

THE BAY OF PIGS: The Leaders' Story of Brigade 2506. By Haynes Johnson. Illustrated. Norton. 308 pp. \$5.95.

FIDEL CASTRO AND COMPANY, INC.: Communist Tyranny in Cuba. By Manuel Urrutia Lleo. Praeger. 217 pp. \$5.95.

CUBA: The Economic and Social Revolution. Edited by Dudley Seers. The University of North Carolina Press. 432 pp. \$7.50.

COLLISION COURSE: The Cuban Missile Crisis and Coexistence. By Henry M. Pachter. Praeger. 261 pp. \$5.50; paperbound, \$1.95.

In Europe today, even in the most anti-Communist circles, there is a preoccupation with the theme of coexistence that far outweighs the theme of the struggle against communism itself—certainly against it in non-aggressive nations. As a result, the most interesting question now to European observers of all political shading is what form of communism is acceptable. Closely related is the question of how to prevent underdeveloped countries that want planned economies from becoming militant Communist states.

In the United States these same questions are being asked about the nations of Africa and Asia—but not, apparently, about the nations of South America, for in America, as far as relations with Cuba are concerned, emotion is still the basic factor.

At every lecture that I have given in Paris since my recent return from Cuba, some one in the audience has always asked me to explain how communism was able to take over in a small country, geographically so close to the most powerful of the capitalist nations. If you could really answer that question, you could also answer the question of how to prevent the threat of Castroism from setting off a chain reaction of disaster throughout Latin America.

It is against this background—of U. S. obsession with the contagious possibilities of Castroism—that one must review these four books about Cuba. This is not to say that the designs of the authors are negligible or even secondary. On the contrary, one is concerned in great detail with the most decisive episode of anti-Castroism—the “invasion *manque*” of the Bay of Pigs; a second tells of a personal relationship with Castro; a third is devoted to a study of the crisis following the installation of missiles in Cuba, and the fourth evaluates the economic fortunes of the Cuban revolution.

But no one of these authors, writing for the American public, has found the necessity even to take the pains to justify or to affirm anything except the necessity of getting rid of Castroism as soon as possible. Thus, these four books provide us with a dossier on Cuba and on the politics of the United States with regard to Cuba and to communism in Latin America. It is an incomplete file, often partial, but nonetheless enriching.

The Bay of Pigs by Haynes Johnson is the most memorable of the four books. Not only because it has already stirred up a great controversy, nor because it is written in a vivid and colorful style with a fine eye for detail as was *The Longest Day* (you can already imagine the movie scenario that will be made from it), but essentially because it is the pathetic account of a friendship betrayed—and how American sentimentality reacted emotionally to that betrayal. It is in effect an accusation against political “advisors”—particularly the CIA advisors in the White House.

Prize-winning national correspondent for the Washington Star, author of a remarkable work on racial segregation, Haynes Johnson tells us that the real authors of his book are the four commanders of the famous Brigade 2506 who were charged, in April of 1961, with landing at the Bay of Pigs. Mr. Johnson has merely lent his pen to these four, and it is through their testimony that the story of those who called themselves “Fighters for Liberty” is unfolded. To the measure that the story is developed, the drama of these men is magnified and you are reminded of the “Harkis,” the Algerians whom France formed into legions to fight the revolutionary Partisans for Independence and whom France abandoned when negotiations between France and Algeria ended in the creation of the Algerian Republic; for this story, too, is about individuals betrayed in the interests of national politics.

Johnson recalls President Eisenhower's signing the order that authorized the training of the brigade; John

BOOK WEEK June 7, 1964

F. Kennedy's speeches during his election campaign favoring aid to the anti-Castro insurrection; formal promises by C. I. A. agents to the Cuban leaders of the expedition that finally came to dismal failure. And this failure revealed the lack of preparation, the absence of intelligence on the real situation of the Castro forces, Kennedy's vacillation—all of which led to the capture of a great number of prisoners and the in-terminable negotiations for their release.

Whether or not one agrees with the political views of these “Fighters for Liberty,” one cannot be indifferent to what they have to say about the way in which they were used. The Cubans themselves, during the whole proceeding, refused to accuse the C.I.A., which had found it convenient to recruit them in such a cloak-and-lagger fashion: emissaries known only by a Christian name, flights in aircraft with the portholes blacked out, lie-detector tests, etc.

This book is interesting above all because of the detail it supplies on how the American government works and on the dangerous problems posed by the utilization of refugees in the battle against communism. These two subjects are to my mind much more useful than Johnson's conclusion which pretends that if Kennedy had won, he would have contributed “to the liberation of the Cuban people.” I have some personal reasons to doubt that John F. Kennedy, at the end of his life, would have put the liberation of Cuba before the necessity for world peace. But that is another story and does not in the least diminish interest in *The Bay of Pigs*.

F*idel Castro and Company, Inc.* by Manuel Urrutia Lleo is a violent, passionate, militant pamphlet. But one cannot complain merely because it is an apologia; after all, when one embraces a cause, it provides a service to defend it well. What one can complain about is that the arguments used by the author, whom Fidel Castro asked in November, 1957, to become President of the Republic of Cuba after Batista fled, are not those of the liberal and democratic jurist he was, but those of the anti-Communist of the extreme right that he appears to have become.

The first part of the work, sub-titled “Communist Tyranny in Cuba” is by all odds the most interesting because of the abundance of detail about the personal conflict between Urrutia and Castro, much of which has not been known. In particular, Urrutia accuses Castro of having voluntarily wrecked the general strike in 1958 for fear of seeing other leaders of the resistance triumph over him.

When Urrutia became president of the republic, he was persuaded that Castro was not a Communist, even if his brother Raoul and Che Guevara were. The real conflict between the two began in 1959 after Castro refused to hold elections. It is at that precise point that one would wish to have precise information from so highly placed a figure on the birth and development of communism in Cuba. On this point of extreme importance for Cuba, as for other countries, President Urrutia regrettably offers nothing but personal accusations, imprecations and insults. A simple, well-informed analysis would have carried a thousand times more conviction.

The first part of the book should be kept and valued because of its content. But the vocabulary, the tone and statements of the rest feed passions rather than foster knowledge. The comparisons of Fidel Castro with Hitler appear rather superficial to anyone who has visited Cuba recently.

Aimed principally at specialists in economic problems in underdeveloped socialist countries, *Cuba: The Economic and Social Revolution* by Dudley Seers has at least the merit of answering a question for the general public: what are the economic possibilities inherent in the Castro revolution? This study was carried out by two Englishmen and two Chileans; Dudley Seers, a United Nations official and professor of economic statistics at Oxford, was in charge of the team that included himself, Andres Bianchi, Richard Jolly, and Max Nolf, which made its study on the scene in Havana. The study ends with fiscal 1962.

The most tedious chapter (though not the least interesting politically) of view (Continued on page 8)

How to deal with a passed pawn?

By Jean Daniel



The Institute of Arts, a state-financed school where painting, sculpture, music and dance are taught, is located on the grounds of a former country club in the Miramar district of Havana, Cuba. Above, boys wearing the uniform of state scholarship students are running through regular drills in the Russian military manner.

