

**COMMUNIST THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES  
THROUGH THE CARIBBEAN**

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**HEARINGS**

BEFORE THE

**SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS**

OF THE

**COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY**

**UNITED STATES SENATE**

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SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL  
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J. G. SOURWINE, *Chief Counsel*  
BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

## COMMUNIST THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE CARIBBEAN

TUESDAY, MARCH 7, 1967

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:20 a.m., in room 1114, New Senate Office Building, Senator Thomas J. Dodd presiding. Present: Senators Dodd and Thurmond.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Frank Schroeder, chief investigator; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and David Martin, investigations analyst.

Senator Dodd. I call this hearing to order.

This is the 16th in a series of hearings conducted by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security on "The Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean."

The first hearing, which took place in July 1959, featured the testimony of Major Pedro Diaz-Lanz, former commander of Castro's Air Force, who told the committee that Castro was a Communist and that his goal was the establishment of a Communist regime in Cuba. At the time, Major Diaz-Lanz' testimony was rejected by a great many people. But, as events have demonstrated, this early testimony taken by the Senate Subcommittee in Internal Security was completely correct.

The purpose of the hearing we are holding today is to examine, in all its various aspects, the current status of the Communist threat to the United States through the Caribbean. Among other things, we hope that the testimony given here will help us to understand whether this threat is tapering off or whether it has grown significantly.

We also hope to learn whether the Soviet military presence in Cuba has diminished or increased since the missile crisis.

The Honorable Emilio Nunez-Portuondo is a former Cuban Ambassador to the U.N. and former chairman of the U.N. Security Council, who has recently returned from the OAS Conference in Buenos Aires, and will testify.

Mr. Paul Bethel, a former Foreign Service officer who served in Cuba at the time of the Castro takeover and who later served as a political reporter on Cuba at the White House, will testify. Mr. Bethel has for several years been director of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba.

We also have with us Mr. Antonio Apud, who was one of Che Guevara's top assistants in the Ministry of Industries until very recently.

We shall call our first witness.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Bethel.

Senator DODD. Paul Bethel, please.

Hold your right hand up.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BETHEL. I do.

Senator DODD. Give your name and address to the reporter, please.

TESTIMONY OF PAUL BETHEL, MIAMI, FLA.

Mr. BETHEL. Paul Bethel, 121 Southeast First Street, Miami, Fla.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where were you born?

Mr. BETHEL. Churchill, Idaho.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are a native-born citizen of the United States, then.

Are you married, sir?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What has been your education?

Mr. BETHEL. I attended Columbia University and Stanford and received my B.A. at Stanford and my graduate work; I have my M.A. from Stanford.

Mr. SOURWINE. You speak several languages?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, I speak three, yes.

Senator DODD. Would you keep your voice up, please?

Mr. SOURWINE. You speak English, Spanish, and Portuguese?

Mr. BETHEL. No, I read Portuguese. I don't speak Portuguese.

Mr. SOURWINE. What other language do you speak, besides English and Spanish?

Mr. BETHEL. I did speak Japanese, I have been away from it for some time.

Mr. SOURWINE. You entered the Foreign Service of the U.S. Department of State in August, 1949?

Mr. BETHEL. That's correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. How old were you at the time?

Mr. BETHEL. Thirty.

Mr. SOURWINE. You served initially a year here in Washington at the Department?

Mr. BETHEL. I did. I served in the Office of the Secretary of State for 1 year in training.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then you were assigned to Germany?

Mr. BETHEL. I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. You served there from 1950 to 1953 and were then assigned to Japan?

Mr. BETHEL. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. You served in Japan from 1953 to 1957?

Mr. BETHEL. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Among other assignments, you were vice consul at Nagoya and press officer at our Embassy in Tokyo?

Mr. BETHEL. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were assigned to Cuba in 1958?

Mr. BETHEL. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you remained there until 1961, when we broke our relations with Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your position in our Embassy at Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. I was press attaché at the Embassy.

Mr. SOURWINE. At the time you went to Cuba, what was Fidel Castro's situation?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, the Fidel Castro situation was fairly desperate. This was right after he tried to call a general strike in April and failed to do so. So for a period, his fortunes were certainly on the ebb. And then during the summer, of course, with increased terror in the cities, that led up eventually to the end.

Mr. SOURWINE. At the time you left in 1961, had his position materially improved?

Mr. BETHEL. It certainly had. He was in charge and so were the Russians.

Mr. SOURWINE. Since you left Cuba, have you continued to specialize and to have a specialized interest, in Cuban and Latin-American affairs?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are now executive secretary of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are editor of its publication, Latin American Report?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you also a writer for United Features Syndicate?

Mr. BETHEL. United Features Syndicate, the National Review, and the Reporter magazine, yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are not employed by those magazines, you are a freelance writer for them?

Mr. BETHEL. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are the author of a book, "Cuba and the United States," in Spanish, published in Madrid?

Mr. BETHEL. That is true.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are the author of a book, "Labor Under Castro," written in Portuguese and published by Ocrueizo of Rio de Janeiro?

Mr. BETHEL. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. The chairman mentioned that you had at one time been political reporter to the White House on Cuban affairs. Would you tell us just a little more about that, please?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

When I came out of Cuba at the break, on January 3 of 1961, I set up a peripheral reporting operation in Miami for USIA specifically, and other agencies called upon our offices there. After the Bay of Pigs, I resigned from the Foreign Service and then was taken on immediately as a reporter on Cuban events to the White House.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you served in that position for approximately a year?

Mr. BETHEL. No, it wasn't that long. I have forgotten how long it was. About 4 or 5 months, I believe.

Mr. SOURWINE. What were your duties in that job?

Mr. BETHEL. My duties were to research what was going on in Cuba minutely and to send those reports to the White House. This was done daily, a daily report. I understand that they were used for briefings for President Kennedy on virtually a daily basis.

Mr. SOURWINE. In your present position and as a result of your connection with the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba and your specialized interest in Cuban and Latin-American affairs, do you have many sources of information about what goes on in Cuba and elsewhere in Latin America?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, we do. We have actually more information than we can assimilate.

Mr. SOURWINE. I did not mean the "you" to be plural, I mean the "you" to be singular.

Do you as an individual have many sources of information?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. I can't disassociate you from the position you hold with your organization, but you are testifying as an individual, not as a representative of that organization.

Mr. BETHEL. I understand.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Bethel, have you had occasion to interview many of the refugees from Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, over the past 6 years—it has been almost 6 years now—literally thousands, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many thousands?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, that would be hard to say, actually.

Senator DODD. Approximately.

Mr. BETHEL. I would say 2,000 to 3,000.

Mr. SOURWINE. 2,000 to 3,000 refugees?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you any particular interest in the gradual Russian takeover of Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. Any particular interest?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. BETHEL. Well, I have a very specific interest, yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you, as a result of that interest, researched that question and attempted constantly to keep yourself abreast of the situation?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, I have done nothing else for the past 6 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you give us in your own words your conclusions with respect to that situation as it has developed over the past 6 years and as it stands today?

Mr. BETHEL. I would be very happy to. I have a statement, if I may read it.

Senator DODD. If you have a statement, you may read it. Is it very lengthy? How long is it?

Mr. BETHEL. It will probably take about 15 minutes.

Senator DODD. Go right ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. For nearly 4 years now, we have engaged in intensive research on the Communist—more specifically the Russian—takeover of the strategically located island of Cuba and on the military, economic, and political effect on Latin America of the lodgment of the Soviet power in the Caribbean.

First and foremost, it must be concluded that the Russians took control in Cuba for one reason; that is, for the sole, stated purpose of worldwide subversion. The Russian-managed TriContinental Conference on subversion, which was held in Havana in January of 1966, had as its purpose the creation of a centralized organization to explode Vietnam-type wars, not only in Latin America but in Asia and Africa as well. That conference was the culmination of 5 years of Soviet military preparations which, No. 1, have established their own military and political control of Cuba and, No. 2, converted Cuba into a forward base of subversion against the free world.

There is not much question that Moscow was the chief planner as well as the manager of that conference. Russia's preparations for the 1966 TriContinental Conference go back to 1964 and 1965, when Communist delegates converged on Havana from all over the world and there made plans culminating in the January 1966 TriContinental Conference.

Mr. SOURWINE. I might point out, Mr. Bethel, that this committee has published a study on the TriContinental Conference. Are you familiar with it?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. You might limit yourself in what you are giving us now to material that is new or different from that covered in the study, if you can.

Mr. BETHEL. All right; I'll take it, then, as a résumé, really, of success, to a certain extent, of the TriContinental Conference in a period of 1 year. It is almost exactly a period of 1 year.

Military activities in Cuba have increased notably since the TriContinental Conference of last year. This is so because Havana now is the site of the organization which plans, directs, and supports worldwide guerrilla wars of subversion. It should be noted that Russia and Red China both fit cheek-by-jowl on the Central Policy Planning Committee in Cuba. Armed Forces Minister Raul Castro provided some dimension as to what is going on in Cuba when, last May 23, he said: "Don't be surprised when in the months ahead you see thousands of tons of new weapons on the highways of our country."

Soviet arms continued to pour into Cuba, the younger Castro said, "because Cuba will redouble its efforts to help all liberation movements on the three continents \* \* \* We will hit them (the United States) where it hurts most—through the movements of national liberation." His belligerent speech was endorsed by none other than the Russian Ambassador in Havana, Alexander I Alexeyev, who asserted that Russia "believes in the firm solidarity of all the revolutionary liberation forces of the world."

Raul Castro said of our intelligence community, and I think this is quite important, "They don't know the quality and quantity of weapons we now have," adding the most arresting statement, "but we can assure them that with every passing month, we are being armed with weapons vastly superior to what we ever had before."

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have reason to believe that this indictment of our intelligence community by Raul Castro is accurate?

Mr. BETHEL. I do not. I think the intelligence community is perfectly aware of what is going on in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think Raul Castro was wrong, then, when he said we don't know the quality and quantity of the weapons he has?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, you see that depends on your definition of what you know. I imagine that the intelligence community has certain requirements before they can make certain identification. Now, if those requirements require them to have the serial number of the missile that is in Cuba or the dog tags of the Russian with his finger on the button, obviously, under those requirements, you come up with nothing.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you will pardon me, I assume that is sarcasm, sir?

Mr. BETHEL. It is.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a former Foreign Service officer, do you know there are no such intelligence requirements?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, there are certain requirements, I should say, that I think history is accurate on, that back in 1962, in attempting to identify the missiles, instead of coming up with logical construction, they were much too exacting in those requirements.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you attempting to make the point that our intelligence community may be overexacting in its requirements for what it would designate as firm or hard intelligence?

Mr. BETHEL. I am not certain that the intelligence community lays down its own requirements. The intelligence community is, of course, at the disposition of the administration in power.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, are you making the point that the administration is too restrictive in its requirements respecting what it would consider firm intelligence?

Mr. BETHEL. I would say yes.

Senator DODD. I don't know whether you are qualified to pass on all that. I would rather hear what you know than what you think about somebody else's knowledge.

Mr. BETHEL. May I continue, then, with my statement?

Senator DODD. Yes.

Mr. BETHEL. Castro also bragged, and I quote again, "Every month we complete dozens of military bases in Cuba."

Now, since 1960, the Russians have literally burrowed their way through the length and breadth of the island. They have carved out a mammoth command post in La Gobernadora hills of Pinar del Rio Province, and honeycombed it with hundreds of kilometers of tunnels, four of which are so large that they accommodate two-way truck traffic.

Mr. SOURWINE. In this line of testimony you are beginning now—I take it now you are beginning a line of testimony?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you testifying from your own knowledge, from private intelligence, or from research, or perhaps from a combination of the three, or two of them?

Mr. BETHEL. It is a combination of all. That is a summation of all of the reports that we have been getting out of Cuba over the past several years.



Mr. SOURWINE. Insofar as you can, would you distinguish between what you know from your own personal knowledge, what you know from private intelligence which you believe to be accurate, and what you know from research into public source material?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, now, what I am telling you now, here, is a combination.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, I understood that. I only say that insofar as you can, where you can distinguish and say this we know from intelligence, this I saw, this is a matter of public record, would you try to divide it that way?

Mr. BETHEL. All right, fine.

In this instance, I think I have indicated what my sources are.

I will have to go back here a bit. I was referring to the combination of two-way truck traffic in the hills of a La Gobernadora.

Now, connected as they are with cave complexes within the hills, these tunnels give the Russians the capability of moving heavy weapons, including possibly missiles, for distances up to 45 miles underground in many directions.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have a question at that point.

Have you seen any charts or maps of these underground tunnels?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anything about the extent of the twistings and turnings, the sharpness of the corners, for instance, the width and height of the tunnels?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, in some instances, we know that they measure 20 by 20 feet—yes, 20 by 20 feet. Los Portales and another area are about 75 by 50 feet.

Mr. SOURWINE. The tunnels you are talking about, are they square, 20 by 20?

Mr. BETHEL. I'm talking about clearance in that sense. Obviously, they are not all square like this (indicating), because in many instances, they use caves as an entrance through which to go.

Mr. SOURWINE. Twenty at the widest part then; in other words, they are roughly circular?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are there any sharp turns or corners in these?

Mr. BETHEL. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't mean to overstress the point, but it is of some importance what can be carried over these 45 miles that you're talking about. If there are sharp corners in a narrow tunnel, you can only get small things around the sharp corners.

Mr. BETHEL. Mr. Sourwine, that all depends. If you have two interconnecting tunnels like that, obviously, there is a sharp turn if you are going to turn right.

Mr. SOURWINE. There are such interconnections?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, there are.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. Now, to continue, the tunnels of La Gobernadora connect the Russian command post to the El Rosario Mountains, which contain some of Cuba's largest caves which, together with interconnecting tunnels, all with 4 feet of reinforced concrete on the ceilings, provide the Russians with underground transit to the southern foothills of the mountain range.

Mr. SOURWINE. How far is it from La Gobernadora to the El Rosario Mountains?

Mr. BETHEL. At the southern extreme of La Gobernadora Mountains, it is 5 to 10 miles before you enter the foothills of El Rosario.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. It is significant that San Cristobal, one of the missile sites observed at the time of the missile crisis, is located near the exit of one of those tunnels, and the entrance to the vast Los Portales caves, widened and connected by tunnels, is located in those same foothills, located near the exit of one of these tunnels, and the entrance to the vast Los Portales caves, widened and connected by tunnels, is located in the same foothills to the west of San Cristobal. These caves were cordoned off as a military zone in 1962 and they still remain a military zone today. They are now linked to underground tunnels to a surface-to-air missile base which has been sighted and admitted publicly by our intelligence people at San Andres. It has become common for the Russians and the Cubans to protect their most important underground installations by building schools, hospitals, and even small villages above them. These telltale signs are present at the small village of San Andres, where schools were built, allegedly to house 2,000 children, way back in the mountains which has a population of only 5,290.

Now, the third element to this particular Russian complex in Pinar del Rio is located at Meseta de Anafe.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are talking about the installations at La Gobernadora?

Mr. BETHEL. Which is in Pinar del Rio.

Mr. SOURWINE. And El Rosario?

Mr. BETHEL. Which is also in Pinar del Rio. All of these are.

The third element, as I said, is at Meseta de Anafe. Under command of the Russians, Meseta de Anafe contains electrical guidance systems for armaments, presumed to be guided missiles, based underground in the caves and hills of Pinar del Rio Province.

Mr. SOURWINE. So that one can read this without a map, where on the island of Cuba is Pinar del Rio? Tell us. If you point it out on the map it will not show on the record.

Mr. BETHEL. It is the westernmost Province of Cuba, across from the Yucatan Channel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. Something very interesting is that the Soviets are creating sea-and-air attack squadrons operating out of Pinar del Rio Province and also the Isle of Pines, a 40-mile-square island located south of the main island of Cuba. Missile-launching ships, newer than those at Oriente Province, which launch Komar guided missiles, are operating from Pinar del Rio Province.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am unable to tell whether they have a new type of ship to launch the Komar missiles, or have a new kind of ship to launch some other kind of missile.

Mr. BETHEL. This is apparently not the ship that is used to launch the Komar missiles.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understood that. Are you saying that this ship launches some other kind of missile?

Mr. BETHEL. It does.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anything about that missile?

Mr. BETHEL. It has been sighted in practice. Apparently, they are surface to air and surface to surface in the sense that they shoot out over the ocean.

Mr. SOURWINE. They are a defensive missile, primarily?

Mr. BETHEL. I suppose that would be so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anything about the range of that missile?

Mr. BETHEL. No, we do not. I would assume they would be comparable to what the others are, the Komar.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what the range of the Komar missile is?

Mr. BETHEL. I think the range is less than 5 or 6 miles, a very short range.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. However, they operate under the protective cover of helicopters, Mig aircraft, and usually maneuver in conjunction with elements of Castro's so-called fishing fleet of Lambda craft. The Lambdas provide the principal means by which Latin American guerrilla fighters are transported back to their countries following training in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is a Lambda craft?

Mr. BETHEL. It is a boat made in Cuba. They have the Lambda 75, meaning they are 75 feet long. They are wooden craft, designed originally for fishing purposes, but they have been certainly used to infiltrate guerrillas into Latin America—arms, munitions, and so on.

Now, I talked to one of the designers of the Lambda and find that the refrigerator compartments on the Lambdas, which were not used in most instances, have been enlarged to a depth of 25 feet and a width of 15 feet to provide more space for guerrillas, food, arms, ammunition, and so on. They carry, as well, sophisticated electrical gear, which is totally unrelated to fishing. One of those, I believe, was picked up near Key West a couple of years ago, and this was substantiated by our Customs or Immigration people at that time.

Now, then, there is the matter of larger vessels which comprise the so-called Cuban-Russian high seas fleet, fishing fleet. Russians command many of these vessels and Russian crews are integrated with Cubans.

Mr. SOURWINE. I hope you don't mind there interruptions, but I'm trying to keep the record clear for one who may read and not hear it. When you say the so-called Cuban-Russian high seas fleet, so-called by whom?

Is this internationally known by that? Do the Cubans call it that?

Mr. BETHEL. I think it has been generally recognized that this fleet has been used principally for spying purposes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do the Cubans admit this?

Mr. BETHEL. Which Cubans?

Mr. SOURWINE. Does the Cuban Government admit it?

Mr. BETHEL. I would assume not.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. Now, one of these ships on January 24, the *Baxamoá*, put into the Colombian port of Santa Maria seeking hospitalization for

a man who turned out to be a Russian crewmember, by the name of Leonti Kurilovich, who had been badly burned in an explosion. Colombian immigration authorities found that of the 38 men aboard, 10 were Russians, including the captain. Two other Cuban ships, the *Manjuari* and *Biajaiba*, identified as being captained, respectively, by Russians Ivan Kzainiukov and Sergei Karakanov. It is little wonder, then, that elements of this fleet have been found lurking offshore from the Congo, Ghana, Senegal, and other areas of the world before, during, and after outbreaks of guerrilla war and other disturbances.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean these Cuban fishing vessels with the Russian captains and crewmen are operating off the shores of Ghana and the Congo?

Mr. BETHEL. They certainly did, have, and will, probably. They have been identified—

Mr. SOURWINE. Where are the shores of the Congo? I am having a little difficulty picturing it.

Mr. BETHEL. Well the shores of the Congo would be, presumably, offshore from the mouth of the Congo River, would they not?

Mr. SOURWINE. That is West Africa?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead. That is a long way from Cuba.

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, it is, a very long way.

As a matter of fact, they just recently completed a trip without refueling or anything, all the way from Cuba down to the Falklands off Argentina and back again.

Mr. SOURWINE. What kind of power does the vessel use?

Mr. BETHEL. I haven't the slightest idea. I don't know. These are the large ships. I presume they would be diesel engines, such as the *Sierra Maestra*, which is one of the vessels that I know about.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. Now, the main Russian base—we have completed discussing the Russian base in Pinar del Rio Province. The main Russian base for Havana and Central Cuba is located at Managua on the outskirts, the southern outskirts of the Cuban capital, which the Russians have ringed with bases.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is to be distinguished from Managua, Nicaragua?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, I'm sorry.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is actually a residential area of Havana?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir, on the outskirts, but there has been a base there before, a Cuban base. In relation to Havana, these bases are located at El Sitio and El Chico, 12 miles south of the road to Santiago de las Vegas; El Calvario, 4 miles southeast; Wajay, 14 miles due south, El Cano and Arroyo Arenas, respectively 6 and 14 miles southwest.

Like the Soviet bases at Pinar del Rio, all of these I have mentioned connect with Russian headquarters—in this case Managua—through a system of tunnels. The hills south of Havana are honeycombed with tunnels in which huge amounts of gasoline, food, water, arms, and ammunition are stored.

Another underground storage dump at Guatao is so sophisticated in its equipment as to be supplied with large elevators capable of

handling several tons of material at once. These dumps, together with others at the Esenada de Diguanea on the 40-mile square Isle of Pines, contains vast amounts of supplies which are then shipped to Cuban-trained guerrillas when they return to their homelands to carry on what Raul Castro calls the wars of national liberation.

Then we have the Cura caves, built up and widened with reinforced concrete. Considerable work has gone into camouflaging entrances which the Russians have bored in to the sides of those caves laterally. One such entrance is a house, a "dummy" house, really, built up against the cliffs, and a two-car garage attached to it, which is also a "dummy," adjoins this house, with a hard-surfaced road leading to it through which trucks pass and enter the caves beyond.

Mr. SOURWINE. Along the line of identification of what we have been talking about, is this a matter that has come to you through private intelligence? Or did you obtain this from the questioning of refugees, or can you otherwise identify the source of this information?

Mr. BETHEL. This is almost entirely based on refugee accounts. I would say that, on this particular story alone, we must have 25 to 30 eyewitness accounts to this, including truckdrivers who worked on this project.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. Carrying concrete in.

The Provinces of Camaguey, Las Villas, and Oriente all have been equipped with underground bases along the lines of those constructed in Pinar del Rio and Havana.

The Cuantriocentias Rozas caves at Banes have been enlarged, and tons of reinforced concrete poured into them. Some portions of these enormous caves have been sectioned off and equipped with dehumidifying equipment, where war materials of unknown nomenclature are stored. Other sectioned-off portions are refrigerated.

The entire area is cordoned off as a military zone. For 9 months, and this is about 2 years ago, some 5,000 Russian troops worked in this area and along the coast just north of Nipe Bay, Cuba's deepest harbor, on secret military construction.

Mr. SOURWINE. If I may revert, you talked about portions of the caves being refrigerated. These were the caves in Banes, in Oriente Province, if I understood you correctly?

Mr. BETHEL. They are in Oriente Province, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know how large a portion of the caves is refrigerated? Is it just a little corner, like a pantry for food?

Mr. BETHEL. This is not known. We have talked to the people who have worked on them. The way the Russians do their underground work is this: They will bring in hundreds and hundreds of Cubans to do the menial work, the first part of the work, and so on. Then later on, when they get into areas which obviously are going to be secret, they do not want the Cubans to be knowledgeable about them. They then take over themselves and everything is placed under strict military, Russian, control.

Now, in the sense of the cordoning off, or rather, the sectioning off of these caves in that particular case, Cubans were used to do so up to a certain point. They have identified the dehumidifying equipment that went in, the refrigerator equipment—

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, was it large or small? What was the capacity of this equipment? Is it what you would use to cool a pantry, or is it what you would use to keep missile propellant?

Mr. BETHEL. Apparently, it is enormous dehumidifying equipment. I mean tons and tons.

Mr. SOURWINE. How about the refrigeration?

Mr. BETHEL. Equally so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then they were not just keeping food?

Mr. BETHEL. Apparently not. The assumption is—we know—I can't go into this right now, but we know that Cuba does have the ability to make liquid oxygen.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why can't we go into it now?

Mr. BETHEL. Because I don't have the specific facts with me. I just recently received this, and I wasn't able to incorporate it in this testimony, but I would be very glad to send it to you.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, go ahead.

Senator THURMOND (presiding). We can set another meeting later and have these witnesses up on that point.

Mr. BETHEL. In this same area of Nipe Bay, Soviet submarines have been sighted and the Cuban magazine, Bohemia, has classified their presence there as for the defense in what it termed "pirate attacks" from the United States. Exactly how a submarine would be defensive in that instance, in defending against pirate attacks, I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say Soviet submarines were sighted. Do you know who sighted them? When?

Mr. BETHEL. They have been sighted by dozens of people.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is a matter of public knowledge?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, it is. It has been published.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the explanation published in Bohemia, whether or not it is true, itself, is at least an admission of the fact that the submarines are there?

Mr. BETHEL. Plus the fact that they have published pictures of them.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is an official admission, isn't it, in the sense that the Bohemia magazine is controlled by the Cuban Government?

Mr. BETHEL. That's true.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. The area around Cuatrocientas Rozas caves literally bristles with all kinds of electrical equipment—antennas, towers, and so forth—and are presumed to be electrical guidance systems.

Mr. SOURWINE. Pardon me on that point.

Have you seen any of these systems?

Mr. BETHEL. Have I seen what?

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you seen any of these what you call electrical guidance systems?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, I have seen photographs from Cuba identifying them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what guidance systems look like?

Mr. BETHEL. No, but they were identified for me by an intelligence agent.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who identified them as guidance systems?

Mr. BETHEL. An intelligence agent.

Mr. SOURWINE. For what government?

Mr. BETHEL. For ours.

Mr. SOURWINE. A person competent to make this identification?

Mr. BETHEL. A colonel in the Army; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. Now, to continue, one of the most interesting facets, or a very interesting facet of what is going on is underground hospitals and military storage dumps are located near the central Cuban cities of Camaguey and Las Villas. The Camaguey installation is carefully camouflaged by a state-run chicken farm above it, and then around it, it has eucalyptus trees which cast long, irregular shadows. When you consider the number of eucalyptus trees that have been planted in Cuba, the place must look like an asparagus patch.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this a fast-growing tree, the eucalyptus?

Mr. BETHEL. I don't know. One of the big things—they have a prison camp at Guanabacoa. Virtually all of the time of the inmates—this is taken from one of the official announcements—is spent running Cuba planting eucalyptus trees. I understand this is so because the eucalyptus tree is a very valuable tree in terms of camouflage.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did I understand you to say that under a state-run chicken farm at Camaguey are not only complete hospitals, but military storage dumps?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, but they are not exactly together.

Mr. SOURWINE. I was wondering why they would put hospitals and military storage dumps close together. That sounds a little like dangerous proximity.

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, it is. This would be the construction. I see what you mean.

On Camaguey, you have this airport. On one side of the airport, you have the underground hospital. On the other side of the hospital and the surrounding areas, you have the storage dumps.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where is the chicken farm?

Mr. BETHEL. Over the hospital.

Mr. SOURWINE. Over the hospital itself? Another case of "nobody here but us chickens"?

Mr. BETHEL. Each of Cuba's six provinces has subterranean hangars in which military aircraft, including Mig-21's, are stored. They can be adapted to carry bomb loads and can be used to reach the United States and many countries in Central America and the Caribbean. The San Julian Airbase in Pinar del Rio Province has two subterranean hangars with four carefully camouflaged ramps leading from them. The military airbase at San Antonio de los Banos in Havana Province contains several underground hangars with ramps which permit Mig-21 aircraft to pop into the air, seemingly from out of nowhere.

Again, we have this tremendous burrowing and tunneling. This base is connected with the underground Army base at Managua.

Mr. SOURWINE. How far away is Managua from San Antonio de los Banos?

Mr. BETHEL. Somewhere around 20 miles.

Mr. SOURWINE. Quite a tunnel.

Mr. BETHEL. We have one report of a tunnel that goes from Mariel, which is located about 40 miles—30 to 35 miles, west of Havana—all the way to Managua, which would be about 60 miles.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is a tunnel 20 by 20 feet minimum?

Mr. BETHEL. No, this is not that large. But they have literally burrowed throughout that country.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is longer than the channel tunnel would be.

Mr. BETHEL. But you see, it is facilitated in Cuba because Cuba is almost hollow, really. It has some of the largest cave complexes in the world.

For example, there is an underground lake in some of those caves that is around 3 miles long. The size and variety of Cuba's caves is just amazing. And I think we have to keep that in mind when we talk about the tunneling that has been going on.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead, sir.

Mr. BETHEL. Now, the airbase at Santa Clara in Los Villas Province and that near the city of Camaguey in Camaguey Province were among the first to be equipped with underground hangars, reportedly, of enormous dimensions. Reports of the underground military air base in Camaguey first came to light in December 1961, with reports of the Santa Clara base following, I think in January or February. They had built underground hangars over a year in advance of the missile crisis.

The Russian command post for Oriente Province, which is the easternmost and most mountainous province, is located in the underground military airbase at Holguin. Near this base are Los Haticos del Purial, the site of Russian excavations which commenced in February 1962 and continue up to this day. Tunnels measuring—again we have this 20- by 20-foot measurement—honeycomb these hills and connect with the Holguin base and with Mayari Arriba. That is again a site of another Russian base.

Mr. SOURWINE. How far is that?

Mr. BETHEL. Mayari Arriba?

Mr. SOURWINE. How far is it from the Los Haticos del Purial Mountains to Mayari Arriba?

Mr. BETHEL. I don't have the figures on that one. It would be easy to find that on the map.

Incidentally, that was taken, this particular piece of information was taken from *Revolucion*—I mean from *Granma*, the official newspaper.

From time to time, they reveal something of what they are doing without really letting you know.

Mr. SOURWINE. *Granma* is, as you said, an official newspaper of Castro?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is everything it prints reliable?

Mr. BETHEL. Of course not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Doesn't it sometimes print propaganda which is highly unreliable?

Mr. BETHEL. Of course.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then why do you take it as an authority on what caves or tunnels have been created?



Mr. BETHEL. I am referring specifically to an article that came out, I think about 3 weeks ago, with pictures in this area. And of course, they dress this up in the peaceful mantle of building new roads, or something of that type, but the fact remains that there is no traffic in Cuba. There are just no automobiles.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are any of the things you're telling us, do they depend entirely on what is reported in Granma, or is the information also confirmed through your conferences with or talks with Cuban refugees who have been on the grounds?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, actually, I mention Granma only because they had a picture of it. Obviously, we wouldn't depend on Granma for our official information.

Mr. SOURWINE. I thought this might be the case. I'm not trying to accuse you of being careless, but I want the record to show that you are not depending wholly on Granma, if that is the case.

Mr. BETHEL. In virtually all the cases dealing with tunneling, we have dealt with Cuban sources entirely, including workmen who have defected, engineers who have defected, and so on, and not, certainly, on Granma alone.

Now, throughout Cuba, Russian tanks, antiaircraft batteries, long-range artillery, armored personnel carriers, and every conceivable type of conventional weapon are employed tactically or are in motor pools ready for deployment. Included among this armament are hundreds of amphibious trucks and personnel carriers, known by the Cuban name of sapitos. These are the amphibian ducks. "Sapitos" means little frogs.

The Russians are just now completing 5 years' work at what must be stupendous cost on completely equipping Cuba with a radar system. This system scans the Straights of Florida, the Windward Passage, the Yucatan Channel, a good part of the Bahamas, and it is suspected perhaps a portion of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica.

In line with an announced policy of spreading terror and subversion in Latin America, Cuba has just been fitted with a 150-kilowatt television antenna, built by a Czech engineer named Bravask. This station is three times as powerful as any single radio station operating in the United States, and is obviously designed for external propaganda broadcasts.

Mr. SOURWINE. The largest commercial station in the United States is 50 kilowatts, you say?

Mr. BETHEL. 50,000 watts. Cuba still has 134 former commercial stations which are now run as a state-controlled chain. Now, what makes the 150,000-watt station even more important is its location—San German, in Oriente Province. That is the easternmost province. The site gives it added potency to blanket the entire Caribbean and the Antilles.

Operating on 600 kilocycles, San German can easily blot out a total of 71 U.S. stations.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the significance of those stations? Are those stations operating on—

Mr. BETHEL. In the 600-kilocycle band, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, now, our band spread runs from 550 to 1,650, doesn't it?

Mr. BETHEL. I think so, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. We have 71 stations on 600?

Mr. BETHEL. I beg your pardon, I'm wrong. There are 40 some odd stations directly affected, and the balance, because of the band spread, can very easily be affected.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is still a relatively small proportion of the total U.S. stations, isn't it?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, that is true.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there anything particularly significant about the 600-kilocycle operation?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, I think that it is significant that they are operating on the 600 kilocycles, because it is apparently pirating this, out of line with international agreements. I believe that our Federal Communications Commission is concerned about it and has made some announcements concerning this. I don't have the notes on it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You spoke of blotting out 71 U.S. stations. Is there anything significant about the 71 stations blotted out?

Mr. BETHEL. You mean strategically?

Mr. SOURWINE. In any way. Are they in any particular area of the country, or scattered across?

Mr. BETHEL. No, they are not in any particular area.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, the 600-kilocycle frequency will include stations all the way across the country, won't they?

Mr. BETHEL. That's correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. A station on 600 kilocycles in Seattle, Wash., or Spokane, if there is one—I'm sure there must be a station or stations on that frequency somewhere in the Pacific Northwest—isn't going to be affected by anything in Cuba, even 150,000 watts.

Mr. BETHEL. Well, I think that more important than that is the tremendous potency of this station for propaganda purposes.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, but I'm trying to get down to your mention of 71 U.S. stations. That 71 is just a statistic, isn't it?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, it is a statistic—

Mr. SOURWINE. Some of our stations are going to be affected, but some of them are not. In their own service areas, how many of them are going to have serious trouble as a result of the operation of the Cuba station?

Mr. BETHEL. I think some 47 are going to have serious trouble, definitely

Mr. SOURWINE. On the other hand, there is nothing to keep that Cuba station on 600, is there? They could operate it on 780 or 900 or 1,200, by a very simple adjustment?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, they could, I assume.

Mr. SOURWINE. So they are in a position to interfere with any station in our territory which is in proximity to the east coast or the gulf coast; would that be correct?

Mr. BETHEL. I think that is adequate; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. But this is only the beginning.

Russia has plans to put in six such stations in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Russia has?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes; well, certainly. I don't know where else the money would come from.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this first station a Russian station or a Cuban station?

Mr. BETHEL. How do you determine?

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't know. I'm asking you if you know.

Mr. BETHEL. Well, let's put it this way, that, obviously, it is connected to Russia's international designs, or otherwise, it wouldn't be there. I mean Cuba is controlled by Russia.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is all Russian equipment?

Mr. BETHEL. It is mostly East German and Czech equipment. In other words, Soviet bloc; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it being operated by Russians or Cubans?

Mr. BETHEL. It is being operated by Czech technicians at the present time. I assume that they'll train Cubans.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this station used for broadcasting to the United States in English?

Mr. BETHEL. Not as yet, but I think we can assume that it will, because they are broadcasting now in Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the only one you know?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the power of that station?

Mr. BETHEL. Radio Havana? That is a shortwave station that goes down into Latin America. I don't know what it is. But I know that people in Central America testified they can hear people on Radio Havana much more clearly than on their local stations. It is connected as well—well, I'll go into the later.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is Radio Havana a shortwave station?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes; it is. I think that is accurate.

Yes, it is shortwave.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. In this connection, it may be useful to recall the growing disturbances, speaking of Communist propaganda, on the campuses of U.S. universities.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you have just said the station doesn't broadcast any propaganda.

Mr. BETHEL. It hasn't started yet, but it will.

Mr. SOURWINE. If it hasn't broadcast any propaganda yet, what connection can it have with growing disturbances on the campuses of U.S. universities?

I'm not trying to give you a hard time, Mr. Bethel, I'm just trying to make it clear on the record what it is you're telling us.

Mr. BETHEL. No. 1, the station is 150,000 watts, which has absolutely no relationship to the immediate needs of Cuba or the Cuban people, No. 1.

No. 2, it was put in, obviously, with Soviet-bloc money, technicians, and so on.

No. 3, it is a Communist-propaganda outlet of great potency, and it is the first of six 150,000-watt stations. Now, they will be broadcasting, I'm certain, a heck of a lot of Communist propaganda throughout the Caribbean. In view of the fact that this is to increase their propaganda output, I assume they will increase the propaganda output to this country as well. I think this is logical to assume so.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have thought that maybe, in response to my leading questions, you would have some testimony about the fact that

there have been propaganda broadcasts to the United States over Radio Havana.

Mr. BETHEL. There have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Which have affected both racial disorders and student disorders in the United States and have been designed to do so.

Mr. BETHEL. That is not Radio Havana. They have turned up the power of CMQ and broadcast on standard wave into this country.

Mr. SOURWINE. That has also been done?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes; it has been done, inciting the Negroes to burn "Charley," and go out and burn buildings and create riots in the streets, and so on. I think that—well, in fact, I know that this is perfectly a matter of record, that this has happened.

Mr. SOURWINE. And it is with this background that you assume that this new station and the five others which you say will follow it in construction will be used for propaganda broadcasts to the United States as well as to Latin American countries?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes; I do. I think the precedent has been established, as well as virtually all the propaganda broadcasts in English to this country have been to create disturbances among the Negroes and play upon the present problems we're having in this country.

I would like to say in this connection that Black Power Advocate Stokely Carmichael of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—SNCC—has made two trips to Puerto Rico in the last 40 days. His trips, sponsored by the Castroite Pro-Independence Movement, and the Pro-Independence Student Federation, resulted in a protocol of cooperation. This is involved with the fight which Carmichael vows to fight against imperialism, and I doubt that his enemy would be Russian imperialism.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you say about the sponsorship of his trip?

Mr. BETHEL. His trip to Puerto Rico was sponsored by these two organizations I mentioned, both of whom are Communist and allied with the Fidel Castro regime.

Mr. SOURWINE. They are both government-controlled organizations?

Mr. BETHEL. Government by whom? They are located in Puerto Rico?

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked, are they both controlled by the Cuban government?

Mr. BETHEL. They are funded by the Cuban government, funded and controlled in just about every sense.

For example, following the Tri-Continental Conference in Havana last year, the Pro-Independence Movement in Puerto Rico opened in Havana what it called a "Free Puerto Rican Embassy." They are operating there, as they say, as a free Puerto Rico Embassy. The connection is too great to be ignored.

Now, as for the FUPI, the student organization, they are a member of Castro's CLAE, which is the Latin American continental organization of students which controls seven Communist student organizations in certain Latin American countries and, as a matter of fact, is one of the principal means by which subversion and terror are being developed in Latin America, through students there, and I think they

plan as well, through Stokely Carmichael, to do the same darned thing on campuses in this country.

I call your attention to the fact that the writer Ralph McGill has publicly written that Carmichael and his group are getting money directly from Havana. I think this is accurate, but I couldn't prove it.

Now, to return briefly to the Russian forward military base of Cuba, this report could be expanded for 20 pages or more and barely touch on the war preparations which are underway there, such as the camouflaged airport in the tunnels of Yumuri Valley, the Soviet base at Diego Perez Key, and many other important items of intelligence. Suffice it to say that Russians control absolutely Cuba's three field armies, its 43 or more training camps turning out 10,000 or more trained guerrillas each year, its Ministry of the Interior, together with all of its apparatus of internal terror and control. It does so, in the words of Soviet Delegate Sharaf R. Rashidov, who headed the 40-man Russian delegation to the TriContinental Conference, because: "Our purpose is the formation of a united front against the common enemy." He defined that common enemy as, in his words, "International imperialism headed by the United States," adding: "The Soviet Union is responding to movements of national liberation."

Mr. SOURWINE. A movement of national liberation has a particular meaning. That phrase has a particular meaning in the Soviet lexicon, does it not?

Mr. BETHEL. I'm sorry?

Mr. SOURWINE. The phrase "movement of national liberation" has a particular meaning in the Soviet lexicon, does it not?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What does it mean?

Mr. BETHEL. Movements of national liberation are in fact guerrilla wars carried out in the terrain of the free world. We have a perfect example in Vietnam.

Mr. SOURWINE. They are pro-Communist operations, aren't they?

Mr. BETHEL. Now, following a very famous speech by Nikita Khrushchev in 1962, in which he came out pretty solidly for the wars of national liberation—he made two speeches, one in January 1961 and another one in 1962, related to this particular field. What has developed out of this is that they are taking over countries in a two-stage operation. Here is where Fidel Castro has been very important to them. Here is a nationalist figure, so-called. Then they move in on the fellow, they give him the help, and so on, and then they take over in a two-step operation. Names like Fidel Castro and Pedro Medina have a lot more appeal to the local people than any sort of dry, crackling, Communist functionary that would be propped up there.

Mr. SOURWINE. But this is not a new development. Isn't this the basic principle Marx-Leninism with regard to the spread of communism? First you have your national revolution, then you have your Communist revolution?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, I think that in this case, the wars of national liberation—certainly you are right, they are based on that. But as I

understand it, the intellectual author of this is a Syrian by the name of Sharif Bagdash.

Mr. SOURWINE. But a war of national liberation in the Soviet lexicon must be one from which the Soviets can expect to profit; otherwise, they would not accord it that accolade.

Mr. BETHEL. Of course.

Mr. SOURWINE. A war of national liberation may not be the national revolution in the eye of the Marxist doctrine, but it must be one which is pro-Communist, or sufficiently sympathetic to the Communists that they will profit by it. It is, in a sense, a war against what we would consider the non-Communist or anti-Communist world powers.

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I also would give it another name.

Mr. BETHEL. Well, I would like to mention in this connection—

Mr. SOURWINE. They would call it a counterrevolution, in all probability.

Mr. BETHEL. Well, they call it counterrevolutionary, they call it—well, actually, now, they are using the phrases from Vietnam in Latin America now. That is why Vietnam is so terribly important that we win there. This was stated categorically by Nguyen Van Tuyen, who was the Hanoi delegate to the TriContinental Conference in 1966. He came out and said, look, we need support from everybody to win this war in Vietnam, to sell the idea that it is indeed a war of national liberation, that it is a civil war, and so forth, because if we fail in Vietnam, you might as well all go home in Latin America. This is very, very important, I think, to understand.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't mean to shut you off on that, but we have all we can do if we cover Cuba and Latin America today.

Mr. BETHEL. Surely.

Mr. SOURWINE. I broke in on when you had started telling us about Russian forward military bases in Cuba. I think that was your language. You had said you could expand your report to 20 pages or more and still barely touch on war preparations.

Mr. BETHEL. I also could expand on the subversion of Latin America considerably. Here are 16 legal-sized pages of acts of violence in Latin America over a 6-week period, only over a 6-week period.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this something you prepared?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. From public sources?

Mr. BETHEL. These are all from public sources, and they include every country in Latin America except Brazil.

Mr. SOURWINE. Sixteen pages. Is it typed or handwritten?

Mr. BETHEL. It is typed.

Mr. SOURWINE. May that be ordered into the record at this point?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you particularly want to read it? It would save time if it could just go in.

Mr. BETHEL. I would prefer it if you would just put it in the record as is.

(The document referred to follows:)

## COMMUNIST THREAT TO U.S. THROUGH THE CARIBBEAN 1109

### TERRORIST ACTS IN LATIN AMERICA SINCE DECEMBER 1966

*Dec. 1, 1966*

A spokesman for the General Directorate of Police (DIGEPOL) reports that the recent attacks upon individuals, businesses, and state officers, were the work of two detachments of a clandestine organization (FALN).

The first calls itself Leonardo Chirino Detachment. It has killed several law enforcement officers and 10 detectives, the report said. It is considered a tactical command unit. This detachment is headed by one Comandante Guaicai-puro. This group was responsible for the burning of the Sears Stores, the bombing of the Cada supermarkets (owned by Rockefeller) and the machine-gunning of the American trade fair and other centers, the reports added. The second detachment, known as the Alberto Lovera detachment, is headed by one Comandante Marcos, the report added.

The spokesman of the General Directorate of Police added that one armed group is armed with modern weapons and headed by a young woman who wears a blond wig and is connected with another detachment in Anzoategui state. The Anzoategui group has dynamited oil pipelines and staged holdups in the eastern part of the country.

*Caracas.*—Reinaldo Leandro Mora, Minister of the Interior, said that the resurrection of terrorism in Venezuela in the last days was originated in Cuba. "We have evidences that those terrorist acts are the result of the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana last January, the Minister said. We will show them within the next days, the Minister promised.

*Caracas.*—A terrorist group riding a car machinegunned the residence of the General Director of the Ministry of the Interior, Luis Vera Gomez, in Caracas. Nobody was injured. Damages were reported at the front of the residence. Guards at the residence had no time in fighting back.

*Havana.*—The Havana radio said, thru Radio Habana Cuba, in Spanish, that "scarcely a month ago the Leoni administration announced that the Venezuelan guerrillas had been crushed and that only a few scattered guerrillas were left. However, the guerrillas have been particularly active in Lara, Portuguesa, Falcon, and in Caracas itself, and they have unleashed an impressive series of attacks against North American monopolist enterprises, among them Sears, and Rockefeller, and against well-known military thugs and policemen." The broadcast added that "The Venezuelan people, inspired by the bright, liberating beacon of the Cuban revolution, with their patriotic, grave struggle are forging the future of freedom and true independence. Nothing or no one can turn them from this honorable endeavor," the broadcast added.

*Ciudad Guatemala.*—Soldiers engaged in battle with guerrillas at Cristina, jurisdiction of Los Amates in Izabal (a guerrilla hotbed). An Army communique said that two guerrillas were killed. Cuban newspaper Granma said that the detachment "November 13" is operating there.

*Havana.*—Newspaper Granma said that several soldiers were killed when ambushed at Escuintilla.

*Santo Domingo.*—Communist groups attacked professor Guarin Perez, director of the Center of Secondary Studies of Santo Domingo. Guarin was attacked while talking with some friends. He was charged by Communist students of being permitted the entrance of police in his school to keep order.

*Ecuador.*—A bomb exploded at the residence of Lt. Col. Hormes Brist, a member of the United States Mission in Quito. He was unharmed.

*Dec. 2, 1966*

*Guatemala City.*—A detachment of the FAR (Rebel Armed Forces) clashed with soldiers near Escuintla, 56 Kms. south of Guatemala City. The government did not say anything about the action.

*Guatemala City.*—Cuban newspaper Granma reported that Antonio Chew Gonzalez, a former secretary of the political police when Manuel Idigoras government, was shot to death in Guatemala City.

Same newspaper reported that cane fields at Las Marias farm, located in the Pacific highway, were burned by FAR members. Nine light airplanes used for spraying fertilizers were damaged.

*Dec. 3, 1966*

*Guatemala City.*—A secret police motorcycle messenger and a terrorist were reported killed in a gun battle outside Guatemala City civic center. Two other terrorists were reported wounded.

Authorities said the terrorists attacked Arsenio Mendez Maldonado, 60, apparently in an attempt to rob him of \$1,000 in police funds he had just withdrawn from a bank. They said Mendez Maldonado used a submachine gun to kill Jose de Jesus Jurado Sanchez, 22, a leftist economics student at the University of Guatemala. The other two terrorists fled in an automobile parked nearby.

*Guatemala City.*—The government has extended the state of siege for another 30 days "to guarantee order and security" and "prevent subversive activities." The state of siege was originally proclaimed in Nov. 1966.

*Guatemala City.*—Cuban newspaper Granma said that a FAR group held the small town of El Tumbador for several hours. The group was estimated at some ten men.

*Caracas.*—The government accused Cuba of responsibility for the recent resurgence of terrorism in Venezuela. It was confirmed that terrorists have killed two persons and carried out a half-dozen attacks on U.S. establishments in the past fortnight. The latest incident was a strafing attack on Nov. 28 by tommygunners on a country house in which an elementary school for American pupils operate.

"We have specific evidence that the acts of subversion spring directly from the (Communist-sponsored) Tricontinental Conference held in Havana," Interior Minister Reinaldo Leandro Mora charged.

Meanwhile, in Washington, Venezuelan Foreign Minister Ignacio Iribarren Borges said his country (Venezuela) will vote in favor of an OAS's report condemning Cuban subversion. "This country has suffered the most from the Cuban intervention" the Venezuelan diplomat said.

*Santo Domingo.*—Students stoned and beat with sticks and two newspaper racks a Roman Catholic priest and two newspapermen in the fourth act of physical violence in downtown Santo Domingo in a week.

The Rev. Rafael Bello and radio newsmen Tiberio Castellanos were stoned and beaten while at the latter's home. A photographer, Juan Perez Terrero, was beaten severely and forced to destroy a photo he made earlier of a street brawl between rival student factions.

*Havana.*—Major Elias Manuit, from the Venezuelan Armed Forces of National Liberation, said thru Radio Habana Cuba, that a "counter-offensive in all fronts" was due in Venezuela "to defeat the offensive carried on by the government directed by the Pentagon." Manuit charged that the government offensive, described as Operacion Tarde, was aimed to "wipe out the revolutionary movement in Venezuela."

*Havana.*—Radio Habana Cuba said that the developments in Latin America proves that "the revolutionary violence" is the only way to achieve liberation of Latin American countries. Radio Habana Cuba mentioned facts and developments in Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Argentine, Peru and Nicaragua. "All of them carried on the Communists" the broadcast said.

Dec. 6, 1966

*Santo Domingo.*—President Joaquin Balaguer charged thru a nation-wide broadcast that "for two days now, several well known Dominican Communists have been spreading rumors of an alleged civil-military uprising against the constitutional government," and added that "Leftist leaders recently have visited many of the so-called Constitutionlists to invite them to report to their respective commands in the walled-in section of the city. Their idea is to make peaceful citizens believe that we are on the verge of another catastrophe." The Dominican President charged that "The Communist plan is the same in all Latin American countries, such as in Uruguay, where they strive to destroy private and state enterprises, to unite the workers in the promotion of centralized strikes. There are Communist agitators in most of the labor unions in the Dom Rep. Communist propaganda is distributed here daily, and the Communists try to win the minds of our school children."

*Caracas.*—Police detective Tomas Carlos Mason Hueldon, was shot to death while parked in his car some 500 meters from the Central University, in Caracas. He was shot from the back of his head. Mason Hueldon was a fourth year student of Economics at the Central University. He worked as Police detective at the Robbery Department to earn his living. It was revealed in Caracas, too, that Communist guerrillas attacked the town of San Jose de Guaribe, 80 Kms S.W. of Caracas. Guerrillas held the town during several hours and fled later on, as they have done in same place in two other occasions.



Dec. 7, 1966

*Quito.*—It was known that a Communist was elected president of the Student Federation. EnriueqVelasco. The Vice-president of same student group was a Communist too, Juan Vela.

Dec. 8, 1966

*Caracas.*—“Eutasio Mena Loreto, 32 years old, a Municipal Police agent was shot to death by terrorists when he was driving along Avenida Las Aulas, in a Caracas suburb. He was shot five bullets,” the report said.

Another Municipal Police agent, Jose Trinidad Fernandez, 22 years old, was wounded, when walking along Union suburb, in Caracas. Another attempt was made against Police Juan Cisneros, who will be crippled on account the wounds he received.

Dec. 11, 1966

*Caracas.*—Minister of the Interior, Leandro Mora, said that recent attempts to kill police officers were the result of “desperate efforts” of the “extremist groups” on account heavy blows of last week against guerrilla and extremist groups.

*Ciudad Mexico.*—Communist magazine “Sucesos” said in an interview with Communist guerrilla leaders in Venezuela, that “a revolution is ripe in Venezuela”. The story has 25 photos taken in the Venezuelan hills.

Leuben Petkoff, one of the Venezuelan Communist guerrilla leader interviewed, said that the Simon Bolivar Operation, carried on “at the end of last July” permitted the guerrillas get reinforcements. (The Cuban radio said that the landing in Falcon of that group of guerrillas, (trained in Cuba) “proved how invincible guerrillas are in Venezuela.” (In spite of no mention to the place where those guerrillas came from, it is obvious they left Cuba bound for Venezuela in a Cuban fishing boat.

Dec. 12, 1966

*La Guaira.*—Terrorists exploded a bomb inside a newly-opened American-owned supermarket last Sunday Dec. 11. The bomb set off a blaze at the supermarket, the latest addition to a chain in which New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller has a financial interest.

*Guatemala City.*—A 30-man guerrillas attacked a police detachment at San Agustin Acasaguastlan, in the Progreso department, an Army communique said. Guerrillas used light weapons and hand grenades, the report added. They were rebuffed by the soldiers, the communique added, fleeing “with their dead and wounded comrades”

According to the Army communique, the guerrillas tried to put in flames the post office building. They succeeded in cutting off phone communications.

Dec. 13, 1966

*Caracas.*—Major Francisco Astudillo Suarez, from the Military Martial Court, was shot to death by terrorists while standing in a newspaper stand in Paris Avenue, Caracas. He was shot from behind. Major Astudillo had no weapon with him when he was shot. Terrorists used a car to flee from the scene of the action.

Chief of the Chief of Staff, Gen Roberto Morean Soto, in another action carried on by FALN terrorists, was slightly wounded near Artigas Avenue, in Caracas, by a group of terrorists, who were in a passing car.

In another shooting, Canpt Candido Perez Mendez was wounded in the back. It was the third similar attempt in less than 12 hours in Caracas.

President Raul Leoni said in a nation wide radio broadcast that “our government is determined to crush the conspiracy of those who are trying to carry on their compromises with Fidel Castro and his protectors.”

Buenos Aires.—A bomb exploded at Arenales street, in a residential section of Buenos Aires. No injured persons were reported.

*Santiago de Chile.*—The government was forced to put in practice the Law of Internal Security against Red workers leaders of the Servicio Nacional de Salud who are in strike.

*Guatemala City.*—A guerrilla group made a hold-up in a train bound for the District of Pacifico, and fled with 30,000 Quetzals. Guerrillas used hand grenades to carry on the attack.

*Santo Domingo.*—A general strike planned for Tuesday was canceled by its organizers after the government insisted to dismiss any public employes who

participated. The walkout was to have followed protest demonstrations Monday, organized by the leftist Dominican Women Federation and the Communist-controlled University Student Federation.

*Dec. 14, 1966*

*Caracas.*—Army troops occupied the Communist-infested Central University and seized an arsenal of weapons ranging from hand grenades to machine guns. The troops clashed briefly with students trying to block their entry. One soldier was killed in a gunbattle on the campus and a high school student was wounded in the leg by a stray bullet. Venezuelan soldiers occupied the principal buildings and sealed off the seven-mile-square campus and surrounding area. The arsenal seized included one heavy machine gun, 19 light machine guns, and unspecified quantities of hand grenades, smaller weapons and ammunition. At the same time the Raul Leoni government announced the suspension of constitutional guarantees in the country, implanting a virtual state of seige. Many Communist students were arrested and great quantities of Communist propaganda seized.

*Rio de Janeiro.*—The government announced that 5,000 soldiers were still searching for guerrilla groups in the Santa Catalina state.

*Buenos Aires.*—Terrorists showered busses with incendiary bombs, injuring eight people in a wave of attacks as a 24-hour general strike began. Police sources said that the attacks had apparently been intended to intimidate drivers of cooperatively owned busses who refused to go in the strike called by the General Confederation of Labor.

*Dec. 15, 1966*

*Caracas.*—Terrorists struck back at the government after the seizure of the Central University, invading a home and killing a Lt. of the Armed Forces. Lt. Barreto Mendez died instantly when four masked men broke into his home and riddled him with submachinegun fire. The seizure of the campus netted two youths wanted for the murder of policemen, three known criminals, several stolen cars, propaganda material and files of several Marxist groups.

*Ciudad, Guatemala.*—Cuban newspaper Granma said that "guerrilla commands clashed with soldiers in the department of Santa Rosa, SW section of the country. An official communique of the Army said the guerrilla group was formed by 15 men and fled to the mountains. France Presse in reporting the clash said a military police was killed in action.

*Dec. 16, 1966*

A Cuban-trained guerrilla, Hóracio Daniel Castillo was killed in a clash between guerrillas and soldiers, 70 Kms SE of Caracas. Castillo had the war name of Major Bejuma. He was trained in Cuba and smuggled in Venezuela in 1963.

*Dec. 16, 1966*

*Caracas.*—President Raul Leoni, in a nation wide broadcast speech said that "it is necessary to impose emergency measures which will temporarily provide the national government with adequate means to destroy the anti-Venezuelan conspiracy directed by international Communism from Havana which has come to the fore in Venezuela thru common crimes."

Referring to the Communist conspiracy in Venezuela, President Leoni said in his speech that "As chief executive I can assure all Venezuelans that my government will never hesitate to courageously assume the responsibility which the popular mandate and the constitution have placed upon my shoulders."

*Dec. 19, 1966*

*Caracas.*—A makeshift cemetery for victims of Communist terror attacks has been found on the campus of the Venezuelan Central University.

*Dec. 20, 1966*

*Guatemala City.*—The Cuban Granma published that "Julio Guerra, called a CIA agent, was shot to death by FAR terrorists."

*Dec. 21, 1966*

*Havana.*—The Havana branch of the FAR and the Guatemalan Workers Party delegation issued a Joint Communique signed in the Cuban capital. "The definitive victory in Viet-Nam will achieve more victories in Latin America" it is said.

COMMUNIST THREAT TO U.S. THROUGH THE CARIBBEAN 1113

*Miami.*—The president of the Guatemalan Congress, Mario Fuentes, charged in this city that the guerrilla problem in his country is a "tremendous international Communist aggression," controlled from the outside. He added that the guerrillas operating in the mountains of Guatemala "are men of great war capacity who had succeeded in imposing a state of panic and restlessness" upon the Central American country.

*Guatemala City.*—Prensa Latina (Castro financed news agency) said that Julio Guerra, recently shot to death by FAR agents, was "a CIA agent."

*Dec. 27, 1966*

*Caracas.*—Archbishop Humberto Quintero said in the traditional Christmas messages to the Catholics in Venezuela that the terrorism wave hitting the country was part of a plan "conceived and directed from abroad."

*Dec. 28, 1966*

*Santiago de Chile.*—Socialist (Communist) Senator Salvador Allende was named President of the Senate. He took the post from Tomas Reyes, Christian Democrat, who resigned on account of a censorship vote. Allende is a Marxist.

*Dec. 29, 1966*

*Guatemala City.*—The government extended for 30 days more the state of siege in the country. Constitutional guaranties have been suspended since last November.

*Santo Domingo.*—Air Force Capt. George Percival, a military aide to President Joaquin Balaguer, escaped assassination in a terrorist bombing. Police said unidentified men threw a high-explosive bomb at Percival's car in an attempt to kill him and his wife. The explosion wrecked the car but the pair escaped with only bruises.

*Jan. 1, 1967*

Granma says that Nery Porras Riveras, 45 years old, was shot to death "by a unknown person". He worked as chief of the Secret Police in Castillo Armas and Miguel Idigoras governments. He has arrived recently from Copan, Honduras, where he held the post of Consul. A report from Guatemala City that Porras Rivera was machinegunned by several terrorists.

*Caracas.*—President Raul Leoni, in a message to the nation on occasion of the New Year, said that "those who persist in subversive actions are a very small minority directed from abroad."

*Jan. 3, 1967*

The Cuban radio reported clashes between guerrillas and soldiers at El Jicaro and Laguna Seca.

*Jan. 6, 1967*

The Cuban radio reported that the Puerto Rican Pro-Independent Movement is commemorating the Week of Solidarity with the Tricontinental Conference.

*Jan. 9, 1967*

*Ciudad, Guatemala.*—Bombs exploded at the embassies of Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador in Guatemala City.

*Jan. 11, 1967*

A young girl student was killed when students and police clashed in Santo Domingo. Students were demanding the resignation of Minister of Education Victor Hidalgo Justo. Officers were forced to use their weapons to disperse the mob. Students went into strike.

*Montevideo.*—A meeting pro Cuba and Viet-Nam held in this capital organized by Communists.

*Buenos Aires.*—One woman resulted dead and 4 other persons injured in a clash between striking workers and soldiers in Tucuman.

*Jan. 14, 1967*

*Santo Domingo.*—Students still in strike demanding resignation of Minister of Education, Victor Hidalgo, and the reposition of teachers fired on account of their political ideas. (They are Communists).

*Jan. 14, 1967*

Radio Havana Cuba offered a broadcast where Venezuelan guerrilla leader, Gaspar Rojo call on "the oppressed people who have not as yet chosen the

path of armed effort as the only effective way to resolve extremely serious economic, social, and political problems that unusually suspicious conditions exist now to advance the revolutionary struggle toward complete independence." Rojo said that "We call upon existing armed movements and those that are about to be organized to take practical steps that will lead toward the establishment of an assembly in this continent—one that will serve as a center for the discussion of a united military and political strategy in Latin American countries to counteract the criminal strategy of hunger followed by the imperialists."

*Havana.*—Cuban radio announced that a new guerrilla front was opened in Giron, department of Santander, in Colombia. Under leadership of Ricardo Lara. Diego Montana, head of the Colombian Tricontinental delegation said in Radio Habana Cuba that Colombian revolutionaries are not alone now and that they are closing ranks with Venezuelan and Guatemalan guerrillas.

*Jan. 15, 1967*

*Havana.*—Colombian guerrilla leader, Arturo Alepe said thru Radio Habana Cuba that the "Colombian Armed Forces (FAR) are the strong arm of the Colombian Communist Party" and that their aim is the conquest of the government there.

*Jan. 17, 1967*

Chilean Senate, presided over by Communist Salvador Allende, denied President Eduardo Frei the permission to go to the United States to meet President Johnson.

*Santo Domingo.*—Immigration authorities arrested Dominican labor leader Fernando de la Rosa as he stepped off a plane returning from Caracas. The labor leader was accused of having traveled to Communist countries, including Cuba.

*Guatemala City.*—The Ministry of Defense said that soldiers and guerrilla clashed in different places. An Army patrol was ambushed near Nueva Concepcion, in the department of Escuintla. Another Army patrol was ambushed near Zacapa when searching for guerrillas.

*Jan. 19, 1967*

*La Paz.*—Anti-U.S. demonstrations in the Bolivian capital by Communist students.

*Sao Paulo.*—A subversive group trying to stage attacks against American companies in Brazil was uncovered by police. The first was made on Dec. 30 against the Goodyear. Later on police knew future plans of the group. . . Ten persons were arrested. One of them was a student, of well known Marxist ideas.

*La Paz.*—It was reported from Cochabamba that Communist students attacked the U.S. Consulate there, the Peace Corps and the U.S.I.A. Windows were shattered. One Bolivian clerk was wounded in the melee.

*Jan. 23, 1967*

*Caracas.*—Terrorists struck two American firms in the past 24 hours. Fred Eaton, president of the Venezuelan branch of Sears Roebuck, said gunmen in a car strafed one of his firm's stores in Caracas. No injuries were reported. The Creole Petroleum Corp. a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, said its pipeline was dynamited Monday at Tia Juana, across Lake Maracaibo. Damage was minor, it was reported.

*Colombia.*—Col Alvaro Riveros Abella said that a weapon depot was found in the north of the department of Santander. Great quantities of explosives were seized too. Two Communists, from the Communist newspaper "El Compañero" were arrested at the place.

*Havana.*—Rosendo Olayo, known as "Ospina" said thru Radio Habana Cuba that Cuba is helping Colombian guerrillas with arms. He mentioned specifically the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces.

*Jan. 25, 1967*

*Santo Domingo.*—Dominican President Joaquin Balaguer, charged that a student strike which has effected the country for three weeks is being "promoted and inspired" by Fidel Castro. Balaguer added that "the strike is part of the antidemocratic activities being carried out thruout the continent by Havana's Communist regime".

Jan. 26, 1967

*Guatemala City.*—Wealthy rancher Eduardo Aldon, kidnapped in the capital city.

Jan. 27, 1967

Minister of the Interior, Leandro Mora, said in a press conference that the Venezuelan government has evidence of Fidel Castro intervention in the Venezuelan internal life. Minister Mora added that "We are compiling every available bit of evidence to show that Castro's participation towards perturbation of the peace is permanent not only here but in all of Latin America."

*Guatemala City.*—It was reported that two soldiers were killed in an ambush at Huay, Zacapa.

Jan. 28, 1967

*Guatemala City.*—The government extended 30 more days the present state of siege in the country. President Julio Mendez Montenegro said that the conditions which forced the government to suspend the constitutional guaranties in last November "are still on."

Jan. 29, 1967

*Buenos Aires.*—The Gen Carlos Ongania government established a 200-mile limit to the territorial waters in Argentina and warned against the presence of Cuban armed fishing ships in Argentine waters as well. The official report named Cuban ships as "Pantaleon", "Lazaro", "Aguada Cortes", "Hatuey", "Nuevo Corazon" and "Comandante Abrahantes."

Feb. 1, 1967

*Guatemala City.*—A bomb exploded at the residence of Col Alvaro Allay, Military Attaché to the Nicaraguan Embassy.

*Bogota.*—Gen Gerardo Haller, new Minister of Defense, says that the Army is carrying on new plans to wipe out guerrillas.

Feb. 2, 1967

*Guatemala City.*—The Ministry of Defense announced that a clash took place in Chiquimula between soldiers and guerrillas. Some guerrillas were killed, the communique added.

Feb. 3, 1967

*Caracas.*—Soldiers were sent back to their barracks from the Central University. Students and University functionaries could enter the University campus without any Army permit for the first time since the University was seized by the Army.

Feb. 5, 1967

*Santo Domingo.*—President Balaguer charged in a speech delivered to the nation that "Today, we have Communists, who have been trained in Cuba, Moscow, Communist China, and all the Red Universities of the universe, in all our trade union organizations, the schools, the INAPA, the land reform agency, the technical secretariat, the universities, the recreation centers, the sport organizations, and even the National Police and the armed forces. Few are the homes that have not felt in one way or another the influence of the Red beast that today threatens the entire world and Christian civilization." President Balaguer named many Communists working with Cuba and Moscow to subvert the constitutional order in the Dominican Republic.

The Dominican President said that the government will present documents before the OAS proving that "Sino-Soviet powers" are intervening in the Western hemisphere.

Feb. 6, 1967

*Caracas.*—Three leading Communists escaped from a heavily guarded prison in Caracas thru a tunnel dug by associates from a grocery nearby. The trio are Pompeyo Marquez, a member of the Venezuelan Communist Party Central Committee; Guillermo Garcia Ponce, member of the Party's Politburo, and Teodoro Petkoff, a guerrilla leader, whose brother Luben, leads a band of pro-Castro insurgents in the backlands. They were in jail since 1963.

*Bogota.*—Army soldiers and guerrillas clashed in a place known as Canon del Caguan, in the department of Huila. The announcement was made in an official communique by the Army.

*Havana.*—The Week of Solidarity with the people of Guatemala was closed in Cuba with different meetings along the country. The official newspaper Granma said that the armed struggle is the only way to achieve the "liberation" of Guatemala.

*Guatemala City.*—The wealthy Guatemalan rancher, Walter Widmann, was machinegunned when riding near the capital city, but he resulted unharmed. It was reported, too, a clash between guerrillas and soldiers in Los Amates, department of Izabal.

*Caracas.*—A powerful power of dynamite hit partially the Bolivar Bridge, located in to highway from Ciudad Bolivar to Upata, 700 Kms from Caracas.

*Feb. 12, 1967*

*Santo Domingo.*—A bulletin from the Press and Public Relations Office of the National Police, reported that "in La Orma Hills, within the San Jose de Ochoa district, a group of persons were training in guerrilla warfare tactics." A man named Jose Antonio Vasara died when police raided the place. The remainder of the group members dispersed. Communist propaganda was seized.

*Feb. 14, 1967*

*San Jose.*—On Feb. 22 the Communists plan to stage a peace march from Punta Arenas to San Jose. The government has announced it will not grant permission for this demonstration.

*Santo Domingo.*—One student was killed and four wounded when police broke out on a crowd of several thousand wanting to accompany the body of a young leftist leader to the local cemetery. Orlando Mazara, a member of the Castroite 14th of June Movement, was killed in a clash reported between a guerrilla band and an army patrol about 150 miles SW of the capital.

*Caracas.*—Next Feb. 20 will be inaugurated classes by the Caracas Central university. They were suspended since Dec. 14 when Army took over the University.

*Feb. 16, 1967*

*Guatemala City.*—Lt. Col. Eduardo Figueroa, deputy chief of the Guatemalan Air Force, was murdered in gangland style Thursday. Figueroa was in his car waiting for his children to come out of a school, when a car came slowly by. Gunfire shattered the quiet of the street, and he slumped in the seat, dead.

*Barranquilla.*—Groups being trained in Barranquilla are branches of an international movement, a high officer of the Second Army Brigade said. The statement was made in a press conference where reporters asked about the lack of security measures in the region and the increasing number of assaults and hold-ups. Same officer added that the guerrilla groups use modern weapons.

*Feb. 18, 1967*

Second Lt. Arturo Mendizabal, was wounded when a guerrilla gang machinegunned the car where the army men was riding. Carlos Pereira, 14 years old, who was accompanying the Lt. resulted killed in the shooting. In another guerrilla attack was killed Eduardo Enrique Figueroa, Public Relations director of the Guatemalan Air Force. The killing occurred at 12 noon in Guatemala City. Figueroa, an Air Force Col. was riding bound for his home when he was intercepted by another car, sport model.

*Feb. 20, 1967*

*Caracas.*—Classes reinitiated at the Caracas Central University. Pro Communist students staged demonstrations inside the University campus. And demanded not to accept new Law approved by the government controlling public order at the University.

*Guatemala City.*—Two persons, presumably passing-by were killed when police and terrorists interchanged bullets in the streets of Guatemala. Police officers were searching for those who machinegunned Col. Eduardo Figueroa's car.

*Feb. 21, 1967*

*Caracas.*—More demonstrations were staged by students from the Central University protesting against the new Law which restricts political activities within the University campus.

*Buenos Aires.*—A powerful bomb was found in one of the elevators at the "San Martin" theatre, where the Foreign Ministers Meeting is being held. Heavy precautions were taken, but, apparently, the Communists managed to place the bomb.

Feb. 22, 1967.

*Guatemala City.*—Two terrorists were killed after the police raided a place looking for accomplices of the assassins of Air Force Lt. Eduardo Enrique Figueroa.

In another communique of the Ministry of Defense it was said that a soldier was killed when guerrillas attacked a military patrol near Puerto Barrios.

*Caracas.*—Communist-led students staged more antigovernment demonstrations in the Central University and said they will not accept the new Law controlling the University Life. Armed students torn down a fence built by the Army which separated the University from the University Hospital. Other fences followed same way. In the meantime leaflets signed by the FALN (Venezuelan Armed Forces for National Liberation) announced that their activities would be increased in all fronts.

Feb. 23, 1967

*Caracas.*—Communist-led students continued rioting and creating disorders at the University. Traffic at the Autopista was blocked. Another student group stoned public buildings. Furniture were burned in streets off the University. At night the U.S. Embassy building was straffed from a passing car. No damages were reported. A police patrol was attacked by students. In the meantime, Minister of the Interior, Leandro Mora, said that the suspension of the constitutional guaranties would be on for more time.

Feb. 27, 1967

*Caracas.*—Two National guardsmen were killed and two officers wounded when ambushed by guerrillas near the town of Sanare, in the state of Lara. The Army communique did not elaborate. In Caracas police dispersed rioting students protesting the suspension of classes at the University. Students used small arms. University authorities decreed the suspension of classes on account of riots promoted by Communist-led students.

*Recife.*—20,000 tons of sugar cane were burned in zone of Sur de Pernambuco, according to a communique issued by the Secretary of the Security of the government. Pamphlets attacking those who sentenced Communist leader Rogelio Bezerra were found near the burning sugar canes. An officer of the Political and Social Order of Pernambuco said that militants of the former Peasant Leagues were carrying on those sabotages.

*Curitiba.*—Guerrilla focus were reported in Cionisio Cerqueira zone, near Santa Catarina. The region is close to the Argentine border. (It was disclosed in some circles that Argentine and Brazilians are carrying on guerrilla activities together. It was reported that guerrilla groups were bound for town of Baracao, in the state of Parana. In 1965 former Col Jefferson Cardin addressed a guerrilla group in that region but it was crushed by the Army. Dionisio Cerqueira is located right on the border between Brazil and Argentina, near the states of Parana and Santa Catarina.

Feb. 28, 1967

*Santo Domingo.*—President Joaquin Balaguer announced that no Communist can leave the country. "Those who have already visited a Communist country will have their passports invalidated" President Balaguer added. Balaguer was critical of "certain sectors" within the public administration whom he charged were trying to boycott his government "through corruption".

*Bogotá.*—A guerrilla group attacked a police post at El Viajagual, jurisdiction of Puerto Wilches, in the Northeast department of Santander, near the Venezuelan border. Four police agents were killed. It is believed the guerrillas are members of the National Liberation Army, a Castro-directed group. The guerrillas carried on the attacks shouting long life words to Fidel Castro and the killed defrocked priest Camilo Torres.

Gen. Guillermo Pinzon Caicedo, new commander-in-chief of the Army said that the guerrillas formed in the National Liberation Army commanded by Fabio Castaño and Victor Medina Mora.

Mar. 1, 1967

*Guatemala City.*—The government changed the state of siege into the alarm state. It was interpreted in some sectors as a result of measures taken by the government in crushing Communist guerrillas. It was known that the Army is using airplanes and helicopters to attack the elusive guerrillas in the mountains.

Mar. 2, 1967

*Caracas.*—Communist guerrillas kidnaped Dr. Julio Iribarren, brother of the Foreign Relations Minister, Ignacio Iribarren Borges. Doctor Iribarren took his wife to the residential section of Los Palos Grandes when three terrorists told him to ride in a vehicle they provided themselves. Hours later the body of the former Security Chief was found in a slaying linked to Castroite terrorists. Covering the body when it was found by police six miles outside Caracas were pamphlets of the Armed Forces of National Liberation, the pro-Castro organization. They said three public figures would be assassinated for every FALN member killed and "three other political figures are on our list." The Venezuelan Cabinet met in emergency session as soon as the story was known. The constitutional guaranties were suspended again. They were put in action again 48 hours prior to the kidnapping of Doctor Iribarren. Venezuelan Minister of the Interior said in a nationwide radio and television address that government action would be necessary "to defend democracy, public peace and welfare." Foreign Relations Minister Ignacio Iribarren, brother of the assassinated functionary, said in the recent Buenos Aires meeting that Castro-inspired subversion in his country was totally controlled and that information of riots and disorders have been exaggerated. He was shaken by the truth in the body of his own brother.

Mar. 3, 1967

*Bogota.*—Communist guerrillas ambushed a Colombian Army patrol 180 miles south of Bogota. 16 soldiers were killed and four wounded, the Army announced. A communique identified the raiders as members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, a pro-Castro guerrilla organization. The Army said the scene of the attack was near the town of Algeciras in Huila department, a hotbed Communist region. The Army believed the guerrilla is led by Oscar Reyes, who has been hunted by the Army for several months. It was the second important attack by guerrillas in a week. The first occurred when a police post was raided in the north. Four police officers were killed then.

Mr. BETHEL. I should also like to point out that many of the Latin American countries have now been forced to apply stringent currency controls to prevent the rapidly growing flight of capital caused by increasing terror and subversion in Latin America. This is but one more result of the lodgment of Soviet power in the Caribbean.

For example, Colombia alone lost between \$89 and \$100 million in the flight of investment capital out of the country.

Dr. Eduardo Ritter, President of the Council of the Organization of American States, laid it on the line last January in a meeting in Miami, when he said he doesn't agree with the prevalent thesis in the State Department that the Alliance for Progress is in itself the answer to Russian-propelled subversion of this hemisphere. It is not the answer, he said, "because any endeavor to bring about an increase in the standard of living of these nations is doomed to failure if we must constantly expend funds, time, and energy in defending ourselves from the common enemy, just 90 miles from Florida."

He is right, because the Alliance for Progress was designed to supplement capital investments being made in Latin America.

Now, however, today, the Alliance is trying to substitute for the flight of that very capital on which they expected to build. In doing so, the Alliance is losing at the rate of about two to one.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you mean by that the money we are pumping into Latin America is half or less than half of the capital which is fleeing from these same Latin American countries as a result of Cuban aggression and threats of aggression?

Mr. BETHEL. Approximately that.

(The speech referred to follows:)



## COMMUNIST THREAT TO U.S. THROUGH THE CARIBBEAN 1119

EDUARDO RITTER SPEECH, MIAMI, JANUARY 28, 1967

Scarcely 90 miles from this hospitable American peninsula, there are more than 30,000 men who are dragging infamous shackles along the pestilent floors of cells and prisons. Only 90 miles from this land of progress and freedom, there are more than six million men who cannot worship God publicly because any act of public prayer is discouraged, stifled with brass knuckles and whips, and any avowal of faith ends before the dark, spectral wall or in sinister mass murders. Scarcely 90 miles from Florida there are half a million mothers who can remember only the pain of childbirth because their children were taken from them to be formed in infamy, hatred, deceit, and crime.

Yet, there are some who are deeply concerned about minor unrest in the world and turn their backs on this fearful hell of tears and blood, of the wounded and the dead that is so close and yet so far! Close because we can hear its pathetic echoes with the ears of our anguish; far because we cannot reach it with rescuing hands. Close because we can embrace those in it with our hearts and tears; far because the bread we would like to take from our own tables and give to them, cannot reach them.

However, the hour of redemption is approaching. Whoever argued that Cuban unity would be impossible to attain; whoever said that this exile was a shapeless mass lacking a coalescing ingredient, has been given the lie, and the strongest proof of his mistake is tonight's assembly. This is a unity in suffering, the kind of unity that always leads towards the light. Enrique Huertas has performed the feat of bringing together men of different ideas and conflicting opinions who, nevertheless, bear the sorrow for their country's sufferings and now, embracing, break with the past and prepare for the struggle of the future. This is an encouraging and noble example of human beings who place their love for their homeland above passing personal differences. May this unity grow and strengthen! May the men who can, and must, help to liberate Cuba never again to say that any positive action is blocked by disunity, may no one say that personal ambition hurt this touching joining of the wills, or that excessive vanity on the part of any leader destroyed the unity of the exiles. Every Cuban that wants to liberate his country is a leader; the lawyer that proposes a juridical solution is as valuable as the longshoreman that loads a ship or the workers in a factory. Leadership is the personal quality that creates a readiness to serve, not the showy display of a loud proclamation.

Enrique Huertas shouldered the burden of organizing this function in memory of Jose Marti, and he succeeded in filling this stadium, not because he hopes to become a leader, but rather because he had more faith than others in the spiritual qualities of the Cubans. I share his faith in the Cubans. And because I share it, I want to keep on fighting within the range of my public and private activities for the prompt liberation of Cuba. Enrique Huertas has deserved my respect and my approval, it is because I can see that he is ready to fight unselfishly and to make sacrifices; because I have seen him face unpleasant situations without getting discouraged; because I have seen him knock on many doors without cringing or retreating before refusals, rejections, and scorn.

This union must be preserved and defended; it must be strengthened and encouraged. If this union endures, Cuban exiles will have a voice in the international organizations, and will then be accepted as a nation in exile by free societies and peoples. United and strong, with a responsible leadership, with democratically chosen leaders no one will be able to deny the Cubans in exile their rightful place among the inter-American nations, vacated by the communist dictatorship. Whenever Cuba succeeds in gaining her rightful voice among these international organizations, the final hour will have arrived for the Castro dictatorship. There nations in the international community that have populations far below the number of Cubans in exile; they have, nevertheless, unity and a government. Cubans need only to have unity in order to be heard and regarded as a nation that is emerging from sorrow and marching to reconquer her freedom.

I have been asked many times if I think that the Cuban case should be discussed during the Presidents Conference now being planned. My answer is plain and unequivocal: Yes.

The main purpose of this meeting is to revitalize the Alliance for Progress and to accelerate the economic integration of Latin America. Can there be a revitalizing of the Alliance in Cuba while she is proscribed from the Latin

American economic brotherhood? The answer is plain and unequivocal: No. Cuba is a member of the Organization of American States; her government is barred, but not her people and proof of this is the fact that we meet every day under the twenty-one flags, one of which Marti made proud and which still offers us her noble share of protection.

To hear these unfortunate people is the duty of the Americas; to help the freely chosen representatives of these people to re-enter the Inter-American system is imperative for Latin American conscience. There will be no effective alliance, nor an authentic economic integration while there exists within this American brotherhood a center of subversion that restricts, corrodes, and destroys the individual efforts of the peoples to achieve a better life. Any endeavor to increase the standard of living of these nations is doomed to failure if we must constantly expend funds, time, and energy in defending ourselves against the common enemy 90 miles from Florida.

To side with Cuba does not mean simply to dream, as nostalgic wanderers, of her nights filled with music and laughter, with gaiety and tropical languor. To side with Cuba is to fight to have her voice join the chorus of American voices that speak freely and clearly.

Here tonight are present many outstanding figures in American thought, politics and action. Men who shine with their own light in the skies of continental culture, and who have come tonight to join with clerks and teachers, with jurists and factory workers, with physicians and cabdrivers because their struggle is the same and does not recognize artificial boundaries. These personalities have uttered words of encouragement and guidance to which I listened with admiring respect. Isn't this proof that Cuba is not alone in her struggle? Each one of these men represents a strong current of public opinion in his respective country. The Americas support Cuba and in order to better serve her, only ask that the Cubans remain united, that they form a government in exile; a government that will have no privileges, only duties among which, the first and foremost must be to direct the liberation of Cuba.

After tonight, I would want Cuban jurists to meet and draft a set of rules making it possible to choose, through popular election, the leaders of this exile; I would want the results of that election to be respected, and the birth of a Cuban nation in exile to be the first effective step towards the return to Marti's Island.

More than once friends, countrymen, and colleagues have asked me why I defend Cuba with such fervor, why I have again brought up the Cuban case which seemed to be buried under international indifference. Invariably, I have replied: because I believe in Cuba and her men, because I was born free and I want for my children and grandchildren a future that is also free, because it is criminal to abandon people that refuse to be slaves and because I have never witnessed a more stoical sorrow, or a more noble courage than that shown by the Cubans.

I have seen in the Cuban women a capacity for sacrifice comparable to that of the Israelite women when they fled from Egypt. Supremely noble, resigned to tears, unselfish to the point of keeping nothing for herself, the Cuban woman carries in her soul the highest and most marvelous love. The woman that had a happy home and now has nothing left except pictures draped in mourning; the one that prays for her husband's freedom before El Cobre's Our Lady of Charity; the one that yesterday graced drawing rooms with her elegance and is now a humble factory worker; the young girl who weeps while praying for the brother she knows is rotting away in the filth of a concentration camp, these cannot but move us to respectful admiration. Without rancor but full of hope, the Cuban women have been, are still and will continue to be the constant moral support of the Cubans who wish to return to their homeland.

I have seen young Cubans ready to die for their country, facing everything with virile decision. These young men who have never known the joys proper to their age because they have prematurely encountered the sufferings of insecurity and torment, constitute an example for the young people of the Americas. I have faith in them. I know that, as rightful heirs to Marti, the Apostle, they will be in the foreground when the time for the great decisions arrives.

Tonight, I have also seen a touching parade of children for whom we must regain the homeland that Marti envisioned and for which he fought. If there is anyone who does not feel the tears well up in his eyes or his heart beat faster before these children carrying the flag of their country, he doesn't deserve to be called a man.

I am very grateful for your expressions of friendship towards me. They are a unique expression of Cuban nobility of spirit to which I can reply only with a heartfelt moral embrace encompassing all of you. I want to interpret the generosity of your applause and your gifts as the unshakable decision that nothing will shatter Cuban unity, that you will create a unique group to participate in the important international deliberations, particularly those pertaining to the fate of Cuba. I want to interpret them as an agreement with the decision to choose your representatives without passion and without rancor so that those of us who wish the Cuban case to be discussed during the Presidents Conference will find support in the fact of a fraternal unity among Cubans. United no one will wrest the victory from you. If you do not unite that victory will be destroyed by any demagogue or any disloyal Latin American. The great men of the Americas that have come tonight, await your unity to serve you better. And I, whose only merit is to be the personal representative of that great democrat, Marco Aurelio Robles, Constitutional President of Panama, have also come because I trust in the results of this gathering.

President Robles, elected by the will of the Panamanian people to guide their destiny during the four years ending in October of 1968, has asked me to bring you his affectionate greetings and to say to you that Cuba in Exile has a loyal friend in him.

I am just one more in the ranks of those who are fighting for the great Cuban cause. Your kind invitation has allowed me to be with the continental personalities who have honored tonight's rally with their presence and whose words will echo for a long time to come in every heart in the Americas. I am not the leader of anything, and I don't aspire to be, I am merely one more individual, but an individual that believes in Cuba and is ready to serve her cause.

Ladies and gentlemen; today I have been given an album containing thousands of signatures, this is a priceless reward that moves my heart as a Panamanian. I will place that album under the flag you have also given me. On that Cuban flag I will place, once I am home, a black ribbon that I hope I'll remove at the Jose Marti Square in Havana. As we commemorate tonight the 114th anniversary of the Apostle's birth and are gathered here to work for the freedom of Cuba and the well-being and democratic security of the Americas, I extend an invitation to you: Join me, when the tree of unity bears fruit, in removing that black ribbon from the flag of Cuba. Join me, all of you who have signed this album. The strength of your union will set the date.

Cubans: I am at your service.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is a rather startling statement. Where do you get your facts on it?

Mr. BETHEL. The facts I get from several sources: financial, from Miami; from statements that have been made in El Tiempo in Bogotá; from the newspapers, official publications, including Confidential from Caracas.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mr. Benes, who is going to testify here later?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes; I know him very well.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think he is highly competent to testify on this area?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, he is about the most qualified man who could speak on this.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you be content, then, to leave that particular area to be expanded by Mr. Benes when he testifies?

Mr. BETHEL. I would be delighted, sir; certainly.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. Now, we get to the problem of missiles.

I have literally dozens and dozens of reports of Russian ballistics in Cuba, reports which admittedly are very difficult to check out.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you say ballistics missiles, do you mean a missile designed to wind up or land elsewhere than Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are not necessarily talking about intercontinental ballistic missiles, or are you?

Mr. BETHEL. I'm not talking about ICBM's.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you talking about intermediate range?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes; IRBM's.

Mr. SOURWINE. We thought they had been taken off. We thought the Russians had removed all those.

Mr. BETHEL. I don't think they ever removed all of their missiles. I'll develop that as I go along, if I may.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. It is difficult to check out these stories on missiles in Cuba, because of many reasons.

One is that there are very few pictures of Soviet missiles available to the public which we can obtain sharp and definite identification of the features. There is yet another and perhaps even more serious problem. Many eyewitnesses are afraid to connect their names publicly with positive identification of IRBM's in Cuba. This is so because Fidel Castro has turned the Cuban airlift into a monstrous instrument of blackmail.

When a refugee comes to Miami and talks too much, swift retribution is exacted against his family and even his friends who still remain in Cuba. I am advised confidentially, and I believe this advice, and I would like to make this statement—a lawyer heads the Cuban spy organization in the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, let us lay a little foundation for that.

There is a Cuban spy organization in the United States?

Mr. BETHEL. I don't have the slightest doubt about it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any idea how large it is?

Mr. BETHEL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any idea where it is headquartered?

Mr. BETHEL. I understand that it is being funded out of the Czech Embassy in Washington. Czechoslovakia, as you know, handles Cuba's diplomatic relations with the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the basis for your statement that the Czech Embassy is financing Cuban espionage from the United States?

Mr. BETHEL. From private sources.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do they supply money, U.S. currency?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes; they do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where this is delivered?

Mr. BETHEL. It is delivered to this lawyer who is under an assumed name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where is he operating?

Mr. BETHEL. Between Miami and Washington.

Mr. SOURWINE. Between Miami and Washington, D.C.?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know his identity?

Mr. BETHEL. I know his presumed identity. I know his name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes; his name is Enrique Tagle—T-a-g-l-e.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is the name he is known by in Miami and Washington?

Mr. BETHEL. No; it is the name he was known by in Cuba. You see, Tagle was one of the government prosecutors of the purges throughout Cuba following the failure at the Bay of Pigs. He entered the United States under an assumed name—and nobody knows what it is—in early 1961—I mean late 1961 or early 1962.

His departure was very strange. After having been what they call a government prosecutor at these purges, he took a job at, I think it was the Public Health Ministry or something like that.

Then, about 2 months later, he was fired amid a great to-do and so forth. Five days later, he came to the United States.

Now, in the connection of spies, in and out of Cuba, I would like to say something about the Cuban airlift.

The United States has absolutely no control over who comes out of Cuba. This is entirely left up to the Cuban Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. We'll get to that in just a minute. With your permission, let me ask another question.

This is Enrique Tagle?

Mr. BETHEL. Enrique Tagle, yes.

Let me repeat, a Cuban spy organization in the United States is headed by a lawyer named Enrique Tagle, T-A-G-L-E. Tagle was a Government prosecutor at the military purges of the civilians picked up during the Bay of Pigs.

Following that, he took a job with a Ministry, and I have forgotten right now what it is, and was fired in a splash of publicity. Then 5 days later, as I remember, as I reconstruct it, he came to the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know at the time that he was coming to the United States?

Mr. BETHEL. No, I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have learned since that he was coming?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has anyone seen him?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, they have, but apparently, he is using an entirely different name. He has been spotted twice, as far as I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you have been unable to learn, or your informants have been unable to learn what his present name is?

Mr. BETHEL. They have not.

Mr. SOURWINE. The name he is going by you don't know?

Mr. BETHEL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where he is living?

Mr. BETHEL. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where he has his office?

Mr. BETHEL. The only thing I know is he has been sighted both in Washington and Miami.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was he seen in Miami?

Mr. BETHEL. He was seen on Biscayne Boulevard.

Mr. SOURWINE. Alone?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, alone.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was he seen in Washington?

Mr. BETHEL. I think—I'm certain in this case—that he was seen going into or leaving the Czech Embassy.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the basis and the sole basis that he gets money from the Czech Embassy?

Mr. BETHEL. No, it is not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who knows about the money? How do you get this information?

Mr. BETHEL. I got this information from some private Cubans, who apparently have been following this guy and learning as much as they can about him.

Mr. SOURWINE. If they followed him enough to see money passed, they must have followed him into some premises. They would hardly—

Mr. BETHEL. I just don't know the—

Mr. SOURWINE. You haven't had reports from them on that point?

Mr. BETHEL. No, I have not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you be able to tell the committee in confidence the names of these individuals from whom you got this information?

Mr. BETHEL. You mean in executive session?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, I could.

Mr. SOURWINE. It needn't be in session. I'm asking you now if, after this hearing is over, you will supply the information of the names of individuals who followed Mr. Tagle?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, go head.

Mr. BETHEL. I'll have to go back to the point I was making about it being difficult to get sharp identification of missiles because of the intimidation or the feeding among Cubans that they don't want to talk or are being publicly identified. It is very rarely that you can get people to stand up and say, I did see them, and be publicly identified.

Mr. SOURWINE. You said there were reprisals against those who talked?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is why I asked you to give us in private the names of individuals who had talked to you. I don't want to invite reprisals against anybody.

But does this man, Tagle, have anything to do with such reprisals, as far as you know?

Mr. BETHEL. He allegedly, and I use that word advisedly, because obviously, I can't say specifically, he allegedly is responsible for having 30 people shot after their identification of military equipment in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. All at one time, or since he has been here?

Mr. BETHEL. No, at one time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thirty people at one time, shot?

Mr. BETHEL. Rounded up and shot, yes.

This is not unusual, because the shootings going on in Cuba are going on day and night.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean a massacre of that size is a normal thing in Cuba, so the mere fact of killing people at one blow, you wouldn't be able to identify when or where?

Mr. BETHEL. Mr. Sourwine, Cuba is one vast concentration camp in which people are taken out of bed in the middle of the night and propped up against a wall and shot. This is Cuba. There is nothing unusual about that. It has been going on for 5 years. You can't talk about a massacre of 30 people.

Mr. SOURWINE. So when you say the killing of 30 people at one time, it doesn't identify any particular incident? There may be a number of such incidents?

Mr. BETHEL. Presumably, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. Now, to begin with facts as regards missiles, missiles of great size are constantly being moved around Cuba under cover of darkness. Their movement is so well organized that sections of cities and towns are systematically blacked out as they pass through.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any theory as to why it is necessary to keep moving them around?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, I have one, and admittedly, only a theory. I think this is related to some of the tunneling that the Russians are doing. I believe that in many instances, they are moving those missiles to try to keep the U-2 flights, wherever they are made, from pinpointing the fixed bases. I think this may be one very good reason for doing so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you thought of the possibility that maybe the word "around" doesn't belong in there and maybe it is only a situation in which missiles of great size are constantly being moved in Cuba under the cover of darkness?

Mr. BETHEL. I'll accept that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether it is the same missiles being moved around, or do you know whether they keep moving missiles?

Mr. BETHEL. Some of the traffic—

Mr. SOURWINE. These might be missiles that are being placed, and they might never be moved after they are placed, and if there is a number of them or a growing number, they might still be moving missiles on many evenings.

Do you know what the fact is?

Mr. BETHEL. The fact, of course, is very illusive. If they weren't in fact moving Russian missiles from one area to another, then we must assume that they are pouring into Cuba at a fantastic rate, that these are indeed missiles just being brought into Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any information on missiles being brought into Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. I have no specific information on missiles being brought into Cuba in that sense; no.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does your information indicate whether there is any proliferation of missiles in Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. I think there is a proliferation of various different types and sizes, definitely. There was quite a to-do when they say surface-to-air missiles, as you recall. Then there was quite a to-do when missile sites were under construction. To the best of my recollection, never was a missile photographed in Cuba at the time of the missile crisis, nor were any missiles photographed coming into Cuba. Magically, sites appeared.

Near Candelaria, San Cristobal, exactly where those sites were sighted, are precisely the entrances to these caves.

My own hypothesis, my own guess here is that the El Rosaria Mountains were literally carved out and tunneled throughout well in advance of the missiles, the missile sites ever having been disclosed.

Now, I base that on a number of reasons. One is that when I was in the Embassy in Cuba in 1960, we had reports of excavations, military excavations, going on in the caves of Soroa, another alleged missile site, by the way.

Following that, we know for a fact that a group of Poles, headed by a Maciej Kuszynski, came to Cuba and he and a whole group of speleologists, all of them wearing military dress, by the way, explored all of the major caves of Cuba. I have pictures, I have photographs of these people in the caves, with the captions and so on, which I would like to enter into the record, my point here being this: Every one of these areas—the Bellamar, the Cura Caves, El Pepo, Cuatrocientas, Rozas—every one of these areas where these people were exploring the caves immediately thereafter became military sites, were quartered off and military construction began without exception in each of these areas.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your testimony about missiles rests on more than that. If I understood you correctly, it is based upon several hundred people whom you have talked to who saw missiles?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, that is true. We have literally talked to hundreds of refugees.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did they first see the missiles?

Mr. BETHEL. When? What period? You mean before the missile crisis?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. BETHEL. The first evidence that there were missiles in Cuba came to light on August 8, 1962. That was in an interview in Miami held by Dr. Salvador Lew, L-e-w, with a functionary who had just come out of Cuba. He has sighted them, and I remember Jay Mallin of Time magazine called me.

We were listening to the radio broadcast and he was asked to describe it. The way he described it was very interesting.

He said it was long as a palm tree and had more mouths at the bottom than a cuatrobocas. A cuatrobocas is the four-mouthed pom-pom gun.

Jay called and asked me, "What did that sound like to you?" I said, "Obviously, it sounds like a missile."

However, to reconstruct, on July 26, 2,500 Russians landed and they went, guess where? To the Gobernadora and this whole cave complex area where, later, missiles appeared, July 26, 1962.

Then, on July 30, another group landed in Cienfuegos. Another group landed in Banes in the Nipe Bay area. Another group of 5,000 landed in the Nicaro nickel mine area. In other words, by September 15, 1962, there were at least 18,000 to 20,000 Soviet troops in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. To come back to the missiles, if that answers the chairman's question—

Senator THURMOND. When did you first see the missiles after the Cuban crisis?

Mr. BETHEL. On ships, leaving. Is that what you mean, the ones retired?

Senator THURMOND. Yes; when was that?

Mr. BETHEL. This was immediately following the missile crisis. Ships were taking missiles out.



Are you referring to the missile sighting?

Senator THURMOND. When did you see them in Cuba after that?

Mr. BETHEL. Reports began to come to us in June of 1963 that construction was continuing in these missile site areas, like Susset Farm, is one such area in the missile site area of 1962. They have just continually been coming in; the reports have just continued coming since that time. I have reported this to the——

Senator THURMOND. When did you get definite information that missiles were still in Cuba after Khrushchev was supposed to have withdrawn the missiles?

Mr. BETHEL. In February of 1963, I interviewed a defector from Castro's diplomatic service. His name is Hugo Bell Huertas. He was in Cuba at the time, and he said this, this is his testimony, I told him about the caves, and the Poles being in there and excavating, and he said, yes; however, the Poles were a screen behind which Soviet and Czech and East German technicians really did the work in preparing the caves as early as February of 1961; in other words, that they were there at that time. He states that the missiles were brought in in Soviet oil tankers that had no oil in them.

He said that the most harmless ship, really, would presumably be a Soviet oil tanker, but that no Cuban functionary, not even Fidel Castro, was permitted to step aboard those tankers. His testimony is to the effect that the Russians were all prepared underground before they ever showed anything above ground, and since that time, we have had reports, of course, of missiles coming in; a doctor in the port of Matanzas had seen missiles coming in from the port.

Senator THURMOND. So in February 1963, after the missile crisis in 1962, eyewitnesses saw missiles, eyewitnesses who talked with you?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. Did he say they were new missiles introduced in, or did they say they were missiles that had been hidden and never taken out, or did they know?

Mr. BETHEL. Their testimony was to the effect that they were missiles which had remained there.

Senator THURMOND. Had remained there?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. His testimony was that they were missiles which remained there and were never taken out?

Mr. BETHEL. That is correct.

Senator THURMOND. Although Khrushchev had promised that they would be taken out?

Mr. BETHEL. That is correct.

Senator THURMOND. I believe we had no inspection that would determine that missiles were taken out, so far as you know, did we?

Mr. BETHEL. There was no inspection. Would you like to pursue this?

Senator THURMOND. Just a little bit along that line, not too far.

Mr. BETHEL. No, we never had an inspection. That inspection was frustrated on October 30, when U Thant, the Acting Secretary General of the United Nations, went to Cuba and virtually told Castro not to permit onsite inspection. I have a transcript——

Senator THURMOND. When was that?

Mr. BETHEL. October 30, 1962.

Senator THURMOND. U Thant, who is now the Director General of the United Nations—

Mr. BETHEL. Secretary General, yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Secretary General. Went to Cuba and told Castro not to allow inspection?

Mr. BETHEL. Virtually so, yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. How do you know that?

Mr. BETHEL. I have a transcript of the interview between Castro and U Thant.

Senator THURMOND. You have the transcript?

Mr. BETHEL. I do.

Senator THURMOND. Do you have his voice on a tape?

Mr. BETHEL. No, what I have here is the published interview in Bohemia magazine, published on November 2, 1962, which published the entire interview between U Thant and Castro.

Senator THURMOND. Tell us what publication this is.

Mr. BETHEL. This is a Government-controlled magazine called Bohemia. It was published on November 2, of 1962.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the witness to furnish us with this—

Mr. BETHEL. I am sorry; November 2, 1962.

Mr. SOURWINE (continuing). And that the order be that the portions of it which are pertinent to the chairman's question be printed in the record?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, that will be done.

You heard his request?

Mr. SOURWINE. The request was that you furnish us with this transcript, and the chairman has then ordered that portions of it, pertinent to your answers to his question, be printed in the record.

Mr. BETHEL. I have it in here.

(The document referred to above will be found in the appendix at p. 1151.)

Senator THURMOND. This was an interview published in a publication, questions and answers?

Mr. BETHEL. That is true.

Senator THURMOND. Did this interview tell you why the Secretary General did not want inspection?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes. U Thant stated—what he stated was that there could be no onsite inspection at all unless the Government of Cuba agreed to it; otherwise, to have onsite inspection would be humiliating to Cuban sovereignty.

Senator THURMOND. Did U Thant advise him not to have inspection, or just informed him of his rights, so to speak?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, Senator, I think you have to read it through very carefully, because what he really says, he leads him up to refusing onsite inspection. In fact, in one instance in this interview, he told Castro that the United Nations inspection team could not possibly come in because it would be, as he said, a violation of Cuban sovereignty.

Another time, he said—he referred, in fact, to our blockade as—or, rather, our quarantine, as being something very unusual, something

which is only used in time of war, and also said it is illegal. It is quite an interesting interview.

Senator THURMOND. He said our blockade of Cuba was illegal?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. U Thant said that?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, something very rare, he said; "something that only happens in time of war."

Senator THURMOND. Was any other statement made?

Mr. BETHEL. May I read one comment here?

Senator THURMOND. All right.

Mr. BETHEL. It is not specifically related to this, but it does, I think, set the tenor of why he went there.

U Thant said:

Some press reports said last night and this morning before I left on my trip that I was coming to arrange for the presence of the United Nations in Cuba. That is totally in error, for it would constitute an infringement on the Sovereignty of the Republic of Cuba.

This is what U Thant told Castro. He virtually said that the U.S. quarantine was an act of aggression, and I think Castro's summation at the end is expressive of how he certainly saw it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it lengthy, sir?

Senator THURMOND. I don't want to go into a lot of detail. How long is that?

Mr. BETHEL. I'm sorry, sir; this is the sense of the entire interview. The interview took place on October 30 at the Palace. Present were General Rokhye, who is U Thant's military aid, on the one side, and on the other side was President Osvaldo Dorticos and Fidel Castro.

What Castro did was tape that interview. He had the interview taped and then went on television the following week and gave the whole thing out to the Cuban people and had it published in Bohemia, presumably, my guess would be, as a sort of blackmail measure. He is very good at it.

Senator THURMOND. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't mean to interfere if you have an unfinished point. If not, there is a point I want to bring out at this time. Are you at a good stopping place?

Mr. BETHEL. I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. You spoke about the several hundred witnesses you have talked to who have seen missiles. I take it most of these people were laymen so far as missiles are concerned? They were not experts in missiles?

Mr. BETHEL. No, obviously not.

Mr. SOURWINE. It must be rather difficult for a layman to try to identify a missile. We even get conflicting reports of size. Some people have difficulty in appraising size. Have you been able, from your hundreds of accounts, to reach what you believe to be a common mean of truth, allowing for human variations one way or another; or is this just a mass of information from which you can't glean any solid facts?

Mr. BETHEL. No, sir, I start by not believing them. I mean, this is basically the way I have interviewed people in that sense. In other words, prove it.

Now, out of the hundreds that have been interviewed, of course, only a score, a few score are credible in that sense. Quite often, you find people saying, "Well, a cousin of an uncle of a friend of mine saw this," and so on.

Mr. SOURWINE. Only a few score are credible, or do you mean only a few score are completely credible?

Mr. BETHEL. Completely credible, so far I am concerned.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't mean to say that several hundred are incredible?

Mr. BETHEL. No, out of several hundred that I have talked to about missiles—

Mr. SOURWINE. Only several score have completely credible stories?

Mr. BETHEL. That have completely credible stories.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you did get 40 or more, maybe 50, completely credible stories?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, at least.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. Another thing that you have to understand, or, rather, that we have to understand in dealing with the Cuban refugees these days, in view of the atmosphere of terror and Government informers that are part of his everyday life, when they come out of Cuba, they never know, really, whom they are talking to.

I found an interesting thing, that some people say, this man who is a very good friend of mine saw such and such. You keep talking to this fellow, and you finally realize that he means himself all the time, except that he is afraid to be identified with this particular identification, if you know what I mean.

Now, as to finding out what they know, there are various ways. For example, a man said he was standing in front of his house on a certain avenue in Miramai in Havana late at night. All the lights went out, which is true when they do move the missiles. So he stood in front of his house.

Then you try to measure, what is the size of your block? In other words, what is the size of your property, how long is it? How do you compare the missile to the size of that, your house? Using culverts, because I know this area pretty well, for example, I would ask him about a culvert which is nearby there—was the base of the missile that large, was it smaller, and so on.

In all instances, of course, they are covered with tarpaulins, and the suggestion has been made, well, gee whiz, there could be two small missiles on there.

This is not true. You do not transport missiles around like a bundle of cordwood. They are a very sensitive instrument, and furthermore, they are almost always accompanied with their crews, who ride in the forward part of the prime mover, which more often than not is a tractor-like vehicle. In other cases, it is a truck-like vehicle.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am beginning to gather that several different sizes of missiles have been seen. Is that your testimony?

Mr. BETHEL. Oh, without question. There are air-breathing missiles.

Mr. SOURWINE. Up to how large a size?

Mr. BETHEL. One which I am still—I'll take the extreme that I am still checking out—is 40 meters long. Forty meters long is 150 feet,

and that would be an ICBM. I don't believe it, but perhaps I will after I continue.

We do have completely credible accounts of missiles between 80 and 100 feet. Checking through—

Mr. SOURWINE. How big around? What diameter?

Mr. BETHEL. Between 5 and 7 feet.

Mr. SOURWINE. Those wouldn't be ICBM's, would they?

Mr. BETHEL. I should think so. You don't know, really. But one thing you do know, they are certainly not to be used inside of Cuba, nor are they to be used in the Straits of Florida, because they have their other equipment, of course, and as near as we can determine, as near as I can determine by checking through pictures that have been published, and I have been reading several books on missiles, they look to be the T-2 and T-4 Russian IRBM, which has a range of between 800 and 1,500 miles, depending on what your charge is—I mean, which one it is—the improved version or the first version.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was either one of those the missile which was located in Cuba and caused the missile crises?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, apparently, it was the T-2—no, it couldn't have been the T-2. It had to be a T-4, I believe.

But that is very peculiar. I am not so sure, Mr. Sourwine. We had reports of 60-foot long missiles in Cuba at the time of the missile crisis. I have gone through publications and I certainly stand to be corrected on this if I am wrong—I want to give testimony, not nonsense. I don't believe there were any missiles photographed, were there? Only missile sites.

Were there missiles?

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, I'm not testifying. My memory would be to the contrary. I think there were some air photos of missiles. But if you have searched the records, I would accept your statement.

Mr. BETHEL. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am more concerned with trying to find out what type of missiles there were in Cuba at that time and how they compare with these missiles that your evidence indicates are in Cuba now.

Mr. BETHEL. An interesting thing in that connection.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are they just as big now, or are they bigger, or what?

Mr. BETHEL. They are bigger. They are larger now, and some of them, of course, if indeed the reports which were printed at the time of 60-foot missiles are accurate, there are 60-foot missiles in Cuba, and there are 100-foot missiles in Cuba. I don't have any question are 60-foot missiles?

Mr. SOURWINE. And the missiles at the time of the missile crisis are 60-foot missiles?

Mr. BETHEL. That is what has been reported; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you have one report of 150-foot missiles?

Mr. BETHEL. I do, and I am checking it out.

Mr. SOURWINE. Which would not be an intermediate-range missile. It would be an intercontinental missile.

Mr. BETHEL. That is right. This fellow is in Puerto Rico, and he should be here in a few days. I am still checking it out.

On the point of the caves, or the burrowing—

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the size or diameter of a 100-foot ICBM, do you know?

Mr. BETHEL. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. This report of the missile that has been seen that was 100 feet around, how big—

Mr. BETHEL. It was—the 100-foot one?

Mr. SOURWINE. The 150-foot one.

Mr. BETHEL. Between 5 and 7 feet at the base.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am asking you about the 150-foot one.

Mr. BETHEL. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't know how big around it would be?

Mr. BETHEL. No; I don't. I have only talked to him long distance by phone. He was very excited because this he said he had seen.

Mr. SOURWINE. You wouldn't get a 150-foot ballistics missile through a 20-by-20-foot tunnel very far if it curved a lot; would you?

Mr. BETHEL. Not all the tunnels are 20 by 20. Some of them are 75 feet.

Another interesting point on missile storage, I think it is highly revealing that Artura Diaz Garcia, Cuba's foremost expert on caves, was forced into political asylum in the Uruguayan and Mexican Embassies in 1961, and Nunez Jimenez, who was the next top authority on Cuba's caves, and also one of the top functionaries in the Castro government, refused to let the Mexican and Uruguayan Governments let him leave Cuba until last December 23.

In other words, this man was more important to keep in exile than President Arrutia, whom they let out, or Fidel Castro's own sister, Juanita Castro. He only got out last December 23. I suggest that if he were brought to the United States—he is waiting for a visa, I understand—I would think that he would have some sensational information to give on Russian excavations and the caves, and so on.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think that Senor Garcia may be in any danger, or do you think having been allowed to leave Cuba, and get as far as Mexico, he is safe now?

Mr. BETHEL. My information is that he is under custody there, friendly custody, in Mexico.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are not fingering him when you tell us in public session that he is available and should have startling information?

Mr. BETHEL. I am sorry, what did you say?

Mr. SOURWINE. I say, you are not putting the finger on him when you tell us he is available and should have startling information?

Mr. BETHEL. Oh, I don't think so; no. He is well known throughout the hemisphere as the top speleologist, and certainly, the outstanding authority on Cuba's caves.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was allowed by Cuba to leave last December. Wouldn't that appear to indicate that the Cuban government feels that nothing he can do or say outside Cuba can hurt them?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, that could be, but my construction of that would be that the Russians are in Cuba so permanently and so entrenched, and they have been moving around missiles so openly that it really doesn't make any difference.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the difference between that and what I said?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, perhaps there is no difference.

Mr. SOURWINE. You put the details in. Actually, I take it you do feel that the Cubans have a feeling they can be open about it now, or at least, that nothing this man can tell is going to hurt them?

Mr. BETHEL. Apparently so. It could hurt, perhaps, but apparently they—you see, the Cubans have been trying for sometime to butter up to the Mexicans. It is the only link that they have today diplomatically, and commercially with the Latin American countries. Several months ago these relations were at a low ebb until the United States negotiated with Mexico to bring out some 2,000 American families.

I think they came out, Diaz came out at about the same time that a small trickling of the American families were permitted to leave, around about that same time.

What has been forgotten is that those 2,000 American families are still in Cuba. They let out, what—95 of them? And every one of them were sworn to absolute secrecy about whatever they know, both by the Cuban government when they let them go, and by the American Government when they arrived. So this great big to-do last December that Castro was going to let all of the Americans that he is holding as hostages, or whatever he is doing with them down there, that he is going to let them go, is nonsense. He let out 90 of them, took the steam out of the story, and the rest are still there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do I understand you correctly that the U.S. Government required U.S. citizens, 90 of them, coming into this country and having been finally released by Castro, to swear that they would not reveal what they knew about what has been going on in Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. I think what they told them specifically was to keep their mouths shut, or go to—

Mr. SOURWINE. Who told them that?

Mr. BETHEL. The authorities when they came in.

Mr. SOURWINE. The immigration authorities?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes; they did, and they said so because, "If you start talking, it is going to make it much more difficult for the balance of the Americans there to get out."

Mr. SOURWINE. Were they required to take an oath on this, or just—

Mr. BETHEL. No; they were not required to take an oath.

You see, only parts of families came out. This is how they operate. Only part came out, and they keep the other part to keep the part that came out quiet.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then I probably misunderstood you. I thought you said that they were required to swear not to talk about it. Were they required to swear, in Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. I think it was a little more blunt than that, that if they started talking, their friends and relatives would soon start hurting.

This is nothing new.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you learn what they were told in Cuba if they were not allowed to talk?

Mr. BETHEL. I mean publicly, for public consumption. For newspaper stories, is what I am getting at. Of course, they did talk, because I have talked with them and they have told me what I told you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who these 90 Americans were?

Mr. BETHEL. There is a list of them. It has been printed.

Mr. SOURWINE. You talked with a couple of them?

Mr. BETHEL. I talked with a couple of them; yes. They brought them into New Orleans, strangely enough.

Mr. SOURWINE. What you are telling us is what they told you?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes; and I believed them. The fact remains that the rest of the Americans are still there.

Mr. SOURWINE. We won't ask for the names of the people who told you this, because that might serve the purpose of bringing reprisals on relatives. Two out of ninety is not much of an identification.

I think it is important that what you have, though it is hearsay, it is first-degree hearsay, rather than a higher degree of hearsay.

Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. I think that completes my testimony, unless you have further questions.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, I don't want to prolong this unduly, but I think there are perhaps a few questions that need to be asked.

Mr. BETHEL. I beg your pardon? I asked the Library of Congress to verify what I have earlier stated about the missiles. This is from the New York Times of 1962:

Most of the pictures prior to the Cuban missile crisis—

No, the pictures of the missile crisis are only of sites, none of missiles.

The only picture of the Russian ship entering Cuba contained planes, not missiles.

Senator THURMOND. I want to ask you this question: You said after the missile crisis in 1962, the first time that people saw missiles in Cuba was in February 1963. Those are missiles that had been left there, rather than new missiles introduced.

Now, would you tell us the date that some people have seen the new missiles that were introduced?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, Senator, that has been going on—

Senator THURMOND. The earliest date.

Mr. BETHEL. I am just trying to think, now. I think it was the summer and the fall of 1963; those were the first eyewitness, concrete reports that I had.

Senator THURMOND. And in addition to the missiles which these people said were left there, never taken out after the missile crisis, and which they saw in 1963, some of those same people, or other people?

Mr. BETHEL. No. Other people.

Senator THURMOND. Other people said they saw new missiles—

Mr. BETHEL. Coming in.

Senator THURMOND (continuing). Which had been brought in in the summer or fall of 1963? Same year?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir. And these reports have continued sporadically since that time.

Senator THURMOND. Now, do you have many witnesses who have seen these missiles brought in? Could you tell us about them, what scale they have brought in, how often they are brought in, approximately the number brought in? Can you give us any details on that?

Mr. BETHEL. I can give you details on one instance. This was in the fall of 1963. In fact it was right after the 26th of July, so it



would be about the first part of August 1963. A doctor in Matanzas, a very deep harbor port through which missiles have come before, have come into that area before—suddenly, a group of five Russian ships apparently had come in. The stevedores were all—the Cuban stevedores were taken away. The whole dock area was cordoned off, and the Russians themselves unloaded missiles.

Now, he didn't personally see the unloading of these missiles. This is two different stories. But what he did was this: he was sitting on the front porch of this house after the lights went bad, went out. It was about 4 hours later, after the lights went out, that in front of his house came a convoy of five tractor-trailer combinations carrying missiles which he identified as being about 60 to 75 feet long. This was in August, about the first week of August 1963.

Senator THURMOND. Those were new missiles?

Mr. BETHEL. Apparently, the ones that came in, yes. This was his testimony.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any basis for a judgment as to whether the missile capacity in Cuba or the missile strike potential in Cuba is now greater than, less than, or the same as it was before the so-called missile crisis?

Mr. BETHEL. First of all, Mr. Sourwine, I don't believe anybody knows what the missile strike capability of the missiles was before the missile crisis. Forty-two were seen, photographed, leaving Cuba. What their missile strike capacity was, I have no idea, and I don't think that our intelligence people do, either.

Second, judging from all of the reports we have had and the proliferation of missiles, different types and styles and varieties, and so on, I would say that the missile strike capacity must be considerably greater than they thought Cuba had at the time of the missile crisis.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are these missiles still under Russian control?

Mr. BETHEL. Oh, yes. No Cubans are permitted anywhere near them.

Now, I am referring to—this is an interesting point, by the way, because Cubans are beginning to man the SAM sites. As a matter of fact, four units of surface-to-air missiles with Cuban crews were sent to Vietnam, and they are operating there. But only the Russians are permitted in these areas that I have referred to, in these cave areas. They are cordoned off and this, and that. Only Russians, and nobody else is permitted in there, which would indicate that they are certainly not SAMS.

Secondly, the SAMS are so well known to be in Cuba that there would be absolutely no reason to be transporting SAMS around under cover of darkness.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does Cuba have the same equipment with respect to the range-finding and pointing devices for their SAMS, the Russian SAM missiles in Cuba, that have been furnished to Vietnam?

Mr. BETHEL. Apparently so, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware of the fact that initially, the equipment furnished to the North Vietnamese was not of the most modern

and subsequently, they were furnished with a much more modern range by their pointing mechanism?

Mr. BETHEL. I understand this, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Which resulted in the increase in damage to the American air base.

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, I understand that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well then, are you saying it is this newer stuff that is in Cuba now?

Mr. BETHEL. You are referring to SAMS?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. BETHEL. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have no basis for—

Mr. BETHEL. I wouldn't hazard a guess on this. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, it wouldn't be a question of whether or not it was moved through darkness, but the so-called SAM missile is a different size from these you are reporting?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes. For example, we will take pictures without captions and ask people if they have seen this missile, or have you seen that missile, and so on. Now, everybody seems to be able to identify a SAM. I doubt very much if most of these people have really seen a SAM, because the SAM sites are located out, actually, and actually it is antiaircraft batteries in protection of the larger missiles.

As a matter of fact, John McCone began to believe there were in fact IRBM missiles in Cuba, simply because they were SAMS, and there would be no reason or SAMS unless the IRBM's were there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Explain that so that it is very clear.

Mr. BETHEL. Well, John McCone was the head of the CIA at the time of the missile crisis. He learned about the SAM sites and he became very concerned about them. This is at a time when we were using this definition of what is defensive, what is offensive, and so on. Of course, the SAM being an antiaircraft missile, it was considered to be defensive.

However, he had just gotten married and apparently went to France on his honeymoon and sat over there and thought about this whole situation. He said to himself, it does not make any sense to have SAM's in Cuba unless they are there to protect the larger missiles.

He came back and made this reconstruction to the intelligence community and to the President and to others, and his thesis was considered logical. This was way before, of course, they ever sighted the missiles themselves.

Now, if indeed, John McCone was correct in his analysis at that time, it would appear to me it would be no less correct to apply it in this instance.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think the presence of SAM's in North Vietnam indicates the presence of intermediate range ballistics missiles there?

Mr. BETHEL. I don't know. The type of SAM's that they have in North Vietnam, as I understand it, is they are not—I mean most of them are mobile units. They are not the fixed types that they had in Cuba at the time of the missile crisis.

And actually, the construction, as I recall, and I am just recalling from memory of those SAM sites, indicated that they were there

precisely to protect a given area. In that area was the Candelaria Base and so on.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you get right down to it, there isn't anybody that you know of that can testify under oath in absolute credibility either that there is or is not an intercontinental ballistic missile in Cuba, isn't that right?

Mr. BETHEL. No, I don't think that anybody in their right mind can possibly, from what I have seen thus far, identify, say that this is a certain type of missile. What we have, of course, is simply the construction of events, what they saw, measuring them and so forth and giving the pictures and coming up with a conclusion.

But I think it is quite obvious that the Russian tunneling, the tremendous amount of tunneling, their use of Cuba's caves and so forth, indicate that there has to be some use to this cave tunneling system other than use for conventional weapons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, that is a matter of speculation.

With several hundred people talking to you about having seen missiles and with 50 or more of them credible, how is it that we have not read any stories about this in the newspapers?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, to a large extent, I think that the missile story has been dead and I think it has been dead for a number of reasons. One is that it has just simply passed out of public consciousness, claims that missiles are in Cuba are uniformly met with a statement from the State Department saying that we have no proof that there are missiles in Cuba. But I would like to say this, or I would like to sort of pose this question in a way. I cannot, myself, state categorically that there are IRBM's or ICBM's in Cuba any more than the State Department can claim categorically that they are not there.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't guess any of us can state categorically that there is no green cheese on the moon, either.

Mr. BETHEL. That is right.

Senator THURMOND. As I understood your statement, though, you said that people, numbers of people, had told you there were missiles there?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. In February 1963, missiles that were left there?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Numbers of other people have told you that there were new missiles introduced there which they saw in the summer and fall of 1964?

Mr. BETHEL. That is true—no, summer and fall of 1963.

Senator THURMOND. 1963?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. Those are eyewitnesses, I understood you to say?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Who actually saw the missiles?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. So there is no hearsay; they actually saw them?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. I just wanted to be sure.

Mr. BETHEL. Where the problem comes up is in the specific identification of types and the uniform statement from the—

Senator THURMOND. I understand, they did not go into details about the kinds, but they were missiles. They may have been IRBM's or ICBM's or they may have borne some other designation?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir; but there is no question that there are missiles in Cuba of the size and variety that I have described. I am satisfied that they are true.

Senator THURMOND. And these were not surface to air missiles—that is, SAM's—that knock down planes, but these, as I understood it from your testimony—maybe you said it, maybe you did not—were the often sieve-type missiles?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Is that correct or not?

Mr. BETHEL. That is correct. The characteristics are entirely different between a SAM and a—

Senator THURMOND. I understand.

Mr. SOURWINE. What I was trying to get at is you have as many reports as you say—and I don't question your statement. I think you are trying to tell us honestly what you know and be careful to distinguish. But how can there be 50 people whom you find wholly credible and several hundred people who say they saw missiles and no stories in the paper? Is there any indication—you are a newspaperman. Is there any indication here of subversion? Is somebody sitting on this story? You said it was dead. Is it dead or is somebody sitting on it?

Mr. BETHEL. I think—

Mr. SOURWINE. Do these people talk to you but not to newspapers, or do they talk to newspapers and the newspapers won't print it? I find the latter incredible. I think if they talked to newspapers, newspapers would print the stories.

Mr. BETHEL. It is a combination of both.

It is very difficult to generate any interest any longer in missiles in Cuba, because time after time when people do in fact report this in the newspaper, they are met with a uniform, almost stereotyped statement from State and Defense on missiles. As a newspaperman, what do you do?

There is something much more serious that I have learned from witnesses I have talked to whose names cannot possibly be made public, that there is actual pressure being brought against them not to talk publicly.

Mr. SOURWINE. By whom?

Mr. BETHEL. By the intelligence community in Miami, apparently on orders from Washington.

Mr. SOURWINE. By the U.S. intelligence community?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, they are told not to talk.

As a matter of fact, there are various subterfuges used. They offer them jobs: say, look, keep your mouth shut and so on and we will get you a job, and so on. This is quite often used as a subterfuge to keep them quiet.

\* Mr. SOURWINE. You are telling us there is official intimidation and coercion, inducement, to keep Cuban refugees who know about a missile threat to the United States to tell us what they know?

Mr. BETHEL. What I am telling you is that I have credible reports to that effect, yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. By credible, that means you believe it?

Mr. BETHEL. I do.

You see, how else can you explain—again we have to have, apart from facts, some logical construction. How else can you explain the absolute failure of the United States to do anything with regard to Cuba in view of the forward march of subversion into Latin America?

I have just mentioned earlier, I have 16 legal sized pages of what subversion and terror is doing in Latin America. Secretary McNamara has made very strong statements to the effect that should Cuba ever become or export its revolution and so on, the United States would take prompt and effective action. That has not happened. Yet the proof is here that this is growing and growing and growing.

Mr. SOURWINE. You told us how many guerrillas were being trained in Cuba every month. What was that figure?

Mr. BETHEL. No, a year, about 10,000 a year.

Mr. SOURWINE. These are guerrilla fighters from other countries of Latin America brought to Cuba for their training and then presumably go home and raise hell?

Mr. BETHEL. That is right. Not presumably, admittedly.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't want to move you from this subject too rapidly, but there is one more point I want to cover before we recess and the Chair has indicated the approximate recess time is 12:30.

Is there anything you want to say before we move?

Mr. BETHEL. No.

Senator THURMOND. Let me ask one question before you leave that.

Before we leave this point about missiles, has the Pentagon, State Department, or CIA been notified about these missiles that you talked about today, to your knowledge?

Mr. BETHEL. Notified by whom? By me?

Senator THURMOND. By anyone?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, they have a very large intelligence screening group in Miami that screens the refugees.

Senator THURMOND. Who has?

Mr. BETHEL. I think all the intelligence people. You have the ONI, CIA, DIA, and so on. They screen them when they come in.

Senator THURMOND. So you are confident that this information has gotten to the State Department and the Pentagon and the CIA?

Mr. BETHEL. I can say this, that I am confident the information is certainly in the hands of the intelligence community, yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I might be out of place, Mr. Chairman, but with the Chair's permission, I will point out that information being in the possession of the intelligence community and reaching the State Department are not necessarily the same thing. We have had evidence of very important information which we know reached the intelligence community, but apparently never reached anybody in the State Department.

Mr. BETHEL. I think, if I am not out of line on this, I think that the decision to make these statements is political.

Senator THURMOND. Is what?

Mr. BETHEL. I think the decision is political, not just intelligence. If we are moving toward, as we appear to be, an accommodation with the Russian base in the Caribbean, then obviously, any disrupting information might upset this delicate balance. I am certain in my own mind that this is a political decision relating to the whole business of accommodation with the Soviet Union, plus the possibility that they are operating under the threat of nuclear blackmail.

Senator THURMOND. Do you have any estimate now of the number of Russians, of Soviets, in Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. No, sir, that is impossible. I have tried very hard. What I can say is this, that there are two Russian cities in Cuba. One is located in Kohly, which is a section of Havana, and another one is located in Santiago or near Santiago, which is the eastern part of the island, near El Cobre and Santiago City. They have huge radio towers for direct communication with Russia and they live there—they are Russian cities.

Senator THURMOND. Why do you call them Russian cities? Do only Russians live there?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Are they predominate there or what?

Mr. BETHEL. No, only Russians live in those areas.

It is very much like Japan after the occupation, in which you had, you know, American cities, like Washington Heights in Tokyo, in which a whole area was American. This is true in Kohly section.

An interesting thing, too, about Kohly, next to Havana, is that the cliffs of the Almendares River, which are right in the Kohly area, all have tunnels, huge, enormous tunnels, that lead out to Managua base. Apparently, this is in the event that something happens and they can get out to the airbase and out. I don't know.

Senator THURMOND. Would you say the Russians in Cuba number in the hundreds, in the thousands, or just how would you place them?

Mr. BETHEL. Certainly they would number in the thousands. There is not much question of that, perhaps the tens of thousands.

Senator THURMOND. Tens of thousands?

Mr. BETHEL. But it is so difficult, Senator, to determine, because they are always on the move. You will find them at El Americano Farm working like mad. Suddenly they disappear. We know they have underground barracks located throughout this area of Pinar del Rio Province, which are stocked with food, water, everything else, entire underground barracks located there.

Then they pull out and leave for a period, apparently on maneuvers.

Senator THURMOND. They have underground barracks?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir, they do.

Senator THURMOND. They have a powerful antenna and communications systems that are used for transmitting information back to Russia?

Mr. BETHEL. That is true.

Senator THURMOND. Are you certain of that?

Mr. BETHEL. Oh, yes, we have monitored some of the broadcasts.

Senator THURMOND. They are manning the missiles there?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, they are, without question.

Senator THURMOND. They are manning the surface-to-air missiles there?

Mr. BETHEL. No. I think the Cubans to a large extent, have taken over the SAM's.

Senator THURMOND. Tell us what else they are doing in Cuba besides manning the offensive missiles and communicating intelligence back to Soviet Russia?

Mr. BETHEL. Of course, they operate this high sea's fishing fleet which is based in Cuba. They control absolutely the economy.

Senator THURMOND. They control the economy of the whole country?

Mr. BETHEL. Of the whole country, yes. Cuba is just a figure of speech right now, actually.

Senator THURMOND. Is Soviet Russia really controlling the country of Cuba, would you say?

Mr. BETHEL. Oh, absolutely. They control the postal system, they control the INRA, the national institute of agrarian reform. They have taken over the metallurgical institute where, incidentally, they have been searching for fissionable material for 2 years. They control the control laboratory, they control the communications. The Russians are just in control, period.

Senator THURMOND. In other words, is Castro a figurehead?

Mr. BETHEL. Castro is never a figurehead. I think it would be going too far to say that because of the nature of the man. However, he is effectively in the Soviet pocket, yes.

Senator THURMOND. In other words, he is working hand in hand with the Soviets in controlling Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. Oh, yes.

Senator THURMOND. But the Soviet policies are the ones that control, is that what you mean?

Mr. BETHEL. That is correct.

Senator THURMOND. In other words, Castro is helping carry out the Soviet policies, to implement them?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, he is a part of it.

Senator THURMOND. Well, I say he is the instrument through which the Soviet policies are implemented?

Mr. BETHEL. Not through him exactly; no, sir.

Castro—maybe we had better come back again. They have to have a national leader and they have got it and they have got a very effective one. But in terms of running the country, Castro does not run the country.

As a matter of fact, you can make a good case that he never did.

Senator THURMOND. Who runs the country?

Mr. BETHEL. The Russians and the Communist Party, the central committee of the Cuban Communist Party.

Senator THURMOND. Under whose direction?

Mr. BETHEL. Nominally, Castro is the chairman, occupying a position comparable to this bi-bit that Brezhnev and Kosygin have as the first secretary of the Communist Party. They have the Politburo now, exactly as in Russia. He, of course, has that.

But in terms of general policy direction, we just can't get away from the fact that everything that the Russians have done since they

moved into Cuba, and I mean moved in, in 1960 and 1961, has been military in nature. Everybody wears uniforms. Everybody's got rifles. They are training Congolese, they are training Tanzanians in these camps. They are training Eritreans.

Senator THURMOND. Who is training guerillas that go into Central and South America, the Soviets or Cubans?

Mr. BETHEL. It is a combination. Vietcong instructors have been there now for 3 years. They are really the ones that do the basic training of warfare. The Vietcong have been there for a long time.

Senator THURMOND. You mean the trained Vietnamese?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, the Vietnamese.

Senator THURMOND. Who would train those that would go to Guatemala, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador?

Mr. BETHEL. It is a combination of Vietcong, Red Chinese, Russians. And also Spanish Communists have been used in this very effectively.

Senator THURMOND. As I construe what you are saying, then, Castro is a figure, their political figure, that dominates Cuba—

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Senator THURMOND (continuing). But that he is working hand in hand with the Soviets, whom he has allowed to come in and get control of the economy, the industry, the farming, and practically every facet of the life of the people?

Mr. BETHEL. Unquestionably, that is right.

On the other hand, Senator, I believe this, that if Castro were shot tomorrow, this whole glue house, I think would come unstuck.

Senator THURMOND. You think what?

Mr. BETHEL. I think this whole house of glue would come unstuck if he were shot tomorrow. He is an essential charismatic ingredient, I think, to this entire Communist control of Cuba. Others will undoubtedly disagree with me on this. This is a matter open for debate, certainly.

But on the other hand, this fellow is very useful. He is very useful to the Russians.

Senator THURMOND. He is very useful to the Soviets?

Mr. BETHEL. Very much so.

Senator THURMOND. And they would suffer a great loss if they lost him?

Mr. BETHEL. A tremendous loss.

Senator THURMOND. Because they are working through him to carry out their orders, so to speak?

Mr. BETHEL. Chiefly because of the hold that he has on the people. It is not a hold that he has so much, except that a lot of people still believe in this country that this is a nationalist sort of thing. The only thing they can cling to, many of the people down there, is this figure of Fidel. In many respects, of course, he has been a traitor, no less a quisling than Quisling.

Senator THURMOND. In other words, he has been a quisling for the Soviets?

Mr. BETHEL. That is right.

They are developing other quislings in South America, Pedro Medina in Venezuela, Manuel Mannuit and Flavio Bravo in Columbia



and so on. So they are following the original theme that developed out of Cuba, that is to develop local indigenous leaders.

Senator THURMOND. Here the difference being that in Cuba, they are in control, whereas in other countries, they are not in control.

Mr. BETHEL. Not yet, they intend to be.

Senator THURMOND. I understand they are working toward that end.

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Senator THURMOND. Now, as I construe what you say, the Soviets are calling the shots, giving the orders?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. And they are cracking the whip and their orders are carried out?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. And they are in effect exercising control of the country of Cuba in its economy and its people?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir.

What they hope eventually is to develop an institutionalized dictatorship so that they can retire and pull out of there, is my guess, and then have Cubans, of course, fighting. This is a long time Communist tactic. You very seldom find Russian soldiers fighting for a cause or for their country. What you do find, though, is that they have these trained agents. This is precisely the wars of national liberation, so-called.

Senator THURMOND. Now, from the intelligence that you have gathered, and you seem to have gathered a great deal of it, what is Soviet Russia's purpose in being there? Is it to spread communism throughout Central and South America, is it to spread communism throughout the United States, or both?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, I think the United States is the ultimate target, the final target. But let's not forget that they not only set up an organization there to carry out subversion of Latin America, but Africa and Asia as well.

Senator THURMOND. African nations?

Mr. BETHEL. African and Asian. They have the three continents that they are dedicated openly, officially, and volubly to do in. The three continents they are going to do in are Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Senator THURMOND. Asia, Africa and Latin America?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes. This is why they call it the tricontinental conference. Out of that came the tricontinental organization. In Latin America, this is carried out through what is called the LASO, Latin America Solidarity Organization. This, in turn, has a secretariat. It is very well planned and set up, headed by Pedro Medina Silva, who is president of it. They have five nations, Communists from five nations, including Puerto Rico, by the way, included on this body. Through this body flows all of the equipment and so forth that the Russians are sending to Cuba and from there, transshipped into Latin America. The Soviets provide the propaganda line for radio broadcasts. The Soviets provide—well, they just provide everything. Of course, they stay behind the screen and operate with the Latins in front of what they call the wars of national liberation.

Africa and Asia are not so well defined because of the background of Chinese suzerainty over those two continents. But apparently, the two continental organizations previously controlled by the Chinese are now being brought into this tricontinental organization in Havana. What we have, really, is a base for the subversion of the entire world to expand Vietnam-type wars throughout the world, located right in Havana. How is that possible?

Well, how that is possible, unfortunately, is because of an exchange of letters between the late President Kennedy and Khrushchev, dated October 27, 1962, in which the United States not only gave guarantees never to invade Cuba, but also to see to it that no other country in this hemisphere did it either.

This has been printed and published as well in Castro's new organs, absolutely, the whole background, the letters and so on.

Senator THURMOND. This is a correspondence between former President Kennedy—

Mr. BETHEL. And Nikita Khrushchev.

Senator THURMOND. That the United States would not disturb communism in Cuba and would not permit any other country to disturb it?

Mr. BETHEL. That is right.

Senator THURMOND. That was the effect of it, was it?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir; that is true, it was stated specifically, these points.

Now, apart from the legality, whether we can guarantee—

Senator THURMOND. Our country has never made any announcement to that effect, has it?

Mr. BETHEL. Not to my knowledge; no, sir.

Senator THURMOND. I have never seen it.

Mr. BETHEL. It is printed on pages 45 and 46 of the November 2 issue of Bohemia, 1962.

Senator THURMOND. Of the what?

Mr. BETHEL. November 2 issue of Bohemia, 1962.

Senator THURMOND. Tell us what publication that is?

Mr. BETHEL. This is the official Castro publication. The exchange is printed there and it can be read.

(The material referred to follows:)

[From Bohemia magazine, Havana, Cuba, Nov. 2, 1967, p. 45]

WASHINGTON (PRENSA LATINA).—President John F. Kennedy responded to the letter sent yesterday by the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, etc. etc.

In his letter, Kennedy pointed out:

1. You would agree to remove these weapons systems from Cuba under appropriate United Nations observation and supervision; and undertake, with suitable safeguards, to halt the further introduction of such weapons systems into Cuba.

2. We, on our part, would agree—upon the establishment of adequate arrangements through the United Nations to ensure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments a) to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect, and b) give assurances against an invasion of Cuba. I am confident that other nations of the Western Hemisphere will be prepared to do the same.

Senator THURMOND. I believe Castro made some statement here within the past few weeks that there were agreements entered into at that time that the American people did not know about. That was the effect of his statement. Could this be what you think he was referring to at that time?

Mr. BETHEL. Undoubtedly, yes. Perhaps you are referring to the article that appeared by Lockwood in the Playboy magazine. He went down and had an interview with Castro. I think what Castro said was there were a number of international agreements made that nobody has talked about yet. He said that even though the United States was under apparently no obligation to accept this agreement, because the parallel agreement that there would be on-site inspection had been aborted.

Nevertheless, he said, de facto they do accept it in this country. And of course, the man is right.

Now, I would like to—apart from the paper agreement, there is definite proof that this indeed did happen, because on March 17 of 1963, a Cuban exile group made an attack on Cuba. On March 30, another Cuban group attacked Cayo Frances and sank a Russian vessel, the Baku, an oil vessel as I remember. The next day, Attorney General Robert Kennedy sent 600 agents into Miami, would not permit any Cuban exile leader to leave Dade County, which is the Greater Miami area. The Coast Guard was beefed up by 20 percent—I think it is the 7th Coast Guard in that area—with instructions to prevent any attacks whatsoever from whatever area against Cuba.

At that same time, we called upon the British in the Bahamas to join with us in preventing any attacks whatsoever on the high seas, which to me is piracy—I don't believe we have that right—in any area at all. This policy has not wavered since that time. It was precisely for this reason that Jose Mira Cardona, who was president of the Council, broke with the President and resigned.

Senator THURMOND. Is what you are saying, that former Attorney General Robert Kennedy at that time pursued that course in consonance with this agreement entered into by President Kennedy and Khrushchev that this country would not only not attack communism in Cuba but would not permit any other country to do it?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir; that is accurate.

As a matter of fact, it has been reported that Senator Kennedy drafted the letter for the President's signature, the one that was accepted.

~~Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that we are getting pretty far afield from this committee's jurisdiction.~~

~~Senator THURMOND. I don't know if we are or not. This concerns the internal security of the United States. If we allow communism to remain in Cuba and don't permit anybody else to disturb communism there, it seems to me it might affect our security.~~

Mr. BETHEL. There is another thing which relates to our promise not to permit countries in this hemisphere to attack Cuba. That is the absolute failure of the United States, the rejection of the United States, to even put Cuba on the agenda of the upcoming President's conference, which is to take place, I think, in April. The United States will not discuss Cuba, won't even discuss it.

No. 2, and perhaps even more "insidious"—this is a descriptive word—we are trying to restrict arms to countries in Latin America that are right now under tremendous subversion and attacks from every quarter, from Cuban-based subversion. Now, it has been stated that we will not send such things as jet planes and helicopters and

things of that type to these countries because of an alleged arms race in Latin America. Well, Senator, this is dishonest. What arms race in Latin America? Who is about to attack whom? Nobody is.

I think you will find the genesis of this in the agreement that we are not going to permit any country to attack Cuba.

Now, last week, the brother of the Foreign Minister of Venezuela was kidnaped and then shot and Venezuela really blew skyhigh. He was shot by the very same FLAN supporters from Cuba. The apparent fear, and here I am editorializing, is that they do not want to give any of the Latin American countries in the Caribbean weapons of a possible range that could reach Cuba. If one of these countries really got mad and decided to retaliate against Cuba, they would have nothing to retaliate with.

Senator THURMOND. We are going to have to stop now. You spoke about a letter written by President Kennedy on October 27, 1962. I believe you said this letter contained a statement that we would not disturb communism in Cuba and would not permit anybody else to do it?

Mr. BETHEL. This is accurate.

Senator THURMOND. How do you know this letter was written?

Mr. BETHEL. The letter was printed in UPI, in Prensa Latina, was in fact published in a document of the Cuban Government. Certainly they believe it to be accurate. I have not seen it published elsewhere, but I think if the chain of events which is followed, followed the exchange of letters—

Senator THURMOND. But you did see this letter published—

Mr. BETHEL. In Bohemia; yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. In that news media?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir.

Senator THURMOND. Have you heard it contradicted by our Government by any one of official standing?

Mr. BETHEL. No, sir; not at all.

Senator THURMOND. We will take a recess now until 2:30.

(Whereupon, at 12:45 p.m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p.m., on the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

Senator DODD (presiding). We will resume the hearing.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Bethel, at the conclusion of the morning session, I said there was just one point that I wanted to cover. That is with regard to the thing you barely mentioned, the Cuban, I think in your words, search for nuclear capacity, words to that effect.

What can you tell us about the Cuban atomic capability and potential, particularly with respect to weapons, but overall, insofar you know?

#### TESTIMONY OF PAUL BETHEL—Resumed

Mr. BETHEL. Well, we know that there have been several conferences of atomic and other scientists in Cuba from Soviet bloc countries over the past year. The most recent conference of scientists, and I don't say they are all atomic scientists, surely, was in December when Cuba hosted 300 scientists from nine Soviet bloc countries.

They came to Cuba for very broadly defined, which is to say, obscure, reasons.

Every so-called technician that comes to Cuba is never, of course, a military technician. He is an agricultural technician, he is this, he is that, he is the other thing. But the fact remains that Cuba's agricultural economy remains stagnant and there has been very little done in that field. So much of this is really construction.

Then on January 15, we have a hint; Castro's newspaper, Granma, published a picture of members of Russia's State Committee on Atomic Energy. The headline, "Collaboration Between Cuba and the U.S.S.R. on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy."

Mr. SOURWINE. Were any of the members of that Soviet committee in Cuba? Was that the idea?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes; they were there, apparently—not all.

Mr. SOURWINE. The entire Soviet State Committee on Atomic Energy was in Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. BETHEL. They were headed by its First Vice President, a fellow identified by the name of Monojov—M-o-n-o-j-o-v, was the way it was spelled in the newspaper.

Also, interestingly enough, it had an Under Secretary for Foreign Relations of the State Committee on Atomic Energy. I think, speaking editorially, it would be naive of us to believe that the Russians are there for peaceful purposes.

Now, the problem seems to be this: the State Department is pushing, has been pushing for quite sometime, a treaty for the denuclearization among the nations of the Western Hemisphere. The name of the treaty, "Treaty for Denuclearization of Latin-America," hints that there is something to denuclearize.

Among the Latin American countries, certainly, Cuba is the only country that has a nuclear strike potential. It seems, therefore, a logical construction to believe that what the State Department is trying to do is to get a treaty denuclearizing the Western Hemisphere and thereby denuclearizing Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say Cuba has a nuclear strike potential? Do you mean that, or do you mean they have a potential for the development of nuclear power?

Mr. BETHEL. We think—I think—I think both things, really.

Mr. SOURWINE. A strike potential, if you will excuse me, would seem to connote the existence, in being, of nuclear warheads and the method of delivery. Do you think Cuba has that?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes; I do. We covered that in this morning's session. I think that in view—mind you, I said potential now. We know—

Mr. SOURWINE. You think there are atomic warheads in Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. There would be no other reason, it appears to me, to have missiles of the size and description that we had this morning unless, indeed, they were capable of doing that.

In fact, of course, they do. There are surface-to-surface missiles of a range from 8 to 20 miles, which have been acknowledged to be in Cuba by our Defense Department, which do definitely have a nuclear strike potential. They can use either conventional warheads or nuclear warheads. This is admitted and a matter of public knowledge.

Now, the United States, as you know, is preparing to negotiate a pact with the Russians to ban the worldwide spread of nuclear weapons. What they presumably hope is that within the context of this negotiation with Russia, Russia will accept the Latin American treaty.

Now, there is one stumbling block to this, of course. That is, that Cuba has consistently refused to sign any treaty which would prevent Cuba from using nuclear weapons, or nuclear energy.

So the way I would construct it is the Russians are using Cuban sovereignty, and I put "sovereignty" in quotes, to be the "reluctant dragon" in these negotiations. Apparently, in view of the background of stated Soviet designs on Latin America, I think that expectations that Russia would respect such a treaty would be downright foolish because the treaty itself calls for on-site inspection.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I don't mean to shut the witness off, but I ask the Chair to consider whether this committee should take testimony on the subject of a treaty. We have no jurisdiction over it.

Senator DODD. I think we ought not to get into that. It is not completely within our jurisdiction.

Mr. BETHEL. All right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any further information about the physical facts of atomic capacity or research in Cuba?

Mr. BETHEL. Well, yes. We know, or I know, for example, that the central laboratory of Cuba, which is funded by the Soviets, has been working for years in searching for fissionable materials within Cuba. They have a Czech professor identified as Kolinskey, who has been in charge of this for some time.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is all, sir?

Mr. BETHEL. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have just one more question. In all of the people you have interviewed with regard to missiles, have you talked to anybody who claimed to have seen any of the supporting equipment, apparatus, part of the complex for missiles, being moved out of Cuba at any time?

Mr. BETHEL. No, sir; I have not. Not out of Cuba; no.

Mr. SOURWINE. You told us, I believe, this morning, about missiles being in one place and then being in another place, turning up on-site, and turning up to be shipped, and they were allegedly pulled out, but nobody saw them in transit. Now, did anybody ever see any of the supporting complex shipped out, that you know of?

Mr. BETHEL. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman, of this witness.

Senator DODD. Thank you very much, Mr. Bethel.

Mr. SOURWINE. I should like to offer, if Mr. Bethel has no objection, for the appendix of the record, an article which we have discovered here which Mr. Bethel, in his modesty, did not tell us about, written by him and appearing in the National Review of February 1967.

I think it is pertinent to his testimony.

Senator DODD. It may be in the appendix.

(The article referred to will be found in the appendix at p. 1161.)

Senator DODD. That is a vote. We will have to suspend.

Mr. SOURWINE. The chairman said he would suspend the hearing until his return. He meant, I am sure, to excuse this witness.

If you have some place to go, sir, you may be excused.

Mr. BETHEL. Thank you, sir.

(Whereupon, there was a short recess.)

(The testimony of three other witnesses who appeared subsequent to the recess—Antoni Apud, Emilio Nunez-Portundo, and Bernado Benes—is printed in part 17 of this series on "Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean.")

## APPENDIX I

[Article in Castro's Bohemia magazine, Nov. 9, 1962]

Talks held between Acting Secretary General U Thant and Fidel Castro and President Dorticos, which took place on October 30 and 31.

Headlines introducing article:

"We Want Peaceful Solutions With Dignity"—Fidel—"Today More Than Ever I am Proud to be a son of The Cuban People." (article opens): "The Negotiations and Discussions in Turn of Each of Our Five Points is What Will Bring About the Immediate Disappearance of the Risks of War."

Introduction to article: "The Appearance of Dr. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, and First Secretary of the ORI, before the cameras and microphones of National Television to explain to the people of Cuba the talks carried out with the Secretary of the UN, U Thant, and the prevailing condition of the crisis caused by the naval blockade imposed by the United States."

The piece lists as panelists of a sort of "Meet the Press" format Carlos Franqui, director of *Revolucion*; Raul Valdes Vivo, *Hoy*; Gregorio Ortega, Director of the National Institute of Radio Broadcasting. Moderator is Luis Gomez Wanguemert, director of *El Mundo*. Wanguemert commences program, saying that all radio-TV stations in the country are linked to transmit Castro's explanation of talks held with U Thant.

Wanguemert: "What can you tell us, Major Castro, about the visit to Havana of U Thant?"

### THE PRIME MINISTER INFORMS THE PEOPLE

Dr. Castro: "Well, the talks with U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, were carried on for two days, and it appeared to me that the best way of informing the people about these questions was to make copies, transcripts, of those talks.

"Therefore, we must remember the following: that, on the first day, we carried on talks which were general in nature where the position of our country was made plain; and then, on the second day, he wished to make a series of suggestions of a confidential nature (or, raise a number of matters of a confidential nature).

"Then what I said, and what I asked him, was if it would be awkward (inconvenient) that the shorthand draft of the talks on the first day, where all the line of the Cuban Revolutionary Government is fully expressed, about the reasons for his efforts for Cuba (on behalf of Cuba), if it would be inconvenient (he means embarrassing or awkward to U Thant) that this record be made a matter of public knowledge.

"He agreed (that it would be all right) and we also promised him that the points, the answers and questions of a confidential type which he wished to qualify as such, not for us, but for him, that we would not disclose them to the public for the time being. Nevertheless, we have here all the aspects of what was discussed.

"Now then, I am going to read the shorthand version of the talks carried on in the Presidential Palace on October 30, 1962, at 3:10 pm. I am going to read the names of the persons who took part in the talks."

### GENERAL ROKHYE WAS INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INTERVIEW

(Castro then reads transcript.)

"U Thant: There is one point I want to bring up. In the discussion that I had in New York, with the representatives of the Soviet Union as with the representatives of the United States, General Rokhye was always present, and in my opinion his presence would be useful in this meeting with the Prime Minister."



Dr. Castro: 'It is all right with us.' (General Rokhye is called to participate in the interview.)

"U Thant: 'First of all, Mister Minister, I want to express to you and to your government my appreciation for the invitation that has been extended to me to come to Cuba, not only because of this mission, but also for the invitation that had been made to me previously.'

"As I told you on accepting this invitation, I have come as quickly as possible. I am certain that today and tomorrow we will have very fruitful talks in order to find a solution respecting the sovereignty and independence of Cuba."

"Dr. Castro: 'We are ready to talk as long as may be necessary; we have ample time to attend to this.'"

"U Thant: 'As is well known, the Cuban problem was raised at the Security Council last week, as meetings were being held by the 45 neutralist countries, principally those that had attended the Bandung and Belgrade Conferences. They (the 45 neutral nations) held two meetings, and they sent representatives to confer with me, since I also belong to a neutralist country and participated in the two conferences, to ask me to take the initiative, the initiative that could contribute to a peaceful solution to this problem. On October 24, I decided to take this initiative.'

#### "CALL TO THE THREE POWERS

"After hearing the declarations of the three delegations to the Security Council, I decided that the immediate problem was to make a call on the three powers. And I made this call to Prime Minister Khrushchev to suspend the arms shipments to Cuba, voluntarily for two or three weeks; to President Kennedy to voluntarily suspend the quarantine; and then I appealed to you, your Excellency to voluntarily suspend the construction of missile bases, to give us the opportunity to discuss the problem calmly.

"Immediately after my request, the Security Council suspended its meetings to give me the opportunity to carry out my proposals.

"The following day, I learned that the Soviet ships were nearing the quarantine zone. I sent a second appeal to Prime Minister Khrushchev and to President Kennedy, asking them to avoid a direct confrontation so that I might have the few days necessary to permit me to deal with this matter. Also that day I sent you a letter, which you answered very courteously, asking me to visit Cuba. The subject of that letter was the suspension of construction of missile bases in Cuba.

"Since then there have been communications between Prime Minister Khrushchev and President Kennedy, between Prime Minister Khrushchev and me, between President Kennedy and me, and, naturally, your Excellency's answer to my letter of October 27. The contents of this letter is public knowledge, since it has already been published.

#### THE TWO PARTS TO THE PROBLEM

"As I see the problem, your Excellency, it has two parts: one immediate, and the other long term. Just now, the Security Council wants to deal with the solution of the immediate problem.

"The basis of my negotiations with the three powers to which I have referred is entirely limited to the immediate problem, naturally; but in the solution of the long-range problem, the United Nations will have to see itself involved in some form.

"The immediate problem has several facets. The first of them is that Prime Minister Khrushchev has replied to my request, sending instructions to the captains of the Soviet ships so that they would keep their distance for the time being, from the quarantine zone.

"President Kennedy answered that he was prepared to avoid a direct confrontation with the Soviet ships if they were not transporting armaments, and Prime Minister Khrushchev has told me in very explicit terms that, at this time, the Soviet ships are not transporting armaments. If the two powers are in agreement, for two or three weeks no arms will be sent to Cuba, and for two or three weeks the United States, if no arms are transported, will suspend the quarantine.

"What the United States wishes to assure itself is that the Soviet ships will not transport arms. What the United States wants is some machinery, some

arrangement, by the United Nations that could assure them that during this period of two or three weeks no arms will enter Cuba.

"The Soviet Government is not in agreement with this proposition.

"NEW SOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

"Yesterday, the Soviet Government proposed a new solution, and it is that the Soviet ships would permit an inspection by the Red Cross, a verification on the part of the Red Cross, of the fact that they are not carrying arms. This reply was communicated to the United States last night.

"The Red Cross, with which we established contact by telephone yesterday, in Geneva, has answered that it agrees—in the name of world peace and international cooperation—to take charge of this task, whether it be on the high seas or in the ports of debarcation, always provided that the Government of Cuba is in agreement with that proposal.

"My attitude cannot be that of taking sides. I have no competence to associate myself with any of the proposals. I have only told the Red Cross, the Soviet Union and the United States, that with due respect to the sovereignty of Cuba, I would ask this of the Red Cross, it being understood that all of this is subject to the consent of the Government of Cuba.

"This was told to the three parties and they were told it would be transmitted to the Cuban Government.

"The first point, therefore, your Excellency, that would aid greatly in my work, would be to know the attitude of the Cuban Government to the idea that the Red Cross verify the transport of arms on Soviet ships during the next two or three weeks?

"The question is, what attitude will Cuba take on this proposition?"

"President Dorticos: 'You refer to the high seas or to Cuba?'

"U Thant: 'Of course, I have to put this proposition to the Red Cross with the knowledge of the Soviet and United States Governments. The Soviet Government's reply is that this is a matter which pertains to Cuban sovereignty. I have not had an answer from the North American government on this matter.'

"Does your Excellency wish to discuss this pint-by-point, or all together?"

"Dr. Castro: 'I prefer that you continue to outline your proposals.'

"U Thant: 'The United States has told me, and they have said so many times during the negotiations and during the Security Council meetings, that the thing that worries them are the launching sites more than the armaments. Their principal concern is with the missile launching platforms.'

"As is well known, last Sunday Prime Minister Khrushchev gave instructions to the Soviet technicians so that they will dismantle the missile launching platforms and return the missiles to the Soviet Union. He also has said that he would ask the United Nations to send a team so they could verify whether this has actually been done.

"NECESSITY FOR THE PREVIOUS CONSENT OF THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT

"I answered the Soviet representative that before sending a team to verify this, the most important point was to obtain the necessary consent in advance from the Cuban Government, and that actions that would infringe on Cuban sovereignty could not be taken. I also told the Soviet representatives, as well as the Government of the United States, that I would come to Cuba to present his point of view to Prime Minister Castro and his colleagues. Of course, both the Soviet Government and the United States are in agreement that if the launching platforms are withdrawn, tensions are going to diminish.

"What the United States is looking for, through me, is a temporary agreement before the end of the dismantling of the launching platforms.

"With regard to the time that this will take, I have asked the Soviet representatives, and they undertook to ask Moscow, but so far this morning they have not received a reply.

"What the United States is looking for is a temporary, civil, agreement with the United Nations, subject, of course, to the authorization and consent of the Cuban Government.

"No one knows, naturally, how much time this will take: one or two weeks, perhaps more.

"The first proposal of the United States is, therefore, that if the Cuban Government will accept, that a team of representatives of the United Nations, com-

posed of persons whose personalities are acceptable to the Cuban Government be formed. The second proposal (of the U.S.) would be a reconnaissance airplane of the United Nations, manned by persons acceptable to the Cuban, Russian, and American Governments. The suggestion has been made (apparently by the U.S. Government) that a plane manned by a Cuban, Russian, and a North American representative on board would serve for the one or two weeks that this (dismantling) would take.

"I answered the United States that this proposal is another (is only one more proposal) which has not been presented to Prime Minister Fidel Castro.

"The United States has told me that when this system has been put into effect, it would make a public declaration, in the Security Council if that be necessary, that it would not continue any aggressive actions against the Cuban Government and would guarantee the territorial integrity of that nation (Cuba). They have asked me to make this statement.

"The most important thing, as I have told the United States and everyone else, is that these agreements cannot be made without the consent of the Cuban Government. They have answered me that if this agreement can be reached, with the concurrence of the Cuban Government and the United Nations, they not only will make these declarations (to guarantee the territorial integrity of Cuba) in the Security Council, but will also lift the blockade.

"Yesterday, I told the United States that while I was consulting with Prime Minister Fidel Castro and the leaders of Cuba, it would look very bad for them to maintain the blockade, and I asked that it be suspended. This morning the announcement was made that the blockade would be suspended for 48 hours, while my visit to the Republic of Cuba lasted.

"As you know, Your Excellency, I said in the Security Council that this blockade has been an extremely unusual thing, a very unusual act, except in times of war. That is what I told the Security Council. This point of view is shared by the 45 countries which met, and who directed me to make this inquiry. Two countries of these 45, the United Arab Republic AND Ghana made declarations to this effect at a meeting of the Security Council.

"Some of the other countries among the 45, especially those that participated in the Belgrade Conference, will make similar statements if they just have the chance.

"Your Excellency, the Security Council has not authorized me to treat on any long-range problems, even when this is something that will have to be considered in the Security Council later.

"For the purposes of this first conversation, that is all I have to say, your Excellency."

#### "WHAT RIGHT HAVE THEY TO ASK FOR AN INSPECTION?"

"Dr. Castro: 'What right has the United States to ask this? I mean, does this rest on some legal basis, is it a demand of force, or is it a position (justified) by force?'"

"U Thant: 'This is exactly my point of view: It has no legal basis (meaning, literally, that it is not right). A thing such as this could only be done with the approval and acceptance of the Cuban Government.'"

"Dr. Castro: 'We do not understand why this should be asked of us, because we have not violated any law, we have not carried out, absolutely, any aggression against anybody; all our acts have been based on International Law, we have done absolutely nothing outside the norms of International Law. Instead, we have been the victims, in the first place of a blockade which is an illegal act; in the second, the presumption of another country that it shall determine what we have or don't have the right to do inside our own boundaries.'"

"We believe Cuba to be a sovereign state, no more or no less than any other member of the United Nations, and with all those attributes that are inherent to such states.

"Furthermore, the United States has been repeatedly violating our air space without any right, committing an intolerable act of aggression against our country. They have presumed to justify this through the agreement of the Organization of American States, but this agreement is not valid for us. We were expelled, no less, from the OAS.

"We can accept anything that is based on law that does not imply any infringement on us as a sovereign state. The laws violated by the United States, on the

other hand, have not be redressed, and we cannot accept any imposition based on force.

“THE UNITED STATES MEANS TO HUMILLIATE CUBA

“As I understand it, this business of an inspection is just another attempt to humiliate our country. Therefore, we cannot accept it.

“This demand for inspection is intended to fortify their pretensions in violating our right to act within our own frontiers with complete liberty to decide what we will or will not do within our own frontiers. And this point of view is not just a point of view put forward now, but a point of view we have always and invariably maintained.

“In reply to the Joint Resolution of the Government of the United States (joint Congressional resolution), we said, textually: (then he quotes:) “The threat to launch a direct armed attacks is absurd, if Cuba should fortify itself militarily up to some point which the United States takes the liberty of determining. We haven't the slightest intention of making explanations nor of consulting the Senate or the House of the United States about the arms we consider appropriate to acquire, and the measures to take to defend our country, however we like. We have not been judged by (the U.S. Congress) nor do we have any thought of having any prerogative of sovereignty judged in favor of the Congress of the United States.”

“This point of view was ratified in the United Nations by the President of the Republic of Cuba, and, forthermore, in numerous public pronouncements made by me, in my capacity as Prime Minister of the Government. And this is the firm position, the state policy, of the Cuban Government.

“All these steps taken to assure the security of the country, in response to systematic policies of hostility and aggression, have all been taken in accord with the principles of law, and we have not renounced our decision to defend these rights.

“WE CAN NEGOTIATE WITH ALL SINCERITY AND HONOR

“We can negotiate with all sincerity and with all honor. We would not be honored by the people if we agreed to negotiate a sovereign right of our country. We are prepared to pay any price that may be necessary, and that is not a mere phrase, but a belief deeply held in our people.”

“U Thant: ‘I understand perfectly well the views of Your Excellency. That is the reason I clearly told the United Nations and the others (quoting himself): “Any action of the United Nations in the territory of Cuba can only be undertaken with the consent of the Government of Cuba.” I told them that in the name of peace, that all the world and all the people of the world so ardently desire, I told the 45 countries that I would agree to come to Cuba without any obligation with one side or the other.

“Some press reports said last night and this morning, before I left on my trip, that I was coming to arrange for the presence of the United Nations in Cuba. That is totally in error, for it would constitute an infringement on the sovereignty of the Republic of Cuba.

“THE ONLY OBJECT IS TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION

“I have come here solely to present the points of view of the other side, and to explore the possibilities of finding a peaceful solution. Also, the 45 countries who asked me to come here well know what is legal and what is not. But in the name of world peace, and only for a period of one or two weeks, perhaps three, they have asked me to try to find a possible solution.

“Your excellency, my conscience is clear on this: The United Nations can only undertake action of this type when it has the consent of the government with which it treats. This is not the first time that this has happened. In Laos, when a situation arose there which threatened world peace, the United Nations established its presence in that territory only after obtaining the consent of the Government of Laos. In 1956, in Egypt, in the United Arab Republic, there arose such a situation, and the United Nations established its presence in Egypt—and it is still there—with the consent of the Government of the UAR. In the same manner, in 1958, in Lebanon there arose another situation which menaced

world peace, and the United Nations only entered there once it had obtained the consent of the Government of Lebanon.

"This condition is absolutely necessary, and that is that in order to undertake action of this type, one must have the consent of the government of the state with which it treats."

"Dr. Castro: 'In the case of the Congo, also . . . .'"

"U Thant—'and in the case of Somalia.'"

"Dr. Castro: 'In the case of the Congo, I understood that they asked the United Nations . . . .'"

"U Thant: 'In the Congo the request was made by the Government of the Congo.'"

"Dr. Castro: 'In the Congo, the government that asked (for UN intervention) is now buried.'"

#### "A GRAND CONCEPT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNO

"In the first place, our government has not the slightest doubt of your great, good, intentions and the disinterest and the honesty with which the Secretary General of the United Nations is working; we have no doubt of your intentions, of your good faith, of your extraordinary interest in finding a solution to the problem; we have a very high regard of your mission and your persons. This I tell you in all sincerity.

"I understand the interest which we all must have for peace, but the route to peace is not the route of sacrificing the rights of peoples, of the violation of the rights of the peoples, because this is precisely the route that leads to war. The route to peace is the route of guarantees of the rights of the peoples and the readiness of all people to resist in defense of these rights.

"In all the cases mentioned by the Secretary General—Laos, Egypt, Lebanon, the Congo—in all these cases one does not see a series of aggressions against the rights of the peoples. Everything has arisen from the same source.

"The road to World War II was the road which brought the annexation of Austria, the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, actions tolerated from German imperialism, that led to that war. And we are very alert to these dangers, we know these roads the aggressors would like to tread. We can visualize the road that they wish to take, that the United States wishes to take with regard to us.

"That is the reason it is really difficult to understand how we can speak of immediate solutions, independently of future solutions, when what is of most interest now wish not to pay just any old price for peace, but to guarantee peace in a definitive sense, so as to not pay every day the price of a transitory peace.

#### "WE ARE FIRMLY DETERMINED TO DEFEND OUR RIGHTS

"Therefore, Cuba is not Austria, nor is it the southeast of Czechoslovakia, nor is it the Congo. We are firmly determined to defend our rights in spite of all difficulties and all risks. And it is necessary that the Senor Secretary of the United Nations be acquainted with this determination of ours so that he can have success in his mission, or at least so that he can work perfectly informed of prevailing conditions."

"U Thant: 'I understand perfectly the sentiments and the points of view that your Excellency has expressed.'"

"Regarding the matter of immediate solutions, and long-range solutions, I want to say that the Security Council has authorized me to look for the means to guarantee peace in this zone.

#### "IMMEDIATE AND LONG RANGE SOLUTIONS ARE CONNECTED TO EACH OTHER

"I understand that the immediate solutions and the long-range solutions are intimately connected with each other: and for those long-range solutions we must explore the possibilities in the light of the situation such as we now find it. But this much the Security Council has authorized me to do. However, in practice it is very difficult to separate both things. I believe that if we find an immediate solution for this, it will lead us to a permanent solution, not only for the United Nations, but for all interested parties.

"On citing Laos and the other cases where the United Nations has established its presence, I am in agreement with you. I must also tell you that the

United Nations in these places has managed to make aggression more distant, thus avoiding aggression from the outside.

"Please consider this: The presence of the United Nations in Cuba for just two or three weeks, can also make more distant, or even eliminate the dangers of aggression.

"It appears to me that currently, as well as in the future, the presence of the United Nations in some countries will especially serve to hold off and forestall aggression."

"President Dorticos: 'I want to say something here. I want to express my agreement with the statement of our Prime Minister with regard to our complete understanding of the high mission which, with grand nobility, the Senor Secretary General is carrying out. This mission has no other purpose, it is quite clear, than that of guaranteeing peace in this critical situation.

"THE DANGER OF WAR ARISES FROM AGGRESSION FROM THE UNITED STATES

"It appears there is one question yet to be defined. Where lies the danger of war? Hardly in the arms of one kind and another that Cuba possesses; or is it in the plans for aggression that the United States is preparing against Cuba?"

"We believe that aggression is the thing that can generate war. The arms that now exist in Cuba, whatever they might be, would never start aggression. Therefore, let us ask ourselves the following question: Why the inspection and the admission that the inspection is a necessary condition to guarantee peace. It would be sufficient to guarantee peace if the United States would agree, with all the necessary guarantees of the United Nations, not to injure Cuba.

"That is the reason we have said—and our Prime Minister had reiterated here in the most absolute clarity—that the questions of long-term solutions, if that is what they can be called, are so intimately bound up with the immediate solution of the crisis. The immediate solution of the crisis will arrive immediately once the United States offers guarantees against aggression against Cuba, immediate minimum assurances that are contained in the declarations that our Prime Minister made on October 28, and with which I am sure the Senor Secretary General is familiar.

"The presence in Cuba of the United Nations to carry on inspection—which the Revolutionary Government will not permit for the reasons the Prime Minister has explained—would only provide at most a guarantee for two or three weeks of peace, and he (Castro) has justifiably labeled transitory. Immediately afterward, the danger of war would be renewed because the conditions that favor North American aggression against Cuba would remain unchanged.

"The guarantees that we ask are the minimum necessary from the United States, and with them we could begin to solve the problem immediately. I would say, finally, that there are not, in order to obtain peace now, questions of short-term, or long-term. We believe that the five points contained in the statements of our Prime Minister are the ingredients that form part of the immediate discussions directed at keeping the peace.

"We understand that these five points are not to be put off until long-range discussions are held, but that the circumstances demand that they form part of the immediate agenda, because in our judgment they represent the minimum conditions to guarantee peace.

"I repeat: there is no risk of peace (meaning war) from our arms. Peace is endangered from the aggressive conduct of the United States. And the discussion and negotiations in turn of these five points is what will bring an end, immediately, to the dangers of war. That is our understanding."

"U Thant: 'In the first place, I want to thank your Excellencies, Senor President and Senor Prime Minister, for the statements you have made about me and about the post which I occupy. I am totally in agreement with both of you that the discussions leading to a solution of the problem ought also to include discussions for a long-term agreement. But, insofar as the United Nations is concerned (U Thant appears to disassociate himself from the UN consensus) I believe that the best solution—on this point I believe the 110 nations agree—is that through the Security Council of the United Nations we ought to provide persons from the United Nations to come look, and to seek, the long-range solution. If a long-range solution is found (meaning that proposed by the

Cubans) I believe it will be in the best interests of the whole world and of world peace, but this, I believe, would be difficult to obtain at this moment.'

"Dr. Castro: 'I understand that if this short-term solution that Senor Secretary is talking about is not reached, then it will simply be because the United States does not want it, and will continue doggedly to demand inspection, as an act of humiliation directed against Cuba. Because, in directing themselves to the objective of unilateral security, they should have been satisfied with the decision of the Soviet Government to withdraw its strategic missiles that it had brought for the defense of the Republic of Cuba.

**"IN ORDER TO IMPOSE CONDITIONS THEY WOULD HAVE TO DESTROY AND OVERTHROW US**

"The Cuban Government has not placed any obstacles in the way of the withdrawal of these arms. And the decision of the Soviet Government carries with it, implicitly, a decision of a public type, and the mere fact of having adopted this decision before the world at large, has had repercussions in world opinion (meaning, apparently, favorable public response). The United States knows that this decision was genuinely made by the Soviet Union and that, in fact, the strategic arms are being withdrawn. If what the United States wants to do is to humiliate our country, it will not succeed.

"We have not vacillated a single moment in the decision to defend our rights. We cannot accept the imposition that can only be made upon a conquered country. We have not backed away from our decision to defend ourselves, and to such an extent that conditions can never be imposed on us, then they would have to destroy us and overthrow us; and in that case, they would find no one left on whom to impose humiliating conditions.'

"U Thant: 'Regarding the subject of the declaration of the United States, the United States has said it would make a public statement of its intentions of non-aggression, and of respect for the territorial integrity of Cuba, once the missiles have been dismantled and withdrawn.

"To my way of thinking, then, there is no disagreement. I am completely in agreement with the Senor Prime Minister that the proposed action of the United Nations involve the invasion of the rights of a member state, and in this case, speaking specifically of Cuba, if it were not disposed to accept the United Nations actions, then my duty, what I must do, is report this to those who made the proposal.

"Nor is it my intention to carry out any imposition (on Cuba). My duty is only to explain the possibility of finding the means, the manner or form, in trying to find a peaceful solution, without making concrete proposals. I have well in my mind what we have discussed here this afternoon, and I know that I will go back to present my report to the parties who are interested in this.

"I consider that this meeting has been of great value, and if the Senor Prime Minister and the Senor President agree, perhaps we can meet tomorrow before I leave. Meanwhile, I will think over the statements made by you.'

**"WE HAVE MORE CONFIDENCE IN OUR OWN DECISION THAN IN THE WORDS OF THE UNITED STATES**

"Dr. Castro: 'To finish up (to summarize) we want to reply to the question of inspection by the Red Cross. We are equally opposed to this inspection of our ports, and I ask that if the Soviet Union has authorized inspection of its ships on the high seas, why then should it be necessary to come back and inspect our ports?

"In the second place, I now see how the Secretary General is centering his efforts on getting the United States to make a public declaration before the United Nations, that it will not invade Cuba.

"Speaking of this, I want to say, in the first place that the United States has no right to invade Cuba and that we cannot negotiate with a promise not to commit a crime. Faced with the threat of this danger, we are more confident of our own decision to defend ourselves than in the words of the United States.

"But, in addition, if the United Nations places a high value on a public commitment made before it by the United States, as would be the case with the promise not to invade us, why does it not place an equal value on the public com-

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mitments made before the United Nations by the Soviet Union to withdraw the strategic arms that it sent for the defense of Cuba, which would be two commitments equally public, and that if the one of these does not need any additional guarantee, why does the commitment of the Soviet Union to retire its strategic arms require the additional guarantee of inspecting us?

"U Thant: 'Thank you very much, your Excellency.'"

The above ends the transcript of the first meeting. Castro then made several comments, among them: "We have no renounced the right of possessing the types of arms that we may find desirable, and we have not renounced this right." He says: "We are absolutely in the right. Above all, as it is clear from the explanation given us by the Secretary General of the United Nations, nothing less is intended than to humiliate us."



## APPENDIX II

[From National Review, Feb. 1967, p. 130]

### CAN CASTRO START A NEW VIETNAM?

(By Paul D. Bethel)

HE'S TRYING TO. AND HE MAY PULL IT OFF IF THE STATE DEPARTMENT DOESN'T WAKE UP TO WHAT'S GOING ON. THE TIME TO STOP IT, SAYS MR. BETHEL, IS NOW

Bureaucracy often has about it a frozen character that renders it unresponsive to change and incapable of meeting new challenges. Nowhere is this more evident than in the State Department's attitude toward Cuba and the rest of Latin America. When a Washington reporter asks about U.S. policy in this area, he is given a speech delivered back in April 1964 by then Under Secretary of State George W. Ball, a speech dusted off and issued in pamphlet form. Ball's discourse, done up in a bright red, 22-page package, *U.S. Policy Toward Cuba*, does not of course deal with developments in Cuba and the balance of Latin America over the past two-and-one-half years, nor has any attempt been made to update it. Yet, it stands as the definitive word on U.S. policy.

The existence of a Soviet base in Cuba is not, in the judgment of the State Department, a military threat to the United States. More surprising still, the State Department insists that Cuba is not a direct military threat to the other countries of Latin America. As the Ball pamphlet states: "Cuba does not possess air- and sea-lift sufficient to permit it to take offensive action against its neighbors." In almost ho-hum fashion, the paper adds: "In any event, we maintain overwhelming military forces in the area to prevent Cuba from attacking other American Republics."

Other passages in the pamphlet reveal the philosophy behind U.S. policy toward Cuba and Latin America. Admitting that Cuba does present a problem of subversion, the pamphlet reads: "Vulnerability is greatest where social injustice is widely prevalent, where anachronistic societies remain dominated by small elites—tight little oligarchies that control the bulk of the productive wealth." The enemy, to the State Department, it would seem, is not a predatory Cuba, but Latin American governments which fail to provide for their own people.

The social worker mentality now directing our policies in Latin America is further revealed by other passages in the State Department document: "In the long run, Latin America will be rendered immune to Communist infection only by an amelioration of conditions—political, economic, and social, in which subversion flourishes . . . until such a transformation is accomplished, Latin America will remain a fertile seedbed for Communist subversion."

The shocking truth is that U.S. policy is based on a proposition that is not believed by sophisticated Marxists anywhere in the world—namely that poor economic conditions are a precondition to Communist advances. One would have thought that this idea had been laid to rest when, on July 26th, 1966, no less an authority than Fidel Castro, in recalling Cuba's excellent economic conditions at the time he came to power, said: "Well, if this concept [poor economic conditions] had been applied to this nation, a revolution never would have taken place. Never!"

### TRICONTINENTAL SUBVERSION

However that may be, there is not much question that Russian-Cuban subversion is proceeding at a jet-propelled pace. The Tricontinental Conference, held in Havana last January under Russian sponsorship, brought together some 600 Communist delegates and observers from 82 countries in Asia, Africa, and

Latin America. When the delegates decamped after two solid weeks of propaganda and planning, they left in their wake an efficient organization to expand Vietnam-type wars into a global war of subversion.

Of the several organizations to come out of the Tricontinental Conference, the most vigorous is the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO). This is not surprising, since Fidel Castro and his Russian masters have been at the business of subverting the Latin America for years. Thus, when the Communist delegates convened in Havana last January, Cuba was able to show them a well-developed apparatus of subversion, backed by 43 guerrilla training camps, already active and successful. That apparatus has since been refined and fashioned into a deadly instrument by which terrorism and subversion have advanced in this hemisphere at a terrifying rate.

One of the latest additions to LASO is the Latin American Continental Students Organization (OCLAE). To date the Cubans have been able to corral student groups in seven Latin America countries—the Federation of University Centers in Venezuela, the Dominican Students Federation, the General Association of Students of Guadalupe, the Panamanian Students Federation, the Pro-Independence Student Federation of Puerto Rico, the University Students Federation of Uruguay, and the National University Federation of Colombia. All receive money, arms, and direction through LASO in Havana. Cuba also trains student militants at its Revolutionary Education School in San Francisco de Paula, near Havana.

The role of the OCLAE was outlined in Havana last July. There, Cuban Minister of Education José Llanusa told his Communist charges that Latin American students would be in the vanguard of the revolution, adding that they would "smash the showrooms of Latin America and put revolutionary governments in power." Success in Latin America must assuredly will be followed by similar student uprising in Asia and Africa, and even in the United States.

Today LASO, and its student arm, OCLAE, is so effective as to constitute the most potent weapon in the Communist arsenal. It has rocked governments from Buenos Aires to Bogotá through blackmail, agitation and assault. The Dominican Students Federation demonstrated its power by forcing the expulsion of 150 professors, taking control of the faculty, and turning the University of Santo Domingo into an armed Communist camp. Relatively quiet since Joaquin Balaguer swamped Juan Bosch in the elections for President last June 1, the Dominican Republic is again threatened by civil war. President Balaguer said on December 6 that Communist propaganda is pouring into the country, "some from Russia and other countries behind the Iron Curtain." He added that "Communists and extreme leftists have been visiting the 'constitutionalists' [those who headed the revolt in April 1965], asking them to take over their old posts in the city" for a renewal of urban violence to force Balaguer out of office. The tense situation is further exacerbated by broadcasts from Havana urging the Communists and "constitutionalists" again to join forces and "defeat the servants of imperialism."

In Colombia, urban terrorism and guerrilla assaults in the rural areas have forced President Carlos Lleras Restrepo to make three impassioned addresses to the nation since taking office in August. Pointing out that terrorism is "planned precisely to cause trouble and maintain an atmosphere of uneasiness throughout the country," President Lleras revealed that "the stepping up of guerrilla warfare is called for openly through the microphones of Castroite radio stations." Referring to Cuba and indirectly addressing himself to Washington, he said: "It is a fact that a foreign country is intervening in Colombia's internal affairs, touching off guerrilla wars." He added: "Agitators are promoting student strikes—professional agitators—turning those strikes into pretexts and tools of violence . . . they attempt to pass off kidnappings, the stoning of shops, the burning of cars, as mere innocent acts of students which they claim cannot be classified as crimes." They *are* crimes, in the opinion of the President of Colombia, and he sketched their dimensions: "During the first two days of the Antioquia University strike, the damage amounted to 500,000 pesos."

Last October, President Lleras and John D. Rockefeller were set upon by trained student agitators as they entered the University of Bogotá to inaugurate the Veterinary Science Laboratory. (Much of the funds which made the construction of the laboratory possible came from the Rockefeller Foundation.) Other acts of violence involving student militants caused Colombia's President

to cry out to the nation: "Are we to permit rebellion to be openly advocated; are we to permit troops to be killed in ambush?" He spoke of Communist assaults against interior towns and villages in these terms: "I visited a military hospital where fourteen dead and wounded peasants, serving their compulsory military service, were taken, following ambush. They were even younger than university students who, by reason of attending the university, are exempt from military service."

President Lleras reminded his listeners that the Communist terrorists can destroy faster than a free society can build. He said: "The country wants order, work, and progress, the constructive implementation of the national transformation programs . . . we need foreign investments . . . but it is precisely because of this that extremists, directed from abroad, are bent on destruction." Cuban-exported terrorism has caused a precipitate flight of capital from Colombia, forcing the government to apply restrictions against the transfer of money out of the country.

In the very midst of President Lleras's denunciations of Cuban subversion, U.S. Ambassador to Colombia Reynold E. Carlson permitted himself a political observation which is quite in keeping with stated U.S. policy regarding Cuba. An interview published in the newspaper *El Espectador* quoted him as saying that present relations between Cuba and the United States "are now based on the interchange of weather reports on hurricanes." He added, however, that "those relations can improve. It is a matter of patience." The newspaper *El Siglo* quoted Ambassador Carlson on Cuba as follows: "To consider Cuba as 'a danger to democracy' is now 'slightly archaic.' The position of the two countries is now changing little by little."

Guatemala has raised warning flags over that guerrilla-infested country. When liberal Cesar Méndez Montenegro was installed as President last July, he immediately declared an amnesty for Guatemalan guerrillas. By November, however, he was forced to declare martial law for a thirty-day period and obliged to extend it another thirty days when the guerrillas struck at mountain villages and in Guatemala City in mounting waves of terrorism. The climate of "unrest and uneasiness" which the Colombian President says the guerrillas are trying to create in *his* country has already been achieved in Guatemala, according to Guatemala's Vice President. Vice President Clemente Marroquín wrote in his newspaper, *La Hora*, on November 2: "It looks as though Guatemala will be the next American nation to fall to Marxism. At the rate things are going," he continued, "everything points to this eventuality. . . . Day after day the Communists advance on two fronts: victorious armed attacks by the guerrillas, and greatly increased harangues by agitators. But over and above these two alarming facts there is even a more serious situation, and that is the panic which is taking hold of the people."

Vice President Marroquín wrote his article of warning as 21 clashes erupted between the police and army units and guerrilla bands. Student militants were involved in all but three. In the innocent guise of students, Communist youths have been particularly successful in gaining entrance to government offices and public buildings. A four-man group seized control of the *Nuevo Mundo* radio station in Guatemala City long enough to broadcast messages on behalf of the Castroite Armed Rebel Force (FAR), headed by guerrilla chieftain Cesar Montes. Marroquín wrote of such activities: "The guerrillas can act night or day without the slightest fear of persecution. . . . The fall of Guatemala could take place in a few hours or even minutes. Once the capital is in a state of panic, everything will inevitably deteriorate into a government composed of 'students, peasants, and laborers.' . . . We have the guerrillas under the same roof, in our own house, at the same table, and it is only necessary for them to say, Now! and chaos will ensue."

Another Central American country, Costa Rica, is clearly alarmed at the increasing threat to Latin America posed by a Russian-propelled Cuba, and is disposed to do something about it. Calling the Russian-sponsored Tricontinental Conference in Havana "an act of war against the democratic institutions, the traditions, and the security and liberty of our peoples," on November 1, the Costa Rican legislature unanimously passed a resolution which reads, in part: "*One*: To denounce the so-called First Tricontinental Conference as an act of war; *Two*: To express our total solidarity with the Cuban people in their revolutionary struggle against the Communist dictatorship and recognize their right, within the island and in exile to fight freely for the restoration of their

self-determination and their democracy; *Three*: To communicate this resolution to the Honorable President of the Republic for the official action which in his opinion is needed to carry out points One and Two; *Four*: To call upon the legislatures of the Free World, and especially those in Latin America, to pass resolutions similar to this and to adopt means which will preserve and develop the democratic systems of government."

According to reliable sources in Costa Rica, the U.S. Embassy tried to stop the resolution from being passed. Having failed, those same sources state, the Embassy now is bringing pressures to bear against President José Joaquín Trejos to discourage him from responding to the resolution—by, for example, providing military bases from which Cuban exiles could operate against Castro. Should Trejos resist U.S. pressures, these informants say, U.S. aid to that country would be drastically reduced.

Venezuela, one of the countries that has been attempting to modernize its military forces, has been under almost constant guerrilla assault from Cuba for a period of more than five years. Venezuelan guerrilla leaders Elias Manuit Camero, Alirio Chirinos, Alberto Pérez, and Gaspar Rojo, manage to travel to Havana and sneak back into Venezuela undetected with the ease of commuters. On November 5, Camero broadcast over Radio Havana what amounted to a declaration of guerrilla war against his own country. Three army patrols were ambushed in one night by guerrilla forces, and reports from the countryside told of momentary guerrilla control of eight interior towns and villages. One group of thirty guerrillas, dressed in the khaki uniforms and the green-and-red berets of the Castro-directed Armed Forces of National Liberation, seized the town of Sabana Grande, robbed its stores of food and clothing and made off safely. At Campo Alegre, guerrillas forced the owner of a large ranch to flee for his life to a nearby city. His flight followed a skirmish between army units and large guerrilla forces in which the latter, led by Cuban officers, bested the Venezuelan regulars. In a low-key announcement, Army headquarters in Caracas revealed that heavy fighting was in progress in many of the states. Army planes and helicopters were thrown into a major anti-guerrilla campaign in mountainous Lara State. Similar campaigns are being carried out in varying degrees of intensity, at enormous expense to the government, in the states of Falcón, Mérida, Trujillo, Portuguesa, Monagas, Anzoatetgui, and Barinas. The tactics now being used by the government—use of helicopters, bombing and strafing—are almost direct copies of those employed by the United States in Vietnam. This is so because the structure and tactics of the Latin American guerrilla forces trained in Cuba are copied from the Vietcong and indeed taught by Vietcong instructors who staff many of Cuba's guerrilla training camps.

Favorite targets of the Venezuelan guerrillas are pipelines through which Venezuelan oil flows to market, and American-owned factories and stores which contribute to Venezuela's high living standard. At the end of November, urban terrorists in Caracas turned that capital city into a shambles. Six attacks were launched within a period of 24 hours, leaving destruction in their wake. A Sears Roebuck store was hit by fire bombs that destroyed most of its merchandise, and burned through its three stories. A United States Commerce Department trade fair was machine-gunned, and a U.S.-owned supermarket suffered two attacks by terrorists within a week's time. An elementary school for American children was also machine-gunned by terrorists.

Venezuelan President Raúl Leoni and his ruling Democratic Action Party are under fire because of the worsening situation. The President and his cabinet ministers have consistently sought to play down the seriousness of Venezuela's internal disorders, it is thought, so as not to add to the already considerable flight of foreign capital out of Venezuela into Swiss and other foreign banks. However, Defense Minister General Ramon Florencio Gómez was candid enough to blame the fresh outbreak on an amnesty recently extended to 31 guerrilla gangsters by President Leoni. The amazing strength shown by urban and rural guerrilla bands has raised doubts about the civilian government's ability to deal with the Communists, and rumors of a military coup are making the rounds in Caracas.

#### ARSENAL UNCOVERED

On December 13, Leoni was forced to declare a state of martial law. He made his decision as the result of the assassination of Army Major Francisco Astudillo Suárez and the wounding of General Roberto Morean Soto by Communist terrorists on the streets of Caracas. Believing that the Cuban-supported OCLAE

was behind the assassination attempts, President Leoni sent troops into the University of Caracas where, on December 14, they uncovered an arsenal of weapons, including nineteen light machine guns, vast amounts of hand grenades, and an unspecified amount of small arms and ammunition. As a result of Cuban-exported terrorism, the administration of President Leoni has called on the Organization of American States to do something about the "subversive machinery installed in Cuba, well-financed by outside powers," and demanded "a sincere and honest examination of the policy followed by the OAS in the Cuban case. . . ." Venezuelan Interior Minister Reinaldo Leandro Mora was more specific. He said: "We have specific evidence that the acts of subversion spring directly from the Tricontinental Solidarity Conference held the beginning of this year in Havana."

#### LATIN REACTION

Impatience among Latin American countries with our State Department has risen to unusual heights over the past year. They are unhappy over statements which purport to see nothing of consequences in the Havana-based Tricontinental organization other than those expressed in such phrases as, "It has had the positive results of awakening Latin America to the dangers of internal subversion." As one Latin American diplomat coldly observed: "We have been alert to the danger far beyond the State Department's willingness to cope with it."

What particularly alarms Latin American governments is the conscious and conspicuous Russian leadership in the subversion of the hemisphere assumed at the Tricontinental Conference. They are disturbed that the United States did not then challenge open Soviet military intrusion in Latin America.

Latin American apprehensions have found little echo in the United States press, and the American public has been left largely uninformed of the meaning of the Tricontinental organization in Havana and of the devastation it has been wreaking in Latin America over the past year. The liberal press in this country finds in the Havana Conference little of significance beyond the confident (and unrealized) predictions that it will merely widen the Sino-Soviet split in the quest for Communist leadership in Latin America. The fact is, however, that Red China and Russia are seated cheek-by-jowl on the Conference's central strategy and policy committee in Havana—the Committee of Assistance and Aid for Peoples Fighting for their Liberation.

Newspaper editorials in Latin America express a widespread belief that the United States is playing fast and loose with the security of Latin America in exchange for an ephemeral accommodation with Russia. There is considerably more to this belief than mere conjecture. The State Department has kept mum on the subject of Russian intervention, even in the face of the OAS study which bluntly states that "the action of Russo-Chinese Communism at Havana shows the imminence of one of the most serious dangers for the hemisphere." The Russian ambassador to Havana, Alexander Alekseyev, impudently asserted that the Russians would continue to support liberation movements. Soviet Russia, he said, believes in the "firm solidarity of all the revolutionary liberation forces of the world. . . ." In broadcasts in the Quechua dialect (the native tongue of millions of Indians in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador), Radio Moscow continues to call for uprisings. Latin Americans are fully aware of the facts of the Russian intrusion into the hemisphere. For, in another Quechua Indian broadcast that preceded the Havana Tricontinental Conference, Radio Moscow boasted that 10,000 "students" from Asia, Africa, and Latin America were attending classes in revolutionary tactics at Moscow's Lumumba University. The broadcast said that the number of Latin Americans at Lumumba University is being greatly increased, since "the dawn of freedom in Latin America is now in its initial stages." Radio Moscow also said of those students that "they will fight alongside the peasants and humble people to ensure that their countries have genuine freedom."

#### U.S. PRESS DELINQUENT

Blasts recently issued in the United Nations by Ambassadors José Sette Camara of Brazil, Victor Andres Belaunde of Peru, and Evaristo Sourdís of Colombia, against Russia and members of the Soviet bloc for their aggressions in the Western Hemisphere, received little attention in the American press. Nor was there the open and vigorous support from the United States which these denunciations obviously merit. A bill of particulars submitted by Sourdís, and

by Ambassador Hector Escobar Serrano of El Salvador, blistered Russian-Cuban subversion, named names, and called on the UN to do something about it. But their warnings also went largely unnoticed.

The frozen attitude of the Department of State, and the failure of the American press adequately to report on the alarming situation in Latin America, was dramatically brought to light recently. In November, Panama's Dr. Eduardo Ritter, unanimously elected chairman of the Council of the Organization of American States, inaugurated his one-year tenure with a speech in which he criticized the U.S. press and U.S. policymakers in unusually blunt language. He said that not only is the OAS the target of "the constant aggression of its enemies," but "of strong and dangerous aggression of silence by those who should be its best allies." Dr. Ritter continued: "The objectives of American action should be the cessation of the purges and forced labor in Cuba, the gagging and persecution, the abuse and insult." He blistered the U.S. press, saying that the activities of Latin American countries in seeking collective action against Russian-Cuban subversion "barely achieve an occasional line among the inconsequential news items."

Official Washington must share considerable blame for Dr. Ritter's charges against the American press. The State Department has done nothing to arouse press interest in the deteriorating situation in Latin America brought about by Russian-Cuban subversion. For example, when Dr. Ritter finished his blunt address, the U.S. Ambassador to the OAS, Sol Linowitz, rose and delivered his own maiden speech. Its most notable passages contained an echo of Senator Robert Kennedy's outburst against the sale of arms to Latin America. In what must rank as the most colossal irrelevancy in the history of the OAS, Linowitz complained about "unnecessary" military expenditures. The State Department, it would seem, is still riveted to its social worker course. That is why, it may be surmised, the State Department has remained silent on the subject of massive subversion of our neighbors while at the same time furiously denouncing the non-pedatory governments of South Africa and Rhodesia for their racial policies.

The lines have been clearly drawn. Either we must take measures adequate to the task of eradicating the Soviet base in the Caribbean, or we must face another Vietnam in the towering Andes and the jungle heartland of Latin America, one that will make the present conflict in Asia seem insignificant by comparison. In an interview published in the January 5 issue of Castro's *Granma* newspaper, Nguyen Van Duc, head of the Vietcong mission in Havana, addressed the burgeoning "wars of national liberation" in these terms: "Within a short period of time, there will not be just one Vietnam, but many Vietnams, and the Yankees will not be able to handle so many attacks at the same time." The Ecuador newspaper, *El Universo*, scored the Cuban policy of the Johnson Administration as the consequence of an unworkable détente with Russia, saying: "While the Russians continue to seek agreements with the United States, they are not disposed to pay the price for these agreements."

It was left to Colombia's Ambassador to the UN to put the issue squarely. On December 8, Ambassador Sourdis told the UN: "If we do not arrive right now at a means to put a stop to undercutting our sovereignty and self-determination, in the near future the world will be faced with a devastating conflagration." Some indication of what Ambassador Sourdis is talking about is evident right now in Havana, where a preparatory committee of the Latin American Solidarity Organization is in session, preparing an agenda for the meeting of LASO in July. One purpose of the preparatory meeting, as outlined in Castro's newspaper, *Granma*, is to prepare for "common action against the ideological, political, and economic penetration of imperialism in Latin America"—a Communist program of systematic destruction. The other purpose is "to receive all information from delegates, make plans on the basis of the needs of each country, and make recommendations to the Central Committee"—in short, to study the successes and failures of last year's enormously eventful guerrilla campaigns and make adjustments which will make them even more potent in the future. Thus, when July 1967 arrives, hundreds of Communist delegates from Latin America will again make their way to Havana, under the very nose of the U.S., there to plot the next phase of the Vietnam wars in this hemisphere.

On September 13, 1962, the late President Kennedy stated: "If Cuba should ever attempt to export its aggressive purposes by force or the threat of force against any nation in this hemisphere, or become an offensive military base of significant capacity for the Soviet Union, then this country will do whatever

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must be done to protect its own security and that of its allies." There can be little question that that time has come. A new Communist International, headed by Russia and Red China, has been spawned right off the coast of Florida, and it is waging war against the United States. The global implications of this simple fact are enormous, and require considerably more than the words, only now being uttered by U.S. representatives to the United Nations, to deal with the threat. And why the United States backed the move in the OAS which placed the issue of Cuban subversion before the United Nations where, in any showdown in the Security Council it would be subject to the Russian veto, awaits a satisfactory explanation. The evidence suggests that the matter is much too serious to be resolved by our diplomats in Foggy Bottom. It should be placed in the hands of our very best military planners.

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