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Infanta Carlota, 129

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(España)

World  
before  
a  
Tomb

Dr. Guillermo Alonso Pujol  
Ex-Vice President of Cuba

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To J. Edgar Hoover, hoping  
to receive his approval.

Sincerely, *W. Pujol*

March, 1964.

The  
World  
before  
a  
Tomb

*To Hortensia, the inseparable companion  
who for more than a quarter of a century has  
shared with the utmost serenity the ups and  
downs of my public life, which has been more  
of a storm than a soft southern breeze.  
With everlasting love.*

*Facing the mists of Tibidabo.  
Winter, 1964.*

Barcelona, January, 1964

## PREFACE

«Happy people are almost entirely ignorant of Life. Pain is mankind's greatest educator; it has taught him the arts, poetry and morality, and has inspired pity and heroism.»

ANATOLE FRANCE

To «Verdades» (Truths), a book in which I have gathered all that my tenacity has enabled me to do during these latter years for the freedom of Cuba, there will be added «El Mundo ante una Tumba» (The World before a Tomb). This mental effort is now being published in pamphlet form as a homage to the illustrious assassinated democrat and a tribute of my deep sympathy with his great people and his family in their grief.

### A youthful victor

I have been a public personage for more than half my life. I have held high posts and suffered the poisonous bites of low passions, those which by the force of evil cut off the life of this great statesman. I had not the honour of knowing him personally. Apart from his successes and visible errors, I admired in Kennedy his quality of a great youthful conqueror. I was President of the Senate of my country at the age of 38. This chronological reminiscence stimulated my warm feeling for the man who at an early age had reached the highest magistracy in the world.

### The guilt of many

This fascination did not lead me to accept as right his whole policy, especially as regards the Cuban crisis. But we

must not blame only the martyr of Dallas for the failures that forged the chains that still bind the land of Martí. Responsibility also falls on the native governing classes, that is to say, the leaders who created and kept up that regime incapable of overcoming the lilliputian invasion of the Sierra Maestra, or those who with blameworthy intransigence prevented the civic conciliation and ended by placing their faith under the banner of the «26th July». In this heap of failures and mistakes the hand of President Eisenhower's Administration must be seen, as well as that of many South American Governments who stood by and watched with indifference the development of wickedness of this native of Birán, Cuba. In this way the most beautiful island in the Western Hemisphere was turned into a Slav colony, — an occurrence of the utmost significance for the freedom of America, since it amounted to the tearing up of the Monroe Doctrine, the 1947 Rio de Janeiro Treaty and later agreements of the Pan-American juridical system.

#### A thought of Balzac's

The union of Castro with the Metropoli of Moscow and Peking has reminded me of the philosophical force of Balzac's thought on human destiny: — «Mankind's misguidedness is an abysm guarded by Sphinges; it nearly always begins and ends with unanswered questions.»

#### Silence and oblivion

In the book now in preparation there is more than one chapter in which the opinions expressed are born of patriotic feeling and personal motives. In my prophetic letter of 26<sup>th</sup> March, 1961, to the President of the Cuban Revolutionary Council, Dr. José Miró Cardona, I expressed my anxious reserves with regard to the planned military invasion, and

pointed out the responsibility that would be incurred by the organizers of the attack, which I saw destined to failure. Unfortunately, the forecast of disaster proved correct. The capture of the patriots led me to implore clemency in all quarters. I gave myself up entirely to the task of thinking out ways and means of obtaining their release. I took active part in a Committee of Members of their Families, a committee created in my own house. The duty of those who could and ought to pay for their ransom was stressed. My open intervention came up against the opinions or the interests of those compatriots who, at that time, deserved the favour of powerful friends, or even caused irritation in some U.S.A. official spheres, or opposition by the Commission of ten members of the Brigade. In spite of the mistrust and unjust objections, I devoted myself on my own account to the unabated effort that I owed my son and his companions in the ill-fated enterprise. I wrapped the affronts in discrete silence, and later, in conscious forgetfulness.

#### A moving ceremony

The prisoners obtained their freedom, except for a few shot or still kept in prison by order of the revolutionary tribunals. President Kennedy and his Government made their deliverance possible. One Christmas Day, those who had suffered eighteen months of abominable confinement breathed the free air of Miami. At a recent date a moving ceremony took place at Arlington. Fifty members of the Brigade 2506, in their camouflaged uniforms, maybe the very same that had been covered with dust, shot and shell splinters, and soaked in blood in the burning arena of defeat, paid homage before the freshly closed sepulchre. Although I did not parade in the ranks of the Cubans near the late President, I shed a symbolic tear that savoured of pure spiritual grief.

### The sin that most offends

*In the story of my tasks on behalf of the invaders, I should like to bring out in special relief my esteem for those who offered me their hand in friendship. There will be a specially conspicuous place for them in the book already announced, for I am one of those who observe Cervantes' decree:— «It is proper to the well-born to show thanks for the benefits they receive, and one of the sins that most offend God is ingratitude.»*

### An unforgettable friend

*Fourteen years ago I met in Paris an eminent Venezuelan lady, — Mimi Guevara de Herrera Uslar. She personifies beauty and grace, intelligence and culture. She knows the secrets of several languages, of humanism and the fine arts. She is the incarnation of the excellent qualities that make a woman unforgettable, captivating. The gift of sympathy and affability is hers. An inborn instinct for discovering a person's best but hidden traits. Feminine without showing off this quality. Gentleness and interest in others. «She even understands what she ignores, and can see the invisible.» My wife and myself acquired an unending affection for her. This most brilliant light shone on our conviction that friendship, as Montaigne wrote, is the last extreme of perfection in the relations that link human beings. This sublime lady and her family played an extraordinary rôle in my efforts to obtain the release of the victims of the Bay of Pigs.*

### Dialogue, counsel and negotiations

*On the 20<sup>th</sup> of May, 1961, I went to the old but modern Caracas. I returned to «La Vega», a magnificent country*

house with the fragrance of centuries, harmonious porches and gardens. Everything there shines under the sun of manorial distinction. The exquisite mansion of the Herrera Uslars and Rodriguez Llamosas, a scene of brilliant gatherings and a nest of hospitality, opened its balls that evening to the enjoyment of dances and songs by the late Carmen Amaya. My wife and I were a little distant from the festivities. We remembered our son, his comrades in the Brigade and the thousands of their compatriots whose lives depended on the designs of Castro. Our hosts tried to relieve our affliction. A short distance away from the sound of the castanets, Señora Herrera Uslar and I were in conversation, speaking of the future of the captives. «Tell me», I asked her, «what do you think I ought to do for this cause?» Her gentle features took on a decisive air. Her answer was precise:—«Don't entrust the task to anybody else. Act yourself. Go to those places where they must hear, even to Castro and other Marxist chiefs. Aren't Kennedy's Ambassadors and Mao Tse Tung negotiating in Warsaw for the release of half a dozen American prisoners? Aren't the life and liberty of your own son and so many of your countrymen at stake? Your keen mind and strong will make you the best advocate for their defence. You will employ constancy, which is a very high quality.»— The great classic, I put in, defined it well when he said that it consists mainly in enduring on a firm footing incurable misfortunes. «So there is no effort we may not consider excellent, so long as it serves to preserve us from the blow that threatens.»— My good friend closed the dialogue, saying:— «This battle you are going into will prove your great fortitude. You can count on me; I will help you openly.»

I took her bold advice, and, indeed, the kind lady kept her promise nobly. She, who had influential relations in the country and in the most distinguished centres of Europe and

America, was lavish in her co-operation, and opened paths of inestimable value. I begged the help of Don Rómulo Gallegos, at that time President of the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights, and other personages from Bolívar's fatherland, to save the life and prepare for the freedom of the prisoners. The Cuban Government most surprisingly gave an amiable reply to the enlightened educator. I remember my pleasant interview with the author of «Doña Bárbara». It was arranged and attended by our generous friend Manuel Vicente Rodríguez Llamosas.

### Invested with full power

I covered thousands of miles. I stopped in various capitals. I reached the hearts of statesmen, jurists, ambassadors, churchmen, bankers, — in short, of different kinds and degrees of men. In November, 1961, full power was conferred upon me by two former senators, esteemed friends and progenitors of heroes. In their name and my own I defended a thesis tending to set free from prison all those who had saved their lives during the invasion on the 17<sup>th</sup> April. Together with my brave wife, I went to Paris, Prague, Zürich, Madrid, Panama, Mexico, and Havana. I conveyed my opinion and that of my appointers to the red authorities. After this contest I accepted another honorary commission. On 8<sup>th</sup> of March, 1962, a group of respectable ladies and distinguished compatriots, parents or near relatives of invaders, sent me from New York City a well-founded petition. They were suffering from the doubts born of the delays and hindrances with which the Committee of Families was constantly being confronted. In the face of these circumstances they confidently entrusted to my skill the success of a plan that implied a «negotiation for the release of the Cuban prisoners in exchange for the communist polit-

ical prisoners who were being held in Venezuela. In order to carry out such a mandate I drew up a fresh scheme for my efforts. I arrived at Rio de Janeiro, where I was received with the utmost kindness by the eminent diplomats and friends of mine, Vasco Leifão da Cunha and Affonso Arino de Mello Franco, and the great jurist José Nabuco. By this exceptionally favourable route I approached the top Government officials. Those of us whose minds were in the Principe Fortress at Havana were hampered by our anxiety. An arbitrary trial was being held in an atmosphere of mystery. Señor Alvaro Sánchez Jr. and Señora Alina Freyre de Hidalgo Gato phoned and cabled me urgently. On this occasion as always, both were first class custodians of the interests of the members of the Brigade. My negotiations became dramatically more intense. The Brazilian Foreign Ministry requested the Cuban Chancellery to suspend the trial and, in any case, that the verdict be inspired by clemency.

#### Review and gratitude

Exhausting days! I shall never forget the kindness of these Brazilian friends. In hours of reckoning they will always have my sincere gratitude, which will also go out to Don Santiago Dantas, Minister for Foreign Affairs; the Accredited Ambassador to Havana, the kindly Luiz Bastian Pinto; the fraternal Panamanian Aquilino Boyd, Deputy to the National Assembly and Permanent Delegate to the U.N.O.; to the highly esteemed Colombians, Señora Imelda Restrepo de Angel, of exceeding sweetness and kindness, and the remarkable Julio César Turbay Ayala and Germán Zea; to the honourable ex-President, professor and revolutionary of Costa Rica, José Figueres; to the Ecuadorian diplomats, Teodoro Alejandro Ponce and Eduardo Aro-

samena; to the prominent Mexican, Dr. Antonio Carrillo Flores; to the Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps, accredited to Washington, the cordial Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa; to the eminent sons of Venezuela, José A. Mayobre, Marcos Falcón Briceño, and Miguel Otero Silva; to the highest officials of the Inter-American Development Bank, Robert B. Menapace, that old and great friend, and to the Chilean Felipe Herrera, economist of continental reputation; to the esteemed John M. Porges, vice-president of the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York; to the very generous Ambassadors of the Mother Country, Juan Pablo de Lojendio, loved and admired by all good Cubans, and Francisco Gómez del Llano, most worthy delegate from Spain to the Holy See; and from France, the unforgettable and already departed Charles Holl, the talented lawyer Robert Tenger and the Prime Minister of the days of the Summit Conference at Geneva, the most learned Edgar Faure, and so to a long tale of human values that rose up from many places to help us in our vast undertaking. To all, here mentioned or not, there goes out the reverence of a spirit that ennoble itself by returning thanks and gratitude.

#### Opening roads

Up in the air I flew round the immense Amazon and landed again at Caracas. I sought for means to make the suggested exchange acceptable. Once again the doors of «La Vega» were thrown wide open for us. There I planned the strategy that should make valid the operation I had been charged to carry out by my distinguished fellow citizens residing in New York. But I could not get far. Castro had declared the invaders guilty and demanded a high ransom for them. The sentence given the prisoners brought me to Havana. How hard this step was! But Jorge was my

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responsibility. I paid the hundred thousand dollars demanded so that my son might regain his freedom. I took him out of his terrible confinement and away from the subjugated Island. Criticism rose high. Of my honourable deed some expressed sharp condemnation. Some weeks later, other parents and relatives followed my example. They paid, as I had done, the price decreed. My unilateral decision served to prove that the jailer would open the gate when the ransom money was handed over. Now the road was patent. After eight months, the glorious veterans left by the same route that I had traced. But this time, all of them, rich and poor alike, were favoured by the generosity of the historical ally. The millions for the redemption, in cash, medicines and food, were handed to Castro's regime, thanks to the steadfast will of President Kennedy and his prominent brother, the dynamic Attorney General. No criticism was heard. The voices of the exiles made a unanimous chorus of well deserved praise.

#### The reward of one's own judgment

In «Verdades», readers will find irrefutable documents and accounts of actual facts. They will learn how much a father did for his son and for the sons of a thousand other fathers. If the invaders are now sheltered under the skies of the Free World, the success of this liberation was, in part, my work, though this statement does not lessen the enormous task carried out by the Committee of Parents and Relatives, and by the Cubans and foreigners who co-operated with that organization. I performed both a specific and generic duty and, though some of the beneficiaries failed to show any gratitude, I feel, in any case, very satisfied with the silent approbation of my own conscience and the testimony of some grateful hearts. He who acts rightly — as Martí once said — needs no other reward than that of his own conscience.

### An eternal spring

*On that stony path, undergoing a veritable Odyssey, on which adverse adventures were more frequent than favourable ones, the sound and unforgettable advice of Señora Herrera Uslar kept our spirits high in moments of vacillation and despair. At the end of the long march, my wife and I decided to offer her publicly, one day, the palms of our gratitude. When the article I wrote on the occasion of the death of the thirty-fifth President of the United States was being printed, the opportunity arose to present our affectionate offering. The Herrera Uslars and, more particularly, my excellent friend Reinaldo, head of that distinguished family, were bound to the Kennedys by ties of affection. This well deserved praise inspired by the deeds described above fits well into the framework of this appreciation. From the depths of our heart we wish that these well beloved friends from Caracas will see fulfilled the desires of the poet:*

«Be happy! May your joy be endless,  
May you in such wise live  
That the ray of light may illuminate  
An ever flowering Spring!»

## THE WORLD BEFORE A TOMB

### A flood of tears

World-wide indignation was aroused by the deed. The peoples of the world trembled with horror. At the sound of the shots they forgot personal and ideological hatreds. The sorrow had no parallel. All was woe and condemnation. They wept for him more than for the Emancipator of the slaves. His country was torn with grief, and Europe honoured him with deep emotion. Analytical people will probe into the causes of this unprecedented mourning. Here is a task for essayists and searching minds. How many were the motives of this grief!

### Via crucis

The spirit of man always rebels against the unjust killing of a fellow being, but this magnicide is still further stigmatized by the fact that it took place in the midst of contrasts of the highest dramatic quality. — The crowd is cheering the felicitous statesman and his consort. Suddenly the lively, smiling scene vanishes. The gunman's finger pulls the trigger, and the erect head falls back. A woman takes onto her lap the inert body of her husband from whom blood is flowing fast. She watches him dying and, at obvious risk, she gets up, leaps onto the hood of the car and

calls to the escorting officers for help. The *via crucis* had begun. For four long days she never left the beloved body. With her innocent children she knelt and kept her vigil. She stoically attended parades and funeral ceremonies. She was the image of suffering and, to be so indeed, she kept up a calm of *grandeur*.

#### A queen indeed

André Maurois has placed her amongst the heroines of history. The French academician states that the apparently most fragile of women often reveal immense strength when drama suddenly bursts in upon their souls. Wounded in that they hold most dear, they call upon their reserves of courage — up till then unsuspected — and, in circumstances in which the bravest of men might well lose their heads, they manage to overcome their pain and act with a decision and dignity that both move and exalt. On the death of Queen Mary, George VI's mother, Winston Churchill pronounced a eulogy of the late sovereign before Parliament. «She was a queen indeed. In all her actions she behaved like a veritable queen.» — Years will pass, and the figure of Jacqueline Kennedy, mother, wife, first lady, and mourner, will not cease to be remembered. She too, the leading lady of her country, acted like a queen. In the Athens Museum there is a funeral stele from the century of Phidias. The marble twists, speaks and groans. A woman concentrates her thoughts on a tomb. No tears fall from her eyes, but the highest expression of anguish breaks out on her face. Her soul sobs. Watching Mrs. Kennedy's face from Elm Avenue down to Arlington Corner, one might have said it reached — in sobriety

and beauty — the heights achieved by that ancient genius to describe the purity of a genuinely mourning spirit.

### **Virtues and honours**

The fallen man possessed youth and dynamism that he transmitted to the Government of his country. As a soldier of freedom, in the Pacific he overcame death. He was swift and keen. He cultivated his language and exercised sense of humour. His televised press conferences made popular the figure of an intelligent man. He enjoyed life. Perhaps he followed the teaching of Cicero: - «Our souls grow weaker alike in pain and in pleasure. The touchstone lies in mastery of oneself.»

His career was a rising process. He aspired to the highest office in the land with irresistible zeal. In his own words, he could then achieve happiness in the manner of the Ancient Greeks. The idea of re-election fascinated him, and the thought of failure wounded the pride of an undefeated electoral champion. That is why he hastened to defend himself when he felt a weakening in the citizens' esteem. He proclaimed a doctrine: «The New Frontiers» — a bold subject and a scheme for propaganda. In the United States symbols create popularity. He wished to culminate the work begun by Abraham Lincoln to eradicate racial discrimination. For Latin America he encouraged a revolutionary change. The Alliance for Progress has not borne the hoped for fruits. Over and above operational inefficiency, its socialistic aims raised many an objection. In the military sphere he augmented the defences of his country, and in the race for space

conquest he came near to the Russian achievements. One panegyrist exalts him because he acknowledged his errors and grew amidst his mistakes.

### Dreams of peace

He had to put up with duplicity from the men of the Kremlin. After the October confrontation he decided to come to terms with the disciples of Marx. Not a few — among them Cuban exiles — thought he ought to have destroyed the Castro communism that today enslaves the great island of the Caribbean Sea and endangers America. But the direction of international affairs is decided by the great powers. Apart from disagreements, many are thankful in their hearts for his promise to win back Cuba's independence. Endless gratitude is also felt for the co-operation that he decreed in favour of the refugees who have fled to his country from the red terror.

### Deferred crises

The problems that threatened are still in existence in spite of the good intentions of the ill-fated statesman. President Johnson brought the facts to light in his inaugural speech as Chief Executive. He asked his country to transform the late President's dreams into realities. The weakness of the dollar has not been overcome. The initiatives that would lower taxes and guarantee civil rights are still waiting in the labyrinth of Capitol Hill. The Atlantic Alliance has not healed its fissures. Cuba is a Soviet bulwark. Laos has not yet established her neutrality. Red *guerrillas* are active in South Vietnam. The Berlin wall stands firm. Terrorism is rampant in the lands of

Bolivar, and the future of the Southern part of the American Continent is slipping along the path of communism, chaos or the military juntas.

#### A citizen of the world

Kennedy was the world's most popular citizen. This is vouchsafed for by the interpreters of universal opinion. One critic said: -«It would not be a misstatement to declare that the leader had come into legend before entering history. He represented more than he had actually done.» - Indeed, men of all latitudes sent up a prayer for the stricken president. There was a general feeling of dismay that imposed the black drapings. He who, for many, had been the guardian of peace, was dead. People abhor war. They live in a state of watchfulness and are always keeping alive their instinct for preservation. The vision of the Apocalypse peeped out. Faced with the outrage, men's souls were filled with supreme unease. The crowds, weak and puzzled, groaned. Fear of the unknown pervaded their lives, and fear that war would be let loose. One could feel the horror that gave birth to primitive religions.

#### Philosophical reasoning

«*Le Figaro*» printed this brilliant appreciation: -  
«The anxiety caused by the death of a single man is probably the echo set up by the unforeseen, absurd and monstrous occurrence. Is man - so proud of his mastery over nature - paralyzed by a sort of panic when confronted with the spectacle of the fatality of his precautions? Is humanity fearful of itself, of the repressed violence that suddenly breaks out on

the stage of history? Or does it abruptly measure the contrast — perhaps a tragic one — between the vast power at its disposal and the immeasurable consequences brought about in our scientific age by the action of a single individual, or the failures of the security services? In extreme situations politics is no longer a game. It becomes the image of human condition.»

#### Balance of two wills

Raymond Aron wonders «why this fear that an assassination may be a tremendous event capable of changing the course of history». His answer lies in the nature of the peace we are living through — «The Balance of Terror». The writer postulates:- «This balance is not so much that of two instruments of destruction as that of two wills. The two K's had come to understand each other, thus reducing the danger of misunderstandings in this game of mutual threats that will never be carried out.»

#### Rubén Darío's flute

The fusillade not only paralyzed the President's heart. It tested the efficacy of the democratic institutions of the great power that is the barrier to the Marxist drive towards world domination. In 1912 Rubén Darío wrote these lines:

*The United States are powerful and great.  
When they tremble, a shivering profound  
Is felt through the vast vertebrae of the Andes.  
If you cry out, it is heard like the roar of the lion.  
«The stars», said Hugo to Grant, «are yours»...*

If the great poet were still alive, and were to gaze on the present power of the leading nation, he could add:

*When Washington's country to tremble begins,  
In unison quiver Himalaya and Aconcagua,  
And the light of the stars comes down in its flood  
To lighten the road to Freedom in peril.*

The gigantic nation was a decisive factor during this century's wars for the defence of justice. Kennedy had spoken for his fatherland and for history when he repeatedly mentioned his country's obligation to achieve the freedom of Cuba. His death did not cancel the obligation. It is a mandate that his successor will fulfill, on the strength of ethical, international, geographical and historical laws. To honour the word of the deceased President is to observe the rules of continuity and a way to exalt the memory of the hero who rests in Arlington.

#### Slav reactions

Kennedy was popular in Russia. The Soviet people desire friendship with the United States. The masters of the Kremlin think otherwise. The veil of pretence does not hide the unalterable goal:- the extension of red imperialism throughout the globe. Co-existence is a myth that works to this end. The American policy, writes David Lawrence, is based on the theory of waiting for aggression. Moscow holds the initiative. They may boast and continually get the advantage by making communist countries believe that the West is leaning towards the inevitability of socialism.

## Physiology of behaviour

Ivan Petrovitch Pavlov brought in the method that determines the significance of secretions and psychic *stimuli*. In judging adaptation of an animal to various stimulants he discovered that the glands operating on the brain produce phenomena similar to logical reasoning. From this there sprang the discovery of conditioned reflexes, or «physiology of behaviour». These findings served to build up a doctrine that led to the domination of human beings, both individually and as a crowd. Thus was born «brain washing», i. e., the counterposing of nervous excitements, inhibitions and hypnotic phenomena produced by the radiation from conditioned *stimuli*. — Kennedy's assassination broke one cycle of «Pavlovian» penetration and opened another. Here we see the mechanism. Faced with the horrors of nuclear warfare, man reacts by fearing it and seeking ways of preventing it. Fear is used as the exciting factor. Co-existence offers itself as an escape. The murdered man was a determined advocate of peace. This objective was his driving power. For different reasons, Khrushchev and Kennedy coincided. The immolation of the great Bostonian enforced the stimulants. His death might have become the spark to start the dreaded war. The same reflexes that work in the free West have the same effect in the Marxist empire. A journalist heard a woman exclaim in a Moscow square:- «Oh! what will happen now? What will become of us if Goldwater wins? Shall we all die?» And this: At 9 p. m. on that painful Friday, the lift-operator at the Ritz in Madrid stared at me and said:- «Haven't you heard the news? President Kennedy has been assassinated. This is certainly the end of the world!»

### New mechanisms

The red propaganda machinery is at work again. Its purpose is to impress Johnson. It will touch sensitive fibres and use funeral tones. Behind the Iron Curtain the official radio stations stress the fact that the gladiator of peace is dead. The communist press comes out with black borders. Khrushchev breaks through the protocol and goes to the American Embassy. Messages are vibrant with solidarity. Mikoyan himself sets the scene. The new line is that the policy of co-existence is not altered by the shots. Oswald's *dossier* is handed to Rusk. The assassin's past history is a source of worry. He married a Russian, who obtained a permit to go to America, which is not very common in the U. S. S. R.

### The reign of caution

Johnson is an unknown quantity. His Southern origin, the congressional spheres in which he grew up, his unknown reactions to a crisis. Will he be free to choose his own paths? Will he correctly assess public opinion, perhaps dissatisfied with an appeasement policy? The Russian leaders are also worried about the 1964 elections. What will the Republicans do when the moratorium for the mourning comes to an end? This circle of uncertainties induces Khrushchev to walk carefully in the conflicting areas. The preservation of the Empire built up on the weaknesses of Yalta demands prudence. Many things are lacking in the Communist world, in spite of their alleged progress and boasts of superiority. The Soviet regime is innately weak, and would not resist today the famines and purges that were typical of the Stalin era.

The danger of atomic war is the Premier's nightmare. He knows the cracks in his empire. He is aware that the American military superiority is five to one. The slightest slip on his part might turn on the tap of rebellion of the subjugated masses. The Ukrainian does not forget the risings in Berlin and in Poland in 1953, nor that of Budapest in 1956.

#### Castro's reaction

Before the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November the Cuban Prime Minister stressed the threat: «We are ready to fight the North American ruling sectors. They must know that if they support terrorist plans to destroy us, *they themselves will not be safe.*» A few days later, he spoke to a French journalist in a conciliatory tone: «To enjoy the good fortune of peace in this hemisphere, the United States will have to have a president who understands the explosive nature of Latin America, and who will be able to adapt himself to it. That man may still be Kennedy. He has all the chances of becoming, in the eyes of History, the greatest of North American presidents. It would be sufficient that he understand that capitalist and socialist states may exist on this Continent. He would then be a greater leader than Lincoln.»

Harmony of thought and action between Moscow and Havana worked to perfection. One day Kennedy was abused as an «imperialist and warmonger», and even personally menaced. Another day he was exalted for the pacifism and conciliation they attributed to him. This contradiction of terms is explained thus: Co-existence assures Cuba's continued slavery, whilst facilitating the victory of the «Wars of Libera-

tion», and would open the door to a Communist conquest of the hemisphere.

#### At the moment of the crime

When the news of the assassination reached him, the fierce *guerrilla* fighter was having lunch with the above mentioned French journalist. His first remark was:- «This is serious and bad news. We hate the Capitalist system, but that does not mean that we hate individuals.» He continued: «This changes everything, the Cold War, Russo-Cuban relations, the Negro Problem, will have to be reconsidered.» The Castro delegation to the U.N.O. officially expressed their disapproval of the shocking news. Castro's position exactly reflected the Kremlin sinuosity. After all, Communism is evil in substance and unalterable in its methods.

#### 'Twixt doubt and fear

The rebel commander struggles between uncertainties and fears. Oswald maintained relations with the «Fair Play for Cuba Committee». The F.B.I. hold documents proving this connection. Investigation is going on as to the authors and their motives. Public opinion is awaiting the final report of the Commission presided over by the President of the Supreme Court, Mr. Earl Warren. If certain suspicions could be proved, a blaze of indignation might flare out with repercussions in the Caribbean. At the cry of «Remember the Lusitania!», Wilson went to war against the Central Empires. «Remember Pearl Harbour!» raised the whole country against the enemies of 1941. The Head of the Cuban Government knows

his history and does not ignore the irresistible force that patriotic reaction could produce.

#### Four vice-presidents during the XX<sup>th</sup> century

Johnson has taken up an inheritance of program and duties that he can accept without an inventory, and which he may alter, amend or rectify. Raymond Cartier says that the illustrious Texan is a president more suited to the provincial taste of North America.

The Vice-Presidents who came to power during this century showed rectifying qualities. Theodore Roosevelt marked a new epoch. The creation of the Cuban Republic, the Panama Canal, the Hague Conference, the treaty that put an end to the Russo-Japanese war, the «big stick» doctrine. — Coolidge re-established morale and confidence in the Federal Government after the imprisonment for fraud of the Secretary of the Interior. He symbolized prosperity. He gave the world the breathing space of the Briand-Kellog Pact. — Truman, firm and simple, did not completely correct Roosevelt's mistakes, but he contained Stalin. He got him out of Persia and Greece. He saved Berlin in 1948. He defeated communism in Korea and gave humanity the Marshall Plan. — The fourth vice-president, called to power by destiny in this present century, is Lyndon B. Johnson. On the skill and character of the noble Southerner depends, as at no former time, the overcoming of the immense crises that are undermining the stability of the Free World and the prestige of the country of Washington. May God help him to carry out these supreme duties!