

OGC 61-0053

61-374

16 January 1961

**MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence**

**SUBJECT: Request of Representative Frank Kowalski  
(D., Conn.)**

1. This memorandum contains a recommendation for approval of the Director of Central Intelligence. Such recommendation is contained in paragraph 6.

2. Representative Kowalski telephoned this afternoon and in my absence talked to one of the secretaries. He stated he had received certain questions in a telegram to which he would like answers from the Agency in the next day or two and preferably in writing. The secretary simply indicated that she would pass on his request.

3. The two questions are:

- a. Did CIA pay for a jet airbase at RTALHULAE, Guatemala?
- b. Is it offering 25,000 per flight to tramp pilot<sup>s</sup> for future bombing of oil refineries and storage tanks in Cuba?

4. I discussed this briefly with Robert Smart, Chief Counsel, House Armed Services Committee, since Kowalski is on this Committee, indicating that probably we would simply offer Kowalski a "no comment" answer. Smart indicated that Kowalski will attempt to pressure on occasion and possibly we could indicate that Mr. Kilday was chairman

of a CIA Subcommittee and that we do not discuss questions of this type except with the Subcommittee. Mr. Smart suggested that before using Mr. Kilday's name I telephone him advising him of the situation.

5. In the past Representative Kowalski has made public statements concerning classified information. I recall the incidents where he released information concerning SAC deployment at overseas bases. The Air Force regarded this one serious enough that they even examined the question of the possibility of prosecution under the Uniform Code of Military Justice since he was a retired officer or, in the alternative, other legal action.

6. I recommend that you approve my calling Mr. Kilday. If Mr. Kilday agrees with our proposed answer of "no comment," I recommend that I call Mr. Kowalski giving him the "no comment" answer in a polite way, mentioning the Kilday Subcommittee.

JOHN S. WARNER  
Legislative Counsel

The recommendation in paragraph 6 is approved. \_\_\_\_\_

Date

Original returned to Mr. Warner w/note from Mr. Elder "Mr. Dulles approves your recommendation for handling the attached." 1/12/61

ALLEN W. DULLES  
Director

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*encl. 75b.*

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<b>Remarks:</b>			
<p>Mr. Dulles hopes you are assembling a file on such material at the attached:</p> <p>Att: 7 Jan 61 issue of THE NATION -- article entitled "Guatemala's Secret Airstrip" by Don Dwiggins.</p>			
<i>Noted 31 Jan 65 JMP</i>			
<b>FOLD HERE TO RETURN TO SENDER</b>			
<i>Welder</i> FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.			DATE
Walter Elder - Assistant to Director			1/9/61
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THE  
**NATION**

JANUARY 7, 1961 . . . 25c



*For the Kennedy Agenda*

**FIRST STEPS to BETTER SCHOOLS**

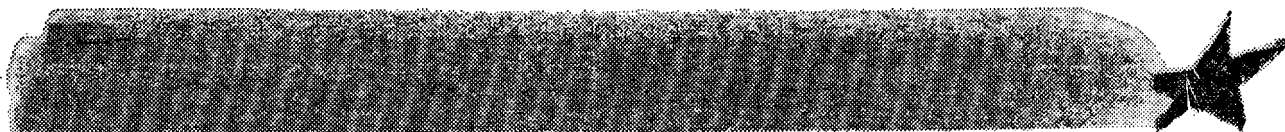
**Myron Lieberman**

**GUATEMALA'S SECRET AIRSTRIP**

**Don Dwiggin**

**DEATH KNELL of 'ALGERIE FRANCAISE'**

**Alexander Werth**



## LETTERS

### Automation Pluses . . .

*Dear Sirs:* Charles C. Killingsworth's article on automation ["Three Myths of Automation," Dec. 17 issue] was very interesting and I certainly agree with his conclusion that an extensive study of the effects of automation is badly needed. I have recommended such a program for some years.

However, I must take issue with his statement that "a very substantial part of the cost savings from automation usually results from displacement of labor in one form or another." It is unfortunately true that many companies undertake the investment in automation in the belief that it can be paid for in labor savings; however, they are often disappointed and, what is worse, miss the real benefits inherent in automation. For more and more automation technology is being used to perform new functions previously impossible—such as using computers to supply "what would happen if" answers to business decision problems; or controlling variables in processing industries so as to optimize production and quality to a degree previously impossible. Automation also means accurate long-range weather prediction, automatic road guidance of automobiles, and startling new techniques for medical diagnosis.

None of these involves the displacement of labor; all involve the use of the unique capabilities of automation. It is in these areas I expect to see the fullest exploitation of this new technology.

Though I agree we must plan to prevent human hardship from the introduction of this new technology, we must not lose sight of the tremendous benefits to society inherent in automation.

JOHN DIEBOLD

New York City

[John Diebold, a management consultant, has written extensively on automation, including a series of three articles which appeared in *The Nation* of Sept. 19, Sept. 26 and October 3, 1953.—Ed.]

### . . . And the Danger

*Dear Sirs:* Both clarity and candor are manifest in Mr. Killingsworth's evaluation of the "myths" of automation. It is refreshing to be reminded that cost savings generally involve some displacement of labor, that labor mobility is not as automatic as a transfer-machine, that there is a short-run, that skills can be lost as well as created, and that what we

have seen of automation in the past decade may be a trickle by comparison to what is to come. We share his lack of complacency in these matters. . . .

Already we are facing serious job losses in steel and other industries because of automation and technological changes. We endorse the author's recommendation for detailed studies of the employment effect of automation in specific industries, but would broaden it to include all forms of technological change.

OTIS BRUBAKER, Director  
Research Department  
United Steelworkers of America

### Support for a Martyr

*Dear Sirs:* The article on Ashton Jones ("Perils of Brotherhood," by Harold Flender, Dec. 24) should be reprinted. . . . So many people, North and South, believe that gradualism and education are all that are needed to solve our race problems. The Jones article shows the ugly union often found between the forces of law and those beyond the law.

Ashton Jones is not a rabble-rouser or "nut." He is, of course, a zealot, or he would not expose himself to the martyrdom which is his lot. It will be a sorry day for this country when he and his like are not defended.

HOWARD S. WHITESIDE

Boston, Mass.

### Campaign for Freedom

*Dear Sirs:* "Libertarian principles seldom win vindication these days in the Supreme Court," observed Prof. Daniel Berman in his report of the Carl Braden-Frank Wilkinson hearing. "Braden is being persecuted for his devotion to integration and civil liberties. . . . Wilkinson is being punished for leading a nation-wide campaign to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee."

Pursuant to Justice Frankfurter's admonition, "The past is against you. Maybe the future is for you," the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee calls on all liberty-loving, peace-minded citizens to heed the challenge. Congressman James Roosevelt plans to introduce a resolution to rescind the mandate of the Un-American Activities Committee when Congress reconvenes.

1. Write him in support (House Office Building, Washington, D.C.).
2. Write and visit your Congressman urging his support of Roosevelt's resolution.
3. Petitions are available from the N.Y. Council to Abolish the Un-American

Activities Committee, (106 East 208 Street, Bronx, N.Y.).

4. Send us your contribution. Funds are essential for the success of this campaign. Make checks payable to Robert Kenny, Treasurer, National Comm. to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, and send to 617 No. Larchmont Ave., Los Angeles 4, Calif.

AUBREY WILLIAMS  
Chairman

Montgomery, Ala.

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The Nation, Jan. 7, 1961. Vol. 102, No. 1

The Nation published weekly (except for omission of four summer issues) by The Nation Company and copyright 1961, in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Tel: CH 2-8400.

Subscription Price Domestic—One year \$8, Two years \$14, Three Years \$20. Additional postage per year. Foreign \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

ederal 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 tropic 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 I 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."

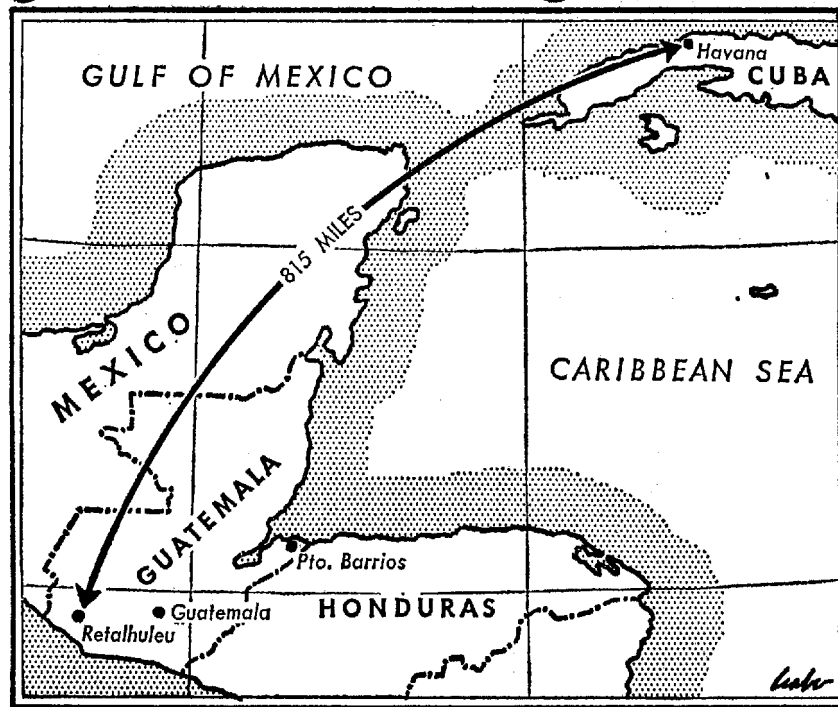
From Palmieri, from a retired U.S. attorney living at Atitlan, from Pan American airline people and from other sources, I was able to confirm the report that first appeared in a *Nation* editorial ("Are We Training Cuban Guerrillas," *The Nation*, Nov. 19) to the effect that a military base actually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



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 SANE 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.

dition of active involvement in politics: until 1956 their most notable participation was helping to break the 1926 general strike. But the British invasion of Egypt in 1956 shocked them into life. Almost every university saw liberal and left-wing student demonstrations against the government. (Simultaneously, the Left was intellectually invigorated by the inflow of Marxists, released at last by Hungary from the crippling discipline and double-think of the still Stalinist British Communist Party.)

It was these forces (then, and still, it should be said, probably under one-third of our university population) which provided the backbone of resistance. Some elements in the churches also spoke, notably among Quakers and Methodists. But the Anglican Bishop of Manchester within weeks of the test was urging unilateral British renunciation of the bomb—the first formulation of this demand that I know of.

The opposition was at first disorganized. The idea of a student initiative in politics was still unfamiliar. But in September, 4,000 people demonstrated against the bomb. In the following months a group of liberal intellectuals set themselves to lead the fight. The first meetings in universities were held, and the campaign was born on the straightforward issue that Britain give up the bomb.

In February, 1958, 5,000 attended its first public meetings held simultaneously in three London halls (unreported by *The Times* for motives unknown but widely imputed). In March, the Russians announced suspension of tests. In April came the first Aldermaston march.

THE CHARACTER of the campaign was apparent from the outset. Trafalgar Square before the march was very largely young, mildly beatnik in appearance and mostly middle-class. Among them were a number of notable young and leftish intellectuals such as Kenneth Tynan, the critic, and John Osborne. All shades of radical opinion were represented. There were even a few Conservatives. The campaign has always insisted that it is non-political and slogans such as "Ban the bomb, sack

the Tories" were officially frowned on. Some Communists were there, but not in significant numbers. Mercifully, the CP was opposed to British unilateralism until it decided to leap on the bandwagon a year ago.

The march was an unexpected success, even with the general public. As it plodded on its second day through appalling weather, the reporters were gradually convinced that we must be more than just a bunch of weirdies. They also found our appearance more normal that day, not perhaps realizing that in plastic macintoshes all men are brothers. The final rally of 7,000 outside the atomic-weapons establishment was only marred when one of our opponents tactlessly chose to harangue "Khrushchev's bunnies" from a Mercedes-Benz, and had his loudspeaker less non-violently treated than it should have been. The press went happily back to its old ways.

One need not detail the further progress of the campaign. The essentials of its success, and difficulties, were all present in the first Aldermaston. I mention my own experience precisely because it was insignificant, and typical. The CND has always been a curiosity among political movements, one in which the rank and file count for more than the leadership. With the exception of Canon Collins and some of the organizing officials, any one of its national names (and they include several Labour MPs) could vanish with barely a ripple.

A curious decision less than two months after the first march suggested that the leaders, who could fairly be described as members of the liberal "Establishment," did not realize the nature of the forces they had unleashed. They determined henceforth to lay less stress on public demonstrations and concentrate on the politically important sections of the community, "the slow persuasion of those who make opinion." This hangover from the elite view of politics was in fact never carried out. Since that date the CND has been carried forward by a program of marches, demonstrations and innumerable public meetings. Also, and with great success, by referenda in universities, which revealed, very

early, astonishing student support. A new series is now under way.

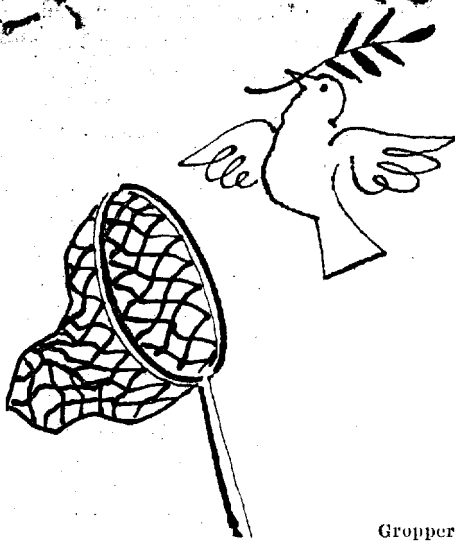
The other typical element in my adherence was that it was primarily emotional. Those of my age and younger had spent our entire lives in the shadow of actual or impending war. I happened to believe there are sound practical reasons for Britain to quit the arms race; but what basically stirred me was a feeling of profound solidarity with those who were actually trying to do something about it. The CND has always played, with tremendous success, on young people's horror of war and the sheer immorality of nuclear weapons. Far more supporters have joined it for this than any other reason.

It has been correspondingly weak on practical politics. The road to Aldermaston was littered with British "moral gestures" and hardly a mention of crude words like negotiation or power. Even now some of its propagandists talk as if Britain had only to give a lead and the neutral nations (Nasser's Egypt?), recognizing our moral stature, will rally behind us.

Its claimed lack of standpoint in internal politics has helped it greatly. Cynical references to politicians of any party have always met an immediate response from the numbers of young people who genuinely regard the lot of them as a gang of tired old men, each as bad as the other. The campaign has united Liberals, Socialists, religious groups, pacifists and the non-party in a way that would otherwise have been impossible.

BUT THIS policy carries the seeds of weakness. To a minority of supporters it is ludicrous. On the simplest level, they argue, the Labour Party is the only possible agent of British unilateralism. More deeply, abandonment of the bomb implies a radical change in foreign policies: in short, a Socialist policy, which in turn implies government by a Socialist party, which the Labour Party, in their terms, is not.

The non-political and the extreme Left have thus found themselves in partnership. A "direct action committee" split off two years ago. It advocated (quite ineffectually, as a



Gopper

by-election showed) a "voters' veto" on non-unilateralist candidates. Lately it has concentrated on peaceful obstruction, and earned some stiff prison sentences. For quite different reasons, an allied policy of industrial action against the bomb has been promoted (again without success) by the Socialist Labour League, a small, authoritarian, Trotskyite fraction ideologically linked to the American Socialist Workers Party.

This autumn Lord Russell resigned the presidency of CND after a well-publicized row over his plans (now going ahead) for widespread civil disobedience. The orthodox CND, almost readier for the bomb than the barricades, considers all these methods would only lose public support.

ONLY in the last year has the campaign forced itself (rather, been forced by its younger members) to accept the logic of its position and advocate neutralism, barely disguised, as a condition (which could only be refused) for staying in NATO. It had earlier urged removal of U.S. bases here, but its policy of unilateralism *tout court* had found some unexpected allies: *The Times*, arguing for more conventional troops, in February, 1959, declared that "a threat of suicide is not a defense policy"; a former Conservative minister asked pointedly whether we could afford our own bomb; and generals had been moving in the same direction. This was roughly the attitude of the Liberal Party, and even the official leadership of the Labour

Party brought themselves to accept it early last summer.

But neutralism was quite another thing. Its acceptance has coincided with a fall in popular support: the Gallup Poll, crediting straight unilateralism with 33 per cent support before the Summit, 27 per cent in June, gave it only 21 per cent in September, when it was at last becoming clear to the public what the battle was now about. The CND has largely itself to blame: its inordinate delay in explaining just what neutralism implies has enabled its opponents to install their version in the public mind.

This policy nevertheless was carried by a small majority at last October's Labour Party conference. This was the culmination of two years' retreat under pressure by the party executive. Starting with a defense policy imperceptibly different from that of the government, they had come to propose a purely conventional British contribution to NATO, coupled with strong political control. But on the principle of collective security they dug in their heels, and lost.

THIS FAMOUS victory may well prove illusory. It was not based on a surge of mass working-class support, but on the obscure mechanisms of trade-union voting: and it will very possibly be reversed by the same means. Significantly, the million-odd votes representing the Labour Party's local branches, which had been heavily unilateral in 1958 (the last previous vote) are believed to have swung the other way. Gaitskell, backed by most of the Labour MPs, has set himself the task of salvation, and on present form will come close to smashing his party in achieving it.

Personally, I suspect that this victory, of which both sides have made so much, will turn out to have been relatively insignificant (for the campaign, not the party). The very zeal with which the Right has sought to discredit it can only help to discredit any reversal, proving (what we all knew in private) that power is something different from amassing hypothetical votes. The CND, without the slightest help from the

party machine, had won considerable support among the rank and file, in the unions and from about one-fifth of its MPs. This, the crucial process, may have been halted for a time by the open espousal of neutralism. To the Socialist groups in the campaign, this is a necessary set-back. In the long term, a coalition based on lack of clarity and united only on a single, undeveloped, demand must prove weaker (being easily fragmented and potentially irrelevant) than one grouped about a broad but coherent political philosophy.

HOW DOES all this relate to the American scene? The political conditions, still more the political mechanisms, are obviously not even approximately parallel: in particular, an American peace movement cannot hope for labor support. But these are not the determining factors. In the things that matter, your conditions, I suggest, are much more akin to ours, and not so much less favorable than they might seem.

You will face a hostile press and the opposition of the vast majority of politicians. So did we: the Conservatives have always totally opposed the CND, Labour leaders have done their best to sabotage it, the Liberals at first gave elements of its policy lukewarm support and even that has been withdrawn. We have our fifty-odd Labour members: you have the tiny nucleus that formed the "Liberal Project." Except for a brief period of support from one Labour paper, every national newspaper has opposed us editorially: with honorable exceptions, their news reporting has ranged from bias to sheer irresponsibility. Whatever its faults, your press is at least theoretically dedicated, as ours is not, to the separation of fact from comment.

Two advantages you lack. We were lucky enough to be opposed by the Communist Party, in a country anyway less given to McCarthyism. The other, which does no credit to us, or to the Pentagon rocket-rattlers who feed it, is a strong latent anti-Americanism.

But the decisive elements of our situation exist in yours. They were these: the mood created by the shock

of Suez, and the active support of the students.

The first Sputniks acted for you as a remarkable parallel to Suez, evoking the dual response, the simple "Let's catch up" and the critical "Why did it happen?" Suddenly you have seen it become respectable, even fashionable, to question America's assumptions: where are you going, or should you be, in what your greatness lies, what you should count as success. It should be possible to carry this discontent well beyond the cautious frontiers of men like Kennedy or even Stevenson, Galbraith or Chester Bowles.

Your students, too, have learned in the last year precisely what we learned from Suez. The lesson of the sit-ins, the picketing of stores, the campus cooperation was not just that

young people can be liberal on race: it is that they can lead, they can organize, they can act and win. And reports suggest that the connection between the fight against racism and the fight for peace is already being made.

What should the objective of an American peace movement be? Our experience suggests it should be radically in advance of existing opinion, and make real demands: a movement which will go to the barricades for, say, the renewal of Summit talks can be made to look pretty silly, as we learned in April. Equally, however advanced, it must not be in principle repugnant to the plain man's common sense. The British deterrent *was* only a threat of suicide. Yours is in addition an undeniably effective threat of murder. Would

any but pacifists support unilateral disarmament by the United States? Even the moral-minded CND does not advocate it.

Our experience again suggests initial demands simple enough to unite many strands of opinion. But whatever they are, you should not be afraid to do what the various Socialist groups such as the "New Left" in the CND have attempted—to draw out their full implications. You may lose popular support: you run the risk, already grave for the CND, of the movement's becoming a battleground of sects. But unless you are ready to link the fight for peace to a comprehensive critique, I suspect that in ten years' time what are now your young enthusiasts will be wondering vaguely what on earth it was all about.

## Death Knell of 'Algérie française' . . . by Alexander Werth

*Paris*  
THIS YEAR even Christmas failed to make people forget about Algeria. In the last fortnight, there has been a 15-20 per cent rise in the sale of most newspapers, something that has not happened since the dramatic days of May, 1958, when the Algiers revolt brought de Gaulle back to power.

There is a feeling now that events are moving fast, that the whole situation has changed radically since the Moslem demonstrations in Algiers, Oran and Bone last month, in the course of which at least 200 Moslems were killed (mostly by fanatic European civilians). There was an initial tendency to blame de Gaulle for what had happened. Had he not been warned that his visit to Algeria would provoke violence on the part of the Europeans? But what had been least expected was that it would produce violence from the terrorized, "tame" Moslems of the Algiers Casbah who, in May of 1958, had obediently cried "*Algérie*

*française!*" and other integration slogans. Who would have thought that these "cowed" people would come out by the thousands, shouting the slogans of the FLN, the Algerian Nationalists?

Now people are saying that de Gaulle's visit, despite the terrible human losses involved, at least has clarified the situation. These Moslem demonstrations have sounded the death knell of "French Algeria" for good and all.

Nobody thinks any longer of Algerian self-determination in terms of years. A high official who is close to de Gaulle told me the other day: "This time the General is in a hurry; he is not going to stand any nonsense from anyone. When the French authorities in Algiers send over 600 Europeans — not Moslems but Europeans—to internment camps since December 11, it means that things have changed radically." Then he added, less convincingly: "You will see that, immediately after the referendum of January 8, the talks with the FLN will be resumed. De Gaulle is quite aware of the fact that the whole Algerian Moslem population is pro-FLN, and that nothing

can be achieved in Algeria without the FLN."

But, of course, what the Algerians will do on January 8, and how de Gaulle will react afterwards, are still the big question marks in the situation.

WHAT IS certain, however, is that de Gaulle's position is stronger today than it was two months ago. In October, a well-known left-wing editorial writer noted: "De Gaulle almost belongs to the past." This is no longer true. The danger of a military *putsch* in Algeria is much smaller than it was then; the General no longer seems afraid of an "*Algérie française*" revolt led by Marshal Juin, General Salan, or those civilian "ultras," Ortiz and Lagailarde. More important, except for a few highly suspect paratroop units, the French Army in Algeria no longer appears to be the independent political force it was even a year ago. Even among those French career officers whose personal sympathies are with the "ultras" there is a growing realization that the "ultras" are on the losing side. Significantly, too, the officers in Algeria have been increas-

ALEXANDER WERTH, author of several books on France, is The Nation's European correspondent.

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(See Page 1)

# 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 in a 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 *face-up* of popular insurrection in the 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 far-boyant 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 beach 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 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's intrusion 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 increasing strength"

Still a big, bullying bobb, 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 not of that new tyrant, 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. 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 goss) 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 talk with

## 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 revolution, any 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*, 795 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 Rickets 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 reported 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-

munist. I'm not a Comint; 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, Wis.

¶ 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.

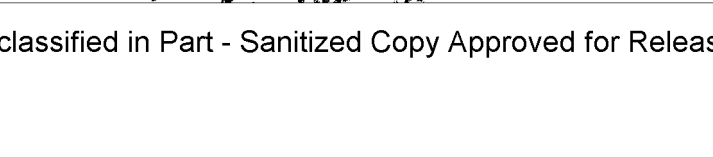
Please make \_\_\_\_\_ reservation(s) for me on *Fair Play's* all-expense Christmas-in-Cuba tour.

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.c. for \_\_\_\_\_

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



Following is a copy of a Letter to the Editor from the Berkeley Daily Gazette, Friday, December 23, 1960, Berkeley, California.

Some time ago the Guatemalan newspaper "La Hora" published a report about the acquisition and operation of a military training base by the United States Central Intelligence Agency in the area around Retahuleu near Guatemala City. The story indicated the purpose of the base was to train troops for a projected invasion of Cuba.

Sometime later, the Guatemalan dictator, Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, admitted the existence of the base but refused to say anything about it and clamped strict censorship on the Guatemalan newspapers in so far as this matter was concerned.

On November 11 The Nation printed a story to the same effect and quoted as its source the Director of the Institute of Hispanic American Studies at Stanford University in Palo Alto, Dr. Ronald Hilton. Not long after, the inspector general of the CIA (and second in command to Allen Dulles), Lyman A. Kirkpatrick spoke before the San Francisco Commonwealth Club. He was questioned from the floor on the report by Dr. Hilton, and when asked if the story were true he admitted it by saying, "It will be a black day if we are found out".

My concern for this matter stems from other related incidents that have occurred during the last month. Dictator Ydigoras has already expressed his desire to engage in a "Korea-type police action" against Cuba and I am wondering how many of the members of our own government are planning on the same thing. It would seem that if we are to perhaps become involved in another war that the least that could be expected would be that the American people have something to say about it; and that the American newspapers assist the people in this by printing the facts surrounding the issue. In this case it is significant to note that the popular press of this country has almost completely ignored this important story and I can only conclude that journalists are purposely suppressing the story or else are sadly inefficient in gathering the news.

In so far as I know, none of the Bay area newspapers have said anything about the matter and this is the reason for this letter. I predict it will not be printed.

Peter Van Schaack  
1631 Dwight Way

# Cuban Invasion News To 'Trainee' of Guatemalan Camp

[WASH POST ?]  
[1961]

NEW YORK, Jan. 10 (UPI) — Informed sources today said Cuba's present invasion scare resulted from a report given Prime Minister Fidel Castro by a Cuban soldier-of-fortune after a brief period in commando training camps in the mountains of Guatemala.

The mercenary was identified as Guillermo Hernandez Vega. He was said to have enlisted in a "Foreign Legion" training in the Guatemalan mountain hideouts for the dual purpose of repelling an expected Cuban attack on Guatemala and a "revenge" counter-blow at Cuba.

The sources said Hernandez was a recruit in one of the many Helvetta farms flanking Guatemala's "mystery" airbase at Retalhuleu, near the Pacific coast and in the mountains bordering Mexico.

He sought political asylum in the Mexican Embassy at Guatemala City just after Christmas, but was denied a safe-conduct by the Guatemalan Government, which described him as a "vulgar delinquent" with a gangster background.

Last Seen at Hidalgo

Subsequently, Hernandez "escaped" the embassy and crossed the Guatemalan border into Mexico. He was last sighted at the border town of Hidalgo where he sought

successfully to cash a large check.

From Hidalgo, he is suspected of having made his way to Mexico City, where he reported to the Cuban Embassy on the size and strength of the "defensive-offensive" force being trained by the Guatemalans.

Guatemala's President Manuel Ydigoras Fuentes last November officially confirmed the existence of secret training camps in the mountains and said at the time that there were "more than 20" such camps.

Guatemalan and other forces are being trained in commando and guerilla warfare tactics there to be able to defend Guatemala from what it believes to be a continued threat of invasion from Cuba, he said.

[The United States was reported supplying Guatemala with training personnel, material and other assistance in the preparation of commando-type force for a possible clash with Cuba.

### U. S. Finance Reported

[The New York Times dispatch from Retalhuleu said the United States also helped finance the construction of a nearby airfield, where intensive daily air training is going on.

[In Washington, State Department press officer Lincoln

time being he had no comment on the newspaper story.

["As everyone well knows," White said, "the United States under the inter-American defense system is helping practically every Latin American country excepting, of course, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. As to a report of some specific base, I know absolutely nothing about it," the Associated Press reported.]

### 9 Cuban Diplomats Seek Asylum in U. S.

United Press International

At least nine Cuban diplomats have asked for asylum in the United States rather than return to Cuba after the U. S. break in diplomatic relations with the Fidel Castro regime.

State Department and immigration officials yesterday said their applications are being considered.

The defecting Cubans asked U. S. officials not to reveal their names for fear of reprisals against their families in Cuba.

Immigration officials said more applications are expected to come in during the next few days.

The first nine held diplomatic jobs in some of the 15 Cuban consulates around the country, none of them at the Cuban Embassy in Washing-

L I M I T E

## GUATEMALA

### Air Strip

Guatemala's Pacific coast, 35 miles from the Mexican border, lies a newly paved, closely guarded air strip. Out of place did the strip seem amid the sparsely settled cattle ranches and banana plantations that Guatemalans have been whispering about for months. Could it be the base for a cooperative U.S.-Guatemalan-Cuban-exile airborne military operation against Fidel Castro? Fortnight ago, poking around the country, Los Angeles *Mirror* Aviation Editor Don Wiggins heard about the strip and broke the story reporting that it had been built with U.S. funds in a mysterious "crash" program and was capable of handling jet fighters.

**Speed & Cash.** There was no doubt about the speed of the project. Work began in mid-August, when the U.S. con-

struction firm of Thompson-Cornwall Inc. put 200 men to work round the clock on a \$1,000,000 contract to build the air strip and an airport building. Though the Guatemalan government usually looks for easy loans and already owed Thompson-Cornwall more than \$1,000,000 for earlier road construction, it paid cash this time. Before the workers moved in, the Standard Fruit Co. (which used the previous grass airstrip as a duster-plane base) and a helicopter company were each abruptly given eight hours to clear out. Standard Fruit's small hangar was taken over by the government—also for cash.

Within 25 days the runway and buildings were completed. When the job was finished, the U.S. delivered eight surplus B-26 light bombers to the Guatemalan government. Last week five B-26s were at the new strip, along with one C-54 four-engined transport and four C-46 twin-engined Curtiss Commandos. The strip will accommodate these ships, but to say that it will handle jets was an overstatement: it is only 6,000 ft. long, marginal for jets in Guatemala's hot weather.

**Off Limits.** At brief dedication ceremonies in late September, Guatemalan President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes announced that the strip had been built to promote the export of bananas, meat and shrimp. But the field was immediately put off limits to all civil aircraft. Last Oct. 14 a band of Ydigoras' opponents complained in Congress that hundreds of Cubans were being given commando training by U.S. instructors at the airbase and at several coffee plantations in the area—including one owned by a close friend of the President. As evidence, they cited reports from a carpenter who had worked on the airfield and a butcher who was supposedly supplying one coffee plantation with 10,000 lbs. of meat a week.

Ydigoras quickly admitted that Guatemalan troops were receiving special com-

mando training on the plantations, but denied that any Cubans were involved. Combing the area at the time, investigating reporters found that the facts supported Ydigoras: there was no trace of any major Cuban force.

As for the source of construction funds, Ydigoras said that they had been raised by subscription among local businessmen. But ranchers, packers and shippers said that any such ambitious fund drive was news to them. On the subject of U.S. participation, no official in Washington had a word to say.

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EXTRACT FROM THE NATION

November 19, 1960

Are We Training Cuban Guerrillas?

Fidel Castro may have a sounder basis for his expressed fears of a U. S.-financed "Guatemala-type" invasion than most of us realize. On a recent visit to Guatemala, Dr. Ronald Hilton, Director of the Institute of Hispanic-American Studies at Stanford University, was told:

1. The United States Central Intelligence Agency has acquired a large tract of land, at an outlay in excess of \$1,000,000, which is stoutly fenced and heavily guarded. Dr. Hilton was informed that it is "common knowledge" in Guatemala that the tract is being used as a training ground for Cuban counter-revolutionaries who are preparing for an eventual landing in Cuba. It was also said that U. S. personnel and equipment are being used at the base. The camp is said to be located in Estabuleu, between Guatemala City and the coast.

2. Substantially all of the above was reported by a well-known Guatemalan journalist, Clemente Marroquin Rojas, in La Hora, a Guatemalan newspaper of which he is the director. His article appeared in violation, it is said, of a Government prohibition against any public discussion of the matter.

3. More recently, the President of Guatemala, forced to take cognizance of the persistent reports concerning the base, went on TV and admitted its existence, but refused to discuss its purpose or any other facts about it.

The American press -- even media with accredited correspondents on the scene -- has apparently remained unaware of the public commotion the subject has aroused in Guatemala. Not even President Ydigoras' TV statement that a secret base exists has been reported in the United States, so far as we know. We ourselves, of course, pretend to no first-hand knowledge of the facts; nevertheless, we feel an obligation to bring the subject to public attention. If Washington is ignorant of the existence of the base, or, knowing that it exists, is nevertheless innocent of any involvement in it, then surely the appropriate authorities will want to scotch all invidious rumors and issue a full statement of the real facts. On the other hand, if the reports as heard by Dr. Hilton are true, then public pressure should be brought to bear upon the Administration to abandon this dangerous and hair-brained project.

There is a second reason why we believe the reports merit publication: they can, and should, be checked immediately by all U. S. news media with correspondents in Guatemala.

Meanwhile, Dr. Hilton informs us that he will publish additional details of his findings in Guatemala in the November issue of the *Hispanic-American Review*, published by the Institute of which he is the director. The sooner the truth emerges, the better for all concerned -- the United States, which now stands accused; the Cubans, who assert fear of an imminent invasion, and the Guatemalans, who appear to be thrust into a perilous quarrel not of their making.

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Washington Post - 27 March

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Letters to the Editors

**Guatemala's Position**

I read with great interest Karl E. Meyer's article "Exiles Unite in Drive to Oust Castro," which appeared in your March 22 edition.

After discussing the possible overthrow of dictator Castro's government, Mr. Meyer makes an unwarranted statement to the effect that "An army estimated at several thousand is presently training at a clandestine camp in Guatemala."

On behalf of my government, I categorically deny this to be a fact. Not one Cuban exile is receiving training in Guatemala. There are several hundred of them in my country, but we strictly enforce the Pan American instruments governing territorial asylum. Whenever these have been overlooked or disregarded, my government has immediately requested the Cuban refugees concerned to leave the country.

It is our own army which is getting military training, but for defensive reasons alone. The present democratic and constitutional government of Guatemala is duty-bound to defend itself from extracontinental forces, based on Cuba, which are determined to overthrow it by force. Nobody can deny Guatemala the immemorial right of self-defense, recognized as such by the Charter of the Organization of American States and the Charter of the United Nations.

**CARLOS URRUTIA-  
APARICIO,**

Ambassador of Guatemala to the  
Organization of American States,  
Washington.