

**American Universities Field Staff**



**REPORTS  
SERVICE**

BY VOICE AND VIOLENCE

Part II: Trends in the Cuban Revolution

by Irving P. Pflaum

Havana  
August 1960

This publication is one of a continuing series on current developments in world affairs written by associates of the American Universities Field Staff. It is distributed by the AUFS as a useful addition to the American fund of information on foreign affairs.

AUFS associates have been chosen for their skill in collecting, reporting, and evaluating data. Each has combined long personal observation and experience in his foreign area with advanced studies relating to it.

IRVING P. PFLAUM, the author of this report, joined the AUFS in March 1960 and established his base in Havana to write on conditions in Cuba. A lawyer, journalism teacher, and foreign editor, Mr. Pflaum has maintained an interest in Latin American and Spanish affairs for the past 25 years.

*Publications under the imprint of the American Universities Field Staff are not selected to accord with an editorial policy and do not represent the views of its membership. Responsibility for accuracy of facts and for opinions expressed in the letters and reports rests solely with the individual writers.*

It was the day after July 26, 1953, the date from which Fidel Castro's revolutionary movement takes its name. The place was the oldest community of the Western Hemisphere, Santiago de Cuba. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Santiago, the Most Reverend Enrique Pérez Serrantes, who has been called "a wise and just man"<sup>1</sup> by a pro-Castro writer, had appealed to Dictator Fulgencio Batista in Havana to be lenient with the Castro brothers, Fidel and Raul.

The brothers were hiding on a farm near El Caney, a Santiago suburb. With them were 20 survivors of Fidel's 167 devoted followers, two of them young women, who on July 26th had failed in an assault on the Moncada military barracks, where about 1,000 men and officers were stationed.

Batista responded to the Archbishop's plea by guaranteeing the safety of the brothers. They surrendered and were imprisoned for about two years. Released under a general amnesty, they retired to Mexico to plan the rebellion that by January 1, 1959, brought Fidel in triumph to Havana.

---

<sup>1</sup> Brennan, Ray, Castro, Cuba and Justice, New York: Doubleday, 1959.

Sixteen months after Fidel's victory, Enrique Pérez Serrantes, Santiago's Archbishop, that "wise and just man" who had intervened to save the lives of the Castro brothers, was proclaiming in a pastoral letter that communism, "the enemy . . . in reality is within the doors [of Cuba] speaking loudly as though on its own property." Of the scores of newspapers in Cuba, only two dared publish the Archbishop's guidance for Catholics, who, he said, were "awaiting orientation" during "these moments that include some confusion and serious preoccupations for man." The radio and television stations of the island also ignored the Archbishop's guidance.

A few weeks before his pastoral letter was made public, I was received by Santiago's Archbishop at eight in the morning in his official residence, a spacious, austere building fronting on a narrow steep street in the first city of the Spaniards in the New World. On his desk in his study was the pastoral letter released a fortnight later (May 17) and read in the churches of Oriente Province by their priests on Sunday, May 22. We talked about the letter, the Revolution of the Castro brothers whom he had saved nearly seven years before, and of communism and the Roman Catholic Church in Cuba.

Church and State are separate in Cuba and there has been and there still is freedom of conscience. Of the six to seven million men, women, and children in Cuba today, probably some five million would say they are Roman Catholics.<sup>2</sup> There is no accurate census, even for the population as a whole, and none for religious affiliations. Reliable estimates of membership in the great variety of Protestant churches and Hebrew synagogues in Cuba range up to one million. A considerable number of Cubans profess to be agnostics and atheists, while even more Cuban males belong to the Masonic Order, a membership which the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church in Cuba condemns.

Condemnation by the Church hierarchy does not prevent Cubans who call themselves Roman Catholics from being Masons or from marrying and divorcing their spouses outside the Church and without its sanction, or from sending their children to public and private lay schools. Grade and high schools operated by individual Americans and by American-financed Protestant denominations have been popular everywhere in Cuba even among Catholic families.

---

<sup>2</sup> A group of Cuban officials led by Foreign Minister Raul Roa called at the Vatican on January 23, 1960, and Roa and Pope John XXIII conferred privately for 15 minutes. Later Roa told newsmen he had informed the Pontiff that the "vast majority of Cuba's predominantly Catholic population backed the Revolution because the agrarian reform and other social and economic laws are based on the principles of Christianity." Roa said the Pope told him he had been following events in Cuba with deep interest. The Revolutionary Government publicized the prayers and views of Monsignor Evelio Díaz, a Roman Catholic Bishop and assistant to Cardinal Arteaga in Havana. Msgr. Díaz called upon Catholics to pray for the agrarian reform and he called the Agrarian Reform Law "just and wise . . . a necessity in our country . . . and based on the principle of social justice." In practice, the agrarian reform has at this writing failed to accomplish its announced purpose for more than a tiny segment of the landless Cubans.

Father Losada's estimate of the Castro brothers and their early associates as "the political commissars of the Sierra" and his view of the Cuban Revolution seemed extremist and dogmatic. But he was not alone in his thinking! While I was gathering information for this assessment centering on the key theme of communism (an activity that extended over a period of two and a half months and into all of Cuba's six provinces), the extremists and dogmatists among the Cubans multiplied. I also found an increasingly defensive attitude among those who subscribed to the Revolution, calling it humanist and moralist with some Marxist inclinations, and insisting with Fidel that his regime can use Communist support without becoming communistic.

One who believed Fidel could be with Communists without being of them was Father P. Ignacio Biain, of the Roman Catholic Franciscan Order in Havana and the author of a column, "La Glosa Breve," and occasional articles in the Order's fortnightly La Quincena. Father Biain interpreted Fidel's political and social philosophy as being concerned with "economic justice." He cited as "original plans" for the Revolution.

"1. The cleansing of government and the punishment of thieves, grafters, and murderers.

"2. A more equitable redistribution of wealth by confiscating the plantations and ranches of 'land thieves' and 'land hogs' and by levying 'fair taxes' for all, Cubans and foreigners.

"3. An attack on poverty and ignorance by bringing electric power, water, sanitation, roads, housing, recreational facilities, schools, hospitals, and cultural centers to the neglected one-third of our populace.

"4. A morality campaign to enforce honesty in government and business, the elimination of vices, the reduction of gambling and drinking, and justice for colored Cubans.

"5. A determined effort to reduce chronic unemployment by industrialization, irrigation, and diversification of crops, with ample provisions for the aged and needy.

"6. Guarantees of a fair trial (for all), of decent treatment for prisoners, of the right of habeas corpus, of freedom of press, speech, and assembly. And steps toward free and honest elections of local and national governments to be held 'as soon as conditions permit.'"

For Father Biain, as for many Cubans who are outside of the Revolutionary Government but are loyal to it, the six points he cited still are Fidel's goals toward which he still is moving. This often is asserted with the passionate fervor of a person who may suspect what he will not admit, that maybe he has been duped.

### Two Churchmen Speak<sup>3</sup>

The social and political influence of the dominant Church in Cuba is not what it might appear to be, as the Archbishop himself readily conceded. "We are very poor," he declared. "There are many villages here in Oriente where no priest is seen year after year." For this reason, and because of differences of opinion among the clerics, the Roman Catholic hierarchy had refrained from comment on the Fidelista Revolution. The Archbishop's pastoral letter therefore was a new departure and an event of importance.

"Communism," said the prelate quoting a section of his pastoral letter, "is everywhere, although there are among us some gullible, innocent, or extremely prudent persons who persist in denying it and who even are angry that not all think as they do." Msgr. Pérez Serrantes did not specify--who were the gullible, the innocent, and the prudent, or for that matter, who were the Communists and their benefactors. In his caution he was unlike the special envoy of the Holy See that I had interviewed earlier in Havana.

The Vatican envoy, the Reverend Father Luis G. Losada Rodriquez, S.J., of Rome's Pontifical College Pio Latino Americano, was neither prudent nor cautious on the issue of communism in Cuba, the issue which has divided the Castro revolutionaries, the issue which has become, despite a Government ban on its discussion and the suppression of "counterrevolutionary" newspapers that insisted upon debating it, the major theme in Cuba today.

Today, when the Communists are speaking loudly as though on their own property (to paraphrase the Archbishop's pastoral letter), no one is more surprised and chagrined than Castro's bourgeois followers, who have been forced out of the Revolutionary Government, some going into exile, some to prison. But Father Losada, a Spaniard who arrived from Spain shortly before Batista's fall, said he had not been at all surprised.

"The Fidelistas have cleverly masked their Leninist program. The leaders in the Sierra Maestra decided upon it during the early months of their insurrection," Father Losada declared. He referred, he said, to Fidel and Raul and to nearly all of the other ten survivors of the landing party which had come on a yacht from Mexico to Cuba in December 1956. Among the survivors was Ernesto Guevara of Buenos Aires, a young doctor who fled from Perón's Argentina to the Communist-influenced Guatemalan government of Jacobo Arbenz, where he served in the army medical corps until Arbenz was overthrown in 1954. Guevara found refuge in Mexico City. There he joined Fidel Castro, and today, as President of the National Bank, he is Cuba's economic czar and he is Fidel's closest adviser.

---

<sup>3</sup> As this report was being prepared for publication the Roman Catholic Church in Cuba cautioned its members against the perils of communism and Castro responded with his television appearance of August 11, 1960, in which he denounced "Fascist" elements of the Church.

The fact is that to Father Biain, as to other educated and informed Cubans, it was clear that the Revolutionary Government, in pursuit of its goals, had reneged in some instances and was guilty of excesses in others.

The excesses of the revolutionaries in the expropriation of wealth, their repeated, positive statements opposing elections, their arbitrary arrests, the trials by revolutionary military tribunals, the suppression of freedom of press, speech, and assembly by mob violence and an organized terroristic campaign, the seizures of private commercial enterprises and properties on trumped-up charges, the violence and vulgarity of the incessant propaganda in their controlled press, radio, and television, the lies and the calumnies used to destroy all opponents and to excite the people against the United States and other foreign countries--these are known to nearly every Cuban.

But Father Biain and other Cubans like him--he told me that two-thirds of his brother Franciscans in Havana agreed with him--angrily deny that Communists are responsible for what Father Biain calls "these mistakes and youthful excesses" of the revolutionaries. Rather, they blame them on the dynamics of the Revolution--on the need for the revolutionaries to act quickly to meet problems as they arise--and on the Revolution's enemies, whose every act is calculated "to frustrate" Fidel and who are "conspiring to overthrow him by force of arms."

To comprehend the issue I have called communism, then, and to understand its depth in Cuban society today, it may be helpful at this point to let persons on both sides of the controversy (which is taking on some of the characteristics of incipient civil war) to state their attitudes in their own words. To begin with, here is Father Biain talking of the "absolute necessity" of preparing the Cuban people for "the defense of their honor, lives and national independence":

"Do you call it strange that a company like United Fruit and other large United States concerns should wish to see the Cuban Revolutionary Government overthrown? You must consider what has happened to them here. Then you must consider what would happen to them elsewhere in Latin America where they have invested millions upon millions of dollars, if the Cuban example were followed by other republics. And it would be followed."<sup>4</sup>

Father Biain also was convinced, he told me, that United States companies would not act alone.

"Why, you must be blind not to see how the Cuban war criminals<sup>5</sup> are treated in the United States where even the Senate listens to them. They travel

---

<sup>4</sup> Father Biain's confidence that other Latin American peoples will imitate the Cubans, is shared by the Cuban revolutionaries, who with Fidel Castro believe they are "the leaders of underdeveloped countries especially in Latin America."

freely back and forth on their nefarious business, and visit the Dominican Republic where mercenaries are being trained for the invasion of Cuba.<sup>6</sup> Is it not certain that agencies of the United States Government must be financing these war criminals while the big United States companies pay for the mercenaries?

"And is not their plan quite clear if you have the will to see it? What else, but an invasion, a beachhead, an uprising in Cuba, and then the United States troops, to intervene perhaps because the OAS (Organization of American States) has been brought around to voting a resolution 'authorizing' it to handle what your State Department will call 'the Communist menace' and to 'protect American lives and properties.' It is what Dulles planned for Guatemala.<sup>7</sup> What else is meant by those posters put out by your embassy?"

Father Biain exhibited a newspaper photograph of the unissued poster to which he referred. Much was made in Cuba of this routine embassy procedure and especially of the wording which called upon "the guardians of order and persons who may be able to help" to protect the quarters of North Americans. No appeal was made to Cuban Revolutionary Government authorities because--it was alleged at student rallies and in the press--the United States was preparing an attack on the Government. A Cuban propaganda poster was distributed to capitalize on the distorted interpretation but few appeared on front doors despite repeated appeals by the revolutionaries that they be so used. (See illustrations on page 7.)

Father Biain concluded his defense of the militant actions of the revolutionaries with these words:

"It would be too much to expect of these young men, some of them poorly educated, that they always should show respectful toleration for all the rights and properties of those who are plotting against them. The respect actually

---

<sup>5</sup> By "war criminals" Cubans mean those Cuban political refugees in the United States who fled with Batista after serving him in the army or the police or in some similar capacity. Most often mentioned are "killers" Rolando Masferrer and Esteban Ventura. Cubans who had served in the revolutionary forces or the Revolutionary Government and then sought political exile in the United States are called "traitors" and often are linked to the earlier Batista exiles in stories relating the "conspiracies and invasion plans of United States officials."

<sup>6</sup> The Cuban charge was that several thousand men of many nationalities had been gathered by Dictator Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic where a number of Batista men were living as exiles. Batista himself had gone to Portugal.

<sup>7</sup> The late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had sought support from Latin American governments for a resolution condemning the Guatemalan government as Communist before it was overthrown in 1954.

## LA RESPUESTA



### AVISO

REPUBLICA DE CUBA REVOLUCIONARIA  
(Territorio Libre de América)

**Esta casa se halla protegida por  
el Pueblo y la Revolución**

Se Notifica, que este edificio o local es propiedad de o está ocupado por la siguiente persona o entidad CUBANA.

NOMBRE: \_\_\_\_\_

DIRECCION: \_\_\_\_\_

Asimismo se hace saber que dicho edificio o local se encuentra bajo la protección del P U E B L O D E CUBA.

Se informa a todos los mercenarios extranjeros así como a los traidores que estén en condiciones de ayudarles, que el mismo será protegido y defendido por el Glorioso Ejército Rebelde, las Milicias Campesinas, Obreras, Estudiantiles y Profesionales.

**"PATRIA O MUERTE"**

## LA OFENSA



### AVISO

EMBAJADA DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS  
DE AMERICA

SE NOTIFICA QUE ESTE EDIFICIO O LOCAL ES PROPIEDAD DE O ESTA OCUPADO POR LA SIGUIENTE PERSONA O ENTIDAD NORTEAMERICANA

NOMBRE \_\_\_\_\_

DIRECCION \_\_\_\_\_

ASIMISMO SE HACE SABER QUE DICHO EDIFICIO O LOCAL SE ENCUENTRA BAJO LA PROTECCION DE LA EMBAJADA DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMERICA

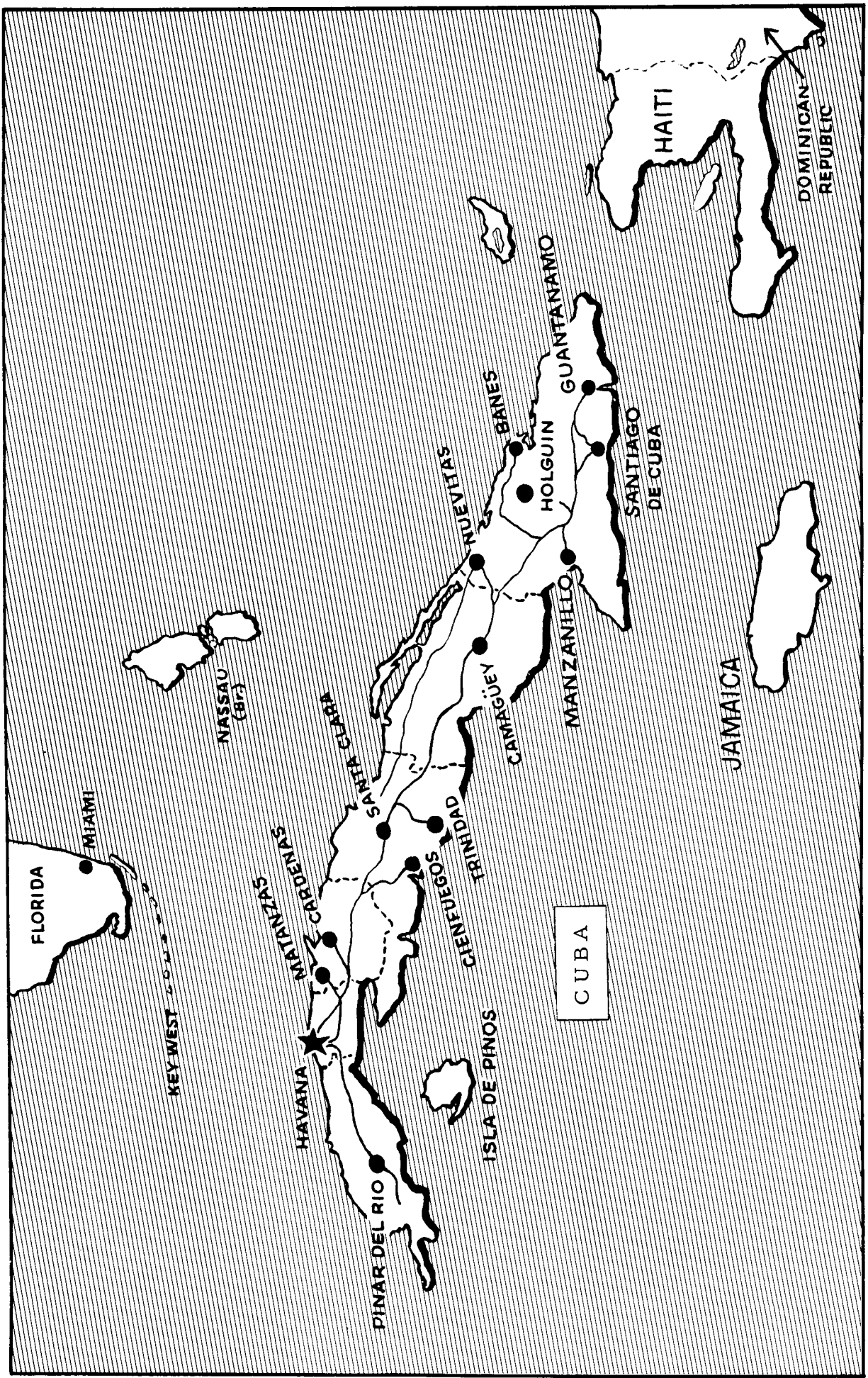
SE SOLICITA QUE TODOS LOS GUARDADORES DE ORDEN, ASI COMO LAS PERSONAS QUE ESTEN EN CONDICIONES DE AYUDAR, COOPEREN A LA PROTECCION DE ESTA PROPIEDAD.

*Philip W. Bunsell*  
EMBAJADOR DE LOS  
ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMERICA

The Havana newspaper La Calle of May 12, 1960, printed these reproductions of posters on its front page under a scare banner headline: INDIGNACION POPULAR. The accompanying news story charged that the posters prepared by the United States Embassy proved the United States was planning an armed attack on Cuba.

Above: Poster routinely prepared (but not posted) by the United States Embassy for identification of property owned by United States nationals.

Left: Propaganda poster prepared by the Cuban Government as an "answer" to the Embassy's poster. Few Cubans carried out instructions to affix these to their houses.





shown for persons and property is really amazing. We Cubans are a peaceful and friendly people.<sup>8</sup> We hate no one. We wish only to be left alone. We are not Communists and we do not believe in class warfare. If there are Communists in the Revolution, and who would deny that there are some, are we who are not Communists to retire from the Revolution leaving it to them?

The implications of this last comment deserved more emphasis than Father Biain was willing to give. Here, perhaps, was one explanation of what Santiago's Archbishop called the "extremely prudent persons who persist in denying" the success of the Communists in Cuba's Revolution, and of the Archbishop's own caution in handling the issue which is the central theme of this report.

The question hinted at by Father Biain was debated during the recent convention of the delegates of the evangelical churches in Cuba which together may have a membership of 800,000 to 900,000 persons. In this meeting in Santa Clara many attending churchmen urged the passage of a resolution reproaching the Revolutionary Government for sanctioning class warfare

---

<sup>8</sup> In 60 days I logged 4,000 miles on the islands of Cuba in a 1955 Chevrolet, or more than 5 times the island's length and 44 times its breadth at its widest point. For from point to point Cuba is 745 miles long. At its widest it is 90 miles wide, at its narrowest less than 20 miles. But it is not surprising that we could drive 4,000 miles in Cuba without constantly retracing our route. For Cuba is larger than Holland, Belgium, Hungary, Austria, Denmark, or Switzerland. Belgium would fit in Cuba's Oriente Province with some 4,000 square miles to spare. Cuba contains about 2,500 square miles more land than Bulgaria. The Cuban province of Camagüey is the same size as Israel, and the total areas of Albania, Haiti, Israel, Hawaii, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Luxembourg when added together equal the total area of Cuba.

After two months of driving around Cuba, from end to end and side to side in many places, up and down mountains and across swamps and little deserts, no one can tell me that this is "a little island." And let no one say that the Cubans are a "simple" or a "backward" or "typical" people.

In addition to Havana, an international metropolitan community of close to a million persons, Cuba has six centers which can be called cities. The other cities are Santiago, Santa Clara, Camagüey, Matanzas, Holguín, and Pinar del Rio.

Nowhere did I encounter hatred or any unfriendly action or gesture. My wife and 10-year-old son who accompanied me on these journeys had the same experience. Cubans actually seemed then to respond to the constant anti-United States propaganda to which they were (and are) subjected by exhibiting exceptional kindness. However, the kindness, thoughtfulness, and friendship shown me was mixed with an obvious concern over the possible consequences, for the Cuban involved, of being seen in public places talking to a North American who was collecting data for a report on the Cuban Revolution. Conversations were circumspect when there was a chance of being overheard.

and communism. Those opposing the resolution (which was shelved) advanced the case hinted at by Father Biain: that it would be an error to put churchmen in a position where they could no longer influence the revolutionaries.

There was an implied admission, of course, in this decision of the religious to withhold disapprobation of the Castro Revolution in order the better to combat Communist influence. It was that the Communists were nearing a commanding position within the revolutionary movement, that they were indeed within the gates and "speaking loudly."

Such was the opinion of Father Losada, the papal envoy who had said he was not surprised at the rise of the Communists in Cuba because he included among them the Castro brothers themselves. But Father Losada didn't temporize. He said he thought it was too late for anything but "civil war." Thus, although Father Losada rejected Father Biain's sympathetic view of the Revolution, his prognosis was similar. He too foresaw armed conflict.

"Great risks must be taken to defeat these Communists," Father Losada said, "for they have no concern for Cuba and would watch its destruction without a regret if it served their purpose: to extend their Revolution to other places in Latin America, to bring about the downfall of United States prestige in this hemisphere, to liquidate the Roman Catholic Church there.

"They (the Communists in Cuba) have been diabolically ingenious in masking their purpose: they have fooled many. But now the truth is coming out. Every day I hear from a Cuban who tells me I was right a year ago when I warned him of what was happening here.

"The Cuban middle class has been the victim of psychological warfare they scarcely even now can comprehend. Their position has been made untenable, their fears nearly unbearable. They are afraid even to think. They do not talk much because a wrong word could land them in prison with all their remaining property confiscated.

"The wealthy who were free from Batista taint have been scattered and made powerless and so desperate that they are likely to do something which can lead to their complete ruin.

"Farm workers, the guajiros, the cane cutters, the ranch hands, all are being cajoled, bribed, enticed, and deceived. They do not realize quite where they are headed--into state farms, to work longer hours for less pay.

"The urban workers who do understand what is happening to them are strong-armed into submission. The students are corralled and those who resist are terrorized. The journalists are muzzled and those who resist are expelled from their union to starve. The intellectuals and professionals are beginning to get the same treatment. Churchmen have been reserved for the last if they behave themselves, and are silent."

The papal envoy reached for a book. "It's all in here," he said. The book, in French, concerned Lenin's tactics.

"Fidel read this book and many more like it while on his mountaintop. Our father [a Jesuit] was there and he saw him. I am convinced Fidel decided even then, perhaps a year before Batista fled, on the future of revolutionary Cuba . . . a gradual socialism, the State steadily supplanting individuals and business as quickly as was feasible . . . Then onward to a totalitarian utopia, a Fidelista utopia like none before. Fidel Castro really expects a series of Latin American revolutions, sparked by his in Cuba. He calls them Fidelista revolutions not Communist. But what is the difference?"

Father Losada, a tall, fair man, leaned forward. "Beware of Fidel," he warned, "he is a very persuasive young man. He can make you believe communism is humanism."

Then the Jesuit smiled. "He could once," he said. "But no longer. Fidel's death warrant has been signed in Washington. He was too impatient."

Then Father Losada, having argued from his own point of view, reached essentially the same conclusion as Father Biain. "The Cubans are heading toward civil war, toward chaos," Father Losada asserted. "Then the Americans will collect on their warrant."

The Cuban, as Father Losada remarked, is not stupid. He has a sharp eye. He knows the geographical position of his island. He is aware of the United States Naval Training Base at Guantánamo. There are very few Cubans today who have had no personal contact with North Americans and there are many Cubans who either have been in the United States or have relatives residing there.

Communism is an issue in Cuba, then, because the Communists are extremists in relation to the United States. This is not the only reason, but it is a strong one. What Father Losada is awaiting and what Father Biain says he expects, each for different reasons, is what many Cubans await or expect--the response of the United States to the extremist campaign waged in Cuba against the United States.

Within the revolutionary movement itself the same issue has presented itself, though there may be a variation in how it is expressed. The anti-Communist revolutionary may couch his complaint in the language of the Revolution: he may say that he is opposed to violations of the Agrarian Reform Law, to seizures of land and property not covered in the law. What he leaves unsaid is that by these excessive seizures, the revolutionaries he has called Communists (and who may be Communists, though party membership is not an important fact for anyone in Cuba except possibly party members) are leading the island toward the disaster of civil war and intervention. For the

excessive seizures are of property belonging to North Americans and to Cubans who can reply only with extreme measures.

This then is the most important aspect of the Communist controversy in Cuba: the fear of, or hope for, intervention and civil war arising from the extremist measures identified as of Communist origin and in accordance with Communist plan.

### The Silenced Opposition

Linked to the fear (but not to the hope) of intervention is the Cuban's faith in Fidel Castro. For except among the extremists, such as Father Losada, Fidel is considered to be what he says he is, a Cuban nationalist revolutionary. Everywhere I went I found Cubans who expected from day to day to hear that Fidel had silenced his extremists as he moved into more moderate ground, seeking among other things a new understanding with the United States. These expectations were aroused once before by the naming of a moderate as Cuban Ambassador to Washington.<sup>9</sup> They are back of the appeals made to Fidel by those revolutionaries who fear the consequences for Cuba of the extremism they credit to the Communists.

But when these expectations cease to exist, when Fidel is felt to be either a Communist or the prisoner of Communists, the hope expressed by Father Losada or the fear expressed by Father Biain drives Cubans to react in one way or another. Some choose voluntary exile. Some make declarations they know will produce the seizure of their newspapers and force their departure from Cuba. Some lapse into a cynical, passive collaboration with the Fidelistas.

---

<sup>9</sup> On February 22, 1960 the Cuban Foreign Ministry in a note to the United States Department of State said the Revolutionary Government had decided to "name a commission to negotiate in Washington on matters pending between Cuba and the United States." But there was one condition: "That no measure of a unilateral character shall be adopted on the part of the United States Government affecting the Cuban economy and its people, whether by the legislative or executive branch" during the projected negotiations. The reply on February 29th rejected this condition while accepting the idea of negotiations. It said in part:

" . . . the Government of the United States cannot accept the condition for the negotiations . . . . As set forth in President Eisenhower's statement of January 26, the Government of the United States must remain free, in the exercise of its own sovereignty, to take whatever steps it deems necessary, fully consistent with its international obligations, in the defense of the legitimate rights and interests of its people. The Government of the United States believes that these rights and interests have been adversely affected by the unilateral acts of the Government of Cuba . . . . "

Human motivations in a revolutionary situation are obscure. Let me for a starter examine the two Cubans whose departure from the Fidelista Revolution shook it the most, two cases about which the Cubans still talk.

One is the case of Hubert Matos, a revolutionary major and a university graduate who was assigned to administer his native province of Camagüey. In the fall of 1959 Matos and members of his Rebel Army staff tried to resign.

Fidel sent Camilo Cienfuegos, then armed forces commander and his confidant, to talk to Matos. Cienfuegos disappeared with his report on his return flight to Havana. Not everyone in Cuba is convinced that Cienfuegos died or that if he died, that it was an accident.

Matos and his followers were arrested, brought to Havana, and given long prison sentences. They defended themselves during their military trial by claiming they were loyal revolutionaries seeking only to block a known Communist take-over in Camagüey. They were charged with obstructing the agrarian reform there. They said they were trying to keep the land seizures within the provisions of the Agrarian Reform Law.

Cienfuegos was succeeded by Raul Castro as chief of the military forces. Cubans on both sides of the Communist controversy date the beginning of most extremist measures in Cuba from the Matos case and the disappearance of Cienfuegos.

But for most Cubans I met on my travels, the Matos-Cienfuegos case of autumn 1959 had little significance. They classified it as another instance of Cuban Don Quixotes, idealists and men of principle who rode forth to battle for a lost cause.

The more recent case of Luis Conte Agüero was regarded as far more significant. Luis, a professional journalist, had been Fidel's classmate, had helped the insurrection, had written Fidel's semiofficial biography, and, with the Maximum Leader's friendship to help him, had become a popular commentator with a large, influential, prerevolutionary television-radio audience. There were those who said Luis always had been an opportunist ready to use his considerable talents for personal gain, speaking for or against a government as circumstances indicated. But this reputation only added weight in Cuban eyes to the denunciations he made in April, at first before a Havana Lions Club audience and later on radio and television. If Conte Agüero was ready to break with Fidel, Cubans said, then surely the revolutionary ship was foundering.

Conte Agüero directed his protest to Fidel for whom he continued to express admiration and loyalty. The Communists, Luis declared, were taking over the Revolution and diverting it to their own ends. He asked Fidel to reconsider, to reassert his leadership, to restore to the Revolution the admirable

goals and the honorable methods it once had embraced. He made an eloquent appeal to the Cubans to take sides on the question of communism. His plea was answered by a propaganda avalanche which sought to destroy Conte Agüero's reputation as a revolutionary and a journalist. He then announced his imminent retirement, after exhibiting on his television show (it turned out to be his last) stacks of letters which he said approved his stand. He also brought before the cameras groups of students who had come to the studio to demonstrate their approval of the commentator.

The next day Conte Agüero was prevented by an organized mob outside the studio from giving his farewell television commentary though he managed earlier the same day to give it on radio.

He had pleaded with Fidel to stop the Communists' "hate campaign" and to restore the Revolution to the Cubans who had created it. He had recalled how the Communists in Batista's time, had sneered at Fidel's "putschists" and had joined Fidel only as he neared victory. He said the Communists were converting the Revolution into a weapon of class warfare, dividing the Cubans, and taking the country to "a disaster."

Fidel's reply on television, a few days later, was to accuse his biographer of conspiring to end the Revolution, of seeking to divide the people and to confuse them, all in behalf of "the imperialists."

Conte Agüero entered the Argentine Embassy and later with a safe conduct pass from the Cuban Government went to the United States. The CMQ television station was acquired by the Revolutionary Government. The station had aired Conte Agüero's commentaries under commercial sponsorship.

Soon afterward two Havana daily newspapers<sup>10</sup> were silenced, one being forced into the Government camp. Both had editorialized against communism.

Thus Fidel stopped virtually every expression of Cuban opinion in the press and on radio and television about the Communist issue. The one subsequent exception was the cautious pastoral letter of Santiago's Roman Catholic Archbishop issued in May.

---

<sup>10</sup> The Havana newspaper Avance was seized on January 22, 1960, a day after its publisher, Jorge Zayas, went into exile in Florida. He had written a series of syndicated newspaper articles under the heading "I Was Wrong About Castro" in which he made many charges against the Revolutionary Government. "The agrarian reform program is almost a joke," he wrote, "the Agrarian Reform Institute keeps no records at all." One of his articles was about "the Communist grip on Cuba."

### The Silenced Press

The first of the newspapers liquidated early in May was Cuba's oldest, the 128-year-old Diario de la Marina, a property of the Rivero family for three generations and a dedicated defender of the Roman Catholic Church.

The paper had been pro-Spanish during the Cuban wars of independence, pro-German during World War I, pro-Franco, pro-Nazi, and pro-Fascist. It was passionately anti-Communist and anti-Soviet and during its last years it was favorable in its treatment of the United States. It also apparently had accepted regular subsidies from Batista and it never opposed him.

For these and other reasons (among them a staid format and lengthy morality sermons) Diario de la Marina was unpopular. It had a "class" circulation of under 30,000 largely around Havana.

But as other Cuban newspapers, and radio and television stations came under the Revolutionary Government's influence or control, uncritically praising all its work and condemning all its opponents, Diario de la Marina started to pick up readership. For it was reporting news most of the others skimmed or ignored and its editorials consistently warned of Communist influence and critically discussed the Revolutionary Government's international policies.

As the attack on the newspaper and its publisher mounted, Diario de la Marina struck back, defended its right to free expression and was supported by press groups outside Cuba and by a majority of its staff.

An armed group finally took possession of its presses after destroying plates containing a declaration signed by staffers; the publisher sought exile, and the newspaper was suppressed.

The next newspaper to invite official wrath was the Prensa Libre which immediately reported what had happened, reiterated earlier charges of Communist infiltration of the Government, reviewed the Communist record during the rebellion and awaited its seizure which came promptly.

But before the directors of Prensa Libre lost control of their property, they editorialized on the suppression of Diario de la Marina. They called it a "forceful occupation and violent aggression . . . an attack on liberty of expression."<sup>11</sup>

In reply to the coletilla (shirttail)<sup>12</sup> placed by employees of Prensa Libre at the end of the editorial relating to Diario de la Marina, the directors of Prensa Libre declared:

"These statements [that they had "proclaimed freedom of the press to hide their freedom to conspire in order to assist the enemies of Cuba"] include

imputations of crimes for which one may be sent to prison or be executed . . . . We have the right to defend ourselves . . . . We do not want freedom to conspire because we are not conspirators. We are journalists who publicly express our ideas and defend our principles in carrying out our profession as we believe our obligations as citizens require."

The directors, in what was their final editorial, defied "those jackals of journalism" who now "attack us because we are alone and they think we are afraid. They are mistaken. Never were we less alone. We have with us public opinion . . . our principles and our sense of duty . . . . Yes, we seem alone but behind us are all the people. We are persecuted and molested. But we are standing on our feet, fighting for a free press . . . for democracy . . . for liberty."

Of the writers in the pro-Government press and the commentators on pro-Government radio and television programs, Prensa Libre had this to say:

"They talk in Cuba but they think in Moscow. They talk of sovereignty but they would convert the republic [of Cuba] into a beachhead for totalitarian foreign interests who only wish to inflame and augment every kind of political difference that we have in order to better serve the plans of imperialists for our slavery and exploitation . . . .

---

<sup>11</sup> One of Diario de la Marina's sins was to attack (on February 20, 1960) the trade treaty between Cuba and the Soviet Union. It said that Cuba will lose \$64,000,000 in foreign exchange in the next five years by its trade pact with Moscow. La Marina said Russia had purchased 2,000,000 tons of Cuban sugar since 1955 and paid \$139,000,000 in cash. The pact calls for purchases of 1,000,000 tons a year for five years with dollars to be paid for only 20 per cent, the balance to be paid for in goods. La Marina estimated Moscow will pay only \$75,000,000 over the five years and said that under the prior arrangement the Soviets "would have bought an equal or similar quantity from Cuba and paid \$64,000,000 more in cash for it." The Revolutionary Government charged la Marina had lied deliberately. The facts as stated in la Marina came in part at least from a news release of the American Embassy on February 13, 1960 (see Appendix I for the text).

<sup>12</sup> Coletillas were added to news and editorials in Cuban newspapers after Fidel in a public address suggested the practice which one editor (Zayas of Avance) resisted, leading to his exile. The "shirttail" was written by a committee of employees, or by a representative of the revolutionary movement on the staff, and it sought to tell the reader why the news dispatch or editorial to which it was attached, was subversive and untrue. Later the coletillas contained attacks on the news agency, reporter, or editor responsible for the material to which it was attached. The phrases most commonly used were "counterrevolutionary" (equivalent in Cuba to treason) "servant of the reactionaries" (or of the "monopolists" or of the "imperialists"), a part of "the conspiracy of the North American journalists who serve the State Department and the monopolists."



"They talk of solidarity but attack all the countries of America, creating resentment for the Government [of Cuba] and compromising the future of a beautiful and dignified Revolution . . . . They are not concerned when they are defaming and injuring the sentiments of our people because in their anti-Cuban hearts there is only a desire to destroy, to tear down. And so . . . they are dedicated to dismantling the work of others in order to appropriate the wealth which remains intact, with the aim of using up in a few hours what it took others years of labor and sacrifice to create.

"And so they wish to take over all the newspapers to make themselves all powerful so that no one can disclose their underhanded machinations nor their totalitarian ancestry. They are not journalists. They are political cannibals and pirates of the printed word . . . .

"But they will not be able to destroy the ideas we defend nor manage to silence the truth we speak . . . . We believe with our Martí<sup>13</sup> that 'one must live and die embracing the truth. And thus, if one should fall he will fall in good company.'"

The men who wrote that editorial fell. Their newspaper was placed under the management of a commentator favored by the Revolutionary Government, one of the men Prensa Libre had called the "jackals of journalism." Prensa Libre, which had the largest verified circulation in Havana (approximately 100,000 daily) continued to publish, joining the chorus praising the Revolutionary Government and all its works.

I was traveling in Oriente, Camagüey, and Las Villas provinces when El Diario de la Marina and Prensa Libre thus went under. Among the Cubans who had been readers of either, and among nonreaders who understood the significance of the Government's action, there was what seemed to be a reaction of shocked numbness at the realization that henceforth the comfort of reading a free opposition press would be denied them.

To understand how these people felt, let me take you to the capital of Las Villas Province, the handsome colonial city of Santa Clara, whose fall to the rebel forces of Major Ernesto Guevara heralded Batista's end.

The people of Santa Clara, like nearly all Cubans at the time, were delighted to see Batista's forces defeated. During the fighting in the city they used their autos to form barricades to stop Batista tanks; many young men and boys joined the rebels in and outside the city; and there was rejoicing when the last of the Batista groups was liquidated.

Among those who celebrated Castro's victory were the publisher-editor of Santa Clara's daily newspaper, El Villareño, Señor Armando A. Machado,

---

<sup>13</sup> José Martí, Cuba's Patriot-Saint.

his wife, and their two teen-age sons. The sons had joined the rebels. Machado, a professional journalist, had acquired his newspaper with the aid of two Santa Clara friends some five years before. He had built a plant for his one press and linotype machine and was just beginning to make a living out of his enterprise when the Batista censorship clamped down. Under the Batista terror Machado and his sons were in danger of being killed or tortured. He used the expressions heard from so many Cubans of all classes: "It was unbearable, insupportable, and we knew Batista had to go. We thought it would be in March [1959] but the fall of Santa Clara sent him running several months sooner. And we were very happy. We had such hopes for the new Government."

It would be more accurate perhaps to say that Machado had hopes mixed with fears. A Roman Catholic related to onetime Dictator Gerardo Machado, he described himself as liberal in religious matters and tolerant of all faiths; his editing showed no bias in favor of his own religion. But he was the provincial correspondent of Diario de la Marina, the strong and avowed defender of the Catholic Church, until that newspaper was forced to cease publication, and he called his own newspaper the voice and defender of those with property.

Machado nevertheless maintained that in January 1959, as the Castro Government took over Cuba, he, his family, and his business friends in Santa Clara sincerely favored the reform program as then proclaimed and that they had confidence in the leaders of the Revolution. Within two months they had changed their minds. Machado, at least, had been convinced that he and his newspaper could not flourish, as he had hoped, under the new regime.

Among the first acts of the revolutionaries in Santa Clara had been the seizure of a house belonging to a Batista supporter. The house was turned over to the Communist Party provincial secretariat. Reporting this in his newspaper, Machado editorially inquired if the use of Government property by a political party was proper. The reply was a personal attack on Machado by local radio broadcasters, revolutionaries all, who accused him of working for the FBI, of being in the pay of "American interests" (he was an Associated Press correspondent), of being a counterrevolutionary.

These grave accusations convinced Machado it would be prudent to cease printing reports and editorials concerning Communists, but until May 1960 he still could read opposition comment in la Marina and Prensa Libre. (In February 1960 Santa Clara citizens burned copies of la Marina and Prensa Libre. But also included in the bonfire were Hoy, the Communist organ, Bohemia Magazine, a weekly publication, and El Villareño, Machado's newspaper.)

Machado continued to try to represent the men of property of his town and province--store owners, lawyers, doctors, officials, ranchers, and proprietors in general--at least in the selection and presentation of news. In short,

he published a daily (with a circulation of some 3,000 copies and perhaps 7,000 readers) which was not a Government organ. But he printed no serious criticism of Government activities; he made no mention of communism in connection with the Cuban Revolution. He reported announcements issued by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform but made no attempt to cover the work of this all-powerful agency, Cuba's government-within-the-government. He sensed that INRA officials would not welcome such coverage. When I talked with him this spring, he had not met the provincial or zone chiefs of INRA, the military commanders, or other revolutionary leaders in either his city or province. The only such official to visit his newspaper was the first revolutionary provincial governor, who later resigned.

Machado regarded El Villareño as a doomed newspaper even if he managed to keep its news and editorial columns safely neutral. Production costs had mounted as Government regulations forced him to buy inferior Cuban newsprint instead of the Canadian product he had formerly used. Meanwhile advertisements by national and international distributors, a major source of income for all provincial newspapers, had dropped off sharply.

What happened to the metropolitan Prensa Libre and Diario de la Marina and to the provincial El Villareño is representative of the fate of the Cuban press. Seizure, suppression, or bankruptcy have silenced opposition. Similarly radio and television channels of communication have come under full control of the Cuban Government.

Thoughtful Cubans are dismayed at the prospect of a Cuba with but one press, one voice on the radio, one view on television. This development means there will be no more public appeals to Fidel, such as Conte Agüero made, no more brakes, if such they were, on the extremist revolutionaries, as may have been applied by Prensa Libre or la Marina, or even by the churches. It means also that extremists among the agrarian reformers can act without being criticized, that the army and police can at will silence objectors with no one to report what they are doing.

Before the regime exerted its full pressure on the media of communication, there had been considerable reporting in the free newspapers of arbitrary arrests and of the legal procedures undertaken to obtain redress. Some seizures of land and property were critically reported and occasionally there was an unbiased account of the operations of the co-operatives.

There even was an occasional news article or editorial giving the viewpoint of the United States Government or of some other foreign government or leader who disagreed with the Fidelistas.

### The Pressures on the Gentry

It had once been possible for a United States national who owned prop-

erty to complain in a Cuban newspaper about the treatment he had received. Such was the case in Pinar del Rio Province where I stayed for several weeks to study INRA operations in establishing co-operatives for administration of properties taken from latifundistas.

[A latifundista is an owner of land which is variously described as useful but unused, too large, rented out to sharecroppers or worked by day-laborers and resident peasants, and perhaps not occupied at all by its owner. In Castro Cuba the term has been applied to anyone who owns more agricultural land than the Agrarian Reform Law allows--999 acres, except for ranches, rice and sugar plantations where the limit allowed under the basic law is 3,333 acres. A latifundista also is a landowner who has more land than the INRA zone delegates, provincial delegates, or Havana chiefs allow for reasons of their own, after using the law's limitations as a maximum limit from which they work downward.]

I know a Cuban tobacco grower, a former Spanish peasant from Asturias, who came to the island some 50 years ago as an impoverished boy of 12. When I met him, he had acquired a Cuban wife, eight children, a house in a village on the main highway in Pinar del Rio Province, and some 850 acres of land suitable for tobacco cultivation. His land, divided into plots of 50 to 100 acres each, was worked by sharecroppers, who paid him for its use with about a third of the value of the crop. The owner furnished fertilizer and a drying shed and also marketed the crop dividing the proceeds with the growers.

This man was declared to be a latifundista. His land now is a co-operative operated under INRA supervision by the former sharecroppers who hope to retain for themselves the percentage formerly going to the landowner. He is already bitter and soon may be quite poor.

But he is not alone in his province or in his neighborhood. A tabulation of tobacco collectives given to me by the provincial INRA office lists for that area co-operatives embracing as little as 100 or 200 acres and many with less than 1,000 acres. There are also co-operatives with only ten members and scores with from 15 to 30 members.

Obviously no attempt has been made to limit seizures to latifundismo as described in the Agrarian Reform Law. INRA officials, knowing the situation, explain it by saying that the law does not fix a minimum or maximum size but merely indicates a point of departure for INRA administrators.

The truth is, the agrarian reformers have been unable or unwilling to restrain the sharecroppers on tobacco land. Owners are penalized simply because they are owners. If the owner is an Español (as the Asturian I have mentioned still is called despite his Cuban citizenship) or an Americano the seizure is made more readily.

In the same province there are two large American properties, the ranch of Jack Fall Everhart and a sugar enterprise. Everhart has told his story in signed magazine articles and it was published by The New York Times, as a Havana dispatch dated February 21, 1960, written by Ruby Hart Phillips.

The reported facts are these: Everhart some 20 years ago bought 7,000 acres of Pinar del Rio foothill land in the Organos Mountains near the north coast some 75 miles from Havana. In time he acquired 20,000 acres, the entire valley (which on current INRA records is called the Co-operative of the Martires de Villanueva, of 800 caballerías, with 200 member families). Everhart said he was offered \$1,900,000 for his ranch in October 1958, about two months before Batista fled and Fidel Castro came to power.

A year later, in October 1959, Rebel Army men and INRA's administrator for the co-operative took over the land, the ranch residence, some 3,000 cattle, 1,500 hogs, 100 horses, and all ranch installations. Up to February no formal expropriation proceedings had been started, nor had an inventory of the seized property been submitted, Everhart said. The law provides for payment in cash for cattle and installations and in 20-year bonds bearing 4 1/2 per cent interest for land.

The INRA Pinar del Rio provincial chief tried to explain his side of the case by describing Everhart as a rancher who "got tough with us." He conceded that the INRA-Army group who took over the ranch last autumn had "acted crudely . . . I wouldn't have done what they did. They had no business demanding entrance to Everhart's home to make an inventory of his personal belongings."

But the chief's main point was the Americano's attitude-- "se puse bravo [he got tough] . . . we had to show him." It appeared that all the property and livestock were taken "to show the Americano."

The INRA administrator offered other reasons too: "You should have seen how this Americano treated his workers." Everhart himself says he paid scale or above. He had ten resident cowhands and their families. Some 30 field hands and their families lived outside and worked on the ranch, mending fences, digging out brush on the pastures, planting grass, handling the livestock and pig pens. The laborers, said Everhart, received \$2.70 a day. During the season for cleaning pastures he employed up to 50 men. Everhart had a Cuban manager, Tomas Fuentes; the INRA administrator who took over as manager had been a laborer on the ranch. (He had originated the complaints of maltreatment.)

However, the basic charge against Everhart and against all the ranchers in Pinar del Rio, Cuban, Español, and Americano, was the traditional complaint of a farming community against ranching. Farmers who had grown subsistence crops had been displaced by ranches that needed fenced-in pasture land. Everhart asked how INRA could find 200 families to settle on his ranch in homes to be built by the co-operative. The answer everywhere in the province was the

same. The co-operative would bring back the farming families the ranch had displaced, and resume food-crop production on some of the land.

Eventually, the INRA officials indicated, formal expropriation action might be initiated and bonds offered the Americano. Meanwhile INRA has proceeded in a more orderly fashion against the other Americanos in Pinar del Rio and in so doing they have established a revolutionary precedent of significance for all foreigners with property in Cuba.

The only sugar mill in Pinar del Rio owned and managed by United States citizens is the Mercedita near Cabañas. Philip Cooper, the manager for some 25 years, has aside from war service passed his adult life, as has Mrs. Cooper, in the sugar business in Cuba. The Coopers run a model batey (company village) and so far as a visitor can ascertain they have been friendly and fair to their workers who seem to like the couple. Cooper, a rangy, tall, heavy man in his early sixties; is strictly a mill man, a provincial who admits he finds Havana traffic insoluble. He has the browned, broad open countenance of a country man; he is in fact a boy from a Mississippi village who worked up from a clerkship. He is an employed manager of a North American corporation, the Cuban-American Sugar Mills Company.

Records supplied by INRA show the Mercedita Central employs an average of 2,500 workers, produces between 312,234 and 232,292 sacks (each weighing 250 pounds) of raw sugar, controls 720 caballerías of land. (A caballería--hereafter called a cab--equals 33.3 acres.) It grinds cane from 403 cabs including the cane of 153 colonias<sup>14</sup> established permanently under company contracts. (Colonos have for some 25 years been legally entitled to grow and sell their cane to the mill which, while it has title to the land, cannot remove the colonos. Company records show title in 22 colonias belonging to a wholly-owned subsidiary called Compañía Agrícola San Sebastian and 11 colonias directly under the Finca Mercedita, the Cuban company also wholly-owned by the United States corporation.)

Eight of the 22 fincas owned by the Agrícola subsidiary were selected for initial expropriation by INRA and one of the eight--San Joaquín y San Ildefonso known best as Las Animas--has 69 caballerías, 27 cabs being grazing land for oxen, and the rest wooded. The Agrícola company placed a value of \$300,000 on Las Animas. INRA expropriated the land in the Court of First Instance in Guanajay, Municipal Headquarters of Zone 3 in Pinar del Rio Province, where the INRA price, payable in bonds, of \$19,976 for the land and \$505 for improvements was approved.

The expropriation decree was appealed by the company to the Court of Social and Constitutional Guarantees in Havana and this high tribunal, consisting of a president and six magistrates voted six to one to indemnify the company

---

<sup>14</sup> A colonia is a landholding; a colono holds the right to work a colonia.

for the land taken with \$70,869.68 in bonds and for improvements with \$1,500. The president of the court dissented; he favored confirming the lower court. INRA now is legally bound to deliver bonds in these higher amounts to the company.

The Las Animas case was not only the first expropriation INRA case to be appealed and to be lost by INRA on appeal but also it was the first such action in the courts against property owned in effect by a United States concern. The figure accepted by the high court was that put on record when the property was transferred in 1958 to the subsidiary company. Attorneys seem to agree with the logic and justice of this decision.

Seven other fincas belonging to the same mill were selected for expropriation in early April while the Tribunal of Guarantees was considering the case of Las Animas. They were selected by a committee of local people, the Rebel Army commander in the zone, an INRA zone representative, a representative of the labor union of Mercedita workers, a colono chosen by the other colonos on Mercedita land and an official of the company who was named by Cooper.

The fincas they selected for expropriation total roughly 60 cabs of sugar land. Indemnity is set at \$57,000 (in bonds), less than \$1,000 per cab, or \$30 per acre. If the high tribunal should get these cases, another reversal of INRA for inadequate compensation seems indicated and if a similar reasoning is followed the price INRA may have to pay could be many times the price it offered.

It also seems likely that the Mercedita expropriation cases, being the first to move through Cuban courts under land reform law procedure, also could become the first for United States-Cuban adjudication, on the issue of adequate and prompt compensation to the owner. The management of the Cuban-American Sugar Mills Company in New York is said here to be prepared to exhaust all its legal remedies in Cuba as part of its obligation to its stockholders.<sup>15</sup>

A North American company served by a large law firm and more or less protected by the United States Government could risk and afford exhaustive appeals to Cuban courts. With Cuban landowners it is different.

### The People Speak--Pro and Con

Earlier in this report I mentioned an owner of tobacco land who had lost all of it. In the village where he lives he is considered an enemy of the

---

<sup>15</sup> United States nationals, however, are unlikely to make much progress in Cuban courts unless there is a marked improvement in Cuban-United States relations.

Revolution, a latifundista who can be expected to do all he can to recover his land. His experience was related to me by his daughter.

"He came from Asturias when he was 12, without a penny. He worked hard, my father. He sent me to the university to study to become a doctor. I hated it; medical school is no place for a girl. But I tried for him. He worked hard all his life--for what?"

"He has lost everything?"

"Everything but his house in the town. His land--all gone. And what did he have? Twenty-six cabs of tobacco land. He had worked much of it himself. Then as he learned the business (he had an uncle who helped him) he rented out the land and managed the business. He was smart. He knew when and where to sell. He gave them the fertilizer and he had the drying shed. They paid him one-third of what he got for the tobacco. They got two-thirds. Is that bad?"

"They were tenants, sharecroppers, ten families. And they now have the land and everything."

"Everything. Father has nothing. They left him with his house and six children at home. I am glad I married so he needn't worry about me."

"Did he complain to the Government?" I asked. Twenty-six cabs of land is allowable."

"Complain? You do not know this revolution. He is a latifundista. He keeps quiet."

Small businessmen also have felt the Revolution. A country merchant in the same province told me:

"There were nine of us here in the town on the committee. In this part of the province we ran the insurrection. Now three have good jobs and six have turned against Fidel. For 30 years we have had the store here. Now no one pays, we can get nothing, and they are setting up three people's stores in the valley."

"You will be ruined then?"

"Completely--like Cuba."

A rancher and his son offered this story:

"Father wanted me to stay in Florida and it was a good ranch, fine people, and I was learning much. But I thought my place was with my father, on his ranch, to help him. They were bad days."



"I wanted him to stay out of Cuba," the father explained. "Look here, there is a difference. Today they take my land and cattle. But I can work, I can make money again, in the States, in South America, there are people who know me. Before [when Batista was in power], they did not take your property but you did not know about your son. They were wild. I tell you. He might be talking on the street to someone, someone in the underground, against Batista, but he might not know. And they would shoot him down, or torture him, kill him slowly, or just shoot to shoot--on the roads, anywhere. Between losing your money and losing your son there is a difference. But he wouldn't stay North and thank God he is here now. I have my two sons."

The wife of a hotel owner gave me this view of the Revolution:

"We were 20 years in New York my husband and I; and our children they were born there. My daughter is in Havana now teaching at the institute; she is a teacher of English, married. We have two grandchildren. They come here often for the week-end. We bought this place. It is an old hotel but a good one."

"And how are you doing?"

"What do you think, sir? We are just living. The INIT (tourism commission) wants to lend us \$200,000 to make improvements. We would take \$50,000 because maybe that we could pay back. The other, no. They would take the place. Maybe they will take it anyway. Who knows? You only can wait and see. Like everybody."

There was a businessman in Pinar del Rio, however, who was well pleased with the deal he negotiated. He said:

"The Revolution? Wonderful! Magnificent! Listen to this: we had an uncollectable debt, years ago, seven or eight years ago. I had to settle as best I could. The man had a bottling plant and we took it and wrote off the debt--a big loss. Bigger than we thought because the bottling plant was obsolete, worthless, unless you wanted to spend thousands for new machinery. The machines in the place were worthless, junk. I had engineers look at the place. It would be cheaper to set up a new plant. So it was closed and we let it stay closed. I tried to sell it. Started at \$50,000. Advertised. Came down to \$25,000. Finally tried \$10,000. No buyers. Until yesterday.

"The young man from INRA came in the day before that. They were going to expropriate, seize the bottling plant, he said, but he asked the legal department to look for the owner and so they had found me. Was I the owner? I was. Did I want to sell it? Maybe. Would I take \$10,000? Well, it wasn't much. But \$15,000, maybe, O.K. He called yesterday to say the industrial division chief at INRA had approved the purchase at \$15,000 and I would get a check. The Revolution? Marvelous!"

The manager of a big mine in the province had a less happy experience. He told this story:

"The owners of this mine are Cubans, the family, Spanish I guess, has had it for years; rented it to an American firm but the North Americans gave it back after the war--worked out, they said. They had been looking for another fresh vein--couldn't find any. So the owners decided to work out the old one and maybe then close up. But meanwhile some new geologists came in and we bored and looked around and by God, way down under where the North Americans had said there couldn't be more ore, there it is, we don't know yet how much, but rich stuff and well worth mining, only it will take a lot of exploration and opening new shafts. We already have one new one, but not down deep and who knows, you might have to use air conditioning, and what about the water? It could cost a lot and might or might not pay off.

"Anyway, you can't afford to continue mining the old vein, to keep everyone on the payroll--we are operating at a monthly loss of about \$100,000--while you invest a couple of million more proving up and then starting to mine the new deeper vein. Can we reduce our payroll? Not on your life. Against the law. And we're paying at a ratio fixed when copper was selling at its highest price. Foremen getting more than 20 bucks a day, miners around 12 to 15, way over the going scale in Cuba. Can't cut pay and you can't reduce manpower and you can't send any of your own pay back home in dollars. How long do you think men from the United States or Canada will work up here in this mountain only for pesos? Most of our staff is gone now or going. We're just waiting it out--maybe another month, maybe two or three."

A missionary from the United States who had been in Cuba two decades gave this comment:

"I just don't know what to think. After 20 years here, after favoring Fidel and this revolution--the Batista thing really was intolerable--I guess you have to say we've been disappointed, disillusioned, fooled maybe, feel sort of cheated.

"What specifically has happened to disillusion us? We expected a decent government. Yes, I know most of them are honest. I said most of them. Not all. There's a commander in this zone who they say has a fine yacht, and I know he has a good car and a fine home. How did he get them? Had people denounced, I guess, and sent to jail as counterrevolutionaries so he could take their property. There's a lot of that, you know."

A Cuban official in Pinar del Rio said to me:

"I heard Fidel that night; he talked until dawn. And he said it maybe a hundred times: private business is needed in Cuba, and foreign investments, and capital from the United States. We intend to help honest businessmen

so there will be more good jobs for Cubans, he said. I heard him. The newspapers printed every word of it.

"And he said: 'There will be elections within 18 months.'

"Now what does he say? 'Elections, for what?' And what is he doing to business? Killing it. Deliberately. There's a fine cement business near Havana with more than 100 modern mixer-trucks. A well-run concern, no politics, no graft, nothing to do with Batista. The owners actually helped Fidel when he was in the mountains. Gave money for arms. So they make cement for Obras Publicas (Public Works Ministry), this was several months ago. The bill is \$300,000 and they can't collect. They just can't collect and they can't borrow any money because the banks can't make new loans.

"What happens? They have to stop work. So INRA takes over the business--against the law to stop, you know. And Obras Publicas then pays \$125,000 of the amount due to INRA. Nice squeeze, eh? Helping private enterprise is it?"

There were other kinds of experiences in Pinar del Rio. For example, there was the operator of a small fishing motorboat who came under suspicion when a party of men hired his boat and failed to return on time. This is how he spoke:

"For four days they held me in jail. I had never been in jail before. Then the captain came and told them they were crazy and to leave me out. It was one of the lads of the village who had something against me.

"The motor broke and they were four days lost outside. They thought I had helped and they were escaping. They had rented my boat."

"They were not escaping?" I asked.

"The motor broke. They were fishing. Good people. They nearly died. The captain bawled them out for holding me. It can happen anywhere."

"You are not mad then? The Revolution looks good? It is going along all right for you?"

"I am defending myself, it is not so bad what I make on the fishing. The Revolution can't stop. It is mostly good what they are doing."

I talked with a United States citizen--a distributor of fruits and vegetables. He had been working in Cuba for eight years. He gave me this story of how the new order brought him prosperity:

"Before the Revolution we would come here to this place and try to rent

vacant land so we could raise tomatoes, cucumbers, peppers, anything, to sell in the States. There was a market. We would go to the owners, sometimes they were in Havana, and say to them: 'We will work the land and plant the crop and sell it and you will get ten per cent. Now you are getting nothing from the land.' And can you believe it? Most of them said, 'No, leave our land alone.'"

"Why, were they so rich?"

"Yes, and they didn't care. They were holding the land, maybe to sell, or for a ranch. They didn't care, that's all."

"It is different now?"

"Clearly. If they do not use the land they lose it. Bang, like that! Everywhere you see the land plowed and planted. We have three times the business now. Everybody is very happy to see us and everybody around here is working; the girls are sorting and packing, the men are driving trucks and tractors, and are in the field picking. This is a boom, I tell you."

The administrator of a co-operative in Pinar del Rio Province gave me this account:

"There had been 500 people living on this land before they made it into a ranch. The co-operative will build houses for those families and they can come back. There will be plenty for them to do, and a school for their children, and decent latrines, and a people's store where they won't be cheated. We'll raise pigs and have beans, corn, pineapples, bananas, and some cattle too. Come back in a year and see. We'll do it."

"I'll try to return. But I can see your houses now. There are 125 of them. They look fine. But where is the water? You have laid no pipes."

"Not yet. There will be water. Fidel knows. He says he will bring water. There are two rivers up there."

"So you built the houses first?"

"Yes Obras Publicas did it. See the sinks are ready and the lights, the wires, all are ready. The electricity and the water will come, you will see. And this is the school we have ready--all but the doors and the glass for the windows. These men are threshing the black beans we raised. I thought since the school is not ready and the families are not here because the houses aren't finished, why not use the school for the beans?"

A young physician working for the Ministry of Health asked me to make known how he feels:

"We are going to put new concrete slab latrines in every house in Cuba where they have been dying from parasites. What's a doctor for? To sit in an office and give pills to fat ladies? No! I may not be very old but I'm a doctor and I'm a Cuban and I know what to do. Get them new latrines! That's what we're doing. These INRA boys are making the slabs and trucking them or carting them or using oxen, who cares how they do it? And we're going from house to house, explaining, and getting rid of those filthy shacks and the parasites. If that's all the Revolution did, it would be worth the sacrifice. Tell your people that!"

I visited a large co-operative in the province and heard this account:

"This was the ranch of Batista's son by his first marriage, and it was a big one, the biggest in this part of Cuba, a thousand cabs maybe. You know how they made the ranch? Batista stole the money, more than he could handle, and he sent out his people and they bought up land, piece after piece, no one dared to argue about it, and told the people living on the farms: 'Get out! Go away! Go starve to death in the hills!'

"So they fenced in the ranch and got the cattle from the States; good stock, what did Batista care how much they cost? The Cuban people were paying for everything. Then they hired a foreman and some cowhands and some laborers at a couple of dollars a day to keep the land clear, to plant grass, and build fences, and dig wells, and all that. And the Batistas sat around in their mansions and one day a cattle buyer came and said, 'Hey, want to sell some cattle?' and they said O.K. and the buyer hired hands and rounded up the cattle and after shipping them he sent Batista a fat check; no one tried to cheat Batista; he better not!

"They got away with their money all right but the land and cattle had to stay in Cuba and so we took them and now we're going to bring back those families Batista chased away; they will be the cooperativistas here, and when we make a profit, they will get a share, if we make a profit. INRA has put in about \$600,000 to make something out of this place for those families, maybe even a million in the last ten months. This co-operative is producing tobacco, tomatoes, cucumbers, peppers, hogs, cattle, chickens, eggs, and peanuts, for oil; and we should get some rice soon and maybe even cotton. I'll bet there will be hundreds of families living off this Batista ranch, and living better than they ever did before."

Then I went to INRA headquarters and checked on the same co-operative. I was told:

"Here's a report on that co-operative, the one made out of the Batista ranch you saw. The investment is just under \$600,000. What? No, that doesn't take in the farm machinery and other equipment rented to the co-operative by INRA. The \$600,000 covers the cost of plowing, fertilizer, seeding,

cultivating (for tomatoes that's expensive), and harvesting--labor and all. And for new sheds for the hogs and chickens, and yes, for the new tobacco planting and the drying sheds, the store, and sorting and packing plant I think that's included, but I'm not sure.

"What? The peanuts? Forgot about them. Guess you know already we made a mistake. Planted at the wrong time. Complete loss. But look here, we're learning and we're getting better people in to advise and help. So we made a mistake. What? No, I don't believe those imported hogs are dying off. Who told you that? Go and see our 'hog city' up the road. They're doing O.K. The chickens? Well, that wasn't too successful. Live and learn.

"Why does it cost us \$4,000 a cab for rice? Who told you that? Twice too much? I don't believe it. I'll check into that. But look here. Private business is one thing and an INRA co-operative is something else.

"What do I mean? It's simple. We're trying to win economic independence by planting crops Cuba now has to import for dollars. We're spending pesos but we're not spending dollars and that's exactly how we want it. So if in pesos we spend more [figuring one peso equals one dollar] than the same food would cost in dollars if imported, so what? We're still ahead because Cuba still has more dollars left for other things, like machinery to create other crops, or for mines, or oil, or factories so we'll have jobs for everyone instead of for only half the people."

In the provincial capital I talked with the owner of a retail store who had lived in Havana. He gave me this story:

"This is how I heard it: The United States concern decides to build the tire plant, the one across the bay from Havana. It's a big investment and the law provides for ten years without taxation, an inducement to get in new capital for plants and such. O.K., but Batista wants a cut, always wanted a cut. In this case, he demanded and got the right to have his man made personnel chief for the new plant. Not much, eh?

"Well this is how I heard it. And straight from the person involved, an immigrant from Europe who qualified for a job in a tire plant because in the old country he had been an engineer in a tire plant. Should be enough, shouldn't it? He had a labor permit and everything and he goes out to the United States business and he meets the North American manager and he presents his credentials and the manager says, 'Swell, we need men like you' but you'll have to see Señor 'Whosis,' our personnel man who does all the hiring. That's the Batista man.

"Sure he can get the job . . . if he'll pay \$10,000 in cash to Mr. 'Whosis' and promise always to vote for and back up Batista. Or, if he doesn't have that much cash, deductions from his salary for a couple of years plus a small

cash payment can be arranged. Payoff and Batista--or no job. In this case it was no job."

One hears scores of such stories about Batista's Cuba, of corruption, vice, cruelty, and depravity. The Revolution was the result. But it is difficult now to recapture the feelings of the Cubans in January 1959 when the Batista regime crumbled and Fidel Castro entered Havana in triumph, the island and the islanders at his feet.

### Fidel's Trail Through Pinar del Rio

A little of the feeling for Fidel in those days runs through the following account of two journeys into the Province of Pinar del Rio, the first by Fidel in the summer of 1959 and the second, my journey, this year.

When the National Institute for Agrarian Reform was a youthful branch of the Revolutionary Government instead of the superstructure it is today, its chiefs made a trip into Pinar del Rio Province, the most western part of Cuba. I covered the same ground in two months of travel.

The earlier journey has been put on record by the director of INRA, Dr. Antonio Núñez Jiménez, and it began as did mine, in an automobile on the road alongside the former Batista stronghold, the ancient but remodeled military fortress called Columbia, now Liberty City. Leading the party was Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz, the Prime Minister, and with him were INRA's director and Baudilio Castellanos, then the director of the Government's Public Beaches and Tourist Attractions Administration now director of INIT, the Instituto Nacional de Industrias Turisticas.

They spent close to two hours inspecting the work of converting Camp Columbia into an education center and then set out for Pinar del Rio to "study new tourist attraction centers. For the chief of government [Fidel] has added to the enormous work of INRA the job of making Cuba into a friendly place so that Cubans can save the foreign credits [divisas] now escaping through the exportation of our tourists."

After observing, as I did, the wonderful old laurels shading the central highway as it enters the province, the revolutionary travelers noted "the disgraceful work of la Compañía de Electricidad [a United States corporation]" in shaving off trees to clear space for their wires. "Why couldn't they have strung their cables a few yards back from the road?" asks Fidel. [The fact was that the company did not have title to land that far from the road.]

Their first stop was at the finca "La Coronela" a property of "one of the confidence men of the defeated tyranny, now a part of the 'free territory of INRA,' a finca of 50 caballerías farmed by the workers of INRA. Leading

us was the engineer [agricultural] Rolando Fernández, INRA chief of the zone. Fidel asked a thousand questions of the farmers about how the 17 co-operatives in the region of San Cristóbal were functioning and exposed his plans for the creation of a pig farm to produce fats and other products for which we Cubans spend 30,000,000 pesos a year."

They journeyed on, as I did, to San Diego de los Baños, to the Hacienda of Cortina, "an enormous feudal estate of over 1,000 caballerías of beautiful land, where it is proposed to create an INRA Agro-Turística." At the great gates they were met by "a farmer with a friendly face, the interventer and INRA official who with his men, maintains the crops and guards the artistic treasures of the finca."

The visitors then passed through the English gardens of the estate (owned by a Havana attorney) observing the reproductions of Greek sculpture, the ancient treasures from Japan, and the enormous Chinese pagoda along the lake formed by the San Diego River. "Then we visited the owner's home [it was his country place] which clearly reflected the dreams of the proprietor of feudal grandeur. And still living on the estate were the poor guajiros, bearing the same misery of their grandfathers, living like the Indians in thatched huts with dirt floors. Fidel met with them and told of his plans: for some, plots of land, for others, co-operatives and the conversion of the central estate into a tourist attraction . . . .

"It was getting late. Someone suggested we pass the night in the main house of the estate. Fidel was opposed, respecting the law. The Government had not acquired the title to the rustic property we were inspecting. And he ordered a return to the highway to continue to the hills of the Sierra de los Organos." There the official party pitched tents and throughout the lovely Cuban night the men talked of their plans to remake their island into a paradise for the humble who live on it. "The Cubans will come to know Cuba and her beauties while living a healthy and happy life," Fidel is reported to have declared to his companions.

"The morning advanced. The revolutionary projects of the constructive revolution were outlined in these talks among a group of men, without any personal interests, giving up their sleep to think how they could bring more happiness to the people and more glory to la Patria . . . . Fidel outlined his ideas about the agrarian reform, the co-operatives to be founded, the raising of pigs for the making of lard so we could save what we spend on present imports . . . . Thus, while the people of Cuba slept, their fundamental guide, wide awake, guarded their dreams and planned their future."

The rest of this journey was by helicopter, to Viñales and Guane, where they "studied the planting of 3,000 caballerías in peanuts, between Guane and Mantua, and where 100 co-operatives are producing between 1,000 and 2,000 pesos of income per family per year . . . the zone has been converted from feudalism, when a few individuals held it down, to prosperity . . . ."



Thus the report of the INRA chief on his journey into Pinar del Rio as the agrarian reform was getting under way. And what about my report? I also saw the feudal Cortina hacienda, though the home was locked. I met the genial farmer in charge and talked to Engineer Rolando Fernández, INRA administrator for the zone. I went to Viñales and saw the fields planted in peanuts. I had no helicopter, however, and instead of camping in the woods (which would have been pleasant) I passed nights in hotels and the homes of farmers, ranchers, and sugar mill managers.

I inspected Fidel's hogs. INRA has turned his idea into reality; Rolando Fernández had done it. I was told how he did it. And there were suggestions that not all was perfect.

When Fidel had thought out loud during his journey into Pinar del Rio, it was as if a command had been given. Rolando Fernández studied farm journals from the United States. He read the advertisement of a man in the Middle West who had varieties of hogs to sell, imported and domestic. "Write to him," said Fernández to his American assistant, a veteran of the Rebel Army, Neil McCauley. "Tell him we will buy a thousand of his hogs." Neil wrote. The Midwesterner replied, unbelieving, doubtful. He would need a large dollar deposit, he said, and time to assemble the animals.

"Tell him the money will be deposited in New York," ordered the INRA zone boss. "And," reported Neil, "it was. The letter of credit went out right away. But this American was so overwhelmed, so surprised, and so cautious that he lost the order. The hogs were purchased elsewhere, some in England, some in Scandinavia, some in the United States. It happened just like that."

And then? Some say the imported hogs will flourish in Cuba; others say the climate is too hot, the local diseases fatal for these visitors from abroad. "They are dying," a Cuban stockraiser told me. "You cannot raise these big fellows here. Only the native hog flourishes." And a missionary from the United States, with a score of years in Cuba, also a hog fancier, said there were grave dangers for the imports.

But there they were, I saw them, thousands of big grunting animals, assembled in the co-operatives of San Cristóbal by Rolando Fernández because Fidel had said Cuba must make its own lard. The cost? No one would or could say. The outcome? No one knows. Maybe Fidel is right, but the experts doubt it.

The peanuts? They were sown soon after Fidel said they should be. But seasonally it was the wrong time and the first batch failed. But the sowing continues; experts have been called into Pinar del Rio, and who knows? Cuba may produce its own refined oils and stop importing them.

And Cortina, the feudal estate? It is every bit as imposing as Dr. Núñez

Jiménez reported, though the owner's home seemed modest and weather-beaten to us. The INRA men, following Fidel's plans, are converting the garden into something else, and there are new little houses half finished, and a motel is under way. If the funds and materials last, for this and hundreds of other such projects, the results should be good. The question is, will they suffice? Can success be hoped for reform and reconstruction on such a scale, originated in talks around a campfire, and initiated so impetuously?

Maybe it can. Maybe it can't. The revolutionaries seemed to have come to the pause for reflection. They seem to have struck a roadblock on the road of their fine intentions.

One more comment. Fidel, needing quarters for the night, refused to occupy a house to which the Government had not acquired title. Dr. Núñez Jiménez, in emphasizing Fidel's respect for the law, wrote: "Seeing that scene I could not do less than contrast the changes made in our republican life before and after the first day of January 1959 [the day Castro took over from Batista]."

Nor can I do less than contrast the changes since that evening in the Cortina hacienda. For scores upon scores of "rustic properties," ranches, sugar estates, farms, and homes, have been occupied in Pinar del Rio and the other provinces, although the Government has not acquired title to them. This is accomplished through "intervention," which gives the Government full control although technically it is not expropriation.

#### INRA As an Instrument of Revolution

To see for myself how Fidel's Revolution affected the Cubans I selected for initial study the Province of Pinar del Rio.

Before Fidel started to revolutionize it, the province of Pinar del Rio --the tail of the crocodile Cuba resembles--was neither rich nor populous nor, a decade or so back, fully developed. For this information I am indebted to Cuban friends and to INRA's Dr. Núñez Jiménez, once a professor and the author of a controversial Geography of Cuba.

Núñez Jiménez fixes the population of Pinar del Rio shortly before the Revolution at 448,442 (500,000 is the preferred current estimate) and its area at 13,500 square kilometers. He estimated the then value of urban and rural real estate in the province at \$70,354,000 and the net income to the owners of cultivated land at \$3,853,000. There are nine sugar centrales (refineries) one of the Western Hemisphere's largest copper mines, a cement plant, and assorted smaller factories and stores. The province is rich in tobacco and produces impressive amounts (for Cuba) of rice, fruits, vegetables, and sugar cane. It is agriculturally speaking a fair cross-section of the Cuban economy.

Over the last 20 years there were developed in Pinar del Rio many beautiful ranches that produced breeding and slaughter cattle and a substantial number of pigs. And the province has its share of fishing, tourism, spas, and beauty, not to mention caves and bats.

Pinar del Rio contains also a natural phenomenon in the abrupt mogotes --steep rock formations arising from the valley floors, variously shaped as castles and animals. They are said to be the remains of mountain peaks and they resemble more than anything else the tops of high mountains. Many contain deep caves where the bats roost; the guano deposits are about to be exploited.

At twilight, the valley of Viñales which lies in the most mountainous part of the province, is reminiscent of a South Pacific island. The land turns brown and green; palm, mango, and chirimoya trees abound; pigs feed on the palm nuts scattered about while bats circle on high.

Not far away is the Gulf of Mexico and the narrowing straits between Cuba and Mexico's Yucatán. The height adds coolness to the offshore breeze, the latitude brings all the color and perfume of the semitropics and to top off this paradise there are pools fed by warm springs. And a visitor can put up in one of the valley's commodious if ancient hotels. The Revolutionary Government is constructing a new hotel and motel on a height called la Loma de los Jazmines outside the town of Viñales.

Into this land of the pleasant Cuban guajiro, the lean farmer and cow-hand of the countryside, INRA has come to create a new economy of co-operatives, of Government-sponsored housing, of new crops, and revolutionary managers to supplant the old owners. And other Government agencies have moved in to build new latrines, to build schools, roads, and sidewalks and to take over (usually through INRA) useless land and dormant factories.

INRA thus is the largest enterprise of the province, and the most complex in its history. The four INRA zones easily could include half the useful real estate of Pinar del Rio, much of it in process of change and of new development. Whatever happens in Cuba, its agricultural face never will be the same again.

In the INRA zones of Pinar del Rio Province, according to admittedly incomplete provincial records, there were 114 co-operatives formed out of farm and ranch land, three sugar mills, about 100 retail stores, warehouses, and distribution centers; two feed factories; scores of transport centers and other small industrial concerns; forest lands and housing projects, a boat-building co-operative, fishing co-operatives, fruit co-operatives, and other enterprises, including a canning plant, a textile plant, tobacco sheds, and rice mills.

Much of the tobacco production had been concentrated by April 1960 in INRA co-operatives. Núñez Jiménez set a prerevolution value on the tobacco crop of the province at \$15,383,000. INRA co-operatives had taken over land which accounted for close to 80 per cent of that figure and in addition some of the grazing land taken into the co-operatives was planted to tobacco.

Of the estimated 370,188 head of grazing cattle and milk cows in the province before the Revolution (estimate by Núñez Jiménez) certainly more than 50 per cent was under INRA brand by April 1960. However, blooded stock was left with the owners except in cases where the owners had been charged with offenses against the State.

Because of Fidel's partial embargo, later lifted, on INRA operations in the sugar business, most of the cane land planted by the mills or controlled by them, remained outside of INRA. The three mills and their cane lands operated by INRA employed an estimated 7,500 hands and produced around 800,000 sacks of sugar.

Of the province's industries (mainly copper mining and cement) and its wholesale and retail businesses, surely the great majority remained outside of INRA as late as April 1960. Many of them reported they were operating at a loss and nearly all of the owners or managers I interviewed expected to go down soon. Even in the unlikely event that they could successfully compete with INRA, they saw their sources of capital drying up and also faced the hazard of INRA seizure of their enterprises.

Pinar del Rio does have a number of profitable enterprises, some of them under INRA and some under private ownership. In San Juan de Martínez there is a former ranch (Mundito) now a co-operative village which is not only complete and functioning but also clean, efficient, and attractive. The land looks well cultivated. This is an INRA showplace.

Nearby is the \$2,600,000 tobacco finca of the Cuba Land and Leaf Tobacco Company, formed with United States capital and under American management. The sharecroppers working this rich land, ideal for the leaf tobacco used in the most expensive cigars, are prosperous; their homes are good; there are educational and recreational facilities. The men of INRA in the province had nothing to say against this project.

Also in Pinar del Rio on beautiful Cabañas Bay a Canadian who operated a prosperous motel had suffered no INRA interference.

INRA Zone 2 of the province, last spring was engaged in these activities: the cultivation of rice, tomatoes, peppers, cucumbers, tobacco, sugar cane, corn, beans, fruit, and various grains; the raising of thousands of cattle, hogs, and chickens; the packing, sorting, drying, milling, and shipping of such products as rice, tomatoes, peppers, cucumbers, and tobacco; the operation and repair

of many farm machines, trucks, and jeeps; the egg business, the feed business, the wholesale and retail merchandising business with some 30 outlets; the building of homes, schools, medical and recreation facilities; and the operation of scores of co-operative administrative centers with chiefs, accountants, paymasters, and other office personnel. And it had by no means stopped growing.

This complex and growing organization, which would tax the abilities of a thoroughly experienced administrator, was under the direction of a 31-year-old Cuban who a few years earlier was graduated from the University of Havana with a degree in agricultural engineering.

A co-operative called Humberto Núñez in the municipality of Consolación del Sur in Zone 1 of the same province was listed on provincial headquarter records as employing 700 workers. Actually, it employed only 300 in an off-season month and up to 1,500 during the harvest. Controlling hundreds of caballerías of land, engaged in both cattle (4,000 head) and rice production, meeting a payroll ranging from \$14,000 to \$20,000 a month, this is one of the largest co-operatives in Cuba. Yet little information about it was available in the provincial headquarters.

For instance the number of co-operative members was recorded as 100 but at the co-operative there were 172 listed members with a prospect of up to 300 by harvest time. The 1,000 cabs of land which had been taken to form the co-operative was listed as Agrícola Herradura. The property in fact had belonged to Cia. Agrícola del Caribe S.A. That concern was taken over by a Government bank when it defaulted on a loan. INRA subsequently acquired the bank and along with it the agricultural property.

INRA's Zone 3 PR, has a less complex operation. The administrator, Alberto Hernández, was a bank clerk before he took over the direction of three sugar mills, scores of sugar cane co-operatives, and 21 co-operatives raising cattle, pork, coffee, fruits, beans, rice, and tobacco on a total of some 13,000 acres of separated land. And in this zone, also, INRA was continuing its rapid expansion of operations.

Stationed in the provincial capital, the INRA provincial delegate Captain José Ramón Alvarez, once known as Captain Cesar, was, according to the organization chart, the supervisor of zones 1, 2 (which he once administered), 3 (with the three sugar mills), and 4. I visited his office many times and lunched with him and his wife. He had been a pharmacist's assistant before he joined the Castro rebels in the hills of Pinar del Rio shortly after he had been picked up and beaten by a group of Batista bullies. He was assisted in the office by a tired middle-aged stenographer and several young men, including a lawyer. Their offices, on the ground floor of the city's noisiest street, were three in number, each about the size of a large closet. There were two filing cabinets. And there was a stream of visitors.

Plainly, the administrator of INRA for Pinar del Rio depended on the zone delegates who in turn depended on the co-operative administrators. The system was operating from the bottom upward.

But it was operating, when I was there, though I doubt if any zone delegate knew what he was responsible for or what he was supposed to do. The word "anarchy" seems best to describe INRA in the zones of Pinar del Rio.

Corn was planted where it couldn't grow. Peanuts were planted at the wrong season and so badly handled that the crop was a total loss. The success of the hog program was in doubt because the foreign stock selected might not survive in Cuba. The chicken-egg business looked like a failure. Rice cultivation was costing twice what it should. The export crops were poor. Cattle were in bad shape in many places. Housing projects were left half finished and school floors were used for threshing beans by hand. Lack of adequate water supplies could wreck some fine co-operatives. Payroll costs were high. The people's stores weren't impressive; their prices weren't remarkable. Scores of the wrong kind of expensive farm machinery had been purchased and scores of autos and trucks were immobilized for lack of parts.

Few of these errors were confessed, none was publicized. The losses were hidden. I was not shown a report on the "model" co-operative Los Pinos. However, I was told the investment in buildings, seed, and other material (but not machinery) totaled \$600,000. The co-operatives managed to ship abroad in ten months, through a commission firm in Florida, some \$300,000 worth of tomatoes, peppers, and cucumbers. The rice produced there and on other nearby co-operatives was widely described as inferior. The peanut crop, as stated earlier, was a failure. A rough estimate of the losses of Los Pinos during its first year would be between \$1,000,000 and \$2,000,000, including the fair value of the machinery acquired and the stock purchased.

Los Pinos (near the town of San Cristóbal in Zone 2), according to the records of the provincial delegate of INRA, under whose jurisdiction the zone and the co-operative operates, had 84 members, each the head of a family, and it was producing tomatoes, peanuts, and tobacco, on 7,300 acres. But according to the records shown me a day later at Los Pinos, there were 94 members, each the head of a family, and it was producing tomatoes, peanuts, tobacco, okra, rice, corn, beans, potatoes (papas), and several other crops, and in addition raised pigs, chickens, and sold eggs.

The young Cuban responsible for its management was energetic and self-confident. He did his own buying abroad. North Americans assisted him in marketing his products. And Fidel Castro and INRA leaders in Havana seemed pleased. They took VIP's (including Mikoyan) to Los Pinos.

The Co-operative El Rosario is near the fishing village La Esperanza in the municipality of Viñales in Zone 1 of the same province and, according to

the same provincial records, it had 100 members working 376 caballerías and producing cattle and corn. In fact there were 80 working members and 520 listed members, with partially finished houses for 120 families and the co-operative produced pineapples, bananas, beans, and corn and raised cattle (5,000 head) and some 1,000 pigs.

INRA operations date administratively from April 1959, but actually little was done until mid-May of that year. In general, it was about ten months of revolutionary activity in the INRA sphere that I could observe last spring in Pinar del Rio.

### The Heavy Hand of Revolution

Outside the INRA sphere, the revolutionaries have worked in two main arenas. For about six months they tried and punished Cubans for crimes committed during the Batista regime: 67 were executed in Pinar del Rio. Mr. Tom Willey, a Free Baptist missionary-teacher with 20 years of experience in Cuba, who personally solaced most of the condemned men and who had visited the prisons, was in no way critical of revolutionary justice as practiced by the courts in these earlier criminal cases.

But Willey and many others in a position to observe the practice of revolutionary justice were highly critical of the course it took as time went on. Many Cubans were sentenced to jail, many had their property expropriated after being charged and tried as counterrevolutionaries. Unlike those brought to justice shortly after Castro came to power, they were not under the cloud of having served Batista. The charges against them were of two categories: ownership of property acquired by wrongful means or conspiracy against the Castro regime. Those charged under the first category came within the jurisdiction of the Department for Recovery of Misappropriated Assets. Those charged with conspiracy against the regime were tried as criminals in the local court.

The reaction of Tom Willey to the revolutionary trials was shared by other churchmen in the province of Pinar del Rio. They all had many years of Cuban missionary or parish service. All had welcomed the overthrow of the Batista dictatorship and all were deeply troubled by the excesses of the Revolution as more and more people felt its heavy hand on them.

Only one, however, a young Roman Catholic parish priest who need not be named here, disclosed a total disillusionment that carried with it a conviction that renewed civil strife was inevitable for Cuba. When I interviewed him, he began by saying that he was a simple country priest without political inclinations or interests since he was busy enough tending to duties extending over so many villages and sugar bateys and that moreover it no longer was safe for Cubans to express themselves to anyone, even to the good friends of Doña

Cristina, our hostess of the day, for the Reds who were running Cuba were absolutely ruthless; he had just heard of two ladies who had been denounced by their servants as counterrevolutionaries and who had been arrested and jailed and had we heard of . . . .

The rest of what the priest told us need not be reported. It consisted of barbaridades. I found it interesting that his diatribe included no reports of people he knew to have been executed nor any of cruel and unusual treatment of prisoners or of maltreatment of the religious.

"Los rojos," the priest predicted, "sooner or later will have to deal with the Church. The showdown is coming." He believed that intervention from the mainland would be needed then.

This was the opinion of but a single Cuban-born parish priest, an earthy person of the bateys, but of non-African descent, who seemed to take it for granted that his views were those of many others, and too obvious to need hiding or justification. And as we moved about the province we concluded he had been right in his assumption. Aside from the bizarre quality of some of the tales he related, his attitude matched that of others in like position.





## APPENDIX I

[The following is the text of a press release distributed by the public relations division of the United States Embassy in Havana on February 13, 1960.]

### UNITED STATES EMBASSY REPLIES TO INQUIRIES ON SALE OF SUGAR TO THE UNITED STATES MARKET

The following release was made by the United States Embassy, February 13, 1960:

"In reply to numerous inquiries received by the United States Embassy concerning the agreement signed between Cuba and the Soviet Union, under which the latter agrees to purchase from Cuba one million tons of sugar for each of the five years 1960 to 1964, the Embassy made the following release:

"Cuba sold to the United States in 1959, 3,215,431 short tons of sugar at an average price of \$106.92 per short ton or \$343,793,388 (5.346 cents per pound, f.o.b. Cuba) and Cuba has been allocated in 1960 an initial quota of 3,119,655 short tons, which is subject to possible later increments. This will also be sold at the premium United States price of at least five cents per pound. There are no limitations on the use of the proceeds of these sales by Cuba.

"Cuba has already sold to the Soviet Union in 1960, 575,000 tons at less than three cents per pound--and at less than the world market price--and under the newly signed agreement will sell an additional 425,000 tons this year. The price has not been announced, but will presumably not be above the world price, which is currently at less than three cents per pound, since Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan stated on February 12 that the Soviet Union bought and sold only at the world price. If the United States bought at that price, Cuba would have received approximately \$150,000,000 less for its sales of sugar to the United States during 1959. Under the agreement, most of the proceeds of the sale to the Soviet Union must be used to purchase goods in the Soviet Union. Further, no assurances are contained in the new agreement as described in the official communiqué that the sugar sold to the Soviet Union is destined for consumption only in that country.

"The comparison is believed to be enlightening as to the relative importance to Cuba of the United States and the Soviet Union as markets for Cuban sugar."

\* \* \* \* \*

In response to many inquiries received, the American Embassy makes available below [see opposite page] tables of sugar sales from February 4, 1955 to February 5, 1960.

SALES OF CUBAN SUGAR TO U.S.S.R. AND COMPARABLE  
PRICES FOR CUBAN SUGAR IN THE WORLD AND THE  
UNITED STATES MARKETS

(Source, U.S.-Cuban Sugar Council)

Date of Purchase by U.S.S.R.	Quantity Purchased <sup>1</sup> by U.S.S.R.	Quantity in terms of raw sugar, short tons - U.S.S.R.	Price Paid by U.S.S.R. (cents per pound)	Price FAS Cuba	
				World Market	United States <sup>5</sup>
<u>1955:</u>					
Feb. 4	150,000	168,000	3.05	3.17	5.00
Mar. 15	50,000	56,000	3.23	3.20	4.85
Apr. 4	100,000	119,840	3.05 <sup>4</sup>	3.31	5.01
Apr. 11	50,000	59,920	3.05 <sup>4</sup>	3.30	4.93
June 3	120,000	134,400	3.125	3.36	5.13
Dec. 13	200,000 <sup>2</sup>	224,000	3.05	3.13	4.83
(No sales in 1956)					
<u>1957:</u>					
Feb. 25	200,000	224,000	5.85	6.05	5.08
Apr. 10	150,000	168,000	6.12	6.15	5.15
<u>1958:</u>					
Jan. 23	100,000	112,000	3.65	3.73	5.36
Apr. 24	78,000	87,360	3.28	3.47	5.37
May 1	10,000	11,200	3.28	3.42	5.37
<u>1959:</u>					
Aug. 11	170,000	190,400	2.58	2.73	5.45
Sept. 30	330,000 <sup>3</sup>	369,600	2.905	3.08	5.63
<u>1960:</u>					
Feb. 5	345,000	386,400	2.78	2.90	5.11

<sup>1</sup> English long tons, raw sugar, except April 4 and 11, 1955, which were refined sugar.

<sup>2</sup> For delivery in 1956.

<sup>3</sup> 230,000 tons for delivery in 1960.

<sup>4</sup> The contract for the refined sugar purchased on these dates was 4.20 cents per pound. The equivalent price for raw sugar to Cuban producers is believed to have been 3.05 cents per pound.

<sup>5</sup> Price New York minus freight and insurance.