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Un-American Activities
House
89th Congress

Contents
(according to paging)

1. Testimony of Juanita Castro Ruz 305
2. Testimony of Wladyslaw Tykocinski
3. Hearings on H.R. 12047, H.R. 14925, H.R. 16175, H.R. 17140, and H.R. 17194--Bills to Make Punishable Assistance to Enemies of U.S. in Time of Undeclared War, Part 1
4. Hearings on H.R. 12047, H.R. 14925, H.R. 16175, H.R. 17140, and H.R. 17194--Bills to Make Punishable Assistance to Enemies of U.S. in Time of Undeclared War, Part 2
5. Hearings Regarding H.R. 15678, H.R. 15689, H.R. 15744, H.R. 15754, and H.R. 16099, Bills to Curb Terrorist Organizations

979

TESTIMONY OF JUANITA CASTRO RUZ

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JUNE 11, 1965
(INCLUDING INDEX)

Printed for the use of the
Committee on Un-American Activities



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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CONTENTS

	Page
Synopsis.....	815
June 11, 1965: Testimony of—	
Juanita Castro.....	822
Afternoon session:	
Juanita Castro (resumed).....	831
Index.....	i

PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpoenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 89TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 4, 1965

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

"Fidel's feelings of hatred for this country [the United States] in particular cannot even be imagined by Americans. His intention, his obsession, to destroy this country is one of his main interests and objectives," Miss Juanita Castro, sister of the Communist dictator of Cuba, told the Committee on Un-American Activities on June 11, 1965. The witness, who fled from her homeland in June 1964, testified that Castro, who "has his heart in Peking and his stomach in Moscow," views the United States as the principal obstacle to his plans to take over all of Latin America. Therefore, in order to weaken this Nation, he is, among other things, attempting to subvert its law and order by encouraging expense-paid trips of American students and others to Cuba in defiance of U.S. regulations.

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, chaired by the Honorable Edwin E. Willis of Louisiana, received testimony from the witness, pursuant to a resolution adopted by the committee authorizing it to receive sworn statements relating to "(a) Communist propaganda activities in the United States conducted in support of the Communist regime in Cuba, or for the purpose of advancing the policies and objectives of the world Communist movement in Latin America generally, (b) the activities of United States citizens acting on behalf of * * * foreign Communist principals * * *."

Miss Castro testified that she had worked for the success of the revolutionary movement in Cuba since 1953. She traveled abroad several times to raise funds for Castro and, in addition, worked with civic resistance groups on the island against Batista. Her close family relationship to the Castro brothers, Fidel and Raul, permitted her to meet many of the top policymakers of the regime and to become aware of the injustices conducted under their "reign of terror."

The Communist minority in Cuba, she stated, was not believed to be dangerous at first. By use of subterfuge and deceit, it was able to seize a genuine revolution, enslave the people, surrender it to Communist imperialism, and thus thwart all hope for peace, justice, freedom, and social progress. On taking power, Castro destroyed freedom of the press and converted the news media to his own ends.

Churches and religious institutions were destroyed, priests and ministers expelled, and only the practice of the "religion" of communism was permitted. Schools were confiscated and converted to the Communist indoctrination of youth.

Today no one in Cuba has any legal rights, Miss Castro stated. Persons out of favor with the Cuban dictator are put to the wall and shot. In spite of these conditions, some persons in high government posts oppose Castro and plot his downfall.

Miss Castro testified that her brother's Communist government had brought the Cuban economy down to the lowest level in its history. Castro blundered when he destroyed the country's leading industry,

sugar, claiming that the island had to diversify its economy. All the sugarcane plantations and sugar mills were taken over by the government on the assumption that the U.S.S.R. would grant her brother whatever equipment was required to establish new industries. But the confiscation of sugar mills and the shipment of some of them to the Soviet Union paid only for Cuba's imports of Soviet arms, not for new industries.

Castro, the witness testified, had always been friendly towards Red China and its "hard line," although the U.S.S.R. exerted great influence on Cuba. In the area of Cuba's foreign affairs, she said that Castro financed the trips to Cuba of the New York City-based Student Committee for Travel to Cuba in order to provide American propagandists who would return home and parrot the "watchwords" (i.e., party line) of Cuban Communists.

Red Cuba has developed several schools for indoctrination and guerrilla warfare activities in Latin America. Students come from all over Latin America and, upon completing their courses, return home to conspire against and subvert their own governments. In addition to supplying Communist revolutionaries in this hemisphere by means of its fishing fleet, Cuba's oceangoing vessels are utilized to send aid to the Viet Cong, as well as to Chinese and African Communists, Miss Castro stated.

She also said that the Cuban delegation to the United Nations was active in espionage work and that, within the United States itself, anti-Castro exile groups have been infiltrated. In answer to the question of who were the most ardent supporters her brother had in the United States, the witness said that on several occasions she had heard Castro "personally mention as his greatest friends in the United States Messrs. Herbert Matthews, Carleton Beals, and Waldo Frank."

TESTIMONY OF JUANITA CASTRO RUZ

FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1965

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:15 a.m., in the Caucus Room, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representative Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; Joe R. Pool, of Texas; and John H. Buchanan, Jr., of Alabama.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Pool, and Buchanan.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; William Hitz, general counsel; and Louis J. Russell and Philip R. Manuel, investigators.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Miss Castro and Dr. Lew, will you please stand, and Miss Montero? Please raise your right hands.

Do you, and each of you, solemnly swear that the testimony or the statements you are about to make will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss CASTRO. Yes.

Dr. LEW. Yes.

Miss MONTERO. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Miss Montero, do you solemnly swear to translate accurately and truly, so help you God?

Miss MONTERO. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the rules of the committee, Miss Castro submitted to the committee a statement that she desires to make, an original statement. The committee has considered it and has agreed that she can make it.

Miss Castro, I understand it is your desire to make an initial statement. We have considered the statement which you previously submitted and the committee, pursuant to the rules of the committee itself, has decided that you may make that statement.

(Miss Castro read the following statement through her interpreter:)

STATEMENT OF JUANITA CASTRO RUZ

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Members, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In the name of the inescapable duty of all individuals and institutions—who believe in the ideals of liberty and justice—to act firmly to preserve our Christian civilization, I thank you for this opportunity to contribute to that noble cause by describing the tragic experience which the Cuban people are suffering.

I also wish to alert the conscience of those who are concerned about the fate of mankind through the personal testimony I can offer concerning the Castro-Communist plans for intervention and aggression in the Americas.

My voice, my actions, and the information I may be able to give on the Communist plans against all countries of the American Continent are not enough to describe the danger facing both the large and the small nations of this hemisphere.

The aggressive Communist system and the pro-Communist minorities that serve as its tools in the different countries, as well as in their base of operations in Cuba, will never renounce their purpose to extend their borders through intervention and force, though they may appear to be using a different strategy and may swear that they are following the "coexistence line." Communism is, and will always be, aggressive by its very nature. So are those who act as its tools. Its danger is not in direct relation to the number of followers or agents they may have in every country and who comprise a fanatic minority, but rather to their continuous activities and their constant lying with the purpose of gaining followers and using the liberal and progressive-minded individuals who are ignorant of the danger to themselves and their countries, and who let themselves be led, thus indirectly coinciding with the Communists.

Those of us who have suffered the inhuman Communist experiment have learned this lesson well.

Those of us in Cuba who believed sincerely in freedom, peace, work, the right to happiness, and social progress were used by the Communist minority.

That Communist minority operated among the ranks of the Cuban revolution, just as it has operated before, and continues to operate now, inside governments and institutions that have given it the opportunity to infiltrate them. When the Cuban revolution came into power, that minority, which we did not believe could be so dangerous, seized the revolution; enslaved the Cuban people; surrendered the country to Communist imperialism; and thwarted all hopes for peace, justice, freedom, and social progress.

For this reason we affirm that no one can be a revolutionary, a democrat, a liberal, a pacifist, and a believer in progress if one is not an anti-Communist also. Communism is the exact opposite of a progressive democracy. By the same token, one cannot be good if one is not against evil and those who represent evil.

We must vigorously oppose Communist minorities. Those who wish to follow the example of the ostrich, those who become afraid of them, those who believe that they will have no problem as long as they do not oppose Communist minorities—as is the case with some institutions and governments—that they will be able to work for social progress, those who believe this are entirely wrong, and they shall be the first victims of these Communist minorities once they come into power.

Those who believe this are using the wrong strategy, and they should learn the lessons of history. They should observe carefully the fate of the peoples, leaders, liberal thinkers, and all those who profess progressive opinions once communism is in power and takes over a country. All of those who did not oppose it and were its allies, directly or indirectly, have become its victims and so have their nations.

I am one of that vast number of men and women all over the world who wish for freedom, peace, happiness, and social progress to attain a decent life. I am convinced—as are all of us who suffered the Communist betrayal—that to achieve these goals of mankind we all must be, firmly and courageously, progressive democrats as well as anti-Communists. At the same time, we must fight for a progressive democracy and against the Communist system, which is both reactionary and inhuman.

The people of every nation must have the right to social improvement, freedom, work, peace, and happiness. But the only way to accomplish this is through

social evolution, which is to say through democratic revolutions, like those that have taken place in many countries of the free world, among them the United States of America.

This is the process that the Communist minorities are trying to destroy by exploiting the honest struggles of those peoples who are trying to achieve greater social progress. The reason is that these minorities are completely fanatical and serve as the means to establish Communist dictatorships.

The Castro-Communist regime and those of Russia and Red China know that firm and courageous democratic action dooms their plans for world domination to failure. That is why they loudly repeat, over and over, their fanatic watchwords against the actions of deliverance in Vietnam and Santo Domingo. They want us to give them a free hand so they can devour peoples and nations.

Communist leaders, and I know this because of the reaction I personally noticed in Fidel Castro, wish nothing better than to be confronted by irresolute and timid adherents of democracy, liberals, and pacifists. These irresolute and timid individuals, they say, are their best allies.

Fidel Castro, Russia, and Red China are now feeling the defeat of their hopes to dominate peoples and nations due to the firm and brave action of the United States and their President, who have faced the Communist challenge, putting a stop to its advance that had already become open and shameless. Every day they took over more and more land. Every day the ambitious minds of the Communist International and their tools planned new aggressions. From this day forward, if this firm action on the part of democracy is maintained, the Communists will know that they will not be able to enslave more peoples and that the time will come when those who are in their power shall decide on the positive step that will start them along the road to freedom.

I know that the Vietnamese and the Dominican people, and the Cuban people as well, are grateful for the lifesaving action undertaken in Vietnam and Santo Domingo. I know that my people feel no longer forsaken and that they nourish the hope that they shall not be alone in their fight to obtain their freedom and the social improvement they longed for and which was thwarted by the treason and deceit of a Communist minority. A minority that will, whenever given the chance, dominate any majority.

I want to make a humanitarian appeal to save my people and the other endangered nations. Communist imperialism and its instrument in the Americas, Fidel Castro, are planning to take over this entire hemisphere. This is no secret.

Firm and decisive action on the part of the Organization of American States is necessary, also, on the part of the leaders—as President Johnson has done—not only of the leaders but of the people—as the Dominicans have done, as the Cubans will do—as shall all of us men and women who love freedom, peace, and social improvement.

All of us, united, must act with swiftmess. The OAS must not hesitate. While they hold discussions, the Communist minorities take over still more popular movements. They must discuss and approve, in advance, whatever action must be taken to support the people and prevent the Communist minorities from thwarting their hopes and enslaving them.

My people, all enslaved people, all the peoples who long for social improvement in freedom, all the men and women who know the way to achieve these goals and know who their enemies are, will welcome this firm and courageous democratic action in the same manner they have welcomed President Johnson's action and that of the Vietnamese, of the Dominicans, and of my people who, unarmed, day in and day out, face the oppression, terror, and crime decreed by the inhuman Communist system.

We must not let ourselves be misguided by the fanatical cries of the Communist minorities and of those who unwittingly become their instruments. We must listen, instead, to the democratic majorities who approve and support this action that will save their nations.

Miss CASTRO. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Miss Castro.

Now the Chair wishes to make this statement.

This hearing is being held pursuant to a resolution adopted by the committee on June 3, 1965. The resolution reads as follows:

BE IT RESOLVED, that hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities or a subcommittee thereof, be held in Washington, D.C., or at such other place or places as the Chairman may determine, on such date or dates as the

Chairman may designate, relating to (a) Communist propaganda activities in the United States conducted in support of the Communist regime in Cuba, or for the purpose of advancing the policies and objectives of the world Communist movement in Latin America generally, (b) the activities of United States citizens acting on behalf of, or in the interest of, foreign Communist principals, (c) foreign travel undertaken by United States citizens in connection with such activities and in violation of State Department travel regulations, and (d) the activities of the Progressive Labor Movement (and/or Party), and also the activities of any organizations and instrumentalities which appear to be affiliated with, or controlled or manipulated by, it or any other Communist organization, for the following legislative purposes:

1. To provide factual information to aid Congress in proposing remedial legislation, in fulfillment of the directions contained in the mandate to the Committee by House Resolution 8 of January 4, 1965, and in Public Law 601 of the 79th Congress.

2. The execution by the administrative agencies concerned, of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, travel control laws (particularly Title 8 U.S.C. 1185), and regulations issued pursuant thereto, to assist the House in appraising the administration of such laws and regulations.

3. Consideration of the advisability of amending Title 22 U.S.C. 611, by extending the definition of the terms "foreign principal" and "agent of a foreign principal" so as to remove any doubt as to the true test of the agency relationship or its application to activities within the intent of Congress as expressed in the Act.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the hearings may include any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee which it, or any subcommittee thereof, appointed to conduct these hearings, may designate.

Since the time Fidel Castro established a Communist regime in Cuba, this country has literally been bombarded with propaganda about the nature of the Cuban Government. This committee is not concerned with all kinds of propaganda.

However, Rule XI, paragraph 18, of the rules of the House, which spells out the powers and duties of the Committee on Un-American Activities, states that the committee is empowered to investigate:

(1) the extent, character, and objects of Un-American propaganda activities in the United States, [and] (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution * * *.

The courts of this country have repeatedly held that these words embrace Communist propaganda. Much of the propaganda concerning the nature of the Castro regime, which I referred to a moment ago, is Communist in origin. It has come from the Communist Party and from other Communist organizations, such as the Progressive Labor Movement. It has also come from fronts established by these Communist organizations. I have in mind organizations such as the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba, and the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba. The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, of course, was for years notorious as a pro-Castro propaganda agency.

For some time now, the committee has been inquiring into the nature and origin of propaganda of this type. It has done so in hearings concerning the Greater Los Angeles Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee; in extensive hearings held in 1963 and 1964 on travel to Cuba by American citizens in violation of State Department regulations prohibiting such travel without a specially validated passport; in hearings on the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee; and also in some

of the more generalized hearings it has held in the past few years on Communist activities within the United States.

In view of findings of our courts on the nature and objectives of the world Communist movement and of the U.S. Communist Party—and inasmuch as Castro has proclaimed himself a Communist—there is certainly good reason to believe that pro-Castro propaganda disseminated in this country by Communist and pro-Communist organizations can be classified as “subversive and un-American” and having as its ultimate objective attacks upon “the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution.”

Hearings held by this committee and by other legislative and investigative agencies over a period of many years have produced abundant evidence that one of the major weapons of communism—perhaps, indeed, *the* major weapon—is its agents’ ability to conceal their true nature, their all-out commitment to communism, until such time as, having achieved their goal, they choose to reveal it.

Castro succeeded in doing this for a number of crucial years. And because of his successful deceit, the security of the United States is not what it was 7 or 8 years ago. The Chinese Communists, through their concealed agents in this country, managed to convince many Americans that they were nothing but “agrarian reformers.”

The results of this concept have not only resulted in over 150,000 United States casualties in the Korean war, a cost of billions of dollars to the American taxpayers, and a tremendous weakening of our overall national security, but also in the destruction of the freedom of the Chinese people, the slaughter of literally millions of citizens of that nation, and, as is so evident today, a very real threat to the freedom of all Southeast Asia.

The facts indicate that if freedom is to be preserved here in this country—and in any part of the world—and if the advance of communism is to be halted, the forces of communism must be stripped of their mask of deceit and concealment. We must learn the truth about who and what organizations, what leaders in all parts of the world, are Communist.

We must learn the truth about conditions in Communist countries. The American people must be given reliable information—the truth—so that they will not be tricked into supporting, or being indifferent to, the operations of those forces which are bent on the destruction of the United States. The half truths, the lies, the distortions in Communist propaganda must be revealed.

It is to the credit of the House of Representatives that it perceived this truth many years ago and, therefore, in establishing this committee as a special committee in 1938, incorporated in its mandate the powers I quoted in the beginning of this statement.

Today the committee will receive the testimony of Miss Juanita Castro, the sister of Fidel. Although not a Communist, she, until a relatively short time ago, worked closely with him. She was a supporter of the revolution he led in Cuba. For some time after that revolution was completed and Fidel Castro had established himself in power, she maintained a relationship with him and other leaders of his regime.

I know of no one who is in a better position to give testimony about Castro, his revolution, his government, and the condition to

which he has brought his country—testimony that will help this committee and the entire Congress in its legislative deliberations and, also, the American people in seeing through the cloud of propaganda with which various elements have attempted to obscure the truth about Cuba today.

This propaganda has painted Cuba as a land of milk and honey—a land with an improved standard of living, with political and religious freedom, a land where the people have justice, a land led by a man of peace.

As a matter of fact, we have heard testimony along that line here in this very room. Some of those two groups who traveled to Cuba, upon their return, made it their business to spread that very thing, that propaganda, about the prosperity, the high standard of living, political and religious freedom, the land with justice, and Castro, a man of peace.

So I will now read the order of appointment of the subcommittee.

JUNE 4, 1965.

TO: Mr. FRANCIS J. McNAMARA,
Director, Committee on Un-American Activities.

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the Rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Honorable Joe. R. Pool and Honorable John Buchanan, as associate members, and myself, as Chairman, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C., commencing on or about Thursday, June 10, 1965, and at such other time or times thereafter and at such place or places as said subcommittee shall determine, as contemplated by the resolution adopted by the Committee on the 3rd day of June, 1965, authorizing hearings relating to Communist propaganda activities conducted in support of the Communist regime in Cuba, and other matters referred to in said resolution.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 4th day of June, 1965.

/s/ Edwin E. Willis,
EDWIN E. WILLIS,

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. Hitz, are you ready?

Mr. HITZ. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF JUANITA CASTRO RUZ (AS INTERPRETED BY YOLANDA LOPEZ MONTERO), ACCOMPANIED BY AIDE, SALVADOR LEW

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, please state your full name for the record.

Miss CASTRO. Juanita Castro Ruz.

Mr. HITZ. Mr. Lew, will you state your name?

Dr. LEW. Salvador Lew.

Mr. HITZ. You are Dr. Lew; are you, sir?

Dr. LEW. I am a Cuban attorney.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you are a doctor of law.

Dr. LEW. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are an attorney at law?

Dr. LEW. Yes.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Montero, will you state your name?

Miss MONTERO. Yolanda Lopez Montero.

Mr. HITZ. Would you state very briefly your experience as a translator?

Miss MONTERO. Certainly, sir. I have been for 11 years translator and interpreter at the Berlitz School of Languages in Miami, Florida.

Mr. HITZ. Thank you.

When and where were you born, Miss Castro?

Miss CASTRO. At Biran, Oriente, Cuba, on May 6, 1933.

Mr. HITZ. Are you the sister of Fidel and Raul Castro?

Miss CASTRO. Yes.

Mr. HITZ. How old is Fidel at this time and how old is Raul?

Miss CASTRO. Raul is 35, Fidel is 38.

Mr. HITZ. And you would be 32; is that correct?

Miss CASTRO. Yes.

Mr. HITZ. What is your education, Miss Castro?

Miss CASTRO. I completed elementary education as well as business and secretarial education at the School of Ursuline Sisters in Havana.

Mr. HITZ. What is the education of Raul Castro, the younger of the two?

Miss CASTRO. He completed elementary studies. He started high school, but did not graduate, and later on entered the University of Havana to study administration, for which a high school diploma was not required.

Mr. HITZ. What is Fidel's education?

Miss CASTRO. He completed both elementary and high school education and then graduated from the University of Havana as an attorney.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, were you in Cuba when the revolutionary movement against Batista was commenced?

Miss CASTRO. I was in Cuba.

Mr. HITZ. Will you tell us very briefly the extent of your activities in that revolution?

Miss CASTRO. From the very moment that the revolution started, I did whatever I could, and everything that was required of me, to try to help Fidel.

Mr. HITZ. Please give us the approximate date when that started.

Miss CASTRO. Approximately in the year 1953, after an attack by Castro on Batista's military barracks in Oriente.

Mr. HITZ. Were you in Cuba, Miss Castro, when the revolution was consummated and Fidel finally became the leader of the new regime?

Miss CASTRO. Yes.

Mr. HITZ. Were you associated with the other leaders of the revolutionary movement before it had been consummated?

Miss CASTRO. Yes; I associated with all the groups fighting against the Batista dictatorship.

Mr. HITZ. When did the new regime take power?

Miss CASTRO. On January 1, 1959.

Mr. HITZ. Did you remain in close association with your brother Fidel and with the other leaders of the new regime?

Miss CASTRO. When the revolution came into power, I continued the best possible relationship with both Fidel and the other leaders.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chairman.

What active part did you take in the revolution, Miss Castro?

Miss CASTRO. During the revolution itself, I helped all the different revolutionaries that were fighting against Batista in many ways. I traveled abroad and I also worked for civic resistance and, during those trips, I collected funds to help Fidel.

I returned to Cuba and there I continued to work. And then during the last few months of the revolution against the Batista dictatorship, I had to seek asylum at the Brazilian Embassy.

Mr. HIRTZ. Miss Castro, did you become acquainted with the activities of "Che" Guevara in the revolution and afterwards?

Miss CASTRO. I knew about "Che" Guevara joining the Fidel forces in Mexico and when he started training with them, as well as of his activities at the Sierra Maestra together with Fidel.

Mr. HIRTZ. Please name the principal leaders surrounding Fidel Castro since he took power.

Miss CASTRO. "Che" Guevara, Raul Castro, Rene Vallejo, Sergio del Valle, Efigenio Ameijeiras, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Blas Roca, Lazaro Pena, Dermidio Escalona, Joaquin Ordoqui, Cesar Escalante, and Anibal Escalante.

There are some others, but I really don't remember right now; I would have to think about it.

The CHAIRMAN. The ones you named are the principal ones?

Miss CASTRO. Yes; the principal ones.

Mr. HIRTZ. Was Armando Hart close to your brother Fidel since the takeover?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hirtz, I understand you to be referring now to the leaders surrounding Castro immediately upon his coming into power. Are you talking about that period now?

Mr. HIRTZ. Not only immediately afterwards, up until the time she left Cuba.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh.

Miss CASTRO. Armando Hart was there from the beginning, from the time of the beginning of the revolution.

Mr. HIRTZ. Miss Castro, we are not asking for an exhaustive list, merely to show the extent of your knowledge of the situation and the people connected with it.

Did you know these people and have contacts with them until the time that you left Cuba?

Miss CASTRO. I knew some of them; and as to the heads of the Cuban Communist Party which I named on that list, I had not met them and I had no contact with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I think the record ought to reflect at this time—because you asked it two or three times—you fixed testimony up to the time she left. Now I think you ought to establish that, at this time, for the record, unless you have another plan. I am not guiding you.

Mr. HIRTZ. Thank you.

Miss Castro, you had frequent contacts with Fidel, Raul, "Che" Guevara, and some of the other chief advisers of Fidel continuously from the time that Fidel took over the regime until you left Cuba; did you not?

Miss CASTRO. Yes, I continued to be in contact with them up to a few months prior to my leaving Cuba, with the exception of "Che" Guevara.

The CHAIRMAN. And what is that exception?

Miss CASTRO. Well, you asked me about all of them—Fidel, Raul, and "Che"—and the reason I didn't see "Che" was simply because I had no reason to see him.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now I think the record again should be clarified. What do you mean by that—you had no continuous or extended contact or no contact at all?

Miss CASTRO. I would like to know if you are referring specifically to “Che” Guevara as to contacts.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me explain to you. You said something about what you said applies to all except “Che.” Well, I do not know what you mean by the exception. That has not been explained, whatever you had in mind.

Miss CASTRO. What I mean by that is that I saw him, but not too often.

The CHAIRMAN. That is exactly what I had understood.

Well, now, that calls for another question and then we will pass on. This is preliminary.

As to the others, am I to understand that you had frequent contacts with them?

Miss CASTRO. Yes. I was often in contact with them.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed.

Mr. HITZ. Were you also in contact with other lesser government officials before you left Cuba?

Miss CASTRO. Yes, I was in contact with quite important officials and others that were less important.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, is what you will tell us today based upon your personal experiences and observations and contacts with the persons you have named and described?

Miss CASTRO. Yes. Most of it; yes, sir.

Mr. HITZ. When and under what circumstances, very briefly, did you leave Cuba?

Miss CASTRO. I left on June 20, 1964. I went on one of my periodic trips to Mexico to visit my sister who resides in Mexico.

The CHAIRMAN. You went from Cuba to Mexico and you came to the United States from Mexico; is that correct?

Miss CASTRO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And as I understand, you had been accustomed with some regularity to visiting your sister in Mexico before?

Miss CASTRO. Yes, as my sister has resided in Mexico for over 9 years, I generally went to see her at least once every year, sometimes twice a year.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time you left Cuba, had you made an effort to come to the United States or, if you hadn't, could you have obtained permission from your brother to come directly to the United States?

We are interested in that, because we have been talking for a long time about so-called freedom of travel.

Miss CASTRO. I could think of no time of coming directly to the United States or even asking for permission, as that is impossible; it is totally impossible. I had to do what I always did, come through Mexico; otherwise, it would have been completely impossible.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I will ask some more questions about travel later on. Let Mr. Hitz proceed with the development of the record as he has it before him.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, what has been your personal relationship with your two brothers, particularly Fidel Castro, until your departure from Cuba? I stress the word “personal” relationship with them.

MISS CASTRO. Our personal, family relationship was wonderful up to the time when he betrayed and deceived the Cuban people. I helped him as much as possible and I completely devoted myself to help him during his revolutionary struggle for power in Cuba. I accepted no public positions whatsoever, and my reason for doing this was that I believed he would do what the Cuban people really wanted and needed.

Due to my close relationship, to being a close relative of Fidel's, I could find out about the injustices and about the sorrow of many Cubans that were beginning to live under a reign of terror.

I could have belonged to the new class; I could have enjoyed all the privileges and all the benefits enjoyed by those that belonged to the new regime that was being established in Cuba. My Christian and my democratic convictions did not allow me to remain silent concerning all the things that I started to notice.

I, as I said, could not keep silent, could not remain silent concerning everything that was happening in Cuba. I am possibly—or rather I am personal witness to all these atrocities, to all these horrible things that started to happen in my country. I have the moral obligation to denounce all of this to the world, to try to help my own country and my brothers.

As I said, I wanted to help my countrymen, the Cuban people. I wanted to help them because of my feelings, because of my Christian and democratic convictions. They forced me to take this step to fight directly against that government headed by Fidel Castro himself.

I would like to make it very clear that my use of the word "brothers" meant my countrymen, my people, not Fidel or Raul Castro.

MR. HITZ. Miss Castro, did the people who supported Fidel Castro in the revolution expect ultimately to be able to engage in free elections?

MISS CASTRO. All the people that helped Fidel and that believed him when he promised there would be free elections, believed that promise that they would have free elections within 18 months after the revolution had won.

MR. HITZ. Has there been freedom of press, radio, and television in Cuba since the Castro regime took over?

MISS CASTRO. The first thing that Fidel destroyed when he came into power was the freedom of the press, radio, and any other news media. All information was suppressed, was grabbed away from, stolen from, their own legitimate owners and used for the regime's own ends.

MR. HITZ. Can the people in Cuba practice religion as they wish?

MISS CASTRO. Any Cuban that wants to live in peace in Cuba has to practice only one religion, communism. All churches, all religious institutions in Cuba were destroyed. All ministers, priests, and agents of churches were expelled from Cuba.

MR. HITZ. Has the lot of the Negro people in Cuba improved since Fidel Castro took over in 1959?

MISS CASTRO. Their deceitful policy has used Negroes; the Communist regime has used Negroes as an important part of their propaganda. Negroes in Cuba suffer the same persecutions, hunger, and injustice as everybody else because they also oppose the regime. They have to flee the island by clandestine means, using boats.

I remember one day when I personally was at the Ministry of Foreign Relations in Havana, when an order arrived from Fidel himself to the man in charge of the passport department as to the effect that he had to tear up all passports issued to colored people. This is done so that Negroes will not be able to flee the island or to leave the island, rather, and tell the truth, tell all the facts about what is happening there.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hitz, let me fill in one or two things.

I know that traditionally the Cuban people are very religious. Will you say a little bit more about the general statement you made that ministers, and particularly priests, were expelled. What do you mean by that? Will you spell that out a little bit?

Miss CASTRO. As you all know, communism is the entire opposite of religion, and Fidel could not allow the feelings of the Cuban people to become—the religious feelings of the Cuban people to become any deeper than they already were.

For example, churches in Cuba have been turned into government offices, into government warehouses. In order to achieve this goal, the government had to expel many of the ministers and priests from the island. Many of them were arrested and put in jail.

Some churches remained open in Cuba in order to serve Fidel's purpose to make it appear that there was freedom of religion in Cuba.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask another question because you developed it to a certain extent.

You said, properly, that communism is the antithesis or the opposite of religion. Now, in addition to the actions with respect to the taking over of the churches and the expulsion of priests and ministers, what about the educational field, the education of the young, and the education of those in grammar schools, and so on?

Is there any indoctrination going on opposite to religion?

You might also, while you are on the subject, develop the family relationships, ties, that now exist, if they do exist, under the new regime, parents and children, and so on.

Miss CASTRO. In Cuba there were many schools that were run by religious institutions, both Catholic and Protestant. All these were taken over by the regime. According to their educational plans, to the plans they set up, they could not allow any schools that were run by religious people, Catholic, Protestants, Christians in general. They have to eliminate by whatever means possible any obstacle that they might have in their indoctrination of Cuban youth.

At that time, or rather, immediately after the Communist takeover, all the textbooks that were in use up to then, those that were in normal use up to then, were substituted. These new textbooks from the very first pages taught the children the one thing they could not do was to believe in God.

In these textbooks also appeared all the new words, all the new mottoes, all the new names, Fidel, Raul, Guevara, the Communist emblem, Nikita, and all those terms used by them, the Communists.

And so as the school children grew, every single word in their textbooks was purely Marxism-Leninism.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, are persons in Cuba since the Castro regime took over who are accused of crime, faced by witnesses; are charges

brought against them; are they tried before a court and a jury; and do they have a right of appeal?

MISS CASTRO. No one has the right to anything in Cuba. In such cases as you mention, most of the people arrested have no right to any of these things, to be charged or tried. Many of them are simply taken away from their homes or their jobs, taken to jail and immediately in front of the wall where they are killed.

MR. POOL. Mr. Chairman.

MISS CASTRO, they do not go through even the formality of a trial?

MISS CASTRO. There are very few instances where, in order to cover up appearances, they do take these people before a court. However, the trials are prearranged, the sentence is predecided, and not even defense counsel has a right to talk to the person that is already sentenced.

Besides, the people that are members of these revolutionary courts have not the least idea of what the workings of a court are, what law and justice are.

MR. HITZ. Miss Castro, from what you have told us about conditions in Cuba before you left and after Castro took over in regard to no elections, the captive press, no opportunity to practice religion, the lack of criminal justice as often it is practiced and usually practiced in other countries, the absence of the right to leave the country, the treatment of the Negroes in their exploitation; what is the feeling of the people in Cuba?

MISS CASTRO. The Cuban people, the immense majority of the Cuban people, are against the Castro regime. I don't think the Cuban people will be able to stand much longer all that terror, all that terrible nightmare, that they have been living through for a few years now.

THE CHAIRMAN. In that connection, let me ask this question: You have expressed your opinion as to the feelings of the people. Is there any way that they can make those feelings known? Can they communicate those feelings to the people of the island, to the world, or among themselves in groups where speeches and addresses might be made?

MISS CASTRO. It is very difficult for the Cuban people to express these feelings against the Communist regime. That Communist minority that is running the country has created an incredible repressive machine, making the internal struggle more difficult, but not impossible. It is not impossible, because in spite of all this there are Cubans in high places in the government who are plotting against it and who stay on in the island to try to continue this plotting.

So we have the case where the government, due to its absolute control over the news and information media, has been able to keep secret different revolutionary riots in different places of the island. Some of those uprisings that have occurred in several places of the island have been immediately put down by the government.

THE CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you one question along that line. I understand, then, that it is utterly impossible for the people to express themselves to the normal news media.

MISS CASTRO. Completely impossible.

THE CHAIRMAN. Now that leads to this question: In a free republic such as ours, we have the right peaceably to assemble, to call a meeting in a public building or a courthouse square, and for them in that assembly and for their leaders to speak out.

Now short of a revolution or a takeover, would it be possible for that to happen and, if someone were to try peaceably to assemble and there to present the other side of the argument, what would happen? Try to explain that.

Miss CASTRO. Anyone in Cuba who tries to call a meeting to protest against the Communist regime there, we can truthfully say he might have about 5 more minutes to live.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chairman.

Along the same line, Miss Castro, in the United States we have the Bill of Rights, and one of the provisions in there is the right of a person not to testify to incriminate himself. Isn't it more or less the rule in Cuba that they expect you to incriminate yourself down there?

Miss CASTRO. Well, terror has reached such a peak in Cuba that in many cases people that have been accused have had to confess to crimes they had not committed at all.

Mr. POOL. They never heard of the fifth amendment in Cuba, then?

Miss CASTRO. For a long time in Cuba no constitution has existed at all. Cuba is governed simply by the words and the whim of a man and of the Communist Party.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, in the light of what you have told us, what can you say about the propaganda emanating from Cuba at the present time concerning the Castro regime and the ardent support of it by the people, particularly the young people? And how is that accomplished?

Miss CASTRO. Well, Cuba has created different indoctrination schools also for the training of guerrilla fighters, and there they teach and indoctrinate youths from many different countries.

These youths who supposedly have scholarships, they do—but these scholarships are to learn subversion. And in order to harm their countries of origin, they are sent back to those countries once they are well trained. They are sent back to their own countries so that they can start conspiring against the democratic governments that exist in those countries.

Besides, they also use large amounts of money to send written propaganda to many different countries, besides all the many radio programs that they beam through both long and short wave to many different countries, including the United States.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, in what does this propaganda effort of the Castro regime operate within the United States and how does it do that?

Miss CASTRO. Well, besides printed propaganda, there is also propaganda made by American students themselves, American students who have gone to Cuba, and also propaganda through Cuban radio stations. This propaganda is directed by one Robert Williams, who is a fugitive of American justice and who directs his programs toward American Negroes; besides, through many other American pro-Castro associations who seem to have unlimited amounts of money to do this, such as the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Mr. HITZ. Are you acquainted with the so-called student trips to Cuba in the years 1963 and 1964, Miss Castro?

Miss CASTRO. Yes, I am acquainted with the details of these student trips to Cuba in both 1963 and 1964.

Mr. HITZ. Will you tell us what you know about those trips in the pattern of the propaganda effort of Castro which you have described?

MISS CASTRO. The trips themselves, or the generalities?

MR. HIRTZ. I think we should like some generalities on the trips in the 2 years and then we will go into such detail as is warranted at this time.

MISS CASTRO. Well, in June of 1963, a group of 59 students visited Cuba, invited by the Federation of the University Students of Cuba and also the Cuban Institute for Friendship Among the Peoples.

The reason for these trips, the reason that these young people were invited to the country, to Cuba, was for them to return to their country and repeat the watchwords of the Communists, in other words, to repeat and to act as effective propaganda tools.

Among this group of 59 students, there were 10 Negro students who asked to know how they had done away with racial discrimination in Cuba.

The head of the group of students that visited Cuba was Albert Maher, a young man who spoke perfect Spanish.

MR. POOL. Mr. Chairman.

Is this Albert Maher from Houston, Texas? Is that his home?

MISS CASTRO. I really don't know. I only know that he studied, I think, at Harvard University.

MR. POOL. I think he has appeared before the committee; I think that is the one you have identified. His home was in Houston, Texas, recently.

Proceed.

MR. HIRTZ. Miss Castro, do you know how that trip with those students from America was financed?

MISS CASTRO. The expenses of that trip of these students to Cuba were paid by the Cuban Government. For this first trip, which was quite long, as it took them 5 days to reach Havana, this money must have been deposited and given to the students themselves through the Cuban delegation before the United Nations.

They may have been paid through them, through the delegation. However, what I positively do know is that the expenses were paid by the Cuban Government as some of the officials of that government told me so themselves.

THE CHAIRMAN. We have received evidence, which is of record, to the effect that these students—I am talking about the 59 students involved in the first trip—had been specifically and in writing admonished by the State Department not to leave. Had you heard about that? Did you know about that? Or would that have made any difference to the Cuban plans if they had known it?

MISS CASTRO. I do not understand the question too well. Would you please repeat it, sir?

THE CHAIRMAN. We held hearings concerning that trip and we received evidence under oath to the effect that these 59 students who went to Cuba in 1963 took that trip despite the advice and the written statement given their leader by the State Department not to leave.

In other words, they traveled to Cuba contrary to the law and regulations of America and they knew about it. Now the question is: Did you know that, or would that have influenced the Cuban Government to tell them, "Well, you better not come under the circumstances"?

MISS CASTRO. Exactly the opposite. Fidel and his friends were very happy about those circumstances, about the fact that the American

Government had warned these young people not to go to Cuba. That was one more way to laugh at the laws and regulations of this country, the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Now just one more question before lunch.

You have already testified that these students on both the first and second trip went to Cuba as a part of a plan in Cuba to permit them to return to the United States and portray the glories of the Castro regime.

Now my question is this: What is the feeling of Castro toward the United States? What is the feeling of Castro and the Castro regime toward the United States?

Miss CASTRO. Well, Fidel's feelings of hatred for this country in particular cannot even be imagined by Americans. His intention, his obsession, to destroy this country is one of his main interests and objectives.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will resume questioning at 1:30. Would that be satisfactory?

Let's make it a quarter to two.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m., Friday, June 11, 1965, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 1:45 p.m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1965

(The subcommittee reconvened at 1:45 p.m., Hon. Edwin E. Willis, chairman, presiding.)

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Pool, and Buchanan).

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Proceed, Mr. Hitz.

TESTIMONY OF JUANITA CASTRO RUZ (AS INTERPRETED BY YOLANDA LOPEZ MONTERO)—Resumed, ACCOMPANIED BY AIDE, SALVADOR LEW

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, have you completed your answer to the chairman's question as to how Fidel Castro regards the United States?

Miss CASTRO. Fidel knows that the main obstacle against his plans is the United States.

Many Americans will wonder if Fidel wants to destroy the United States through the force of arms, but this is not the only way. He mainly wants to subvert order here so that he can finally control all the countries of Latin America.

That is how he wants to weaken the United States, because then it will be easier for him to take over all the Latin American countries.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, what is the basis for what you have said about Fidel Castro's feelings about this country?

Miss CASTRO. Fidel has quite a feeling of hatred for the United States, because the United States is a progressive country where true democracy, freedom, and justice exist.

So I repeat he is trying to use these elements, these fanatics, to subvert the country. Besides, this country is Fidel's number one enemy, the one that will thwart his plans.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, how do you know that Fidel Castro's feelings are as you have expressed them?

MISS CASTRO. On several occasions I personally heard Fidel himself express his feelings of hatred and loathing for the United States.

MR. HITZ. Miss Castro, when did it become evident to you that the Cuban revolutionary government was actually a Communist government?

MISS CASTRO. Around the middle or end of 1959, I started to worry about the road that that revolution was taking, a revolution that was supposedly democratic.

MR. HITZ. What caused you to believe this?

MISS CASTRO. They started by censoring the press. They also started to infiltrate the ranks of the revolutionary army with Communist leaders. Besides, injustices were really scandalous, and I could see this happening every day.

I knew of the plans for intervention in all schools in Cuba, both public and private, Protestant and Catholic. I also knew through my contacts in the government that they were planning to expel priests and nuns. I knew about these plans several months before they put these measures into effect.

All of this pointed to the fact that the revolution was on the road to becoming the worst of all dictatorships and the worst of all systems.

MR. HITZ. When did Fidel make known to the Cuban people that he was a Communist?

MISS CASTRO. He stated he was a Marxist-Leninist on December 1, 1961. At that time, it was unnecessary for him to state this as the facts showed it clearly.

MR. HITZ. Is Fidel Castro the person in absolute control of the Cuban Government?

MISS CASTRO. The Cuban Government is under the direction sometimes of Moscow, other times of Peking.

MR. POOL. Mr. Chairman.

Can you explain that last answer by maybe informing the committee as to whether or not he works through the embassies of these countries?

MISS CASTRO. Well, he must work through those embassies and other times through direct orders that he probably receives from Moscow and Peking.

MR. HITZ. What party does Fidel belong to and what one actually controls in Cuba?

MISS CASTRO. Fidel belongs to and directs the United Party of the Socialist Revolution in Cuba, PURS.

THE CHAIRMAN. May I ask a question?

MISS CASTRO, this is a difficult question for you to answer, but only you can answer it. Questions will arise in the minds of the American public as to whether what you are now saying, and the position you have taken for quite a while, are the result of a feeling as a Christian person and your love for peace, happiness, or whether, on the other hand, it might be the result of bitterness you have developed against your brother.

I wish you would talk about that.

MISS CASTRO. I do not feel any bitterness against anyone at all. And I am only moved by my deep Christian convictions, my love for freedom, justice, social progress, and welfare of the people; I worry about my people, who are suffering under such a terror, the type of

terror that you cannot imagine unless you live under it. I worry about the fate of 6 million Cubans, thousands of men who are wasting away and dying in prison. For this reason, for this just and noble cause, for this one reason which is more than enough, I am doing what I am doing now.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me say that you have said it with obvious conviction.

Miss CASTRO. Due to my moral and Christian convictions.

Mr. HIRTZ. Miss Castro, who of the people of Cuba and the officials and employees of the government belong to the PURS party?

Miss CASTRO. A small minority belong in the group that directs his party; together with Fidel himself, only that small minority directs it. They are all proven Communists.

Mr. HIRTZ. What influences are exerted by Moscow and Peking on the Government of Cuba?

Miss CASTRO. Cuba has become a colony of Communist imperialism. The Moscow regime exerts great influence on the Cuban regime.

Mr. HIRTZ. What is the relationship between Peking and the Castro government?

Miss CASTRO. Well, Fidel has always shown his feelings of friendliness toward the Peking regime, towards the so-called hard line. He, as we say in Cuba, "has his heart in Peking and his stomach in Moscow."

The CHAIRMAN. You have described in general terms the conditions of terror that exist in Cuba. Now I would like for you to describe in your own way the living conditions in Cuba, the working conditions in Cuba, the existence of enough money to buy the necessities of life, and so on; in other words, the economic conditions, the standard of living.

Miss CASTRO. The Communist regime has forced on the Cuban people the lowest standard of living ever observed in Cuba. Fidel never tired of lying to the Cuban peasants, to the Cuban workers, by making false promises to them. He promised the moon to everyone and he did not keep any of the promises he had made. For example, Cuban workers had obtained excellent social improvement that made their work easier. None of this was respected by Fidel. In fact, little by little, one by one, these rights were taken away by the regime, and he turned the Cuban workers into slaves watched over constantly by the Communist bosses.

Cuban workers, who, in their great majority, have to remain on the island because they cannot leave for many reasons—because they have to live—they have to live on the crumbs they receive as a salary and they have to work extra hours and also do so-called voluntary work in order to survive.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask a specific question there.

What about the labor movement, the force, the power of the unions? Can they meet, can they have a bargaining table where they can discuss their working conditions and go on strike, and so on?

Miss CASTRO. Workers in Cuba have lost every right, and it is not possible for them to bargain on working conditions. There is no right to strike in Cuba. Labor unions in Cuba work under the direct orders of the Communist Government.

The CHAIRMAN. By the Communist Government, you mean the Government of Cuba as you know it and Communist Governments in Russia and China, and do they collaborate on those things?

Miss CASTRO. When I say Communist government I mean the government as we know them in Cuba, in Moscow, Peking, and all other countries that are dominated by the Communists as all these things happen in all these countries.

The CHAIRMAN. Now let me talk about a specific industry. I come from Louisiana; the biggest sugarcane-producing district in the United States is in my congressional district.

I want to talk a bit about life on the farm.

I know that from the beginning the economy of Cuba has been wrapped up with the sugar industry. What happened to that industry since Fidel has been in power? Has it been improved, have the conditions changed for the better or for the worse?

Miss CASTRO. When Fidel came into power, he devoted himself to the task of destroying the main Cuban industry, which was the sugar industry. I remember he said many times that we had to get away from a one-crop economy, that we had to diversify, not only on the farms but in industry also.

Not knowing what he was doing, he ordered the destruction of many canefields, to the amazement of those that knew that was the worst mistake possible. He talked about trying to build up industry in Cuba and that Russia would send him whatever equipment and machinery he might require.

Besides all of this, also the Cuban peasants to whom Fidel had promised more land than just agrarian reform, well, Fidel was very far from fulfilling his promises to these peasants. The Cuban peasants, all of whom believed in Fidel, like all the rest of the Cubans, saw day by day how the wealth of the country, how their own livelihood, disappeared.

The Cuban peasants are one of the groups in Cuba who have completely refused to cooperate with Fidel. They have absolutely refused, in spite of all threats, to work on the fields.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, before coming to that, what happened to the sugar plantations and the raw sugar mills that were operating before he took over? I understand they were confiscated. Were they divided among the peasants or farmers, or how are they operated now?

Miss CASTRO. All the sugar mills in Cuba, all the sugar cane plantations, were confiscated by Fidel. There were even sugar mills that were dismantled and the machinery sent to Russia as payment for Cuba's debts with the Soviet Union for arms.

He did not distribute the land among the peasants, as he had promised, through the agrarian reform. He has forced them to work these so-called cooperatives or people's farms. The peasants have totally refused to do this and they do not cooperate with Fidel; they do not work in the fields.

Besides, during this last sugar crop, due to the fact that the peasants have refused to work, Fidel has been forced to take to the fields all the people of Cuba, including students, public employees, even school children, so that they would do the work because the peasants refused to work in the fields.

The CHAIRMAN. What happened to Fidel's plan to get away from a one-crop economy and to grow other crops? Was that successful?

Miss CASTRO. Fidel has failed in his purpose of diversifying industry and agriculture. He has lacked the cooperation of the people, who are against Fidel and his regime in Cuba. In one word, Fidel has destroyed the national economy.

The CHAIRMAN. How does the production of sugar in quantity compare with what it was, say 10 years ago, in tonnage?

Miss CASTRO. Sugar production at present, in spite of the totals announced by the government, is lower than it was 10 years ago. For example, there is the fact that in 1952 Cuba produced 7 million tons of sugar. It was necessary, due to so large a production during the following years, to restrict the Cuban industry. But in spite of that it still continued to flourish.

The destruction of the sugar industry was so large that during 1959-1960, production decreased to only $3\frac{1}{2}$ million tons.

The CHAIRMAN. I know it is difficult for you to recite statistics and I am not going to press that in specific quantities. I will ask you two more general questions.

What happened to Fidel's statement or promise that the Soviets would supply the necessary machinery? Did that work out?

Miss CASTRO. It was also another lie from his colleagues, the Soviet Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. So, as I understand it, the sugar industry was wrecked and the promise to have more and better diversified crops didn't come about?

Miss CASTRO. They destroyed the main national industry and they shall never reach their goal to diversify agriculture.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, another short subject.

What about the standard of living? By that, I mean the availability of money with which to buy, and the availability of goods to buy, from the point of view of the ordinary citizen of Cuba.

Miss CASTRO. Standard of living in Cuba has decreased 100 percent. Although there may be some money, although some people may have some money, they can do nothing with it because there is no food to buy, no clothing, no shoes, no medical supplies.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, may I interrupt you a moment? I thought you said that the standard had increased 100 percent.

Miss CASTRO. Decreased 100 percent.

Mr. HITZ. Decreased.

The CHAIRMAN. One final question.

I am impressed with what you have been saying and it is not hard to guess that it is the truth. On the other hand, the two groups of students who went to Cuba, when they came back, painted an entirely different picture. They told the American public that the economy was good; that the beaches and hotels were doing big business; mercantile stores were prosperous, and so on.

Now I can see that, perhaps from what they saw, they might have been telling the truth in a way. But what accounts for the disparity, difference, in your two versions?

Miss CASTRO. Those two groups of students that went to Cuba in 1963 and 1964, possibly many of them belonged to Communist organizations in this country. They had no chance at any time to see what the real facts were. These students that arrived in Cuba for an official visit with the Cuban Government, besides their Communist leanings,

were received by members of the Student Youth of Cuba and the Union of Communist Youth, whose members are trained to do this, to receive these people.

I know in detail of the activities of these students in Cuba, of the things they did there. I would like to ask these students who have returned here, repeating the things that they heard over there; those students, when they arrived in Cuba, stayed at the hotels that the Cubans have prepared for these purposes.

In order to eat, those students did not require a ration card, which the Cuban people require. And even with that, the Cubans cannot eat. Those students were taken through Cuba, led by a group of officials, and they only went through those places where they were taken.

Those students possibly had no chance, or maybe they didn't even have the interest to try, to go into the home of a Cuban family and to ask that family if on that day on which they, the students, had eaten so well, to ask them if there was at least a little bit of food on the table of that Cuban family.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you mentioned something about ration cards for the first time a moment ago. What are some of the commodities, either things to eat or things to wear, that the Cuban national must have a card to buy? In other words, what is rationed?

Miss CASTRO. Everything is rationed in Cuba. Not only food items in general, the staples, the basic things in order to survive, but also items of clothing, shoes, medicines. Even sugar is rationed in Cuba.

The CHAIRMAN. Sugar?

Miss CASTRO. Sugar.

The miserable ration received by the people as a family group is so small that it will barely serve for just one meal.

The CHAIRMAN. I know you can't remember details, so I will only ask an illustration. Does anybody come to your mind so that you can relate, for example, what a husband and wife and two or three children, how much of different commodities they are permitted to buy, such as meats, rice, sugar, coffee, shoes, and so forth; bread, milk, butter?

Miss CASTRO. For example, a family of five in Cuba—and I will try to be as accurate as possible, because after I left Cuba, quite a few more items were rationed—for example, a family of five did not have the right to even one quart of milk a day, because in order to obtain this the family had to number six members. For example, a family of five had no right to fresh milk; instead, they received six cans of condensed milk per week. One quarter of a pound of meat a week was all they received, and there were many weeks when they did not receive even this.

The CHAIRMAN. Now let me make this plain. I am not asking these questions to draw an odious comparison between the conditions of living in America and Cuba, but I have brought out these facts to compare what was related to the American public by those students and by others sent here by the Cuban regime to propagandize America as to the blessings of the Castro regime. That is the only reason I am bringing these things out, because those are things directly within the jurisdiction of this committee, namely, propaganda and subversive activities within the United States, either of a domestic or foreign origin.

MISS CASTRO. If the American students that visited Cuba at that time had had to eat by using the ration cards, I responsibly assure you, sir, that they would have left Cuba the next day.

THE CHAIRMAN. Well, I think that makes my point clear.

MR. POOL. Mr. Chairman, I understand your point, but it led to another question in my mind that has to do with this hearing.

The Communist minority who run the country, are they the only ones who drive a car and get gasoline and tires and are they the only ones who get to go to these resort hotels and are they the ones who have the variety of food and plenty of it?

MISS CASTRO. The only ones that have the right to a pleasant life in Cuba are the members of this Communist minority. They have good cars; they have abundant food, because they do not require ration cards. They have excellent clothing; they have shoes; they can enjoy life amply while the people are starving, while the people suffer terribly under the barbaric Communist system. And we can say this because we can really understand it, only those of us who have suffered the terrible terror under a Communist system can truly understand this and say these things.

The Communist visitors, the guests of the Communist Government, have no right to make any statements concerning life under a Communist system; they didn't even have the right to state an opinion.

MR. POOL. Then they do not need money to be the affluent, aristocratic people of Cuba under the Communist regime; is that the impression?

MISS CASTRO. They are the absolute masters of power.

MR. POOL. Thank you.

MR. HITZ. Miss Castro, you mentioned about the stay of the students from America in 1963 and that under certain circumstances, if they had to use the ration cards, you ventured to say they would leave the next day.

Is it a fact that they stayed about 2 months?

MISS CASTRO. Yes; those students that visited Cuba in 1963 remained on the island for 2 months.

MR. HITZ. Miss Castro, we have received information in the form of testimony that the Cuban Government spent approximately one-half a million dollars on the financing of the trip of those students to Cuba in 1963. Do you have any information about that?

MISS CASTRO. No, I have none.

MR. HITZ. Do you know whether these students visited the missions of Russia and the Chinese Peking Governments?

MISS CASTRO. I am not certain whether those students that visited Cuba in 1963 did meet with the Russians and the Chinese. However, the group that went there in 1964 did meet with them.

MR. HITZ. Miss Castro, to my next-to-the-last question, you answered that you did not know about the estimate of the amount spent by the Cuban Government, as well as the fact that the Cuban Government paid the expenses.

I would like to ask you: Do you know whether or not the expenses were paid, but in an amount that you are not aware of?

MISS CASTRO. What I meant was that I was not certain as to the exact amount it might have cost the Cuban Government to pay for this trip.

The CHAIRMAN. But your original statement this morning that the Cuban Government had paid the expenses is still accurate?

Miss CASTRO. Yes; the Cuban Government did pay for the trips of those students to Cuba.

The CHAIRMAN. That leads me to this question: How did you obtain that knowledge? Was that through discussions with officials, or what?

Miss CASTRO. Yes; through officials of the Institute for Friendship Among the Peoples, who had to do directly with the trips of these students.

The CHAIRMAN. Did I understand you to say this morning that the funds somehow had been, or probably had been, channeled through Cuban funds out of the U.N.? Did I understand you to say that?

Miss CASTRO. What I said this morning was that I believed that these funds were delivered to the Cuban delegation to the United Nations.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, did selected students of the 1963 group attend conferences with members of the Cuban Government?

Miss CASTRO. Yes. That group of 59 students that visited Cuba in 1963, and whose head was Albert Maher, did meet with officials of the Cuban Government. Yes; one of the first persons they called on, one of the first persons that received them was Fidel, at Varadero Beach. They were also received by the President of the Republic, Osvaldo Dorticos; by Armando Hart; by Blas Roca, editor of the *Hoy* newspaper, official organ of the Communist Party; by Jose Llanusa, director of the Cuban Sports Institute; by "Che" Guevara, Minister of Industry of the Cuban Government.

The CHAIRMAN. I might point out that, although I do not recall these names in particular, one from the other, the record does contain testimony substantially along the lines you have related.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, please spell the name of Mr. Maher, if you know.

Miss CASTRO. M-a-h-e-r, I believe.

Mr. HITZ. Thank you.

Mr. POOL. The first name is Albert?

Miss CASTRO. Albert; yes.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, what was the reaction of Fidel himself and other government officials to this so-called students' trip in 1963?

Miss CASTRO. Fidel, as well as the other officials of the Cuban Government, were very pleased with the visit of these American students to Cuba. Besides, they would serve as excellent means of propaganda before American public after their return here to the United States.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, I think my next two questions are subject—

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go to that, may I ask one more question as to visits?

Do you recall, do you know, whether these students, either the first or the second group, or both, visited either the Russian Embassy or the Chinese Embassy while in Cuba?

Miss CASTRO. I am not certain as to the first group, but I positively know that the second group did visit the Chinese Embassy and met with a group of Chinese scholarship students.

The CHAIRMAN. That conforms to the sworn evidence we have on record.

Now let me test you as to another detail.

Testimony was received by the committee, also, that at least some of these students played ping-pong with Castro. Are you familiar with that?

Miss CASTRO. I do not know if they played ping-pong.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, I think my next two questions are perhaps susceptible of very short answers, and we are running short of time.

Can you tell us when Fidel Castro became a Communist or approximately when, in your opinion?

The CHAIRMAN. She said that already; in December 1961.

Mr. HITZ. That was not my question, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sorry. I see the distinction, I am sorry.

Miss CASTRO. Officially he stated he was one on December 1, 1961. However, through information that I received, I knew that before he even reached the Sierra Maestra Mountains he himself, Fidel, had already prepared plans for the Communist takeover of Cuba.

Mr. HITZ. Had he been to Mexico in 1956, to your knowledge, Miss Castro?

Miss CASTRO. Yes; he arrived in Mexico in 1956.

Mr. HITZ. Do you know whether there he met with Communists?

Miss CASTRO. Excuse me. He arrived in Mexico at the end of 1955 and there he made his first contacts with members of the Communist Party.

Mr. HITZ. Thank you.

Now my second question, I think perhaps can be answered briefly, is: Do you know whether or not your brother, Raul Castro, made a trip to a Communist youth festival in Europe in approximately the year 1952?

Miss CASTRO. Yes. He attended a Youth Congress in Europe in February 1952.

Mr. HITZ. With reference to that trip and date or some other, can you tell us when, in your opinion, Raul—

Miss CASTRO. I would like to say that was not February of 1952, but 1953.

Mr. HITZ. Can you tell us with respect to that date and event or any other, when, in your opinion, your brother Raul became a Communist?

Miss CASTRO. While Raul was studying at the University of Havana was when he first established contact with pro-Communist elements and he became more and more enthusiastic about these ideas.

At that time, Fidel, who had promised our father he would take care of Raul, was busy with his own political campaign and he did not fulfill his promise to our father, and when political elements came to see Fidel—

The CHAIRMAN. That was after that?

Miss CASTRO. He was running as a representative with the Orthodox Party.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Miss CASTRO. Then at that time, Fidel would ask Raul to receive the Communists that came to call on him to offer to help with his political campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. But Fidel apparently did not want to be publicly associated with them. Is that the inference to be drawn, or was he really not interested?

MISS CASTRO. At that time, maybe it was not convenient for him or maybe he was not interested. In our opinion, at that time, he was not a Communist.

MR. HITZ. Miss Castro, when did you first learn of the fact that the Soviet Union was sending men and military supplies to Cuba?

MISS CASTRO. I was informed about the arrival of Soviet troops and arms at the beginning of 1962.

MR. HITZ. Was it generally known in Cuba that the Russians were installing missile bases there?

MISS CASTRO. I don't think all of the Cuban people knew that the missile bases were being installed in Cuba. There was a group of us people who knew about this.

MR. HITZ. How long did you know of the missile bases there before the United States announced it publicly in October 1962?

MISS CASTRO. Well, I knew about it in April, May, or June of 1962.

MR. HITZ. Do you know whether any of the missiles had actually been removed by the Russians at the time you left Cuba in 1964?

MISS CASTRO. When I left Cuba, they may have removed some missiles, but I am not certain that this is a fact.

MR. HITZ. Miss Castro, do you know whether Fidel hoped to use the missile bases in his country as a physical weapon or a propaganda weapon against the United States?

MISS CASTRO. I am sure that those arms, those missiles, would be used as true arms against the United States if they still remained in Cuba.

THE CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this question. Most people realize, I think, including leaders of the Kremlin, that a nuclear war between the United States and Russia would mean the annihilation on both sides of hundreds of millions of people and that probably would include human beings in Cuba.

I wonder if you are in a position to say, based on knowledge, what the feelings of Castro would be if that should happen?

MISS CASTRO. I don't think the fact that there would be a nuclear war would worry Fidel at all. I don't think he would worry even if half of mankind were destroyed.

THE CHAIRMAN. He certainly would not care if some American millions would be destroyed?

MISS CASTRO. That would be the best gift he could ever receive in his life.

THE CHAIRMAN. Are you pretty sure that the feeling of Castro toward the United States is that intense and that self-consuming?

MISS CASTRO. I am absolutely certain as to what I am stating.

THE CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

MR. HITZ. Miss Castro, you have told us that it is a Cuban expression that Fidel's "heart is in Peking and that his stomach is in Moscow."

In the light of that situation, please tell us in what fashion Fidel treats and regards these two foreign Communist interests and what positions he takes with respect to them.

MISS CASTRO. I said that Fidel's heart is in Peking, because on different occasions he has stated his feelings, his sympathy for the hard line of the Peking government, and that his stomach is in Moscow, because China cannot supply him with certain items that he requires, such as oil.

MR. HITZ. Miss Castro, he is in the situation where these two Communist forces are competing for his favors and seeking his decision?

Miss CASTRO. They must be waiting for Fidel to decide on one or the other.

Mr. HITZ. Do you have any knowledge of the existence of Red Chinese and Viet Cong personnel on the island of Cuba for the purpose of either receiving training from or of training Cuban personnel?

Miss CASTRO. Well, I do not know whether there are any Viet Cong personnel receiving training in Cuba now, but I do know of the help Fidel promised and has sent to the Viet Cong. He expressed the fact that he was sorry that Vietnam was not closer to him so that he could really offer much greater help to the Viet Cong.

Mr. HITZ. Are there any Chinese delegations in Cuba other than their diplomatic missions?

Miss CASTRO. I am not certain about this. I am not certain whether there might be a military, a Chinese military, delegation in Cuba besides the regular diplomatic delegation.

Mr. HITZ. Are there any delegations of a social or propaganda description in Cuba from China?

Miss CASTRO. Well, the Chinese delegation has at their Embassy the different departments such as the Cultural Department, and so forth, that function at any diplomatic delegation. For example, there are Chinese scholarship students who come to Cuba in exchange operations. There have also been athletes who have visited Cuba, Chinese teams have come to Cuba.

Mr. HITZ. Are you familiar with the existence and the extent of espionage being directed against the United States by the Communist regime in Cuba?

Miss CASTRO. Well, I cannot say in detail as to anything here in the United States except that there are agents infiltrated here. I am certain of that. This, I know, because I heard many officials mention it directly and personally.

Mr. HITZ. Do you have any knowledge of espionage or propaganda activity directed against the United States on the part of the Cuban delegation to the United Nations in New York?

Miss CASTRO. I am absolutely certain that one of the main tasks of the Cuban delegation to the United Nations is that of espionage.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, what is the principal agency within the Cuban Government concerned with spreading the propaganda to the United States?

Miss CASTRO. The National Printing Office of Cuba, directed by the government itself, is the one that is in charge of preparing and sending out all propaganda sent to foreign countries, including the United States. The Communist Party itself controls and directs all propaganda and they supervise all propaganda, not only that used in Cuba, but that which is sent to foreign countries.

Mr. HITZ. Are you familiar with the establishment by the present Cuban regime of front organizations and fund-raising projects in the United States?

Miss CASTRO. Well, one of the main front organizations in the United States is the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, which was founded and is formed in its entirety by Americans.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, did the Cuban Government, to your knowledge, assist in the establishment of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Miss CASTRO. Well, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, which is formed entirely by Americans, probably must work in direct contact with the Cuban Government.

Mr. HITZ. Are you familiar with the activities of one Richard Gibson, who formerly headed the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Miss CASTRO. No.

Mr. HITZ. To your knowledge, did Fidel Castro meet with any representatives of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and, if so, what was the purpose of the meeting, if you know that?

Miss CASTRO. Well, Fidel met with founding members of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, among them Carleton Beals; Waldo Frank, a writer; Robert Williams, who at present resides in Cuba. However, as to what they discussed, I have no knowledge.

Mr. HITZ. Did you know of any other members of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Miss CASTRO. No; I do not remember any other name offhand.

Yes; I remember one other name. Bob Taber was another one of the members of that committee.

Mr. HITZ. Do you know Dr. Martha Frayde, who was the liaison in Cuba with an American organization known as the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee?

Miss CASTRO. Yes; I did meet Dr. Frayde, but I do not know whether she was the liaison with that American group.

Mr. HITZ. Do you know she was a Communist?

Miss CASTRO. She is a Communist. She is one of the founders of the Cuban Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the Chair ought to say that we received the testimony of at least two people that I remember, under oath, linking Dr. Frayde in the same way as confirmed by the present witness.

Mr. HITZ. Are you familiar with any connections between the Cuban Government and Communist organizations in the United States such as the Progressive Labor Movement?

Miss CASTRO. Well, some of the members of the Progressive Labor Movement visited Cuba in 1964 and they met with members of the Cuban Government, so they must be in contact with that government.

Mr. HITZ. Through whom is this contact maintained, if you know, both in the United States and in Cuba?

Miss CASTRO. Well, one of the students that visited Cuba in 1964, Edward Lemansky, is one of the organizers of the Progressive Labor Movement.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair might say that the Progressive Labor Movement is a tough outfit.

Mr. HITZ. Do you know whether or not the contacts in Cuba for this organization are the Cuban Federation of University Students and the Institute for Friendship Among the Peoples?

Miss CASTRO. Well, yes, I know that some of these students called on the Union of Communist Youth, on the Federation of University Students, members of the Institute for Friendship Among the Peoples at the time they stayed in Cuba.

They also met with Robert Williams. They met with some of the officials of the Communist regime.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a short question, I don't want to press it.

As I recall the record of the hearings on the unlawful Cuban travel, it contains evidence under oath that one or more, or some of either the first or the last group, held a press conference in Cuba.

Are you familiar with that?

MISS CASTRO. Well, Edward Lemansky, the head of this second group, held a press conference, particularly with Prensa Latina.

I recall that he made statements condemning the policy followed by this country in Vietnam. These students signed a statement in which they supported the struggle of what they called the peoples of Vietnam and Venezuela.

THE CHAIRMAN. And the statements made at that press conference were intended, of course, to be beamed to the United States as well? Did you understand that?

MISS CASTRO. Absolutely.

THE CHAIRMAN. And to some people in Cuba, including yourself, who knew better, that was known to be just pure propaganda; was it not?

MISS CASTRO. We were absolutely certain that all the activities on the part of the students were simply propaganda.

THE CHAIRMAN. I say that for the record again, as I have said before, to indicate the objectives, the purposes of these hearings to develop a record concerning propaganda and subversive activities within, or intended to come within, the United States, either with domestic or foreign origin, which is the subject of our jurisdiction.

MR. HIRTZ. Miss Castro, you have made several references to Robert Williams, who you stated was known to you to be a fugitive from a criminal prosecution in this country, now living in Cuba, and who you said was being used by Fidel Castro as part of his propaganda machinery directed against the United States and against other countries.

I would like to ask you a few questions about him and that activity.

Do you know when Robert Williams came to Cuba and how he arranged it?

MISS CASTRO. Well, he visited Cuba in 1960 and he met with officials of the Cuban Government and he also gave television and public interviews praising the regime. He returned to Cuba by clandestine means in the middle of 1961, October or August, I am not certain, and he asked for political asylum in Cuba.

Well, he then stayed in Cuba and started directing a radio program which had as its main purpose to direct propaganda against the United States in order to cause racial problems. He visited Communist China on several occasions. He met with the student groups that visited Cuba. He spoke at several functions that were held in Cuba; he was the speaker.

In other words, he has developed all his activities on the side of the Cuban Government and against the United States; all the things he does are directed this way.

In fact, I remember that, on one occasion when he was present at a public function in Matanzas, he stated that if the things he saw there were communism, he would share Cuba's fate. I recall that, upon his return from a trip to Communist China, he wrote several articles that were published in the Cuban *Bohemia* magazine and I believe some were entitled "Stories From an American 'Freedom' Fighter."

Mr. HITZ. Is he a Communist, Miss Castro?

Miss CASTRO. I am absolutely certain that Robert Williams is a Communist.

Mr. HITZ. Is he employed and paid by the Cuban Government?

Miss CASTRO. The Government of Cuba, through the Institute for Friendship Among the Peoples, pays Robert Williams' salary.

Mr. HITZ. Where are his offices?

Miss CASTRO. I do not know exactly where Robert Williams' offices are.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, do you have any knowledge of propaganda or espionage being directed by the Cuban Communist Government against Puerto Rico?

Miss CASTRO. Well, the Cuban Government has always been interested in Puerto Rico. Besides, Puerto Ricans have visited Cuba and have worked together with the Cuban Government. We have the case of Mrs. Laura Meneses de Albisu Campos and Juan Juarbe Juarbe, who have worked and have even fulfilled posts for the Cuban Government at the United Nations.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, I understood you to say earlier today, and I would like you merely to confirm it if it is correct, that you have stated what Fidel's feelings were with regard to the United States and what fate he would like to visit upon this country. I also understood you to say that it was his intention, as well, to some day hope to take over the entire Western Hemisphere.

Please answer first, am I correct in understanding if that is what you have said today?

Miss CASTRO. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes. (A brief recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, do you have any knowledge of propaganda and espionage being directed by the Cuban Communist Government toward Santo Domingo?

Miss CASTRO. Well, I know of several Dominican individuals who have been in Havana receiving training. I also know that in many of these instances this Communist minority takes over popular movements. They take advantage of them until they finally reach power.

Something like this has occurred in Santo Domingo.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, did you foresee what has recently occurred in Santo Domingo?

Miss CASTRO. I visited Santo Domingo on April 6 of this year and I warned the Dominican people concerning the Communist plans to take over Santo Domingo and turn it into another Communist state in the Caribbean.

Mr. HITZ. Have you any knowledge of propaganda or espionage being directed by the Cuban Communist Government toward the nation of Panama and the Panama Canal Zone, the latter being administered by the United States Government?

Miss CASTRO. Well, for quite a while now all subversion, all infiltration, all propaganda against those countries is being organized.

Mr. HITZ. Is Cuba used as a training ground for Communist activity in the Panama Canal Zone?

MISS CASTRO. Cuba is the main base for training in subversion and propaganda and in all Communist activities that are being directed against Panama and all these countries.

MR. POOL. Mr. Chairman.

These schools for training these subversives, about how many schools are there in Cuba? Do you have any idea?

MISS CASTRO. Well, there are several of these schools in Cuba to train these groups that come from foreign countries on guerrilla warfare and subversive activities. For example, there is one of those schools in the Sierra Maestra Mountains called Minas del Frio.

MR. HITZ. In your opinion, Miss Castro, do the positions of Cuban exile groups operating from the United States or the Latin American countries have any effect upon the policies of the Cuban Government or upon Fidel himself?

MISS CASTRO. Well, of course. The activities of all of these groups that are fighting against the government do affect and worry Fidel himself.

MR. HITZ. To what extent, if at all, has the Cuban exile colony in the United States been infiltrated by agents of the Castro regime?

MISS CASTRO. I cannot state up to what point that exile colony has been infiltrated, but I can state that it has been widely infiltrated.

MR. HITZ. Do you have any knowledge of Cuba being used as a base for the training of guerrillas and terrorists for operations in the United States?

MISS CASTRO. Well, I repeat that Cuba is the base for training on infiltration and guerrilla warfare and I am sure this will be directed not only against the United States, but against all the other countries that they have already infiltrated and in which there are constant problems with these Communist elements.

MR. HITZ. Miss Castro, do you know Alberto Bayo?

MISS CASTRO. Yes, certainly I do know Alberto Bayo.

MR. HITZ. Who is he and what does he do?

MISS CASTRO. Well, Alberto Bayo was the man who in Mexico trained in guerrilla warfare the group which Fidel headed and with which he was planning an invasion of Cuba. He is one of the men that trains groups of foreign people who are in Cuba to receive training, particularly on guerrilla warfare and all types of subversive activities.

MR. POOL. Mr. Chairman.

I just want a last question for the record; it really does not concern what we are getting into.

What would happen in Cuba if Fidel Castro were killed or died? Who would take over?

MISS CASTRO. I don't know who could take over the power at that moment.

MR. POOL. They don't have a crown prince, so to speak?

MISS CASTRO. Well, supposedly should anything happen, it is Raul who is supposed to take over the government in accordance with the way they have organized the Communist Government.

MR. HITZ. Does the Cuban Government, to your knowledge, ship arms and supplies to other countries?

MISS CASTRO. The Cuban Government is constantly, through the merchant marine and the fishing boats, shipping arms and infiltrating many countries.

Mr. HITZ. Are you acquainted with the activities of a ship called *Sierra Maestra*?

Miss CASTRO. The ship called *Sierra Maestra* of the merchant marine has made several trips to China carrying arms.

Mr. HITZ. Have you any information as to whether or not she has traveled with arms to Africa?

Miss CASTRO. The ship that is operating in that zone of Africa is another ship of the merchant marine called the *Aracelio Iglesias*, but also the *Sierra Maestra* is traveling there.

Mr. HITZ. Is the fishing fleet of Cuba adjusted also for such purposes?

Miss CASTRO. The fishing fleet is the one that is used the most often, particularly for activities on this continent.

Mr. HITZ. Do you know whether the Cuban airlines operates as a communication system in the transmission of arms, supplies, and propaganda?

Miss CASTRO. Well, the Cuban airlines is used through its regularly scheduled flights to Mexico and Canada, particularly to distribute printed propaganda, but much less for arms and other types of military supplies.

Mr. HITZ. Does the Cuban Government make use of their diplomatic facilities as bases for subversion in countries in which they have representation?

Miss CASTRO. The main task of all diplomatic delegations in the countries in which they represent Cuba is that of subversion and propaganda and espionage.

Mr. HITZ. Do you have any knowledge as to whether or not the Cuban Government's representation at the United Nations in New York is used for purposes of propaganda, subversion, and espionage?

Miss CASTRO. I am absolutely certain that said delegation is one of the most often used for these purposes.

Mr. HITZ. Do you have knowledge of any propaganda or espionage being directed at the United States from Mexico on behalf of the Castro government?

Miss CASTRO. I am sure that one of their Embassies, one of the Cuban Embassies where they do the largest amount of work of this type is the Cuban Embassy in Mexico. It is the largest office for subversion that they have in the entire continent.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, do you believe that Cuba is now a captive nation of the Soviet Union and the Moscow segment of the international Communist movement or is Fidel still, to a large extent, playing Moscow off against Peking?

Miss CASTRO. Cuba is the first captive island of the Communist regimes in the American Continent.

Mr. HITZ. Does Fidel have confidence in and trust his advisers and lieutenants, Miss Castro?

Miss CASTRO. Well, Fidel cannot have too much confidence in these people as we can see how they are being constantly purged. This is only a sample of how the regime really is, internally.

Mr. HITZ. Miss Castro, do you think a time will have to come when Fidel Castro will be faced with an ultimatum from either Peking or from Moscow to determine in which way he desires his lot to fall?

Miss CASTRO. I am sure that sooner or later either Peking or Moscow will have to give him that ultimatum. He will be faced with it,

so that he will have to decide to the side of which power he will go.

Mr. HIRTZ. Do you think Fidel realizes this?

Miss CASTRO. He must realize that.

Mr. HIRTZ. You mentioned earlier today the consuming belief and attitude that Fidel has that the United States must be destroyed for the best interests of himself and for what he believes the best interest of Cuba.

Do you believe that Castro can honestly feel that if the situation continued where, apparently from what you say, he is able to enjoy the favors of both Peking and Moscow, at least at this time, without choosing which side to cast his lot with, that he and Cuba would be better off without the United States being a very considerable stabilizing force in the world?

Miss CASTRO. His only consuming interest is the destruction of the United States, and he is not really interested as to the fact of whether the time will arrive when the United States will really be the one to control any problems between Peking and Moscow. He is really not interested in that.

Mr. HIRTZ. Do you have any suggestion, Miss Castro, as to how the Government of the United States might deal economically or diplomatically with Castro in an effort to pull him out of the position in which you say he is in the Soviet orbit?

Miss CASTRO. I do not think it is possible for the United States at this time to try to remove Fidel from this Soviet orbit. I think that is quite impossible.

To accept negotiations now with the Cuban Communist regime would be equivalent to the destruction of all the hopes maintained by all the countries that are struggling against the Communists.

Mr. HIRTZ. I have finished, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Miss Castro, I want to thank you for your very fine testimony here today. We assure you that there are millions of citizens of this country who share both your Christian convictions and your devotion to freedom; who are concerned about freedom for your country and for people everywhere. I want to ask you to refer back to your earlier testimony. When you were testifying as to the role of the schools in Cuba, you mentioned the fact that the schools were used for the indoctrination of children in Marxism-Leninism. Now, how early does this indoctrination begin?

Miss CASTRO. They start indoctrinating children in Cuba from the age of 3. The first words that these children learn are "Fidel," "Raul," "Che," "revolution." These words are used in the textbooks that are used to teach the children.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Do they go through any progressive stage? Are there organizations to which they belong in connection with the school?

Miss CASTRO. Yes. At 7, they have to join the Union of Pioneers of Cuba, another Communist organization; and at 12, they belong to the Union of Communist Youth.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Now, one more question along this line.

You testified earlier that the schools were used to teach atheism, or against religion. What about family relationships? Are the schools used, for example, to help teach respect for parents?

Miss CASTRO. Well, in Cuba, they are trying to destroy the family unit at its very foundation. The first thing that they teach children

is not to respect or love their parents. They teach them that the only parent they do have is the state. We have even witnessed cases where children have denounced their parents after these children had been indoctrinated in communism.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you, Miss Castro.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chairman, I have a question.

Miss Castro, is it within your direct knowledge as to whom Castro has considered his most ardent supporters in the United States?

Miss CASTRO. On different occasions I heard Fidel personally mention as his greatest friends in the United States Messrs. Herbert Matthews, Carleton Beals, and Waldo Frank.

On the several trips that Mr. Matthews has taken to Cuba, he has been constantly accompanied by the Cuban security police.

During Mr. Herbert Matthews' many trips to Cuba, he has never tried to get close to the workingman to ask him what the real conditions are in Cuba, and yet when he returns to the United States, he publishes only that which he thinks is convenient or helpful for the Communist regime.

Mr. POOL. Would you further identify Mr. Matthews? What does he do? What is his job?

Miss CASTRO. Mr. Matthews is one of the editors of the *New York Times*.

Mr. POOL. Have you previously identified Mr. Beals and Mr. Frank?

Miss CASTRO. I know they are journalists and writers, but I do not know specifically where they work. They probably work at the offices of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Mr. POOL. Do you know whether or not they are members of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Miss CASTRO. They are members of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, founders.

Mr. POOL. I have no further questions.

I do want to compliment the witness, Miss Castro, and thank her for appearing before this committee; it is a great help to the committee. We appreciate your feeling for humanity. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. I have questioned Miss Castro as we went along so I don't have any more questions.

As chairman of this subcommittee, I would like to say this: Miss Castro, the people of the United States have been, for the last few years, deluged with a flood of propaganda, painting Cuba, as pointed out in my opening statement, as a land of milk and honey; a land with an improved standard of living, with political and religious freedom; a land where the people have justice; and a land led by a man of peace.

Because of your very identity and background and your firsthand knowledge of the subject under consideration, you have, in my opinion, done more to penetrate the fog of propaganda than any person I know of, so far as the Cuban situation is concerned.

You have laid bare your knowledge under oath. You have spoken with conviction, with common sense, and with obvious truth.

As far as I am concerned, I think you have made a great contribution to the people of the free world, to the countries of the Western Hemisphere, and, in particular, to the United States of America.

Your testimony now becomes a permanent record of this committee and of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States.

Incidentally, that permanent record will include the moving statement that you made this morning in which you said, among other things, this, and I quote passages from your statement :

I also wish to alert the conscience of those who are concerned about the fate of mankind through the personal testimony I can offer concerning the Castro-Communist plans for intervention and aggression in the Americas.

Those of us in Cuba who believed sincerely in freedom, peace, work, the right to happiness, and social progress were used by the Communist minority.

Those of us who have suffered the inhuman Communist experiment have learned this lesson well.

We must not let ourselves be misguided by the fanatical cries of the Communist minorities and of those who unwittingly become their instruments. * * *

I do hope, Miss Castro, that the people of my country will profit by your lesson and will heed your admonition not to let themselves be misguided by the fanatical cries of the Communist minorities and of those who unwittingly become their instrument.

This committee is truly grateful to you for your appearance here. As I said, your testimony becomes a part of the permanent record of this committee, the House, and of the Congress. And it will certainly aid this committee in formulating appropriate remedial laws within its jurisdiction and also aid what we call in America the watchdog jurisdiction of overseeing execution by the administrative agencies concerned with the laws of our country dealing with subversion and internal security.

In conclusion, may I simply say this, Miss Castro: I hope that your devotion to the democratic principles that you so eloquently developed as the theme of your opening statement this morning and your obvious deep faith in Christian principles and traditions may sustain you in years to come.

Miss CASTRO. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Our thanks, Miss Castro, and to you, Doctor, and to you, Miss Montero, for your patience and your competence and great help in being our translator.

The committee will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 4:55 p.m., Friday, June 11, 1965, the subcommittee adjourned.)

INDEX

INDIVIDUALS

	Page
A	
Albisu Campos, Laura Meneses de.....	844
Ameijeiras, Efigenio.....	824
B	
Batista y Zaldivar (Fulgencio).....	815, 823, 824
Bayo, Alberto.....	845
Beals, Carleton.....	816, 842, 848
C	
Campos, Laura Meneses de Albisu. (See Albisu Campos, Laura Meneses de.)	
Castro, Fidel.....	815, 816, 818-835, 838-849
Castro, Raul.....	815, 823-827, 839, 845, 847
Castro Ruz, Juanita.....	815-817, 818-819 (statement), 821, 822-849 (testimony)
D	
del Valle, Sergio. (See Valle, Sergio del.)	
Dorticos, Osvaldo.....	838
E	
Escalante, Anibal.....	824
Escalante, Cesar.....	824
Escalona, Dermidio.....	824
F	
Frank, Waldo.....	816, 842, 848
Frayde, Martha.....	842
G	
Gibson, Richard.....	842
Guevara, Ernesto "Che".....	824, 825, 838, 847
H	
Hart, Armando.....	824, 838
J	
Johnson (Lyndon B.).....	819
Juarbe, Juan Juarbe. (See Juarbe Juarbe, Juan.)	
Juarbe Juarbe, Juan.....	844
K	
Khrushchev, Nikita Sergeevich.....	827
L	
Lemansky, Edward.....	842, 843
Lew, Salvador.....	817, 822, 831, 849
Llanusa, Jose.....	838
Lopez Montero, Yolanda.....	817, 822, 831, 849

M		Page
Maher, Albert (Lasater)-----	830, 838	
Matthews, Herbert (L.)-----	816, 848	
Moutero, Yolanda Lopez. (See Lopez Montero, Yolanda.)		

O		
Ordoqui, Joaquin-----		824

P		
Pena, Lazaro-----		824

R		
Roca, Blas-----	824, 838	
Rodriguez, Carlos Rafael-----	824	
Ruz, Juanita Castro. (See Castro Ruz, Juanita.)		

T		
Taber, Bob-----		842

V		
Valle, Sergio del-----		824
Vallejo, Rene-----		824

W		
Williams, Robert (F.)-----	829, 842-844	

ORGANIZATIONS

A		
<i>Aracelio Iglesias</i> (ship)-----		846

C		
Communist International. (See International III.)		
Communist Party, Cuba. (See Popular Socialist (Communist) Party, Cuba.)		
Cuban Federation of University Students-----	830, 842	
Cuban Institute for Friendship Among the Peoples-----	830, 838, 842, 844	

E		
Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba-----		820

F		
Fair Play for Cuba Committee-----	820, 829, 841, 842, 848	
Greater Los Angeles Chapter-----	820	
Federation of the University Students of Cuba. (See Cuban Federation of University Students.)		

I		
International, III (Communist) (also known as Comintern and International Workers' Association)-----		819

M		
Medical Aid to Cuba Committee-----	820, 842	
Minas del Frio (school) (Cuba)-----	845	

N		
National Printing Office (Cuba)-----		841

O		
OAS. (See Organization of American States.)		
Organization of American States (OAS)-----		819
Orthodox Party (Cuba)-----		839

P

PURS. (See United Party of the Socialist Revolution.)	Page
Popular Socialist (Communist) Party, Cuba	824
Prensa Latina (news agency)	843
Progressive Labor Movement	820, 842
Progressive Labor Party	820

S

<i>Sierra Maestra</i> (ship)	846
Student Committee for Travel to Cuba	816, 820
Student Youth of Cuba	836

U

Union of Communist Youth (Cuba)	836, 842, 847
Union of Pioneers (Cuba)	847
United Nations: Cuban Mission	816, 830, 838, 841, 846
United Party of the Socialist Revolution (PURS) (Cuba)	832, 833
U.S. Government: State Department	820, 830
University of Havana	839

PUBLICATIONS

B

Bohemia	843
---------	-----

H

Hoy	838
-----	-----

N

New York Times	848
----------------	-----

O

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