

VIVA CUBA

DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM!

NOVEMBER 1974

PROGRESSIVE STUDENT DELEGATION
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U.S.A.

The title of this pamphlet sums up the position of the Progressive Student Delegation that went to Cuba on a studytour, August 16-28, 1974. The main significance of this tour was lessons learned about the struggles against U.S. Imperialism, mainly in Cuba, but also in other struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. So the title of this pamphlet also becomes a slogan of the anti-imperialist student movement - VIVA CUBA! DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM!

COVER PHOTOGRAPH: The hilltop from which Castro directed the battle of Uvero, May 28, 1957. Che Guevara wrote of this battle: "For us, it was a victory that meant that our guerrillas had reached full maturity. From that moment on, our morale increased enormously, our determination and hope for victory also increased, and although the months that followed were a hard test, we now had the key to the secret of how to beat the enemy. This battle sealed the fate of every garrison located far from larger concentrations of troops and every small army post was soon dismantled."

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INTRODUCTION

For the past two years, the students who came to make up the Progressive Student Delegation have been involved in a number of the same struggles on various campuses and in our communities. When we came together we found ourselves discussing common questions which arose out of the course of our practice:

- What is the role of U.S. imperialism in causing the problems we face as Black students and as a community?
- 2. What is the role of students, particularly Black students in the anti-imperialist struggle in the United States?
- 3. How can greater unity be built between students and the struggles of workers—especially campus workers? How can greater unity be built between students and community struggles?
- 4. What is the nature of education in a capitalist country? Is education different under socialism?
- 5. How can we unite the masses of Black students in a conscious anti-imperialist movement?

According to our analysis the masses of Black students are objectively in contradiction with U.S. Imperialism. By U.S. Imperialism we mean the system which allows a small U.S. ruling class to control large monopoly corporations, banks, etc., to exploit the masses of people in the U.S., and extend this control to the exploitation of people and resources all over the world, resulting in more wealth for the ruling class and more misery for the masses. The contradiction between U.S. imperialism and the masses of Black students is

reflected in cutbacks in financial aid, enrollment "rollbacks" an emphasis on job-training over academic programs, and blatant attempts to phase-out Black colleges and dismantle Black studies programs. In this context, our discussions of the above questions led to two things.

First, we began to more seriously study and sum up the history of the Black student movement of the 1960's. We feel that the major task facing the Black student movement is the rebuilding of the movement along the broad lines that characterized the militant SNCC and Black studies movement, but more focused on the main cause of our problems--U.S. imperialism. Secondly, we began to pay more attention to the role that students have played in revolutionary struggles in other countries around the world. It was at this point that we began to study the revolutionary process and the role of students in the Cuban Revolution. Based on this study, a visit to Cuba was proposed.

WHY CUBA?

It became clear to us that the Cuban student movement has a long and militant history of struggle against U.S. imperialism. The Cuban Revolution is the first socialist revolution in the Western hemisphere—a successful challenge to U.S. imperialism. Thus, we saw Cuba as a model representing the kind of change that can best resolve the many problems of unemployment, inflation, inadequate housing, and general socio-economic and political decay facing the people of the United States.

Another important reason for progressive Black students in the U.S. to look at Cuba is the large number of people of African descent in Cuba, brought to the island by the same economic forces of developing capitalism which brought our ancestors from Africa to the United States. Black people throughout the history of struggle in Cuba have joined the Cuban masses and played an important role in the success of the Cuban Revolution. The Revolution has as a major goal

the creation of a new society free from racism, in which all racial groups share equally in the successes and the setbacks of the Revolution.

We wanted to see all of this for ourselves, and learn the lessons of the Cuban Revolution for our struggle against imperialism in its very headquarters—the United States.

THE PROGRESSIVE STUDENT DELEGATION

The Progressive Student Delegation, as far as we know, was the first exclusively Black student delegation to visit Cuba. It was made up of anti-imperialist Black students from the northeastern, southern, midwestern, and western regions of the United States. We represented the National Save and Change Black Schools Project, the Youth Organization for Black Unity, the Black Student Collective at Harvard University, the Harambe Organization in New Jersey and the Peoples College in Tennessee.

This pamphlet is a chronology and summary of our trip to Cuba between August 16-28, 1974. We have tried to present information that we feel can best provide a general insight into what is taking place in Cuba and why. We do this in the hope that greater solidarity can be forged between the anti-imperialist forces in the U.S. and the Cuban people. At the same time, we hope that this information will further spur the masses of people in this country, particularly Black students, to intensify our efforts to defeat U.S. imperialism and all its evils and build a free and just United States.

Progressive Student Delegation November, 1974

The history of Cuba has been a history of struggle against Spanish and U.S. domination. The Spanish domination of the Cuban island began with the landing of Christopher Columbus in 1492. Spain's interest in exploiting the land intensified with a shift in the base of the Cuban economy from cattle-raising to sugar production and its by-products, especially rum. This interest in exploiting the land led to the extermination of the indigenous population and the importation of thousands of African slaves as a cheap labor source for sugar production (1503).

The slaves never completely submitted to this oppression and slave rebellions occurred frequently throughout this period. The resistance of the slaves as well as changes developing around the world like the further development of the industrial revolution and the heroic victory of the slave insurrections led by Toussant L'Overture in Haiti spelled doom for the Spanish domination of Cuba.

In 1868 the War of Independence against Spain began. This war lasted ten years and united slaves, free Blacks, and rich landowners against the Spanish. Among the leaders of this struggle were Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, the first landowner to free his slaves and today referred to as the "Father of Cuba"; Antonio Maceo, a mulatto peasant and general; and Maximo Gomez, a Dominican General. They fought a long and heroic struggle demanding a free labor system, a reduction in the amount of tributes paid Spain, and the abolition of slavery, which came in 1886. The Cuban people united again in 1895 to fight Spain. This time Jose Marti (founder of the Cuban Revolutionary Party in 1892 in New York City), led the struggle with the military leadership of Antonio Maceo and Maximo Gomez.

However, the victory of the Cuban people over Spanish colonialism was set back by the direct intervention of U.S.

imperialism in 1898, in the so-called Spanish-American War. With this intervention and domination by the U.S. came exploitation and oppression of Blacks in Cuba and the complete monopolization of the Cuban economy. "Southern style" segregation was instituted and Blacks were not allowed in any public facilities. This period was marked by intense racial violence and in the early part of the 20th century led to the formation of Black organizations to battle racial oppression.

In the decade of the 1920's, international events like the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 helped to influence socialist ideas in Cuba and the growth of the working class began to give new impetus to the struggle against U.S. imperialism. In 1923 the Federation of University Students (FEU) and the Central Trade Union (CTU) were founded. In 1925, the Communist Party was founded by Julio Antonio Mella. These organizations worked in unity among the broad masses of students, intellectuals, and workers, propagating the anti-imperialist ideas which pointed to U.S. imperialism as their main enemy. These anti-imperialist forces were key in the revolution of 1933 which overthrew Gerardo Machado's regime and played a vital role in the succession of popular governments that followed.

After World War II the Cuban movement was confronted with a similar reactionary tide as other anti-imperialist movements in the world, as the puppets of U.S. imperialism launched a dual attack of bribery and coercion on the revolutionary forces. This culminated in the 1952 coup d'etat led by the tyrant Flugencio Batista. Batista's tyranny resulted in unemployment for thousands of workers, the exploitation of the peasants in the countryside heightened as did racial discrimination. Many groups (primarily students and intellectuals) were organizing against the Batista regime. One such group was led by Fidel Castro who attacked the Moncada Garrison on July 26, 1953. This group became known as the July 26th Movement. Another predominantly studentled group called the Revolutionary Directorate attacked

the Presidential Palace on March 13, 1954. This group was led by Jose Antonio Echeverria, who was later assassinated by Batista.

During the attack on the Moncada about 76 members of the July 26 Movement were killed by Batista's armed forces while Fidel and 12 others were arrested and imprisoned at the Isle of Pines. Mass pressure and Batista's desire to be re-elected to office in the upcoming elections forced him to grant amnesty to Fidel and the others arrested.

Forced to re-group in Mexico (where they met up with Che Guevara), Fidel's forces re-entered Cuba in 1956. They arrived on a small yacht named "Granma" and were met by a barrage of gunfire from Batista's army. The revolutionary forces led by Fidel took refuge in the Sierra Maestra mountains in Oriente Province where they organized and trained many peasants of the province. The July 26th Movement consolidated its forces and over a two-year period led a drive from the Sierra Maestra mountains in Oriente to the city of Havana. They successfully toppled the Batista government and on January 1, 1959 the Revolution had triumphed. With the seizure of the government, the revolutionary forces began a program against racial discrimination in all areas: employment, housing and education.

There have been attempts by U.S. imperialism to keep the revolution from growing. One blatant example is the Bay of Pigs incident. On January 3, 1961, President John F. Kennedy ordered the breaking off of diplomatic and economic relations with Cuba. With the aid of the CIA, President Kennedy ordered air attacks on April 15th and 17th, 1961, against several airports in Cuba. A mercenary army made up of Cuban counter-revolutionaries that were trained, equipped, and protected by U.S. armed forces, landed at Playa Giron (the Bay of Pigs). But within 48 hours the Cuban people had defeated the invaders and further consolidated their victory against U.S. Imperialism.

WHY WAS THE CUBAN REVOLUTION OF 1959 SUCH A TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF CUBA?

Before the Revolution, all of Cuban society was dominated by U.S. imperialism. Prior to 1959, U.S. corporations controlled 40% of the raw sugar production, 25% of all bank deposits and over 90% of the telephone and electric services. Over 70% of the land was concentrated in the hands of 8% of the farmowners--mainly large U.S. corporations. 80% of Cuba's imports came from the U.S. and 70% of Cuba's exports (mainly tobacco and sugar) went to the United States.

With the basic economic resources so dominated by U.S. imperialism, all other institutions in the Cuban society—the schools, universities, mass media, and of course, the government—served the interests of U.S. imperialism and not the interests of the Cuban people. The Cuban Revolution, January 1, 1959, changed all that. The Cuban people seized control of state power and began the process of developing their economy for their own benefit and making sure that all institutions operated to serve the people.

Three very important policies were initiated soon after the Revolution and provided the base for the development of the Cuban society:

- 1. Land Reform: On May 17, 1959, large landholdings, especially those owned by foreign corporations, were seized and distributed to landless peasants. Within two years, over 100,000 peasants had gained titles to over 7 million acres of land.
- 2. Nationalization of Foreign Capital: Responding mainly to U.S. attempts to sabotage the Revolution, on July 25, 1960, the Cuban government nationalized 26 big foreign businesses, including telephone and electric services, and sugar mills.

3. Socialization of the Means of Production: Learning from experience that nationalization was not enough and still allowed foreign capitalists to hamper the growth and development of the economy, the Cuban Revolutionary Government moved to take direct control of all the basic sectors of their economy—the banks and all the large industrial, commercial, and public service enterprises.

Taking control of the Cuban economy out of the hands of the U.S. imperialists and their Cuban lackeys and putting the economy into the hands of a government representative of the Cuban masses was the major achievement of the Cuban revolution. Since 1959 tremendous political and economic power secured by the Revolution has been used to undertake the task of socialist construction in Cuban society.



Oil refinery workers listening to a Castro lecture.

WHAT IS THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN CUBA?

From the intervention of the United States until the people's victory in 1959, Cuba was the playground and vacation spot for the world's rich. While foreign investors stole its resources and millionaires built large estates, the majority of Cuban people lived in squalor and near-starvation.

Before the Revolution, U.S. corporations took millions of dollars in profits out of Cuba. But the major goal of the Cuban Revolution was to end this and to enable the Cuban people to keep their natural resources and develop a planned economy in which all people in society would benefit from their work. This had a big impact on the standard of living in Cuba. There were increases in agricultural production, significant increases in the amount of electricity generated and increases in the mining of nickel and other natural resources. Thus, all Cubans could have better diets and the country as a whole had more resources available for expanding production and trade.

All aspects of life in Cuba have greatly improved since the Revoluion made it possible to devote the country's resources to providing the necessities for its people and not just profits for large U.S. corporations. This includes providing nutritional food, adequate clothing and decent housing for all. Unlike the United States where the sick often die because of their inability to pay for the proper medical care, in Cuba the medical care is free. Cuba now has the lowest infant mortality rate of any Latin American country. There is no rising unemployment nor runaway inflation; everyone is guaranteed employment. An extensive public transportation system exists which allows Cuban people access to points throughout the country at low costs.

Because of Cuba's history of exploitation by U.S. imperialism and its underdevelopment, no one has a lot of extras in Cuba. Some goods like sugar are rationed. But the Cubans are determined to overcome their difficulties and are engaged in a process of construction and re-

allocation of resources to improve its standard of living. Tremendous strides have been made. One of our most exciting visits was to the Alamar housing project outside Havana, a 120,000 unit housing complex under construction by a unique program of volunteer labor. We also visited extensive projects of research to increase food production.

DOES RACIAL EQUALITY EXIST IN CUBA?

After the Revolution, two important declarations were aimed at dealing with racial discrimination. In the First Declaration of Havana (1960), "the right of Blacks to be fully considered as human", and "the duty of Blacks to struggle for their economic, political, and social rights" were proclaimed. In 1962, the Second Declaration of Havana went on to state: "There are neither minorities nor majorities on the basis of race in our country. . . There is no black culture nor white culture but there is a socialist culture, forming and developing itself. This Cuban culture unites us all equally." With these declarations the revolutionary government used state power to begin a program against racial discrimination in housing, employment, education, recreations, and in all areas.

The Progressive Student Delegation did not observe any acts of racial or sexual discrimination among the Cubans during our trip. This is not, however, to deny the possibility that isolated, individual acts of racism may still exist. Socialism does not rid a society of racism in one blow, but provides the basis for institutionalized racism to be done away with. But like most attitudes, racial attitudes must be removed in a transitional process of education. Particularly among the elder Cubans an attitude exists against the marriage of light and dark-skinned people, a remnant of the past. The Cubans continually strive to transform all the past manifestations of racism and develop their society to serve all people equally.

WHO MAKES THE MAJOR DECISIONS EFFECTING THE LIVES OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE?

Contrary to widespread belief, Cuba is not a dictatorship. Unlike the United States, the decisions made in Cuba are not made by or in the interests of an elite group but rather decisions are made by the people they effect. The people make the decisions through participation in mass organizations. These mass organizations reflect all social groups in Cuban society and have mobilized participation of over 80% of the people. The organizations are built from the block level to the national level, and provide effective input into all levels of decision-making.

Mass organizations encompass youth from young children (the Young Pioneers) through University level students (the Federation of University Students). The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) represent another mass organization. Organized in 1960 to defend the country from attacks by the U.S. imperialists, the CDRs now total 4.7 million members in 1973--80% of the population over 14 years old. It is active on almost every residential block in Cuba and it was amazing for us to see signs locating the block headquarters of the CDR.

The Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC) is the mass organization which encompasses the masses of Cuban workers. Its importance was most recently demonstrated when it organized grass-roots, factory-level review and recommendations on many aspects of the country's development plan. The 13th National Congress of the CTC, held in November 1973, established efficiency norms that each worker must fulfill, developed a national wage system, and created production assemblies to provide for worker input into all decisions concerning production. Other mass organizations include the Federation of Cuban women and the National Association of Small Farmers.

HOW HAVE STUDENTS CONTRIBUTED TO THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES IN CUBA?

The student movement in Cuba actually began in 1871 with Jose Marti, who was dismissed from high school and sent to prison for doing agitational work against the Spanish. Also in the same year, on November 27th, Spanish authorities tried and executed eight University of Havana medical students accused of having desecrated the grave of a Spanish officer and imprisoned 34 more students accused of anti-Spanish activities. During their trial these students became the first students to uphold Cuban patriotism.

The organized political activism of students found its growth during the University reform movement in the early 1920's. One of the principal figures among the students was Julio Antonio Mella, who in 1923 organized the Federation of University Students (FEU). During the University reform movement, the students obtained a series of academic and administrative reforms, larger government subsidies, and the establishment of a university commission composed of professors, students, and alumni. Also during 1923, the First Congress of Cuban Students was organized. From 1927 to 1930 University Student Directorates were formed in opposition to the Machado regime.

In the 1950's student activity was highlighted by the July 26, 1953, attack on the Moncada military barracks in Santiago de Cuba, Oriente Province. This attack was led by Fidel Castro, a law student at the time. In 1954, Antonio Echeverria, the president of the Federation of University Students organized a student group that attacked the Presidential Palace. Many students participated in the July 26 Movement and the seizure of state power in 1959.

After the triumph of the Revolution Che Guevara created the Association of Rebel Youth, a mass organization of young people. These youth were taken to the places where struggles

had taken place. They were taught about the transformation of the Revolution and received military training. The Association of Rebel Youth played an integral role in the Bay of Pigs. During the battle they handled anti-aircraft equipment. The Association of Rebel Youth also participated in the anti-illiteracy campaign. At the First Congress of the Association of Rebel Youth in 1962, they changed the name of the organization to the Union of Young Communists (UJC).

Today, FEU is the mass level organization for University students. Every student is a member of FEU. The main task of FEU is to coordinate work among the University students. On the high school level the Federation of High School Students (FEEM) is responsible for the organization of the masses of high school students. Many of the students from the ages of 6 to 14 are members of the Young Pioneers. These are the most advanced students of their age in the Cuban society. The Union of Young Communists (UJC) coordinates the work of FEU, FEEM, and the Young Pioneers, and also organizes youth inside work places. Only the most advanced of the Cuban youth and students are members of UJC.

Throughout the revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism students maintained a vanguard role of agitating among the people. This same revolutionary spirit and fevor is maintained today. In Fidel's words, "the Revolution has awakened something among the young people; a faith, an enthusiasm, a completely new outlook. This is because the Revolution has made them feel extremely important to and highly appreciated by society. The Revolution has made our children and young people practically the reason for its existence, because they are the object of the Revolution, the ones who will take our country to stages which the first generation cannot reach."



Returned brigadistas from the literacy campaign salute with their giant pencils, December 1961.

WHAT IS THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM LIKE IN CUBA?

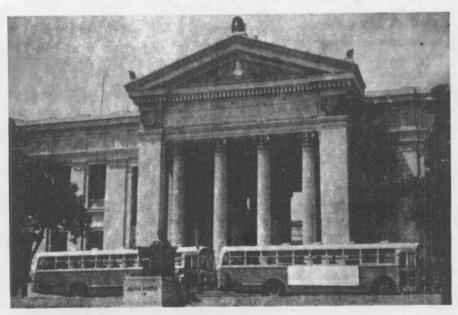
Before the 1959 Revolution, the educational system was basically a private school system set up for the privileged in the Cuban society. Poor people (Black and white) could not attend these schools. Most of the schools were set up in the cities, none were set up in the countryside. Only one tenth of the Cuban youth received a secondary education, while University education was a privilege. Some 85% of the youth between the ages of 15 and 19 were not receiving an education. Illiteracy was more than 20%.

The task of the Revolution was to provide education for all the Cuban people. Within three years, 15,000 new classrooms were built in the countryside and cities. The creation of the People's Educational Councils and a National Educational Council allowed for mass participation in providing a viable educational system for all Cuban people. In 1961, the great anti-illiteracy campaign was kicked off. Two hundred, sixty thousand teachers participated in the campaign. Within a year, illiteracy was reduced from 24% to 3%. Some 707,000 persons learned to read and write.

Today, the educational system is based on the ideology of the revolution. It is related to the technical and scientific development of the country. Scholarships given by the Revolutionary government cover clothing, housing, meals, books and everything related to the academic needs of the students. The procedure for selection to attend the university is based on a merit system in which one's peer group decides who has demonstrated that they are dedicated to working to build socialism. In fulfilling this responsibility careers are chosen in line with the needs

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of society. Education is free on all levels. There is a study/work, work/study program which provides students with an input into practical work. Each student gives 20 hours a week to practical work and each worker gives time in the evenings to study at the University. This procedure provides advancement for both students and workers, and allows for the best utilization of the existing resources to obtain the maximum results in building socialism in Cuba.



University of Havana

HOW DOES CUBA SUPPORT THE STRUGGLES OF OTHER OPPRESSED PEOPLE?

"A clear characteristic of the Cuban people is their profound internationalism and their militant solidarity with all the world's anti-imperialist fighters." Since the days of Jose Marti and his travels throughout the Americas the voice of the Cuban people has continually spoken in behalf of the peoples of the world who have been dominated by U.S. imperialism. Since 1959, Cuba has received unfailing assistance from countless numbers of people. They have also given support to those people that needed both technical and economic assistance, even as Cuba struggles for development. When Chile needed sugar, the Cuban people provided it; when the Vietnamese people needed doctors and medical supplies, the Cuban people provided them. They have also aided the national liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola. The Cubans have skilled personnel in Equatorial Guinea to help develop that country. Cuba also had an official delegation to attend the Sixth Pan-African Congress in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

The Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa, and Latin America (OSPAAAL) was established in 1966 by delegates from over 100 countries and organizations. Through OSPAAAL, Cuba has established a relationship with a majority of the world's oppressed people, as well as countries like Cambodia, Laos, The Peoples Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), South Yemen, the Republic of Guinea, Puerto Rico, North Korea, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. Students from many of these countries particularly from Vietnam and Guinea Bissau study in Cuba. Since the coup d'etat in Chile, 1400 Chileans have become a part of the Cuban society.

The Cubans consider the people of North America as their allies in the struggle against imperialism. fully understand that the multitude of problems facing the people of the United States--inflation, unemployment, racism, etc., -- are caused by the same ruling class that for many years was responsible for similar problems in Cuba. Thus, the Cubans have identified the enemy as the U.S. imperialists--the U.S. ruling class--and not the people of the United States. In recognizing that imperialism is the enemy of the American people, the Cubans educate their people to the plight of the American people living in the heartland of imperialism and widely publicize the heroic struggles of the people of this country. For example, many Cubans asked our delegation about symbols of the Black liberation movement. We learned of a long history of this solidarity when we were told of Cuban support for the Scottsboro case, a racist attempt to lynch nine Black youth in Alabama during the 1930's. Also mentioned was the visit of Fidel to Harlem and his conversation with Malcolm X in 1960.

Another expression of Cuban solidarity with the American people and our struggle to defeat U.S. imperialism are the periodic visits of progressive groups and individuals to Cuba arranged by the Cuban government. In addition to our delegation of Black students, other delegations go to Cuba to do many things from study the health care system to participate in work/study programs.

The Cubans view the anti-imperialist struggle being waged in the United States as a necessary and essential aspect of the international battle to end imperialist aggression. The participation of the people in the United States in this struggle makes them allies and comrades of all people involved in the same anti-imperialist movement.

HOW DO CUBAN WOMEN PARTICIPATE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM?

It has only been since the Revolution in the last 15 years that Cuban women have been incorporated into the building of their society. Before that time, the women functioned only in the home, preparing meals, raising children, and seeing to the needs of their husbands. It was considered a disgrace by some for a man to allow his wife to work. Since the Revolution, women have taken jobs in a vast number of areas to help construct Cuban society. In a country suffering from underdevelopment, it is essential that everyone participate in the production process to advance the economy.

The Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) was created in 1960 and now has 1.8 million people--about 75% of the women in Cuba, 14 years and older. The FMC plays a major role in the incorporation of women into the work force, especially concentrating on improving the technical skills of women so that they could fill job openings. During 1973, over 70,000 women joined the labor force. FMC has set up women's work brigades in many industries, including agriculture, tobacco, poultry, and sugar, as well as in education and public health. The FMC has also placed an emphasis on the development of a nation-wide system of day care.

All of this has served to end the drudgery and alienation women felt because of their isolation from society. The struggle to re-educate the Cuban people, especially older Cubans, about the new role of women in a new society continues. This is especially seen in the work of the FMC in eliminating discriminatory laws and in implementing a Family Code Law which states that both men and women have the same responsibilities toward children, the home, and the Revolution. Led by the FMC, the women of Cuba are not only becoming fully integrated into Cuban society, but are giving valuable support and encouragement to their comrades in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.



Militiawomen of the Sierra Maestra arriving at Uvero.

IS CRIME A PROBLEM IN CUBA?

Before the 1959 Revolution, every aspect of Cuban life was dominated by U.S. imperialism. Because of this, gambling, prostitution, rapes and murders were rampant. The crimes that existed in the Cuban society were caused by the wretched conditions that had been put on the Cuban people by U.S. imperialism.

The main contribution of the Cuban Revolution in dealing with crime was to change the desperate conditions that forced people to commit crimes in order to live. The Revolution also set out to eradicate the crimes in the Cuban society that were committed by and against the Cuban people. The committees in Defense of the Revolution (CDR) were created to help the Cuban people stop counter-revolutionaries from trying to committ sabotage and treason against the Cuban government. The CDR's also participate in decisions about people who commit offenses like robberies against the Cuban people. Minor infringements against the law are usually handled out of court. Offenses like stealing are usually discussed among the people in the block where it occurred. If it can not be handled by reprimand and censure, it is referred to the courts.

Today, robbery with violence is punishable by death. All other infractions are handled by the people's courts, called Popular Tribunals. A process of re-education is used to reform the offender. In a country where everyone is provided with ample necessities of life the basic causes of crime no longer exist.

CHRONOLOGY

August 16

Morning: Arrival in Cuba

Afternoon: Meeting with Federation of University

Students (FEU)

Evening: Movie "Viva la Republica"

August 17

Spent all day in preparation of PSD presentations

to Cubans

August 18

Spent all day at Santanoria Beach in Havana Province

August 19

Morning: PSD Presentations on: African Liberation

Support Committee (ALSC), National Save and Change Black Schools Project (NSACBSP), Community Colleges/Cutbacks, Struggle, and the

African World

Afternoon: World Amateur Boxing Match

Discussion with Cuban Journalist on the

Middle East

Evening: PSD Presentation: The History of the Black

Liberation Movement

August 20

Morning: Anti-Illiteracy Campaign Museum

Afternoon: Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa, and Latin America (OSPAAAL)

Evening: World Amateur Boxing Match

Discussion on Africa

August 21

Morning: Interviews between Cuban representatives and

individuals from various areas

Afternoon: Discussion with Beatrize Allende on Chilean

Situation; Discussion on Urguay

Visit to the Alamar Housing Project and

Villa de Peru Daily Farm

Auguat 22

Presentation on the History of Cuba

August 23

Trip to Pinar Del Rio Province to the National Park and a Genetic Farm

August 24

Part of the Delegation went to Santiago de Cuba, Oriente Province: Sibony Farm, Moncado Garrison Abel Santamaria Park and the Second Front The other part of the Delegation went to Matanza Province to the Bay of Pigs but was forced to turn back because of rain-washed roads.

August 25

More individual area interviews

August 26

Morning: Federation of Cuban Women (FMC)

Afternoon: Committees for the Defense of the Revolu-

tion (CDRs)

Evening: Presentation on the Union of Young Communists

(UJC)

August 27

Morning: Central Trade Union (CTC)

Afternoon: Visit to Juventud Rebelde office (UJC

newspaper)

Evening: Farewell Dinner and Party

August 28

Departure

CONCLUSION

In this pamphlet of the summary and chronology of our trip to Cuba, the Progressive Student Delegation has tried to present insights into the history and present conditions of the Cuban Revolution, the pervasive and continuing social movement that has very dramatically improved the lives of the masses of Cuban people. As we sum up our experiences in Cuba, we have developed a much deeper appreciation for three things in particular:

- 1. the importance of having a firm grasp of one's own history of struggle;
- 2. the importance of using the lessons of one's own struggle, and the lessons from the struggles of other peoples against imperialism and racism to chart a correct path of struggle, to avoid as many mistakes as possible; and
- 3. the importance of building unity in struggle among the masses of people who are objectively in contradiction with imperialism.

Revolutions can only be made when the masses of people are clear as to who are their friends and who are their enemies. Revolutions cannot be proclaimed; they must be made by the masses of people in militant struggle to defeat those forces that exploit and oppress them. As Black students, we are firmly committed to winning the masses of Black students to a more conscious and more militant posture of anti-imperialist struggle. As we see it, the principal aspect of work at this time should be geared toward summing up the Black student movement of the 1960's. We must make every effort to build on the positive advances of those struggles and at the same time, repudiate and correct the many incorrect tendencies and deviations which we inherited from the movement of the '60's.

We are firmly convinced that everyone will come to the same conclusion that we have based on our summing up of the history of the Black student movement of the last decade: NOW IS THE TIME TO UNITE ALL BLACK STUDENTS IN STRUGGLE TO DEFEAT U.S. IMPERIALISM. As we see it, the social composition and objective conditions of Black students provide a firm basis for uniting the many to defeat the few-building a mass student movement in this country in opposition to the forces of imperialism and national oppression. Specifically, we believe that large numbers of students can be won over to support these important struggles:

Workers Struggles: for better wages and working conditions and for a social system in which all who work reap the full benefits of their labor;

Community Struggles: for decent housing and social programs, against police repression;

Student Struggles: for the right of youth to a quality education, an education that reflects the history, needs, and aspirations of all students and their communities; for a democratic university and against the control of education by and for the interests of imperialism.

National Liberation Movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In these struggles, we must seek to renew the spirit of militancy, of courage, of sacrifice that characterized the struggles of the 1960's. In the present period, this is our historical task as Black students!

STUDY THE HISTORY OF STUDENT STRUGGLES AND STRUGGLE TO CREATE A NEW STUDENT MOVEMENT!

UNITE WITH THE FORCES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AND BUILD THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM!

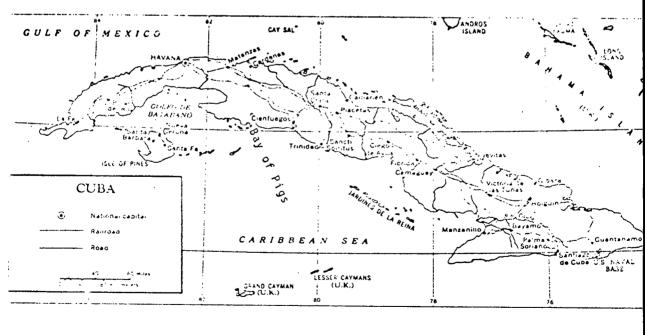
BUILD THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STUDENT MOVEMENT!

READING LIST

- 1. CUBA FOR BEGINNERS, An Illustrated Guide for Americans (New York; Pathfinders Press, 1971)
 As the name implies, CUBA FOR BEGINNERS is the best thing available for reading about Cuba for the first time. It consists of cartoons done by Ruis, a Mexican comic book artist. Added to the cartoons are clear and concise presentations on the history of Cuba from Columbus to the Revolution, how it is viewed and what it means to the Cuban people. CUBA FOR BEGINNERS is very useful for study groups.
- 2. CUBA: ANATOMY OF A REVOLUTION, Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1961). Written by two radical political ecomists, this was one of the earliest accounts of the factors which led to the Cuban Revolution and the early stages of its development. It is useful for getting a better grasp of the obstacles that the Revolution faced in its history.
- 3. CUBA IN TRANSITION, Phillip Russell, (Austin, Texas; Armadillo Press, 1971). A simply written introduction to developments in Cuba. Includes chapters on Blacks, women, housing, religion, sports, medicine, and fine arts.
- 4. THE ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF CUBA, Edward Boorstein, (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1968). Written by an American economist who worked in Cuba from 1960 to 1963. His experiences in Cuba's top planning agencies enabled him to give a good picture of the problems, successes, failures and bright prospects for the socialist transformation of Cuba.

- 5. ECONOMIC HISTORY OF CUBA, Julio Le Riverend, (Havana, Book Institute, 1967). One of the best histories of Cuba available. It gives a complete overview of many details of Cuban history with particular emphasis on the role of the transformation of Cuba's economy under Spanish colonialism, slavery, and U.S. imperialism. An important reference.
- 6. HISTORY WILL ABSOLVE ME, Fidel Castro
 The text of a speech Fidel delivered before the judges
 that sentenced him to 19 years in prison for his leadership of the attack on the Moncada on July 26, 1953.
 Fidel gives the full details of the Moncada assault
 and the reasons for its failure, the conditions in
 Cuban society that made armed struggle against U.S.
 imperialism necessary, and outlines the program that
 the Revolutionary Government would undertake when it
 would be established by the inevitable triumph of the
 Cuban people.
- 7. FIDEL CASTRO SPEAKS, Martin Kenner and James Petras (ed.) (New York, Grove Press, 1970). The most widely available collection of the writings and speeches of Fidel.
- 8. VENCEREMOS! THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF CHE GUEVARA John Gerassi, (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1968). This edited volume contains 35 of Che's works arranged chronologically from 1955-1964. These essays are also grouped under topics of guerilla warfare, capitalism and imperialism, the socialist man, and economic theory and policy.
- 9. REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN CUBA, Carmelo Mesa-Lago (ed.), (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971). A compilation of recent essays mainly by establishment social scientists. While the book does not convey the enthusiasm and fervor that is the Cuban Revolution, it is useful as a source of facts and figures on many important aspects of Cuban politics, economy, and society.

10. "The Cuban Revolution: Lessons for the Third World", Robert Chrisman and Robert Allen, Black Scholar, Feb. 1973. This article is a summary of information gathered by two Black journalists who visited Cuba with a delegation of Black organizers in December, 1973. It is a short, clearly written and useful presentation of the important aspects of life in Cuba.



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