"Gap" in North American Defenses

CANADA—A WEAKENING ALLY?

Now it's Canada that is worrying U. S. defense planners.

Reason: Nuclear warheads essential to Hemisphere defense are not in place. Result: Charges of foot dragging in Ottawa, sharp words in Washington—and a Government crisis for Canada.

OTTAWA

On both sides of the border, Canada's value as a defense partner of the U. S. now is being seriously questioned.

The persistent unwillingness of Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker to equip Canadian forces with nuclear arms has put a severe strain on relations between the North American allies.

The extent of this strain was made clear on January 30, when the U. S. coldly told Canada that nuclear weapons are essential to joint U. S.-Canadian defense of this continent.

The "bombshell." The U. S. statement said that Canada, in recent secret negotiations, has failed to propose any workable plan for arming its forces with U. S. nuclear warheads to counter Russia's atomic-bomber squadrons.

Here in Ottawa, the U. S. statement ignited a battle in Parliament that shook the Diefenbaker Government. The Prime Minister himself accused the U. S. of an "unwarranted intrusion" in Canadian affairs.

One opposition leader—Robert Thompson, head of the Social Credit Party—declared:

"Once again, the United States has had to state Canadian policy for Canada. It is regrettable that indecision of the Prime Minister has forced the United States, obviously in self-defense, to interfere in what should be strictly a Canadian matter."

Military men in both Canada and the U. S. say that the nuclear-weapons "gap" in Canada has dangerously weakened not only the continent's defenses, but also the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's defense position in Europe.

The promise. It was four years ago that Mr. Diefenbaker promised the U. S. that Canada would acquire the nuclear punch the U. S. offered to provide.

The unkept promise has brought sharp attacks on the Diefenbaker Government.

Critics assert that, without nuclear weapons, Canada's antiaircraft missiles and warplanes are useless.

Said the influential "Financial Post" of Toronto, for example:

"Canada's allies regard us as a washout and our policies as a bust—militarily, diplomatically and economically."

Other critics—including some Canadian military experts—accuse the Government of going back on its word, breaking faith with allies, making Canada's defenses ineffective if not impotent.

A former chief of the Canadian Air Force staff charged recently: "We are no longer meeting our obligations. We are not equipped for immediate action. We have permitted a gap to appear in the defenses of North America.

"Now, as result of the halfway measures we have taken, our portion of the defense partnership is falling apart."

Chided by Norstad. The issue, simmering for years, boiled over early in January when Gen. Lauris Norstad, retiring from command of NATO forces in Europe, reproved Canada for not having lived up to an agreement to arm Canadian NATO units with nuclear weapons.

The agreement dates back to February, 1959, when Prime Minister Diefenbaker announced that Canada would, with U. S. help, acquire from the U. S. the military hardware needed for a nuclear deterrent.

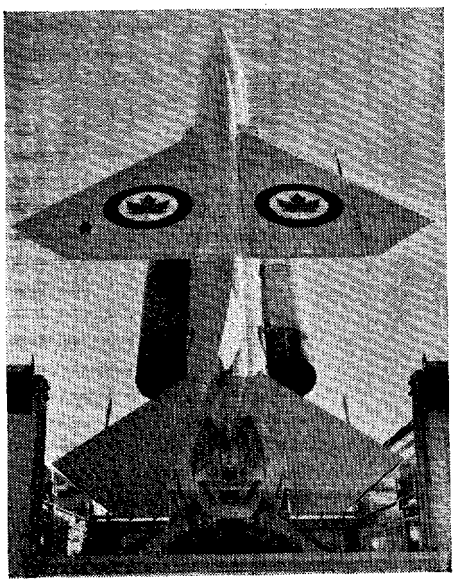
The agreement has never been renounced, but there has been one delay after another, chiefly over the question of custody and control of nuclear arms. Mr. Diefenbaker, unwilling to accept a system of joint control, such as that between the U. S. and Britain, has nevertheless insisted that nuclear warheads could be made available to Canadian forces on a few hours' notice if the need arose.

The Cuban crisis last October threw a spotlight on Canadian defense deficiencies. Fifty-six BOMARC-B missiles —provided by the U. S. and in position at two Canadian bases built mainly with U. S. money—were useless without nuclear warheads. And the Royal Canadian Air Force's 64 Voodoo jet interceptors, which lacked nuclear tips for their Falcon rockets, were more of a liability than an asset, it was argued.

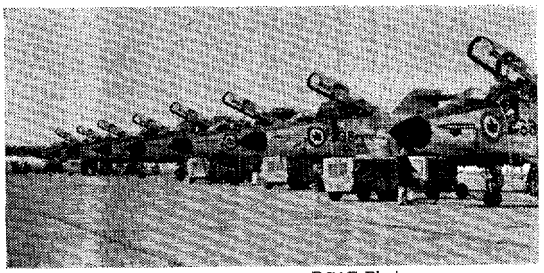
During Cuban Crisis—. At the height of the Cuban crisis, the Canadian Government reportedly refused to permit U. S. Air Force fighters permanently stationed at two Canadian bases to be outfitted with nuclear arms, and to allow nuclear-armed U. S. squadrons to move into position at Canadian bases.

The current defense muddle is rooted in this dilemma that divided the Canadian Cabinet: how to reconcile the Canadian pursuit of world disarmament with the need for protecting Canada until disarmament is achieved.

Canada's defense dilemma may be resolved by a general election later this year. Meanwhile, however, Canadians are finding the nuclear-arms issue confused, contradictory and disturbing.



A Bomarc antiaircraft missile. Canada has 56 Bomarcs, all of them deemed useless because they don't have nuclear warheads.



—RCAF Photos

Canada's Voodoo jets also lack nuclear arms. Critics say they're more of a liability than an asset.

WHY SOVIETS ARE RUSHING A MILITARY BUILDUP IN CUBA

It's more than just Cuba that Khrushchev is after. The Russian dictator—still pouring in Soviet troops and weapons—is building up Fidel Castro's island as a military base for Communist expansion throughout all of Latin America.

Reported from
GUANTANAMO BAY, Cuba,
and MIAMI, Fla.

Cuba, once again, is growing into a military menace. Soviet arms shipments are continuing to arrive in that Red-ruled island. So are Soviet troops.

Evidence of that Soviet buildup in Cuba has been accumulating for weeks. Now it is clear: Nikita Khrushchev is turning Cuba into a Soviet military base of impressive proportions.

At least 18,700—possibly 35,000 or more—Soviet troops are in Cuba. They are armed with Russian-made missiles, planes, tanks, submarines and guns.

What is Khrushchev up to? Why is the Communist boss building such a huge military base in Fidel Castro's Cuba?

As the evidence grows, these Khrushchev aims are becoming clear:

1. Russian troops in Cuba are, first of all, an "occupation force." They serve to keep the Cubans—and Castro—in line. They protect Cuba's Communist regime against revolt from within.

2. Russian military power also serves to protect Cuba against invasion from without. If the United States should invade Cuba now, it would be fighting against Soviet troops. President Kennedy, having missed two opportunities to get Communism out of Cuba, now finds himself facing the possibility of a major war if he should try again.

3. Khrushchev is building in Cuba a base for Communist expansion throughout the Western Hemisphere. From Cuba, with hoards of weapons and hordes of trained fighters, he can carry revolution and subversion into one Latin-American country after another.

Behind this size-up of Soviet activities and aims in Cuba is a mounting mass of new information. From inside Cuba came such reports as these:

- On January 25, a large Soviet ship loaded with military equipment docked in Havana's harbor.
- That same day, 1,500 Russians in military uniforms arrived by ship at another Cuban port.

Officially, the Kennedy Administration is cautious in assessing the significance of such reports. On January 31, the Defense Department confirmed that two large Soviet ships arrived in Cuba but said: "There is no evidence that either carried offensive weapons."

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara said: "Since removal of the missiles, our coverage has not revealed the existence of strategic weapons systems in Cuba."

Cuban exile leaders, however, challenge the claim that all of Khrushchev's offensive missiles have been removed.

On the basis of underground intelligence reports from inside Cuba, these exile leaders say that 44 medium and intermediate-range missiles still remain in Cuba, hidden in caves.

The picture of Cuba that these underground reports paint is one of an island that already has become a huge and well-stocked military base.

Set out in the chart on this page is the underground's count of Soviet weapons and troops in Cuba. This count, the underground leaders maintain, is "conservative."

Russians are not the only foreign troops in Cuba.

There is in Cuba an organization called the "International Brigade." Its members are mostly Latin Americans brought into Cuba for training in sabotage and guerrilla warfare. Their trainers are Russians, Czechs, Red Chinese and Spanish "Republicans" who fought in Spain's Civil War.

Men of the International Brigade are known as "special mission" forces. Their "special mission" is to go back to their home countries in Latin Amer-

SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH IN CUBA —AN UNDERGROUND INTELLIGENCE REPORT

The following figures on Soviet armed strength in Cuba come from intelligence reports of anti-Castro underground organizations working inside Cuba:

Troops: At least 18,700 Russians, perhaps as many as 35,000, including five Soviet generals.

Missiles: Soviets removed 42, but 44 medium and intermediate-range missiles are reported still in Cuba, hidden in caves, manned by Russians. In addition, 140 or more ground-to-air or ground-to-sea missiles are in Cuba. All missiles are capable of carrying nuclear warheads.

Planes: 184 MIG fighters have been counted, capable of carrying nuclear bombs into U. S. Also in Cuba are 37 Soviet transport planes, 83 Soviet helicopters. No jet bombers are known to remain in Cuba.

Submarines: 12 to 15 Soviet submarines are manned by Russians, operate from at least four new Russian-built bases.

Tanks: 260 Soviet-made T-34s and T-54s.

Patrol boats: 32, including nine with launchers for nuclear rockets.

Guns: 1,900 artillery pieces, 2,200 antiaircraft guns, 2,720 mortars, 425,000 rifles and small arms.

ica and spread revolution, start wars of "national liberation."

The Communist idea is to avoid using Cubans to invade other nations in the Western Hemisphere because that would almost certainly bring retaliation by the U.S. and Organization of American States.

An underground report on the Communist organization for subversion in Latin America has been given to "U.S. News & World Report" by Manuel A. de Varona, a member of the Cuban Revolutionary Council. That report says:

"There is a Revolutionary Command for Latin America in charge of directing military action throughout the continent. This command is international in character and was created in Havana, in 1959, under the personal supervision of Soviet Col. Jaroslav Volenkesky, Chinese Lin Chiao Yen and the Spanish General Alberto Bayo. Ché Guevara [a top Castro aide] and Raúl Castro [Fidel's brother] belong to this command.

"Its mission is to prepare armed action in the Caribbean area, with ramifications in all parts of the continent. This action is not planned for invasion from abroad, but for what the Communists call 'national-liberation wars,' which consist of invading from within with a strong decisive support from abroad."

The International Brigade, according to this report, "operates under the direction of the Revolutionary Command."

In addition to its training bases in Cuba, the Brigade is said to have operation bases—with guerrilla groups and stores of arms—in Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica and Venezuela.

Stirrers of trouble. Numerous acts of troublemaking and sabotage in 10 Latin-American countries are attributed to this international outfit. So is a plot to blow up installations in New York City which was uncovered last November.

With all these troops and weapons in Cuba, the Soviet Union now is engaged in a vast building program there. Military barracks are going up. Radio transmitters and military telephone lines are being installed.

Biggest Russian troop concentration is reported near the town of Remedios, in Las Villas Province. There work is being rushed at top speed. Remedios recently ran short of water because the military construction was using up its supply.

Directing the show for the Russians, according to underground intelligence, are five Soviet generals.

Head man is identified as Gen. C. O. Slazenko. He has set up headquarters on the top three floors of a 20-story building in Havana.

Now, only three months after most Americans thought Khrushchev had agreed to pull out of Cuba, this is plain:

The Russians are digging in to stay.

From Senator Keating

LATEST FACTS ON RUSSIA'S CUBAN BASE

From the outset, Senator Keating of New York has called the shots on the Soviet buildup in Cuba. In this exclusive interview with members of the staff of "U. S. News & World Report" he details the new power of Khrushchev's base off U. S. shores.

Q Senator Keating, is the Soviet Union continuing to build up its military strength inside Cuba?

A Yes. There has been a constant military buildup since July 1 of last year. Now, there had been a buildup before that, but its intensity increased starting last July, and the buildup is continuing.

Q President Kennedy, in his news conference on January 24, said, "The best information we have is that one ship has arrived since the October crisis, which may have arms on it." Do you know of any other ships that have arrived in Cuba recently carrying Soviet military equipment?

USN&WR Photo

Senator Keating

A There has been other military equipment that has come into Cuba since October.

Interestingly enough, on January 25, the very next day after the President's statement, a second large Soviet vessel arrived in Cuba carrying armaments.

Significantly, I might add, it followed the same route taken by the ships that carried what they call "heavy stuff" into Cuba last summer—before the missile crisis of October. That route is one that was very probably chosen with some care.

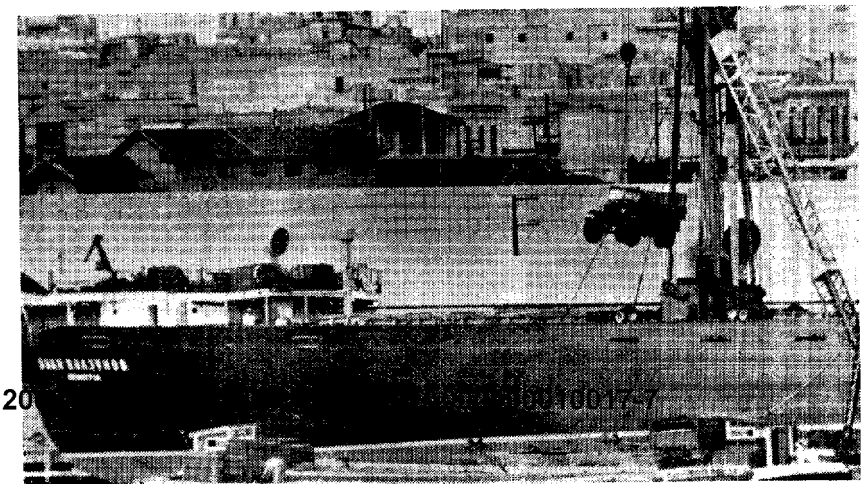
Q What is the significance of that route?

A Well, the route is generally known to our intelligence experts as a "high security" route. It includes areas where we are least able to check up satisfactorily on the ships' cargoes, and uses docking facilities in Cuba which are completely closed off to outsiders day and night. This is the same route and same kind of treatment that was given to the ships last autumn that carried in the first medium-range missiles.

Certainly we should have known that the very day after the President's statement a second ship bearing armaments was arriving. I hope we don't

RUSSIAN SHIP unloads a military-type truck in Havana during week of January 20. Other ships, says Senator Keating, have brought arms to Cuba.

—Wide World Photo



. . . "Russian troops and technicians in Cuba are digging in"

derive our intelligence solely from the fact that a ship has arrived. We should know what is coming on ships.

Q This second ship—did its cargo consist primarily of weapons?

A That is my understanding. I won't say there wasn't anything else on it, but it was primarily arms.

Q Do you know whether this information that you have about the arms buildup in Cuba is available also to the Kennedy Administration?

A I don't know what goes on within the executive branch. All of the information which I have either comes from official sources or has been confirmed by official sources. It is *not*, as some have tried to assert, based on refugee reports. So it is known to officials in Government, but I do not make the assertion that it is known to the President.

Q That first arms ship—the one mentioned by the President—when did it arrive?

A It arrived on the seventeenth of January, and the second ship arrived on the 25th. Now, I think that, when two ships bearing arms come into Cuba within 10 days, that is a very serious situation.

"THREAT TO SECURITY"—

Q If this buildup continues, would you consider it a direct threat to the United States?

A It is a threat to the security of the Western Hemisphere and to the lives and liberty not only of the Cubans but of other Latin-American peoples with which we have treaty obligations.

So, indirectly at least, it is a threat to the lives and liberties of our own American citizens.

Q How much do the Soviets have in Cuba now in the way of military weapons and troops?

A In giving you an estimate, I am going to assume that the long-range and medium-range Soviet missiles and the Soviet bombers that were discovered there last autumn are now out of Cuba.

Q Is there proof that all of those missiles and bombers have been removed?

A No. As the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, said recently, the only way to prove that is by an on-site inspection. You can't prove that by taking pictures of a ship at sea.

But, in what I'm about to say, I'm going to assume that those missiles and bombers are out of there, as we've been told they are.

Even if they are out, when you take it soldier for soldier, MIG fighter plane for MIG fighter plane, torpedo boat for torpedo boat, tank for tank, gun for gun and weapon for weapon, the strength of the Russian military base in Cuba now is 10 times greater than it was on July 1 of last summer. And that's a conservative statement.

Q Is it also greater than it was last October?

A With the exception of the bombers and ground-to-ground missiles, yes, it is. More material has come in. In addition to that, the Russian troops and technicians and other Russian personnel in Cuba are digging in.

There is incontrovertible evidence that they are building a base there. They are building barracks, making it a permanent installation. They are continuing to maintain medium-range-missile sites. And they've been working at these activities in some parts of Cuba around the clock.

This gives rise to the very real possibility that the Russians hope to return heavy missiles to Cuba, or—even more ominous—that they may have missiles left on the island and need only to wheel them out of caves.

Q How many Russians are there in Cuba now, according to your information?

A Twenty thousand or more.

Q How many of those are combat troops?

A I am not able to give you precise figures, but I think that 6,000 to 8,000 would not be excessive. There are combat troops in considerable number.

Q In what kinds of units are those combat troops organized?

A There are some Russians manning antiaircraft guns, many manning antiaircraft missiles. There are Russian infantry units. And there is a sizable combat group of Soviet Air Force personnel in Cuba.

Q Are there Russian pilots in Cuba?

A Yes. The MIG fighter planes are mostly piloted by Russians.

Q Are more Russian troops still pouring into Cuba?

A I have no evidence that there have been additional troops sent in since October, but there may well have been.

I was—really, I'll be very frank with you—I was surprised at the President's statement about the number of Russians who were in Cuba last October. He said in his January 24 news conference that there are now 16,000 to 17,000 Russian soldiers and technicians in Cuba and that about 4,500 have been withdrawn since October.

That would mean that there were between 20,000 and 22,000 Russian soldiers and technicians in Cuba last October. And this is the first public utterance by a Government official to that effect.

Last October I was contending that there were around 12,000 to 15,000 Russians in Cuba and the answer put out by official sources then was that my figure was too high. They said then that the figure was no more than 8,000 to 12,000.

So the Administration now is doubling its own previous estimate of the Russian forces that were in Cuba last October.

Q Besides the combat troops, what other types of Russians are in Cuba?

A There are technicians, what we would call Signal Corps people, labor battalions, technical people, officers training Cubans, military advisers and so forth.

Q What other foreign Communists, besides Russians, are there in Cuba?

A There have been Chinese Communists. I've known of some Czechs, quite a few East Germans, and there are some African personnel. I don't know the nationality of all of them.

Q Do you have any evidence that any Soviet missiles or bombers remain in Cuba today?

A No. I have no evidence that there are—or that there aren't—and I don't believe there is any way of finding that out except to go there and look.

ARMS CASTRO IS GETTING—

Q What kinds of weapons are coming into Cuba now?

A I don't have a detailed analysis of what weapons were on these recent ships. But I can tell you what some of the weapons there now are. There are tanks, guns, ammunition, missile launchers—

Q Missile launchers? For what kinds of missiles?

A For antiaircraft missiles. There are also military vehicles, amphibious vehicles and torpedo boats. These torpedo boats, as well as the MIG planes that are in Cuba, are capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

Q Is there any evidence of nuclear weapons in Cuba?

A I have no firm, official evidence that there are nuclear weapons in Cuba at the moment, but there are an increasing

HAVANA NEWSPAPER "REVOLUCION" published this picture of a Soviet missile in Cuba on January 3. Caption describes it as "the most modern antiaircraft arm in existence, capable of knocking down any enemy."

number of allegations that nuclear weapons are there. Again, I don't think there is any reliable evidence that there aren't.

Q How many MIG fighters are there in Cuba?

A There are more than 150 MIG fighters there. I believe I know the number, but I think, for certain reasons, that it is not in the national interest for me to talk about the exact number at this time.

Q Are those MIG's capable of carrying nuclear weapons?

A Yes. Now, let me make it clear that they would carry smaller nuclear weapons than the bombers would carry.

Q What is the range of the MIG's? How far into the United States could they penetrate?

A They could reach many Southern cities of the U. S. and many areas of the Caribbean. As to their exact range, I think there's some difference of opinion on that. But certainly they have the capability of traveling at least 400 miles from their base and returning, or 800 miles on a one-way trip.

Q How would you classify these weapons that Russia is sending into Cuba? Are they defensive or offensive?

A I think that's a misleading distinction to make. A tank or a MIG fighter or a gun has both offensive and defensive capabilities. It's a little hard to view torpedo boats or amphibious vehicles as defensive weapons. They seem to have more of an offensive than a defensive character. But perhaps it would be fair to say that antiaircraft guns and ammunition, on the other hand, have greater defensive than offensive connotation.

This whole question of offensive or defensive weapons depends on what you think is the intention of the one who is in control of those weapons. It's almost entirely dependent on that subjective judgment, and I just do not accept this distinction between offensive and defensive weapons.

I think that weapons of this general character, increasing in number over a period of six or seven months, and the presence of 20,000 or more soldiers of a foreign nation in Cuba pose a serious threat to us, whether you call those weapons offensive or defensive.

Q Why, do you think, are the Russians keeping such a large military force in Cuba?

A It's pretty hard to read the mind of a Communist, but I would think there are a number of reasons.

One reason is this: We know that they want to extend their influence to other Latin-American countries and to build Cuba as a base for that extension. The evidence of that is manifold.

Secondly, there is a Soviet desire to build a tight police state so as to keep Castro—or some other puppet—in power and to keep the Cuban people under Communist subjugation. They know there is increasing opposition to the Communist regime in Cuba, and, therefore, they need a strong force to keep the populace down. I think this Soviet force now in Cuba is greater than they would need for that purpose, but that is one purpose.

A third purpose of the Soviets is to use the existence of their force in Cuba as a strong bargaining weapon in any negotiations which might take place with the free world. They want to be able to say to us, "Don't forget—at all times, there is a well-equipped, strong Russian military base 100 miles from your shores."

Q Do you mean the Russians intend to use this military buildup in Cuba as a threat?

A I think that is one of the three purposes as I have outlined them. There may be other reasons.

In my judgment, the long-term aim of the Soviet buildup in Cuba probably is to insure that Cuba cannot be liberated by conventional weapons alone. Unless we stop it now, the day will come when we will publicly either have to accept the permanent existence of a Soviet Cuba, exporting aggression as it chooses throughout Latin America, or deliberately choose to use nuclear weapons in this Hemisphere, thus handing the Soviets a permanent propaganda advantage.

Here, however, I want to disavow any fear of an immediate invasion of the United States from Cuba. Sometimes those of us who have urged a strong policy in Cuba are confronted by critics who try to make us look ridiculous by asking us, "Are you afraid that little Cuba is going to invade the United States?"

Well, in the first place, it isn't "little Cuba"—it's Soviet Russia. But I want to make it plain that I do not believe that there's an imminent danger of an invasion of the United States or an attack directly upon the United States from Cuba.

I do believe that, if we let the present buildup continue, Castro and the Soviets are going to get steadily bolder in their forays into Latin America. Subversion, sabotage, bombings, terrorism will increase.

And sooner or later we will have to decide to put an end to it or see the Communists take over South America.

The longer this decision is postponed, the more difficult it will be to execute. That's why the present buildup can only be viewed with the deepest concern.

A NEW "SEA OF TROUBLE" IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Sukarno of Indonesia is a "man in a hurry." He wants Dutch New Guinea delivered now, also wants British Borneo.

There may be war over Borneo. Britain, Malaya, Philippines, even the U. S. are disturbed by Sukarno's appetite for empire.

SINGAPORE

Just months after squeezing the Dutch out of West New Guinea, Sukarno of Indonesia is moving toward war again.

This time Indonesia's strong man is out to get the three British-protected territories of Borneo Island—Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo.

Sukarno's immediate aim is to expand his island empire, already the fifth most populous nation in the world. But Sukarno also is well on his way to upsetting the balance of power in Southeast Asia.

This change, if Sukarno can pull it off, will be a major triumph for Russia, a major disaster for the U. S. Sukarno leans on Russia for arms, on Indonesian Communists for political support. And the Reds are taking their pay in influence, as Sukarno builds his empire.

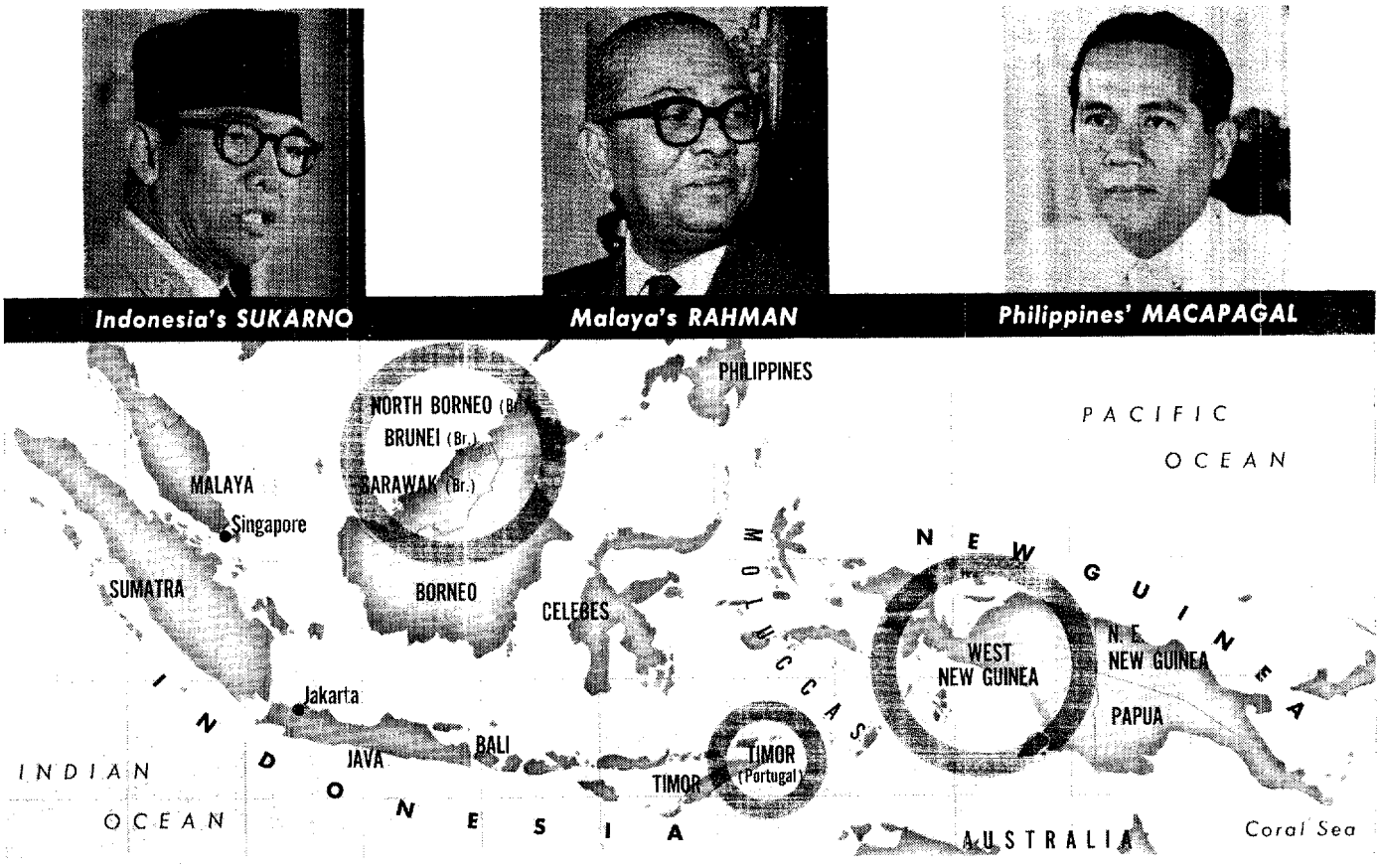
The Indonesian plan of action calls for swift take-overs of vast territories. The pattern is already clear.

First step involved Dutch New Guinea. By invading the island colony by air and sea, threatening a bigger war, and enlisting U. S. support for his claim, Sukarno got a promise last July 31 that West New Guinea would be his by May 1, 1963.

Through last autumn Sukarno exuded peace, good will. Like many a dictator before him, Sukarno said publicly that Indonesia had no further territorial ambitions: "We are not imperialist expansionists, thirsty for territory."

Suddenly, in December, everything changed. Sukarno then made the first moves toward getting Britain's portion of the island of Borneo, already two-thirds Indonesian.

Sukarno first tried Brunei. He backed



Sukarno of Indonesia won West New Guinea from the Dutch, expects to take Portugal's half of Timor when he wants it, but finds hot competition for Britain's real estate on Borneo. **Malaya's Prime Minister Rahman** plans to bring Sarawak, Brunei, North Borneo, Singapore and Malaya into a new federation, Malaysia, by August. **President Macapagal of the Philippines** claims North Borneo. And Britain is set to fight to keep Sukarno from a new grab.