

# Blockade Still On And Kennedy Still Looking For Excuse To Invade Cuba

## China-India

### Let's Look at the Facts

Contrary to the lies of the capitalist-owned U.S. newspapers, China is not one whit more anxious to go to war than is the Soviet Union or any other socialist country. And China has tried for over three years to settle the boundary dispute with India without resort to arms.

China desperately needs peace in order to devote its full strength and attention to the tremendous tasks of its own inner development. But war has been thrust upon it.

China cannot continue to accept India's false boundary claims without taking a wholly unwarranted setback on both the national and international arena.

The U.S. and Western imperialist press generally has tried to paint China as an aggressor nation which wants to overrun India and shows Nehru as the unsuspecting dove of peace who was gulled into 'innocent impotence' by the insidious Khrishna Menon and the rapacious Mao Tse Tung.

The imperialists are now telling Nehru "We told you so" (at the same time scrambling all over each other to be the first to send arms to Nehru) only out of pique that Nehru did not make an open aggressive alliance with imperialism against both China and the Soviet Union.

Nehru has been a hypocrite from beginning to end in his relations with China and with his own Indian working class. But this aspect of Nehru's character has never been exposed in the imperialist press because this hypocrisy was directed against the enemies of imperialism.

Peking Review (October 26) sets down some of the record of Nehru's relations with China—a record never mentioned here in the United States. The following points are in relation to a press conference held by Nehru at Colombo, Ceylon, on October 15:

"It must be pointed out that Nehru lied when he said that ever since the founding of the Peoples Republic of China, India had been making clear to China what its frontiers were. Since the boundary line unilaterally claimed by India did not appear on India's own official maps until 1954, how could that

(Continued on page 2)

## U.S. Provocations Continue as Cubans Rally to Defend Their Country's Freedom

No one above the age of ten can possibly believe that Kennedy will keep his word not to invade Cuba, even though the Soviet Union removed the missile bases from Cuban soil. Everybody knows that Kennedy advocated invading Cuba as long ago as the Presidential election campaign in 1960, when the Soviet Union was not even in the picture and Cuba had less than a dozen planes in its entire air force.

And now that Cuba has been deprived of the missile bases as a supplementary

means of defense, the imperialists are bolder and more arrogant than ever in their demands upon her.

Imagine a foreign country telling the United States it must submit to involuntary disarmament followed by a check-up not only of the former bases but a search into every "cave" and nook and cranny of the country!

The U.S. has missile bases, jet bombers, nuclear weapons trained like so many robbers' guns straight at Cuba. (And against half the world as well!) Who will remove these offensive weapons?

The shameful blockade continues to strangle Cuba and the U-2 spy planes still violate Cuban air space. Now that the Soviets have removed the missile bases, Kennedy demands they remove the jet bombers. Next he will be against propeller planes (for Cuba) and after that, tanks, jeeps and then automatic rifles—or any modern weapon that can be used effectively against imperialism.

Florida is bristling with offensive armament far more than is Cuba. Thousands of fresh U.S. troops have been rushed there the past few weeks.

This is not to defend the U.S. against an invasion by Cuba!

The workers of the world still have as their most immediate task and sacred obligation, the defense of Cuba against U.S. aggression.

## Look Who Supports U. S. Intervention!

One American who was overjoyed at Kennedy's "firm stand on the Cuban situation," as he put it, sat right down and wrote the President a telegram as follows:

"Efforts to stop all Communistic attempts to destroy our American heritage and constitutional government should have the positive support of every American and likewise attention of our full military forces if necessary."

Who said that?

—Ross Barnett, Governor of Mississippi.



# Cuba's Most Powerful Weapon

More important than battleships, missiles, ultimatums and even hydrogen bombs, were the magnificent displays of popular sympathy for the Cuban revolution and the opposition to imperialist war in nearly every country in the world.

Not only in Latin America where the great masses are bound to Cuba by the bonds of language and culture as well as by common suffering and class interest, but also in the distant centers of Europe, Africa and still more distant Asia, the peoples marched, shouted, sang, burned, bombed, fought police, were gassed, wounded and killed in defense of Cuba.

And the world working class can be proud that in the United States itself, the home of the former colonial exploiters of Cuba, the demonstrations against the war were massive and powerful. Capping the protests in a number

of cities throughout the country, including Washington DC itself, was the huge showing of 10,000 people in New York City on October 28 demanding that the Administration reverse its war moves.

Quite understandably, however, the actions outside the United States were generally more revolutionary, more anti-U.S.-imperialism, and more inclined to take measures of a fighting character.

In Ecuador, Peru and Chile, where conquistadores once marched, the thunder of sympathy for Cuba could not be drowned out by the clatter of guns in the hands of the native agents of the Yankee bankers as they shot into the multitudes.

In Bolivia five gave their lives (as did one in Milan, and in Montevideo, 700 were arrested for daring to defy the imperialist colossus of the North.

In Venezuela, bombs were exploded in

several places of the most high and most mighty. One exploded in a branch of the First National City Bank, another in the Reynolds Metal Company.

In Brazil, Argentina, Mexico and still other Latin American countries, the masses marched.

In ancient Athens, the Acropolis rang to the shouts of thousands when Greek tongues took up the Latin phrase: "Viva Cuba!" In tiny Israel, the cry was heard and in Egypt also. (A score of Israelis were arrested by the Israeli police.)

In Ceylon, thousands of dock workers went on strike in sympathy with Cuba. Before the end of the crisis, a strike of thousands more was scheduled there, and the workers voted not to handle U.S. cargoes.

So it went in every corner of the globe—London, Paris, Antwerp, Tokyo,

Moscow. But where other cities and countries demonstrated by the thousands and by the tens of thousands, they were all dwarfed by—

## CHINA

In Peking over the last weekend, the masses turned out by the hundreds of thousands and truly showed they felt the Cuban cause was their cause.

The regime reported that 320,000 demonstrated on Sunday alone. But foreign observers from capitalist countries felt that the crowds were at least twice that big.

All day long, columns of shouting, singing, chanting people — farmers, office and factory workers, housewives, militiamen, students, the very young and the very old—paraded past the Cuban Embassy to show their solidarity with the Cuban revolution.

Over 400,000 demonstrated on Monday. In other Chinese cities, similar actions took place.

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# Where Was the UN?

Amid the huge welter of lies that inundated the world during the last week of October, a few truths were revealed for the first time.

For imperialist war, although impossible without lies, hysteria and chauvinism, also rips away some of the pretenses of the past even while it concocts new hoaxes, fairy tales and myths to justify sending millions of people to their deaths.

Among the pretenses this particular war has already somewhat ripped apart is the pretense that the UN is some sort of "world government"—looked up to and deferred to by the capitalist fakery that rule the United States.

Did Kennedy pay the slightest heed to the charter of the United Nations when he declared virtual war against Cuba and confronted the Soviet Union with a breach of sovereignty that could also be considered an act of war?

He did not.

# Time for U.S. to Get Out of Laos

For a couple of months now, the U.S. high command has been claiming that North Vietnamese troops are "still" in Laos in violation of the Geneva treaty, which provided for the evacuation of all foreign troops as of last week.

The strange thing about all these alleged North Vietnamese troops in Laos is that the complaints have been coming only from the United States—not from the Laotians.

It is true, that at last—on October 16—the right wing Boun Oum faction in the Laotian government coalition finally obliged the U.S. by making an official charge about these supposed North Vietnamese.

Considering that Boun Oum is and has been a most willing stooge for U.S. Big Business, it is strange indeed that the accusation had to come from the U.S. for weeks before it came from Boun Oum.

One reason for it may be this:

# Muslims Held in Chains, Reports a Buffalo Photographer

The Muslims are fighting here in Federal Court against the religious persecution they are suffering in prison. There are five prisoners from Attica involved in this case. Mainly what they are asking for, is the right to worship as they please, and also to have their own minister to conduct the services.

They are kept in city jail and each day they are brought to court in chains. NEVER in my life have I seen such a thing. I have read about it on the chain gangs of the South. Both legs are chained together and the chain wraps around the waist and hangs down coupling both legs together.

As if this weren't enough, they are also handcuffed. The leg chains are removed in the courtroom, but the handcuffs are left on all day. They are made to wear them from eight in the morning until five at night. Murderers get better treatment than this (that is if they are white).

Malcolm X had for several days tried to get photos of the prisoners in their chains, but didn't have much luck. The ones he was able to get were underexposed and therefore not useful for publication. A young man who knows I am a photographer, and most anxious to help in any way I can, contacted me on behalf of Malcolm X to ask if I could try to get the pictures for the

Did a single important tendency in government, or the big business circles that run the government, have one word of real criticism for this flouting of the UN?

It did not.

Since the action, of course, there have been all kinds of diplomatic maneuvers through the UN. And the UN is once more playing a prominent role. Kennedy and the imperialists are doing their best to reassert the prestige of the UN insofar as it can be used as an instrument of United States policy.

Those who are honestly looking toward the UN to solve the question of war and peace and imperialist brigandage, are looking in the wrong direction. They will have to look to the working class and to those socialist countries who are willing to lead an independent fight for peace along the road of class struggle.

The left wing in the Laotian coalition has been raising hell with the U.S. and with Boun Oum in Laos because of the very real presence of the "former" U.S. military "advisers" who have now been switched into civilian agencies. The left has also publicized the presence of Thai, Philippine and South Vietnamese forces still in Laos.

Boun Oum, knowing that this is so, and under great pressure from the Laotian masses to remove these troops of imperialism, is very embarrassed to resort to the brazen lie about the North Vietnamese. However, he has apparently now been compelled to do just this by his U.S. masters.

The false charge about North Vietnamese troops is nothing but a cover-up for the continued presence of imperialist forces. It is these imperialist forces that must get out of Laos immediately and give the Geneva agreement a chance to work out.

Muslim paper.

This was not at all an easy assignment. In fact, it turned out to be my most difficult one, for by now the cops were on the alert and didn't want any pictures taken. I was down at the court house at a quarter to nine and already the police cars were there. Malcolm X came along and I was introduced to him. While shaking hands, he grimly wished me luck as he could see how impossible the situation was.

Well, that morning when the police van pulled up with the prisoners in it, they pulled right up on the sidewalk about four inches from the door. It was impossible to get a picture. I told Malcolm I would come down at 4:30 when the trial was over and try again.

Well, 4:30 came and the truck came to pick up the prisoners, and they pulled the same stunt. I was unable to get a picture of the chains.

In the meantime, since the morning session, I had gotten hold of a movie camera hoping that it would get the pictures faster.

We raced over to the jail, and since no one had tried to get pictures there before, they were not on guard, and by the time they got their guard up and surrounded the prisoners, I had about 13 feet of film showing the chains in a front view.

The Muslim I was photographing must have known I was a friend, because he did not rush inside. In fact, they had to push him in the doorway. I also got that on film. We rushed back to the car and took off.

# —China-India

(Continued from page 1)

line have been made clear to China before? . . . (The Chinese Peoples Republic was founded in October, 1949—ed.)

"The areas on the western sector of the Sino-Indian border have always been under Chinese jurisdiction. It is precisely through these areas that in 1950, the Chinese Liberation Army units stationed in Sinkiang entered into the Ari area of Tibet and afterwards built the great Sinkiang-Tibet Highway through these areas.

"Nehru again told a complete lie when he said that China seemed to have entered these areas only after putting down the rebellion in Tibet . . . (or in 1959—ed.)

"The Indian authorities deliberately wrecked the status quo of the boundary . . . and provoked one border conflict after another. Nevertheless, the Chinese side has made a series of efforts to seek a peaceful settlement. . . . In order to ease tension . . . China proposed in 1959 that the armed forces of each side withdraw 20 kilometres along the entire Sino-Indian border and stop patrolling.

"After these proposals were rejected by India, China unilaterally stopped patrolling.

"Seeking a way to a peaceful settlement . . . China's Premier Chou En-lai himself paid a visit to New Delhi in April 1960. These Chinese efforts have not met with a corresponding response from the Indian side. . . .

"It was only on July 26 this year that for a time the Indian government expressed a desire for further discussions on the boundary question on the basis of the reports of the officials. In its note dated August 4, the Chinese government

U.S. "Aiding" India  
—To Do What?

From 1949 to July 1962, the U.S. granted or promised to grant India a total of \$4,754,000,000 in "foreign aid"—according to foreign aid reports by the U.S. International Cooperation Administration.

This is in addition to \$1,844,000,000 granted by U.S. controlled international monetary agencies.

Of the \$6,598,000,000 total, about \$2,500,000,000 was granted in the period 1949-1959. But about \$4,100,000,000 was granted after India began the border dispute with China in 1959.

These billion dollar figures tell a billion times more truth about the present India-China war than all the vulgar editorials of the capitalist press put together.

responded promptly and positively to this desire and proposed that the discussions be held as soon as possible.

"But in its August 22 note, the Indian government stated that the status quo of the boundary in the western sector as conceived by India must first be restored before the proposed discussions could take place. This means in actual fact, that China must evacuate large tracts of its own territory. . . .

"The Indian government in its October 6 note . . . demanded that China evacuate Chinese territories north of the so-called McMahon Line, which India has occupied or plans to occupy. This shut the door to negotiations."

# Mae Mallory's Thanksgiving Day

By Eleanor Stephens

When you count your blessings this Thanksgiving, spare a thought for Mae Mallory in Cleveland County Jail.

When you dig into your home-cooked Thanksgiving dinner, think of Mae eating jail-house turkey.

When you again meet your brothers, cousins, sisters and closest friends in happy reunion, remember Mae whose two teen-age children can not be with her this year. Mae sees her relatives and friends briefly once a week through a barred grill.

Hundreds of prisoners pass through the Cleveland County Jail. Mae has made many friends in her eight months there, but most of them stay only a few days or weeks at the most, and pass on again to the outside world. But Mae stays on alone.

The awaited decision of the U.S. Supreme Court is Mae's last hope in her valiant year-long fight against extradition to the state of North Carolina, where she faces a framed-up kidnap charge.

The Cleveland Afro-American newspaper, the Call-Post, of Nov. 3, gives the following facts in Mae Mallory's case:

"Monroe police accused Mrs. Mallory, saying she was among a group of Negroes who detained a white couple during racial trouble in Monroe on August 27, 1961.

"Mrs. Mallory has insisted that the couple were held for their own protection from a group of Negro citizens angered by a series of racial injustices in the North Carolina town.

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The U.S. Shows No Intention of Getting Out—After 60 Years!

# What About THIS Foreign Base?

By V. Grey

Why is Cuban Premier Fidel Castro so insistent that the United States get out of Guantanamo as a guarantee of Kennedy's promise not to invade Cuba? Because Guantanamo is in and of itself an invasion of Cuba.

The U.S. occupies 45 square miles of Cuba's territory with two working air strips on the area. It is considered by most authorities to be the finest naval base in the world. The harbor is very deep and can accommodate battle ships of any size.

The U.S. newspapers are full of stories of the 4,500 Soviet military and civilian technical advisers now in Cuba. But these advisers were asked to come to Cuba. The 4,500 U.S. Marines and sailors in Guantanamo (the official number before the present build-up) were not asked.

These uninvited guests are the advance guard for invasion of the island—as the hysterically anti-Cuban Hearst press openly admits.

The *New York Journal American* of October 30 says:

"In view of the easing of tension caused by Khrushchev's proposal to dismantle Soviet missile bases, U.S. authorities are not pointing pub-

licly to the offensive capabilities of Guantanamo.

"But it is clear that if at any time in the future, the U.S. moves troops into Cuba, Guantanamo would be a key to such action.

"The garrison of Marines and an unparalleled harbor is the best beachhead any landing force could ask." (Emphasis added.)

The Cubans, of course, are as well aware of the "offensive capabilities of Guantanamo" as is the Hearst press. So it is hardly surprising that they are so adamant on the question of this offensive base of U.S. imperialism.

The Cubans must reason that if they

are to be deprived of the protection of any weapons capable of inflicting retaliatory damage on the mainland of the United States—then they should also be relieved of the presence of U.S. bombs, planes and troops on their own soil.

Kennedy and the Pentagon maintain that U.S. forces are in Guantanamo by "right" of treaty. But the "treaty" which provides for U.S. occupation of Guantanamo was negotiated with Cuba at a time when the U.S. armed forces virtually occupied the whole of Cuba after the Spanish-American War. It was a treaty imposed on Cuba in just about the same way Hitler imposed treaties on

Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Moreover, since the United States government refuses to recognize the Cuban government, the question could be fairly asked:

How can it demand that the unrecognized Cuban government recognize a United States treaty?

The answer, of course, is that treaties, fairness and logic have nothing to do with the matter. It is really a question of power politics, imperialist politics and the relation of forces—with the United States, the big nation, having the greater power, and imposing that power upon the small nation.

If Kennedy were really honest in making the promise not to invade Cuba (which he is not), he would dismantle the real "foreign base" in Cuba—Guantanamo.

The fact that he and the whole U.S. high command are so arrogant about not doing so, is an open advertisement to the workers of the world that the war against Cuba is still on.

## One Quarter of Humanity Barred from UN by U.S. Pressure

# UN Jimcrows China as U.S. Jimcrows Black People

By Robert F. Williams

The following statement concerning the barring of People's China from the United Nations was received from Robert F. Williams, former president of the Union County, North Carolina NAACP.

Because of his heroic struggle to end the barbarous oppression of the Afro-American people, Rob Williams was ruthlessly hunted down by a combination of the Federal Government, F.B.I., and local police. But he escaped his pursuers and is now in exile in Cuba.

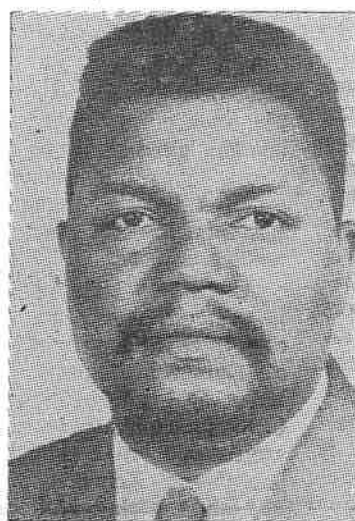
Other Black freedom fighters failed to escape. Mae Mallory is imprisoned in a Cleveland jail, fighting extradition to Monroe, North Carolina, where a jimcrow trial awaits her. Richard Crowder and Harold Reap—framed at the same time as Williams and Mae Mallory—are also awaiting "trial."

\* \* \*

The U.S. Government is just as racist as Mississippi. The racist State of Mississippi, with the clandestine support of the U.S. Government, conspires and maneuvers in every way possible to prevent Negroes from entering the mainstream of U.S. society. . . .

Washington has used every conceivable maneuver to prevent the racially and politically hated true Chinese nation from entering the mainstream of international society. The U.S. has threatened violence and bribed flunky nations to keep a quarter of the population of the entire earth from being recognized by the jimcrow United Nations.

The hypocritical United States, in a selfrighteous, pious sounding voice, has proclaimed to the world that it resents the Chinese People's Republic being seated in the UN because it is a "war-



Rob Williams

like nation" and is trying to "shoot its way" into this body of international gentry. . . .

Chiang Kai-shek is handpicked by Yankee racist imperialists without the consent of the masses of the Chinese people, to mislead and misrepresent them. This parallels the case of Uncle Tom puppet Negro leaders, handpicked by conniving U.S. racists seeking to frustrate the Negro's progression from slavery, while murdering and persecuting those true representatives of the people, like William Worthy, Negro newsman, who dared defy U.S. racists to travel to China, for which his passport was revoked. . . .

When the deceitful U.S. speaks of barring the Chinese People's Republic from the jimcrow UN "because they are warlike," this criterion as construed in the twisted minds of racist U.S. politicians, automatically disqualifies the barbaric

U.S.A. by its own false concept of standards of admittance.

What country can truthfully be said to be more warlike than the vicious U.S.A. that dropped horrible atom bombs on the helpless women and children of Japan, at a time when their government was making overtures for surrender? An imperialist nation that is guilty of murdering patriots in all corners of the globe, including inside the U.S.A. itself, for seeking social justice and liberation, dares label another people warlike!

The U.S.A. is spreading Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Council tactics throughout the world. The terror of the KKK has been exported to the patriots of South Vietnam and Cuba. . . . The patriots of South Viet Nam are being exiled from their home communities and herded into compounds in other sectors. They are experiencing the same type of murder and terror at the hands of the racist U.S. Government that Afro-Americans are experiencing in North American society. . . .

The facts of U.S. conduct vividly illustrate that the hypocritical and degenerate U.S. Government is the enemy of all justice-loving peoples throughout the world. Instead of the Chinese People's Republic being barred from the jimcrow United Nations, the whole world should place a quarantine on the lying, degenerate representatives of Washington's Ku Klux Klan diplomacy.

The United States Government has assigned itself the task of re-creating the world in the image of its own North American jungle society. It is not the conduct of China, but the conduct of the barbaric U.S.A. that should be condemned as a savage warlike nation being unfit to sit in the council of civilized men. . . .

## Anti-War Fighters

## Take to Streets in Buffalo

## "Withdraw the Blockade, End the War," They Say

Buffalo, N.Y.—In this windy, witch-hunted city, braving cops, the Subversive Squad gumshoes and the canine squad — over sixty persons, workers, youths, mothers with children and even faculty members—answered the call issued by *Concerned Buffalonians*, for a demonstration in the main shopping area, and demanded an end to the blockade of Cuba. This was on October 25 at the very height of the crisis.

The demonstrators carried signs in big bold letters: "Withdraw the Blockade," "Cuba is a Sovereign State," "No Invasion of Cuba," "Sinking a Ship Means Nuclear War," and "No Hiroshima at Havana—or Buffalo."

A leaflet was distributed at the same time to hundreds of evening shoppers, which proposed that the U.S. call off the blockade, not invade Cuba, and not train, supply or support forces to attack Cuba. It concluded that once the immediate danger to peace and to Cuban sovereignty is removed, it will then become possible to negotiate more general solutions to the problems of our hemisphere.

Many of those receiving the leaflet showed sincere interest. Hundreds of passersby paused to stare at the brave band of anti-war fighters, and in spite of the hysteria generated by the screaming headlines of the day, many quietly showed their approval. Concern over a nuclear war went deeper than appeals to so-called patriotism.

Despite red-baiting in both the *Courier-Express* and the *News*, Buffalo's only morning and evening newspaper respectively—and on TV, the importance of the demonstration in the life of the city, forced them to give it prominent publicity—and news of the demonstration thereby reached hundreds of thousands here.

The police and the Subversive Squad openly egged on some hostile bystanders, who heckled the demonstrators and spat out filth like "Hitler and Eichmann would have known what to do with them." The hecklers also attempted a vicious attack on an Afro-American who carried a sign stating, "There Is No Discrimination in Cuba."

In strong contrast to this, a young man approached another Afro-American demonstrator and said in a Latin American accent: "It is good to know we have some North American friends."

## What You Have to Be To Get Relief in Miami

Have you read any front-page stories lately in the capitalist papers exposing the low wages and miserable relief allotments for Afro-Americans in Florida?

No? Well, neither have we. But last Sunday in the *New York Times*, we saw a prominent article bemoaning the sad plight of **Counter-revolutionary Cubans** living in Florida. The pitifully low payments under Florida's aid-to-dependent children program are not enough to keep a family from starvation. But as long as most of those starving were "only" Afro-Americans, the *New York Times* remained deafeningly silent.

However, now that the Cuban Gusanos are getting the same treatment, the *Times* reveals the following:

There is no general relief at all in Florida. The aid-to-dependent children program allows a maximum of \$81 a month per family (thanks to a law passed in 1951 designed to "punish" Afro-American mothers of illegitimate children!)

If there is an employable male in the house, whether he is working or not, no payments are allowed. If anyone in the

family is working full-time, no matter how little he makes, the whole family is dropped from the rolls. (Wages of 40 cents an hour are common, and 15 cents an hour is paid for some jobs.)

Before the Cuban "refugees" flooded the state, there were more than 325,000 unemployed — now there are at least 100,000 more, bringing the figure close to half a million.

But why is it that suddenly the *Times* writes a tear-jerking article sympathizing with the Gusanos on the government rolls? Why hasn't it ever exposed these same conditions in all the years when Afro-Americans suffered under them more than anyone else?

## Only In America

"Those fantastically rich J. Collier Hurleys of Houston have now flown to Europe—and Mrs. H'll be long-distancing her four poodles at \$3 a minute to coo over them . . . all the way from France to Texas.

"She often talks to them half an hour. She has an amplifier over their beds so they can hear well when she calls them 'Baby' and 'Darling.'"

—Society note

## Couldn't Happen To a Nastier Newspaper

The Newspaper Guild of New York, representing about 5,000 news and commercial employees in New York City, struck the *Daily News* on Nov. 1. The Guild's contracts with all seven New York dailies expired Oct. 31, but the Guild struck only at the *News*.

The Guild's demands from the *News* include a full union shop, a dues checkoff plan, and a clause against handling struck work. The Guild has called these "must provisions," but the anti-labor *News* has not even considered them.

On these points, the *News* has shown no signs of yielding (at least up until now). This anti-union policy is not at all surprising in view of the vicious anti-labor, anti-Soviet (anti-everything decent and progressive) attitude which characterizes the *News*. The *News* can certainly not be accused of failing to practice what it preaches.

The Guild is basically made up of the journalistic staff. But 4,000 craft union employees of the *News* (printing workers, etc., refused to cross the Guild picket line.

# Khrushchev's Conduct in the Cuban Crisis

By Sam Marcy

The ability of the revolutionary people of Cuba, of their government, and of their heroic leader, Premier Castro, to withstand the tremendous pressure and unparalleled provocations of U.S. imperialism, literally astonishes the world. But their inflexible determination to stand firm in the face of this most recent crisis is truly an incredible feat of world historic significance.

All the more necessary to examine the facets of the crisis which have deep meaning not only for Cuba, but for the rest of the world.

Did Khrushchev conduct himself in the Cuban crisis in the spirit of one socialist ally to another? Did Khrushchev act in the spirit of proletarian internationalism during this world crisis?

## Was Retreat Necessary?

Whether the USSR should or should not have removed the strategic weapons from Cuba in the face of what appeared to be imminent armed attack, may still be open to question. The question, however, can only be answered by history. Retreats in the course of the class struggle are unavoidable, and in a given instance, may be absolutely necessary.

It is entirely conceivable that under the given circumstances, it was the only alternative. At any rate, the agreement in and of itself cannot be a valid axis for a dispute in the international Communist movement, if what was involved was a purely military decision.

If, however, subsequent events reveal that it was based on political and diplomatic considerations, then indeed it would be impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Khrushchev-Kennedy accord has deep implications which far transcend the confines of Cuba.

But even if the retreat be regarded as necessary and correct, it cannot be overlooked that it has resulted in a sharpening of imperialist appetites, and has given a new impetus to further aggression. This can be seen in the new mood of the ruling class. The blatant arrogance of imperialism, the nauseating boastfulness, the unsurpassed bellicosity have all followed on the heels of the agreement.

## No Consultation

But what disturbs wide sections of the working class throughout the world, is not so much the political content of the Khrushchev-Kennedy accord, but the manner in which it was executed. The fact that Khrushchev conducted the negotiations unilaterally, constitutes the most serious objection to the agreement.

## WW Cable to Castro

The following telegram was sent last week to Prime Minister Fidel Castro Ruz of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba:

**WE EXPRESS SOLIDARITY WITH CUBAN PEOPLE AGAINST GRAVE THREAT FROM U. S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSOR. WE SUPPORT PRIME MINISTER FIDEL CASTRO'S FIVE POINTS. WORKERS WORLD**

There are those who say, in view of the magnitude of the crisis, it is unlikely that an adequate opportunity was afforded for consultation.

The Cuban crisis, however, did not arrive on the day that Kennedy delivered his infamous speech on TV which set off the crisis. It had long been in the making, and was openly discussed for weeks in the imperialist press and the world generally. It is inconceivable that measures for quick consultation on such an urgent issue could not be taken. In fact it would take an extraordinary amount of naivete in the matter of international relations to believe that adequate measures for consultation could not have been planned in advance—in view, particularly of the experience of the first invasion. The one undeniable fact that emerges from the negotiations, is that the Cuban government was not consulted *before* Khrushchev made his commitment.

## Fidel's Intransigence

The sure proof of this is the fact that Premier Castro was immediately obliged to announce his five points, which included a rejection of UN inspection, a point specifically mentioned in the Kennedy-Khrushchev exchange.

The intransigence with which Premier Fidel Castro opposed inspection as an infringement on the sovereignty and independence of Cuba, is in itself a good measure of the serious divergence in views regarding the agreement. The apprehensions aroused by the manner and method with which Khrushchev conducted negotiations is not just a matter of form.

As this is being written, the blockade of Cuba is still on. Aerial surveillance of Cuban territory continues and this means the continued violation of Cuban air space. The arrogant insistence by Kennedy on inspection gives every indication that Cuba is as much in danger from U.S. imperialist aggression as it ever was. There is only the bare promise of Kennedy, which is vague, qualified and burdened with conditions which are unacceptable to the Cuban government.

Indeed, if there is to be any guarantee against U.S. aggression at all, the conditions laid down by Premier Castro in his now famous five points are the only safeguards of Cuba as an independent nation, free to develop and advance its revolution.

## "General Accommodation" With West

The Khrushchev-Kennedy agreement must also be seen in the wider context of Khrushchev's overall foreign policy. Specific agreements between the USSR and the imperialist countries on such matters as nuclear testing, Berlin and other specific issues, cannot but meet with the approval of all progressive mankind.

But it is something else again when it comes to what is known as a "general accommodation" with the West. This comes up again and again at each new stage in the development of the relations between the USSR and the West.

It is no longer a secret that a good portion of international Communist opinion views with distrust and suspicion, the motivation of Khrushchev and his collaborators, in their dealings with the West.

It could not possibly have escaped the notice of the bourgeoisie that the leadership of the USSR had taken a neutralist position in the critical China-India border dispute. Even when Pravda finally

took the side of the Chinese after the fighting broke out on a large scale, it still remained to be seen how far the Soviet leadership would actually support their class ally, the Peoples Republic of China. The issue is not at all unrelated to the Cuban situation.

The Cuban debacle, arising out of the Khrushchev-Kennedy accord, throws everything into confusion. It raises serious doubts everywhere, among advanced and class-conscious workers, about the real orientation of the current Soviet leadership.

In the eyes of many, it cannot but appear to be an attempt to appease U.S. imperialism at the expense of others. This judgment may be premature. It is, however, extremely significant that the *Peking People's Daily* in its November 5 issue, characterizes the Cuban crisis as "a crisis carrying out an appeasement policy toward United States aggression and a crisis encouraging United States imperialism to pursue even more insatiably its policies of aggression and war." The *Peoples Daily* has all but dotted the i's and crossed the t's in an indictment of Khrushchev's foreign policy.

## Revolution Invincible!

It is too early to form a definitive evaluation of the ultimate significance of the accord. Whatever the immediate exigencies may be, the tide of history is against a resurgence of imperialist domination. Efforts at naked military aggression will only rekindle the revolutionary ferment of the mass of people under the yoke of monopoly capital.

It is the indomitable revolutionary will of the Cuban people, their solidarity and unity and their heroic leader Premier Fidel Castro, which has stayed the hand of the Pentagon war makers. With the help of the Latin American people, the support of the Asian-African people, the socialist countries, and progressive mankind in general, the Cuban revolution will remain invincible.

## Fidel Hails The Cuban People's Unanimous Defense of Revolution

I want to emphasize today . . . appreciation for the conduct of the people in this period. I should say that the attitude of the people has gone beyond all that the most optimistic could ever have imagined; in decision, in courage, in discipline. It must be said that thousands of men who in these four years of the Revolution had not been militiamen, became militiamen during this crisis; it must be said that thousands of persons who didn't belong to the mass organizations, nor to the Committees of Defense of the Revolution, went to join the mass organizations in these days; it must be said that the enemy couldn't count on allies of any kind in the interior of our homeland; that in these days of extreme crisis it wasn't necessary to arrest one person; that including men and women who made criticisms of the Revolution, in this decisive hour the patriotic and revolutionary spirit was awakened in them and they went to enroll themselves. They went to enroll for a struggle which according to all points of view was serious, was tremendous, which could become a struggle with conventional weapons or with atomic weapons.

"news . . . is weaponry."

—Or in other words, that the government can manipulate public opinion and create war hysteria by telling or not telling certain facts, or by timing the occasion for telling them in a certain way. (Assuming, of course, that the "facts" are true in the first place.)

Sylvester frankly admitted that the government had managed, controlled and dammed up the flow of news about Cuba, and indicated it expects to continue to do so.

He did not explain how this concept squares with the democratic notion that the people are supposed to be informed—and honestly informed—so that they may make their own independent judgment of events.

Nor has his commander-in-chief, as we go to press, yet repudiated him.

## Revolutionary Ferment in Bolivia

The following is an excerpt from a remarkable article about Bolivia that appeared in the Sept. 7 *Peking Review*.

The article was by Li Yen-Nien, who visited several countries in South America last spring.

The Bolivian government policy is to bow to the United States while the people are doing the very opposite. This was manifested on April 9 of this year, the tenth anniversary of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement's coming to power.

A parade took place in the square outside the presidential residence and we were there to watch it. Most of the workers of the major mining areas in La Paz had refused to join the parade, as a pro-

test against the Government's policy of subservience to Washington.

But those miners and peasants who did take part in the parade were all armed, and carried placards with such inscriptions as "Down with U.S. imperialism!" "Have all mines nationalized!" "Firm support for the Cuban revolution!"

They marched past the reviewing stand where members of the Government and the U.S. Ambassador stood.

The 5,000 Indian peasants from the Department of La Paz presented an especially spectacular sight. Wearing multi-colored caps, they carried a motley collection of arms, rifles, shotguns and other weapons; some blowing bugles,

## NOW He Tells Us!

Chief spokesman for the U.S. Department of Defense, Arthur Sylvester, told newspapers last week that "the generation of news by the government becomes one weapon of a strained situation" and

they marched forward in firm measured steps, under red flags. Some had bought and wore helmets to form a helmet team, others wore long boots to form another team of their own, a third team with pistols in hand, wore epaulettes, it was a brave colorful spectacle.

Quite a few peasants fired into the sky as warning to the U.S. Ambassador and the reactionary rulers on the stand.