

NEW CUBA

85¢



Pieter Romayn

The story of 84 young American workers and students who defied the U.S. State Department's travel ban and toured Cuba from June 12th through August 12th, 1964 as written by the students themselves.

**SPEAKERS AND ARTICLES ABOUT CUBA
BY THE STUDENTS WHO WENT THERE
ON THE SUMMER TOUR ARE NOW
AVAILABLE**

A few of the 85 young Americans who visited Cuba this summer are now available in the Chicago area as speakers.

We have two objectives: One, to let the real truth about Cuba be known. Two, to raise funds for the defense of those who have had the courage to challenge the travel ban and now face \$5,000 fine and/or 15 years imprisonment.

If you belong to an organization or a private group and would like to have one of the 85 young persons who went to Cuba speak please contact: "The Student Committee for Travel to Cuba," G.P.O. Box 2178, New York 1, N.Y. or

CHICAGOANS FOR FREEDOM OF TRAVEL TO CUBA

P. O. Box 4363

Chicago 80, Illinois

Also

Articles by those who visited Cuba are available for newspapers, magazines and other periodicals.

Subjects can range from "Cuban Free Medical Care," "Education," "Housing," to the complete "Equality of the Afro-Cuban."

SUGGESTED READINGS ON CUBA

BOOKS

1. "What Happened in Cuba", (A documentary history), by Robert F. Smith, Twayne Publishers Inc., New York, 1963.
2. "Fidel Castro, (Dictator, Rebel or Liberator?)" by Jules Dubois, New York, 1959.
3. "The Cuban Story", by H. I. Matthews, New York, 1961.
4. "Biography of a Revolution", by Robert Taber, New York, 1961.
5. "Listen Yankee", C. Wright Mills, New York, 1960.
6. "Sarte on Cuba", New York, 1960.
7. "Hope of a Hemisphere", by Joseph North, N.Y. 1961.
8. "The Cuban Revolution", Blas Roca, New York, 1961.
9. "Cuba, Anatomy of a Revolution" by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, New York, 1960.
10. "The Pageant of Cuba", Hudson Strode, New York, 1934.
11. "Cuba: From Spanish Colony to American Colony to Independent Nation", by Philip S. Foner, New York, 1961.
12. "Expansionists of 1898", by Julius Pratt, Baltimore, 1936.
13. "Caribbean—Sea of the New World", by Germain Arciniegas, 1946, New York.
14. "Guerrilla Warfare", by "Che" Guevara, Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow Street, New York 14, New York, 1961.
15. "A History of Cuba and Its Relations with the United States," by Philip S. Foner, International Publishers, New York.

PERIODICALS

1. "Inside the Cuban Revolution", by Adolfo Gilly, Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow Street, New York 14, N.Y.
2. "Cuban Diary", by Lyle Stuart, in The Independent, (Sept., 1964).
3. "The Afro-Cubans", by Charles P. Howard, in Freedomways, a quarterly review of the Negro freedom movement, Vol. 3, No. 4, (Third Quarter) Summer, 1964. 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

PAMPHLETS

1. "Cuba: Geographical and Historical Data" (Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations, 1964).
2. "The United States State Department White Paper on Cuba: 1964, (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.).

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Jose Marti, apostle of Cuban Independence and referred to by the people of Cuba as "El Maestro."

Cespedes, Father of the Cuban Republic.

We dedicate this booklet to "I.C.A.P." the government agency which facilitated our tour; to the Cuban people who so warmly welcomed us; and above all to our Cuban guides who struggled and worked so hard to make our tour a success.

Also, we wish to use this opportunity to thank "The Federation of University Students" for inviting us and the Cuban government for accommodating us.

Edited by Pieter Romayn Clark

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of Travel to Cuba*

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"Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake:
. . .Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you and persecute you, and
shall say all manner of evil against you falsely. . ."

—from St. Matthew, Chapter 5 (10 through 11).

INTRODUCTION

Not one newspaper or magazine in Chicago or the Chicago area has carried the story of the young Americans' visit to Cuba. Therefore "Chicagoans for Freedom of Travel to Cuba" feel it necessary to print the story themselves thus bringing to Americans in the Chicago area and elsewhere the truth about Cuba.

The purpose of this booklet is to make available to the American public the real truth about Cuba. The truth as actually witnessed by 84 young American workers and students. The booklet is also to help raise funds for the Student Defense. The young people were in Cuba exactly two months, from June 12th until August 12th, 1964. They defied the State Department's ban on travel to Cuba with all of them receiving State Department letters to the effect that their passports are now considered invalid. Also most of the students and workers have been visited by the F.B.I. Young American workers and students are urged to visit Cuba in 1965 and break the travel ban!

We are sorry that we do not have articles by more of the students and workers but we do thank those who did contribute. Even though the articles tend to be, in general, favorable to the revolution, we feel that the writers have tried to be honest, sincere and truthful. It is very difficult for one who has visited Cuba and seen for himself how successful the revolution is, not to be affected by its enthusiasm.

"CHICAGOANS FOR FREEDOM OF TRAVEL TO CUBA" is an affiliate of the national committee, "THE STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA" which has its office in New York. The "S.C.T.C." is the organization which has co-ordinated both trips to Cuba in the summers of 1963 and 1964. Since the return of the young people from Cuba four youths were subpoenaed before the House UnAmerican Activities Committee and nine have been indicted for conspiracy by a United

States grand jury. The young people face either 15 years in jail or \$5,000 fine or both. Of course the youths are fighting their cases in court, but the legal defense costs lots of money which they don't have. Therefore we hope friends will contribute what they can.

There are three reasons for Americans going to Cuba. One, so that young Americans can see for themselves the benefits of socialist society; two, so that the American people will have a chance to learn the truth about Cuba; and thirdly to help destroy the undemocratic travel ban! The reason that the Cuban government sponsors these trips is because they want very much to have normal and friendly relations with the United States.

In conclusion, we hope that this publication will aid the reader in obtaining an accurate picture of Cuba today. The reader should keep in mind that those who wrote these articles were actually in Cuba and are on-the-spot observers. This is an exclusive story which can be told by eighty-four only! Also, since they risk the hazards of government prosecution as well as persecution we ask for your support. Please, don't let them STAND ALONE!!

Pieter Romayn Clark was a third year apprentice printer at the Chicago Sun-Times and a member of good standing with the International Typographical Union Local 16 before he left for Cuba. He is a resident of Chicago, Illinois where he has been speaking on his trip. He also has been working hard raising money for the student defense. Mr. Clark was arrested and beaten by police during his participation in the "May 2nd" Committee's demonstration against the Viet-Nam war Sat. Aug. 15th. He was recently acquitted of his charge on a technicality.

I SAW CUBA--MY IMPRESSIONS

by Pieter Romayn Clark

June tenth, 1964 at 2:00 p.m. seven young people from the Midwest met at the Northwestern railway station in Chicago. From this time on began my journey to Cuba and my defiance to the U. S. State Department's ban on travel to Cuba. After leaving the United States and arriving in Paris, we joined with students from other sections of our country. And as one group we flew from Paris to Habana via Prague, Shannon, and Gander. Our departure from the States was a complete secret to the FBI, the CIA, and to the State Department. This was admitted in a sharp editorial by the Chicago Sun-Times shortly after our arrival in Habana.

Eighty-four young workers and students from various political back-grounds both pro and con the Cuban revolution, but united in their desire for freedom of travel, made up the group. The young Americans were invited by the Cuban Federation of University Students and our transportation, portal-to-portal, was paid for plus room and board and ten pesos a week spending money by the Cuban government. The young Americans, every two weeks, sat down with their guides and arranged their tours. But, for those who still were not satisfied with the arranged tour there was always the ten pesos a week which enabled them to live and travel on their own—many of them "hitch-hiking" through parts of the island. In the two months we spent in Cuba we visited from one end of the island to the other, covering all six provinces. We visited with schools, unions, students, farmers in the fields, and workers in the factories. We witnessed mass rallies such as the 26th

by beautiful and comfortable new homes. These new homes have tile floors, brick walls, modern plumbing and heating.

The sugar cane crop has been increased per acre thus freeing more land for other crops. Besides exporting sugar, Cuba exports nickel, fruits such as oranges and pineapples, and flax. Cuba is developing an entirely new industry which she never had before—a fishing industry and in the near future she hopes to export fish and sea foods.

HEALTH

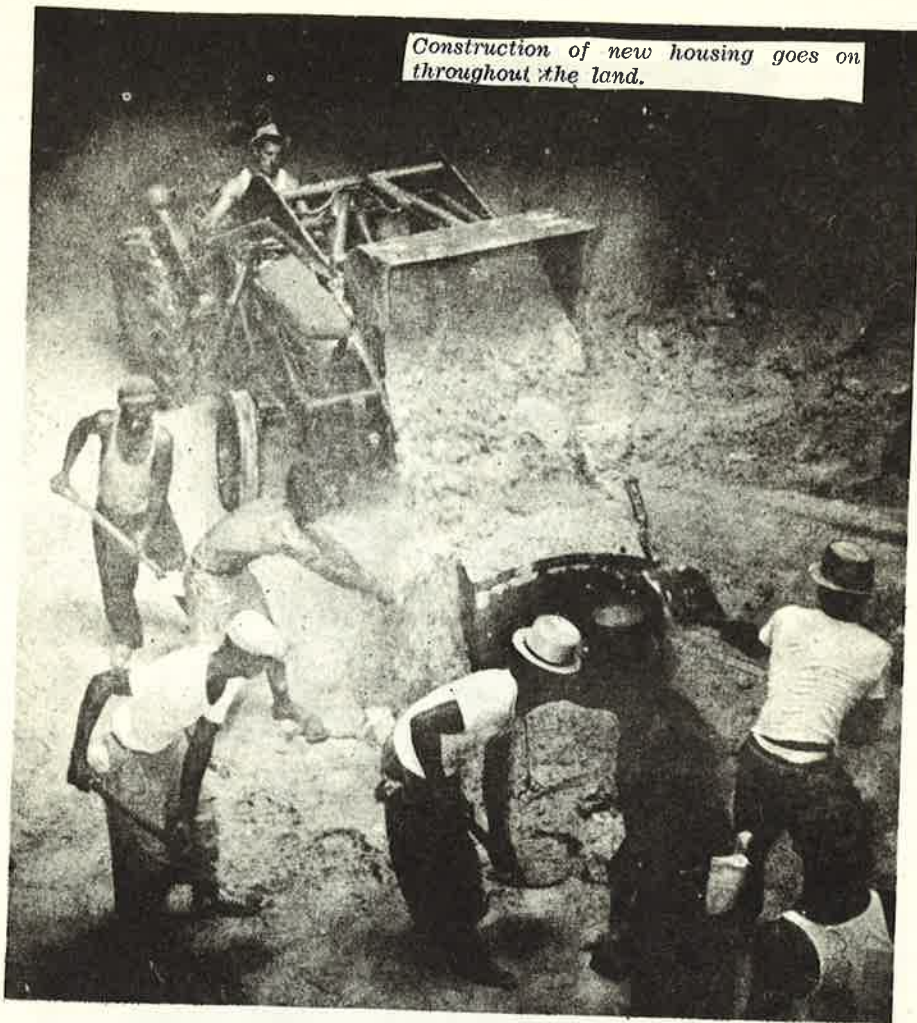
All Cubans have free medical care with new hospitals mushrooming throughout the island. Doctors and nurses are being trained by the thousands, both in Cuba and abroad. Where there are acute shortages in medical personnel, foreign doctors, especially from Czechoslovakia, East Germany and the Soviet Union fill the gap.

THE LEADERS

Thanks to the American press the American people believe that Fidel Castro and the revolutionary leaders are hated by the masses of Cuban people. Nothing could be further from the truth! The truth is that the Cuban people have great confidence in the revolutionary leadership and overwhelmingly support their government. And as for Fidel Castro being the hated enemy of the Cuban people—Fidel is loved by his countrymen. Time after time, as we traveled through the island, I came across expressions of endearment for Fidel by Cubans. People would show me their new home and say, "Fidel built this for me." They do not say, "The Revolution has given me this home." This, I think, would be a healthier expression. It seems that every Cuban feels that if things really go badly for him and he should really need help, all that he need do is to write Fidel and Fidel will do something. This is sincerely felt by many, many Cubans I encountered. Most of them are of no notability and are quite poor. Whether Fidel would or even could help just anybody on just any problem really doesn't matter. What does matter is the extreme faith people have in him.

I understand that Castro is likely to drop in just anywhere at just anytime. If the fishing boat industry is having trouble he will visit one of the yards but, he will go to the workmen first and discuss with them. Then he will go to the office and management. Saturday evenings when "La Rompa" is the busiest, Castro will get out of his 1960 green Chrysler and talk with people walking down the street. With him will be only three other men: one his secretary, another his personal physician, and the last, his body guard. All three are personal friends of his and fought with him in the mountains. Of course people gather around him and begin to shout, "Hey Fidel, let me buy you a beer!" Or they will call out and say, "Hey, Fidel, I didn't get my social security check, what happened?" or "Hey Fidel, I think you're too hard on homosexuals." And if there is an American student in the crowd: "Hey Fidel, what do you think about the Sino-Soviet dispute?" Castro takes his time and there is no worry about security or assassination. He answers ques-

Construction of new housing goes on throughout the land.



A compensino.



U.S. Students at work site in Cuba.



School students perform for the young Americans.

tions and asks a few himself such as, "How did you like the new film, the Cuban-Soviet co-production, 'Soy Cuba'?" Or "Do you think that the new sugar quota is sufficient?" One student went into the "Vita Nouva" or "Nouva Vita" which is an Italian restaurant, and a "hang-out" for artists, students and intellectuals. He said the place seemed normal except that there was sort of a strangeness in the air like electricity. Then he noticed a large bearded man in a green uniform and wearing a beret, eating spaghetti, Fidel Castro!

At Santiago on the University of Oriente campus Fidel drove up and said "hello" to the visiting American students. Then he invited us along with the visiting Canadian students to play his team a game of baseball. Some American newspaper reporters joined our team. We were losing so badly that Fidel decided to pitch for us himself. But it was too late and we lost the game. I have forgotten the score but, I do think that we would have come out much better if it hadn't been for those newspaper men on our side.

Fidel is a tremendous speaker. He has a beautiful voice and rolls his "r's" which makes his speech so beautiful. As he spoke (before a half million or even one million people who came out to hear him during the 26th of July celebration) Cubans in the crowd would talk back to him and he in turn would patiently explain the problem. Today Fidel and the revolutionary leaders give much shorter speeches than they used to in the past. This is so because now the Cuban people can read for themselves, but before people could not read and Fidel spoke for five, seven and even, I understand, ten hours, always very simply and to the point, explaining each and every detail so all the people could understand.

While we were in Cuba we saw Fidel, Raul and Vilma Espin. We met with Blas Roca and had a very interesting interview with Ernesto "Ché" Guevara. Of all the Cuban leaders "Ché" impressed us the most.

For those who still doubt that Cubans love Fidel and their revolutionary leaders please visit Cuba with the next student and workers tour of Cuba in 1965!—if you dare defy the U. S. State Department and break the travel ban.

POLITICS AND DEFENSE

Since the revolution is still quite young things are constantly changing and everything has not yet crystalized to permanence.

P. U. R. S. E., THE UNITED PARTY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, is still being organized which makes its study very difficult. But, here is its basic structure. There is a local PURSE in each village, town, city, region and province. Also there are PURSE representatives and members in all factories and state farms. It is difficult to become a member. One's private and personal life as well as one's public life must be exceptionally clean. The primary requisites are devotion, discipline, morality and leadership and above all work. Therefore membership is

low. The same applies for the "U.J.C." the "Young Communist Union." Of course the UJC works through the primary and secondary schools and the universities. Quite a bit of controversy, or I should say discussion, has arisen between the labor unions and PURSE. The problem is that under a capitalist society unions serve the purpose of combating the oppression of the boss. Now under socialism there should not be any need for labor unions because the workers now own the means of production. But, then it is argued that even under socialism, especially the primary stages, there is bureaucracy and disorganization. So, under socialism the labor unions serve to protect the workers against this bureaucracy, inefficiency and disorganization. PURSE members are elected by fellow workers in all places of work during mass meetings and then are approved by the PURSE membership. The PURSE serves as oil to the machinery of revolution.

Labor and trade unions are organized in all places of work and production. Union leaders are elected by the membership. Cuban union structure is much like it is in the States, but without the corruption.

The federation of University Students (F. E. U.) is an organization which facilitates the communication between faculty and students. F. E. U. supervises recreation and co-ordinates university social life. Also it works to gain the support of students for the revolution. It also acts as a vehicle for students obtaining housing and other benefits. F. E. U. is the organization which invited the young American workers and students.

The "F. M. C." or "Cuban Womens Federation" is headed by Raul Castro's wife, Vilma Espin. F.M.C. is organized wherever there are women and there is no special criteria for joining. It is popular among housewives. The Federation teaches rural mothers to boil water before drinking. Members assist in child births by acting as mid-wives. Simple sanitation is encouraged and explained by Federation members. In brief, the Cuban Women's Federation acts sort of like a community and social betterment society.

From what I could gather, the "COMMITTEES FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION" (C.D.R.) is the backbone of the revolution. Somewhat like the Russian and Chinese soviets. Recommendations come down from the council of ministers to the Committees for approval. Such as the Autumn of 1963 after that so destructive hurricane: The council of ministers sent down to all the Committees a new quota on sugar rationing. It was a quota that would have cut each family's sugar allowance and was intended to gain extra funds that were to be used for hurricane relief. Well, the Committees rejected the original quota and so a new and more reasonable quota was sent to the Committees which was finally approved. The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution are organized in every apartment building, on each block, at schools, factories, farms, places where people live and work. The Committees are voluntary and some 75 percent of the population belong. The Committees guarantee the defense of the revolution.

Since the regular armed forces is small with only some thirty-five



The night-club "Del Capri".



Afro-Cuban dancers, musicians and singers.



Carnival time in Santiago.



Havana night life.

agreed
thousand men, the "MILITIA" is the real backbone of Cuban defense. I understand that this is rapidly changing with the government initiating a draft which will drastically increase the nation's regular armed forces. The new Cuban military draft disappoints me greatly because I place stronger confidence in civilian armed defense such as the present Cuban people's militia.

The Militia is composed of hundreds of thousands of Cuban workers, students, farmers, teachers, men and women, old people as well as the very young. Militia people volunteer four hours guard duty either at their home or at their place of work, every seven or ten days. Plus about four hours a week are volunteered for practice in learning how to use the new Czech weapons. The uniform of the militia is a simple light blue workman's shirt.

Cuban elections are different from American elections. Twice a year the first of May and the 26th of July Cuba has elections. Each time, some one million people gather together to hear the revolutionary leaders. Explanation of problems is given and then a declaration proposed. The multitude either approve or reject the declaration. Then another way Cubans vote approval of their government is through "Volunteer labor." Again hundreds upon thousands, if not a million, Cubans contribute one Sunday a month to go coffee picking, sugar cane cutting or doing work where there is a shortage of help. Volunteer labor is popular and no material gain is received from it.

The Republic of Cuba is ruled by a revolutionary government and headed by the president, Dr. Dorticos, who is the official representative of the state and nation. The old Cuban congress was much like the American congress. For example, I give you the infamous civil rights bill. The United States has had the 13th, 14th, and 15th Constitutional amendments for 100 years now which guarantees the full equality of Black Americans. Yet congress finds it necessary to pass another piece of paper. Without enforcing the laws, the laws themselves become meaningless. Cuban congressmen were interested in talking and passing meaningless laws and bills instead of really trying to solve Cuba's problems. Also congressmen were bribed and corrupted. For that reason the revolutionary government has abolished the congress and turned the chambers into a museum. Therefore the Council of Ministers serves to guide the government while reflecting the will of the people. The Council is presided over by the Prime Minister, Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz. Justice is imparted by the Supreme Court of Justice and by other tribunals throughout the country.

EDUCATION

There are in Habana alone 100,000 Becados or scholarship students and throughout the country there are scattered scores of school cities some registering up to as many as 6,000 students. We visited three school cities: One high up in the Escambray mountains. In order to get to the Escambray mountain school with its thousands of young students we

had to leave our buses and take Special heavy-duty trucks. The road was a single-lane thread of concrete which wined around the edge of the mountain with breath taking curves. When we arrived we were greeted by hundreds of cheering students giving us flowers. We went to the assembly hall which was packed. The director welcomed us and explained the program of his school. It seems that there are two school cities exclusively for students who want to become teachers, and the Escambray school is one of them. First, scholarship student volunteer to sacrifice the comparative luxury of town or city schools to live in the more primitive facilities at schools in the mountains. There are three stages for all students studying education: first, two years at Minas de Frio in the Sierra Maestra mountains, the most primitive. Then two years at the Escambray school and finally one year in Habana. After graduating all students must teach at rural schools first, either in the mountains or in farming regions. Therefore to acquaint students with the hardship of rural and mountain life the first two stages of a student's training are in mountain areas with their primitive facilities.

When the director finished, Ed Lemanski, leader of the tour, thanked the director, the faculty, and the students for inviting us and for giving us so warm a reception. Poor Ed had been up night after night with little sleep insuring that our tour be as smooth as possible. So while the school director had been speaking to us Ed kept falling asleep on the platform where the director, he, and a few guests of honor had been sitting. All of us got a big laugh out of it even though it was a bit embarrassing. Then we were taken on a grand tour of the school and the grounds. We visited the school hospital, students' housing, class rooms and workshops. The laboratories and recreational facilities were more than adequate, with new construction going up all over. And of course, the scenery high up in those mountains was just heavenly, with trees and flowers and plants everywhere. Come supper time we ate with the students, the same food as they. A modest but delicious meal of chicken, rice and beans topped off with an avocado salad, fruit cocktail and Cuban cake. From the dinning room we went back to the assembly hall for some student entertainment. The students recited poems, sang songs, played Afro-Cuban music and even performed a short patriotic play for us. Ron Bedford, an African American studying in Boston sort of organized some of us to sing some freedom songs for our Cuban hosts. We sort of got carried away but, the Cubans went wild with our off-the-cuff performance. We were happy. Then it was time for us to leave. This made us unhappy. In leaving, the students mobbed our departing trucks, thousands of them following us as we went down the road. This last impression is the most emotional for me and I think for many of the other Americans also. The scene of those beautiful young people full of so much authentic spirit and good will and sincere devotion will never leave my thoughts!

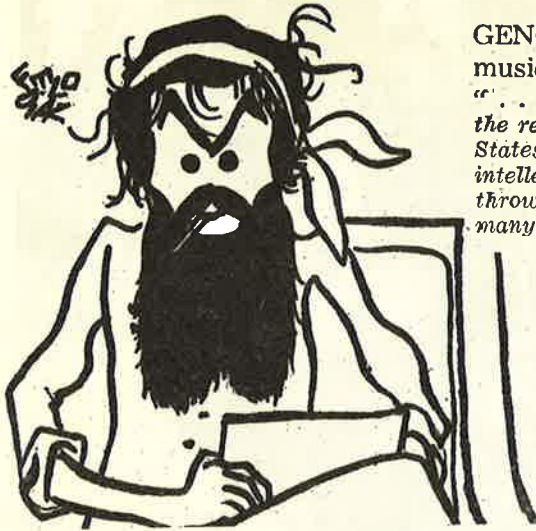
Every Cuban has the opportunity and the facilities available to start school at six or seven and continue until his teens. Those who pass exami-



*The formerly all white—Middle class,
"Spanish Social Club" in Santa Clara,
now open to all Cubans.*



*Rural Cubans can now enjoy such
luxurious resorts as Veradero Beach.*

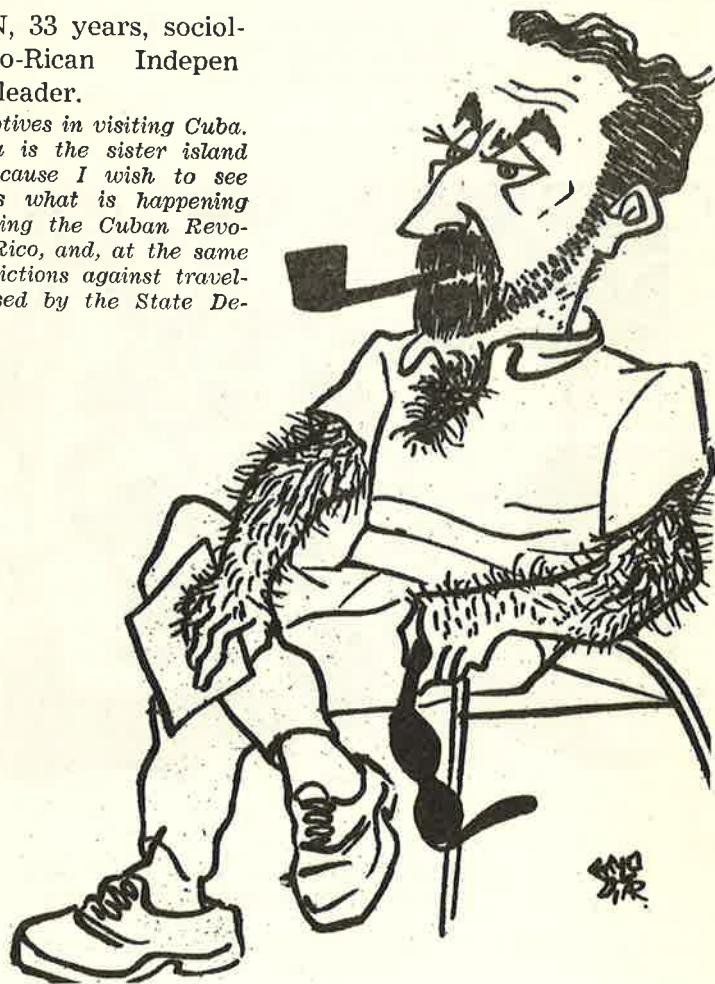


GENO FOREMAN, 23 years old, musician, New York, N.Y.

"... The aggressions against Cuba are the result of the "disease" that the United States suffers from. Fidel Castro is the intellectual leader of America. The overthrow of imperialism will be sooner than many people think."

MANUEL COLON, 33 years, sociologist, pro-Puerto-Rican Independence Movement leader.

"... I have two motives in visiting Cuba. First, because Cuba is the sister island of Puerto Rico, because I wish to see with my own eyes what is happening here in Cuba, relating the Cuban Revolution with Puerto Rico, and, at the same time, defy the restrictions against travelling to Cuba, opposed by the State Department."



nations become scholarship students and thus continue. An overwhelming number of students do continue their education through scholarships. To be a scholarship student means to have housing, food, clothing, material and equipment supplied for by the government. Also there is a small amount allotted to each student for spending money plus transportation during vacations and holidays. All this is paid for by the government.

Students, when they become old enough—usually the early teen, combine five hours of study with five hours of practical work. For example, a student studying, let's say electronics, would also actually work on an assembly line in an electronics factory. And he would get paid regular workman's wages for the time he puts in. This holds true for medicine, teaching, skilled workers, professionals and all studies.

Because of the tremendous number of new students there exists today in Cuba an acute teacher shortage. To help overcome this students teach students. That is, students in the ninth grade teach students in the eighth grade and so on. This seems to make a more profound student because the "teachers" are forced to study like hell so as to keep ahead of their students.

We visited the school city of Minas de Frio, high up in the Sierra Maestra mountains. Again we left our buses and took special trucks but, this time the road was unpaved and almost as narrow as a foot path. The road was always curving and would go up at 45 degree angles and sometimes go up at even a 60 degree angle. What with the steep angles, rocks, curves and ruts we had difficulty in keeping ourselves from falling out of the trucks. When we did finally arrive at the school the students, it seemed, all six thousand of them, had lined the road on both sides and were cheering us. The students live in crude cabins and don't even sleep in beds but, in hammocks instead. The class rooms are built by the students themselves of which they are quite proud. In all, life for these kids is quite primitive and hard, but they don't in the least seem to mind it. Again we noticed the tremendous spirit and vivaciousness of the young people, students and faculty both. This school city is located in the same spot that "Ché" Guevara had his headquarters during the revolutionary campaign to oust Batista. Visiting this school was one of the high lights in our tour and all of us were much impressed.

Here are a few U. N. E. S. C. O. statistics concerning national budget appropriations for increasing educational facilities: Cuba 69%; Brazil 61%; Argentina 23%; Mexico 22%; Costa Rica 14%; Paraguay 7.6% and Venezuela 7.2%.

Besides the tremendous number of people studying through the formal and official schools, primary, secondary and university, hundreds of thousands of Cubans study on their own. Of all the grammar schools and high schools and the three universities that we visited we were most impressed with the farmers and factory and hotel workers who were advancing their education by studying spelling, grammar, reading and etc. during lunch or any spare time that they could find. Also, posters

throughout the Island encourage people to continue to study past the 6th grade. Over 90% of the Cubans are now literate but, most of the older and middle aged people are still below the sixth grade level. So Cubans are fighting another battle, "The Battle of the Sixth Grade."

CULTURE

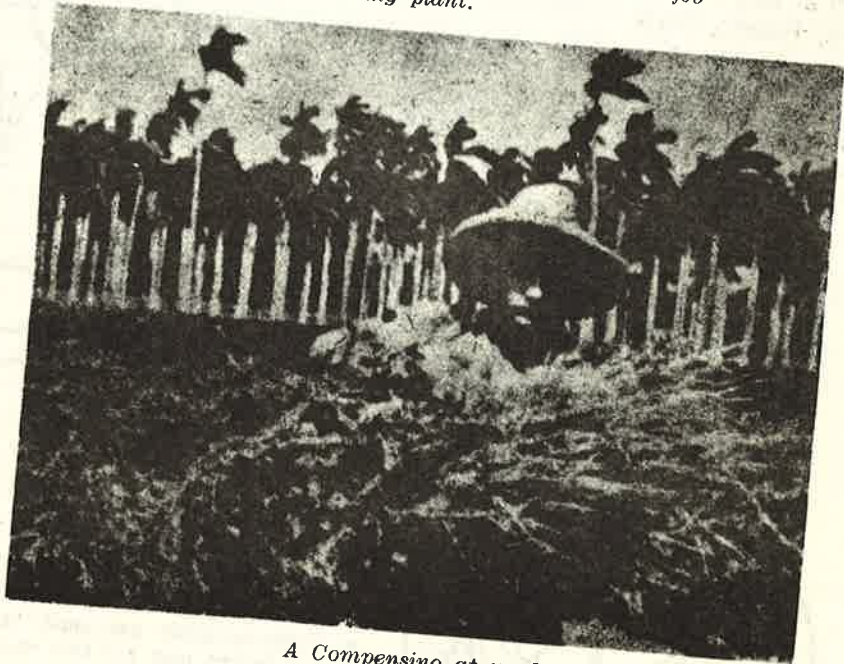
Throughout our tour, no matter where any of the 84 of us went we came across culture. We saw it at schools of every level, in the factories, on the farms, in the streets and even at political rallies, besides the theaters and other institutions of culture. For example, just glancing through the newspapers one will see advertisements for a "Romeo and Juliet" play; for the national ballet; for an Afro-Cuban dance, song, and music troupe. There will be notices for "The Moscow Circus," "The Peking Opera," "The Mazowsze Polish Dancers," "Ballet Africain" of Guinea. Then there are films being shown from France, Italy, Japan, Sweden, Spain, Great Britain and most of the socialist countries including China. Cuba herself is developing a film industry with some films being shown at cinemas already. The Cuban documentaries that I have seen were exceptionally good. Then of course, night club life (music, song and dance) through government direction is very good and is flourishing.

It is quite indicative of the freedom enjoyed by Cuban writers, poets, and all Cuban artists in the various fields of art and culture, that not one Cuban artist of any notability has defected to Miami! But, on the contrary, Cuban artists are returning to Cuba and assisting the revolution. Alicia Alonso who is a very good ballet dancer of world renown, returned to Cuba soon after Fidel entered Habana. Mrs. Alonso was performing in Chicago in 1959 when Fidel entered Habana. I remember reading in the Chicago Daily News which featured her photo, how she had worked, through underground organizations based in the U. S. to help free Cuba from the Batista tyranny. The article mentioned that she had donated much money to Fidel during the course of the revolution. Later I read that Mrs. Alonso had returned to her native land leaving behind thousands of dollars in the rat race of the American entertainment world. We met Alicia Alonso in Habana and I spoke with her a little. She told me that she regretted nothing in leaving the U.S. and that now she could practice her art in peace and freedom without worry. She is now teaching dance to young Cuban dance students, one student being her daughter.

There is no censorship of Cuban writers and new books of many viewpoints are published continuously on a myriad of subjects. Also many Cuban writers and artists are creating in foreign countries such as France and the Soviet Union and at their government's expense. Not only that, but many Latin American and Spanish poets, writers and artists are coming to Cuba. We couldn't help but notice the many book stores with books from both socialist and western countries. Book stores in Cuba offer a far greater selection than is offered in the U. S. I even noticed a book by Bishop Sheen on the wonderful aspects of the Catholic



*A Cuban factory worker on the job
at a bottling plant.*



A Compensino at work.



STEPHAN UHSE, 18 years old, philosophy student at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

" . . . We, the North American students, also protest against the aggressions against Cuba. Despite the distance and the dishonest reports on Cuba by the U.S. press. I have the best opinion of Fidel and his work."

JOSE CARLOS COLON, 19 years old, student, University of Puerto Rico at San Juan. He is from Mayaguez, Puerto, Rico.

" . . . The North American aggressions against Cuba are intolerable. If we could, long ago we would have driven the Yanquis out of Puerto Rico. I like the Cuban revolution best since it has taken on a socialist character."



MARY MILLER MAHER, 19 years old, ballet student, New York City.

" . . . I believe that what is being done in Cuba is what we need here in the United States, and, for this reason I went to Cuba to get to know the Revolution."

Church. There is an absence of pornographic literature in Cuba. The newspapers leave much to be desired. They print the more important foreign news and the rest is Cuban and local news. Most news articles seem like editorials. The four, what you might call, national papers are: El Mundo, a middle-class sort of conservative paper; Revolution, the 26th of July paper; Hoy, the Communist Party paper of Blas Roca; and La Tarde, an afternoon paper which I know nothing about. Then of course, every city and town has a newspaper of it's own.

There are two distinct forms of music, song and dance in Cuba which we found very popular throughout the island. One is a sort of country music like Puerto-Ricans play. The other is Afro-Cuban which is dominated by a pulsating drum beat. People chant to the rhythm of this music. Two national dances are the "Conga", which is the more popular and traditional, and a new dance called the "Moazambique." Most Cubans know these dances and enjoy this music. In every school we visited we were entertained by students playing both Cuban country music and songs together with Afro-Cuban music and chants. We encountered both forms of music everywhere we went in Cuba.

Every major city in Cuba has "carnavale" each year which lasts for several weeks. When we arrived in Santiago de Cuba in Oriente province, some five days before the 26th of July, it was "carnavale" time. Each city has "carnavale" time at a different time of the year and around the 26th of July is carnavale time in Santiago. This was a very unusual experience for most of us especially for me because I had never been to one before. La Trocha is a large curving street which is the center of the carnavale. On both sides of the street there were little bars with either juke boxes or live bands blaring out Cuban music. These little bars would be crowded with people both dancing and drinking rum and beer. La Trocha runs for about one mile or so and was packed with people. All along the street there were little carts with a whole roasted pig and people pushing the carts would sell pork sandwiches from the pig. Every night that we were in Santiago we would go down to "La Trocha", drink rum and beer and dance, staying up all night. The night before Fidel spoke, there was a parade which climaxed the carnavale. The first float had the Queen of the 1964 Santiago carnavale with her ladies in waiting. Then came float after float many with bands on them playing popular music. And behind each float there would be hundreds or maybe even thousands of people winding their way like a snake and dancing. Besides the floats from "F.M.C.", "F.E.U.", the local Militia and the local "PURSE", surprising enough, there were also floats from private businessmen and merchants. Many Cubans during carnavale time dress in colorful costumes—many originating from African dress. Carnavale time is a very exciting time with plenty of food, beer and rum, music and especially good comraderie, for one becomes a member of one great big family. Everybody is so very friendly that you completely lose yourself.

Unlike the U.S. Negro, Cuban Negroes have retained much of their original African culture. Not only has African culture survived in Cuba but, also Cuban culture has been greatly flavored and influenced by Africa. In fact there is an island of original African culture surviving quite close to Habana, just across the harbor. Here is preserved the African language, music, song, dress, folklore, and even some sort of African adaptation of religion. Since the revolution, choreographers, dancers and song writers from the national ballet have gone to this cultural island and studied the dances and folklore to produce new ballet with African folklore themes and dances. Instead of suppressing and ignoring the African heritage as is done in the U. S, Cuba is encouraging and stimulating African culture.

IN CONCLUSION

We, the eighty-four students and workers left Cuba August 12th, 1964—exactly two months after our arrival. We returned to racial prejudice against Negro members of our group and anti-Semitism against our Jewish group members. Morty Slater of New York was attacked by a Nazi shouting foul anti-Semitic slogans when four of the returning youths were called before racist H.U.A.C. This attack came when Morty was on the witness stand testifying.

When we returned to the U. S. all 84 students and workers agreed, despite our differences, that the Cuban revolution is a success, that it is enthusiastically supported by an overwhelming percent of the Cuban populace and that the revolution is meeting all the basic needs of the Cuban people.

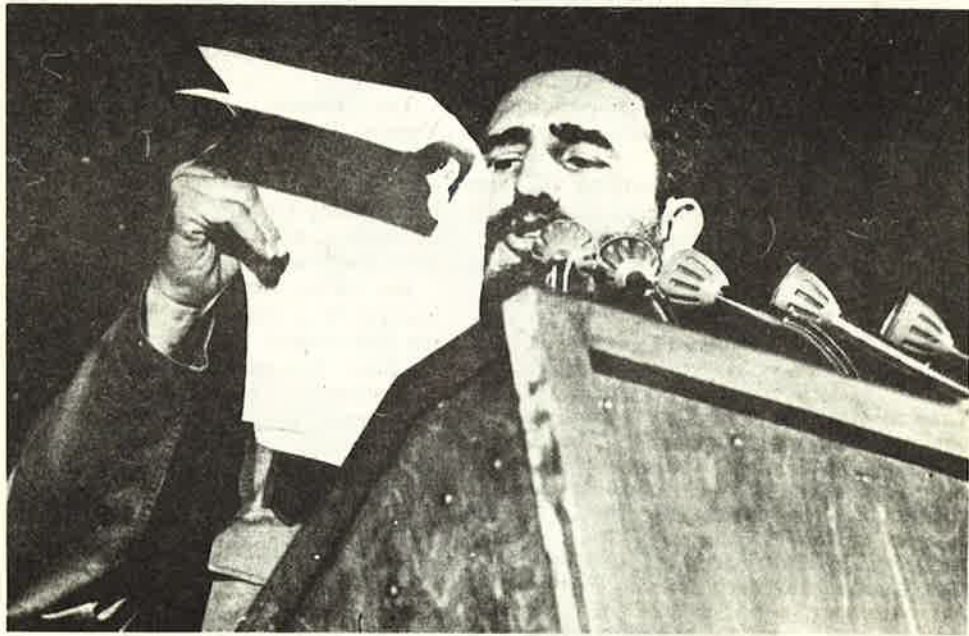
Nine students have been indicted for organizing this summer's trip to Cuba. Despite this, I urge young American workers and students to join the 1965 tour to Cuba and help break the travel ban.



Vilma Espin.



Second in Command: Raul Castro



Fidel Castro reading the Declaration of Santiago on July 26, 1964 ...

Nazi Stirs Furor At House Probe

WASHINGTON (AP)—A man wearing the armband of the American Nazi Party leaped onto the witness table at a hearing by the House Committee on un-American Activities Thursday on student travel to Cuba, and tried to beat a young traveler.

Police and U.S. marshals grabbed the man, knocked him to the floor, and hustled him out of the House Office Building.

Police also removed a second person from the hearing room. He had gone to the defense of the witness, Morton B. Slater.

Slater had just sat down at the witness table, after a brief recess in the afternoon hearing, when, with a cry, the man with armband leaped upon the table and started to swing at him.

Police identified the armband wearer as Lon L. Dunaway, 28, of Arlington, Va.

The name of the second per-

son taken from the committee room was not immediately available.

Dunaway, as he leaped upon the witness table, grabbed Slater's suit jacket but never struck a blow.

Rep. Richard Ichord (D-Mo.), the presiding congressman, adjourned the hearing after the disturbance.

Earlier, a young California woman told the House Committee on Un-American Activities Thursday, "I do not want to be a rat or a fink on any of my friends. I consider this very important.

Ichord told the witness "the fact that you don't want to be a rat or a fink is not sufficient grounds" to refuse to answer a question."

The witness, 24-year-old Yvonne Bond, of Oakland, had been asked by committee counsel who enlisted her help in organizing a visit of a group of students to Cuba without State Department approval.

But unlike the uproarious hearings of a year ago, when the first student group to go to Cuba was questioned by the committee, Thursday's session began in perfect order and decorum.

Police in Washington took no chances, however. Secretaries and other congressional employes filled most of the seats and U.S. marshals were sprinkled around the room. Outside police equipped with walkie-talkie devices patrolled corridors, stairways and sidewalks.

5

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, Fri., Sept. 4, 1964.



Slater after attacker was seized.



Yvonne Bond, of Oakland, Calif., told the House Committee on Un-American Activities she didn't want to be "a rat or a fink" as she was questioned about a visit by students to Cuba. (AP)

Last year's hearings were thrown into repeated furors when the bearded, blue-jeaned students protested the committee's tactics and what they called police brutality.

This year, hardly a beard was in sight. One of the witnesses subpoenaed, identified as having a beard at the time plane reservations were made last spring, was beardless on Thursday. He was Morton B. Slater.

And after the morning session, police politely directed spectators downstairs and outside to a sidewalk conference called by Jacob Rosen, husband of one of the main witnesses last year, Mrs. Wendy Nakashima Rosen.



[AP Wirephoto]

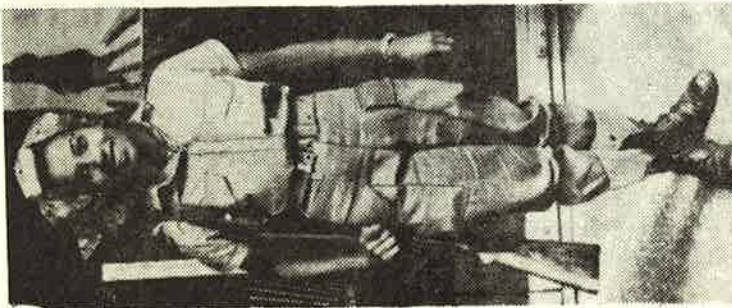
Lon Dunway, wearing Nazi party armband, gets a ride from hearing room of House committee in Washington after he leaped on a table and attacked a witness testifying before the committee.



One of the new workers recreational centers.



Young Cuban students from Havana give one Sunday a month for volunteer labor cutting sugar cane in the country.



HAIR UP AND ON GUARD
A teen-age girl in hair curlers, a member of Fidel Castro's militia, stands guard in front of a women's clothing store in Havana.

Steve Seltzer, who is a university graduate, is now working in New York City as a cab driver. Mr. Seltzer is somewhat familiar with Spanish and while we were in Cuba he worked hard at obtaining a true and fair picture of Cuba today. As did so many of the returning students who visited Cuba, Steve participated in an anti-Viet-Nam war demonstration Saturday, August 15th and was arrested and later convicted.

REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE

By Steve Seltzer

On our second day in the city of Santa Clara, in Las Vilas province, some of us heard of trials of counter-revolutionaries being conducted there, and instead of joining our group for a scheduled visit to a state farm we inquired into the whereabouts of the trial and went to observe it.

As we entered the courtroom the prosecutor was summing up the case, which apparently had been continued over from the day before. Bombing, sabotage, and propaganda were mentioned, but I was not able to grasp the rapid Spanish well enough to tell whether these were accusations against the defendants or against a group the defendants supported, or a condemnation of the counter-revolution in general. During the trial I asked a bilingual spectator what the charges were, and his reply mentioned only distribution of propaganda. The prosecutor also mentioned confessions made by each of the defendants.

The defense was conducted by two lawyers, one appointed by the court, and the other, I was told, privately maintained by one of the defendants. The court-appointed lawyer entered a plea of guilty and asked for leniency in consideration of the defendants' youth, gainful employment, attendance of various classes, character and reputation. The second lawyer did the same, but in addition raised the question of why there was no evidence offered by the prosecution other than the confessions.

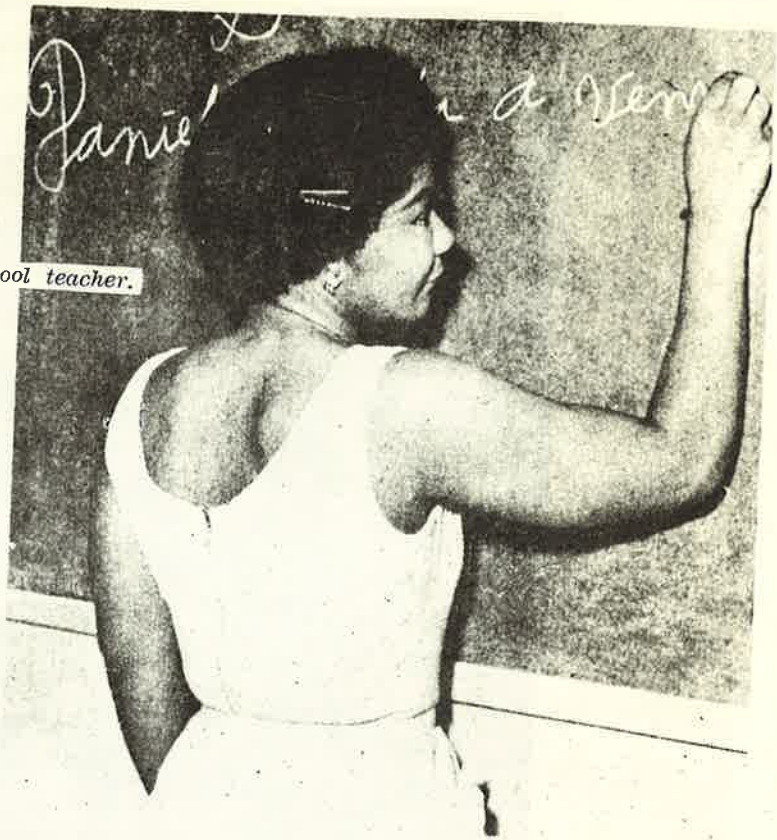
The chief judge then spoke at some length. (There were five judges: two army officers and three militia officers, and no jury. The chief judge was one of the army men, and we were told that he had once taught law at the University of Havana). He recited all that the revolution had done for the country's youth—the new housing, the educational opportunities, the steady employment and chance for better jobs, and the public health measures, such as vaccination against polio. He mentioned the opportunities the revolution had opened to the Negro (three of the

defendants were Negro). He expressed perplexity at the fact that the defendants were all of working class background. He concluded that in all aspects they had been acting against their own best interests. He emphasized that the confessions had been freely given, and therefore were valid, and he seemed angry at their being called into question. He rejected the bases for leniency cited by the defense, and announced that the maximum sentence would be thirty years, and the minimum would depend on good behavior. Individual sentencing was put off to another date.

Witnessing these procedures were perhaps a hundred spectators, probably most of them friends and relatives of the defendants. They were remarkably attentive, but I could not tell from their expressions whether they were reached or moved by the chiding directed at them as well as at the accused, by the chief judge. One woman wept; only rarely did an expression of impatience or disdain flit across a watching face.

The defendants were twenty-three boys, all in their late teens. When I entered the court I thought they might be law students observing a trial—they were dressed neatly in slacks and sport shirts, and did not seem involved in the proceedings at the time. They were seated in one long row that separated the "business" section of the courtroom from the press and spectator section, and when I entered I had found a place to stand against a wall just behind their bench. In the course of the trial I discovered who they were, and at its conclusion I asked the one directly in front of me exactly what they were charged with. Conspiracy against the state, he replied. What kind of conspiracy? Propaganda? Leaflets? Yes. Sabotage? No. Were you all caught together? Yes, we are just part of a group of eighty who will carry on . . . and waving to someone in the crowd he rose to file out with his fellow prisoners. I managed to speak to one other defendant before they all left, to ask him how and where it would be possible to get a copy of their leaflet, and was told that would be impossible.

After the trial some of us talked with the chief judge. He told us the charges had included distributing counter-revolutionary propaganda, collecting funds to buy food and clothing for a small band of guerrillas in the Escambray mountains, and conspiring to blow up a sugar mill. Did he think his words had had any effect on the defendants? Yes he did, and also on families. How had the confessions been obtained so easily? Had they confessed defiantly, as martyrs might? No, he thought they were repentant and recognized their error, and that might be why they confessed so readily. What would their punishment be? Probably they would be sent to work on farms, and allowed to visit their families from time to time. The length of their punishment would depend on their attitudes and behavior, as well as on the extent of their involvement. Probably most would spend three to four years on a work farm, some more, some less, and some might be let off with just a warning.



Rural school teacher.



Teachers at Minas del Frio School City.

Teaching a farmer how to read.



Young Cubans greet the arrival of American youths at Habana Airport.



Young Cubans greet American youths at

Young American workers and students visiting Cuba, visit cigar factory.



Young American workers and students visit a new rural Cuban tour.





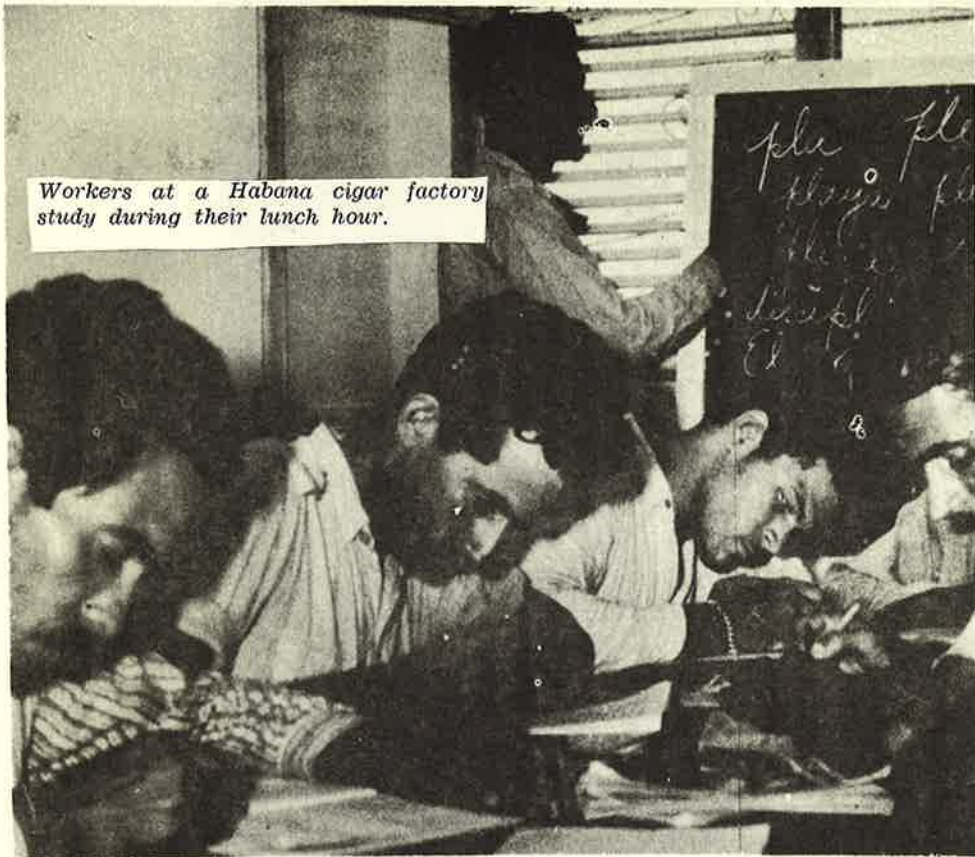
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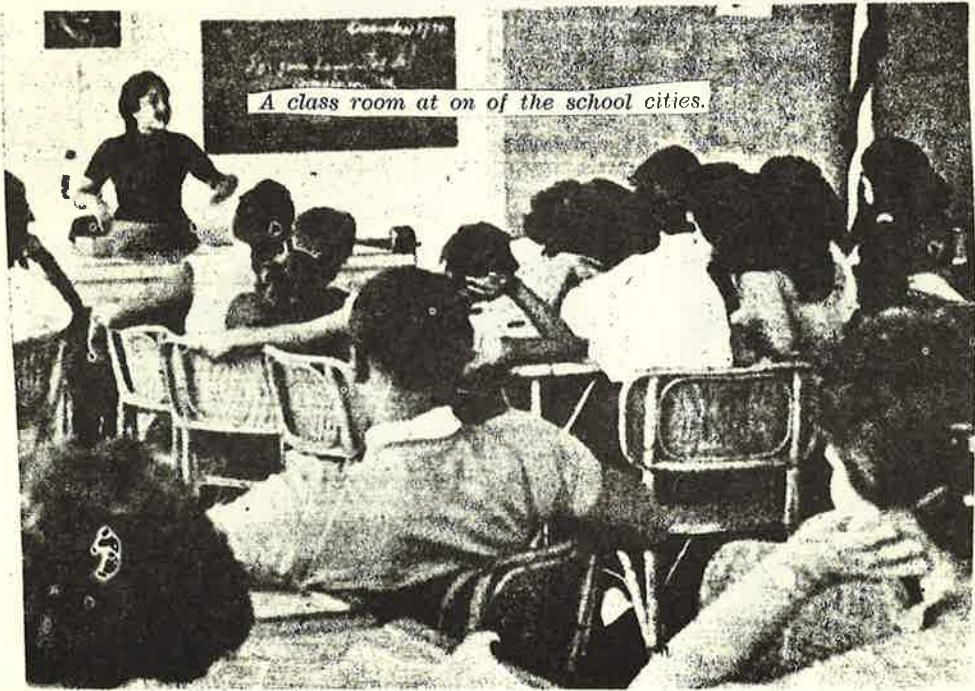


Young Americans give blood.





Workers at a Habana cigar factory study during their lunch hour.



A class room at on of the school cities.

Some of us then asked the court if we could see the leaflets they had distributed, and the confessions they had made, and if we could speak to them at greater length; but though some of us made repeated trips to the Provincial Ministry of the Interior during our following four days in Santa Clara, the official who could give us this permission was never to be found, and our further curiosity was never satisfied.

I have been asked to make some evaluation of Cuban revolutionary justice on the strength of having attended this trial. Obviously one trial is not an adequate basis for generalization; and my understanding of even this one trial is so fragmentary and uncertain that I can hardly evaluate it with any authority. Nevertheless I will try to squeeze out whatever can legitimately be squeezed, still leaving final conclusions to the reader.

I suggest that revolutionary justice be evaluated—as might any justice—by the type of act considered to be criminal; by the procedure used to determine guilt or innocence; and by the punishment meted out to the guilty: all taking into consideration the circumstances and conditions of the time.

Aiding armed rebellion against the state would be considered a crime in any country, and likewise conspiring to bomb a sugar mill. The criminality of distributing counter-revolutionary leaflets would depend on their content and the context in which they are distributed. American legal theory at its best draws a distinction between theoretical advocacy of the necessity of overthrowing the government, and incitement to actually overthrow it tonight or next week. However, the more imminent the attempt to overthrow, (and in Cuba such attempts, on the part of a small minority, are continual) the less the distinction between advocacy and incitement, and the more likely that mere advocacy present a "clear and present danger."

Unfortunately in this case we were unable to determine the content of the leaflets. About conditions prevailing in Cuba we know a little more. We know, in general, that the opposition in Cuba has acquired an importance out of all proportion to its numbers and resources through aid and arms from the U.S. Where an opposition is sustained by a foreign power, and the resources of that power are so overwhelming, it is understandable that the threatened government will feel justified in acting more harshly against that opposition than normally it would; and also that people will willingly accept greater restrictions on their liberty than normally they would. So to the extent that Cuban liberties are curtailed, and to the extent that Cuban justice is hard, the U.S. bears a large share of the blame.

More directly relevant is the specific situation in the region of Santa Clara at the time of the trial. On the preceding day we had visited a teachers' training school in the heart of the Escambray mountains, south of Santa Clara. At my suggestion that some of us hike on through the mountains to another road and then hitch back to Santa Clara (I

had already done some hitchhiking in Cuba and was to do more), one of our guides told me that there were bands of counter-revolutionaries in the mountains and that with my beard I might get shot with no questions asked. Yet both students and the rector of the school scoffed at the idea of guerillas in the area, and insisted that they walked about their mountain fastness in perfect security; and indeed no special precautions for our visit were noticeable. The next day of course the chief judge in Santa Clara referred to guerillas in the Escambray for whom the defendants were alleged to be collecting funds. Were there guerillas or were there not?

On August 22 an AP dispatch from Miami reported "anti-Castro guerillas are engaged in active fighting in the Escambray mountains of south-central Cuba, a Cuban exile organization said today." A spokesman for the organization, the Sentinels of Freedom, said 20 Castro militiamen were killed and many injured by a guerilla force in two small battles July 12." We had visited this school, high in the Escambray, on July 6. Then on October 22 Reuters reported from Havana that "Fidel Castro says that special counter-insurgent forces have crushed guerilla bands operating in Matanzas and Las Villas provinces . . . This was believed to be the first official confirmation that activity by anti-Castro groups in the two provinces, and particularly in Las Villas's Escambray mountains, had been suppressed." Thus conditions in Santa Clara in July '64 approached those under which even dedicated civil libertarians might concede that a government enjoying popular support could legitimately restrict some types of opposition propaganda which should normally be tolerated.

On the other hand, the defendants might well retort that even peaceful organized opposition is not permitted in revolutionary Cuba, and that the only forms of opposition activity possible was "illegal" publication, and violence. And such a retort might carry extra weight in this case since according to the chief judge himself these young defendants were "of working class background" and so presumably had no bourgeois privileges or entrenched positions to defend against the revolution. Their discontent should therefore be of interest even to those inclined to dismiss the usual grievances of a dispossessed middle class; and their freedom to discuss and protest might be of considerable value to the revolution itself.

But perhaps I am building too elaborate a superstructure of speculation and theorizing to be sustained by such a skimpy foundation of facts as I have presented: back to earth.

Concerning the procedures of revolutionary justice: the openness of the trial was reassuring. Aside from relatives and friends of defendants interested passers-by seemed to drop in and out, and of course the American guests, for whom other activities had been planned that day. My brief conversations with two of the defendants did not seem to perturb court officials or guards. On the other hand we were unable to



Part of the huge throng which heard Fidel speak during the July 26th celebration.



Meeting of a local "Committee for the Defence of the Revolution."

U. S. SUBPENAS GUBA VISITORS, LIFTS PERMITS

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1964

New York, Aug. 14 (UPI)—Representatives of the House committee on un-American activities passed out subpoenas tonight when 84 Americans who defied a government ban on visits to communist Cuba returned home.

Four subpoenas, calling for appearances before the committee in Washington on Sept. 3, were handed out at Kennedy airport after the travelers were informed their passports had been "tentatively withdrawn."

Bond Provider Called

One of the subpoenas went to Albert Maher, 22, of New York, son of a Texas millionaire and member of the executive committee for Travel to Cuba. Maher recently provided bail for William Epton, self-professed Communist and leader of the progressive movement in Harlem who was indicted on charges of advocating violent overthrow of the New York state government.

Other subpoenas went to Yvonne Bond, 23, of San Francisco; and Edward Lemansky, 24, of New York City, an organizer for the communist-oriented progressive labor movement. The fourth went to a man identified only as Morton Slater.

Arrive from Paris

The Americans, including some who boasted of their communist ideologies, arrived at Kennedy airport from Paris. They were informed their passports had been withdrawn on orders of Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

The Americans left New York City in June and July under the sponsorship of the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba with their overseas travel expenses and their expenses in Cuba paid for by the Cuban Federation of Students. They reached Cuba via Prague, Czechoslovakia.



A picture of Cuba's Prime Minister Fidel Castro is displayed by Ed Lemansky, 24, of New York, as he leaves a plane at New York. He and 83 other young Americans returned from a forbidden Cuban visit by way of Paris.

U.S. Indicts 9 As Plotters Of Trip To Cuba

WASHINGTON (AP) — A U.S. grand jury indicted two women and seven men Tuesday on charges of conspiring to organize and promote an illegal trip to Cuba by 84 Americans in July and August.

Acting Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach said the indictment was returned in U.S. District Court, Brooklyn, N.Y. Two of the defendants — Lee Levi Laub, 25, and Phillip A. Luce, 27 — already are under indictment on similar charges in connection with a trip to Cuba last summer.

None of the nine made the trip to Cuba this year. The indictment charged that they conspired to induce, recruit and arrange for a number of American citizens to depart from the United States for the Republic of Cuba, that republic being a place outside of the United States for which a "valid passport is required."

The indictment charges that a conspiracy began in August, 1963, and lasted more than a year, violating State Department regulations issued in January, 1961. Those regulations require a special passport for travel to Cuba by Americans.

In addition to Laub and Luce, both New Yorkers, defendants named in the indictment are Patricia Ann Sopiak, 24, New Boston, Mich.; Ellen Irene Shallit, 21, and Rodger Jay Taus, 25, both of New York City; Michael David Brown, 22, of Ann Arbor, Mich.; Martin A. Nicolaus, 23, Waltham, Mass.; Christian Lee Raisner, 24, San Francisco, and Albert L. Maher, 22, Cambridge, Mass.

A cartoon in a Cuban newspaper welcoming the young students.



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Blas Roca, key figure among the 'old-line' Cuban communists.



Che Guevara



see the relevant documents or talk at greater length with the defendants. Was something being kept from us or were we blocked only by some meaningless bureaucratic snarl?

Apparently the trial relied entirely on confessions by the defendants. This practice has been abused notoriously elsewhere, both by democratic and communist governments. Our own constitutional protection against self-incrimination, the well known fifth ammendment, is the result of a long struggle against just such abuses, and for capital crimes some state courts will not convict on the basis of a confession alone. On the other hand the use of an unsupported confession does not automatically mean foul play: it is not unusual for people caught violating the law to plead guilty and hope for leniency. Thus it seems that the Cubans are using a procedure which is open to abuse but I have no evidence, from the little I have seen, that they are abusing it.

There appeared to be no equivalent of a jury in this proceeding. The function of a jury is to compel the state to convince not only itself of the guilt of the accused, but also a sampling of his fellow citizens and neighbors. Its purpose is to limit and discourage arbitrariness, and to prevent concentration of excessive power in the hands of the police or state apparatus. Of course a jury system may fail this function. An innocent Negro may have little hope of fairness from a southern white jury; and in cases involving Negroes a guilty white need have little fear of justice. Nevertheless the southern Negro is no worse off with the jury than without it, while elsewhere the rest of us may be a little safer because of the jury system. I would like to see some equivalent arrangement in Cuba whereby the citizenry participated in judicial verdicts. I did not look carefully into the Cuban legal system, and I understand that these counter-revolutionary tribunals are set up somewhat differently than the regular criminal courts, so perhaps in fact such a system exists.

It is hardly worth commenting on the punishments without knowing the actual sentences imposed for particular crimes and degrees of involvement. The thirty years set as the maximum would seem quite harsh for just distributing leaflets, and even for an unconsummated conspiracy to blow up a sugar mill. But for actual material help to those bearing arms against a popular government, severity is to be expected. The four years, later estimated by the chief judge to be the probable time to be served by most of the defendants, would seem more humane.

So much for these formal criteria. Something that bothered me about this particular trial was that discrepancy between the description of the defendants by the chief judge as probably "repentant", and their attitude as suggested by the one I first spoke with—"we are part of a group of eighty which will carry on"—certainly defiant. Too, the judge had thought his words would have an effect on the defendants; this reply suggests he was wrong. And in fact it would have been remarkable had he been right, for while he spoke with evident feeling and sincerity, he did not say anything that the accused had not heard many times over

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through the press and radio. A Cuban cannot live in Cuba today without hearing repeatedly (and in fact seeing!) what the revolution has done for the people. Despite this, and despite their working class backgrounds, the defendants opposed the government; and the chief judge either did not know why, or did not choose to address himself to their real grievances, whatever these may have been.

If the reader is disappointed by the lack of final and sweeping conclusions I can only repeat that the experience hardly warrants reading too much into it; and I have presented it as factually and completely as I can so that the reader is best able to draw his own conclusions, interpreting and weighing things as he sees fit. I would not have chosen to concentrate on this topic had I not been asked; but having written, I hope the very incompleteness of the piece will induce the reader to go and see for himself; and I hope when he returns he will write a piece that I can read, filling in the holes that I have left, giving new answers, and maybe even raising new doubts.



GENERAL BOKER, JR., 22 years old, student at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.

" . . . North American imperialism is the greatest threat to humanity. Fidel is the engine of the Cuban people. I have found in Cuba many things of which I only heard, like hospitality, and friendship of the people. My own citizens should see what I observed here. I believe in the self-determination of the peoples, and, without any doubt, Cuba has full right to defend itself from aggressions. The racial integration in Cuba is astonishing."

EDWARD LEMANSKY, 23 years old, student at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, an organizer of the Progressive Labor Movement.

" . . . A lot of people in the United States do not sympathize with the Cuban Revolution for lack of factual news. With our trip to Cuba we are defying the efforts of the North American government to destroy the Cuban revolution."

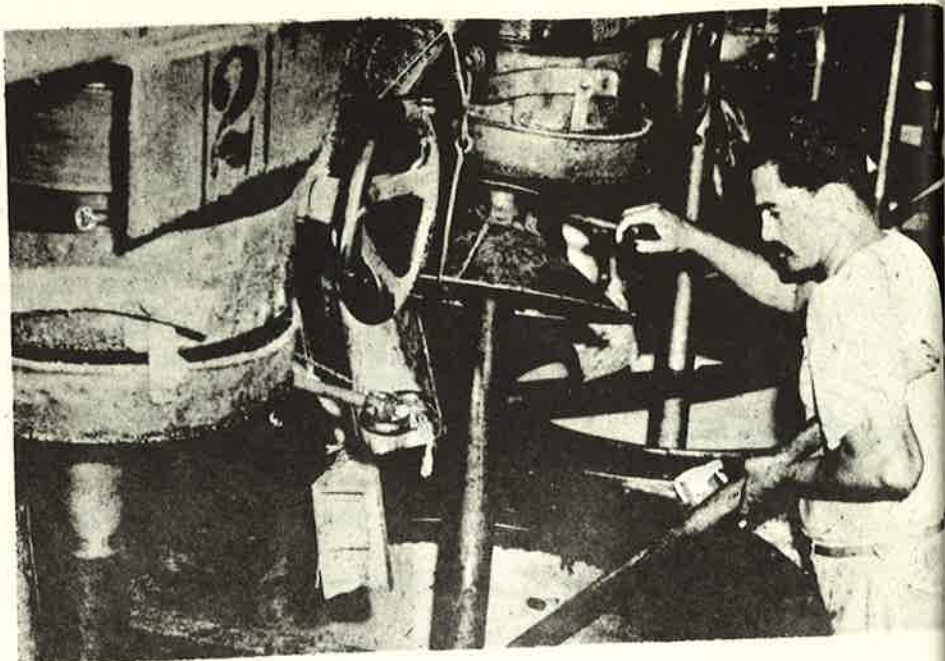


MARTINE ALLGIRE, 21, legitimate theatre actress, and student of drama, Detroit, Michigan.

" . . . I have known many people in the United States who sympathize with the Cuban Revolution. Fidel besides being brilliant in all aspects, is extremely patient on behalf of his country. I like the spirit of the Cuban people, for what it has done, what it is doing, and what it will yet do."



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Inside a Cuban sugar mill.

A sugar mill.



Max Beagarie is a young worker from San Francisco, California. He is nineteen years old and has been quite active politically. When the students arrived in New York City August 14th he was arrested by New York police and roughed up during a demonstration against the Viet-Nam war. Mr. Beagarie is still in New York fighting his case and he hasn't seen his family since leaving for Cuba in June.

WHO WENT AND HOW DID WE GET THERE

by Max Beagarie

The people who went on the trip to Cuba this summer were of many persuasions. There were artists, writers, students, workers, Communists, Socialists, Mexican-Americans, Black Nationalists, Puerto Rican Nationalist, Democrats, liberals, A. D. A. people and so on. They came for a multitude of reasons. Some to see the culture, others to see the political and economic nature of socialism, and still other just to see what they could.

They came from Oregon, California, Texas, Illinois, Georgia, North Carolina, New York, Iowa, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Michigan and Pennsylvania.

There were four flights—one leaving San Francisco, another Chicago and the other two leaving from New York. We all met in Paris and took an Air France flight from there to Prague. From there we boarded a "Cubana" airlines plane and flew to Cuba via Shannon, Ireland and Gander, Newfoundland. We had to take this route because we are not allowed to go directly from the United States to Cuba. Also, our journey was a complete secret to both the C. I. A. and the F. B. I. We arrived in Havana on June the 12th and stayed there two weeks. Then we journeyed North to Pinar Del Rio. We returned to Havana and visited the remaining four provinces—Matanzas, Las Villas, Camaguey and Oriente in that order. In Santiago (Oriente Province) we played baseball with Fidel and heard him give the July 26th speech. Then we returned to Havana by airplane and stayed there the remaining two weeks of our trip. We left Cuba Aug. 12, exactly 2 months since we arrived. We returned to the U.S. via the same route we came and arrived in New York August 14.

During our two months stay in Cuba we were given complete freedom of movement. We helped our guides plan the tours, and were given 10 pesos a week to spend as we pleased. Many of us used this money to do some traveling on our own. The entire trip was paid for by the Cuban Federation of University Students (F. E. U.). We paid \$10 registration fee and \$100 for our defense to the Student Committee for travel to Cuba, the group which arranged the trip.

Nine students were indicted for arranging the trip to Cuba this summer. Four of the people who went on the trip this summer were called before the House UnAmerican Activities Committee and one was beaten up by a Nazi while in the Hearing Room.

The Student Defense Committee desperately needs funds to carry on the fight against government persecution. If you can, please help the freedom of travel with a financial (\$\$\$) donation to the Students Defense Committee. Don't let us stand ALONE!!!



SHIRELY STOUTE, 22 years old of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

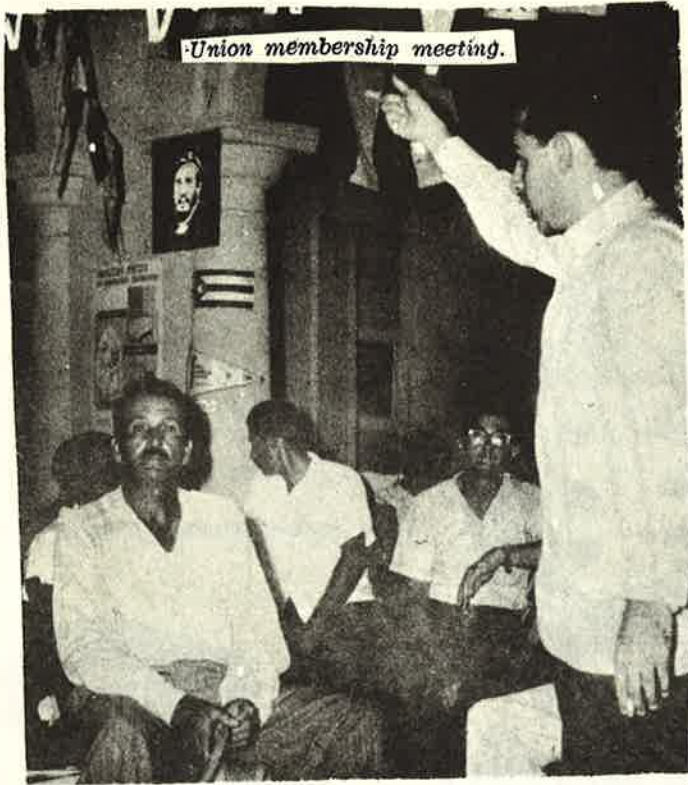
" . . . Inhumane, unjust are the U.S.A. aggressions against a whole people. Fidel has the complete support of his people. I have travelled to Cuba to study the Revolution and its problems. This is of great interest since the United States needs a Revolution."



LUIS MIGUEL VALDEZ, student, 24 years old from San Jose, California.

" . . . The Cuban revolution has made a rebirth of a great hope in the future."

Union membership meeting.



Volunteer militia members train four hours each week.



Stephan Uhse, 18, student of philosophy at the University of Wisconsin. Born in Mexico and raised in East Germany, Stephan speaks English and German flawlessly and is fairly familiar with Spanish and French. While in Cuba Stephan learned that a play he had written was being produced in Los Angeles. Stephan has been in Chicago several times helping raise money for defense and speaking on Cuba.

CULTURA SI

by STEPHAN UHSE

Although I had never been to Cuba before, it was evident that the culture we saw was either a creation of the revolution or was so infused with it that it would be hard to separate the two. One did not have to be told that no major publishing house had existed before 1959, that not a single Cuban film had been produced before that time, that the proliferation of theatre groups was a new thing and that before the revolution the movie houses, where they existed, were flooded with Hollywood rejects. There was an unmistakable sense of unleashed energy in the attempts at excellence that could be detected in the smallest movie-review.

The writers we talked to surprised us. They did not see alienation as a precondition of authentic artistry, nor did they acknowledge any conflict between the occasionally difficult style they employed and the exigencies of a revolutionary art. Being anti-formalists in the strictest sense, they were more concerned about being revolutionary artists. They were certain that the process of education was not only a matter of eliminating illiteracy, but also of raising **everyone's** cultural level to that of the most 'advanced' writer.

Luis Marré, a poet who had fought as a volunteer during the Bay of Pigs invasion, gave as an example of this that his poetry was read by the workers of a factory where he used to be employed, and he claimed that it was liked despite its 'obscurantism'. Before the revolution there had never even been the prospect of reaching an audience larger than a small group of intellectuals, or of getting works using

modern literary techniques into larger circulation. But this year, one of the main publishing houses is issuing large editions of Kafka, Proust and Joyce, apart from continually publishing books of younger Cuban writers.

Although the Cuban Film Institute has begun to produce excellent films, Western European movies predominate. The films of Bergman, Antonioni, Bresson, Resnais, Fellini, as well as those of Kurosawa and Polanski, are shown all over the country, so that it is a task to find a really bad film. The closest I came was "les Girls", which was playing in Havana. Abstract art, 'pop art', electronic music, find not only tolerance but verbal and financial encouragement; one entire publishing house is dedicated to printing the work of unknown Cuban writers; Albee, Miller, Ionesco are performed in Havana with great critical acclaim.

But apart from the tolerance of art forms and the encouragement of experimentation, there is a powerful impulse in Cuban culture itself to take advantage of the unparalleled freedom offered. There are specialized and professional cultural circles of great prestige such as the Writer's Union, the Film Institute, the Cuban Ballet, the Association of Cuban composers; but of equal importance is the creation of non-professional groups of actors, writers, directors, and the spreading of cultural education through the popular magazine and newspapers, through mobile film-projection units and through the schools.

The question inevitably raises itself why this is so — whether this artistic freedom is merely the artificial creation of a benevolent dictatorship, or whether it springs from the internal development of the country itself. Even if the evident authenticity of the culture dispels a belief in the first possibility, there remains the question why, for example, for the writers we asked there is no problem more serious than 'time'?

I will attempt to sketch an answer based on the discussions we had. There are two crucial developments in Cuban culture which are intimately tied up with the social changes brought about by the revolution.

The first of these is the elimination of an exhibitionist tourist culture — one that had the only purpose of selling Cuba to the Americans. It goes without saying that this involved not only a systematic distortion of Cuban reality, but involved thousands of people in the process of doing so and thus served to channel potentially valuable cultural forces into inane and self-defeating activities.

The second development is subtler and its effect cannot but come about more gradually. It is the elimination of cultural élites as well as cultural sects, not through their destruction but by their admission into the larger culture of Cuba as a whole. The culture of the Havana intellectuals is beginning to make itself felt in other areas in the same way that the culture of the Afro-Cuban cults is reaching beyond the confines of their members and affecting the tone of the whole society, including the Havana intellectuals. Underlying this development is a fundamental lack of stylistic inhibition. Perhaps because styles are no longer expressions of caste or class differences, no stigma is attached to either the "intellectualism" of Alejo Carpentier's novels or to the



Carnival Time in Santiago de Cuba.

Queen of the Carnival.



Night club performance at a Habana night club.



Alicia Alonso



Nicolás Guillén: "Nos espera un trabajo duro pero alegre"

"foreignness" of Afro-Cuban culture. The means which are most responsible for realizing this liberation of sub-cultures — film, publishing, and education — are 'inventions' of the revolution.

Finally it should be seen that if there is one thing which unites the different cultural manifestations in Cuba is that they conceive of themselves as revolutionary. This means that they are strictly bound to the present situation in Cuba, to the need to protect the revolution which has made the creation of a new Cuban culture possible and which embodies it. It is very obviously a '**popular**' culture, because the protection of the revolution is an overwhelmingly popular cause. That this does not imply any restrictions, self-imposed or other, should be clear. The revolution is still very much on people's minds and in their memories — as a moment of liberation from restrictions.

The complete lack of chauvinism in regard to sub-cultures is paralleled only by the interest, untinged by chauvinism, which Cubans have in American culture — the culture of a country which has styled itself Cuba's opponent to the death. It is the United States, by pursuing a studied policy of ignoring one of the most extraordinary and potent cultural forces created in this century, that is conforming to the description José Martí gave of it around sixty years ago as "the brutal North which despises us". But by trying to isolate Cuba's new culture, the United States is merely contributing to its own cultural isolation and barrenness.

Joseph Ben Zolman is a civil rights fighter who barely escaped from the South with his life. Mr. Zolman has appeared before H.U.A.C. for his part in union and civil rights activities. Mr. Zolman served as a soldier in World War II and at 40 is still a fighter. Today he teaches history and is author of a number of important historical works. Mr. Zolman did not go to Cuba though he hopes to in the future.

CUBAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

by Joseph Ben Zolman

The United States has plundered Cuban wealth and natural resources, made whores of its women and brothels of its best hotels, urinated on its national honor and sent troops there many times to enforce its arrogant bidding upon a helpless but dignified people.

If America today crudely boasts of its great wealth it is because it has stolen it from others around the world at gun-points or call them the "patriotic marines" if you like. America has enriched itself at the expense of others. The others—are poor as a result. They live in huts, have no schools, no hospitals, not even essential needs of life. Cuba was one of these plundered and raped areas.

America has always eyed Cuba for its wealth. Some history books would have us believe that we went in to "free" Cuba but facts just don't bear this out. As early as 1854 some Americans wanted Cuba and said that we should take it by force if necessary. American ministers to France, Spain, and England met in Ostend, Belgium and issued what became known as the Ostend Manifesto. This manifesto said in part: ". . . if Spain . . . should refuse to sell Cuba, then . . . we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power."

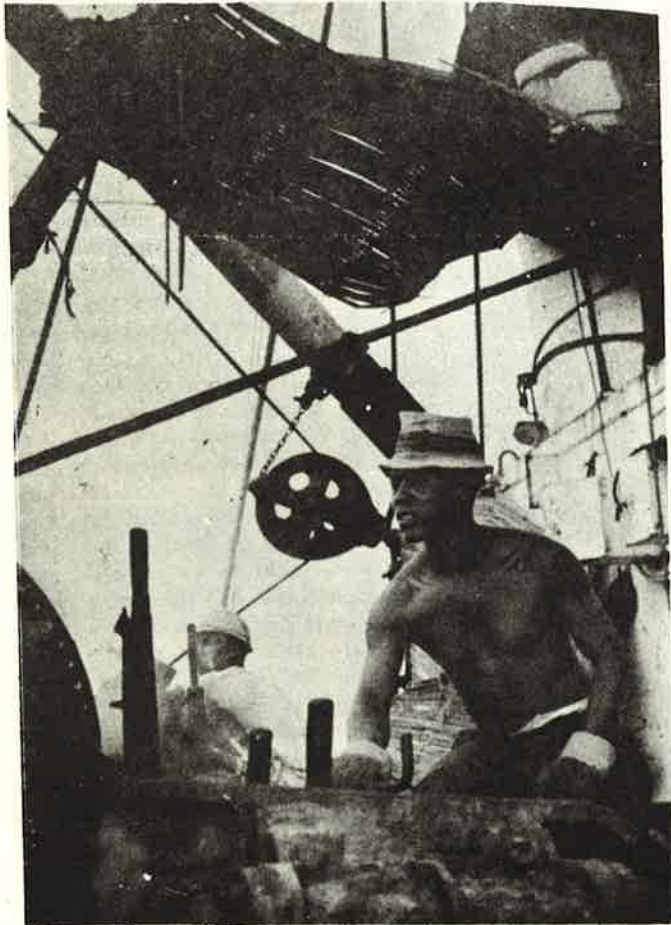
Even while the Spaniards still had Cuba Americans had 50 million dollars invested in Cuba (1896) and in 1893 it is recorded that our commerce with Cuba exceeded 100 million dollars.

American capitalists viewed Cuba as a "pretty good thing" and they didn't want to share it with Spain or with the Cubans. They wanted Spain to get out and they wanted no true independent Cuban Republic with whom it would have to share some profits. It must be remembered

Habana High School & University Students



*Juan Almeida, the Black Commander
of the Cuban Army.*



*A stevedore at work
in the Habana
Harbor.*

that in 1898 when Americans intervened in Cuba against Spain the Cuban rebels had all but won their fight. After all they had been fighting for many, many years. The United States businessmen didn't want the Cubans to win. They wanted to step in and dictate to the Cuban people just what kind of government they could have. It would have to be government "favorable" to America.

The American minister to Spain cabled President McKinley twice that Spain would give up Cuba. But apparently this was not enough for McKinley and he sent troops in to get the whole hog. He wanted American troops on the spot in Cuba to compel the Cubans to allow full American influence.

Finally when the Spaniards were defeated and the Cubans met to make a new government the United States told them that unless they allow America considerable influence in Cuba our troops would not withdraw. The Americans forced the "Platt Amendment" provisions on Cuba. The Platt Amendment was an amendment to a U.S. army appropriations bill. Sometimes, congressmen, if they want to get through something that might not be popular, use the "trick" of attaching it to some very necessary bill as an amendment. The amendment might have no relation to the main bill itself.

The provisions of the Platt Amendment have a fine, Sunday-School sound to them but what they add up to is complete intervention in Cuban affairs. The new Cuban government rejected it but the United States said that the Cuban government must accept it or our troops would just not pull out. So that was pretty clear and the Cubans had no choice. By this amendment the U. S. got the naval base at the eastern end of Cuba and the right to intervene anytime it pleased to do so with armed forces. It has intervened with troops in 1906, 1912, 1917, and 1920.

Not only did we intervene in Cuba several times with our troops but we considered the Caribbean our own lake and the countries on its shores our own private preserve. In 1916 we landed our marines in the Dominican Republic and for the next 8 years that country was under our military dictatorship. In 1914 our marines landed in Haiti and outrightly took over government funds in the National Bank of Haiti. Then in 1915 we intervened there again with our marines and forced Haitians to elect a president who was acceptable to us. We forced the Haitian congress to accept an American military dictatorship. In 1912 we sent marines into Nicaragua to keep a president we favored in power and with the exception of a few months in 1925 the troops stayed there until 1933. We intervened in Mexico and in the Mexican War stole some of her important provinces.

Listen to the very words of United States General Smedley Butler of the U. S. Marine Corps. He tells in strong terms about this intervention and what the purpose of it was!

"I spent 33 years and four months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force, the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned grades from Second Lieutenant to Major General . . .

I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in . . . I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking houses of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought the light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras "right" for American Fruit Companies in 1903. In China in 1927, I helped see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested. During these years I had, as the boys in the back room would say, a swell racket. I was rewarded with honors, medals, promotions. Looking back on it, I feel I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was to operate his racket in three city districts. We Marines operated on three continents."

It is no wonder that the Cuban people in 1960 issued what is known as the "Declaration of Havana." Point two of this declaration shows (and rightly so) the fears the Cubans have concerning possible American military intervention. This has happened many, many times in the past. This is what point two of that declaration says:

"2. The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba energetically condemns the overt and criminal intervention exerted by North American imperialism for more than a century over all the nations of Latin America, which has seen their lands invaded more than once in Mexico, Nicaragua, Haiti, Santo Domingo and Cuba; have lost, through the voracity of Yankee imperialism, huge and rich areas, whole countries, such as Puerto Rico, which has been converted into an occupied territory; and have suffered, moreover, the outrageous, treatment dealt by the Marines to our wives and daughters, as well as to the most exalted symbols of our history, such as the statue of Jose Marti." (On March 12, 1949, three crew members from the U. S. Navy ships visiting Havana urinated on the monument of Jose Marti, Cuba's most venerated patriot). Since this declaration the U. S. engineered the Bay of Pigs invasion and is still plotting to regain for its capitalists, bankers and other parasites the lost wealth it had stolen in Cuba.

Wherever the American flag has gone the jimcrow signs have also gone and Cuba was no exception. Charles P. Howard, Sr., an Afro-American journalist wrote that "The Cubans report that the American white man insisted upon the Afro-Cuban being segregated, mistreated, denied, discriminated against in a greater degree than was the normal situation." Today Cubans have done away with segregation. Mr. Howard reports furthermore that white Americans sought Afro-Cuban women for sex-play and forced them into prostitution. Apparently as in Mississippi segregation in this regard does not operate at night.

Not all Americans favored the activities of the capitalists, their troops and their government. They protested against these acts and felt they were not in keeping with our Constitution or Declaration of Independence which calls for political liberty, liberty for all. In Chicago in October, 1899, an anti-imperialist conference was held with delegates from 30 states. Such figures as Mark Twain voiced his protest by saying

that in the flag the "white stripes (should be) painted black and the stars replaced by the skull and crossbones."

Today in 1964 there are Americans who likewise oppose our continued capitalist penetration in other countries for the purpose of profit. In the summer of 1964 some 84 students defied the State Department's travel ban and went to Cuba. That some of them are bringing out this booklet is all to their credit as true sons and daughters of liberty. They represent what America should stand for and not the money seeking capitalists.

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F. J. Vazquez Gorrin is a Cuban journalist and historian. He has been honored by many scholarships and awards and has enjoyed radio and TV success. He has suffered the bitter taste of several years away from home and his own intellectual milieu, to which he hopes to return some day. Mr. Gorrin dedicates this article especially to the poets and writers: Villar-Bucetas, Mendez, Marrero, Velazquez, Vinas, Parajon, and Chema.

HISTORY OF TWO LIBERATIONS

By E. J. Vazquez Gorrin

FRONTISPIECE

"The Revolution seeks, simply, the establishment of a State of affairs which is just, dignified, good and agreeable to man in all respects that are lawful, and necessary to life."

"As the synthesis of this presentation of our concepts, the July 26th Movement declares that they emanate from what is without doubt the essence of the political thought of Jose Marti: **the principle of the complete dignity of man.** The whole area of human relations—nation, politics, economy, education—converges on this point. In that position, in that Martian doctrine, one must seek the fundamental philosophy of our struggle."

From the Manifest-Program of the 26th of July Movement. Signed by Fidel Castro in Mexico Nov. 1956 shortly before his landing in Cuba Dec. 2, 1956.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

When Columbus discovered Cuba the island had three major types of native Indians: the Tahinos, the Siboneyes and the Caribs. All 3 groups lived in perfect harmony occupying different sections of the island, in a sort of earthly Paradise; prosperous, happy, peaceful, surrounded by fertile lands, infinite varieties of fruits, abundant fishing and wild game; coupled with a perfect climate, — conditions in short that spelled friendship, love and ecstasy.

Columbus, upon setting foot on the island in Oct. 27, 1492 exclaimed as he knelt on the white sands of a beach in the northeast of Cuba: "This is the most beautiful land that human eyes have ever seen."

Almost the entire population of Cuban Indians was exterminated in a short period of years after the discovery by Columbus when they refused to be enslaved or could not tell the Spaniards where the gold and silver—sought with such fury—was.

The Indians staged a passive resistance campaign against the brutality of the Spaniards. Only the Chief Hatuey started a brief revolt against the oppressor, and when captured and ready to be burned at the stake, he (perhaps speaking the voice of the thousands of Indian martyrs) rejected the passport of the good old Father las Casas—called the Protector of Indians—to go to Heaven, protesting: "Signor, if to that Paradise you promise me, the Spanish are sent too, then I do not want to go there."

In Cuba there hardly remained an Indian alive to tell the story. Instead, there remained that mercenary lumpen sent by Spain who took advantage of the culture of tobacco left by the Indians; civilized the island, and later made fortunes with the sugar cane they imported from India.

After the genocide of Cuban Indians, the Spanish Conquistadores found themselves without manpower to exploit the land. Somebody mentioned the Arabic system of kidnapping natives in the deep jungles of Africa. From this imperialist conception, the Spanish developed a complete business that in due time became one of the most fantastic trades across the ocean.

To describe the history of Cuba populated by African slaves is to repeat the scenes of cruelty, barbarism, misery, blood and sufferings of all kind that the Negro underwent in his forced captivity by the planter of the Southern United States. Mr. Maturin M. Ballou in his, "Notes of a Traveller in the Tropics" or his "History of Cuba" would say in 1854: "To go hence to Cuba is not merely passing over a few degrees of latitude in a few days' sail,—it is a step from the nineteenth century back into the dark ages." Mr. Ballou adds: "Why does she (Spain) have one soldier under arms for every four adults?"

Between 1857 and 1860, President James Buchanan tried to purchase Cuba on grounds of the American rights to the sea and the harassment by Spain of the trade of the U.S.A. with Cuba. But Spain refused to sell.

With the advent of the Civil War to the U.S.A., expansion was no longer a major issue. President Lincoln rejected a proposal by Secretary of State Seward to declare war on Spain, with the implication of attacking Cuba and Puerto Rico.

Cuba in the meantime proceeded in a state of slavery, the Afro-Cuban suffering the horror of chains, the whip and "Mayorales" (mounted armed foremen) and his parties practicing a common sport of shooting "cimarrones" or escaping slaves. Four centuries of domination and exploitation, with all the vices and corruption of the Spanish Crown, the lessons of emancipation in the British colonies of America, and the French revolution, will bring Hispano-America (Spanish America) to a full boil of contempt and revolt against foreign domination.

The Cuban nationality took its definition early in the 19th century; writers, educators, political thinkers in Cuba were forming a conscience of freedom, and the example of South America was an inspiration to them. Bolivar, San Martin, Sucre, Sarmiento, Morelos, Juarez and O'Higgins, the founding fathers of the new republics of South America incited, with their great examples of heroism, rebellion in Cuba. Bolivar is the symbol of freedom and revolution. His ascension and crossing of the virtually impassable Andes range with his army of Indians to crush the Spanish armies in the plains of Ayacucho, Cochabamba and Boayac-a' are legendary.

The Cuban Creole started to conspire, to oppose the Spanish yoke; indeed several movements and conspiracies took place but were crushed by the tyranny. The fact that Cuba and Puerto Rico were islands, separated from the continent of Bolivar, prevented the insurrectional movement that liberated the colonies in South America to be extended to these two isolated lands. Aware of the spirit of conspiracy Spain established a reign of terror, torture and repression like the old time inquisition.

In the decade of Narcisco Lopez, 1850, (Lopez is a Patriot who staged two expeditions to liberate Cuba), in an atmosphere of latent Creole revolt, and from Spanish parents, was born the hero and martyr who was to illuminate the way of friends for Cuba. In a modest home on Paula Street in Old Habana, Jose Julian Marti y Perez was born. Since an infant, Marti feels the patriotic apostolate that will guide him forever until his glorious death at 42 in the battle-field of Dos Rios in Oriente, shortly after initiating the War of 1895. Marti is the Apostle of the Cuban Independence, the "Maestro" as he was called since early in his revolutionary career. Simple as his poems, the great Cuban patriot is a giant in Spanish letters, acclaimed from all sides of the Spanish world. He is sought for his contributions as a lawyer, diplomat, journalist and playwright. In a multifarious existence as a pilgrim that takes him around the world either as exile or distinguished guest of governments, from prison to death in the battlefield, Marti rejects a comfortable, homey life, full of literary success, for his devotion to the freedom of his Cuba. And to this he dedicated all his time, efforts, knowledge and his entire life.

The outbreak of the first war for liberation against the Spanish in Cuba, took place between 1868 and 1875. The generation of '68 gains its place in history, leaving the epoch of the Ten Years War. Spain was able to pacify the island in 1878 through the Pact of Zanjon; a lack of populist support was the cause for failure by the Cuban patriots. Cuba, on the other hand profited from this war in the sense that slavery was abolished.

On January 29, 1895, after an intense period of revolutionary preparations, Marti is able to issue from the U.S.A., orders for the uprising in Cuba. Two days later he sails for Santo Domingo to join General Gomez, and in March 1895, the two patriots sign the Manifesto of Montecristi, declaring the spirit and aims of the Revolution.

A month before the Manifesto of Montecristi, and 27 years after

the "Shout of Yara", that signalized the start of the 10-year war, war officially broke out in Cuba with the uprising known as "Grito de Baire"—February 24, 1895 in which two Negro patriots, General Guillermo Moncada and the journalist Juan Gualberto Gomez played prominent roles.

On April 16th, 5 days after disembarking in Oriente, Marti is designated Major General of the Liberating Army and the "mambises" (name for Cuba Patriots) start calling him "The President and the Apostle." On May 19, 1895 Marti is killed in the Action of Dos Rios, charging against the Spanish, mounted on a white horse.

War is raging through Oriente province, led by immortal generals like Maceo, Gomez, Calixto Garcia, Moncada, and Quintin Banderas. Maceo and Gomez plan and carry out the epic Invasion from East to West, and with a column that reaches a peak of 3,500 men in the famous battle of "Mal-Tiempo", in the central province of Las Villas, the torch of freedom is carried by the Mambises from one end of the island to the other, crushing the might of the Spanish forces calculated at some 300,000 men (regular army, volunteers, guerrilleros, mercenaries from all over the world, especially from the deposed empire in South America.) The invasion of Maceo and Gomez is a classic in military history. The charges of Macheté imposed panic and demoralized the Spanish troops. The torch brought the Spanish economy to ruins. Thousands of patriots took to the "manigua", (jungle) to join the main rebel columns or to sustain independent focus of insurrection everywhere in the island.

The ideals and spirit of liberation are successfully carried out for the remainder of the war, until 1898, when the Spanish surrender to the American troops in Santiago de Cuba. The Cuban liberation war lasted 3 years.

It is a known fact that when the American troops, commanded by General Schafter and Teddy Roosevelt, disembarked in Daiquiri, and Baitiquiri, Oriente, the Spanish power in Cuba had already been defeated by the heroism and perserverance of the Cuban mambises. In entering the war against Spain, the Joint Resolution of the U.S. Congress had acknowledged that **THE CUBAN LIBERATORS HAD ALREADY WON THEIR INDEPENDENCE.**

From the landing of American troops in Oriente to the capitulation of Spain in Santiago de Cuba, the Spanish American war lasted only three months. It is true that the remainder of the once famous Spanish armada was defeated by the U.S. Fleet at Manila Philippines, and at Santiago de Cuba. But the collapse of hundreds of thousands of Spanish troops in Cuba was the result of the demoralization brought forward by the heroic campaigns of Maceo, Gomez, Garcia and the whole rebel army.

The Spanish-American War peace treaty was signed on Dec. 10, 1898, in Paris, France without the participation or presence of the Cuban liberators. The U.S. obtained the right to occupy Cuba for an indefinite period, plus acquiring the Philippines, Guam and Puerto Rico.

After U.S. military intervention, Cuba is proclaimed a republic May 20, 1902, but with the Platt Ammendment as an appendix to its con-

stitution her fate in actuality is bound to the U.S. The republican era is marked by corrupted politics, dictatorships, economic subservience to foreign interests. It should be interesting to quote Dr. Juan Andres Lliteras from his work "Relations Between Cuba and the United States," July, 1933, describing the Cuban struggles for emancipation. He said:

"The history of Cuba during the past century is a story of destruction and during this century it has been a story of exploitation. First the agricultural and industrial wealth of the Cubans was demolished. Later they lost their land."

(Note: Many patriotic leaders of the wars of '68 and '95 like Cespedes, known as the father of the motherland, Aguilera, Agramonte, etc., were wealthy industrialists, landowners, lawyers, that stepped into war by first setting fire to their properties as a sign that they valued freedom more than economic security.)

"Under the rule of Spain the Cubans were the owners of the soil and the Spaniards had control of political office. As a consequence of the war for independence they secured political office but lost their land."

"When peace was made there were no reparations for the Cubans because it was the U.S. who negotiated and dictated its terms."

"Then came the displacement in the ownership of land. Those that still possessed a ruined estate here and there, lacking the credit wherewith to rebuild it, were compelled to sell out for a ridiculous price. And the great sugar industries devoured the landed wealth of Cuba bit by bit."

"This process of alienation and concentration of wealth has not been limited to the land. It has repeated itself in the field of transportation, mining, public utilities and lastly, finance. The directors of a few banks and of a few companies have come to be dictators of Cuban economy."

The history of Cuba can now be rewritten into two major periods: first, the colonialist up to January 1, 1959, second the true independent era. With the advent of a clean-cut social revolution. There are two major epochs, two great wars that bring Cuba a step forward in civilization. The 1895-98 period makes Cuba independent of the Spanish colony. The 1953-59 war places Cuba in the map of true free, sovereign, independent countries, and its people in a more advanced state of national ownership and self-government. Truly the political, social and economic power of Cuba, its destinies, lie in the hands of the Cuban people.

COROLLARY

"When we speak of struggle, we speak to the vast unredeemed masses, to whom all make promises and whom all deceive; we speak to the people who yearn for a better, more dignified and more just nation; who are moved by ancestral aspirations for justice, for they have suffered injustice and mockery, generation after generation and who long for great and wise changes in all aspects of their life; the people are willing to attain these changes and are ready to give their lives when they believe in something or in someone, especially when they believe in themselves. History will absolve me,"—Tribunal of Emergency, Oct. 16, 1953, Fidel Castro.



Funeral of Cuban soldier murdered by U.S. Marines in Guantanamo. Young Americans were in Cuba when this young man was killed.



Young Americans were in Cuba when this Cuban soldier was shot and wounded by U.S. Marines stationed at Guantanamo.

Young American students and workers returning from Cuba participated in an "anti-Viet war" demonstration Saturday, Aug. 15th, 1964 in New York City.

Soon after the demonstration started the New York City police attacked the demonstrators beating up young men and women alike. Plain clothesmen were on hand to direct arrests against those participants at the demonstration who had visited Cuba. These arrests were made specifically to intimidate the young people who had defied the travel ban and gone to Cuba.

Now many of the young people are under \$500 and \$1,000 bail and face court proceedings. You can help protect the freedom of Americans to travel and demonstrate.

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Pieter Romain

84 young American workers and students upheld the traditional right to travel by visiting Cuba this summer. These youths did this because our State Department has violated this age-old American right by placing a ban on travel to Cuba. These young Americans felt that they should know from first hand observation—what was going on in Cuba. Governmental travel bans are characteristic of dictatorial governments not free democracies.

These American students and workers toured Cuba, its provinces, and villages for a two-month period. They were the guests of the Federation of University Students. They met important Cuban leaders Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.