

ENCLOSURES (16) BUREAU

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May 20, 1964.

Fidel Castro, First Secretary,  
United Party of the Socialist Revolution,  
Havana, Cuba

Dear Comrade Castro:

I bring you the best and most heartfelt greetings from my General Secretary, Comrade Gus Hall.

As for myself, a revolutionary of long standing, I want to express my deep satisfaction to have come to your beautiful country, the first land building socialism in America, after a long and arduous journey of 15,000 miles and 25 days.

My presence here indicates the importance that our Party attaches to the historic emergence of the first socialist revolution in the Americas, and the burden that your people carry to defend it.

We, the North American Communists, whose noble mission and task it is to win the people of our country for the socialist way out, feel very keenly our international solidarity and responsibility for Cuba. Therefore, we are seeking the closest possible contact with you in order to make our contribution in this serious moment of U. S. A. blockade and invasion threat to your country.

My General Secretary, Gus Hall, is very much concerned, and has therefore commissioned me to make this trip and to bring to you a personal letter from him.

I hope that after you have given this letter your serious consideration, I may be able to take with me your answer.

We earnestly trust that this exchange will help our Marxist Leninist Parties to work closely together against our common enemy- AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

In closing I wish to express to you the Supreme Commander of the Cuban Revolution, my highest esteem and admiration.

With Revolutionary greetings,

May 27, 1964

Celia Sanchez, Secretary  
Fidel Castro,  
Havana, Cuba

Dear Celia Sanchez:

I wish to extend my deep appreciation for the hospitality shown me during my brief stay in your country. Although limited, I was able to witness in these days of the alert, the spirit and invincibility of your people.

I leave your beautiful land for my homeland via Moscow, a commentary on the difficulties you endure from the criminal blockade and we in the form of persecution of our Party and the ban on travel.

As a revolutionary of long standing, I want to state that although my spirits are high for having had the privilege of visiting the land of socialism in the Americas, I leave with a heavy heart, having failed in my mission to transmit the letter of Gus Hall, my General Secretary, personally to Comrade Fidel Castro.

To ensure continuous contact between our two Marxist Leninist Parties in our common struggle against USA Imperialism, we have sent to your country, eight months ago, an experienced and trusted Comrade, Beatrice Johnson, as our representative and as correspondent for the "Worker". She has been sending regular dispatches and articles informing us of the progress in socialist construction and the heroic struggle of the Cuban people in combatting subversion, harassment and invasion threat.

We trust that her presence here will continue to provide the vehicle for a closer exchange of materials, information and opinions on the best way to mobilize the American people in support of the Cuban socialist Revolution. We wish to thank you for the aid you have given her to make her work effective.

We are of course awaiting Comrade Castro's answer to the personal letter of Gus Hall and would appreciate it greatly if it is sent in the next day, so that I might take it with me. To expedite matters, we suggest that it be sent to your Ambassador in Moscow, Carlos Olivarez Sanchez.

With Revolutionary greetings,

April 15, 1964

Comrade Fidel Castro

First Secretary

United Party of the Socialist Revolution

Havana, Cuba

Dear Comrade Castro:

One of the factors that has complicated for us the establishment of closer ties and has even added some confusion is the fact that the head of the law firm that represents the Cuban Government here on legal matters is an active anti-Party force here. Victor Rabinowitz was a member of our Party until a few years ago. Now for some time he has been very active and in many ways the political guide, with a small group of individuals headed by Milt Rosen and [redacted] Both of these individuals were expelled from the Communist Party two years ago for their anti-Party activities. They followed a narrow irresponsible line that included provocations that finally culminated in their taking organizational steps to liquidate the Party right during the very crucial days when the United States Supreme Court came through with its McCarran Act decision against our Party. Since then they have organized themselves into a small disruptive group called "Progressive Labor". They issue a monthly newspaper and a quarterly magazine. Victor Rabinowitz does not do much publicly but is very active in inner circles of this group and, I believe, is the main financial support for their activities.

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On occasion we have tried to send word about this changed relationship with Rabinowitz to our Party. I have done this not with any intention of even suggesting what, if anything, you want to or should do about it, but only so that you would know that we cannot trust him in anything political and that we have not been able to utilize him to pass on any thoughts because of these anti-Party attitudes. This grouping has a complete negative attitude about the possibilities of influencing the people of the United States on any question.

Believe me when I say that I fully appreciate that you must have thousands of these type of small problems but I only include it here because of this real opportunity to raise questions with you.

With revolutionary greetings,

Gus Hall  
General Secretary  
National Committee  
Communist Party, United States  
of America

## Things to know-

1. The Party is slowly being built. Its work is not uniform on a national scale. It does not work collectively as a policy maker. It implements propagates the policy pronounced by the big fellow. Sometimes the leading people don't know what will be said by him at any given occasion, leading to ups and down in the general line of policy. Mistakes are made and quickly corrected if they are brought forward by the big fellow. In some provinces the Party substitutes for the government in other the government for the party. They are great in agitation, but poor in propaganda and ideological work. This is bad because of the varied backgrounds, mostly intellectuals, from the bourgeoisie, landowners and petty-bourgeoisie, who were in the mts. and now occupy most of the leading posts. They talk too many phrases. The trial of the ~~late~~ traitor Rodriguez showed that even in the top leadership of the party there are anti-communist tendencies, directed against the old comrades. Only here is it possible to have anti-Communist "Marxists -Leninists".

Relations of the old and the new Communists: When I came it was obvious that altho the old ones occupied leading responsibilities because of their experience, they were not in a position to make decisions and they always took second place to some one from the Mts. There was a lot of loose talk about their mistakes in understanding the path of the revolution, coming in late, and attempting to take over after "others fought". The trial cleared the air as regards to their prestige and historic continuity. As to decisions there is no visible change.

The Chinese- The left phrases and conscious catering to them by the Chinese has hindered ideological clarity and confounded confusion. When I came, their literature as well as Trotskyite stuff was all over the place in profusion. From the USA: the Militant, the Monthly Review etc., came in in great numbers. In a fact most people had never seen a Worker or a PA. We were absent from the picture. The Chinese were active everywhere and many leading people old and new echoed their line. Even among those who did not agree with them such as Blas, Grobar of ~~the~~ Cuba Socialists, etc. nevertheless in the publications they edited, there was always a tendency to make a mechanical balance between the soviet and chinese position, news items comments etc. A real mix up in the minds of the young people who were looking for an understanding of Marxism-Leninism.

When the big fellow returned from his second trip, there was a noticeable change in emphasis and more outspoken attitudes against the Chinese position, their literature distribution was curtailed, the leading Trotskyite, a Canadian, was dismissed from the country. ~~Within~~ two hundred militants they had been sending air mail to people here is still coming, besides from Toronto a whole big mailing list of people get the world Trotskyite and Chinese literature. Publicly, Che Guevara is the only one of the top leaders who echoes the Chinese line, he even pronounced in Geneva that the only road is the one of armed struggle. The big fellow in his last two speeches made real concessions to this line by "we are not afraid of War". "We don't care about atomic war or world war, we are only interested in what happens to Cuba, and stuff to that effect. Altho there was surprise and even ~~opposition~~ to this, all the papers ~~now~~ featured these phrases without editorial selection, including ~~now~~ edited by Blas. Every attack serves to ~~illustrate~~ illustrate the leftist petty bourgeois tendencies in a big section of the leadership.

None of the documents in the recent period, such as the Suslov speech, the statements and proposals of the other parties regarding the Chinese position, were published here. The only place available was the Soviet press. They will have to face it and will not be able ~~about~~ to continue hiding behind a so-called neutrality.

Attitude towards us: There is a strong anti-Gringo feeling among the middle classes. Among the workers a good distinction is made between the workers, Communists and the Imperialists. They are always glad to see me and happy that we are represented. Among the new comers into the Party here, there is no idea about our historical relations with Cuba, about the joint struggles and the aid given by us. When I emphasized these elements in my articles in Hoy, I got many comments of appreciation. For a good many here, who had lived under the dictatorship and the long period when we did not do much to help them or ~~have~~ contact with them, it is naturally that they should have no idea about us. They knew we had a party, but information about us they got from the so called "left", who had made themselves at home here since 1959. This is true to the very top, with few exceptions. Rodriguez is about the only one who knows us and cares. Am trying to change this by writing for Hoy. I lectured at the University on the history of the CP and its present tasks and had to return for another 4 hours to answer questions. The interest among the youth was so overwhelming. But we must have more literature. At least one hundred Workers and PA must come here, the Canadians must send it. I always have a feeling that the foreign office does not make any effort to help us thru the NEW York UN mission. They send bourgeois stuff in abundance, but have failed in spite of my constant insistence and their promises to include the Worker. That Department and its head are closely connected with Rabinowitz etc.

Party to Party relations: Altho there is a comrade in charge of international relations, there is no definite policy or regular procedure. Every problem must be presented anew and very proposition fought for anew. The Cubans have very little regard for formalities and if you don't know them you will be offended at their lack of punctuality, their way of making easy promises and promptly forgetting about it, of putting you in a position of begging for personal favours, etc. etc. Some representatives, even of Latin American Parties, have waited months to see the big fellow or get some recognition of their problems. As a guest you get the attention they think you should have. Things are very seldom finally settled so you know where you stand. They never call you, if you don't think of something to do, no one will bother about your problems. And so one is on his own here. That is the picture. Even the socialist countries have the same complaint and they rely on their embassies to get around.

-that is why it is important that we be officially represented at all events either by coming, or by designating me by a special credential to represent you, and by all means to send continuous messages for every occasion. coached in emotional and a flowery language. ~~arrive late~~ they have always played up our stuff.

arrive late

My relations with other parties- There are very few representatives from other Latin American countries on an official level. There are a great number of engineers, teachers and the like, 1,000 from Chile alone. These people are pretty much split up on the Chinese question and isolated from their own countries, so that such contacts are not the most reliable. There is a Casa de las Americas with a good library of Latin American literature, which makes Cuba a good source of information, but not the best for reliable contacts.

My contact with the delegations from the Latin American countries, I find the closest to us are the Chileans. They follow events in the USA and have a better appreciation of the difficulties of the Party, and show the greatest interest in our work.

Of course it is the comrades from the big country that are the most friendly the most helpful and the only ones with whom one can have an open frank discussion on ~~some~~ national and international questions. And so it is to a lesser ~~and greater~~ extent with the other socialist countries. Have excellent relations with the DDR people here. They help in every way possible.

There are very few Brazilians here and from Mexico there are about 100 students and students from almost every Latin American ~~country~~ country. This is a very important sector-

I suggest we look into the matter of sending a youth rep. here to work with the Young Communist League, it could be most fruitful for the continental contacts.

To establish a system of contacts with the Latin American countries, the following would be necessary- in Cuba to contact all who come as delegates-  
- for this I would have to represent the Party official at all events-  
- to attend conferences both in Latin America wherever possible, this I could regulate from here, but also in Europe. It is most important, for in the international movement is the best place for contacts. Once or twice a year I could go to Europe, it would do my health good to get away from this terrible heat and I could get more help from the Cubans for that purpose. We shall keep in touch concretely.

Americans in Cuba- There is a collection of all kinds, nobody knows how they got here and who sent them. Here they are all red hot. Most of them work at various professions, much bluff, they live well and snipe at us on the side. The ~~Calperns~~ are rather cynical, the Sterns play around with the Chinese. There is also a group of Party members, who for one reason or another came here. They claim they came with the agreement of the Party. They have been very helpful to me and are genuinely interested in our affairs. We have arranged for them to be a group to keep up their dues and knowledge of developments. The girl I found here is going back, it is the best.

Williams- is a sort of a headache for the Cubans. They don't know what to do with him. He still speaks and how, but they don't know what to do with him. He wanted to go to Africa, but they did not invite him when he was in Peking. So he is disgruntled and claims that I was sent here to undermine him and the worst enemies he has are the Communists. He swags a small group of Americans, but his prominence and influence here is almost nil.

Misc1. ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ 1. Aaronson and Mrs. McManus were here for the May Day celebrations. They were treated as celebrities and given every chance to see the country. Aaronson made interviews in which he said that USA public is aroused over the aggression against Cuba, but privately he said that the only ones that do anything in the USA are the Negroes who are entirely abandoned. ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ McManus, after a visit to ~~Orleans~~ Province, came back and complained that she did not know what to write about, things were confusing. ~~My~~ My attempt to talk to them was treated with polite hostility.

2. I need information about the Emergency committee to aid the victims. McManus told them here that it was holding up and

she sees no prospect of organizing any kind of aid now with the extension of the embargo. That is really a sad loss since the committee has done remarkable service to the medical needs here. Is it really hopeless as she claims or is it possible to fight out something to establish a permanent medical aid on the same basis as they had before the cyclone?

In general the country has made remarkable progress with the help of the socialist countries. New factories are opening every month to supply the needed machines and tools to beat the blockade. Agriculture is progressing with great efforts and general mobilization. The sugar harvest will meet all export obligations, but Cuba may have to buy sugar for home consumption, due to the cyclone and the recent loss of 9,000 tons by fire at Pilon,

The country now is in the state of mobilization both for defense and for sugar cane cutting. The educational program is tremendous and very promising altho a bit disorganized. They do everything on a ~~small~~ <sup>large</sup> scale without regard to organizational details, so much time is lost, resources wasted, and by trial and error something comes out. But the workers, peasants are solidly behind the government and respond to every emergency and need with spirit and vigour. They say here that a Cuban would rather give his life in battle than do a days work. That is a big problem, to settle down to produce and master technique. It is a battle, but since the country has had no respite from ~~provocations~~ <sup>provocations</sup> and threats, it keeps the people on their toes.

Socialist forms of work and collective effort has worked wonders here. It is changing relations among people and isolating the old bourgeois and petty bourgeois tendencies. Altho in Havana there is a great deal of gripping and they are subject to the continuous flow of ~~propaganda~~ <sup>propaganda</sup> and rumours from Miami and from the internal underground.

This is the most inspiring and the most frustrating country to work in, but I love it.

Para: Economic situation

Para on our Party Cuba now ~~desires~~  
Wages!

Wages