

X: CIA
X: Lasky, Victor *16 Dec 60*

9 December 1960

Handwritten signature/initials

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

1. This memorandum is for information only.
2. Victor Lasky sent me the attached copy of a Cuban propaganda publication, "Fair Play," published by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 799 Broadway, New York 3, New York. Robert Taber is Editor.
3. There are references to the Director on Page 2 and to the Deputy Director on Page 3. This publication is conducting a ten-day airplane all-expense tour to Cuba, applications closing tomorrow, 10 December 1960. The total expense is, including plane fare each way, from Miami \$100, and from New York \$220. This organization has organized Fair Play and Student Council chapters across the country, claiming 40 of the latter to date. They have arranged, as they state, student demonstrations at the United Nations headquarters with the slogans "Hands Off Cuba" and "Send Federal Troops To Louisiana, Not Cuba."
4. Carleton Beals, William Worthy (of Afro-American), Izzy Stone (of Washington), and Professor C. Wright Mills are obviously active workers with this organization.
5. I plan to forward this publication to WH after the DCI has seen it.

[Redacted] (b)(3)

STANLEY J. GROGAN
Assistant to the Director

Attach.
cc: DDCI w/o attach.

DEC 19 REC'D

*Only Eight More Days
To Join Xmas-in-Cuba Tour!*
(See Page 4)

Fair Play

Vol. 2 No. 7

December 2, 1960



New York

15 cents

Polishing Up the Big Stick:

Another Step Toward U.S. Intervention in Cuba

As a nation, we suddenly found ourselves committed last month to a military adventure of appalling recklessness in Central America—skirting what C. Wright Mills of Columbia University calls, in all seriousness, “the perils of disastrous mistakes.” (See Page 3)

Taking time out from the inevitable golf at Augusta, Ga., President Eisenhower ordered an aircraft carrier and a destroyer squadron to Central American waters, with instructions to halt—if need be to *sink*—any craft carrying men or materials of war to Guatemala or Nicaragua.

The pretext: a flare-up of popular insurrection in those banana and coffee republics, and with it the entirely imaginary threat of a “Communist” invasion from revolutionary Cuba—or elsewhere.

(The President merely said “abroad.” White House Secretary clarified: “Abroad could mean Cuba or any other place abroad.”)

The real object of the show of strength appeared to be (1) to intimidate the Guatemalan and Nicaraguan *insurrectos* and any other restless Latin Americans, while propping up those pillars of U.S.-style democracy, Guatemala’s General Ydigoras and the Somoza brothers; (2) further to pave the way toward overt military intervention in Cuba itself, with or without the sanction of the Organization of American States.

The logic involved is apparently to the effect that if Cuba can be branded as an aggressor in Latin America, no one will shed any tears on her behalf when the Marines storm ashore—or a UN “police” force, as the case may be.

What Latin America Thinks

Latin-American reaction, even in the most conservative quarters, was about what Eisenhower & Company should have expected it to be, assuming that they were at all in touch with sentiment south of the border. But this may, of course, be too generous an assumption.

Newspapers like Bogota’s sober *El Tiempo* found themselves “profoundly disturbed.” *Diario Carioca* in Brazil put its editorial finger on the cause of concern: “The big danger . . . is that we shall confirm the gravest precedent: that it will be enough for any Latin-Ameri-

What’s Cooking?

Puerto Barrios, last stronghold of the Guatemalan rebels, surrendered on Wednesday, Nov. 16, and the same day Nicaragua announced that its revolt was crushed. Why, then, the flamboyant announcement from Augusta the following day? The election is over. So is the revolt. Why, then, the marshalling of a 33,000 ton aircraft carrier and four destroyers, a huge armada against the mosquito boat fleets available in the Caribbean? Is this really a tryout for the more dangerous game of throwing a barricade around Cuba? Hanson Baldwin in *The New York Times* last Sunday (Nov. 20) said it could be a precedent for such action.***

There is also some ground to fear that the CIA may be preparing an invasion of Cuba. *The Nation* (Nov. 19) said Dr. Ronald Hilton, director of the Institute of Hispanic-American Affairs at Stanford, was told on a recent visit to Guatemala that the CIA had acquired a \$1,000,000 tract of land near the seacoast that was being used to train Cuban counter-revolutionaries for an invasion. From Guatemala City a *New York Times* correspondent Nov. 20 quoted President Ydigoras as denying this report and insisting that the land was being used by his army for guerrilla warfare training and that the project was not U.S. subsidized. But when opposition deputies asked for an investigation after these reports were published in the Guatemalan newspaper, it was refused on the grounds of military secrecy. Just what are we cooking up in the Caribbean?—I. F. Stone’s *Weekly*, Nov. 28.

can government to term as Communist any movement forming against it, to count on prompt, decisive North American intervention even without the opinion of the OAS.”

The Uruguayan *Marcha* underlined a fact which few

(Continued on Page 2)

U.S. Warships in the Caribbean: Another Step Toward Intervention

(Continued from Page 1)

if any U.S. newspapers had the grace to admit: "General Eisenhower has ordered the Navy and Air Force to seek out and impede any Communist attack on Guatemala and Nicaragua.*** General Ydigoras Fuentes and the Somoza brothers can rest easy. The Marines are protecting their sleep.*** But in this episode *neither the United States Government nor its friendly regimes have been able to produce a single concrete proof of Castro intromission to justify the patrol.*"

By and large, the U.S. public seemed to view the proceedings unperturbed. The only public protest heard was in New York, where six hundred *Fair Play* pickets staged a two-hour "Hands Off Cuba" demonstration at the United Nations. (Nov. 26.)

Just Call Us 'Muscles'

With honorable exceptions, the press was true to form, somehow managing to suggest, in tones of sleepy self-satisfaction, that callousness to the interests of other peoples was a form of forbearance and that they ought to be grateful for our big brotherliness. To quote from *Newsweek*:

"—the U.S. had evidently decided that the time had come to flex the Navy's muscles in public; peaceably and within the niceties of diplomatic protocol(!)—but still another reminder that *Central America's Good Neighbor to the north was also a neighbor of towering strength.*"

Still a big, bullying boob, that is.

Nowhere in the commentary of the mass media or the utterances of our leaders has the obvious question been raised: what happens if the ship that gets sunk while we're flexing our muscles turns out to have been a Soviet merchantman?

We hope that President-Elect Kennedy is thinking about that—but already there is much to discourage such a hope, including his confirmation of CIA chief Allan Dulles, the architect of our present disastrous Cuban policy.

What You Can Do

If Kennedy, as president, does veer from the aggressive course charted by Kennedy the presidential candidate, it will only be in response to a clamorous public opinion that does not, at the moment, exist.

Fair Play has its work cut out for it. We have made a start, with chapters now established in most of the principal cities, and branches of the new *Student Council* on more than forty college campuses. But organizational reports, pamphlets, and good intentions won't do the job, nor will an occasional demonstration. What is needed is thousands of letters to the White House, to the newspapers, to Congress; and public protest meetings from coast to coast that will serve notice that the American people do not support Washington's present Latin American policy.

To accomplish this—to help prevent an "incident"

Monroe Lived Long Ago

"For what does the national freedom of a sovereign state mean if it does not mean that it has control in its own territory, over its own resources, over its own military force?***

"President Monroe was your President about 137 years ago. That is a long time; what he said is not exactly eternal. He was not a Cuban, anyway, nor a Brazilian, a Mexican, a Chilean. He was a Yankee. And this Monroe Doctrine with all the things that have been added to it and the interpretations made of it, these are not doctrines built on any consultation with any of the governments of any of the peoples of Latin America. It has been a Yankee policy, enforced militarily by the United States Marines, used economically by the United States corporations, and used politically by the United States Government—to interfere in the internal and international affairs of Latin American countries."—from *Listen, Yankee*, by C. Wright Mills.

"It is only when popular revolt breaks out that the U.S. takes a hand, and then only to spread alarm about the dangers of Communism and now of that new bugaboo, Castroism. * * * Is it any wonder that Castro is a hero in Latin America, and that we appear to be the main obstacle to aspirations for a more decent life below the border? Yankee imperialism, to our shame, is not just a propaganda slogan in Central America. It is a reality. To recognize this, and to stop blinding ourselves with nonsense about Cuban plots, is the first essential to wiser politics and better relations.—I. F. Stone's *Weekly*, Nov. 19.

that could start a global war—the *Fair Play for Cuba Committee* and the *Student Council* urgently need funds. That means contributions and memberships.

If you have not yet joined the Committee, send in your membership application and dues *today*. If you are already a member, pass this along to someone who hasn't heard about *Fair Play*. Help us to build an organization that can stop that muscle-flexing in the Caribbean and avert the military miscalculation that could mean curtains for us all.

SIGN UP TODAY! SUPPORT FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA!

GOING TO CUBA FOR CHRISTMAS?

If you are, better hurry! The closing date for applications for Fair Play's Christmas tour to Cuba is December 10. If you plan to go, now is the time to send in your check and reservation. Details on Page 4.

Listen, Yankee: Cuba Could be Our Last Chance

Last August the editor of *Fair Play* had the pleasure and privilege of accompanying Columbia University sociologist C. Wright Mills (*The Power Elite; White Collar*) on a tour of Cuba, and watching him in action as he intensively interviewed the revolutionary leaders, from Fidel Castro on down.

The end product of Mills' exhaustive survey (he is nothing if not thorough; in preparing material for *White Collar*, he went so far as to post stenographers in ladies' rooms to catch the off-guard chat of office girls) is a boldly controversial new book, *Listen, Yankee*.

It is Mills' opinion—and he says so in the most emphatic manner possible—that we had *better* listen:

"No matter what you may think of it, no matter what I think of it—Cuba's voice is a voice that must be heard in the United States of America. Yet it has not been heard. It must now be heard because the United States is too powerful, its responsibilities to the world and to itself are too great, for its people not to be able to listen to every voice of the hungry world.

"If we do not listen to them, if we do not hear them well, we face all the perils of ignorance—and with these, the perils of disastrous mistakes. * * * Some of the mistakes of ignorance have already been made, in our name, by the United States Government—and with disastrous consequences everywhere in the world for the image and future of the United States. But perhaps it is not too late for us to listen—and to act."

Mills makes no pretense of being "objective" in the journalistic sense. He says frankly that his purpose is to present, "as clearly and as emphatically as I can," the voice of the Cuban revolutionary, the Cuban side of the story, which the U.S. press has so lamentably failed to present.

This view is projected in a series of imaginary letters from a sort of composite Cuban. The style is at times disconcerting: "We Cubans know that you believe we are all led by a bunch of Communists, that the Russians are soon going to set up a rocket base, or something like that, here in Cuba, aimed at you; that we have killed thousands of people, out of hand, and are still doing it; that we have no democracy or freedom; and that we have no respect for private property. What you believe about us, after all, is your own business; we don't really care."

But the content is solid and full of surprises; and the message comes across, powerfully:

"Today the revolution is going on in Cuba. Tomorrow—not next year—it is going to be going on elsewhere. A revolution like ours does not come about just because anyone wants it. . . . We don't take satis-

Mills on Cuba and Communism

"The first thing you must realize is that this Communist Party of Cuba has never been very large or very strong as a party. Your CIA deputy (Gen. C. P. Cabell, deputy director, CIA), at the end of 1959, estimated 17,000 Communist Party members in Cuba. Maybe so. It sounds about right.

"The second thing that's important is that this party did not play any part at all in the making of our revolution. The revolution, as we've told you, was made in the Sierra Maestra; and it is there that we really won out over the tyranny. For over five years, in fact—before we won—the Communists, when they didn't ignore us, were political rivals of our movement. We owed them nothing when we triumphed over Batista's tyranny. They didn't help. And any part Communists now have in our revolutionary Government is because our Government gave them that part. They are there because they are now, like almost everyone else, helping our revolution. They didn't make any revolution.

"The plain fact is, our revolution has outdone the Communists on every score. . . . In fact, this is the case generally with local Communist parties in Latin America. In a real revolution today, in Latin America, at least, the local Communists are to the right of the revolution. . . . They always arrive too late and with too little. This has been the case in Cuba and it still is the case: they lag behind our revolution."—*Listen, Yankee*, by C. Wright Mills, McGraw Hill and Ballantine Books, 1960. (Obtainable in paperback through *Fair Play*, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.; 50¢.)

faction in the fact that we are the center of the cold war in the Caribbean. We don't like the cold war anywhere—who does? But we are glad, we have to be glad, that finally many things that must be done are now being done in Cuba.

"So what can we say to you to make you understand?

"Can we say: Become aware of our agonies and our aspirations? If you do it will help you to know what is happening in the world you are living in. Take Cuba as the case; in terms of it, re-think who you are, American.

"What does Cuba mean?

"It means another chance for you."

Recommended reading.

F-P Pickets March in 'Hands Off Cuba' Protest

Although *Fair Play's* Christmas tour to Cuba has been taking most of the attention of *F-P* and *Student Council* chapters across the country (40 of the latter to date) in recent weeks, there have also been some other noteworthy activities.

In New York, some six hundred pickets from the local *F-P* chapter and supporting organizations put on a two-hour demonstration Saturday before the United Nations headquarters, in vigorous protest against the U.S. naval blockade established in the Caribbean to fend off a mythical "invasion" from Cuba.

The slogan of the demonstration was "Hands Off Cuba!" Among others displayed on the picket line the one we liked best was "Send Federal Troops to Louisiana, Not to Cuba!" Security begins at home after all.

A controversy of sorts erupted at the College of The City of New York when *Student Council* organizers there set up a speaking date on Thursday for Raul Roa, Jr., Cuban minister plenipotentiary attached to the Cuban Mission to the UN. A member of the faculty objected, and was quoted as having said that no "unwashed" Cuban would get his permission to speak at CCNY. The upshot was a protest from the aroused student body that brought an invitation from the Student Government itself, instead of just one of the on-campus clubs.

Michigan State University's Professor Samuel Shapiro, who had found himself in hot water after writing a controversial article about Cuba in the *New Republic* ("I thought this sort of thing only happened to Com-

munists. I'm not a Commie; I'm a loyal American!"), addressed a *Fair Play* meeting Tuesday night in Cleveland.

And in California, Stanford U's Professor Paul Baran was heard on t.v. with economist Paul Sweezy, co-author of *Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution*, in a powerful defense of the Cuban Revolution.

On the Calendar of coming events:

¶ Author Carleton Beals (*The Crime of Cuba* and 30-odd others books) speaks Monday evening, Dec. 5, at the Community Church of New York, at a meeting sponsored by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Subject: "Is Latin-America Going the Way of Cuba?" (Editor: "I hope so." Beals: "Me, too.") Beals also has speaking dates January 22 in Philadelphia, and sometime in March in Racine, Wisc.

¶ Afro-American reporter William Worthy and New York *F-P* chairman Richard Gibson speak Wednesday evening, Dec. 7, at the Royal Manor, 157th & Broadway, in Manhattan, under the sponsorship of the Upper Manhattan Committee for Racial Equality.

¶ I. F. Stone—who has been barnstorming without let-up in the Boston area—speaks there again at a *Fair Play* meeting Saturday evening, Dec. 9.

¶ C. Wright Mills, author of *Listen, Yankee* (Get your paperback copy from *Fair Play*; 50¢), will be heard coast-to-coast on NBC at 9:30 PM, EST, in a television debate with Adolf Berle Jr., former under-secretary of state for Latin-America Affairs. Subject: Cuba.

Our mail-bag has been heavy with inquiries concerning the *Fair Play* Christmas-in-Cuba tour Dec. 23-Jan. 2 (ten days, all expenses for \$100 from Miami, \$220 from New York), and the telephones at *F-P* headquarters in Manhattan have been ringing constantly.

Indications are that *Cubana* planes from Miami will be jammed with *Fair Play* and *Student Council* members coming in by air, bus, train and private car from as far away as California. Some students even plan to hitch-hike.

Chicago is sending a plane-load to Miami by special charter. It is too early to know for sure, but chances are that the New York flight will be sold out.

This is by way of a reminder. We have to know how many visitors to expect, so that Havana can make plans, at least two weeks beforehand.

That means that all reservations must be made—and paid in full, by check or money order—on or before December 10.

DECEMBER 10th IS YOUR LAST CHANCE TO SIGN UP FOR FAIR PLAY'S

LOW COST, ALL EXPENSE CHRISTMAS-IN-CUBA TOUR. So if you have not yet sent in your reservation, **DO IT TODAY!**

Just fill out the coupon below and send it to:

FAIR PLAY TOUR
799 Broadway
New York 3, N. Y.

Please make _____ reservation(s) for me on *Fair Play's* all-expense Christmas-in-Cuba tour.

I wish to fly from New York Miami

I will be accompanied by the following members of my family:

Enclosed is my check or m.o. for _____

Price in full: \$100 from Miami, including two-way transportation and all expenses in Cuba; \$220 non-stop from New York.