

Washington, D. C.,
August 13, 1958.

The Honorable John Foster Dulles,
Secretary of State,
U. S. Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

The "CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY CIVILIAN FRONT," which represents all the political, civic, and revolutionary organizations of our country, agreed, at a meeting held on the 14th day of this month, to address a petition to you, which we do now in their name. The said petition is in regard to the American Missions (Army, Navy, and Air Force) now offering tactical and technical assistance in the Republic of Cuba.

In order to formulate our petition properly, it is our duty to apprise you of the following facts and preceding events:

1- On August 28, 1951, agreements were signed between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Cuba, which provided for the services of American Military Missions (Army and Navy) to Cuba, thus complementing the Agreement of December 22, 1950, providing for an Air Force Mission, the purpose of the said Missions being to "act, as required by the Chief of Staff of the Army of the Republic of Cuba, as tactical and technical advisers to the Cuban Army."

2- Article 5 of the above-mentioned Agreement states that "this Agreement is subject to cancellation upon the initiative of either the Government of the United States of America or the Government of the Republic of Cuba at any time during a period when either Government is involved in domestic or foreign hostilities."

3- The Government of the Republic of Cuba is notoriously involved in domestic hostilities with the people, who are fighting to restore the Rule of Law and the democratic normality of the country, both of which were broken by a military pronouncement on March 10, 1952. The said pronouncement brought into being a de facto regime which has not been legalized "a posteriori" by the consent of the people freely expressed. The revolutionary forces of Cuba, now struggling against the illegal and dictatorial government, are fully represented by the "REVOLUTIONARY CIVILIAN FRONT."

4- The existence of the said state of civil war, let loose by the armed dictatorship of the present Cuban regime against the Cuban people, has been recognized by the United States of America, as evidenced by the following facts:

FIRST: The statement issued formally by the U. S. Department of State to the effect that the sending of arms to the Government of the Republic of Cuba had been suspended as of March 12, 1958, including those intended for hemispheric defense - according to the terms of the treaty signed on March 7, 1952 - as well as those ordered by the Government of Cuba. This notice of the State Department was ratified in July of 1958.

This just decision on the part of the Department of State was motivated by the definite fact, often denounced, that the said arms were being employed by the Cuban Government for ends other than those agreed to in the Mutual Defense Agreement or, in other words, because it had been proven that the Government of Cuba was employing the

arms against Cubans themselves.

SECOND: The sending of American Marines to Cuban territory by order of the Chief at the Guantanamo Naval Base (Oriente) and at the request of the present Cuban Government, to guard and protect the water supply at Yateras, from where the base gets its fresh water supply, since the present Government of Cuba was unable to protect the aqueduct due to the war operations in that region. When the Government of Cuba made that most objectionable of requests for help from the armed forces of a foreign nation, it recognized, likewise, its impotence to control the situation created in the country as a direct consequence of the civil war originated by the Government of Cuba itself.

On the other hand, the acceptance of such an invitation implies the recognition, on the part of the United States Government, that such hostilities exist. To maintain any other argument would force us to accept what we must repudiate, namely, that the Government of the United States of America has effected, without any reason whatsoever to justify it, an open violation of our national sovereignty.

THIRD: The direct dealings between the U. S. State Department with the Liberation Forces led by Dr. Fidel Castro, now operating in Oriente Province, to solve the incidents involving some Marines and citizens of the U.S.A., which took place last June.

5- The maintenance of the said Missions (Army, Navy, and Air Force) in contraposition to what is stated in Article 5 of the said Agreements, would constitute, in the judgement of the REVOLUTIONARY CIVILIAN FRONT, the violation of an international pact and a clear intervention, by the Government of the U. S. A., in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cuba, as well as an attempt to favor the one side which is precisely responsible for the existing civil war.

Therefore, Mr. Secretary of State, the CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY CIVILIAN FRONT submits to you the following petition:

FIRST: That the provisions of Article 5 of the Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Cuba, dealing with the services of American Military Missions (Army and Navy) to the Republic of Cuba, dated August 8, 1951, and the corresponding Agreement covering an Air Force Mission, dated December 22, 1950, be complied with exactly as reading at present with their respective extensions.


SECOND: That the said Agreements be cancelled and all the personnel of the said American Missions (Army, Navy, and Air Force) be withdrawn from the Republic of Cuba because the Agreement is subject to cancellation, without necessity of compliance with the provision stipulated in Article 4 of the said Agreements.

Respectfully yours,

CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY CIVILIAN FRONT

Jose Miro Cardona,
Secretary General.

M. A. de Varona, President,
Public Relations Commission.



Manuel Antonio de Quesada

1001 S. W. 22nd Street,
Miami, Florida,
August 29, 1958.

Chairman,
The NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I wish to bring to your attention a very important matter that affects not only Cuban-American relations but US-Latin relations as well. The regrettable Nixon attacks in South America proved that not even big nations can take their neighbors for granted.

I enclose a copy of a letter that we, the officers of the CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY CIVILIAN FRONT, have just sent to the Secretary of State. As you can see, we ask for the recall of the three American Military Missions (Army, Navy, and Air Force) from Cuba. We base our request on the fact that Batista's government is Fascist, illegal, and involved in a civil war with its own citizens. Batista's forces are being trained by the Americans to the detriment of a defenseless population.

We can no longer stand idly by while our sons, relatives, and friends are slaughtered by the American-trained Cuban armed forces. Batista will eventually fall, as was the case with Perez Jimenez in Venezuela. Then the People of Cuba will remember that their enemies were trained, helped, and encouraged by a foreign nation apparently having little love for defenseless men, women, and children. International sins are costly to both large and small nations because they poison men's minds.

The U. S. has the full cooperation of Batista now. But even from the point of view of good future Cuban-American relations, it does not seem practical to maintain those Missions in Cuba at this time. The United States stands to lose a great deal later.

The UPI dispatch of July 7th, informing that Cuba is to receive one or more naval units, is not a decision in accord with the highest standards of international good will.

Hoping that you will look into these matters to avoid misunderstanding, hate, and bloodshed later on, I remain,

Respectfully yours,

Manuel Antonio de Quesada
Former Prime Minister and
President of the Cuban Senate

P.S. A significant editorial enclosed.

File 611.37/12128

MOVIMIENTO REVOLUCIONARIO 26 DE JULIO • ORGANIZACION AMIGOS • DERECHOS REVOLUCIONARIO
UNIDAD OBRERA • FEDERACION ESTUDIANTE UNIVERSITARIA
PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO CUBANO (A) • PARTIDO DEL PUEBLO CUBANO (ORTOGONOS) • PARTIDO DEMOCRATICO
AGRUPACION MONTECRISTI • FUERZAS ARMADAS DE LA REVOLUCION • MOVIMIENTO DE RESISTENCIA CIVIL

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Miami, Florida,
August 26, 1958.

My dear Mr. President:

The representatives of the political parties, the revolutionary groups, the United Labor Organization, and the Federation of University Students, all of which make up the CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY CIVILIAN FRONT, have agreed to send you this message to express our solidarity and congratulations for the concepts of democratic reaffirmation which you uttered upon the inauguration of the new free government of Colombia and the presentation of credentials by the new Ambassador from Venezuela.

Your words, Mr. President, were precisely what our Continent expected from the leader of a nation that crushed, in Europe, the threatening power of some doctrines which, since they denied freedom, ignored and destroyed one by one all of man's fundamental liberties. All the peoples of America proved, during the Second World War, that they would never submit to any form of slavery.

However, we still have in our continent strong vestiges of those totalitarian conceptions in the form of military dictatorships, which differ from Nazism and Fascism only in that the former had at least a doctrinal content, mistaken and anti-human, whereas American dictators act only because of their uncontrollable love for gold and power.

Our own country, Cuba, now suffers the prevalence of one of those tyrants, the most cruel and ferocious our America has known. Coming to power by a military coup in 1952, he remains in power only because of the backing of the armed forces turned into a political army; and he jails, tortures, kills, or exiles all who demand the right to be free and to live in their own fatherland without fear. That is, Mr. President, the dramatic case of our unfortunate Cuba, which is today experiencing many external and internal difficulties to achieve its own liberation, as was the case with Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina, and other sister republics.

Those difficulties which are of a domestic nature are being overcome by the spirit of heroism and sacrifice of all Cubans of good will, among whom the love for democracy and freedom runs very deep. But our people must, likewise, face other difficulties attributed to outside factors. For example, the twenty-one American republics have obligated themselves, in international pacts, to respect the dignity of the individual; to guarantee human rights, which are considered essential for hemispheric solidarity, and also to respect the sovereignty of each State.

The dictatorial regime under which Cuba suffers has systematically failed to carry out the obligations set forth in the Charter of the Organization of American States, which are the foundation on which rests the association of nations in that inter-American entity. And yet the OAS has not taken one single step to demand strict compliance with the said duties of States. Such a conduct contributes to the strength of the existing dictatorships and stimulates the establishment of others on American soil.

Finally, Mr. President, allow me to refer to another difficulty which concerns more directly the United States of America. On August 28, 1951, an Agreement was signed between the Governments of the United States and Cuba, by virtue of which three American Missions were sent to our country: Army, Navy, and Air Force. Article 5 of the said

Agreement stipulates that the said Missions would be withdrawn at any time, and the Agreement cancelled, whenever one of the two countries became involved in domestic or foreign hostilities.

It is well known, and both your Government and the Cuban Government have so recognized it, that our country has been involved in a bloody civil war for almost two years. Nevertheless, the corresponding Departments maintain those Missions in Cuba, which produces deep resentment, since their maintenance, in contraposition to the spirit and the letter of the Agreement, is proof of the moral and material backing offered by the Government of the United States of America to the dictatorial regime in Cuba. The North American Missions (Army, Navy and Air Force) are under the direct orders of the Chief of Staff of the Cuban Army, by the terms of the Agreement, and it is obvious that they train and support the armed forces of the dictatorship to kill Cubans, as well as to fight against those who struggle to liberate the ~~the~~ fatherland.

An order from you, Sir, based on Article 5 of the said Agreement, would straightway correct that situation. Such an order, furthermore, would implement the beautiful democratic concepts proclaimed by you recently.

This petition is being made not only by the REVOLUTIONARY CIVILIAN FRONT but also by all the People of Cuba, who detest tyranny and believe in democracy; and it is being sanctioned by all who love freedom above all material blessings.

To maintain the said Missions in Cuba is, moreover, a form of intervention in our internal affairs, not to mention that fact that they favor the forces of evil now oppressing our nation. It is they which have let loose the terrible civil war which is destroying our economic resources and our spiritual values. We know that this tragic process will end with the victory of the people over tyranny; but we are cognizant of the fact that, without the feeling of complacency on the part of other democratic governments, the struggle would be shorter and smaller the sacrifices in lives and brotherly human blood.

Mr. President, call for the withdrawal of the Military Missions, and your words to the new democratic President of Colombia and the Ambassador of a free Venezuela will acquire new meaning, for they will then become deeds, as contrasted with mere words devoid of any force, effect, or significance.

Respectfully yours,

JOSE MIRO CARDONA, Secretary General
CUBAN FREEDOM FRONT

1001 S. W. 22nd St.,
Miami, Florida,
September 6, 1958.

Chairman,
National Security Council,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

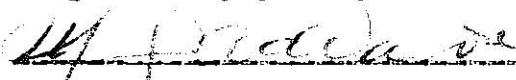
Dear Sir:

For your information, I enclose a copy of the letter which the new Cuban Freedom Front has just sent to the President.

As you will note, we ask for the withdrawal of the American Military Missions because they are training and supporting the armed forces of that Fascist dictatorship to kill Cubans, as well as to fight against those who are endeavoring to free the fatherland.

Only grave consequences can follow if the U. S. Departments of State and Defense persist in intervening in our internal affairs.

Respectfully yours,


MANUEL ANTONIO DE VARONA
Former Prime Minister and
President of the Cuban Senate

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EDITORIAL

THE U.S.A. AND THE CUBAN POLITICAL

SITUATION

The presence and activities of the U. S. Military Mission in Cuba, in view of the political situation facing that Latin American country, have created an atmosphere which is not very favorable to the democratic prestige of the Washington Government regarding its Inter American relations.

Without expressing any concepts that may be qualified as political passion, it is proper to affirm, as a matter of fact, that the United States is not getting any advantage with the existence and functioning of that mission, which is, on the other hand, harmful, because both the people of Cuba and those in the other Latin American countries believe that this mission favors the political interests of the dictatorial regime of General Batista.

Truly, it is possible that this benefit is only of psychological character, because perhaps in practice the training and technical advice of that Mission of the Washington Government are not a deciding factor in favor of the Cuban Army, in its struggle with the rebel forces in Oriente Province and other points of the Island. The truth is that the Cuban Government knows how to exploit politically the presence of that Mission, in the sense of creating the appearance, with or without reason, of some support from the United States. And this is, under any circumstances, harmful to the democratic prestige of the Government and the people of the United States.

Without the need of adopting spectacular attitudes —if Washington does not want to assume a position of that nature —the Government of the United States could very well declare a temporary or final cancellation of the Agreement which made possible the U. S. Military Mission, according to the letter and spirit of that Agreement, invoking one of two clauses for such cancellation.

One of those clauses, the Fourth, in Paragraph B, referring to the possible termination of the Agreement, says: "By the recall of the entire personnel of the Mission by the Government of the United States of America in the public interest of the United States of America or at the request of the Government of the Republic of Cuba, without necessity of compliance with provision (a) of this Article.

To invoke this clause, basing it on the fact that it would be to the public interest for the United States to cancel the Agreement, citing that it is harmful, due to the attitude of the present Cuban government, would bring about, without doubt, a more or less controversial situation between the Washington and Havana regimes, since the former would have to demonstrate what was harmful, for reasons of moral policies, to the maintenance of this mission.

Nevertheless, there is another clause of the Agreement, the 5th, in which the present case of Cuba is limitedly covered, and although it does not say that it is necessary to cancel the Agreement for reasons of internal policies, it logically suggests it. The Fifth Article says: "This Agreement is subject to cancellation upon the initiative of either the Government of the United States of America or the Government of the Republic of Cuba at any time during a period when either Government is involved in domestic or foreign hostilities".

The intention of the Agreement, then, is absolutely clear, in the sense of keeping the Military Mission that is stipulated in the negotiation completely apart from any revolutionary movement. And now, who can doubt that there is an abnormal political situation in Cuba, which is manifestly violent in the field of armed struggle between the Army and the people? The government itself has not denied it, although it condemns and discredits the revolutionary movement.

For all of these reasons, the Cuban and Latin American people have been surprised, to say the least, by the fact that the Washington Government has not... the Military Mission in... weighing... tances and the easy ma... in the Ag... marked wisdom, ... unity to d

**THIS SHOCKING
Expose
OF JOHN FOSTER DULLES
IS THIS DIRECT REPRINT FROM
THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD**

1958

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - APPENDIX

A 4343

REPRINTED FROM A TALK GIVEN BEFORE THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON MONDAY, MAY 12, 1958, AND AS IT APPEARS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF THAT DATE.

REPRINTED FROM A TALK GIVEN BEFORE THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON MONDAY, MAY 12, 1958, AND AS IT APPEARS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF THAT DATE.

BATISTA BACKED BY COMMUNISTS

My name is Jack A. Ossorio. My home address is 2028 Southwest 57th Court, Miami, Fla. I was born at Manzanillo, Province of Oriente, Cuba, of American and Cuban parents. I acquired American citizenship by birth abroad of an American parent (my father). I am registered at the American Embassy, Habana, Cuba.

I came to the United States in 1937 to go to school. I attended Miami Senior High School, the University of Miami, and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Boston, where I received my master's degree. I served 3½ years in the United States Air Corps during the war and was honorably discharged.

I have worked for several Miami radio stations, the General Electric Co., International General Electric Co., the North Dakota Research Foundation, and smaller companies. In 1954 the United States Department of State sent me to Honduras for a year.

I am a specialist in inter-American affairs, a bilingual journalist, and a professor of English for foreigners. I am interested in Latin American affairs because I was born in that region, where my father is a Presbyterian missionary (in Cuba). I appear voluntarily before this committee because I have, for a long time, carried on

a one-man fight against despotism in the Americas, believing that dictatorships are anachronistic and undesirable in our hemisphere. My main concern this time will be with the present regime in Cuba. I hope to convince you that aid to any dictatorship, and especially Batista's, gives us a black eye internationally.

Gen. Fulgencio Batista, of Cuba, is like a chameleon: he changes color to suit his surroundings. In the year 1940 he allied himself with the Communists and was elected President of Cuba on the official Communist ticket, as the head of a coalition.

Exhibit 1 shows the hammer and sickle and the Communist Party's promise to divide the land among farmers. One of the slogans at this time was "Cuba Out of the Imperialistic War".

Exhibit 2 is a photo which shows Batista and Cuba's most famous Communists: Juan Marinello, far left, and the colored man in the back, Garcia Aguero.

Exhibit 3 shows Batista with the famous Communist leader Lombardo Toledano, and Lazaro Pena the former secretary general of the Cuban Workers' Federation.

Exhibit 4 shows Batista with the principal Cuban Communists.

Exhibit 5 shows a picture of Communist Marinello, running for mayor of Havana, and Batista run-

ning for President. This was taken from the Communist newspaper Hoy, which Batista always allowed to circulate freely.

Exhibit 6 is the statement made once by General Batista that the Communist Party exercised a democratic function in Cuba.

Exhibit 7 dated July 1, 1953, was taken from the newspaper Prensa Libre. The news item reports that the CTC (Cuban Workers' Federation) had just made a pact with the Communists. The secretary general of the Tobacco Federation makes the statement that the pact with the Communists strengthens the workers' movement.

Exhibit 8 is a copy of the official organ of the University Students' Federation, containing photographs of some of the dramatic events which have taken place in Cuba lately.

Exhibit 9 is a publication by Cuban doctors denouncing Batista as an assassin. Included is a photostatic copy from World Medical Convention, charging Batista with killing torturing, and molesting doctors and patients. On the last page is a photograph of the American military mission: American Colonels Isaacson, Keller, and Stewart, and Commandants Cameron and Blackwell, when Tabernilla, Jr., received an American decoration. Tabernilla is the Cuban offi-

cer who bombed the open city of Cienfuegos with American military aid.

Exhibit 10 is a report written by Carlos Hevia, a former President of Cuba and minister of state. This is a well-documented account of the intimate connections Batista has always had with Communists. On page 6 we read the following significant paragraphs:

"Since Batista staged his coup d'etat of March 10, 1952, the Communist newspaper Hoy has had free circulation in Cuba, and big trucks carrying the newspaper throughout the island. And he is, in an undercover way, helping the Communists to gain once more control of the labor movement of Cuba. At the same time, democratic radio commentators are silenced, broadcasting stations closed, newspaper commentators and writers jailed and brutally beaten.

"While Batista has forbidden public gatherings, yet the Communists have been permitted to have large meetings. All Communist leaders are in Cuba without the Government harassing them in the least; most of them recently returned from Russia, arriving freely by plane at the airport.

"Batista has been in conversations with the Communists so that the so-called anti-Communist law that he has claimed to be prepar-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

Batista Backed —

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

ing will finally be drafted in such a manner that it could be used against those who oppose him and favor democracy and not against the Communists.

"When Batista organized his present party, P. A. U., about 1949, the Communists helped him; and thousands of them, including some of the best organizers, joined the new party; and these same Communists and their bosses are again gaining control of important positions in the government and in the labor movement of Cuba."

Batista finally established an organization to repress Communists, but it is interesting to note that no Communist has ever been jailed and no restrictions have been placed on Communists. The organization has been used solely, however, to silence, jail, torture and kill democratic Cubans.

To the question, Is Batista a Communist? I would answer that he is both a Communist sympathizer and a Fascist. His Communist inclinations and indoctrination have been shown in his actions as director. For example, he has not persecuted any Communist, but has placed them in important posts; he accuses his enemies of being Communists, so that in essence he is allied to Communism, but poses to the contrary; he does not respect any fundamental freedom; he does not believe in freedom of the press; he discarded a democratic government and a

and well-organized spy system, which spends large sums of money to spy on both foreign and American nationals.

Certainly any aid given to Cuba, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, or Paraguay is a definite contribution to the forces of tyranny in the Americas. For the great American democracy to play the dangerous game of fooling around with Fascist despots is to open the door to Communism in the Americas, not to mention other similar evils.

As you consider aid under the Mutual Security Act of 1958, you should look into the mistaken, pro-totalitarian, criminal policy being followed by Secretary Dulles and Under Secretary for Latin American Affairs Roy Rubottom.

The Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement was signed between the United States and Cuba at Havana on March 7, 1952, and its original purpose was "to assist any American State subjected to an armed attack and to act together for the common defense and for the maintenance of the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere."

According to article I, paragraph 2, "the Government of Cuba undertakes to make effective use of assistance received from the Government of the United States of America pursuant to this agreement for the purpose of implementing defense plans, accepted by the 2 Governments, under which the 2 Governments will participate in missions important to the defense of the Western Hemisphere, and will not, without the prior agree-

the United States of America and Cuba, providing for the services of a United States Army mission to Cuba. Title I, article 1. declares that "the purpose of this mission is to cooperate with the chief of staff of the Army of the Republic of Cuba and the Cuban Army. Officers of the mission will act, as required by the chief of staff of the Army of the Republic of Cuba, as tactical and technical advisers to the Cuban Army."

The people of Cuba see in such a provision a perfect excuse for the United States Army to intervene in favor of Batista. Thus the United States is taking sides, in the civil war now raging in Cuba, against the people of Cuba, for Batista is opposed by over 90 percent of the Cuban people. The State Department knows that the American mission is training Cuban officers to fight the young people of Cuba, who are fighting the tyrant on unequal terms. At any rate, the mission is only beginning ill will for Americans.

Jules Dubois, writing in the Chicago Tribune, March 21, 1958, stated: "Cuban public opinion although throttled by the most severe censorship ever exercised by Batista, is outspoken against the United States. The people, from the leaders of the civic, religious, professional, and social institutions who demanded Batista resign, to the students, accuse the United States of pursuing a policy to support a dictator and lose the friendship of a nation.

"Smith (ambassador) is being

involved in domestic or foreign hostilities."

Since Cuba is involved in a civil war and since the men at the Department of State have ignored such a provision, it can only mean that they wish to keep Batista and his Gestapo-like henchmen in power. Is this what the Mutual Security Act contemplates?

The conclusion is obvious. While we continue to send arms to Batista and training his men, we are very careful to enforce our neutrality laws, thus depriving the people of Cuba of the help they desperately need to get rid of the monster. No wonder democrats everywhere feel that we are intervening in Cuba directly, in favor of Batista and against the best interests of 6 million long-suffering Cubans, for our tanks and jets have kept Batista in power during 6 long painful years.

We are asking for trouble. Is there not a possibility that, as a desperate reaction to so much injustice and oppression, some post-dictatorship government may accuse us, before the United Nations, of complicity in genocide or extermination of a national group as a planned move? Would that not be very embarrassing, after the rape of Hungary?

As long as despotic regimes continue to flourish in Latin America, there will be no peace, no security, no solidarity in our continent. Democratic governments, elected by the people in honest elections, must replace the present dictatorships, which exist only through force and fraud.

democratic government and a constitution; he assumed the powers of Congress: he has made a mockery of judiciary power; he has not respected Cuban womanhood; last and most important, he has stolen millions (he probably has \$200 million), exiled hundreds, tortured and killed thousands, mostly young men—the hope of Cuba.

Batista is, more than a Communist or a Fascist, a political adventurer. He would sell out to Moscow tomorrow, if he stood to gain by it. He is typical of the man who would sell his own mother to get what he wants.

Any assistance given to dictators hurts the people who suffer under them and hurts us also. Take the matter of espionage.

The city of Miami, Fla., is a hotbed of foreign espionage. There are any number of agents here paid by Batista, but without the knowledge of the Justice Department. Recently, when a briefcase was snatched from the Cuban consul, the names of spies were divulged. One of them is reported to have over \$100,000 in the bank and, if so, probably paid no income taxes on it.

What this amounts to is that a representative of a foreign government is really the head of a large

will not, without the prior agreement of the Government of the United States of America, devote such assistance to purposes other than those for which it was furnished."

Now, such assistance has been used, over and over again, against the defenseless people of Cuba, and not for hemispheric defense, with the tacit consent of the United States Department of State. The worst instance to date of these violations was the inhuman attack against the open city of Cienfuegos, where tanks and airplanes put down by force the uprising of September 5, 1957. These were arms supplied to Batista by the United States Government in conformity with the provisions of the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement for the defense of the Western Hemisphere. Did the government of Cuba obtain the prior agreement of our Government?

Certainly, the agreement has not been denounced. So, as many Cubans see it, if Russia raped Hungary, then the United States State and Defense Departments are raping Cuba. Even in India people are saying so. Is this the kind of aid the Mutual Security Act encompasses?

Another sore spot is the agreement between the Government of

branded as worse than his predecessor, Arthur Gardner. Yet when he first arrived he was a hero to the Cuban people and managed to erase the animosity that had been engendered by Gardner.

"Cubans, more than 90 per cent of whom are trying to oust Batista insist that the latter is being retained in office by the United States. When it is explained to them that the policy of our State Department is one of correctness and neutrality in this civil war, they reply: "Yes, we know. You Americans are very correct and very neutral on the side of Batista."

By paragraph b, article 4, of the Army mission agreement, the United States Government may recall the entire mission in the public interest of the United States of America. Since the State Department has not done so, the conclusion is that it considers it a wise policy not to recall the mission.

But article 5 really shows how criminally negligent the men in the State Department are. Article 5 clearly states that "this agreement is subject to cancellation upon the initiative of either the Government of the United States of America or the Government of the Republic of Cuba at any time during a period when either government is

force and fraud. All American dictators hide, behind a false front of material progress, blood, tears, poverty, and terror.

The whole world blames our Department of State for the prevalence and continuance of Fascist dictatorships in Cuba, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, and Paraguay. The argument advanced to explain our strange behavior is that we wish to protect our interests and most expedient way to do it is through caudillos or strong men. It is unfortunately true that our ambassadors too often have left the impression that we approve of and sympathize with unpopular regimes.

Our interests are best protected by representative governments, not by ambitious, ruthless dictators. The adulator, the servile ruler is not our best friend. On the contrary, when we help our neighbors to get rid of oppressors, we protect our interests and secure peace and happiness for our continent.

If I could get only one thing across to this august committee, it would be this: No aid should ever be given to any government which is not the result of popular consent, as expressed through entirely free elections. No aid should

ever contribute to the strength, permanency or encouragement of a despotic government.

We are the undisputed world leaders against totalitarianism, but we appear to have adopted a dual policy, namely, one for Communist nations and one for American despots. Democracy and freedom are inseparable, however.

Specially here in this hemisphere, where American conduct is watched closely by the whole world to test our real intentions, the wealth of Americans must not be spent on those who enslave our brothers. It is in our best interests to help those who think and act like we do. Latin Americans do not need guns. They need, however, technical aid, loans, and encouragement in their democratic aspirations.

To this effect, I would recommend, as a great contribution, the identical resolutions introduced in the Senate and the House by the distinguished legislators, Senator WAYNE MORSE, and Representative CHARLES O. PORTER, of Oregon. The resolutions make a specific reference to article 5 (d) of the O. A. S. charter, which states, in part, that "the solidarity of the American States and the high aims which are sought thru it require the political organization of those states on the basis of the effective exercise of representative democracy."

United States aid, given only to democratic governments, will make us a better people and will make this a better world in which to live, that government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

cause she dared to denounce Batista's regime of terror. Through a priest she knew, and the papal nuncio, she was able to obtain political asylum in a foreign embassy and leave Cuba. In an interview for the American Daily, a Spanish newspaper, she had this to say:

"Batista's police agents broke into my home. They were obsessed by the idea that I knew where arms were hidden. Other decent Cuban women have suffered before what I went through. That's why I told everything, in spite of the threats against my life if I spoke the truth about the terrible things that happened to me.

"I am 50 years old, and I have 2 daughters, 19 and 17, and a boy 15 years old. I am a teacher and a practicing Catholic. In the early morning of February 24, at exactly 5 o'clock a group of men, armed with submachine guns, entered my home and made me put on my clothes in their presence. They took me to the 12th district police station. They robbed me of \$25 in cash and an expensive gold watch.

"Taken before a captain by the name of Sosa, he hit me right in the face, throwing me to the floor. Nothing stopped them, not even my age or sex or the fact that I was a mother. What happened in that hell on earth for 3 long, horrible days still seems like a nightmare.

"I was savagely struck and whipped. They repeated every few minutes that they would kill me if I didn't tell them where the arms were. They pulled my hair and

the Government of Cuba, now ruled by gangster elements, you must keep in mind how that aid will be used against the people of Cuba and against their democratic aspirations.

On February 20 of this year a bulletin, issued by the Cuban Army, was published in all the newspapers which, like all its official dispatches, never reports the true facts on the people's struggle against the dictatorship. The said bulletin terms a good story my statements to the foreign press concerning the tortures I underwent, during 4 days, at the hands of Batista's repressive forces, and it calls rebellious propaganda the silence I kept for a year before releasing the facts.

All the people of Cuba know, and especially those in Habana, how I was unmercifully beaten by policemen under the dreadful Captain Ventura (now a commandant). After the attack, I was taken to the police station, where I remained, hurt and incommunicado, 4 days, while Batista's henchmen negotiated my release. The one condition they demanded, complete silence of the church, was the same one asked previously when his eminence, Cardinal Arteaga, was attacked by members of the police force.

On the fourth day I was delivered by high police officers, to members of the church, Msgr. Arcadio Marina and Raul Del Valle, both of whom, under police threats, promised to keep silent and to get me out of the country without letting anyone, and especially Cuban

Catholic young workers; several members beaten and imprisoned.

5. June, 1956. Assault on the Arroyo Arenas church and destruction of its doors.

6. Rev. Father Leon Lemus exiled from the country after his brother was assassinated.

7. November 30, 1956. The cathedral at Santiago de Cuba machine-gunned by the armed forces.

8. The archbishopric at Santiago searched and the archbishop insulted.

9. July, 1957. The temporary priest at the cathedral of our holy church, Santiago, insulted.

10. The Reverend Father Maximiliano Perez of Managua taken in custody several times, and his sister mistreated by police.

11. Rev. Father Manuel Martin, of Santa Isabel de las Lajas, detained during a mass (typical case of intrusion upon freedom of worship).

12. Constant attacks against the church and priests, including defamations, scandals and profanations from the pages of the government newspaper Time, in Cuba, owned by the Communist gangster, Rolando Masferrer, Batista's right-hand man.

13. Rene Fraga leader of Catholic Action and teacher, assassinated at Matanzas. The bishop marched at the front of the cortege until it was broken up by police bullets.

14. Mass at Vedado Parochial Church in suffrage for the soul of murdered student leader, halted.

people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from this earth.

Tortures under the ruthless, bloodthirsty dictatorship of Batista are commonplace. His Fascist, pro-Communist regime has not even respected Catholic priests, even though that is the religion professed by the majority of Cubans. Witness the torture of Rev. Father Ramon O'Farrill, now a Miami exile, who was hit with the butt of a rifle squarely on an ear and his hearing impaired.

Exhibit 11 is a clipping from the Chicago Daily Tribune, which tells of the shooting of a Catholic young man studying for the priesthood. His body was found riddled by 36 bullets (probably supplied by the Mutual Security Act). He was shot to death despite the plea from the Roman Catholic clergy, who tried to save his life. The papal nuncio and Cardinal Arteaga had been given assurances that his life would be saved, but the word of gangsters can never be trusted.

There is a new case of torture, however. In the United States right now is a 50-year-old school teacher who knows what despotism means. After her unbelievable torture, her life was threatened be-

were. They pulled my hair and ears. Modesty prevents me from repeating the dirty remarks and insults that were thrown at me by young men who could have been my sons.

"Only my faith in God, my deep belief in divine grace, and my Catholic faith permitted me to endure stoically the pain and the affront. A Colombian citizen was savagely tortured in my presence and his ear torn off by blows. The image of the Saviour on the cross supplied me with spiritual light to stand the torture.

"While they were beating me, they kept shouting: 'Talk, you Communist bitch.' When I resented the remark and told them that they could only accuse me of being a Catholic, they hit me again and shouted: 'All you Catholics are worse than Communists.'"

"To hide the facts is to allow the occurrence of further crimes. If God chose me to live and denounce this infamy. I hope it will not be in vain. The whole truth must be told that everyone may know how low Cuba has sunk under Batista: They stuck a steel pipe through my vagina, while shouting: "Talk, you old bitch, we are going to perforate you."

Certainly, as you consider aid to

ting anyone, and especially Cuban Catholics, know that a priest had been beaten up.

As a Catholic clergyman, I had to accept the discipline of my church. I was moved to an ecclesiastical residence in Canada, where I was held practically incommunicado for a year, under orders from the Batista police to the Catholic church. Later the bishop of Cienfuegos authorized my transfer to Miami, Fla.

I challenge publicly the chief of staff of the Cuban Army to deny the following aggressions committed against the Catholic church, which remain as proofs of our long calvary:

1. July 1953. Aggression to his eminence, Cardinal Arteaga, by policemen who tried to seize from him the proofs in his possession of crimes committed by the armed forces.

2. Catholic meeting at Guanajay stopped violently by the army with bullets. The leaders were insulted and taken to army headquarters.

3. The office of the Catholic youth and the university Catholic home raided repeatedly and everyone taken to police headquarters.

4. Attack on the premises of the

murdered student leader, halted.

15. 1957. Two young fathers from Victoria de las Tunas, accused of taking in some Cubans whose lives were in danger, exiled from the country.

16. Ramon Rodriguez, member of Catholic Youth, assassinated.

17. 1957. Church at Jaguey Grande emptied to stop a mass in suffrage for the souls of students killed. The faithful then kneeled at the park outside.

18. 1957. Church of San Francisco, Santiago, assaulted and robbed by gangsters under Masferrer (Batista's righthand man).

19. Reverend Father Jorge Bez Chabebe and Father Rivas of Catholic Action, detained.

20. March, 1958. Protest by the president of the diocesan council at Santiago of the disappearance of a member of the group Sacred Heart of Jesus.

As it can be seen, Batista's dictatorship, like all other American dictatorships, has engaged in aggressions and outrages against the Catholic church because she is the great defender of the human rights and the democratic principles to which all free peoples are entitled.

AID TO GANGSTER-TYPE GOVERNMENTS

(Also Reprinted From The Congressional Record)

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have received a letter from the attorney general of Delaware, the Honorable Joseph Donald Craven, enclosing the text of a speech he made recently in Habana on the subject, The Supremacy of the Law: An American Heritage. He points out in the letter that the speech was motivated by some very unhappy experiences he had in Cuba while attending a Western Hemisphere Conference of Public Legal Administrators in Cuba last November. Mr. Craven writes:

"While I was there, one of the thugs in the employ of Batista came into the Rosita Hotel where I was staying and, without provocation of any kind, proceeded to beat up one of the male guests. Also, I learned that seven opponents of the regime were found hanging in trees in Habana with their eyes gouged out. I also had an opportunity of conferring with representative citizens who were anxious to talk to someone from the States in an attempt to get their sorry plight over the American people. I am sure that at least 85 percent of the people of Cuba are opposed to Batista and all that he stands for. But they are helpless as long as our Government is responsible for depriving

the masses of the people of arms, while Batista with the graft that he is able to take, particularly from gangster-operated gambling establishments, is free to purchase all the arms and ammunition that he desires."

Mr. President, this letter is typical of many other letters I have received in recent weeks as chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations. The situation concerns me very much.

I have protested to officials of our State Department the shipment of arms to Cuba. The Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of Latin American Affairs, on the witness stand, admitted the shipment of arms, and also admitted that Batista would not be so strong if we had not shipped them.

Mr. President, the uprisings in South America undoubtedly are instigated by the Communists, but I think this Communist activity is but a symptom of the disease. I believe the disease is much more basic than Communist activities. We had better start treating the causes of Latin American unrest and anti-American feeling.

There being no objection, the letter and enclosure were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Hon. Wayne Morse,
Senate Building,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Morse: I have read with interest and approval your request for an investigation of the assistance which the Batista regime has been receiving from the United States. I hope that you will succeed in smoking out just exactly why we are continuing to aid the gangster-type government which is holding the people of Cuba in thrall.

I attended a western hemisphere conference of public legal administrators in Cuba last November. While I was there, one of the thugs in the employ of Batista came into the Rosita Hotel where I was staying and without provocation of any kind, proceeded to beat up one of the male guests. Also, I learned that seven opponents of the regime were found hanging in trees in Havana with their eyes gouged out. I also had an opportunity of conferring with representative citizens who were anxious to talk to someone from the States in an attempt to get their sorry plight over to the American people. I am sure that at least 85 percent of the people of Cuba are opposed to Batista and all that he stands for. But they are helpless as long as our Government is responsible for depriving the masses of the people

of arms, while Batista with the graft that he is able to take, particularly from gangster-operated gambling establishments, is free to purchase all the arms and ammunition that he desires.

Cuba occupies a unique position in its relations with the United States and I think it is time that we disregard the fiction of legality which surrounds the present Cuban regime and show some concern for the people who are deprived of all constitutional guarantees under the Batista regime.

We once fought a war to free Cuba from Spanish tyranny. Why should we be indifferent to the persecution which the Cuban people are undergoing at the present time; and in particular, why should we assist these persecutions by supplying Batista with weapons, and denying them to his opponents.

I did not intend to make a speech in Cuba, but I was so upset by conditions as I found them that I felt constrained to do so. I enclose copy.

We cannot continue to tolerate, much less support, the Batista regime and I wish you every success in your attempt to have our Government take a more realistic attitude toward conditions in Cuba.

Yours very sincerely,
Joseph Donald Craven,
Attorney General.

The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. on May 29th, 1958, referred to some of our foreign relations as "This kind of International Hypocrisy should be abhorrent to Christians and in its presence the church cannot keep silent."

John Foster Dulles and President Eisenhower are members of the Presbyterian Church. To date neither one has publicly disputed the statements of their church.

America is great because we have always fought for Freedom and Democracy and we must continue to stand before the world as the foremost supporters of Freedom and Democracy. We cannot support a Dictator in Cuba, or as a matter of fact a Dictator anywhere who is locked in a life and death struggle with 95 percent of the people and still hold up our heads before the world.

**IT'S YOUR DUTY AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN AND A
CHRISTIAN TO ASK YOUR REPRESENTATIVES AND
SENATORS ABOUT THIS.
*PLEASE WRITE THEM TODAY!***

82-
September 12, 1953

Dear Sir:

Your letters of August 29 and September 6, 1953, addressed to the Chairman, National Security Council, have been referred to the Department of State as a matter falling within its responsibilities for the conduct of the foreign relations of the United States.

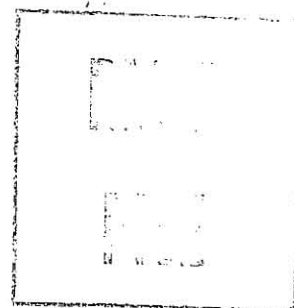
Sincerely yours,

JAMES S. LAY, JR.
Executive Secretary

Mr. Manuel Antonio de Varona Loreda
1001 S. W. 22nd St.
Miami, Florida

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON

September 12, 1958



MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR, EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
Department of State

The attached letters dated August 29 and September 6, 1958, from Manuel Antonio de Varona Loreda to the Chairman, National Security Council, are referred herewith to the Department of State for appropriate reply. The author of the letter has been informed of this referral.

James S. Lay, Jr.
JAMES S. LAY, JR.
Executive Secretary

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CMA - Mr. G. F. RYRE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

September 15, 1958

(S/S 8300)

ARA - Mr. Morgan

Cuban Revolutionary Civilian Front

Attached for appropriate handling in ARA are two letters from Manuel Antonio de Varona Loreda to the Chairman of the National Security Council. In each case Senor de Varona encloses letters addressed to the Secretary.

You will recall that on September 8 I sent to you a similar letter addressed to the President from one J. Mriro Cardona.

If no action is taken on this correspondence, I should like to be informed of same by telephone by September 22.

C. A. Borg
C. A. Borg
S/S-RO
Ext. 4108

Att: As stated.