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SITUATION IN CUBA

CHE GUEVERA'S ARTICLE ON GUERRILLA WARFARE

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SECRET

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

18 October 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR DIRECTOR, JOINT STAFF

SUBJECT: Interdepartmental Coordinating Committee of Cuban Affairs:
Reports from the British and Canadian Embassies on
Recent Events in Cuba

References: NSAM No. 213

Memorandum from Deputy Secretary of Defense to
Mr. Bundy, Special Assistant to the President,
dated 10 Jan 63

Memorandum from Secretary of Army to Mr. Cottrell
Chairman, Interdepartmental Committee on Cuba,
dated 11 Jan 63

The attached copies of significant correspondence prepared by
the British and Canadian Embassies in Cuba are forwarded to you
as a matter of interest.

J. D. ALGER
Major General, GS
Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff
for Military Operations

NO JCS OBJECTION TO
DECLASSIFICATION: DATE 28 AUG 1988
REQUIRES CONCURRENCE
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CONFIDENTIAL

BRITISH CHANCERY

HAVANA

August 30, 1963

Dear Department,

We enclose a miscallany report for the period to August 23.

2. We are sending copies to Sutherland in Washington, to Information Sections in Mexico City and Caracas and to Information Research Department and F.O.R.D.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.

American Department,
FOREIGN OFFICE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIALPolitical Views of a Farmer

A farmer in the area north of the Escambray mountains (the chief centre of counter-revolutionary bands) recently said that the general feeling amongst farmers in the area was that the Castro Government was worse than the others, but all they wanted was to be left in peace to look after their farms and provide for their families. The area was very quiet; usually nothing was heard of the rebels in the hills. If they became too obvious the militia sent in "about ten thousand men" to clear them all out. He (the farmer) would not give sanctuary to a counter-revolutionary although he sympathized with them, but nor would he give a lift to a Russian.

Coffee Picking

On August 8 the press published target figures, set by the Trades Union Confederation, for volunteer coffee pickers for each province, as follows:

Pinar del Rio	1,500
Havana	11,500
Natanzan	1,500
Las Villas	2,000
Camaguey	500
Oriente	6,000

These figures may give some indication of the incidence of under-employment. That for Oriente is surprisingly high but may perhaps include what is left of the original coffee labour force. Camaguey, which had considerable labour problems during the sugar harvest, has an even smaller quota than we would have expected. Havana is to produce as many volunteers as all the other provinces combined.

Despite Fidel Castro's personal intervention (not made public) earlier this year to prevent students being taken from their studies to perform "voluntary" agricultural work, coffee picking is already proving a grand exception. All main organisation, including the Union of Young Communists and the Federation of University Students are announced as supporting the voluntary labour campaign. Special examinations are being arranged in December for those who are now going off to pick coffee and who need to pass in "non-basic subjects". These are described as domestic science, music and the visual arts, but there is no indication that "volunteers" will be limited to students of these subjects; indeed plenty of teachers are going off too. Children as young as 14 are encouraged to go to Oriente, and although we are told that arrangements will be made this year for their parents to remain in touch with them, one rather dubious complaint last season flatly states that these arrangements were not working properly. No details can be found on page 8 of HOY for August 28, including the claim that coffee picking is "a way of mobilising a firm and strong character for the men of the future". HOY of August 29 corrects an earlier report that workers going to Oriente had to go without food on the journey for 7 hours: the figure should have been 57. In many faculties the academic year has not recovered from the confusion into which it was thrown by the demands of military service and various harvests throughout last winter. It looks as if confusion will be further confounded.

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An editorial in the Washington Post for July 25 stated that Fidel Castro (see Havana Personalities Report for 1962 Vol. 3) has in the preceding week been appointed a general in the Cuban Army. So far as we know, there is no confirmation of this, but if anyone has confirmation of it, please let us have it.

Boat Tax on small boats

It is reported that a new order was issued to the "Department of Control of Ports and Coasts" in the Ministry of the Interior. He is said to be introducing a system whereby no private boat can leave its mooring without special permission for each trip and each passenger by name. An announcement that a new census of all fishermen, whether Government workers, individuals or even part time fishermen, is to begin on September 1, may also be due to his seal. In the early part of the Government's owned pleasure cruisers at the beach resort of Varadero were brought to Havana, where it is alleged that some at least are being equipped as naval boats, complete with machine-guns turret at the stern.

Gastroenteritis

The El Mundo of August 26 quoted a report from Miami according to which an organization of Cubans in exile is claiming that more than 4,000 children died of gastroenteritis in Cuba during the first seven months of 1963. We have previously noticed some reluctance in official announcements to reveal the true state of affairs and it is worth noticing that, instead of giving the statistic which would refute what is probably an exaggerated claim, the newspaper merely pointed in the rest of the statement which referred to "clouds of flies, cockroaches and rats", commenting that the miasmas were over and that all the cockroaches and rats had fled to the United States.

Food for Sport

In the province of Pinar del Rio, not far from Havana, is a lagoon named "La Tocaya", developed before the Revolution by a wealthy Cuban Doctor as a duck-shooter's paradise. To encourage the duck to return after the bumpy slaughter it was a rule of the owner that 700 lbs of rice be spread on the water every Sunday morning. The lagoon is now Government-owned and is reserved for the pleasure of Ministers, Army commanders and the like. The weekly feeding rule is strictly maintained and the equivalent of a week's ration for 140 average Cuban families goes on the water every week. (This report is hearsay, but probably correct.)

The Bus Driver before and after the Revolution

A recent Ministry of Transport poster contrasts in two pictures the relations of the Havana bus driver with his passengers before and after the Revolution. The captions

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rent (more or less) "At one time, now fortunately past, the bus driver and the passenger were irreconcilable enemies; now in the new Cuba, they enjoy the close relationship of brothers". In fact, Havana was much better supplied with buses before 1959, and they did not break down as they so often do nowadays, causing the passengers of one bus to pile into the next one that comes along. But we suppose there is an element of truth in the idea that under the new conditions the bus driver gets closer to his passengers.

Religious tolerance?

Radio station CUBA, which has been specializing in programmes of classical music for 15 years but was nationalized with the revolution, tried to broadcast Stravinsky's "Symphony of Psalms" recently but were told by the Government that, while the work itself was not forbidden, they should not read over the text of the psalms by way of introduction as this would constitute a religious broadcast and could not be tolerated in a secular state.

The manager of the station told me, incidentally, that there had been many complaints that it was impossible to avoid listening to Fidel Castro when all television and radio stations were linked. He had received a dispensation to continue classical music programs except in cases where the Prime Minister had something especially important to say.

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BRITISH EMBASSY,
HAVANA.

(1385/63)

August 29, 1963.

Dear Department,

Chancery letter 1385/63 of July 18, 1962 reported the announcement of the signature of a Russo-Cuban Air Agreement, establishing an air service Moscow-Conakry-Havana. As you will be aware from recent correspondence, the use of Conakry as a staging point for the TU114 aircraft operating this route is still in doubt and for many months the service operated - precariously in the judgement of some - directly between Moscow and Havana.

2. The Official Gazette of August 19 has now belatedly published the text of the Air Agreement signed in Havana on July 17 last year. We are forwarding an English translation as soon as possible, with a reference to this letter. Annex II of the Agreement specifies the following routes:-

For Soviet Aircraft

- (i) Moscow-Rabat (Casablanca)-Conakry-Havana, in both directions.
- (ii) Moscow-Oslo (Stavanger-Keflavik-Gander-Havana) in both directions.
- (iii) Moscow-Havana (by the first or the second route) and onward to third countries in both directions, flight points to be specified later by agreement between the appropriate aviation authorities of the contracting parties.

For Cuban Aircraft

- (i) Havana-(Gander-Halifax-Goose Bay-Montreal) Dublin-London-Prague-Moscow.
- (ii) Havana-Bermuda-Azores-Madrid-Vienna-Prague-Moscow.
- (iii) Havana-Port of Spain (Trinidad)-Belem-Recife-Conakry-Rabat-Algiers-Prague-Moscow.
- (iv) Havana-Moscow (by one of the routes indicated above) and onward to third countries in both directions with the ulterior specification, flight points to be specified later by agreement between the appropriate aviation authorities of the contracting parties (who) have the right to omit from the established routes any of the intermediate points which are situated in the territories of third countries.

3. It will be seen that the only route in operation at present is the Moscow-(Conakry)-Havana route operated exclusively by Russian aircraft. The Prague-Shannon-Gander-Havana route, operated by Cuban aircraft in conjunction with C.S.A., presumably falls outside the scope of the present agreement.

It will be noticed that the Cubans probably wish to use Kindley Field in Bermuda, in the first instance at least, for their proposed route (ii).

5. I am sending a copy of this letter to Sutherland in Washington and Chancery at Moscow, and Group Captain Rees at Caracas.

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BRITISH EMBASSY,

HAVANA.

(11214/63)

September 18, 1963.

Dear Department,

The Cuban-Spanish Trade agreement of February 10, 1962, reported in Clube's letter 11214/62 to you of February 19, 1962, has now been published in full, and is in the form of a Final Act following the financial and commercial negotiations which took place at that time. Reference is made to the Modus Vivendi of Trade and Payments of October 23, 1959, which was to be extended until the end of 1962. As an Annex I am listing some points of interest taken from this Final Act.

2. Also published is an exchange of notes carrying dates December 16 and 19, 1962 and January 9, 1963, extending the agreement until March 31, 1963 because it would not be possible to have further trade talks in Madrid before February 1963. According to a press report here covering the signing of two contracts these talks took place in March.

3. The contracts themselves were between CUBATEX, the Cuban textile purchasing organisation, and a Barcelona company "C.I. Fábricas de Hilo y Coats". One contract is for Cuba to buy 550,500 cones of industrial thread mainly of a make known as "Cadena", and the other is for 2,750,000 reels of thread for domestic use of a make known as "Cometa". The value of these contracts was given as some \$670,000. The goods concerned are traditionally well known in Cuba and will be delivered in 1964.

4. I am sending a copy of this letter to Sutherland in Washington, Commercial Relations and Exports Department of the Board of Trade, J.I.B. and the Commercial Section in Madrid.

(S.D. Eccles)

11214/63/10/08/1963

Economic Relations Department,
FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

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(11214/63)

Points of Interest from the "Final Act" of
the Commercial and Financial conversations
held in Havana between Cuba and Spain dated
February 10, 1962

Paragraph 3:

In the first months of 1961 there was a high balance of dollars owing to Spain. Moreover, when the balance is more than the \$3 million laid down in Article 18 of the Modus Vivendi, the creditor has to take steps to reduce the imbalance which have an immediate side-effect of slowing down trade in both directions. Hence both Parties agree to keep the balance within the limits of Article 18.

Paragraphs 4 and 5:

LC(6723) The Cuban delegation declared that it had signed contracts to sell its sugars to Tabacalera, S.A. and asked that this company be given every assistance. This was agreed to by Spain. The Cubans agreed to continue to reserve 2,000 metric tons of raw tobacco for Spain, and perhaps more when the harvest results were known. Of this total \$2½ million would go to Tabacalera.

Paragraph 6:

Cuba would continue to reserve 60,000 tons of sugar for sale to Spain.

Paragraph 7:

Cuba gave Spain a list of goods she would like to acquire:

Garlic	1,000	metric tons
Fresh almonds	189	metric tons
Rice without husks	20,000	metric tons
Refined olive oil	4,000	metric tons
Emery	423	metric tons
Ferric sulphate	200,000	kilograms
Lead sulphate	12,000	kilograms
Butyl glycol alcohol	15,000	kilograms
Lead stearate	10,000	kilograms
Sodium stearate	10,000	kilograms
Zinc stearate	25,500	kilograms
Magnesium stearate	7,000	kilograms
Sodium double tartrate	5,000	kilograms
Sodium bitartrate	34,000	kilograms
Cigarette paper	310	metric tons
Wire mesh	500,000	metres
Eyelets (sewing)	27,000,000	
"Welding electrodes"	277	metric tons
Drawing triangles	1,000	
Radio receivers, parts and spares	\$250,000	
Abrasives	\$ 42,000	
Artificial essences	\$100,000	
Printed matter, of all types	\$750,000	
Steel or iron wire	\$150,000	
Chains of all types	\$150,000	
Nuts, bolts and similar items	\$250,000	
Hand-tools, hand-saws and similar items	\$250,000	

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Drills and bits, tools	\$ 30,000
Locks	\$ 52,000
Blank keys for locks	\$ 92,500
Electrolytic copper wire	\$200,000
Refrigerators, parts and spares	\$100,000
Bearings	\$100,000
Reducers and multipliers	\$112,000
Metal and plastic stamps	\$ 30,000
Transformers for industrial use	\$100,000
Rectifying valves	\$130,000
Valves and tubes for televis- ion and radio	\$200,000
False teeth	\$ 15,000
Fish hooks	\$ 20,000
Various	\$200,000
Industrial refrigeration equipment	\$300,000
Parts and spares for the above	\$100,000
Welded iron mesh, wire and cable of high elastic limit	\$200,000
Chemical and pharmaceutical products	\$150,000

The Spanish delegation expressed concern about this list because it omitted goods traditionally exported by Spain to Cuba. The Spanish authorities would, however, try and give Cuba satisfaction on the understanding that Cuba would try and apportion its needs taking into account the Spanish interest.

Paragraph 10:

Both Governments proposed to hold new negotiations in Madrid in November 1962.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
HAVANA.
September 19, 1963.

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BRITISH EMBASSY,
HAVANA.

(11215/63)

September 19, 1963.

Dear Department,

The Cuban 'Gaceta Oficial' has published the text of a Protocol extending the Commercial Agreement of March 30, 1954 between Cuba and Switzerland for the year 1963. The Protocol was signed in Havana on December 31, 1962.

2. I am sending a copy of this letter to Sutherland in Washington, Commercial Relations and Exports Department of the Board of Trade, J.I.B. and the Chancery in Berne.

(S.D. Eccles)

Economic Relations Department,
FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

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BRITISH EMBASSY,
HAVANA.

(1397/63)

September 25, 1963.

Please refer to my letter 1397/63 of June 20 about
the Cuban merchant fleet.

2. The "Aracelio Iglesias", referred to in paragraph 4,
arrived in Havana on its maiden voyage on September 25.
All the details given in paragraph 3 of my letter under
reference are applicable to this ship. It is claimed
that the new ship has the most modern electronic navigating
equipment, and the following additional data has been
provided:-

Two-stroke engine generating 7,800 h.p. at 110 r.p.m.;
fuel capacity - 935 tons of heavy petroleum and
326 of diesel oil;
dead weight - 11,700 tons; range - 1,200 miles;
there are 16 hoists of 5 tons and one each of 10, 25
and 50 tons.

3. I am sending a copy of this letter to Sutherland in
Washington, Chancery at Veracruz, and Senior Naval Officer,
Naval Indices, and am enclosing an extra copy for the
Ministry of Transport.

(S.D. Eccles)

S.M. Eccles, Secy.,
American Department,
MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT, U.S.A.

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BRITISH

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HAVANA

September 26, 1963

Paragraph 2 of Sutherland's letter 10621/63 of September 12 to Sir /63 invites our comments on the article by Che Guevara entitled "Guerrilla Warfare: a Method" which appeared in the September issue of Cuba Socialista. The magazine will have reached its usual recipients by now. I attach a summary of the article, which has also appeared in the September 22 issue of Verde Olivo, in Bohemia and in a summarised form with a commentary by Bernardo Callejas, in the latest issue of the student magazine Lelia (no date).

2. Che Guevara's article, an essay on the philosophy of guerrilla warfare as a means to the achievement of revolution, is a rehash of his own book on the subject and of the Second Declaration of Havana which he quotes at length. Its interest lies in the timing of its publication and the extent to which it may mark yet another change in the constantly fluctuating approach of the Cuban Government towards revolutionary change in Latin America.

3. As you will remember, Castro, in January of this year, advocated violence as the only way to achieve the necessary social change in Latin America. He was sarcastic at the expense of those who thought that peaceful means might work. (See in particular his speech to the Congress of Women of All America" on January 15 - our telegram No. 1 Saving of January 17). From about the end of January until July 26 there was a period in which Castro avoided the subject of Latin America and put all the emphasis on internal development. This line seemed to have been confirmed during Castro's visit to Moscow when it looked as though he "had worked out" a compromise with the Russians involving an acceptance of the Russian view that some countries were open to peaceful change. This was expressed in two ways, first in the formula that it was the duty of each country to choose its own way and by Castro in speeches and conversation making a distinction between the two categories, those susceptible to peaceful change and those where violence was necessary. He still adhered to this distinction in his speech on July 26 although that speech marked a return to preoccupation with the Latin American situation and to violent language directed not to the whole of Latin America but to the selected countries said to be ripe for revolution. Since July 26, my impression is that the Cubans have stepped up their propaganda output on the need for revolution in the selected countries.

92/63
M (10/8) Oct 63

4. Che Guevara's article seems to mark a return to the pure doctrine of the Second Declaration of Havana. He

/does

A. D. Parsons, Esq.,
American Department,
FOREIGN OFFICE.

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does not concede that there may be countries where revolution can be achieved by peaceful means. He argues that guerrilla action is the "central axis" of the struggle in the Americas and that the struggle must be continental in scope in response to the continental measures taken against it by the United States. The task of deciding when conditions are right in each country is one for the revolutionaries in that country but the development of the struggle must be related to the general strategy and progress in one country has effects on the neighbouring ones.

5. I do not, of course, only speak to on the reasons for the reverton to this more aggressive line and the extent to which it may be related either to internal differences of approach among the Cuban leaders or to Cuba's position in the Sino-Soviet argument. As we have reported elsewhere, Castro for some time has been in a bad temper over the cold-shouldering of his overtures to the United States and the signs of increased activity on the part of counter-revolutionaries. He may perhaps also be reacting to a fear that once again, as over the withdrawal of the missiles, he may be left out of a direct rapprochement between Russia and the United States. There is also the question of how the failure to sign the Nuclear Ban Treaty fits into the picture and the extent to which all of this represents a movement away from Russia and towards China. This whole field is one in which it is easy to be dubious but difficult to provide the answers and I think that for the moment we must suspend judgement. Perhaps Castro's speech on September 28 will provide another clue.

6. I am copying this letter to Iain Sutherland in Washington, Tom Barker in Mexico City, Robin Edmunds in Caracas and to Chanceries in Moscow and Peking. I also enclose an extra copy for I.R.D.

(P. H. Scott)

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