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MAJOR AMERICAN NEWS MAGAZINES AND THE

CUBAN REVOLUTION: 1957-1971

By

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B.A., STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO, 1970

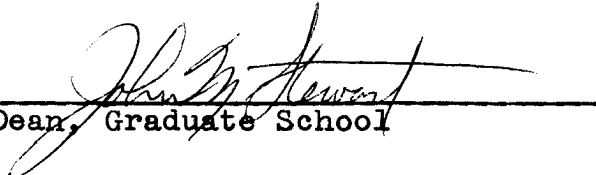
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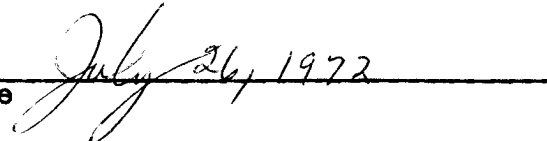
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PREFACE

"When you mention Fidel Castro, the American people see red. Nearly everyone wants to get rid of him." A 1961 public opinion poll published in U.S. News & World Report thus reflected the attitude of millions of people, if not "nearly everyone," in the United States. The 13-year-old regime of Fidel Castro has indeed provoked a torrent of emotion--generally negative--in this country, and some critics of the mass media have accused the "opinion leaders" of deliberately stressing the negative aspects of life in revolutionary Cuba, while ignoring its positive social achievements.

To test the validity of these allegations, I have read and analyzed every article concerning Cuba in the three major U.S. weekly news magazines--Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report--for five time periods between 1957 and 1971. A table comprising Appendix A summarizes the weekly news magazine coverage of the Cuban revolution for the interim periods, and the concluding chapter examines the various techniques each magazine employed--including the deliberate use of value-laden adjectives, verbs, and adverbs--to add subjective judgments to its news articles.

With a combined circulation of nearly nine million

in 1971, these publications are generally acknowledged to have great influence, and their interpretation of a particular issue undoubtedly affects the views of tens of millions of Americans.

For their time and effort expended on my behalf, I would like to express my appreciation to the members of my graduate committee: Professors Warren J. Brier, Dean of the School of Journalism; Robert C. McGiffert of the School of Journalism; and Leo B. Lott, Chairman of the Department of Political Science.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my wife Jayne, for her advice, patience, and typing.

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CHAPTER I

CUBA BEFORE CASTRO, AND THE UNITED STATES BACKGROUND TO DISASTER

Cuba's strategic position and agricultural potential made the island a prime concern of the United States from the early nineteenth century. At that time prominent statesmen openly advocated adding the island to the fledgling American republic, and the Monroe Doctrine was formulated in part to discourage British aspirations toward Cuba.¹

Throughout the first half of the century, the State Department encouraged Spain's colonial rule of Cuba as a deterrent to the militarily superior British, but Southerners who viewed the island as a ripe candidate for the expansion of slavery spurred a new wave of annexation furor at mid-century. Spain, however, repeatedly refused various U.S. offers to purchase one of the last remnants of its once-proud American empire.

¹Thomas Jefferson said of the island: "I have looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of States."

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, who was later to write the Monroe Doctrine, termed Cuba and Puerto Rico "natural appendages to the North American continent." Cuba, he said, "can gravitate only towards the North American Union" (cited by Harry F. Guggenheim, The United States and Cuba /New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934/, pp. 2-4).

Anti-Spanish feeling ran high in the U.S. after a ten-year Cuban revolt was crushed in 1878. A new surge of revolution in 1895 revived calls for annexation, as reports of Spanish atrocities and damage to the 50 million dollar U.S. investment in Cuba swept the nation.² Inflamed by the exaggerations of the yellow press and the loss of the battleship Maine in Havana harbor in 1898, public opinion demanded war with Spain. Facing the prospect of inevitable defeat, Spain acceded to American pressure and agreed to grant an armistice should the Cubans ask for it. When the rebels refused to do so, war with Spain was inevitable.³

A week after President William McKinley delivered the equivalent of a war message to Congress--marking the first official U.S. interference in Cuban affairs--the Teller Amendment to a Joint Congressional Resolution proclaimed:

The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and the control of the island to its people.

²In 1897, a group of New York financiers proposed a grandiose solution to the Cuban problem--the purchase of Cuba from Spain by the insurgents, presumably at a substantial profit to the Americans (David F. Healy, The United States in Cuba: 1898-1902 /Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963/, pp. 14-15).

³Healy, p. 17. As "the most popular foreign crusade in the nation's history" began, newspaper editors, clergymen, civic leaders, and politicians evoked a common theme--the "beneficence of Anglo-Saxon institutions that must be incorporated into Cuban life" (Lester D. Langley, The Cuban Policy of the United States: A Brief History /New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1968/, p. 110).

By refusing to recognize the Cuban insurgent government, however, Congress and the McKinley Administration perpetuated U.S. influence over Cuban affairs. During the brief war, the U.S.-Cuban relationship deteriorated to the point that the Americans often accused their allies of cowardice and thievery while denigrating the substantial contribution made by the Cuban army.⁴ This attitude was reflected in the nation's newspapers, as editors "suddenly discovered that the heroic and victimized Cubans were actually a base rabble unfit for freedom."⁵ Consequently, peace negotiations between Spain and the U.S. scarcely touched on the question of Cuban independence, and a period of transitory supervision by U.S. military forces followed the Spanish evacuation.

The paternalistic spirit which drove the U.S. to war with Spain endured in its aftermath, as a succession of military governors sought to rebuild the war-ravaged island in the image of the United States.⁶ While improving sanitary conditions, instituting public works projects, and rooting out corruption, American jurisdiction over Cuba engendered resentment, as Cuban self-determination guaranteed by the Teller Amendment was denied.⁷

A more durable encroachment on the island's independence was forced on a reluctant Cuban Constitutional

⁴Healy, p. 35.

⁵Ibid., p. 36.

⁶Langley, pp. 119-22.

⁷Ibid., p. 119.

Convention in 1901--the Platt Amendment. Fearing European intrusion into the Caribbean area and believing the U.S. to be morally responsible for Cuban affairs, Secretary of State Elihu Root formulated a series of provisions to be incorporated into the new Cuban Constitution, including the right of the U.S. to intervene to protect Cuban independence and maintain stability.⁸ Although the Cubans initially rejected this constriction on their autonomy, they preferred it to a continuation of U.S. military rule, and eventually acquiesced. Enraged at its provisions, many Cubans regarded the amendment as a symbol of colonialism; the U.S., they believed, had merely replaced Spain as the arbiter of Cuba's destiny.⁹

Before its abrogation in 1934, the Platt Amendment sanctioned repeated U.S. interventions in Cuba, while fostering the political instability that made such intervention possible. In 1906, for example, Cuba's first President, Thomás Estrada Palma, resigned at a crucial moment during a political crisis, virtually guaranteeing American intervention to prevent a revolution.¹⁰ The resultant U.S. military occupation lasted until 1909. In 1912, 500 Marines landed at Guantánamo when disenchanting

⁸Other clauses included:

- A commitment not to sign any treaty that impaired Cuban independence or to grant foreign powers special concessions without American permission.

- A pledge to keep the Cuban debt at a low level.

- A grant of sites for naval bases on the island (Langley, p. 124).

⁹Ibid., p. 126.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 127.

blacks and veterans threatened to destroy U.S. property, and Justice, Navy, and War Department agents searched the island for Germans in 1917.

As the "big stick" policy transformed the Caribbean into an "American lake," U.S. economic interests steadily gained greater control of the Cuban economy. A 1903 reciprocity treaty lowered the tariff on Cuban sugar, encouraging an explosive growth of trade between the two nations and cementing Cuba's dependence on a single dominant crop. By the mid-1920's, the U.S. investment in Cuba had surpassed one billion dollars, and American interests controlled approximately 70 per cent of the Cuban sugar industry.¹¹ One U.S. historian contends that "economically Cuba remained as much a colony in the twentieth century as it had been under four centuries of Spanish rule."¹²

After U.S. General Enoch Crowder had conceived and instituted a revised electoral code designed to promote Cuban political stability, and the Cuban Government had secured a 50 million dollar loan from J.P. Morgan and Company, a new sense of Cuban nationalism and concomitant anti-Americanism arose during the early 1920's. Gerardo Machado was elected

¹¹Dexter Perkins, The United States and the Caribbean (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 159; Robert F. Smith, The United States and Cuba: Business and Diplomacy, 1917-1960 (New York: Bookman Associates, 1960), p. 29. Other U.S. investments were made in railroad and steamship lines, mining, fruit, tobacco, and electric transportation (Perkins, p. 158).

¹²Langley, p. 139.

President of Cuba in 1924 on a platform of opposition to the Platt Amendment, but his increasingly repressive reign had the backing of U.S. business interests.¹³ The State Department likewise favored the restoration of Cuban stability under Machado, and the Hoover Administration was content to ignore the burgeoning internal opposition to his dictatorial regime.

Wracked by internal rebellion for three years, Cuba was by 1933 near collapse, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt dispatched career diplomat Sumner Welles to Havana to safeguard American lives and property, attempt to mediate a political settlement, and convince Machado that the American people were shocked by the wave of terrorism.¹⁴ "The Butcher" ignored Welles' appeals for a settlement and was forced to retire only when the army withdrew its support.

Machaco's successor remained in office less than a month. In September, 1933, a group of noncommissioned officers led by Sergeant Fulgencio Batista staged a "barracks revolt" in conjunction with other revolutionary groups and formed a new government under Dr. Ramón Grau San Martín. On the recommendation of Welles, the U.S. Government

¹³Smith, pp. 113-14. Machado had close relationships with various U.S.-operated businesses in Cuba, and he was entertained by American business groups during a trip to New York after the election. This support continued unabated during his first term. A proposed 1928 Senate resolution, condemning the "virtual dictatorship" that resorted to terror to maintain power, was strongly opposed by U.S. businessmen who cited the regime's benevolence toward American interests (Langley, pp. 114-20).

¹⁴Ibid., p. 154.

withheld recognition of the Grau regime, despite its enactment of several significant social reform laws. Batista, meanwhile, consolidated support and prepared to seize power. When he did so in January, 1934, the State Department extended full recognition within five days.¹⁵

Batista was the most influential political leader in Cuba for the next 25 years, bringing the political stability and warm economic climate for American investors the U.S. Government had sought since 1898, while formulating progressive labor legislation and an idealistic constitution. He lost the 1944 election to Grau, however, who espoused revolutionary and nationalistic ideals. Neither he nor his successor, Carlos Prío Socarrás, could lessen U.S. economic control of Cuba, and in 1950 the largely U.S.-owned sugar industry remained dominant.¹⁶

Batista engineered a quiet coup d'etat in March, 1952, just three months before a scheduled election, and ruled the outwardly prosperous and U.S.-oriented nation until the nationalistic revolution of Fidel Castro prevailed in January, 1959.

Castro's first anti-Batista revolutionary exploit was leading an ill-conceived raid on the Moncada army barracks in Santiago in 1953 that left most of his accomplices

¹⁵Langley, p. 166.

¹⁶Although U.S. control of the sugar industry declined steadily during the 1950's, American-owned companies assumed 40 per cent of Cuba's profits from sugar exports.

dead or wounded. Castro was captured and sentenced to 15 years in prison. At his trial, the young revolutionary attained prominence by delivering an impassioned speech delineating his grievances against the Batista regime and his program to restore Constitutional government to Cuba.¹⁷

Unwisely confident, Batista issued a general amnesty for all political prisoners in 1955; Castro quickly fled to Mexico and formulated plans for an invasion of Cuba. Ostensibly timed to coincide with internal uprisings, the December, 1956, landing of 82 revolutionaries in Oriente Province ended in disaster--Castro and only a dozen followers managed to avoid capture and escape to the sanctuary of the Sierra Maestra. A diverse group of anti-Batista elements--including student revolutionaries and middle class Cubans--engaged in sabotage, bombings, and hit-and-run skirmishes with army troops during 1957 and 1958.

As opposition to his rule mushroomed, Batista blamed "communists" for the trouble and resorted to terrorism that was in large measure a repetition of the last years of Machado.¹⁸

With two U.S. ambassadors strongly supporting the

¹⁷History Will Absolve Me (Havana, 1960).

¹⁸American University, Foreign Area Studies Division, Special Warfare Area Handbook for Cuba (Washington, D.C., 1961), cited by Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, Cuba: The Making of a Revolution (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1968), p. 110.

dictatorship,¹⁹ the State Department continued to supply arms to the Cuban Government until March, 1958. Ostensibly for hemispheric defense, they were used with increasing frequency to suppress internal revolt during the late 1950's, engendering a wave of anti-Americanism that facilitated Castro's ascension to power January 1, 1959.

¹⁹Concerning the role of his two immediate predecessors in Havana, former ambassador Philip Bonsal writes:

"Our representation in Havana was using its not inconsiderable influence primarily in matters of concern to American business interests. These were numerous, important, and generally constructive. They had contributed substantially to the economic and social development of the country. Taken as a whole, however, their impact was irritating, stifling, and frustrating to the rising sense of Cuban nationalism" (Philip Bonsal, "Cuba, Castro, and the United States," Foreign Affairs, XLV /January, 1967, 264-65).

CHAPTER II

1957: CUBA IN REVOLT

As 1957 began, President Fulgencio Batista was in firm command of the Cuban Government, and outward signs of prosperity camouflaged the widespread rural poverty that American tourists, gamblers, and businessmen never saw.

Yet it was the students and the middle class who were most heartened by the news that Fidel Castro and a tiny group of revolutionaries had landed in southern Cuba in early December, 1956. Most of Batista's opposition had been spawned nearly five years earlier when he rudely interrupted the election he had no chance of winning legally.¹ But the graft and corruption that lined the pockets of a few served to alienate many more, and open rebellion in the form of bombings, arson, assassinations, and mutiny was common by year's end.

Castro's 26th of July Movement served more as a symbol of relief from Batista's increasingly terroristic reign than as a military threat during 1957, limiting itself to standard guerrilla tactics--hit-and-run raids on military outposts, followed by quick retreats into the

¹Boris Goldenberg, The Cuban Revolution and Latin America (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), pp. 110-13.

Sierra Maestra with government troops in futile pursuit. The government's position was becoming tenuous as 1957 ended, however, leaving many observers--including those who reported on Cuba for Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report--doubtful whether Batista could maintain sufficient control until February, 1959, when his term was to expire.

Time covered events in Cuba most thoroughly during the year, devoting 13 articles to the disintegration of "law and order." Its January 7 article began:

The quixotic little uprising in Cuba a month ago and its accompanying 82-man rebel invasion were never a major military threat to Strongman Fulgencio Batista, as even the revolutionaries would concede. But the rebels did hope that a bold show of opposition might rally the government's disorganized enemies to guerilla war and sabotage that would, if long continued, shake Batista's Government down. Last week, with bombing, killing, and arson on the rise, the regime was clearly fearful of such a possibility--and trigger-happy at the thought.²

In describing the rebel sabotage and attendant counter-revolutionary violence, the article noted that 21 "young hot-headed revolutionary types" had been killed recently, and "an army spokesman let slip that they had all been wanted on charges of terrorism." Time concluded that Batista's troops lacked the heart or the ability to capture Fidel Castro.

Time continued its coverage January 28 with a brief article describing rebel sabotage that spread into its third month, while Batista broadened his suspension of civil

²"Creeping Revolt," Time, January 7, 1957, p. 43.

rights and placed a total ban on news of civil violence.³

Bombs were said to have exploded in Havana three nights of six, while sugar cane was being burned by the rebels, and a Sierra Maestra battle left 28 soldiers and insurgents dead.

Four weeks later, as the Cuban Government was circulating reports of Castro's death and rebel defeats, Time ignored the rumors and noted that "though the dictator's army is well-equipped, it so far has been ineffectual against the kind of 'internal conflict' that has plagued the island for nearly three months."⁴ The article noted that two more bodies were found in unexplained murders, and the tourist and sugar industries were being hurt.

Despite the government's increasingly precarious position, Time said the U.S. sold it seven old Sherman tanks under a bilateral defense agreement. The article ended by surmising that "if it keeps up long enough, the unrest might lead . . . army officers to ominous speculation about just who is the best man to lead the country."

Herbert L. Matthews of the New York Times wrote three articles on Cuba beginning February 24, one about an

³"Tonight at 8:30," Time, January 28, 1957, p. 41.

⁴"Running Sore Revolt," ibid., February 25, 1957, p. 43. A United Press International dispatch had earlier reported that Castro had been killed in the December, 1956, invasion from Mexico. The New York Times, with many other newspapers across the country, gave credence to the story ("Cuba Wipes Out Invaders; Leader is Among 40 Dead," New York Times, December 3, 1956, pp. 1, 20).

interview with Fidel Castro in his mountain hideout.⁵ Newsweek discussed only the mechanics of the historic interview, i.e., how the writer managed to slip through government lines and meet clandestinely with the rebel leaders.⁶ In contrast, Time quoted a number of Matthews' observations and conclusions.⁷ Laudatory appraisals of Castro were printed in each story, but those of Time were more numerous and included a photograph of Castro, while the Newsweek article was accompanied by one of Batista.

Each magazine reported a March 13 student-led assassination attempt at the Presidential mansion in Havana in which many of the 40 attackers were killed, but did so from varied perspectives.

The Time and Newsweek articles glorified the rebellious students who "came within one flight of stairs"⁸

⁵A former U.S. Ambassador to Cuba (from 1957-1959), Earl E. T. Smith, told a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee in 1960 of the importance of these articles:

"Three front-page articles in the New York Times in early 1957, written by the editorialist, Herbert Matthews, served to inflate Castro to world stature and world recognition. Until that time, Castro had been just another bandit in the Oriente Mountains of Cuba with a handful of followers who terrorized the campesinos, that is the peasants. . . . From that time on, arms, money, and soldiers of fortune abounded. Much of the American press began to picture Castro as a political Robin Hood" (U.S., Senate, Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean / Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960, Part 9, p. 686).

⁶"The Quiet Man," Newsweek, March 4, 1957, p. 75.

⁷"Rebel Report," Time, March 4, 1957, p. 40.

⁸"Not Afraid to Die," ibid., March 25, 1957, p. 36.

of finding Batista. Time observed that Americans were undaunted by the attack:

Normality came back fast. In jammed planes U.S. tourists, held out of Cuba for a few hours when the airport was closed, flooded in; roulette wheels spun in the casinos, saucy chippies flirted in the nightspots. But at heart Cubans were sickened, and longed for what they call--with no concept of what it might be--"the solution."

The article concluded with an account of the retaliatory murders of three lowly oppositionists and an anti-Batista former senator who was found riddled with bullets.

Newsweek said that while students and business and professional men opposed Batista, "the economy is in good shape and the workers in general are satisfied. . . . Unless the soldiers turn against him, he can probably hang on for the rest of his term." As for the assassination attempt, the Newsweek article said: "After it was all over, Batista declared, with more feeling than accuracy, that the attack was carried out by 'poor fools paid by money robbed from the people and directed by Communists.'"⁹

U.S. News & World Report published a feature article on the Cuban situation but scarcely mentioned the attack. Instead, it concentrated on U.S. support for a fading regime:

A struggle to unseat Cuba's strongman President, General Fulgencio Batista, is under way on this island

⁹"On to the Palace," Newsweek, March 25, 1957, p. 58. The assassination attempt, led by a former member of Parliament and a student leader, had the support of former President Prío and Dominican dictator Raphael Trujillo. Castro later criticized the attack (Goldenberg, p. 156).

only 100 miles from the United States. It's a struggle in which no holds are barred and in which arms, tanks, and planes furnished by the U.S. Government are playing a big part.

.
 The Batista Government is fighting back hard, with a U.S.-equipped army of 20,000 men. Jet planes given to the government by the U.S. have dropped napalm bombs and strafed Castro's forces. Ground troops are using U.S.-made bazookas and small arms against Castro. When the attempt was made to assassinate the president, U.S.-made tanks rushed to his rescue.¹⁰

Much to the magazine's later regret, the article was generally sympathetic to the rebels. The slant is apparent in this passage:

The government charges that Communists are behind all the trouble. If you talk with well-informed Cubans outside the government, however, you hear a different story. . . . The real fight against General Batista is being made by non-Communists and non-gangsters.

A majority of the people here apparently are against Batista. . . .

Although the economy of Cuba was said to have been booming, the role of the U.S. in supplying war matériel "being used to shoot Cubans" was giving rise to anti-American feeling. In addition, U.S. News reported, "many Cubans complain that the U.S. Ambassador gives too many parties for President Batista and is photographed with him too often."¹¹ "Guerrilla Castro," looking the part of a

¹⁰"Revolt on U.S. Doorstep: The Story Behind the Uprising in Cuba," U.S. News & World Report, March 29, 1957, pp. 43-44.

¹¹The ambassador at that time was Arthur Gardner, who likewise testified at the Judiciary Subcommittee hearing in August, 1960. A sample of his remarks: "Batista had always leaned toward the U.S. I don't think we ever had a better friend. . . ." (U.S., Senate, Communist Threat to the United States, p. 664).

romantic revolutionary, was pictured at the top of the first page of the article, while "Strongman Batista" was shown below.

A brief April 29 Newsweek article reported the killing of four anti-Government students, noting: "Cuban President Batista's police deal with students--the chief rebels against his government--with deadly decisiveness." The dead students--including the acting president of the Havana University Student Federation--were said to have been "mowed down" when discovered hiding in a Havana apartment.¹²

The following week, however, Newsweek described the "quiet" that had returned to Cuba since mid-March.¹³ Students composed the bulk of the opposition, according to the article, while their organization, the Student Federation, was "nationalistic, inclined to the left, and anti-imperialistic, which means anti-U.S. . . ." Newsweek said the general public was apathetic because of Cuba's general prosperity; the bulk of Cuba's workers, as well as the businessmen, didn't want to "upset the apple cart."

Anti-Batista activity increased in June, as Time noted: "From tip to tip, Cuba was scorched by revolutionary violence last week"--sabotage continued and Castro led a raid on an army barracks in which 11 Batista soldiers were killed. The short-lived "quiet" had ended. "Once again,"

¹²"From Classroom to Die," Newsweek, April 29, 1957, p. 61.

¹³"Sugar and Strife," ibid., May 6, 1957, p. 63.

the article stated, "Batista's staying power was in question. . . . From Havana, orders went out for an all-out attack on the rebels."¹⁴

Under a two-column photograph of Castro and his rebel followers, Time the following week described the evacuation of the rebel-held Sierra Maestra region by government troops attempting the all-out attack. Batista was quoted as bitterly denouncing "'predatory opportunists' who seek through terrorism and disorder to damage their nation's economy as well as its prestige to satisfy their own anti-patriotic ambitions." Castro, however, had the support of the peasants of Oriente Province and nearly 400 seasoned men, according to the article. The center of civil resistance was said to have been Santiago, where Castro had become "a romantic hero."¹⁵

A discrepancy concerning an alleged battle between government forces and the rebels was evident in the accounts reported by Newsweek June 17 and Time June 24. Newsweek said

¹⁴"Revolutionary Upsurge, Time, June 10, 1957, p. 42.

¹⁵"Ready for War," Time, June 17, 1957, p. 34. When Herbert L. Matthews interviewed him February 17, Castro had a total of 18 men in the Sierra Maestra. By December 14, the ranks had swelled to 120. Castro scored a large propaganda victory by cleverly disguising the meager size of the rebel force during 1957 (Herbert L. Matthews, Castro: A Political Biography /London: The Penguin Press, 1969/, p. 96, and Goldenberg, p. 158).

that while 500 civilians¹⁶ were being evacuated from Oriente Province to aid the government's newly initiated "campaign of extermination" against the rebels, 800 troops, trained and armed by the U.S., "began their assignment in workman-like fashion. In their first clash with the rebels, they killed nine and wounded four, and captured the only woman in Castro's band, 23-year-old Celía Sánchez, U.S.-educated daughter of a doctor."¹⁷

The following week, a Time article contradicted this information, wryly observing:

When the rebel leader Fidel Castro came down from his 150-mile long Sierra Maestra hideout last month to smash an army garrison, President Fulgencio Batista launched a "campaign of extermination." Since then, the rebel band has not been sighted, let alone exterminated.¹⁸

U.S. News & World Report said in a June 28 article that "Cuba, prosperous and unhappy, is in trouble and so, too, is its strongarmed President, General Fulgencio Batista."¹⁹ Striving for objectivity, the article admitted

¹⁶Carleton Beals, in the June 29, 1957, Nation, put the figure at 30,000 (Carleton Beals, "The New Crime of Cuba," Nation, June 29, 1957, p. 563).

¹⁷"In the Hot Corner," Newsweek, June 17, 1957, p. 60. Sánchez was the only woman to take part in the December, 1956, invasion, and has been Castro's companion ever since. She never was captured by Batista forces.

¹⁸"Province in Revolt," Time, June 24, 1957, p. 49. The New York Times did not report any clashes between Castro and Batista forces at this time.

¹⁹"Minutes from the U.S.--A Dictator in Trouble," U.S. News & World Report, June 28, 1957, p. 102.

that the Batista regime had given Cuba roads, hospitals, schools, and laws friendly to labor. A 350 million dollar public works program was said to have taken up the slack in the sugar industry's off season, but "by most accounts, the regime has also given the country graft on a colossal scale." Because the rebels were disorganized, U.S. News concluded, "many see little prospect of a successful rebellion, unless the Army helps the rebels."

Time reported the failure in Santiago of a pro-government rally designed to puncture Oriente's "swelling hero worship for Fidel Castro" in early July and used the occasion to publish Castro's biography and program for Cuba. At the rally, "of a promised 70,000 demonstrators, the government could only muster less than 5,000."²⁰ Among Castro's plans for Cuba were the "nationalization of the U.S.-owned power and telephone companies /and/ drastic land reform that would break up the big, U.S.-owned sugar estates and give rented and sharecropped land to tenants." The article accurately termed the plans "socialist-flavored."²¹

A U.S. News & World Report article entitled "Latin America is Stirring" briefly described the Cuban situation as of August 9, observing: "Fidel Castro and his anti-government rebels appear to be going strong in the mountains

²⁰"Career Rebel," Time, July 8, 1957, p. 20.

²¹After Castro had attained power and was seeking to implement such reforms, the news magazines professed self-righteous shock and indignation. See Chapter III.

of Eastern Cuba, although an army spokesman said a month ago that their 'liquidation' was only a 'matter of hours.'²² The article said President Batista had suspended constitutional guarantees and was censoring the press, radio, and private correspondence, while jails were filled with political prisoners. The rebels had support and attempts to find them had been unsuccessful, U.S. News concluded.

Both Time and Newsweek emphasized an incident in August that damaged Batista's standing with the U.S. Government. Newly appointed U.S. Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith, while in Santiago, mildly protested the use of force in breaking up a peaceful demonstration by a group of women opposed to U.S. arms shipments to Batista. A Cuban Government official's denunciation of Smith led Time to comment that "Batista's nervous alarm at Smith's tour was a mark of the dictator's slipping strength."²³

Newsweek added that the new ambassador "arrived at his last post last month persuaded that his predecessor had been too chummy with dictator-President Fulgencio Batista."²⁴

²²"Latin America is Stirring," U.S. News & World Report, August 9, 1957, p. 82.

²³"In Rebel Country," Time, August 12, 1957, p. 30.

²⁴"Lid Off--and On," Newsweek, August 12, 1957, p. 54. Ambassador Smith, described in the article as a "sportsman, stockbroker, and socialite-turned-diplomat," told the Judiciary Subcommittee that he was misled by anti-Batista State Department briefings, but soon saw the error of this attitude. "Until certain portions of the American press began to write derogatory articles against the Batista government," he testified, "the Castro revolution never got off the ground" (U.S., Senate, Communist Threat to the United States, p. 694).

A photograph of Smith and Batista smiling together accompanied the article, which observed that "a growing number of U.S. diplomats have lately questioned the wisdom of continuing unqualified support for the Batista dictatorship."

Inexplicably, the tone of the following week's Time article showed a marked deviation from the magazine's earlier pro-rebel orientation. It began: "Hot-headed partisans of Rebel Fidel Castro tried to close down the Cuban economy last week, and quickly discovered that well-paid workers do not become ardent revolutionaries."²⁵

Prosperity was said to have been a key weapon in President Fulgencio Batista's struggle to remain in office; Time published a list of economic improvements since 1952 and a description of new U.S. investments, which had reached a total of 750 million dollars the previous year. "The boom shows no sign of slackening," according to the article, which concluded with a comment on the composition of the rebel movement:

Though the men who drop the bombs are often wild young radicals, the brains and money behind the movement come from a group of conservative business and professional men. They want free elections, but insist they intend no swing toward the left.

On September 16, Time and Newsweek reported an ominous sign of Batista's eventual downfall, a mutiny of 300 sailors at Cienfuegos. Although crushed after a bloody battle, Time said the uprising was the first big show of

²⁵"Prosperity and Rebellion," Time, August 19, 1957, p. 23.

strength outside the Santiago area: "By proving he could subvert Batista's well-fed, well-trained military, Castro had punched a worrisome hole in the dictator's armor."²⁶

In an article entitled "After 24, No More?" Newsweek observed that 18 bombings were reported on the 24th anniversary of Batista's original seizure of power. The naval outbreak was described as the "first crack in Batista's supposedly rock-solid armed forces."²⁷

In October, Time published accounts of government counterterror against suspected rebels, including the bombing of eight villages. One was allegedly bombed a few days after the rebels had passed through. Of the 400 townspeople, 40, including 17 women and children, were said to have been killed.²⁸

The final 1957 Time article summarized the year's events: "It is one year since Castro landed 81 seasick adventurers from Mexico in an invasion that drew only derision from President Fulgencio Batista, 56. The dictator is no longer derisive. . . ." ³⁰ The rebel leaders outside

²⁶"The Revolution Spreads," Time, September 16, 1957, p. 47.

²⁷"After 24, No More?" Newsweek, September 16, 1957, p. 62.

²⁸"Revolutionary Ad," Time, October 28, 1957, p. 41.

²⁹"Call for the Torch," Newsweek, November 25, 1957, p. 69.

³⁰"Cuba: The First Year of Rebellion," Time, December 9, 1957, pp. 43-44.

the Sierra Maestra, it said, were respectable, conservative, and prosperous. Time concluded:

The rebels . . . dig deep to support the cause, and they constantly risk their lives and fortunes for a single, basic political goal: return of constitutional government, which Batista disrupted by his 1952 army coup, staged just 82 days before a presidential election he seemed certain to lose. "This, they insist, "is not a social revolution."³¹

Summary

An analysis of the articles written during 1957 about the Cuban revolt uncovers a definite, if tepid, trend toward bias in favor of the rebel cause, although the U.S. Department of State maintained friendly relations with and a steady supply of arms to the Batista Government during the period. Although the Castro forces and the other scattered opposition to the "legitimate" regime represented a real threat to the status quo, and hence the privileged position of North American business and industry in Cuba, the news magazines generally viewed the guerrilla warfare and sabotage, arson, and terror of the opposition as a fitting response to a dictatorial regime that senselessly resorted to counterterror.

³¹Italics mine. Castro's aims were both political and social, as his 1953 essay, History Will Absolve Me, clearly showed. It represented, writes Goldenberg (p. 152), a "program of far-reaching social changes." This attitude is a precursor of what was to follow: The weekly news magazines generally were to ignore the social progress of post-revolutionary Cuba, concentrating on political developments. See Appendix A.

Time.--The only weekly news magazine to report events in Cuba regularly in 1957, Time was generally sympathetic to the rebels--those in the Sierra Maestra as well as those in the cities. Government forces were repeatedly said to have been unable to stem the growing revolutionary upsurge. A January 7 article alleged that Batista's troops lacked the heart or the ability to capture Fidel Castro, and an August 12 account of an incident in Santiago concerning the American Ambassador said it was a sign of Batista's slipping strength.

On one occasion, however, Time inexplicably changed its tone, stressing Cuba's prosperity and the split between "wild young radicals" and conservative businessmen who opposed Batista.

Concerning Fidel Castro, Time said June 17 that he enjoyed the support of the peasants of Oriente Province and was considered a romantic hero in Santiago. The magazine reserved one article for a dispassionate assessment of his plans for Cuba, which were said to have included nationalization of U.S.-owned power and telephone companies and "drastic" land-reform. Such reforms were termed "socialist-flavored."

In its final analysis of the Cuban situation in 1957, Time maintained that the respectable, conservative, and prosperous rebel leaders wanted only the return of constitutional government.

Newsweek.--Although more temperate than Time in its praise of the rebels, Newsweek generally supported their cause during the year. Concerning the student assassination attempt, a March 25 article derided Batista's claim that it had been the work of Communists paid by money stolen from the people. The economy was said to have been healthy, however.

After four students were "mowed down" by Batista's police in April, the magazine commented that the police "deal with students--the chief rebels against his government--with deadly decisiveness." The following week, however, a Newsweek article said quiet had returned to Cuba since mid-March and the general public was apathetic.

Newsweek published an unfounded account of a Batista victory over Castro forces June 17 that was contradicted the following week by Time; Newsweek made no retraction.

In September, the magazine reported increased internal unrest, including a naval mutiny that was said to have been the first crack in Batista's supposedly rock-solid armed forces.

U.S. News & World Report.--The first of three feature articles concerning Cuba in U.S. News stressed U.S. military aid to Batista and discounted government assertions that communists were behind the rebellion. It noted that a majority of the people apparently were against Batista.

On June 28, U.S. News said the rebels were disorganized

and had little chance of overthrowing the government without the help of the army. Batista was said to have instituted a large-scale public works program, as well as "graft on a colossal scale."

Castro forces were allegedly "going strong" in the Sierra Maestra, while constitutional guarantees were suspended and censorship was widespread, according to an August 9 article.

CHAPTER III

1959: EXECUTIONS AND LAND REFORM; BEARDS AND COMMUNISM

After being informed by U.S. Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith that "certain influential people in the U.S. believed . . . it would avoid a great deal of further bloodshed if he were to retire,"¹ President Fulgencio Batista sought refuge in the Dominican Republic December 31, 1958; it had been slightly more than two years since Fidel Castro and his small contingent of rebels had landed in Cuba to seek Batista's overthrow.

Castro, trained as a lawyer, had practiced only revolution, and those around him were similarly deficient in a practical knowledge of the affairs of state. He wasted little time, however, in making the abrupt transition to the political arena.

As he marched across Cuba enjoying the adulation of the people during the first few days of 1959, Castro possessed the means to transform the political, social, and economic institutions of the island as he saw fit. Foremost

¹U.S., Senate, Communist Threat to the United States, p. 687.

among the decisions Castro faced was whether to continue the concessions granted North American business and industry by past regimes.²

The assumption that Cuba would be forced to rely solely on the U.S. for its sustenance was expressed in the first reference to Castro's victory to appear in a weekly U.S. news magazine: "Castro, in power in Cuba, will not differ greatly from Batista, so far as the U.S. is concerned. Cuba lives on U.S. markets, U.S. capital, U.S. tourists. . . . Anti-Americanism is quite strong, but Cuba has to have America."³

Time inaugurated its coverage of the Castro era with a glorification of a "nervy band of rural guerrillas aided by angry Havana professional men [plus opportunists with assorted motives] who smashed General Fulgencio Batista's dictatorship."⁴ The article quoted Castro's assurances that he was not considering leading the Cuban Government: "'Power does not interest me and I will not take it,' he vowed.

²These had benefited both nations, but served to augment nationalistic resentment of the U.S. by many Cubans. North American investments in Cuba totaled one billion dollars in 1960--including 40 per cent of the gargantuan sugar industry, and substantial interests in oil, mining, public utilities, and hotels. In addition, 69.8 per cent of Cuba's imports came from the U.S. (Goldenberg, pp. 136-42; Smith, pp. 175-77; and Theodore Draper, Castro's Revolution: Myths and Realities [New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962], p. 127).

³"Newsgram," U.S. News & World Report, January 9, 1959, p. 26.

⁴Bruce Henderson, "End of a War," Time, January 12, 1959, p. 32.

'From now on our people are entirely free.'" Time continued its confident tone by observing that Castro once advocated land-reform, industrial profit-sharing, and the nationalization of U.S.-owned public utilities, but was said to have rejected such notions: "He now calls these 'radical ideas, not good for Cuba.' He goes on the assumption that Cuba must get along with the U.S."

Each magazine expressed displeasure with the personnel surrounding the rebel leader, an attitude that was later to lead many U.S. journalists to simplistically conclude that Castro, basically pro-American, had become a "dupe" of the Communists under the influence of his brother Raúl and Ernesto (Che) Guevara.

In a brief set of "biographies," Time expressed contempt for Raúl Castro's appearance, noting that he "sports a Texas hat and shoulder-length hair but could not manage to grow a beard. . . ."5 The article said Raúl "matched Batista terror for terror, may find it hard to lay his pistol down. A onetime delegate to a student congress behind the Iron Curtain, he denounces U.S. 'imperialism,' likes to bait the U.S. (as when he seized 47 U.S. citizens as hostages last summer)."6

5"They Beat Batista," Time, January 12, 1959, p. 33.

6The kidnapping was in response to rebel charges that the Guantánamo naval base was arming and refueling Batista planes that were being used to bomb and strafe rebel forces (R. Hart Phillips, Cuba: Island of Paradox /New York: McDowell, Obolensky, 1959/, pp. 409-10).

Guevara was described as an "asthmatic, Argentine-born, Communist-lining surgeon /who/ turned the tide of the war with his bloody, late-December campaign in . . . Las Villas."

Newsweek contributed a cautious assessment of Castro's ideology but didn't care for his associates any more than

Time did:

Official Washington saw much to make it apprehensive--for the makeup of Castro's forces offered little reassurance . . .

Ernesto Guevara . . . was involved in the Communist-dominated revolutionary movement in Guatemala, and . . . Castro's own brother, Raúl, a leftist, . . . once attended a Soviet-sponsored youth congress in Vienna.

Considering the U.S. stake in Cuba's economy, the political complexion of this movement is of the first importance.⁷

Newsweek then reiterated Time's contention that "Castro once advocated nationalizing all U.S.-financed businesses /but/ later renounced this as 'impractical.'"

Two weeks later, a U.S. News & World Report article searched for an explanation for Castro's seemingly hostile speeches:

American diplomats say they would put the odds against Cuba's going on an all-out binge against the U.S. Castro, himself, they believe to be pro-American. But it is some of the people around him that are causing concern. Two of his closest associates--his brother Raúl, and an Argentine named Ernesto Guevara--are regarded as far to the left. The worry is that Castro may be pushed into a position from which he cannot turn back.⁸

⁷"Cuba Under Castro--And the U.S.," Newsweek, January 12, 1959, p. 42.

⁸"War Trials, Threats to Business--How Far Will Castro Really Go?" U.S. News and World Report, January 30, 1959, p. 47.

Reported from Havana, the January 16 cover story in U.S. News & World Report described conditions in revolutionary Cuba. It began:

In the morning-after atmosphere of Cuba's revolutionary binge, the victorious forces of Fidel Castro, looking around, see this:

•A financial cupboard that is somewhat bare. Loot of the defeated dictator, Fulgencio Batista, and his followers, is officially estimated variously at from 250 million dollars to a billion.

•A 1959 tourist season that is hard hit. . . .

•A Communist group demanding recognition for the part it played in the revolt against Batista. How far the Communists will get remains to be seen.

•A public that expects miracles. . . .⁹

U.S. News then briefly mentioned the trials and executions of Batistianos, noting that they began before Castro reached Havana.

Communist influence was growing, the article warned, but Castro himself "disavows Communism and Castro's followers consider it insulting just to raise the question."

U.S. businessmen and the average Cuban were optimistic, although "no-one--possibly not even Castro himself--knows precisely what Cuba will be like under his domination," U.S. News concluded.

Readers of the January 19 Time received a view of the events totally different from that reported by U.S. News & World Report. A photograph of Castro leading the rebel army down Havana's Malecon Drive dominated the first page.

⁹"Cuba's Morning After--And More Headaches to Come," U.S. News & World Report, January 16, 1959, p. 47.

"Before Peace, Executions" read the remainder of the caption, printed in capital letters. The bottom of the page was filled with two photos of a firing squad killing a police captain in Santa Clara. The victim was shown lying in a pool of his own blood, as the explanation read: "Some without benefit of trial."¹⁰

The magazine printed on the following two pages four photographs showing the execution of the Santa Clara police chief, "whose specialty used to be extracting rebel fingernails with pliers. . . ." He was lying dead in the largest photograph, a close-up that clearly depicted the man's wounds.

After describing the trial procedures, Time admitted "public opinion backed tough measures" because of Batista's terror. But it failed to deal with the complex issue of revolution, thus reflecting the beginning of an era of mutual misunderstanding and vituperative accusations between the two neighboring nations.

The Newsweek cover story on the Cuban revolution was more restrained; the photograph of the bloodied police captain was not used. Two others--of a smiling Castro reaching out to a group of outstretched hands, and a wildly enthusiastic "rebel revel"--appeared on the first spread. In

¹⁰"Jubilation and Revenge," Time, January 19, 1959, p. 37. The text did not state whether the police captain received a trial.

addition, the copy played down the executions.¹¹ After a portrayal of Castro leading a war crimes tribunal at a trial attended by 40,000 spectators, Newsweek included a brief biography of Cuba's new leader.

"For a time it appeared that Cuba was in for a real blood bath," the article continued, "but by the weekend the summary executions seemed over. . . ." The remainder of the article quoted Castro's assurances that foreign investments would enjoy greater benefits than under his predecessor.

As in earlier accounts, anti-American feeling among Cubans was acknowledged but underestimated: "The anger of the . . . young rebel leader against the U.S. for supplying arms to Batista⁷ seems to have already subsided; he knows the two countries need each other. . . ."

The following week, each magazine loosed a barrage of rhetoric against the executions, as did the world press.

In a cover story entitled "The Vengeful Visionary," Time censured the violations of principles of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence by reproducing a cartoon that showed Castro holding a gun to the head of a bound and bowed prisoner, stating: "'Think what could happen to you if we weren't idealists.'"¹² The main article began:

The executioner's rifle cracked across Cuba last week, and around the world voices hopefully cheering

¹¹"What Next for Cuba and its Hero?" Newsweek, January 19, 1959, pp. 42-44.

¹²"The Vengeful Visionary," Time, January 26, 1959, p. 36.

for a new democracy fell still. The men who had just won a popular revolution for old ideals--for democracy, justice, and honest government--themselves picked up the arrogant tools of dictatorship. . . .

Castro was in no mood for mercy. . . . He offered to stage the courts-martial in Havana's Central Square Park--an unlikely spot for cool justice but perfect for a modern-day Madame Dufarge. . . .

He added a few irresponsible crowd-pleasers: "If the Americans do not like what is happening, they can send in the Marines, then there will be 20,000 Gringos dead. . . ." ¹³

Fidel Castro himself is egotistic, impulsive, immature, disorganized. . . .

He is full of soaring, vaguely leftist hopes for Cuba's future, but has no clear program. ¹⁴

According to the article, his "visionary plans to purify Cuba" included a homestead law, a people's army, more teachers, schools, and roads.

The Cabinet of President Manuel Urrutia was the "most encouraging signpost of the three turbulent weeks," the Time article said. "If these men have their way, they will not cripple Cuba's sugar-based economy by drastic agrarian reform. They will keep the climate warm for U.S. investors. . . ." It continued: "Communists, strong in the new labor

¹³Italics mine. A 1962 unpublished Master's thesis discusses the reaction of the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune to this remark:

"According to these two papers, Castro's statement was made casually and was not intended for publication. Apparently the remark was made to private parties just before Castro was to give a speech in which he called for friendly relations between the two countries. 'I was not trying to be aggressive or insolent,' Castro told Jules Dubois of the Chicago Tribune. This explanation was not carried by wire services" (Elliot W. Carlson, "The Cuban Revolution: A Study of the Breakdown of International Communication" unpublished Master's thesis, Stanford University, 1962, p. 16).

¹⁴"The Vengeful Visionary," p. 36.

organization but weak elsewhere, will try to stir anti-U.S. hatreds. . . . But Cubans know the U.S. too well to swallow the usual Communist whoppers."

The Time article ended on a prophetic note. If Castro is unable to summon maturity and seriousness, the magazine said, "the seeds of hate sown in the execution ditches will sprout like Biblical tares."

A separate article elsewhere in the issue purported to be a history of the island republic.¹⁵ While admitting the "U.S. cast covetous eyes on the 'Pearl of the Antilles'" during the nineteenth century, the article described the U.S. as a beneficent agent for its role in the revolutions of 1895 and 1933: "After the U.S.S. Maine exploded in Havana harbor, the U.S. outcry brought a declaration of war, sent the marines and Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders to free Cuba. . . . Four years after the U.S. marched in, it marched out."

American support for the brutal Machado dictatorship was not mentioned; only the 1933 Wells mission "to smooth the way for the unseating of the 'President of a Thousand Murders'" was explained.

Curiously, U.S. News & World Report used its denunciations of the executions to soften its previously unsympathetic attitude toward Castro's predecessor. While noting

¹⁵"Pearl of the Antilles," Time, January 26, 1959, p. 48.

the adverse world reaction to the Cuban "justice" (including the advocacy of some U.S. congressmen of diplomatic pressure to "calm down Castro before he depopulates Cuba"), a January 23 article quoted Batista, who said charges that his forces had tortured and killed 20,000 Cubans were a "lie invented to justify rebel vengeance." It continued: "In reply, the revolutionary government in Havana announced a campaign to publicize the alleged 'horrors' of Batista's regime."¹⁶

U.S. News noted that the death toll passed 200 as firing squads stayed busy and Cuban jails were filled with "war criminals" awaiting trial. It concluded: "Strong support for Castro's activities came from one capital-- Moscow."

A "Newsgram" item in the same issue observed: "Castro, in Cuba next door to U.S., remains a big question mark. Castro's followers include some hard-bitten Communists in key spots. Castro, however, cannot survive without U.S. markets and U.S. tourists."¹⁷

In another article dealing with the Cuban situation, a U.S. News Havana correspondent expressed the fear that "the billion dollar American business community may be in for real trouble."¹⁸ In addition, "fear is being expressed,

¹⁶"Cuban Executions Stir Up a Storm," U.S. News & World Report, January 23, 1959, p. 6.

¹⁷"Newsgram," ibid., p. 30.

¹⁸"Cuba: Now a Question Mark," ibid., p. 52.

cautiously, that in Fidel Castro's successful civil war, Cuba may have exchanged one police state for another. This fear is heightened by the large number of 'drumhead' trials and executions that marked the start of the new regime."

In a summary of the "violent events across the country" the previous week, U.S. News said:

Courts of "revolutionary justice" began operating almost on a round-the-clock basis all over Cuba. Rifle squads executed hundreds of Cubans who had been followers of Batista. Many of the slain were buried in mass graves.

"Trials" were being held, but they were mostly of a summary nature and seemingly just for the record. . . .

Statements in support of the executions appeared in the article, but they were described so as to leave little doubt concerning the magazine's position: "One Castro official attempted to justify the blood bath this way: 'We have to do this. If we didn't, there would be a violent vendetta undertaken by the people themselves.'"¹⁹

American diplomats and businessmen in Havana were said to have been concerned about the five Communists on the national directorate of the United Labor Front, which "claims to speak for 1.2 million Cuban workers."

In a forecast of how the new government would treat U.S. business interests, U.S. News quoted a January 15

¹⁹For several days after the forced resignation of President Gerardo Machado in 1933, politicians and policemen were the victims of lynching and attacks by the vengeful populace (Hudson Strobe, The Pageant of Cuba /New York: Random House, 1936/, pp. 305-306 and K. S. Karol, Guerrillas in Power /New York: Hill & Wang, 1970/, p. 73).

Castro speech: "'We want the best relations with the U.S.-- but submission, never! The interests of a few companies are not the interests of Cuba.'" "

A column by U.S. News & World Report editor David Lawrence deplored the expeditious U.S. recognition of the Castro Government, noting that "millions of people in the United States wish that recognition had not been extended so precipitately."²⁰

In its version of the Cuban "slaughter," Newsweek quoted an example of the paternalistic attitude held by many prominent Americans in 1959:

"'In 1898 we did not send General Leonard Wood and Teddy Roosevelt to rescue Cuba from Spanish oppression only to have that unhappy country now plunged into a blood bath.'" Newsweek commented: "That was New York Congressman Emanuel Celler's extravagant reaction last week to reports of Fidel Castro's executions of former dictator Fulgencio Batista's chief hatchet men. Other Congressional voices were almost as loud. . . ." ²¹

The article then quoted Castro's "livid" reaction to foreign criticism: "'We are trying individuals who killed 30 or 40 persons,' he said, 'and they ask us to be humane.'" Newsweek continued:

²⁰David Lawrence, "Cuba's Tragic Era," U.S. News & World Report, January 23, 1959, p. 112.

²¹"Many Things to Do," Newsweek, January 26, 1959, p. 57.

By the end of the week, tempers had subsided on both sides, and it was possible to look calmly at the facts--and the facts were these: Over the years, Batista's bully boys had tortured and murdered thousands of Cuban men, women, and children. To forestall a popular massacre of the criminals, Castro was giving quick military trials to the worst offenders and shooting those who were found guilty--so far about 200.

As the executions continued, most Cubans nevertheless appeared relaxed and happy, breathing the air of freedom again. Havana was once more being a gay city.

In early February, Time showed no signs of tempering its sensationalism. Although former garrison commander Captain Jesús Sosa Blanco was described as "a brutal killer," his trial before 15,000 spectators was faulted for, among other things, "catering to the mob's thirst for blood."²² Captain Sosa was quoted as having shouted into the microphone: "'This is the Colosseum in Rome.'" According to the article, "the mob yelled, 'Kill him! Kill him!'"

U.S. opinion was said to have been sharply critical, "with the notable exceptions of Democratic Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell Jr. /New York/ and Charles Porter /Oregon/ who journeyed to Cuba at Castro's urging and proclaimed that they 'saw no evidence of injustice.'²³ Time next commented

²²"The Scolding Hero," Time, February 2, 1959, p. 28.

²³Hispanic American Report contradicted the article's implication that Reps. Powell and Porter were the only U.S. Congressmen specifically invited by Castro to attend the trials. It said, in part:

"Of the U.S. Congressmen invited, only Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, and later Charles O. Porter, accepted; Powell expressed shock at the refusal of the other Congressmen to attend, and quoted Roy R. Rubottom Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, as having advised the others 'not to come, that it might look like they were lending support to the trials.' Powell also claimed that certain interests were financing propaganda in the United States to discredit the Castro regime" (Hispanic American Report, XII /March, 1959/, 26).

on Castro's view of events in Cuba:

The man behind the show executions reacted with petulance, incomprehension, irrelevancies, inept concessions . . .

.. . . .
 /Castro/ reached wide to justify the summary trials and executions. "They are much fairer than Nuremberg." For the present, Castro said, only Batista henchmen with more than six murders to their credit would be dealt with--"The criminals that we shoot will not number more than 400. That is more or less one criminal for every 1,000 men, women, and children assassinated in Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

So far at least 258 have died.

Furthermore, Time said, "irritation grew" in the government of President Urrutia, as "Castro's freewheeling ways came into the open," and at least one Cabinet member was incensed over Castro's unwillingness to lead the nation officially. Time concluded:

At week's end, with an entourage of 35 bearded bodyguards, Castro flew off to Caracas for another spell of the mass worship he adores. . . . He called the world press coverage of the executions "the most criminal, vile, and cowardly campaign ever conducted against any people."

Newsweek emphasized the visit of 350 foreign newsmen --only briefly mentioned in the trial coverage of Time--whom Castro invited on a "spur-of-the-moment decision" to view the trials and revolutionary Cuba.²⁴ The article quoted the reaction of "one horrified American" at the trial of Captain Sosa Blanco, who asked: "'Where do the lions come in?'" Newsweek added: "Long before death was decreed for Sosa Blanco, most of the Americans objected to the justice provided by men who served as judge and jury alike."

²⁴"Semper Fidel," Newsweek, February 2, 1959, p. 52.

The article included dissenting opinions, however. Look foreign editor William Attwood, for example, was quoted as follows:

"The executions are what prevented riots; nothing else could have done that. When the Hungarian Freedom Fighters began killing policemen in 1956, they were praised by everyone. When Castro does the same thing, he's cursed."

The account continued:

Back in New York, Herbert L. Matthews, the New York Times man who had secured an exclusive three-part interview with Castro in 1957, remarked: "In all my 36 years of newspaper work, I have never seen a worse job of journalism than the coverage of the Cuban revolution during the last three weeks. All you saw in most papers was how many people Castro shot. The real picture of a country under Batista's brutal dictatorship was not made clear."

The Newsweek article ended with the tally Matthews had been quoted as denouncing: "Castro's toll in his first 24 days in power: 253 executions, 100 acquittals."

U.S. News & World Report continued emphasizing the threats to American business interests in an article entitled "War Trials, Threats to Business--How Far Will Castro Really Go?"²⁵ Its introduction:

Behind the dramatic rallies and fiery words in Cuba-- Problems for the U.S. are building up. Castro is in a fault-finding mood where his big neighbor is concerned. There is this at stake: One billion dollars worth of American-owned property.

The article said Castro's government might become strongly nationalistic and even strongly anti-American. "If that happens," it warned, "all American interests could be in

²⁵U.S. News & World Report, January 30, 1959, p. 47.

trouble. That includes the U.S. Government nickel mine at Nicaro and the important U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay."

After describing Sosa Blanco's trial, U.S. News presented a view of the executions the American people were generally denied:

There is no doubt here that an overwhelming majority of Cubans favor the swift executions of those found guilty of "war crimes" by the revolutionary courts. . . .

Each accused is tried initially before a three-man court and without a jury. He is entitled to a defense attorney who has the right to cross-examine witnesses. If convicted the accused can appeal to a five-man court which will decide his case within 48 hours. Executions will be carried out immediately. No one is to be sentenced to death for having tortured someone unless the tortured person died.

U.S. News & World Report reiterated its nationalistic position in the lead story in the "Worldgram" section of the same issue:

At some point, Castro will be reminded of this: Cuba's stake in U.S. is very large. Cuba's sugar moves mainly to U.S., brings Cuba more than 600 million dollars a year. U.S. is far and away Cuba's best customer. More U.S. capital is needed if Cuba is to keep moving ahead.

Castro knows this:

There's left-wing pressure on Castro to treat U.S. investors rough, to strain Cuba's ties with the U.S. Facts of economic life, however, will be brought to Castro's attention. Cutting Cuba completely adrift from U.S. has its perils.²⁶

A February 9 Time article took an ambivalent position, portraying events in Cuba as follows:

Fidel Castro's "purification" of Cuba rolled on, harsh, moralistic, fervid. Purified was the vast gambling establishment, purified was government graft. Purification also drove the bearded conquerers to set

²⁶"Worldgram," U.S. News & World Report, January 30, 1959, pp. 61-62.

aside more and more of the Cuban Constitution²⁷ in order to purge the losers by firing squads. Castro's men, immune to such worldly blandishments as alcohol and money, found their grim satisfactions in rows of executed Batista henchmen.²⁸

In an account of the government's crackdown on gambling and sinecures, Time observed: "The notoriously corrupt Havana newsmen, who for decades had been drawing up to one million dollars a month in government bribes, were rudely reduced to their salaries, some as low as \$22.50 a week. . . ."

"Just as Batista had done time and time again," the article continued, "the rebels casually whacked away at the Cuban Constitution. . . . Six prisoners were shot, raising the four-week total to 264. . . ."

Time reiterated its fervent opposition to Raúl Castro's appearance in a separate article noting his marriage. The caption under an uncomplimentary photograph of Vilma and Raúl Castro read: "The bridegroom wore a pony-tail." The article began:

The bride wore lace and a Juliet cap of pearls; the groom wore a .45 automatic and a pony-tail hairdo. . . . Thus one afternoon last week, Raúl Castro, 27,

²⁷Concerning the 1940 Constitution, Goldenberg (p. 109) writes:

"In Cuban conditions, this Utopian manifesto was bound to work against democratization. Those of its social and economic promises which were realized acted rather as a brake on progress; those which were not gave any demagogue an opportunity to accuse the government of treachery."

The document was largely ignored by Batista-- Article 89, for example, outlawed latifundia and provided for future agrarian reform.

²⁸"Purification," Time, February 9, 1959, p. 24.

rebel commander in Oriente Province, married Vilma Espín, 28, onetime chief of the rebels' Oriente underground, in a civil ceremony. . . .²⁹

Contrasting sharply with the rather bleak February 9 Time article, Newsweek included an optimistic appraisal of the Cuban revolution in that week's issue:

Imagine what it would be like trying to run a company like General Electric or U.S. Steel if all the officials, down to shop foreman, had disappeared overnight. That's the job Fidel Castro and his largely amateur government faced last week as they tried to bring order out of revolutionary chaos in Cuba. They were doing pretty well, considering.

. . . The government is gradually beginning to function again. Next the new government has to dig up the money to pay its current bills. . . . Batista alone got away with 500 million dollars, the Treasury Minister charges. But taxes are pouring in, including advanced payments made by Cuban and U.S. firms which want to help out. . . .

.
. . . Cubans are hard at work repairing the railroad bridges and miles of highway destroyed during the revolt. Some 50 sugar mills are now grinding and the rest will start soon.

. . . Under the rattling volleys of the firing squads, the reconstruction of Cuba goes steadily on.³⁰

A February 6 U.S. News & World Report article provided a calm portrait of Cuba and Fidel Castro, who was termed "unquestionably . . . master of Cuba."³¹ The article stated:

Observers who have followed Castro's career say he sees himself as a "Nasser of the Caribbean," although

²⁹"Society Wedding," Time, February 9, 1959, p. 27. Newsweek noted the marriage briefly in its "Transition" section.

³⁰"Budgets and Bullets," Newsweek, February 9, 1959, pp. 46-47.

³¹"Castro: The 'Nasser' of the Caribbean?" U.S. News & World Report, February 6, 1959, pp. 55-56.

he doesn't actually identify himself with Egypt's dictator Nasser. These people say Castro envisions himself as the head of an antidictatorship front of the Latin American peoples. . . .

At the moment, Castro is still running around everywhere on the island, making statements--which sometimes conflict--holding huge news conferences for the foreign press, kissing babies, and receiving the adulation of an adoring public. His program for Cuba, if he has one, is extremely vague.

As for conceivable trouble for the U.S., U.S. News warned:

Castro has already announced that he wants to end foreign "domination" over Cuba's economy. That could spell trouble for the U.S. . . .

Concerning the executions, the caption below a photograph of a prisoner standing in the middle of a large, crowded room noted: "'War crimes' trials at first aroused critics outside Cuba, who said the proceedings were too hasty and had become public spectacles. Now, courts try for calmer approach, as above."

A brief "Worldgram" item, however, reflected the major concern of the magazine--U.S. economic interests in foreign governments throughout the world. "Calls for U.S. aid are piling up," it observed. "One government after another appears to be over its head financially. . . . Cuba may have to turn to U.S. for loans, the way things are going in Havana. . . ."32

On February 16, Time alleged that a "pattern of division" began to plague Cuba's government the previous week, which was "enough to make a Communist exult."33

32"Worldgram," U.S. News and World Report, February 6, 1959, p. 39.

33"Separate Roads," Time, February 16, 1959, p. 39.

A pair of "responsible moderates," President Urrutia and Premier José Miró Cardona, allegedly "struggled with the nation's immediate problems," while Fidel Castro "moved uncoordinatedly toward a nationalistic, leftist social program." Scarcely attempting to mask its preference for the "responsible" rightists, Time quoted Castro as having shouted: "'We must win our economic freedom and cease being ruled by U.S. ambassadors who have been running our country for 50 years.'"³⁴

Time then briefly mentioned Castro's plans for agrarian reform:

He talked endlessly, mainly of land redistribution that will include uncultivated U.S.-owned sugar plantations. "The powerful foreign companies that stole it from the state will scream to high heaven," he said, "but it will not do them any good." His program would rest on two principles: "The land should belong to those who work it and those who have no land must have some."

The next Newsweek article provided its readers with a preview of the land-reform law, which would become the next controversial issue to drive the wedge of misunderstanding between Washington and Havana. It read, in part:

Castro claims that fewer than 100 sugar planters and cattle barons control 50 per cent of the land in the

³⁴Testifying before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee in August, 1960, former U.S. Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith inadvertently supported Castro's accusation:

"Senator, let me explain to you that the United States, until the advent of Castro, was so overwhelmingly influential in Cuba that, as I said here a little while ago, the American Ambassador was the second most important man in Cuba; sometimes even more important than the President" (U.S., Senate, Communist Threat to the United States, p. 700).

eastern province, Cuba's richest, and much of it has been lying idle for generations. The government also owns thousands of acres which are exploited legally or illegally by individuals and companies. Castro intends to seize this land, which he can do by law, and divide it up into 67-acre plots for the guajiros /rural people/ of the rugged Sierra Maestra. . . . Ultimately, 200,000 families will benefit.³⁵

U.S. News & World Report was similarly sympathetic to Castro's agrarian reform plans before they were implemented. A list of his "promises" in the February 13 issue included a prognosis of the law:

A land-reform program will split up some large holdings--principally idle acres owned by opponents of the revolution or by the government. Initially 22,500 peasant families are to be granted 67-acre tracts. In addition, homes, schools, and medical centers are to be provided.

The list of promises continued:

- Public works on a vast scale are promised to relieve unemployment . . .
- General elections will be held as soon as feasible.
- Gambling casinos will be tolerated--for foreigners only--with a high percentage of the profits going to the government.
- A Latin American news agency is promised "to end once and for all the falsehoods of many foreign agencies."³⁶

Continuing the tone of its previous articles, Time reported Castro's ascension to the premiership of Cuba with the headline "Castro Takes Over."³⁷ The caption below a photograph of Castro addressing casino workers read "Revenge, Chaos, and Control."

³⁵"The Promised Land," Newsweek, February 16, 1959, p. 57.

³⁶"Castro Spells Out Promises for Cubans," U.S. News & World Report, February 13, 1959, p. 8.

³⁷Time, February 23, 1959, p. 37.

Again finding fault with Raúl Castro's demeanor, Time said: "Assuming the premiership, Castro quit as commander of the armed forces, giving that job to his ice-eyed brother, Raúl, 27."

The article included a remark, allegedly made by Castro without clarifying the context in which it was made. After promising the imminent resumption of gambling, Fidel was said to have "exploded" to a friend: "'This nonsense cannot go on. This is the limit. Instead of solving problems, the government is creating them daily.'" Time's commentary began:

Nonsense was precisely the word for much that has been going on in the inner circles of the Cuban Government, but the reason for much of it was Castro himself. Never one to stay hitched, he failed to back his Cabinet while making pie-in-the-sky promises to all supplicants. Amid the confusion, the Cabinet did its best to get a few things done. . . .

After alleging that Batista squandered 423 million dollars, the Time article ended on a grim note: "The one thing the shift of government would not change was the grisly rhythm of revenge. The trials and executions went on . . . At week's end the total of the executed stood at 302, with more to come. . . ."

The resumption of gambling in Havana fascinated each of the magazines, and they devoted a large amount of space to this aspect of Cuban life.

Newsweek stressed Castro's plan to reopen the casinos, considered a major cause of the resignation of the Cabinet Ministers, who were said to have regarded them as

hated monuments to Batista's corruption.³⁸

A survey of Caribbean-area "hot-spots" in the same issue began with the observation that although Fidel Castro hates gambling, he has promised to reopen the casinos.³⁹ It continued:

The American casino operators doubted that the "Las Vegas of the Caribbean" would ever again flourish as it did under the former dictator, Fulgencio Batista. Then, beneath elegant chandeliers, New York gangsters, Nevada gamblers and their bottle-blonde lady friends watched players drop two million dollars or more a night.

U.S. News & World Report noted that Castro officially picked up the reins of government in Cuba and then initiated steps to enlist the support of the Cuban people.⁴⁰ It stated:

. . . Wholesale dismissals of public employees were halted. Salaries of Cabinet ministers were cut 50 per cent and all secret payments were cut off. Sugar workers--a powerful political force--were promised that their wages and other demands would be taken up as soon as the crops are in.

After briefly noting the reopening of the casinos, U.S. News updated the trials: "Executions of 'war criminals' continued. One who died before a firing squad--Army Captain Jesús Sosa Blanco--was accused of having killed 108 unarmed civilians."

A March 2 Time article announced the return of the

³⁸"Castro's New Shoes," Newsweek, February 23, 1959, p. 57.

³⁹"Hot Dice," ibid.

⁴⁰"Soldier into Statesman," U.S. News & World Report, February 27, 1959, p. 20.

gambling mob to Cuba: "Running the show from behind the scenes were the same U.S. mobsters who bossed gambling for Batista." A casino operator was quoted as saying: "'Me, I'm glad those greedy Batista crooks got bounced.'"⁴¹

While ignoring the larger social issues of the revolution, Time openly expressed its hostility toward Castro in an article which began:

It took only a week in office to show that Fidel Castro, the Prime Minister, was little different from Fidel Castro, the talkative, disorganized rebel. He moved out of the confusion of his Havana Hilton suite and into a stucco chalet named High Ranch, on a hill east of Havana. Typical scene one noon in the living room: A woman travel writer asleep on a couch, cigar butts on the floor, a disconnected chandelier. Outside on the porch a cassocked priest sat reading the funny papers.⁴²

Descriptions of a few of Castro's recent speeches and actions concluded the article:

In speeches and on TV, Castro rambled loquaciously on. He said that the U.S. role in the 1898 Spanish-American War was merely belated intervention after the Cubans had effectively beaten Spain. He attacked demagoguery and nepotism (his brother Raúl is chief of the armed forces). He saw to it that Captain Jesús Sosa Blanco--the Batista officer convicted of mass murder in a circus trial in Havana's Sports Palace--got a new hearing. The judges were the same and so was the verdict: death by firing squad. Counting Sosa Blanco, 14 "war criminals" were executed last week, bringing the latest total to 316.

"Castro and the Casinos" was the final aspect of the revolution covered by Newsweek for six weeks. Gambling was to be permitted because "10,000 casino workers were out

⁴¹"The Mob is Back," Time, March 2, 1959, pp. 22, 25.

⁴²"P.M.'s First Week," ibid., p. 25.

of work, and the tourists were staying away in droves. Castro's high principles had to be compromised."⁴³ The article said steps were taken to prevent U.S. mobsters from controlling the gambling operation. Newsweek then quoted parts of Castro's speeches that bore little resemblance to those selected by Time:

Castro admitted, as he took over the Prime Ministership, that he faced "the toughest test of his life," but he was bubbling over with bright ideas and dreamy confidence.

With honest government and development programs, he boasted, Cuba in a few years "will have a standard of living superior to the U.S. and Russia. Those countries must spend money for bombs and armaments, but we don't have that problem. . . ."

The identical trial described so colorfully in that week's Time article was handled quite differently by Newsweek: "Meanwhile, the executions of 'war criminals' went on, to an unofficial total of 316. Captain Jesús Sosa Blanco, condemned to death in the first of Havana's 'show trials,' was given a new trial. The result was the same. . . ."

A brief and generally optimistic U.S. News article noted that tourists, encouraged by the offer of free hotels, were flocking back to Havana, while executions, which numbered more than 300, were apparently about completed.⁴⁴ In addition:

⁴³"Castro and the Casinos," Newsweek, March 2, 1959, p. 47.

⁴⁴"To Lure Tourists--Free Hotels," U.S. News & World Report, March 9, 1959, p. 14.

Calm has returned to Havana. Castro's militiamen are in charge, replacing Batista's hated police. Crime is reported at a low point. . . .

Cubans talk politics openly now. They didn't dare with Batista around.

Castro's Government, Havana seems to agree, is the first really honest government Cuba has had in 50 years. Castro himself is rather widely regarded as a knight in shining armor. One writer has called him "a lay saint."

The U.S. News article ended on a note of precaution, however: "It remains to be seen how long this atmosphere will last. Unemployment is rising. Demands for wage increases are being heard. Odds are that Castro's popularity will decline as problems mount and reforms fall short of miracles."

Time reserved a small paragraph of its March 9 issue to note that during the previous week "firing squads shot 46 Batista 'war criminals,' bringing to 362 the 8-week unofficial total--38 short of the 400 maximum once set by Fidel Castro.⁴⁵

The Prime Minister was then said to have explained a two-year delay of elections: "Voting now 'would not be fair,' since 'we would be the overwhelming majority at this stage.'" Time commented: "His reason might stagger Britain's Harold Macmillan, who is trying to coincide elections with his best chance of winning."

U.S. News & World Report published an interview with Castro March 16 that provided the Cuban leader with the opportunity to gain favor with his U.S. audience simply by

⁴⁵"Bullets! Ballots?" Time, March 9, 1959, p. 30.

saying what he believed Americans wanted to hear. He was to extend this strategy the following month during his U.S. visit. A few excerpts from Castro's statements:

"Nothing has been said about nationalization. We have not raised that question. We can revise some of the concessions made by the Batista dictatorship because they were onerous concessions and they are against the economy of our country, but we haven't spoken of nationalization. . . .

.
 "I think that we should sell to Communist countries if they buy from us. Because what are we going to do if we have the products left and they want to buy them?

"There can be no danger if we do what Cubans want, if we provide social justice and solve the substantial social problems of all Cubans in a climate of liberty, of respect for individual rights, of freedom of the press and thought, of democracy, of liberty to elect their own government. The revolution that we are making offers to the Cuban people things that no social regime can offer in the world today. . . .

"No, I have no fear at all of any other ideology.
 . . . "46

As for agrarian reform--a subject that would be repeatedly misrepresented in coming months--Castro was said to have favored setting a limit on sugar lands. He promised indemnification for the lands in the form of bonds which "will have the guarantee of an honest government."⁴⁷

"If At First You Don't Convict, Try, Try, Again" was the caption under a March 16 Time photograph of Castro and newly appointed U.S. Ambassador Philip W. Bonsal. The

⁴⁶Clark H. Galloway, "Interview with Fidel Castro: Leader of Cuba's Revolt Tells What's Coming Next," U.S. News & World Report, March 16, 1959, pp. 68-70.

⁴⁷Although U.S. News provided no critical commentary on Castro's statements in the same issue, it reversed this attitude shortly afterward, as the twin "specters" of agrarian reform and alleged Communism would do much to further inflame emotions on both sides of the Florida Strait.

article described Castro's ordered reversal of the acquittal of 19 pilots, 10 gunners, and 16 mechanics of Batista's air force charged with genocide, murder, and homicide in the bombing and strafing of villages during the revolution.⁴⁸

In the accompanying article, a defense attorney for the airmen was quoted as saying: "The reversal could stamp Castro as a 'new Napoleon of the Caribbean.'" The protests of three Cuban bar associations were also noted.⁴⁹

"As he spoke," Time concluded, "firing squads across the island were busy building the week's execution total to 30, the overall accounting to 392."

The March 23 Time article reiterated in its lead paragraph what had been printed in previous weeks:

Fidel Castro is plainly convinced that in the realm of definitive justice, nothing beats a firing squad-- even if Cuba's constitution forbids capital punishment. Last week he announced that his government would draft a new law demanding firing squad executions for embezzlers of government money.⁵⁰

⁴⁸While Castro's actions were contrary to the U.S. system of law, Time filled the page with harsh invective that did little to explain them. R. Hart Phillips, a long-time observer of Cuban affairs and an eyewitness to the executions, writes:

"Americans must keep in mind that concrete evidence of guilt is not important to Latin Americans, who do not believe guilty men should escape punishment simply because of insufficient evidence. The Napoleonic Code on which Latin law is founded makes this kind of justice possible" (Phillips, pp. 409-10).

⁴⁹"One Man Court," Time, March 16, 1959, p. 40.

⁵⁰"Fastest Gun in Havana," ibid., March 23, 1959, pp. 40, 43.

Time then appraised the trials:

As for "war criminals," said Lawyer Castro, his military tribunals had been forced to sentence them to death on "moral conviction," because "legal proof" is impossible to obtain. Last week 31 more of the morally convicted died before the revolutionary firing squads, sending the overall total to 423.⁵¹

One positive aspect of the revolution was noted in a list of Castro's recent actions: "Castro pushed through a \$5,442,000 public works program to build highways, lay out public beaches, and build 15 villages in Oriente Province, where he started his revolution against Batista." Placed toward the end of the article, this reference to a constructive non-political issue was deemed less important than the weekly body count, but is nevertheless significant: It was the first such reference to appear in Time after Castro gained power, and was also one of the last.

U.S. News & World Report the following week devoted three sentences to Cuba's national lottery, in which "nobody has to lose":

. . . Tickets that don't share in the \$200,000 weekly prizes become savings bonds, paying 3 per cent interest if held five years. In time, said a spokesman, the new government hopes to replace the gambling habit with the savings habit.⁵²

That week, a Time article which gave its readers an update on the trials and executions said, in part:

⁵¹Time was the only news magazine to publish an article on the Cuban situation that week, but U.S. News & World Report published a cover story representative of its orientation entitled "Is the World Going American?"

⁵²"Every Ticket a Winner," U.S. News & World Report, March 30, 1959, p. 14.

In moments when he is not haranguing Cubans in person, Fidel Castro passes the word through the columns of his mouthpiece newspaper, Revolución. Last week, in a page one editorial, Castro gave the first real sign that he might heed the mounting chorus against his "war crimes" circus trials and grisly firing squads. "It was necessary," declared the editorial, "to put a quick end to the proceedings. The executions should be stopped."

Castro made it clear that no rule of law was involved; his bloody vengeance was fully justified. The trouble was the way "enemies" used it to "slander" Cuba: "Never before has such an intense and violent campaign of discredit against Cuba been waged throughout the Americas. . . ." When would the proceedings end? Not, apparently last week. Before Castro's firing squads went another 28 Batista men, bringing the grand total to 451. . . .⁵³

In what an April 6 Time article described as a "forthright rebuff to the United States," the Cuban leader had declared himself a neutral in the cold war the previous week.⁵⁴

The article then described a labor rally attended by ex-President José Figueres of Costa Rica, one of Castro's earliest supporters. After Figueres' pro-U.S. speech, Time said Castro disagreed with his visitor, claiming Cuba had fought in wars with the U.S. only to have its sugar quota taken away.

"But Castro thought he knew how Figueres had gone wrong," the Time article commented. "He had been influenced by 'a press campaign emanating from the monopoly of international news agencies.'"

⁵³"The Talk and the Act," Time, March 30, 1959, p. 26.

⁵⁴"All Wet," ibid., April 6, 1959, p. 34.

On April 13, Newsweek senior editor Harold Lavine introduced what was to become a major issue in the news magazine coverage of the Cuban revolution--alleged Communist penetration of the Cuban Government. U.S. News & World Report was to follow with its version the following week, echoing the sentiments of some daily newspapers.⁵⁵

While at first denying that Castro himself was a Communist, the news magazines noted with alarm that Red infiltration of his government was allegedly going unchecked.

A curious mixture of praise and denigration, the Newsweek article summed up its view of the Cuban revolution in the lead paragraph:

What is happening in Cuba can be stated quite simply: The Communists, who were quick to jump on the Castro bandwagon once it really got rolling, now are grasping for the reins. They haven't yet gotten all the reins within their grip--but they could very easily.⁵⁶

⁵⁵An analysis of 17 leading U.S. daily newspapers in Journalism Quarterly found that although "many papers remained basically friendly to Castro for months after the revolution, . . . the issue of possible Communist influence in Cuba emerged from the first. . . ." The article also noted: "By June, 1959, the San Francisco Examiner and Los Angeles Times had editorially decided that Castro presented a threat to the United States. . . ." (Michael J. Francis, "The U.S. Press and Castro: A Study in Declining Relations," Journalism Quarterly, XLIV /Summer, 1967, 259-61).

⁵⁶Harold Lavine, "Another Guatemala?" Newsweek, April 13, 1959, p. 65. What was happening in Cuba could not, of course, have been stated quite simply, but the news magazines had become intent on reducing the incredibly complex process of revolution into a simplistic matter of accusing Castro of being soft on communism.

Lavine then explained Castro's apparent willingness to allow Communists to infiltrate newspapers, the army information program, cultural activities, and labor:

. . . The answer is not a heartening one. The Communists basically are quite right about Castro; the man is a romantic. And the goal of his romanticism has a Communist ring to it--a country in which there are no rich and no poor. . . . One of his most dramatic actions was to cut rents. . . . The goal was a sharp redistribution of income.

. . . He wants a country in which every farmer owns his own land. Nothing has so caught the imagination of Cuba as Castro's land-reform program. . . .

The Newsweek writer admitted that Castro meant well and was honest, but warned that Cuba could become "'another Guatemala,' that is, a country dominated by the Communists . . . unless Castro stops talking and starts tackling the problem of making Cuba a stable country once again."

"This is something for every American to worry about," Lavine concluded, "for Cuba is bigger than Guatemala; it also has a giant U.S. naval base--guarding the Panama Canal."

Time depicted one presumably typical day's work of Castro's "chief executioner," identified as Herman Marks, 37, an ex-convict from Milwaukee who fought with Castro's rebels.⁵⁷

After three former policemen convicted of murder were shot by the firing squad, according to the article, "Marks stepped up to /a/ writhing body and fired the coup de grace with his .45 automatic--then had to shoot two more

⁵⁷"Chief Executioner," Time, April 13, 1959, p. 46.

times before his man finally died." Marks was quoted as observing that "'execution is not a pleasant task, but a necessary one.'"

The Time article included the familiar body count: "Later in the week, firing squads throughout the island shot 13 more men, raising the execution toll to 475. . . ."

The cover story of the April 20 issue of U.S. News & World Report asked "Is Castro Linked to Communists?" Introducing the story, a boldface prologue read, in part:

Communists are building a Red stronghold for themselves. Is Fidel Castro their dupe, or a willing helper?

U.S. News & World Report assigned a staff team to check out all aspects of the Castro story and the people around him.

The findings: Reds entrenched on all fronts--in the Army, schools, the press, labor--and Castro showing no sign of trying to stop them.⁵⁸

From what the article termed an "array of evidence," Castro was said to have been "closely allied with and strongly influenced by confirmed Communists."

U.S. News then suggested Castro was ingenuously allowing himself to be used to further the aims of the Communists:

An ardent Communist-liner heads the armed forces. Another is high in the Army command and has general charge of the executions that are continuing far beyond the limits promised early by Castro.

.
The hero, Castro, is there to be exploited as a

⁵⁸"Is Castro Linked to Communists?" U.S. News & World Report, April 20, 1959, pp. 42-43. The article revealed that the reports were compiled in Havana and "from best-informed business and government sources in the United States."

man with a future.

Consensus among intelligence sources is this: Fidel Castro is probably not a Communist agent, but he is a dupe of the Communists.

The three individuals closest to Fidel Castro /Raúl Castro, Guevara, and Carlos Franqui, editor of Revolución . . . are outright Communists or ardent "fellow travelers" . . .

Among informed Cubans this group is coming to be called the "National Directorate." Its aims are described as keeping Fidel Castro busy, making it difficult for anti-Communists to see him, and insulating him as far as possible about the extent and seriousness of the Communist penetration of his government.

"Mug shots" of Fidel and Raúl Castro and Guevara accompanied a "confidential intelligence report" in the same issue.⁵⁹ U.S. News concluded that there was no indication that Fidel was, or had been, a Communist. Because of his inaction, however, Communists were allegedly preparing to seize power.

Raúl was judged a dedicated Communist and the most dangerous of them all. Guevara, the secret report said, was a devoted Marxist and almost as dangerous as Raúl. Celía Sánchez, Castro's secretary during the civil war, was said to have exercised great influence on him; she was deemed potentially dangerous because she "acts and reacts like a Communist."

Continuing in this vein, a guest column in the same issue, contributed by an "anti-Batista writer who specialized in Cuban affairs," examined the question "Will

⁵⁹"Report on Castro and Friends," U.S. News & World Report, April 20, 1959, pp. 42-43.

Cuba Be Betrayed?" The writer charged that known Communists had worked themselves into high places in the government, soldiers attended classes in Marxism, and Communist newspapers were in full sight.⁶⁰

In an analysis of Castro's "First 100 Days," Time maintained that he had "seemed to savor power more and more while exhibiting the views and comprehensions of a college radical," but the magazine acknowledged that a social revolution was the Cuban leader's first priority.⁶¹

Clearly unsympathetic to Castro's "deep-surgery social revolution . . . now aimed at soaking the rich--business and landlords--and with favoring peasants . . . and labor," Time nevertheless credited him with positive accomplishments: "He has carried out the purge of government and social corruption effectively . . . cutting down on the once-flagrant prostitution. He has curbed Cuba's feverish gambling. . . ." ⁶²

⁶⁰Dale Francis, "Will Cuba Be Betrayed?" U.S. News & World Report, April 20, 1959, p. 42. As in previous U.S. News articles and columns, the writer's sources remained anonymous, owing to what he called the proliferation of "informers" in Cuba.

⁶¹"The First 100 Days," Time, April 20, 1959, p. 42.

⁶²In a study of "every article on Cuba that appeared in the first 22 months of revolutionary rule" in nine large American magazines, Maurice Zeitlin and Robert Scheer cited this paragraph as one of only three "that even touched on . . . the positive social and economic achievements of the revolution for the Cuban people claimed by the Revolutionary Government" (Maurice Zeitlin and Robert Scheer, "The Paper Curtain," in Cuba: Tragedy in Our Hemisphere /New York: Grove Press, 1963/, p. 284).

The article noted, however, that "Castro has indefinitely put off the restoration of democracy--elections, a Congress, civil justice," pending six years of social progress.

A list of his "actions so far" included an infrequent reference to social problems in rural Cuba, but then portrayed unenthusiastically Castro's proposed solutions:

- A beginning on agrarian reform for the 800,000 country dwellers, including landless guajiros (peasants) who live in dirt-floor, thatch-palm huts, subsist on the three dollars daily they earn during the three-month sugar harvest.

- A 30 per cent to 50 per cent arbitrary rent cut, which delights urban tenants but has slowed the booming construction industry to a walk, adding more than 120,000 idle construction workers to the 500,000 Cubans already jobless.

- A slash in mortgage interest rates to as low as 4 per cent from as high as 12 per cent, further pleasing working class tenants but virtually paralyzing new real estate ventures.

- Execution of 493 "war criminals," mostly Batista cops and soldiers. . . . Castro says illegal gambling, misappropriation of government funds, and counter-revolutionary acts (effective political opposition) could bring the same penalty. Total effect is to make opposition to Castro by speech or writing at least imprudent.

- Postponement of elections. . . .

Disaffection among the middle class was spreading, the Time article alleged, while "around Castro, who tolerantly likens them to Masons or Catholics, sprouts a band of Reds as luxurious as his beard."

Although there were "card carriers and fellow-travelers in key civilian spots," the Time article said Castro's economics remained capitalist: each farmer owning

his own land and his own tractor.

The caption beneath the accompanying picture depicted the magazine's political orientation: "Cuban peasants and friend [Castro]: Democracy must wait."

A long paragraph dealing with an American accused of attempting Castro's assassination filled the remainder of the page.⁶³ Alan Robert Nye, 32, of Whiting, Indiana, was said to have been lighter by 30 pounds and paste-white after serving three months in a Cuban prison. According to the article, Nye admitted accepting an assignment to "hunt down" Castro for \$100,000 but said he did so only as a means of joining Castro's rebel army.

Found guilty by a three-man revolutionary tribunal, Nye was sentenced to death by firing squad, suspended on condition that he leave Cuba. Nye quickly flew to New Orleans, where he was quoted as commenting that he "had had about as much chance of receiving a fair trial as a 'snowball in the place made famous by Dante.'" "

Fidel Castro accepted an invitation to address the American Society of Newspaper Editors in New York in mid-April. Although President Eisenhower pointedly took a golfing vacation in Georgia, Castro was able to meet with Vice President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Christian Herter. The American public was his major audience, however, and in several speeches around the country he

⁶³"End of the Nye Case," Time, April 20, 1959, p. 42.

affirmed his support of the vague democratic ideals he had professed before becoming Prime Minister.

A photograph of Castro shaking hands with Russian Ambassador Menshikov was displayed with the Time article covering Castro's U.S. visit. In a conciliatory manner, the article observed that "Castro spared neither energy nor charm in putting a good face on his revolution and trying 'to understand better the United States.' He even kissed a baby in a Washington park. . . . He won a lot of admiration."⁶⁴

Time said Castro's only disparagement came from a group of Cuban exiles, some of whom had lost relatives to his firing squads. The article continued:

Relaxed, amiable, and assured, Castro told a group of 18 Congressmen that "the 26th of July Movement is not a Communist movement. Its members are Roman Catholics, mostly." On U.S. investments, he said: "We have no intention of expropriating U.S. property, and any property we take we'll pay for." The Congressmen were charmed--but one of them, Florida's Democratic Senator George Smathers, got up on the Senate floor that afternoon to say: "Castro hasn't yet learned that you can't play ball with the Communists, for he has them peppered throughout his government."

Later in the story, the animosity returned, as Time commented on the visitor's itinerary: "After another week in New York, Canada, and Houston, Castro will fly back to Havana, where he has always found Yankee-baiting the easy way to please the crowds."

Time reported elsewhere in the issue the difficulties

⁶⁴"The Other Face," Time, April 27, 1959, p. 27.

of a British film company attempting to produce Our Man in Havana on location. After the filming had started, the article explained, Cuban officials had made 39 script changes designed to put the revolution in a better light. Director Carol Reed was quoted as explaining that the alterations were "due, as it were, to censorship."⁶⁵ The article commented that convincing pre-Castro scenes were difficult to film because of the profusion of beards in Havana.

Another brief Time article purported to explore the "chasm widening between Cuba and the upperclassmen of Caribbean democracy."⁶⁶ Ex-President José Figueres of Costa Rica was said to have traded insults with Castro, while Cuban Communist "boss" Manuel Mora was quoted as praising his country's Prime Minister as a "great revolutionary." Aside from Figueres, Time mentioned only one other "upper-classman of Caribbean democracy," and only indirectly in the final sentence: "In Venezuela President Betancourt's Acción Democrática party pointedly issued a statement praising Figueres."

In two articles, the May 4 U.S. News & World Report used the occasion of Castro's U.S. visit to reiterate its

⁶⁵"His Men in Havana," Time, April 27, 1959, pp. 27-28. A New York Times report of the production didn't mention the key word--"censorship"--noting that "although 39 changes were made in the script, there were no unappeasable objections and the film was approved" (Halsey Raines, "Shooting Our Man in Havana on the Spot," New York Times, April 26, 1959, sec. 2, p. 7).

⁶⁶"Upper Classmen v. Freshmen," ibid., p. 28.

belief that he was naively allowing Cuba to become dominated by Communists. The first article observed:

Fidel Castro's visit to the U.S. turned out to be something of an education for the bearded revolutionary from Cuba.

Behind the noisy and enthusiastic receptions that greeted him in Washington, New York, and elsewhere in mid-April, Castro discovered deep official concern in this country that he may find himself dominated by Communists. . . .

.
With many to whom he talked, Castro left the impression of a rather naive young man, with no clear-cut ideas on exactly where he is going.

.
There is a feeling that he barges into popular political decisions without a clear understanding of the possible economic damages. The slashing of rents, for example, apparently was ordered with little thought as to its effect on construction and housing investments. . . .⁶⁷

Without bothering to identify its sources, except as various U.S. officials--including sources close to Castro himself, a second May 4 article summarized how Castro was "sized up" during his recent U.S. visit:⁶⁸

It was Fidel Castro's almost slavish subservience to prevailing majority opinion--the voice of the mob--that made the deepest impression on U.S. officials trying to determine what kind of leader he might eventually turn out to be.

That aspect of the Cuban Prime Minister, rather than his naive attitude toward Communism and his obvious lack of understanding of even the most elementary economic principles, gave many of his listeners the greatest concern.

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Some U.S. officials went to great lengths to emphasize that Castro has the gift of leadership--but that it

⁶⁷"What Castro Learned in the United States," U.S. News & World Report, May 4, 1959, pp. 37-39.

⁶⁸"The Real Fidel Castro: A Size-Up of Cuba's Leader from Private Talks," ibid., pp. 40-41.

is the responsibility of a leader not to follow public opinion always but to help direct it in the proper channels. Castro was told that the duty of leadership is not necessarily to give the people what they think they want in a time of emotional stress, but to make them want what they ought to have.

As for press coverage of his revolution:

Castro rather bitterly assailed the U.S. press for what he regarded as unfair reporting of the revolution after he came to power. Some of his listeners tried to explain that a man in his position would have to learn to take criticism, both fair and unfair. At least one official indicated that he would not be surprised if Castro's sensitivity to criticism eventually would lead him to take drastic steps toward curtailing freedom of the press.

The final paragraph reiterated the magazine's nationalistic position:

But unmistakably, he has the essential ingredients of leadership, the power to lead people. For that reason alone--and there may well be others--the United States has no choice at this point but to try to orient him in the correct direction.

Time observed that "Cuba's gregarious boss drew bales of friendly notices and crushing crowds wherever he showed his beard."⁶⁹ After describing Castro's activities, the article summarized his views on three "critical" issues:

On the cold war, Castro emphasized that his heart lay with democracy but he ducked when asked if he would fire Communists in his government.⁷⁰

⁶⁹"Humanist Abroad," Time, May 4, 1959, p. 27.

⁷⁰At this point, Time added to the article a footnote that described the ideological shift of the New York Times, which had been "one of his warmest U.S. press friends throughout the revolution." It said that the Times had printed a 1,400-word story concerning growing Communist influence in the Castro regime during his U.S. tour.

Castro offered conflicting reasons why elections must wait up to four years: "An election now would just be a plebiscite for us," but also "old electoral vices could bring tyranny and oligarchy back."

The "war crimes" trials are "almost over."

One ranking member of Castro's party was quoted as declaring that "Fidel was astonished at his warm reception. It profoundly changed his thinking about the U.S." Time then quoted Guevara, who was termed one of the "Red-liners" in the Castro movement, as having warned that "'foreign influences are trying to prevent the success of the revolution.'" The context in which the statement was made was not explained.

Conditions in Cuba were deteriorating, according to U.S. News & World Report, as "the country itself is deep in trouble and getting deeper."⁷¹ Reporting from Havana, the correspondent charged that "his bearded firing squads were kept busy" while Castro was abroad, and the reforms he promised "languished in his absence."

Businessmen were said to have been generally pessimistic, while unemployment was high and would rise as the sugar harvest ended. "Unless construction work can be started up again," U.S. News warned, "there is likely to be real hunger in Havana by midsummer."

With the next sentence, U.S. News introduced a theme it was to repeat to the point of absurdity in later years: "In short, the Cuban public's honeymoon with the

⁷¹"What Happens in Cuba When Castro is Away," U.S. News & World Report, May 11, 1959, p. 35.

Castro revolution was coming to an end."

From his Havana perspective, the writer would have had his readers believe that "there is worry among most people you talk with⁷ over the executions, the pro-Communist influences, business stagnation, and the postponement of an election."⁷²

Another article in the issue told of an incident that allegedly caused the touring Cuban leader a great deal of embarrassment: an abortive invasion of Panama, launched from Cuba.⁷³

The prologue to the article warned that Cuba "threatens to become the launching site for more Caribbean invasions. . . ." Although Castro denounced the invaders, U.S. News said revolutionaries from other Caribbean countries were training in the mountains of Cuba, studying the tactics Castro used to overthrow Batista.

An unidentified American diplomat was quoted as stating that the Panamanian Government was democratic "as far as Latin American nations go," but U.S. News made no reference to the unrest--including a general strike and an unsuccessful plot to seize the pro-American government--reported in the New York Times earlier in the year.

"The reddest face in the whole affair was that of

⁷²The correspondent did not specify with whom he talked--Cubans, Americans, or both.

⁷³Clark H. Galloway and Albert J. Meyers, "Invasion Fever Spreads Through the Caribbean," U.S. News & World Report, May 11, 1959, pp. 33-34.

Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro," according to a second U.S. News article on the invasion.⁷⁴ A photograph of a group of the captured invaders, with the caption "Cuba's beards across the sea," complemented the article.

Time printed a more complete but equally undocumented explanation of the genesis of the invasion:

The invaders were recruited in Cuba in recent months by an assortment of Panamanians. . . . The Panamanian leaders persuaded the largely ignorant Cubans that Panama was crushed under the iron heel of a military dictatorship and was yearning for freedom.⁷⁵

The article said Castro, "who had been telling U.S. audiences that he flatly opposed Caribbean filibusters, knew all about the Panamanian plot, but was caught aback. . . . The Castros sent a pair of their bearded officers to Panama to persuade the invaders to withdraw. . . ."

An article noting the alleged rise of Communist influence in Cuba during Castro's absence followed on the next page.⁷⁶ It said "pro-Communist sloganeering was conspicuously absent" at the May Day parade the previous week because Castro had been telling U.S. audiences that Communists had no influence.

"Under wraps," the article continued, "the Red drive for power went on." Time cited the arrest for

⁷⁴"Keep Out," U.S. News & World Report, May 11, 1959, p. 62.

⁷⁵"End of an Invasion," Time, May 11, 1959, p. 45.

⁷⁶"Away from it All," ibid., p. 46.

"conspiracy" of an anti-Communist aide to Che Guevara, and the fact that "fellow-travelers" worked on the "Commission for the Revision of Cuban History Books." Refusing to acknowledge that any vestiges of anti-Americanism might remain in Cuba, the article said: "One of the Commission's⁷ suggested changes: The U.S. came into Cuba in 1898 for 'imperialistic reasons' after the Spanish were licked."

The Time article charged that freedom of the press was under attack--a writer for the anti-Communist Havana newspaper El Mundo was reportedly under arrest without charges, and composing-room workers, "feeling their revolutionary oats," demanded the right to edit stories before setting them in type.

"Executions, a prime instrument of terror," the article concluded, "went on. . . . Death toll so far: 549."

Newsweek continued its coverage of the revolution the following week with a brief article describing Castro's return from his 23-day hemisphere tour.⁷⁷ Although Havana was as "gay as ever," the article observed that the Prime Minister found Cuba's problems even graver than when he had left. In addition:

All of Castro's talk and all the applause so far had brought no loans, no grants, no promises from investors; he came back to Cuba as empty-handed as he left it. . . . And more and more, the U.S. press

⁷⁷"Huzzahs and Headaches," Newsweek, May 18, 1959, p. 60.

was pointing up the rise of Communist power within Castro's regime. . . . To solve these problems, Fidel would now have to get to work.⁷⁸

The Communist issue was raised that week by U.S. News and World Report in a "March of the News" item:

Cuba's Communists wiped out any remaining doubt about where they stand. Fidel Castro's new government, said a Communist spokesman, "has the backing and sympathy" of the party. In Montevideo, the touring Castro again denied that the Reds were gaining control, said they would get only the same treatment given to the other political factions.⁷⁹

Four of Castro's recent actions were noted in the lead paragraph of Time's May 25 article:

Fidel Castro's revolution had never moved at higher speed. Grinding out decree after decree last week, the Prime Minister ordered some 500 prisoners turned over to civilian courts, promised to restore the right of habeas corpus within 90 days, reopened the University of Havana, confiscated the holdings of 117 firms (mostly construction companies that gave kickbacks to the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista).⁸⁰

Time noted that the previous week was the first since January 1 in which no Cubans were executed. Castro, it continued, seemed more willing to quarrel with the Communists, as his "mouthpiece," Revolución, printed an anti-Communist editorial. The article then changed its tone, citing a mild statement of support by a Chilean Communist

⁷⁸U.S. News & World Report had said May 4 that while in the U.S., Castro "did not ask for money" ("What Castro Learned in the United States," May 4, 1959, p. 38). Herbert Matthews quotes Cuban Treasury Minister Rufo Lopez-Fresquet, who accompanied Castro to the U.S., as substantiating this fact (Matthews, p. 140).

⁷⁹"March of the News," U.S. News & World Report, May 18, 1959, p. 14.

⁸⁰"Creative Stage?" Time, May 25, 1959, p. 30.

to justify the following: "While Communists praised the revolution, many moderate Cubans who supported Castro from the start are losing faith. 'It's a swindle,' said a prosperous Havana man."

In addition, the conduct of some of Castro's men was allegedly bothering "moderate" Cubans: "Castro soldiers were said to have careened about the city in jeeps with guns in their belts and girls at their sides, and Armed Forces Chief Raúl Castro was living in a \$220,000 mansion confiscated from a crony of Batista.

A May 25 Newsweek article began with a "human interest story" concerning Castro's son, Fidelito, who had been involved in an automobile accident the previous week.⁸¹

Concerning the executions, the article observed: "At long last, meanwhile, there were signs that Fidel Castro's blood bath was ending."

Newsweek concluded: "Skeptics, noting the rising Communist influence on the island and the flood of returning Red exiles, were not convinced" by Castro's outward anti-Communism.

Newsweek called the agrarian reform law "'Reform' by Seizure"; Time was less temperate, terming it "Confiscation!" while U.S. News & World Report was content to denounce it as a "threat to U.S. holdings."

⁸¹"Of Life and Death," Newsweek, May 25, 1959, p. 60.

Thus the three news weeklies reported the details of the most significant social reform of the Cuban revolution.⁸²

Despite its headline, the Newsweek report was straightforward. It began:

In the mountains of Cuba's Oriente Province, dear to Fidel Castro's heart as the nursery of his revolution, the landless peasants live in poverty that is almost unbelievable. "No one has anything but roots to eat now, since no fruits or vegetables grow in the rainy season," says a reporter who recently visited the area. "There are no hospitals or schools in this 2,000 square-mile area."

So it was no surprise that Castro and his Cabinet traveled by airplane and jeep into the Oriente mountains, to explode Fidel's bombshell: Announcement of his new agrarian reform law, which he calls "the key to the revolution." But the content of the law, its sweeping nature, came as a shock to Cubans and Americans alike. All recognized the need for reform, but few had expected anything as extreme as this.⁸³

The provisions of the law were described in some detail; 200,000 peasants were to be affected. Newsweek defended threatened U.S. investments in Cuba, but only mildly, with the warning: "If large farms are split up, it could mean the end of Cuba as an efficient producer."

"A Second Look at Fidel Castro," by the U.S. News & World Report inter-American editor, Clark H. Galloway, criticized the law as well as Cuba's alleged Communism, but

⁸²The law sought to eliminate the unproductive latifundia--large estates worked by low-paid laborers and often owned by U.S. interests--by limiting the size of individual farms and ranches. In addition, free land was to be distributed in parcels of at least 67 acres, and foreign ownership of land was prohibited (Goldenberg, p. 219).

⁸³"'Reform' By Seizure," Newsweek, June 1, 1959, p. 53.

the article was noteworthy because it reserved one paragraph for an unantagonistic explanation of a public-works program.

It began: "There are some faint signs that Fidel Castro--after five months in power--is beginning to change his ways." Galloway cited the absence of executions and anti-American "tirades," as well as the anti-Communist Revolución editorial as proof of a favorable trend, yet the remainder of the article--excepting two short paragraphs toward the end--examined each of the old anti-Castro themes in detail.⁸⁴

The law hit directly at North American companies producing more than a third of Cuba's sugar crop, Galloway reported: "If Castro goes through with his land program, the great bulk of these properties will be taken away at a fraction of their real value and paid for with government bonds."

Cuban businessmen were said to have been worried because the government might seize their companies, as it had 131 the previous week on the grounds they were run by former Batista supporters. The U.S. News writer then quoted three "highly responsible" Cubans who professed concern about the influence of Communists. Galloway continued:

Perhaps the most dangerous Communist in the government, as many Cubans see it, is Major Alberto /sic/ (Che) Guevara, who commands the strategic La Cabana fortress . . . and heads a commission that has the

⁸⁴Clark H. Galloway, "A Second Look at Fidel Castro," U.S. News & World Report, June 1, 1959, pp. 38-39.

power to approve or reject foreign investments. He had a hand in drawing up the agrarian reform law.

The threat of government-supported invasions of neighboring nations as well as "Franco Spain" was noted, while the Cuban Government allegedly tolerated small Dominican and Haitian groups training in Oriente Province and an unidentified larger force in Western Cuba.

Despite some recent setbacks, the Communists were strong, according to the article, which alleged that history textbooks were being revised by a commission headed by a fellow traveler, and that Cuban students might be taught that the U.S. helped in Cuba's war for independence only to protect American investments and trade.

"There is some fear," Galloway said, "that the Reds are so well organized and have their strategy so well laid out that Castro may not be able to keep them at bay, even if he wants to."

After surveying the unemployment situation, the U.S. News article discussed the public-works program:

A public-works program--financed by stepped-up collection of income taxes--is getting started. There are projects to build schools, public buildings, roads, parks, and so on. The government plans to spend up to ten million dollars a month in this program. But, even if it works, it will only provide some 50,000 jobs, and the number of men out of work runs into the hundreds of thousands.

In the towns and cities, business as a whole is slow. . . .

The final two paragraphs reiterated the magazine's attitude toward the revolution:

Across the country there is still a great deal of popular support for Fidel Castro and the bearded

fighters who came out of the hills at the turn of the year to overthrow the Batista Government. There is no question that Castro, the revolutionary, is a national hero to millions.

But Castro, the administrator, is another story. Up to now there has been much more talk than action, in the task of getting a firm government in operation on the foundation built by revolution.

Time reacted to the week-old agrarian reform law with the hastily-drawn observation: "One rude slap turned off capital and slowed development." The article began with the indirect admission that most U.S. investments in Cuba had been illegal for 20 years:

Though it has never been enforced, Article 90 of Cuba's constitution says that "large landholdings are proscribed," and "the acquisition and possession of land by foreign persons and companies shall be restrictively limited." Last week Prime Minister Fidel Castro enforced Article 90 with a vengeance . . . and outlawed the 300 million dollar U.S. investment in Cuban sugar.

. . . The key language was unequivocal and plunged Cuba down a land-reform road where many Latin American hopes have been dashed. . . .⁸⁵

When discussing the method of compensation, Time was devious and misleading:

If U.S. sugar companies do not sell out within one year, then land will be expropriated and paid off in 20-year government bonds bearing 4½ per cent interest. According to Castro's estimate, made on a television show, the bond payments would range from 15 dollars to 45 dollars per acre, just one-quarter of what the land was worth a year ago. (*Italics mine.*)

Later in the article, Time said the price of sugar land had already dropped by half from the year before. Thus, Cuban bond payments would have been at least one-half the

⁸⁵"Confiscation!" Time, June 1, 1959, pp. 34-35.

value of the land before the law.⁸⁶

U.S. companies owning between 270,000 and 500,000 acres in Cuba would be hardest hit, it continued, but many Cubans would also suffer because of the law's strict limitation on individual ownership of land.

Only after this "introduction" did Time suggest that some benefits might accrue from the law:

Castro noted that there would be some "lamentable cases" covered by the law. . . . But on the face of it, Castro's law was a response to the fact that 200,000 rural Cubans are landless and often unemployed. He plans to parcel out at least 66 acres for each farm family. "Colonization stations" will help the new landowners, he said. . . .

In Washington, Time reported, there "was no talk of retaliatory moves." U.S. Ambassador Philip Bonsal was said to have conferred with sugarmen the previous week.

"The Long, Sad History of Land Reform" began with a frank portrayal of the conditions that had spawned previous Latin American agrarian reform laws--less than 5 per cent of all land was said to have been under cultivation, while millions went hungry despite the continent's low population density.⁸⁷

In addition, Time said, "the cultivated land is tied up in latifundias, the big farms that have dominated

⁸⁶Castro was to tamper repeatedly with the intent of the law, owing to fluctuating conditions--including Cuba's deteriorating relationship with the U.S. One such unwritten "adjustment" negated plans for compensations, and no government bonds have been printed to date.

⁸⁷"The Long, Sad History of Land Reform," Time, June 1, 1959, p. 34.

Latin American agriculture ever since the time of Conquistador Hernán Cortés. . . ."88

The article warned, however, that the "mere fact that land-reform seems overdue has never guaranteed that it will work. Most attempts have been disastrous failures. . . ." Having cited numerous examples to defend its position, the Time article concluded:

By turning his agrarian reform against bigness instead of high efficiency, Castro may well scare off all U.S. capital and thereby slow Cuba's growth toward a diversified economy. . . .

U.S. News & World Report and Time the following week decried Castro's malleability at the hands of communists. "Premier Fidel Castro's own attitude is really the basis of Red confidence," the U.S. News article observed. "He has said repeatedly, 'We will not combat Communism,' and he has suited word to deed by doing nothing to thwart the Reds."89

Later, U.S. News alleged that "many seasoned Cuban observers" felt Castro's policies clearly indicated the

⁸⁸The concentration of vast tracts of Cuban land in a few hands dates only to the eighteenth century. It received impetus from the U.S. domination of the sugar industry after 1900. When sugar prices fell drastically, as in the 1920 economic crisis, thousands of small farmers were forced off the lands by the banks holding their mortgages. The land was then sold to the giant sugar companies. As a result of this process, the census of 1945-46 showed that 1½ per cent of all landowners controlled 46 per cent of the land under cultivation (Hubert Herring, A History of Latin America /New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967, pp. 419-20; and Goldenberg, pp. 128-29).

⁸⁹"Showdown and a Switch," U.S. News & World Report, June 8, 1959, p. 50.

revolution was following the Communist pattern, while "many experts" were openly predicting economic disaster for once-prosperous Cuba.

Castro was pictured as weak and naive in a June 8 Time article, which began:

Cuba's Communists, who keep shoving Fidel Castro to the left as they march side by side in the island's revolution, pushed a little too hard last week. Tempers flared, raising the possibility of a split. Then the Red leaders realized the folly of alienating Castro before they could fully control him, told their membership that attacking the revolution is still "inexpedient," got back to the task of making the revolution theirs.⁹⁰

A respected labor leader won control of a powerful union, according to the article, and, "obviously doing Castro's bidding . . . denounced Communist backing."

"While soft on individual Communists," Time explained, "Castro apparently fears that if the Reds gain a wide popular base, such as labor, they will challenge his position as people's hero."

Both U.S. News & World Report and Time reported "strong protests" against the land-reform law, described by Time as "confiscatory."

A new law imposing taxes on names, descriptive adjectives, and pictures on society pages of Cuban newspapers was treated as a joke in a separate Time article.⁹¹ It concluded with the observation that "Cuban society

⁹⁰"Red Setback," Time, June 8, 1959, p. 40.

⁹¹"Society Rags," ibid., p. 40.

editors, who have always collected an under-the-table fee for social puffs, will lose a profitable racket."

Land-reform and its adverse effects on a tiny minority of the population were explored in the following week's Time article, which began:

As the full import of Fidel Castro's dream of a "classless" Cuba began sinking in last week, a wave of mass meetings and angry proclamations swept the island. The immediate cause of anger was the sudden rebirth of outspoken opposition to the still numerically strong supporters of Castro.⁹²

Despite opposition from cattlemen, rice growers, and five newspapers, Castro "gave no quarter," and ended the last hopes that the law would be softened before its enactment, Time noted.

As for its major terms, "foreign land companies, i.e., U.S.-owned sugar firms, must give up their plantations within a year, in exchange for government bonds that may be worth only one-quarter of the land's actual value."

The last paragraph quoted the Cuban Prime Minister: ". . . We haven't taken over this government to play games," said Castro testily. "We've come to fix this country up."

Another Time article concerning the repercussions of the law was published June 22, as Castro had fired five of his Cabinet ministers, who, it was implied, opposed "the

⁹²"To Fix this Country Up," Time, June 15, 1959, p. 42.

most drastic land-reform law in Latin America."⁹³

Although only one of the five was quoted as expressing opposition to the law, Time commented that "Havana heard that the other chided ministers, especially Foreign Minister Agramonte, were also faint-hearted about the drastic law."

Opposition among a group of 20,000 farmers from Pinar del Rio Province was allegedly "most outspoken from gnarled-handed small holders," although the law, as explained in Time, was aimed at breaking up farms larger than 995 acres.

Castro's defense of the land-reform program was depicted vividly in the article: "Outside the Cabinet, Castro fought for his law with threats, cajolery, and left-wing bombast." Excerpts from his speeches, as printed in Time, were fairly innocuous, however:

"Land reform will not be stopped even if the sky rains spikes."

"Revolution implies change. An immense majority of the people lack bread."

"If at some time it is necessary to apply revolutionary justice anew, we will defend the revolution."

U.S. News & World Report provided a fitting conclusion to the weekly news magazines' coverage of the Cuban revolution for the first six months of 1959 with a totally negative interpretation of events in Cuba:

⁹³"Cabinet Split," Time, June 22, 1959, p. 30.

Things aren't working out for Cuba and Castro. Communists, so far, are the only real gainers.

That's the word from Havana. A sort of creeping paralysis is setting in. The mood is nervous, anxious, angry.

Land-reform--threatening to wipe out holdings worth hundreds of millions of dollars--is only one cause of grumbling.⁹⁴

Still harping on previously expressed concerns, U.S. News devoted considerable space to an exposition of American views of Castro:

The Prime Minister, himself, is showing something close to contempt for the U.S. Government, American-owned property, and other traditional ties between this island and its big neighbor to the north. There is widespread concern that his pet project--"agrarian reform"--will turn into a land-grab that will destroy hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of property, and might even wreck Cuba in the process. Said one American who has been in business here for years:

"Until the middle of May there was hope that something could be worked out. But now, practically all hope is gone. Most of us are keeping quiet. We can't see that it would do any good to shout. But it's certain now that the extreme leftists have taken over."

Under the Castro land program, millions of acres of sugar, cattle, tobacco, and rice land are to be split into small tracts and given to the peasants. The biggest U.S. stake is in the sugar lands estimated to be worth 300 million dollars. If Castro goes ahead--and he is determined to do so--some Americans figure they will be lucky to get 20 cents on the dollar for their property.

Concerning the Cuban people, U.S. News alleged that the enthusiasm with which they welcomed Castro had "chilled noticeably."

The Cuban economy was said to have been stagnant, as construction had almost stopped and the "once-flourishing sugar industry may be in a real mess by the time the next

⁹⁴"Cuba Sinks Deeper in Trouble, Reds Ready to Step In," U.S. News & World Report, June 29, 1959, p. 35.

crop is due."

Castro's response was detailed at the end of the article:

Now with criticism on the rise, Castro is reacting strongly.

Waverers have been thrown out of the Cabinet.

"Security" arrests are being stepped up, after a lull.

The mood of many Cubans and Americans in Havana is reflected in this remark one of them made to a visitor:

"Great opportunities have been missed here. If Castro had only stepped in and done some house cleaning, he could have done great things. But instead of cleaning house, he's tearing it down."

Summary

During the crucial first six months of the Cuban revolution, the weekly news magazines were often openly critical of Prime Minister Fidel Castro when his policies clashed with the economic or political interests of the United States. Each magazine grew increasingly disenchanted with the direction of the revolutionary government, as Castro displayed his determination to free Cuba from what he viewed as unwarranted foreign influence over the island's affairs.

Time.--Apprehensive of Castro's revolution from the outset, Time reported the trials and executions of Batista "war criminals" in an inflammatory manner. Although a January 19 article conceded that "public opinion backed tough measures," a series of unsigned news articles repeatedly castigated the Cuban method of dealing with those widely known to have committed atrocities against the Cuban people.

After having published January 19 a series of blood-tinged photographs of execution victims, Time the following week maintained that Castro had "picked up the arrogant tools of dictatorship" and had denied justice to the accused by holding their trials in a public park. On February 2, Time said Castro "reacted with petulance, incomprehension, irrelevancies, inept concession" to criticism of his actions, and said February 9 that his men "found their grim satisfactions in rows of executed Batista henchmen."

Time acknowledged positive accomplishments of the Cuban revolution on three occasions during the first six months of 1959. A February 9 article said Castro had "purified" gambling and government graft, and a March 23 report, entitled "Fastest Gun in Havana," noted that Castro had "pushed through" a five million dollar public-works program. The following month, Time admitted that the Cuban Government's primary goal was a social revolution, and credited Castro with reducing government and social corruption (April 20).

The magazine was predominantly concerned with political and economic matters, however, stressing alleged Communist infiltration of the Cuban Government and threats to continued U.S. domination of the nation's economy. "Castro has indefinitely put off the restoration of democracy--elections, a Congress, civil justice," pending six years of social progress, the April 20 article noted.

When the agrarian reform law was announced the following month, Time was largely concerned with the fate of the 300 million dollar U.S. investment in Cuban sugar. "By turning his agrarian reform against bigness instead of high efficiency," the magazine commented, "Castro may well scare off all U.S. capital and thereby slow Cuba's growth toward a diversified economy" (June 1).

U.S. News & World Report.--After several sympathetic evaluations of Castro and his revolution early in 1959, U.S. News adopted the tone it was to maintain thereafter--undisguised animosity toward any manifestation of Cuban economic independence from the United States. Its first 1959 article maintained that the new Cuban Prime Minister "will not differ from Batista, so far as U.S. is concerned" (January 9), and a subsequent report said he "cannot survive without U.S. markets and U.S. tourists" (January 23).

In response to the executions, U.S. News cautioned that Cuba "may have exchanged one police state for another" (January 23), but later described the trial procedures in an impartial manner (January 30).

The magazine's overriding interest, however, was economic, as it reiterated Cuba's dependence on the U.S. A January 23 analysis of conditions in revolutionary Cuba warned that the "billion dollar American business community may be in for real trouble." The following week's article noted that Castro was in a "fault-finding mood where his

big neighbor is concerned. There is this at stake: One billion dollars worth of American-owned property." On February 6, U.S. News said Cuba "may have to turn to the U.S. for loans, the way things are going in Havana.

U.S. News published several positive, if cautious, assessments of the revolution during the first half of 1959. Castro's "promises"--moderate land-reform, public works, elections, gambling casinos for foreigners, and a Latin American news agency--were listed February 13. A subsequent article said Havana was calm, politics was being discussed openly, and Castro's Government was honest, but warned that "it remains to be seen how long this atmosphere will last" (March 9).

On April 20, U.S. News speculated on Castro's possible links to communism, citing a vague "array of evidence" that indicated he was "closely allied with and strongly influenced by confirmed communists." The magazine implied June 8 that Castro was allowing himself to be manipulated by "Red leaders."

Ironically, while criticizing his totalitarian tendencies, U.S. News lamented his alleged "subservience to prevailing opinion--the voice of the mob" in a May 4 analysis of his U.S. visit. U.S. officials were said to have told him that "it is the responsibility of a leader not to follow public opinion always, but to help direct it in the proper channels."

Newsweek.--Although its criticisms of the Cuban revolution were generally more restrained than those of Time and U.S. News & World Report, Newsweek was the first news magazine to portray Castro as a "dupe" of the Communists. Latin American editor Harold Lavine reduced the complexities of the revolution to the simple statement that Communists were "grasping for the reins" of the Cuban Government, and could have very easily gotten all the reins within their grip (April 13). Subsequent articles warned of "rising Communist influence" (May 18 and 25), despite Castro's disavowal of Marxist ideology.

In January, the magazine joined its nationalistic competitors in emphasizing the U.S. stake in Cuba's economy, but later concentrated on social and political issues.

Newsweek's coverage of the executions and the agrarian reform law was unemotional and temperate. A January 26 article "looked calmly at the facts" surrounding the executions, noting that they were necessary to forestall a popular massacre of the criminals. After Cuba's agrarian reform program was unveiled, Newsweek said it was unexpectedly extreme, but observed that it was a response to the "almost unbelievable poverty" of much of rural Cuba (June 1).

During the first half of 1959, the Cuban revolution had no clear direction. The moderate 26th of July Movement was in control, and Castro enjoyed the adulation of the vast

majority of Cubans. It would be difficult to defend the position that the Cuban leader's subsequent embrace of Marxism-Leninism was a direct result of the misrepresentation of his revolution by the North American mass media, but a number of questions can never be resolved:

1. Would subsequent history have been altered had the United States been able to accept the Cuban revolution for what it was--a nationalistic social upheaval destined to adversely affect U.S. business interests?

2. Would offers of economic and technical assistance at the time of Castro's U.S. visit have mitigated to some degree his personal feelings of hostility?

3. Had much of the mass media not reacted so virulently to the trials and executions, and instead attempted to shed light on the true nature and goals of the revolution, would Cuba today be as dependent on the Soviet Union for its sustenance as it once was on the United States?

CHAPTER IV

1961: INVASION AND RETREAT

While a crescendo of political events drowned out the few attempts made by the U.S. news magazines to explain the social aspects of Castro's revolution during the last year-and-a-half of the Eisenhower Administration,¹ Cuba was ensconced in a revolutionary spirit that was profoundly affecting the lives of the people. Social achievements are not ordinarily the ingredients from which good headlines are made, but despite the dearth of information available to the U.S. public about those in revolutionary Cuba, their existence is uncontested. A naturalized Cuban citizen who lived on the island from 1941 to 1960 writes:

Unlike other "socialist" revolutions, the Cuban revolution immediately and without worrying about the cost or consequences of such a policy, provided material improvements for most members of the lower classes.
. . .²

Impoverished Cubans felt the benefits of the revolution most strongly during its first two years, but the government policy that favored the poor alienated the middle classes--Castro's original supporters--and Miami

¹See Appendix A.

²Goldenberg, p. 210.

soon was filled with tens of thousands of Cuban émigrés.

Advances in education, formerly the domain of the property-owning minority, were the revolution's greatest initial achievement. The government sought to eliminate the 24 per cent illiteracy rate of its adult population in 1961 with a small army of young alfabetizadores, who invaded the countryside armed only with elementary textbooks. They were, writes Herbert L. Matthews, "surprisingly successful."³ More classrooms were opened in Cuba during the first 30 months of the revolution than had been built in the previous 30 years.⁴

Most striking to foreign observers at this time was the revolutionary fervor with which the people, despite economic adversities⁵ and their government's expedient shift in political orientation, responded to the task of rebuilding Cuba. For those who remained in Cuba, especially the many young and impoverished, Fidel Castro--the man and his image--represented the Cuba they hoped to raise out of the ashes of military dictatorship. The effectiveness of this "government by charisma" was severely underestimated in the U.S. by those who viewed with skepticism any variation from

³Matthews, p. 232.

⁴Goldenberg, p. 215.

⁵These were largely owing to Castro and Guevara's unwise attempt at rapid industrialization, which they hoped would lessen Cuba's reliance on the fluctuating price of sugar.

the "democratic norm" toward which they believed Cuba should naturally gravitate.⁶

In its first 1961 article, "For Castro in the New Year--A Race with Disaster," U.S. News & World Report announced that Castro's flirtation with communism had doomed him to ignominious failure, and prophesied the collapse of his government:

Odds appear that Castro will at least begin to sink during the year ahead. His race is against time--a race to communize Cuba completely before Civil War can overtake him.

.
Opposition to Castro within the country is growing. There have been some incidents of sabotage and terror bombing, with the prospect of many more.

Everywhere there is evidence of rising bitterness and strain. Guerrilla forces opposing Castro appear to be growing in size and daring. . . .

Crowds at Castro rallies keep diminishing in size and enthusiasm.

A view heard expressed more and more often in Havana is that, if present trends are not reversed, a full-scale civil war can erupt before the year is ended. It is doubted that communist nations can provide enough help soon enough to save Castro from open challenge.⁷

Trade agreements recently completed with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the People's Republic of China were cited as evidence that Castro was "putting all his eggs

⁶The popular strength of Castro's Government at that time was underscored by a limited, unofficial opinion poll conducted by a U.S. organization. It found 43 per cent of those responding enthusiastic supporters of Castro, another 43 per cent in favor of the government, and 10 per cent opposed (Institute for Social Research, Princeton University [Spring 1960], cited by Goldenberg, p. 211).

⁷"For Castro in the New Year--A Race with Disaster," U.S. News & World Report, January 2, 1961, p. 49.

in the Communist basket" for 1961, which, to U.S. News, could only prove disastrous.

Time said the trade agreements "make Cuba's shattered economy dependent on Russian handouts."⁸ The previous week, in what the magazine termed a "shrill speech," Castro had allegedly threatened the entire world with economic aggression if the U.S. did not buy Cuban sugar.

Another Time article expressed dismay at Castro's alleged threats to freedom of the press:

When Fidel Castro took power on New Year's Day 1959, 16 newspapers were published daily in Havana. As Castro's intolerance of opposition mounted, the number rapidly shrank to eight. Last week two more Havana papers--the dailies Avance and Informacion--abruptly disappeared. . . .⁹

A "nativity scene" painted outside a Havana television station during the Christmas season irritated Newsweek, which termed the figures of Castro, Guevara, and Army Chief Juan Almeida with a newborn babe in a manger, "blasphemous."¹⁰ To Newsweek readers conditions in Havana were indeed bleak:

This was Cuba's second revolutionary Christmas, plagued by shortages, clouded by bitterness and personal

⁸"The Wise Men," Time, January 2, 1961, p. 25.

⁹"The Vanishing Facade," ibid., p. 51. The article did not delineate the corruption by which 16 competing daily newspapers were able to make a profit in a city comparable in size to Houston, Texas. As Herbert L. Matthews (p. 298) writes: "In pre-revolutionary years, freedom of the press meant a venal, subsidized press responding to government and industry."

¹⁰"Castro's Cuba: Blasphemous and Bleak," Newsweek, January 2, 1961, p. 39.

unhappiness, celebrated quietly by broken families, many of whose members were in voluntary exile from Castro, and promoted loudly by the government press.

Time speculated on the purpose of a U.S.-constructed airstrip near Guatemala's Pacific coast the following week, saying Guatemalans were wondering if it could be the base for a cooperative U.S.-Guatemalan-Cuban-exile airborne military operation against Fidel Castro.¹¹

"When the construction job was finished," it continued, "the U.S. delivered eight surplus B-26 light bombers to the Guatemalan Government."

The Time article said investigating reporters had found no trace of any major Cuban force in the area, but many more Cubans and Americans were said to have been convinced an invasion was being planned by mid-January.

U.S. News & World Report published an interview with Cuba's former chief justice, who chastised the "communist" regime of Fidel Castro. He said in part: "There is an absolute absence of any guarantee of freedom of property, of life itself. . . . Cuba no longer is a state of law. Rather, the will of the government is law."¹²

¹¹"Mystery Strip," Time, January 6, 1961, pp. 32, 34. Its existence was first revealed by the Nation the previous November, when the magazine reported CIA involvement in the project ("Are We Training Cuban Guerrillas?" Nation, November 19, 1960, pp. 378-79). The New York Times published the revelations January 10, lending some support to Castro's charges that the U.S. was planning an imminent invasion of Cuba.

¹²"How Castro Runs Cuba--No Judges, No Law, No Justice," U.S. News & World Report, January 9, 1961, pp. 64-66.

The people are insecure and "Fidel is not backed by the population as he was in the first months of 1959," according to the exiled judge. He concluded: "Castro must be overthrown. There is no place for communism in the Americas."

The events of the previous year-and-a-half predestined a break in diplomatic relations between the U.S. and revolutionary Cuba. It came January 3, and the three news magazines published in-depth articles concerning the future of Castro's Cuba the following week.

Time devoted a full page to the break and its consequences, noting Castro had eliminated "one of the gravest embarrassments to the dictatorship"--the daily line-up of "desperate Cubans before the U.S. embassy seeking U.S. visas to flee his Communist state."¹³

Although the previous week's Time article had raised the possibility that the U.S. might have been preparing Cuban exiles for an invasion attempt, the January 13 article denounced Castro's "tawdry little melodrama of 'invasion,'" and ridiculed his "wild and unsupported" charge that the U.S. was planning direct military aggression in the near future.

In a "special section" in the January 16 issue, a group of Newsweek correspondents attempted to resolve the question "Castro and Cuba: Can They Survive?" Castro's

¹³"The Breaking Point," Time, January 13, 1961, p. 29.

"wild charges and demands" were responsible for the break in relations after six decades of alliance, the introduction said. "Behind the figure of Fidel Castro could be seen the same enemy that had lurked behind the war in Korea: The twin monoliths of Soviet and Chinese Communism. . . ."

The main article of the section was written in "gun-studded and propaganda-pounded" Havana, a city "armed for an 'invasion' that nobody plans."¹⁴ Habaneros were said to have been weary of Castro's assertions that an attack on Cuba was imminent; they really didn't believe any more that the U.S. would try to invade Cuba. Newsweek continued:

Castro may actually believe that the U.S. plans to attack. The frustrations of the past two years may have given him a persecution complex. . . .

.
Almost anybody can calculate that Castro must fear counterrevolution, despite the still-existing devotion of the majority of the Cuban people and the loyalty of the militia. . . .¹⁵

In an "inside" account of the events leading to the formal severance of relations, Newsweek said President Eisenhower had considered two arguments for not breaking formal ties at that time--a legal escape route for

¹⁴Harold Lavine, "On Scene--Dictator's Capital 'At War,'" Newsweek, January 16, 1961, pp. 16-18.

¹⁵Despite Lavine's refusal to admit the U.S. was prepared to sanction an exile invasion of Cuba, he correctly portrayed Castro's widespread support. The Central Intelligence Agency severely underestimated the loyalty of the militia and the Cuban people, and largely based the success of the invasion on mass defections within their ranks (Haynes Johnson, The Bay of Pigs: The Leaders' Story of Brigade 2506 /New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1964/, pp. 223-24).

dissatisfied Cubans would have been lost and United States intelligence in Havana would have been seriously curtailed.¹⁶

From "refugee-swarmling Miami," another article told of the plight of the "thoroughly disillusioned upper middle class Cubans" who had emigrated to the U.S.¹⁷ The article maintained that more than 300 Cuban physicians were unemployed, while a distinguished woman lawyer was working in a canning factory because of the shortage of jobs. "There is deep sympathy [In Miami] for these dispossessed people," the article concluded.

At the United Nations, according to a third Newsweek article, Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa told an "unimpressed" Security Council meeting the U.S. was planning to invade his country.¹⁸ It observed:

He aimed his fire directly at the "reactionary Eisenhower Administration," using photos and newspaper reports as "proof." After he was through, the calm and burly U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., James Wadsworth, brushed aside Roa's fears as an "Alice in Wonderland" dream.

. . . Over the weekend, the Council adjourned without taking any action. What this meant was that the Security Council, plainly and flatly, had not believed the Cuban charges.

An anonymous writer revealed a strong nationalistic

¹⁶"As the Break Came," Newsweek, January 16, 1961, p. 17.

¹⁷William A. Emerson Jr., "Escape from Fidel," ibid., pp. 17-18.

¹⁸Lois Pearson, "'Lies'--and the U.N.," ibid., p. 18.

nature in a forecast of "Cuba without the U.S.":¹⁹

The hard facts of life--economic and political--under the feckless rule of Fidel Castro have been closing in on the Cuban people for months. Now, with diplomatic relations severed by the U.S., they are getting harder day by day. The question that every responsible Cuban had to ask himself was whether his country could manage to survive as an economic entity.

.
The plain ugly truth today is that Cuba is in a state of siege, and that it has laid siege to itself. . . .

Cuba today is a nation of broken promises, broken bankrolls, broken hearts. . . .

The Newsweek article erred profusely in any analysis of the Cuban Government:

It is also emerging even more clearly now that Fidel Castro himself is little more than a figure-head; that the real boss of the new Red Cuba is not even a Cuban, but a professional Marxist revolutionary from Argentina named Ernesto (Che) Guevara.²⁰

"Informal guesses" at the length of the Castro regime "run from 30 days to 'as long as Russia feels like carrying it--unless there's a counterrevolution,'" the article said. Although opposition groups were badly divided, the "virus of defection" was allegedly spreading quickly in Cuba.

Newsweek interpreted U.S.-Cuban history in its next article: "Guantánamo is the oldest of all foreign bases occupied by the U.S., leased by the grateful Cuban people

¹⁹"Survival or Not?" Newsweek, January 16, 1961, p. 17.

²⁰Herbert Matthews (p. 152) writes that "the role of Che Guevara was greatly exaggerated in the formative years of the revolution. . . . At the height of his influence, he was playing a secondary role in Cuba."

after they won their freedom from Spain with American help in the Spanish-American war."²¹ The article warned that Castro might attempt to attack the base in the future.

In a survey of "What Cuba Needs and Where it Comes From,"²² Newsweek prophesied worsening economic conditions for the Cuban people:

By non-Communist standards, the Republic of Cuba is bankrupt. By Communist standards it is not--for the sole and cynical reason that the Communist world can now keep the island nation on an economic remittance allowance as long as it behaves to Russian liking.

.
Cuba under Fidel Castro now hopes to survive economically by replacing as many American imports as possible with Iron Curtain substitutes. Expert observers, including former high-ranking officials in the Castro Government and U.S. economic specialists on Cuba, are convinced this won't work.

Another view of the history of Cuban-American relations ended Newsweek's "special section." It read, in part:

[Cuba] owes its nationhood largely to the American defeat of Spain in 1898--after the battleship Maine was blown up in Havana harbor (drawing above). Since, Cuba's attitude toward the U.S. has ranged from gratitude to resentment.²³

The Platt Amendment was described as one of "a few strings" kept by the U.S. after 1898. The article admitted many Cubans were resentful each time the U.S. intervened

²¹"Our Base Now," Newsweek, January 16, 1961, pp. 20, 23.

²²Ibid., p. 19.

²³"Cuba and the U.S.," ibid., p. 23.

in Cuba.

U.S. News & World Report was similarly pessimistic concerning Castro's future. An introduction to an article reported from Havana and Washington said "a squeeze is tightening on the Cuban dictator. He may be in deeper trouble than he realizes."²⁴

After portraying the break in diplomatic relations, U.S. News noted that "U.S. policy . . . is to sit tight and to count on events to isolate Cuba and Castro." There was speculation, it continued, that the U.S. Government would be less inclined to restrain an arms build-up among Cuban exiles and anti-Castro Cubans. The article proposed economic and political pressure--with the support of other Latin American countries--as other possible means of containing Castro.

Reiterating what each of the news magazines considered Castro's fatal error--using the Communist bloc to replace U.S. influence in Cuba--U.S. News & World Report concluded:

The signs are that Castro, in choosing to make Cuba a Soviet satellite, has overplayed his hand. Many outside forces appear to be bearing down on him. Before his final overthrow, however, it is expected that Castro will so wreck the Cuban economy that his successor will face a major job of rebuilding Cuba into a stable state.

The observations in a brief article in the same issue concerning the Guantánamo naval base were more

²⁴"What Comes Next in Cuba?" U.S. News & World Report, January 16, 1961, pp. 31-33.

accurate:

Involved for the U.S. is military security and vast prestige. If Castro moves, there will be a clash not of words, but guns. . . .

Direct military attack by Castro is held unlikely at this time. . . .²⁵

Another U.S. News article alleged that the absence of U.S. influence in Havana changed the city's character: "There is a glum, somber atmosphere in what used to be a gay resort city filled with U.S. tourists."²⁶ It continued: "Talk with a Cuban on the street and he keeps looking over his shoulder to see if anyone is listening. Quite often, somebody is. . . ." The article said Communist diplomats, technicians, and military advisers were a common sight around the city--almost as common as visitors from the American mainland once were.

In a description of Cuban newspapers, the U.S. News article lamented the scarcity of objective news concerning the U.S.: "All you can read of the U.S. are exaggerated reports on race troubles and unemployment. . . ."

Searching for substantiation of its contention that Castro's days were numbered, U.S. News & World Report published elsewhere in the issue an interview with a minor government official, the former head of the Bank for the Development of Agriculture and Industry. He was quoted as saying he "abandoned Castro only after his actions and

²⁵"Guantánamo Base: A Hard Nut for Castro to Crack," U.S. News & World Report, January 16, 1961, p. 31.

²⁶"As One More Curtain Closes," ibid., pp. 32-33.

and policies as ruler of Cuba convinced me that Fidel was determined to give over six million Cubans to the service of international communism."²⁷ Asked whether he was convinced Castro would be overthrown, the exiled Cuban replied:

"Absolutely. He will be finished in Cuba by next June. Already he has lost the initiative and is on the defensive. His economic problems are enormous, but they stem from the political mistakes and ineptitude of the Castro regime.

.....
 "The rapidly growing anti-Castro feeling of the Cuban people, which is expressing itself in many ways, is already evident now to all.

"Defections of high officials is another evidence."

Displaying undisguised confidence in the validity of his predictions, the Cuban discussed "Cuba after Castro":

"We must have free enterprise in everything possible, government planning only where absolutely necessary. . . .

"We will need help from abroad. . . .

"There must be a land-reform, as contemplated in the 1940 Constitution."

In another optimistic article, U.S. News quoted a statement made by Senator John F. Kennedy during the previous year's presidential campaign that was heartening to the group of exiles then covertly training for an invasion of their homeland:

"We must attempt to strengthen the non-Batista, democratic, anti-Castro forces in exile, and in Cuba itself, who offer eventual hope of overthrowing Castro. Thus far these fighters for freedom have had virtually no support from our government."²⁸

²⁷"Next in Cuba--'I Give Castro Six Months,'" U.S. News & World Report, January 16, 1961, pp. 34-37.

²⁸"If Castro is Counting on a Deal with Kennedy," ibid., p. 38.

The article concluded with a gentle prod:

When Mr. Kennedy made these remarks, Castro replied by calling him an "ignorant, illiterate, beardless kid." Now the question is how far, how fast and in what way Mr. Kennedy will carry out his stated plans to act against Castro.

On the same page, U.S. News quoted the Senate Judiciary subcommittee testimony of former Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith, Kennedy's "neighbor and golfing partner at Palm Beach."²⁹ According to the article, Smith testified that U.S. Government agencies and the U.S. press "played a major role in bringing Castro to power." State Department officials, he charged, instructed him to withdraw U.S. support from Batista's hand-picked successor, who was "elected" to succeed the unfortunate Batista in November, 1958.

The article then quoted Smith as saying the decision to sever relations with Cuba would "'go a long way in vindicating the Monroe Doctrine and regain a lot of lost prestige'" for the U.S.

The following week U.S. News & World Report published an interview with Cuban exile leader José Miró Cardona, and the magazine's first revelations concerning the Guatemalan air base, which had been the subject of widespread speculation for three weeks.

Imitating the tactics Castro had used nearly two years earlier in a U.S. News interview,³⁰ Miró attempted

²⁹"Views on Cuba that Impressed Kennedy," U.S. News & World Report, January 16, 1961, p. 38.

³⁰Cf. "Interview with Fidel Castro: Leader of Cuba's Revolt Tells What's Coming Next," ibid., March 16, 1959, in Chapter III, below.

to win U.S. friends for his exile organization by saying what he thought the U.S. public wanted to hear:

"Cubans are already puzzled by their isolation in the Americas, particularly their closest neighbor and old friend, the United States. Cubans know that the U.S. fought for our independence, shed blood. This friendship goes back to San Juan Hill and the Joint Congressional Resolution of 1898 that said Cuba is and must be free. . . ."31

Miró then reinforced what the magazine had been proclaiming for months:

"In two years of power, Castro has done nothing for the welfare of the people--not one single thing. Economically, the people are much worse off than before. So he is using the break in relations and the invasion scare to confuse the people.

.
"Castro has no support among the people now, only the support of the Communist party--the Partido Socialista Popular. The next step will be a general uprising and the time for that is fast approaching. The tempo of resistance is increasing by the minute.

.
"Today only a small percentage of the people support Fidel . . . So he is reduced to dependence on the Communist Party and the militia it organized. . . ."32

A U.S. News article reported from Guatemala City said troops were receiving intensive training in the identical guerrilla tactics that Castro used to seize power in Cuba.³³ Despite Guatemalan denials, it said, Central

³¹"Inside Cuba: 'Anti-Castro War Already is Under Way,'" U.S. News & World Report, January 23, 1961, pp. 79-81.

³²Miró was to play a major role in the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs (or, as the Cubans call it, Playa Giron) fiasco three months later. If his public statements were any indication of his true feelings about conditions in Cuba, his optimism concerning the military success of the mission was understandable, albeit erroneous.

³³"A Base that Worries Castro," U.S. News & World Report, January 23, 1961, p. 81.

America had been alive with rumors for weeks that anti-Castro Cubans were being trained for a counterrevolution in their homeland. The U.S. was involved--"training is going on at a hastily built air base constructed at Retalhuleu with U.S. aid and a U.S. military mission is advising in Guatemala."³⁴

A Time article the following week described the activities of the "underground rebellion" in Cuba, which was "doing more damage to the new dictatorship in six months than Castro had managed against the old in a year."³⁵ Compared to the "mythical 'Yankee invasion' scare," the anti-Castro forces were said to have been a very real foe; they had been infiltrating the army and government agencies, and guerrilla training camps in Florida and Guatemala were part of their "impressive" preparations.

Newsweek Latin American correspondent Harold Lavine temporarily abandoned his magazine's previous position in an article that began:

To all appearances the government of Fidel Castro should be bankrupt. A lot of Americans are expecting it to collapse any day now. But this is wishful thinking. As long as Nikita Krushchev is willing to prop up the Cuban economy with money and imports, Castro's

³⁴The full extent of U.S. aid to the counterrevolutionaries wasn't revealed until after the Playa Girón incident. Former Ambassador to Cuba Philip Bonsal later implicated the Central Intelligence Agency in arms drops to the guerrillas (Bonsal, p. 273). In addition, air bases in Florida were for a time used by anti-Castro exiles, thus contributing to the mounting bitterness between Cuba and the United States (Matthews, pp. 132-33).

³⁵"The Underground," Time, January 27, 1961, p. 26.

regime is unlikely to break down.

Castro still has the support of the masses. . . .³⁶

The article included the previously exposed fact that the government had embarked on a huge building project designed to give some of the peasants and many of the workers new homes and schools.

Lest the American people become persuaded that previous reports of Cuba's deterioration under Communism were inaccurate, Lavine assured his readers that "economic conditions are not good":

All the economic problems which plagued Cuba under Batista still exist. Unemployment and underemployment still are overwhelming. Castro has not been able to keep any of his promises to better the life of all the people.

Lavine differed with his colleagues at Time and U.S. News & World Report concerning Cuba's future, as he concluded:

Sooner or later, counterrevolution is certain to come to this island. For the moment, however, Castro sits firmly in the saddle. And he seems likely to remain in the saddle for months to come.

A January 30 U.S. News & World Report article said a big military offensive against Castro was being set up at secret military headquarters in Miami and elsewhere outside Cuba. Exile leaders, it continued, "are certain that Castro's days are numbered. For the big push, however, they say massive help is needed. And for this, they are looking to Washington--and to the Kennedy Administration." Their

³⁶Harold Lavine, "A Different Castro?" Newsweek, January 30, 1961, pp. 48-49.

chance of success was said to have been heightened because:

Underground agents move in and out of Cuba almost at will. . . . The word these agents bring back is this: The great majority of Cubans now are against Castro. The feeling of revolt is spreading like wildfire. Large numbers of Cubans have joined organized cells of resistance. . . .³⁷

"In Miami now," U.S. News observed, "there is the same kind of excitement that there was in 1958 just before Castro overthrew his predecessor."

Time said in a February 3 article the "savage rebellion against [Castro] now approaching the flash point of civil war" had transformed 1961 into "The Year of the Firing Squad" in Cuba. Intense guerrilla fighting in the Escambray Mountains was leading to an increasing possibility of full-scale civil war, the article concluded.³⁸

In early February, U.S. News & World Report published interviews with a group of anonymous "U.S. executives" who discussed the impact of Castro's hostility to capitalism on Latin American business opportunities. When asked whether "Cuba's idea of stealing American property will spread throughout South America," a banker "with experience in five countries of Latin America" replied: "'No, I think that the present governments in South America--taken as a whole--are responsible ones, the most responsible in history in this part of the world.'"

³⁷"As Castro's Foes Get Ready to Strike," U.S. News & World Report, January 30, 1961, pp. 64-65.

³⁸"Year of the Firing Squad," Time, February 3, 1961, p. 32.

A "U.S. manufacturer in business in Mexico for 15 years," was quoted as criticizing Latin America "'because it is too much a victim of its own politics. You very rarely find politicians who are interested in the well-being of their people,' he explained. 'They're too concerned with lining their own pockets. . . .'"³⁹

Two brief stories in the "March of the News" section told of adversities for Castro. The first said he decreed "death--after 'persecution such as they could never imagine'"--for 20 rebels charged with hanging a communist school teacher.⁴⁰ Castro was said to have blamed U.S. imperialism and the Catholic clergy for the hanging. The second U.S. News article noted that former Cuban President Carlos Prío Socarrás "joined the growing ranks of Castro's foes." It then termed the Cuban Government a "communist tyranny."⁴¹

The U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, the "biggest bone of contention" between Washington and Havana, was the subject of a February 20 Newsweek article.⁴² Castro, who had threatened to take the base peacefully, seized the aqueduct that supplied its water. "Although he hasn't yet cut off the water, he might do this soon," according to the article.

³⁹"Has Castro Killed a Boom for Latin America?" U.S. News & World Report, February 6, 1961, pp. 64-71.

⁴⁰"Torture and Death in Castro's Cuba," ibid., p. 10.

⁴¹"Cuban Ex-President Joins Castro's Foes," ibid.

⁴²"Fingering the Faucet," Newsweek, February 20, 1961, p. 56.

On another subject, Newsweek noted:

A bloody battle is said to be shaping up in the Escambray Mountains in central Cuba. Some 30,000 militiamen are sealing off the territory held by the rebels. . . . Estimates of rebel strength range from 1,600 to 4,000.

.
The Castro forces are well equipped . . . well supplied, clothed, and trained, and morale is high. . . . Against this, the rebels have two advantages: Strong mountain positions and skillful guerrilla leaders, many of them veterans of the Castro revolt.

A February 24 Time article contradicted this information:

Since May, 1960, when the first anti-Communist defectors from Fidel Castro's army took refuge there, the number of guerrillas fighting there has swelled to 1,000 men. By last week whispered tales seeping out of Cuba told of pitched, no quarter battles in the Escambray and of hospitals overflowing with wounded. The reality was far different: fear, fatigue, hunger, and boredom, punctuated occasionally by wild, often accidental fire fights in the wilderness.⁴³

Although the various rebel factions were disorganized, it continued, they had been getting arms in speedboat forays and airdrops organized by Cuban refugees in Miami. The article estimated Castro's militia at 50,000, and, in the last sentence, ridiculed his anti-guerrilla efforts: "Notoriously inept at logistics, Fidel was barely managing to provide his own men with one meal a day."

During March, Time was silent on the rebel movement, but U.S. News & World Report and Newsweek took it more seriously. "Thousands of armed Cubans are out to get

⁴³"In the Escambray," Time, February 24, 1961, p. 24.

Castro," a March 6 U.S. News & World Report article began.⁴⁴ Without divulging its sources of information, the article implied that large numbers of Cubans want to have Castro overthrown, but "lack any normal means of expressing their opposition" in the "armed camp" that was Castro's Cuba. Inside Cuba, according to U.S. News, "signs are growing that armed uprising is ahead."

Reports of fierce fighting in the mountains, sabotage, weapons drops, and Caribbean-area training centers were noted, as the first signs of resistance were appearing.

A Newsweek article that week said the rebels were well supplied with provisions and ammunition from U.S. and Caribbean bases, but were not in themselves a serious threat to Castro. "They have regular communication lines to the U.S. . . . Boats make trips from Miami and ports in the Keys, land only when proper signals are received from shore."⁴⁵

In a separate story, Newsweek reported a "shake-up of the Cuban Government, bringing it nearer the communist model."⁴⁶ As a result, state control over all phases of Cuban economic life was said to have been strengthened, as was the position of Guevara, the "leftist who is the

⁴⁴"Armed Revolt in Cuba: The Build-Up Against Castro," U.S. News & World Report, March 6, 1961, p. 56.

⁴⁵"Always the Rebels," Newsweek, March 6, 1961, p. 60. Despite the guarded optimism expressed in the articles, the Escambray rebels were to survive only until March 23, when the last 12 survivors--wounded, starved, and defeated--were evacuated to the U.S. (Johnson, p. 67). Cf. references to anti-Castro forces in the Escambray in U.S. News & World Report, below.

⁴⁶"Sovietizing," Newsweek, March 6, 1961, pp. 59-60.

economic brains of the Castro regime."

In an article datelined Miami, U.S. News & World Report said anti-Castro forces, training for a year, were prepared to go; their leaders were close to agreement.⁴⁷ The site of their training camps, common knowledge for more than three months, was not revealed, and U.S. participation in the preparations was not mentioned. The rebels planned to set up a provisional government after landing in Cuba, according to the article, which ended optimistically: "Today the best estimates here in Miami are that 80 per cent of the Cuban people have fallen away from Castro."

Amid the din of rhetoric heralding the final submission of Cuban Communism, Newsweek published a short article assessing the campaign against illiteracy, "which aims to wipe It out before next January 1."⁴⁸ Teenagers, described as "Fidel's most fanatical followers," were said to have been enthusiastic about the idea; they allegedly "flocked to the colors" with all the enthusiasm which many American youngsters displayed for the Peace Corps.

Drawbacks to the program, such as the proliferation of propaganda in the teaching manuals, were described in detail, but the article was a rare attempt to convey one aspect of Cuban revolutionary spirit to the U.S. public.

Newsweek was the only weekly news magazine to

⁴⁷"The Big Build-Up to Overthrow Castro," U.S. News & World Report, March 27, 1961, pp. 44-45.

⁴⁸"Children's Crusade," Newsweek, April 3, 1961, p. 51.

report the formation of the Cuban Revolutionary Council, composed of two of the largest anti-Batista rebel groups. They were said to have advocated return of confiscated properties, agrarian reform with payments to landowners, and guarantees for free enterprise and private property. The article then portrayed the aspirations of the leaders:

The two /Leaders/ will take office as soon as they "win a piece of territory with Cuban arms." Their optimistic hope is to launch an invasion some time this spring. Speaking at a formal press conference in New York City, Varona declared: "We have the forces necessary to overthrow Castro and this year we are going to be the first occupied country to expel international communism."⁴⁹

A State Department "White Paper" on Cuba prepared the U.S. public for the nearly finalized invasion plans. Newsweek said it detailed the betrayal of the Cuban revolution, the establishment of a communist bridgehead, the delivery of the revolution to the Sino-Soviet bloc, and the Castro assault on the hemisphere.⁵⁰

"By asking a well-known liberal /Presidential adviser Arthur Schlesinger Jr./ to put his imprimatur on this devastating attack on Castro," it continued, "the Administration is suggesting there is a considerable unanimity of opinion in America as to what Castro stands for." One of the reasons the paper was released at that time, according to Newsweek, was that the "State Department

⁴⁹"Exiles, Inc.," Newsweek, April 3, 1961, p. 51.

⁵⁰"Washington Opens Fire on Fidel Castro," ibid., April 10, 1961, p. 57.

feels that Castro's star is descending and wants to give it a new, vigorous push downward."

U.S. News & World Report ignored the White Paper until the following week, but published the details of a "reported plot to kidnap little Caroline Kennedy" in Palm Beach. "Federal, State, and local police were looking for four Cubans believed to be involved," it said, citing reports that the "four men--described as agents of the Castro regime--had discussed with associates in Florida plans to kidnap three-year-old Caroline or bring harm to the President's family."⁵¹

In its account of the "White Paper" on Cuba, Time berated "Castro Cubans" for attacking the State Department's thesis. The paper "paid respects to the original purpose of the Cuban revolution, but charged that 'what began as a movement to enlarge Cuban freedom has been perverted into a mechanism for the destruction of free institutions, more drastic than the most ruthless of the hemisphere oldtime military dictatorships.'" After quoting other sections, the article related the Cuban reaction: "The Castro Cubans, who knew the accuracy of the indictment, paid it the tribute of calling it 'trash cunningly dreamed up by eggheads.'"⁵²

⁵¹"A Cuban Plot to Kidnap Caroline?" U.S. News & World Report, April 10, 1961, p. 6. The New York Times published details of the alleged plot April 1 and Cuban Government denials the following day. When no incidents occurred by April 13, the Secret Service closed the case, according to an April 14 New York Times article.

⁵²"Words and Warnings," Time, April 14, 1961, p. 45.

Newsweek reported that Miró Cardona, the Cuban Revolutionary Council leader, expressed confidence that a general uprising against the "tyrant" Castro would occur. Meanwhile, reports were said to have circulated the previous week that anti-Castro forces included air, naval, paratroop, and command units in rebel camps in Florida, Louisiana, and Guatemala, while acts of sabotage were increasing in Havana.⁵³

To prepare for "Castro-inspired revolutions in other Latin American countries," said a second Newsweek article, the U.S. army was planning a training center to teach Latin American soldiers guerrilla and anti-guerrilla tactics at Fort Gulick in the Canal Zone.⁵⁴ It continued: "Although the Cuban press has denounced the guerrilla project as 'intervention,' it is unrelated to the camps which Cuban exiles (with American help) have set up to train their countrymen for an invasion of the island."

In its April 21 issue, Time described the prelude to the invasion--the bombing of Cuban air bases and military headquarters by anti-Castro rebels stationed in Nicaragua.⁵⁵ Temporarily misled by a State Department and CIA "cover story" that alleged the planes were piloted by Cuban Air

⁵³"A Call to Revolt," Newsweek, April 17, 1961, p. 45.

⁵⁴"General Preparation," ibid.

⁵⁵"Toward D-Day," Time, April 21, 1961, p. 32.

Force defectors,⁵⁶ Time quoted rebel leader Miró's response to the incident: "'Before flying their planes toward freedom, these true revolutionaries attempted to destroy as many Castro military planes as possible.'"

In response to Cuban accusations that the U.S. was accountable for the bombing, Stevenson was said to have denied all, citing the Cuban markings on the planes.

As Castro appeared on Cuban television to "harangue" his people, it continued, he "seemed almost out of control," and he allegedly "lapsed into incoherency" at a recent workers meeting.

Time then cited the rebels' plans to free Cuba:

As even much of the U.S. press seemed to be getting set to report an invasion of Cuba, Miró Cardona and his Revolutionary Council insisted (as they have for months) that they have no plans for a massive, ramps-down landing on fortress Cuba, but contemplate many small infiltrations from outside and massive sabotage inside, which will in time signal a general uprising by the Cubans against the Castro dictatorship. The rebels believe that a third of Castro's much ballyhooed, 200,000-man militia will shoot, one-third will head for home, and another third will turn their guns on Castro. . . .

In its next paragraph, the article admitted the U.S. is "heavily pledged (Bogota, 1948) not to help overthrow any hemisphere regime. . . . The U.S. position is that

⁵⁶The cover story was designed to disguise the fact that the bombing raids signalled the invasion. U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, assured by the State Department that the planes were piloted by Cuban defectors, was allowed to lie before the entire world. The story began falling apart after a few days, as astute newsmen posed questions to which there were no satisfactory answers (Arthur Schlesinger Jr., A Thousand Days /Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965/, pp. 271-72).

of coach and well-wisher cheering from the sidelines but forbidden on the playing field."

From Miami, Newsweek correspondent Harold Lavine succumbed to Miró's invasion denials.

Anyone whose knowledge of Cuba comes only from what he reads in the newspapers is suffering from a severe case of euphoria. The Cubans now training in Florida, Louisiana, and "somewhere in the Caribbean" are not planning to launch a full-scale invasion of the island today or tomorrow or even the day after. They know that Castro is still strong enough to obliterate any invasion forces they could throw at him right now.

The invasion will come eventually, but not for weeks, not for perhaps months. . . .⁵⁷

Only after internal forces had Cuba "ablaze" would the invasion begin, Lavine argued, citing sabotage, the B-26 bombings, and exile volunteers in Miami signing up to fight as evidence the uprisings could succeed. Understandably misled, Lavine described the U.N. debate:

As the United Nations began debate at the weekend on the Cuban question, Foreign Minister Raúl Roa, stung by the raids of Cuban Air Force B-26s, cried that responsibility for them rested "squarely with the Government of the United States." But U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson displayed a photograph of one of the planes, clearly showing its Cuban markings. And earlier, at his press conference, President Kennedy had enunciated a firm policy of nonintervention in Cuba by U.S. forces.

A U.S. News & World Report article that week observed that signs of an imminent invasion--guerrilla activities inside and outside Cuba, sabotage, and Havana's invasion rumors--were plentiful.⁵⁸ Castro allegedly became "more

⁵⁷Harold Lavine, "D-Day Minus X: Anti-Castro Build-Up," Newsweek, April 24, 1961, p. 62.

⁵⁸"As a Showdown Nears for Castro," U.S. News & World Report, April 24, 1961, p. 6.

incoherent than usual as tension mounted"--he was said to have startled listeners by losing himself repeatedly in a tangle of words in an April 12 speech.

Implying the Cuban Government was losing communist support, the article said: "Some communist technicians were reported leaving Cuba. Usually well-informed sources in Mexico expressed belief that the Russians are beginning to leave what they regard as Castro's sinking ship. . . ."

In a "Newsgram" prognosis, U.S. News assessed conditions in Cuba:

Castro's Cuba seems gradually to be falling apart. Goods of many kinds are scarce and growing scarcer. Jobs are scarce. Peasants still lack the land Castro promised them. Not much of anything seems to be running right. . . .
Ahead in Cuba? Growing sabotage, rising unrest. Maybe civil war.
Guerrilla bands, growing, will be difficult to control. . . .⁵⁹

A U.S. News interview with the head of the Democratic Revolutionary Front, which had been "rallying Cuba's anti-Castro forces for months," confidently predicted victory for the invasion.⁶⁰ Manuel Antonio (Tony) Varona assured his U.S. audience the rebels had 2,000 men in the Escambray, 800 in Oriente Province, and other small bands of guerrillas scattered throughout the island. When asked how the rebels expected to defeat the well-trained and

⁵⁹"Newsgram," U.S. News & World Report, April 24, 1961, p. 30.

⁶⁰"War Against Castro: How Big? What Chance of Success?" ibid., pp. 61-62.

numerically superior Castro forces, Varona replied:

"Castro has 250,000 men under arms, but there are six million Cubans and when the fighting starts in earnest, we will see how many of the 250,000 Castro militiamen will stand up and fight. . . . Castro's militia is going to be in a real fix when we really hit it."

The interview ended with the exile leader's assertion that he was optimistic about the operation's military prospects.

During the early morning hours of April 17, a rebel force of more than 1,000 Cuban exiles began disembarking at Playa Girón on the southern shore of Las Villas Province. Despite President Kennedy's insistence that no Americans take part in the landing, the first frogman to touch shore was a man known to the exiles as Gray, the American who had trained them.⁶¹ By daylight the group had advanced inland, but Castro's militia showed no signs of defecting, and Cuban planes inflicted serious damage on the landing craft in the bay. Although a U.S. aircraft carrier was stationed off the western coast of Pinar del Rio Province, actual U.S. air and logistics support did not materialize, and the last of the exile force was captured during the afternoon of April 19.

Inside Cuba, an estimated 200,000 persons--including North American journalists--were arrested and detained in sports stadiums and prisons for varying lengths of time, effectively terminating what chance there had been of

⁶¹Johnson, p. 103.

internal counterrevolution.

The news magazines, hampered by the lack of eyewitness accounts of events in Cuba, attributed the invasion debacle to different sources. After admitting for the first time that "the invaders--all Cubans--were trained by the U.S., supplied by the U.S., and dispatched by the U.S. to carry out a plan written by U.S. military experts," Time correspondent Sam Halper placed the blame for the disastrous operation on the "shockingly misinformed" Central Intelligence Agency:

The greatest of all failures was the failure of intelligence. Advisers to the invasion army professed to believe that the Cuban peasantry and militia were so fed up with Castro's Communism that there would be mass defections. But the area chosen for the invasion was one in which Castro spends many weekends fishing, resting, and talking with the peasants; he has a good, job-producing scheme under way to drain the swamp [near Playa Girón] and turn it into a tourist attraction. The peasants remained loyal to Castro and added their weight to the militia, which fought well enough for an outfit that was supposed to turn and run. . . .⁶²

Halper then charged that the blind anti-Communist attitudes of the CIA allowed the Cuban exile group to be infiltrated by Batista supporters, who "moved toward the leadership" of the Guatemalan training camps.⁶³ The Time article included rumors Guevara and Castro had been injured during the invasion:

⁶²Sam Halper, "The Massacre," Time, April 28, 1961, p. 21.

⁶³This view is substantiated by Boris Goldenberg (p. 240): ". . . The CIA . . . had confidence in the Batistianos. . . . Former Batista officers began to play a leading part in the [Guatemalan] training camps and recruits who protested against this were removed from the invasion army or even arrested."

Ernesto (Che) Guevara was reportedly gravely wounded in the head, the result of a suicide attempt following an argument with Castro over command of the armed forces. And the persistent absence of Castro himself from the early victory celebration gave weight to reports he had been hurt in a bombing attack on Jagüey Grande.

Time then quoted the official exile statement, but did not lend it credence:

"Regretfully we admit tragic losses among a small holding force. The forces fought Soviet tanks and artillery, while being attacked by Russian MIG aircraft--a gallantry which allowed a major portion of our party to reach the Escambray Mountains."

The article commented: "The Castro regime's triumphant cock's crow of victory, for all its exaggerations, was closer to the bitter truth."

The first of three related articles in the same issue editorialized:

Great nations are always criticized when they appear aggressive. They are despised when they seem weak. By backing an inadequate and mismanaged invasion attempt, President Kennedy achieved the unhappy feat of making the U.S. seem both aggressive and weak at the same time. Victory would have brought outcries of "imperialism," but at least it would have been a victory. . . .⁶⁴

The President's April 12 assurance that "there will not be under any conditions, an intervention in Cuba by U.S. armed forces" was criticized on two counts in a second Time article: "Apart from the damage it did to the morale of the anti-Castro Cubans, the President's promise last week acted as a barrier against effective action during the critical hours."⁶⁵

⁶⁴"Grand Illusion," Time, April 28, 1961, p. 11.

⁶⁵"Bitter Week," ibid., pp. 11-12.

Time then praised Kennedy's "resolute" April 20 speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, which was said to have "marked the end of John F. Kennedy's earnest three-month pursuit of that cold war will-o'-the-wisp called 'easing of tensions.'"

An article that examined foreign reaction to the American defeat noted that "well-organized throngs" demonstrated before the U.S. embassy in Moscow, while in Latin American capitals, "unruly mobs of students and workers milled in the streets and battled with police and one another."⁶⁶ A Tokyo office worker, who "mirrored the feelings of much of the free world," was quoted as saying: "'America seems to have messed things up again.'" Photographs of the demonstrations and an anti-Kennedy cartoon accompanied the article.

Surrounded by photographs of eight of the principals involved in the invasion fiasco, the Newsweek cover story commented:

It was a serious blow, but it might turn out to be, in the long view of history, a major gain. . . . In the future, Administration ventures in this realm will be based not on high hopes and dreamy expectations, but on solid reality.⁶⁷

Concerning the post-invasion status of the U.S., Newsweek said: "At best, the U.S. appears before the world as a meddler; at worst, a nation which pretends to virtue

⁶⁶"Sympathy and Dismay," Time, April 28, 1962, p. 13.

⁶⁷"Cuba: The Consequences," Newsweek, May 1, 1961, pp. 23-28.

seems to have committed open aggression against a tiny country."

After a romantic portrayal of the exile forces as "a tiny, motley armada . . . loaded to the gunwales with Cuban refugees--all armed, all excited, all eager for what lay ahead," the article attributed the great number of Castro troops concentrated just inland from Playa Girón to a "leak in the highly secret operation."

A pre-arranged round-up of Cubans "suspected of American sympathies" allegedly brought on a wave of terror, and prisons were soon overcrowded, according to Newsweek.

At the United Nations, Cuban Foreign Minister Raúl Roa charged that the "'Republic of Cuba was invaded this morning by a mercenary force which came from Guatemala and Florida and which was organized, financed, and armed by the Government of the United States of America.'" The Newsweek article continued:

U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson realized that many delegates believed at least part of Roa's charges, but Stevenson quickly branded them "totally false," . . . though he acknowledged that Americans "sympathize with the people of Cuba to seek Cuban independence and freedom."

Tracing the history of the invasion plans, Newsweek said the CIA had proposed during 1960 that the U.S. provide air and naval cover for an exile landing, but President Eisenhower vetoed it, despite Vice President Nixon's advocacy of such a plan.

In the aftermath of the defeat, President Kennedy

was said to have been "more interested in finding out where the operation went wrong than he was in blaming anyone."

Regarding Kennedy's reaction to press coverage of the invasion, Newsweek maintained: "He did not hold the press responsible, though he did feel that newsmen inflamed the Cuban case by exaggerating, openly involving the CIA, and amateurishly analyzing strategy."

President Kennedy's appointment of General Maxwell Taylor to make a special investigation of guerrilla-intelligence operations was one consequence of the invasion failure. Newsweek explained:

In the President's judgment, the whole wave of the future lies in this area--rather than in a nuclear war or in conventional, limited war. The Communists can employ 7,000 to 8,000 North Vietnamese guerrillas to capture South Vietnam, he points out, but the U.S. has nothing to match it. "Why not?" he asks.

A short Newsweek article blamed U.S. Government sources for the rash of optimistic misinformation published during the invasion. "Newsmen, like many others," it said, "became pawns in the intensifying conflict between Washington and Havana."⁶⁸ It continued:

Feeding on the wishful dream of the Cuban exiles, Reporters not only blew up a guerrilla landing into a full-scale "invasion" but subsequently told the world that "the Isle of Pines has fallen" . . . "the Cuban navy has revolted" . . . and "rebel planes raid Havana."

Elsewhere in the issue, Newsweek published a history of Castro's Cuba, assessing life in the island nation. After describing the initial enthusiasm for him which "spread

⁶⁸"Pushed Off the Deep End?" Newsweek, May 1, 1961, p. 25.

through the hemisphere," the article chronicled the revolution's change of direction that was said to have disillusioned the middle class and heartened the once-hostile communists.⁶⁹ While all opposition was becoming "anti-revolutionary," it continued, "the conflict between Cuba and the United States broadened, as Castro pushed forward with a radical social revolution, obviously inimical to America's interests."

Newsweek said that despite its reliance on the Communist bloc for military and financial aid, "Cuba was a "close collaborator with communists rather than a communist nation itself, although its political life is becoming increasingly totalitarian." Unlike other "Red satellite" leaders, it noted, Castro "is still a free man."

As for the Cuban people, who had been expected to welcome the exile army:

Undoubtedly, many are being pinched by the deteriorating economic situation; Castro has not lived up to his original promises. But on the whole, the Cubans in the cane fields are probably better off than they were before. Castro has built homes, schools, and hospitals for them. They couldn't care less about communism and most remain faithful.

U.S. News & World Report interpreted the invasion the "first step in the attempt to rescue Cuba from its communist dictatorship"--as a small "victory."⁷⁰ A prologue to the main article read, in part:

⁶⁹"Fidel Castro: From Oriente to Today," Newsweek, May 1, 1961, p. 25.

⁷⁰"Will Cuba Be Rescued?" U.S. News & World Report, May 1, 1961, pp. 37-40.

The first step . . . has been taken . . . the landing of 200 anti-Castro Cubans on the beaches of the island country in the pre-dawn of Monday, April 17.

Three days later, many of these invaders were dead, wounded, or taken prisoner. Castro's regime proclaimed "complete victory."

But some anti-Castro Cubans carrying vital supplies had reached hard-pressed guerrilla forces operating in the mountains of Central Cuba. And after the original landing there were successful landings of anti-Castro combat teams at six points on the island.

The war against Castro's communists had only begun.

The objectives of these initial invading teams were not to overthrow the Castro regime in Cuba within a few days. It was widely recognized before the attack that the communist grip on Cuba was too strong to be thus dislodged.

Real objectives were to force the Castro regime in Cuba to show its military power, to reinforce the anti-Castro guerrillas inside Cuba, and to test the strength of the underground. These objectives were accomplished in three days of violence and turmoil.

As yet unaware it had been deliberately misinformed by the State Department, U.S. News published this account of the April 15 bombing attack:

On Saturday, April 15, three Cuban Air Force pilots took their B-26 bombers into the air. They made direct hits on fuel and ammunition dumps at three Cuban airfields before heading for landing places in the U.S. and Central America.

Fidel Castro angrily blamed the air attack on "the U.S. Government." He said the attacks might be the "prelude to invasion."⁷¹

Although the article admitted that "losses in the original landings were heavy," it said "some teams got through to join with guerrillas in the mountains of Escambray in Central Cuba . . . Morale among the anti-Castro men of the mountains now is reported high." In addition,

⁷¹Time had exposed what it termed the "cock and bull story" in its April 28 issue; neither Newsweek nor U.S. News subsequently retracted the erroneous information.

"both Cuban anti-Castro leaders and Americans working with them agreed that valuable lessons--military and political--had been learned."

The main U.S. News article ended with a discussion of what may have been the "major accomplishment of the April 17 'invasion'--the fact that these attacks unmasked the role played by Khrushchev in Cuba." The Russian Prime Minister had sent a note to Kennedy April 18 charging the U.S. with aggression against Cuba and had then allegedly threatened the U.S. President with Soviet intervention. U.S. News praised Kennedy's warning that the U.S. would act to protect this hemisphere against external aggression: "A U.S. President," it said, "now has made clear the U.S. itself will take steps to rid the Americas of Khrushchev's military base in Cuba."

The Cuba depicted in the prologue to a second U.S. News article contrasted sharply with that in the May 1 Newsweek issue. It read:

After 28 months of Cuban Communism--
Cuba now has the biggest military force ever built in Latin America--but little else.
Castro came in as a great liberator, architect of a "social revolution." Instead, he practically wrecked the place and liberated nobody from anything.
Result: ruined industry, shortages of almost everything, the people worse off than ever, trapped in a communist satellite.⁷²

U.S. News stressed Cuba's military preparations--including the "largest armed force ever organized in Latin

⁷²"In Two Years--From Revolution to Ruin," U.S. News & World Report, May 1, 1961, pp. 41-44, 47.

America and what American intelligence authorities believe to be a missile base." Concerning Cuba's "authentic social revolution," the article said:

Cuba today is a complete police state. People live in fear. Informers are everywhere. Labor unions have been destroyed. The promise of "land reform" turned instead into mobilization of peasants on state farms. Private property has lost its meaning.

Cubans who once enjoyed a relatively high standard of living, by Latin American standards, are being ground down, moving toward a mere subsistence level. The island is rich in armaments but poorer than ever in goods that the people can enjoy.

Later, U.S. News admitted that "here and there, as propaganda displays, Castro has built low-cost housing projects and a few schools."

Boasting that U.S. News & World Report had enlightened the world about Castro's long-held communist sympathies only a few days after his rise to power, the article said: "The facts of Castro's communist ties had never been a mystery to those who wanted to explore under the surface."

The magazine then charged that a "hate-U.S. campaign of propaganda is carried on from Cuba."

Confident the traditional U.S. role in Cuba would soon be resumed, U.S. News published its conception of the island "once Castro goes."⁷³

"Cuba without Castro," it observed, "will be considered a U.S. responsibility. One estimate is that it will take at least one billion U.S. dollars to undo the damage

⁷³"Once Castro Goes--," U.S. News & World Report, May 1, 1961, p. 47.

that the Red dictator caused and to put the nation back on its feet."

After delineating the promises for a democratic Cuba of the various exile factions, the article prophesied:

With Castro gone, dollars from U.S. will begin to flow back to Cuba.

Tourist business will revive and American businessmen will go back to restore enterprises lost to Castro. Credits will be extended to Cubans from many sources. American banks will begin to do business again.

Cuba, wrecked by Castro in little more than two years, will find the road back from Castro difficult and slow.

Although the main article on the invasion suggested the U.S. had suffered only a minor setback--if not a small victory--at Playa Girón, a "Newsgram" feature in the same issue acknowledged a Kennedy defeat at the hands of Castro.⁷⁴

In a call to action, U.S. News said:

Words, no matter how strong, will not stop Castro in Cuba. Deeds from now on, are the one thing that can have meaning. Fear, growing from what the outside world may think or say, apparently will get the U.S. nowhere.

Time seems to be approaching when U.S. will put U.S. interests first.

.....
Kennedy cannot very well leave matters as they now are.

Arms blockade of Cuba is the first thing to look for. . . .

.....
Kennedy is being told that he cannot permit his present defeat to stand. If he does: Governments will topple in several Latin American countries. The Communists will take power in areas more important even than Cuba. . . .

Other references to Cuba in the May 1 issue included complete text of President Kennedy's speech to the American

⁷⁴"Newsgram," U.S. News & World Report, May 1, 1961, p. 47.

Society of Newspaper Editors, a "Worldgram" report noting the virtually unanimous worldwide condemnation of the U.S. after the exile invasion, a history of the Monroe Doctrine and its past applications, a list of previous instances of U.S. "intervention" in Latin America, and a description of what anti-Castro groups promised for Cuba after their ascension to power.

A photograph of Castro "gloating amid the terror" accompanied one of three May 5 Time articles concerning the aftermath of the Playa Giron incident.⁷⁵ At a "televised inquisition" monitored in Key West, Florida, Castro was said to have "harangued" 1,000 captured rebels for three-and-a-half hours and announced he would try to persuade the government to spare their lives--all except those identified with Batista.

Time then described the results of the two-day battle and events in Cuba while it was raging:

Castro's casualties were much higher than those of the rebels. Castro's militia dead may have run to 2,000 or more.

Compared to the ruin that the invasion brought to the Cuban civilian population, however, the combat losses were miniscule. Scared passengers arriving in the U.S. on the first planes from Havana told a story of terror unmatched in recent Latin American history. Said one man, landing in Miami: "I have just come from hell." A source inside Cuba smuggled out his estimate that by week's end, 250,000 Cubans had been rounded up and packed into makeshift concentration camps. . . .

Although rebel leader Manuel Ray reportedly was optimistic, Time concluded: "With his guns and his

⁷⁵"Castro's Triumph," Time, May 5, 1961, pp. 32, 35.

communist advisers, Fidel Castro had never looked stronger."

In its account of the repercussions of the invasion, a second Time article commented: "The U.S., for all its sincere talk and offers of bountiful aid, had put on the black mantle of the interventionist and had lost itself many amigos in sensitive Latin America. It shocked others by appearing weak in the face of a small Caribbean dictator. . . ."76

Latin American anti-Castro demonstrations--including one in which participants were said to have attacked a group of communists with rotten eggs, mushy fruit, firecrackers, and fists--were termed "rallies," while pro-Castro groups were described as "mobs."

Because "most Latin American governments still oppose direct military intervention by the U.S.," the State Department was allegedly considering action by the Organization of American States as a means of dislodging Castro. "But if it looks as if it cannot assemble a majority," Time concluded, "the U.S. is in a mood to go ahead with those who will stand up and be counted."

An article assessing newspaper reaction to the American defeat noted that "in the rush to select a scapegoat, most newsmen nominated the Central Intelligence Agency."⁷⁷ After quoting various editorials and columns,

⁷⁶"The Shock Wears On," Time, May 5, 1961, p. 35.

⁷⁷"The Inquest," ibid., pp. 58-59.

Time said there was widespread agreement with the opinion of Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, that "'Castro will, soon or late, have to go.'" The opinion of a liberal columnist was cited as follows:

From his Olympian vantage point, Columnist Walter Lippman dispensed balm to a perturbed nation. Little countries such as Cuba, he assured his readers, "cannot pose a vital threat to the security of the United States, and we must not exaggerate their importance."

A May 8 Newsweek article reported that the State Department had the previous week "sternly rebuffed" a suggestion from Cuban President Dorticos that the two countries discuss the "resumption of diplomatic relations and other problems."⁷⁸

In the future, Newsweek said, "any military intervention by the United States in Cuba seems to be unthinkable." Instead, the U.S. would "move to seal off Cuba from the rest of the hemisphere . . . by strengthening our relations with the other Latin American nations through an intensified economic-aid program."

In Cuba, meanwhile, "the roundup of suspected enemies went on," while "for all Castro's gloating, Havana was tense and uneasy. . . ."

The article said depression reigned in Miami, as "the rebel movement as a military force seems to have disintegrated--if it ever was a military force. . . ."

Newsweek published excerpts from a Kennedy speech

⁷⁸"Sealing it Off," Newsweek, May 8, 1961, p. 57.

to newspaper publishers that admonished the news media for revealing what they knew about the invasion before it occurred.⁷⁹ He said, "Members of the newspaper profession should 're-examine their own responsibilities . . . heed the duty of self-restraint,'" according to the article, which added:

These were thoughtful words. But the newspapermen who heard them, or read them, could not help suspecting that behind the President's reasoning was a bitter irritation stemming from the debacle in Cuba and the contribution the press had made to that debacle. By inflating the importance of the "invasion," American news media unquestionably had inflated the cost of its failure. But what the President didn't say--perhaps because he didn't know it--was that the hundreds of reporters who tried to cover the abortive counter-revolution from Miami were oversold not just by the Cuban refugees, but by the operatives of Mr. Kennedy's own Central Intelligence Agency.

In its "Periscoping the World" section, Newsweek reported:

Fidel Castro's triumphant ravings over smashing the ill-starred "invasion" have the Kremlin worried. Khrushchev himself has warned the showboating Cuban not to push the U.S. too far. Aid is one thing, was the word from the Kremlin; provoking an all-out war involving the Soviet Union is vastly different.⁸⁰

The May 8 Newsweek cover story concerning the CIA quoted director Allen Dulles with regard to the Cuban invasion attempt:

⁷⁹"News--and Responsibility," Newsweek, May 8, 1961, pp. 24-25. A fascinating account of the clash between national security and freedom of the press concerning the Playa Girón incident may be found in William McGaffin and Erwin Knoll, Anything But the Truth (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1968), pp. 68-71, 197-212.

⁸⁰"Periscoping the World," Newsweek, May 8, 1961, p. 27.

Dulles conceded that Castro's strength had been underestimated. But he emphasized that the Cuban rebel group taking part in the landing had their own intelligence; and that they--the men who were actually going to risk their lives--were convinced that they could get ashore and hold a beachhead until Cuban rebel reinforcements could come in. "They were determined to fight Castro," Dulles said. "Were we to say 'no'? Were we to tell them, 'it's too soon' or 'it's too late'?"⁸¹

In what it termed an "inside story," U.S. News & World Report lamented the failure of the U.S. to take the "second step," described as "doing whatever is necessary to win, in case unexpectedly strong opposition is met."⁸² The article applauded the active role of Vice President Nixon in an alleged Eisenhower Administration "plan" to overthrow Castro. Nixon was said to have distributed a memorandum condemning the Cuban as a "captive of communism" after meeting with him in April, 1959.

The article maintained that both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations were hindered by the presence of a "how not to do it" group, which argued against U.S. aid to the Cuban exiles.

U.S. News then explored in detail Nixon's views of the Cuban situation: "One thing is known to be viewed by Mr. Nixon as the worst possible mistake the U.S. could make. That is to wash its hands of paramilitary operations as a result of the fiasco in Cuba." The former Vice

⁸¹James M. Cannon, "CIA: How Super the Sleuths?" Newsweek, May 8, 1961, pp. 29-30.

⁸²"Where the U.S. Went Wrong on Cuba," U.S. News & World Report, May 8, 1961, pp. 54-56.

President was said to believe that "once American prestige is committed to an undertaking such as that in Cuba, a President has to be prepared to follow through--the operation must not be allowed to fail. This thinking is applied to Laos, as well as to Cuba."

Other Latin American countries cannot be relied upon to help the U.S. eliminate Castro, according to the article, which concluded: "The possibility is seen that the U.S. may be placed in a position where it will clearly be compelled to act in defense of its own security."

A separate U.S. News article datelined Miami quoted an exile leader as saying, "Fidel had advance word, no doubt" concerning the place and time of the invasion.⁸³ Other rebels decried the lack of American air and naval support allegedly promised them by the CIA and discussed the possibility that Castro may have wiped out the entire underground.

Accompanying a detailed map showing "what it would take to blockade Castro," a third May 8 article concerning Cuba explored that alternative.⁸⁴ A prologue to the article read:

Look at Castro now--cockier than ever, with arms and agents to threaten Americans.
How can the U.S. act?

⁸³"Cuban Post-Mortem," U.S. News & World Report, May 8, 1961, pp. 54-55.

⁸⁴"Next for Cuba--An Arms Blockade?" ibid., pp. 50-51.

Blockade is one answer offered by experts. In it they see a way to isolate Cuba, stop infiltration, maybe finish Castro, too.

After an in-depth analysis of the mechanics of a blockade, U.S. News discussed its legality:

A debate is now developing over just how far the U.S. can go in a blockade of Cuba, and stay within bounds of international law.

.
. Some U.S. experts believe that any naval blockade without the sanction of an international organization is an "act of war."

.
. Others say this is a time to be practical and not "legal." . . .

Elsewhere in the issue, a U.S. News & World Report writer--"a professional military man"--told what would be involved in any "serious move to intervene with force in Cuba."⁸⁵ He wrote:

To a military man, there are four approaches to action that the U.S. might take in Cuba. They are these: (1) Go in alone. (2) Stay out. (3) Blockade. (4) Invade with the aid of other Cubans and/or other Latins.

To stay out is to renounce a military solution. . . .

Later, after rejecting the second, third, and fourth options, the writer, Major General Max S. Johnson, confidently noted that "a military appraisal today would indicate that an effectively organized, serious American military effort to clean out Cuba should work without too much difficulty and in fairly short order." A detailed description of what General Johnson termed a "reasonable plan" to invade Cuba

⁸⁵Major General Max S. Johnson, "Dilemma for the U.S.--Getting Rid of Castro: The Military Problem," U.S. News & World Report, May 8, 1961, pp. 52-53.

followed, as did his unabashed conclusions:

What would such a military operation accomplish? It would bring a quick end to the menace of Castro in this hemisphere. And it would provide U.S. military forces with invaluable experience in the use of some new weaponry and tactics in limited war conditions today. . . .

A May 12 Time article said Castro--who had been awarded the Lenin Peace Prize on May Day--"made clear his contribution to the cause of communism, if not peace" in a speech proclaiming Cuba a Socialist State.⁸⁶ "'Yes, this is a socialist regime' [Castro said], and he seemed to mean not just a welfare state, but socialist in the way communist states describe themselves, an imperfect stage on the way to true communism." Speaking before 500,000 Cubans, the Prime Minister was quoted as having "demanded" of the crowd below him: "'Do we need elections?' Obediently, the mob [roared back]: 'No! No!'"

The article then described the "open war" the Cuban Government had declared on "that classic enemy of communism, the Roman Catholic Church," and the allegedly hostile Latin American reaction to Castro's speech.

Following the lead of U.S. News & World Report, Time boasted of its previous protestations against Castro's communist leanings:

In response to a Castro declaration that Cuba is officially "Socialist," the State Department issued a

⁸⁶"'Socialist' Yes; Elections, No," Time, May 12, 1961, p. 25.

statement saying that the Castro regime is actually "communist"--a fact that had long been as plain as the beard of Fidel's face (Time, June 29, 1959, et seq.)⁸⁷

The article was critical of Kennedy's proposed "Alliance for Progress" as a means of containing Castro:

With direct military intervention ruled out, the Administration inevitably turned to that old standard remedy for cold-war frustrations: more money for economic aid. . . .

Spending more dollars in Latin America is at best an iffy way of fighting Castro. . . .

Time pointed to such alternatives as the Monroe Doctrine and the 1954 Caracas resolution, which declared that "domination or control of the political institutions of any American State by the international communist movement . . . would constitute a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of the American States." One obstacle remained, however: "In trying to get the Caracas declaration translated into action, the U.S. runs smack up against the old, ingrained Latin American taboo against 'intervention.'"

A May 25 Newsweek article de-emphasized Castro's May Day proclamation, and instead concentrated on the "new Cuban policy" of the Kennedy Administration--to quarantine Cuba in the Americas.⁸⁸ After Castro openly conceded Cuba was "socialist," the article said, other Latin American countries were allegedly coming to realize the whole

⁸⁷"Cuban Dilemma," Time, May 12, 1961, pp. 11-12.

⁸⁸"Quarantine," Newsweek, May 15, 1961, p. 56.

continent was in danger.

"The Cuban Premier also re-opened fire on the Catholic Church," Newsweek continued, and Guevara "outlined an ambitious industrial program that would speed the country on the way to socialism through strict government control and development, with a good deal of Red aid. . . ."

An article on the same page, accompanied by a portrait of "Marx being borne through the streets of Havana last week," cited eight areas in which "brutal changes have been imposed on Cuba," making it a bona fide communist state.⁸⁹ Three of these were:

- Nationalization: Virtually all land and industrial projects have been expropriated. Most of the land has not been given to the peasants, but set up as government-owned communes on which they are merely salaried employees.

- Ballot: Elections have been called off indefinitely. The will of the people will be manipulated by government-controlled mass meetings.

- Education: Public schools have been made instruments of government propaganda. . . .

A Newsweek column by Kenneth Crawford discussed the repercussions of the exile invasion: "The Cuban affair was seriously damaging to American prestige abroad, especially in Latin America, and long, patient effort will be required to restore it to the high level it achieved just after the Kennedy inaugural."⁹⁰ At the time of the invasion, according to Crawford, "the apparent mood of Congress, Republicans

⁸⁹"Profile," Newsweek, May 15, 1961, p. 56.

⁹⁰Kenneth Crawford, "Unquiet on the Potomac," Newsweek, May 15, 1961, p. 38.

and Democrats alike, was to support direct U.S. invasion of Cuba immediately after the rebel failure. It cooled later. . . ."

In another "inside story" of the invasion, U.S. News & World Report contradicted two previously reported "facts" --that Soviet MIG fighters had attacked the Cuban exiles (only American-made jets were used), and that Castro had been forewarned of the time and place of the landing.⁹¹ The article alleged that the U.S. failure to inform the rebels of its decision not to provide air cover led them to go into battle "expecting support that never came." As a result, it said, "Castro's troops had a field day."

U.S. News said the exiles never considered the possibility of failure because American CIA agents "gave them the impression the operation was in the bag." One "well-informed" American source was quoted as saying the invasion plan did not rely heavily on fire power because "'Cubans, Americans, all of us felt that Castro had generated so much hate that . . . his forces would either throw down their arms or go over with the anti-Castro troops.'" Another American was quoted as saying: "'Failure certainly was never mentioned to the Cubans. When you talk to troops, you don't emphasize failure, you emphasize success.'"

A former diplomat then with U.S. News advocated

⁹¹"Inside Story of Cuba 'Fiasco,'" U.S. News & World Report, May 15, 1961, pp. 44-46.

giving solid military support to anti-Castro forces inside and outside Cuba.⁹² "The communist regime in Cuba," he explained, "is a military threat to the United States, endangers U.S. communications in the Caribbean, and provides a springboard for the extension of the communist system to all Latin America."

A brief article in the same issue applauded a joint State Department and Defense Department project--a "reworking of the rules that govern U.S. action in the Western Hemisphere." One official engaged in the project was quoted as saying:

"Rules of conduct this country must now live with were written in other times for circumstances that no longer exist. Now that communist penetration of the hemisphere is a reality, there has to be more freedom for the United States to use its power quickly and effectively. That power must include the use of arms."⁹³

U.S. News devoted a brief separate article to Castro's May Day speech in which he "formally proclaimed Cuba to be the first of the communist states in America."⁹⁴ According to the article, he "added that Cuba would hold no more elections, and hailed support for Cuba from 'the powerful socialist world headed by the great Soviet Union and Popular (People's) Republic of China.'"

⁹²Francis B. S. Stevens, "Can U.S. Stop Castro?: 'The Right of Self Defense,'" U.S. News & World Report, May 15, 1961, p. 47.

⁹³"U.S. Goal: More Freedom to Act," ibid., p. 44.

⁹⁴"The First Communist Nation of the Americas," ibid.

A Time article the following week described the "great exodus from the unhappy island," which had allegedly resumed after being "momentarily halted by invasion."⁹⁵

It continued:

In the past two years, some 200,000 frightened, disillusioned, or dismayed people have fled into exile. . . .

So great is the exodus that the twice-weekly ferry has been sold out for six weeks ahead. . . .

After a detailed description of the escape of the Time Havana correspondent during the "wave of terror" the previous month, the magazine discussed two undocumented aspects of Cuban life:

Under Dictator Batista, the chivato or informer was the object of universal hatred; Castro, in the fashion of communist and fascist dictatorships, has turned the government stool pigeon into a national industry. . . .⁹⁶

.
After the initial wave of 30 executions in the invasion's first 48 hours, the regime stopped issuing bulletins--but did not stop killing. The reports are that it still goes on.

Newsweek discussed the repercussions of an "Open Letter" to President Kennedy published as a five-column advertisement in the New York Times the previous week, "calling him to account for the ill-fated U.S. intervention in Cuba." Because it was signed by "no fewer than 41

⁹⁵"Outward Bound," Time, May 19, 1961, p. 34.

⁹⁶This is an apparent reference to the "Committees for the Defense of the Revolution," organized in 1960 to "ferret out counterrevolutionaries," according to Boris Goldenberg (pp. 270-71). They had been "mainly responsible" for the mass arrests during the exile invasion attempt, and were to number 1.5 million by late 1962.

Harvard educators--most of them eminent full professors," while "the President's advisory staff on the Cuban invasion fairly teemed with former Harvard . . . men," the article asked whether it wasn't "in effect, Harvard vs. Harvard."⁹⁷ The article quoted parts of the "letter," and said it "deplored not only the bungling in Cuba, but what seemed to them a dangerous trend in U.S. policy . . . to impose our will on the Caribbean."

On May 17, one month after the start of what had become Castro's greatest victory, the Cuban leader publicly proposed that the U.S. give Cuba 500 heavy tractors as "compensation . . . for the damage they have caused it." President Kennedy almost immediately formed a bipartisan "Tractors for Freedom" Committee, composed of Walter Reuther, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, and Eleanor Roosevelt, to raise funds for the proposed exchange of Castro's exile prisoners for the tractors.⁹⁸

⁹⁷"Harvard vs. Harvard?" Newsweek, May 22, 1961, p. 22. In his May 15 Newsweek column, Kenneth Crawford revealed that Arthur Schlesinger Jr., one of Kennedy's Harvard-educated advisers mentioned by name in the article, had argued against the Cuban operation:

"Kennedy shows no disposition to accept widely published advice that he roll his egghead assistants for their failure to protect him in the Cuban crisis. Actually, Arthur Schlesinger, one of the accused, was . . . outspokenly opposed to the landing."

⁹⁸Haynes Johnson (p. 238) writes that although a high military authority assured Dr. Eisenhower the tractors would have no military significance, "the critics continued to play upon this fear and in the end it, more than anything else, wrecked the negotiations."

The prisoners were not released until December, 1962, after 53 million dollars' worth of privately donated food and medicine was delivered to Cuba.

Time referred to the proposal in the concluding paragraphs of a May 26 article:

Writing his own postscript to the invasion, Fidel Castro last week turned the 1,000 prisoners he took at the Bay of Pigs into cold war currency. Recalling Spain's exchange of Napoleon's soldiers for pigs, Castro told a crowd of whooping peasants: "We are a little more refined. We will exchange them for bulldozers." The price would be 500 bulldozers.⁹⁹

In what the article termed a "grotesque" side offer, Castro was said to have proposed to trade invasion commander Manuel Artime for Francisco ("The Hook") Molina, a Cuban awaiting trial in New York for the murder of a nine-year-old Venezuelan girl.

The first part of the Time article described hearings before the Senate Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Latin America, which had been hearing testimony on the Cuban invasion from government officials. "Much of the testimony blamed the Cuban rebels," Time said. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, for example, "insisted--despite statements to the contrary by Cuban leaders--that the decision to attack was made not by either the CIA or the Pentagon, but by the Cubans themselves."

A brief U.S. News & World Report article quoted part of Castro's speech proposing the trade, but did not mention the formation of the Tractors for Freedom Committee. Castro was quoted as saying: "'If Kennedy says they are his friends and he loves them so much, let him

⁹⁹"The Orphan Policy," Time, May 26, 1961, pp. 30-31.

send 500 bulldozers."¹⁰⁰

"Civilian officials in Washington" were held responsible for the ill-fated invasion in another Playa Giron post-mortem in the same issue. In sharp contrast with its initial evaluation of the invasion, U.S. News admitted it was designed to overthrow the Cuban Government:

The plan for using refugees from Cuba to invade that country to topple the dictatorship of Fidel Castro, as it was finally approved by the Central Intelligence Agency, not the U.S. military, called for use of 1,400 men in one landing. . . .¹⁰¹

The article also rescinded earlier reports that the exiles had encountered a "trap." The invasion itself was said to have been at first successful--invading forces allegedly met no opposition from tanks for the first 24 hours.

A third May 29 article again cited the lack of air support as the sole determination of Castro's victory:

U.S. military men remain convinced that this plan /to provide U.S. planes and pilots, and Marines, if necessary/ would have worked, if carried out. Troops did get ashore without opposition. There were defections from Castro forces. Things were rolling. However, at this critical juncture, air support that had been promised by the U.S. was denied. Castro's U.S.-made jet trainers, piloted by Czechs and unopposed, sank equipment of the invaders. Without air support, it became clear that the invasion could not succeed.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰"Castro Sets 'Ransom': 500 U.S. Bulldozers," U.S. News & World Report, May 29, 1961, p. 6.

¹⁰¹"In Cuban Invasion: The Fatal Mistakes," ibid., May 29, 1961, p. 76.

¹⁰²"Second '100 Days': Education of a President," ibid., pp. 53-55. In his Kennedy Administration memoirs, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (p. 265) maintains that Miró was given repeated notice that the U.S. was not prepared to offer military assistance to the refugees. "Whatever Miró was told," he writes, "it was evident he simply would not believe he could not count on United States military support."

U.S. News then attempted to undermine Kennedy's publicly stated admission that he alone was responsible for the U.S. defeat:

This is heard from a White House source:

The President did not expect that the press would take at face value his statement that he assumed responsibility for what happened in Cuba. He had expected there would be reporting of the part the Eisenhower Administration played in the build-up of an attempt to overthrow Castro. He expected that intelligence miscalculations would be referred to, and that newspapers would take some responsibility upon themselves for their detailed reporting of the build-up for an invasion attempt. . . .¹⁰³

The first Americans allowed out of Cuba since the invasion "brought back stories of the fear and terror which has seized the island since Premier Fidel Castro found the opportunity to completely impose his will on the Cuban people," according to a May 29 Newsweek article.¹⁰⁴ "A day later," it continued, "a more dramatic cargo set down in Miami . . . ten Cubans, Castro's prisoners, . . . who had come to negotiate one of the strangest barter deals in recent history: Castro's proposal that 1,200 prisoners be exchanged for 500 tractors." The State Department allegedly supported the committee's efforts to raise the necessary three million dollars on humanitarian

¹⁰³Schlesinger (pp. 289-90) contradicted the magazine's anonymous source, quoting an April 24 White House statement that read, in part:

"President Kennedy has stated from the beginning that as President he bears sole responsibility. . . . The President is strongly opposed to anyone within or without the Administration attempting to shift the responsibility."

¹⁰⁴"What Is a Man Worth?" Newsweek, May 29, 1961, p. 52.

grounds, and contributions had already begun. Newsweek concluded:

If the negotiations between the prisoners and the United States fail, the prospects for all the prisoners are dim indeed. Reflecting his confidence that his reign will be a long one, Castro has said that his captives will get jail sentences of 25 to 30 years.

With a photograph of "Dictator Castro guffawing through his beard," a Time article the following week appealed to its readers' patriotism, and criticized the role of the U.S. Government in the prisoner negotiations:

In a move as cynical as it was cruel, Cuba's Fidel Castro a fortnight ago offered to exchange some 1,200 Cuban rebels, all captured in the disastrous, U.S.-backed Bay of Pigs invasion, for 500 heavy tractors, total cost of which would come to about 15 million to 20 million dollars. . . . Within four days of his ransom demand, a committee of U.S. citizens . . . had been formed to raise the bulldozer dough by public conscription.

But in his wildest dreams, Castro could hardly have hoped that the U.S. Government--which once went into battle on the ringing cry of "millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute"--would lend itself to meeting his extortionist demands. Little did he know. Although great efforts were made to keep the whole thing secret, it was soon as obvious as John Kennedy's forelock that the President himself had taken the initiative in setting up the Roosevelt-Reuther-Eisenhower movement. . . .¹⁰⁵

After Kennedy conceded he had sanctioned the committee, "a large part of hell broke loose on Capitol Hill," according to the Time article, which then quoted the reactions of several conservative Congressmen, including Senator Thomas Dodd:

Among the most effective speeches was one by Connecticut's Democratic Senator Thomas Dodd. Said

¹⁰⁵"Castro's Ransom," Time, June 2, 1961, p. 13.

he: ". . . By paying Castro's price for a thousand good men, we give him the means to strengthen his enslavement of six million others. . . . If we start to pay tribute now for 1,000 of the one billion Communist hostages, where will it stop?

In a brief survey of "public opinion" concerning the proposal, U.S. News & World Report said:

A number of Senators and Representatives reported heavy mail and telegrams on the subject. A check by U.S. News & World Report at the Capitol showed most reaction to be strongly in opposition to the scheme. A frequent comment: "Don't let them blackmail us."

Letters to newspapers around the country were similarly opposed to the idea . . . but man-in-the-street polls showed reaction to be less stormy. . . .¹⁰⁶

A lengthy article in the same issue made little attempt to conceal the magazine's disdain for the proposed exchange.¹⁰⁷ Four previous instances of "paying ransom for human lives" showed the trend toward capitulation, it said. In 1794 and 1904 the U.S. allegedly threatened to go to war rather than pay bribes or ransom to foreign governments, but in 1949 and 1951 it paid for the release of American citizens held by communists. Only after delineating the "blackmail," the "opposition" to the deal, and the "dangers involved" did the article include the opinion of a dissenter, Senator George Smathers of Florida.

Similarly, in a series of excerpts of Senate speeches, U.S. News devoted more than 75 per cent of its space to conservative reaction to the proposal, and the

¹⁰⁶"Where Americans Stand on the 'Ransom' Deal," U.S. News & World Report, June 5, 1961, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷"U.S. Tractors for Cuban Prisoners--What it Means," ibid., pp. 61-63.

remainder to the opinions of two liberal Senators--Wayne Morse and William Fullbright.¹⁰⁸

The full text of a speech delineating Kennedy's position on the "freedom tractors" was published with the two articles.

Newsweek viewed the President's decision to support the fund-raising efforts more positively than had Time:

President John F. Kennedy, when word of Castro's latest jape reached the White House, was as revulsed as anybody. . . .

Finally, the President reached a difficult decision: He would accept Castro's derisive order, no matter how repellent.

Since the U.S. was involved in getting the men into Cuba, he felt, it should do whatever was necessary to get them out. It was a way of paying a debt, one that troubled him deeply, and it was a humane act. . . .¹⁰⁹

As for Senate reaction to the Administration's support of the committee, Newsweek commented: "Those to whom the Castro deal smacked of blackmail were ready to explode. . . . The eruption came with a vengeance, chiefly on the floor of the Senate." After briefly quoting three Senators, the article said angry letters streamed into Congress and "editorial opinion ranged from mild approbation to vehement

¹⁰⁸"Blackmail . . . Piracy . . . Heinous Barter-- Senators Debate Tractors for Castro," U.S. News & World Report, June 5, 1961, pp. 62-63. Morse and Fullbright both strongly opposed the deal, and Morse assured his Senate colleagues he "took the position very early in the Castro Administration that we were dealing with a madman--and I used that word in its literal sense. I think we are dealing with a psychiatric case. . . ." (U.S. Senate, 87th Cong., 1st Sess., May 22, 1961, Congressional Record, 107, 8543).

¹⁰⁹"Cuban Captives: Reason for Hope," Newsweek, June 5, 1961, pp. 24, 30.

criticism." It ended with a detailed analysis of the President's justification of his position and quoted part of his official statement:

"If [the prisoners] were our brothers in a totalitarian prison, every American would want to help. I happen to feel deeply that all who fight for freedom--particularly in our hemisphere--are our brothers."

A brief list of "other historic ransoms" accompanied the Newsweek article.

In its next issue, Time published four letters to the editor concerning what it termed the "Cuban Trade"; each unanimously denounced the proposal, reading in part:

Castro's offer to trade 1,000 prisoners for 500 bulldozers is pure public blackmail. . . . Mrs. Roosevelt and the Government of the U.S. make me sick.

. . . .
Inasmuch as Khrushchev and his Caribbean pal are agreed on their intention to bury us, 500 bulldozers will certainly come in handy.

. . . .
If 500 farm tractors will ransom 1,200 Cubans from their homeland, maybe a nuclear submarine or two will redeem the Americans held in Red Chinese jails. . . .

. . . .
Are we a nation so soft that we will resort to the payment of blackmail to a psychopathic, power-hungry dictator to avoid our responsibilities?

A one-paragraph article in the same issue noted the recent activities of the "reviving" anti-Castro underground: Time said a \$300,000 sugar mill was burned, a bomb wounded a hated Castro military prosecutor, a phosphorous bomb fired a cinema. On another subject, travelers from Cuba were said to have reported thousands of new arrests.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰"The Underground Surfaces," Time, June 9, 1961, p. 29.

The communist "threat" 90 miles from the U.S. was said to have been a matter of deepest concern in a U.S. News & World Report nationwide survey of "what the American people are troubled about."¹¹¹ The article observed:

The cost of living remains a worry, but it can't compare with the threat of communism on the U.S. doorstep in Cuba. "It's a great fear to know that Khrushchev has a pretty big arsenal just 90 miles from the U.S.," says one of the attorneys in Hutchison [Kansas].

A separate section of the article (entitled "Castro is the Biggest Pain--But How to Get Rid of Him?") discussed Cuba in particular. It began: "When you mention Fidel Castro, the American people see red. Nearly everybody wants to get rid of him. . . ."

U.S. News then quoted ten Americans who felt the U.S. should have been more aggressive toward Cuba. One, a state employee in Carson City, Nevada, was quoted as saying: "We ought to blockade the place, send in the Marines and clear out Castro and then tell the Reds, 'O.K., fight your way in.' But now it's wide open and they walk in." A Massachusetts attorney allegedly told the correspondent: "The first thing I would do would be to reinforce the Marines and take Cuba right back and make it part of the U.S. and to hell with the rest of the world. We can't afford to have the Russians 90 miles from Florida."

Although the magazine conceded that "many people hesitate about using force to oust Castro," the statements

¹¹¹"What the American People Are Troubled About," U.S. News & World Report, June 12, 1961, pp. 61, 63.

these people made were placed at the end of the article. In addition, U.S. News quoted only negative opinions concerning the tractor exchange.

Newsweek labeled its four June 12 letters to the editor--each of which attacked the Tractors for Freedom Committee--"Strong Views." A resident of San Clemente, California, for example, wrote: "I know how to get the prisoners back from Cuba and it isn't by trading tractors."

An article on the latest developments in the case said there was strong disapproval in Congress of the proposal to buy the lives of 1,214 captured rebels with 500 American tractors, while outraged letters were arriving every day from constituents all over the country.¹¹² Newspaper reaction was said to have been mixed, as "many agreed with President Kennedy's contention that it was Castro who blundered badly in offering such a cynical exchange. But a great many more disagreed with Mr. Kennedy." Newsweek said the Committee received 10,000 contributions after a series of promotions on the "Jack Paar Show" for a total of 25,000. The letters were kept sealed in case the deal was not completed.

In its next issue, Time derided Castro's plan--recently rejuvenated by the U.S.-supported invasion fiasco--to foment revolution in Latin America:

Trying to do something about Castro inevitably

¹¹²"What Sort of Deal?" Newsweek, June 12, 1961, pp. 33, 36.

brings up soul-searching debate about non-intervention. But the bearded Castro himself obviously has no qualms about getting in other people's hair. Last week three Latin American nations found themselves coping with Castroite attempts to subvert their people and overthrow their elected governments.¹¹³

Only when discussing Brazil did Time admit the people might have been justified in expressing dissatisfaction with the status quo, as it noted the "frightful poverty and hunger and an angry and miserable peasantry" which "Castro agents" were allegedly exploiting. "President Jânio Quadros, long a let's-leave-Castro-alone man, had to fly in an infantry battalion to help local army units keep order," according to the article.

In impoverished Bolivia, Time continued, Castro agents and local communists conspired to "overturn the Government of Reformer-President Victor Paz Estenssoro with a 'hunger march' on the capital by striking leftist tin miners."

The "liberal" Venezuelan Government was said to have officially denied reports of Cuban arms smuggling, "but intelligence sources insist that the shipments had been going on since December."

Newsweek discussed the possibility that "Castro's revolutionaries" were responsible for the Bolivian tin miners' strike, but unlike Time, admitted the country was near bankruptcy.¹¹⁴ Newsweek concluded: "This is the ideal

¹¹³"Who's Intervening Where?" Time, June 16, 1961, p. 26.

¹¹⁴"Fidel's Shadow," Newsweek, June 19, 1961, p. 50.

climate for the communists, who for years have been preaching revolution to 3.5 million ill-housed, ill-fed, and illiterate Bolivians."

The prologue to a U.S. News & World Report story reported from Miami and Washington suggested a revision of U.S. policy toward Cuba. It said, in part:

. . . The story of what is happening [In Cuba] can be pieced together from reports filtering out with refugees, diplomats, and travelers.

The picture that emerges is one of Castro stronger than ever--his opposition crushed by terror, his sagging economy bolstered by growing help from Moscow.

In these reports, you don't find much support for the U.S. hope that Castro, if left alone, will die on the vine.¹¹⁵

Since April, when the "U.S.-backed invasion attempt was permitted to fail," the article said:

•Police state methods have been used to tighten the hold of Castro and communism on that island nation. Concentration camps are crowded with some 200,000 prisoners.¹¹⁶ Opposition of any effective kind has been crushed. . . .

•Soviet aid to Cuba is being stepped up. . . .

•Shortages are plaguing consumers and slowing production. Cuba's economy is sagging. But it is not collapsing.

•Americans have offered Castro relief for one of his worst shortages by preparing to trade him 500 tractors for 1,200 Cuban prisoners captured during the recent invasion.

¹¹⁵"Castro Getting Stronger?" U.S. News & World Report, June 19, 1961, pp. 46-48.

¹¹⁶This is an exaggeration. Herbert Matthews (p. 181) writes that nearly all those sequestered when the attack began were quickly released. Boris Goldenberg (p. 252), however, maintains that many of those arrested were "kept for weeks in prison." Castro admitted the existence of 20,000 political prisoners as late as 1966 (Lee Lockwood, Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Fidel /New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967/, p. 205).

The writer filled three pages with a detailed examination of how refugees, diplomats, and travelers in Miami and Washington viewed revolutionary Cuba. In order to convince U.S. News readers that post-invasion U.S. policy--non-intervention in Cuban affairs--was doomed to fail, the article devoted three of the last seven paragraphs to a review of Cuba's strengths:

There is no real suffering. People can get along without many of the /consumer goods/, they miss. They may not like the diet they are getting but they are not really hungry. And transport breakdowns are not really new to Cuba.

There is virtually no unemployment.

Despite trouble with the cane harvest, Cuba will have at least an average-sized crop of 5.5 million to 6 million tons of sugar this year.

Overall, as experts analyze it, Cuba's economic situation is not so bad as to cause an early collapse.

U.S. News then editorialized:

It is beginning to look as though--unless some drastic action is taken--the U.S. and the Western World are going to have to put up with Fidel Castro and his Latin-style communism for some time. . . .

A brief Newsweek article on the same page appraised Cuba's "literacy brigades."¹¹⁷ It said in part:

Castro's idea--a derivative of Mao Tse-tung's--is that by roaming about the countryside, the literacy brigades will be able to teach the entire nation to read and write in a single year. Once they can read and write, of course, they will read and write what Castro tells them.

In what the magazine termed "another giant step toward all-out communism," Castro had decreed the previous week that the state "'will henceforth take over all

¹¹⁷"Redder Schoolhouse," Newsweek, June 19, 1961, p. 50.

educational establishments.'"

In its next article, Time accused Castro of reneging on his offer to exchange Cuban exile prisoners for 500 tractors. Four representatives of the Tractors for Freedom Committee had flown to Havana to offer him "500 small tractors, worth about 2.5 million dollars, but Castro allegedly demanded 500 tractors worth 28 million dollars, leading Time to comment: "Inevitably, and in the classic tradition of the extortionist, Castro had upped his demands."¹¹⁸

A separate article reported that "the first U.S. newsmen permitted into Cuba since the invasion were treated to the spectacle of Castro the leader, Castro the soldier, Castro the continental showman" in a marathon of press conferences and tours."¹¹⁹ At Playa Gir6n, Time said:

Castro pointed out the sunken invasion ship Houston, its hull sticking out from the shallow water. He expertly described the rebel landing, his own counter-attack. "Those who prepared the attack tried to achieve a maximum result with a minimum of maneuvers, but they were not very bold thinkers." Castro added gleefully: "For the first time the United States could not destroy a government."

A report on the "hard lot" of the anti-Castro underground included the undocumented statement that Castro

¹¹⁸"Tractors (Contd.)," Time, June 23, 1961, p. 10. Three weeks earlier, a Time article had said: "Fidel Castro a fortnight ago offered to exchange some 1,200 Cuban rebels . . . for 500 heavy tractors, total cost of which would come to about 15 or 20 million dollars" (italics mine). Haynes Johnson (p. 240) says Castro's position was "consistent with his original proposal."

¹¹⁹"Visit to Fidel," Newsweek, June 19, 1961, p. 29.

"boasts that he has 500,000 of Cuba's six million people spying for him."

On the same page, Time analyzed the Kennedy Administration's attempt to "test the temper of Latin American opinion," particularly in Brazil, where new President Jânio Quadros' "enigmatic ways and hands-off Castro attitude" were said to have created problems for the U.S.¹²⁰ Following the visits of other "New Frontiersmen," U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson "found expressions of friendship and enthusiastic talk about development" in Brazil, "but it was still no sale on Castro." Time reported that the "message--nonintervention--was the same most everywhere Stevenson went." Anti-American riots, led by "communists and Castroites, who threaten every hemispheric democratic government," were said to have been responsible for promulgating this attitude.

A brief U.S. News & World Report article datelined Miami depicted the alleged economic hardships Castro's "swing to communism" had exacted. "The island is running out of nearly everything but guns," it said, citing shortages of "zippers and paper clips and fuses and a whole list of industrial and consumer items." It continued: "For the most part, the troubles have been created by a lack of U.S. dollars and the cutoff of trade with the U.S."¹²¹

¹²⁰"Hello, But No Help," Time, June 23, 1961, p. 29.

¹²¹"Cuba Today: Lots of Communism, But Not Much Else," U.S. News & World Report, June 26, 1961, p. 57. The U.S. trade embargo did compound Cuba's economic difficulties, which were to reach their peak later in the year. The

Ironically, the article listed 14 measures initiated to overcome shortages in Cuba, which were to become popular in the U.S. a decade later--a nationwide collection of empty bottles and jars and a nationwide campaign to collect and re-use paper.

On the same page, U.S. News re-opened debate concerning the origin of the invasion fiasco. Republican National Chairman William Miller was said to have chastised President Kennedy for not following his predecessor's alleged plan to provide air cover for the exiles, while Democratic Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania blamed the invasion on the previous administration's intention of "'going in with American troops to Cuba.'" Eisenhower, however, was said to have maintained that no invasion plan was set during his tenure in office.¹²²

In its "Washington Whispers" section, the magazine quoted a high State Department official as saying: "It

Eastern bloc bought sugar at lower prices than had the U.S. and paid only 20 per cent in convertible currencies. Cuba's concentration on a "humanist" economic policy also contributed to economic hardship (Goldenberg, p. 246).

¹²²"Did Kennedy Veto Ike's Invasion Plan?" U.S. News & World Report, June 26, 1961, p. 57. Subsequent analyses of the invasion have not fully clarified this point. Haynes Johnson (p. 53) says Eisenhower "was not a major participant" in the CIA's November, 1960, decision to overthrow Castro by a direct exile invasion. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (pp. 228-29) agrees, noting Eisenhower approved a 13 million dollar budget for the project in August, 1960, with the explicit condition that "no United States military personnel were to take part in combat operations." Afterwards, the CIA allegedly exercised autonomy over the exile invasion.

is our firm policy to get rid of Fidel Castro in Cuba--but please don't ask me how or when.'" A later item cited the Cuban exile prediction that Castro would "celebrate his July 26 holiday by proclaiming a 'Socialist' constitution for Cuba, unveiling a new red flag for the country, and introducing a new national anthem."¹²³

Summary

Each of the three weekly news magazines shared in its own way the decisive defeat of the Cuban refugees at Playa Girón. The "basic truths" concerning Castro's Cuba as published in Time and U.S. News & World Report were exposed as groundless propaganda in its aftermath. Undeterred by the fiasco, both magazines unabashedly called for a military "solution" to the problem of Caribbean communism, which they construed as a threat to the sovereignty of the United States. Newsweek ignored the mass of evidence that showed an invasion to be imminent and relied too heavily on the supposed common sense and good intentions of the U.S. Government.

U.S. News & World Report.--Of the three news weeklies, U.S. News & World Report attacked revolutionary Cuba most stridently before April 17; its readers perceived events in Cuba as an unbroken chain of adversity which would

¹²³"Washington Whispers," U.S. News & World Report, June 26, 1961, p. 31. As of early 1972, the Cuban Government was operating without a formal constitution.

imminently doom Castro, the transgressor, to an early retirement. "Before his final overthrow," the January 16 issue proclaimed, "it is expected that Castro will so wreck the Cuban economy that his successor will face a major job of rebuilding Cuba into a stable state."

Havana was said to have become suddenly glum and somber after the benevolent influence of the U.S. was exchanged for that of Russia and Eastern Europe by the break of diplomatic relations. "It is doubted that the communist nations can provide enough help soon enough to save Castro from open challenge," U.S. News reported.

In a number of interviews with disillusioned former Castro Government officials, the magazine provided a forum for exile views which often bore little resemblance to actual conditions inside Cuba. Former Premier Miró Cardona proclaimed that Castro had "no support among the people" at that time, while another former government official said the rapidly growing anti-Castro feeling of the Cuban people was evident to all. In late January, U.S. News concluded: "The great majority of Cubans are now against Castro. The feeling of revolt is spreading like wildfire."

In the wake of the shattered exile-CIA dream of a "free" Cuba, U.S. News & World Report contradicted its relentless pre-invasion contention that Castro's flirtation with communism predestined his overthrow. On April 24, the magazine said Cuba "seems gradually to be falling apart. . . .

Not much of anything seems to be running right." The following week's issue self-righteously observed that it was "widely recognized before the attack that the communist grip on Cuba was too strong to be thus dislodged." After having repeatedly stressed negative political and economic developments for two years, with frequent references to the government's imminent collapse, U.S. News & World Report decided ex post facto that Castro was impervious to such an invasion.

In its optimistic initial evaluation of the exile landings, the magazine said their three main objectives--to force the Castro regime to reveal its military strength, to reinforce the anti-Castro guerrillas inside Cuba, and to test the strength of the underground--had been accomplished. Concerning the guerrillas in the Escambray Mountains--the last of whom apparently had been evacuated the previous month--U.S. News said: "Some teams got through. . . . Morale among the anti-Castro men of the mountains is reported high."

U.S. News then speculated on "Cuba Without Castro," which would have allegedly been considered a U.S. responsibility. "With Castro gone," it said, "dollars from the U.S. will begin to flow back to Cuba."

Subsequent issues of U.S. News & World Report clarified its conception of the two most feasible means of forcefully removing Castro from Cuba--direct U.S. invasion and blockade. The first alternative was discussed under

the signature of a retired Army Major General, but the second was advanced by an anonymous correspondent whose enthusiasm for the idea wasn't tempered by his admission that such action would violate international law.

U.S. News & World Report allied itself with critics of the Kennedy Administration's plan to facilitate the exchange of tractors for exile prisoners. Citing only two inconclusive statistics, a brief June 5 article purported to expose "where Americans stand" on the proposal. Mail to the Columbus [Ohio] Dispatch was said to have been running eight to one against a deal with Castro, while eight of 12 residents of St. Paul, Minnesota, said they would contribute to a fund-raising campaign. The main June 5 article on the exchange was heavily weighted against Castro's proposal.

Similarly, the following week's U.S. News article-- "What the American People Are Troubled About"--said vaguely that "you hear a lot of criticism of the plan to give Castro tractors in exchange for Cubans captured in the invasion." No figures supporting the magazine's conclusions were supplied.

Time--Concerning events in Cuba before the invasion, Time noted in January that the underground rebellion was "doing more damage to the new dictatorship than Castro had managed against the old in a year." A subsequent report claimed that civil war was rapidly approaching, due largely

to intense fighting in the Escambray Mountains.

Time contributing editor Sam Halper--who had close ties with Cuban exiles in New York¹²⁴--initially blamed the CIA's choice of landing area for the invasion failure. The peasants remained loyal, he implied, only because of Castro's "good, job-producing scheme" to drain the swamp near Playa Girón.

Unlike U.S. News, however, Time construed the invasion as an ignominious failure. Conveniently ignoring its April 21 admission that the U.S. was heavily pledged not to help overthrow any Western Hemisphere government, an unsigned April 28 news article said "victory would have brought outcries of imperialism, but at least it would have been a victory." A third article chastised President Kennedy's refusal to involve American troops in the affair.

Confident a belated "victory" would be forthcoming, Time the following week said vaguely that the U.S. was "in a mood to go ahead [with dislodging Castro] with those who will stand up and be counted." Time loudly denounced Kennedy's role in the Tractors for Freedom Committee; Castro's "demand" was variously termed "extortionist," "callous," and "piratical" in the magazine's June 2 news story.

¹²⁴The "Letter from the Publisher" at the front of the April 28 issue said: "In recent months so many Cuban exiles have stopped by to see Halper in Manhattan that 'they said I ran the underground railroad in New York.'"

Newsweek.--Only Newsweek provided an alternative to the monotonous drone of its two competitors--Latin American editor Harold Lavine was at times frankly sympathetic to Castro's social revolution, while a group of anonymous correspondents were often critical.

Cuba's second revolutionary Christmas was said to have been plagued by shortages, clouded by bitterness and personal unhappiness, celebrated quietly by broken families. Lavine, however, later recognized that Castro enjoyed the devotion of a majority of the people and the loyalty of the militia at that time--a fact neither U.S. News nor Time would admit--but did so in the same article in which he accused Castro of having a persecution complex because he feared an imminent "Yankee invasion."

After the U.S. and Cuba severed diplomatic relations, Newsweek wondered whether Cuba could survive the rapidly developing economic and political "hard facts of life"; the "virus of defection" was said to have been spreading quickly in Cuba.

Two weeks later, the magazine changed its outlook in an article entitled "A Different Castro?" Lavine concluded that Castro still had the support of the masses and would remain strong as long as Soviet aid was forthcoming. Later in the article Lavine wrote that new homes and schools were being built for some Cuban peasants and workers. Just before the invasion attempt, an anonymous writer assessed the literacy campaign in an objective manner--teenagers were

said to have been enthusiastic about the idea, but propaganda tainted the teaching manuals.

Newsweek interpreted the invasion debacle optimistically, terming it a "serious blow," but one that would teach the Kennedy Administration to base "future endeavors in this realm" on solid reality rather than hopeful expectation. Elsewhere in its May 1 issue, Newsweek said the President faulted overeager journalists for allegedly exaggerating the importance of the refugee operation, but a separate article blamed CIA lies for relegating newsmen to the status of "pawns" in the feud between Havana and Washington.

In a dispassionate assessment of Castro's two years as Prime Minister, Newsweek avoided the totally negative characterizations of its competitors. While noting Cuba's "deteriorating economic system" and "increasingly totalitarian government," the article recognized that the people were "probably better off than they were before." Of the three magazines, only Newsweek chose not to champion a future course of action against Cuba in its news pages, instead reporting Kennedy's effort to "seal off Cuba from the rest of the hemisphere" by means of the Alliance for Progress.

Newsweek discussed Castro's tractors for prisoners proposal only once, but again provided an alternative to the views of Time and U.S. News. Armed with the identical set of facts, an anonymous correspondent praised Kennedy's

"humane act" of launching the fund-raising drive; a large segment of the article gave a generally positive analysis of the President's position.

CHAPTER V

1966: ECONOMIC DISASTER

After the 1962 confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union over Cuban missile bases brought mankind to the brink of nuclear holocaust while subjecting the Cuban Government to a humiliating defeat, the U.S. abandoned its official policy of advocating Castro's overthrow for one of "economic containment." Using its influence within the Organization of American States, the U.S. sought to isolate Cuba from its Latin American neighbors by means of a trade embargo, but Great Britain, France, and Spain continued to exchange goods with the Castro regime.

Escalation of the war in Indo-China and U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965 provided Castro with a fresh supply of invective to hurl at the Johnson Administration, and tensions between the two nations remained strained.

Castro consolidated his power during 1965, eliminating all political organizations but the Communist party, while the island's economic stability fluctuated with its sugar production.

Time's coverage of the seventh year of the Cuban revolution began with a discussion of a nine-day conference

of undeveloped nations in Havana; it graphically demonstrated the magazine's prose style:

Most dictators find a certain cruel pleasure in the judicious balance of bread and circuses necessary to keep their people in hand. In Cuba, where nearly everything is rationed, Castro has only half the fun. But when circus time arrives, Fidel makes the most of it. . . .¹

The Tri-Continental Conference of Solidarity--the "circus" to which Time referred--was dismissed in two sentences at the end of the article:

As many a tinhorn ruler had done before him, Fidel apparently hopes to form a third world force of small, revolutionary countries, and Havana Radio hinted that it should be represented by a new tri-continental organization with headquarters in Havana.

To Cubans, that sounded like circus time forever.

The remainder of the article discussed a New Year's military parade and Castro's terse announcement that China would not send Cuba the rice it had promised.

A January 17 U.S. News & World Report "Worldgram" feature taunted the conference delegates for bickering among themselves; the Sino-Soviet feud was said to have overshadowed all other issues.² "Once again," U.S. News observed, "Communist solidarity was publicly blown to bits." In addition, Castro was said to have rubbed salt in Communist wounds by admitting that things were not good in Cuba and would get much worse.

Two weeks later, however, U.S. News decided that the

¹"Half the Fun," Time, January 14, 1966, p. 36.

²"Worldgram," U.S. News & World Report, January 17, 1966, p. 59.

Havana conference threatened the entire Free World. The prologue to a summary of its resolutions stated:

Castro's Cuba has been assigned a key role by the Reds. Havana is to be the control center for directing Communist uprisings worldwide. Strategy: Ignite so many revolts in so many places that the U.S. will be powerless to cope with them.³

Machinery set up at the conference would allow arms, money, propaganda, and guerrillas trained in subversion to "exploit discord everywhere," the article warned. Concerning their chances for success, the magazine quoted "an American expert" as saying: "Guatemala could come apart at any moment, Haiti is hopeless, . . . Colombia is a mess, . . ." These situations were said to have made decisions at the Havana conference significant.

Newsweek concentrated on Fidel's "rice bomb"--his charge that Peking had reneged on its offer to supply Cuba's rice.⁴ By revealing his total loyalty to the Soviet Union, the article said, Castro lost the opportunity to bridge the gap between the two Communist giants.

The magazine then commented on the Havana-based tri-continental solidarity body, which the conference delegates voted to establish to "paper over their indecision" on other matters: "Thus the Afro-Asians found out, as have so many before them, that when one plays games in Cuba the

³"Reds Plan More 'Vietnams,'" U.S. News & World Report, January 31, 1966, p. 27.

⁴"The Rice Bomb," Newsweek, January 24, 1966, pp. 49-50.

only winner allowed is Castro."

In mid-February, Time and Newsweek drew similar conclusions from Castro's angry denunciation of the People's Republic of China. Time quoted Castro as saying: "'We have liberated ourselves from imperialism 90 miles from our shore. We are not willing to allow another powerful state 12,000 miles away to impose similar practices on us.'"⁵ By attacking China, Time said, Castro had firmly sided with Moscow and was thus less his own man than ever.

Newsweek said Castro was at his "searing best" as he accused China of "blackmail, extortion, pressure, aggression, and strangulation."⁶ Russian pressure was said to have been responsible for Castro's action, as he previously championed the Chinese call for world revolution. "Washington Castrologists" believed the Cuban leader had been "subtly and effectively manipulated" by Moscow into acting against his own ideological interests, Newsweek observed.

Che Guevara, "widely regarded as the real mastermind in the Red grab of Cuba," was said to have been either dead or in Guatemala in a March 7 U.S. News & World Report article.⁷ There was speculation he had been slain, it said,

⁵"Down with Imperialism--12,000 Miles Away," Time, February 18, 1966, p. 35.

⁶"Fidel vs. Mao," Newsweek, February 24, 1966, p. 56. While Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report repeatedly detailed the China-Cuba rift in early 1966, none of the magazines subsequently published details of a May 28, 1966, trade agreement between the two nations.

⁷"Guevara Mystery: Leader of a New Program of Red Revolution?" U.S. News & World Report, March 7, 1966, p. 22.

"possibly because of involvement in a plot instigated by Red China to get rid of Castro and install a puppet of Peking as a new Red dictator of Cuba." Recent political kidnappings in Guatemala, however, were said to have provided evidence that Guevara might have left Cuba to foment revolution elsewhere in Latin America.

Time relied on reports from "exiles trickling through to Miami" for details of the trial of Castro's former chief student organizer at the University of Havana, Rolando Cubela, charged with plotting Castro's assassination.⁸ "As is usual in Castroland," the article observed, "the prosecutor explained that the CIA was behind it all. And as usual with show trials everywhere, the defendant agreed with every word."

Time then cited exile reports of a University of Havana anti-Castro demonstration, which was said to have caused the Prime Minister to ask for leniency for his potential assassin. Students had allegedly staged an "angry demonstration, with a black-draped coffin, signs reading, 'If Cubela dies, so do you Fidel!' and an ancient horse-- in jeering reference to Castro's nickname, el Caballo (the horse)." Evidently, Time commented, "el maximo lider was shaken."⁹

Newsweek suggested that the trial was a sign of

⁸"Caning the Students," Time, March 18, 1966, p. 54.

⁹Neither the New York Times nor the other two news magazines mentioned such a demonstration.

basic insecurity within the Cuban Government and cited several incidents in which Castro's guards had "nervously fired on innocent passers-by, apparently under the impression that they, too, were would-be assassins."¹⁰

Time and Newsweek published sardonic portrayals of Castro's purge of high-living government officials in late March and early April. "Fidel Castro has never been a swinger," the Time article said, citing his distaste for nightclubs, booze, fancy foods, and fast crowds.¹¹ "The Maximum Leader had nothing good to say about officials who attend diplomatic receptions where 'counter-revolutionary jokes' are told," it continued. "At such gatherings, huffed Fidel, obscene stories are a 'common occurrence.'"

The Newsweek article said Castro displayed the zeal of a father venting his office frustrations on the kids at home.¹² "As usual, of course, Fidel is convinced that sinister foreign influences lie behind his troubles," it commented.

Since December, 1965, special flights had transported more than 14,000 disaffected Cubans to Miami. Time noted April 1 that both governments had underestimated the Cubans' "desire to flee the bleak little Communist isle"; a

¹⁰"The Plot to Kill Castro," Newsweek, March 21, 1966, p. 50.

¹¹"A Puritan in Havana," Time, March 25, 1966, p. 31.

¹²"Good-by, Cha-Cha-Cha," Newsweek, April 4, 1966, p. 55.

State Department official was said to have recently told Congress that Cuban refugees in the U.S. had applied for the evacuation of 900,000 relatives--one-seventh of the Cuban population.¹³ One recent arrival was quoted as saying that everyone in Cuba was bitter about the lack of food.

The following week, Time maintained that the airlift could handle only a "trickle" of those who would leave Cuba, and those who didn't qualify occasionally attempted to reach Florida by other means. An unsuccessful hijacking was said to have ended in the escape of the hijacker, but not before he had killed the pilot for refusing to fly to Miami.¹⁴

On April 22, the magazine said a "network of island-wide spies" had helped capture the accused hijacker and murderer.¹⁵ Because he was harbored by two friars in a Havana church, Time continued, Castro found an excuse to discredit what little remains of religion in Cuba." After 15 alleged accomplices were apprehended, Castro was said to have blamed the incident on "'Yankee imperialist policy that constantly stimulates and pays deserters.'" The article noted that "many Cubans" believed the incident would provoke

¹³"The Freedom Flood," Time, April 1, 1966, pp. 34, 36. Time failed to distinguish between Cubans who desired to leave and those whose U.S. relatives thought they might wish to do so.

¹⁴"Do-It-Yourself Airlift," ibid., April 8, 1966, p. 36.

¹⁵"A Captive in Church," ibid., April 22, 1966, pp. 34-35.

a new anti-church campaign.

Cuba's economic troubles--augmented by a relatively paltry sugar harvest and low sugar prices on the world market--were described in an April 15 Time article.¹⁶ One million Cubans--including Castro and his Cabinet--were said to have been diverted to the cane fields, nearly paralyzing every government agency and private business.

On April 25, U.S. News & World Report published a feature article that compressed into two pages the adversities Time and Newsweek had delineated earlier.¹⁷ The prologue read:

Fidel Castro's Cuba is now skidding along a downhill path that has led to the end for many other pro-Communist dictators.

Nothing is working out for the bearded revolutionary. His economy is in trouble, people are grumbling, and there is dissension in the military.

Castro's days may not be numbered yet, but the future looks increasingly bleak.

Drawing on the comments of unidentified "U.S. authorities on Cuba," the article said the "worsening mess in Red Cuba holds the seeds of destruction for Fidel Castro's regime." U.S. News said five general conditions that allegedly had caused the recent downfalls of Nkrumah in Ghana, Sukarno in Indonesia, and Ben Bella in Algeria existed in Cuba to an increasingly great degree. The assassination attempt, sugar adversities, the rift with

¹⁶"Sugar Blues," Time, April 15, 1966, pp. 38, 40.

¹⁷"Cuba Goes from Bad to Worse--How Long Can Castro Last?" U.S. News & World Report, April 25, 1966, pp. 56-57.

China, the government purge of "immoral" officials, and a cut in the food allowance were said to have underscored Cuba's internal crisis. Productivity of Cuban workers was allegedly decreasing, a consequence of the rapidly waning enthusiasm for Castro's revolution.

U.S. News concluded: "Whatever is in the cards, U.S. officials with intimate knowledge of what is happening in Cuba agree on this central point: All signs point to deeper and deeper trouble for Castro."

The following week, U.S. News impugned Castro's mental stability, maintaining that "Castro, in a clinical sense, is not fully sane." A long study by top U.S. analysts was said to have revealed that:

More and more, Castro's conduct is reminiscent of the last days of another dictator--Adolf Hitler. Castro is catalogued as a "wrecker"--not a builder. Castro is totally incapable of delegating authority. It is at this point that evidence of mental instability is seen.

. . . To satisfy his ego, Castro must have the adulation of crowds. He needs adulation as an addict needs drugs.

When depressed, Castro strikes blindly at those closest to him.¹⁸

¹⁸"Inside Look at Castro and Today's Cuba," U.S. News & World Report, May 2, 1966, p. 16. Six years earlier, editorials in some large U.S. newspapers had similarly disparaged the Cuban Prime Minister. Michael J. Francis (pp. 262-63) delineates some examples:

"The Detroit News, in an editorial entitled 'The Guy Seems to be Nuts,' wrote that Castro appeared to be a 'paranoiac, a megalomaniac, or both.' . . . The Philadelphia Inquirer called for a 'restoration of sanity to Cuba.' . . . The Miami Herald said that Fidel Castro is 'as balmy as the trade winds.' . . . The Detroit News called Castro a 'loony.'"

Dr. John Attowe, a University of Montana clinical psychologist, termed such behavior "paranoid projection"--overreaction to a potentially threatening situation or person.

After detailing Cuba's economic and political adversities--as it had done the previous week--U.S. News discussed Cuba's future:

The outlook now, according to these analysts: more purges, more disaffection in the military, more hardships for the Cuban people as a mentally disturbed dictator mismanages his unhappy island.

A June 6 Newsweek article briefly mentioned a Guantánamo shooting incident that threatened the six-month-old airlift of Cuban refugees. The Pentagon said a Cuban soldier fatally wounded by a U.S. guard had been inside the Navy's perimeter fence, while the Cubans accused the U.S. of murdering him in his own dugout.¹⁹

After Cuba had suspended the flights for four days, they were suddenly resumed, Newsweek said.

Time said an abortive landing near Havana by six anti-Castro refugees was designed to supply arms and men for the underground.²⁰ The exiles were killed or captured after confronting "one of Cuba's biggest states of alert since the Bay of Pigs," an alert that the magazine described as part of a new Castro effort to cook up a crisis with the U.S.

¹⁹"The Door Stays Open," Newsweek, June 6, 1966, p. 55. A May 29 New York Times article maintained that the Defense Department was uncertain whether or not the soldier was shot while still on U.S. territory (Max Frankel, "U.S. Warns Cuba on Guantánamo," New York Times, May 29, 1966, p. 1).

²⁰"Recipe for Crisis," Time, June 10, 1966, p. 47. Although the article quoted Castro's accusation that the U.S. planned an invasion of Cuba, it did not speculate on the exiles' point of departure. The New York Times noted Castro's assertion that they left from the Florida Keys.

Time explained Castro's "scare-talk" of invasion as "his way of taking Cuban minds off the island's economy, which slides deeper into chaos and ruin each week--despite one million dollars a day in Soviet aid." Conditions in Cuba were said to have been "so desperate" that one-seventh of the Cuban population was on the waiting list for the U.S. airlift.

Concerning Castro's alleged invasion preparations, U.S. News said he seemed almost as jittery as at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion attempt in 1961.²¹ The U.S. was said to have ridiculed Cuban charges that an invasion was impending. Most Americans, U.S. News continued, probably were more bemused than anything else by his "latest antics." The article attributed Castro's actions to a need to "divert attention from the failures of his regime and the increasing popular dissatisfaction in Cuba."

Despite Time's previous hostile attitude toward every manifestation of Cuban communism, a June 24 article chastised the U.S. Government and exile groups for their alleged harassment of Cuban athletes at the Central American and Caribbean Games held in Puerto Rico.²² After bridging several obstacles designed to keep it from participating, Time said, the Cuban team's reception was "warm indeed." The article continued:

²¹"Why Castro is Acting So Jittery," U.S. News & World Report, June 13, 1966, p. 20.

²²"Spooks Among Spikes," Time, June 24, 1966, p. 42.

Cops swarmed all over them. Shock squads of exiles followed them everywhere, trying to persuade them to defect. . . .

All in all, the U.S. spooks outnumbered the Cuban spies two to one.

On the same page, Time ridiculed the group of Washington-based observers of Castro--"Castrologists"--who regularly supplied such outlets as U.S. News & World Report with much of their information concerning Cuba.²³ "On the basis of their past record their chief tool seems to be stargazing," the article observed. Time explained that Castrologists had recently pronounced Castro's future dim because he "had not been acting as they thought he should be acting." The seemingly rejuvenated position of President Dorticós was stirring conjecture that Castro was ill or undergoing shock treatments, Time reported. Other sources were said to have claimed that Moscow had replaced him with a "less mercurial leader such as Dorticós." The article ended with the inconclusive observation that only the astrologists would know which rumor, if any, was accurate.

U.S. News & World Report interpreted the rumors more seriously:

Speculation on Castro's fall--either accomplished or on the way--centered on two main lines:

First, he may have suffered a mental breakdown.

Second, and considered more likely, is that Russia decided to dump him.²⁴

²³"Semper Fidelis," Time, June 24, 1966, p. 42.

²⁴"Fidel Castro: Did He Fall . . . Or Was He Pushed?" U.S. News & World Report, June 27, 1966, p. 6.

"Diplomatic reports" were said to have proclaimed that he already had been stripped of power in Cuba. "The country is worse off now than it ever was," U.S. News concluded.

Two weeks later, the magazine reported that "something strange is going on in Fidel Castro's Cuba. . . . Exactly what has happened remains a mystery to all non-Russian diplomats on the island. . . ." ²⁵ Although Castro had appeared in public recently, there was considerable speculation--but few facts--concerning his supposedly lessened role in government affairs, U.S. News explained.

In a discussion of Castro's personal power, however, the article noted his large following among young and black Cubans: "Castro is credited with winning the youth by stressing education, and winning the Negroes by removing social barriers."

Concerning the Cuban economy, U.S. News & World Report restated its contention that seven years of revolutionary rule had paralyzed industry and agriculture, without much hope of recovery.

An August 8 U.S. News dispatch from Brazzaville, Congo Republic, recounted a Castro "victory"--400 Cuban military advisers were said to have been entrenched in the former French colony. ²⁶ They were establishing a "Cuban-

²⁵"The Big Mystery in Castro's Cuba," U.S. News & World Report, July 11, 1966, pp. 37-38.

²⁶"Castro Gets a 'Satellite'--In Africa," ibid., August 8, 1966, p. 44.

style militia," the article charged, heavily indoctrinated with Communist propaganda. U.S. News documented the extent of the Cuban penetration of the Congo with a description of an attempted mutiny by jealous Regular Army officers:

The Cubans protected the officials from the mutineers, and even sent a detachment of Castroites to seize the city's radio station and deny it to anti-government propagandists.

Apparently this show of Cuban force was enough to break up the mutiny without a fight.

U.S. News concluded: "Fidel Castro, at long last, has managed to export a part of his revolution."

A September 2 Time article accused the Cuban Government of impeding a proposal to allow the 800 American citizens then in Cuba to return to the U.S. Foreign Minister Raúl Roa had recently announced that the Americans could depart only after all the Cubans who had a right to leave had done so, the article said.²⁷ Time concluded:

Most of those who have that right are the lame, the aged, and the non-productive, whom Castro doesn't want anyway. Since the U.S.-sponsored Havana-to-Miami shuttle flights take out only 850 a week of the 200,000 to 300,000 Cubans who want to get out, the stranded Americans might have to wait four to six years--unless Fidel dreams up something new that he can bargain them for.

²⁷"Castro's Pawns," Time, September 2, 1966, p. 32. The Time article did not mention Roa's charge that U.S. news agencies had waged a "malicious campaign" against Cuba by misrepresenting his government's position concerning the airlift proposal ("U.S. Families Face Wait to Quit Cuba," New York Times, August 22, 1966, p. 19). In addition, Time--which on June 10 had estimated that one million Cubans were willing to be airlifted to Miami--adjusted the figure to match that of an August 21 Associated Press dispatch--200,000 to 300,000.

A brief U.S. News article quoted Cuban refugee reports that Cuban troops were fighting with the North Vietnamese in Indochina. Although the article admitted that U.S. officials said they could not confirm such reports, it cited "speculation that Moscow is the connecting station for Cubans en route to serve in other countries. Word now filters out of Cuba," it continued, "that several families have been notified that their kin have died abroad in 'accidents.'"²⁸

On November 14, U.S. News & World Report contradicted such rumors in an account of a visit to Hanoi by Raúl Castro and President Dorticós. They were said to have repeated Cuba's "standing offer" to send volunteers to fight with the North Vietnamese, thus implying that no such agreement had been previously made.²⁹

Elsewhere in the issue, a report from Caracas, Venezuela, announced that "Fidel Castro's campaign to foment Communist-style 'wars of national liberation' throughout Latin America is backfiring badly."³⁰ Guerrillas were said to have been a worrisome threat only in Guatemala, as the U.S. "has played a vital role in helping Latin American governments combat Castro Communist guerrillas."

²⁸"Are Cuban Troops Fighting in Vietnam?" U.S. News & World Report, September 19, 1966, p. 6.

²⁹"Now, a Pitch to Hanoi from the Castro Team," ibid., November 14, 1966, p. 28.

³⁰"One War that the Communists are Losing," ibid., pp. 86-88.

In Mexico, a third November 14 U.S. News article said, officials investigating a "series of subversive developments" allegedly discovered more and more evidence leading to the door of the Cuban Embassy.³¹ The account, however, cited only the capture of one Cuban diplomat carrying \$6,000 in U.S. currency as he entered an arms-smuggling hideout.

Fidel Castro was a featured personality in the "People" section of Time's November 11 issue.³² While perusing a Cuban bookshop, Castro was said to have "worked up the wrath of Achilles and fumed, 'There's not a single book here on vocational improvement.'"

A lengthy U.S. News & World Report survey of "Communism: World's Greatest Failure" cited Cuba--the only addition made to the "Soviet empire" in the previous 12 years--as a foremost example.³³ During the late 1950's, it said, Castro was "helped along by Americans who took him for a 'liberal' and assumed that his rule would be better than that of the dictator then in charge of Cuba." By 1966, Cuba was said to have become a "poorhouse" despite massive Soviet aid:

Store shelves in Havana are almost barren and people queue up to buy meager rations--three pounds

³¹"Reds Heating Up Mexico, U.S. News & World Report, November 14, 1966, p. 58.

³²"People," Time, November 11, 1966, p. 44.

³³"Communism: World's Greatest Failure," U.S. News & World Report, December 5, 1966, pp. 59-63.

of rice and three pounds of meat per person each month, for example. . . .

A recent visitor to Cuba wrote this in the Neue Zürcher Zeitung, a Swiss newspaper.

"While in Eastern Europe Communism prevented . . . cities from recovering, in Cuba it has within a few years completely run down one of the most flourishing capitals of all Latin American countries. . . . It is not wealth but rather poverty that has been distributed and equalized."

This observer, pointing out that 50,000 Cubans are political prisoners of the Communists, estimated that support for Castro probably comes from no more than half the population. And about 30,000 Cubans have fled to the U.S. to escape Castro's "better life."

Time estimated that 700,000 Cubans had applied to leave Cuba via the U.S. airlift, in a brief article marking its first anniversary. More than 45,000 Cubans--of which only 5 per cent required welfare assistance once in the U.S.--had been transported to Miami during the period, it said.³⁴

An undocumented December 26 Newsweek article blamed "the most virulent Castro Communists" for a recent outbreak of violence in Venezuela.³⁵ Although the assassins of a Venezuelan army major escaped, Newsweek said "no one doubted their identity." The article quoted President Raúl Leoni as saying: "'My government is determined to eliminate the treacherous conspiracy of those who are trying to carry out their adventurous plans with Fidel Castro.'"

U.S. News & World Report noted that Venezuela had long been Castro's prime target for subversion, as Castro arms and trained agents had been supporting local communists

³⁴"Airlift Anniversary," Time, December 9, 1966, p. 44.

³⁵"Rooting Out the Rebels," Newsweek, December 26, 1966, pp. 36-37.

at least since 1961. A terrorist leader killed recently by army troops was said to have been trained in subversive tactics in Cuba.³⁶

Summary

During 1966, readers of the weekly news magazines were told considerably less about Cuba than they were during the crisis-plagued years of 1959 and 1961. Five years after the U.S. and Cuba severed diplomatic relations, the sense of urgent confrontation between the two nations, previously reflected on the pages of the news magazines, was tempered, if not finally extinguished.

U.S. News & World Report.--Paradoxically, the news magazine that had been most antagonistic toward Castro's rule of Cuba since June, 1959, was the only one to mention a positive accomplishment of the revolution during 1966. Interspersed with the harsh condemnations of Castro and his island nation, which U.S. News readers had come to expect, was the revelation that a large segment of the Cuban population--young Cubans and black Cubans of all ages--owed their allegiance to Castro because his reforms benefited them most strongly. Without elaborating further on this achievement of the Cuban revolution, the July 11 article said Castro had stressed education while removing social

³⁶"Castro Terrorists on the Move Again," U.S. News & World Report, December 26, 1966, p. 8.

restrictions on black Cubans.

A May 2 article, however, reached the depths of irrationality in its portrayal of Castro as a mentally unbalanced despot who was incapable of mastering his own mind, much less the responsibilities of governing a nation of eight million inhabitants.

While the magazine apparently had abandoned the cause it had freely espoused after the 1961 refugee invasion fiasco--direct U.S. invasion of Cuba--U.S. News repeatedly pronounced each economic and political setback as an added impetus to the inevitable destruction of the Cuban Government as it was then constituted.

Time--Only occasionally resorting to sarcastic depictions of those it disliked, Time was content during 1966 to delineate each Cuban adversity as it appeared. In February, the magazine alleged that Castro's differences with the People's Republic of China made him subservient to the whims of Moscow. Time's account of the "show trial" of a former student leader accused of plotting Castro's assassination was compiled solely from exile sources and included a graphic description of a University of Havana anti-Castro demonstration that apparently never occurred.

After deriding the Prime Minister's purge of government officials accused of immoral activities, Time described his efforts to "cook up a crisis with the U.S." by preparing for a landing of refugees. Although a small landing did

occur in mid-March, and an unidentified aircraft was to bomb a chemical plant near Havana in November,³⁷ the magazine dismissed Cuba's mobilization as a means of distracting Cubans from their economic problems.

In three separate articles, Time sought to capitalize on the U.S.-sponsored airlift of Cuban refugees. Variouslly estimating the number of disaffected Cubans at 200,000 to a million, the magazine reiterated its contention that a large proportion of Cubans--up to one-seventh of the population--was eagerly awaiting to depart their "bleak little island."

Newsweek.--As in previous years, Newsweek during 1966 published relatively few articles concerning Cuba but was uncharacteristically hostile toward the Cuban revolution, largely duplicating the views of its two competitors. Castro's denunciation of China was said to have been the result of subtle and effective manipulation by Moscow, while the trial of his potential assassin allegedly reflected the basic insecurity of the Cuban Government.

Concerning the government shake-up, an April 4 article compared Castro's actions to a father venting his office frustrations on the kids at home and ridiculed his contention that foreign influences were responsible for the transgressions of government officials.

³⁷"Plane 'From North' Raided Chemical Plant, Cuba Says," New York Times, November 15, 1966, p. 13. None of the weekly news magazines mentioned such an incident.

After briefly noting the Guantánamo shooting incident and the airlift, Newsweek said vaguely that "no one doubted" the identity of the assassins of a Venezuelan army major, but cited only President Leoni's accusation that they were Castro communists.

What the weekly news magazines chose to delete from their pages in 1966 was nearly as significant as what was published. At least three consequential events were not mentioned in U.S. News, Time, or Newsweek:

•On May 28, China and Cuba signed a trade agreement that eased tensions between the two nations.³⁸

•In early September Cuba announced an ambitious plan to upgrade its sugar production capacity. Nine European nations, including Great Britain, France, and Spain, were to supply capital.³⁹

•The following month, Hurricane Inez inflicted considerable damage on the island and drowned 44 of 46 Cubans attempting to reach Florida in a small boat. Castro accused the U.S. of encouraging such escape attempts.⁴⁰

³⁸"Cuba," Encyclopaedia Britannica Book of the Year, 1967, p. 250.

³⁹"Cuba to Rebuild Sugar Industry," New York Times, September 6, 1966, p. 68.

⁴⁰"Forty-Four Lost in Hurricane," ibid., October 8, 1966, p. 1.

CHAPTER VI

1971: A SOVIET COLONY FACING DETERIORATION

Despite the activities of Alpha 66, a Miami-based Cuban refugee organization that attempted an invasion of Cuba in April, 1970, the island's internal affairs remained relatively stable between 1966 and 1971. Adverse economic conditions forced Castro to implement bread, sugar, and gasoline rationing, and the failure of the 1969-70 zafra to produce ten million tons of sugar portended protracted economic difficulties.

Castro's lukewarm support for the 1968 Soviet incursion into Czechoslovakia improved relations between the two nations after a period of coolness and the following year led to a trade agreement which provided Cuba with a 60 per cent increase in Russian assistance.

Citing Cuba's continuing threat to hemispheric stability, the Nixon Administration continued the Cuban policy of its predecessor and urged the Organization of American States to continue diplomatic and economic sanctions against the Castro regime. The October, 1970, election of Marxist President Salvador Allende in Chile presaged a threat to the policy of isolating Cuba, and Peru and Bolivia soon thereafter suggested a reevaluation of

the OAS position.

After having repeatedly predicted the collapse of the Cuban Government for nearly 12 years, U.S. News & World Report remained undeterred in 1971, as a January 18 article warned of impending economic catastrophe for Castro. Its prologue read:

Outlook for Castro's Cuba in 1971 is bleak. The economy has gone from bad to worse. Upshot: Moscow is getting a bigger role in running the island.¹

Two important factors were said to have indicated that 1971 would be the "toughest year yet" for Castro-- continuing economic failures and signs that the Soviet Union would try to abrogate some of his decision-making powers.

U.S. News cited the speculation of "one American analyst," who said a recent agreement with Russia for joint planning and organization of the Cuban economy "'sounds as though the Soviets are fed up with Castro's economic failures.'" The Cuban leader dispensed with his customary New Year's address to the nation, the article continued, but he told a private group of laborers that the Cuban effort to produce ten million tons of sugar the previous year would not bring better times in 1971, and even harder work and more discipline would be required.

A summary of Cuba's problems included the fact that 300,000 to 400,000 children under 16 had dropped out of school. U.S. News concluded: "This flight from school

¹"Stronger Voice Now for Russia in Cuba," U.S. News & World Report, January 18, 1971, p. 26.

is regarded as a blow to Castro, who has put much emphasis on education."² Other adversities cited in the article included rationing, arson and sabotage, disappointing sugar and tobacco harvests, and the growing number of train and truck accidents.

The article concluded with the observation that experts doubted that even Soviet direction could bring an early upturn in the Cuban economy.

Although entitled "Cuba: A New Understanding," a January 18 Newsweek article ignored the Cuban role, if any, in a U.S.-Soviet accord in which Russia agreed not to construct a submarine base in the Caribbean.³ Culminating a quiet three-month diplomatic drive, President Nixon's announcement of the unwritten "understanding" was said to have allayed fears that the Soviet Union was establishing a permanent base at Cienfuegos to service nuclear submarines. U.S. officials were "keeping their fingers crossed" that the Russians would accede to the agreement, Newsweek concluded.

²A detailed examination of Cuba's drop-out problem in the April 1971, issue of School & Society revealed a "very large erosion" of the number of students enrolled in the first grade compared with those surviving to the sixth grade during the early years of the revolution, but attributed this to the lack of trained teachers. The article observed that "it may be indicative of the gradual improvement in the teaching personnel that the first year losses have been declining since 1962" (Lowry Nelson, "The School Dropout Problem in Cuba," School & Society, April, 1971, pp. 234-35).

³"Cuba: A New Understanding," Newsweek, January 18, 1971, pp. 33-34.

Time said in a lengthy February 8 feature article that the government's longtime critics agreed that Cuba's economy was in serious trouble.⁴ A U.S. Government analyst was quoted as saying: "'Something is radically wrong--wrong priorities, wrong emphasis, wrong administration--in short, chaos.'" Some of the regime's sharpest criticism was said to have come from European leftists such as K. S. Karol and René Dumont, whose recent evaluations of the Cuban revolution reproved Castro's goals and procedures.

Cuba's emphasis on achieving a record sugar harvest during 1969-70 was said to have damaged the island's economy, as labor was diverted into the cane fields, causing electric power shortages, tobacco rationing, and shortages of consumer goods. Time then briefly noted the Venceremos ("We Shall Overcome") Brigade of radical American students who, with other visitors to Cuba, helped harvest sugar cane.

After listing such adversities as a flourishing black market, chronic absenteeism of some Cuban workers, and the "ominous" proliferation of army officers in civilian ministries, the article mentioned Castro's attempt to allow workers more power of decision through trade unions. Time concluded:

No one suggests that Castro will soon be overthrown. . . . What the critics do suggest is that socialist Cuba is in dire trouble. They argue that Castro's charisma has worn thin and that his reliance on Russian aid will not solve his problems. "One

⁴"The Mortgaged Island," Time, February 8, 1971, pp. 38, 41.

wonders," says Karol flatly, "if he has not mortgaged the entire future of the revolution."

A March 15 column by David Lawrence in U.S. News & World Report--the only weekly news magazine to follow events in Cuba between February and November--interpreted Cuba's reliance on Soviet military and economic aid as a threat to the U.S.⁵ Cuba was said to have enormous peacetime value to Russia as a friendly port where no other existed; naval facilities allegedly enabled the Russians to interfere with shipping through the Panama Canal and out of the mouth of the Mississippi River.

Despite President Nixon's January 5 announcement that an understanding had been reached prohibiting Soviet submarine bases in the Caribbean, Lawrence cautioned that such a base would violate the Monroe Doctrine, which "the American people have long supported." Polaris-type submarines "could annihilate a substantial part of the American population from coast to coast" from Cuban waters, he warned.

The column said the Cuban Government was weak and plagued with unfortunate economic conditions which could bring on internal revolution. "For the present," Lawrence concluded, "the outlook for an independent Cuba is not bright. It has become one of the colonies of the Soviet Union, bought by Russian money."

On April 26, U.S. News published excerpts from a recent address by CIA Director Richard Helms to the American

⁵David Lawrence, "Have the Russians Bought Cuba?" U.S. News & World Report, March 15, 1971, p. 100.

Society of Newspaper Editors.⁶ Helms cited the 1962 missile crisis as an example of the CIA "serving the policy maker," and disclosed that a number of "well-placed and courageous Russians" had provided U.S. intelligence with invaluable information on Soviet missile systems. Helms concluded:

"The nation must, to a degree, take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to serving the U.S. Government. I can assure you that we are, but I am precluded from demonstrating it to the public."

U.S. News & World Report lauded the 650,000 Cuban refugees living in the U.S. as "capable, hard-working people who are making major contributions to American life," in a May 31 article.⁷ Photographs of Cubans who had prospered in their adopted homeland accompanied the article, which pointedly noted that few able-bodied Cubans were on welfare.

A "lack of rapport" between Cubans and Mexican-Americans in the Los Angeles area was said to have been caused by the leftward-leaning politics of some "militant" Mexican-Americans. "Cuban refugees aren't buying anything that smacks of Communism," U.S. News commented. "It's hard to find a Cuban with a Castro-type beard."

Reiterating its contention that Cuba had become a "Soviet colony," the magazine noted August 23 that Russian presence had become all-embracing in everything from oil

⁶"Spying and a Free Society--CIA Director Speaks Out," U.S. News & World Report, April 26, 1971, pp. 84-86.

⁷"Flight from Cuba--Castro's Loss is U.S. Gain," ibid., May 31, 1971, pp. 74-77.

exploration to farming.⁸ "Still, observers find Cuba falling behind," U.S. News said.

After listing in detail Cuba's specific economic and political problems and noting that the Castro regime had been a "total failure in running the government," the article briefly summarized the accomplishments of the 12-year-old Cuban revolution:

The improved status of the peasantry is one positive result of Castro's revolution that impresses most observers traveling around Cuba. Says one expert:

"Farm workers are by far the greatest beneficiaries of the revolution which expropriated the lands of their former masters and brought them central planning."

Health conditions in the rural areas are reported to have improved greatly; educational opportunities have more than doubled and old-age pensions have been raised substantially. But even the peasants are not too happy, as indicated by their low productivity.

The article concluded by observing that Cuba's attempt to export revolution had been "a flop," and that the Russians had exhorted Castro to concentrate on Cuban problems rather than Latin American revolution.

A September 13 U.S. News article said "some veteran diplomats" believed that Castro's decision to terminate the six-year-old airlift, which had brought 245,000 Cubans to the U.S., might have been forced by Moscow. The article explained: "Economically, Cuba is a continuing drain on Russia. Soviet leaders, knowing that closing borders was an economic boon to East Germany, reason that it might work for Cuba."

⁸"Russia Tightens Grip on Castro," U.S. News & World Report, August 23, 1971, pp. 34-35.

American experts, however, were said to have cited the severe skilled labor shortage as Castro's motivation for ending the flights.

Previously, U.S. News said, Castro had refused to take further applications for airlift flights and had disallowed further refugee departures on commercial flights to Spain and Mexico.⁹

A U.S. News "Worldgram" item the following month termed the alleged Russian attempt to construct a submarine base at Cienfuegos "the Cuban missile crisis of 1970"; it was cited as one reason the U.S. would not reconcile its differences with Castro in the near future. Another was Cuba's alleged continuing subversion in the hemisphere, U.S. News said.¹⁰

⁹"Why Castro is Halting the Airlift," U.S. News & World Report, September 13, 1971, p. 91. A New York Times account of Castro's action noted that many Americans had urged an end to the airlift operation because of its high cost and because the steady influx of Cubans was creating social and economic problems in the Miami area. The article also said Cubans who wished to leave Cuba could still do so on commercial flights to Spain and Mexico (Tad Szulc, "Cuba is Halting Refugee Airlift to Miami," New York Times, September 1, 1971, p. 10).

¹⁰"Worldgram," ibid., October 4, 1971, p. 62. A July, 1970, New York Times analysis of Castro's influence in Latin America disclosed that he had previously discouraged many of the militants who would have followed the Cuban example. The article continued: "It has been a long time since any Latin American government captured or even identified any Cubans working directly with local guerrilla organizations. Havana seems to have stopped sending men and guns since the death of Che Guevara in Bolivia in 1967" (Malcolm W. Browne, "To Some Latin Revolutionaries it is Marxism, Si! Castro, No!" New York Times, July 26, 1970, p. 1).

On November 8, U.S. News and Newsweek published articles concerning separate incidents relating to Cuba. U.S. News viewed Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin's recent enthusiastic welcome in Havana as a "carnival effort to paper over this harsh reality: "The Castro-Kremlin partnership is far from a success story."¹¹ The article portrayed Cuba as "perhaps the sickest Communist economy in the world"; Castro was said to have "all but wrecked the once-prosperous island that was an investment and vacation haven for North Americans."

After noting evidence of Moscow's "tightening grip" on Cuban affairs, U.S. News admitted that the "impetuous" Castro quite often strayed from the Communist party line as staked out by the Kremlin.

Newsweek discussed the U.S. refusal to allow 22 Cubans--who had landed in New Orleans after having been denied visas--to attend a conference of sugar cane technologists in that city.¹² While the State Department ordered them detained at a hotel and initiated hearings to expel them for illegal entry, Newsweek explained, the general chairman of the sponsoring organization said the Cubans were welcome to attend the conference. At week's end the unexpected visitors were preparing to return to Cuba amid

¹¹"Kosygin in Cuba: A Visit with a High-Priced Ally," U.S. News & World Report, November 8, 1971, p. 60.

¹²"Sugar Daddies," Newsweek, November 8, 1971, pp. 54, 57.

reports each government assumed the other would pay their hotel bill, Newsweek said.

Two weeks later, both Newsweek and U.S. News reported Castro's salient arrival in Socialist Chile. Newsweek said his visit marked the beginning of the end of Cuba's isolation in Latin America.¹³ Castro was said to have encountered frequent mob scenes as he toured Chile, and he endorsed Marxist President Salvador Allende despite the Chilean leader's espousal of electoral rather than revolutionary means to achieve Marxism. Newsweek concluded by commenting:

Castro's return to South America to visit a fellow Marxist leader revealed how dramatically things have changed in the Western Hemisphere over the past decade. As one Latin American diplomat expressed it: "If nothing else, the Castro trip shows that Cuba is an integral part of Latin America. And the rest of us in the hemisphere are just going to have to get used to the idea."

U.S. News & World Report warned that Castro's visit to Chile had a "firm purpose: to try to force an end to the hemisphere's diplomatic and commercial isolation of Communist Cuba."¹⁴ Politically valuable to both leaders, his trip was said to have spawned conjecture that some Latin American countries were considering re-establishing diplomatic and economic ties with Cuba.

As he "turned on the charm that at one time made

¹³"An End to Isolation," Newsweek, November 22, 1971, p. 61.

¹⁴"Castro's Big Drive to Win Friends," U.S. News & World Report, November 22, 1971, p. 39.

him so appealing to Latin Americans," Castro was warmly cheered--but sometimes booed--by the Chilean crowds, U.S. News said. The article concluded by noting that Castro's ideas hadn't changed: "What he still really wants, Castro says, is to 'liberate' South America."

Time's first article concerning Cuba in nearly ten months construed the Castro-Allende meeting as a victory for Moscow as well as Havana, as a "massive [Latin American] shift toward Cuba could force the U.S. to reconsider its decade-old policy of isolating Castro."¹⁵

After citing his itinerary, Time described Castro's speech at a Chilean mine: "Obviously well-coached about the problems that Allende's Government is having with falling production, rising absenteeism, and soaring wage demands with Chile's newly nationalized mines, Castro vigorously railed against troublemaking 'demagogues' and 'reactionaries.'"

The Cuban revolutionary's endorsement of Allende's brand of Marxism led Time to speculate whether the Cuban variety of violent revolution was passé.

The following week, a brief Newsweek commentary on a full page of color photographs of Castro enjoying various athletic activities in Chile likened him to the main attraction of a traveling theater troupe:

¹⁵"Fidel the Silent," Time, November 29, 1971, pp. 40-41.

The Fidel Castro road show entered the second week of its three-week Chilean tour with the star in as dazzling form as ever. There was Fidel haranguing the multitudes in a voice made hoarse by speechifying, Fidel sipping Coke and gulping wine from a cowhorn, Fidel the athlete playing basketball with his bodyguards, and Fidel the yachtsman cooling his feet in the sea. The verdict of his Chilean hosts: "Simpatico."¹⁶

Summary

The most significant news event of 1971 concerning Cuba was Castro's visit to Socialist Chile during November. While Time and Newsweek showed a pronounced disinterest in Cuban affairs before then, U.S. News & World Report published a steady stream of articles which covered both general trends and specific events inside Cuba.

U.S. News & World Report.--Citing deep-seated economic shortcomings and growing Soviet influence over Cuban internal affairs, U.S. News prophesied in January that 1971 would be "the toughest year yet" for the Castro regime. The article included a negative assessment of the drop-out problem among young Cuban students, but an August 23 U.S. News survey of conditions in Cuba praised the revolution for greatly increasing educational opportunities.

David Lawrence, the magazine's editor, chastised the Castro Government for allowing the Soviet Union to encroach upon Cuban independence, but U.S. News construed

¹⁶"On the Road," Newsweek, November 29, 1971, p. 40.

the comparable U.S. control of the economy of pre-revolutionary Cuba more positively--a subsequent article said Castro had "all but wrecked the once-prosperous island that was an investment and vacation haven for North Americans."

Although the Defense Department never had officially confirmed that a Russian submarine base was being constructed on Cuba's southern shore and President Nixon had previously announced a U.S.-Soviet agreement prohibiting such a base, Lawrence reacted as if it were a reality. His March 15 column warned that submarines equipped with nuclear weapons "could annihilate a substantial part of the American population from coast to coast" if allowed to operate in the Caribbean area. A later article conceded the danger had passed, but expansively termed the events concerning the alleged base "the missile crisis of 1970."

Toward the end of its August 23 article, U.S. News engaged in a propitious evaluation of social conditions in revolutionary Cuba, noting the "improved status of the peasantry," advances in rural health conditions and expanded educational opportunities. The overall tone of the article, however, was negative.

U.S. News interpreted the Cuba-Chile rapprochement as a sinister attempt to "force an end to the hemisphere's diplomatic and commercial isolation of Communist Cuba."

Time.--The first of two 1971 Time articles concerning Cuba displayed an uncharacteristic feature style,

exploring in detail the island's economic woes. While a U.S. Government analyst and European leftists censured Castro's priorities and procedures, it said, shortages of essential food items were widespread.

Concerning Castro's visit to Chile, Time prophesied the failure of the U.S. policy of isolation if a massive Latin American shift toward Castro were to follow.

Newsweek.--In contrast to the coverage of its two competitors, Newsweek published in 1971 four articles delineating specific events relating to Cuba rather than lengthy assessments of the Cuban economy or Castro's political stature. A January 18 article discussed the U.S.-Soviet understanding which banned submarine bases from the Caribbean area, noting that U.S. officials were wary of the Russian pledge.

On November 8, the magazine recounted the confusing events surrounding the attempt by 22 Cubans to attend a sugar cane technology conference in New Orleans. State Department officials who initiated expulsion procedures were depicted as unnecessarily staunch defenders of official U.S. policy.

Newsweek said November 22 that Castro's journey to Chile heralded the end of Cuba's isolation from her Latin American neighbors, and the following week compared his tour to that of a "road show."

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report often differed markedly in their interpretations of events in Cuba, but they shared a tendency to publish opinion disguised as fact and often selected news events and sources of information within a circumscribed ideological framework.

Time has been accused of bias and arrogance since its inception,¹ but each magazine displayed those traits to some degree, as they consistently stressed negative political and economic conditions in Cuba and generally ignored the many positive social achievements of the revolution. Only Newsweek consistently showed an interest in the government's social programs and generally avoided the irascible anti-Castro expressions of Time and U.S. News.

Rarely identifying the writer or his sources of information, the news magazines made frequently arrogant and misleading prophecies and drew arrogant and misleading conclusions. The reader was thus often unable to discern the

¹The biographer of Time co-founder and editor Henry Luce maintains, for example, that he "acted as if Time Inc. were an extension of the State Department, or vice versa." In addition, Luce was said to have "committed Time Inc. to the 'dominant aim and purpose' of defeating Communism throughout the world" in 1961 (John Kobler, Luce: His Time, Life, and Fortune / Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968/, pp. 6-8).

boundary between fact and unfounded conjecture, or truth and uninformed opinion.

The paternalism with which the United States viewed Cuba until 1959 seems to have had a significant bearing on the weekly news magazines' orientation. Secure in the belief that the powerful and long-established U.S. economic and political influence in Cuba had benefited both nations, the State Department and American businessmen in Cuba confidently assumed U.S. investments would continue to be held sacred--as they had been since the nineteenth century--when Fidel Castro became Prime Minister in 1959.

The news magazines were similarly optimistic; after January 1, 1959, Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report repeatedly stressed the importance of continuing the mutually dependent relationship between the two nations. Ignoring Castro's oft-repeated anti-U.S. sentiments, they assumed he would dutifully adhere to the policies of his predecessors, for the sake of the Cuban people as well as U.S. commercial enterprises.

Immediately after the revolution succeeded, Time noted that the Prime Minister "goes on the assumption that Cuba must get along with the U.S." (January 12, 1959); U.S. News observed that he "will not differ greatly from Batista, so far as the U.S. is concerned" (January 9, 1959); and Newsweek maintained that the "anger of the . . . young rebel leader against the U.S. seems to have already subsided;

he knows the two countries need each other" (January 19, 1959).

Jolted by the resolutely independent nature of the Cuban revolution, which manifested itself almost immediately, Time and U.S. News revealed their primary concern--maintenance of the status quo regarding U.S. economic and political influence in Cuba. As Castro moved steadily toward the Soviet Union and away from Cuba's traditional benefactor, the magazines' paternalism evolved into arrogance. In May, 1959, U.S. News said the U.S. had no choice but "to try to orient /Castro/ in the correct direction," and by 1961 unsigned news stories in both magazines advocated direct U.S. action to facilitate his overthrow after a group of U.S.-trained and -supplied exiles had failed to do so.

Two conspicuous manifestations of arrogance by the weekly news magazines were their penchant for prophesying future developments in Cuba and their factual errors, which were often advanced as if they were undeniably accurate.

Prophecies

Each magazine forecast events to some degree, but only U.S. News & World Report consistently warped the facts at its disposal into an ideological mold, displaying an undisguised zeal to pronounce last rites over the Castro regime. As if to prove its January 23, 1959, contention that "Castro . . . cannot survive without U.S. markets and U.S. tourists," the magazine insisted from the time

he declared his political and economic independence from the United States that the Cuban Government was in danger of imminent collapse:

• "In short, the Cuban public's honeymoon was coming to an end" (May 11, 1959).

• "Odds appear that Castro will at least begin to sink during the year ahead" (January 2, 1961).

• "Cuba is skidding along a downhill path that has led to the end for many other pro-Communist dictators. . . . Castro's days may not be numbered yet, but the future looks increasingly bleak" (April 25, 1966).

• "The outlook for Castro's Cuba in 1971 is bleak. The economy has gone from bad to worse" (January 18, 1971).

The prophecies advanced by Newsweek and Time were often more accurate. Newsweek articles published during 1959 and 1961 included the following predictions:

• The agrarian reform law was construed as a threat to Cuba as well as the United States: "If large farms are split up, it may mean the end of Cuba as an efficient producer" (June 1, 1959).

• After the break in diplomatic relations, Newsweek questioned whether Cuba would survive as an economic entity, and quoted "expert observers" who were convinced that Cuba's reliance on the Soviet Union for imports wouldn't work (January 16, 1961).

• Two weeks later, Newsweek predicted eventual

counterrevolution, but said Castro would rule Cuba "for many months" more (January 30, 1961).

•The week before the invasion attempt, Newsweek senior editor Harold Lavine maintained that the exiles knew Castro was "still strong enough to obliterate any invasion forces," and would thus wait weeks or months to launch an invasion (April 24, 1961).

•After the Playa Girón incident, the magazine correctly foresaw that a new invasion was unthinkable, and that the U.S. would concentrate on diplomacy to dislodge Castro (May 8, 1961).

Time's prophecies, generally pessimistic for revolutionary Cuba, included:

•An article which correctly forecast spreading disaffection with Castro among middle class Cubans (April 20, 1959).

•The statement that the agrarian reform law "may well scare off all U.S. capital and thereby slow Cuba's growth toward a diversified economy" (June 1, 1959).

•The speculation of some Cubans and Americans that an exile invasion would begin by mid-January. Two weeks later, however, Time said Castro's preparations for such an attack were a "mythical Yankee invasion scare" (January 13 and 27, 1961).

•The assertion that full-scale civil war was an increasing possibility (February 3, 1961).

•Rebel estimates that, in case of an invasion,

one-third of Castro's militia would fight, one-third would run, and one-third would turn their guns on Castro (April 21, 1961).

The observation that Castro was in dire trouble because of his reliance on Soviet economic aid (February 8, 1971).

Factual Errors

Each of the magazines published factual errors, few of which were subsequently corrected, detracting from their reliability; supposedly factual information in one magazine at times conflicted with that in another. Had Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report cited their sources of information rather than publishing rumor, speculation, and prejudiced opinion disguised as "the truth," however, they would have relieved themselves of responsibility for their inaccuracies. A few examples:

A Newsweek article claimed that Batista's army had killed nine rebels and captured the only woman in Castro's army (June 17, 1957), but Time said the following week that the rebels hadn't even been sighted (June 24, 1957).

Newsweek said Che Guevara was Cuba's "real boss" (January 16, 1961).

Newsweek's report the following month of a bloody battle between Castro forces and counterrevolutionary guerrillas (February 20, 1961) was contradicted by Time, which said the anti-Castro rebels were plagued by fatigue and

boredom (February 24, 1961).

•Concerning the Playa Girón invasion, U.S. News & World Report at first maintained that the exiles hadn't planned to overthrow the Castro Government, Castro was warned about the time and place of the attack, and the exiles were met by Russian-built MIG fighters (May 1, 1961). A subsequent U.S. News article contradicted each of these contentions without acknowledging its previous misstatements (May 15, 1961).

•Each magazine published the CIA's original cover story that Cuban Air Force defectors had been responsible for the bombings that preceded the exile invasion (Time, April 21, 1961; U.S. News, April 24, 1961; and Newsweek, April 24, 1961), but only Time subsequently corrected the erroneous information (April 28, 1961).

•Time published an unfounded speculation that Castro and Guevara had been hurt during the exile invasion (April 28, 1961).

•U.S. News said a Havana Communist solidarity conference had failed to reach any kind of consensus (January 17, 1966), but a subsequent article warned that Latin America and the U.S. were imperiled by its determination to subvert the hemisphere (January 31, 1966).

Techniques of Bias

In 1962, the Columbia Journalism Review asked 203 members of the Washington press corps which of ten magazines

they used most.² Time, U.S. News & World Report, and Newsweek, in that order, headed the list. When asked which of the three news magazines was most reliable and fair, however, Time was cited by only 9 correspondents, Newsweek by 75, and U.S. News by 66.

Time harbors no pretensions of objectivity. As Henry Luce once said: "I am a Protestant, a Republican, and a free enterpriser, which means I am biased in favor of God, Eisenhower, and the stockholders of Time Inc.--and if anyone who objects doesn't know this by now, why the hell are they still spending 35 cents for the magazine."³

In contrast, Newsweek and U.S. News & World Report publicly maintain that they are free of bias. During the late 1960's, Newsweek advertised itself as "the newsweekly that separates fact from opinion." An advertisement directed at college students elaborated on its philosophy of journalism:

"The columns devoted to news are as accurate, complete, and unbiased as editorial judgment can make them. And the opinion--whether written by regular columnists, or by editors and correspondents with individual views to express, or by critics of the Arts--is signed."⁴

²William L. Rivers, "The Correspondents After 25 Years," Columbia Journalism Review, I (Spring, 1962), 7-8. The magazines were Time, U.S. News & World Report, Newsweek, The Reporter, Government publications, Harper's, Business Week, The Economist, The New Republic, and Fortune.

³Cited by Sandy Goodman, "Can Newsweek Really Separate Fact from Opinion?" ibid., VII (Summer, 1968), 29.

⁴Ibid., p. 26.

Since its inception, U.S. News & World Report has asserted that its news pages are a distinct entity from the signed column of editor David Lawrence. A "Memo from the Publishers" in its first issue, dated January 16, 1948, stated:

In our combined magazine, we are not attempting to advocate any cause or argue the merits of any governmental policies of either the United States or other countries, but hope merely to present the news of what is going on so that intelligent people can make up their own minds on what the policies of their respective governments should be.

It will be our constant endeavor to present the news objectively. Instructions to the news staff [of the magazine's predecessor, U.S. News] have always been to report the facts without bias of any kind.

Since 1948, the following notation--or a variation thereof--has appeared with Lawrence's weekly column: "This page presents the opinion of the Editor. The news pages are written by other staff members independently of these editorial views."

Each magazine injected subjective value judgments to some extent into their unsigned "news" articles, but Time most often published value-laden adjectives, adverbs, and verbs of attribution to portray the Cuban revolution unfavorably. Newsweek published several articles containing subjective adjectives, as well as a misleading headline concerning an important issue, while U.S. News & World Report apparently chose material for publication and sources of information so as to reinforce a doctrinaire viewpoint.

Time

While generally ignoring the positive achievements of the revolution after a few brief explanations early in 1959, Time consistently reported news events in Cuba that portrayed Castro's revolution as a total failure, often employing a sardonic or demeaning tone. News selection, while not in itself a technique of bias, was one means by which Time emphasized the negative aspects of revolutionary Cuba. A few examples:

• Time criticized Castro's alleged threat to Cuban press freedom when two daily Havana newspapers closed (January 2, 1961), but overlooked President Kennedy's suggestion five months later of a "voluntary" form of prior restraint on U.S. news media, should the nation's security be endangered.

• Although the magazine stressed Cuba's rift with China during 1966, it did not mention a subsequent trade agreement between the two nations.

While failing to publish any accounts of Cuban social achievements after 1959, Time found room to disparage Castro whenever possible, as when he was said to have "worked up the wrath of Achilles and fumed, 'There's not a single book here on vocational improvement'" while perusing a Cuban bookshop (November 11, 1966).

• Reporting the relocation of Castro's headquarters, Time said his new office showed he was disorganized, and described a "typical" scene: cigar butts on the floor, a

woman travel writer asleep on a couch, a cassocked priest reading the funny papers (March 2, 1959).

Selective and unidentified citations.--Time articles often reached conclusions that supported the magazine's consistent position on an issue without having identified its sources. The reader can be easily swayed by the aura of omniscience fostered by such writing style. How is one to argue with the "facts" amassed by the small army of researchers, correspondents, and editors of such a revered American institution as Time Inc.?

Few would feel sufficiently versed in world affairs to dispute an unsigned "news" article which asserted that ". . . around Castro, who tolerantly likens them to Masons or Catholics, sprouts a band of Reds as luxurious as his beard" (April 20, 1959), and it would be difficult to refute an article which maintained that the Prime Minister of Cuba "boasts that he has 500,000 of Cuba's six million people spying for him" (June 23, 1961).

Content bias.--Time used various methods of content bias to add subjective value judgments to its ostensibly "fair" news articles.

Adjectives, when carefully chosen and placed, affect the reader's response to a particular person, thing, or event. Time, for example, regularly prefaced Castro's name with the word "bearded," conjuring up images of an unkempt beatnik. One example: "The bearded Castro evidently

had no qualms about getting in other people's hair" (June 16, 1961).

One of the heroes of the Cuban revolution was described January 12, 1959: "Che Guevara is an asthmatic, Argentine-born, Communist-lining surgeon /who turned the tide of the war with his bloody, late-December campaign in . . . Las Villas."

Various Time articles termed Castro a "tinhorn ruler" (January 14, 1966), said he had made a "grotesque side offer" in the tractors-for-prisoners negotiations (May 26, 1961), claimed he had threatened the entire world with economic aggression in a "shrill speech" (January 2, 1961), and asserted he had added "a few irresponsible crowd-pleasers" to another speech (January 26, 1959).

Four months before a group of 1,400 Cuban exiles attempted an invasion of Cuba, Time described the preparations in Havana: "In Cuba, Castro continued his tawdry little melodrama of 'invasion'" (January 13, 1961).

Adverbs were often used by Time to encourage a negative impression of Fidel Castro. He was said, for example, to have "rambled loquaciously on" (March 2, 1959); "talked endlessly, mainly of land-reform" (February 16, 1959); and "moved uncoordinatedly toward a nationalistic, leftist social program" (February 16, 1959).

Attribution--the verb used to describe a persons's action--was another form of content bias favored by Time, which has traditionally avoided the common and colorless

phrase "he said." In a rare discussion of a positive achievement of Castro's Government, a Time article noted that he "pushed through" a public-works program (March 23, 1959). A caption under an uncomplimentary photograph read: "Dictator Castro guffawing through his beard" (June 2, 1961). While inspecting a bookstore, he was said to have "fumed" over the lack of vocational improvement materials (November 11, 1966).

Newsweek

Of the three magazines, only Newsweek consistently published both negative and positive accounts concerning revolutionary Cuba. While it was first to allege that Communists were infiltrating Castro's Government, Newsweek was the only news magazine to analyze the "literacy brigades" that provided the first education for many thousands of Cubans during 1961.

Selective and unidentified citations. --Newsweek published a comparative number of undocumented and unsigned news articles, however, which often pronounced definite conclusions without supplying facts. In a discussion of the tractors-for-prisoners exchange, for example, an anonymous writer observed that "if the negotiations . . . fail, the prospects for all the prisoners are dim indeed" (May 29, 1961). One is tempted to respond: "Who says so?"

Although the magazine's sources of information were

not revealed, Newsweek avoided the aura of arrogance that surrounded Time and U.S. News largely because opposing views were consistently expressed.

Content bias.--Newsweek's ostensibly "objective" news articles sometimes included the same type of value-laden adjectives employed by Time. Before the exile invasion, Newsweek said "gun-studded and propaganda-pounded" Havana was preparing for an invasion that nobody planned, and Castro's "wild charges and accusations" were responsible for the recent break in diplomatic relations (January 16, 1961).

In a separate unsigned article that week, Newsweek said the "hard facts of life . . . under the feckless rule of Fidel Castro have been closing in on the Cuban people for months. . . . The plain ugly truth today is that Cuba is in a state of siege. . . ."

A discussion of Castro's campaign against illiteracy said Cuban teenagers were his "most fanatical followers" (April 5, 1961).

Value-laden adjectives flowed unrestrained in an unsigned Newsweek article concerning President Kennedy's reaction to Castro's proposal to trade tractors for exile prisoners: "Finally, the President reached a difficult decision: He would accept Castro's derisive order, no matter how repellent. . . . It was a humane act" (June 5, 1961).

Headlines, if not an accurate reflection of an article's content, can be highly misleading. While News-week's analysis of the agrarian reform law was generally sympathetic and factual, its headline read "'Reform' by Seizure" (June 1, 1959).

U.S. News & World Report

Alone among the three magazines, U.S. News allotted a significant percentage of its news pages to unedited transcripts of interviews and speeches, and guest columns, and was thus outwardly objective. An analysis of such material, however, revealed it was apparently chosen so as to reflect a dogmatic political position.

After a March, 1959, U.S. News interview with Fidel Castro allowed the new Cuban Prime Minister to propagandize on his own behalf, the privilege was extended to disenchanting former government officials. Exile leader José Miró Cardona, for example, misled many U.S. News readers with statements such as: "In two years of power, Castro has done nothing for the welfare of the people--not one single thing," and "Today only a small percentage of the people support Fidel" (January 23, 1961).

Immediately following the 1961 invasion fiasco, U.S. News published a series of supplements to its regular news articles that were nearly uniform in their criticism of Castro and his revolution:

°Excerpts from President Kennedy's speech to the

American Society of Newspaper Editors, in which he declared, "Our restraint is not inexhaustible . . ." (May 1, 1961).

°A guest column, written by an Army Major General who advocated direct U.S. military aggression against Cuba (May 8, 1961).

°A guest column which urged the U.S. to invoke "the right of self defense"--providing solid military support to anti-Castro forces inside and outside Cuba (May 15, 1961).

°A "public opinion poll" concerning the threat of Communism in Cuba, which quoted ten Americans who felt the U.S. should have used more force to overthrow Castro, and only then admitted that some people would oppose such action (June 12, 1961).

°Excerpts from Senate speeches that unanimously denounced Castro's tractors-for-prisoners proposal.

°The full text of a speech in which President Kennedy detailed his position on the proposed exchange--the only "pro-Castro" views expressed in the supplements.

Selective and unidentified citations.--Sources of information on which U.S. News relied were seemingly chosen so as to reflect doctrinaire views. Using only vague citations and innuendo, the magazine projected a narrow dogmatic view of events in Cuba; the facts of the issue could rarely be ascertained.

When Castro visited the U.S., for example, U.S. News reported: "There is a feeling that he barges into popular

political decisions without a clear understanding of the possible economic damages" (May 4, 1959). The article implied--but never stated explicitly--that this "feeling" was shared by some or all of the U.S. Government officials with whom he conferred. Similar examples permeated many unsigned U.S. News articles, providing the reader with undocumented "facts." Some of these included:

• "Today the best estimates here in Miami are that 80 per cent of the Cuban people have fallen away from Castro" (March 6, 1961).

• "Che Guevara, widely regarded as the real mastermind in the Red grab of Cuba . . ." (March 7, 1966).

• "U.S. authorities on Cuba say the worsening mess in Red Cuba holds the seeds of destruction for Fidel Castro's regime" (April 25, 1966).

• "A long study by top U.S. analysts forecasts more purges, more disaffection in the military, more hardships for the Cuban people, as a mentally disturbed dictator mismanages his unhappy island" (May 2, 1966).

In May, 1959, while the politically immature Fidel Castro was basking in the adulation of virtually every Cuban, a public opinion poll found that 88 per cent of the U.S. public had heard of him, but that he was well regarded by only 31 per cent.⁵ Thus, before overt manifestations of

⁵"Communist Trend in Cuba is Denied," New York Times, May 18, 1959, p. 8.

communism had intruded into the Cuban revolution and before Castro had formally announced plans to nationalize U.S.-owned properties in Cuba, the news media apparently had given the impression that the Prime Minister of Cuba was unworthy of support.

Using the facts at their disposal selectively, Time and U.S. News generally published only what seemed to reinforce their doctrinaire anti-Castro positions. After a brief period of cautious cordiality during 1959, neither news magazine considered "newsworthy" reports of improvements in the lives of the people.

By regularly reporting positive aspects of the revolution and providing an alternative to the often arrogant and emotional anti-Castro biases of its two competitors, Newsweek succeeded in approaching "fairness." During 1961, the year the United States supported an exile invasion of Cuba and Castro first espoused the tenets of Marxism-Leninism, only Newsweek conceded the possibility that the Cuban revolution might have benefited some of the Cuban people:

. . . Castro has not lived up to his original promises. But on the whole, the Cubans in the cane fields are probably better off than they were before. Castro has built houses, schools, and hospitals for them. They couldn't care less about Communism and most remain faithful (May 1, 1961).

Although Newsweek published no positive analyses of the Cuban revolution during 1966 and 1971, it reported specific news events concerning Cuba generally free of bias.

U.S. News & World Report, after an initial period of well-intentioned forbearance, openly slanted its coverage of events in Cuba against Castro and his efforts to fashion a social revolution inimical to the interests of the United States. According to its freely expressed moral doctrine, Castro's rejection of Anglo-Saxon beneficence and his subsequent embrace of Communism doomed the Cuban revolution to summary failure. Such a doctrine did not concede the possibility that the Cuban exiles would fail to dislodge Castro, who was said to have only the support of the Communist party. Thus, U.S. News initially construed the invasion--which Time interpreted as a "massacre"--as a first step in Castro's eventual ouster, maintaining that "the war against Castro's Communists had only begun" (May 1, 1961). By the following week, the extent of the disaster was reluctantly acknowledged, but the magazine never fully relinquished its simplistic moral stance; a 1971 article maintained that the "outlook for Castro's Cuba in 1971 is bleak. The economy has gone from bad to worse. . . ." (January 18, 1971).

Ironically, while repeatedly selecting for publication only those events and sources which showed the Cuban revolution had failed, U.S. News on two occasions unabashedly deplored the lack of dispassionate reporting by Cuban newspapers: "All you can read of the U.S. are exaggerated reports on race troubles and unemployment" (January 16, 1961), and "A hate-U.S. campaign of propaganda is carried

on from Cuba" (May 1, 1961).

Time utilized a series of semantic tricks to maintain a steadfast anti-Castro ideology. Its news articles concerning Cuba were uniformly undocumented and nearly always unsigned, relegating them to the status of short subjective essays, often devoid of tenable factual information.

The magazines' prose style made impossible informed rebuttal to its contentions, adding to its omniscient aura. Often entertaining but just as often misleading, Time managed to create the illusion that it was a reliable means of enlightenment to the complexities of world affairs while offering propaganda more often than news.

Time published no accounts of Cuban social progress during the first six months of 1961, and during 1966 and 1971, but tempered somewhat its acidulous prose style and dogmatic orientation during the latter two years. By 1971, the magazine conceded the possible failure of the U.S. policy of isolating Cuba, which it had generally supported during the previous decade. The same article, however, displayed the singular writing style Time had perfected after nearly a half century of use. While visiting a Chilean mine, Castro, "obviously well-coached about the problems Allende's Government is having with falling production, rising absenteeism, and soaring wage demands with Chile's newly nationalized mines," was said to have "vigorously railed against troublemaking 'demagogues' and 'reactionaries'" (November 29, 1971).

The ideal weekly news magazine would combine the format of U.S. News & World Report with the ideological elasticity of Newsweek. In-depth analyses such as those regularly found in U.S. News would allow the news magazine to exploit the advantage it holds over daily newspapers--hindsight. The full impact of an event is rarely revealed soon after it occurs; thus, the writer and his audience are severely handicapped in attempting to place an event in its proper perspective if only briefly removed from it.

Time and Newsweek generally devoted each article to a specific event or aspect of the Cuban revolution. Such a format constricted the breadth of the magazines' coverage, as quieter, more obscure subjects--an improvement of rural health conditions or the steady erosion of government support among the middle class, for example--were often left unexamined.

A second noteworthy characteristic of U.S. News was its reliance on supplements--transcripts of unedited interviews and speeches, and guest columns. Assuming they are selected so as to represent a fairly broad range of views, such "inherently objective" additions to regular news reporting can be beneficial to the reader attempting to reach a conclusion concerning national and international events.

Each magazine consistently failed to separate news from signed opinion, although Newsweek and U.S. News claimed to have done so. Such a clear distinction is a prerequisite to a fair presentation of the news.

APPENDIX A

NEWS MAGAZINE ARTICLES CONCERNING POLITICAL,
ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN CUBA
FOR TIME PERIODS NOT COVERED IN TEXT^a

Time Period	Periodical	Political	Economic	Social
1958	Time	12	0	0
	U.S. News . . .	1	0	0
	Newsweek	9	0	0
July, 1959- Dec., 1960	Time	32	4	0
	U.S. News . . .	10	4	3
	Newsweek	27	9	0
July, 1961- Dec., 1962	Time	9	4	1
	U.S. News . . .	19	9	1
	Newsweek	10	2	0
1963	Time	4	0	0
	U.S. News . . .	16	1	0
	Newsweek	8	3	0
1964	Time	4	3	0
	U.S. News . . .	9	9	0
	Newsweek	9	3	2
1965	Time	4	1	0
	U.S. News . . .	2	1	0
	Newsweek	2	1	1
1967	Time	3	1	0
	U.S. News . . .	3	1	0
	Newsweek	0	0	0
1968	Time	3	1	1
	U.S. News . . .	3	2	0
	Newsweek	1	0	0
1969	Time	0	1	1
	U.S. News . . .	1	0	0
	Newsweek	1	0	0
1970	Time	1	0	0
	U.S. News . . .	2	3	0
	Newsweek	0	0	0

^aFigures and classifications are derived from the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. "Political" heading includes both domestic and foreign events.

APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGY

- 1492, October: Columbus "discovers" Cuba
- 1823, April: Secretary of State John Quincy Adams writes:
". . . Cuba, forcibly disjoined from its unnatural connection with Spain and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union"
- 1868: Ten-year rebellion against Spanish rule begins
- 1895: Second revolt, led by poet José Martí, begins
- 1896: United States interests own 30 million dollars of sugar properties in Cuba, 50 million dollar total investment
- 1898, February: U.S.S. Maine, sent to Cuba to protect the U.S. lives and property, blows up in Havana harbor; 266 Americans are killed
- 1898, April: Congress passes war resolution declaring to be in favor of Cuban freedom and disclaiming "any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island"
- 1898, December: Spain and U.S. ratify peace treaty by which Cuba is granted independence
- 1898-1902: U.S. military government rules Cuba "to enable the people to establish a suitable government"
- 1901, March: Platt Amendment imposed on Cuba; U.S. may intervene in her internal affairs
- 1906-1909: U.S. assumes direct control of Cuban Government to end political crisis
- 1903, December: U.S. and Cuba sign reciprocity treaty; Cuban dependence on sugar and U.S. control of Cuban economy augmented
- 1912: Bloody war and brief U.S. intervention result from protests of black Cubans against alleged government discrimination

- 1917: U.S. agents search Cuba for Germans
- 1920: Severe financial crisis hits Cuba
- 1925: Gerardo Machado assumes Presidency, rules with ever-augmenting doses of terror (and tacit U.S. support)
- 1927, August: Fidel Castro born
- 1933: U.S. diplomat Sumner Wells, dispatched to Havana to encourage political settlement, aids Machado's ouster and supports Fulgencio Batista, who becomes leading Cuban political figure for 25 years
- 1934: President Roosevelt abrogates Platt Amendment; U.S. rights to Guantánamo Bay naval station are maintained
- 1944: Batista "retires" to Florida, but remains major figure in Cuban affairs
- 1944-1952: Two democratic--and graft-ridden--administrations of Dr. Ramón Grau San Martín and Dr. Carlos Prío Socarrás
- 1948: Organization of American States prohibits intervention by any state in the affairs of another except for the maintenance of peace and security
- 1950: Castro graduates from University of Havana Law School
- 1952, March: Batista stages coup three months before scheduled election, pledges friendship with U.S., breaks diplomatic relations with Soviet Union
- 1953, July 26: Castro leads band of guerrillas on abortive raid of Moncada army barracks. Sentenced to 15 years imprisonment on the Isle of Pines
- 1954: OAS resolves to resist Communist penetration in Western Hemisphere
- 1954, May: Batista issues general amnesty for all political prisoners; Castro escapes to Mexico to continue anti-Batista activities
- 1954, July: Pro-Communist Guatemalan Government of Jacobo Arbenz overthrown by Central Intelligence Agency-supported revolt
- 1956, December: Castro and 81 followers land in Oriente Province

- 1957, March: Anti-Batista students attack Presidential Mansion in unsuccessful assassination attempt
- 1957, September: Naval mutiny at Cienfuegos heralds eventual downfall of Batista
- 1958, March: U.S. declares arms embargo on Cuba
- 1958, December: U.S. Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith tells Batista he could prevent further bloodshed by retiring
- 1959, January: Revolutionary government under President Manuel Urrutia formed
- 1959, February: Castro becomes Prime Minister
- 1959, April: Castro visits U.S., meets with Secretary of State Herter and Vice President Nixon, who, on the basis of this conversation, recommends U.S. support for an exile invasion of Cuba
- 1959, May: Land-reform law prohibits foreign ownership of Cuban land
- 1959, July: Castro resigns for nine days, forcing President Urrutia's resignation
- 1960, February: Soviet Vice Premier Mikoyan signs trade agreement in Havana
- 1960, March: French munitions ship Le Coubre blown up in Havana; Cuban press blames CIA
- 1960, March: President Eisenhower authorizes CIA to train Cuban exiles for invasion of Cuba
- 1960, May: Secretary of State Herter replies to Cuban accusations: "The Department of State vigorously rejects charges that the U.S. countenances plans for aggression against the government of Cuba"
- 1960, June: Castro announces that foreign-owned oil companies in Cuba must refine Soviet oil. When they refuse to do so, Texas Company, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and Shell are intervened (Cuba assumes management and control, but not ownership)
- 1960, July: Soviet oil tanker enters Havana harbor
- 1960, July: Congress approves President Eisenhower's request to suspend U.S. sugar quota favorable to Cuba

- 1960, July: Soviet Union offers to increase its purchases of Cuban sugar by the 700,000 tons rejected by the U.S.
- 1960, July: China agrees to buy 2,500,000 tons of Cuban sugar over a five-year period
- 1960, July: Premier Khrushchev says Soviet Union "will use every means to prevent U.S. armed intervention" in Cuba
- 1960, August: In retaliation for sugar quota suspension, Castro nationalizes U.S.-owned sugar mills, power and telephone companies, and oil companies
- 1960, October: Castro nationalizes all banks and 382 business enterprises
- 1960, October: U.S. announces embargo on all exports to Cuba except medicines, medical supplies, and certain foods
- 1961: During the "Year of Education," Cuba devotes a vast national effort to the eradication of illiteracy; by year's end, the government claims only 3.9 per cent of the population remains illiterate
- 1961, January: U.S. and Cuba break diplomatic relations
- 1961, April 12: President Kennedy pledges there will not be, under any conditions, intervention in Cuba by U.S. armed forces
- 1961, April 17-20: Force of 1,400 Cuban exiles, trained and supplied by the U.S., lands in southern Cuba; most are killed or captured within 72 hours
- 1961, May: Castro officially proclaims the establishment of Cuba as a socialist state
- 1961, August: Alliance for Progress formed, in part to contain spread of Castroism through economic assistance to Latin America
- 1961, December: Castro proclaims, "I am a Marxist-Leninist and I shall be a Marxist-Leninist until the last day of my life"; United Press International disseminates inaccurate report that Castro had confessed to being a communist since his university days
- 1962, January: OAS excludes Cuba from participation in the Inter-American system because of communist ties

- 1962, August: CIA sabotages 30,000 sacks of Cuban sugar bound for Soviet Union in a British ship; when informed of the operation, President Kennedy is furious
- 1962, October: U.S. accuses Soviet Union of establishing offensive missile bases in Cuba; President Kennedy demands their prompt removal, orders "quarantine" against Soviet ships; Khrushchev agrees to dismantle missile sites; Castro, not consulted on decision, loses prestige
- 1962, December: Castro releases 1,179 exile prisoners for 50 million dollars of privately donated food and medicine; President Kennedy tells them their brigade flag will be returned in a "free Havana"
- 1963, July: U.S. bans virtually all financial transactions with Cuba
- 1963, July: Castro announces compulsory military service for Cubans, partially to ease labor shortage
- 1963, October: Second Agrarian Reform Law puts 70 to 75 per cent of Cuban land under government control
- 1963, October: Hurricane Flora inflicts tremendous damage to Cuba
- 1964, March: Senator Fullbright urges re-evaluation of U.S. policy toward Cuba; terms economic measures "a failure"
- 1965, March: Che Guevara disappears from Cuba
- 1965, April: U.S. Marines land in Santo Domingo "to prevent another Cuba"
- 1965, October: Communist party becomes only legal political party in Cuba
- 1965, December: Airlift of Cuban refugees to U.S. begins
- 1966, January: Tricontinental Solidarity Conference in Havana announces plans to foment worldwide revolution and to combat imperialism
- 1966, February: Cuba accuses China of trying to strangle Cuba's economy and of trying to disseminate propaganda among its armed forces
- 1966, March: Assassination plot against Castro fails

- 1966, May: China and Cuba sign new trade agreement
- 1966, September-October: Hurricane Inez strikes Cuba twice, causing extensive crop and building damage and flooding
- 1967, winter: All privately owned Cuban farms incorporated into state collective farms
- 1967, January: Castro Government agrees to allow U.S. citizens in Cuba to return to U.S.
- 1967, June: Soviet Premier Kosygin visits Havana to attempt to heal differences with Castro
- 1967, October: Che Guevara killed in Bolivia while leading unsuccessful guerrilla movement
- 1968, January: Castro announces gasoline rationing
- 1968, March: Castro announces eradication of all privately owned businesses
- 1968, May: Bread rationing begins in Cuba
- 1968, August: Castro expresses guarded support for Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, leading to closer Cuba-Soviet relations
- 1969, January: Castro announces sugar rationing and abandonment of industrialization plans
- 1969, February: Cuba and Soviet Union sign trade agreement providing for 60 per cent increase in Soviet aid
- 1969, December: First U.S. and North Vietnamese volunteers arrive in Cuba to help with the "ten million ton" sugar harvest
- 1970: Record 8.5 million ton sugar crop--1.5 million tons short of Castro's goal--exact serious burden on other sectors of Cuban economy
- 1970, April: Alpha 66, a Miami-based Cuban exile organization, sponsors an invasion of Cuba; the force is defeated within a week; Castro accuses U.S. of recruiting exiles for such operations; FBI raids Alpha 66 headquarters to prevent further attacks
- 1970, October: Salvador Allende of Chile becomes first freely elected Marxist President in Latin America

- 1970, November: Chile renounces OAS resolution isolating Cuba in Western Hemisphere
- 1971, January: A U.S.-Soviet "understanding" prohibits construction of a Russian submarine base in the Caribbean area
- 1971, May: Arrest of poet Herberto Padilla for alleged counterrevolutionary activities angers left-wing intellectuals in Europe and Latin America
- 1971, August: Cuba announces intention to terminate refugee airlift
- 1971, November: Castro begins three-week state visit to Chile, ending Cuba's isolation in hemisphere

APPENDIX C

THE NEWS MAGAZINES: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

Time

Henry Luce and Briton Hadden were brash 24-year-old Yale graduates when they drew up a prospectus for a magazine which would later provide the foundation for one of the world's largest media empires. Their 1922 document explained how Time would differ from the widely read Literary Digest:

The Digest, in giving both sides of a question, gives little or no hint as to which side it considers to be right. Time gives both sides, but clearly indicates which side it believes to have the stronger position.

Freely admitting their prejudices--a "distrust of government interference" and a "prejudice against the rising cost of government," for example--Luce and Hadden raised \$86,000 and published Vol. 1 No. 1 March 23, 1923. Initially a "gawky, sketchy, amateurish job lean for lack of advertising,"¹ Time managed to show a \$126,000 profit by 1928, and the founders were both millionaires when Hadden died suddenly in 1929.

Having shunned all pretensions of "objectivity," Time created a novel prose style which quickly became the

¹Dwight McDonald, "Time and Henry Luce," Nation, May 1, 1937, p. 500.

magazine's trademark. Each week Time readers could expect a superfluity of inverted sentences, double epithets, obscure and archaic words, trite phrases, and highly descriptive verbs and adjectives.² A widely acclaimed 1936 parody of "Timestyle" in the New Yorker, however, served to gradually temper the magazine's abrasiveness.³

As the nation's economy foundered, Luce successfully expanded his journalistic enterprises, and Time's circulation and influence grew steadily.⁴

Early in its history, Time invented the practice of "group journalism," whereby correspondents supplied necessary factual information and a series of editors gave the article its character. As the "final authority" over every word produced by the pooled talents of researchers, writers, and editors, Luce controlled the slant of Time's version of the news until his retirement in 1964. Until recently, virtually all Time articles remained unsigned, as the writer

²One early example: "Through the light-splotched angular passages of Tut-ankh-Amen's 3,300-year-old tomb at Luxor, Egypt, went Howard Carter . . . ("Lost Relics," Time, February 13, 1928, p. 20).

³John Kobler, "The First Tycoon and the Power of His Press," Saturday Evening Post, January 16, 1965, p. 41.

⁴By 1937, a media critic could write: "On its merits, Time has made itself indispensable. Everyone reads it, everyone relies on it for part of his information about the modern scene. . . ." The writer, however, reproved the magazine's arrogant violations of individual privacy for the sake of its readers' amusement (Bernard DeVoto, "Distempers of the Press," Harper's, March, 1937, p. 447).

sacrificed his personal opinion and his identity for the benefit of corporate efficiency.

Under the guidance of Otto Fuerbringer, a stern Midwestern arch-conservative--"the Iron Chancellor" to his staff--who served as managing editor from 1960 to 1968, Time championed the U.S. mission in Southeast Asia while relegating to a decidedly lesser stature the nation's burgeoning social consciousness.⁵

When Time editor-in-chief Hedley Donovan replaced Fuerbringer with a less authoritarian personality, the magazine initiated a series of reforms. Articles now tend to be longer, and many acknowledge the writer's efforts with his signature. Stylistic changes have eliminated the more pretentious remnants of "Timestyle," and the magazine has become less dogmatic. As one observer writes:

Time's judgment is no longer a sweeping, lusty blow to the solar plexus but a finely honed communique to the cerebrum. While Time continues to strive for a certain broad philosophical consistency, its tenacious doctrinarism has been largely replaced by steadfast judiciousness and formerly steadfast positions are allowed to appear less certain, and to appear gradually.⁶

⁵The Vietnam war was Fuerbringer's "holy crusade," a 1969 Harper's critique observed. "More often than not," it explained, "Time's correspondents in Saigon might just as well have been filing from Tierra del Fuego. Repeatedly, Fuerbringer ignored their dispatches when they failed to support the company line" (Richard Pollack, "Time: After Luce," Harper's, July, 1969, p. 43). Ralph Nader and the "consumer movement" were not deemed worthy of a cover story until December 12, 1969--after Fuerbringer had reluctantly accepted a vice presidency.

⁶Chris Welles, "Newsweek (A Fact) is the New Hot Book (An Opinion)," Esquire, November, 1969, p. 153.

Newsweek

In its early advertisements, News-Week claimed it was written "for men and women who want a sharply etched perspective of the ceaseless spectacle of news." In its first four years of publication few men and women considered News-Week anything more than a poor imitation of Time, and it was rescued from insolvency by Vincent Astor, W. Averill Harriman, and Raymond Moley in 1937. During the 1930's and 1940's, the magazine was compiled largely from New York Times clippings and reflected the business-oriented views of its president and publisher, Malcolm Muir.⁷

Only marginally profitable until 1953, Newsweek evolved into a garish success during the Eisenhower decade, flaunting a plethora of special issues, special reports, and extra sections. A contemporary observer censured the magazine's arrogance, however, and cited its dependence on such second-hand news sources as the New York Times, New York Herald-Tribune, Associated Press, United Press International, and Reuters.⁸

In 1961, Newsweek was purchased by liberal Democrat Philip Graham, owner of the Washington Post, prompting "one

⁷Welles, p. 243.

⁸"The use of so sturdy a source of news as the New York Times is admirable, but Newsweek, as does its uptown rival, Time, tends to present this same information not so much as fallible words from identifiable human sources as the Revealed Truth recorded in Holy Writ" (Ben Bagdikian, "Newsweek," New Republic, February 16, 1959, p. 10).

of the more remarkable changes of political and social attitudes ever made by a major magazine."⁹ In contrast to Time, Newsweek recognized the trends of the 1960's--the youth and black revolutions, and the gradual erosion of the previous decade's sharply defined interpretation of the Cold War.¹⁰

Newsweek advertisements during the 1960's maintained it was "the newsweekly that separates fact from opinion"--an undisguised criticism of Time. In asserting its "objectivity," however, the magazine exposed itself to unfavorable criticism; Time never has pretended to be objective.¹¹

Although trailing Time in circulation, advertising revenue, and national and international prominence, Newsweek by 1969 had significantly challenged its major rival in these areas and had surpassed Time in the number of domestic advertising pages published.

U.S. News & World Report

The first issue of U.S. News & World Report--a synthesis of two previously established news magazines--

⁹Welles, pp. 243-44.

¹⁰In 1963 Newsweek became the first major U.S. magazine to publish a special issue delineating the aspirations of black Americans, and the magazine questioned the U.S. role in Vietnam in January, 1965 (ibid., p. 242).

¹¹A study in the Columbia Journalism Review found expressions of opinion in Newsweek's news stories often enough to conclude that the slogan was "erroneous and misleading" (Sandy Goodman, "Can Newsweek Really Separate Fact from Opinion?" Columbia Journalism Review, VII /Summer, 1968, 26).

contained a "memo from the publishers" that clearly stated its goals:

In our combined magazine, we are not attempting to advocate any cause or argue the merits of any governmental policies of either the United States or other countries, but hope merely to present the news of what is going on so that intelligent people may make up their own minds on what the policies of their respective governments should be.

It will be our consistent endeavor to present the news objectively. Instructions to the news staff have always been to report the facts without bias of any kind.¹²

In 1926, David Lawrence founded U.S. Daily, the magazine that was to evolve into U.S. News & World Report. At age 84, he continues to dominate the magazine, much as Henry Luce dominated Time. An intimate of President Woodrow Wilson, Lawrence had in 1919 started the first nationally syndicated column from Washington. By 1933, when U.S. Daily became a weekly summary of national affairs, his column had become strongly conservative; his overriding concern with the vitality of private business and industry had made him one of the most outspoken critics of the New Deal.

After the birth of U.S. News & World Report, Lawrence's views began seeping into its news pages, despite the protestation of objectivity. By the 1950's, the magazine openly promoted the activities of Senator Joseph McCarthy while relentlessly disparaging the Supreme Court's 1954

¹²"Memo from the Publishers," U.S. News & World Report, January 16, 1948, p. 2.

decision in favor of integrated schools.¹³ The magazine became highly profitable during the decade, however, nearly overtaking Newsweek in paid circulation.

U.S. News & World Report differs from its competitors in three significant respects:

•It publishes approximately twice the number of news pages, devoting virtually no space to art, literature, film, and theater.

•It relies heavily on tape-recorded interviews, complete texts of speeches and reports, graphic illustrations, and analytical articles.¹⁴

•It has remained steadfastly conservative in orientation during its 24-year life span.

¹³Ben H. Bagdikian, "U.S. News & World Report," New Republic, February 2, 1959, pp. 14-15; Edgar Kemler, "The Lawrence Riddle: The Man or the Times?" Nation, March 19, 1955, p. 236; and "The Big Story and the Big Scare," America, January 17, 1959, pp. 452-53.

¹⁴Although such features are often free of overt bias, they apparently are nearly always selected so as to reflect the opinions of the editor. Opposing views are often represented, but the reader is left with little doubt concerning the magazine's position on a given issue.

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