

THE DRIVING FORCE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION : FROM ABOVE OR FROM BELOW? pdf

1: Ostend Manifesto - Wikipedia

Analyzing the crucial period of the Cuban Revolution from to , Samuel Farber challenges dominant scholarly and popular views of the revolution's sources, shape, and historical trajectory.

The information here assembled is meant to dispel widespread misconceptions and establish the facts. Cuba, the largest of the Caribbean islands, with an area of 44, square miles, is greater in area than Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Israel, Israel, Iceland, or Ireland. Its population in was 6., with an annual birth rate of 2. Density of population was inhabitants per square mile in the s. The island was densely populated, but because of the high proportion of arable land, was not overcrowded. To better understand the social-economic background of the Cuban Revolution it is necessary to take into account class differences in rural Cuba. In this connection the views of Ramiro Guerra are well worth quoting: Cuba was precisely NOT a peasant country. And factories in the field are urban in many ways, even though they are not in cities. A rural proletariat working on modern plantations inevitably become culturally and behaviorally distinct from the peasantry Their special economic and social circumstances lead in another direction. They prefer standardized wage minimums, adequate medical and educational services, increased buying power, etc Mintz in the anthology Background to Revolution; New York, , p. Cuba, the "Pearl of the Antilles," though by no means a paradise, was not, as many believe, an economically backward country. Castro himself admitted that while there was poverty, there was no economic crisis and no hunger in Cuba before the Revolution. Baran, an ardent pro-Castroite in the equally ardent Monthly Review pamphlet, Reflections on the Cuban Revolution substantiates what every economist, as well as amateurs like Castro, has been saying: If the historical development had been dictated by the false axiom [revolutions come first in poorest countries] the revolution should have been first produced in Haiti, Colombia or even Chile, countries of greater poverty for the masses than the Cuba of Myths and Realities; New York, , p. Sources are two United Nations publications: Production, however, fell sharply in the following eight years, averaging well below the yields in the decade preceding the Revolution []. In the s, on the average, a labor force of , working three months produced ., tons of sugar, forty tons per man year. In the harvest, , persons working twelve months produced 8. Cattle raising, per head increased from to in University of Miami Studies Cuba had one radio for every 5 people, second in Latin America only to Argentina with one for every 3 inhabitants. Its infant mortality rate was by far the lowest. Cuba had one doctor for every 1, inhabitants, exceeded only by Uruguay with one for every , and Argentina for every people. Cuba ranked fifth in Latin American manufacturing. Though living standards were much lower than in the U. Cuba had more railroads per square mile than any other country in the world. Its one telephone for 38 persons was exceeded only by the U. It must be borne in mind; however, that statistics can be misleading and conditions were by no means as rosy as implied. There is another, darker side to this picture. The big minus sign of the Cuban economy is that it is not self-sustaining in the indispensable paraphernalia of modern life. Cuba is totally dependent for the uninterrupted flow of vital supplies; oil, coal, iron and steel, trucks and buses, cars, chemicals, sophisticated machinery etc. And it was precisely this hopeless and impossible attempt to make Cuba a highly industrialized country without these vital resources, that just about wrecked the Cuban economy. Cuba has not yet recovered from this catastrophic, totally unpardonable miscalculation, taken against the advice of qualified economic experts. Castro and his staff of fumbling amateurs, were forced to abandon this suicidal policy, but they still persist in meddling with things the know absolutely nothing about. These serious drawbacks notwithstanding, Cuba is far from being a totally undeveloped country with a primitive economy. Given intelligent use of its natural wealth of resources, the potential for raising the living standards of its population is almost limitless. On this point there is no doubt. That the Castro "revolutionary" regime, far from developing these potentials, has not even equalled the admittedly inadequate standards attained before the revolution, is unfortunately also true. Distribution of the national income was not balanced. The lower standard of living of the agricultural laborers was particularly atrocious, especially during the "dead

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season" between sugar harvests: Socialism and Development, p. Wright Mills informs us. Two thirds of the children were not in any elementary school and most of those that were, dropped out. In , no less than one fifth of families lived in single rooms and the average size of these families was five. The rising standard of living is a myth. Rene Dumont, the distinguished agronomist and economist, marshalls overwhelming evidence that Castro and his bumbling amateurs wrecked the economy of Cuba. There is no serious disagreement on this point: There are still, as I had seen in Santa Clara in , no recognition of the difficulties involved in managing an economy. Castro reminisced about "the uprisings that occurred mainly, but not exclusively, in the Escambray Mountains. Here at a mass meeting, June 17, , President of Cuba Dorticos had to be protected by tanks during a speech he made to calm the inhabitants But afterwards, the authorities took revenge by expropriating furniture and personal belongings. Food riots also occurred in Cienfuegos

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2: Cuba's president tells U.N. will continue Castro brothers' project | Reuters

The Driving Force of the Cuban Revolution: From Above or From Below? 00 Chapter 5. The Role of the Soviet Union and the Cuban Communists 00 Epilogue 00 Notes 00 Selected Bibliography 00 Index 00 Library of Congress Subject Headings for this publication.

Soviet Union and Cuba resume full diplomatic relations. Eisenhower abrogates Cuban sugar quota. Cuban government carries out large-scale expropriation of Cuban capitalists. Why did it occur? This is an opportune time to reassess the course taken by the Cuban Revolution. The inevitable passing of Fidel Castro from the scene is likely to open a substantial process of change in Cuban Communism as it is presently constituted. That process in turn will foster a need for ideological legitimation and encourage a reexamination of Cuban history, particularly the history of the revolution. A variety of existing trends will feed these currents: This includes the U. Most important for my purposes are the edited volume published by the U. This still widely held view of the Cuban road to Communism makes two critical assumptions: The reexamination of this matter raises important questions regarding Cuban and U. While it is conceivable that the United States could have adopted alternative policies, the United States related to Cuba as it did to other Latin American countries. When Fulgencio Batista fell, the Soviet Union did not consider Cuba a high priority because it ascribed little importance to Latin America and considered the region part of the U. Newly released information from Soviet archives shows that the Soviet Union became involved early on. Sensing that the revolution was beginning to move in a direction favorable to their interests, Soviet leaders pressed the Cubans to take a more radical course. Such competition allowed Fidel Castro to retain some autonomy while committing himself to a close alliance with the Soviet Union and demanding membership in the Communist camp through the transformation of Cuban society into a one-party state with an almost totally nationalized economy. Similarly, the leftist dichotomy between reform and revolution is also an inappropriate tool for understanding the old Cuban Communists. The revolutionary leaders acted under serious external and internal constraints but were nevertheless autonomous agents pursuing independent ideological visions. These leaders made choices, including selecting the Communist road for the Cuban Revolution. Prerevolutionary social and political conditions facilitated the rise to power of a fairly autonomous political leadership with a great deal of freedom from internal class pressures. All it needed, in this view, was a few reforms, most of them political. Cuba at this time constituted a classic case of uneven economic development. This book deals with unresolved issues and problems pertinent to the early, rapid development of the Cuban Revolution from an antidictatorial, multiclass political revolution to Communism. I have organized the chapters around these questions while trying to maintain some chronological order and clarity. Cuba then had the fourth-highest per capita income in Latin America, after Venezuela, Uruguay, and Argentina. Sugarcane producers in Asia and beet growers in Europe were only beginning to recover from war destruction and could not yet compete with Cuban sugar exports. However, with the outbreak of the Korean War, sugar prices went up, thus saving Cuba from an economic downturn, although only for a few years. But as the Report on Cuba also explained, the Cuban economy had made relatively little progress since then. The remaining small and medium-sized rural proprietors remained subject to the sugar mill owners, most of them North American, particularly if as cultivators of sugar they had to accept the prices and conditions imposed by the sugar capitalists. Many sugar proprietors were unable to honor their mortgage payments and were forced to sell under very unfavorable conditions. Viewed strictly from the perspective of the U. In that sense, there was nothing special or unique about the growth of U. From a Cuban perspective, this was not just capitalism but also imperialism. For their part, Cuban sugar exports to the United States, controlled by U. This tendency reached its peak during World War I with the destruction of the European sugar industry. Moreover, the sugar-based Cuban economy had a much harder time recovering from the depression than did the economies of some other countries. To make matters worse for Cuba, the U. Conversely, the price for the sugar that Cuba was allowed to sell in the United

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States was usually above that of the world market. Congress rather than being the outcome of bilateral trade negotiations between the two countries. The note also contained veiled threats of economic reprisals if such a situation came to pass. Sugar Law, which continued the quota system allocating U. A relatively small proportion of farm acreage was dedicated to other crops despite the economic drain caused by food imports, the existence of high rural unemployment, and the existence of abundant cultivable land. As the sugar industry greatly expanded in the early part of that century, so did the development of large sugar estates, especially in eastern Cuba. At the same time, what had originally been in the late nineteenth century an important group of middle-class landowners became increasingly dependent on the mill owners. The small and medium-sized sugar landlords colonos had no alternative but to produce according to the prices and conditions determined by the companies. As a result, by the time of the depression, small and medium-sized landed property holdings had declined, as had the number of colonos. Moreover, the rural proletariat grew, and its members had no option but to sell their labor power to the sugar mills when they were hiring. Whether a country is an early or late-developing capitalist country has a major impact on the process of economic development. Such was not the case for the later capitalist development of countries such as Germany and Japan and particularly for Russia and countries that many years later came to be known as the Third World. In particular, given the existence of international competition and world trade, late-developing capitalist countries could not go through the various stages of development that Britain had experienced. The late-developing countries had to begin with competitive, state-of-the-art industrial installations—whether in steel, electronics, or any other sector of production—that were at least as if not more advanced than existing plants in economically developed countries. The creation of these new plants required huge amounts of capital, precisely the factor of production that was most likely to be scarce in the countries attempting to industrialize. This helps to explain why—aside from foreign investment—nation-states have tended to play a much bigger role in the economic development of late-developing capitalist countries than in those that developed earlier. Relatively late industrializing countries such as Germany and Japan quickly became rivals of the established imperial capitalist powers such as Britain, France, and the United States. Instead of becoming imperial subjects of the already established powers, Germany and Japan became imperial rivals of Britain, France, and the United States. This was obviously not the fate of dozens of countries in the world that fell under the control of the big capitalist powers, whether in the open colonial form adopted by the European powers, mostly in Asia and Africa, or the less open economic form adopted by the United States, mostly in Latin America. The uneven development of capitalism is also critical to understanding the growth of mass aspirations and expectations in countries that have not yet reached a high level of industrial development. Modern means of communication are, other things being equal, relatively easier to extend and disseminate than means of production and distribution. As a result, the expectations for consumption may rise faster than the means to satisfy them if viewed not from the perspective of the potential productivity and ability of the world economy as a whole to satisfy these expectations but from the perspective of a world divided between have and have-not nation states. In particular, taking the long view helps us to understand the strikingly uneven modernity that characterized Cuban society on the eve of the revolution. For many years, Cuba experienced substantial immigration. Approximately one-third of these immigrants were black workers from the Caribbean, primarily Haitians and Jamaicans. Spain accounted for most of the remainder, with a large proportion coming from Galicia, Asturias, and the Canary Islands. Of course, plenty of class and racial inequality existed, as did poverty, but these phenomena were not accompanied by the degree of social and cultural submission and deference found in other Latin American societies. The plantation culture fostered by the sugar industry considerably loosened the ties between workers and employers. The culture of traditional ties and obligations of precapitalist Latin America was replaced by the impersonality inherent in wage labor and collective trade union militancy. At the level of popular culture, irreverence and the rejection of pomposity and arrogance were strengthened as important features of the Cuban national character. There was no worse sin than being a *pesado*, literally a heavy but used colloquially as an untranslatable term with connotations of humorlessness, dullness,

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tiresomeness, pomposity, and conceit. Although homosexuals encountered much intolerance, the phenomenon resulted from the relative backwardness of civil society rather than from legislation: If modern medicine was not more universally utilized in the country, it was because of grossly inadequate coverage, particularly in the countryside, not primarily because of any cultural obstacles or rejection by the majority of the population. In addition, Cuba also ranked high in terms of several other Latin American standard-of-living indexes. Cuba ranked behind only Argentina and Uruguay in the number of persons per medical doctor and average food consumption. The government bureaucracy was also heavily concentrated in the capital, as were disproportionate amounts of the import and export trade, media, communications, and other business activities. However, this does not mean that urban workers were not exploited, particularly given the pressure exerted on urban wage levels by rural-urban migration and large-scale urban unemployment. Widespread and very troubling urban poverty resulted, although they did not reach the depths and extent found among rural workers and peasants. In turn, a sugar industry highly dependent on unstable world market prices and the unilaterally determined U. The massive and chronic unemployment that resulted from the short sugar crop reinforced this uncertainty and seriously disappointed popular expectations and aspirations for a better life. Economic discontent, frustration, and lack of hope marked the Cuban psyche even in times of relative economic growth, such as the post-World War II period. The virtual elimination of noncapitalist subsistence relations of production and the relatively advanced means of communication and transportation had created an urban and rural working class that was modern in certain fundamental respects. Cuban workers were generally sober, were quick to learn, and had a healthy dose of self-respect. Punctuality, low absenteeism, and other forms of industrial discipline had taken hold. This approach constituted rational behavior in light of the existing alternatives. In addition, worker militancy had raised the cost of Cuban labor so that it was expensive by Latin American standards. While this legislative concession made perfect sense from a humanistic and working-class point of view, it violated the logic of the capitalist marketplace. Employers strongly disliked this kind of intervention, although the U. Commerce Department recognized that Cuban government economic activity had been largely regulatory rather than operational and represented a response to social and economic problems rather than to ideology. In less than a month, the U. There is no doubt that Cuban labor has put management—particularly foreign management—in a tough spot. The vicious circle concept inadequately captured the problems of the Cuban economy by ignoring how these problems constituted contradictions systematically rooted in the nature of semideveloped Cuban capitalism. First, Cuba, like most late-developing capitalist countries, had a regime of state economic intervention that created, in capitalist terms, economic distortions. As mentioned earlier, state intervention and regulation were hardly unique to the Cuban economy and were common features of latecoming capitalist countries, particularly in the less industrialized parts of the world. However, Batista was no Augusto Pinochet. The Batista machine was politically isolated, since it possessed no real roots in local class formations. The dictatorship remained, of course, the guarantor of the capitalist order in Cuba, but this was because of the context external to it, not because of its class content or ideological orientation. Within the limits of this context, its policy was purely opportunist. Near the end of his rule, he even raised the rates charged by the U. Furthermore, on the whole, the average wage rate had decreased. Serious chronic unemployment continued to plague the country:

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3: Cuban Revolution: challenges and changes | Links International Journal of Socialist Renewal

Get this from a library! The origins of the Cuban Revolution reconsidered. [Samuel Farber] -- Analyzing the crucial period of the Cuban Revolution from to , Samuel Farber challenges dominant scholarly and popular views of the revolution's sources, shape, and historical trajectory.

No less important, this volume was designed as a serious intervention into current scholarly and political discussions and debates of today, particularly against liberals and conservatives in the United States and within the Cuban exile community and also more covertly within Cuba who “in contrast to Farber himself” want to advance the notion that capitalism in Cuba was before, and could be in the future, in the interests of the Cuban people. The fact that Farber is a sharp critic of the Cuban Revolution and, even more so, of the Castro regime, in a sense adds to the value of his contribution. The Revolutionary Leader Full disclosure: I will indicate some of my differences at the conclusion of this review. The revolutionaries took power on January 1, In the wake of this victory, revolutionary Cuba soon challenged the economic and political domination by the United States that had afflicted the island since the s. Among those who hated the Revolution, the rich and the gangsters led the way to Miami. Leading the revolution onto an increasingly radical course was a bearded and eloquent militant amazing to us coming out of the clean-shaven conformists of the United States named Fidel Castro. Despite the inevitable collision with U. Enthusiastic masses of the Cuban people followed him into a successful confrontation with U. Fidel Castro had political designs that he shared with no one. They were pragmatic in the sense that although Castro wanted to make a radical revolution, he left it to historical circumstances, the existing relations of forces and tactical possibilities, to determine specifically what kind of revolution it would be, all along making sure that he would be in control. One could also do worse than to utilize, along with such works, the anthology *The Cuba Reader*, splendidly edited by Aviva Chomsky and others. In the introductory remarks in his *Diary of the Cuban Revolution*, Franqui “one of the most radical of the revolutionaries who later joined the ranks of anti-Castro dissidents” writes: This insistence on an invariable one-way, top-down dynamic strikes me as questionable and certainly worthy of deeper investigation, but the mass nature of the revolutionary phenomenon cannot be questioned. Farber provides an informative and insightful analysis of the PSP “the serious limitations that made it incapable of providing serious revolutionary leadership, and the genuine strengths that made it almost indispensable when Castro and those around him came to power and decided on an uncompromisingly radical turn that guaranteed a collision course with the United States. He goes on to make an important point, however. Evidence of his social-radical intentions, though, was there from the beginning. That speech was turned into a pamphlet “History Will Absolve Me” meant to recruit to the new revolutionary organization, the July 26th Movement. Castro sensed that several thousand of these young people were ready to be brought into his nascent movement. But this strikes me as somewhat misleading. He offers a brief quote from the speech to give a sense of its tone: But it is worth looking at more of this revolutionary classic: True, History Will Absolve Me goes on to talk of the plight of 20, small businessmen and 10, young professionals “but the greater emphasis of this particular brand of radical populism, as we can see, is only a step away from a class-struggle and anti-capitalist orientation, and this is consistent with the ideological balance and social composition within the July 26th Movement membership. Both discussions are characterized by a high degree of sophistication, with information drawn in both cases from a variety of sources, including previously inaccessible U. It has happened in Cuba, and it makes us feel like boys again. Farber puts forward a theoretical generalization that strikes this reviewer as highly dubious. Unlike the class systems associated with ancient slave civilizations, feudalism, and capitalism “what existed in the Soviet Union failed to survive for even a century. This was inseparable from and necessary for the health of the U. One more question is raised by the dubious generalization. In wrestling with this question, it is worth giving attention to the descriptive specifics that Farber presents: Two critical-minded supporters of the revolution, Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, made

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the point in Should those favoring socialism now urge a struggle for radical-democratic reform in Cuba, or a struggle of class-against-class culminating in new social revolution? More recently, in an interview with French Trotskyists, she has commented: We have to demolish the foundations of the bureaucracy, because it is on these foundations that the bourgeois class can develop â€” we saw in the USSR, in Poland, and elsewhere how the bureaucrats, who were managers, men of power, became owners, became capitalists. History, Culture, Politics Durham: University of North Carolina Press, The Cuban Revolution in Crisis: Monthly Review Press, Diary of the Cuban Revolution New York: The Revolution in Peril London: From Moncada to Victory New York: Socialism in Cuba New York: Hill and Wang, Get articles and upcoming events delivered every month.

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4: On the Origins of the Cuban Revolution

Analyzing the crucial period of the Cuban Revolution from to , Samuel Farber challenges dominant scholarly and popular views of the revolution's sources, shape, and historical trajectory. Unlike many observers, who treat Cuba's revolutionary leaders as having merely reacted to U.S. policies.

Citizen, and a personal friend of President George H. Rodriguez is also a highly decorated former U. Soldier and CIA Operative. He is perhaps best known for his role as the CIA operative responsible for the capture of Che Guevara. In the end, like many others, they were murdered merely for being wealthy. Seeking revenge for the murder of his family and many friends, Mr. Felix Rodriguez played a key role in the ill-fated invasion as he volunteered for the highly dangerous assignment clandestinely infiltrating Cuba a couple of weeks prior to the actual invasion in order to gather critical intelligence which was used in the planning and preparation for the invasion. Unfortunately, his bravery was for not as President Kennedy would later backtrack on using U. In addition to those killed, some Cuban exiles were taken prisoner and virtually all were tortured – some executed. Again, the driving force behind the executions and torment was Comrade Che. Felix Rodriguez could never have imagined then, that some six years later, he would be in a unique position to settle scores with the Red Butcher, Che Guevara. After that revolution, when given the task of industrializing Cuba, he failed miserably. His subsequent revolutionary adventurism in Africa was equally ill fated. The only thing Guevara was really accomplished at was murdering others. During the revolution, Castro promoted him not for his brilliance as a military strategist or for his leadership abilities but rather, because Che had no qualms with murdering those who Castro asked him to kill. Even after Che was promoted to a leadership position in the guerilla movement, he left the tactical planning of operations to some of his otherwise more competent subordinates. As mass executions in Cuba began to slow to a trickle, Che began to contemplate his future. His failures in other administrative duties of state caused Castro to lose confidence in his ability to play a significant role in the new Communist government. With little future in Cuba, Che decided it was time he lead a new revolution in South America. He picked Bolivia, one of the poorest countries in South America, because it bordered five other countries which, so he thought, would afford an insurgent force like his own the opportunity to train and set up camps just outside of Bolivian territory. He foolishly assumed that because Bolivia was lacking in natural resources, the United States would be less inclined to assist the Bolivian government. His assumptions were wrong. When intelligence reports indicated that the Red Butcher was operating in Bolivia, Rodriguez was sent down to coordinate the effort to find and take him out. In a glaring violation of Operational Security, Che failed to relocate his force of some fifty rebels from their encampment after knowing that one of his men had deserted. Accordingly, Che and his men, whom Che had positioned in a depression with high ground on all sides of them, were attacked the next day by the Bolivian Rangers and Alex Rodriguez. In addition to placing his men in the worse possible tactical position, with no means of escape, Che failed to position sentries on the perimeter of his encampment. It was a turkey shoot for the Bolivian soldiers who rained hot lead down upon Che and his hapless followers. While Guevara lacked the competence to adequately train or lead his doomed rebels, he had successfully engrained onto their impressionable psyches that they must never surrender. When the Bolivian Rangers attacked them on October 8, , that is exactly what his men did. Guevara simply bolted away from his men in the heat of battle. While his men bravely fought on, Guevara managed to climb out of the depression and dart out into the open. I am Che Guevara and I am worth more to you alive than dead! The Left, while conveniently overlooking his well documented history as a bloodthirsty mass murderer, has chosen to present him as a courageous type of Robin Hood who gallantly took up the fight for the poor against those who he perceived as the exploiters of the poor. This revisionism has been quite successful. It is now chic to wear clothing which displays his image. Also, certain pseudo historians have tried to portray Che as a selfless, ultra-brave, larger than life military genius. The problem is that none of it is true. This superficial wound, more akin to a nick, likely occurred while he

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was running away and only caused him to limp slightly as he surrendered to the Bolivians. He was later seen walking that day by others and again, the next day, in village of La Higuera. He also apparently had no problem walking outside of the schoolhouse, that he was being kept in, the following day where he posed with Rodriguez, for the photo above. The minor wound on his calf was dressed and treated with a bandage. If these facts were not enough, upon surrendering to his Bolivian captors, they found a fully loaded Walther PPK pistol on his person — also with a full magazine of ammunition. I have been talking to some of your men and they think very highly of you. I can be quite helpful to you! Che Goes Out with a Whimper Che spent the evening tied up inside a school house in the village of La Higuera as his fate was being decided by the civilian and military leadership of Bolivia. On October 9, , the coded order came in on the radio. Che was to be executed. Rodriguez wanted him taken to Panama where he could be questioned by the CIA. Yet, the Bolivians would have nothing of it. The Red Butcher was to receive his comeuppance and the world would be free of this bloodthirsty terrorist. When the call for a volunteer to execute Guevara was made throughout the ranks of the 2nd Ranger Battalion, virtually ever Bolivian soldier stepped up to perform the task. In the end, the honor was given to a Sergeant who saw three of his soldiers killed in action during the battle. There have been many different fictitious accounts floated as to what happened when that Sergeant entered the school house to execute Guevara. Most of these have Guevara defiantly and courageously taunting his executioner. Some of these accounts have included fabricated quotes and descriptions which are alleged to have come from the Sergeant. He believed that even the death of a monster like Che deserved at least a modicum of dignity. What has been made clear for decades is that in the moments before his execution, Guevara was a broken, teary eyed, whimpering man who silently lowered his head the moment before the trigger was pulled. In an instant, Guevara was no more. His was a quick and painless death. It was the merciful type of ending that was denied most of the many thousands of his victims. He still proudly wears it on his wrist to this day. Two years after the death of Che he would volunteer for combat duty in Vietnam. There he flew over combat missions and was shot down five times. Rodriguez continued to serve in the CIA through most of the s. Today, he lives in Miami and is a respected leader in the Cuban American Community.

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5: Cuba's gorgeous, forgotten National Arts Schools on Roman Mars 99% Invisible.

Almost half a century after its triumph, the rapid evolution of the Cuban Revolution from a multiclass antidictatorial political movement to "socialist revolution," as Fidel Castro officially declared in April, remains a puzzle.

There was no discrimination, as far as sending people to the firing squad was concerned. Many of those who helped Castro gain power, like Comandantes Ernesto Sori Marin and William Morgan, an American, were among the thousands who were shot. Fidel Castro questioning a Cuban farmer who was later executed. Even before the triumph of the Revolution, Castro and his gang were prone to murder those who disagreed with them. And more than fifty years after the above photos were taken, Castro and his gang of murderers continue to send to the firing squad, those Cubans who oppose his betrayal of the Revolution. Fathers Aldaz and Garrigoitia with the prisoners moments before they were murdered. Prisoners were taken to the town cemetery and they would have to wait in line and witness the other executions, before they themselves were shot. Cornelio Rojas, chief of police of Santa Clara, is shown here in a jail cell before Che Guevara ordered him to be shot to death without a trial. The photos above show the brutal murder of Col. Rojas, who was shot to death on orders of Guevara, without the benefit of a trial. A letter from Barbara Rangel, granddaughter of Col. He was a national policeman before Batista came to power. His father and grandfather: Colonel Cornelio Rojas Escobar and Brig. I would like to clarify and educate, if I may, those who are ignorant of the truth. My grandfather was arrested and murdered by the godfather of modern terrorism, Che Guevara, and another murderer, Fidel Castro, for the only purpose of creating terror among the population. My granddad was a beloved pillar in his community, well known for his public service and philanthropy. Che Guevara had sent a message to my family informing them that no harm would come to my granddad, but it was a lie, as he had already murdered him by the time my family received it. My family suffered tremendously, it was very traumatic; especially for my mom, Blanca Rojas, who was pregnant when my grandfather was murdered. Imagine seeing your dad being murdered on national television! She immediately went into labor. A midwife had to be called to assist her with the labor. My brother, Silvio Gonzalez, was born on the same bed that belonged to my granddad. What is a person supposed to do? Rejoice for the birth of her son, or weep for the murder of her father? How can anyone ever forget or forgive such horrific acts by these mass murderers, Che Guevara and Fidel Castro? I find this absolutely unbelievable, and it shows the ignorance of those who idolize Che Guevara. My grandfather never killed anyone, and he died like brave men are supposed to die. His last words were: I am so proud of him, and my ancestors. What a difference with Che Guevara who begged for his life when he was captured in Bolivia, a country he invaded trying to export communism. He died like the coward that he was. For those ignorant persons out there who still idolize this murderer coward: Che Guevara murdered hundreds of persons, including 3 or 4 teenagers and a pregnant woman. Their names are publicly documented. The good thing is that there is a higher court that one day will do justice! Thank you for the opportunity to write.

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6: Cuba: \$ Billion in Remittances in " Havana Times

--Fidel Castro and the Cuban populist tradition --U.S. policy and the Cuban Revolution --The driving force of the Cuban Revolution: from above or from below? -- The role of the Soviet Union and the Cuban Communists -- Epilogue.

To the memory of Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy. The Cuban revolutionary victory of January 1, 1959, was a news event of epochal proportion even for those who knew little about that country. For many, it was like discovering a new world. And as in the age of the great navigators, encountering it was clouded both by ignorance and the prejudices that usually accompany such revelations. The dictator Fulgencio Batista was overthrown by coordinated rural guerrilla warfare and urban revolt. Moreover, the sustained rising was indigenous, waged by forces that were unknown in the wider world and had no connection to the international socialist movement or any other supranational agency. In addition, the struggle was carried on in head-on confrontation with U. S. Finally, and despite claims to the contrary the revolutionaries had no hesitation about identifying with socialism. The shock of these events focused the minds of researchers and analysts on the Cuban experience, albeit from a perspective blinkered by a Eurocentric viewpoint. The rapprochement between the two countries led the vast majority of specialists to interpret the events surrounding Cuba in terms of the East-West confrontation. The commonplace Western explanation of the Cuban Revolution "including its causes and origins" has been to see it as arising from that antagonism, as if Cuban national life had started in 1959, as if Cuba had no history and was merely a product of events beyond its shores. For them, Cuba remains terra incognita. Cuba, like Puerto Rico, was not part of the independence movement that put an end to Spanish colonial domination of the rest of Latin America during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. That delay is explained by the characteristics of the colonial society on the island and the international context of the time. Each contributed to setting the country apart from the other Spanish colonies, and not only in the delayed appearance of our national movement, but also, and most significantly, in shaping its unique nature. On the American continent, the Creole oligarchy was the driving force in the struggle to break the bonds of subordination to Madrid; the campaign received a crucial boost from the Napoleonic invasion and the resulting crisis in the monarchy. Having won independence, the oligarchy would act as heir to the Crown and establish regimes that would preserve the basic structure of the old colonial societies. The great exception in that period was the Haitian revolution in 1791. On this neighbor island the separatist movement was the largest slave revolt ever known; it shook and destroyed the old order and established, in the middle of the harassment and hostility of the rest of the world, a republic radically different from the shameful regime out of which it arose. In Cuba the oligarchy never attempted to create a nation, never even had a national sentiment. At the time when that sentiment began to emerge in the Americas, here in Cuba there was an increase in the importation of slaves, who would make up the majority of the population. The Creole oligarchy was the chief beneficiary of the traffic and exploitation of slaves. To maintain that status it needed a constant inflow of slaves. This mass, our *pieds noirs* as, a century later, the French in North Africa were called, coexisted with the colonial administration and armed forces, many having arrived with their families to what they regarded as a permanent extension of their homeland. Along with the growing flood of African slaves, men of lighter-colored skin were also impelled by other factors to migrate to Cuba. These factors can be summed up with a single name: The oligarchy, whose opulence derived from the toil of the Negro slaves and which depended on them totally, feared that their way of life was threatened by the ever growing population of slaves with customs, values, and rituals that were alien to Spanish and Spanish-Creole culture. Fears engendered by the events in Haiti exacerbated those feelings among the major white landowners. But these were isolated events in a social milieu lacking integration and marked by deep divisions between classes, ethnic groups, and territories. Other trends were, however, in progress "some obscured, others more visible" from which a new reality was growing. First of all, the official colonial policy on race did not prevent intimate contact between whites and blacks. They had sexual relations, and even started families creating a mulatto population

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with the most diverse gradations of mixtures. The Creole oligarchy watched these events with apprehension. Its sole motive was the wealth obtained from exploiting slave labor. It needed docile manpower, but was worried by miscegenation and alarmed by the news of continuing slave rebellions among the sugar plantations. The great Haitian rebellion terrified it. Cuba was also coveted by other powers. It had been so since early times, when it was ravaged by pirates and corsairs. This was but one instance of repeated efforts by European powers to wrest Cuba from Spain. The first of these was reformism, which produced some notable thinkers who studied colonial society in depth, perceived its evils, and advocated changes aimed at improving education and public health and promoting economic, scientific, and cultural development. They repeatedly petitioned the Spanish government but achieved nothing. Their reform proposals went so far and no further: The second trend was annexationism, which aimed to make Cuba a part of the United States. It was the dominant attitude among the major sugarcane plantation owners in Western Cuba and enjoyed the support of influential academics, intellectuals, and professionals. It was also favored by Washington, which from the turn of the century actively promoted it. This faction was responsible for the first plots and large-scale military actions to overthrow Spanish suzerainty, including an expeditionary force dispatched from U. At a deeper level, another process took place among the academic minds and was reflected in certain publications that circulated among the educated minority. Luz was at the center of a philosophical controversy that has been described as the most original event in the history of the Latin American challenge to Eurocentrism in the Americas. This movement was born on October 10, In the public square of Bayamo, and in other towns and villages in liberated territory, the leaders and the people debated questions of common interestâ€”including the progress of the war and of the emancipation of the slaves. In its time, however, it did not pass unnoticed. One of the main spokesmen of annexationism wrote of it: During the ten-year conflict, sugar productionâ€”and with it, slaveryâ€”continued to grow. The revolution suffered near total isolation. It had the lukewarm moral support of a few Latin American countries. As a result, after ten years of war, Cuba lost over a third of its population, with massive emigration to the United States and other neighboring countriesâ€”by far the largest exodus in our history. The patriotic former landowners suffered expropriation without compensation and many died in poverty. The slavery regime was restored throughout the country. The regions at the root of the conflict were devastated and their inhabitants consigned to pauperism. The forces that had launched the rebellion were deeply divided and frustrated. The various attempts to renew the armed struggleâ€”including la Guerra Chiquita the Little War led by Calixto Garcia in â€”all failed, serving only to fuel internal disagreements and defeatism. At sixteen he became a political prisoner and endured several years of inhumane treatment. He lived for just forty-two years, nearly all in exile, including fourteen in the United States. He was our principal poet, a prolific writer, journalist, and public speaker; he left written works of surprising breadth and lucidity, enough to fill any library. His inimitable style revolutionized the Spanish language. He was also a patient, systematic organizer, an astute strategist, and a visionary who studied the experience of the Ten Years War in depth, including the causes and influences that led to that terrible defeat. Uniting the patriots was a true apostolic passion for him: Before he had ever taken up arms, he won the respect of seasoned fighting men. He proved able to unite them and, step by step, acquired their recognition of his moral and political authority as a new revolutionary guide. The essence of his strategy was to form a party composed of all the revolutionaries, a unique political instrument that would free our people of the dire consequences of internal divisions. These concepts were used by Cubans, without knowing who Lenin was and long before the Bolshevik uprising. These ideas have persisted in our revolutionary tradition for several generations. For him also, winning national independence was not the sole aim: Thirty years of heroic, unequal struggle ended, once again, in catastrophe. The Army of Liberation and the Cuban Revolutionary Party were disbanded; the republican authorities and institutionsâ€”the government, the Assembly of Representatives, the constitution the last of the four adopted by the Cubans during their struggles for independence â€”were completely ignored. The country was placed under a military regime of occupation, which set about looting the economy, reintroducing racism and racial discrimination, while perpetuating and expanding the corruption and other vices of the colony. Cuba

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and Puerto Rico were the last countries in Latin America to wage war for national independence. Although they fought the longest, both islands were also the only Latin American nations that suffered defeat. Without a single day of freedom, they changed from Spanish colonies to colonies of the United States. Then came the fictitious republic, which suffered military intervention and occupation by the United States several times. Cuba became a vassal state in a condition even more deplorable than that under Spanish colonialism. The contemporary Cuban poet Cintio Vitier described it thus: The Yankee neo-colony was both. By turning what had been the ideal of several generations and martyrs into a sham and a farce, they struck with impunity at the very heart of the homeland. Finally, on January 1, 1959, the revolutionary movement, now led by Fidel Castro, swept aside tyranny and the neocolonial regime. Reading the Enemy From that time onwards, the Cuban people have had to face multiple, constant, and systematic aggression, including the longest economic blockade in history, military attacksâ€”including the failed Bay of Pigs invasionâ€”a vicious and interminable series of acts of terrorism and sabotage, diplomatic pressures, and hostile, slanderous propaganda campaigns. In the pages of Monthly Review, Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, models of authentic intellectuals, were the first to analyze with scientific objectivity the uniquely difficult task facing the Cubans, to which they dedicated Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution among other memorable works. They were joined by C. Wright Mills, who sought to stir the conscience of his fellow countrymenâ€”Listen Yankee: The Revolution in Cubaâ€”and right up to his death in he worked for friendship between the two countries. In the 1950s, many official U.S. In 1958, the State Department published a thick volume entitled Foreign Relations of the United States â€”, Volume VI, Cuba, which contains hundreds of documents, reports, internal department analyses, minutes of the National Security Council and other government agency meetings, messages exchanged with the U.S. These cover the last years of the Batista regime and the first two years of Cuba-U.S. Nineteen fifty-eight was a crucial year which holds the key to understanding what was to happen later. Collaboration between the two governments existed in the most diverse spheres, even the nuclear energy sector. Military aid was unlimited, extending beyond the supply of weapons, munitions, equipment, and assistance at all levels. Batista also found support in domestic U.S. The two governments exchanged information and coordinated their actions to that end.

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7: The Cuban Revolution, Chapter 7

The origins of the Cuban Revolution reconsidered The Origins of the Cuban Revolution [ENVISIONING CUBA]

Cuba is almost kilometres long and very narrow generally it is only about kilometres across. From Havana it is kilometres across the Florida Straits to the island of Key West, the nearest part of the USA; Miami, the centre of so many counter-revolutionary plots, is kilometres away. Jamaica and Haiti are close neighbours. And as the crow flies, some kilometres away is Caracas in Venezuela, where a revolutionary process is underway. An inspiring revolution For more than 50 years tiny Cuba its population is currently about The Cuban Revolution has been marked by its tremendous internationalism, the high points of which have been its armed intervention in Angola in support of the struggle against the South African apartheid regime and its unstinting medical aid to the Third World. The Cuban Revolution has shown that a Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration is not inevitable. There are bureaucrats in Cuba but the Fidelista leadership has largely managed to contain this danger by its constant vigilance, mass campaigns and appeals to the people. Revolution faces biggest challenge Today the Cuban Revolution arguably faces its biggest challenge. It is confronting severe economic problems. There appears to be a growing bureaucratic danger, an alarming growth of corruption, widespread popular recourse to the black economy in order to survive and a growing social differentiation among the population. What makes all this even more challenging is that the historic generation which led the original revolutionary process is slowly passing from the scene. The imperialists and more than a few people on the left are convinced that the passing of Fidel and Raul will signal the collapse of the revolution. In this talk I want to present this crisis in its context, to explain where it comes from, the current situation in broad outline and what changes the Cuban government is proposing. US blockade Foremost among these is the US blockade. Begun in after Cuba nationalised US enterprises, it is all-encompassing. As Cuban foreign minister Bruno Rodriguez Parrilla recently described it, the blockade is an "economic, commercial and financial siege that has lasted half a century". We might well wonder where would Cuba be today if there had been no blockade. This ushered in a desperate struggle for survival " literally. GDP fell by a third. These years are called in Cuba "the special period in time of peace". The worst time was the early to mid-nineties. Today, living standards on the island are still below the level. The nickel plants were damaged, crops were hit. The already bad housing situation was seriously worsened; hundreds of thousands of homes were destroyed and a great many dwellings remain in dire need of repair. And on top of the devastating hurricanes, Cuba is in the grip of drought. In a severe drought hit agriculture hard in the east of the island. Collapse of nickel price Cuba is a major world supplier of nickel and cobalt. The Canadian multinational Sherritt operates a big nickel plant as a joint-venture with the Cuban government. Most of the hotels and resorts are joint ventures between Spanish and Canadian operators with the Cuban government. However, important as tourism is to the national economy, it also brings with it some very serious problems. Especially worrying is the social differentiation which results as some Cubans have access to higher earnings and foreign currency tips, payments in kind, selling services and goods to tourists. Prostitution has also staged a certain comeback, although it cannot be compared to either the past or to other Latin American countries. Tips of tourism workers are meant to be handed over to the state but this is probably unenforceable. The importance of nickel and tourism as export earners takes place against a backdrop of the decline of the once mighty sugar industry. Production was 8 million tons before the collapse of the USSR, the projection for is only 1. The government is trying to attract foreign investment. Venezuela The development of the revolutionary process in Venezuela has been a life-saving boost for Cuba. Apart from the enormous lift in morale " the feeling that they are no longer alone " there have been very material benefits. The special relationship with Venezuela has also meant credits for projects at low interest rates and various joint ventures. Cuba has sent tens of thousands of health workers to Venezuela in the figure reached 33, and these have been vital in enabling the key medical "mission" Barrio

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Adentro to get off the ground. Cuba is also helping to train Venezuelan doctors and thousands of Venezuelans have received surgical treatment in Cuba 50, got free eye surgery in In return Cuba gets vital oil cheaply from Venezuela. A fibre-optic cable is being laid from Venezuela to Cuba via some other island countries. When this is finished Cuba will at last have access to cheap high-speed internet connections. At the moment Cuba pays a Canadian company through the nose for a slow connection. China-Cuba relations growing Developing economic relations with China has also been very important. China is also playing a role in helping Cuba prospect for oil offshore. Having a trade relationship with China is very important in offsetting the US blockade. China is simply too big to be pushed around by Washington. Between and , the Cuban economy grew at an average annual rate of 2. In GDP growth dropped to 4. At the same time the cost of key imports fuel and food has risen significantly. This deficit is only balanced by the massive export of services. Another very important source of hard currency is remittances from Cubans living abroad, mainly in the US. Replacing expensive imports with locally produced food is a major objective of the Cuban government. A big part of this is to encourage more people to take up farming and make the conditions of agriculture much more attractive. A lot of these funds are still frozen. Two-tier currency Cuba has a two-tier currency system, designed to impose a hefty tax on all foreign currency brought into the country, whether by tourists, remittances or business. There are ordinary pesos and convertible pesos CUCs. All foreign currency has to be converted in CUCs. There is a network of special shops "dollar shops" selling all sorts of goods at much higher prices. These stores take only convertible pesos. This system is very unpopular with those ordinary Cubans who have no access to CUCs. The government has pledged to eliminate the CUC and has made a small start this year. Daily struggle Eighty-eight per cent of Cuban workers are employed by state. However, there are no taxes on this income, healthcare and education are free, people own their homes or pay a only a very small rent to the state. In addition there is the libreta, the ration system. In place since , the libreta allows everyone to purchase from list of basic commodities at subsidised prices. But today the ration only covers about half the month. Furthermore, over the last few years it has been reduced. For instance, last November potatoes and peas were removed from the libreta. Previously Cubans could buy 4 pounds of potatoes per month at about 1 cent per pound. Now they can buy as much as they like but at 5 cents per pound. The government simply cannot afford to keep the libreta going as before and there is even talk of phasing it out completely. The net result of inadequate wages and pensions and the inadequate libreta is that most people are forced to supplement their income with various kinds of activities. Social inequality is growing as some people are better placed, that is, their jobs enable them "one way or another" to more easily get precious CUCs. Black economy The black non-official economy encompasses a whole range of activities, from the largely harmless to the seriously criminal and everything in between. There is a very informative study on this by Canadian academic Arch Ritter although he is very anti-Fidel. Selling homemade crafts to tourists, selling homemade food on the street; paying extra or bribes to get scarce goods or services; stealing goods from the state and selling them; using a state car as a private taxi; selling jobs in the lucrative tourist sector with prized access to dollars tips and services. A study by the Communist Youth UJC found that more than , young people in Cuba neither worked nor studied; a lot of these are concentrated in Havana. Obviously they get by one way or another. But such facts cause great popular resentment and undermine social morale. He set out the main considerations behind the reforms which have been announced throughout the year: Today, more than ever before, the economic battle is the main task and focus of the ideological work of the cadres, because the sustainability and the preservation of our social system rest upon this work. Without a sound and dynamic economy and without the removal of superfluous expenses and waste, it will neither be possible to improve the living standard of the population nor to preserve and improve the high levels of education and health care ensured to every citizen free of charge. If people do not feel the need to work for a living because they are covered by excessively paternalistic and irrational state regulations, we will never be able to stimulate a love for work nor will we resolve the chronic lack of construction, farming and industrial workers; teachers, police and other indispensable trades that have steadily been disappearing. If we do not build a firm and systematic social

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rejection of illegal activities and different manifestations of corruption, more than a few will continue to enrich themselves at the expense of the labour of the majority, while spreading attitudes that directly attack the essence of socialism. We know that the budgeted and business sectors have hundreds of thousands of excess workers; some analysts estimate that the surplus of people in work positions exceeds one million. In summary, to continue spending beyond our income is tantamount to consuming our future and jeopardizing the very survival of the revolution. Many smaller state enterprises in light industry and agriculture are to be converted to worker cooperatives so hopefully a lot of workers will remain in their current workplaces but under different ownership and remuneration arrangements. Previously announced agricultural reforms aim to make farming easier and more attractive: An essential corollary of this is that the tax system is to be revamped so that the government can profit from all the increased private activity without, of course, killing it off. To trim the state payroll and increase the productivity of the state sector. To draw people out of the black economy into open legal economic activity which can be regulated and taxed. To increase make Cuban agriculture a lot more productive, increase food production and reduce or eliminate the huge food import bill. To make daily life less stressful by making things easier: Obviously, along with the reforms, the state will need to significantly raise wages and pensions. There are very real risks.

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8: The Cuban Revolution: Challenges and Changes | Socialist Voice

The Origins of the Cuban Revolution Reconsidered by Samuel Farber Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, , pages, \$ paper.

International Journal of Socialist Renewa 1. The Cuban Revolution has shown that a Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration is not inevitable. There are bureaucrats in Cuba but the Fidelista leadership has largely managed to contain this danger by its constant vigilance, mass campaigns and appeals to the people. Revolution faces biggest challenge Today the Cuban Revolution arguably faces its biggest challenge. It is confronting severe economic problems. There appears to be a growing bureaucratic danger, an alarming growth of corruption, widespread popular recourse to the black economy in order to survive and a growing social differentiation among the population. What makes all this even more challenging is that the historic generation which led the original revolutionary process is slowly passing from the scene. The imperialists and more than a few people on the left are convinced that the passing of Fidel and Raul will signal the collapse of the revolution. In this talk I want to present this crisis in its context, to explain where it comes from, the current situation in broad outline and what changes the Cuban government is proposing. Begun in after Cuba nationalized U. We might well wonder where would Cuba be today if there had been no blockade. This ushered in a desperate struggle for survival – literally. GDP fell by a third. Today, living standards on the island are still below the level. The nickel plants were damaged, crops were hit. The already bad housing situation was seriously worsened; hundreds of thousands of homes were destroyed and a great many dwellings remain in dire need of repair. And on top of the devastating hurricanes, Cuba is in the grip of drought. In a severe drought hit agriculture hard in the east of the island. Collapse of nickel price Cuba is a major world supplier of nickel and cobalt. The Canadian multinational Sherritt operates a big nickel plant as a joint-venture with the Cuban government. Most of the hotels and resorts are joint ventures between Spanish and Canadian operators with the Cuban government. However, important as tourism is to the national economy, it also brings with it some very serious problems. Especially worrying is the social differentiation which results as some Cubans have access to higher earnings and foreign currency tips, payments in kind, selling services and goods to tourists. Prostitution has also staged a certain comeback, although it cannot be compared to either the past or to other Latin American countries. Tips of tourism workers are meant to be handed over to the state but this is probably unenforceable. The importance of nickel and tourism as export earners takes place against a backdrop of the decline of the once mighty sugar industry. Production was 8 million tons before the collapse of the USSR, the projection for is only 1. The government is trying to attract foreign investment. Venezuela The development of the revolutionary process in Venezuela has been a life-saving boost for Cuba. Apart from the enormous lift in morale – the feeling that they are no longer alone – there have been very material benefits. The special relationship with Venezuela has also meant credits for projects at low interest rates and various joint ventures. Cuba is also helping to train Venezuelan doctors and thousands of Venezuelans have received surgical treatment in Cuba 50, got free eye surgery in In return Cuba gets vital oil cheaply from Venezuela. A fibre-optic cable is being laid from Venezuela to Cuba via some other island countries. When this is finished Cuba will at last have access to cheap high-speed internet connections. At the moment Cuba pays a Canadian company through the nose for a slow connection. China-Cuba relations growing Developing economic relations with China has also been very important. China is also playing a role in helping Cuba prospect for oil offshore. Having a trade relationship with China is very important in offsetting the U. China is simply too big to be pushed around by Washington. Between and , the Cuban economy grew at an average annual rate of 2. In GDP growth dropped to 4. At the same time the cost of key imports fuel and food has risen significantly. This deficit is only balanced by the massive export of services. Another very important source of hard currency is remittances from Cubans living abroad, mainly in the U. Replacing expensive imports with locally produced food is a major objective of the Cuban government. A big part of this is to encourage more

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Black economy The black non-official economy encompasses a whole range of activities, from the largely harmless to the seriously criminal and everything in between. There is a very informative study on this by Canadian academic Arch Ritter although he is very anti-Fidel. Selling homemade crafts to tourists, selling homemade food on the street; paying extra or bribes to get scarce goods or services; stealing goods from the state and selling them; using a state car as a private taxi; selling jobs in the lucrative tourist sector with prized access to dollars tips and services. A study by the Communist Youth UJC found that more than , young people in Cuba neither worked nor studied; a lot of these are concentrated in Havana. Obviously they get by one way or another. But such facts cause great popular resentment and undermine social morale. He set out the main considerations behind the reforms which have been announced throughout the year: Today, more than ever before, the economic battle is the main task and focus of the ideological work of the cadres, because the sustainability and the preservation of our social system rest upon this work. Without a sound and dynamic economy and without the removal of superfluous expenses and waste, it will neither be possible to improve the living standard of the population nor to preserve and improve the high levels of education and health care ensured to every citizen free of charge. If people do not feel the need to work for a living because they are covered by excessively paternalistic and irrational state regulations, we will never be able to stimulate a love for work nor will we resolve the chronic lack of construction, farming and industrial workers; teachers, police and other indispensable trades that have steadily been disappearing. If we do not build a firm and systematic social rejection of illegal activities and different manifestations of corruption, more than a few will continue to enrich themselves at the expense of the labour of the majority, while spreading attitudes that directly attack the essence of socialism. We know that the budgeted and business sectors have hundreds of thousands of excess workers; some analysts estimate that the surplus of people in work positions exceeds one million. In summary, to continue spending beyond our income is tantamount to consuming our future and jeopardizing the very survival of the revolution. One million workers are to be cut from the state payroll over five years; half a million by next March. Many smaller state enterprises in light industry and agriculture are to be converted to worker cooperatives, so hopefully a lot of workers will remain in their current workplaces but under different ownership and remuneration arrangements. 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productive, increase food production and reduce or eliminate the huge food import bill. To make daily life less stressful by making things easier: Obviously, along with the reforms, the state will need to significantly raise wages and pensions. There are very real risks. We know that the market always creates inequality and a stronger petty-bourgeois layer. There will need to be a strong regulatory and tax regime. Of course, bourgeois critics "and Cuba has whole armies of them "never worry about such things: However, despite the risks, Cuba has no real choice. But they also show that no one, even the most high-ranking officials, is unaccountable or above having to answer for their actions. Top leaders dismissed In March a number of central leaders were dismissed from their state and party posts for serious errors. According to a June 29, , Inter Press Service article: He was also an informant for Spanish intelligence CNI. The enemy outside built up their hopes with them. In fact, a large part of the Cuban cabinet was replaced in the first part of last year, either for being too close to foreign business or being ineffective in dealing with corruption.

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9: Revolution from above - Wikipedia

By contrast, the plain term revolution suggests that pressure from below is a major driving force in events, even if other social groups cooperate with or ultimately capture the movement. The phrase was coined by the Spanish writer Joaquín Costa in the 19th century.

The cars beside him are ancient and decrepit emblems of a society frozen in time, one of the last communist societies on earth. Or is that a ridiculously pro-American reading of this picture? Does it in fact show a benign socialist society about to be swallowed up by the capitalist Leviathan that this plane represents? Where now are the earthly paradises from which an idealist can take hope? Cuba certainly has electricity and telecommunications: People have cars too, even if they are a bit timeworn. Yet what prevails on the ground in this photograph is above all a sense of neglect and decay. In a poor country with a tropical climate, things rot fast. The chaos of low-level dwellings, unkempt grass and unweeded sidewalks speaks of an island of stasis and sluggishness. This very timelessness is found attractive by some. You can holiday in Cuba in a magic realist fantasia of tropical weather, communist nostalgia and pre-revolutionary architecture that can apparently beguile. Restrictions on freedom of expression are widespread. For the might and wealth embodied by that plane in the sky is as out of scale to the scene below as the guns of the conquistadors were to the stone-age weapons of the 16th-century Aztec empire. This may be a tasteless analogy but it is a revealing one. The history of the Americas has repeatedly demonstrated, ever since Columbus reached the Bahamas and sighted Cuba in 1492, that modernity always defeats tradition. Old Cuba stands no chance against the slick powerful modernity that Air Force One represents. It is incredible that the mighty United States managed to make itself so afraid of this small neighbour for so long. Obama seems to be one of the last Americans who really believes in his country. Anger at inequality in the US, frustration with economic stagnation, and a million other sources of rage seem to dominate the primaries this year. Yet in reality the US remains a startling society at the cutting edge of modernity the place that Air Force One embodies. He is still spreading it in this photograph. Here is a double hope:

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