

CUBAN BLOCKADE: SOME QUESTIONS

Throughout much of this week, an incredulous American people awaited the implementation of President Kennedy's Cuban blockade proclamation, hoping it meant what it appeared to mean and that the United States was finally stiffening its policy toward the Communists and the Castro regime 90 miles off our shores.

Although Republicans had long demanded a tougher Cuban stand, there were doubts, many of them based on what horse players call "past performance," about the President's actions. The New Frontier pattern of seeking an "accommodation" with the Communists everywhere else in the world had been so sharp for so long that few could believe that it could change so suddenly. The New Frontier's kid gloves policy toward Cuba for the past 21 months just did not jibe with the President's tough words about Cuba.

Among the points which tended to increase doubt about the "get-tough" proclamation were these:

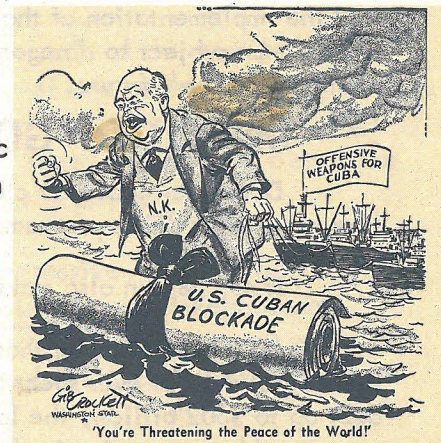
(1) Seventy-two hours after President Kennedy's dramatic announcement of the blockade to more than 50 million television and radio listeners, according to the Defense Department, no Soviet vessel had been intercepted, although at the time of the announcement 25 Red ships, reportedly steaming toward Cuba, were less than one day away.

(2) The proclamation failed to order search of vessels bearing offensive weapons to Cuba, but, in carefully-couched language, authorized the Secretary of Defense to do so. McNamara passed the authorization to the Chief of Naval Operations and word was "leaked" that the Navy would not really halt all ships carrying offensive weapons to Cuba, but, instead, would select one vessel as a "test". If the selected ship were to refuse to obey the heave-to order, then it would be halted by force, perhaps by crippling its rudder, the report said. No mention was made of the 25 Soviet vessels supposedly loaded with cargo -- much of it contraband under terms of the original Kennedy proclamation -- and supposedly steaming unmolested toward Havana.

(3) The timing of Mr. Kennedy's announcement -- just two weeks before a national election -- gave it a distinctly political ring. The statement that it was only because the White House had just discovered the existence on Cuba of missiles capable of striking American cities sounded brazenly false inasmuch as this had been known for months.

(4) The absence of any effective move to eliminate the true danger to our security -- the intermediate missiles mounted and aimed at American cities -- indicated a continued reluctance to crack down hard on Castro.

(5) There as yet has been no attempt to recognize a Cuban "government in exile" which could, quite legitimately with U.S. support, invade the Caribbean island and wipe out the Cuban missile installations.



to heel. There was overwhelming public support for the "get-tough" line and little enthusiasm for further vacillation or inaction.

Just what effect the President's moves would have on the upcoming elections would depend upon the follow-up. Undoubtedly a successful isolation of Cuba would distract attention from the innumerable foreign policy failures of his Administration and from the record of inaction by the Democratic Congress. But it also would leave many Democratic office-seekers in a stew of sizzling political grease.

Throughout his campaign swing, Mr. Kennedy had, for the most part, studiously avoided mention of his Administration's handling of the Cuban situation, while Republicans hammered hard at Castro's buildup of Soviet missile striking power and demanded action. Clearly, Cuba had become more than just the No. 1 issue in the campaign. The defense of Mr. Kennedy's inaction by Democratic candidates who sought to rationalize his policies had created widespread embarrassment in Party ranks. Those Democrats who so vigorously had opposed any kind of intervention in Cuba as "jingoism", "war-mongering" and "rash" were faced with the prospect of completely reversing themselves. Among these were the highest and lowest office seekers in the party and others whose political fate would not be at issue until two years hence.

At press time, this Democratic opposition to the policy Democrats now must support was taking its toll of New Frontiersmen in many districts where Republicans had called for action. And the implementation of that policy -- whether it would be carried out without equivocation or would be subject to "negotiations" concerning Berlin and other trouble spots -- would determine America's future.

Memo To GOP Congressional Candidates

Does your opponent claim to be a Kennedy Democrat? Does he claim solid, down-the-line support for JFK's programs? Is he a "rubber stamp" for JFK?

If so, he can also make the following claims:

(1) He was among those who helped boost the fiscal 1963 spending rate to \$102 billion -- the largest amount ever spent by this Nation in a peacetime year; (2) He helped to run the public debt up to \$302 billion, the largest in the history of the United States, and the largest amount ever owed by any nation in the history of the world; (3) He went along with the New Frontier payroll buildup which added nearly 160,000 Federal employees to the Government's payroll since January, 1961, bringing the total to 2,514,000. (Yet House Appropriations Committee

Chairman Cannon of Missouri said:

"Competent men tell us that if they had only one-third of the number of employees in the Pentagon, they could do better work. That is true of every department of Government").



THE RECKLESS SPENDTHRIFT

when East Berlin Communists erected the infamous wall dividing the city, though it violated at least five international agreements and emboldened Khrushchev to demand withdrawal of Western

Moreover, (4) he supported JFK's wait-and-see attitude on Cuba until the President "suddenly" discovered that Republicans were right about the buildup of Communist missile bases there and public pressure forced a blockade; (5) He joined in the President's pledge to defend the sovereignty of Laos, then went along with Mr. Kennedy's decision to force a Communist-dominated coalition government on that country; (6) He approved JFK's "no action" policy

AN OPEN LETTER TO REPUBLICANS

October 26, 1962

Dear Fellow Republican:

We have an excellent opportunity in the elections of November 6th to pick up a sizeable number of Congressional seats, but our gains will depend on the basic ingredient of politics--getting our voters to the polls on election day.

Although President Kennedy's proclamation on Cuba was long overdue, Republican Congressmen and candidates long had called for both a blockade and recognition of a Cuban Government in exile and, as a result, justifiably can claim credit for forcing the President off dead-center. Without Republican demands for firmness, backed up by an aroused public, in other words, Kennedy never would have taken the action he did.

Now, more than ever, the Nation needs more independent, free-thinking Republican Congressmen in Washington to make sure President Kennedy keeps some starch in what seems to be his newly-stiffened foreign policy.

Every vote counts! If one more Republican had voted in each of the Nation's precincts in 1960, Richard M. Nixon would be President today. If one or two more Republicans had voted in each precinct of 16 Congressional Districts, we would have elected that many more Congressmen in 1960. Several Congressional races would have been won if just one more Republican in every tenth precinct had gone to the polls.

Across the Nation, we have enthusiastic workers and aggressive, alert, and articulate candidates for Congress. A final push to make sure all potential Republican voters go to the polls will put us over the top--and give us control of the House. Let's make an all-out effort for November 6th to give your District and the Country the independent thinking Republican Congressmen it needs.

Sincerely,



Bob Wilson, M.C.
Chairman

subjugation of Katanga, the surrender of West New Guinea to Indonesia and the condemnation of Portugal for its defense of Angola.

Also, (8) he supported President Kennedy's policy of permitting the free flow of Communist propaganda via the mails, a policy which reversed that of the two previous Administrations; (9) He agreed with the President that there should be no limit in the new trade bill on benefits to Communist Countries such as Poland and Yugoslavia; (10) Despite the urgent need for genuine tax reform, he went along with President Kennedy's "patchwork" tax bill which granted a "windfall" to big business and attempted to recover part of revenues so lost by a withholding tax on income from dividends and income and (11) He agreed to a farm program which solved no problems, placed more farmers under stringent Government controls, levied a "bread tax" on consumers, and added \$1 billion to the annual cost of the farm program. In short, your Democratic opponent is nothing more than a "rubber stamp" for the President's proposals for bigger

"The Memory Lingers On..."

"The new Democratic Administration will also reaffirm our historic policy of opposition to the establishment anywhere in the Americas of governments dominated by foreign powers, a policy now being undermined by Soviet threats to the freedom and independence of Cuba..." -- Democratic Platform, 1960

The Kennedy Administration, immediately following its inauguration, junked the above platform pledge and allowed the Soviet Union not only to threaten the "freedom and independence" of Cuba, but to take it over and convert it into a Red missile base. The President not only "permitted" the establishment of a Communist regime but, in effect, assured its continuation by withdrawing air support for an invasion which military leaders say could have toppled the Castro Government within 72 hours. Up until the day before the blockade was announced, Democrats were ignoring the Cuban threat. For example:

"This is no time for rash and irresponsible talk which strengthens the claims of our adversaries. This is no time for confused and intemperate remarks on the part of those who have neither the facts nor the responsibility to determine this Nation's course...those self-appointed generals and admirals who want to send someone else's sons to war, and who consistently voted against the instruments of peace, ought to be kept at home by the voters and replaced in Washington by someone who has some understanding of what the twentieth century is all about." -- President Kennedy, at Indianapolis Airport, October 13, 1962, discussing the call for a Cuban blockade by Sen. Homer Capehart (R. of Ind.) and others.

"Stopping of a Russian ship is an act of war...people who want to go to war with Cuba have to realize the great risks involved." -- Vice President Lyndon Johnson, Albuquerque, N. Mex., October 6, 1962, in defending the Administration's policy of non-intervention in Cuba.

"Danger is not imminent in the Cuban situation. Cuba is weak and our attitude must be explained in our need for hemispheric support. I think Khrushchev really has no stake in Cuba." -- White House Advisor Brooks Hays, Gastonia, N.C., October 21, 1962.

"I think it is ridiculous, and insulting to the American people for grown men to wring their hands publicly about Cuba being a threat to the United States...I do not want the people of my State to lose a night's sleep worrying about the might of Cuba... The jingoists who have been shouting for an invasion of Cuba know that also. I say they are being thoroughly dishonest and cynical in their call to arms." --Senate Democratic Whip Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, on the Senate Floor, September 11, 1962, after admitting the existence of intermediate range missiles in Cuba.

"It is idle to expect the Cuban regime to reform, to collapse, or to be overthrown by its exiles. And I submit that to overthrow it by American force would be self-defeating and would create more problems than would be solved. We often hear that the existence of a Communist regime in Cuba is intolerable to the United States. But is that really the case? I know it is embarrassing and annoying and potentially dangerous, but is it really intolerable?...I suppose we would all be less comfortable if the Soviets did install missile bases in Cuba, but I am not sure that our national existence would be in substantially greater danger...I believe that if we intervene unilaterally in Cuba, we prejudice our cause in the hemisphere." -- Sen. J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and principal Capitol spokesman for New Frontier international policies, June 29, 1961.

Newsletter Background

The Cuban Buildup

Failure of this nation to prevent the Soviet establishment in Cuba of bases for missiles aimed at America's principal cities dates back more than 15 years, when Fidel Castro, a youthful agitator, first became active in the left-wing group which later called itself the "Caribbean Legion", and whose prime purpose was the overthrow of anti-Communist dictatorships in Central and South America and the West Indies.

By 1948, Castro was known to security agents and police of several Latin American countries as a Communist. In the "Bogotaza," the Communist-inspired outbreak which disrupted the Ninth Inter-American Conference in Bogota, Colombia, that year, Castro was identified by police and delegates as a leader of the rioting. Although full information on his activities and association with Communist causes was known by the U.S. State Department at that time, it was not brought to public attention until 12 years later -- after the takeover of Cuba had been accomplished.

Prime figures in the concealment of intelligence information about Castro, according to testimony before Congressional committees, were State Department underlings appointed during the administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman.

Higher up the ladder were those who should have known the truth about Castro, but since have professed ignorance that he was associated with Communism in any way, according to testimony given at hearings in the Senate. Among the latter were William Wieland, who was assigned by President Kennedy to reorganize the State Department's security division, and Roy Rubottom, Jr., former Ambassador to Argentina.

Rubottom told a Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that on the day before Castro's takeover of Cuba "there was no evidence of an organized Communist element within the Castro movement or that Senor Castro was himself under Communist influence." Rubottom had been in Bogota at the time of the "Bogotaza". During the past year, as a consultant for the State Department, he has lectured U.S. officers at the Army War College on "counter-insurrection." Wieland, who had been appointed during the Roosevelt Administration, was accused by the Senate subcommittee this year of knowingly withholding information on Castro's Communism from his superiors.

It was not until a few months before the Kennedy Administration took office that information on Castro's Communism leaked out and the Eisenhower Administration began to act. In October, 1960, President Eisenhower embargoed shipments of all goods but food and medicine to Cuba. Six weeks later, Cuba officially was designated a Communist-controlled country and on January 3, we severed diplomatic relations with Castro. Most important of all, a plan for invasion of Cuba by expatriates with strong air and naval support by U.S. forces was developed. The completed program was turned over to President Kennedy when he took office.

On April 17, 1961, the force of approximately 1,500 Cuban exiles launched the long-awaited invasion. At the last minute and without warning, President Kennedy halted the air and naval support, and the invaders, unprotected and with no chance of escape, were taken prisoner at the Bay of Pigs. In assuming responsibility for the invasion fiasco, President Kennedy said he had "learned a lesson".

As it turned out, his education was inadequate for another year and a half, during which Cuba became a Soviet bastion and the invaders suffered in Castro's prisons.

Editorial Comment

THE PREPARATIONS WERE ANYTHING BUT 'SECRET'--Arthur Krock in the New York Times:

"For several weeks, and especially since the Republicans began to stress the Administration's Cuban record as a fundamental issue in this year's Congressional campaign, reports have circulated here that Mr. Kennedy would announce a positive policy step, on the finding of a national security threat....on a timing strategy designed to dilute at the November polls any anti-Administration strength the Cuban issue might have engendered....But the timing, in view of the days which have elapsed since the Administration confirmed Senator Keating's specifications of the offensive missile aspect of the threat from Cuba, and whether part of the (publicity) buildup for (the President's announcement) was a contrivance of political and public relations art--these remain legitimate issues between the Administration and its Cuban policy critics."

DECISIVE ACTION ON CUBAN ISSUE--David Lawrence in the Washington (D.C.) Star: "The

climax had to come sooner or later--and many people here have felt for some time that decisive action with reference to the Communist build-up of missile bases in Cuba was long overdue....For several months, the American Government has known that missile bases were being built and equipped in Cuba. But up to now, the officially announced assumption has been that all this was 'defensive' on Cuba's part. There is, however, little difference actually between a missile base built for defense and one built for offensive purposes."

THE PHONY SMILES ARE GONE, THE LIES ARE EXPOSED--Richard Starnes in the Washington

(D.C.) Daily News: "The hesitant, unsure President who faltered at a moment when victory in Cuba might have been bought cheap was gone. Gone, too, was the palpable nonsense about the defensive nature of the Soviet arms buildup in Cuba. The President seemed pained, and perhaps faintly surprised, to learn that a Soviet diplomat is almost by definition a bland professional liar. Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko reiterated the Russian falsehood that no offensive weapons were destined for Cuba as recently as last Thursday, when President Kennedy already knew better."

DICTATORSHIP U.S.A.--McLellan Smith in the Delaware State News: "'It can't happen here'

is a favorite quote, when referring to unlikely events, such as one-man rule, abuse of traditional American rights and privileges. But a close look at America today reveals that we have an Administration that is going the limit in usurping powers, in misusing Federal force to intimidate, to dominate, to work its will....It would seem apparent that the Kennedy Klan consider all of America their private domain. It is apparent they will not hesitate to use armed force to accomplish what they want done....Today we are in danger from a clan that seeks power above all else; an Administration that will arrogate to itself even greater powers unless it is boldly challenged....Tomorrow may be too late to question the all-powerful Executive."

JFK WOOS GULLIBLE--Knoxville (Tenn.) Journal: "After 30 years of political handling, the

Nation's farm problem is greater than it ever was in history and it is generally conceded that the farm bill proposed by the Kennedy Administration was the worst one in a long time of 'sorry' farm plans. But because people are gullible...there is a certain number of citizens who believe the Federal Government should take charge of the practice of medicine....There is no more reason to believe the Federal Government would be any more successful with political medicine than it has shown itself to be with political farming. The fact of the matter is that medicare is another one of the present Administration's attempts to make a certain segment of the population believe it is getting something for nothing."

Political Quotes

About the Cuban Blockade: "There are obvious risks in this action. But the risks of in-action are infinitely greater."--GOP Gubernatorial Candidate Richard M. Nixon of California. ... "We hope and pray that the same timidity and indecision which doomed the Bay of Pigs invasion will not govern the enforcement of the announced quarantine of offensive weapons." --Chairman William E. Miller of the GOP National Committee... "The Kennedy Administration is undertaking actions today which were described as 'rash talk' when proposed by the loyal opposition in Congress only a few weeks ago."--Sen. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania... "I now call upon the President to fire those people in the State Department and in the White House who have been advocating an accomodation policy with Soviet Russia."--Sen. Jack Miller of Iowa.

About the Effect of the Blockade on the Election: "We don't anticipate any significant change in the situation and we will pick up a substantial number of seats. Maybe even enough to control the House."--Chairman Bob Wilson of the GOP Congressional Committee... About the Democratic Party in the South: "The present-day Democratic philosophy has left Southern Democrats without a party."--Assistant GOP National Chairman Clare B. Williams... About the Need for a GOP Congressional Victory this Fall: "I fear that our Country can be taken so far down the road to regimentation and control from the top down that it will be all but impossible to get it back in our lifetime."--Rep. Walter H. Judd of Minnesota... About JFK's Call for More Democrats: "I might suggest that he allow at least one Republican Member, otherwise he will have no one to blame for the miserable failure of his program in Congress."--Rep. Steven B. Derounian of New York.



WALTER H. JUDD

Quote of The Week

"Though we support the President in foreign crisis, we do not have to support him when he speaks or acts as head of a political party... A united America need not and should not degenerate into a conformist, silenced America. Unity should not become an excuse for compliant submission by Republicans or a shield against our valid criticism of Democrats." -- Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Political Notes

Noting that the Defense Department called off amphibious exercises off an island near Puerto Rico just before the President announced the Cuban blockade, Columnist Don Maclean of the Washington (D.C.) Daily News suggests that the "mock invasion" which should have been called off was the one at the Bay of Pigs... All of which brings to mind the latest New Frontier motto: "Remember the Maine--but forget the Bay of Pigs!"... Anti-Kennedy bumper sticker in Massachusetts: "Three Kennedys are a Crowd"... In California, this one popped up in the Nixon-Brown clash: "Don't Count Brown Noses"... And in Ohio's 11th District, Democrats are swinging away from incumbent Congressman Robert Cook to Oliver P. Bolton with the slogan, "I'm Bolton Cook," and more simply with "Cook-Out"... Reader Betty Weaver calls our attention to the New Frontier pencil: All eraser and no point.

This actually happened: After Newsweek magazine ran a short item attacking the Newsletter's anti-Kennedy gags, a top reporter for a rival publication called the Newsletter to say: "When the Democrats' weekly house organ (Newsweek) starts complaining, it means you've hit'em where it hurts. Keep it up." Someone who identified himself as "a Democrat with a sense of humor" called to say: "Don't let that Newsweek crowd bother you. They haven't thought anything was funny since the Washington Post bought 'em out"... U.S. News and World Report says that Rep. H. R. Gross (R. of Iowa) is being rated by newspapermen "as the most effective mem-

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Build-Up Began in July

By Peter Edson



IT is now admitted by even the most conservative U. S. intelligence sources that the big Russian military build-up in Cuba began last July. For three months confirmable reports showed only defensive and short-range anti-aircraft missiles were being delivered. This apparently lulled American officials into a false sense of security on Cuba.

For all this time, Cuban refugee sources were reporting far heavier shipments of Russian arms to Cuba and the arrival of far more communist "technicians" than official sources could verify. Early in October, however, the refugee reports began to check out. Confirmed now by U. S. air reconnaissance photos taken over Cuba, they indicate that American intelligence services—in their cautious desire not to fall for exaggerated rumors—may have seriously underestimated the build-up.

If this in any way delayed the Kennedy Administration in making its decision to blockade shipments of offensive weapons into Cuba, it was another serious intelligence blunder.

As an example, the Cuban Student Directorate—a former underground resistance unit now operating from a Miami headquarters—reports 87 ships brought over 800,000 tons of communist supplies to Cuba, July to September.

It puts the number of people from communist countries arriving in Cuba at over 9000—double official estimates. The number of armed men in Cuba, including Cubans, is put at 300,000. All are said to have automatic weapons.

The command is under Russian generals, operating from three top floors of a 20-story building in Havana, with field headquarters in central Las Villas Province. Even the Cuban militia is now said to be under Russian officers.

A five-page list of camps and installations is given. Cubans are barred from major bases. Many underground installations are reported thruout the island for storage and

concealment of weapons, including aircraft. The number of Russian MIG jet fighters is put at 185—nearly double U. S. official estimates.

American intelligence estimates of Russian arms in Cuba are verified by aerial photographs. These photos were shown to American officials, foreign diplomats and the press, but were not given general release until one photograph was issued by the American Embassy in London. Then all were made public by the Pentagon. They show:

- Twenty-four missile bases, 22 of them already operational for medium and intermediate range ballistic missiles. They are widely dispersed and really blanket the whole island.

- There are at least four launching pads at each site. In some cases there are two and three missiles at each pad. Medium range missiles are all mobile field units, with portable erectors. They are apparently unloaded from ships at dockside and moved on trailers directly to the launching sites.

No nuclear warheads have yet been detected, but they are small and easily concealed. One recent aerial photo shows construction of a bunker with arched roof being earth-covered. It could provide underground storage for nuclear weapons. A port facility for their unloading has been spotted. It is surrounded by double fencing.

Air photos of Russian freighters approaching Cuba show 10 crates lashed to the deck. These crates were later spotted at an airfield, being unpacked. Each crate contains an IL-28 advanced jet bomber capable of carrying a nuclear warhead 750 miles.

These planes, plus the MIGs and Komar patrol boats carrying 15-mile missiles give the Russians a capability of conveying freighters on their approach to Cuba and possibly fighting off any blockade vessels that might attempt to stop them.

The possibility that Russia may delay for a short time any shooting showdown of this sort would permit completion of the missile sites and other installations under construction.