

The Minister of Defense of Guatemala Colonel Enrique Peralta Azurdia issued the following statement today:

"In effect there are regular troops stationed in Retalhuleu which is a Guatemalan Military Base where training is being received by those troops to be prepared for the second aggression which might be organized within Guatemala by Castro or any one coming from outside as an invasion force.

"The U.S. Military Officers which are in Guatemala are members of the Military and Air Missions and very shortly a Navy Mission will be established to also lend technical assistance and training. That is the reason for their being there as they do in most of the Latin American countries. The Guatemalan troops which were receiving training in Retalhuleu for guerrilla warfare were used as an Airborne squadron in the battle of Zacapa and in the one in Puerto Barrios participating very successfully in the crushing of the revolution.

"Guatemala is not an aggressor country, Guatemala is not receiving ten ships every week loaded with war material and equipment manufactured in Communist countries, Guatemala has no Chinese Communist instructors, Guatemala has no jet Communist planes, Guatemala has no Communist guided rockets and missiles, the only thing Guatemala has is men with great hearts ready to fight for their independence and political liberties.

"Batista is not in Guatemala, but Arbenz is in Cuba."

THE
NATION

JANUARY 7, 1961 . . . 25c



For the Kennedy Agenda

FIRST STEPS to BETTER SCHOOLS

Myron Lieberman

GUATEMALA'S SECRET AIRSTRIP

Don Dwigins

DEATH KNELL of 'ALGERIE FRANCAISE'

Alexander Werth



federal support is made available to the states will have a decisive impact on state educational policy. This is not the only way, or necessarily the best way, for the federal government to influence education, but it does emphasize the fact that the federal government can play a key role in matters which are legally controlled by the states.

Suppose that the federal government begins to provide part of the salary for 1,400,000 teachers. Suppose further that a sizable number of states continue to tolerate obviously inadequate requirements for a teaching certificate. If the federal government were to limit federal funds to teachers who meet certain requirements, the pressure in all states to accept these requirements would be irresistible.

The federal government should make every effort to avoid a coercive approach in its relations with the states. Experience in other fields indicates that much can be done to achieve nation-wide improvements in matters legally controlled by the states. But for this to happen, there must be effective national leadership, either in the federal government or in professional organizations, or both.

The Advisory Council of the Democratic National Committee has proposed that the President be required to make an Annual Report on Education to Congress which would be prepared with the help of a Council of Educational Advisers. Hearings on it would be conducted by a joint Congressional Committee on the President's Education Report. Here

is an excellent way to focus national attention on our major educational needs. It illustrates the kind of action Mr. Kennedy could take to stimulate state action on key educational problems.

Some of the most important problems requiring national leadership will not require official Presidential action, yet the President can play a decisive role in resolving them. This is particularly true when it comes to the issue of federal support for non-public schools, especially Catholic parochial schools. The President's task here is not so much to say in the first instance what should be the limits of such aid. It is to get key leaders together to resolve their differences as much as possible.

The analogy here is to a strike which threatens the national safety or welfare. The prestige of the Presidency is first used to bring the parties together to work out an agreement. The government may be forced eventually to prescribe the solution or to approve whatever agreement is reached, but it should do so only after making a strong effort to get the major power blocs to arrive at a consensus. As the federal government assumes a larger share of school costs, controversies relating to federal aid to non-public schools will increase. Now is the time to initiate fruitful informal discussions among key leadership groups. Otherwise, there is a danger that the issues will become dangerously disruptive.

The preceding discussion was based upon the belief that the U.S. Office of Education can and must

play a more dynamic role in the future. I do not say this by way of criticism of present or past commissioners. Rather, my belief is that times have changed and that the U.S. Office of Education must reflect this fact. It must be more than a fact-gathering and fund-distributing agency. It must have the personnel and resources to identify basic educational problems, regardless of area, to conduct research on these problems, and to mobilize whatever forces are needed to resolve them. I would be the first to concede that USOE does this now to some extent. Nevertheless, it is not an important source of educational leadership at the present time. One of the first tasks of the Kennedy Administration will be to remedy this situation.

Finally, the incoming Administration must realize the dimension of its educational agenda. Its problem is not merely to raise teachers' salaries, but to change the institutional structure by which we decide how much to pay teachers. It must recognize that the main issue in certification is not whether to add or delete a few courses, but how to modernize the certification structure over the country as a whole. In short, the basic educational task of the Kennedy Administration is to reform the decision-making structure of education at certain key points. If there is acceptance of this concept, instead of a sincere but misguided effort to solve old problems within an outmoded legal and administrative framework, there will be no limits on what President Kennedy can do in this vital area.

GUATEMALA'S SECRET AIRSTRIP . . . by Don Dwiggins

HAS THE U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) financed construction of a giant new air base in Guatemala to supply anti-Castro forces with a base of operations against Cuba?

To find the answer, I flew down to Guatemala City shortly before Christmas in a deceptively serene non-stop jet flight, five hours from Los Angeles by Pan American's new

DC-8 run. Toward the end of the flight, one looks down from the window of the jet, past its raked wing, upon a peaceful panorama of breathtaking beauty that obscures the feverish activity going on in the tropical coastal jungles 30,000 feet below. In the distance, one sees, past the Sierra Madres, beyond the Continental Divide, where warm Caribbean

waters meet Guatemala at Puerto Barrios, presently a seaport of great significance.

Pacific coastal fog obscured what I was looking for — a secret jet airstrip hacked from the jungles somewhere in the department of Ret-

DON DWIGGINS is aviation editor of the Los Angeles Mirror.

alhuleu, close to the Mexican border.

Later, when I questioned Guatemalan government officials and U.S. consular aides, I found that a cloud still obscured the base. No one in an official position would explain why Guatemala, a country without a single jet plane of its own, needs a jet airstrip for military use.

I first asked U.S. Ambassador Joseph F. Muccio: "Has the United States loaned any money to Guatemala to build a military base in this country?"

"That question you must put to Guatemalan officials," he told me.

I asked the same question of Jesus Unda Murillo, Guatemalan Minister of Foreign Affairs. "Just Cuban propaganda," was his answer.

LATER I pressed the question upon Guatemalan businessmen, journalists and aviation people and got startlingly different answers. Said Alfredo Palmieri, a newsmen I met in Antigua: "Yes, the story is correct. I first broke the story here in Guatemala, about a month ago. But it will be impossible to get to the base."

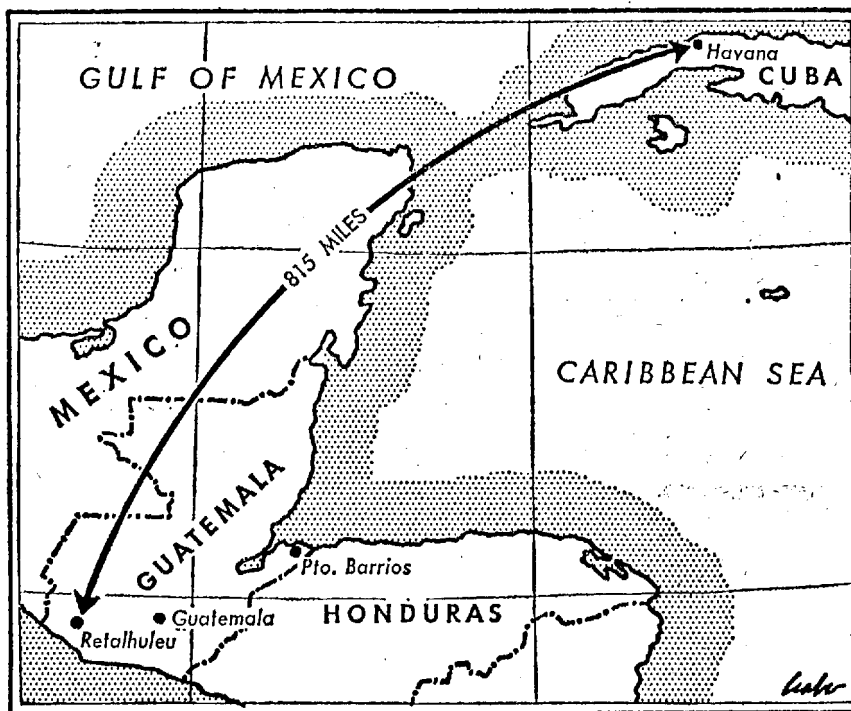
From Palmieri, from a retired U.S. attorney living at Atitlan, from Pan American airline people and from other sources, I was able to confirm the report that first appeared in a *Nation* editorial ("Are We Training Cuban Guerrillas?," *The Nation*, Nov. 19) to the effect that a military base actually exists behind the green curtain of Retalhuleu.

All access to the airfield is cut off. Guards carrying rifles are posted at every approach road. The strip, though its reported 8,000 foot length would seem to be rather short for handling jet fighter traffic, can nevertheless manage these planes because it is at sea level.

The strip is built on land owned by a prominent Guatemalan cattleman, Manuel Ralda. Actual construction is said to have been completed in an eighty-day crash program during the late summer of 1960, under the worst possible climatic conditions of oppressive heat and high humidity.

As there is no airline traffic into Retalhuleu, there is no question as to the airstrip's purpose.

Guatemala's air force, it should be



noted here, consists of corroding war-surplus Mustang fighters, AT-6 trainers and some war-weary twin-engine bombers squatting like wounded birds at Guatemala City's La Aurora Airport.

NOT LONG ago, Dr. Ronald Hilton, director of the Institute of Hispanic-American Studies at Stanford University, returned from Guatemala with evidence that the country is swarming with anti-Castro exiles planning an invasion of the Isle of Pines, off Cuba. [*The Nation* broke the Retalhuleu story on information received from Dr. Hilton. — Ed.]

There, said Dr. Hilton, they hope to set up a Formosa-type government to act as a rally point for foes of Cuba's dictator. Coordinated with this planned invasion, he predicted, will be a build-up of forces at Guatemala's Puerto Barrios, which will serve as a staging area for the maneuver.

While he did not establish that the CIA was behind the Retalhuleu base, Dr. Hilton said "there has been so much talk about it that President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes attempted to explain the whole thing on television." Guatemala, Dr. Hilton pointed out, is close to bankruptcy, and thus not in a position to have provided the \$1,000,000 which the Retalhuleu base must have cost.

Aside from the mystery of who paid for the field is the question of why it is there and what use will be made of it. One report indicates that Retalhuleu is a training base for both air and ground operations of a growing army of volunteers from member states of the Organization of American States. Other reports identify the airstrip as one of a growing network of military bases from which a coordinated attack could easily be launched against Cuba.

In a bar at Caracas, Venezuela, one itinerant pilot told me that there is a go-between who handles secret messages for members of a newly formed Caribbean Legion of fliers of fortune. These fly-for-hire airmen, he said, are secretly bringing into the Caribbean theatre a growing armada of strange aircraft, from British Vampire jet fighters to World War II B-25s and P-51s.

In Los Angeles, a member of a former pro-Castro gun-smuggling ring, now turned anti-Castro, tells of a fantastic air-raid operation scheduled for some time early in 1961.

"They are offering \$25,000 for pilots to fly on this mission," he said.

Who are "they"?

"They're high up in the government," he replied.

According to his story, six A-20s, armed with 600-pound bombs, their

Author says they have

pilots waiting for cash advances before taking off, are scattered on fields in Los Angeles, Miami, Haiti and Venezuela. The plan is for them to streak in low over the water, boom over the Cuban coastline at 4 A.M. one morning, and bomb Castro's oil-storage tanks.

True or not, the story has a not implausible ring. Anti-Castro planes actually have pulled off such raids— but with pamphlets, not bombs. They returned to secret bases—some say to Retalhuleu, some say to Kingston, Jamaica.

At tiny Swan Island in the mid-

Caribbean, a powerful radio station today broadcasts the anti-Castro propaganda messages of Miguel Angel Quevado, exiled former editor of Cuba's *Bohemia* magazine. Home of a U. S. Weather Bureau hurricane tracking station, Swan Island is actually owned by a Boston businessman, Sumner Smith, descendant of Capt. Alonzo Adams, who settled there in 1893.

Castro today is being slowly ringed by a tightening noose as the old Caribbean Legion of tramp air pilots is revitalized. In Nicaragua, President Luis Somoza's pilots, curiously,

are mainly from Japan, Germany and the United States—Somoza trusts his own airmen about as much as he trusts Castro.

But it is in Guatemala, biggest of the Central American countries, where things are most tense. There exiled Cubans are reported to be seeking a leader to rally the scattered opposition to Castro's regime.

The late Col. Carlos Castillo Armas invaded Guatemala in 1954 and overthrew its Left government, became President and later was assassinated by a palace guard. Yet to appear is a Cuban Col. Castillo.

Lessons of the British Peace Drive.. by Stephen Hugh-Jones

Manchester, England
ON GOOD FRIDAY, 1958, more out of curiosity than conviction, I joined the 4,000 people leaving London on the first march organized by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) to the British Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston. After fifteen miles and a morning of the sneers and smears of the British press, there were 600—and I was a member of the CND.

A year later, 4,000 marchers left Aldermaston and the final rally in London was 15,000 strong. By now the editorial writers' ridicule had changed to a pitying respect: our motives, of course, were fine, and our proposals, of course, ill thought out and impractical. Last April, 40,000 marchers joined a crowd as large in Trafalgar Square to make the greatest political demonstration seen in Britain since the war; and in October their policy became (in theory) that of Britain's second largest party. Respect turned to real fear.

What has this old history to do with you as an American? Senator Kennedy's victory offers opportunities for peace that we have not known since 1946. But it is crucial how the ambiguities in his program are defined: that America strong and renewed should not mean two rock-

ets where one grew before, that the appointment of ambassadors who know what continent they are in not imply just more efficient propaganda. The choice is between trying to win the cold war, and trying to end it.

The politics of the cold war still rules the European Left, but there are signs of revolt. The unilateralists have—for a time, at least—captured the British Labour Party. In France, Mollet's "Socialists" have been facing, since April, the genuine *Parti Socialiste Unifié*. The German Social Democrats, who two years ago, with the trade unions, launched an ineffective campaign "*Gegen den Atomtod*" ("Against Atom Deaths") have since moved rapidly Right, especially after the Summit failure. But they are in conflict with many of their student adherents (the Dutch Socialists are in a similar position). In Denmark, where the Social Democrats are in power, a new neutralist Socialist Party won eleven seats in the recent elections.

All these are minority movements. In Britain, opinion polls suggest we have about one-fifth support. In France and Germany, the movements are almost trivial. But our British experience has shown the potentiality of even the tiniest group. What is missing from this concert of minorities is the voice of the United States. Those few Europeans who have heard of SANÉ are inclined to wish

unkindly that it were sometimes just a little loony. American radicals cannot capture either major party. But they could create a force which would influence opinion during the vital first year of the Kennedy regime. For such a task the experience and mistakes of the British CND may have lessons.

THE CND came formally into existence in January, 1958, at a meeting in London. Bertrand Russell was elected president, and the chairman was John Collins, a canon of St. Paul's Cathedral. But for its origins one must go back at least to early 1957, when it was announced that Britain was shortly to test its first H-bomb. The test was successfully carried out near Christmas Island in the Pacific on May 15.

There was an immediate reaction. For many British people—perhaps a majority—it was a happy event. Confused and humiliated by the fiasco of Suez, now they could hold up their heads. Britain was Great again. But among others, particularly the students, who were already urging postponement of tests, the reaction was sharp and hostile.

It is necessary to say something about the students, who played so large a part in subsequent events. Except for a brief flowering of Marxism in the thirties, British students had never shared the European tra-

STEPHEN HUGH-JONES is on the staff of the Manchester Guardian.

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New York Times.

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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1961.

FIVE CENTS

KENNEDY TO MEET WITH EISENHOWER AGAIN ON JAN. 19 U. S. Helps Train an Anti-Castro Force At Secret Guatemalan Air-Ground Base

Clash With Cuba Feared — Installations Built With American Aid

By PAUL P. KENNEDY
Special to The New York Times

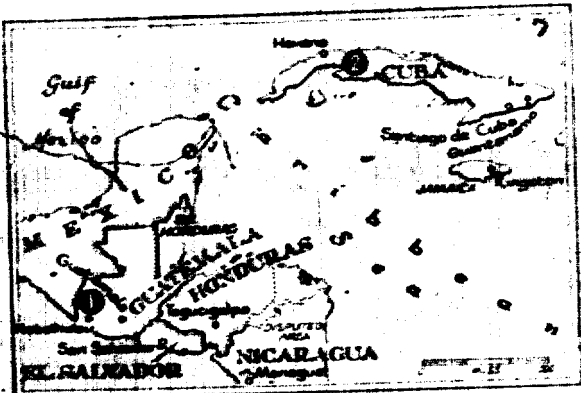
RETALHULE, Guatemala, Jan. 9. This area is the focal point of Guatemala's military preparations for what Guatemalans consider will be an almost inevitable clash with Cuba.

There is intensive daily air training here from a partly hidden airfield, in the Cordillera Occidental, a few miles back from the Pacific, commando-like forces are being drilled in guerrilla warfare tactics by foreign personnel, mostly from the United States.

The United States is assisting this effort not only in personnel but in matériel and the construction of ground and air facilities.

Guatemalan authorities from President Miguel Ydigoras is maintaining complete silence on the subject. Guatemalan authorities well speak guardedly about it.

Opponents of the Ydigoras



The New York Times
Guatemala is building her military strength at a U. S.-equipped base at Retalhuleu in anticipation of an eventual clash with the Castro Government of Cuba (2).

Administration have insisted for assistance in the Retalhuleu and air operations said that the preparations are for an offensive against the Cuban regime of Premier Fidel Castro and that they are being planned and directed, some of a great extent being paid for, by the United States.

The United States Embassy in Washington considered that the amount and type of material applied for went beyond the scope of defensive operations.

This source showed a man who has ne-

Continued on Page 11, Column 1

NEW FRENCH MOVE FOR EARLY PEACE IN ALGERIA IS SEEN

Referendum Victory Viewed as Challenge to de Gaulle to Find Solution Quickly

PRESIDENT IS SATISFIED

European Settler Populace Bitter and Fearful as Vote Brings Sense of Isolation

By ROBERT C. DOTY

PARIS, Jan. 9. President de Gaulle's victory yesterday in the referendum on his Algerian policy brought little less a urgent challenge to him to achieve peace quickly in the opinion of observers here.

The President was reported to have expressed satisfaction with the result of the poll, but he remained silent on his plans for using his victory to end the war.

The new appeal to the

Second Session Will Include Leading Officials of the Two Administrations

By FELIX BELAIR Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9.

President Eisenhower arranged today for a second meeting with President-elect John F. Kennedy. It will take place Jan. 19, the day before the inauguration.

A private meeting between the President and his successor will be followed by an expanded conference with their ranking advisers on foreign, fiscal and military affairs.

The President met with Mr. Kennedy on Dec. 6. At that time the two conferred privately for more than two hours before going into a Cabinet room meeting with the outgoing Secretaries of State, Treasury and Defense.

U. S. Helps Anti-Castro Force At Secret Base in Guatemala

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

on two counts. First, he maintained that the materials desired were demonstrably of a defensive nature. Second, he said there were "loads of Czechoslovak military equipment stored in Guatemala but without ammunition. The equipment had been purchased by the Communist-infiltrated regime of Dol Jacobo Arbenza Guzman, who was overthrown in 1954.

"We will have the equipment and it is usable," the informant said, but he added: "The only way we can get ammunition for his equipment is to go into a commercial transaction with landing. None of the craft bore Czechoslovak and we do not want to do that."

President Ydigoras agreed in an interview that training in guerrilla warfare tactics was being carried out in the foothills of the large plantation named Helvetia. This plantation is situated a few miles from the provincial capital.

The President also said that the air base about three miles west of the capital toward the Pacific was being used for military purposes. However, he added that he hoped it would be transformed to a commercial use in the foreseeable future.

The airfield is partly fenced by a corrugated metal wall. The present airstrip was constructed last summer over an already established base that had been used in the 1954 rebellion by fighter planes with American pilots who attacked military objectives in Guatemala, the country's capital.

The present installation was constructed in an around-the-clock operation by a North American construction company. The name given here was Cornwall-Thompson.

[Officials of Thompson-Cornwall, Inc., contractors

with offices in the Chrysler Building, could not be reached for comment Monday night.

According to a Guatemalan authority who helped arrange the details of the construction, it was paid for partly by subscriptions from land owners in the Fourth Military Zone, in which the State of Retalhuleu is situated, and partly by the United States. The latter was by far the heavier contributor.

The concrete strip, more than 5,000 feet long, is used by two B-26 planes and two DC-4's or B-36's. A third B-26 on the field is inoperable because of some damage apparently caused in a crash and other minor installations.

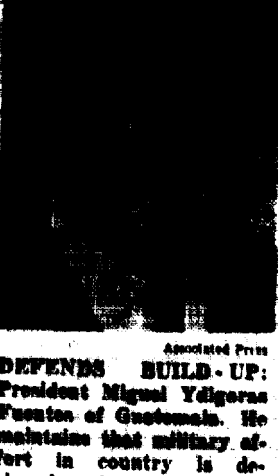
Besides a large civilian-like terminal building, the field has several buildings that look like barracks as well as a radio shack and other minor installations.

The field is not a military installation in the true sense. It could not possibly serve in its present state as a large-scale offensive base. It has no dispersal areas, hardstands for plane parking or lateral exit-ing and entering runways.

According to persons assisting in directing the construction of the base, the strip will take four-engine planes up to the C-54 type. It was agreed that in an emergency the present strip could handle jet fighters, but only in limited operational scope and with an element of danger.

Although the air operation is about ten miles from the commando-training area, the two are geared for quick cooperative action.

This was shown in early November during an abortive barracks revolt in which the rebels had captured three important garrison cities before they were



Associated Press

DEFENDS BUILD-UP:

President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes of Guatemala. He maintains that military effort in country is designed only for defense.

defeated by a combination of air power and ground troops.

The commando troops, who are divided into separate groups, one from each of Guatemala's eight military zones, were flown immediately to their respective military zone units and were swiftly integrated. The groups were returned to the Helvetia training center after limited combat.

The Helvetia finca, or plantation, lies high in the foothills about five miles east of the road to the port of Champerico on the Pacific coast.

Its nearly 3,000 acres are operated and largely owned by Roberto Aledo Arzu, president of the National Association of Coffee Planters and probably the largest independent coffee producer in the country. He is a close friend and advisor of President Ydigoras, who spent last week-end at the Aledo Helvetia home.

At the entrance of the Helvetia estate the road is blocked

by armed guards. He is challenged again five miles beyond the entrance by many more guards. Here, and in the plantation village, there is a relatively heavy detachment of troops and stored munitions.

This writer, because of a momentary lapse in security, proceeded nearly two miles farther up into the mountains before being stopped and sent back down to the plantation village.

Only plantation workers with special passes were supposed to reach that point. Except for a few lounging troops in green commando garb, there was nothing at that point to suggest any unusual activity.

A Guatemalan authority at the Helvetia plantation village said the secret activities were taking place considerably above that point. He added that the guerrilla operations, which he repeatedly referred to as "anti-guerrilla" tactics, had been hampered by "saboters" and that several nights the guards had used rifle fire to repel intruders.

The authority said the guerrilla training originally had been assigned to Guatemalans who themselves had been thoroughly trained, presumably in the United States or by United States personnel.

However, he said, the project had grown so rapidly that foreign trainers had been brought in. Most of these, he said, were North American guerrilla-tactics experts. Experts from several other nations also were brought in, he said.

He indicated that the latter group included Cubans, but he denied that Cubans were being trained now in Helvetia. He said that among the trainers were two Russian-speaking persons who were used primarily for shouting orders in Russian so that the trainees could become acquainted with the language.

Residents of the quiet, tree-shaded city of Retalhuleu appear to be increasingly restless over the mystery surrounding the air base and the Helvetia installation

ping up of formation training flight activity from the air base. The planes, usually four in formation, sweep over the plantations daily.

An informant said there were a number of United States military personnel and other foreigners at the air base for training purposes.

Officers appearing to wear United States Air Force uniforms have been seen in downtown Retalhuleu driving automobiles, but none has been seen walking on the streets.

Some speculation has arisen over the feasibility of the base, whose site near the Pacific coast is across the country from the scene of any possible Caribbean invasion.

However, it has been explained in Retalhuleu that the field's inland site affords greater defensive preparation and that it is the best site available in mountainous Guatemala for obstructionless takeoffs and approaches.

Cuban Charges Rejected

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Jan. 9—Foreign Minister Raul Roa of Cuba, in accusing the United States of aggressive intentions, charged in speeches at the United Nations last week that camps for training "mercenaries" were active in Guatemala, Honduras and Florida.

He told the Security Council last Wednesday that a Johnson Powers Company was setting up installations in Guatemala that camps for training troops into Cuba. He also charged that there were a number of camps operated by the United Fruit Company where guerrillas were being trained.

"The airport of Retalhuleu was hastily conditioned by American engineers," Guatemalan delegates at the United Nations were not available for comment tonight on reports for additional training

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