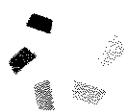


**The United States
and Castro's Cuba
1950s-1970s
The Paterson Collection**



*Guide to the Scholarly Resources
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Publisher's Note

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About the Editor

Born in Oregon City, Oregon, and graduated from the University of New Hampshire (B.A., 1963) and the University of California, Berkeley (M.A., 1964; Ph.D., 1968), Thomas G. Paterson taught history at the University of Connecticut for thirty years before his retirement to emeritus status in 1997. He is the author of *Soviet-American Confrontation: Postwar Reconstruction and the Origins of the Cold War* (1973), *Meeting the Communist Threat: Truman to Reagan* (1988), *On Every Front: The Making and Unmaking of the Cold War* (1992), *Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution* (1994), *American Foreign Relations: A History* (with J. Garry Clifford and Kenneth J. Hagan, 1994), *America Ascendant: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1939* (with J. Garry Clifford, 1995), and *A People and a Nation: A History of the United States* (with Mary Beth Norton et al., 1998).

Paterson also has edited books of original essays: *Cold War Critics: Alternatives to American Foreign Policy in the Truman Years* (1971), *Kennedy's Quest for Victory: American Foreign Policy, 1961-1963* (1989), *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (with Michael J. Hogan, 1991), and *Encyclopedia of U.S. Foreign Relations* (with Bruce Jentleson, 1997). His other edited work include *Containment and the Cold War: American Foreign Policy since 1945* (1973), *American Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism* (1973), *The Origins of the Cold War* (1991), *Imperial Surge: The United States Abroad: The 1890s-Early 1900s* (with Stephen G. Rabe, 1992), and *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations* (with Dennis Merrill, 1994).

Paterson's articles have appeared in the *Journal of American History*, *American Historical Review*, *Diplomatic History*, and *The History Teacher*, among many others, and he has served on the editorial boards of the *Journal of American History* and *Diplomatic History*. He is also series editor for Houghton Mifflin's *Major Problems in American History*.

He has been president of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, directed National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminars for College Teachers, and served as a consultant on documentary films on such subjects as the Cold War, Cuban Missile Crisis, Marshall Plan, and U.S.-Cuba relations. He has won several research awards, including fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Institute for the Study of World Politics. His television and radio appearances have included ABC "News Nightline" and "Monitor Radio."

A frequent speaker in the United States, Paterson also has lectured or conducted research in Canada, China, Colombia, Cuba (1985 and 1994), Great Britain, New Zealand, Puerto Rico, Russia, and Venezuela. His scholarly work has been translated into Spanish, Italian, Danish, Chinese, and Japanese.

Introduction

The Cuban Rebellion against the Batista Regime: The 1950s

Fidel Castro began to claim major attention in Cuba and the United States on July 26, 1952, when he led an unsuccessful attack against the Cuban Army's Moncada Barracks. Released from prison under a general amnesty in mid-1955, Castro and other dissidents organized the 26th of July Movement (M-26-7) and went into exile in Mexico, vowing to overthrow the unpopular dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. After seizing power in a March 1952 coup, Batista developed friendly relations with the United States, which supplied his regime with military arms and advisers and helped train his feared secret police.

During the 1950s, as Batista jailed and killed his critics and corrupted institutions to amass considerable personal wealth, U.S. companies invested in the island, especially in hotels, electric and telephone businesses, and consumer goods. Such investments grew to some one billion dollars. U.S. government decisions on the amount ("quota") of Cuban sugar that could enter the United States diminished Cuba's economic independence. U.S. cultural influences could be measured in the popularity of baseball and the use of English. North American tourists flocked to the Caribbean isle, whose beautiful beaches became legendary, along with unsavory mobsters such as Meyer Lansky, who ran ostentatious hotel casinos and seedy brothels.

These symbols of the debasement of the Cuban identity and of Cuba's dependency on its giant North American neighbor nurtured a fervent nationalism, which had actually been building since 1898, when the United States replaced Spain as the hegemonic power in Cuba, and

since 1903, when the Platt Amendment gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs. Strong anti-Batista and anti-U.S. opinion undergirded the Cuban rebellion that Castro led after he landed by yacht on the eastern shore of the island in December 1956 with rebel compatriots from Mexico. While in exile, Castro had visited the United States to raise money and to found 26th of July Movement clubs, which the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began to monitor.

From the yacht *Granma's* expedition until early January 1959, when Batista fled the island and the guerrilla warriors came out of the mountains to claim victory, officials of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Administration struggled to define a winning strategy to defend the sizable U.S. interests on the island, including the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay. The rebels seized and burned North American-owned properties, propagandized their cause in the U.S. press (especially after *New York Times* journalist Herbert Matthews began in February 1957 to publicize the insurgency), kidnapped U.S. civilians and military personnel (July 1958), hijacked aircraft, issued critical anti-Yankee declarations while clandestinely meeting with and receiving aid from U.S. officials, and relentlessly hurled defeat at Batista's U.S.-armed but demoralized army. During the rebellion, moreover, the urban underground assassinated Batista officials and detonated bombs.

* U.S. State Department officers William A. Wieland, Roy R. Rubottom, Jr., Christian A. Herter, John Foster Dulles, and others often found themselves stymied by Batista's repressive policies, a shortage of alternative leaders to both Batista and Castro, and the 26th of July Movement's successful military campaign in the Sierra Maestra Mountains of Oriente Province. Utilizing the pro-

Batista Ambassadors Arthur Gardner and Earl E. T. Smith (both political appointees) and officials in the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), FBI, U.S. Information Service (USIS), and military missions, the United States backed Batista against the rebellion. The United States extended Export-Import Bank loans, bedecked his generals with medals, prosecuted the anti-Batista exile and former President of Cuba Carlos Prío Socarrás, and intercepted rebel arms cargoes.

The Eisenhower Administration also tried to persuade Batista to reform. One method to press him was to stop arms shipments in March 1958. To no avail. Batista found other weapons sources, and he continued to suspend constitutional guarantees and to silence his critics. U.S. hopes for the failure of the rebellion rose in April, when a M-26-7-backed general strike fizzled. But, in November 1958, Batista further undercut his legitimacy by conducting a fraudulent election that frustrated U.S. officials and convinced them that Batista should be asked to leave in order to prevent a Castro triumph. Throughout the turmoil, Ambassador Smith, echoing Batista's assertions, claimed that Castro and the insurgents had Communist links. In the Cold War atmosphere of the times, U.S. officials studiously investigated such accusations but never established a case for Communist ties.

• In December, unable to reform the illegitimate regime or to ease out the rapidly faltering and self-destructive Batista, and adamantly opposed to Fidel Castro, the U.S. government activated the CIA and the Eisenhower-emissary William D. Pawley to launch several "third force" conspiracies to block Castro's ascension to power. When these plots failed, yet the young rebel leader heard about them, U.S.-Cuba relations at the start of the Castro era soured.

The Eisenhower Administration's Opposition to the Cuban Revolution, 1959-1961

In early 1959, U.S. officials watched warily as Fidel Castro became Cuba's preeminent, immensely popular leader and began to outline the elements of the Cuban Revolution. The Eisenhower Administration grew alarmed by the execution of *batistianos* after showy trials, by Castro's blistering anti-U.S. diatribes, by the postponement of elections, by Cuban calls for revolution throughout Latin America, and by hints that Cuba might follow a neutralist course in the Cold War. U.S. leaders hoped that so-called moderates would emerge to challenge the *fidelistas*, to temper the revolutionary zeal. The new U.S. ambassador to Havana, Philip W. Bonsal, a Spanish-speaking career Foreign Service Officer with considerable experience in Latin American affairs, presented his credentials on March 2. Two days later the Cuban government intervened the Cuban Telephone Company, a U.S.-owned firm.

Throughout 1959 relations between Havana and Washington grew more acrimonious as Cuba deliberately challenged U.S. hegemony and the United States just as deliberately sought to guarantee the large U.S. presence on the island. One sign of trouble was that Castro seldom met with Bonsal. When Castro visited the United States in April 1959 under the auspices of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, President Eisenhower would not meet with him. But other U.S. leaders did, thinking that Cuba's dire economic straits would compel Castro to ask for U.S. foreign aid. He resolutely refused to ask. In May a new agrarian reform law further undercut North American economic interests through its program to expropriate land. In June, the Cuban government seized three U.S.-owned cattle

ranches in Camagüey Province, the first of many seizures. U.S. government officials and business executives demanded adequate compensation. U.S. officials, thinking that Cuba was so economically dependent on the United States that it would have to moderate its revolutionary course, described Castro as mentally unbalanced when he did not. In October, Cuba imposed higher taxes on the U.S.-government-owned Nicaro nickel plant, which the United States decided to sell.

In November the Eisenhower government began to work with anti-Castro groups within Cuba to oust Castro, because, as Assistant Secretary of State Rubottom told Ambassador Bonsal, the United States could not "do business" with his regime. Throughout fall 1959 the Cuban government charged U.S. complicity in permitting counter-revolutionaries to attack Cuba, including an October 21 plane incident over Havana.

In January 1960, the United States protested that Cuba was seizing U.S. properties without due process. On March 4 the French freighter *La Coubre*, loaded with munitions, exploded in Havana harbor. Castro angrily blamed the United States. That month, Eisenhower ordered the CIA to train Cuban exiles for an invasion of their homeland. This decision came shortly after a visit to Cuba by Soviet Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan and the signing of a Soviet-Cuba trade treaty. The CIA hatched assassination plots against Castro and staged hit-and-run sabotage attacks along the Cuban coast. Discussion mounted in the United States about gaining leverage over Castro by reducing Cuba's sugar quota. U.S. diplomats and politicians speculated that communism was gaining ground in Cuba.

A major crisis erupted in mid-1960 after U.S.-petroleum companies operating on the island refused to process

Soviet crude oil. On June 29 and July 1, Cuba seized Texaco and Esso properties; on July 3 the U.S. Congress authorized the president to reduce the import quota on Cuban sugar; three days later Cuba passed a law permitting the nationalization of all U.S.-owned property; that same day, July 6, Eisenhower drastically cut Cuba's sugar quota. Cuban leaders claimed that the Soviet Union would defend the island against U.S. aggression.

Washington issued reports blaming the deterioration of relations on the Cubans and rallied support for its anti-Castro stance in the Organization of American States (OAS) at its San José, Costa Rica, meeting of late August. On October 19, Washington banned exports to Cuba. In the fall presidential campaign, Democratic candidate John F. Kennedy charged that Vice President Richard M. Nixon, running as the Republican candidate, had let Cuba go Communist. On December 16, Eisenhower set the quota for Cuban sugar at zero.

On January 3, 1961, before President-elect John F. Kennedy took office, the Eisenhower Administration broke diplomatic relations with Cuba after Castro demanded a reduction in the size of the U.S. Embassy staff because, he charged, the embassy harbored spies who collaborated with counterrevolutionaries. The administration also announced that travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens required special U.S.-government permission.

Throughout these early years of the Cuban Revolution, a large Cuban emigration to the United States spurred creation of a U.S. Cuban relief program. Many of the new arrivals took up residence in southern Florida to form a vocal anti-Castro political lobby made up of dozens of exile groups.

The Kennedy Administration, Bay of Pigs Invasion, and Cuban Missile Crisis, 1961-1963

John F. Kennedy advanced the Eisenhower effort to isolate and overthrow Fidel Castro and his revolutionary government. In March, Kennedy set the Cuban sugar quota at zero for 1961. He helped organize a government-in-exile under the leadership of José Miró Cardona. The new president also authorized an attack against Cuba by the CIA-trained exiles, all the while insisting that the U.S. hand be concealed.

The operation began April 15 with air attacks; then, on April 17, came an invasion by some 1,400 commandos at the Bay of Pigs. The invaders met resistance from Castro's militia and aircraft, equipment failed, and no sympathetic insurrection occurred, despite CIA predictions to the contrary. More than 1,100 brigade commandos were captured and imprisoned. Kennedy appointed General Maxwell Taylor to conduct a study to find out what went wrong. After Castro said in May that he would exchange the Bay of Pigs prisoners for tractors, a Tractors-for-Freedom Committee formed to raise money for a trade. The administration supported the controversial venture but the two sides could not agree, and the prisoners languished in Cuban prisons until late December 1962.

After the Bay of Pigs setback, Kennedy launched a multi-pronged campaign to bring down Castro and his government. The CIA designed new assassination plots, some using mobsters. Under Operation Mongoose, initiated in November 1961, CIA agents covertly cooperated with anti-Castro groups to raid and destroy oil facilities and other targets on the island. Under the leadership of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and Brigadier General Edward

Lansdale, director of Operation Mongoose, U.S. agencies drafted contingency plans for military action against Cuba. The U.S. Army began to create an all-Cuban unit, whose members expected to invade the island. Anticipating another invasion, Cuba ordered more Soviet weapons. In December Castro declared himself a "Marxist-Leninist."

In January 1962, the United States engineered the eviction of Cuba from the Organization of American States. In February, the administration tightened the economic blockade against Cuba by banning imports of most Cuban products; in essence, a total embargo on trade with Cuba went into place. Washington also began to press its allies, especially those in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to halt their trading with Cuba. In the spring, U.S. military maneuvers in the Caribbean heightened tensions.

Unbeknownst to U.S. officials, Cuban and Soviet leaders, citing defense, signed an agreement in Moscow in July 1962 to place on the island nuclear-tipped Soviet missiles that could strike the United States. As Soviet weapons of various kinds flowed to Cuba and partisan Republicans hammered the administration for tolerating the military build-up in Cuba, President Kennedy warned on September 4 that if offensive ground-to-ground missiles were ever introduced into Cuba, a grave crisis would follow. Cuba and the Soviet Union publicly rebutted that they had a right to defend the island and the Cuban Revolution against repeated U.S. assaults.

On October 14, a U-2 aircraft operated by the CIA took photographs which revealed medium-range missile sites in Cuba. On October 16, after seeing the spy plane's photographs and learning from the CIA that the missiles could reach as far as Dallas and Washington, D.C., and that 95 million Americans were within this zone, President

Kennedy assembled a special advisory committee, the Executive Committee (ExComm), a mix of current high-level officials such as Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and Chairman of the Joints Chiefs of Staff Maxwell Taylor, and former policymakers such as Dean Acheson. These advisers did not know that Kennedy was taping their discussions.

For several days, ExComm secretly debated how to satisfy the president's insistence on the removal of the missiles. The committee considered several options: air strikes, invasion, blockade, diplomatic negotiations, a swap for U.S. Jupiter missiles in Turkey, and a combination of these alternatives. On October 18, President Kennedy met with Soviet Minister Andrei Gromyko in the White House, but chose not to tell him about the U.S. discovery of the missiles. During the next few days, Kennedy decided not to begin negotiations with either Cuba or the Soviet Union, fearing that the Soviets would drag them out; he decided that air strikes would not be completely effective, possibly leaving some missiles in place to be fired at the United States; and he decided against a military invasion because of the expected high casualty rate and possible Soviet retaliatory action. In the end, Kennedy endorsed an option that gained favor every day in ExComm discussions: a naval blockade or "quarantine" to stop further Soviet military shipments and to force Khrushchev to retreat in the face of superior U.S. power in the region.

On October 22, Kennedy announced in a special radio and television address that the United States was placing a quarantine around Cuba to force out the "offensive" missiles. U.S. vessels began to patrol the Caribbean and troops were readied in the southern United States for a possible assault should the Soviets not back down. Fidel Castro

and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev blasted the quarantine as a violation of international law and declared the missiles "defensive." Khrushchev sent letters to Kennedy on October 23 and 24; Kennedy answered on the 25th that he was holding the Soviets responsible for the crisis. Late on October 26, Khrushchev wrote privately to Kennedy proposing to remove the missiles if the United States pledged not to invade Cuba. That evening, Kennedy sent his brother Robert to meet with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin to try to resolve the crisis.

On October 27, Khrushchev asked for more: a swap of the American missiles in Turkey for the Soviet missiles in Cuba. That day, the crisis escalated: a U-2 plane was shot down over Cuba and an Alaska-based U.S. spy plane strayed into Soviet territory, almost starting a dogfight with Soviet jets. Kennedy decided to strike a deal. In another meeting with Dobrynin, on the 27th, Robert Kennedy urged swift Soviet action to withdraw the missiles or face U.S. military action and promised that the Jupiter missiles would be withdrawn from Turkey, although no public announcement of the deal over the missiles in Turkey would be made. The United States would also pledge not to invade Cuba. On October 28, Khrushchev accepted these terms. (During the crisis, some U.S. officials, such as W. Averell Harriman, advised a broader settlement that would include the denuclearization of Latin America and Soviet and American promises not to place nuclear weapons in any nation other than in nuclear powers.)

The missiles departed Cuba against Cuban wishes, which were strongly stated to anyone who would listen, including the Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant, who visited Cuba October 30-31. The Cuban government rejected proposals for an international system of

inspection to verify removal of the missiles. On November 2, to placate angry Cubans who resented the fact that the Soviets had not consulted them during the crisis, Mikoyan arrived in Cuba for discussions. On November 19, after negotiations with U.S. officials, the Soviets finally agreed to pull out the IL-28 bombers they had also placed in Cuba. On November 20, Kennedy told a press conference that he was lifting the quarantine. He also issued a hedged no-invasion pledge and declared that the United States would not end its policies designed to isolate Cuba. On December 29, in Miami's Orange Bowl, Kennedy met the recently released Bay of Pigs prisoners at a rally in which the president promised that the brigade's banner would fly over a free Havana. The prisoners had been released from Cuban jails on December 23-24 under an agreement arranged by James B. Donovan, a lawyer for the Cuban Families Committee. The agreement provided for their release in exchange for shipments of food and medicine to Cuba.

U.S. covert operations directed against Cuba continued in early 1963 with new hit-and-run raids, sabotage, and assassination schemes. Several violent incidents occurred in the waters between Cuba and the United States, and in Cuban ports, where Soviet ships were often the targets. The Kennedy Administration began to reconsider its sabotage program, uncertain about the effectiveness of the attacks by exile groups, many of them managed by the CIA. In early April, Kennedy ordered restrictions on unauthorized exile activities. On April 24, Lisa Howard of ABC television interviewed Fidel Castro, who said in the broadcast that U.S. actions had forced Cuba to rely on the Soviet Union as an ally but that better relations with the United States might be possible.

On April 27, 1963, Castro departed on a trip to the Soviet Union—a journey U.S. officials watched very closely. Before Castro returned to Cuba on June 3, he had repaired some of the damage done to Cuban-Soviet relations by the missile crisis; for one, the two countries signed a new trade pact. Castro's blistering verbal attacks on the United States when he was in the Soviet Union angered U.S. officials, who soon approved a new sabotage campaign.

In June of 1963, a group of U.S. students traveled to Cuba via Czechoslovakia in defiance of the U.S. travel ban. Their passports were seized when they returned to the United States. In July, the United States further tightened the economic embargo under the 1917 Trading with the Enemy Act and continued to press allies to isolate Cuba economically. In the fall, William Attwood of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations made contact with Cuban diplomats who seemed interested in reducing Cuba-U.S. tensions. President Kennedy gave Attwood permission to explore the possibility of talks. In early October, Hurricane Flora tore across the eastern part of the island, inflicting heavy damage and further hampering Cuba's economic development. The question of disaster relief was debated in the United States, and some private supplies were sent to the island. On November 22, John F. Kennedy died from assassination, sparking speculation that, among other possible suspects, either Cuban-government agents or anti-Castro Cuban exiles had murdered the president.

The Johnson Administration and Cuba, 1963-1969

In his first week in office, the new president, Lyndon B. Johnson, learned that an arms cache had been discovered in Venezuela, which charged that Cuba had stored the

weapons to overthrow the Venezuelan government. Once again the issue of Cuban subversion in Latin America flared up. After U.S. officials briefed the president on Cuban affairs, Johnson decided to suspend Attwood's contact with the Cubans at the United Nations. Increasingly, Johnson's attention and U.S. resources shifted to Southeast Asia, where the Vietnam War would become an Americanized war.

But Cuba-U.S. relations continued to spawn crises. In January of 1964, the United States protested a British sale of buses to Cuba. The following month, on February 2, U.S. ships seized four Cuban fishing vessels that the United States claimed were within U.S. waters. Thirty-eight Cubans were arrested. Four days later, Cuba stopped the flow of water into the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo. The United States retaliated by firing Cuban citizens who worked at the base, offering refuge to those people who decided to stay at the facility. A war of words ensued between Havana and Washington. Late in the month, after the conviction of the fishing boat captains and payment of fines by the Cuban government, the fishermen were released. Most returned to the island. The U.S. Navy devised alternative water supplies for the base.

In March 1964, the chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, J. William Fulbright, judged the economic embargo a failure and urged acceptance of the Havana regime, no matter how distasteful. Rejecting such advice, the Johnson Administration, in May, announced that the sale of food and medicine to Cuba required an export license. Throughout the year, saboteurs hit the island. On July 26, the OAS voted to ban all trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba. Mexico once again opposed the United States, but much of Latin America endorsed the isolation

policy. After intense U.S. lobbying, Japan and Western Europe also trimmed their trade with Cuba.

The years 1965-1969 saw little change in U.S.-Cuba relations, with the United States determined to eliminate the Castro government so that it could not become a model for Latin America and Cuba determined to defend its sovereignty. The economic embargo and travel restrictions remained in place. Diplomatic relations remained broken. Cubans continued to emigrate to the United States. Raids still punished the Cuban infrastructure. U.S. suspicions of Cuban subversion in the hemisphere flourished, as did worries that Cuba was forming bonds with Third World critics of the United States, including North Vietnam. In April 1965, U.S. troops invaded the Dominican Republic to undermine what U.S. officials claimed was a radical movement that might result in "another Cuba." In late September, Fidel Castro announced that Cubans who wanted to leave Cuba could do so at a designated port. The following month, thousands of Cubans left by boat for the United States. On November 6, Cuba and the United States signed an agreement to airlift other emigrating Cubans to the United States.

In 1965 Ernesto "Che" Guevara spent several months in Africa, and the following year he went to Bolivia to help organize a rebellion. Speculations abounded about his whereabouts and intentions and about Cuban plots to spread communism. The July 1967 meeting of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity, held in Havana, intensified such concerns. In Bolivia, Guevara's October 1967 capture, with the CIA's assistance, and his death captured headlines. But, as the Vietnam War escalated, Cuban issues tended to recede from sustained public attention.

Limited Accommodation and Renewed Hostility: The 1970s

The new Nixon Administration engaged in a Cuban crisis in fall 1970, when photographs from a U-2 overflight of the island suggested that the Soviets were building a submarine base at Cienfuegos. Washington chastised Havana and Moscow, which denied any such undertaking. The crisis passed quickly. In the 1970s, especially as the United States began to withdraw from Vietnam, U.S. policies toward Cuba came under increased public scrutiny and criticism. Castro still remained in power, his internal opponents having been largely quieted. Soviet aid helped the Cubans survive the U.S. policy of isolation. Latin American and Western European governments edged toward easing relations with Cuba, as when Chile restored relations with Cuba in 1970, followed by Barbados, Jamaica, and others in 1972. In May 1973, Argentina restored relations with Cuba.

In a time of détente with the Soviet Union, President Richard M. Nixon and National Security Affairs Adviser and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger entertained a change in Cuba policy. In February 1973, Cuba and the United States signed an antihijacking treaty to discourage terrorism in the airways. During 1974-1975, U.S. officials met secretly with Cuban diplomats to explore ways to improve relations, but this initiative came to naught when Cuban soldiers helped radicals come to power in Angola. In early 1975, Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts introduced a bill to lift the embargo to Cuba. Like so many others over the years, this bill failed to pass. In summer of that year, the investigating committee headed by Senator Frank Church of Idaho heard former CIA officials testify that they had worked with crime syndicate leaders to assassinate Castro in the 1960s. The United States, in July 1975, voted

with the majority in the OAS to end economic and diplomatic sanctions against Cuba.

In March 1977, Carter Administration officials began to discuss with Cuban counterparts the possibility of normalizing relations. The following month, Senators George McGovern and James Abourezk of South Dakota traveled to Cuba. As with other U.S. politicians who would visit the island thereafter, they met with senior Cuban officials. Also in April, to clarify fishing rights in the waters between Cuba and the United States, the two nations signed an agreement. Senator Church traveled to Cuba and met with Fidel Castro in August. In September, the United States and Cuba opened limited diplomatic relations by establishing "interests sections" in each other's capitals to handle consular matters such as immigration. President Jimmy Carter also lifted the ban on travel to Cuba.

This period of accommodation did not last long. Charges were soon hurled at Cuba that Castro was aiding the leftist Sandinistas in Nicaragua and backing an insurgency in El Salvador. Secret, high-level talks in 1979-1980 failed to advance steps toward normalization of relations. The 1970s ended and the 1980s began with new crises over Soviet military forces in Cuba and emigration.

The election of the extremely anti-Communist Ronald Reagan as president in 1980 led to the reestablishment of the hardline policy of isolation. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, except for a few relaxed moments, U.S. economic and travel restrictions tightened and Cuban resistance stiffened. Even after the Cold War ended in the late 1980s and the Soviet Union collapsed in the early 1990s, Cuba remained a hotly debated political issue in the United States and a contentious point between the United States and its allies, who protested U.S. trade sanctions. Cubans

continued to emigrate to the United States, where many supported anti-Castro groups, including the most prominent, the Cuban-American National Foundation. As the twenty-first century neared and Fidel Castro still ruled the island, Cuba-U.S. relations seemed stuck in the past.

T.G.P.

Scope and Content

Professor Thomas G. Paterson collected these documents during his more than twenty-five years of research and writing on U.S.-Cuba relations in the Cold War period, including his 1994 book, *Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution*. From archives and libraries throughout the United States and from abroad, these declassified records, primarily in English, provide a year-by-year, month-by-month, and sometimes day-by-day account of the diplomatic, economic, military, and cultural relationship between two nations of unequal power in the era of Fidel Castro.

The collection includes extensive official records (memoranda, letters, telegrams, diary entries, intelligence and military reports, transcripts and minutes of meetings, speeches, and other policymaker-generated materials) from presidential libraries and government archives. Especially useful in following events are the weekly reports from the U.S. Embassy in Havana, Cuba, to the U.S. Department of State (these documents are located at the beginning of the collection).*

The domestic politics surrounding the controversial U.S.-Cuba relationship are detailed in the papers of U.S. politicians, especially senators, and of interest groups and publicists in labor unions, the business community, pro-Castro organizations, and anti-Castro exile committees. The

*Some of the U.S. documents in the Paterson collection have been published in the Department of State's *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)* series, but the great majority have not been published because this series prints only a small percentage of the government's archival holdings. The Havana Embassy's weekly reports, for example, have not been published in *FRUS*. Because the *FRUS* volumes contain some documents not in the Paterson Collection, use of both should give researchers substantial documentation.

media's handling of U.S.-Cuba relations is covered through journalists' personal papers and reports. In this collection, moreover, public opinion is registered in constituent mail received by politicians and the White House, and in data collected by pollsters. The place of U.S. business in the Cuban economy, nationalization of U.S. company properties, and subsequent claims for compensation are found in documents prepared by corporations and U.S. government agencies.

Paterson filed numerous Freedom of Information Act requests to gain the declassification of documents held by the Central Intelligence Agency, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of State, and other U.S. government agencies. Also, using the Mandatory Review process at U.S. presidential libraries, he obtained the declassification of other high-level documents. These records are found throughout the collection.

Also included in the Paterson Collection are some oral history interviews of participants in the events of the 1950s-1970s, and Paterson's records from interviews with various people in the U.S.-Cuba story and Paterson's handwritten notes of documents from some archives.

Among other types of records in this collection are chronologies, biographical sketches of key leaders, trade and export control statistics, *The Cuban Report* published by the Cuban Student Directorate (an anti-Castro exile group), and accounts of trips to Cuba by government officials, politicians, journalists, and others.

Documents and notes in the Paterson Collection from records in the archives of Cuba, Great Britain, and Canada and in the archives of the United Nations Organization provide international perspectives. Particularly noteworthy for comparative purposes are the

annual reports for the late 1950s and early 1960s by the British and Canadian ambassadors to Havana and the U.N. Secretary General's accounts of his meetings with Fidel Castro and others during the Cuban missile crisis.

Among the papers and records at U.S. government archives and presidential libraries represented in the collection are:

Central Intelligence Agency Records, Washington, DC
Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, KS

- Robert Cutler Papers
- Joseph M. Dodge Papers
- John Foster Dulles Papers
- Dwight D. Eisenhower Papers
 - Post-Presidential Papers
 - White House Central File
 - White House Office Records
 - Ann Whitman File
- Milton S. Eisenhower Papers
- Gordon Gray Papers
- James C. Hagerty Papers
- Christian A. Herter Papers
- C. D. Jackson Papers
- Robert E. Merriam Records
- Gerald D. Morgan Records
- Oral Histories
- * Don Paarlberg Papers

Federal Archives and Records Center, Laguna Niguel, CA

- * Richard M. Nixon Papers, Pre-Presidential Papers

Federal Bureau of Investigation Records, Washington, DC

- Jules Dubois File
- Errol Flynn File
- Samuel Giancana File

Internal Security, Cuba File
William D. Pawley File
Gerald R. Ford Library, Ann Arbor, MI
Gerald R. Ford Papers
 Vice Presidential File
 White House Central File
 White House Staff File
Ron Nessen Papers
Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, IA
 Bourke Hickenlooper Papers
 Herbert Hoover Papers
Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, TX
 Administrative History of the Department of State
 George Ball Papers
 Lyndon B. Johnson Papers
 National Security File
John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, MA
 Robert H. Estabrook Papers
 John F. Kennedy Papers
 National Security File
 Pre-Presidential Papers, Senate Files
 Presidential Recordings
 President's Office File
 White House Central File
 Robert F. Kennedy Papers
 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Papers
 Theodore Sorensen Papers
Library of Congress, Washington, DC
 W. Averell Harriman Papers
 Eric Sevareid Papers
 Lawrence E. Spivak Papers
National Archives of the United States, Washington, DC
 Department of the Army, Army Staff, Assistant

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- Chief of State for Intelligence Records,
Record Group 319
 - Department of State Records, Record Group 59
 - Decimal Files
 - Lot Files
 - Public Studies Division, Office of Public
Opinion Studies
 - Foreign Service Post Records, Record Group 84
 - Joint Chiefs of Staff Records, Record Group 218
 - Joint Commands, Caribbean Command Records,
Record Group 349
 - National Defense University, Washington, DC
 - Maxwell D. Taylor Papers
 - National War College, Washington, DC
 - Research Papers
 - Naval Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard,
Washington, DC
 - Chief of Naval Operations/Admiral Burke Files
 - "Historical Record of the U.S. Naval Mission to
Cuba"
 - Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY
 - Adolf A. Berle Papers
 - Eleanor Roosevelt Papers
 - Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, MO
 - Merwin L. Bohan Papers
 - Harry S. Truman Papers
 - Post-Presidential Papers

Among the papers and records at foreign archives represented in the collection are:

National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
Department of External Affairs Records, Record
Group 25
Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce
Records, Record Group 20
Department of National Defence, Record Group 24
National Archives of Cuba, Havana, Cuba
Public Record Office, London, Great Britain
Foreign Office Correspondence (FO 371)
United Nations Archives, New York, NY

Among other papers and records represented in the collection are:

Bella Abzug Papers, Columbia University Library, New
York, NY
Dean Acheson Papers, Yale University Library, New
Haven, CT
George Aiken Papers, University of Vermont Library,
Burlington, VT
American Society of Travel Agents Archives,
Washington, DC
Americans for Democratic Action Papers, State Historical
Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI
Howard H. Baker Papers, University of Tennessee Library,
Knoxville, TN
Hanson Baldwin Papers, Yale University Library, New
Haven, CT
Bangor Punta Corporation Files, Greenwich, CT
Bank of America Archives, San Francisco, CA
Alan Bible Papers, University of Nevada at Reno Library,
Reno, NV
William D. Bishop Papers (sent to Paterson by Bishop)

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Boise Cascade Records, Boise Cascade Company,
Boise, ID

Chester Bowles Papers, Yale University Library, New
Haven, CT

Spruille Braden Papers, Columbia University Library, New
York, NY

Braga Brothers Collection, University of Florida Library,
Gainesville, FL

Raul Chibás Collection, Hoover Institution Archives,
Stanford, CA

Frank Church Papers, Boise State University Library,
Boise, ID

Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, Inc., Papers, Hoover
Institution Archives, Stanford, CA

John Sherman Cooper Papers, University of Kentucky
Library, Lexington, KY

Norris Cotton Papers, University of New Hampshire
Library, Durham, NH

Council on Foreign Relations Archives, New York, NY

Cuban Collection, Andrew St. George Papers, Yale
University Library, New Haven, CT

Thomas B. Curtis Files (sent to Paterson by Curtis)

James B. Donovan Papers, Hoover Institution Archives,
Stanford, CA

Theodore Draper Papers, Hoover Institution Archives,
Stanford, CA

John Foster Dulles Papers, Princeton University Library,
Princeton, NJ

Allen J. Ellender Papers, Nicholls State University Library,
Thibodaux, LA

Ford Industrial Archives, Redford, MI

Foreign Affairs Oral History Program, Lauinger Library,
Georgetown University, Washington, DC

- J. William Fulbright Papers, University of Arkansas
Library, Fayetteville, AK
- Clarence M. Hansen Papers (sent to Paterson by Hansen)
- Robert C. Hill Papers, Hoover Institution Archives,
Stanford, CA
- Jacob K. Javits Papers, State University of New York, Stony
Brook, Library, Stony Brook, NY
- Benjamin E. Jordan Papers (sent to Paterson by Jordan)
- Estes Kefauver Papers, University of Tennessee Library,
Knoxville, TN
- Kenneth Keating Papers, University of Rochester Library,
Rochester, NY
- King Ranch, Inc. Files, Kingsville, TX
- Frank J. Lausche Papers, Ohio Historical Society,
Columbus, OH
- Marvin Liebman Associates Papers, Hoover Institution
Archives, Stanford, CA
- J. B. Liljedahl Papers (sent to Paterson by Liljedahl)
- Walter Lippmann Papers, Yale University Library, New
Haven, CT
- Herbert L. Matthews Papers, Columbia University Library,
New York, NY
- John J. McCloy Papers, Robert Frost Library, Amherst
College, Amherst, MA
- Lee Metcalf Papers, Montana Historical Society,
Helena, MT
- Wayne L. Morse Papers, University of Oregon Library,
Eugene, OR
- Karl E. Mundt Papers, Dakota State College, Madison, SD
- National Security Archive, Washington, DC
- Gaylord Nelson Papers, State Historical Society of
Wisconsin, Madison, WI
- Pan American World Airways, Inc., Records,
New York, NY

William D. Pawley Papers, George C. Marshall Research
Library, Lexington, VA

Charles O. Porter Papers, University of Oregon,
Eugene, OR

E. Barrett Prettyman, Jr. Papers (provided to Paterson by
Prettyman)

Winston L. Prouty Papers, University of Vermont Library,
Burlington, VT

Walter P. Reuther Collection, Archives of Labor and Urban
Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI

Rockefeller Foundation Archives, Rockefeller Archive
Center, North Tarrytown, NY

Roper Center, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT

Richard Rovere Papers, State Historical Society of
Wisconsin, Madison, WI

Richard B. Russell Papers, University of Georgia Library,
Athens, GA

William W. Scranton Papers, Pennsylvania State University
Library, University Park, PA

Sears Roebuck Company Files, Chicago, IL

Sherwin Williams Company Archives, Cleveland, OH

George A. Smathers Papers, University of Florida Library,
Gainesville, FL

Adlai E. Stevenson Papers, Princeton University Library,
Princeton, NJ

United Automobile Workers Papers, Archives of Labor and
Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI

United States Beet Sugar Association Records,
Washington, DC

United States Naval Institute, Interviews, Annapolis, MD

Tracy S. Voorhees Papers, Rutgers University Library,
New Brunswick, NJ

Arthur I. Waskow Papers, State Historical Society of
Wisconsin, Madison, WI
Alexander Wiley Papers, State Historical Society of
Wisconsin, Madison, WI
Milton R. Young Papers, University of North Dakota
Library, Grand Forks, ND

Organization and Source Citations

The documents in this collection are largely arranged in chronological order. Folders are titled by month and year, and within folders the documents are sorted by day. Some topical folders are included throughout this chronological organization and their titles indicate contents. Several topical folders begin the collection because their contents cover broad periods or subjects that do not fit easily into a year-by-year structure. Documents that bear no precise date but whose text suggests a date are located at the end of appropriate folders.

Each document is labeled with a citation, often by hand and in abbreviated form, to indicate its original source or location in an archive or library.

Among the abbreviations and acronyms in the citations for sources of documents are:

ACSI	Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (U.S. Army)
ADA	Americans for Democratic Action
ASTA	American Society of Travel Agents
AWF	Ann Whitman File
BSUL	Boise State University Library
BYU	Brigham Young University
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (U.S.)
DDE	Dwight D. Eisenhower
DDEL	Dwight D. Eisenhower Papers
DS *	Department of State (U.S.)
<i>DSB</i>	<i>Department of State Bulletin</i>
DSR	Department of State Records (U.S.)
DEPT	Department
or Dept	
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation (U.S.)

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FBIS	Foreign Broadcast Information Service (U.S.)
FDRL	Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
FO	Foreign Office
FOIA	Freedom of Information Act (documents declassified)
FS	Foreign Service Despatch (U.S.)
Desp.	
ISL	Indiana State Library
JFK	John F. Kennedy
JFKL	John F. Kennedy Library
L	Library
LBJ	Lyndon B. Johnson
LBJL	Lyndon B. Johnson Library
LC	Library of Congress
LIB	Library
or Lib	
MHS	Montana Historical Society
NA	National Archives
NDU	National Defense University (U.S.)
NSC	National Security Council (U.S.)
NSF	National Security File
OH	Oral History
OSANSA	Office of Special Assistant for National Security Affairs
POF	President's Office File
PP	Papers
Public Papers	Public Papers of the Presidents
PRO	Public Record Office
RG	Record Group
RFK	Robert F. Kennedy
SHSW	State Historical Society of Wisconsin
SUNY	State University of New York

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U University

UAW United Automobile Workers

UN United Nations

UND University of North Dakota

UNH University of New Hampshire

UOL University of Oregon

USBSA United States Beet Sugar Association

UT United Technologies Corporation

Vol Volume

VP Vice President or Vice Presidential

WHO White House Office

WHCF* White House Central File

Roll Contents

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1	0002	U.S. Embassy-Havana Weekly Reports (JOINT WEEKA), Dec 5, 1956-Feb 27, 1957
	0082	Mar 5-Jul 31, 1957
	0214	Aug 7-Dec 1957
	0313	Jan 1-Jun 25, 1958
	0456	Jul 2-Dec 30, 1958
	0588	Jan 7-Jul 1, 1959
	0812	Jul 8-Dec 29, 1959
	1058	Jan 5-Jun 29, 1960
	1271	Jul 6-Dec 30, 1960
2	0002	Jul 6-Dec 30, 1960 (continued)
	0175	Chronology, U.S.-Cuba Relations, 1957- 1963, by Senate Foreign Relations Committee (1963)
	0191	Republican Congressional Committee, "The Cuban Issue: A Chronology" (1963)
	0235	U.S. Officials Responsible for U.S.-Cuba Relations, 1953-1969 (from <i>U.S. Government Manual</i>)
	0339	List of U.S. Ambassadors to Cuba (with dates of service), 1905-1960
	0341	Members, Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee, 1953-1965
	0344	U.S. Officials Stationed in Cuba, 1956- 1961 (Foreign Service List)
	0364	American Military Personnel in Cuba, 1956-1961, and U.S. Military Role
	0381	Biographies of U.S. and Cuban Leaders

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Roll No.	Frame No.	Contents
2	0404	Documents from Cuban Archives, Havana, largely covering Military Affairs (U.S.- Cuba), 1956-1958
	0576	American Businesses in Cuba, 1950s (include information on Claims)
	0774	Eugene Desvernine on Cuba, 1956-1961
	0795	Export-Import Bank and Cuba, 1950s
	0888	American Businesses in Cuba, 1955-1960 (Braga Brothers Collection, University of Florida)
	1006	Ford Motor in Cuba, 1950s
	1091	Sears, Roebuck in Cuba, 1950s-1961
	1127	Texaco and Cuba, 1957-1960
	1148	La Charité Study of Cuba, 1953-1959 (1963)
3	0002	La Charité Study of Cuba, 1953-1959 (1963) (continued)
	0047	Cataloging Forms, Cuba Folder, Country Files, Nixon Prepresidential Papers (1955-1959)
	0105	"Draft White Paper" (covering events of 1950s) and update through early 1960s (Dept. of State)
	0268	Jules DuBois, 1958-1965
	0307	Merwin Bohan's 1971-1973 Correspondence, HSTL
	0331	Oral History Interview with Milton Eisenhower (Sep 6, 1967)
	0348	William D. Pawley manuscript, "Russia is Winning," Ch. XIV
	0400	FBI Records on William D. Pawley
	0512	Miró Cardona

Roll No.	Frame No.	Contents
3	0516	Justo Carrillo's Recollections
	0573	Justo Carrillo Lecture on U.S.-Cuba Relations, 1902-1955
	0592	Robert Stevenson Oral History
	0628	Instituto Cultural Cubano-Norte-americano, 1960-1961
	0748	"U.S. Trade with Cuba, 1960-1963" U.S. Dept. of Commerce (1964)
	0754	"World Trade with Cuba, 1961-1962" U.S. Dept. of Commerce (Mar 1964)
	0761	Efforts to Restrict Trade Between American Allies and Cuba, 1962-1965
	0861	John Crimmins Oral History (on the 1960s)
	0951	Office of Coordinator of Cuban Affairs in Miami, 1963 (Harvey Summ Notes)
	0957	Malcolm Moos Interview with Dwight D. Eisenhower, Nov 8, 1966 (on Cuba)
	0974	CIA "Plots to Assassinate Fidel Castro" (Report of 1967)
	1118	CBS Reports: "The CIA's Secret Army" (Jun 10, 1977)
	1156	Cuban Military Status: Data from Institute for Strategic Studies (London), 1962-1970
	1190	Dept. of Military Administrative History, Chapter 6, Nov 1963-Jan 1969, LBJL
4	0002	Public Papers of the Presidents, Kennedy, 1961-1963 (others filed by subject)
	0100	Presidential Statements on Cuba, 1962-1963
	0157	LBJ Statements on Cuba, 1969-1973 (Public Papers)
	0204	Richard M. Nixon Statements on Cuba, 1969-1973 (Public Papers)

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4	0227	The Cuban Report (Cuban Student Directorate), Jul 1962-Feb 1965
	0481	Che Guevara, Subversion, Bolivia, and Latin America, 1964-1968
	0682	Cuba-U.S., pre-1956 Relations
	0832	U.S.-Cuba, 1956 (General)
	0954	Anti-Batista Groups in the U.S., 1956
	1056	Anti-Batista Activities in the U.S., 1956-1958
	1263	Cuba, Dec 1956
	1310	Cuba, 1957 (General)
5	0002	Cuba, 1957 (General) (continued)
	0038	Anti-Batista Groups in the U.S., 1957
	0317	U.S.-Cuba (Jan-Feb 1957)
	0357	Departure of Ambassador Gardner (Jan-Jun 1957)
	0373	Herbert Mathews Trip to Cuba and Interview with Castro (Feb 1957)
	0398	U.S.-Cuba, Mar 1957
	0466	U.S.-Cuba, Apr 1957
	0546	U.S.-Cuba, May 1957
	0596	Anti-Batista Groups in the U.S., 1957-1958 (FBI Records)
	0679	Anti-Batista Activities in Los Angeles (1957-1959)
	0794	Anti-Batista Groups in the U.S., Jun 1957-Mar 1958 (FBI Records)
	0880	U.S.-Cuba, Jun-Jul 1957
	0932	U.S.-Cuba, Aug 1957
	1028	U.S.-Cuba, Sep 1957
	1084	Anti-Batista Groups in Newark, Sep 1957-Jan 1960 (FBI Records)
	1204	U.S.-Cuba, Oct 1957
6	0002	U.S.-Cuba, Nov 1957
	0102	U.S.-Cuba, Dec 1957

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6	0197	U.S.-Cuba, Jan 1958
	0316	U.S.-Cuba, Feb 1958
		(*Errata: The next six folders were filmed out of order. They can be found on Roll 22 beginning at frame 0208.)
	0413	Anti-Batista Groups in the U.S., Apr-Oct 1958 (FBI Records)
	0495	Cuba, May 1958
	0644	Cuba, Jun 1958
	0712	Kidnapping Episode, Jun-Jul 1958
	0844	Anti-Batista Groups in Chicago, Jun 1958-Dec 1959 (FBI Reports)
	1022	Cuba, Jul 1958
	1115	Cuba, Aug 1958
	1279	Cuba, Sep 1958
7	0002	Cuba, Oct 1958
	0203	Cuba, Nov 1958
	0346	Anti-Batista Groups in the U.S., Nov 1958 (FBI Reports)
	0367	Cuba, Dec 1958
	0627	Sen. Allen J. Ellender's Notes on Trip to Cuba, Dec 1958
	0729	U.S.-Cuba, 1958 (General)
	0776	Anti-Batista Groups in the U.S., 1958-1959 (FBI Records)
	0967	Anti-Batista Groups in the U.S., Dec 1958-Feb 1959 (FBI Records)
	1027	Anti-Castro Activities in Cuba, 1959 (FBI Records)
	1252	Anti-Batista Activities in New York, 1958-1959 (FBI Records)
8	0002	Anti-Batista Activities in New York, 1958-1959 (FBI Records) (continued)
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8	0299	U.S.-Cuba, Jan 1959 (Early reactions to Castro victory)
	0584	Batiste in Exile: Dominican Republic and Issue of Entry into U.S., 1959
	0611	NSC 5902/1, "U.S. Policy Toward Latin America," Feb 1959
	0700	U.S.-Cuba, Feb 1959
	0846	U.S.-Cuba, Mar 1959
	0940	U.S.-Cuba, Apr 1959
	1011	Chiefs of Mission Meeting, San Salvador, Apr 9-11, 1959
	1074	Castro Trip to U.S., Apr 1959
	1184	U.S.-Cuba, May 1959
	1279	OAS Meeting, May 1959
	1296	U.S.-Cuba, Jun 1959
9	0002	U.S.-Cuba, Jun 1959 (continued)
	0276	U.S.-Cuba, Jul 1959
	0556	U.S.-Cuba, Aug 1959
	0699	U.S.-Cuba, Sep 1959
	0887	U.S.-Cuba, Oct 1959
	1192	"Current Basic United States Policy Towards Cuba," Nov 1959
	1216	U.S.-Cuba, Nov 1959
	1373	U.S.-Cuba, Dec 1959
10	0002	U.S.-Cuba, Dec 1959 (continued)
	0149	Anti-Castro Activities in the U.S., 1959- 1960 (FBI Records)
	0295	Cuba Exiles, 1959 (FBI Records)
	0312	U.S.-Cuba, 1959 (misc.)
	0349	U.S.-Cuba, Jan 1960
	0595	Sugar Legislation and the Cuba Quota, Jan- Oct 1960

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	0923	U.S.-Cuba, Feb 1960
	1230	Eisenhower Goodwill trip to Latin America (Discussions with leaders about Cuba), Feb-Mar 1960
	1260	Mikoyan visit and Soviet-Cuba Trade Agreement, 1960
	1335	U.S.-Cuba, Mar 1960
11	0002	U.S.-Cuba, Mar 1960 (continued)
	0223	U.S.-Cuba, Apr 1960
	0478	Lloyd A. Free, "Attitudes of the Cuban People Toward the Castro Regime in the late Spring of 1960"
	0510	U.S.-Cuba, May 1960
	0632	U.S.-Cuba, Jun 1960
	0828	"Report and Recommendations on Cuba," Baggett Report, Jun 21, 1960
	1002	Jul 1960 Crisis (oil, properties, Soviet statement, etc.)
	1306	"Responsibility of the Cuban Government," Jul 15, 1960 (Document from DDEL)
	1501	U.S.-Cuba, Aug 1960
12	0002	U.S.-Cuba, Aug 1960 (continued)
	0123	OAS and Cuban Issue, 1960 (San José Meeting, Aug)
	0195	Herbert Matthews Trip to Cuba, Aug 8-15, 1960
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	0359	U.S.-Cuba, Oct 1960
	0527	Export Controls Imposed, Oct 1960
	0553	Export Control Report, 4th Qtr. 1960
	0558	U.S.-Cuba, Nov 1960
	0712	Revolt in Guatemala, Nov 1960 (Cuban connection and role of trainees)

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	0594	Bay of Pigs Invasion, Apr 1961
	0633	Bay of Pigs: The Press
	0668	Bay of Pigs: Various Dissenters (Bowles, etc.)
	0683	Bay of Pigs and J. William Fulbright
	0721	U.S. Military Role in Bay of Pigs
	0788	Bay of Pigs (misc.)
	0962	Jack Pfeiffer (CIA) Study, "The Taylor Committee Investigation of the Bay of Pigs" (Nov 9, 1984)
	1144	Taylor Committee Investigation of the Bay of Pigs, Chs. 4-6, Appendices and Memoranda
	1274	Apr 1961: After the Bay of Pigs Invasion
14	0003	Bay of Pigs Prisoners & Tractor Exchange 1961: Eleanor Roosevelt Papers & "My Day" Columns
	0099	Papers of William D. Bishop (given to Paterson) & Paterson Interview

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Roll No.	Frame No.	Contents
14	0157	J. B. Liljedahl Papers (given to Paterson)
	0220	Clarence M. Hansen Papers (given to Paterson)
	0327	Walter Reuther Papers
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	0447	Bay of Pigs Prisoners and Tractor Exchange, May 1961
	0611	Bay of Pigs Prisoners and Tractor Exchange, Jun 1961
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	0851	U.S.-Cuba, May 1961
	0997	NSC 2413, "U.S. Policy Toward Cuba," May 4, 1961
	1031	U.S.-Cuba, Jun 1961
	1087	Cuban Exile Attacks Against Cuba, Jun-Nov 1962 (FBI Records)
	1148	U.S.-Cuba, Jul-Sep 1961
	1352	Roper Center (Univ. of Conn.) Polling Data on Cuba Issues, Aug-Dec 1962
	1398	Bay of Pigs: Murphy Article Episode, Aug-Oct 1961
	1410	U.S.-Cuba, Oct-Dec 1961
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	0032	Anti-Castro Group Activities in U.S., 1961-1962 (FBI Records)
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	0307	Geddes (Prisoner) Case, 1961-1963
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	0528	Lansdale, "The Cuba Project," Feb 20, 1962 (Overthrow of Cuban Government)
	0583	U.S.-Cuba, Mar-Apr 1962
	0720	CIA, "The Situation and Prospects in Cuba," Mar 21, 1962
	0752	U.S.-Cuba, May-Jun 1962
	0816	Anti-Castro Group Activities in U.S., Jun 1962-Apr 1963 (FBI Records)
	*1083	U.S.-Cuba, Jul-Aug 1962
	1169	U.S.-Cuba, Sep 1962
	1262	Udall Trip to Russia, Sep 1962
	1279	U.S.-Cuba, Oct 1962 (Before the Cuban Missile Crisis)
	1412	Chronology of Cuban Missile Crisis: Prepared by WGBH, 1986
	1439	Dept. of Army: "Chronology of the Cuban Crisis," 1962
16	0002	ExComm and NSC Records of Action and Minutes, Missile Crisis, 1962
	0147	"Cuban Missile Crisis Meetings, Oct 27, 1962" Transcript, JFKL
	0240	Kennedy Tapes/Cuban Missile Crisis Meeting of Oct 16, 1962, 11:50am, (JFK Library)
	0277	Kennedy Tapes/Cuban Missile Crisis Meeting of Oct 16, 1962, 6:30pm, (JFK Library)
	0331	BJJ Notes on Missile Crisis Meetings, 1962 (LBJ Library)
	0340	Khrushchev Letter to Kennedy, Oct 26, 1962
	0356	Cuban Missile Crisis: Oct 1962, High level meetings, proposals, memos

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16	0528	Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962, misc.
	0713	Dept. of Defense News Briefings, Oct 22-29, 1962 (Cuban Missile Crisis)
	0897	Cuban Missile Crisis: Role of the U.S. Military
	0989	"CINCLANT Historical Account of the Cuban (Missile) Crisis"
	1185	Cuban Missile Crisis: An Intelligence Gap?
	1205	CIA Reports During the Missile Crisis
	*1262	"The Cuban Missile Crisis": Sloan Foundation Tapes 1-4
17	0002	"The Cuban Missile Crisis": Sloan Foundation Tapes 5-7
	0152	Politics (Election of 1962) and the Missile Crisis
	0353	Keating and the Cuban Missile Crisis: Letters to Paterson and misc.
	0409	Cuban Missile Crisis: Letters from Participants to TGP
	0422	Cuban Missile Crisis 1962: U Thant and United Nations Role
	0512	Canada and the Missile Crisis
	0523	U.S.-Cuba, Nov 1962 (including Missile Crisis and its aftermath)
	0696	Presidential Statements on Cuba, Nov 1962-Mar 1963
	0717	Frank A. Sieverts, "The Cuban Crisis, 1962" (Dept. of State Report)
	0936	CIA, "Castro's Subversive Capabilities," Nov 9, 1962
	0960	Mikoyan in Cuba, Nov 1962: Post-missile Crisis
	0998	U.S.-Cuba, Dec 1962 (including Missile Crisis and aftermath)

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	1484	Aberle Case at Brandeis, 1962-1963
18	0002	U.S.-Cuba, Jan 1963
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	0511	CIA, "Cuba Training of Latin American Subversives," Mar 27, 1963
	0555	U.S. Policy on Exile Raids, Mar-Dec 1963
	0592	Anti-Castro Groups and Attacks Against Cuba, Mar-Oct 1963 (FBI Records)
	0910	U.S.-Cuba, Apr 1963
	1040	Castro's Trip to USSR, Apr-Jul 1963
	1122	"Report on the Situation of Political Prisoners and their relatives in Cuba," May 2, 1963 (OAS)
	1192	U.S.-Cuba, May 1963
	1248	Paynter, "Prospects for Re-establishing Relations with Cuba," 1963 (NDU)
	1323	U.S.-Cuba, Jun 1963
	1390	Covert Activities Against Cuba (CIA & Exiles), Jun-Dec 1963
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	0671	Charles O. Porter Interview with Fidel Castro, Oct 3, 1963
	0687	Herbert Matthews Trip to Cuba and after- math, Oct-Dec 1963
	0744	Cuba, Venezuela, and Arms Cache, Nov 1963-Sep 1964
	0916	Assassination of Kennedy and Cuba
	1151	Export Control Reports, 1963
	1173	U.S.-Cuba, 1963, misc.
	1235	U.S.-Cuba, Jan-Feb 1964
	1357	Issue of Cuban Subversion in Latin America, 1965
	1401	Guantánamo Water Crisis, Feb 1964
20	0002	Guantánamo Water Crisis, Feb 1964 (continued)
	0068	U.S.-Cuba, Mar 1964
	0165	U.S.-Cuba, Apr-Jun 1964
	0377	"Survey of Latin America" (Cuban portions), Apr 1, 1964
	0400	U.S.-Cuba, Jul-Aug 1964
	0540	CIA, "Situation and Prospects in Cuba," Aug 5, 1964
	0571	U.S.-Cuba, Sep-Nov 1964
	0721	U.S.-Cuba, Dec 1964
	0802	Che Guevara Trip to Africa, Dec 1964- Mar 1965
	0832	U.S.-Cuba, 1964 (misc.)
	0852	Export Control Reports, 1964
	0879	U.S.-Cuba, Jan-Mar 1965
	0985	CIA, "Intelligence Handbook on Cuba," Jan 1, 1965

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20	1104	U.S.-Cuba, Apr-Jun 1965
	1181	Dominican Republic and Cuba, Apr-Jun 1965
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	1335	Issue of Travel to Cuba, Nov-Dec 1965
	1371	Refugee Agreement, Airlift, and Program, 1965-1968
21	0002	Refugee Agreement, Airlift, and Program, 1965-1968 (continued)
	0063	Export Control Reports, 1965
	0082	U.S.-Cuba, 1966 (misc.)
	0200	Export Control Reports, 1966
	0217	U.S.-Cuba, 1967 (misc.)
	0364	Export Control Reports, 1967
	0376	Cuban Subversion in Venezuela and the OAS, 1967
	0400	U.S.-Cuba, 1968 (misc.)
	0522	Export Control Reports, 1968
	0536	Export Control Reports, 1969
	0556	U.S.-Cuba, 1969 (misc.)
	0607	U.S.-Cuba, 1970 (misc.)
	0690	Export Control Reports, 1970
	0706	U.S.-Cuba, 1971 (misc.)
	0811	Export Control Reports, 1971
	0829	U.S.-Cuba, 1972 (misc.)
	0940	Congressional Conference on U.S.-Cuba Relations, Senate Building, Washington, DC, Apr 1972
	1026	Export Control Reports, 1972
	1045	U.S.-Cuba, 1973 (misc.)
	1063	U.S.-Cuba, 1974 (misc.)
	1092	U.S.-Cuba, 1975 (misc.)

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21	1174	Export Control Reports, 1975-Mar 1977
	1193	U.S.-Cuba, 1976 (misc.)
	1231	Sen. Frank Church's Trip to Cuba, Aug 1977
	1257	Late 1970s: Economic Questions (Trade, Business Claims)
22	0002	U.S.-Cuba, 1977 (misc.)
	0057	U.S.-Cuba, 1978 (misc.)
	0184	U.S.-Cuba, 1979 (misc.)
		Errata: The following folders should have appeared on Roll 6.
	0208	John Foster Dulles Desk Calendar, Feb 25- Apr 1, 1958
	0240	Cuba, Mar 1958
	0458	Herter Telephone Calls, Mar 12-Apr 7, 1958 (Box 11, Herter Papers, DDEL)
	0487	Eisenhower Telephone Calls, Mar 13-31, 1958, Whitman File, Box 34, DDE Diary Series, DDE Papers, DDEL
	0514	Dulles Telephone Calls, Mar 18-Apr 1, 1958 (Boxes 8,12,13, Dulles Papers, DDEL)
	0602	Cuba, Apr 1958

