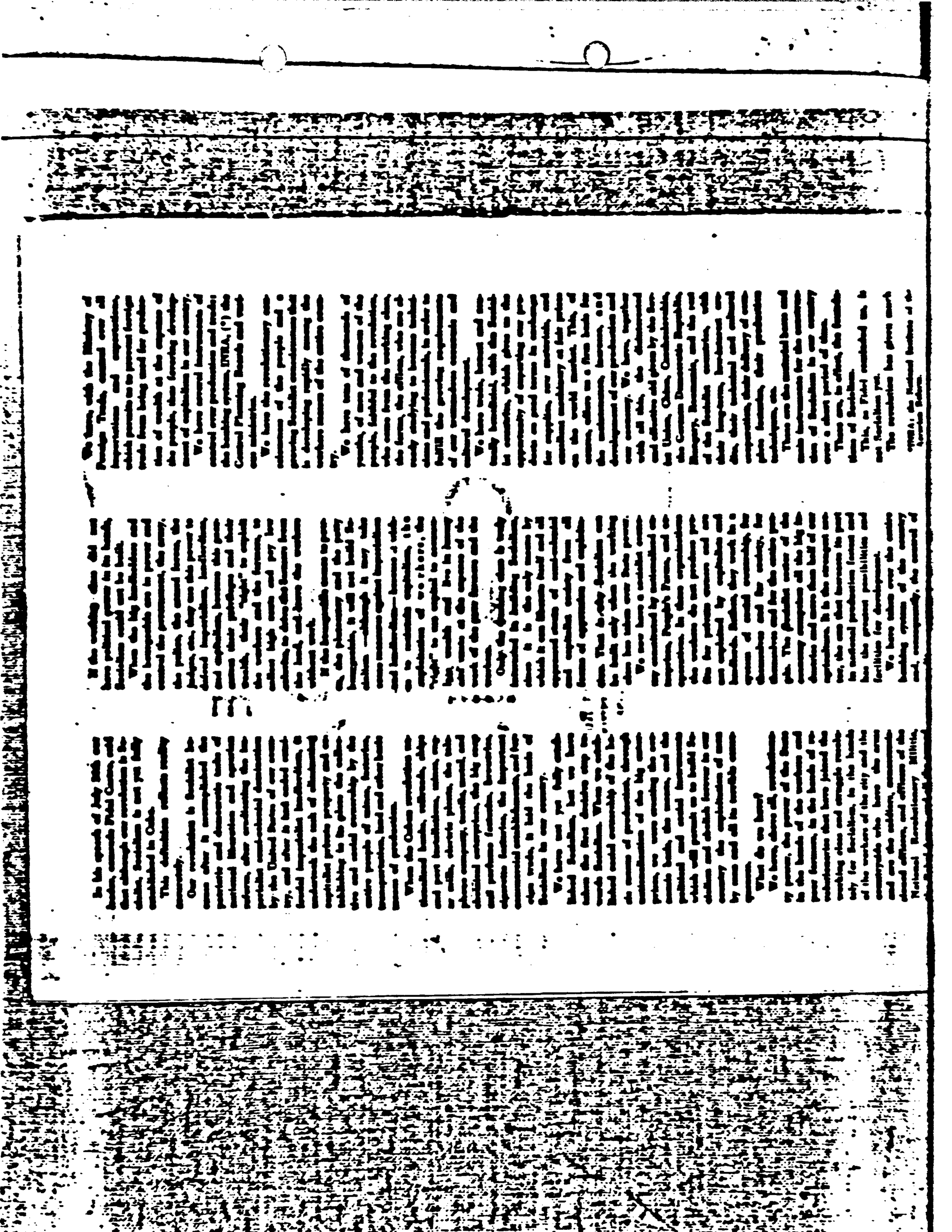

[illegible]

[illegible] the people and the economy, the [illegible] that we have only taken the first steps towards Socialism. Once fully established, Socialism will give us more, much more than we have received until now.

In the first place, Socialism will permit us to solve, once and for all, the problem of unemployment; it will permit us to guarantee that every Cuban, man or woman, with the ability and desire to work, will have a secure, stable and well paid job, according to the quantity and quality of the work he does.

This will no doubt be a historic feat.

The Cuban people are familiar with the concept of unemployment, which is an inevitable condition in a semi-colonial, imperialist, and capitalist system. Up to 1958 we had [illegible] unemployed. Half a million agricultural workers worked and received wages during part of the year only; three, four, or five months at most. This chronic and seasonal unemployment meant, for those who suffered it, hunger, extreme poverty, filthy housing, lack of culture, and ill health. Furthermore, this unemployment also affected those who worked. It was difficult to find one family that did not have to help some of its relatives, that did not have to share its limited income with a son or a father, with a sister or a brother, with a niece or with the grandchildren.

The United States, despite the "wonders" of the "American way of life," and all its automobiles and TV sets, has at present around [illegible] unemployed workers officially registered. In all the Latin American countries, many of whose governments repeatedly attack Cuba and defend the Western world, free enterprise, and the Christian religion, the unemployment and under-employment figures reach terrifying levels.

In Cuba, on the other hand, in two or three years at most, there will be no unemployment; there will be stable and well paid jobs for all those who wish to work.

And not only will there be work for all, but we shall also be free forever from the economic crisis of overproduction, and the dangers that may ship have such crises.

Socialism will make the right to work a reality for everyone. Already the progress of the revolution towards Socialism has permitted us to guarantee that many workers, in an ever growing number, will in effect have earned and weekly rest and the means and conditions to enjoy it thoroughly. The beaches are open and accessible to the workers and people in general. The number of workers' social centers grows constantly. There are recreation and rest centers all over the island. However, this is not yet enough for the entire population. But in a few years, when we have developed agricultural production to a higher degree, and we have industrialized the country, we shall have the necessary resources to guarantee that every Cuban worker, every Cuban employee, will have the opportunity, the conditions and the means to enjoy pleasant and adequate relaxation.

Work and rest will be the two basic achievements of Socialism; free education, free medicine, no problem, and capitalism would never be able to guarantee either truly all the time.

Socialism will permit us to reduce the work period, improve the living standard of the masses very rapidly, and give the benefits of knowledge, industrial development, and hygienic and comfortable housing, to all the families of the city and the countryside; socialism will increase the culture of the people more and more every day, improve health, guarantee adequate pensions for all in old age, and in cases of disability, sickness, accidents, or death. Socialism will make equality and the liberation of women from the drudgery of domestic work a reality.

Socialism will permit us to turn our Cuba into a land of abundance, brotherhood, culture, and happiness for all.

We have not yet achieved this, but we shall.

Right now we must struggle against the aggressions of the imperialists and counterrevolutionaries and crush their criminal designs; we must work hard with discipline and responsibility, in order to increase production and productivity; work as much as possible, economize resources, develop industry and industrialize the country; we must develop a Socialist consciousness, extend and improve our knowledge of Socialist ideology and ethics, educate the people to respect social ownership, to love work, to be honest in their attitude to work, the party, and society; we must learn the meaning of brotherhood and cooperation, and solidarity with other peoples; in short, we must fulfill the tasks imposed upon us by this period of transition, this period of the construction of socialism.

As we have previously stated, we already have a Socialist economy constituted by nationalized enterprises, "People's Farms," and cooperatives.

Side by side with this we have a private capitalist economy constituted by rich farmers who employ wage earners on their land, small and medium-sized enterprises, and the stores that carry on their activities in accordance with the capitalist system.

In addition we have an economy of small commercial production constituted by the peasants who do not exploit the work of others, the tenants, those who work alone and own their means of production, and other elements who have engaged in production and the professions of services without exploiting other workers.

As a direct consequence of this variety of economic activities there is also a great variety of ideologies, of different moral attitudes with regard to society, work, and relations among men.

We have a Socialist ideology that grows and develops and is creating a new attitude with regard to work, and new morals, free from egotism and the spirit of exploitation, plunder, and usurpation.

There is also the survival, among counterrevolutionaries, of the anti-colonialist, Plattist,* imperialist ideology, which implies the subordination and submission of our country to United States imperialism, with its egoistic morals that make man behave like a wolf to his fellow man.

*That: an American Senator who proposed an amendment to the Cuban Constitution providing the United States to intervene in the internal affairs of Cuba.

[illegible]

capitalism, alone and unhappy.

"In the old system you dreamed of becoming millionaires.

"But that was an unattainable dream surrounded with a reality of exploitation, anxiety, growing indebtedness, bankruptcy, the conditions to which the importers, wholesalers and exporters found subjected you, the growth of power of the big enterprises which established their distribution centers, and the wholesale dealers who often were the poor owners of the small stores, shops and workshops."

The dream of becoming a millionaire ended in a reality of bankruptcy or of remaining content to being a foreman or manager of a food store, a company, a textile plant, a drugstore, some agency, etc.

The centralized system crushed the small businesses.

The merger of big shops and gasoline businesses absorbed the greater part of the small retail businesses of these products.

A merger of big exporters has under absorbed the small exporter owned systems.

The big dairies and monopolies turned that small businesses into their own employees.

The oil companies turned service station owners into their exclusive employees.

The process resulted in the elimination, by means of the most ruthless methods, of the small competitors, or their absolute dependence on the big businesses.

We are now marching towards Socialism.

If the revolution in its first stages has liberated them from the abuse to which they were subjected and has given them great benefits, Socialism will not harm their aspirations for family security, social considerations and welfare.

Of course, they cannot dream of becoming millionaires. In Socialism there is no opportunity to become a millionaire, because there is no place for the exploitation of the work of others.

Socialism cannot guarantee businesses employing and exploiting workers, businesses where the owners benefit from the profits produced by the workers.

To exploit other men under Socialism is immoral.

To live from the work of others under Socialism is immoral.

Consequently, the purpose of the revolution is to eliminate private enterprises which are maintained only through exploitation of man by man.

"The revolution will not take drastic action against you to achieve this objective, as was the case with the big landholders and parasitic capitalists.

"In the first place, it takes into consideration that you were the victims of a centralized system of importation, landholders and monopolist and parasitic capitalists. In the second place that, although you exploit others, you also work and receive a benefit in exchange and, in the third place, that you as individuals have a future in Socialism and can usefully apply your personal knowledge and ability for the benefit of the people and participate within a Socialist society.

"If you do desire it, you can gradually take your place within the socialist system and receive all the spiritual and material benefits and all the security derived from this just, humane system that eliminates the exploitation of man by man.

"What does Socialism offer you?

"Socialism offers you jobs paid in accordance with the quantity and quality of your work, the opportunity to earn a sufficient income for a comfortable life, adequate housing for the family, an opportunity for your children to receive a college education, become technicians and professionals and obtain secure employment in accordance with their qualifications, the opportunity of having a car and other comforts, enjoyment (theatre, music, literature, cinema), recreation and rest centers at reasonable prices, respect for your religious beliefs, the opportunity of improving your standard of living gradually, and the opportunity of contributing in every way to the progress of society, the welfare of all, and the glory and progress of our country in peace and friendship with all peoples of the world."

The same thing applies to the tradesmen, the automobile and truck owners, those who work for themselves and do not exploit the work of others. They are and should be allies of the working class. They can and should find the way to Socialism through the different forms of cooperatives.

These middle classes should be made to understand thoroughly that the Cuban revolution is irreversible; that Socialism is inevitable and essential.

No socialist revolution that has reached power since 1919 has been defeated so far.

Forty-three years ago the proletariat reached power in the Soviet Union under Lenin's direction and opened a new era in the history of mankind: the era of Socialism.

The Russian counterrevolutionaries fled abroad hoping they would be able to return, with the counterrevolution, in three months.

The counterrevolutionaries who did not die in military adventures have died of old age, driving taxis, or drinking shots, or serving as lackeys in foreign countries, awaiting in vain the fall of Socialism.

The counterrevolutionaries then placed their hopes on the Nazi-German imperialism of Hitler. The Second World War ensued and communism. The result was that, as a consequence of the war, Socialism was established in Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, part of Germany, the Baltic countries and Albania. The result was that after the war Socialism came to power in China, North Korea and Vietnam.

This is the lesson of history.

We are in the era of the end of imperialism and capitalism, in an era of victory for national and Socialist revolutions, in the era of the transition of mankind towards Socialism.

The Cuban Revolution is here to stay.

Imperialism has not defeated it and will not be able to do so.

Those who go to Miami hoping to return with the invaders will stay there or dishwashers, or will die in some venture in some part

of the world as mercenary soldiers of the United States.

To explain all this is the basic task of all active revolutionary cadres, of the integrated revolutionary organizations, of all militant revolutionaries who join the United Party of the Cuban Socialist Revolution.

It is also their duty to understand, and contribute to all basic tasks of this period of the construction of Socialism, which can be summed up as follows:

—To increase the defense of our country and our revolution in the face of all the attacks (economic, political and military) of United States imperialism and its lackeys, counterrevolutionaries and traitors.

—To handle the process of eliminating the various sources of economic operation and the construction of Socialism so that the alliance of farmers and workers will be strengthened and cooperation with the middle classes maintained.

—To increase agricultural production and diversification, so that we may satisfy the increasing demand for food and raw materials derived from agriculture, which is growing since unemployment has diminished at an accelerated pace and the purchasing power of the masses has increased, thanks to the measures and changes introduced by the revolution. To attend to agricultural matters, guarantee the success of our crops, help in the harvesting and preservation of the products, prevent the slaughter of female cattle and small hogs, prevent the hog from being cooked in a way which wastes the fat, should be the daily and constant concern of all revolutionaries.

—To increase industrial production and services and hasten the industrialization of the country.

It is industrialization which in the end will guarantee the predominance of the Socialist economy over the remaining traces of capitalism, the victory of Socialism in the entire Cuban economy.

—To increase productivity per capita in industry as well as in agriculture.

A greater productivity increases the available wealth, which in turn improves the standard of living of the people and accelerates industrialization.

The use of machinery, production competitions, improvement of production techniques, development of the revolutionary consciousness of the workers, and rewards for good and fast work, are the correct means to increase productivity.

—To encourage savings in all things: money, expenses, energy, raw materials, transportation, time, saving in our homes, in the countryside, in the factory, in the office. To save is to strengthen the economy of our country. To save is to increase national wealth and the available means for investments in agriculture, industry and construction.

—To disseminate culture among the people. To increase our efforts to defeat illiteracy this year. To develop massive cultural and sports activities.

—To create a Socialist intelligentsia. To give old technicians and intellectuals an opportunity to assimilate the socialist principles. To encourage thousands of youths to study and obtain scholarships in order to become technicians, or obtain a college education, or develop their artistic and literary talents.

—To strengthen the Socialist ethics that have come to life in our country and which encourage the people to do voluntary work, show concern for the welfare of others, go into the countryside as volunteer teachers in the campaign against illiteracy, sponsor schools, cooperate, show feelings of solidarity and fraternity, as well as hatred of the exploitation of man by man, selfishness, abuse, egotism, meanness and injustice.

—To strengthen the revolutionary and Socialist consciousness of the entire people, disseminate the knowledge and meaning of Socialism among the masses, disseminate the knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, economics, dialectical and historical materialism.

—To strengthen proletarian internationalism, the spirit of friendship and solidarity with the peoples of the world, the people's revolutionary Latin-Americanism in the face of official, reactionary and oppressing Pan-Americanism, our friendship with the Soviet Union, China, Czechoslovakia, and the rest of the countries of the Socialist world.

—To perfect and strengthen revolutionary power, the power of workers and farmers, in order to guarantee a greater and more constant participation of the working masses in all matters related to the government, and encourage the revolutionary initiative of the people. The masses should be made conscious of their power; they should be made conscious that they themselves govern through the Revolutionary Government of the people. The organization of the State apparatus of power should be clearly defined, and a strict respect for revolutionary laws and measures should be fostered, so that revolutionary legality may prevail.

—To strengthen the organization and unity of the people. Every Cuban should be organized. The people must remain united, each day more firmly in support of the Revolutionary Government, Integrated Revolutionary Organizations and our dear and respected leader, Fidel Castro.

—To strengthen our Socialist revolutionary organization, which is in the process of becoming the United Party of the Socialist Revolution and the vanguard and leading nucleus of the people and their revolutionary power, channelling the enthusiasm, initiative, and revolutionary spirit of our people into organized and systematic action in the construction of Socialism.

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Ideology and Revolution

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Jean-Paul Sartre

The following is a translation of an article which Jean-Paul Sartre wrote for Lunes de Revolución (Havana, March 31, 1960), while visiting Cuba.

A few days ago at the University I was asked a question that I reproach myself with having answered too briefly: "Can there be a Revolution without an ideology?" Since *Lunes de Revolución* has seen fit to offer me its pages, I propose to analyze the problem more fully. One can guess that it is not just a matter of constructing some theory or other about Revolutions in general and about the abstract notions which guide them. It is Cuba which is the case in point: the nature of the tie which unites actions and ideas is a very special characteristic of the social movement which is developing here. In what follows below I will set forth the observations which impress themselves upon a foreign observer.

Ideology Defined

But before anything else we must define our terms. Let us say, therefore, that an ideology is a system of theoretical and practical ideas whose entirety ought, at one and the same time, to be founded upon, interpret, and surpass experience in the unity of rational and technical projections. We shall not say that it is a science, although science may sustain it; indeed, it is less a question of disinterested knowledge than of the thoughts formed by the people of a particular society, inasmuch as they are both the witnesses and the members of the said society. These are practical thoughts, as can be seen, and ones which not only try to seize social structures in their essence, but above all try to maintain them or to change them. Ideology brings a practical vision to objective circumstances. It means that it [ideology] itself establishes a program. Even on occasions when it seems to describe, it prepares the action; it acts. The reactionary formula, "No sugar, no Cuba" ["Without sugar there is no country"], was put forth as an empirical contention. The cultivation of sugar cane has in fact produced a particular kind of community, and the phrase I have just quoted is nothing more than an ideology in a primitive state: under its false objectivity, it reveals itself to be a rejection of everything that tries to change the "status quo." It tries to discourage rebellion against the social order by presenting the latter as the expression of a natural order; that phrase gives the Cubans their misery in the form of a destiny. It is the same as saying that it embodies a pessimistic view of man: since man cannot change his life, let him resign himself to one which has been imposed upon him. Behind the rigors of nature, primitive ideology already permits us to divine the supernatural consolations. One could oppose this conservative thought with the optimism which knows how to transform the conditions of life and which trusts in man to make history on the basis of past events. Whatever the progressive ideology that is adopted, in all cases, as we understand it, it bears with it a practical judgment on man. Thus what we are doing is nothing

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Ideology and Revolution

Jean-Paul Sartre

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defines man starting from the basis of the practical task of conserving or of changing his environment, therefore there is nothing surprising here since that ideology has been produced in everyone by the situation itself, and by the depth of positions and interests. It is the selection of a social medium upon itself that defines man, starting from the practical task of defending their privileges or of conquering their fundamental rights.

But Almost Without Ideological Constructs

I said that there were primitive ideologies; there are others that are very elaborate. It happens also that some of them contain, at the same time, a judgment on man, a definite political and social program, and even the study of the necessary means to realize them. In this last instance, knowledge allows for the clarification of every practical measure: empiricism and its costly errors are avoided, dangers can be foreseen, and plans can be established. The advantage of a minutely developed system escapes no one: knowing where it is going, it can also be added that an agreement on precise ideas, on immediate or long range objectives, should be a unifying factor. The more rigorous the ideas are, the greater the risk of misunderstanding and, finally, of internal dissension; but if a group accepts an ideology that is without ambiguity, this will inevitably lead it to integration. On the other hand, what it gains in force it will lose in flexibility: everything is foreseen but the unforeseen—which emerges to shake the edifice and which it is more comfortable to deny by asserting that nothing has occurred, nothing has happened. The danger of these great unified conceptions constitutes what is called voluntarism. The program is made in advance; upon it, particular plans are calculated; there will be produced so much wheat, so much cotton, so many machines and tools within five or ten years. I have seen men of my own age, in a great Empire, making plans for the final years of this century. I know that we would all be dead by then and they also know it—but the ideology would live on.

What is first surprising in Cuba—especially if one has visited the countries of the East—is the apparent absence of ideology. Ideologies, however, are not what this century lacks; right here they have representatives who are offering their services from all sides. Your leaders do not ignore them. They simply do not make use of them. Their adversaries formulate the most contradictory reproaches. For some of them, that absence of ideas is only a deception; it hides a rigorous Marxism which does not yet dare to reveal its name: some day the Cubans will take off their mask and Communism will be implanted in the Caribbean, just a few miles from Miami. Other opposition—or, at times, the same one—accuses them of not thinking at all: "They are improvising," I have been told, "and then after having done something they make up a theory." Some politely add, "Try to speak to the members of the government; perhaps they know what they are doing. Because as far as we are concerned, I must confess that we know absolutely nothing at all." And a few days ago at the University, a student declared, "To the extent that the Revolution has not defined its objectives, Autonomy becomes all the more indispensible to us."

"The Revolution Is a Praxis"

I have heard all this unwerved a thousand times: "The Revolution is a praxis which forges its ideas in action." That reply is logically unassailable, but one has to admit that it turns out to be a little abstract. To be fair, one must understand the uneasiness—sincere or pretended—of those who say they know nothing about it at all, or who reproach the revolutionary movement for not having defined its goals. As a matter of fact, in Paris, several months ago, some Cuban friends came to see me. They spoke to

[illegible] me hopelessly for a long time about the Revolution, but I tried in vain to get them to tell me whether or not the new regime would be socialist. Today I have to admit that I was wrong in stating the problem in those terms. But when a person is far away he is rather abstract and he tends to fall into those great words that today constitute symbols more than programs. So-called "A Liberal Economy?" Many minds ponder: they are convinced in good faith that a Revolution should know where it is going.

In fact, they are mistaken. Our Revolution, the French Revolution of 1789, were completely blind. The bourgeoisie—who carried it out—believed they were the universal golden; they understood too late the conflict which opposed them to the people. There were people who voted for the Revolution of 1789 and who were guillotined two years earlier. It all ended with a military dictatorship which saved the rich and restored the Monarchy. And how many vacillations, how many retreats, were produced during the first years of the Revolution, because of the absence of an infallible sign, how many attempts, how many setbacks, were produced during the first years of the Revolution, because of the absence of an infallible theology. The M.R.P. was imposed because of the circumstances; [illegible] because the failure of the revolutionary movements in Europe, for its own initiation. Now these were experienced within the framework of an infallible theology; they became reactions. Socialism in one country, the permanent Revolution—inventions which they believed could be justified by means of quotations. And Marxist thought was disarmed in the face of present existence: they made a turn to the right, then to the left, then a non-turn to the right. No matter how rigorous, or how wide-ranging experiments, an ideology outlives the present by a very narrow margin. Dialectics, the question continues to be raised and it will be enough to answer those who ask, "Are you going to establish Socialism?" by saying that the people will itself define its ideology. Perhaps it would be better to show the theoretical consequences of the action that is developing in Cuba. Perhaps the dialectical tie which unite action with thought will be better seen. Even though I speak, who am a stranger to Cuba, have to follow the path of an outsider, I see beyond the things which were unexplained to me, that deeds produce ideas. Therefore, I do not think it impossible to enhance my discovery here.

Reform and Radicalization

Ideas come in pairs and they contradict one another; their opposition [illegible] principal motor of reflection (motor principal de la reflexión). Here [illegible] the first another, I became aware of someone who was speaking to me of your Revolution, a leader, stated that your action could not set itself long range objectives, because it is a re-action, or if you wish, a rebound. He said to me that he doubt that your people, placed next to a much too powerful neighbor, never had absolute initiative, and were obliged to use all their resources of intelligence and energy in order to mount a counter-blow. He had to add, "How can we make long range plans when we might be invaded tomorrow, in which we might have to bear the most intense economic pressure? The possible rupture, the resistance to an economic block will necessarily change the structure of our society. The one thing we do believe is this: we will not be defeated. But the conditions of our struggle will change us, and never Cuba will know the victory." I understood that he meant that your "improvisations" were, in fact, nothing but a defensive tactic; the Cuban Revolution had to adjust itself constantly to the counter-measures. Can it be the case that these counter-measures will give birth to a counter-ideology?

And yet, more or less a week ago, what leaders spoke to me of themselves. I questioned them about their lives, about the evolution of their

had of course ... some of their old friends had not continued to follow the movement; others, at first reluctantly, had become radicalized.

"The shock of Recoil is radicalization." The two concepts seemed to me, at first, incompatible. In the first instance, I thought, one adapts oneself, one compromises, everything has to remain fluid, and principles should not constitute a hindrance. In the second place, the revolutionary movement becomes more profound in a sure and regular manner; there exists, therefore, an advancing order, reference points, a direction. Perhaps it would be too ambitious to call the discovery of an orientation "ideology"—but we must at least admit that the exigencies of the praxis have changed the ideas of those revolutionary leaders.

La Coubre

It was at that stage of my reflections, the sabotage of the steamship La Coubre occurred. I saw Fidel Castro in the tribunal and the people standing before him. Castro spoke. The silence was set on those somber faces; neither the ... whoever had been responsible for it, produced that shock. Castro's speech, the assembly of citizens. In order to adjust to the enemy's attack the head of the government had to demand even more of your people; and, in turn, they had to trust him even more; he called for an indissoluble unity, and justly enough, the criminal act of the evening before united you in rage and in the mobilization of all your energies. If, two days before, there still remained in the depths of some souls a little laxity, a desire to rest, a lazy negligence, or a comfortable optimism, the affront swept away all those cowardly ideas: one had to fight an implacable enemy; one had to win. Castro identified himself with the people, his sole support; the people at the same time manifested their comprehension and intransigence. The aggressor had taken the initiative, but the counter-blow provoked by his incredulity was the radicalization of the people through their leaders, and of the leaders through the people—that is to say, the least favored classes. At that moment I understood that the enemy, because of his tactics, had only accelerated an internal process which was developing according to its own laws. The Revolution had adapted itself to the acts of the foreign power; it was inventing its counter-thrusts. But the very situation of this country which was strangled for so long, caused its counter-blows to be always more radical, conceding more ... to the last inclinations [of its ...] of the masses. By trying to crush your Revolution, the enemy allowed it to construct itself into what it was. I believe I discovered in the history of your struggles the inflexible rigor of an idea.

To sum up, I will say that a movement—which began in the form of a putsch—saw its objectives disappear one after another, each time discovering new objectives, more popular and more profound; in a word, more revolutionary. And you understood, it seems to me—some of you right away, others little by little—that the order of your goals had been presenting itself inversely. In order to arrive at the most immediate and apparently most simple objectives, you had, from the beginning, to aim at the most complicated and distant ones. But the opposite is also true: in order to carry along the entire nation, you had to propose in the first place universal objectives which would not be achieved until the end.

Old Corruption and New Optimism

What were, then, those abstract objectives which seemed to be within reach and which produced the unification of all the classes? They are well known to others. In 1953, and in 1956 had already defined them: a ...

reign Nation, Intangible Ideal, has chosen. During the first half of the century more than one attempt was made to realize this ideal, but they all ended in failure. One could observe, nevertheless, that the demands grew more and more radical. They constitute the most clear and simple alternative of Democracy under its parliamentary and middle class forms: citizens might to defend their rights by means of their vote; they delegate their power to representatives whom honesty must be controlled by universal suffrage (if they steal, they should not be re-elected), and whose task should be to defend from within and from without the interests of that totality which is the country—one instrument with which the entire world fix that distinct idea could, in a given moment, unite the entire world. Who would not demand freedom against tyranny, honesty against corruption? Without any doubt—and especially in the cities—the 26th of July Movement needed all social classes, because in the beginning it would be more than this: Batista had to be overthrown. No one asked himself and subsidiary in the hell of the corruption of the old, had to demolish the in turn be dismantled little by little, and ended by betraying the country. No one asked himself that, and yet, in a certain form, the question was in everyone's mind, and it was received an ideological and pedagogic answer. The members of the Cubans, their capitalism—at the moment the 26th of July Movement was about to be born—was founded upon a deep contempt for politicians, and that contempt, justified by long experience, indeed, in a certain form, service to the conservatives. The more politicians which made the country people (comprehend) assign themselves when they were told "No sugar, no Cuba" ("Without sugar there is no country"), the more discouragement, and as potential, the more misanthropy, but the more disorganized, and as potential, the more misanthropy, but some to despair: men do not change, power rules them, they will always have their place. Once again, from the shadows, a theory of human nature crept in, which converted your mission into an impossible destiny. And with respect to those who refused to accept that total submission, who tried to make themselves against the tyrant, their contempt for parliamentarians and their way somehow demonstrated that they had nothing with which to oppose those crude ideologies of despair, except their youth, courage, and will to change. However, while they were so involved in the abstract plans of parliamentarianism, experience spoke against it. And, from that moment on, they felt the necessity of another ideology to support their efforts and to counterpoise to them. It was, if you wish, the dogma of the theory of conflict of Mr. Castro, it came, called forth by the current ideas, as one had planned it, but it clearly outlined the great of ridiculous that provided the Cubans with a way of thinking about their condition and of changing it.

The first elements of that new theory were given by practice: Fidel Castro looked on the island we they had climbed up to the Sierra Maestra. The romantic heroism of that leading counsel with a brilliant veil the other aspect of his attempt: the rigorous development of a thought which was, at the same time, inventing its conclusions and its method, so that the first ideas, the beginnings of the doctrine, were developed in the shadows and went winning spirits without their being aware of it. The politician would always be for sale, Cuba could not live without sugar cane—Castro brought together these two problems: decrees and saw clearly that both constituted a whole. The example of your reform politicians, of their failures and corruption, could be compared to other others and to other defeats in Latin America and even in China, anywhere where the apparent existence of a parliamentary and sovereign democracy conceals the semi-colonial nature of the composite regime. In Cuba itself the corruption could not have been

[illegible]

[illegible] of power and importance which had characterized all your governments. Institutions that pretend to be founded on liberty are necessarily degraded when their real foundation is servitude. The development of a one-crop economy provoked itself as the apparent outcome of a free choice. Cuba seems to have freely accepted American investments. The transformations of the social structure which resulted from this could no longer be regarded as freely accepted. The regime of the one-crop system had, to give your country, one of that most typical characteristics of "semi-colonialism", it forced all your national activities to submit to a dependence upon one sector of production controlled by the foreign power, directly linked to exportation. Your economy was completely conditioned by what it was in the price of sugar in foreign markets; it could not direct itself and was at the mercy of a fall in price and values. Thus everything was which surround your economy from outside, its instability, the inevitable [illegible] and [illegible] were not the consequence of general [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] a semi-colonial economy, the choice of [illegible] of [illegible] hindered the development of a multi-crop system of [illegible] of national industries. But one of the necessities of "semi-colonialism" is that the semi-colonial power—in this case the United States—opposes itself to the industrialization of the semi-colonial country in order to avoid the risks of competition, and so that the industries necessary to the "semi-colony" remain under the permanent control of the semi-colonialism, and so essential but a source of profit. One of the most obvious consequences of that system is complied by the fact that your country, strangled by the one-crop system, imported nearly half of the food products it consumed. In the midst of that almost total dependence, what could the politicians who governed you have done? For the country, nothing. Their importance came not from their [illegible] but from their methods and their views, on the other hand, were born from their importance. There were the people who had been in the opposition, [illegible] sincerely of serving the public interest, based themselves [illegible] due to a species of mystification of which they were not the victims and [illegible] the accomplices, with nothing else to defend when they attained power but their own private interests. So that the corruption occurred, in the eyes of your revolutionary leaders, from 1902, to be an effect and not a cause. If one wished the government to be honest, then one had to set [illegible] the honest officials. In other [illegible] the honest officials, the honest officials, the honest officials, in fact, were not founded upon national principles, but the principles, in fact, even if all the countries in the world recognized it rightly, would continue to be an empty abstraction of being, as it was not the concrete consequence of economic independence. The last objections of the revolutionary [illegible] were already [illegible] [illegible] and more impossible [illegible] and with [illegible] Cuba should have educated [illegible] that though the immense majority of Cubans [illegible] minority [illegible] and demanded that independence, an immense but powerful minority found it was not in their interest. What then opposed in a manifest way [illegible] was the fact that the economic impotence of the Foreign Power necessarily [illegible] in the way countries it was crushing. The [illegible] in this one-crop system. The [illegible] of your society had its origin in this one-crop system. The [illegible] system in its turn created the privileged and the victims; that is [illegible] the colonial structures of semi-exploitation. The internal markets [illegible] of the country, also controlled by the United States, continued to be limited; [illegible] the one-crop system went along jointly with the latifundia. That backward [illegible] of cultivation, the only [illegible] one, not only left immense tracts of [illegible] of privileged people

people in poverty; national production could find no outlet in the internal market because the vast majority of that country people [campesinos] completely lacked purchasing power. In that way, the great landowners—whether they were conscious of it or not—were the representatives of foreign imperialism on their own soil, to fight for the independence of the Cuban economy, for the sovereignty of your State and for the honesty of your ruling officials, was first to fight against them. The political objective had vanished before the economic objective and the latter, in turn, has vanished before the social objective. Students and the petit bourgeoisie wanted at first to reform the institutions. But the revolutionaries, upon thinking of their just claims for reform [sus reivindicaciones reformistas], quickly discovered the only instrument capable of carrying them out: the people—and especially the most numerous and disinherited class: the agricultural workers.

The Liberation of Cuba

The liberation of Cuba, in this moment of revolutionary thought, is found in the hands of its people. Doubly so: only the people can sustain themselves until the end in the fight for independence, because the people suffer in their bodies from the hunger, poverty, alienation, and inescapable fatigue of Cuba's dependency. And only by means of raising the people's standard of living, only in that way, will the stagnating structure of the economy be broken, and a new impetus be given to the movement for industrialization, and to the development of a multi-crop system. The radicalization of the ideology is also found here through practice. Fidel Castro and his soldiers landed near Santiago; the reason was very simple, but it had to be discovered. That practical discovery, which will condition all the revolutionary ideology will constitute Castro's historic merit. Nehru said of Gandhi: he looked for the weak point in the system and, once he had discovered it, he struck at it without resting and the entire system toppled. In other terms, in order to overcome the caste system, Gandhi conceived the practical and radical idea of attacking the weakest and most fundamental element: the problem of the pariah. For Castro, whose thought seems, on this point, to be close to Gandhi's, it was not sufficient to overthrow the semi-colonial regime: he had to find the weakest point of the entire edifice and strike hard. He realized what the weakness of the preceding revolutionary movements in Cuba and in the Latin American countries had been: the revolutions had always been carried out with the consent of the national Army. But this Army, whose leaders belonged to the privileged class, identified their interests with those of the great landowners; they accepted as a matter of course the overthrow of a tyrant who was too unpopular, but only in order to carry out an imperceptible underpinning of the new regime, to neutralize its attempts at reform and finally, by means of a coup d'état, to make it abandon power. The Cuban army protected the large landholdings [latifundios] and was, without being clearly aware of it, the instrument of foreign imperialism. That army would be opposed to any structural reform. Since, however, it constituted the only strength of the large landowners, if it disappeared, all possibilities of subduing a reform would disappear with it. The Army, therefore, had to be attacked first and it had to be attacked where it was weakest: in the country, and not in the cities, counting on the help of the country people who were being oppressed. With it the semi-colonial system would topple. That clear and practical vision, which was concretized in the struggles in the Sierra Maestra, put the revolutionaries in direct contact with the class of country people [la clase campesina] and inflexibly produced its radicalization. They had discovered the rural poverty, exploitation, unhappiness

[illegible]

"The Revolution Must Be a School of Advanced Thought"

Text of speech by Fidel Castro at the University of [illegible] March 13, 1963, commemorating the anniversary of the 1957 student attack on the palace of dictator Fulgencio Batista, in which student leader José Antonio Echeverría [illegible] and others were killed.

This translation of the speech originally appeared in [illegible] the April 1, 1963, issue of The Militant.

[illegible]

[illegible] April 1963

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[illegible] Publishing Place
[illegible] New York 3, N. Y.

"THE REVOLUTION MUST BE A SCHOOL OF UNFETTERED THOUGHT"

FIDEL CASTRO

SPEECH AT UNIVERSITY OF HAVANA.

15¢

"The Revolution Must Be a School Of Unfettered Thought"

People of Cuba, this is a doubly important occasion for us. First of all because we observe a Spanish date, singularly important in the revolutionary process, and second, because we are meeting with the youth. We are meeting with the students.

Already this 50th anniversary — and fourth — 50th anniversary! — the anniversary commemoration — the anniversary don't come out right. It was in 1897. The 50th? The first that took place in 1947 and that second took place in 1957 and that the revolution triumphed in 1959 had one a bit confused. But of any rule, what I want to say is that behind: There is something new. There is a change, there is an new possible qualitative change in the mentality of our country. This meeting to unite the youth, the university, reflects a substantial change in the life of the nation. It already reflects a qualitative change in the life of the students, in the make-up of the student body, in the university itself.

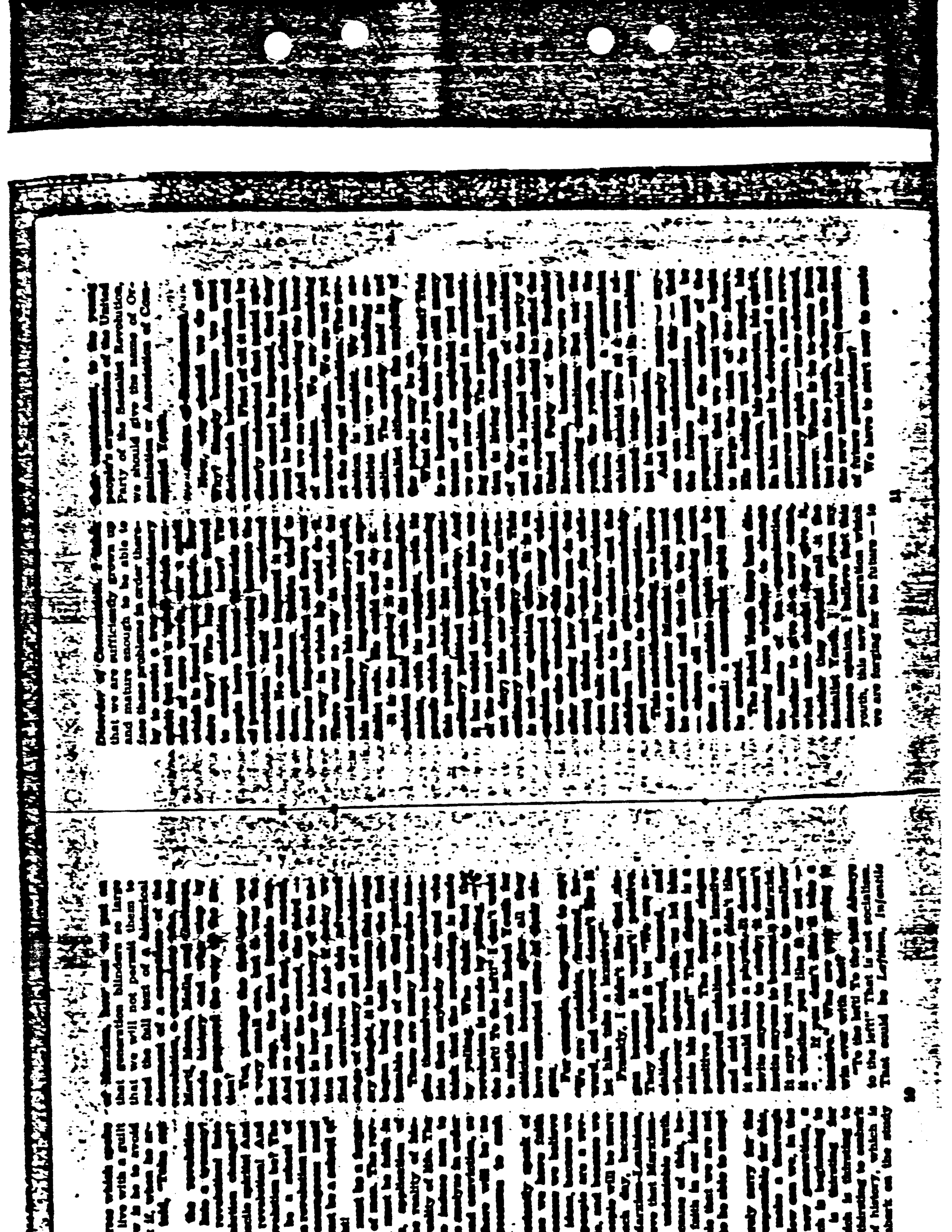
It can truly be said that today we can all participate in this meeting with true satisfaction, with the true and only satisfaction with which one can remember the fallen. And this university of today, this student body, these many upon rows of young people present here, are telling us that we have a right to feel satisfied on a day like today, and that we are doing homage in a fitting way, in the only fitting way in which the dead can be honored.

And that is the way we are honoring José Antonio Echeverría and all those who fell on that 13th of March: With 3,000 holders of university scholarships present and with thousands upon thousands of young people present who hold scholarships to the university preparatory schools and to the preparatory technological institutes. We commemorate this anniversary with a youth which is growing up and developing in the midst of the revolution, with a youth which is more and more cultured, more and more revolutionary. And we commemorate this anniversary of the 13th of March with the building prepared of the men and developers of the revolution, of the heroes, of the martyrs from the mountains.

Builders of the Future

And the hopes of the revolution are entrusted to this youth. To this youth are entrusted the most precious hopes of our people. And to this youth are also entrusted the most precious and most human hopes of us, the revolutionaries. And of all the revolutionaries. And this youth must be spoken to, this youth must be consulted, this youth must be educated. They must be educated, they must be trained. This youth must become what we all demand for the future. This youth must become what we all hope the people of tomorrow, the country's new generations, will be. This youth must become what all of us would have wanted to be, in fact the lives that all of us would have wanted to live. In short, with this youth the future must be built.

And what type of youth do we want? Do we, perhaps, want a youth which will simply limit itself to listening to and parroting what we say? No! We want a youth which will think. Perhaps a youth which will be revolutionary just to imitate us? No! Rather a youth which will learn to be revolutionary of its own accord. A youth which will convince it-



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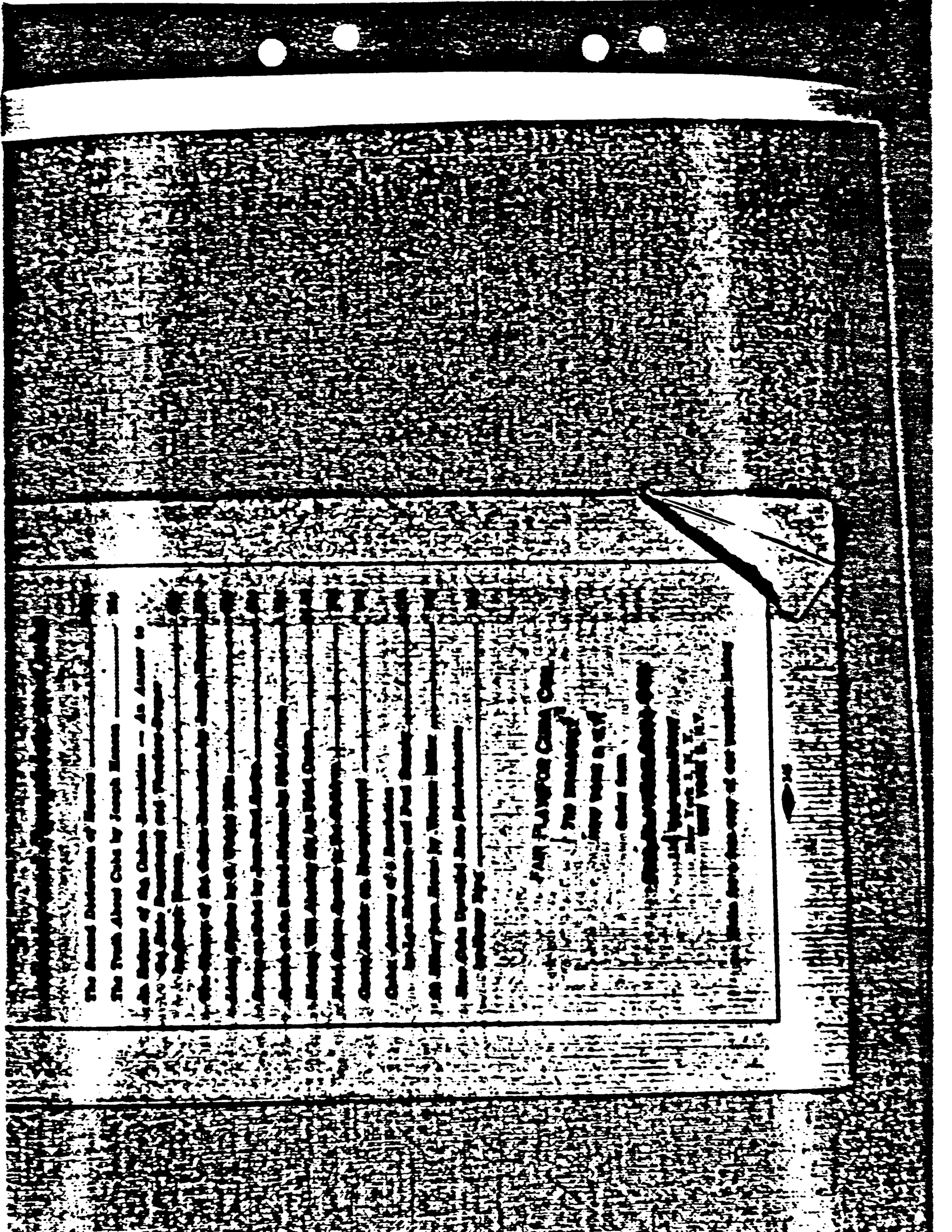

The McCarran Act

and

THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL

THE Gus Hall - Benjamin J. Davis Defense Committee is responsible for the legal defense of all persons attacked under the Communist action provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950—the "McCarran Act."

It distributes information on these cases as a public service and as a means of raising funds to defend the victims of this iniquitous legislation which must be proven unconstitutional, clause by clause, in the highest courts.

In addition to this brochure, which treats two "test" cases under the passport provisions of the Act, three others are available for distribution:

- **Ben Davis on the McCarran Act at the Harvard Law Forum, the report of an address made by Mr. Davis in April, 1962.**
- **Free Americans from the McCarran Act Danger, by Gus Hall.**
- **The Bill of Rights Endangered: The Story of Ten Americans Fighting to Preserve Freedom.**

The first two pamphlets may be ordered for 5c each, 25 for $1, at the address below. The third is available without charge.

In addition, the tests of the many provisions of the Act are certain to involve long—and costly—legal battles. Everyone who reads this brochure is asked to send a contribution to further the Committee's work. Your continued support of the Committee's efforts on behalf of all Americans everywhere will be gratefully appreciated.

(Signed) Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Chairman
James J. Tormey, Exec. Secretary
Cyril Philip, Treasurer

Gus Hall - Benjamin J. Davis Defense Committee
22 East 17th Street (Room 1225)
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What YOU *can do*

1. Write to President Kennedy and to your Congressmen and Senators. Demand termination of the bases agreement and the economic aid on which the Franco dictatorship has subsisted since 1953.

2. Ask the organizations to which you belong to act on this matter. Get together a delegation and visit your Congressmen in Washington, D. C. or at home. Lay before them the facts and conclusions in this report and ask their backing. This is a moral issue—not an issue solely of defense or economic aid. Put it to your Representative in these basic terms.

3. Send letters to your local newspapers briefly explaining why our military and financial partnership with Franco should be ended.

4. Contribute to the Committee for a Democratic Spain so that we may circulate additional THOUSANDS of copies of this report and organize pressure in Washington to end the bases agreement and the economic aid bill.

Time is short. The foreign aid program is now under discussion. The termination date for the defense agreements is Sept. 26, 1963.

Every dollar you send will be applied to this campaign.

• • •

Only the will and conscience of the American people can terminate the pact with Franco's dictatorship.

Only your efforts NOW can generate that will and conscience and put them to work.

The PACT of MADRID

A Report by

The Committee for a Democratic Spain

25¢

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The Pact of Madrid

A Report by

The Committee for a Democratic Spain

IN THE WEEK of January 23, 1963, the press of the world carried a report that the American Embassy in Madrid had received a letter from the Spanish Foreign Ministry asking for proceedings to terminate the United States-Spanish defense agreements of 1953, commonly known as the Pact of Madrid. This brief item suddenly focused international attention on Spanish-American relations which ever since have been a subject of constant public discussion in this country and throughout Europe.

As a rule, one seldom finds Congressmen and Senators devoting time to questions concerning Spain, except on the anniversary of Franco's traitorous attack, in 1936, on the democratic Spanish Republic; and even then the interest is limited to a barrage of speeches praising the Caudillo for his militant anti-communism. This year, months before the July anniversary, one could read in the *Congressional Record* of February 6, (page 1774) a quite different sort of speech. The distinguished—and conservative—Senator Russell of Georgia, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, declared himself puzzled by the complications which had arisen regarding the renewal of the Pact.

> Mr. President, [said Mr. Russell] I was much interested this morning to read an article published in *The Washington Post-Times-Herald* entitled "Spain Seen Evasive on U. S. Bases Talks."
>
> It is very difficult for me to understand why there should be any difficulty whatever in extending the lease on the bases in Spain. I do not recall the exact amount of money we expended to construct these installations, but I am confident it will run to more than a billion dollars. They are utilized by the Spanish forces, as they are by ours, and they are the

finest military establishments of their kind in the world. They are jointly occupied. For example, the great naval base at Rota has both Spanish and American naval units and headquarters. . . .

I know of no reason why there should be an increase of any kind in any payments for these bases. We have been very generous to Spain. We have remodeled their navy. We have furnished planes for their air force. We have supplied them a great deal in the way of agricultural products under Public Law 480. I would certainly be disturbed to believe that Spain was about to demand a great increase. I hope that those who are conducting the negotiations on the part of the U. S. Government will have some little consideration for the American taxpayers as they go about their negotiations; that they will make a real effort at bargaining; and that they will point out the fact that any increase in the payments for these bases is completely unjustified. I say this as a friend of Spain and the Spanish people, who voted to earmark the first funds for Spain that brought that country into the mutual assistance program.

The Committee for a Democratic Spain is concerned with this issue on grounds which extend far beyond Senator Russell's "consideration" for the American taxpayer, justified though this undoubtedly is. Above all financial concerns we are profoundly disturbed over the political, moral, and national interests of our country as they relate to its present policy in Spain.

To appreciate fully what is involved in present and pending discussions about the Pact of Madrid, and the reasons for the haggling that is already beginning over renewal, one must take a long look at the terms of the agreement itself and at its probable consequences.

What the Pact of Madrid Provides

The Pact of Madrid was signed on September 26, 1953 by Ambassador James C. Dunn for the United States and Foreign Minister Alberto Martin Artajo for Spain. As an executive agreement rather than a treaty, it did not require Senate approval. This is how the Administration avoided the necessity of public hearings and a serious public debate—both of which would have been ticklish and embarrassing for the Pact's proponents. Any chance of effective protest against extending large-scale financial and military support to a Fascist dictator was thus quietly eliminated.

The Pact is composed of three separate but interdependent parts: a Defense Agreement, an Economic Aid Agreement, and a Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement.

The Defense Agreement is the heart of the Pact. It consists of five major provisions.

1. The establishment, maintenance, and utilization of military bases in Spain.
2. Such bases to remain under the "sovereignty," and the "flag and command" of Spain.
3. War-time utilization of such bases to be mutually agreed upon by the signatories.
4. Authorization to the U.S. to station and operate in Spain necessary equipment, supplies, and facilities; also to supervise same, as well as personnel attached to bases.
5. Agreement to remain in force for ten years, at end of which period (i.e., 1963) to be automatically extended for two five-year periods unless terminated in accordance with specified procedures.

Termination procedures require notice by one of the parties of its intention to terminate at the end of ten years; this to be followed by a six-month consultation period. If by the end of this period no agreement to an extension is reached, the terms of the initial agreement become effective after another year has elapsed. Thus the initial period of the Pact would be eleven and a half instead of ten years. It was this termination procedure that the Spanish Foreign Ministry initiated when it sent its letter of January 8, 1963 to the American Embassy in Madrid.

By 1959 the bases and other facilities provided for in the Defense Agreement had been established. For the four-year period, 1953-1957,

military aid to Spain amounted to $350 million. This did not include the cost of the bases, which came to some $420 million. And the sum has continued to mount. By June, 1962, according to Senator Young of Ohio, the total bill met by American taxpayers had added up to more than $1 billion, 800 million.

What Has Our Money Bought?

The great military complex created on the soil of Spain under the terms of the Pact of Madrid can be described briefly as follows:

It consists of four chief bases and various supplementary installations. One base is in the northeastern part of Spain at Zaragoza. A second base is near Madrid at Torrejón de Ardoz. A third base, in the south, is situated at Morón near Seville. The most important and biggest of the four is the combined naval and air base at the port of Rota in the Bay of Cadiz. Rota is an entirely new port harbor and base constructed on sites already in use as commercial or army airfields.

Rota is also the starting point of a 485-mile oil pipe line that runs through the entire bases complex, terminating at Zaragoza. The critical significance of this pipe line is illustrated by the comment of a representative of our Strategic Air Command: "A wing of B-47s consumes in one afternoon more fuel than the entire Spanish railroad tanker fleet can transport in one month."

In addition to the bases listed above there are two minor air bases, one at San Pablo on the outskirts of Seville, which is used as a supply service and communication center, and another at Reus, 90 miles southwest of Barcelona, used as a fighter base.

To complete this roster of military installations, one should mention two additional naval facilities: an oil storage and supply center at El Ferrol in the northwestern part of Spain, and a similar center combined with an ammunition storage site at Cartegena on the Mediterranean coast not far from Alicante. Also seven radar sites, including six on the mainland and one, Puig Mayor, located on the highest peak on

ern Italy and Gibraltar.

By 1960 the entire military complex was manned by some twelve to fifteen thousand American servicemen and their families in addition to the Spanish contingents assigned to the bases. Such is the defense system now about to be renegotiated in the midst of national and international conditions very different from those existing when the Pact of Madrid was originally signed in 1953.

Objectives and Consequences of the Pact

The preamble to the Defense Agreement pays homage to the principle of maintaining "international peace and security" and a later clause commits the signatories to such laudable purposes as "promoting international understanding and good will," "maintaining peace," and "eliminating causes of international tension." But the solid strategic reason for the Pact was plainly stated in Article I as "support of the policy of strengthening the defense of the West" — occasionally referred to elsewhere in the text as the "Free World." This meant, in plain language, adding several new, strong links to the chain of bases surrounding the Soviet Union and fortifying U.S. military power in Western Europe and the Mediterranean.

The great Rota base was to provide the Sixth Fleet with a home, and eventually to serve as a chief European launching site for Polaris missiles. On January 17, 1960, *The New York Times* referred to the Rota base as the "mightiest American naval installation in all of Europe." And the London *Times*, commenting on the Pact of Madrid on September 29, 1953, pointed out that hitherto the American Sixth Fleet "had no base on the scale of Malta or Gibraltar," but that "when enlarged, Spanish bases will firmly establish the U.S. as a Mediterranean naval power."

Naturally the military objectives of the Pact have had the solid support of the Franco dictatorship. Under the terms agreed to, and with

American money, Spain itself has become a military power, sharing as it does in the control and staffing of the bases and strengthening its own armed forces with modern American weapons. But Franco has reaped political as well as military advantages from the agreements. An analysis of this aspect of the Pact was made by Arthur P. Whittaker, in his authoritative volume, *Spain and the Defense of the West.** Commenting on "its political importance as the principal prop of the Franco regime," Mr. Whittaker goes on to say:

> By its nature as well as its terms, the Pact of Madrid gave Spain's armed forces a key role in their country's new relationship with the United States. . . .
>
> The entire American aid program to Spain was aimed, directly or indirectly, at achieving or supporting military objectives and its main bulk was at first channeled directly to meet the wishes of the Spanish armed forces. . . .
>
> Solicitude for the bases still provides its two major premises, which are, first, that continued use of the bases must be assured by promoting stability in Spain, and, second, that Spain must be compensated for the use of the bases. Given the character of the Franco regime, any program carried out on these premises could not fail to maintain the Spanish armed forces in their given role in the relationship established by the Pact of Madrid. For they were the regime's chief prop, the best guarantor of its stability, and the strongest claimant to whatever compensation it receives for the use of the bases.

Policy-makers in Washington are not blind to these obvious facts. In public they prefer to talk as if the only function of the Spanish armed forces under the Pact of Madrid were to defend Spain, and especially the bases, against enemy attacks. But every informed person knows that the Spanish military also perform the indispensable function of ob-

* Published for the Council on Foreign Relations, by Harper & Brothers, 1961. $6.00.

What Mr. Whittaker is telling us, and what the policy-makers in Washington surely know, is that the Pact of Madrid serves not only its overt purpose of "defending the West" but also the unacknowledged purpose of defending the dictatorship against the people of Spain.

Spain's Lopsided Boom

While the bases, stacked with up-to-date weapons and military personnel, form a monstrous barricade around the Franco regime, American financial aid has bolstered certain sectors of the economy. U.S. funds have speeded up the process of industrialization, especially in fields related to military strength such as communications, transportation, and production of strategic raw materials. Light industries, catering to the greatly increased tourist trade, have also expanded.

Inevitably, under the Franco dictatorship, the beneficiaries of this lopsided boom triggered by American dollars have been a small handful of industrialists and financiers. Corruption, an old characteristic of the Spanish upper class and military, has also flourished.

The fact is that the economic stabilization plan of 1959 and the vast appropriations voted to back up that plan did not stabilize the economy of Spain as a whole. On the contrary, the extremes of wealth and poverty have been accentuated. Prices have risen much faster and higher than incomes. Millions of Spanish workers have emigrated to foreign countries because unemployment or starvation wages were the rule throughout many areas and occupations. And in the past two years Spain's supposedly stabilized economy has been wracked by widespread strikes and slowdowns. Along with these harshly repressed outbursts of desperation — both in industry and agriculture—is evidence of growing dissatisfaction among professional workers and students. The continuing ferment in Spain is not a very convincing testimonial to U.S.-financed prosperity and stability.

Relations between Spain and the U.S.—Better or Worse?

Undoubtedly, as Prof. Whittaker says, "The U. S. Government is satisfied on the whole with the results of its . . . "marriage of convenience" with the Franco regime. Likewise it has no intention of "dissolving the tie." But, as he also points out, a large "political bill" is part of the price the U. S. must pay for its Spanish bases. And he quotes from a *New York Times* report by Cyrus L. Sulzberger some items in the bill: "The Catholic Church in Spain still mistrusts the United States. The army is jealous of the highly paid and well equipped Americans, resents the presence of foreign troops in Spain, and 'numerous younger officers favor a return to Spain's traditional neutrality.' Intellectuals and university students see the United States as the Caudillo's main prop. All this is grist for Communist propaganda mills, and the United States is losing its oldest Spanish friends, the intellectuals and liberals, who may dominate Spain when Franco is gone."

The bill could be extended to include many additional items. One of these is the fear and hostility generated in the people as a whole by the presence on Spanish soil of bases — all close to large population centers — capable of firing missiles against Soviet Russia. Even some Spanish army officers have protested at the idea of Spain's cities, as well as its military establishments, being exposed to the nuclear devastation that would follow such an attack. In general the army also resents the growing dependence of the regime on foreigners, by becoming, as Whittaker reports, the "satellite and pensioner" of the U. S. under the 1953 agreements, and by reshaping its economy to fit the demands of the D.E.E.C. and the United States.

Soft Soap for Franco

It hardly need be added that the mass of the Spanish people, in so far as they have been able to express their feeling, have demonstrated opposition to the bases, to the presence of American troops in Spain, and to the regime supported and protected by both. While the almost obsequious friendliness lavished on the Dictator by official American visitors may have flattered his ego and even increased the prestige of the Franco regime in some quarters, it has damaged the image of the United States in the eyes of every anti-Fascist in or out of Spain.

Several distasteful episodes have evoked widespread criticism of Washington's attitude toward its Spanish partner-in-arms. One was the "*abrazo* incident" during the visit of President Eisenhower to Madrid in 1959. Again we quote from Mr. Whittaker:

> An incident that attracted attention related to the *abrazo* or formal embrace that is customary among Latin peoples of Europe and America, both as between personal friends and on formal occasions. It was noted that when Eisenhower was met by Franco at the Torrejón Air Base, there was no *abrazo*; when the President left on the next day, they exchanged not one but two *abrazos*. So seemingly trivial a matter might have passed unnoticed but for the fact that high officials of the U. S. Government had quite recently declared that in its dealings with the Latin American states the U. S. should make a distinction in favor of democracy and against dictatorship by greeting democratic leaders with an *abrazo*, while giving dictators only a formal handshake.

Even more damaging was the Rusk affair which occurred at the end of 1961. At that particular time President Kennedy was visiting Venezuela, where he addressed the largest crowd that ever greeted a U. S. President in South America. To his enthusiastic audience Mr. Kennedy said: "Freedom from dictatorship and freedom from the bonds of social and economic injustice must be the contribution of our generation."

Simultaneously, Secretary of State Rusk was calling upon Dictator Franco in Madrid. His

visit was described by Dr. Samuel Guy Inman in a letter to *The New York Times*: "Secretary Rusk hailed the Spanish regime as an ally of the United States against communism. [His] friendly references were so pleasing that he was told that there would probably be no difficulty in continuing the use of the four large air bases in Spain and was assured that the Spanish Army protecting the Sahara territory where twelve American oil companies were working still retained their position. . . ." Dr. Inman also pointed out that there is "no section of the world where Franco is hated as much as in the Latin American republics. . . ."

In the light of episodes like those reported above, there is little wonder that Franco and his advisers have high hopes of raising the ante when the bases deal comes up for renegotiation.

Haggling is Already Under Way

The "private" visit of Adlai E. Stevenson to Madrid in April of this year was directly and frankly related to the issue of renewing the defense pact. He held a breakfast conference with Foreign Minister Fernando Maria Castiella y Maiz only a few hours after a long Cabinet meeting at which Franco had reviewed with his ministers the prospect of getting better terms for continued use of the bases by the United States. No conclusions were reached, though Sr. Castiella was said to have indicated that Spain still wanted formal conversations with Washington on renewal of the bases deal. When Mr. Stevenson arrived in the United States he remarked to *ABC's* Washington correspondent: "Spain is the country among all of those I have visited in which I found the most signs of progress and prosperity." Made just a few days before the execution of Julián Grimau, and widely reprinted abroad, his comment shocked the many thousands of democratic Europeans who were still making desperate last-minute efforts, through appeals and protest meetings, to prevent that appalling miscarriage of justice. It must, however, have encouraged the hopes of Franco and his ministers.

About a month later, on May 12, Paul Hofmann reported in *The New York Times* that a top Spanish official had said he expected formal negotiations to begin "soon." The dispatch indicated that the "slow progress of Spain's efforts to become associated with the Common Market and a recent flare-up of anti-Franco feeling in some European countries made a bargain with the United States *even more important to Spain*." [Emphasis added.]

It is quite obvious, however, that Franco intends to extract all the concessions he can out of his Pentagon benefactors. This was made evident in the statement made by the Spanish Ambassador to Washington, that if the United States expects to have "a partner for a joint undertaking" and not merely several bases, then the existing agreements are not sufficient. *The New York Times*, on January 31, remarked that "judging from past performance, General Franco is going to get the highest price that can be squeezed out of Washington." Part of the price is said to be the full influence of the United States behind Spain's bid for membership in NATO, and backing for its association with the Common Market. On this point the Americans apparently intend to go slow. At least two members of both groups threaten to veto Spain's admission. Franco is also reported planning to demand nuclear weapons, and to ask a high price for making the Rota base available for polaris submarines.

The Spanish dictator also wants a political "health and welfare insurance" clause in the contract. This was recently spelled out by J. Alvarez del Vayo when he wrote that Madrid authorities would like a new paragraph in the text of a revised agreement which "would provide for the use of American weapons and military contingents in Spain to support Franco in case any resolute attempt to overthrow his regime is made." Franco also wants an "escalator clause." According to the British *Guardian*, Spanish military quarters desire from the United States a cruiser, an aircraft carrier, several destroyers equipped for launching rockets — the

"Nike-Zeus," and "Honest John" rockets — and submarines.

The newspaper *Ya* of Madrid which is published by Editorial Catolica, of which Artajo is an executive member, called for "a deeper collaboration." Spain is "in a position to cooperate more efficiently with the United States in the political field." Evidently Franco top officials are preparing to insist that the defense pact be converted into a formal alliance.

However Franco's entourage has other strings to its bow. While working directly to get the best available terms out of Washington, key supporters are hinting at alternative policies, both as pressure on the U.S. and as possible substitutes should the Americans prove stubborn. For one thing they are subtly backing de Gaulle's plan to build a "little Europe" strong enough to counter the U.S.-British alliance. For another, they are playing with the possibility of a Paris-Bonn-Madrid entente. Contacts among the three, according to *Ya*, "are a fact from which very positive consequences may be expected."

Thus all the tendencies and factions among Franco's advisers are maneuvering to get the maximum price in power and status, and in the process to cause what trouble they can between the United States and its not too loyal allies on the Continent.

The Need to Re-Examine Washington's Spanish Policy

If ever there was a moment in American-Spanish relations that justified the statement made by Senator Young of Ohio on June 2, 1959, it is now. Speaking in the Senate, Mr. Young said:

> There has certainly been no change in France Spain. It is still a legalized tyranny with a Fascist dictator in power
>
> We have poured more than $1 billion, 800 million into Spain. The time has come to re-examine a policy whereby the United States is enriching the coffers of one of the oldest, most powerful dictators.

The time has come for Americans to face the facts about our government's policy toward Spain. No longer can the complicated structure of agreements with the Franco dictatorship be justified or tolerated as a necessary item in our military program. Even their value in terms of defense is deteriorating fast, as new weapons supplant the bombers and naval units for which the bases were built and equipped.

But important as these facts may be, the words of Senator Young point to more basic reasons why our Spanish policy itself has become obsolete. The time has passed when our government could find any political or human excuse for pouring American money into Franco's coffers. Our aid has not eased the rigors of Fascist tyranny. On the contrary, it has provided the weapons for Franco to use against any opposition. As Whittaker put it, our aid to Spain's military establishment has "performed the indispensable function of obtaining domestic stability against all comers."

How long are Americans going to permit their tax dollars to be employed for such a purpose? The very concept of a "Free World," to be defended by the United States and its allies, has been turned into a sour joke by the shame of our dealings with Franco. The democratic majority throughout Europe regard us as the sole support of Franco's "legalized tyranny."

The Committee for a Democratic Spain, in issuing this report, seeks to rally strong and outspoken opposition to the Pact of Madrid, continued aid for the Franco regime, and to the entire policy of flattering and courting the good will of Europe's last surviving Fascist dictator.

The time to act is now!

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could listen to the agonized cries to help make this globe a livable place. (2) The demonstrated success of planned economy in underdeveloped countries show what tremendous benefits it could bring to America. In less than forty years planned economy brought Russia from one of the weakest of powers to one of the mightiest; and that despite gross bureaucracy, bad government, mismanagement, dire poverty, a heritage of backwardness and the most terrible war in history. There is not the least doubt that a planned economy in the United States, with our skilled labor, our rich resources, tremendous industrial plant and highly developed science, could quickly end poverty on this continent and assure everyone a life of abundance, opportunity and deeply satisfying achievement.

The Struggle for Democracy and Full Equality

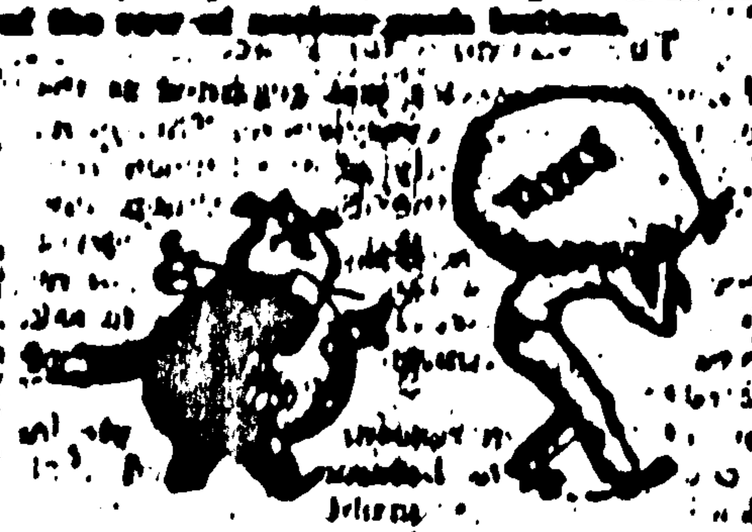
Both Republicans and Democrats proclaim that America stands for a "free" world of democracy and equality whereas the Soviet Union and the countries allied with it stand for totalitarianism. It is obvious that these lands suffer from bureaucratic police regimes that stifle freedom of thought and expression not only in politics but in many other spheres. We have the right and the duty to express our opinions about such evils but we have neither the right nor the duty to meddle in the internal affairs of other countries. The Russian people, the Chinese, the East Europeans will most certainly rectify matters themselves in due time by installing democratic workers and farmers governments. Their tendency to do this has already been amply demonstrated in the uprisings in East Germany, Poland and Hungary.

Our first concern must be with the shape of things at home. Here we confront a sorry spectacle. Forty-three years after entering the first global conflict to "Make the World Safe for Democracy," America has yet to make its lunch counters safe for Negroes in the South. Negro children are still barred from equal educational facilities. Job opportunities are still restricted by skin color, sex, age and religious belief. In the fields of government, industry, education and even entertainment, political inquisitors decide according to secret blacklist who shall work and who shall not.

In the South a totalitarian one-party system prevails, while in the country as a whole a bipartisan coalition of agents of big business monopolies politics. Labor does not have a single spokesman of its own in Congress. Minority parties are systematically excluded from the ballot and denied equal access to TV, radio and the public press.

The rulers of the armed forces of the country have no democratic rights whatever and a [illegible] military caste, both on the enlisted [illegible] to operate like a [illegible]

[illegible] has slipped beyond the material with is demonstrated by a single outstanding fact — the people have lost the right to decide the most fateful of all questions, war or peace. Congress has abdicated its war powers, leaving these to whatever figure big business puts in the White House. And the White House, in turn, has placed an obscure general in charge of the row of nuclear push buttons.



The erosion of democracy in America is evident in every sector, including the unions where a reactionary bureaucracy, hostile to the least manifestations of militancy or assertion of democratic rights by the rank and file, guards its special privileges by any means.

This land of Jim Crow and antilabor laws, of political witch-hunting and lying commercials, of multitudinous mechanical gadgets and crushing conformity of spirit, is boasted as a model of freedom and morality. The fact is that falsehood, cynicism and worship of the dollar have become entrenched from the White House down to the TV quiz.

For a Socialist America

We urge every thinking American to consider the socialist alternative. We mean the socialist alternative first brought to nationwide attention by Albert Parsons, Daniel DeLeon, William D. Haywood and Eugene V. Debs. We mean the international economic order, based on scientific planning, advocated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. We mean a democracy, such as V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky fought for, that will give the working people control over their economy and government, free the arts and sciences, and eventually reduce government to scientific management of industry.

The Socialist Workers party urges an immediate end to the insane preparations for nuclear suicide. The Socialist Workers party urges that we turn our industrial plant away from war and toward an economy of abundance. The Socialist Workers party urges that we revive the democratic outlook and the democratic practices that were once the pride of America. Instead of claiming the science taught by the majority of scientists, the United States, we think, should help lead in winning the battle of socialism for the entire world.

[illegible] Election

[illegible] economy is not for any one, and that many partial steps must be taken before success is finally achieved. As a beginning, we propose the following planks for your consideration in 1960:

(1) For a peaceful foreign policy.

Let Congress and the White House pledge to the world that America will never resort to war under any circumstances. As proof of our desire for peace, let us withdraw all troops from foreign soil, give up all foreign military bases, put a permanent halt to nuclear-weapon tests, and dismantle the stockpile of A-bombs and H-bombs.

Support all national struggles against imperialism and the right of all peoples to a government of their own choice.

Recognize the government of the People's Republic of China. Support the Cuban revolution.

(2) Against inflation [illegible].

Turn the armaments budget into a peace budget for homes, schools, hospitals, medical research, materials, playgrounds, highways, transportation and public parks. End capitalist conscription and the Prussian-type military training practiced in the armed forces and ROTC which poison the minds of the youth against the labor movement at home, struggles for freedom and independence abroad and the movement for international socialism. Grant full democratic rights to the ranks of the armed forces, including free speech, free assembly, election of officers and collective bargaining.

(3) End chronic unemployment.

For the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. Extend unemployment insurance to every worker, and at the full union scale for the full period of waiting for a job. Let the government take over all facilities made idle by automation, automation, mergers, decentralization, run-aways, or depression and operate them under charge of committees elected by the workers. Place control of production, distribution and upgrade in the hands of the unions.

Equal pay for equal work regardless of sex or age. Full job and citizenship rights and maternity care for women.

A government-guaranteed college education for all youth. Federally financed nurseries and summer camps for children.

For America's "Forgotten Generation," [illegible] thirteen million aged people, let's provide full disability benefits, free medical care and hospitalization, and adequate pensions. As an immediate measure, pass the Forand bill.

(4) Restore and expand democratic rights.

End restrictions on the right to organize, strike and picket. No government interference in internal union affairs. Repeal the oppressive Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin, Taft-Hartley, and Humphrey-Butler Acts, the misnamed "right to work" laws and other federal, state and city

Election Platform

Humanity today faces three key problems: (1) How can the world be freed from the threat of nuclear destruction? (2) How can hunger and poverty be wiped out? (3) How can equality and democracy be won and maintained?

These are also the three key issues in the 1968 elections. What can America contribute toward a world of enduring peace, abundance and freedom?

The Struggle for Peace

At one time America was regarded as the hope of the oppressed everywhere. This is no longer true. The majority of the human race have turned toward the Soviet Union and China as representing the road of progress. Whether we like it or not, this happens to be today's outstanding fact. It is high time to ask ourselves, why has America become so feared and hated?

One of the main reasons is that people in other countries have become convinced that America bears chief responsibility for the frightening drift toward a third world war. They note that our military experts have repeatedly admitted that the Soviet Union does not want war, does not want war, and is not planning an attack. Yet the Pentagon continues to spend approximately $60 billion a year for armaments; continues to stockpile nuclear weapons; continues to tighten a vast ring of military bases around the Soviet bloc countries; and continues such aggressive actions as spy-plane invasions deep into Soviet territory. The public showed noted the State Department insistence on the "need" to renew nuclear tests and the Soviet initiative in giving them up. The contrast in attitudes is explainable only if America is actively preparing for nuclear war while the Soviet bloc seeks to avoid such a catastrophe.

It is common knowledge in other lands that the basic causes of war are economic. America's drive toward nuclear disaster is therefore seen as the end result of the need of its capitalist economy for cheap labor, cheap raw materials and lucrative markets, not to mention the profits in armament and a war boom. The Soviet avoidance of war, on the other hand, is seen to follow from the antagonism of planned economy to private profits and its need for peace to run in a smooth, co-ordinated way.

This is the basic explanation for the fact that more and more people in the world today feel that they must oppose America's belligerent foreign aims and support the Soviet bloc. They see it as an elemental question of survival.

The Struggle for Economic Security

Out of every eleven persons on this earth, it has been estimated that seven go to bed hungry every night. Few of these unfortunates believe any longer that this fate is beyond remedy. The sputnits orbiting overhead are daily reminders of what a daring, energetic and forward-looking people can accomplish through revolution and a planned economy.

Two roads offer economic security — the American and the Soviet. During World War II and for a few years after, the American road appeared more attractive to the colonial peoples. But they can into bitter experience. They found in practice that America blocked them from achieving freedom and independence.

The U.S. poured some $2 billion in arms and economic aid into the effort to keep dictator Chiang Kai-shek in power. The U.S. plunged into full-scale war in Korea to prevent the country from uniting and ousting dictator Syngman Rhee. In Indochina, the U.S. backed emperor Bao Dai and the French invaders; in Indonesia, the Dutch imperialists; in Japan, the militarists; in Cuba, the bloody Batista. The State Department still backs butcher Somoza and the unspeakable Trujillo. When a civil war broke out in Iraq, the U.S. landed marines in Lebanon. This year the State Department showed a war-mad down the throats of the Japanese people despite protest demonstrations involving hundreds of thousands of student youth and millions of organized workers. Ten years after the Chinese Revolution, both Democrats and Republicans still refuse to recognize the new government.

To the underprivileged of the earth, America appears as a frighteningly underdeveloped country. With $9 billion worth of grain in storage, prominent Americans answer pleas for bread with stony advice to cut down the colonial birth rate; and to emphasize the advice, Democrats and Republicans have withdrawn millions of acres of the most fertile American soil from production. A spectacular instance of this inhuman foreign policy was the refusal to help Egypt build the Aswan dam. Today the bipartisan Republican and Democratic coalition is bringing increasing pressure against tiny Cuba's efforts to win a decent standard of living.

Hungry people, scorned by America, are inclined to turn in the Soviet direction. Sympathetic help from this source becomes quite, domestic, for the Soviet people are not prevent will to do. More important, the Soviet Union appears as a living example of how to achieve industrialization without waiting for all that may never come from the cruel North American power.

As a result, hundreds of millions of the poverty-stricken, from China to Africa, from the Middle East to the Caribbean, have felt forced, however reluctantly, to take the road of revolution in defiance to advice, threats and reprimands from Wall Street, Congress, the White House and the Pentagon. The starved and the ragged see planned economy as the shortest way from feudal stagnation to the benefits of modern civilization.

Two big lessons can be learned from this: (1) We cannot afford to leave our fate in the hands of self-seeking corporations and money-mad monopolists, bent on stocking world prosperity for the sake of [illegible] profit. Instead, [illegible]