

**COMMUNIQUE #1 OF THE PRC:
*CALL TO THE INTERNATIONAL LEFT, THE SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS AND THE FORMER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES***

There Have Always Been Two Cubas

The Cuba for foreigners and the Cuba for Cubans.

When Fidel arrived, this was transformed into the Cuba for abroad and the Cuba within Cuba.

As time went by, these two Cubas started to move away from each other until they didn't recognize each other.

The Cuba appropriated by an alien desire for a Revolution, the one that intensely entered the imaginary of intellectuals and revolutionaries of the world and turned into a force generating actions and a desire for change, began to have a life of its own and stopped needing to see those ideals implemented in the real Cuba.

The need for daily subsistence started to justify the impossibility to see the fulfillment of the promise with which the Revolution came into power.

Isolating the information on Cuba and towards Cuba was the most important achievement that allowed the Revolution to remain in power, because that is how it controlled not only the country's population, but also those who admired the Revolution.

Justice turned into propaganda.

It was proclaimed that we were all equal, but some were more equal than others. Equality was granted according to the degree of reliability the leaders of the government – whether local, municipal, provincial, or national – could have on you. There were various levels of equality to which you could aspire. Equality turned into privilege. A privilege you had to win. It is true that we all had the right to education and health. Or that in written law racism was not tolerated and women had the same rights men did. Or that we were a country united against unfair causes in other countries. But the children of those who were more equal attended special schools, leaders had their own hospital with better medications and medical teams, whites made racist jokes when

a black was considered for an important position, and women were most especially to enjoy, quoting Fidel Castro in the 1992 National Assembly: “these are exceedingly educated and very healthy *jinetas* (hookers),” as the propaganda of a pimp, a procurer of his people. Cuban women were humiliated: the fate of Cuban women had been cast. Nobody could claim to our rulers that the salvation of our daily life was the responsibility of the government and not the monetary exchange derived from the vagina of a woman. Sex could not be the economic link to save the Revolution. We became a hooker country, with a policy of indulgence where we began to forget what we had thought or what was fair so as to be able to eat. We have been the most supportive against unfair causes, the most militant in favor of human rights, but only in what had to do with other countries, always in alien contexts: inside Cuba, we had to remain silent.

But the international left does not want to hear about this. It wants to continue justifying evils as miscalculations, as necessary evils for a greater good which now only exists in their nostalgic youthful memories.

They do not want to see that the Revolution is distorted. That what used to be Revolution has turned into the copyrighted brand of the generation which seized power in 1959. But this process did not begin now that capitalism seems to be the new form of saving the Revolution as an institution and not as an ideal. This distortion was always there.

From the beginning, the most beautiful women in the Havana carnival (the Carnival Stars) were brought to the leaders’ parties in a sort of parade in search for wives. They were promised their entry into a “more equal” life, into elite with no “troubles.” From the early times of the Revolution – while the population was wondering “what am I going to eat tonight?” – meals were brought to the houses of leaders. From the early times of the Revolution, there were some who considered themselves superior with total impunity because they were protected from all type of illegalities and absurdities which would mean jail for others. From the early times of the Revolution, leaders have drunk “the enemy’s booze,” as they themselves call whiskey, and Fidel has distributed Rolex watches as a not at all modest medal showing they belonged to the clan.

Meanwhile, sacrifice is asked from the people to prove they belong to the Revolution. As happened to my uncle, who worked in a sock factory his entire life and, to achieve the required production, offered hours in which he could have been with his family, became a national vanguard, and now has nothing. Meanwhile, the revolutionary elite, with its privileges and trips abroad, was becoming a revolutionary bourgeoisie. While Cuban families find it difficult to buy a bottle of cooking oil, Fidel's son plays golf, with all the implications this has. While an inhabitant of Old Havana is taken to jail because of smoking a marijuana cigarette to evade his frustrated future, the son of one of Fidel's bodyguards, deals in drugs and is untouchable. They should know that when in Cuba my grandmother was starving, in Panama, planes full of cosmetics and clothes with French and American brands, design furniture and exquisite food were brought to Havana for Vilma Espin and family. This was bought with money of the people. This was bought with the surplus value generated by the sweat of the Cuban people.

To liberate Cuban history, letting us know the things that have happened in Cuba, is an unresolved task.

And yes: Cuba today is, and it has been for a long time, a country with social classes, with power castes, and with much poverty, a poverty that is not metaphoric, but real poverty: children with no shoes (as in those pictures from before the Revolution), the house of a friend of mine in Virgen del Camino with no roof and covered with cardboard and pieces of tin. When it rained, the house got wet and he waited for more than ten years for building materials the government was going to give him because his house was already uninhabitable. My friend died while he still waited.

Cuba is a country in which waiting has become the only verb that can be conjugated in past, present and future. And where people dream to go somewhere else in which it seems you have better dreams and, more recently, dreaming with being a capitalist without understanding what this implies.

This is not the Cuba for which we all have made sacrifices.

Cuba is today living an urgent moment.

Instead of a fair redistribution of wealth for everyone, this is a moment of concentration of capitals which redistribute poverty and reinforce social injustices.

In Cuba today, the defense of the workers' rights is needed. To pay a doctor for his work, so he does not have to turn into a taxi driver, thus contributing to the deterioration of the health system, is something that should be defended.

Today Cuba needs teachers to stay in Cuban schools and doctors in national hospitals, and not export them to other countries. The government has the obligation of minding its citizens first and leaving internationalism for later. And not sacrificing the quality of the Cuban people's life for the sake of internationalism. We must have a different internationalism, one without these inner costs.

In Cuba today we need to have the government know that it does not own the people living in the country and that it has no right to send them to a war in Angola without asking the people first, without consulting the people their opinion on this decision. You cannot rule a people with orders coming "from above," as if we were all part of a mass lacking persons with opinions and their own life project. The government cannot use persons as exchange money to buy oil or obtain credit with other nations.

In Cuba we need political openness today: we need to know about the topics those deciding the future of the country are now discussing. We do not need a political theater where only a monologue is played.

In Cuba today we need that those representing the people in the National Assembly, in the trade unions, in the political and mass organizations not to be afraid, not to repeat by heart and without analyzing the decisions of the president of the country; we need them to be the spokespersons of the multiple voices of the people, to be the agencies through which the decisions of the government are called into account. And if those who are now in these institutions feel they are implicated, are afraid, or know that they do not have the capacity to represent the people, which many times demands to confront the political power, I invite them to withdraw from their positions because they do not represent us.

We need a government in which any citizen may be able to call into account the decisions without being accused of dissent. A society in which all the voices may be heard and not silence with blows those suggesting alternatives. We need a Cuba where people are not threatened or made feel guilty because of thinking differently.

The Cuban people cannot allow the slightest doubt about a person being killed or threatened because of dissenting. The mere fact of doubting means that we cannot trust the government. It means that the government does not deserve us, because no government has the right to defend the interests of a group in power over and above the interests of the people.

The Cuban people must today have political rights of free association and freedom of expression. They must have the right to political debate. A self-critical Cuba is necessary, because constant self-criticism is what makes a real Revolution.

Prisoners of conscience in Cuba today should have the right to be acknowledged as political prisoners. And further more: there should not be political prisoners in our jails because voicing an opinion is not a crime.

The people of Cuba have the right to choose its heroes, whether they be Camilo Cienfuegos, Celia Sanchez, Orlando Zapata, Oswaldo Paya, or the neighbor across the street who faced up to an injustice.

The PRC proposes:

- To create in Cuba a new constituent process. A constitution not drafted by a group in power with the purpose of perpetuating in power, but made by the people and for the people. A constitution that is not adopted under pressure or intimidation of the citizens, but that emerges from open political discussion processes, searching for a continuity in which the ideas of social justice the Revolution proposed are not propaganda, but a reality for every Cuban.

With this communiqué, the PRC calls on:

The international left to involve itself in the situation of political urgency under which Cuba lives today. An accomplice silence is tantamount to neglect. And history has already taught us the consequences of the opportunistic strategies of the right and of the conservatives. A very high price, and of irreversible consequences, will have to be paid for this. Today's actions of solidarity will define the politics in Cuba and the reality of the Cuban people tomorrow.

We need to unite the two Cubas: the Cuba others dream with and the real Cuba Cubans live.