conditions for accelerated economic development, (particularly if money now wasted on armaments can be diverted to peaceful purposes);

that in the struggle for economic advancement, the superiority of socialism would be manifestly demonstrated: and that in this process the hard core of reactionary vested interests, bureaucracy and the diehard organs of state power could be defeated and smashed without a general war. It is necessary to stress that, though the concept of peaceful co-existence developed in countries which are socialist or are reaching out to socialism (like many non-aligned underdeveloped countries), there are many (apparently an ever growing number) in capitalist countries who believe that peaceful co-existence would provide opportunities for capitalism to demonstrate its superiority after adopting reforms to remove many of its evils. The desire for peaceful co-existence arises from the fear that general war today would mean the nuclear destruction of mankind and of human civilisation itself.

* Nobody in the world today wants war, except the profit greedy manufacturers of armaments in the West who have good reason to think that unless a major world war is provoked immediately, world public opinion would ultimately pressurise governments to accept general and total disarmament. In this context, it is clear that the Soviet Union has handled the Cuban crisis, in such a way that the war mongers who were stampeding the Kennedy government to rush into a conquest of Cuba (and the inevitable general war) have suffered a major setback. The objective of these bloodthirsty elements, who wanted a world war for the continued right to make profits from human misery, was that USA should invade Cuba. Soviet diplomacy was flexible enough to secure a promise from Kennedy that there would be no invasion of Cuba if the missiles were withdrawn. The Kennedy Administration gave this promise because they know that the vast majority of the American people did not want a nuclear war over Cuba. The missiles were withdrawn without on-site inspection in Cuba to which Cuba rightly objected. It was also clear that the US did

not want to make the inspection difficult for the USSR by agreeing to U Thant's suggestion of aerial and alongside inspection (without boarding) of the vessels indicating that Kennedy too did not want to provoke a war. This was the first stage. The second stage was the lifting of the blockade. The US undertook to lift the blockade if the Soviet Union withdrew the bombers from Cuba. The bombers were withdrawn and the blockade was lifted on November 21/22. What then is the nett result? Cuba, which was under constant threat of invasion for the last three years, today can live in the assurance the Kennedy and the US government had given before the bar of world opinion not to invade the island. They are no doubt, elements in the US which have sought to make out that the promise not to invade was conditional on on-site inspection in Cuba, and that since Cuba did not permit on-site inspection the promise was no longer valid. This provocative argumentation is not consistent with the reality of what has happened. For on-site inspection in Cuba, aerial photography and inspection of the vessels which carried away the missiles, were substituted. And the fact that the US has lifted the blockade is clear indication that the US is satisfied that all "offensive weapons" and the bombers had been withdrawn. So, it can be said that the nett result of the Cuban crisis is that the Cuban people have gained: in that their integrity has been assured in a manner that had not been possible before. Of course, there is nothing to prevent the US from breaking its promise and invading the little island, but it will be admitted that in the general war that would then follow world opinion would be against USA, whilst if a war had started last month over the missiles there would have been divided international opinion as to whether the Soviet Union was correct in establishing a missile base in Cuba in spite of the US base all over the world.

* There is yet another aspect which is important. Cuba has now more than a moral right to demand that US

should remove the military base in Guatanamo and also establish normal relations by ending the policy of economic sanctions against Cuba. As fitting retort to the vexed question of on-site inspection, the Cuban government has rightfully demanded that there should be similar UN on-site inspection in the USA to see that the camps for training the invasion-of-Cuba units are dismantled and wound up. Bertrand Russell very correctly congratulated Khrushchov and Kennedy for the way they handled the Cuban crisis. The reactionaries and diehards in the USA, who were determined to push the administration to invade Cuba and provoke a general war were defeated, and promise was extracted from Kennedy that the invasion of Cuba would no longer be a policy objective of the US. Cuban Independence firstly and World Peace secondly have been strengthened as a result of the missiles-cum bombers crisis in the Caribbean. This is a great step forward in the world struggle to liquidate all foreign militay bases and ensure world peace through general and total disarmament.

Tribune, 1. 12. 62.

Protect Cuba

The following two resolutions were unanimously passed by the Chief Executive Committee of the Ceylon Journalists' Association:

PROTECT CUBA

"The Ceylon Journalists' Association while re-affirming its un-reserved brotherhood and solidarity with the Government and the people of Cuba in their struggle to create a socialist society on the Cuban soil where there will not be any longer misery, poverty, suffering and exploitation, calls upon all the peoples' forces to rally round the leadership and the people of Cuba who so patriotically and heroically created and defended their Republic Smashing the aggressive actions manoeuvred by imperialists led by the USA and to protect that peace-loving Government and its people so that the so-called boycotts and threats of the American imperialists will be proved a boomerang.

"The Ceylon Journalists' Association condemns the American imperialism as the most hated enemy of Cuba and all peoples' forces of the world and expresses brotherhood with all those who pledge support in the struggle to protect the young Cuban Republic."

Enthusiastic Cuba

BY REVEREND
MADEGODA SUMANATISSA

The Reverend Madegoda Sumanatissa is the chief incumbent of the Papiliyana Sunetra Devi Pirivena and President of the "People's All Ceylon Committee of Solidarity with Cuba," who returned after attending the National Independence Day (1st. January) in Cuba.

The first Buddhist Monk to visit Cuba, gives a first hand account of the progress a country is making.

I think you are anxious to hear what the first Buddhist Monk who visited Cuba has to say. I had a great desire to see Cuba and the Cuban people and their great leader Fidel Castro. After travelling over 2,000 kilometers and meeting different people my mind is full of various impressions.

Listening to a language they did not understand, the Cuban people always gave us a warm welcome and the feelings they expressed completely delighted us.

It is true Cuba has several problems that have to be solved intelligently and boldly. I realized that the Cuba people and their leaders have taken decisive and courageous steps to solve these problems. The farms, new industrial projects housing schemes, plans for educational projects, research

laboratories and defensive measures are the towering giants that have arisen to solve these problems.

There is no doubt that the leadership of Fidel Castro and the proud co-operation of the progressive Cuban people will lead Cuba to the zenith of victory. It is my belief that the forward march of socialism, not only in Latin America, but also in the rest of the world, depends on the stability and progress of the Cuban Revolution. When one removes the natural and unavoidable obstacles they have had to face one can see the last three years have been years of success. Such problems as the land, housing, economic and educational problems in a country exploited by imperialism, are unpleasant even to think about. It is a great pleasure to see that several such problems which affect a man's rights and his sense of dignity, have been successfully solved. Already the people are reaping the benefits of a short term programme and they will soon reap the benefits of the long term programmes.

On the 2nd of January, Fidel Castro addressing over a million people said that this year will be an year set aside for organisation. This statement clearly showed that there is a great determination not only to launch a programme but to carry it out with the help of a broad organisation. Fidel is a forceful speaker, His oratory is his main weapon to capture the hearts of the people. Every word brings him applause from the people. He speaks for a minute and receives the applause for about five minutes. His words are clear, well balanced and forceful. I must express my appreciation for the manner in which the people listened for hours without having to be disciplined by either army or police.

Fidel in his personal conversation is very pleasant. He is handsome and very unassuming. A few personal words from him are sufficient to show that he is a man of great human qualities. The entire Cuban people have rallied round

the leadership of Fidel like bees round a beehive. Men and women, the young and the old, carry out their tasks till they receive a new task. The women have an enthusiasm that is not second to that of the men. It is greatly exhilarating to see the manner in which women carry out with pride, their duties in the armed forces.

Fidel, the President of the Republic, and many others are very happy over the solidarity shown by Ceylon in the UNO and the friendship that has developed between our two countries. They greatly appreciate the co-operation extended to the Cuban people for their progress by the Prime Minister of Ceylon, the Honourable Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

While Ceylon is 25,000 square miles in area, Cuba is only 44,000 square miles. The climate, vegetation and the racial integration of the two countries is very similar.

Senator Reggie Perera, Mr. Ronnie de Mel and I heartily thank the Government of Cuba and the people of Cuba and the Ambassador of Cuba in Ceylon for the invitation extended to us to visit Cuba and for the warm welcome they have given us. Long live the friendship between Cuba and Ceylon.

English Translation from
"Lankadipa," 12, February 1963



CUBA THE CHECKMATE OF U. S. IMPERIALISM

BY K. E. N. FERNANDO
CEYLON PEACE COUNCIL

When the first Soviet Satellite soared into space with Yuri Gagarin and circled round the earth at terrific speed beyond the imagine of man, the newspapers throughout the world acclaimed in banner headlines this feat of the Soviet Union as the greatest scientific achievement of man in modern times. This unique achievement by the Soviet Scientists opened a new era in space exploration. When Cuba, a small country with a mere population of less then seven million people and little known beyond the Carribbean Sea stood up against the military Might of U. S. Imperialism and defied to be intimidated by the United States, a country with a population of over 70 million people, the people throughout the world admired and applauded the courageous stand of the Cuban people as one of the greatest feat of freedom.

This unique achievement of the Cuban people shattered the myth of the Might of U. S. Imperialism, and other small countries still under colonialism and exploitation began to take up courage to fight for their freedom and break the shackles of economic stranglehold of their countries.

Among the Latin American countries, little Cuba was the last country to free itself from Spanish domination and

now it is the first country to rise against U. S. Imperialism and free itself of U. S. domination.

Let us analyse how it was possible for a small backward country, without arms and ammunitions to stand up against the most powerful country which had the most modern weapons for aggression and destruction. The people of Cuba at the time of the revolution were living on a starvation level, without proper military training and not knowing how to handle a machine gun, rose as one man, to liberate their country from the ruthless rule of Fulgencio Batista, a petty dictator who was maintained and supported by U. S. Monopolists. Unable to endure any longer, starvation and sufferings under the most hated dictator of their country who during his rule, never cared for his country or for his people, but allowed them to sink in poverty and misery, instead of becoming victims to despair they became masters of iron determination to overthrow the tyrannical rule of Batista. The Cuban people were only waiting for a leader who could lead them against the corrupt government of Batista. They recalled to their minds the call to the nation by their great leader Jose Marti who in 1895 told his people in poetic language — Jose Marti was not only a national leader but also a great poet — “Oh how sweet it is when one dies fighting audaciously for one’s country”. These inspiring words of Jose Marti made the starving Cuban people more resolute to fight and die than live and starve.

At last Fidel Castro appeared among them as their symbol of Hope. Even as a student at College one of Castro’s teachers made a prophetic remark about Castro in 1947. He said, “You are made of the stuff of the heroes. A statue will be sculptured of you and history of your country will speak your name”. Within a decade and a half, these prophetic words came too true.

On 26th July 1968 Fidel Castro triumphantly led his people to victory. Batista's fortresses and forces crashed and crumbled and his stooges and supporters who once clapped and cheered, now spat and jeered at Batista, and when he fled from the capital of Cuba in a Cadillac, a young peasant remarked, "There goes the hearse to the cemetery". What a fall for a mighty dictator who relied on guns to rule than on the confidence of his people.

The victory of Castro created new history, for starving peasants without proper military training and equipment, fought a well trained, well equipped, and well-fed army of Batista and this victory of the Cuban people proved that guns and bayonets cannot destroy the will of the people to live free.

Cuba a few years ago was known as "Uncle Sam's Sugar and Cigar". Now Cuba is the thorn on Uncle Sam's foot, making Uncle Sam to limp than walk steadily.

From the time Castro took control of the destiny of Cuba and started clearing the legacy of poverty, squalor and suffering left by the Batista regime, the reactionary capitalist Press started their vile campaign against Castro, picturing Castro as a rabid Communist who rules Cuba with Soviet guns and tanks. When Castro declared to the world that Cuba is the first country in Latin America to free from U. S. Imperialism; the U. S. Monopolist Press published books and pamphlets saying that "Cuba is the first Soviet Satellite in the Americas". But the people throughout the world are used to such poisonous propaganda of the reactionary press.

Within three years after the Cuban revolution led by Castro, unemployment was eliminated in Cuba and the hovels and shanties were pulled down and decent homes were built for people to live in. The lands and ranches which

were once owned by a few capitalist families and U. S. Monopolists were distributed to the people who worked the land and the ranch. The sad looking faces of the peasants became cheerful and bright and Cuba's prosperity within such a short period became a shining example to other Latin American countries under U. S. Monopolists exploitation. The resourcefulness of the Cuban people alarmed the U. S. Financiers and Bankers of Wall Street, who thought that it would infect the other Latin American Countries to rise against the U. S. Capitalists. So the Wall Street Millionaires brought pressure on the U. S. Government to crush Cuba. A Naval blockade round Cuba was ordered to prevent ships from bringing food and goods to Cuba and under various pretexts that Cuba is being armed by the Soviet Union to attack the United States, the Military chiefs of the United States prepared for an aggressive invasion. But the Cuban people were undaunted and unafraid. They had already tasted the fruits of freedom and they therefore were determined to die to the last man rather than lose that freedom as a legacy of the human being, raised their voices against U. S. aggression. Cuba has now become a symbol of oppressed countries. Though the Cuban people do not possess powerful weapons to defend their country, they have the most powerful weapon, "the public opinion" throughout the world in support of their cherished freedom. Though the capitalist press may try its utmost to portray Fidel Castro, one of the greatest leaders of the twentieth century as a Communist Stooge of the Soviet Union, all right-thinking people in all nations no more believe the vile poisonous propaganda. "History will absolve me" said Castro, when Batista sentenced him to 20 years jail in 1953 for organising a revolt then. Cuban history will record Castro's leadership and regime in gold and the pages of world history will record Castro's courageous stand against imperialism and capitalism as an everlasting monument of Human Courage."

Cuba is now free and it will ever remain free; free from capitalist exploitation and imperialist aggression.

POINTS OF LAW

CUBA is a sovereign state. It has the right to determine its own form of government, enter into trade and treaty relations with any country it chooses and to safeguard its security.

The United States refused to recognise this and violated generally-accepted and long established principles of International Law by:

- * training Cuban emigres on her territory;
- * instigating and directing (through the Central intelligence Agency) subversive activities inside Cuba, and the abortive invasion attempt of April, 1962;
- * violating Cuba territorial waters and airspace, conducting aerial espionage with the aid of U. 28 and other aircraft;
- * blockading Cuba, a country with which she was not in a state of war, and infringing the principle of the freedom trade and of navigation on the open sea — a principle America has in the past gone to war to defend;

The United states violated the United Nations Charter by:

- * refusing at the outset to settle an international dispute "by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered."

Article 2 (3);

- * resorting to the threat and use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of another state: Article 2 (4);
- * failing to seek a settlement of its dispute with Cuba "by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means:"

Article. 33 (1)

- * taking unilateral action on the grounds that there was a "threat to peace" without consulting the Security Council which alone has the right to determine whether or not any threat to the peace exists: Article 39;
- * taking unilateral action in the absence of any armed attack: Article 50;
- * seeking to bring about action under "regional arrangement" i.e. the Organisation of American States although the Charter expressly states that "no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorisation of the Security Council": Article 35.

American spokesmen refer to the Monroe Doctrine. This has no standing in International Law. It was not an international body or "international custom." It was merely a statement of American policy.

Tribune 5.1.63



✻ CUBA

FOURTH ANNIVERSARY. On January 2, the Republic of Cuba celebrated its fourth anniversary. These four years have been among the most momentous not only in the history of Cuba but also of the world in the present epoch. By overthrowing the Batista regime, propped up by US monopolies and the government in Washington the same money bags control, Fidel Castro and his colleagues opened a new vista for the emancipation of small countries on the American continent as well as throughout the world. Whilst it must be admitted that it was the heroic struggle of a small band of dedicated men, who had won the confidence of the whole nation, that brought freedom to Cuba, it must be stressed that the sovereignty and integrity of the island republic could not have been preserved but for the existence of a powerful bloc of socialist countries led by the Soviet Union. Every effort of the imperialists to crush the Republic out of existence by various means was thwarted by the determination of the people of Cuba to sustain their freedom aided by the growing resources of the socialist camp. The weighty support extended to Cuba by the non-aligned nations was also another factor which made it difficult for the imperialists to smother the little spark lit by Cuba and which will soon, no doubt, sweep through the whole of Latin America in a mighty conflagration from which will emerge a large number of emancipated nations now held in bondage by the monopolists and financiers of Wall Street. The people of

Ceylon have the greatest love and affection for the ordinary people of Cuba who have made one of the most significant revolutions in history possible. The people of Ceylon admire with respect the courage and sacrifice of the leaders and the people of Cuba which has shaken the mightiest capitalist power, the United States of America, to its very roots, and thereby emboldened every small nation in the world to aspire to heights of freedom never before thought possible. Further, the lesson of Cuba, which has a meaning for countries like Ceylon, is that socialism alone, unadulterated by big capital and foreign vested interests, can resolve the problems of poverty, of employment, of economic development and of cultural advancement which confront all countries which had been denigrated and reduced to misery by colonialist exploitation. The crisis over Cuba last October stemming from the Soviet missiles has gone a long way towards ensuring the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cuba, and the five point demand made by Castro in this connection, when implemented, will strengthen the growing stability of the Cuban Republic even more. The people of Ceylon fully endorse and support these five points put forward by the Castro government as a minimum requirement to ensure the integrity of Cuba in the face of the aggressive imperialist policies of the big merchants and bankers of the United States. On the occasion of the Fourth Anniversary of the emancipated Republic of Cuba, *Tribune* joins with all freedom-loving people in Ceylon to greet the leaders and people of the Cuban Revolution as pioneers and architects of the movement to bring fullest freedom for small nations and small countries.

Tribune 5. 1. 63



CUBA'S FOUR YEARS OF FREEDOM

The Island of Liberty in the American Continent

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundations on such principles and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

Thomas Jefferson wrote these words in 1776, in the declaration of Independence of the people of the United States engaged in armed struggle to fling off the British colonial rule.

One hundred and eighty six years later the United States Government brought the world to the brink of nuclear war because of its implacable determination to prevent the people of Cuba from exercising their right to decide for themselves their own form of government and the principles on which it should be based.

The noble sentiments of the Declaration of Independence were prostituted, debased and debauched by the growth of United States monopoly capitalism. The country born in struggle against colonial tyranny became the greatest imperialist power in the world, reaching into every corner not for the "Safety and Happiness" of the peoples but for the profit, privilege and power of the great imperialist monopolies.

US imperialism first stretched out across the American continent, wrapping its blood-sucking tentacles around the Latin American countries as they freed themselves, in bitter and bloody struggle, from the centuries-long Spanish colonial rule.

Jose Marti, a great Cuban and a great American, who died leading Cuba's struggle for freedom from Spanish colonialism, wrote in 1895, just before a Spanish bullet pierced his heart, of his dedication to :

"preventing the opening in Cuba, through its annexation by the (American) imperialists, of the road which must be barred, and which we are barring with our blood, of annexation of all the nations of our America by the violent and brutal North which despises us....."

"I have lived in the monster and I know its entrails ; and mine is the sling of David."

For over 60 years, Cuba was to know the entrails of the monster, which occupied an important naval and military base and made a mockery of Cuban "independence" by arrogating to itself the right to interfere in Cuba's internal affairs.

The Second Declaration of Havana tells how:

"Our wealth passed into their hands; they falsified our history, our administration, and moulded our politics to the

interests of the intruders; the nation was subjected to 60 years of political, economic and cultural asphyxia.”

For Cuba, as for the other Latin American countries, there was no government “deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.” It was government imposed by force, government to serve the interests of the US monopoly capitalists.

The Revolution

In Cuba that government was the bloody dictatorship of the US puppet, Batista, the tyranny that was over-thrown by the Cuban Revolution.

Just 4 years ago, on January 2nd, 1959, the victorious forces of the Cuban Revolution, with Fidel Castro at their head, marched into Havana. The Cuban people began at last to govern themselves; they had won, with great sacrifice in lives and suffering, the right to institute a new Government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organising its powers in such form, as to them seemed likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

Cuba became free: a free territory raising its sovereign flag; a free people of America, an island of freedom in the very centre of US monopoly domination.

But freedom is not an abstract concept. It means freedom from hunger and want, from homelessness, misery and disease, freedom from ignorance, from insecurity, fear and exploitation, freedom for the people to straighten their backs.

Terrible Legacy

US imperialism bequeathed a terrible legacy to the Cuban people. Fidel Castro described it to the United Nations in September, 1960.

Out of a total population of just over six million people, there were six lakhs of unemployed-nearly four times the proportion in Ceylon 3½ million lived in shanties and hovels with no sanitation.

Over one-third of the people were illiterate; 70 per cent of rural children had no teachers; over a lakh had tuberculosis, 95 per cent had worms or other internal parasites.

Rents and electricity charges were among the highest in the world. In towns and cities families paid over one-third of their income in rent. 85% of farmers paid nearly one-third of their income to rent to the landlords; two lakhs were landless, and 1½ per cent of the people owned nearly half the land.

All the best land, most important mining and similar industries, most sugar production, most of banking, import trade and the oil refineries, all the public utilities, electricity and the telephone service were owned by US monopolists.

One US company alone made more than its investment of Rs. 564 million rupees in nickel mining in five years. The adverse balance of payments imposed by US control of trade cost Cuba Rs. 4,700 million rupees in ten years.

Cuba was free; the people at last controlled their own affairs. But the victory of the Revolution was only the beginning; power in the hands of the people to create their real freedom in the fullest sense.

First Steps

The revolutionary Government began its task with concentrating first of all on alleviating some of the immediate problems.

It cut rents by half, and enforced reductions in electricity charges. It cancelled the concession to the profiteering

Telephone Company, And it carried out the long-awaited land reform, giving land to the peasants, and paying compensation to the land-owners in bonds maturing after 20 years.

“Notes from the State Department rained on our Government,” said Castro, adding bitterly: “They never asked about our problems, not even out of sheer pity, or because of the great responsibility they had in creating such problems.

“They never asked us how many died of starvation in our country, or how many were suffering from tuberculosis, or how many were unemployed... All talks by the representatives of the United States Government centred on the Telephone Co., the Electric Co., and the land owned by American companies.....”

Their demand was “Pay now, in dollars, and whatever we ask for our land”—the land of the Cuban people, by exploiting which the US monopolies had been draining Cuba of her wealth.

Of course Cuba could not pay the amount demanded at once nor in dollars—the US had seen to it that she had an annual dollar balance of payments deficit of Rs. 47 millions.

But she went ahead with the land reform. She began building houses, too, and schools; and to help pay for them, the Government imposed a 25 per cent tax on the export of minerals.

U.S. Attack

The US Government or rather, as Castro said. “The representatives of the United States monopolies” began punitive action.

Planes flew over Cuba dropping leaflets attacking the Revolution, and bombs and grenades.

“May I tell his Excellency the Representative of the United States,” said Castro, “that there are many mothers in Cuba will awaiting his telegrams of condolence for their children murdered by the bombs of the United States.”

The planes did not stop. They dropped saboteurs, and incendiary bombs on the sugar crop. US warships patrolled ceaselessly around Cuba's shores; a bristling ring of bases surrounded her in the Caribbean; US arms build-up and provocation increased at Guantanamo, the US-held base on Cuban territory.

The parasites who had fattened on vice and exploitation under Batista, and who left the country, unhindered, taking about 4 million dollars in bank deposits and more in jewellery, gold and such like, were organised, trained and armed in the US and its Caribbean bases, for sabotage against the country's economy, for raids against its shores in US naval vessels, and for invasion to crush the revolution.

The United States directly attacked Cuba's trade—which she had completely controlled—and economy. It cut the sugar quota; then it refused to buy sugar. It banned all export to Cuba of spare parts, hoping to cripple both agriculture and industry; it imposed a shipping ban.

It bullied and cajoled the other Latin American countries using the weapon of its economic domination, to break off all relations with Cuba. Finally it resorted to open naval blockade.

The Real Threat

Little Cuba cannot present any economic or military threat to the US, 90 miles away, the greatest imperialist power in the world. But Cuba represents the first breach in imperialist control and exploitation in the American hemisphere—the dangerous shape of things to come, right in the heart of the US empire.

When the Cuban people set out to transform their economy from a backward, colonial agrarian economy to an independent industrial-agrarian economy, they challenged the Great US monopoly interests. They did not bring economic ruin, or anything like it, to these great interests by nationalising and taking over their controlling position in Cuba.

But Cuba had set a precedent. These very interests owned the wealth and national resources of many of the peoples of the world, and especially of Latin America.

US investments in Latin America exceed 10 billion dollars. Latin America supplies it with cheap raw materials and pays high prices for manufactured goods. There are some 5,500 deaths daily, preventable deaths, in Latin America, for every minute: while 4000 dollars a minute flows to the United States \$1000 for each life.

“Cuba,” the Second Declaration of Havana points out “is the one country in all Latin America which has provided land for over 100,000 small farmers, which has assured year-round employment on farms and in co-operatives for all agricultural workers.

“It is the one which has transformed barracks into schools, provided 60,000 scholarships in universities, secondary and technical schools, built classrooms for the entire juvenile population, liquidated illiteracy altogether.

“It is Cuba which has increased its medical services four—fold, nationalised monopoly enterprises, done away with extortionate rents, virtually eliminated unemployment, suppressed racial and sex discrimination, swept away gambling, vice and administrative corruption.

“This is the country which has armed the people, which has made into living reality the enjoyment of human rights

by liberating men and women from exploitation, from ignorance, from social inequality, which has freed itself of all foreign domination, acquired full sovereignty and established the bases for development of its economy in order to be no longer a single-crop country and exporter of raw materials.”

These facts illustrate the real threat Cuba presents to US monopoly; what the US fears.

“Not the fear of the Cuban revolution, but the fear of the Latin American revolution. Not the fear of the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and progressive sectors of the middle classes who have assumed power in Cuba, but the fear that the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and progressive sections of the middle classes take revolutionary power in the oppressed and hungry nations exploited by the Yankee monopolies and the reactionary oligarchy of America; fear that the looted peoples of the Continent will snatch the arms of their oppressors and declare themselves, like Cuba, free people of America.”

The Cuban people have defended and built their revolution with amazing courage resource and determination. With guns at their sides, they toiled to build new industries, diversity agriculture, create schools, houses, hospitals by day and night to defend them and the country's coasts and skies.

When the United States sent off the counter-revolutionary invaders in April, 1961, the Cuban people smashed the invasion in 72 hours.

Socialist Aid

But all the courage and determination in the world are not enough, alone, to defend Cuba's newly won freedom.

"We know," said Castro, "that without the Soviet Union, without the socialist camp, without the assistance they render us, the victory of the revolution in such a small country as Cuba would have been impossible in view of imperialist aggression."

The solidarity and support of the socialist countries and the newly-independent countries; and above all the great strength of the socialist countries enabled the Cuban people to carry forward their victory.

Socialist aid, equipment and technicians helped her build up the new industries; socialist shipping reduced the cost of imports, trade with the socialist countries on beneficial terms replaced the unequal trade imposed by the US. The imperialists were unable to isolate Cuba economically or politically.

This autumn, as Khrushchov reported to the Supreme Soviet Session in December, "everything showed that the United States was preparing to attack the Cuban Republic using its own armed forces."

Cuba warned several times of US preparations. Statements from its Embassy here drew urgent attention in August and September to US preparations. President Dorticos solemnly warned the United Nations on October 8, of US preparations, the war hysteria being created the joint Resolution of the two Houses of the US Congress to "prevent by whatever means may be necessary including the use of arms the 'Marxist—Leninst regime' in Cuba from extending by force or threat of force its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of the hemisphere."

The Crisis

Revolutionary Cuba appealed to the Soviet Union for assistance, and "a number of new measures, including the stationing of several dozen Soviet medium-range ballistic missiles to be controlled by Soviet officers" were agreed.

During October, the US launched open preparations for invasion. Large formations of Navy, Air Force, paratroops and the marines were concentrated in the south of the US, at the approaches to Cuba. Big reinforcements were sent to Guantanamo, and women evacuated from the base.

Military "exercises" in the Caribbean were announced, including the landing of forces on Cuba's Vieques Island. On October 22, the US announced its "quarantine" of Cuba; a polite term for proposed piracy on the high seas.

US troops in Europe, the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean, the 7th Fleet based on Taiwan were readied for action; a striking force of 100,000 waited in the US, and 183 warships, with 85,000 troops on board, advanced towards Cuba.

NATO troops in Europe were also put in battle readiness; so was the US Strategic Air Command; a Joint Command of the US and Latin American countries was set up, and some Latin American warships were sent to participate in the blockade.

The Soviet Union prepared for any action that might be necessary, as did the socialist countries, and sent both a firm warning and an appeal to the US. The world hovered on the brink of nuclear war. The Cuban people and their leaders prepared with incomparable courage and coolness to meet an attack, expected on October 27, which whatever else it led to would almost certainly mean the physical annihilation of their country.

War Threat Averted

The situation was saved by Soviet firmness, skill, flexibility and initiative and the matchless courage of the people of Cuba who did not flinch for one moment.

The Soviet missiles were removed; later the IL-28 planes (regarded by the Soviet Union as "obsolete as bombers")



were removed also. Kennedy declared before the whole world his willingness to guarantee that the US would not attack Cuba and would hold back its allies from doing so. The Soviet missiles, shipped to Cuba to prevent an attack on her had done precisely that, and reduced the possibility of future attack.

Cuba was still there, still independent, still building its socialist economy. The threat of world nuclear war had been averted: the forces of peace and socialism had imposed peace on the advocates of war.

The Cuban crisis has not been finally solved, nor the danger to her averted. But as Khrushchov said, "Favourable conditions have been created now for liquidating the dangerous crisis in the Caribbean area."

"The Cuban Government," he said, "legitimately insisted that any solution of the Caribbean crisis must be of a long term nature and include guarantees for the Cuban Republic that would shield it against aggression and ensure the Cuban people the opportunity to build their new life in conditions of peace."

This is the purpose of Castro's Five Points, which are fully supported by the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries. Khrushchov also made quite plain that the USSR will abide by her undertakings in the messages exchanged with Kennedy so long as the US does the same.

"Our country," he said, "will never leave revolutionary Cuba in trouble." Neither will any of the forces of peace, of national independence, of socialism. Solidarity with Cuba demands that we exert every effort to ensure that US abides fully by its undertakings and that a long-term and satisfactory settlement can be reached on the basis of the famous Five Points for the cessation of all provocation and sabotage, and support for counter—revolutionary forces by the US and the handing back to Cuba of her territory at Guantanamo.

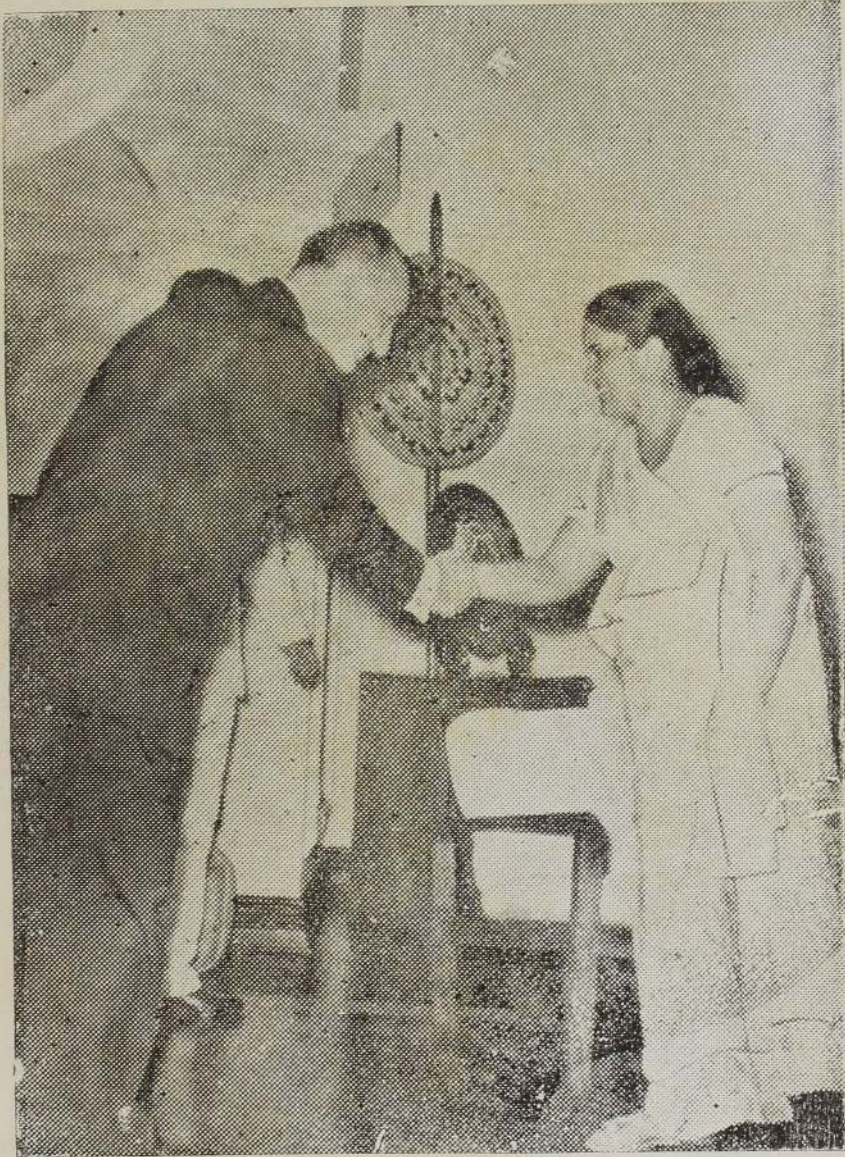
Cuba enters the fifth year of her revolution justly proud of what she has achieved, of “the heroic republic of Cuba, its courageous people, its fine leaders with our great friend Fidel Castro, at their head” as Khrushchov put it.

She had passed a difficult and important test, emerging stronger, wiser, more experienced, more united for the great tasks ahead of her.

Forward, 4. 1. 63.



JULY 3, 1962



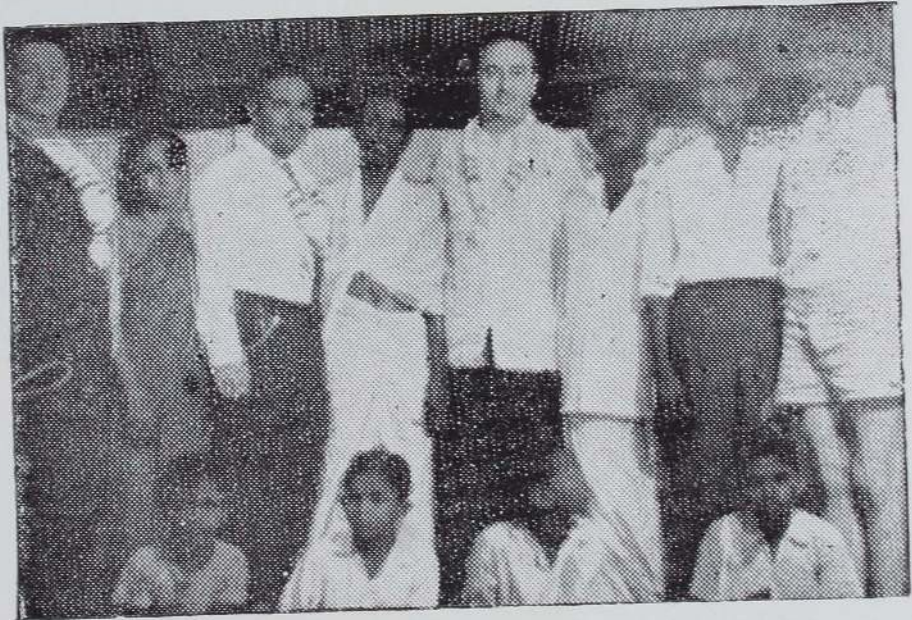
The Prime Minister, Madame Bandaranaike receives the first envoy of Cuba in Ceylon, Mr. Armando Bayo.

1st January, 1963

On the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the triumph of the Revolution in Cuba, a reception was accorded by the Embassy of Cuba in Ceylon.



His Excellency the Governor General of Ceylon, Mr. William Gopallawa, is seen proposing the toast to Cuba.



Visit to a community centre in Jaffna made by the staff of the Embassy of Cuba in Ceylon.

FAREWELL TO DELEGATES WHO WENT TO CUBA



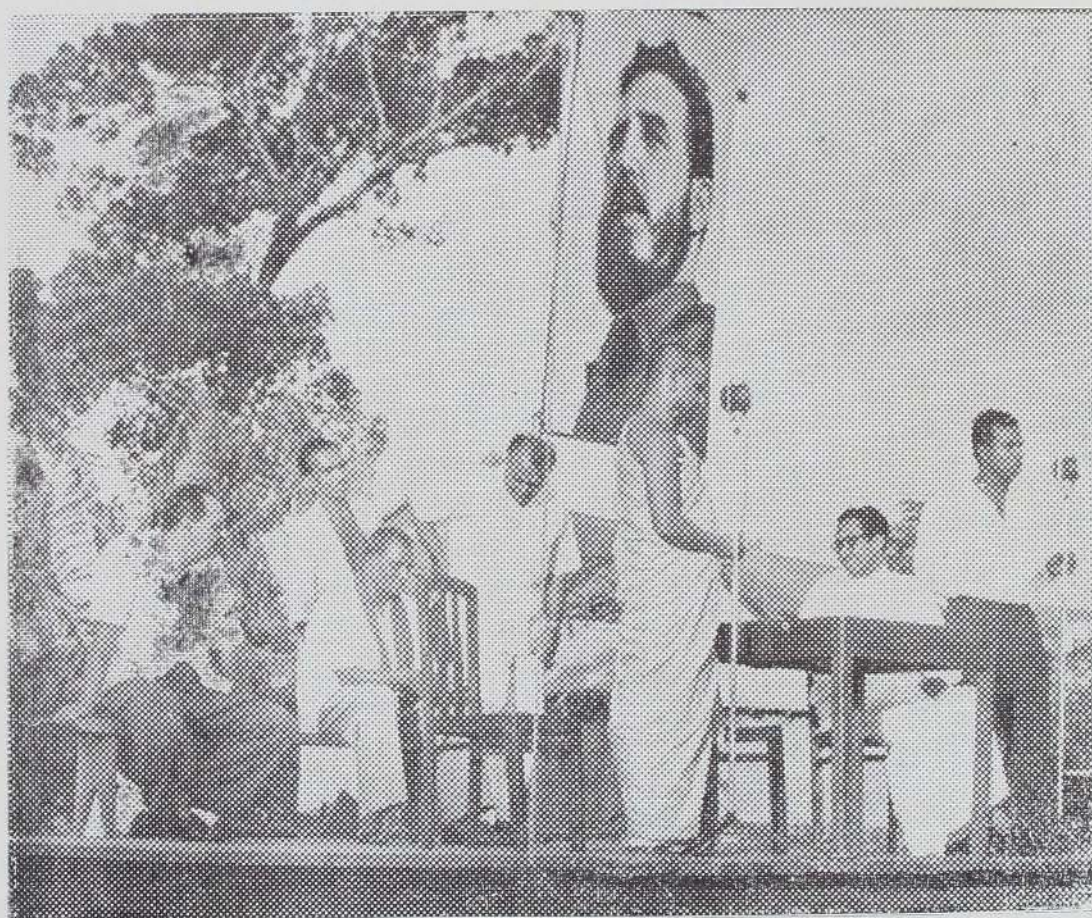
Rev Sumanatissa, Mr. Ronnie de Mel and Senator Reggie Perera, all Members of the People's Committee for solidarity with Cuba, seen with Mr Armando Bayo, Charge d' Affaires of Cuba in Ceylon at a farewell party accorded by the Embassy of Cuba in Ceylon.

11th February 1963



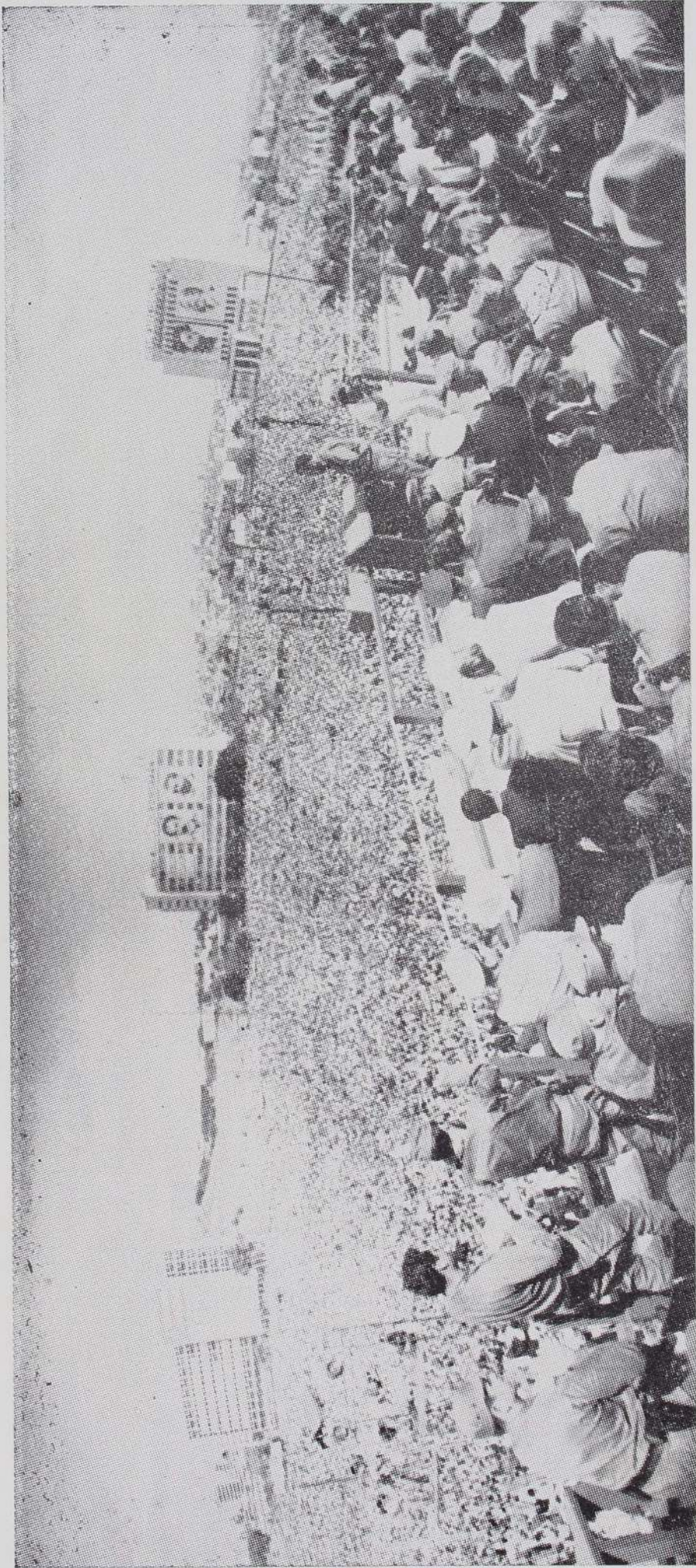
The Charge d' Affaires of Cuba in Ceylon, Mr. Armando Bayo, pays a tribute to the Honourable Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, at a largely attended Public Meeting organised by the Ceylon Peace Council in honour of her Afro Asian Mission of Peace.

30th November, 1962,



One of the most largely-attended meetings in Colombo to protest against the naval and military blockade of Cuba by the U.S.A.

Left to right : Peter Keuneman, Robert Gunawardena, Dr. N. M. Perera, Reverend Sumanatissa, Ronnie de Mel and H. M. P. Mohibeen



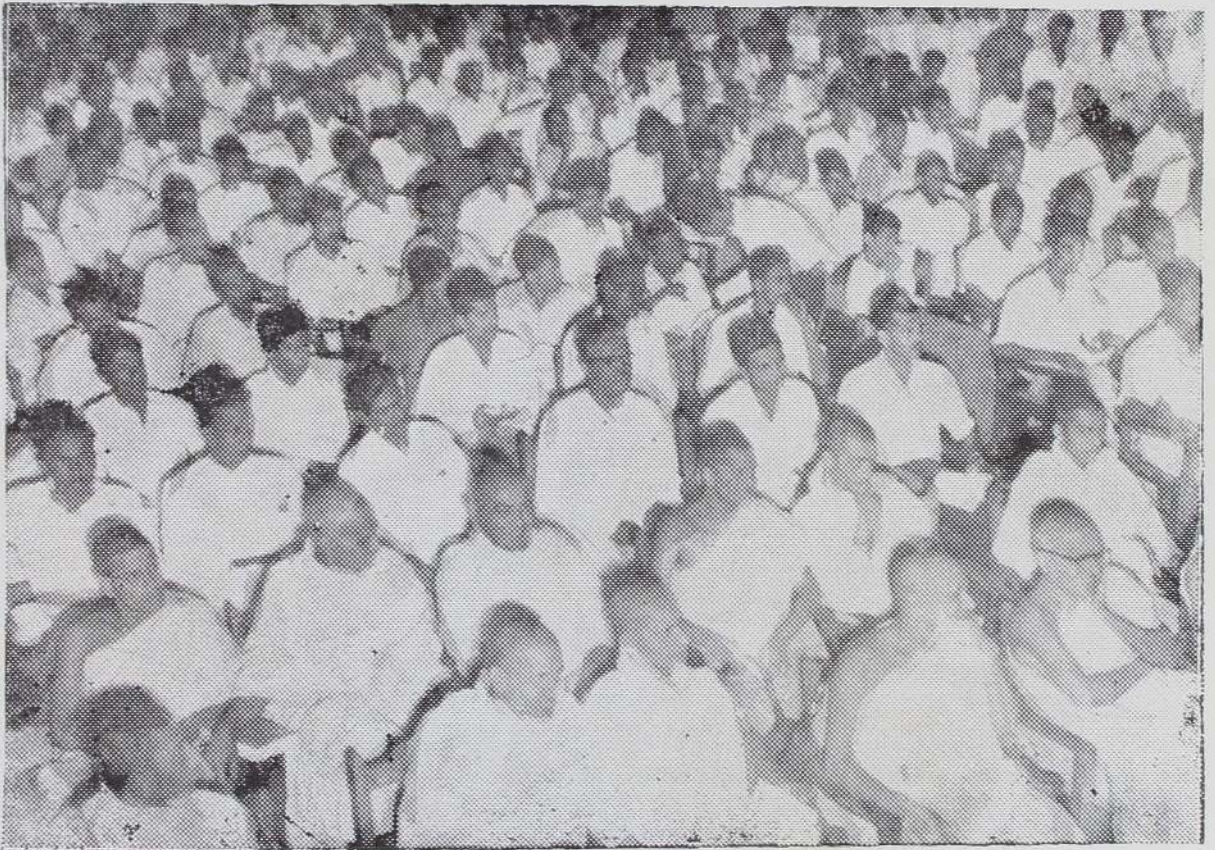
The leader of the Cuban Revolution Dr. Fidel Castro addressed a mass rally of more than one million held in the Plaza de la Revolución of Havana, on the occasion of the 4th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution





**Theja Gunawardena the author of
“ Venceremos ” an informative and
analytical book about Cuba**

October 1962



One of the biggest and most enthusiastic meetings in Colombo was held at Hyde Park to protest against the U. S. blockade against Cuba.



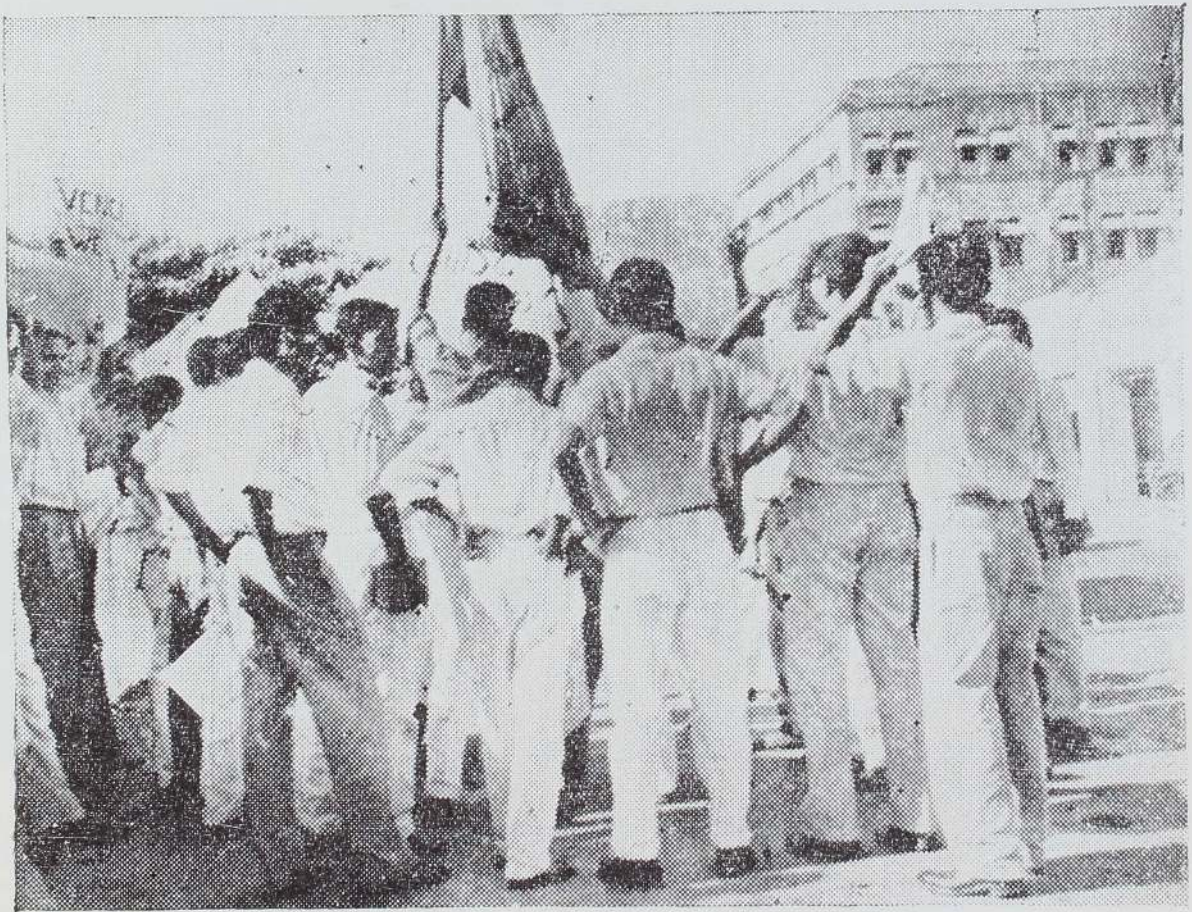
The Delegation from Ceylon was received by the President of of Cuba, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos in Havana, Feb. 1963, on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the Revolution of Cuba

1st JANUARY, 1963



H. E. The Governor General of Ceylon with Mr. Armando Bayo— the Charge 'd affaires of Cuba in Ceylon, at the Reception given by the Embassy of Cuba to celebrate the 4th anniversary of the triumph of the Revolution,

OCTOBER, 1962



**Law Students Demonstrating in the "Hands off Cuba" Campaign
against the U. S. Military Blockade of Cuba**

IV ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION



Mr. Philip Gunawardena, leader of the MEP, speaking at the meeting at the Town Hall on the Anniversary of the Cuban National Day.

OCTOBER, 1962



**People of Ceylon protest against the Blockade
the United States on Cuba.**

CUBA HELD UP AS EXAMPLE


MR. PIETER KEUNEMAN, M.P.. The people's revolution led by Fidel Castro in 1959 was a historic event for the American continent because it smashed and shattered the doctrine that only capitalism must exist there.

If we in Ceylon emulate the Cuban people's triumphant struggle, then "the glory of the common will be achieved before the dawn of another January 1."

MR. K. M. P. RAJARATNE, M. P., Leader of the JVP. There could be no co-existence with imperialists. The people of Ceylon, like the heroic Cuban people, were not prepared to cow down to feudalism in the name of socialism. There could be no socialist progress till "reactionary imperialist elements were exterminated and a due place given to the national aspirations of the masses."

MR. PHILIP GUNAWARDENA, the MEP leader. "Mere lip service to socialism was not sufficient. What was necessary was active and forceful implementation of socialist policies."

MR. BALA TAMPOE, "Like the people of Cuba the masses in Ceylon should jointly strike a death blow at the existing forces of imperialism."

MR.  ARMANDO BAYO, Cuban Charge d'Affaires in Ceylon and Mr. Premalal Kumarasiri also spoke.

Daily News
2. 1. 63.

CUBA FIGHTS

BY SENATOR REGGIE PERERA (M.E.P.)

Cuba is in danger again. Once again the danger to Cuban independence comes from American monopolists who are still yearning for the flesh-pots they once tasted in Havana. The speculators and the coupon-clippers, the exploiters of labour, and the managers of brothels and gambling dens have not abandoned their dreams of recovering their former interests in Cuba. American state power expresses and gives flesh and blood to their sinister hopes and criminal conspiracies.

These men who strain at the leash to let loose the terrors of war on Cuba are those same elements among the American people who mutilate and murder coloured men, people like you and me, south of the Dixon line—the bigoted racialists who expound the gospel of Jim Crowism. They are the same men who bludgeon the workers in the picket lines and cry for the pressure of the machine gun to decide labour disputes—they are profit worshippers whose high temple is in Wall Street.

To understand fully and clearly the present provocations of American monopolists, it is necessary to know the background, at least in outline, of American interference in Cuban history. It is a sordid and sinister story of which the present phase constitutes a reckless and criminal attempt to re-establish and continue the dollar domination over a free and fearless people.

When six million people in a little island of 44,218 square miles stand up to the repressive might of the United States of America, it is difficult to resist the biblical analogy of David and Goliath. However, the heroic romanticism of the imagery should not blind us to the stark reality of the events involved in the conflict between Cuba and the U.S.A. In Cuba, even as it is in Berlin, the destinies of the human race is involved and its final outcome will determine whether the forces of progress or reaction shall prevail in this world.

The history of Cuba is a history of repression and exploitation. Even as predatory animals play with their helpless victims, the Great Powers—Spain, England and the U.S.A.—have played with the land and peoples of Cuba. In the early 16th Century, the Spaniards conquered this country then peopled by a race of oriental stock. In 1762, the British captured Havana but a year later it was returned to Spain in exchange for Florida. This was a period when helpless nations were mere pawns on the chess-boards of Power-Politics. Remember how Ceylon was parcelled out at the Treaty of Amiens while the representative of His Imperial Majesty were going through the mockery of the Kandyan Convention.

The end of the 18th Century and the beginning of the 19th saw the crystallisation of Cuba as a nation, a process that was helped by the European wars in which Spain was involved. Towards the latter end of this period the U.S.A. commenced its offensive to annex and dominate Cuba. It is said that the British Empire was built on "perjury by day and forgery by night". American methods were hardly more respectable. In 1854 American agents who met in Osland urged the purchase of Cuba for £120,000,000. One cannot say that American speculators do not have an eye for a bargain! The Americans pressed their offer with a show of force, but the transaction did not materialise.



On October 10th, 1868 the Cuban people raised the standard of liberty against the hated Spanish oppressors. Jose Marti was the poet of the national revolution who expressed the will of the people to fight—and they fought for ten years. At the conclusion temporary advantages were conceded to the rebels.

But concessions offered by tyrants are seldom honoured in practice. Corruption and repression continued and in 1895 the Constitutional guarantees were suspended. The standard of revolt was raised again under the daring leadership of Pedro Delgado the rebels fought against over-whelming odds and showed monumental heroism and made great sacrifices. The Americans now commenced to fish in troubled waters; their intentions were hardly concealed. President Cleveland declared that the American people "have a concern with it which is by no means of a wholly sentimental or philanthropic character. Our actual pecuniary interest in it is second only to that of the people and the government of Spain".

In 1898 the U.S.A. Battleship "Maine" was destroyed in Havana Harbour. Under cover of this incident America declared a state of war with Spain. After the defeat of that country and in terms of an earlier legislative declaration that the "people of Cuba are of a right to be free and independent", in 1902, U.S. recognized the new Republic of Cuba.

The American intervention on behalf of Cuba may have added to the glory of American history if not for the sordid mercenary intentions that underlay this magnanimous gesture. At the time of the treaty that guaranteed Independence for Cuba (Treaty of Paris 1898) America attacked and violated the independence of the Phillipines.

Subsequent activities laid bare the criminal and rapacious intentions of the American Government. In March 1901 America imposed the notorious Platt Amendment under

threat of force. Cuba was forced to permit U.S.A. Naval Stations in the heart of the territory; these are located at Bahia Honde and Guantanamo.

President Cleaveland's 'pecuniary interests' were achieved by American Bankers. By 1896 these money changers had about £30,000,000 of Cuban property. In 1901 the United Fruit Company about 175,000 acres and established two mills. Tariff agreements disastrous to the Cuban people were imposed on the country and American speculators and middlemen made millions by selling Cuba sugar to world markets and the Cubans had to import almost all their food.

When, consequent to Nationalist upsurge in Afro-Asia, following the Second World War, Britain adjusted herself to protect her economic interests in her turbulent colonies, by other means it was hailed as a master move of British diplomacy. But those wise to American activities in the Central and South Americas know that this tactic is essentially an old American invention.

American monopolists have drained the life-blood of Central American peoples by establishing an economic stranglehold. So was it in Cuba. So is it in many Central American countries to this day. Indirect economic exploitation pre-supposes the creation of a native class as a servile instrument serving the interests of the foreign masters, and these fatten and thrive on the crumbs and bones that fall off their master's tables.

This tribe of lick-spittles were described by Dr. Fidel Castro in words so apposite that I am compelled to quote him :

"This legion of parasitic elements live, thrive and fatten on falsification. The legion of little parasites revolve around the big parasite. By the number of terrorists, traitors, saboteurs, confidence tricksters, actor



politicians, bottle washers of men living on vice, gambling, traffic of drugs, contraband, houses of ill-fame, crime, those who sell themselves to the mighty and rich in order to defend their privileges, to kill and oppress the people in their poverty—by the number of these parasites we can gauge and estimate the legion of counter-revolutionists”.

There are many in this country too who would see a brilliant penportrait of themselves in Dr. Castro's descriptive analysis.

Cuban history is littered with the names of men who made themselves willing instruments to serve American monopoly interests. But perhaps, the butcher Batista was the most sordid and cruelest of them all. He not only killed and maimed his own countrymen and women but sold the interests of Cuba to the Americans on a platter. The 1935 trade agreement with the U.S.A. was a serene set-back to Cuban economy and disastrous in its consequence. All this for a pleasure dome in Daytona Beach.

The Batista regime had to be destroyed. Cuban Freedom had to be made a reality and as long as Batista acted as an agent for American monopoly interests Cuban independence was a mockery. Cuban economic interests were subordinated to monopolistic profit raking and the rightful fury of a people suffering intold miseries were crushed underfoot by the iron-heel of a crude dictator. It was only the heroism of the Cuban people and the stirring leadership of Fidel Castro that ultimately destroyed this hated dictatorship and gave the Cubans the liberty to lay the foundation for real prosperity.

The achievements of Fidel Castro and his loyal associates is a saga almost without parallel in history. I think of Garibaldi and the thousand “Red Shirts” that successfully dared the might of the Austrian Empire. The odds against

Castro were even worse. It was a story of abortive insurrections, trials, exile—death and torture. Batista's men were well supplied by the Americans with machine guns, bazookas, napalam bombs and tanks. Sometimes the situations were worse than hopeless. But impelled by an ideal, urged by an indomitable will and courage Fidel Castro in 1958, led his men to victory. He was right. Venceremos! The will of the people of Cuba was triumphant.

There are two important factors that compel the U.S.A to intervene in the independent life of Cuba. American monopolists have come to believe that they have a divine and exclusive right to exploit Central and South Americas. Thus unholy belief was expressed in the notorious Monroe Doctrine. It is strange that the U.S.A. that has offensive machines of war deployed on the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. should peddle this doctrine of Continental isolation. Be that as it may, what really worries American vested interests is the fact that the Socialist regime in Cuba negates the policy of exclusive exploitation by the American monopolists, of the American continent.

The second issue arises from the Socialist schemes that are being implemented in Cuba. Problems of illiteracy, unemployment, housing and hunger that scarred the life of pre-revolutionary Cuba is being solved with graphic success in Cuba today. Latin American peoples in neighbouring countries are not insensitive to the progress that is being achieved in Cuba where foreign interests and native exploiters have been eliminated. The people in many of these Central American countries are already restive; they too desire to smash the hated fascist dictatorship that oppress and enslave them. This is a real danger to the monopolist of America for they fear that the glorious spark in Cuba can become a great conflagration in Central and South America.

To American Imperialism and monopoly capitalism Cuba is the writing on the wall. To them it spells the end of their world of idle luxury and degenerate morality. American manoeuvres and conspiracies are calculated to make a last ditch stand for a bankrupt social system that they call the American way of life.



CUBAN CRISIS

Cloak & Dagger

BY *STEPHEN ANDREWS*

DURING the Cuban crisis U.S. spokesmen made very free with allegations of "Soviet duplicity"—allegations which events proved false. The weapons that Soviet spokesmen said were defensive were indeed defensive and were removed when their purpose—the safeguarding of Cuba against invasion had been achieved.

What is more, a glance at the record shows it to have been a case of the pickpocket crying "Stop, thief!" for no State has in recent years practised duplicity on so extensive a scale as the United States itself.

Three recent examples:

- they lied about the U.2 spy-plane, claiming it was on a weather mission — until Mr. Khrushchov revealed it had been shot down over the heart of the Soviet Union and its pilot captured;
- they lied about U.S. backing for last year's abortive invasion of Cuba;
- they lied about the bombers that attacked Cuban airfields before that invasion; they claimed that they belonged to the Cuban Air Force and were piloted by "defectors".

The story of the last big lie is instructive: the same technique may be used again.

Here it is as told by two American journalists, Tad Szulc of the *New York Times* and Karl E. Meyer of the *Washington Post*, in their book, *The Cuban Invasion*:

“The B.26’s took off from Guatemala during the night for their hit-and-run raids on Havana, San Antonio de los Banos and Santiago...

“Although the C.I.A. had taken the pains to disguise the B.26 with ‘FAR’ [Cuban Air Force — Ed.] markings, the agency overlooked a crucial detail... This was the fact that while Castro’s B.26’s were equipped with plexiglass noses, the aircraft given the rebel pilots were models with opaque noses.

“It did not take much time for a group of pilots in Miami who had served in Guatemala to recognise the ‘defector’ as one of their companions from the secret camps. Before night fell, it was common knowledge in Miami that the ‘defector’ was a Lieutenant Zuniga. His wife... telephoned a friend to inquire where she could find her husband, whom she had not seen since he left for Guatemalan camps...”

The two American journalists go on to describe what happened in the United Nations Political Committee, where the United States was represented by Ambassador Adlai Stevenson:

“The Ambassador of the United States held a photograph of one of the planes that had landed in Florida. ‘It has the markings of Castro’s air force on the tail’ Stevenson asserted... ‘these pilots and certain other crew members

have apparently defected from Castro's tyranny. No United States personnel participated. No United States government planes participated'."

Comment the two journalist :

"An ambassador, it is said, is an honest man sent to lie for his Commonwealth. But Stevenson had not only been forced to lie, but he had also thought he was telling truth. The man who had to defend the attack before the United Nations was not told the facts..."

"The lesson for today is clear : if the peace that has been won thanks above all to the sanity of Mr. Khrushchov and the moderation of Soviet policy is to be preserved, the U. S. policy-makers must renounce this 'cloak-and-dagger' game and strive sincerely for the establishment of an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence.

Tribune

8.12.62

CEYLON and CUBA

His Excellency the Governor-General of Ceylon
Mr. William Gopallawa

To commemorate the 15th Anniversary of the Independence of Ceylon, in the name of the people of Cuba, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, and in our own names, we have the honour to send Your Excellency, our warmest greetings. On this great day we wish to express our desire to strengthen the friendship between Cuba and Ceylon, with common respect to the rights of the people, to build their own life without the interference, in their inviolable determination of contributing to abolish colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, and in the struggle for the consolidation of world peace. We reiterate to Your Excellency, the assurances of our highest consideration.

Signed : **Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado.**
President of the Republic of Cuba

Commandant Fidel Castro Ruz,
Prime Minister of the Revolutionary
Government of Cuba.



CUBA

The most dreadful nuclear war which was about to take place and the likely catastrophe was averted at the last moment. This is a great relief to mankind even though as a temporary measure. The Soviet Union has promised to remove the rocket base from Cuba while America has promised not to attack Cuba. The two leaders of the two Power Blocs who were to face any situation by relying on their own strength had, at least at the last moment, realised the gravity of the danger, that they were putting the world into and had least agreed to come to a settlement. This is in no way a blot on their prestige. They are subjected to the praise of mankind instead.

This gesture on the part of the two great world leaders, was able to remove the immediate consequences of an imminent danger. But the cause has not yet been removed. As such the consequences of that cause may not be very far off.

It is not more than three or four years since Cuba elected the Government of her choice in a manner that would be beneficial to her. This revolution which took place even within a short period, has led to the gratification of the Cuban people. The Cubans were able to suppress the recent invasion of Cuba by the Americans, because of the faith they have in their Government. As such nobody should be displeased over the Cubans managing their affairs as they

like. No country has the right or the authority to interfere with the administration, or the social and economic systems of another independent country.

Cuba has the right to arrange for her defence as she likes. As such there is nothing strange in Cuba obtaining help from any country she likes. It is not at all reasonable on the part of another country to think that Cuba obtaining arms from another country for her own defence would prove to be a source of danger to the other country.

If we take things from this angle, we can say that the whole world is threatened with the danger of war because of the number of war treaties that countries have entered into. But this does not mean that those war treaties should be cancelled and that arms should not be supplied as per conditions laid down in the treaties by one country to another.

No doubt Cuba must have strengthened her defences because of threats she must have had to face from other countries. The harm that was done to Cuba from the day that she changed her economic system since the Revolution, is immense.

Editorial which appeared in the "Lankadipa" of 21st October 1962 and translated by the Globe Publicity Service.



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U. S. DEBACLE

During the 20th century, there were three great revolutions which changed the structure of human society. The first of these three revolutions was the great Russian revolution in Europe. The second was the Chinese revolution in Asia and the third, the Cuban revolution in Latin America.

At the birth of the great Russian revolution, the imperialists, the capitalists and the feudalists all tried to destroy this revolution in its infancy. But the unity and determination of the workers and peasants led by their leaders with courage and foresight triumphed; destroying the imperialist and the capitalist class in Russia to establish a socialist worker's government.

The people of China, before they started their revolution, had already profited by the lessons of the great Russian revolution. They knew before-hand the various tactics and moves of the capitalists and imperialists, with the support of reactionaries, that would be adopted to crush the people's revolution, which would free them from the fetters of their feudal lords. So the leaders of the Chinese revolution eliminated the reactionary element from the revolution and with the sacrifice of thousands of lives overthrew the foreign imperialists and the capitalist class from the soil of China.

The Chinese leader, Chiang-kai-shek, who was financed by the American capitalists to continue their hold on China,

was driven out of the Chinese mainland. He is still fed and paid by the American capitalists, not because they love him, but to reimpose the capitalist class system of the American imperialists in the Chinese mainland.

The third and the most daring was the Cuban revolution in Latin America. Cuba is a small country, with a population less than that of Ceylon. The Cuban people had been for many years exploited by the American capitalists. At this stage the living standards of the Cuban people had been at starvation level. Unable to bear this exploitation any longer, the Cuban people under the leadership of Dr. Fidel Castro, rose in revolt and raised the Flag of the Cuban revolution.

The audacity of the exploited Cuban people was a rude shock to the American capitalist class, and when they found that under Dr. Fidel Castro's wise leadership, poverty and starvation and all the sufferings of the people were being removed from the country, the American capitalist class became alarmed. The American capitalists and the feudal lords of Cuba became panicky at the rapid progress of the Cuban people to clear their country from the pestilence of poverty, starvation and capitalism. The American capitalists who had for so long enjoyed in the 'pleasure heavens' found that their heavens were being brought down by the Cubans and since then they have been raising an alarm as if a house is on fire. The American propaganda machine is trying very hard to destroy Cuba and the magnificent leader of the Cuban people — Dr. Fidel Castro.

The American capitalists began to shiver in fear that the Cuban revolution will cast its shadow over other Latin American countries that are still under United States exploitation, and these countries, seeing Cuba today would also wish to follow its example. So the American capitalists with the support of other reactionaries are trying to set the wheel of hatred turning against Castro and Cuba, which are synony-

mous, not only in Latin America, but also throughout the world.

The Cuban people who have been guided from darkness to enjoy the benefit of the light will never go back to the valley of darkness again. The Cuban people no more suffer the degradation of poverty and starvation in their own land. They will not give up the benefits of socialism as enjoyed in the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and in other socialist countries. The American imperialists and capitalists do not wish the Cuban people to enjoy the benefits of socialism. Like a dog suffering from hydrophobia, the American imperialists see everything 'red' in Cuba. Even a rose which is red is considered dangerous. To the American capitalist anything now 'red' is a danger, and at the sight of anything red they rush for a sword or a rifle to protect themselves saying that they are being attacked.

The American imperialists now find that the socialist camp is growing bigger and bigger and the capitalist camp growing weaker and weaker, as never before. In a state of fear, the capitalists make all kinds of promises and when they get a little 'Dutch courage' they break the promises they make.

The recent promise made to Mr. Khrushchev by President Kennedy about Cuba is a glaring example of broken promises. Nobody can now take the word of an imperialist. The socialist camp must therefore, remain strong and firm if peace is to be preserved in Cuba and in the world. The strength of the socialist camp is the only guarantee of world peace. The five point proposals made by Dr. Fidel Castro is the only sensible proposal for peace in Cuba and in the world. Therefore, all peace loving people throughout the world should support the five point proposals of Dr. Fidel Castro for these proposals ensure peace to the Cuban people and to the whole world.

Translated from Sinhalese

Tribune — 1.12.62.

CUBA'S

5 POINT PROPOSAL

FIVE-POINT PROPOSAL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF CUBA, SET FORTH BY ITS PRIME MINISTER, DR. FIDEL CASTRO, FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE GRAVE SITUATION CAUSED BY THE IMPERIALIST AGGRESSIVE ACTIONS

1. Abolition of the occupation by the United States of America of the naval base of Guantanamo and the restoration of Cuba's legitimate right to this part of her own territory;
2. Termination of the economic and commercial blockade of the United States of America against Cuba and lifting of the pressure upon other Governments to support this blockade.
3. Termination of help and support to the counter-revolutionaries and cessation of arms-aid to them;
4. Termination of piratical attacks against merchant-vessels which maintain the trade of Cuba with other countries;
3. Termination of continuous intrusion of the airspace and territorial waters of Cuba.

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HISTORY OF GUANTANAMO

BY HENRY GITANO

“If an invasion eventually is launched against Cuba,” notes the *Wall Street Journal* (Oct. 23), “the U.S. already has what in effect is a beachhead in Cuba: the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay” which is “a potential springboard for a military offense should war come.”

Guantanamo consists of 28,000 acres with about 1,400 buildings. There are two airfields within its confines, the 5,000 foot runway of McCalla Field and on 8,000 foot strip for jets on Leeward Point. It is the largest enclosed harbor in the world; the anchorage can accommodate 50 ships. The normal resident military complement is 2,950 men, dependents number about 2,500. In addition there are usually 5,000 men aboard ships in the bay. Some 3,600 Cubans work on the base. The U.S. has arrogated to itself perpetual exclusive rights over the area, paying Cuba \$3,386.25 annually for this occupied territory or about a penny an acre on a monthly basis.

The presence of American troops in Guantanamo against the wishes of the Cuban people is ever-present aggression. The offensive nature of American bayonets in Cuba was spotlighted during Kennedy's latest attempt to crush the Cuban Revolution, in which Guantanamo played

key role. "Guantanamo Marines Rarin' To Go" was the eight column head across the front page of the N.Y. World Telegram (Nov. 12). Jim G. Lucas, reporting from Guantanamo, quoted Corporal Jerome Golden: "There's not a man here who doesn't want to go over that fence. That's why we thought we came here."

Reporting from Cuba's occupied territory, David Kraslow of the Miami Herald (Nov. 14) saw an "eerie stillness" on the Cuban side. "On the American side there are 'over 8,000' tough Marines spoiling for a fight." Tad Szulc of the N.Y. Times (Nov. 12) noted that "the Pentagon could not foresee" if "the crisis would lead to.....offensive operations that would require support from Guantanamo." He reported that alongside of heavy troop concentrations, there were "Navy underwater demolition teams, its warships, its Navy attack jet fighters, propeller-driven bombers....."

Reinforcing the concept of an offensive buildup, Marine Commandant Gen. W. R. Collins gave his evaluation: "There are no signs the Cubans are preparing an attack on the base" (UPI, Nov. 13). The same day, a tank march along the fence was projected, to impress Cubans who had allegedly thrown rocks — Goliath had second thoughts, and called it off. The N.Y. Times (Nov. 18) displayed a large photo of Douglas Skyraiders on "alert" at Guantanamo airfield, noting that they were "capable of delivering..... nuclear bombs."

A blueprint for subjugating Cuba was reported by the (Oct. 9) Los Angeles Times. Holmes Alexander reported from Guantanamo Bay: "We would be lucky if an 'incident' at this naval base provided us with a new chance to establish a free Cuba on this island. The opportunity would enable us to set up a fighting front.....Nothing else, except this uncompromising joining of battle in a limited

war, with the avowed intention of victory, seems to be in the picture as viewed here." U.S. News & World Report (Nov. 26) blustered: "Heavy reinforcement of Guantanamoshowed Cuba had been placed at the mercy of U.S. military force and that the U.S. was ready for action if it were needed."

Guantanamo was set on a collision course aimed at overthrowing the Cuban Revolution by armed force, meanwhile undertaking provocations, espionage and subversion.

DURING the past sixty-four years, Guantanamo has been an integral part of the U.S. drive to transform and maintain the Caribbean as an American lake and Latin America as vassal states. The stakes are very high. They were summarized by Herbert Matthews in the N. Y. Times (April 26, 1959): "U.S. private investments in Latin America now reach the amazing total of about \$9.5 billion. . . . At every point it has to be said: 'If we did not have Latin America on our side, our situation would be desperate. To be denied the products and markets of Latin America would reduce the U.S. to being a second-rate nation and cause a devastating reduction in our standard of living . . . Latin American raw materials are essential to our existence as a world power.'"

The end result of U.S. colonial policy was editorially stated by England's respected **Manchester Guardian Weekly** (Jan. 12, 1961) while discussing Cuban-U.S. relations. "In most parts of the world, it is no longer Britain or France — or even the Soviet Union — which is regarded as the arch imperialist. It is the United States." The story of U.S. imperialism is also the story of Guantanamo — America's oldest foreign base.

The U.S. government in its White Paper in reply to Cuban charges (Oct. 13, 1960) spoke of "the historic friend-

ship between Cuba and the U.S.," adding that the U.S. "never 'took upon itself' or imposed by force' any right respecting Guantanamo." History tells a different story.

The American government consistently opposed Cuban liberation. Until the U.S. was ready to swallow Cuba, it wanted the Island to remain part of a declining Spain.

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams wrote to the American Minister in Spain on April 28, 1823: "There are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation; and if an apple, severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot choose but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjoined from its unnatural connection with Spain and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union."

On the other hand, Cubans had the curious belief that Cuba had a natural connection with them. This belief was so profound that from 1868-1878 — the first phase of Cuba's 30-year struggle for independence — Spain lost 80,000 soldiers. In this war "the U.S.," says Herbert Matthews, "helped Spain" (*The Cuban Story*).

Eventually, America embarked on her own career of overseas imperialism. The concept that it was the destiny of the U.S. to have this Hemisphere as its private preserve was asserted with inimitable candor by Secretary of State Richard T. Olney in a message to England over the Venezuela dispute in July 1895: "The U.S. is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law . . . its infinite resources combined with its isolated position render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable against any or all other powers."

The U.S. was not in business to free Latin America; its aim was to change the locale of domination to Washington.

In 1895 another Cuban insurrection against Spain began. President Cleveland said that the U.S. because of "its large pecuniary stake" in the fortunes of Cuba was "inextricably involved."

Expansionists were convinced by 1898 that the fruit had ripened sufficiently for McKinley's intervention. An editorial in the *Washington Post* just before the war, explained: "A new consciousness seems to have come upon us — the consciousness of strength — and with it a new appetite, the yearning to show our strength . . . The taste of Empire is in the mouth of the people even as the taste of blood in the jungle."

On February 15, 1898, the battleship "Maine" blew up in Cuban waters with the loss of 258 crew members and two officers. The origin of the explosion has never been determined. Those were the days during which William Randolph Hearst's scribblers fabricated Our-Man-In-Havana stories to stir up war.

Artist Frederic Remington cabled his desire to return from Cuba: "Everything is quiet, there is no trouble here. There will be no war." Hearst replied: "Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war."

Spain agreed early in April 1898 to suspend hostilities, call a Cuban parliament and grant generous local autonomy. There had been widespread indignation over the atrocities committed by Spain's General Weyler and he had been recalled. The American Minister in Spain, General Woodford, cabled McKinley that the Madrid government was willing to grant any automomy which the insurgents would accept, even complete independence for Cuba. But McKinley "without making public the latest concession from Madrid, sent a militant message to Congress on April 11, 1898,

declaring that his efforts were brought to a standstill and the issue was in the hands of Congress" (Charles, and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, Vol. 2). Congress interpreted the message as a demand for a declaration of war.

In the Senate, Populists suspecting a ruse for imperialist conquest forced the adoption of a supplement disowning all subterfuges. On April 19, 1898, the U.S. was at war with the most powerless, European colonial state, one that had offered to capitulate before the battle started.

The intent of the Joint Resolution for the Recognition of the Independence of the People of Cuba (U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 30), April 20, 1898, was clear: "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the USA in Congress assembled, First. That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent . . . That the U.S. hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty jurisdiction or control over the said Island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the Island to its people." This was the will of the American people. McKinley had become president on a platform calling for Cuban independence.

AFTER four months, hostilities were over. Contrary to our jingoistic textbooks, it was Cuba's General Garcia who provided the strategy for the Battle of Santiago and a troop of 5,000 Cubans who barred the advance from Holguin of the main Spanish body. *Leatherneck*, (Nov. 1962), the Marine Corps magazine, stated in its historical roundup: "There was little opposition on the beach . . . the Spanish American War did not amount to much militarily."

Cubans, who had borne the brunt of the fighting, "were not invited to the conferences of the commanders, which closed with the Spaniards' unconditional surrender. And

Cuban troops with arms were not admitted to enter the liberated city!"(Waldo Frank — **Cuba Prophetic Island.**)

At the peace treaty signed in Paris (Dec. 10, 1898) Cuba was not even represented. Referring to Cuba, the Treaty states: "Spain relinquishes all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba. And as the Island is, upon its evacuation by Spain, to be occupied by the U.S., the U.S. will, so long as such occupation shall last....." and so on in like vein. The American people wanted Cuban independence. The Joint Declaration of April 20 embodied this desire. Now the deceit was unveiled, "free and independent" was transformed into "occupation."

In his message of December 1897 President McKinley had declared that "forcible annexation.....would be criminal aggression." Later he remarked, when the war is over we must keep what we want." Thus, the U.S., as part of its war for the liberation of Cuba, grabbed Puerto Rico, Guam and the Phillipines.

On January 1, 1899, Spanish troops evacuated Cuba to be replaced by U.S. General Leonard Wood's dictatorial occupation. The Cuban army had not yet been disbanded. "Wood invited Generalissimo Gomez and a small group of Cuban leaders to a day's picnic sail on his yacht. While the Daiquiris glittered cold, he assured Gomez that the President meant to honor absolutely the promises of Congress. Moreover McKinley had a balance of \$3, million from the war budget voted by Congress, with which he was ready to pay a \$75 bonus to every Cuban veteran, with one proviso: that the army dissolve. Gomez believed Wood and accepted." (Waldo Frank).

On November 5, 1900, General Wood called a constitutional convention in Havana. The delegates were instruted

to write a Constitution and frame a treaty defining future relations between Cuba and the U.S.

Washington faced a problem. There was the resolution of Congress proclaiming to the world that the U.S. desired only peace and not jurisdiction over Cuba. But if power were transferred to the Cuban people, would investments be safe? The situation involved profit versus honor. Then as now it was resolved for profit through falsification, betrayal and armed might.

With Cubans drafting a treaty and their army dissolved, Senator O. H. Platt defined the relations whereby imperialist domination was assured behind a false facade. Sandwiched between liability of officers for failure to report and longevity payments for engineer battalions, was the nullification of Cuban sovereignty :

“The President is hereby authorized to ‘leave the government and control of the island of Cuba to its people so soon as.....the government of Cuba consents that the U.S. may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty.....the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the U.S. lands necessary for coaling or naval stations [Guantanamo Bay].....That by way of further assurance the government of Cuba will embody the foregoing provisions in a permanent treaty with the U.S.”

The Cuban people who had fought and suffered for thirty years to win their freedom understood this betrayal. They protested in Cuba and in Washington, but to no avail. The alternative to accepting the Platt amendment was indefinite military occupation. On July 12, 1901, by a vote of 17 to 11, it became part of Cuba's constitution.

On May 20, 1902, U.S. military occupation ended — but not for long. By 1906 U.S. Marines again intervened to “restore order.....and establish a stable government after serious revolutionary activity,” remaining until 1909 (Situation in Cuba, U.S. Senate, Sept. 17, 1962).

The formal “treaties” which transformed Guantanamo into occupied territory were signed on February 16 and July 2, 1903. This provided American imperialism with “complete jurisdiction and control over and within said areas.” The treaty gave the U.S. a perpetual lease on the base which can be changed only at Washington’s whim.

In a rare instance of historical candor, a memorandum on Guantanamo prepared by the Department of Defense for its 1961 Appropriations clarified the record: “It is perhaps worthwhile to note that the two lease agreements of 1903 were executed by the Presidents of the two countries and were not submitted to the Congresses of either country for approval.” Thus Guantanamo was stolen from Cuba behind the backs of both the American and the Cuban peoples.

That didn’t stop the *N. Y. Times* (Oct. 29, 1962) from palming off the “exceptionally low” rental as “indicative of Cuban gratitude to the U.S. for having helped Cuba win independence from Spain.” (The revolutionary government of Castro feels no “gratitude” for an enemy base on its territory—it has refused to accept payment of the yearly rental since coming to power.) The origin of the Guantanamo Base is illegitimate, it derives from arbitrary occupation and imperialist aggression. It is based on naked force—as befits such a treaty, it was to extend forever.

In his vivid study, *The Shark and the Sardines*, spotlighting American colonialism in action, Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo, former President of Guatemala, exposed these

“treaties.” “From these pages we denounce once more the go-between function of International Law, shamelessly placed at the service of the Empire, to hide its fraud, to give an honest appearance to the plundering done by its bankers, to cover up carefully the butchering done by its marines and aviators.....There is only one contracting party—the one that swallows.....Law without authority for appeal is not Law. And when orders are dictated by foreign troops, how long does such Law last?”

Marion E. Murphy who was Commander of Guantanamo Base in his “History of Guantanamo Base” records that “Some indication of the future role of the [Marine] barracks was noted in 1903. A battalion under major L. C. Lucas spent about a month on the Station awaiting further transfer to PanamaThe following decades saw a procession of Marine units enroute to or returning from Caribbean actions.”

Guantanamo Bay has been used as a staging area, or as a concentration point of troops and weapons whenever imperialist domination was endangered in the Caribbean. This is partially documented in Murphy’s book and more fully in a mimeographed 163-page monograph titled “180 Landings of U.S. Marines, [in times of peace] 1800-1934” by Captain Harry Alanson Ellsworth, U.S. Marine Corps, Officer in Charge, Historical Section, August, 1834. A concise listing of armed interventions is available by writing Senator requesting **Situation in Cuba**, U.S. Senate, Sept. 17, 1962, \$89479.

The following are typical examples from this list. To suppress a Haitian revolt, the 24th Company of Marines, under Capt. William G. Fay from Guantanamo Bay, was transported to Haiti and landed on July 29, 1915. Two thousand Haitians were killed in this Marine operation

which lasted until August 15, 1934. In Nicaragua "the revolutionary activities begun in the latter part of 1926 increased to such an extent that additional American forces were necessary" (Ellsworth). Guantanamo Bay answered the call with the 2nd Battalion of the 5th Regiment. The Marines left Nicaragua in 1933.

The land laws imposed under U.S. occupation made Cubans landless while laying the basis for vast North American plantations. Four years after military occupation ended, the Marines returned to smash "a revolution of considerable proportion" which Ellsworth tells us, "was well underway." Guantanamo Commandant Ackerman "armed nine stem launches and two tugs and organized a landing force.....U.S. intervention had the requisite steadying effect." (Murphy).

On September 29, 1906, William Howard Taft proclaimed that Cuba, left without a government "at a time when great disorder prevails," would be governed by the U.S. Taft proclaimed himself provisional governor. Charles E. Magoon succeeded him, administering Cuba under this second occupation until 1909 when the Marines withdrew.

By 1912 "this Island showed distinct signs of again breaking forth in Revolution" (Ellsworth). The first Regiment landed at Guantanamo on May 28 and a few days later was distributed to different points in the eastern end of Cuba.

In 1917 the Marines acted as strikebreakers and Pinkertons for the Cuban Railroad; they were camped on railroad property. The request for additional Marines who remained until 1922 was motivated by Minister to Cuba, Boaz Long: "In event of Revolution or other disturbances American interests will be [the] first to be destroyed." General Crowder in 1922 stated that if any disturbances developed, "the

Marines could be rushed back from Guantanamo within 48 hours. Thus the Cuba Railroad would still have recourse to marine protection, if needed" (*The U.S. and Cuba*, by Robert F. Smith).

Two ships of the U.S. Navy were sent to Havana for their "moral" effect in 1933. Murphy relates that when the bloody Machado dictatorship fell, "financiers, owners of sugar mills, business men and high ranking Cuban officials found a haven on the station....U.S. naval vessels cruised around the coast of Cuba ready to act for the preservation of lives and property." It is worthwhile to note that during Machado's regime of the "Sawed-Off Shotgun" (1925-1933) labor leaders, students and political opponents were butchered; Noske Yalob and Claudio Brouzon were thrown to the sharks; there were machine-gun elections; Luis Blanco Neuman was murdered by the police for presenting a petition to the American Embassy; but the Marines never intervened. As Franklin D. Roosevelt once said of Trujillo: "He may be an S.O.B., but he is our S.O.B."

Following a general strike, Gerardo Machado was overthrown in August 1933 and a new government under Dr. Grau San Martin enacted "an eight hour day....a minimum wage for cutting sugar cane...the initiation of a program for agrarian reform...a reduction in electricity rates.The Grau government aroused intense hostility on the part of business interests...Mr. Sumner Welles, the American Ambassador, was strongly opposed to the regime, and the U.S. refused to recognize it...In January, 1934, the army [under Batista] finally turned against Grau, who was forced to resign....The resentment of many Cubans has been increased by the accusation that the Mendieta coalition, which succeeded Grau, was and is largely the creature of American diplomacy. It is pointed out that Washington extended recognition to President Grau, who stayed in office

four months" (*Problems of the New Cuba—Foreign Policy Association, 1935*).

The marines at Guantanamo Bay had earned their keep. Carleton Beals reviewed American domination over Cuba in 1933 (*The Crime of Cuba*). Nearly 90% of the cultivated land was owned or controlled by Americans. "Eighty per cent of the sugar industry belongs to citizens of the U.S.; the rest is controlled chiefly by American creditors. Cuba's second industry—tobacco—is also mostly American. Nearly all the banks, railroads, streetcar lines, electric plants, telephone systems and other public utilities are owned by capital from the U.S."

During Grau's presidency, the U.S. ordered at least twenty nine naval vessels to proceed to Cuba or Key West. Marine air squadrons were alerted; guns and bomb racks were mounted on the planes. Regiments of Marine infantry were assembled at Key West, Florida. In case this would prove insufficient inducement, Secretary Cordell "Hull and Ambassador Welles discussed the possibility of armed intervention in some detail" (*The U.S. and Cuba, Robert F. Smith*).

Ruby Hart Phillips, N. Y. Times correspondent, in her book, *Cuba—Island of Paradox*, recounts the political atmosphere in 1933 "with Cuban officialdom trembling in their shoes as to the final action which would be taken by the U.S., a word from the Ambassador was usually sufficient. The memory of U. S. intervention in 1907 still gave an American Ambassador considerable prestige." In addition to the Ambassador, there is the army: "Camp Columbia [which revolutionary Cuba has now transformed into a school] controls not only Havana but the entire Island and the government." Controlling the army, "Batista is doing everything he can to please Consul General Dumont...He

has the arms and ammunition and the soldiers. From now on Cuba is in the same category with all Latin American countries—the army rules.” President Mendieta signed a decree on March 7, 1934, suspending constitutional guarantees and placing the country under martial law.

R. H. Phillips understood Washington’s purpose: “The U. S. was chiefly interested in the amount of sugar Cuba could produce, and was not going to have sugar production hampered by Revolution.”

Machado, whose army was trained by U.S. officers, could guarantee U.S. profits until a general strike overthrew him. Now Batista’s army would try the same. The military machine had become so powerful and was in such ‘responsible’ and ‘friendly’ hands, that the U.S. could see no reason for using its own troops when Batista would do the job more cheaply. Meanwhile Roosevelt, who refused to recognize Dr. Grau, but in a short order embraced the Batista-Mendieta axis, added prestige to a Cuban government which protected U.S. business interests by modifying the hated Platt Amendment on May 29, 1934, retaining control over Guantanamo.

While the original Guantanamo treaties were imposed under threat of continuing U. S. military occupation, the 1934 treaty, reaffirming U.S. seizure of Guantanamo exactly as it was codified in 1903, was in essence a treaty which the U. S. signed with itself using puppets as front men during a period of martial law with a “Provisional President” in Cuba. This is what Washington means when it says, “The U.S. is in Guantanamo by right of treaty.”

In June of 1958 two of Batista’s planes, presumably bombing Cuban revolutionaries in the Sierra Maestra, made emergency landings at Guantanamo and were refuelled there. About the same time, Angel Saavedra, an agent of the July

26 Movement at the Cuban Embassy in Washington, secured documents showing that 300 5-inch rocket warheads, weighing nine tons, were delivered to Batista's Air Force on May 19, 1958, from Guantanamo. The U.S. State Department later confirmed this transaction.

Tad Szulc and Karl E. Meyer in their recent book, *The Cuban Invasion*, revealed that "In Cuba, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) worked mostly out of Havana and Guantanamo Naval Base." In discussing leaders of a counter-revolutionary group, we are told: "They were captured hours after [Sergio] Sanjenis in co-operation with CIA agents spirited Nino Diaz into the Guantanamo Navy Base from Havana.....There are good reasons to believe that Diaz had gone into the hills from Guantanamo Navy Base and that the CIA had given him some support."

The CIA had a plan whereby some Cuban torpedo boats would escape from the naval base at Baracoa in Oriente province, but they would have to be refueled. "To help the potential defectors, a privately owned undersea-cable repair ship, the Western Union, put in at Guantanamo to load on her deck several thousand drums of high-octane gasoline. But on her way to the Baracoa rendezvous, the vessel was intercepted by a Cuban warship. Anguished radio messages to Guantanamo sent a U.S. destroyer and Navy aircraft rushing toward the Western Union, and, in the end, the Cuban captain let himself be stared down by the American forces and allowed the cable ship to go. Once discovered, however, the Western Union could no longer pursue her mission..."

(The Cuban Invasion).

A May 10, 1961 UPI dispatch, datelined Washington, disclosed that during the CIA organized invasion a U.S. submarine was on hand. "It was not learned whether the

USS Spikefish was acting as an escort for the rebel landing craft or merely observing the operation...The Navy declined to say anything on the subject...The sub....later showed up at the Guantanamo Naval Base."

Items datelined Guantanamo Naval Base, beginning with "Sources in contact with the Cuban underground say..." (AP Sept. 18) are by now routine.

Following the U.S. break in diplomatic relations with Cuba, Admiral Arleigh Burke reaffirmed U. S. obligation to return fugitives from Cuba (in accordance with Article 4 of the July 2, 1903 treaty, reasserted May 29, 1934). An AP dispatch (*San Juan Star*, October 19) reported: The Navy said its Guantanamo Base in Cuba is sheltering about 350 Cubans who fled from Fidel Castro's regime but is not allowing them to leave the Island." Within less than one month, 300 Cubans had evaporated. An AP dispatch from Guantanamo (*N. Y. World Telegram*, November 12) divulges that "50 refugees from Castro are here now, although U. S. officials do not admit that." This item also claims that "Cuban workers.....are a source of information."

This fits in well with the views of Admiral Burke as expressed in an interview with *U. S. News & World Report* (October 3, 1960): "We shouldn't be apologizing to the world. We're powerful and we're the leader of the world." (Question: "Is the Navy concerned about the situation in Cuba?") "Oh, yes, the Navy is concerned — not about our base at Guantanamo, but about the whole Cuban situation."

What is the present function of foreign military bases, specifically Guantanamo? On March 28, 1961, Kennedy requested Congress to cut back military bases. The *N. Y. Times* reported that Kennedy "has already taken steps to have 73 domestic and foreign installations discontinued." The U. S. maintains a total of 2,230 military installations overseas (*Times*, November 9).

In analyzing overseas bases, the *Wall Street Journal* (Oct. 29) admits: "Ironically, the Navy would probably have been willing to give up Guantanamo at the start of the Castro era; it's basically a convenient, warm-water training base for newly outfitted ships and is no longer vital for guarding the Panama Canal. Now such a pullout might be interpreted as a surrender and so is considered undesirable."

In our age of guided missiles, the occupied territory of Cuba does not protect the U. S. mainland; it remains important to Washington's drive against the Cuban Revolution and against the struggles of the Latin American people for their national liberation. The presence of U. S. armed troops in Guantanamo has been a persistent violation of Cuban sovereignty.

The final declaration (September 6, 1961) of the Belgrade Conference of Non-aligned Nations including India, Algeria, Morocco and the United Arab Republics demanded the immediate elimination of all manifestations of imperialism including the abolition of all foreign military bases. The Conference of 25 nations, declared that "the North American military base at Guantanamo, Cuba, to the permanence of which the Government and people of Cuba have expressed their opposition, affects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country."

Dr. Fidel Casto in his November 1, 1962 speech asked for "the withdrawal of the naval base at Guantanamo and the return of the territory occupied by the US..... A truly convincing deed would be for the U. S. to return the territory which it occupies at the naval base at Guantanamo."

Herbert L. Matthews in his book, *The Cuban Story* (1961), declares: "Sooner or later we are going to have to give up Guantanamo Bay because in the modern world it is not

possible indefinitely to hold a military base in a foreign country against the wishes of the people of that country. France, Britain and Spain were unable to hold on to their bases in the Middle East and North Africa, and we are having to give up our air bases in Morocco."

Hanson Baldwin maintains that Guantanamo's importance lies in providing "comparative values"; it is "a sanctuary of freedom."

J. Robert Moskin in a feature story from Guantanamo (Look April 11, 1961) concretizes these lofty values. "Guantanamo's greatest fame has been as a recreation center for the fleet." In the "old days" this "was a lazy, luxurious station and a playground for the men from the ships. Rum and sin in the neighboring towns, were mighty attractions."

But there's something for everybody; there are attractions for upholders of togetherness. The Wall Street Journal (Jan. 10, 1961) reports: "About 600 Cuban women clean the homes and cook meals of military men. Top pay \$35 a month plus meals... An officer's wife, sunning herself at the swimming pool here while a Cuban band plays pleasant music, worries that her maid may never come back into the compound from the vacation she is now on."

An old American custom was introduced to Guantanamo in March, 1960, when the militant leader of the base workers' union, Frederico Figueras Larrazabal, was fired for allegedly making offensive remarks.

Though the workers are in daily contact with American values, including the twice-daily bodily frisking by Marines, and AP dispatch from the base on May 1, 1961, reported only forty-five workers had entered Guantanamo Base on May Day morning.

To give credit where it is due, we note President Kennedy's press conference of March 8, 1961, at which he announced to the world that the Red Cross and the U.S. Navy at Guantanamo had co-operated that very day with the Cubans "to combat a polio outbreak" in nearby Guantanamo City. Permission was granted "to send all the vaccine which could be spared." The Cuban Red Cross man upon entering the U.S. gate was met by photographers ready to record this humane act for posterity.

Kennedy's statement closed with these moving words: "I want to take this opportunity — and this incident — to emphasize once again that our difference of opinion on matters affecting Cuba are not with the Cuban people. Rather, we desire the closest and harmonious, and friendly and most sympathetic ties with them." (The "outbreak" consisted of four suspected cases, none of which developed into polio.)

The Cubans gave no thanks for this generous, though not anonymous contribution — the vaccine was both ineffective and dangerous; it had an expiration date of December 16, 1960.



Cuban Revolution

significance & perspectives

BY

S. P. AMARASINGAM

Cuba is headline news practically every day.

Why?

Ever since Fidel Castro defeated Batista and took the reins of power in Cuba from January 1, 1959 it has been in the news.

Why?

The answer is simple. Castro and colleagues have carried through a revolution very different from anything that has happened so far. It has confounded all the rules by which revolutions were said to take place. Not only has a revolution against a dictatorial tyranny been transformed into a full socialist revolution but in the process a group of amorphous socialists have become convinced of the validity of Marxism as a logic to fashion the destinies of a people.

The Russian Revolution took place in a huge country which was able to withstand the onslaught of 17 capitalist nations shortly after Soviet power was established. The

immensity of the Soviet Union, with its vast resources enabled it to survive these attacks and build socialism. The East European nations attained socialist power in the wake of a world war and with the assistance of the victorious Red Army of the Soviet Union. Peoples' China was another immense country which won socialist power through civil war and a mighty army that was fashioned in the struggle, but its rear was always secured by the Soviet Union which was also able to render it much assistance owing to contiguity.

But Cuba is far away from the socialist bloc in the Europe-Asia land mass. It was a little insignificant colony of US imperialism which did not have diplomatic or trade relations with any socialist country at the time the revolution took place.

How then did socialism come to Cuba?

This is perhaps the most fascinating story of the contemporary era. It is a story that has been told and will be told a hundred times over in the ages to come by poets, writers, historians, economists and newspapermen. From all that has been written so far, from the speeches of its leaders notably Prime Minister Fidel Castro, and from the official pronouncements and declarations of the government, it is possible to draw attention to the more important aspects of the Cuban Revolution.

The first question, which is usually asked, as to how Castro defeated Batista has been amply answered. The Cuban people have a revolutionary tradition. It was the first colony of the Spanish colonialists and had been kept a prison house for centuries not only by a ruthless Spanish army but also by a legion of Jesuits who were adept at enslaving the minds of those in their charge. Nevertheless, throughout the entire history of Spanish rule, several revolts against tyranny had broken out only to be suppressed with brutality. In the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, however, the revolt against Spanish

rule was almost permanent, and half a million of Spain's best troops were engaged in putting down the rebels. But this Cuban war exhausted the resources of Spain, and the United States stepped into Cuba in 1898 professing to help the freedom fighters to establish a free Republic.

This friendly intervention turned out to be a permanent military occupation, and the US troops left only after the Platt Amendment had been inscribed into the Cuban Constitution. The Platt Amendment, a legislative enactment of the US Congress, insisted that US should have the right to intervene in the domestic and foreign affairs of Cuba and have military bases in the Island. Thus, legislation of a foreign country was forcibly introduced into the Constitution of Cuba making it a subject country, particularly with the Guantanamo base leased to the USA virtually in perpetuity.*

Having thus secured control over the island, US capitalists poured investments into the island, and in the years 1955-58 drew more than \$1 billion in profits alone whilst 600,000 were unemployed, nearly 40% of the population were illiterate and the overwhelming mass of the people were on the verge of starvation on a desperate subsistence level of existence. To protect US investments, the US government propped up a succession of puppets, the last being Batista. Cuba was quarantined and insulated politically against the rest of the world, and the State Department in Washington and the money bags in Wall Street were certain that their investments and profits in Cuba were safe for all eternity.

*If the USA were the supreme military power today it would have insisted that the Hickenlooper Amendment, regarding compensation to US property taken over, should be inscribed into the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation Act and possibly the Constitution of Ceylon.

But the nation revolted led by Castro and his colleagues. They had undoubtedly benefited from the lessons of all the revolutions that had failed in Latin America; in Guatemala, in Venezuela, in Colombia, in practically every state in that hemisphere. That is why when the victorious forces of the Revolution rode into Havana on January 1, 1959 they told the US Military Mission, advisers to the Batista regime, and who were willing to advice the Castro government, to pack up and go home. This was the first act of sovereign and independent power.

Then, the Castro regime introduced three necessary and popular measures: Rents were reduced by 50%; concessions granted by Batista to the telephone company were cancelled and normal prices for telephone services were re-established; and, the rates for electricity, one of the highest in the world, were reduced. These three measures, which hit US investments and monopolies in Cuba, raised a major rumpus in the USA. "Then, we began," says Castro, "to be painted Red because we had clashed head-on with the interests of the United States monopolies."*

Then, came the next law, inevitable in any under-developed country which wants to bring a better life to the common people: Agrarian Reform. This created a terrific storm. "Notes from the State Department rained on Cuba," said Castro describing this part of the revolutionary struggle. "They never asked about our problems, not even out of a desire to express condolence or commiseration, or because of the hand that they had in creating the problems. They never asked us how many died of starvation in our country, how many were suffering from tuberculosis, how many were unemployed. No, they did not ask about that....." The only question was "How were we going to pay? Naturally,

* In his speech at the 15th Session of the United Nations Assembly, September 1960.

the first thing that should have been asked was, 'What with?', not 'How?'. Cuba wanted to pay in ten or twenty years, but the State Department "put three things to us: speedy payment, efficient payment and just payment. Do you understand that language? That means, 'Pay now, cash on the spot, and what we ask for our lands'."*

Was this Agrarian Reform a "communist measure"? Castro answers this in the same speech. "We were not 150 per cent communists at that time. We were just pink at that time—slightly pink. We were not confiscating lands. We simply proposed to pay for them over a period of twenty years, and the only way in which we could pay for them was by bonds—bonds which would mature in twenty years—at 4½ per cent which would be amortized yearly. How were we going to pay cash, on the spot, and how could we pay for them what they asked? It was ludicrous. It was obvious that at that time we had to choose between an agrarian reform or nothing. If we chose nothing then there would be a perpetuation of the economic misery of my country, and if we did carry out the agrarian reform we were exposing ourselves to incurring the hatred of the Government of the powerful neighbour of the North. We went ahead with agrarian reform....."

Although the limit was placed at 400 hectares, US monopolies that had up to 20,000 hectares, were furious. The US then started a campaign of intimidation and terroristic subversion. It is interesting to note what Castro had to say in his speech at the UN Assembly at this stage of the historical process. "On our honour," he said, "we swear that up to that time we had not the opportunity even to exchange letters with the distinguished Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchov. That is to say that,

* Ibid

when the North American press and the international news agencies who supply information to the world, proclaimed that Cuba was already a Communist government, a Red peril ninety miles from the United States, with a Government dominated by Communists, the Revolutionary Government had not even had the opportunity of establishing diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union. But hysteria can go to any length; hysteria is capable of making the most unlikely and absurd claims.....”

Diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries came later. When the campaign of intimidation and terroristic subversion failed to cripple the Castro government, the US suddenly refused to buy the one million tons of quota sugar which was ready for shipment after the harvest. Without payment for the sugar, the Cuban government would have collapsed. But at this stage, the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc stepped in and bought the sugar. That is how Khrushchov came into the picture. Events followed in quick succession and the United States threatened to invade Cuba. This was when Eisenhower was still in the saddle. This brought a prompt warning from Khrushchov that Soviet rockets and missiles would fly if there was any direct attack on Cuba.

This saved the Cuban Revolution. Cuban patriots, democrats and revolutionaries began to realise that it was socialism that stood for the emancipation of man and the ending of the exploitation of man by man.

US monopolists and the State Department continued to resort to every strategem to destroy Castro's Cuba. The Alliance for Progress was organised. This was the first time the US sought to assist the under-developed countries in Latin America, exploited by the monopolists, to attain a better standard of living. But whilst politicians wanted the Alliance for Progress as a cushion to prevent revolutionary

movements, the monopolists thought it another excellent instrument for infiltration to ensure profitable investment. The result was that the Alliance for Progress had already reached the crossroads of futility.

Then adventures like the Bay of Pigs invasion by expatriate Cuban counter-revolutionaries, trained and armed in US, were attempted. This too proved failures. Finally, when Cuba sought to arm herself for defence with the assistance of the Soviet Union, President Kennedy rushed to the brink of war last October, only to publicly undertake not to invade Cuba in return for a withdrawal of Soviet missiles based on Cuba. Since that time, it has been one miserable story of pressure in the United State to compel the President to wriggle out of the promise not to invade Cuba.

But whatever the US boasts, the problem of Cuba has indeed baffled the State Department. None of the techniques of the CIA have been successful in destroying Castro's Cuba. And Cuba continues to grow stronger daily, economically and politically. Its stature has grown immeasurably in Latin America and also in the whole world. President Kennedy has admitted that the USA does not like the regime in Cuba which is today avowedly socialist with Marxism-Leninism for ideology.

How could this have happened in a tiny island only ninety miles away from the United States? That is the question which the State Department, the CIA and President Kennedy seem unable to answer. The Cuban Revolution does not fit into the pattern, long accepted by the CIA, as the conspiratorial technique through which socialist power was established. According to the CIA textbook, Marxists first soften a country for revolutionary seizure by organising a Communist Party and several front organisations (trade unions, youth organisations, etc.) Then, the Marxists try

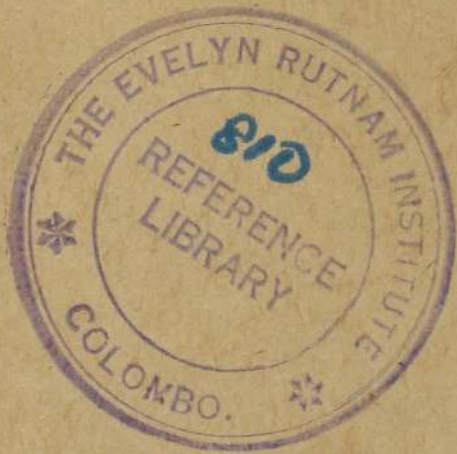
to get into strategic positions in the Government and the Administration through "United Front" tactics. Finally, acting as a "fifth column", these forces open the gates to a Red Army from a socialist country. Some of the formulations of the Comintern of the Stalin era may have misled the CIA into these cock-eyed ideas as to how revolutions take place. In order to meet such threats of revolutionary uprisings, the US and its allies had, therefore, sought to build a *cordon sanitaire* militarily around the socialist bloc of countries and to envelop them in the white heat of an ideological cold war so as to prevent the export of marxist ideology. Additionally, the US has sought to destroy the communist movements in each country and to decimate what were described as fellow travelling front organisations. And in Cuba, under Batista, the US had implemented its policies to insulate a country against marxist revolution to the fullest. Nevertheless, a revolution took place in Cuba and it has now become a fully-fledged Marxist movement. This is what has stumped the USA.

And, this brings us to the most significant aspect of the Cuban Revolution, which has taught us that we are today in the historical epoch when a revolt against tyranny, even in a small country like Cuba, can be transformed into a socialist revolution: that Marxists alone do not make revolutions (often their revolutionary efforts prove utter failures) but patriotic revolutionaries can under certain circumstances, become Marxists: that Marxism does not breed revolutions but that objective conditions of exploitation create the impetus for such change: that all the efforts to prevent the export of Marxism and revolution are of no avail in the modern era. Further, that in an age of missile power, national boundaries and space are of little consequence: a genuine revolution in Cuba can be saved and helped from Moscow or Peking. And finally, that trade and commercial relations have unique

revolutionary potential in weakening the power of Imperialism. Admittedly, what saved the Cuban Revolution and transformed it into a socialist movement has begun the series of events starting from the purchase of Cuban sugar by the socialist bloc countries (when the US imposed the economic ban) and the warning by Moscow that Soviet rockets would fly if Cuba was attacked when the Pentagon made preparations to invade the island.

Cuba has thus placed the United States in a quandary. Kennedy and his advisers keep asking what it is that could be done to prevent a repetition of Cuba in any other country, particularly in the Latin American continent? Cuba is today the greatest headache for the USA. Backed by the power of the socialist bloc, Cuba presents a problem which calls for a total revision of all US policies to contain communism and exorcise Marxism. Cuba has shown that Marxism is a logic and a way of thought and action which can, without outside intervention, take root even in the soil of Cuba which had for over 400 years been tended by the Jesuits. And this is probably another additional reason why the Vatican seems to have decided to change its tactics in dealing with Marxism and Communism. "Error", in future, will be fought by the Church not by condemnation and persecution, but with the "sweet medicine of mercy" through patient explanation and teaching.





“... A great ideological battle was fought between the Cuban Revolution and Yankee imperialism. What did they represent? In whose names did they speak? Cuba represented the peoples; United States represented the monopolies. Cuba spoke for the exploited masses; United States for oligarchical interests, exploiters and imperialists. Cuba for sovereignty; United States for intervention. Cuba for the nationalization of foreign enterprises; United States for new investments of foreign capital. Cuba for culture; United States for the ignorance. Cuba for agrarian reform; United States for the big landowners. Cuba for the industrialisation of America; United States for undevelopment. Cuba for creative work; United States for sabotage and the criminal terror practiced by their agents, along with the destruction of cane fields and factories, their pirate planes bombing the labors of peaceful people. Cuba for the murdered crusaders against illiteracy; United States for the killers. Cuba for bread; United States for hunger. Cuba for equality; United States for privilege and discrimination. Cuba for truth; United States for lies. Cuba for freedom; United States for oppression. Cuba for the luminous future of humanity; United States for a past without hope. Cuba for the heroes who died at Playa Giron defending their country from foreign domination; United States for the mercenaries and traitors serving the foreigner against their country. Cuba for peace among nations; United States for aggression and war. Cuba for socialism; United States for capitalism. . .”

II — Declaration of Havana