Cold War JCC: Cuba
Chair: Tucker Jones
Hello everyone! I’m glad you’re participating in PMUNC 2015’s Joint Crisis Committee simulating Cuba starting in 1961.

I’m originally from Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and this is my ninth year doing Model UN. Like Jacob, who’s chairing the USSR committee, I spent a year living in Serbia before college. That experience gave me some interest in communist and post-communist countries. I speak Serbian and some Turkish. I’m in my final year at Princeton concentrating in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. Princeton’s International Relations Council, our Model UN society, is my main extracurricular activity, and I am IRC’s current President.

During the Cold War, the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Belgrade then the capital of Yugoslavia and now the capital of Serbia. The establishment of what later became the Non-Aligned Movement was an effort for countries to defy the major Communist and Capitalist power blocs and to find their own paths to progress.

Jacob, Seamus, and I chose to run this crisis simulation mostly because the Cuban Missile Crisis is the closest humanity ever got to armageddon. But the start date of our simulation, January, 1961, is a full year and a half before the crisis began. At this time, Castro had not declared himself (and Cuba) officially Communist. Though there were some US sanctions against Cuba, the full US embargo of the island would not begin until later. Cuba had not yet seized the property of the Catholic Church.

This simulation is meant to leave the entire USA-Cuba and USSR-Cuba relationships open to reinterpretation. It is not a simple historical simulation. You are encouraged to deviate from history, as long as you do so in the spirit of your character and the historical circumstances.

Hasta la Victoria Siempre,

Tucker Jones
Introduction

19 January 1961

Dear Brothers and Sisters of the Revolution,

Feliz Año Nuevo to all. I hope your winter vacations have been going well,¹ but now it’s time for us to get back down to business.

Tomorrow the United States of America, or as our people say, the Yankees, will be inaugurating a new President. I have a hope that this will be an opportunity for them to put the past two years of their mistakes behind them. Hope alone has never brought about anything, however. This is why I have called you all to join me tomorrow-- to discuss not only hopes but actions. I have had my staff provide you with a number of documents in advance of our meeting.

The first is a light piece-- it’s a CIA document our friends have intercepted and passed along to us. It contains the Yankees’ impressions of all of us. I hope you find their descriptions as amusing as I do. I’m frankly disappointed they didn’t write a quick bio about me too!

The second is an editorial I wrote recently for our very own Revolución just over a week ago. To be honest, I don’t think it’s my finest piece of propaganda. I may be losing my touch. Still, I think I got the main point across: true independence is both political and economic.

The third is an interview I did with an Italian communist paper. I think we impressed the reporter pretty well on his visit! He kept trying to corner me into telling him I’m a communist-- not sure I’m ready to go there yet. Let’s talk about this at our meeting.

The remaining five documents are briefs that our various ministries have put together at my request. I myself haven’t looked through them yet, so there may be some inconsistencies or plain inaccuracies, but the overall message in each brief should be more or less correct. I expect each of you to have read this packet thoroughly by the time we meet tomorrow. You’ve got a full day. Make haste; the Revolution cannot wait.

Patria o Muerte,
-Fidel

¹ That was a joke. I know you’ve all been hard at work forwarding the Revolution.
Start date: Jan 20, 1961

Document A: CIA Memorandum on Roles within the Castro Regime
Document B: Excerpt from Revolución newspaper
Document C: Excerpt from an interview with Castro from an Italian communist newspaper
Document D: Security situation within Cuba
Document E: Economic situation within Cuba
Document F: Social situation within Cuba
Document G: Foreign policy initiatives of Cuba and the Revolution
Document H: Possible avenues of rapprochement with the Yankees
MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. McGeorge Bundy, Special Assistant to the President-Elect
SUBJECT: Roles Within the Castro Regime

Against the background of the post-Special Group Meeting which you held late in the afternoon on 15 January 1961, I thought you would be interested in the following report we have compiled. The Castro regime is opaque, but our contacts in Cuba indicate that these individuals, Fidel Castro’s key advisors, are the main figures in the government:

Chair: Fidel Castro.

1. **Raul Castro**, Younger brother and confidant of Fidel, and Minister of Armed Forces. Was with Fidel from the beginning, fighting for nearly a decade for Cuba’s independence from imperialism. Above all else wants to preserve his brother’s leadership. Proponent of closer ties to the USSR. Frequently uses rhetoric lambasting the USA. Implemented universal male conscription (the draft) in an effort to increase Cuba’s military readiness.

2. **Ernesto “Che” Guevara**, currently Head of National Institute for Agrarian Reform, Minister of Industry, Finance Minister, and President of the National Bank. A fiery speaker and radical leftist. An Argentine trained in medicine. Joined Castro’s revolution and quickly rose to the highest ranks within the revolutionary organization of anyone with a last name other than Castro. Personally ordered land reforms that are a source of major tension between the USA and Cuba at present. Wild dreamer, but may get distracted from his (many) duties.

3. **Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado**, President of Cuba. Lawyer by trade. Long-time of the communist Popular Socialist Party. As Head of State, represents Cuba abroad. This may become a source of tension between Dorticós and Fidel Castro, as Castro is clearly the one actually in charge. Powers unclear because the revolutionary government has suspended the constitution. Enthusiastic about writing and implementing new revolutionary laws.

4. **Raúl Roa García**, Foreign Minister. Devout communist but a man who can be reasoned with. Does not seem to actively seek out conflict with the USA. As Foreign Minister, represents Cuba abroad and directs all diplomatic work, although Castro is believed to make the final call in most cases.
5. **Juan Almeida Bosque**, Cuban Communist Party member and major figure in Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba. An Afro-Cuban whose prominent position in Cuban leadership demonstrates a break with the island’s discriminatory past. Personally loyal to Castro. Commands large parts of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (currently believed to command the Central Army).

6. **Orlando Borrego**, Head of Department of Industrialization within National Institute for Agrarian Reform. Age 24. Loyal to Castro. No college education but in charge of improving the economic conditions of the impoverished island. Pays special attention to the sugarcane industry.

7. **Osmany Cienfuegos**, Minister of Construction. Raised in an anarchist family in Spain, a devout leftist but wary of the revolution turning into a dictatorship (as it did in the case of the USSR). Older brother of the late Camilo Cienfuegos. Highly trusted by Che. Likely to be picked in the future to further the revolution abroad, but first will have to prove capable in improving Cuban infrastructure like roads and also dealing with urbanization.

8. **Vilma Lucila Espín Guillois**, President of Federation of Cuban Women, wife of Raul Castro. Family has ties to the Bacardi Rum Company. Chemical Engineer by trade, spent a year as a post-grad at MIT. One of the only women within the Castro inner circle. Pushing for women’s rights in revolutionary Cuba.

9. **Haydée Santamaría Cuadrado**, President of Casa de las Américas. Writer and propagandist. Thought to have a soft spot for ethnic minorities, women, sexual minorities, and other oppressed people. Casa de las Américas exports Cuban revolutionary propaganda to the rest of Latin America, with the hope of reaching the entire world. Casa propaganda is not simplistic and not to be underestimated.

10. **Armando Hart Dávalos**, Minister of Education. Husband of Haydée Santamaría Cuadrado. American-born. During the time that Castro was fighting the Batista government from the mountains, Hart led the revolution in the cities. Currently working on improving the literacy rate on the island. In charge of educational priorities and propagandizing via schools.

11. **José Ramón Machado Ventura, M.D.**, Minister of Health. Previously in charge of medical services to the guerillas during the revolution. Public health on the island is currently extremely backward so Machado will have his hands full. In the short term medical resources (especially human resources like doctors and nurses) will be limited so Machado may in a pinch be forced to prioritize.

12. **Sergio del Valle Jiménez**, Chief of Staff of the Army. Thought to be more cautious in military situations than Castro, but his advice can be overruled. Trained in medicine. Previously briefly in charge of the fledgling Cuban Air Force. Revolutionary forces support him but he may have some trouble keeping the holdovers from the Batista regime in line with the new revolutionary program.

13. **NAME REDACTED** Head of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. Highly trusted by Castro. Committees for the Defense of the Revolution are somewhat like a neighborhood watch, if the purpose of the neighborhood watch were to watch your neighbor. Mass surveillance organization, encourages neighbors to tattle on each other’s alleged counter-revolutionary activities.

15. **Ricardo Alarcón de Quesada**, Acting President of the Federation of University Students (FEU). Age 23. Organizing the university students of the country. Interests may reflect the composition of the student population (highly educated, anti-totalitarian, bourgeoisie or petty-bourgeoisie).

16. **Joel Iglesias Leyva**, President of the Association of Young Rebels. Age 19. In charge of organizing all young people who do not study or work, and putting them to use for the revolutionary regime. This population may have a harder time understanding the loftier ideas of the revolution and may focus on bread-and-butter issues instead.

17. **Blas Roca Calderio**, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Popular Socialist Party (Cuban Communist Party). Communist but not part of Castro’s tightest cabal. During the revolutionary war, the Communists were extremely late to support Castro’s movement. Thought to have backchannel connections to the USSR from his involvement in the Spanish Civil War.

18. **José Ramón Fernández**, Revolutionary Armed Forces director of militia training. Previously served in the pre-revolutionary Cuban military, but was jailed for his anti-Batista agitation. Now must choose what branches of the Cuban revolutionary military to prioritize and how much to prioritize the export of the revolution.

19. **Carlos Franqui**, Editor in Chief of Revolución. Propagandist and free-thinker with connections to more mainstream European leftists such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir. Wary of dictatorship. Revolución is a leading newspaper on the island and its culture section is especially watched.

20. **Antonio Núñez Jiménez**, Minister of Agrarian Reform. As agriculture is the main economic activity on the island, keeps rather busy. Interested in improving agricultural output, but may find that the way to optimize output conflicts with socialist ideology. In his spare time, enjoys spelunking.

21. **Enrique Oltuski**, Minister of Communications. Polish Jew by birth. Studied at the University of Miami, later worked at Shell Oil. Not thought to be particularly radical, simply anti-Batista. Nationalized the Cuban telephone industry. Also in charge of radio and television broadcasts on the island.

22. **Julio Casas Regueiro**, Deputy Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces in charge of Economic Activity. Since the US partial embargo and reduction in sugar cane purchases, the revolutionary government has been short on hard currency. Regueiro’s job is to make sure that the military is funded well. Rumors circulating that he is considering looking into involving the state in organized crime in order to raise more funds.

-Richard Holms
Deputy Director for Plans

SECRET
Document B

What our revolution means to the world

(Excerpt reprinted from the Jan 10, 1961 issue of Revolución)

Previous “revolutions” on our land and in our region have generally been coups. We exchange one master for another. On our island this is particularly true: we kicked out the Spanish and got occupied by the Americans. Our Cuban Revolution is not a coup but a true social revolution, a true change in our social order.

As I said in September at the United Nations General Assembly,

We are, therefore, on the side of the Algerian people, as we are on the remaining colonial peoples in Africa, and on the side of the Negroes who are discriminated against in the Union of South Africa. Similarly, we are on the side of those peoples that wish to be free, not only politically -- for it is very easy to acquire a flag, a coat of arms, an anthem, and a color on the map -- but also economically free, for there is one truth which we should all recognize as being of primary importance, namely, that there can be no political independence unless there is economic independence, that political independence without economic independence is a lie; we therefore support the aspirations of all countries to be free politically and economically. Freedom does not consist in the possession of a flag, a coat of arms, and representation in the United Nations.

We should like to draw attention here to another right: a right which was proclaimed the Cuban people at a mass meeting quite recently, the right of the underdeveloped countries to nationalize their natural resources and the investments of the monopolies in their respective countries without compensation; in other words, we advocate the nationalization of natural resources and foreign investments in the underdeveloped countries.

And if the highly industrialized countries wish to do the same thing, we shall not oppose them.

If countries are to be truly free, in political matters, they must be truly free in economic matters, and we must lend them assistance. We shall be asked about the value of the investments, as we in return will ask: what about the value of the profits from those investments, the profits which have been extracted from the colonized and underdeveloped peoples for decades, if not for centuries?²

² Via http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/castro/db/1960/19600425.html
What we want for Cuba is what we want for all oppressed peoples: radical liberty. This means returning ownership of the wealth of the nation to the people of the nation.

This will scare people. It will scare the people who control more than their fair share of the world’s wealth. It will scare the monopolists, the imperialists, those who profit off of slave labor and wage slavery. They’ll call us names, atheists, communists, anarchists, thugs, mobs, demagogues. Let them call us that. We’re not interested in names and dogma. We’re interested in revolutionary change for the Cuban people, and for all oppressed peoples across the world.

Patria o Muerte

-Fidel
Document C

“The following is [an excerpt from] a translation of an interview by Communist reporter Arminio Savioli with Fidel Castro in the Italian-language newspaper l'Unita (Unity), Rome, No. 32, 1 February 1961, pages 1-2.”

We go to the Hall of Ambassadors, and sit down at a conference table under a huge chandelier of unbelievable bad taste. In a second, ten, thirty, forty people are around us: mulatto girl singers with eyes painted in black and blue, waiters, casino croupiers, Latin American delegates…

- Comandante, what is the character of the Cuban revolution?

Fidel Castro laughs, lights a cigar, handles it with his small tanned hands and dark fingernails.

- You newspapermen are crazy for definitions and neat schemes… You're impossibly dogmatic. We are not dogmatic… At any rate, you wish to write that this is a socialist revolution, right? And write it, then… Yes, not only did we destroy a tyrannical system. We also destroyed the philoimperialistic bourgeois state apparatus, the bureaucracy, the police, and a mercenary army. We abolished privileges, annihilated the great landowners, threw out foreign monopolies for good, nationalized almost every industry, and collectivized the land. We are fighting now to liquidate once and for all the exploitation of man over man, and to build a completely new society, with a new class contents. The Americans (Cubans say just that, los americanos, to mean the United States) the Americans and the priests say that this is communism. We know very well that it is not. At any rates, the word does not frighten us. They can say whatever they wish. There is a song, which is popular among our peasants, that goes more or less like this: "Bird of ill omen -- of treason and cowardice -- that are throwing at my joy -- the word: communism! -- I know nothing about these 'isms' -- Yet, if such a great welfare conquest -- which can be been by my own eyes -- is communism, then -- you can even call me a communist!

---

3 Yes, this date is after the start date of the simulation. For purposes of the simulation, please consider it canon.

4 Via http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/castro/db/1961/19610201.html
Document D

Cuba Ministry of Armed Forces
Internal Report:
Security Situation in Cuba
14 January 1961

This document describes four major security challenges that our revolutionary government faces as it begins its third year of rule. Two challenges are primarily internal while the remaining two come primarily from external actors. In practice, these threats cannot be considered independently from each other. External actors will attempt to empower internal threats, and internal actors will appeal to external actors for aid.

**Internal Security Threat: The War Against the Bandits**

Counter-revolutionaries in the Escambray Mountains have been staging raids against economic targets and have generally been harming the Cuban people. These counter-revolutionaries are largely made up of former anti-Batista rebels who have had fallings out with Fidel Castro’s leadership. We do not believe they are willing to negotiate any sort of peace deal that would be acceptable to us.

We estimate that there are roughly 3,500 armed fighters in the Escambray Mountains, with a larger network of supporters. We have not yet been able to significantly damage their infrastructure.

Alone the bandits can’t bring down our government, but they may combine with other factors to undermine us. At minimum, their insurrection will remain a distraction from our larger goals.

**Internal Security Challenge: Petty-bourgeoisie rebellion**

Though those who profited most from the exploitation of the Cuban people under the Batista regime have fled, the petty bourgeoisie remain on our island. Under Batista they felt like they were better than the lower classes. Now that we have lifted up all Cubans to their level, they no longer feel that they are in a socially superior position. Resentful of this, many are refusing to back the Revolution, or are at least unenthusiastic about it.

Most of our economy still currently relies on this class, since they have the skills necessary to run our factories and other complicated infrastructure. If united, this class could try to hold our country hostage by some sort of “strike.”

---

Worse, this class has a serious incentive to harm the revolution violently. If our Revolution collapses, they will be in a good position to reap the profits of the island again. Though most are untrained in combat, they are likely to side with counter-revolutionary forces if they sense that the counter-revolution has a chance of succeeding.

**External Security Challenge: Yankee-led counter-revolution or invasion**

The Yankees openly talk on a regular basis about whether and how they should remove our government. They would love nothing more than to see our Revolution fail and a right-wing dictator, a puppet of the Imperialists, return to power.

In open testimony to a US Senate committee, former Yankee ambassador to Cuba Arthur Garner advised covert aggression against our government:

> “If the United States took a strong position against Castro, I think you would find, without any doubt, that the Cubans themselves would perform what has got to be performed sooner or later— we havetemp got to get rid of Castro [...] . I think we ought to morally support any movement of Cubans that is willing to take the job on. And I don't think there is any question that there are such people. I think we can't do it ourselves, because you know we can't send Marines down. That would be the most terrible thing in the world. But we can, under cover, support and let them know that we want to have a change.”

These are not empty words. One week ago, on January 7 1961, we seized two airdrops of weapons that were clearly meant to go to the counter-revolutionaries. We are certain that the weapons, which were assembled in the United States, were dropped by the Yankee Central Intelligence Agency or some similar shadowy Imperialist force. There were almost certainly more weapons dropped than just those we intercepted.

Current US President Eisenhower in particular surrounded himself with advisors who kept him on the warpath. When President-Elect John F. Kennedy takes office in a few days, we have much higher hopes of a peaceful coexistence. Still, we must be cautious. Though Kennedy may want peace, other parts of the US Imperialist state apparatus may still pressure him to go against his instincts and attack us.

If a political settlement is impossible, the Ministry is preparing for three scenarios.

---


Our worst case scenario would be an outright US invasion. If the US military focused its full strength on us, our government would certainly fall. However, in the long run, this would be severely detrimental to the US efforts to be seen as a liberator and not an imperialist. We should be prepared to wage a guerilla war for several years, possibly a decade, in order to convince the Yankees that they have made a mistake.

Our most likely scenario would be a US-backed “counter-revolutionary” invasion, using Cuban exiles and other Latin American anti-Leftists as Imperialist mercenaries. We believe that up to 6,000 men are being trained in Guatemala for use in an invasion of Cuba, with an additional 5,000 mercenaries being trained across the United States. According to one estimate, 60 airplanes are ready to attack; according to another estimate, that number is 150. We believe that the Imperialists will use air cover to support multiple landings on multiple parts of the island simultaneously.\(^8\) We are not convinced that the mercenaries will actually have the discipline to make so many landings at once, but even if not every part of that plan succeeds we will have a tough time dealing with it.

Our best case scenario is that the US attempts covert operations against our Revolution but botches it, ending in a failed mission that everyone understands the Americans to be responsible for. This would keep our Revolution intact while also demonstrating to the world that the Imperialists are deathly afraid of us.

**External Security Challenge: Dominican-led counter-revolution or invasion**

The Trujillo dictatorship in command in the Dominican Republic aided the Batista dictatorship in its last days.

When in June 1959 we sent a small excursion of Cuban revolutionaries to the Dominican Republic to overthrow the Trujillo dictatorship, we made ourselves a target of that government.\(^9\) Our excursion did not end in success, and in retaliation they attempted to send a small battalion of counter revolutionaries against us several months later. This attempt also failed.\(^10\) At the moment we are observing a de facto ceasefire, but Trujillo may attempt another landing at any time. We believe Trujillo to be more aggressive and less rational than even the imperialist Yankees; as such, we don’t have a good estimate on how long this de facto ceasefire will last.

Trujillo's incentives differ from the United States' incentives. The US may be content to "contain" us while Trujillo may consider our Revolution an existential threat. Trujillo may not take orders from the United States and may try to take initiatives against us by himself. This potentially complicates any negotiations we may attempt with the Yankees.

---

\(^8\) [http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/bayofpigs/19610112-trans.pdf](http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/bayofpigs/19610112-trans.pdf)


Agriculture

Until the Revolution, Cuba was essentially a cash-crop economy, with the only crop of note being sugar. The vast majority of our sugar was purchased by the United States until recently (see below, “Trade Restrictions”); the Soviet Union and their allies have largely replaced the United States as the largest sugar purchasers.

At this moment the sugar mills play a significant symbolic role in our Revolution, and mobilization of their workers is a significant source of strength for our movement. As Fidel said in a speech in March of last year, “the sugar mills are the basic points of the economy, the basic points of the revolution. They must be defended; but that is not all; we must be prepared to turn each and every sugar mill into a fortress, in case of an attack.”

Nothing can totally replace the role that sugar places in our economy, but there are inherent dangers in relying on one product. If sugar prices fluctuate, our entire country could suffer. If a pestilence breaks out and destroys a large part of our sugar crop, we will see our economic independence severely compromised.

Tourism

Before the final days of the Batista regime, rich tourists from the United States regularly visited Havana for debauchery including irresponsible amounts of alcohol consumption, gambling, and other vices. The regular attacks of counterrevolutionary terrorists plus the Yankee embargo have put an end to this industry, at least for now. This was a significant source of revenue for the Batista regime; we would benefit if it came back.

Tourism has the added benefit of increasing international awareness of the success of our Revolution. Further, it could increase our security. If American Senators vacationed in Havana on a regular basis, they might be more hesitant to vote for bombing it.

If we choose to focus on tourism, we will have to develop a new model for it. Previously the tourism model was based on a sort of master-slave relationship, where the rich foreigners revelled at the expense of the Cuban wage slave. Tourism, visiting other parts of the world, is of course

---

not inherently a bad thing. However, tourism as it was developed under the Batista regime is a harbor for counterrevolutionary thinking.

Tourism has the added risk of opening up our country to penetration by enemy agents and counterrevolutionaries. The more foreigners we let into our country, the more spies and provocateurs could slip in.

Nationalization

In October of last year, when a refinery based on our island but owned by a private American-based company refused to process a tanker of oil that had originated in the USSR, our government chose to seize that refinery and that company’s assets in our country. We did the same for the other two refineries on the island. The Yankees responded with a near-total trade embargo (see below, “Trade Restrictions”). We continued to seize assets of the Imperialists that had been left on our island, including bank accounts and capital. In the short run this has provided us with the funds to keep our Revolution turning, but there are no more bank accounts to seize; this is not a sustainable way of raising funds.

We are in the process of nationalizing nearly all aspects of the economy on our island. This obviously infuriates the Imperialists who had grown fat off of the hard labor of the Cuban worker. For us it poses the more immediate challenge of figuring out the optimal way to run our newly acquired possessions. Many of the petty bourgeoisie, who had the human capital to run companies, have deserted their homeland in the wake of our Revolution. On one hand, this is an opportunity to rid our economy of bourgeois values. On the other hand, in the short term, we’re having some difficulty running our factories and farms.

We have been experimenting with collectivized farms for nearly two years now, and the results have been mixed.

Trade Restrictions

In the last days of the Batista regime, the United States imposed an arms embargo on our island. This was of some help to our revolutionary cause. But in the two years since, that arms embargo has not been lifted, despite our requests. As a result, since mid-1960 we have been importing arms from Soviet-aligned countries, including the USSR itself and its allies such as Czechoslovakia. The Yankees seemed to get upset with those purchases, so they reduced the sugar import quota in an effort to compel us not to buy weapons to defend ourselves with. Fortunately, the Soviets have agreed to purchase the rest of our sugar at preferential prices.

After we nationalized the American-owned refineries in October of last year (see above, “Nationalization”), the United States responded with a near-total trade embargo. They refuse to trade anything with us except for food and medicine. Sustaining our current level of economic activity while these sanctions are in place will be impossible. Our factories and farm equipment will need replacement parts from the United States; these parts are not made elsewhere in the
world. Our (now-nationalized) trade and import/export companies are almost entirely oriented toward trade with the United States; before the Revolution approximately 90% of our international trade was with the Yankees. If the embargo is sustained, we will have to look for new trade partners, preferably ones who are not as susceptible to Imperialist pressure.

Ultimately being this reliant on either the Soviets or the Yankees compromises our economic independence. Ideally we should make sure our exports have a diversity of purchasers, and we should make an effort to diversify our economy as a whole.

**Government Currency Reserves**

As a consequence of the drop in tourism and the new trade restrictions, our government is facing a lack of foreign currency reserves. This is making importing goods quite difficult, as we are effectively forced to barter with sugar or other raw exports in our trading. In particular, this makes importing consumer goods more difficult. If we continue to have trouble importing basic consumer goods, we could find public opinion turning against our Revolutionary government very quickly.

The most straightforward solution for dealing with this problem is to get the trade restrictions on our island lifted. This may prove difficult, and will at least take some time. We urge the Prime Minister and his cabinet to come up with other ways for us to acquire foreign currency reserves in the meantime.
This document highlights some of the major social challenges facing our Revolution as we begin our third year in power. It is by no means exhaustive, nor is it predictive of future problems. The fundamentals of our Revolutionary government are strong, but these are some potential challenges.

**Women’s Rights and Gender Dynamics**

Like many countries in our neighborhood, there is a culture of misogyny and machismo on our island that frequently threatens women’s safety and livelihoods. The ultimate source of this machismo is, of course, capitalism: men are alienated from their labor and in a futile effort to gain some kind of ownership of their own lives, they hurt those around them. This is, of course, no excuse for this behavior. Cuba must be a country where all people are safe.

Under the Batista regime, women were largely barred from higher-paying jobs, either legally, by networks of “good old boys,” or by being barred from higher education. As a result, women have suffered an exceptionally disproportionate amount from economic exploitation at the hands of the Imperialists. Simply changing laws will not be enough to fix this problem.

One major success for our Revolution on the women’s rights front has been the establishment of all-women militias. This militias both demonstrate to our people and the world our commitment to the rights of all people, women or men. The militias increase our available manpower, since both sexes are now eligible for service, and help instill the revolutionary spirit in the women of Cuba.

**Racial Dynamics**

The significantly sized black and mulatto racial minorities on our island suffered disproportionately under colonial rule and the puppet Imperialist rule that followed it. We have begun eliminating discriminatory laws from the Cuban legal code, but discrimination is more than just laws. We have an entire racist social structure to dismantle. Racism is counter-revolutionary.

In the long run, our failure to bring racial equality to our island will undermine our legitimacy. We will be unable to claim that we represent the oppressed peoples of the world if we continue to have racial oppression in our own lands. This will make us more vulnerable to counter-revolution and hurt our efforts at spreading the Revolution.
Housing

Most of our peasant class lives without adequate housing. Homes built of scraps or even mud are fairly common outside of the major cities. Electricity and running water is unknown. We have a moral obligation to improve the living situation of all Cubans, but we do not have the budget to do so right now.

Our Revolutionary government has been constructing some homes for the poor, and in many places the poor have seen how we build houses and have begun to build their own. This knowledge is spreading neighbor to neighbor. This is a good sign that the Cuban people are feeling self-empowered, a sign that Imperialist thinking is leaving them.

These houses are still not of the highest quality, though they are better than their predecessors. In case of a major storm, hurricane, or earthquake, we may find ourselves with a huge homelessness problem overnight.

Education

The Batista regime did not believe in high-quality universal education. As a result, it underinvested in schools and teachers. Our people are largely illiterate and have little understanding of science, mathematics, or social theory.

A mass literacy campaign has been hugely successful in the past two years, raising our literacy rate to (cite here). Our work is not yet done but this campaign is critical to the future of our people. It has also been wildly popular and has improved morale and opinion of our government.

The schools are also an opportunity to reeducate the masses and train them to abandon their old Imperialist mindsets. This is critical to the long term survival of our Revolution. Our schools are another avenue to propagandize to our people and train them in independent, socially conscious, and anti-imperialist thinking.

Religion

The Catholic Church was complicit in the atrocities and imperialism of the Batista regime. Church officials did not take any sort of position against Batista even as he exploited the poor and killed dissidents. Now that our Revolution has come into power, the Church has begun criticizing our government, calling us atheists and communists in an effort to turn the people against us.

We have evidence that certain actors within the Catholic Church are actively aiding the Dominicans and the Bandits in their insurrections and counter-revolutionary activities. One priest was caught smuggling documents and cash under his priest's robes in an effort to pass them along to known Dominican agents. We have no evidence at this time that this was ordered by anyone at a higher level, but we cannot rule out the possibility.
Castro has spoken publically about the counter-revolutionary activities of the Church, including in August 1960:

“You know that the revolution is being repeatedly and systematically provoked by a group of counter-revolutionaries who have wanted to seek refuge in temples in order to fight the revolution. [...] The public know perfectly well how respectful the government has been in matters of religion.”

Castro explained to the crowd about the “two types of priests,” those who serve poverty and those who serve wealth. Our government of course has no problem with the former, but we have seen far too much of the latter here on our island. The Church is still largely popular among the Cuban people. Most Cubans, including many in our Revolutionary government, are still practicing Catholics. But many have an understanding of Christianity that differs from that of the actual Church hierarchy. These members of the “Catholic Left” may help us bring into the Revolutionary fold those who are Christians but are fed up with the corruption of the official Church.

**Emigration of Bourgeoisie and Petty Bourgeoisie**

Much of the former bourgeoisie class fled Cuba in the days and months after our Revolution, fearing the justice of the working class. In a way, this is good: these classes were largely tainted by imperialist thought to an unfixable degree. However, this has posed two problems.

The first is that these classes were generally the more skilled classes. We are facing a shortage of skilled labor. We are lacking mechanics, accountants, engineers, doctors, and other high-skill workers. In the long term we will obviously educate more, but for now we will need to fill these worker shortages somehow.

The second is that these emigrants despise our revolution and many plot from abroad to return to our island and initiate a counter-revolution. Many of them are well-funded, having smuggled their immorally-earned cash into tax havens like Bermuda. Many believe, wrongly, that the majority of the Cuban people want to return to their Imperialist slavery. They may plot this on their own, or they may seek the help of foreign governments.

The emigration of these classes is not yet complete. We may consider limiting emigration from our island in an effort to keep them here, but this has obvious risks. Keeping people with counter-revolutionary instincts on the island will cause security issues. It also hurts our legitimacy if we have to keep this island like a prison.

---

12 https://books.google.rs/books?id=TUGwuKQWXW8C&lpg=PA33&ots=sWSrA_12Sx&dq=There%20is%20doubt%20that%20Franco%20has%20a%20sizeable%20group%20of%20fascist%20priests%20in%20Cuba&hl=sr&pg=PA33#v=onepage&q=There%20is%20doubt%20that%20Franco%20has%20a%20sizeable%20group%20of%20fascist%20priests%20in%20Cuba&f=false
The closing of the US Embassy in Havana earlier this month has overshadowed much of our other diplomatic efforts. This report sheds light on some of those other activities.

(Fidel insisted that we include this picture of him and Malcolm X.)

Castro 1959 trip to the USA

In 1959, Comrade Fidel, only months after taking office, went on a grand tour of the United States. Among his many stops was one at a quaint University in Princeton, New Jersey, though he didn’t manage to recruit any students directly into supporting our Revolution. Fidel was deliberately snubbed by Yankee President Eisenhower, and a talk with Vice President Nixon didn’t give him a very good impression of the US leadership. Still, the “charm offensive” ended up greatly improving public opinion of Cuba and our Revolution within the United States. This public opinion will not last if we declare ourselves officially Communist; the word is poison in the ears of the American people and there is no antidote for it.

13 Actually true: https://blogs.princeton.edu/mudd/2012/10/fidel-castro-visits-princeton-university/
14 http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/castro-visits-the-united-states
Contacts within the United States

During Fidel’s trip to the United States he made contacts with other anti-Imperialists within that country. He made especially good friends with Malcolm X, a radical black anti-Imperialist who shares many of the values of the Cuban Revolution. Fidel and Malcolm see each other as equals. We cannot tell him what to do but we can aid him and his friends in their own struggle against Imperialism.

In April of last year, some American sympathizers began organizing a “Fair Play for Cuba Committee” in an effort to lobby for the Imperialists to leave our Revolution well enough alone. We do not control this group directly, but we are pleased that they have taken up our cause.

Some of the communist members of our Revolutionary government have contacts with other leftist groups within the United States. Using these ties carries the risk of making us look as if our regime is officially Communist. This is not a conclusion that we as a government have yet reached.

At the moment, because of the break in diplomatic relations between us and the Yankees, it is difficult to get in touch with them directly. We may choose to reach out to them via the Swiss Embassy in Havana, or by backchannels such as personal connections. As Major Ernesto Guevara said in an interview last week, “We would not feel belittled to meet with the United States on conditions of equality.” We are not opposed in principle to discussions with anyone, not even the Imperialists.

Current relationship with the Soviet Union

When the United States abruptly cut our sugar quota, the Soviets agreed immediately to buy our excess at the originally guaranteed price. We have also been receiving weapons from the USSR and its allies, since the United States has kept us under an arms embargo. The USSR is the most powerful country in the world that shares our anti-Imperialist values; it’s only natural for us to feel an affinity to them.

Still, we remain wary. The USSR does not have allies; it has puppet states. The USSR keeps its citizens from traveling outside of the “Iron Curtain” and largely refuses to let the world peak in. While they did correctly identify the problems of the world’s workers and have attempted more than anyone else to solve them, we are wary of their solutions. The USSR may prove to be an ally

15 https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=WegzAAAAIBAJ&sjid=g-4HAAAAIBAJ&pg=6044.5463187&hl=en Lodi News-Sentinel - June 17, 1961. Though this date is after the beginning of our simulation, consider it canon.
for us but it is not a model. And we must make sure that we are in a mutual partnership, lest we find ourselves used by one more foreign power.

Exporting the Revolution: Latin America

Our island is small but our people are strong. Aid in the form of physical supplies will be relatively difficult given our material situation and the Yankee blockade against us. But as we better train our doctors, teachers, and soldiers, we can send them to friendly governments or Revolutionary movements in an effort to bolster anti-imperialism in our immediate vicinity. We are at a relative advantage in Latin America because it is our own neighborhood: we know the cultures fairly well, and we know the language.

Mexico

There are some sympathizers to our Revolution in Mexico. Fidel and others successfully sought refuge among them in 1955-56 when it looked like our Revolution was all but lost. Mexico is currently a one-party state, ruled by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), that looks after the interests of the neighboring Yankees more than it looks after the interests of the people. Former President of Mexico Lázaro Cárdenas is looking to disrupt this; Fidel has personal ties to him.\(^{18}\)

Mexico is a huge country, and it would scare the United States more than anything to have a revolution like ours right on their border. Actively aiding the Revolution in Mexico would take up a huge amount of our resources, and would all but guarantee some sort of American action either in Mexico or against us directly. However, we may be able to use the threat of a Revolutionary Mexico as leverage against the United States.

Other Latin American States

Coups are commonplace around Latin America, with very few exceptions.\(^{19}\) It would not be incredibly difficult to install a Revolution-friendly government in one of the weaker countries, though it would be very difficult to keep that government in power for any serious period of time. We have contacts among Costa Rican leftists from earlier in the Revolutionary period, as well as some friends in Colombia. We currently do not expect a Cuba-style Revolution to happen on its own anywhere else in Latin America. But with either a change in the circumstances of the world or a little bit of help, a Revolution could still occur.

Exporting the Revolution: Africa


\(^{19}\) [https://books.google.rs/books?id=Z4CivBD3A0C&lpg=PA57&ots=qFmGcjOmiP&dq=spreading%20the%20cuban%20revolution&pg=PA40#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.rs/books?id=Z4CivBD3A0C&lpg=PA57&ots=qFmGcjOmiP&dq=spreading%20the%20cuban%20revolution&pg=PA40#v=onepage&q&f=false) Latin America in the Era of the Cuban Revolution By Thomas C. Wright, Praeger Publishers 2001
We have been sending medical and military supplies to the Algerian liberation movement, the FLN, in an effort to aid their struggle against their French Imperialist overlords. Their battle is tough but they have history on their side: ultimately, Imperialism always fails. When the French ultimately withdraw, we expect to be good friends with the Algerian revolutionary government. However, at the moment it’s not clear how quickly that withdrawal will come about.

We are currently in the process of cultivating a military partnership with Ghana. We expect to establish a military mission there by the end of this year.

We have made some contact with leftist and anti-Imperialist rebels in Eritrea, Senegal, Mali, Malawi, and the Portuguese colonies in Africa. Their movements are of varying quality. We have not begun to fund any of these movements yet.

From a strategic and economic standpoint, we have little to gain from our activist policy in Africa. Our interest in the region is a consequence of our obligation to fight Imperialism wherever it still stands.  

**Possible future initiative: Neutrality Forum?**

We have gotten feelers from Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Sukarno of Indonesia, Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt, and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana that the five of them are interested in starting some sort of international forum for countries that are anti-Imperialist but not in formal alliances with either the USSR or the USA. At this point it is not clear if there will be any tangible benefits to joining the proposed forum. Nonetheless, good relations with other anti-Imperialists can’t hurt our cause.

---

When John F. Kennedy is inaugurated as the President of the United States tomorrow, we will have an opportunity to start anew with the largest world power in our neighborhood. Kennedy talks the talk— he speaks of self-determination and ending dictatorships. His election gives us the possibility of reversing the embargo that is harming the Cuban people.

If the United States government insists on us repudiating the values of our revolution as a condition for their friendship, then friendship is impossible, of course. Our first duty is to keep Cuba free of Imperialists. But a lack of friendship does not necessitate open warfare.

It is not necessary for us to come to a full understanding with the United States; indeed, this may prove impossible. However, if the Yankees will listen to reason, we may be able to come to a sort of modus vivendi, potentially based on some of the following compromises.

1. We cannot give back the property that we nationalized to the previous imperialist owners (e.g. factories, banks), but we could agree to compensate Americans in the form of trade at discounted prices.
2. We could agree not to make any formal alliance with the USSR. This would of course not preclude us from friendship with the Soviets.
3. We could agree to have elections after a certain period of time is spent institutionalizing the Revolution. This would relieve some of the domestic pressure on the US administration to punish us for being a “dictatorship.” Of course, we wouldn’t have elections if we thought they would compromise the Revolution.
4. We can agree not to attack the American naval base at Guantanamo. This is an easy promise to make, because at the moment we are incapable of mounting a serious threat to that base.
5. There has been a number of plane thefts/hijackings in the past several months that have been blamed on our Revolutionary government, but we are not responsible for them. We could come to some sort of agreement on investigating these incidents, in order to reduce tensions.
6. We can agree to limit the activity of the Cuban Revolution in other countries.21

---

21 This list is based heavily off of a secret conversation that Ernesto “Che” Guevara had with Kennedy advisor Richard N. Goodwin in August 1961, accessed via http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/bayofpigs/19610822.pdf. Though the document itself is from after our simulation starts, its main points are still relevant and the entire document is still worth reading.
The above list of possible points of agreement is far from exhaustive. Some of the suggestions will require careful negotiations in order to be acceptable to our people and our government. Point Six is by far the most controversial, as our continued revolutionary activity elsewhere in the world (especially in Latin America) is our biggest source of leverage against the United States. In drafting this document, there was serious dissent within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about whether to even include Point Six.

Ultimately the question of rapprochement with the Yankee Imperialists is too large a question for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs alone. The Ministry will continue to provide guidance to the Prime Minister and his Cabinet on this and other topics.