

DOCUMENT 2
**THIS IS
COMMUNISM**

Fidel Castro

DEAR COMRADE NIKITA SERGEYEVICH KHRUSHCHOV, first secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, comrades of the C.P.S.U. central committee, Soviet citizens, although we shall stay for some time longer in the Soviet Union, today ends the official part of our visit to your great country.

In other words, we take leave today of the Muscovites and all the Soviet people. I have prepared my speech in writing, for it seemed to me that would be better for everybody, both for the interpreter and myself, since I do not know your language.

Today I must thank you, although, for understandable reasons, this is not an easy task for us on whom an avalanche of love has descended.

Our visit to the Soviet Union has naturally been highly instructive for our delegation. We came here full of gratitude to the friendly Land of the Soviets which, over a distance of thousands on thousands of miles, is rendering our revolution decisive and invaluable help.

This time, however, we came face to face with Soviet life and with our Soviet brothers, for the first time.

All that this country represents, all that has been accomplished by its people, its achievement, its heroism, its history—it is impossible to get an adequate idea of all this by reading books and documents, by seeing films and photographs. One must feel it for oneself.

There exist in the world, so to speak, two Soviet Unions. There is the true heroic Soviet Union, which was built and defended by the blood and sacrifice of the workers and peasants: the Soviet Union that ushered in a new era for mankind and carried into the history of revolution the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin: the first socialist state, the first motherland of liberated working people,

which ensured the rapid development of the national economy, culture and science at an unprecedented pace.

There exists another 'Soviet Union', the one portrayed by reactionary enemies with the help of the worst methods, presented by the papers of the monopoly capital, portrayed by the corrupt politicians of the exploiting classes and by venal writers.

We were born in a country that was ruled by American monopolies, that was ruled by landlords and the bourgeoisie. The organs of state power, the military apparatus and other administrative institutions, all the press, radio, cinema, books and schools in our country, spread slander of the Soviet Union by every means.

The enemies of the working class resorted not only to repression, but to the ideological weapon, their main weapon, deceit, so as to hold the masses in subjugation and to repress their revolutionary spirit.

The spectre of communism, of which Marx spoke, is also haunting Latin America: but the exploiters are trying to use it as a bogey for the exploited. They slander Marxism-Leninism, saying that this teaching is foreign, hostile to the country, to society and to freedom, the family and the individual. For the bourgeoisie, country, society, freedom, the family and the individual have always meant one thing—private property.

For the sake of the private ownership of the means of production, they sell the country to the imperialists, corrupt the family, stifle freedom and create a bestial society which, divided into those who exploit and those who are exploited, enslaves the individual.

PROFITS BEFORE MORALITY

Paupers, prostitutes, unemployed, homeless children, waifs, illiterates—these groups are numerous even in the most developed capitalist society. Morals, culture, family and human individuality are cruelly subjugated to the interests of capitalists, the interests of the private ownership of the means and tools of production.

How then, living in these conditions, only 90 miles away from the mightiest capitalist power, whose influence, whose propaganda and whose ideology have swamped our people, could this people free itself, shatter the chains, and destroy the prejudices, adopt communism, and create the first socialist state on the American continent?

Even the imperialists would not think of declaring that the Soviet Union exported revolution to Cuba.

The Marxist-Leninist principle that capitalism and imperialism inevitably dig a grave for themselves and produce their own grave diggers in the masses of exploited peasants and workers has been confirmed once again. Despite all falsehoods and slanders, despite repressions and brutalities, despite the propaganda and crimes of the imperialists, the Cuban workers and farmers have buried the old capitalist society for ever, like a corpse that will never come to life again.

Of course, revolution is not carried out in a laboratory. The accomplishment of living historical reality is carried out by the mass of the people. Jose Marti, an outstanding and highly educated thinker, used to say that not everything in a revolution has the fragrance of carnations.

Those who make an idealistic approach to the understanding of history think that a revolution must develop according to the laws of a well-composed piece of music, without the slightest hitch. Not a single revolution is free from mistakes, even big mistakes, which can be made by some individual.

Of course, these mistakes are always used by enemies and are exaggerated in every way by them. But revolutions, as a phenomena of history, as a new form of human society, as a creation of the masses, are events which, by their greatness, eclipse the mistakes of individuals. Every overcoming of a mistake consolidates the revolution, strikes the ideological weapon out of the hands of its enemies, and makes the ideas of communism more attractive in the eyes of mankind.

Everything is useful experience, everything is instructive in a revolution. That is why the communist movement is becoming ever stronger, and the prestige of Marxist-Leninist ideas is growing throughout the world with every passing day, despite the frenzied campaign of the class enemies of the working people.

How could our revolution, so far away, geographically, from the socialist camp, withstand and survive under the very nose of the most powerful imperialist country?

The heroism of our people, its exceptional patriotic spirit, its readiness to pay any price for the defence of the revolution, would be insufficient if, at the moment of the Cuban revolution, there had been no absolutely new, objective conditions in Latin America favouring the struggle of the peoples for their liberation.

The Cuban revolution has once again irrefutably confirmed the

Marxist-Leninist thesis that, in the modern world, the balance of forces is no longer in favour of the imperialist camp.

In the history of international relations, based on the moral principles of a class society, the bestial law of brute force reigned from the most ancient times to only recently. With the emergence and growth of the socialist camp, the situation changed fundamentally.

Were it not for the new balance of forces in the modern world, American imperialism would not hesitate to drown the Cuban revolution in blood. And we would not now be building socialism in our country, but would be fighting in the mountains and fields, and in the underground, against foreign forces of occupation.

ARMED INVASION PLANNED

The imperialists, however, will not easily reconcile themselves to reality. They gave up their plans for an armed invasion of our country only after the October crisis.

When, in the middle of last year, the governments of Cuba and the Soviet Union decided to take the requisite measures to prevent the invasion that was being prepared against our country, our policy was fully based on the standards of international law and the United Nations Charter. Cuba saw a threat to its security, and had every reason, based on its sovereign rights, to take steps to strengthen its defence potential.

Without any legal right, the imperialists imposed a naval blockade, which brought the world to the brink of war.

This crisis was the result and consequence of the United States' aggressive policy, which was intended to culminate in an armed invasion. Nevertheless the United States government denied that it was preparing an aggression against our country, and tried to place on Cuba and on the Soviet Union the responsibility for the tension it created. Today the whole world knows who was actually responsible for this crisis.

Thanks to the contradictions that developed between the United States government and the Cuban counter-revolutionaries, the truth came out. The main leader of the counter-revolution, who was appointed by the American government itself, recently declared in a letter which is known to the whole world that the United States had been indeed preparing a military aggression against Cuba.

The settlement of the October crisis, which compelled the United

States to give up the plans for aggression, led to a quarrel between the enemies of our country. This quarrel, in its turn, helped the truth to become known. Time passed, and shed light on the events. The imperialist plans for invading Cuba fell through. It proved possible to avoid war.

The danger remained, however, that the imperialists would assess the events wrongly. The Soviet Union's timely and energetic warning last March, however, acted as a damper on the hot heads of the warlike elements.

With the arrival of our delegation to the U.S.S.R., the imperialists can see how great is the solidarity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government and the Soviet people, with the Cuban revolution.

A GREAT COUNTRY

It will always be a great country, which, for the sake of the defence of a small people, living thousands of miles away, risked the well-being achieved in 45 years of creative work, and at the price of tremendous sacrifices, in a thermonuclear war!

The Soviet Union, which lost more lives in the Great Patriotic War against the fascists than the entire population of Cuba, so as to defend its right to existence and to develop its tremendous riches, did not hesitate to take the risk of a big war in defence of our small country!

History has never known such an example of solidarity. This is true internationalism! This is communism!

This is graphic proof that entirely new relations between big and small nations have been established on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teaching. The warm reception, attention and honour accorded to our delegation in the enormous Soviet Union lift to an unprecedented height the concept of sovereignty and equality between peoples.

The friendship between the Soviet Union and Cuba is truly of extreme importance.

Even before the United States government switched to the policy of armed aggression, it had tried to suppress the Cuban revolution by starvation; but our economic relations with the socialist camp, and the timely economic aid our people received, resulted in the failure of the starvation blockade.

This proves the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the economic exploitation of some countries by others, characteristic of the epoch of colonialism, capitalism and imperialism, completely disappears in relations between socialist states, and yields place to mutually advantageous co-operation and help by the highly developed industrial socialist countries to the countries with weak economies.

Before the beginning of the preparations for direct armed aggression, which made the Soviet Union take preventive measures in Cuba's defence, the imperialists had been preparing mercenary forces in an organised way in order to attack our country.

The arms we got from the Soviet Union and the other socialist camp countries enabled us to rout the aggressor. The imperialists used every possible and conceivable form of aggression, and suffered complete defeat. We always had Soviet help on our side.

The defeat of the imperialists, however, does not mean that they have left us in peace. A number of factors still exist which must be eliminated in order to prevent the risk of another conflict. The United States continues a strict economic blockade of our country. The United States brings pressure to bear on all the states under its influence in order to prevent trade with Cuba. The imperialists organise the military and subversive training of thousands of counter-revolutionaries on their territory.

Counter-revolutionary agents, and weapons for them, are constantly being smuggled into Cuban territory. United States warships and aircraft systematically violate our territorial waters and air space. The intrusion of spy planes serves subversive purposes: recently a pirate plane, which took off from an American base, bombed one of our oil refineries.

Finally, the United States continues to occupy part of our territory, where it has its military base. The United States murders Cuban working people. Saboteurs penetrate to our country from Guantanamo, and all sorts of provocations are committed from that base.

In face of this policy of aggression, Cuba proclaimed its desire to live in peace and to maintain normal relations with all countries of the American continent, including the United States. Our relations with Canada, with Mexico, Brazil and other Latin American countries provide an example of such relations.

The American people is suffering from the economic aggression of its government against Cuba. It no longer has such products as our tobacco, which, for quality, is unique in the world market. And this year the American consumer will have to pay about a

thousand million dollars more for sugar, because very high sugar prices have been reached on the world market. These prices are, to a great extent, caused by the machinations of the United States against Cuban sugar. And it is the American people who are the victims of this unreasonable policy.

The policy of the United States against the Cuban revolution suffered a complete fiasco, and led the government of that country to major political defeats. Hatred for the Cuban revolution is fanned by unprincipled politicians, who are blackmailing the present administration and are attempting to push it to the edge of the precipice of war.

FOR COMMUNIST UNITY

Our people, like all the peoples of the socialist community, want peace so as to continue to build a better life on earth. This struggle for peace, however, as I have often heard Comrade Khrushchov say, demands big sacrifices from our peoples. Our peoples must have armed forces, equipped with the most up-to-date weapons, and kept at full combat readiness.

The might of the socialist camp stays the hand of the lovers of military gambles, guarantees peace and creates the most favourable conditions for the people's struggle against colonial and imperial oppression. The closer the unity of the communist movement, the stronger this movement will be!

This is a self-evident truth which needs no proof. The unity of all progressive and revolutionary forces was the slogan Marx gave to the communists of all countries. Now the unity of the international communist movement is the slogan of all Marxist-Leninists. Workers of all countries unite! This is the behest of Marx and Engels.

Dear Soviet Friends! Our visit to the Soviet Union has enabled us to appreciate on the spot the grandeur of the accomplishments of your people. We know how much hard work and sacrifice they involved.

To a foreigner, the Soviet Union produces an impression of an indestructible fortress. The unity of the Soviet people, the wonderful organisation of your state and your economy, which fill us with admiration, lend even more strength to Soviet society, making it possible for it to undertake the fulfilment of the tremendous task confronting it. The spirit of modesty which we see in every Soviet

citizen, man or woman, is to be wondered at: Lenin would have been proud of everything that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has done.

We have been able to appreciate in its entire depth the Leninist teaching about the role of the party as the organiser and leader of the masses of people: we have felt the close ties of the party with the people, its tireless concern on all fronts: we have observed the simplicity and modesty of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and we have seen how they give all their strength to the building of communism.

Having made a great tour of the country, and having lived for nearly a month together with the Soviet people, we are absolutely confident that in a very short time the national economy of the Soviet Union will inevitably surpass the level of the United States.

This fact will have a final, decisive importance for the balance of forces and in refuting the arrogant lies and slander about the Soviet Union spread by the world reactionaries who are living their last days. The slanderers have little time left to cheat the simpletons who still exist on our earth.

LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!

The spectre of communism, that once haunted only Europe, today haunts the whole world. And the day is not far off when all those who are really frightened by this spectre, the exploiters of the working people, will disappear forever.

We are confident that this meeting with the Soviet people will greatly help to strengthen our friendship. We shall carry away with us unforgettable memories of the millions of hands which were raised to welcome the Cuban delegation, the happy smiles and the shouts of greetings which met us everywhere.

I cannot conclude my speech without expressing my deepest gratitude to the man who has tirelessly forged friendship between our peoples—to Comrade Nikita Sergeyeovich Khrushchov.

We congratulate him most whole-heartedly, and in his person the whole central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on the successes which the Soviet Union and its leadership has achieved in the building of communism.

Many thanks, Soviet brothers!

Long live communism!

Our Country or Death!