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Service for Foreign Political Affairs, 'A Reminder about Cuba and Yugoslav-Cuban Relations (On the Occasion of the Reception of the Second Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Minister of National Defense, Raul Castro)'

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Summary:

A summary of political, economic, and diplomatic developments involving Cuba produced by the Foreign Ministry in Yugoslavia. Summarizes Cuba's relations with Yugoslavia, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and other countries in Latin America.

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Transcript - Serbo-Croatian
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Služba za spoljno politička pitanja

Podsetnik o Kubi i jugoslovensko-kubanskim odnosima

(Povodom prijema drugog sekretara KP Kube i ministra narodne odbrane Raula Kastru)

1. Unutrašnji razvoj

1959. godine je svrgnut Batista.

1960. nacionalizovano je preko 80% industrije, sve banke, spoljna trgovina i dr.

Sve ovo se odigralo u vreme kulminacije hladnog rata. Da bi se u takvim uslovima održala, kubanska revolucija je u početnoj fazi optirala za konstruktivnu saradnju sa SAD, čak je Fidel Kastro javno izjavljivao da ova revolucija nema socijalistički karakter.

SAD u sprezi sa unutrašnjom buržoazijom i značajnom emigracijom pokušavaju invazijom u "Zalivu svinja" 1961. godine da likvidiraju ovu revoluciju. Tada je Kastro prvi put nazvao kubansku revoluciju socijalističkom.

U periodu od 1961. do 1965. godine Kuba pokušava da na pragmatičan način rešava složena pitanja izgradnje novih društvenih odnosa. Revolucionarne snage vršile su uticaj na mase snagom svog progresivnog opredeljenja uz isticanje etičkih i humanističkih principa revolucije. Postavlja se pitanje stvaranja političke organizacije i 1965. godine osnovana je nova Komunistička partija Kube, a ranija, koja je bila pod izrazitim uticajem SSSR je raspuštena. Na Kubi se razvija jedan utopijsko-romantičarski koncept socijalizma, zasnovan na prenatlačenoj ulozi svesti i subjektivnog faktora uopšte. Preovladalo je uverenje da će se na Kubi stvoriti "idealni tip socijalizma" sa pretenzijama da to bude primer i za druge. Kubanski socijalizam razvijao se pod uslovima blokade

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i praktično ratnog stanja. Zato je poprimio neke karakteristike "ratnog komunizma", koji je bio u svemu podređen ciljevima odbrane od američkog pritiska i blokade i latinoameričke izolacije.

Na unutrašnjem planu razvijali su se elementi socijalističkog koncepta koji su bili lišeni svih oblika materijalnog stimuliranja i tržišne privrede, koji su doveli do apsolutnog centralističkog distribuiranja dobara. Smatralo se da se birokratizacija društva može izbeći ako se ne budu formirali klasični organi državne vlasti i uprave, pa ni partija po uzoru na druge.

Ovakva politika, kao i mere koje su preduzimane na ekonomskom planu, dovele su Kubu do poražavajućih rezultata: do rasipanja finansijskih i materijalnih rezervi, pada proizvodnje i produktivnosti, inflacije i sl. Životni standard opadao je ispod podnošljive granice i stvarala se sve dublja politička kriza u zemlji. 1970-1971. nacionalni dohodak po glavi stanovnika bio je manji nego pre revolucije.

Medjutim, i pored svih ovih teškoća kubanska revolucija je u ovom periodu rešila niz socijalnih i ekonomskih problema ogromne većine naroda. Obezbedjena je puna zaposlenost, zagarantovana besplatna zdravstvena zaštita, ostvareno besplatno i obavezno osmogodišnje školovanje, likvidirana nepismenost i ostvareni određeni rezultati u infrastrukturi i nekim granama privrede.

Neuspeo pokušaj 1970. godine da se proizvede 10 miliona tona šećera bio je povod da se osudi dotadašnja politika i najavi nova orijentacija koja treba da se zasniva na učešću radnih ljudi i masa u upravljanju privredom i društvom. Veoma je oštro kritikovana pojava birokratizma i posvećena je velika pažnja razvoju socijalističke demokratije i realnijem sagledavanju mogućnosti društvenog razvoja,

U poslednje dve godine pristupilo se određenim promenama u razgraničavanju uloge partije i države. U preduzećima i radnim organizacijama osnovane su skupštine proizvođača sa upravnim savetima. Sindikati i druge društveno-političke organizacije dobijaju sve samostaliju

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ulogu. Odbačen je kao pogrešan koncept o isključivoj ulozi svesti i uvodi se sistem materijalnog stimulisanja, odnosno nagradjivanja prema radu. Napušten je ekstenzivni koncept privredjivanja, a princip rentabilnosti postaje rukovodeći faktor u proizvodnji.

Ove reforme dovele su do značajnijeg povećanja proizvodnje i produktivnosti, a istovremeno i do stabilizacije privredne i političke situacije, do povećanja entuzijazma masa, ali i do mnogih dilema - kojim putevima i na kojim osnovama dalje izgradjivati socijalizam na Kubi.

U celini posmatrano društveno-politički i ekonomski sistem na Kubi karakteriše se protivurečnostima između još uvek visokog stepena centralizacije vlasti i težnji ka demokratskijim rešenjima, politikom velikih socijalnih davanja i ograničenih mogućnosti privrede, velikim ekonomskim planovima i nemogućnošću njihove realizacije i sl.

2. Spoljna politika

Dosadašnja aktivnost Kube u međunarodnim odnosima bila je prvenstveno usmerena na osudu imperijalizma SAD i u okviru toga na obezbedjenje što šire međunarodne podrške. U uslovima blokade i izolacije rasli su sovjetsko prisustvo i uticaj na kubansku spoljnu politiku. Sadašnja era pregovaranja i sporazumevanja između SSSR i SAD nameće pred Kubom potrebu da preispita svoju spoljnu politiku.

Odnosi sa SAD: Iako za sada nema bitnih promena, ipak ima nekih novih elemenata, na pr. potpisivanje Sporazuma o sprečavanju vazdušnog i pomorskog piratstva. Nedavna poseta Brežnjeva Kubi ponovo je oživela pitanje kubansko-američkog dijaloga.

SAD i nadalje kao uslov za normalizaciju odnosa sa Kubom postavljaju zahtev da se ona odrekne izvoza revolucije i na novoj osnovi definiše svoje odnose sa SSSR-om.

Kuba, s druge strane, kao uslov za dijalog, zahteva bezuslovno ukidanje ekonomske blokade i poštovanje njenog suvereniteta i nacionalnog integriteta. Kubansko pregovaračke pozicije ojačanu su u

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poslednje vreme i zbog njenih pojačanih pozicija na latino-američkom kontinentu. Iz tih razloga u ovom momentu Kuba smatra da sada nema interesa da podstiče dijalog sa SAD i da bi to mogla činiti kasnije sa još jačih pozicija i većom unutrašnjom stabilnosti.

Odnosi Kube sa latino-američkim zemljama: U poslednje vreme Kuba daje nedvosmislen prioritet razvoju odnosa sa zemljama Latinske Amerike, jer je ocenila da u tom kontekstu jača svoju vlasti- tu bezbednost i međunarodni položaj. S tim u vezi ona nastoji da se što više približi progresivnim tokovima u Latinskoj Americi, podržavajući šire procese emancipacije Latinske Amerike od američke dominacije. Dolazi do izražaja pozitivan stav Kube prema procesima u Peruu, zahtevima Paname, stav prema peronizmu itd. Tako je uprkos američkoj blokadi i svojevremenoj odluci organizacije američkih država došlo do ponovnog normalizovanja diplomatskih odnosa sa Peruom i Argentinom, kao i do uspostave odnosa sa Jamajkom, Trinidad-Tobagom, Barbadosom i Gvajanom. Kubanci očekuju da će se SAD nužno morati prilagodjavati promenama koje nastaju u Latinskoj Americi i da će se na taj način otvoriti i perspektiva za poboljšanje kubansko-američkih odnosa.

Odnosi sa SSSR-om: Konfrontacija sa SAD orijentisala je Kubu da se sve više oslanja na vojnu, ekonomsku i političku pomoć SSSR-a i zemalja lagera, koje su sa svoje strane u hladnoratovskom nadmetanju sa SAD, videle u Kubi značajnu poziciju, u tom delu sveta. Tako se Kuba našla u izuzetno teškim i složenim uslovima da se, s jedne strane, brani od stalno prisutne opasnosti vojne intervencije i agresije SAD, a da, s druge strane, čuva autentičan karakter revolucije pred neprekidnim nastojanjem SSSR-a da joj nametne vlastitu koncepciju društvenog razvoja i politike.

SSSR je u početku imao negativan stav prema kubanskoj revoluciji, što je bio stav i

stare Komunističke partije Kube, koja je ni revoluciji a avanturom. [...]

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SSSR da se ne meša u unutrašnje stvari Kube. Sve do posete Brežnjeva Kubi, februara ove godine, Kastro nije izgovorio ni jednu pozitivnu reč o sovjetskom modelu socijalizma, niti dozvolio da se to javno afirmiše na Kubi, što je bio glavni razlog uzajamnih sumnji i podozrenja.

Medjutim, dugogodišnje vojno i ekonomsko oslanjanje na SSSR dovelo je do toga da je sve više jačalo vezivanje Kube za lager, što je kulminiralo i njenim učlanjivanjem u SEV, jula 1972. godine.

Ekonomska zavisnost Kube od SSSR-a, čega se ona i pored vidnih nastojanja u tom pravcu teško oslobadja, danas predstavlja osnovnu bazu za sovjetski politički i idejni uticaj na Kubi. Kastro i kubansko rukovodstvo su ocenili da je sovjetska pomoć, u uslovima rešenosti Kube da po svaku cenu brani svoju nezavisnost, bila od vitalnog značaja.

Sovjetski uticaj na kubansku politiku u ovom trenutku je veći nego u bilo kom ranijem periodu.

Odnosi sa Kinom: Kina nije uspjela da ostvari nikakav dublji i značajniji ideološko-politički uticaj u Komunističkoj partiji Kube, niti kubanskoj javnosti. Jedno vreme prividno se ispoljavala podudarnost kubanskih i kineskih radikalnih stavova u međunarodnoj politici, što je ustvari bio odraz privremenih zajedničkih interesa u borbi protiv imperijalizma SAD. Kada su Kinezi pokušali da to iskoriste i uključe Kubu u planove svoje politike, Kastro se otvoreno tome suprotstavio. To je dovelo do dužeg perioda hladnih odnosa, ali se Kuba nikada nije uključila u kampanju protiv Kine.

Kuba i nesvrstanost: Kuba učestvuje od 1961. godine u svojstvu punopravnog člana na svim konferencijama i sastancima nesvrstanih zemalja, ali je njena aktivnost prvenstveno bila usmerena na osudu SAD i obezbedjenje podrške nesvrstanih zemalja. Bila je zapažena njena odlučnost u podršci oslobodilačkih pokreta, po pitanjima borbe protiv kolonijalizma, neokolonijalizma i rasizma, i posebno protiv ekonomskog pritiska SAD na Latinsku Ameriku, Zalagala so za radikalnije stavove i rezolucije.

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U okviru OUN: Kuba dugo vremena nije bila posebno aktivna što je posledica njene opšte spoljno-političke pozicije. U poslednje vreme zapaža se medjutim, njen aktivniji nastup. Na sastanku Saveta bezbednosti u Panami energično se zalagala podršci Panami. Stalni je pokretač inicijativa u OUN i na skupovima nesvrstanih za nezavisnost Portorika. Podržava sve akcije u borbi protiv kolonijalizma i neokolonijalizma, za nezavisnost zemalja Indokine, za prava Palestinskog naroda, borbu arapskih naroda protiv izraelske agresije, itd.

3. Bilateralni odnosi

Sadašnju fazu odnosa izmedju Jugoslavije i Kube karakteriše obostrano nastojanje i želja da se prevaziđe dugogodišnja stagnacija i da se odnosi ne samo normalizuju već i podignu na viši nivo.

Na našu inicijativu svojevremeno je jedna delegacija SSRNJ koju je predvodio Ali Šukrija posetila Kubu. Ubrzo posle toga došlo je po prvi put do niza susreta našeg ambasadora u Havani sa visokim državnim i partijskim funkcionerima Kube, koji su u svakom susretu ispoljavali želju za unapredjenje odnosa i prevazilaženje postojećeg stanja. Krajem 1972. godine Jugoslaviju je posetio ministar za gradjevinarstvo Kube Farah Levi, koga je primio drug Predsednik. Posle toga u Moskvi je došlo do susreta F. Kastru sa drugom Dolancom. Tom prilikom je dogovoreno da se uspostavi saradnja izmedju Komunističke partije Kube i SKJ i razmene partijske delegacije. Prilikom posete delegacije SKJ Kubi, krajem juna prošle godine, na čelu sa drugom Dolancom, otklonjena su mnoga nerazumevanja i konstatovano da dve autentične socijalističke revolucije imaju sve objektivne, pa i subjektivne, pretpostavke da ne samo iz

bilateralnih, nego i niza drugih širih razloga uspešno razvijaju medjusobne odnose i saradnju.

Polovinom 1973. godine došlo je do uzvratne posete Jugoslaviji delegacije Komiteta za odbranu revolucije Kube. Krajem iste godine delegacija Saveza sindikata Jugoslavije prisustvovala je Kongresu kubanskih sindikata.

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Komunistička partija Kube je prihvatila poziv SKJ da pošalje svoju delegaciju na X kongres SKJ.

Povoljni politički odnosi objektivno otvaraju veće mogućnosti za brže i znatnije unapredjenje ekonomske saradnje.

U razgovorima saveznog sekretara za privredu Boška Dimitrijevića, koji je nedavno išao na otvaranje naše industrijske izložbe na Kubi, sa Predsednikom Dortikosom određeni su prioriteti za kompleksniju, a delom i dugoročniju ekonomsku saradnju.

U razmatranju su brojne inicijative za širu i potpuniju ekonomsku saradnju i učešće naših preduzeća u planovima privrednog razvoja Kube. Predstoji potpisivanje Sporazuma o izgradnji na Kubi 3 fabrike prefabrikovanih elemenata za izgradnju stanova, pregovori za izgradnju brodova, turističke i ugostiteljske opreme, razgovori o dugoročnoj kooperaciji u oblasti brodogradnje tekstilne industrije i dr.

(Prema materijalima SSIP-a)

Beograd, 20. februara 1974.

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Service for Foreign Political Affairs

A reminder about Cuba and Yugoslav-Cuban relations

(On the occasion of the reception of the second secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Minister of National Defense, Raul Castro)

1. Internal development

1959, Batista was overthrown.

In 1960, over 80% of the industry, all banks, foreign trade, etc. were nationalized. All this took place at the height of the Cold War. To survive in such conditions, the Cuban revolution opted for constructive cooperation with the USA in the initial phase, even Fidel Castro publicly declared that this revolution did not have a socialist character.

The USA, in conjunction with the internal bourgeoisie and significant emigration, is trying to liquidate this revolution by invading the "Bay of Pigs" in 1961. That's when Castro called the Cuban revolution socialist for the first time.

In the period from 1961 to 1965, Cuba tried to solve the complex issues of building new social relations pragmatically. The revolutionary forces exerted influence on the masses with the strength of their progressive commitment while emphasizing the ethical and humanistic principles of the revolution. The question of creating a political organization arose, and in 1965 the new Communist Party of Cuba was founded, while the earlier one, which was strongly influenced by the USSR, was dissolved. A utopian-romantic concept of socialism is developing in Cuba, based on the overemphasized role of consciousness and the subjective factor in general. The prevailing belief was that an "ideal type of socialism" would be created in Cuba, with the pretension that it would be an example for others. Cuban socialism developed under conditions of blockade and

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practically martial law. That is why it took on some characteristics of "war communism", which was subordinated in everything to the goals of defense against American pressure and blockade and Latin American isolation.

On the internal level, elements of the socialist concept were deprived of all forms of material stimulation and the market economy, which led to the absolute centralized distribution of goods. It was believed that the bureaucratization of society could be avoided if classical organs of state power and administration, and not a party modeled after others, were formed.

This kind of policy, as well as the measures that were taken before on the economic level, led Cuba to devastating results: the waste of financial and material reserves, the decline of production and productivity, inflation, etc. The standard of living was falling below the tolerable limit, and everything was creating a deeper political crisis in the country. In 1970-1971, national income per capita was lower than before the revolution.

However, despite all these difficulties, the Cuban revolution in this period solved a number of social and economic problems for the vast majority of the people. Full employment was ensured, free health care was guaranteed, free and compulsory eight-year education was achieved, illiteracy was eliminated, and certain results were achieved in the infrastructure and some branches of the economy.

A failed attempt in 1970 to produce 10 million tons of sugar was a reason to condemn the previous policy and announce a new orientation that should be based on the participation of working people and the masses in managing the economy and society. The appearance of bureaucratism was very harshly criticized and great attention was paid to the development of socialist democracy and a more realistic view of the possibilities of social development.

In the last two years, certain changes were made in the demarcation of the role of the party and the state. Producer assemblies with management councils were established

in companies and work organizations. Unions and other socio-political organizations gain an increasingly independent
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role. It was rejected as a wrong concept about the exclusive role of consciousness, and a system of material stimulation, i.e. rewarding according to work, was introduced. The extensive economic concept was abandoned, and the principle of profitability became the leading factor in production.

These reforms led to a significant increase in production and productivity, and at the same time to the stabilization of the economic and political situation, to an increase in the enthusiasm of the masses, but also to many dilemmas - which ways and on which foundations to further build socialism in Cuba.

As a whole, the socio-political and economic system in Cuba is characterized by contradictions between the still high degree of centralization of power and aspirations towards more democratic solutions, the policy of large social grants and limited opportunities for the economy, large economic plans, and the impossibility of their realization, etc.

2. Foreign policy

Cuba's previous activity in international relations was primarily aimed at condemning US imperialism and, within that, securing the widest possible international support. Under conditions of blockade and isolation, the Soviet presence and influence on Cuban foreign policy grew. The current era of negotiations and agreements between the USSR and the USA imposes on Cuba the need to reconsider its foreign policy.

Relations with the USA: Although there are no significant changes for now, there are still some new elements, e.g. signing of the Agreement on the Prevention of Air and Maritime Piracy. Brezhnev's recent visit to Cuba revived the issue of Cuban-American dialogue.

As a condition for the normalization of relations with Cuba, the USA continues to demand that it renounce the export of the revolution and define its relations with the USSR on a new basis.

Cuba, on the other hand, as a condition for dialogue, demands the unconditional lifting of the economic blockade and respect for its sovereignty and national integrity. Cuba's negotiating positions have been strengthened

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recently due to its strengthened positions on the Latin American continent. For these reasons, at this moment, Cuba believes that it has no interest in encouraging dialogue with the USA and that it could do so later from an even stronger position and greater internal stability.

Cuba's relations with Latin American countries: Lately, Cuba has given unequivocal priority to the development of relations with Latin American countries, because it has assessed that in this context it strengthens its own security and international position. In this regard, it strives to get as close as possible to the progressive currents in Latin America, supporting the broader processes of emancipation of Latin America from American domination. The positive attitude of Cuba towards the processes in Peru, the demands of Panama, the attitude towards Peronism, etc. come to the fore. Thus, despite the American blockade and the timely decision of the Organization of American States, diplomatic relations with Peru and Argentina were re-normalized, as well as the establishment of relations with Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, and Guyana. Cubans expect that the US will necessarily have to adapt to the changes occurring in Latin America. In this way, the perspective for improving Cuban-American relations will open up.

Relations with the USSR: The confrontation with the USA oriented Cuba to rely more and more on the military, economic, and political aid of the USSR and the camp countries, which for their part, in the Cold War competition with the USA, saw in Cuba a significant position, in that part of the world. Thus, Cuba found itself in extremely

difficult and complex conditions to, on the one hand, defend itself against the ever-present danger of military intervention and aggression by the USA, and, on the other hand, to preserve the authentic character of the revolution in the face of the continuous effort of the USSR to impose its own conception on its social development and politics.

In the beginning, the USSR had a negative attitude towards the Cuban revolution, which was also the attitude of the old Communist Party of Cuba, which was not a revolution but an adventure. [...]

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USSR not to interfere in the internal affairs of Cuba. Until Brezhnev's visit to Cuba in February of this year, Castro did not say a single positive word about the Soviet model of socialism, nor did he allow it to be publicly affirmed in Cuba, which was the main reason for mutual doubts and suspicions.

However, the long-term military and economic dependence on the USSR led to the fact that Cuba's attachment to the camp grew stronger, which culminated in its accession to the CIS in July 1972.

Cuba's economic dependence on the USSR, from which it is difficult to free itself despite visible efforts in that direction, today represents the basic base for Soviet political and ideological influence in Cuba. Castro and the Cuban leadership assessed that Soviet aid, given Cuba's determination to defend its independence at all costs, was of vital importance.

Soviet influence on Cuban politics at this time is greater than in any previous period.

Relations with China: China failed to achieve any deeper and more significant ideological-political influence in the Communist Party of Cuba, or the Cuban public. For a time, the coincidence of Cuban and Chinese radical positions in international politics was apparently manifested, reflecting temporary common interests in the fight against US imperialism. When the Chinese tried to take advantage of this and include Cuba in their policy plans, Castro openly opposed it. This led to a long period of cold relations, but Cuba never became involved in the campaign against China.

Cuba and non-alignment: Since 1961, Cuba has participated as a full member in all conferences and meetings of non-aligned countries, but its activity was primarily focused on condemning the US and securing the support of non-aligned countries. Her determination in support of liberation movements, on the issues of the fight against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, and especially against the economic pressure of the USA on Latin America, was noted. She advocated for more radical attitudes and resolutions.

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Within the UN: Cuba was not particularly active for a long time due to its general foreign policy position. Recently, however, her more active performance has been noticed. At the Security Council meeting in Panama, she strongly advocated support for Panama. He is a constant initiator of initiatives in the UN and at gatherings of non-aligned people for the independence of Puerto Rico. It supports all actions in the fight against colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the independence of the countries of Indochina, for the rights of the Palestinian people, the struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression, etc.

3. Bilateral relations

The current phase of relations between Yugoslavia and Cuba is characterized by a mutual effort and desire to overcome long-term stagnation and not only normalize relations but also raise them to a higher level.

At one time, on our initiative, a SSRNJ [Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia] delegation led by Ali Šukrija visited Cuba. Soon after that, for the first time, there was a series of meetings between our ambassador in Havana and high state and party officials of Cuba, who in every meeting expressed a desire to improve

relations and overcome the current situation. At the end of 1972, Yugoslavia was visited by the Minister of Construction of Cuba, Farah Levi, who was received by his comrade the President. After that, F. Castro met comrade Dolanc in Moscow. On that occasion, it was agreed to establish cooperation between the Communist Party of Cuba and the SKJ and to exchange party delegations. During the visit of the SKJ [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] delegation to Cuba, at the end of June last year, led by another Dolanc, many misunderstandings were cleared up and it was stated that the two authentic socialist revolutions have all the objectives and subjective prerequisites that not only for bilateral reasons, but also for a number of other wider reasons. develop mutual relations and cooperation.

In the middle of 1973, there was a return visit to Yugoslavia by the delegation of the Committee for the Defense of the Cuban Revolution. At the end of the same year, a delegation of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia attended the Congress of Cuban Trade Unions.

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The Communist Party of Cuba accepted the invitation of the SKJ to send its delegation to the X Congress of the SKJ.

Favorable political relations objectively open greater opportunities for faster and more significant improvement of economic cooperation.

In the talks between the Federal Secretary for the Economy, Boško Dimitrijević, who recently went to the opening of our industrial exhibition in Cuba, with President Dorticos priorities for more complex and partly long-term economic cooperation were determined.

Numerous initiatives for wider and more complete economic cooperation and the participation of our companies in Cuba's economic development plans are under consideration. The signing of the Agreement on the construction of 3 factories of prefabricated elements for the construction of apartments in Cuba, negotiations for the construction of ships, tourist and catering equipment, and discussions on long-term cooperation in the field of shipbuilding, textile industry, etc., is forthcoming.

(According to the SSIP [Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs] materials)
Belgrade, February 20, 1974.

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