

*NY Herald Tribune
April 5, 1961* **A Bold Challenge to Castro**

The State Department's new pamphlet on Cuba is an extraordinary document inspired by an unprecedented situation.

It details the crimes committed by Dr. Castro against his people. It documents the betrayal by Castro of all his stirring early promises and the capture of the Cuban revolution by a tough Communist conspiracy bent on further aggression.

Repeatedly reaffirming United States friendship for the Cuban people, it calls on Dr. Castro to break his ties with the international Communist

movement, to return to the original purposes he proclaimed and to "restore the integrity of the Cuban revolution." But "if this call is unheeded," it goes on, "we are confident that the Cuban people, with their passion for liberty, will continue to strive for a free Cuba . . . that they will join hands with the other republics in the hemisphere in the struggle to win freedom."

This comes close to being an open call to revolt.

Unjustified interference in Cuba's internal affairs? Hardly. It was Castro who declared war on the hemisphere, he who has abused diplomatic privileges in every capital and sought to subvert free governments wherever he had the opportunity. It was he who gave the Sino-Soviet empire a beachhead in the Americas, he who listened approvingly last month while his Ambassador to Moscow told a Cuban audience, "We Communists together will continue forward. . . . Very soon we shall see all the peoples of Latin America become Communists."

It was not the Cuban people who invited the Soviets in. It was Castro, after winning power on the basis of false promises, establishing a dictatorship and crushing all opposition, in one of the cruelest swindles of the Twentieth Century.

The State Department pamphlet is mainly for distribution in Latin America. Its issuance suggests encouragingly that a new hemispheric offensive may be under way—an Alliance for Freedom, to parallel the Alliance for Progress already spelled out so inspiringly by the President.

Latin Americans have been prone to complain that the United States thinks too much about communism, not enough about the pressing local needs of its neighbors. If the lesson of Cuba can be gotten across forcefully enough, even the doubters and the instinctive anti-*yanquis* may see that the danger of Communist aggression in the hemisphere is not ephemeral, but real and immediate, and that the price of failure to guard against it is human disaster.

Castro—not the Cuban people—has made himself the common enemy of every Latin nation's liberty. This document is a clear, forceful warning of what he has done and is doing. All the peoples of the hemisphere, including and especially the Cubans, have a stake in thwarting his designs. Though this starkly convincing pamphlet may breach the traditional niceties of diplomatic decorum, it makes properly clear this country's identity of interest with the people whose government it most directly concerns.

NY Herald Trib 5 April 1961

U.S. Paves Way For Castro Fall

State Department Document Bids People of Cuba Cast Off Chains

By Joseph Newman
UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.,

Apr. 4.—The United States today prepared the ground for a concerted move to bring down the pro-Communist Cuban regime of Fidel Castro.

Today's State Department document on Cuba served this dual purpose:

1. To the 6,000,000 people on the island of Cuba it said in effect:

"Arise, you have nothing to lose but the totalitarian chains of Fidel Castro."

2. To the nineteen other American republics it said in effect:

"Join the United States in supporting the Cuban patriots who are about to risk their lives in still greater numbers to overthrow a totalitarian Communist state and to restore traditional American principles of freedom."

One brief paragraph in the State Department's paper called on Mr. Castro to sever links with the international Communist movement and to return to the original democratic aims of the 1959 revolu-

tion which overthrew the Batista dictatorship.

But this was a diplomatic formality rather than an offer of a last chance to Mr. Castro to make peace with the United States. Everyone knows that Mr. Castro is inextricably tied politically and economically into the Soviet-Chinese bloc.

To invite Mr. Castro to break with the Moscow-Peiping axis is like inviting him to commit suicide, and no one expects him to do so. Only a revolution is likely to break Cuba's ties to the Communist alliance, and the United States, together with a number of other American republics and a considerable number of Cubans, inside and outside Cuba, is preoccupying itself with the prospects of such a development sometime during this year of 1961.

Plans for concerted action against the Castro regime already have been formulated by Cubans inside and outside the island republic.

Widespread uprisings and sabotage will serve as a signal for the arrival of well trained

Continued on page 13, column 6

Castro

(Continued from page one)

and supplied Cuban units now based at various Caribbean points.

However, D-day has been delayed by failure of exiled Cuban political leaders at Miami to come to agreement on a united front against Mr. Castro.

Two groups, led by Manuel Ray and Antonio de Varona, recently agreed to accept Jose Miro Cardona as president of a provisional government to be established on Cuban soil as soon as a beachhead is secured.

However, a third group, led by Aureliano Sanchez Arango, refused to accept Mr. Miro Cardona and insisted on naming a member of the Supreme Court as provisional president.

Several hundred delegates, representing different factions, met in Miami over the week end and upheld Sanchez Arango's position as being in accordance with the Cuban Constitution of 1940. This constitution provides for the senior member of the Supreme Court to assume the office of chief executive in the absence of a President or Vice-President.

Alabau Trelles Favored

Anti-Castro Cuban soldiers will also be asked soon to vote whether they want Mr. Miro Cardona or a Supreme Court judge.

Of the three Supreme Court justices now in exile in Miami, Dr. Francisco Alabau Trelles is considered to be the one most likely to become provisional President if agreement is reached whereby Mr. Miro Cardona will retire so that a united front of all Cuban groups may be established.

Dr. Alabau Trelles is standing by, awaiting a call to assume the leadership of a liberation movement against the Castro regime.

NYT 5 Apr 61
White Paper on Cuba

The State Department's White Paper on Cuba is a document of high quality. This is a carefully drawn up and brilliantly argued case. Within the limits of what it sets out to do, it will be hard, if not impossible, to refute on its own terms. If the Cubans wanted to answer it effectively, they could only do so by replying on a plane equally high and academic in its tone and content. There will be no use raving about it, as the Cuban press and radio were doing yesterday.

Many facts in the State Department pamphlet are incontrovertible. The Cuban revolution has developed into a totalitarian regime, completely dependent on the Sino-Soviet bloc for its survival. Moreover, there have been many publicly expressed convictions by the Cuban leaders that their economic and social problems—the process of making a social revolution—can best be solved by Marxist or communistic or totalitarian methods. It is also obviously true that the great bulk of the middle classes, who were alone responsible for the civic resistance against Batista, fought for freedom and democracy and now feel betrayed.

It is not the part of a document like this to discuss the reasons why the Cuban revolution developed the way it did. The responsibility of the United States Government lies in the security of the United States. As the White Paper says at one point: "What is important is not the motive but the result." As events have developed, it cannot be denied that the revolution represents "a grave and urgent challenge" and "a clear and present danger."

There are many details in the pamphlet that call for discussion, but two passages must not be overlooked. One is the correct characterization of the Batista dictatorship as corrupt, brutal and unjust and the frank acknowledgment of "past omissions and errors" in dealing with Cuba. The other point is the pledge that the United States will give full support "to achieve freedom, democracy and social justice" in Cuba.

This confession and this pledge will be important in carrying our case against Cuba to the other nations of Latin America. It is noteworthy that the document makes no threats. It does call upon the Castro regime to sever its links with communism, but since this would mean the end of the revolution, it is not conceivable that President Kennedy expects this to happen. The only alternative mentioned is that the Cuban people will "continue to strive for a free Cuba." The Cuban exiles should read the United States White Paper as carefully as Cubans in Cuba.

NYT 5 Apr 61
Washington

The Story Behind the Cuban Statement

By JAMES RESTON

WASHINGTON, April 4—When the Kennedy Administration publicly denounces the Cuban Government as a "Soviet satellite" which confronts the Western Hemisphere with a "grave and urgent challenge," it is obvious that the Cuban crisis is entering a new and critical phase.

President Kennedy, who approved the State Department's White Paper on Cuba after consultation with Secretary of State Rusk and the head of the Central Intelligence Agency, Allen Dulles, has heretofore avoided language of this sort.

His public statements on Laos, for example, have dropped the hostile and quarrelsome language of the Cold War, but the tone of the Cuban statement is sharp and even ominous, and this difference is not at all accidental.

The use of the words "grave and urgent challenge" reflects a little-known fact. This is that the Administration has reason to believe that there are now between 100 and 200 Cuban airmen in Czechoslovakia being trained to fly Soviet MIG fighters. So far as is known here, there are as yet no MIG fighters actually in Cuba, though it is not ruled out that some may be there in crates as part of the 30,000 tons of Communist arms which U. S. sources say have been shipped to Cuba in the last nine months.

In any event, it is widely believed in official quarters here that if this training program continues behind the Iron Curtain—there are 2,700 Cuban technicians of every sort now being trained in Communist countries—the military balance of power in the Caribbean will be such within six months that only a major invasion of Cuba by Western Hemisphere forces, including the United States, could hope to deal with the military situation.

The Kennedy Government does not wish to see such a situation develop. It has no desire to land marines in Cuba and open up the old cries of Yankee imperialism, especially when it is involved in a major effort to discourage the Communists from engaging in military and elsewhere.

Accordingly, the State Department's Cuban declaration had three objectives. It wished to make clear before the forthcoming debate in the U. N. that Washington was not opposed to the social revolution in Cuba but to the betrayal of that revolution by Dr. Castro. It wanted to urge the other Latin-American nations to be realistic about Castro's "fateful challenge to the inter-American system." And it wanted to give hope to the anti-Castro forces within Cuba and those training in this country and in Guatemala that the United States would support any genuinely democratic government established in Cuba.

This Administration is not acting on the assumption that the Soviet Union wants to establish a missile or military base in Cuba. Any such attempt would undoubtedly be met directly with military intervention by the United States.

What is afoot is an effort to establish a Communist political base, backed with enough force to exploit the weakness of other governments throughout the Caribbean and Central America and create a serious political diversion for the United States in the Western Hemisphere.

It can be taken for granted that, while the Kennedy Administration does not want to intervene with its own troops in Cuba, it does not intend to stand aside and watch a situation develop which would force such intervention.

Kennedy made this clear enough during the Presidential campaign. "We must," he said on Oct. 20 in New York, "attempt to strengthen the non-Batista democratic anti-Castro forces in exile and in Cuba itself who offer eventual hope of overthrowing Castro."

Castro is well aware of the fact that these forces are being trained in this country and in Guatemala. As a matter of fact, the Cuban radio is daily charging the Central Intelligence Agency with financing and directing invasion units.

Thus a serious situation is developing which this Government does not want but cannot avoid. The President would no doubt prefer to let time take care of Castro, especially since there are so many other problems piling up on the White House desk, but the training of a Cuban air force behind the Iron Curtain and the prospect of finding Soviet MIGs over the Caribbean inevitably force the Administration to make an urgent review of the whole problem.

Links to Reds Assailed

Castro's 'Betrayal' Documented by U. S.

By Chalmers M. Roberts
Staff Reporter

About three weeks ago after having received a delegation of Latin Americans in his office, President Kennedy fell to talking with three aides about the Cuban problem.

Out of that talk was born the 36-page pamphlet simply entitled "Cuba" which was released late Monday by the State Department. But it was chiefly a White House document, drafted largely by Arthur Schlesinger Jr., with the help of Richard N. Goodwin, both White House aides, and Thomas C. Mann, the new American Ambassador to Mexico, who has been Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. They were the men in the President's office that day.



Roberts

Documents Betrayed

What the President suggested, and what the pamphlet does, was to document what the first chapter terms "the betrayal of the Cuban Revolution" by Fidel Castro and his closest associates.

While there is a paragraph calling on the Castro regime "to sever its links with the international Communist movement," this fact is not the basic aim of the pamphlet.

American officials consider that the Castro regime has almost certainly passed the point of no return. In fact it is contended here, though not in the pamphlet, that Castro is now following almost to the letter the instructions known to have been given Cuban Communist leaders who attended the 21st Communist Party conference in Moscow in early 1959.

The plan is to have thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of copies of the pamphlet circulated throughout Latin America in Spanish, Portuguese, French, English and perhaps other languages.

The pamphlet makes a number of points, among them these:

• "What began as a movement to enlarge Cuban democracy and freedom," with which the United States Government fully sympathizes, "has been perverted . . . into a mechanism for the destruction of free institutions in Cuba . . ."

This charge is documented at length with accounts of the fate of Cubans who worked with Castro against Batista but who would not swallow

his movement toward communism.

"Never in history has any revolution so rapidly devoured its children." Of the 19 in the original Castro cabinet, nearly two-thirds are today in prison, in exile, or in opposition. The regime's Communist leaders are identified, in government, the military, economics, diplomacy. "No Cuban today, whether in field or factory, in school or cafe or home by the radio, can hope to escape the monotonous and implacable din of Communist propaganda."

• Because of this betrayal, there is now in the Western Hemisphere "a new experience—the experience of a modern totalitarian state." Castro's regime is "far more drastic and comprehensive in its control than even the most ruthless of the old time military dictatorships which have too long disfigured the hemisphere."

• No future Cuban government "can expect to turn its back" on the original aims of the Castro revolution. But Castro has betrayed that revolution. He has in so doing offered "a clear and present danger to the authentic and autonomous revolution of the Americas," to the hopes for economic development, social progress and political liberty.

• Because Castro has delivered the revolution "to the Sino-Soviet bloc," because he has made Cuba "a base and staging area for revolutionary activity throughout the continent," because the regime's action is directed toward "the transformation of Cuba into a Soviet satellite state," Cuba today presents a "grave and urgent challenge" to the entire Western Hemisphere.

Latin Nations Warned

To drive home this point the Castro assault on leaders of other Latin nations is documented, and they are warned that the regime is constructing a 100,000 watt radio transmitter "to facilitate its propaganda assault on the Hemisphere."

In its conclusion the pamphlet says "it is not clear whether Castro intended from the start to betray his pledges of a free and democratic Cuba . . . What is important is not the motive but the result."

And what is important, all others in Latin America are reminded, is that Castro "has committed that dictatorship to a totalitarian movement outside the Hemisphere" which "threatened the freedom of every other nation on this side of the Atlantic."

The Dividing Line

If there were any doubts about the United States position on Cuba, the 36-page pamphlet issued by the State Department ought to resolve them. Written under the personal supervision of President Kennedy, the statement makes clear that the United States does not oppose Fidel Castro because he led a revolution. It opposes him, rather, because the Cuban Prime Minister has plunged his country into the terror and totalitarianism he once professed to despise. This is the point that we hope will be pondered within Cuba and elsewhere in Latin America.

The pamphlet contains hard facts to buttress the melancholy conclusion that Castro has instituted a repressive tyranny and has delivered his country to the Sino-Soviet bloc. Here are the names, the dates, the events which compose the chronicle of disenchantment with Fidel Castro. "Never in history has any revolution so rapidly devoured its children," the document states. "The roster of Castro's victims is the litany of the Cuban revolution."

The State Department pamphlet makes a persuasive case that Castro's chief target is less Yankee imperialism than the democratic movements for change elsewhere in Latin America. It recites chapter and verse on Cuban efforts to undermine and defame democratic-minded Latin American leaders. It notes the shoddy cynicism involved in the Cuban attempts to side with the Trujillo dictatorship in assailing Venezuela's President Romulo Betancourt. It makes clear that in opening the gates to the Sino-Soviet bloc, Castro has imperiled the inter-American system and has made Cuba a pawn in the cold war.

Wisely, we think, the pamphlet lays little emphasis on the expropriation without compensation of foreign property. Serious as it is, this is a matter which could be negotiated. It is not in any event on a par with the sinister political development of Cuba. The Administration recognizes that the clock cannot be turned back and that any potential successor government must be expected to conserve the positive gains of the Castro revolution.

In short, the line that divides Cuba from its neighbors is not economic but political. In calling upon Fidel Castro to sever his country's ties with an alien totalitarian system, the United States is not asking Cuba to abandon its revolution. Instead, the plea is to rescue a once-promising revolution from its destruction by an external power that is using Cuba to provoke an international civil war.

There is no illusion, to be sure about the possibility of such a change. Cuba's foreign masters are so solidly entrenched that even if Fidel Castro should attempt to break away it is debatable whether he could succeed. But the pamphlet serves the purpose of making the record clear. It acknowledges "past omissions and errors in our relationships" with Cuba. One of the omissions was the official silence in Washington when Fulgencio Batista turned Cuba into a police state. In the case of Castro, the same mistake is not being repeated.

Cubans Irate Over 'Insult' In U. S. Plea to Oust Reds

By R. HART PHILLIPS

Special to The New York Times.

NYT 5 April 1961

HAVANA, April 4—The Cuban Government press emitted cries of rage today over the United States appeal that the Castro regime cut its ties to international communism and "restore the dignity" of the Cuban revolution.

Revolución, official publication of Premier Fidel Castro's revolutionary organization, said the pamphlet issued yesterday by the State Department was "dirty."

The pamphlet, written under President Kennedy's close supervision, expressed a "profound determination" by the United States to support a democratic government in Cuba. It said that the United States, "along with other nations of the hemisphere," would help such a future government bring "freedom" to the Cuban people.

[In Washington, the State Department said Cuba would free two Americans held since March 24.]

U. S. Warned of 'Struggle'

The State Department, issuing the thirty-six-page document, warned of a "struggle" by the Cuban people for freedom. It did not indicate how or when such a struggle would be joined.

The pamphlet "insults, lies and cynically distorts the truth" and reveals "the turbid maneuvers of a Government without prestige and without reason," Revolución said.

"What countries," Revolución asked with sarcasm, "have authorized the United States to speak in their names—could it be Brazil, Ecuador or Mexico?" The Cuban regime claims full support by those countries.

Revolución ridiculed all efforts of the United States against the Cuban regime as futile.

"The Government of the millionaire Kennedy," it said, "may continue plotting defamation campaigns against Cuba, may continue arming mercenaries and preparing war criminals, may continue threatening and insulting but all it can

CUBANS ARE IRATE AT 'INSULT' BY U. S.

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achieve is that dirty pamphlet."

No news reports were published here on the pamphlet, but, in further comment, the Government newspaper El Mundo termed the State Department paper "the most cynical ever issued by the United States."

Under the title, "A shameful Batch of Papers," El Mundo said the "exhortation" to Cuba to break off relations with the Communist countries was "an aggression against our sovereignty."

Fidel Is 'Beyond the Pale,' but Not Cuban People

No Reconciliation Seen Between U. S. & Castro

WASH. NEWS 5 APR 61

By Scripps-Howard Newspapers

Fidel Castro has passed the point of no return so far as President Kennedy is concerned, but Cuba and the Cuban people have not.

The Kennedy Administration places Castro and his Communist henchmen beyond the pale as betrayers of the justified and long-overdue revolution against the Batista regime. There can be no reconciliation with men who have committed their country lock, stock and barrel to the international communist movement and boast of doing the same for all Latin America.

President Kennedy is ready to "lay it on" Castro in a major effort to prevent the irrevocable transformation of Cuba into a Soviet satellite state like Hungary.

STILL HOPE

Castro has taken Cuba far into the Soviet camp. But there still is hope the Cuban people, with support from the rest of the hemisphere, will rid themselves of this cancer and get back to the democratic objectives of their revolution.

The major problem now is to convince the rest of Latin America that wishful thinking about "patching things up" with Castro will only increase the danger of creeping or galloping communism elsewhere in the hemisphere.

The other hemispheric nations must also be shown that this is not just a row between the United States and Castro—it is a row between Castro and all of Latin America. No one can sit on the sidelines.

BLUNT FACT

To put it bluntly, Mr. Kennedy has decided there can be no deals with Castro, and there is no point in pulling punches or indulging in diplomatic niceties with him.

regime must be eliminated, and why major emphasis now must be placed on helping the original "26th of July movement" get rid of its betrayer.

The next move probably will come in the United Nations this week. Castro's foreign minister Raul Rao is expected to deliver another of his periodic tirades against the "Damn Yankees," replete with vivid if imaginary descriptions of alleged U. S. plans to "invade" Cuba—an "invasion" Castro has predicted almost every week for months.

U. S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, against the background of the white paper, is prepared to "let Castro have it"—chapter and verse on his betrayal, and in many cases execution, of the decent, democratic Cubans who helped him to power.

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Bids Castro Snip Red Tie

U. S. Pledges Support For a Democratic Cuba

By United Press International

WASHINGTON, Apr. 3

The United States called on Cuban Premier Fidel Castro tonight to cut his ties with Communism, and promised support for any democratic government on the island.

If Mr. Castro failed to heed this call, the State Department said, it was confident that the Cuban people, "with their passion for liberty, will continue to strive for a free Cuba."

The United States promise to support democracy in Cuba was made in a thirty-six-page pamphlet, the Kennedy administration's first policy document on the Castro regime.

"It is the considered judgment of the government of the United States of America that the Castro regime in Cuba offers a clear and present danger to the authentic and autonomous revolution of the Americas," the pamphlet said.

It said Mr. Castro and his followers had "betrayed their own revolution" by delivering it into "the hands of a power alien to the hemisphere."

State Department press officer Lincoln White said the document was not intended as a "White Paper" but was written for the American public because of the "tremendous public interest in the United States concerning Cuba." He said copies of the pamphlet would be made available to members of the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

The documentation of Cuba's drift into the Communist camp said:

"What began as a movement to enlarge Cuban democracy and freedom has been perverted, in short, into a mechanism for the destruction of free institutions in Cuba, for the seizure by international Communism of a base and bridgehead in the Americas, and for the disruption of the inter-American system."

This full-scale attack on the Castro regime reflected continuing American dismay at the course of events in the troubled island country just off the coast of Florida.

U. S. Ship Detained

Only today the State Department announced that a Cuban gunboat had detained the American cable-repair schooner Western Union for six hours Friday in international waters and let the vessel go only when a United States destroyer and jet planes appeared.

The pamphlet on Cuba gave Mr. Castro credit for doing some good in the early days of his regime by building new schools and new houses, establishing medical clinics, inaugurating land reforms and promising to eliminate graft in the government.

It said, "No future Cuban government can expect to turn its back on such objectives."

But, the document added, "the record of the Castro regime has been a record of the steady and consistent betrayal of Dr. Castro's pre-revolutionary promises and the result has been to corrupt the social achievements and make them the means not of liberation but of bondage."

Refugees Noted

Detailing the long list of former Castro associates who have been imprisoned or forced to flee the country, the pamphlet said:

"Never in history has any revolution so rapidly devoured its children."

The United States paper documented the "steady expansion of Communist power within the regime" and listed known Communists in key positions.

It said the Castro regime "by completing its purge of the judiciary has perfected its control over all organized institutions of political power. Justice is now the instrument of tyranny."

The pamphlet cited Mr. Castro's repeated support of Soviet objectives.

"On one issue after another, the Castro regime has signified its unquestioning acceptance of the Soviet line on international affairs," the paper said. "In every area the action of the Castro regime is steadily and purposefully directed toward a single goal—the transformation of Cuba into a Soviet satellite state."

The United States said that despite the actions of the Castro regime "the people of Cuba remain our brothers."

"We acknowledge past omissions and errors in our relationship with them," the document said. "The United States, along with the other nations of the hemisphere, expresses a profound determination to assure future democratic governments in Cuba full and positive support in their efforts to help the Cuban people achieve freedom, democracy and social justice."

"We call once again on the Castro regime to sever its links with the international Communist movement, to return to the original purposes which brought so many gallant men together in the Sierra Maestra and to restore the integrity of the Cuban revolution."

Call for Action

"If this call is unheeded, we are confident that the Cuban people, with their passion for liberty, will continue to strive for a free Cuba; that they will return to the splendid vision of inter-American unity and progress, and that in the spirit of Jose Marti, they will join hands with the other republics in the hemisphere in the struggle to win freedom."

The United States called the Castro regime "the spearhead of attack on the inter-American system" and a "fateful challenge to that system."

It declared that under Mr. Castro, "Cuba has already become a base and staging area for revolutionary activity throughout the continent." It listed examples of Cuban intervention in the affairs of other Latin American countries and of its support of elements plotting rebellion.

"Most instances of serious civil disturbance in Latin America in recent months exhibit Cuban influence, if not direct intervention," the document said. It cited Venezuela, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, Bolivia and Paraguay.

Flow of Red Arms

The document said that to understand the magnitude of the Communist domination of Cuba, it was important to realize that since mid-1960, more than 30,000 tons of arms worth an estimated \$50,000,000 have poured into Cuba from behind the Iron Curtain in "an ever-rising flood." It said Soviet and Czech advisers have accompanied the arms.

Cuba now has the largest ground forces in the Western Hemisphere, not counting the United States, with an estimated 250,000 to 400,000 men under arms, the United States said.

"Soviet domination of economic relations has proceeded with similar speed and comprehensiveness," it added. It cites a series of trade and financial agreements which "has integrate the Cuban economy with that of the Communist World."

U. S. Invites Castro to Cut Soviet Links

By Stewart Hensley
United Press International

The United States promised last night to support any democratic government in Cuba, and again called on Cuban Premier Fidel Castro to cut his ties with communism.

In effect, the State Department, in a 36-page pamphlet, went over the head of Castro to the Cuban people with a plea for a return to democracy in the island country.

The document said the United States is confident

Cuban gunboat stops and detains American cable-repair schooner, but let's it go when United States destroyer and planes appear.
Page A10.

that the Cuban people, "with their passion for liberty, will continue to strive for a free Cuba" if Castro fails to heed the call to break with communism.

Support Promised

It pointedly said, however, that it would support any future democratic government of Cuba—avoiding any commitment to back a democratic movement before it actually became the official government on the island.

In this first written policy on the Castro regime, the Kennedy Administration said Cuba, under Castro, is "steadily and purposely directed toward a single goal—the transformation of Cuba into a Soviet satellite state."

However, it acknowledged that the United States had made "past omissions and errors" in its relationship with Cuba and promised to correct these in the future.

The pamphlet said Castro and his followers had "betrayed their own revolution," delivering it into "the hands of power alien to the hemisphere."

State Department Press Officer Lincoln White said the document was not intended as a "white paper" but was being written for the American public because of the "tremendous public interest in the United States concerning Cuba."

Copies to U. N., OAS

White said copies of the pamphlet—of which Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., special assistant to the President, was one of the principal authors—would be made available to members of the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS).

The document said:

"What began as a movement to enlarge Cuban democracy and freedom has been perverted, in short, into a mechanism for the destruction of free institutions in Cuba for the seizure by international communism of a base and bridgehead in the Americas, and for the disruption of the inter-American system."

The pamphlet cited Castro's repeated support of Soviet objectives. It said:

"In every area the action of the Castro regime is steadily and purposefully directed toward a single goal—the transformation of Cuba into a Soviet satellite state."

CUBA IS WARNED

Kennedy Helps Draft Appeal on 'Struggle' for Hemisphere

NY Appeal!

The text of U. S. statement
on Cuba is on Page 14.

By E. W. KENWORTHY

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 3--
The United States called on the
regime of Premier Fidel Castro
tonight "to sever its links with
the international Communist
movement" and "to restore the
dignity" of the original Cuban-
revolution.

The call was issued in a
thirty-six-page pamphlet pub-
lished by the State Department
but written in the White House
under the close direction of
President Kennedy.

"The people of Cuba remain
our brothers," the pamphlet
said. "We acknowledge past
omissions and errors in our re-
lationship to them. The United
States, along with other nations
of the hemisphere, expresses a
profound determination to as-
sure future democratic govern-
ments in Cuba full and positive
support in their efforts to help
the Cuban people achieve free-
dom, democracy and social
justice."

Admonition Is Made

However, this call to return
to the original purposes of the
revolution and the offer of help
in achieving them were fol-
lowed by an admonition:

"If this call is unheeded, we
are confident that the Cuban
people, with their passion for
liberty, will continue to strive
for a free Cuba; that they will
return to the splendid vision of
inter-American unity and pro-
gress; and that in the spirit of
José Martí they will join hands
with the other republics in the
hemisphere in the struggle to
win freedom."

The pamphlet did not state
when the struggle would be
joined or how it would be start-
ed, but it did say unequivocally:

"It is the considered judgment
of the Government of the United
States of America that the
Castro regime in Cuba offers
a clear and present danger to
the authentic and autonomous
revolution of the Americas—to
the whole concept of spreading
political liberty, economic de-
velopment, and social progress
through all the republics of the
hemisphere."

In denouncing the Cuban con-
nection with communism, the
document stated:

"We call once again on the
Castro regime to sever its links
with the international Commu-
nist movement, to return to the
original purposes which brought
so many gallant men together
in the Sierra Maestra, and to
restore the integrity of the Cu-
ban Revolution."

Theme Is Betrayed

The theme of the pamphlet is
that Premier Castro has be-
trayed the revolution he led to
victory on Jan. 1, 1959, over
Fulgencio Batista, the former
President and dictator.

Premier Castro, the publica-
tion charges, has instituted a
"repressive dictatorship" in
Cuba, delivered his country "to
the Sino-Soviet bloc," and is
mounting an attack on the
whole inter-American system.

Indicating what a falling-off
there has been from the ideals
that animated Dr. Castro's ut-
terances when he was in the
Sierra Maestra, the pamphlet
says that at the outset of his
coming to power, the whole
hemisphere "rejoiced at the
overthrow of the Batista
tyranny."

However, the pamphlet con-
tinued:

"What began as a movement
to enlarge Cuban democracy and
freedom has been perverted, in
short, into a mechanism for the
destruction of free institutions
in Cuba, for the seizure by in-
ternational communism of a
base and bridgehead in the
Americas, and for the disrup-
tion of the inter-American sys-
tem."

On the basis of these actions,
the publication declared: "It is
the considered judgment of the
Government of the United States
of America that the Castro re-
gime in Cuba offers a clear and
present danger to the authentic
and autonomous revolution of
the Americas—to the whole
hope of spreading political lib-
erty, economic development,
and social progress through all
the republics of the hemisphere."

The United States said that
if its call on the Castro regime
to sever its links with com-
munism went unheeded, "we
are confident that the Cuban
people, with their passion for
liberty, will continue to strive
for a free Cuba and will join
hands with the other republics
in the hemisphere in the strug-
gle to win freedom."

Pamphlet Kennedy's Idea

According to informed sources
here, the idea for the pamphlet
was President Kennedy's. He
has long been concerned at the
lack of popular understanding
in Latin America of the United
States attitude toward the Cas-
tro regime.

The President's convictions
about this lack of understand-
ing, it was said, were re-enforced
by reports brought to him by
Adolf A. Berle Jr., special co-
ordinator on Latin-American
policy, and Arthur M. Schles-
inger Jr., former Harvard histo-
rian who is a White House aide,
after trips to South America.

The pamphlet was written
largely by Mr. Schlesinger with
the cooperation of Richard
Goodwin, a Presidential assist-
ant dealing with foreign affairs,
and in consultation with the
State Department.

However, according to these
informants, President Kennedy
devoted many hours to the
pamphlet personally, going over
it with Mr. Schlesinger.

Since the pamphlet is intend-
ed primarily to correct impres-
sions in Latin America, Spanish
and Portuguese translations will
be circulated widely through the
hemisphere.

Dr. Castro, the pamphlet con-
tends, betrayed his revolution
by breaking his promises to
proclaim the 1940 Constitution
the supreme law of the land, to
hold elections, to guarantee ab-
solutely freedom of press and
political rights.

The history of the Castro re-
gime, the pamphlet declared,
has been the "calculated de-
struction" of the rebel army
and the 25th of July Movement
which brought Dr. Castro to
power.

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS, TUESDAY, APRIL 4, 1961-7

Quit Red Movement! U. S. Appeals to Cubans

The United States said last night it was confident the Cuban people "will continue to strive for a free Cuba" even if Premier Fidel Castro refuses to break with communism.

In a 36-page pamphlet, the State Department called Castro's regime to "sever its links with the international communist movement."

SUPPORT

It promised full American support for any future democratic government in Cuba - avoiding any commitment to back a democratic movement before it became the official government of the island.

In effect, the State Department pamphlet—first written policy on the matter in the Kennedy administration—appealed over Castro's head to the Cuban people.

The Department said that Cuba was being "steadily and purposely directed toward a single goal—the transformation of Cuba into a Soviet satellite state."

The pamphlet, which the State Department said was being written for the American public, conceded that the United States had made "past omissions and errors" in dealing with Cuba. It promised to rectify these.

The publication chronicled the drift of Cuba toward communism, declaring:

"What began as a movement to enlarge Cuban democracy and freedom has been perverted, in short, into a mechanism for the destruction of free institutions in Cuba, for the seizure by international communism of a base and bridgehead in the Americas, and for the disruption of the inter-American system."

BROTHERS

Despite the actions of the Castro regime, it said, "The people of Cuba remain our brothers."

Detailing the long list of those who have been imprisoned or

forced to flee the country, the pamphlet said:

"Never in history has any revolution so rapidly devoured its children."

The U. S. paper documented the "steady expansion of communist power within the regime" and listed the known communists in key positions.

It said the Castro regime "by completing its purge of the judiciary, has perfected its control over all organized institutions of political power. Justice is now the instrument of tyranny." (UPI)



—UPI Photo

APPEAL — Secretary of State Dean Rusk is shown with the 36-page pamphlet on Cuba prepared by the Kennedy Administration which calls on Cuban Premier Fidel Castro to cut his ties with communism.

WASHINGTON, April 3—Following is the text of a State Department document on Cuba issued today: **NYT APR 3 61**

The present situation in Cuba confronts the Western Hemisphere and the inter-American system with a grave and urgent challenge.

This challenge does not result from the fact the Castro government in Cuba was established by revolution. The hemisphere rejoiced at the overthrow of the Batista tyranny, looked with sympathy on the new regime, and welcomed its promises of political freedom and social justice for the Cuban people.

The challenge results from the fact that the leaders of the revolutionary regime betrayed their own revolution, delivered that revolution into the hands of powers alien to the hemisphere, and transformed it into an instrument

employed with calculated effect to suppress the rekindled hopes of the Cuban people for democracy and to intervene in the internal affairs of other American republics.

What began as a movement to enlarge Cuban democracy and freedom has been perverted, in short, into a mechanism for the destruction of free institutions in Cuba, for the seizure by international communism of a base and bridgehead in the Americas, and for the disruption of the inter-American system.

It is the considered judgment of the Government of the United States of America that the Castro regime in Cuba offers a clear and present danger to the authentic and autonomous revolution of the Americas—to the whole hope of spreading political liberty, economic development, and social progress through all the republics of the hemisphere.

I. The Betrayal of the Cuban Revolution

The character of the Batista regime in Cuba made a violent popular reaction almost inevitable. The rapacity of the leadership, the corruption of the Government, the brutality of the police, the regime's indifference to the needs of the people for education, medical care, housing, for social justice and economic opportunity—all these, in Cuba as elsewhere, constituted an open invitation to revolution.

When word arrived from the Sierra Maestra of the revolutionary movement headed by Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz, the people of the hemisphere watched its progress with feeling and with hope.

The Cuban revolution could not, however, have succeeded on the basis of guerrilla action alone. It succeeded because of the rejection of the regime by thousands of civilians behind the lines—a rejection which undermined the morale of the superior military forces of Batista and caused them to collapse from within.

This response of the Cuban people was not just to the cruelty and oppression of the Batista Government but to the clear and moving declarations repeatedly made by Dr. Castro concerning his plans and purposes for post-revolutionary Cuba.

As early as 1953, Dr. Castro promised that the first revolutionary law would proclaim the Constitution of 1940 as "the supreme law of the land." In this and subsequent statements, Dr. Castro promised "absolute guarantee of freedom of information, both of newspapers and radio, and of all the individual and political rights guaranteed by the Constitution," and a provisional Government that "will hold general elections *** at the end of one year under the norms of the Constitution of 1940 and the Electoral Code of 1943 and will deliver the power immediately to the candidate elected."

Promises Aro Recalled

Dr. Castro, in short, promised a free and democratic Cuba dedicated to social and economic justice. It was to assure these goals that the rebel army maintained itself in the hills, that the Cuban people turned against Batista, and that all elements of the revolution in the end supported the 26th of July Movement.

It was because of the belief in the honesty of Dr. Castro's purposes that the accession of his regime to power on Jan. 1, 1959, was followed within a single week by its acceptance in the hemisphere—a recognition freely accorded by nearly all the American republics, including the United States.

For a moment the Castro regime seemed determined to make good on at least its social promises. The positive programs initiated in the first months of the Castro regime—the schools built, the medical clinics established, the new housing, the early projects of land reform, the opening up of beaches and resorts to the people, the elimination of graft in government—were impressive in their conception; no future Cuban Government can expect to turn its back on such objectives.

But so far as the expressed political aims of the revolution were concerned, the record of the Castro regime has been a record of the steady and consistent betrayal of Dr. Castro's pre-revolutionary promises; and the result has been to corrupt the social achievements and make them the means, not of liberation, but of bondage.

The history of the Castro revolution has been the history of the calculated destruction of the free-spirited rebel army and its supersession as the main military instrumentality of the regime by the new state militia.

History of Destruction

It has been the history of the calculated destruction of the 26th of July Movement and its supersession as the main political instrumentality of the regime by the Communist party (Partido Socialista Popular).

It has been the history of the disillusion, persecution, imprisonment, exile, and execution of men and women who supported Dr. Castro—in many cases fought by his side—and thereafter doomed themselves by trying to make his regime live up to his own promises.

Thus, Dr. José Miro Cardona, a distinguished lawyer of Havana, was in 1958 coordinator of Frente Civico Revolucionario, a coalition of groups opposed to the Batista regime. Dr. Castro made him the Price Minister of the revolutionary Government.

As the regime embarked on its Communist course, Dr. Miro Cardona went into exile. Today he is chairman of the Revolutionary Council, representing anti-Batista Cubans determined to rescue the revolution.

Dr. Manuel Urrutia Y. Lleo, an eminent Cuban judge, had asserted in defiance of Batista and in defense of Castro the right of Cubans to resort to

arms to overthrow an unconstitutional government. He became a hero of the revolution and served as Provisional President of the revolutionary Government. When he protested the spread of Communist influence, he was compelled to resign. Today Dr. Urrutia is under house arrest in Havana.

Not only the first Prime Minister and the first President of the revolutionary Government, but a large proportion of the revolution's original political and military leaders now reject Dr. Castro and his course of betrayal. Of the nineteen members of the first Cabinet of the revolutionary Government, nearly two-thirds are today in prison, in exile, or in opposition.

Manuel Ray Rivero, who organized the anti-Batista underground in Havana and served as Castro's Minister of Public Works, is now a member of the Revolutionary Council. Humberto Sori Marin, who as Castro's First Minister of Agriculture called for agrarian reform in the spirit of 1940 Constitution, returned to Cuba early this year to resume his fight for the freedom of his people; according to recent reports, he has been shot and captured by the forces of Castro.

Former Rebels Hunted

Men who fought with Dr. Castro in the hills are today the hunted victims of his revolutionary regime. Maj. Huber Matos Benitez, revolutionary comandante of Camaguey Province, was a hero of the Sierra Maestra. When Major Matos challenged the spread of Communist influence and requested permission to resign from the army, he was put on trial for conspiracy, sedition, and treason and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. Major Matos is only one of the many foes of Batista who now protest Dr. Castro's perversion of the revolution.

There are many many others: Manuel Artime and Manuel Diaz who fought valiantly in the Sierra Maestra; Justo Giron, a leader of the Montecristi opposition in Havana and Castro's first choice for President of the National Development Bank; Raul Chibas, who raised much of the funds for the revolution and fought with Castro in the hills; Felipe Pazos, who represented the 26th of July Movement on the junta of liberation and was subsequently appointed by Castro as President of the National Bank of Cuba; Maj. Pedro Diaz Lanz, chief of the Cuban Air Force and Castro's personal pilot; Ricardo Lorie Vais, chief of arms supply for the rebel army; Dr. Manuel Antonio de Varona, leader of the Organizacion Autentica, which was formed to oppose Batista and which supported its own revolutionary group in the Escambray Mountains; Evelio Duque and Osvaldo Ramirez, fighters in the Sierra Escambray first against Batista and today against Castro.

David Salvador, the labor leader, went to jail under Batista because of his work for Castro. After the revolution, he became the militant pro-Castro and "anti-Janqui" secretary general of the Cuban Trade Union Federation. In November, 1959, the 26th of July Movement swept the National Congress of the Trade Unions, defeated the Communist slate, and confirmed David Salvador as secretary general. But Dr. Castro, appearing in person at the congress, demanded acceptance of the Communist program of unity. Salvador continued his fight for a free labor movement. A year later he was arrested as he tried to escape from Cuba. Today David Salvador is back in a Cuban jail—this time not Batista's but Castro's.

Editors Restricted

Editors and commentators who had fought all their lives for freedom of expression found less of it under Castro even than under Batista. Miguel Angel Quevedo, as editor of Bohemia, had freely attacked Batista and backed Castro; the January, 1959, issue of Bohemia hailing the new regime sold nearly a million copies.

But a year and half later, Quevedo concluded that it was impossible to put out an honest magazine in the new Cuba. When he fled the country in July, 1960, Castro described it as "one of the hard blows which the revolution has received." Today Bohemia Libre's dateline is Caracas.

Luis Conte Aguero, the radio and television commentator, wrote the preface to Dr. Castro's revolutionary exhortation history. When Conte dared criticize Communist infiltration into the regime, Castro turned on him, angry crowds mobbed him, and he was forced to seek refuge in

Today he is in exile.

Even Jose Pardo Llada, notorious for his vitriolic daily attacks on the United State over the Havana radio, recently fled to Mexico City; he declared, "I am breaking with Fidel Castro upon reaching the conviction that in Cuba it is

no longer possible to maintain a position that is not in accord with the line of the Popular Socialist [Communist] party, and that any expression of independence, even in defense of the social program of the revolution, is considered as deviationist, divisive, or counter-revolutionary."

Never in history has any revolution so rapidly devoured its children. The roster of Castro's victims is the litany of the Cuban revolution. The

rebel army and the 26th of July Movement expressed the profound and passionate desire of the Cuban people for democracy and freedom, a desire sanctified in the comradeship and sacrifice of the revolutionary struggle. When Dr. Castro decided to betray the promises of the revolution, he had to liquidate the instrumentalities which embodied those promises and to destroy the men who took the promises seriously.

**II. Establishment of the Communist Bridgehead
 Communist Expansion**

In place of the democratic spontaneity of the Cuban revolution, Dr. Castro placed his confidence in the ruthless discipline of the Cuban Communist party. Today that party is the only political party permitted to operate in Cuba. Today its members and those responsive to its influence dominate the government of Cuba, the commissions of economic planning, the labor front, the press, the educational system, and all the agencies of national power.

The Cuban Communist party has had a long and intricate history. For years it had a working arrangement with the Batista Government; indeed, Batista in 1943 appointed to his Cabinet the first avowed Communist ever to serve in any cabinet of any American republic. Later Batista and the Communists fell out. But the Communists were at first slow to grasp the potentialities of the Castro movement. When Castro first went to the hills, the Cuban Communist party dismissed him as "bourgeois" and "putschist." Only when they saw that he had a chance of winning did they try to take over his movement.

Their initial opposition was quickly forgiven. Dr. Castro's brother, Major Raul Castro, had himself been active in the international Communist student movement, and had made his pilgrimage to the Communist world. Moreover, Maj. Ernesto (Che) Guevara, a dominating influence on Dr. Castro, was a professional revolutionary from Argentina who had worked with Communists in Guatemala and Mexico. Through Raul Castro and Guevara, the Communists, though unable to gain control either of the 26th of July Movement or of the rebel army, won ready access to Dr. Castro himself. What was perhaps even more important, the Communist party could promise Castro not only a clear-cut program but a tough organization to put that program into execution.

The period since has been a steady expansion of Communist power within the regime. Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado, the present President of Cuba, was regional organization secretary of the Communist party in Cienfuegos as a law student and has never publicly explained or repudiated his past membership. Anibal Escalante, secretary general of the Cuban Communist party, is a member of the informal group which, under the chairmanship of Raul Castro, makes policy for the Cuban Government.

Raul Castro himself runs the Ministry for the revolutionary Armed Forces; and his friend, Major Ramiro Valdes Menendez, who accompanied him on a tour of the Soviet bloc in 1960, is chief of military intelligence. Major Guevara is Minister of Industry and chief economic planner. The National Agrarian Reform Institute, with its vast power over the Rural life of Cuba, is headed by Major Antonio Nuñez Jimenez, a long-time coworker in hind the Iron Curtain.

The Bank for Foreign Commerce, which until recently controlled all exports and imports, had as its director Jacinto Torras, an old-time communist, who served for many years as economic editor of the Communist Daily newspaper Noticias de Hoy. All centers of economic power have been taken over by the state and to a considerable degree delivered to the Cuban Communist party.

This process of consolidation has been extended inexorably to every phase of Cuban National life. Political opposition has been extinguished, and all political parties, save the Communist, are effectively denied political activity. In recent months the regime, by completing its purge of the judiciary, has perfected its control over all organized institutions of political power. Justice is now the instrument of tyranny. Laws have been redefined in such a way that any manifestation of disagreement can be branded as "counter-revolutionary" and the accused haled before military tribunals and sentenced to long prison terms or to the firing squad.

Professional groups and civic institutions have lost their autonomy and are systematically integrated into the "revolutionary" discipline of the regime. The remaining vestiges of opposition in the trade unions, represented by union leaders from the 26th of July Movement, have been destroyed. Recently the hand of the dictatorship has been reaching out beyond the middle class to strike down elements in organized labor.

When the electrical workers of Havana marched last December from union headquarters to the Presidential Palace to protest against reductions in their standard of living, Dr. Castro himself took an early occasion to denounce them. A power failure in Havana led to the arrest of three workers as suspected saboteurs; on Jan. 18, 1961, these men were executed by the regime as "traitors." Protest demonstrations by workers' wives against the executions were broken up by civilian strong-arm squads while police and militiamen looked on.

Seizures of Education

In characteristic Communist manner, the regime has seized control of the nation's educational system, introduced Communist propaganda into the schools, destroyed academic freedom, and ended the traditional autonomy of the universities. The director of primary education in the Ministry of Education is Dulce Maria Escalona Almeida, a Communist. Secondary education is in the hands of Pedro Canas Abril, long associated with pro-Communist groups. The director of the Department of Culture in the Ministry of Education is veteran Communist, Vincentina Antuna.

Well-known Communists served on the committee named by the Ministry of Education to rewrite the textbooks for the public school system. Two-thirds of the faculty of the University of Havana is today in exile. Fermin Peinado, a former professor at the University of the Oriente, recently published the text of a statement issued last December by faculty members and students of that university.

"* * * in the realm of domestic politics we condemn Fidel Castro as a traitor to the revolution that this university helped to organize and to win

* * * the objectives of complete freedom, human rights, and constitutional order, crystallized in the 26th of July Movement, have been crushed by the Castro regime in open treason to the memory of our martyrs Frank Pais, Pepito Tey, Eduardo Mesa, and many others * * * in the realm of university life declare Fidel Castro a traitor to the autonomy of the university, defended to the death by a legion of student martyrs, from Trejo to Ramirez and Jose A. Echevarria * * * we denounce the systematic subordination of the aims of scientific investigation within the universities to the aid of consolidating and maintaining in power the totalitarian tyranny of Castro.

In similar fashion the Castro regime has seized control of the agencies of public communication—the newspapers, the publishing houses, the radio and television networks, the film industry. No Cuban today, whether in field or factory, in school or café or home by the radio, can hope to escape the monotonous and implacable din of Communist propaganda.

The Cuba of Castro, in short, offers the Western Hemisphere a new experience—the experience of a modern totalitarian state. Castro's power touches the daily lives of the people of Cuba at every point; governs their access to jobs, houses, farms, schools, all the necessities of life; and subjects opposition to quick and harsh reprisal. The Castro regime is far more drastic and comprehensive in its control than even the most ruthless of the old-time military dictatorships which have too long disfigured the hemisphere.

On January 27 last, Maj. Nuñez Jiménez, the head of I. N. R. A., summed up the inner logic of the Castro course. The Cuban Government, Major Nuñez threatened, might have to replace its intended slogan for 1961, "Year of Education," with a new slogan, "Año Del Paredón"—eYar of the Execution Wall" or, in effect, "Year of the Firing Squad."

By every criterion, it is evi-

dent that the permeation and penetration of political and intellectual life by Communist influences and personalities have reached the point of virtual domination. The North American journalist I. F. Stone, initially sympathetic with the Castro regime, reported after a recent trip to Cuba:

"For the first time, in talking with the Fidelista intellectuals, I felt that Cuba was on its way to becoming a Soviet-style popular democracy."

Fighters in Exile

It is for this reason that some of the most devoted and authentic fighters for social and economic democracy in Latin America—men who themselves spent years in prison or in exile and who had hailed the Castro uprising for its promises of deliverance for the Cuban people—have united in rejecting the Communist conquest of Cuba. Victor Raul Haya de la Torre of Peru may stand as a symbol of this whole tradition of the Democratic left.

"In the history of Latin America," Haya de la Torre recently said, "there has been a series of sell-outs. Sell-outs are not new to our America. What is new are the sell-outs towards the left. Up until now they were only to the political Right. We cannot confuse that which was idealistic, authentic and just in the beginning of the Cuban Revolution with the surrender, submission, and homage to something which is anti-American and totalitarian and which is opposed to the traditional sense of our ideal of bread with freedom."

Meeting in Lima at the end of February, 1961, representatives of A. P. R. A. of Peru, Accion Democratica of Venezuela, and similar political groups in other Latin American republics summed up the situation when they said of Cuba that its "revolutionary process, justified in the beginning, has been deflected by its present agents, converting a brother country into an instrument of the cold war, separating it, with suicidal premeditation, from the community of interests of the Latin

III. The Delivery of the Revolution to the Sino-Soviet Bloc

The official declarations of the Cuban Government amply document the Lima resolution and make clear the subservience of the Castro regime to the world Communist bloc. The joint communiqué issued in Moscow on Dec. 19, 1960, by Anastas Mikoyan, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U. S. S. R., and Major Guevará, as chief of the economic mission of the revolutionary government of Cuba, outline the terms of surrender.

After announcing a series of trade, technical assistance, and cultural agreements, the communiqué noted, "During the talks, the two parties discussed problems relating to the present international situation, and they reaffirmed their agreement of mankind today."

The Cubans agreed that the Soviet Union is "the most powerful nation on earth" and that every Soviet proposal and policy represented a magnificent contribution to world peace. In return for a total acceptance of Soviet leadership, Cuba received pledges of Soviet economic assistance and of "the Soviet Union's willingness to lend Cuba full assistance in maintaining its independence against unprovoked aggression." The joint communiqué amounts in effect to an alliance between Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Officials of the Castro Government have repeatedly made clear their fidelity to this alliance. Major Guevará, endorsing the conclusions of the Moscow Congress of World Communist parties, said, "Cuba wants to read the way of the Soviet Union" and praised the "militant solidarity of the Cuban and Soviet people."

In the presence of Dr. Castro, Faure Chomon, the Cuban Ambassador to Moscow, told an audience on March 13, 1960, "We Communists together will continue forward with our truth and the students of today and the students of tomorrow will be greatly interested in seeing how a whole people even the children, deceived by religious schools, have become Communists, and how this is to follow that truth which unites the Cuban people. Very soon we shall see all the peoples of Latin America become Communists."

On one issue after another, the Castro regime has signified its unquestioning acceptance of the Soviet line on international affairs. After the termination of diplomatic relations with the United States, the Cuban Government turned over its diplomatic and consular representation to the Embassy of Czechoslovakia in Washington. In the United Nations, Cuba votes with the Communist bloc on virtually all major issues.

Though in 1956 Raul Roa, the Cuban Foreign Minister, attacked "the crimes, disasters and outrages perpetrated" by the Soviet "invaders" in Hungary, the Hungarian revolution, as well as the rebellion in Tibet, are now "reactionary Fascist movements." In October, 1960, Manuel Yepe, chief of protocol for the Foreign Ministry, gave an orientation lecture on the subject "Imperialist Aggression and the Case of Hungary."

The last few months have seen the rapid consolidation of this relationship in all its aspects—not only ideological, but military, political, economic, and cultural. Sino-Soviet arms, equipment, technicians, and money have moved into Cuba. Diplomatic relations have been established with every Communist country except East Germany; and economic agreements have been concluded with many Communist countries including East Germany. Cuban leaders have visited the Soviet Union and Communist China as honored guests, and a long list of leaders from the Soviet Union, China, and the Communist satellite states have visited Cuba.

Rising 'Flood' of Arms

It is important to understand the detail and the magnitude of this process of take over. Since the middle of 1960, more than 30,000 tons of arms with an estimated value of \$50,000,000 have poured from beyond the Iron Curtain into Cuba in an ever-rising flood. The eight-hour military parade through Havana and the military maneuvers in January, 1961, displayed Soviet JS-2 fifty-one-ton tanks, Soviet SU-100 assault guns, Soviet T-34 thirty-five-ton tanks, Soviet 76-mm. field guns, Soviet 85-mm. field guns, Soviet 122-mm. field guns.

Except for motorized equipment, the Cuban armed forces have been reequipped by the Soviet bloc and are now dependent on the bloc for the maintenance of their armed power. Soviet and Czech military advisers and technicians have accompanied the flow of arms. And the Castro regime has sent Cubans to Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union for training as jet pilots, ground maintenance crews and artillerymen.

As a consequence of Soviet military aid, Cuba has today, except for the United States, the largest ground forces in the hemisphere—at least ten times as large as the military forces maintained by previous Cuban Governments, including that of Batista. Estimates of the size of the Cuban military establishment range from 250,000 to 400,000. On the basis of the lower figure, one out of every thirty thirty Cubans is today in the armed forces as against one out of fifty in the Soviet Union and one out of sixty in the United States.

Economic Domination

Soviet domination of economic relations has proceeded with similar speed and comprehensiveness. A series of trade and financial agreements has integrated the Cuban economy with that of the Communist world. The extent of Cuban economic dependence on the Communist world is shown by the fact that approximately 75 per cent of its trade is now tied up in barter arrangements with Iron Curtain countries.

The artificiality of this development is suggested by the fact that at the beginning of 1960 only 2 per cent of Cuba's total foreign trade was with the Communist bloc. The Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland have permanent technical assistance missions in Cuba; and a Communist Chinese delegation will soon arrive in pursuance of the Cuban-Chinese agreement of December, 1960. According to Major Guevara, 2,700 Cubans will be receiving technical training in bloc countries in 1961.

The same process is visible in the field of cultural relations. What is involved is not just the visit of concert artists, dance groups, or athletic teams but the Communist conquest of all phases of cultural activity.

This is to be seen in the comprehensive cultural agreements with bloc countries in the reconstruction of the Cuban educational system to serve Communist purposes, in the impediments placed on students wishing to study anywhere except beyond the Iron Curtain, in the ban on books and magazines from the free states, in the affiliation of Prensa Latina, the official Cuban press agency, with Tass and other Communist-bloc news agencies.

It has meant a deliberate severing of traditional cultural ties with countries of the hemisphere and of Western Europe. It has meant a massive attempt to impose an alien cultural pattern on the Cuban people.

In every area, the action of the Castro regime is steadily and purposefully directed toward a single goal—the transformation of Cuba into a Soviet satellite state.

IV. The Assault on the Hemisphere

The transformation of Cuba into a Soviet satellite is, from the viewpoint of the Cuban leaders, not an end but a beginning. Dr. Castro's fondest dream is a continent-wide upheaval which would reconstruct all Latin America on the model of Cuba.

"We promise," he said on July 26, 1960, "to continue making the nation the example that can convert the cordillera of the Andes into the Sierra Maestra of the hemisphere." "If they want to accuse us of wanting a revolution in all America," he added later, "let them accuse us."

Under Castro, Cuba has already become a base of staging area for revolutionary activity throughout the continent. In prosecuting the war against the hemisphere, Cuban embassies in Latin American countries work in close collaboration with Iron Curtain diplomatic missions and with the Soviet intelligence services. In addition, Cuban expressions of fealty to the Communist world have provided the Soviet Government a long-sought pretext for threats of direct interventions of its own in the Western Hemisphere.

"We shall do everything to support Cuba in her struggle," Prime Minister Khrushchev said on July 9, 1960, " * * * speaking figuratively, in case of necessity, Soviet artillerymen can support with rocket fire the Cuban people if aggressive forces in the Pentagon dare to start intervention against Cuba."

As Dr. Castro's alliance with international communism has grown closer, his determination to export revolution to other American republics—a determination now affirmed, now denied—has become more fervent. The declaration of Havana of Sept. 2, 1960, was an open attack on the Organization of American States.

Cuban intervention, though couched in terms designed to appeal to Latin American aspirations for freedom and justice, has shown its readiness to do anything necessary to extend the power of Fidelismo. Indeed, Dr. Castro has plainly reached the conclusion that his main enemy in Latin America is not dictatorship but democracy—that he must, above all, strive to discredit and destroy Governments seeking peaceful solutions to social and economic problems. Thus, in recent months the Cuban Government has abandoned its aggressive campaign against the Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic and has accelerated its attacks on the progressive democratic government of Romulo Betancourt in Venezuela.

Forms of Intervention

Cuban interventionism has taken a variety of forms. During 1959, the Castro Government aided or supported armed invasions of Panama, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti. These projects all failed and all invited action by the Organization of American States. In consequence, after 1959, the Castro regime began increasingly to resort to indirect methods.

The present strategy of Fidelismo is to provoke revolutionary situations in other republics through the indoctrination of selected individuals from other countries, through assistance to revolutionary exiles, through incitement to mass agitation, and through the political and propaganda operations of Cuban embassies. Cuban diplomats have encouraged local opposition groups, harangued political rallies, distributed inflammatory propaganda, and indulged in a multitude of political assignments beyond the usual call of diplomatic duty.

Papers seized in a raid on the Cuban Embassy in Lima in November, 1960, display, for example, the extent and variety of clandestine Fidelista activities within Peru. Documents made public by the Government of El Salvador on March 12, 1961, appear to establish that large sums of money have been coming into El Salvador through the Cuban Embassy for the purpose of financing pro-Communist student groups plotting the overthrow of the Government. The regime is now completing construction of a 100,000-watt radio transmitter to facilitate its propaganda assault on the hemisphere.

Instances of Disturbance

Most instances of serious civil disturbance in Latin America in recent months exhibit Cuban influence, if not direct intervention. At the time of the November riots in Venezuela, the Government announced the discovery of high-powered transmitting and receiving sets in the possession of Cubans in Caracas. In the following weeks, about fifty Cubans were expelled from the Country. Similar patterns appear to have existed in troubles in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, Bolivia and Paraguay.

To such covert activities have been joined open attacks on the duly elected leaders of the American states. Thus the Cuban Foreign Minister has applied unprintable language to President Frondizi of Argentina. Government broadcasts have denounced President Lopez Mateos as "the betrayer of the Mexican revolution," President Allexandri as "the corrupter of the faith of the Chilean people," President Lleras Camargo of Colombia as "the intimate friend of exploiting imperialism," President Betancourt of Venezuela as the "revolutionary of mercurochrome bandaids," President Eisenhower of the United States as "decrepit" and "bottle-fed," and so on.

In consequence of Dr. Castro's campaign against the hemisphere, seven American states no longer have diplomatic relations with Cuba. Of the states which retain formal relations, several have found it necessary to ask that Cuban Ambassadors and other official representatives be recalled because of their flagrant intervention into domestic affairs. A number of Governments have withdrawn their own Ambassadors from Havana.

The nations of the hemisphere, including the United States, have made repeated attempts to dissuade Cuba from thus turning its back on its brother republics. Though the Cuban Government has tried to portray the United States as the sworn and unrelenting enemy of the Cuban revolution, Dr. Castro was in fact cordially received when he visited the United States in the spring of 1959. American officials made clear to him the willingness of the United States Government to discuss his country's economic needs. For many months thereafter, the United States sought direct consultations with the Castro Government. The United States took the initiative in suggesting negotiations as early as the summer of 1959. That offer and many others made subsequently were not accepted. For a long time the United States Ambassador in Havana was unable even to obtain an audience with Dr. Cas-

Dr. Castro has already made clear his contempt for the organization of American states and for the entire inter-American system. Early in his regime he declared, "I have no faith in the OAS * * * it decides nothing, the whole thing is a lie." Though Cuba signed the Santiago declaration of August, 1959, with its enunciation of RREE elections, human rights, due process, freedom of information and expression, and hemisphere economic collaboration, it has systematically disregarded and violated each item in the declaration. In March 1960, Castro publicly stated that the Cuban government did not regard itself as obligated by the Rio treaty, the keystone of hemispheric cooperation for defense, because "the revolution" did not sign the document.

In August, 1960, the foreign ministers of the hemisphere, meeting at San Jose, Costa Rica, adopted a declaration condemning the threat of extracontinental intervention in the affairs of the hemisphere and condemning also the acceptance of any such threat by an American republic; rejecting the attempt of the Sino-Soviet powers to exploit the political, economic, or social situation of any American state; and declaring that the inter-American system was incompatible with any form of totalitarianism and that democracy would achieve its full scope only as all American republics lived up to the Santiago declaration.

After the San Jose declaration the Cuban regime, identifying itself as the object of these pronouncements, launched an all-out attack on the inter-American system. The declaration of Havana condemned the declaration of San Jose. The United States twice proposed that factfinding and good-offices procedures created by the OAS be used as an approach to resolving differences; these proposals were ignored by Cuba. Cuba refused to join with the other American republics in the effort to bring about economic and social advance through the continent in the spirit of the Bogota economic meeting in 1960. It refused to support the recommendations made by the November 1960 special meeting of senior representatives to strengthen the inter-American economic and social council. It has hurled insults on the whole conception of Alianza Para el Progreso. It stands today in defiance not only of the declarations of Santiago and San Jose and the treaty of Rio but also of the charter of the Organization of American States.

No one contends the organization of American states is a perfect institution. But it does represent the collective purpose of the American republics to work together for democracy, economic development, and peace. The O. A. S. has established the machinery to guarantee the safety and integrity of every American republic, to preserve the principle of noninterference by any American state in the internal or external affairs of the other American states and to assure each nation the right to develop its cultural, political and economic life freely and naturally, respecting the rights of the individual and the principles of universal morality.

The Organization of American States is the expression of the moral and political unity of the western hemisphere. In rejecting the OAS, the Castro regime has rejected the hemisphere and has established itself as the outpost in the Americas for forces determined to wreck the inter-american system. Under Castro, Cuba has become the agency to destroy the bol-

shian vision of the Americas as the greatest region in the

World, "greatest not so much by virtue of her area and wealth, as by her freedom and glory."

V. Conclusion

It is not clear whether Dr. Castro intended from the start to betray his pledges of a free and democratic Cuba, to deliver his country to the Sino-Soviet bloc, and to mount an attack on the inter-American system; or whether he made his original pledges in all sincerity but, on assuming his new responsibilities, found himself increasingly dependent on ruthless man around him with clear ideas and the disciplined organization to carry those ideas into action. What is important is not the motive but the result.

Dictatorship Denounced

The first result has been the institution of a repressive dictatorship in Cuba.

The existence of a regime dedicated to so calculated an attack on human decencies would by itself be a sufficient occasion for intense concern within the hemisphere. In recent years the American family of nations has moved steadily toward the conclusion that the safety and welfare of all the American republics will be best protected by the establishment and guarantee within each republic of what the O. A. S. Charter calls "the essential rights of man."

But Dr. Castro has done more than establish a dictatorship in Cuba; he has committed that dictatorship to a totalitarian movement outside the hemisphere.

Just as the American republics, over twenty years ago, in conferences beginning at Lima in 1938 and culminating at Rio de Janeiro in 1942, proclaimed that they could not tolerate the invasion of the hemisphere and the seizure of the American states by Nazi movements, serving the in-

terests of the German Reich, so today they reject such invasion and seizure by Communist movements serving the interests of the Sino-Soviet bloc.

The people of Cuba remain our brothers. We acknowledge past omissions and errors in our relationship to them. The United States, along with the other nations of the hemisphere, expresses a profound determination to assure future democratic Governments in Cuba full and positive support in their efforts to help the Cuban people achieve freedom, democracy, and social justice.

We call once again on the Castro regime to sever its links with the international Communist movement, to return to the original purposes which brought so many gallant men together in the Sierra Maestra, and to restore the integrity of the Cuban revolution.

If this call is unheeded, we are confident that the Cuban people, with their passion for liberty, will continue to strive for a free Cuba; that they will return to the splendid vision of inter-American unity and progress; and that in the spirit of José Martí, they will join hands with the other republics in the hemisphere in the struggle to win freedom.

Because the Castro regime has become the spearhead of attack on the inter-American system, that regime represents a fateful challenge to the inter-American system. For freedom is the common destiny of our hemisphere—freedom from domestic tyranny and foreign intervention, from hunger and poverty and illiteracy, freedom for each person and nation in the Americas to realize the high potentialities of life in the Twentieth Century.